Vitoria 1813
Scenario Notes

A Scenario for The Dining Table Napoleon wargames rules.

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BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

This scenario is designed for use with my Dining Table Napoleon rules (Version 2.02). It is based on a scenario I ran under a slightly earlier version of the rules in November 2013, and written up in *Miniature Wargames*, soon to be published.

I have made some changes. I have beefed up the French artillery a bit, following later research. I have pushed back the arrival times for Graham's column to something that fits the historical data better.

I have also included a design of a more advanced scenario, giving players many more options.

Of course this scenario should be of value to anybody trying to refight this battle on the tabletop, whatever rule system they are using. I have published separately more detailed order of battle information, based on my researches.

Please feel free to comment or ask questions on my website: diningtablenapoloen.com.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The original battle took place on 21 June 1813. Wellington's army had been chasing King Joseph's French army since early May, and it had now reached this corner of the Basque provinces, not far from the Pyrenees and France.

Joseph has lingered for some days at the Vitoria position, hoping that reinforcements will arrive from the French Army of the North under General Clauzel. If they do so it is possible for him to face his opponent on equal terms. But Wellington knows that General Clauzel is two days away. He must attack today before the rendezvous takes place.

Wellington's forces are dispersed, and the most direct route for most of them to reach the Vitoria basin would mean crossing the river Zadorra at a difficult point. So his battle plan involves the use of multiple columns to converge on his target at different points.

This scenario closely follows the historical deployments and arrival times of units. Of course these were uncertain to the commanders on the day – this uncertainty is reflected in command and control friction in the rules.

The game starts at 8am, just as the first Allied troops are arriving, and Joseph has arrived to join his main army from his base in the city of Vitoria.

SCENARIO NOTES & LABELS

These notes set a description of the battlefield and hence table, followed by a briefing for each player, and one or two special rules. It the Players do not read each other's briefings it will help – especially the French not knowing the Allied arrival times.

These notes should be read in conjunction with the labels sheet, which can be used for strip style labels, and which also serve as a description of the units, the generals and the order of battle.

THE BATTLEFIELD

GENERAL FEEL

Vitoria (modern Vitoria-Gastiez) is in the Álava region of the Spanish Basque county, to the north of Spain and in the foothills of the Pyrenees. The overall appearance is of a transitional region between south and north Europe. June 1813 was quite a wet month, so the country would have been quite verdant, and the river in relatively full flow; some of the ground could be a bit boggy. But the buildings would have had the pan-tiled roofs that we expect of the Mediterranean. Local stone and render would be a golden-beige brown. There was probably little whitewashing.

The overall appearance has changed drastically in the 200 years since the battle. Big industrial estates and

Vitoria 1813
Game map
1 ft squares
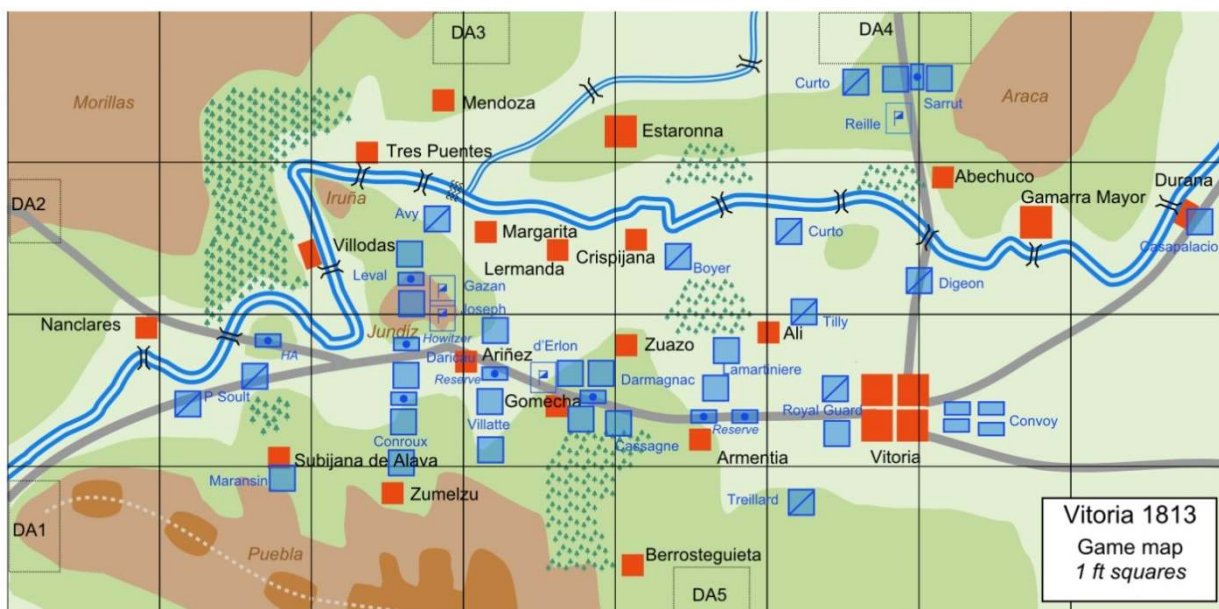
suburban housing now surround the city. Modern agriculture has transformed most of the rest. The lower regions are now mainly orderly fields and plantations; the higher ground would have been more grazed and les scrubby than the modern appearance. Even the river has been channelled and moved a bit.

In 1813 the ground would have been relatively uncultivated, dotted by small hamlets, with few dwellings but many walled enclosures. The higher ground reminded Scotsmen of the Highlands, and was rocky and heather-clad. The extensive scrub visible today was no doubt grazed down by livestock.

TERRAIN MAP

The table layout is shown below, for a four foot (1.2m) by 8ft (2.4m) table, using a scale of about one inch to 200m (1mm to 8m). The rules scale is strictly one inch to 150m, so if you have a bigger table (up to 5ft by 10ft) there is no theoretical difficulty about scaling it up.

HILLS

The two higher levels (brown on the map) are bad going. When moving up to one of these two levels it counts as a steep slope and impossible for cavalry or artillery. Any unit attacking across such a boundary is treated as having a medium terrain disadvantage. The western slope of the Jundiz is not steep, however – and nor is any ground along a marked road.

The lower levels are good going, except when impeded by other features.

The dotted line on the Puebla marks the ridgeline, which is a sharp feature that blocks visibility on the same level. This is in fact a geological discontinuity, which can be cliff-like in places – though it is not a feature of sufficient significance to replicate in detail in this scenario.

WOODS

The woods (dark green dots) are light, but bad going. All troops may cross them. They count as a minor terrain disadvantage for combat and cover. Artillery may not deploy. Visibility is reduced to 2″ – this does not apply to command.

RIVERS

The Zadorra, the main river, is impassable except at bridges and the marked ford. It does not block a retreat by infantry or cavalry, however, except by the Iruña (the hairpin bend). The ford (near where the Zaya joins it) is both a defile and bad going. Bridges are defiles with a capacity of 2 units.

The Zaya, the smaller stream which is a tributary, is bad going for infantry and impassable to cavalry and artillery.

The Zaya counts as a medium terrain disadvantage for charge attack; the ford is a minor terrain disadvantage.

Units may firefight attack across the Zadorra or Zaya, but both attacking and defending units must be within 1″ of the watercourse.

BUILT UP AREAS

Mostly the villages are classed as small BUAs (not able to be occupied by a base). Gamarra Mayor and Estarrona are large BUAs, as are the sections of Vitoria itself.

Treat built up areas as medium terrain disadvantage (so minor when providing partial cover). When attacking BUAs across a bridge (e.g. Durana or Gamarra Major), both sides are treated as vulnerable, though the defender also gets medium terrain advantage.

FRENCH PLAYER BRIEFING

COMMAND

The army is under the command of Joseph and his more militarily experienced Chief of Staff, Marshal Jourdan. Joseph is counted as Weak, reflecting the poor confidence that French troops had in their commander, but the HQ rating is moderately good C10. Joseph and the HQ start the game at the Jundiz hill. Lack of preparation and poor intelligence about his opponents mean that he starts with a stock of zero CPs.

The army is divided into three "armies" which counts as corps under the rules. The biggest by far, with four and a half infantry divisions, is the Army of the Midi, under General Gazan. Unfortunately relations between Gazan, a protégé of Marshal Soult, and the Royal French command are poor. This means that Gazan is rated as a Weak leader. Relations are much better with the two other corps leaders, d'Erlon and Reille, and these are capable leaders in the Peninsula context – counted as Strong. But their commands comprise a mere two infantry divisions apiece.

Reille and his Army of Portugal are covering the army's rear, which is threatened by Graham's command, as well as some Spanish guerrillas. In this game he is the second French player, and given control of the various extraneous units in the rear area: the Royal Guard (comprising mainly Frenchmen), the weak "Josefino" Spanish unit of Casapalacio, and various dragoon divisions belonging to the three

corps. He has an HQ rating of C6, and his HQ stays with the player figure.

The divisional generals all count as normal, apart from Tirlet, in charge of artillery, who is strong. He may take control of any artillery unit.

OBJECTIVES

The French player's historical aim is to play for time and hope that Clauzel will turn up to save the day (he is approaching Vitoria from the south or south-east) – together with General Foy who has forces at division strength in the general vicinity (down the Royal Road). A big problem is the vast amount of baggage, artillery materiel, and a treasury convoy which will need to be evacuated in the event of defeat. This is gathered east of Vitoria. The only practical evacuation route is via the Royal Road, which heads off towards Bayonne, passing the village of Durana.

So the main objectives are:

– Prevent the Allies reaching Vitoria
– Protect the convoys outside Vitoria
– Keep the Royal Road open from Vitoria off to its exit east of the table.

FORCES

The bulk of the French infantry, and the German brigade (comprising troops from Baden, Nassau and Frankfurt) are veterans, with skirmish strength. This gives them the edge on most Allied troops in firefights and in charge combat in bad going. But they are at a disadvantage against the British, with their discipline strength, in good going. In addition there is a unit of the elite Royal Guard infantry, which counts as army resources, and is relatively difficult to activate. Finally for the infantry, Casapalacio's Josefinos is a weak unit with no strengths or weaknesses.

There is plenty of cavalry, but not of especially good quality. Unlike the British units, they are not well-mounted, so suffer a combat disadvantage. The four dragoon units count as heavy cavalry, however, and two (Tirlet and Boyer) pack a big punch at 9SP. The dragoons count as army resources, so that any of the corps generals can take control of them – but they activate like corps resources.

Artillery is numerous, but mostly light – unable to hit anything over 8″ away. Gazan has a howitzer unit with a 10″ range. In addition there are three units of reserve 8 pdrs – medium artillery. One of these starts the game with Gazan, the other two are in the rear with Reille.

DEPLOYMENT

See map above for starting deployment.

STARTING ORDERS

Gazan's first line of infantry units, and Sarrut's infantry of Reille's command start the game with Defend status. There are no other orders.

ALLIED PLAYER BRIEFING

COMMAND

Apart from Sánchez's Spaniards, all units are under Wellington's orders. His plan has formed the previous day, and the various columns take their positions accordingly. They arrive on table at the times set out below. Wellington's planning means that he starts with 4 CPs in hand, before the first Command Throw.

Wellington counts as a Strong commander, and his HQ a middling C10 (the same as the French). He is at the peak of his powers, and his standing amongst all his troops is very high. However he does not have a settled corps system, which means that he directs a lot of the army's divisions himself.

He does have two autonomous columns which are treated as corps for games purposes. There is Hill on the right and Graham on the left. Hill is a very competent and respected commander, who has been working with Wellington for years; they have a very good mutual understanding. Hill is rated as strong. Graham was also a perfectly capable officer, though one that had spent a lot less time working with Wellington. In this case his command is remote from the rest of the army, which means that he is covered by his own HQ, and the second Allied player. His orders are conditional and vague, and he has only an approximate idea of the forces he is up against (in reality two divisions, but potentially four). This makes him very circumspect and cautious, so we give him low generalship ratings: weak and C4 for his HQ, and no starting CPs.

The divisional generals are a varied bunch. Cole and Picton are rated as strong; Dalhousie as weak – the rest are normal. Dalhousie and Picton are advancing towards the battlefield across badly marked paths, away from the main force, from separate starting points. The plan is for them to converge off table and then advance into the battle together; once on the battlefield the divisions have separate missions and can be commanded directly by Wellington. Before their arrival, however, Wellington has assigned leadership of the combined column to Dalhousie, who is much less experienced. There is much speculation as to why in the literature – it may have been that Wellington was afraid that Picton might launch a premature attack. Anyway, for our purposes we treat the two divisions as a single division under Dalhousie, with no formal role for Picton, until either their first

units cross the Zadorra, or Wellington issues a direct order to Picton.

Wellington has a commander of artillery, Dickson, who though quite junior in rank is rated as strong, because he is close to Wellington. There are three brigades of independent cavalry, two of which, the heavy brigades of Hill (the Household cavalry) and Ponsonby, are treated as army resources.

Finally Sánchez will make an appearance with three weak units in the French rear. He is not part of the official battle plan, is not in communication with Wellington's HQ, and so this is a private enterprise operation. Special rules are designed to deal with this.

OBJECTIVES

The aim is to do as much damage to the French cause as possible, so that they can be turned out of Spain in short order. In ascending order of importance, this means:

- Prevent a rendezvous with Clauzel through the capture of the communications crossroads of Vitoria by the end of the day
- Block the Royal Road as a line of retreat
- Capture the convoys outside Vitoria
- Cut off and destroy as much as possible of the French army

FORCES

Allied forces are much more varied than the French. All the British infantry has discipline strength. Four additionally have skirmish strength: the two brigades of the light division, which have the elite morale rating of M3; Cadogan's brigade in Hill's corps (which includes the 71st Highland Light infantry); and Halkett's KGL brigade, which has the KGL light infantry, in Graham's corps. There are two other elite infantry units: Stopford's Guards, also with Graham, and Brisbane's brigade which leads Picton's Fighting Third. The Portuguese infantry is of middling quality, M5 with no special strengths, as are Morillo's two small Spanish brigades. Finally there are the ex-guerillas, local to the area, under Longa (with Graham) and Dos Pelos (with Sánchez), which are also M5, but have discipline weakness, which makes them less good in open fighting.

Apart from one indifferent Portuguese unit (in the cavalry reserves) and Sánchez's weak cavalry units, all the British cavalry is well mounted and of excellent quality. The two heavy units have already been mentioned in the reserves. There are also small heavy units with Hill (Fane) and Graham (Bock).

The Allied artillery is outnumbered by the French, but the foot artillery is medium, and therefore of good quality.

ALLIED ARRIVAL TIMETABLE

Forces arrive as follows:

Period (approx. time)	Where	Units
1 (8am)	DA1	Morillo's division
	DA2	Wellington, Alten, Kempt, Vandeleur
2 (8.30am)	DA1	Hill, Cadogan, Alten
	DA2	Grant 1 & 2, Ross, HQ
3 (9.00am)	DA1	Stewart, O'Callaghan, Byng
4 (9.30am)	DA1	Ashworth, Maxwell, Long
5 (10am)	DA1	Silveira, Da Costa, Campbell
	DA2	Cole, W Anson, Skerrett
	DA5	Sánchez's command
6 (10.30am)	DA1	Da Cunha, Fane, Gardiner
	DA2	Stubb, Dickson, Parker, Webber-Smith
	DA4	Longa's division, Pack
7 (11am)	DA2	Ponsonby, Hill
	DA4	Graham, Bradford, Howard, Halkett, Anson, Ramsay
8 (11.30am)	DA2	D'Urban
	DA4	Stopford, Dubordieu, Bock, Oswald, Hay
9 (12noon)	DA3	Picton, Brisbane, Power, Dalhousie
	DA4	Spry
10 (12.30pm)	DA3	Colville, Douglas, Grant
13 (2pm)	DA3	Barnes, Lecor

ORDERS

All troops entering on the western part of the field (DA1, 2 or 3) arrive with Move orders in place. Graham's and Sánchez's forces arrive without orders.

OTHER MATTERS

BAGGAGE

Once Allied units come within 4″ of French convoy units, they must move to contact, unless enemy troops are in the Threat Zone. Once they contact, they will not leave, and are treated as vulnerable.

SÁNCHEZ

If Sánchez is fully activated, treat his move as a Senior officer intervention, taking up either Action or Regroup orders. With a partial activation free moves may be made. With an activation fail there is no move.

GAME LENGTH & VICTORY

The game lasts a maximum of 22 turns. There would have been good daylight at 7pm (this was at or near the summer solstice after all), but the distance scale has been stretched a bit, slowing time down, and besides, after their long marches before the battle exhaustion would have started to affect the Allies at this point.

ALTERNATIVE SCENARIO

The scenario described above offers a fairly direct replay of the actual battle, and will usually end in a British victory. It does not attempt to reproduce many of the uncertainties that the commanders faced on the day, or the different choices they could have made the day before the battle. The following is my idea for a different scenario, which needs more pre-preparation and off-table work – but reflects these choices and uncertainties better. As yet I haven't tested it out though!

Intermediate scenarios are of course possible, for example using the variable arrival rules for Wellington's actual battle plan, and/or the extra troops for the Army of Portugal.

GAME BASICS

Period 1 is 6am, not 8am – so proceedings start two turns earlier and the games lasts until Period 26.

The French may have extra forces to support the Army of Portugal (see below), and they have free deployment. Joseph and the army HQ must start the game within one move of Vitoria, though.

The Allies may vary their plan of attack, switching divisions between different lines of approach. Graham should be uprated to Normal with a C6 HQ, as the uncertainties that affect his role are now reflected more directly in the scenario.

OFF TABLE APPROACH RULES

All the Allied forces, and Foy for the French, start off the table at given locations. They may enter at one of six entry points: DA1 to DA5 in the original scenario, and DA6, which at the entry point of the Royal Road near Durana, south of the river.

For each combination of start point and each entry point the rules below define:

– the move which is the earliest potential arrival time
– the degree of risk, given a number from 0 (least risk) to 4 (highest).

Drawing for arrival

– Each player defines an order of march for each column, being the forces from each start point destined to arrive at a particular entry point. This should specify divisional groups if more than one division is involved, allocating corps resources and independent brigades to particular divisions.
– Where more than one column is heading for the same entry point, an order of precedence must be defined. These columns comprise a "grand column", with the order of march set by each sub column in order of precedence.
– Each grand column should have a senior commander overall, so that, if it is of greater than divisional size, it operates like a corps. If this is a senior officer, the player must state which division he is accompanying. This is specified in the order of march, before the game.
– At the start of each period (before the CP phase) a card is drawn for each column that has not yet arrived, from the turn of earliest arrival onwards. If possible players should do this in secret – or better, an umpire does it concealed from the other players. This has three possible outcomes: arrived, delayed or confusion. The confusion result is explained below. Delayed simply means that the process is repeated next turn.
– For every two periods after the initial arrival time, reduce the risk level by one level, to the minimum of zero, if the column concerned has not arrived yet.
– If the column has arrived, it is treated as being just off the edge of the table, with Move orders. The general in charge is in play, subject to normal command and activation rules. He has a number of options, explained below. The commands are subject to orders in the normal way.
– If a division halts off table, it loses its Move orders status in the normal way. It requires to be fully activated to move onto the table, except that skirmish cavalry and artillery may move on as free moves. If a division partially deploys onto the table, units off table are considered to be in command if the DG stays within 3″ of the table edge.
– If there is more than one column arriving at the same point, it is possible that they arrive out of sequence. If this happens the arrived column awaits the precedent one and does not advance onto the table, unless there is a column rearrangement, or an order from the Commander.
– When deploying onto the table, the player may only deploy up to the maximum number of units allowed at that entry point per turn, counting skirmish cavalry and artillery as half-units. The units are placed into the relevant deployment area during the movement phase. Commands on Move orders do not get any movement bonus, but do not lose their status.

The basic table for drawing for arrival status is this:

Difficulty	Arrived	Delayed	Confusion
0	All suits	Joker	N/A
1	Heart, Diamond, Club	Spade	Joker
2	Heart, Diamond	Club, Spade	Joker
3	Heart	Diamond, Club, Spade	Joker
4	Heart	Diamond, Club	Spade, Joker

Leadership modifiers come from strong or weak leaders as follows:

– Strong leaders: any King means arrived
– Weak leaders: any red Ace is always delayed; any black Ace plays as a Joker.

Confusion

In this event, there is not only delay, but something has happened to disrupt the column's order of march (as happened to Dalhousie's division in the real battle).

– If applied to a column of more than one division, then next turn draw a separate card for each division, meaning that they can get out of sequence.
– If applied to a column of a single division, then draw a card for each unit.
– If applying to a single unit, then that unit is delayed and skips its draw next turn.
– The risk level for future draws is raised to one higher than it would have been otherwise in all cases, up the maximum of 4.

Where a division gets broken up in this way, the general or generals accompanying the division always accompany the first unit of the division to arrive.

Arrived and off-table

Columns that have arrived and are off table are treated as being within 6″ of the table edge, and backing up on the approach road. As noted these commands are treated as if they are in play, and the leading units can be moved on to the table up to the number allowed for that entry point. This requires the usual activation draw. For purposes of observation and communication (including passage of CPs) use the 6″ reference point.

An activation fail obviously means that the command can't move. But a fully or partially activated command may change the order of march instead of advancing onto the table. This works as follows:

– A fully activated senior general may promote a division one place up the order of precedence. Alternatively he can move up to two cavalry, artillery or independent infantry brigades from one division to another.
– A partially activated general can only move one of these units to a different division, and may not change the precedence of the divisions, except to demote a division that hasn't arrived yet over one that has.
– A fully activated divisional general can change the order of march of his division.
– A partially activated DG can promote or relegate a single unit up the order of march.

If there is no CG to take control of the whole column, then a senior DG is designated in the original march orders. In the absence of this DG, no part of the column can move unless they get a direct order from the Commander. These promoted DGs use their normal generalship ratings.

Example 1: In DA3 the grand column comprises two separate columns with Picton's and Dalhousie's divisions, with Dalhousie designated as senior. Picton arrives but Dalhousie is missing. Picton cannot deploy onto the table unless Wellington manages to reach him with a CP – for which purpose he is treated as being 6″ from the table edge.

Example 2: Hill's column is to link up with Morillo's division to enter the table at DA1; Morillo is given precedence so that he leads the whole grand column. But on the first turn they can arrive, Morillo is delayed. Hill cannot enter the table, because Morillo's division has precedence. However, unless suffering from an activation fail, he may demote Morillo so that if he fails to arrive next period, his next division (say the 2nd) can deploy.

Deployment limits

The maximum number of units that can deploy each period into the following deployment areas is as follows:

Entry point	Limit
DA1	2
DA2	2
DA3	3
DA4	3
DA5	2
DA6	3

Enemy in deployment area

If enemy units are in the deployment zone, then off-table units may still enter, but not under Move orders. If need be they can push back opposing units by 3″ to make space. Entering units may advance up to 6″ into the deployment area, and may charge enemy units.

Also if enemy units are in the deployment zone, the opposing player is allowed to know the nature of units waiting off-table.

FRENCH DEPLOYMENT

This scenario assumes that either Jourdan was more active on 20th June or Joseph has found some way to take the initiative without him. This gives three important differences:

– Making alternative arrangements for the convoy sent out before the battle.
– Change the dispositions of the three armies on the table. This might include pulling back the Army of the Midi to the Gomecha-Zuazo line.
– Sending much firmer orders to Foy to bring his forces up to Vitoria.

Labels for the extra French units (an alternate one for Graham) are provided on the label sheet.

The convoy

It will get too complicated to represent the trade-offs involved in the decision over the convoy: to weaken French forces for the battle, against reducing what is at stake if the battle is lost. For that reason this is best done at random. Before deployment, the French player draws a card (unknown to the Allied player):

– Ace or Joker. There is no convoy. Maucune is available to the French player, and none of Foy's units is detached.
– Two to Ten. One of Foy's brigades is used to be the convoy escort. Divert Berlier's brigade to be convoy escort. Maucune is available to deploy at the start and Foy/Bonté arrives as normal.
– Court card. Maucune is used as convoy escort and is not available. Foy's units arrive without being diverted.

Historical note. Oman suggests that Casapalacio might have been used as the escort, as he had earlier in the campaign. But some of his units had already been detached to escort an earlier convoy (along with some units of the Army of the North) – so his force is too weak.

French deployment

The French player sets out his forces anywhere on the table, outside the deployment areas (except DA6). Joseph and the main French HQ must be within one normal move of Vitoria, however. The command structures remain the same, but note the rules in the main scenario as regards the command of cavalry and artillery.

Foy

Foy has his division at Bergara, counted as a single strong unit in this game (under the name of the bigger of its component brigades, Bonté – so that Foy may play a role as DG), and access to Berlier's brigade at Villafranca.

– Foy and Bonté arrive from Period 3
– Berlier arrives from Period 5

Both arrive at DA6, and are risk level 4, given the risks of communication breakdown. If Berlier is drawn to arrive before Foy, then it means that they have caught up with him on the road, and the two combine as a single column under Foy, and he arrives with him. Berlier only arrives first if this combined column is later subject to a confusion result.

ALLIED ARRIVAL

These rules allow major changes to the Allied battle plan, so that Picton and Dalhousie may join the main army through Nanclares, or some divisions may try the long flanking march to the south that the French suspected. It also adds an element of chance to the arrival of Allied columns.

This requires some careful preparation by the Allied player before the game starts, with orders of march, etc. devised.

Allied start points

The starting positions of the various Allied formations before their approach to the battlefield are as follows; use original order of battle to identify the various accompanying cavalry and artillery units.

Camp	Formations
Subijana-Morillas	Wellington, HQ, Light and 4th Divisions, and accompanying cavalry and artillery.
Zuazo	Picton & 3rd Division
Anda	Dalhousie & 7th Division
Pobes	Hill, 2nd and Silveira's divisions, accompanying cavalry and artillery units.
Miranda	Morillo's division
Olano	Graham with 1st and 5th Divisions, Bradford, and accompanying cavalry and artillery
Letona	Longa's division; Pack
Treviño	Sánchez, Dos Pelos

The earliest period of arrival and risk level associated with each of these starting points for the various arrival areas is as follows:

Camp	DA1	DA2	DA3	DA4	DA5
Subijana-Morillas	5/1	1/1	7/3	N/A	9/3
Zuazo	7/1	5/1	7/3	11/4	11/3
Anda	9/1	7/1	7/4	11/4	13/3
Pobes	5/1	9/1	N/A	N/A	8/3
Miranda	5/1	11/2	N/A	N/A	7/3
Olano	N/A	N/A	9/3	5/2	N/A
Letona	N/A	N/A	7/3	3/2	N/A
Treviño	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	7/4

The independent units, cavalry and artillery should all be assigned to a division if possible. For this purpose a Reserve Division may be created to include heavy cavalry and/or reserve artillery from Subijana-Morillas, along with other cavalry and artillery units.

The Spanish forces of Sánchez and Dos Pelos should not be incorporated into any Allied march plan. Instead, start drawing for their arrival from Period 7. After their arrival these units may deployed at any point in the order of march, if other Allied units are being programmed to arrive there.

Precedence & Picton special rule

If there is no senior general (i.e. Wellington, Hill or Graham) to take command of a grand column, then the player chooses one of the DGs to take command, during the pre-planning process. Strictly this follows technical seniority. Unfortunately my information on this is a bit limited. There are two groups:

– A senior group, promoted to Lieutenant General in 1813 after temporarily holding that rank. These are: Cole, Dalhousie, Picton and Stewart.
– A junior group who were promoted to Major General in 1810: Alten and Howard, and Oswald promoted in 1811. Silveira belongs in here too.

No member of the junior group may be given command over any of the senior group. Otherwise it is a matter of player choice who is in charge.

This issue was highly pertinent to the actual battle. Wellington gave Dalhousie precedence over Picton, apparently because he was a matter of days precedent in seniority. This decision is often challenged by historians, as Dalhousie was comparatively inexperienced and not highly regarded. We rate him as Weak, with Picton as Strong! These historians assume that nominal seniority was not in fact the reason for Wellington's choice, but that Picton was out of favour.

A possible downside of putting Picton in charge was his aggressive nature. It seems worth reflecting this in the rules, so that the player might have a reason for not putting him in charge of an independent column. General Stewart should be treated in the same way.

If either of these generals are in charge of a column (and not waiting for a superior officer to turn up) then draw a card at the start of the period, after the arrivals draw. A heart means that they must deploy as fast as possible onto the table, and advance towards the nearest enemy, regardless of how complete is their command.

BLINDS

In order to add uncertainty to proceedings each player is given ten "blinds": blank pieces of card or perhaps a unit made up of black-painted miniatures. These may be substituted for any of the real units, or placed on the table as a dummy unit not representing any substantive formation at all. These dummies may be moved in any way the player chooses (subject to the limitations of any real units they are representing), and deployed onto the table into one of the available deployment zones from off-table at any point.

A player may challenge one of these blinds if he has a unit or general within 12″ and line of sight, or 24″ if it has moved, other than to deploy from off-table. If moving or static in a wooded zone the relevant distance is 2″.

Note these can be used to replicate some of the historical uncertainties in the battle. For example, Graham thought that the forces opposing might have been much larger than they really were. And Jourdan though the appearance of Sánchez might have been part of the Allied main force – while the early advance of Dalhousie's column was just a bluff. And Wellington snuck the Light Division through the woods by the Zadorra.

THE BRIDGES & FORTIFICATIONS

It is often remarked that the French could have prepared the ground better on the 20th by building defensive works, and blowing the bridges over the Zadorra. Joseph after all had the full engineering resources of his army available to him. I prefer to ignore these possibilities, as they make things even more complicated. The bridges were in fact strong stone affairs (unlike the wooden structures so typical of the era) – and the weather on the 20th (and especially the 19th) was miserable. Still you might want to include this possibility to even the odds a bit.

If so it is worth bearing in mind the following possibilities:

– Although the army's full resources were available, the supply of expert engineers would have been limited, so not all the bridges can be blown, nor entrenchments or emplacements constructed for the whole army.
– Blowing a bridge would not prevent its use for the duration. The stone construction makes it difficult

to destroy completely (there were several spans), and the river was not a major feature. It would cause a variable amount of delay.

– Also we would need to be a bit less strict about the Zadorra being uncrossable (apart from the area near the hairpin bend). Perhaps it turns into a major obstacle.

– It is also possible to barricade bridges (this was done to some extent, but not enough to cause serious delay), but this would simply cause a smaller amount of delay.

On the bridges, one way to deal with this might be to specify a number that can be blown (say four). When the Allied forces reach this bridge, draw a card to see how bad the damage is:

– Joker: no damage
– Ace, 2, 3: one period delay only
– 4,5,6, 7,8: two periods delay
– 9,10: three periods
– J, Q, K: three periods and permanently impassable to artillery.

Incidentally one important bridge is not on the table: the one Hill's column used at Puebla de Arganzon. It seems to have been easy to ford at this point however, and some units did not even use the bridge – so it is safe to ignore this one. Also any engineering party might have felt a bit vulnerable going that far out (though there were cavalry pickets).

OTHER POSSIBILITIES

The alternative scenario captures the main what-ifs. Players might want use other forces in the vicinity to simulate less probably combinations. Based on my researches I will simply list them.

CLAUZEL

Clauzel, with the core of the Army of the North, was working his way towards the battlefield on the Treviño road (DA5 in our terms) and arrived on the 22nd. Since Wellington's reason for attacking the French was that it would pre-empt this force, it seems a bit artificial to bring this in – but it undoubtedly evens things up!

Clauzel's command comprised the following, according to my research:

Unit	Regiments	Men
Abbé's division	5 Léger (2); 10 Léger (2); 3 Ligne; 105 Ligne	2,900
Barbot's division	25 Léger; 27 Ligne; 50 Ligne; 59 Ligne	2,800
Taupin's division		
Brigade 1	31 Léger; 70 Ligne	1,800
Storm-de-Grave	26 Ligne; 47 Ligne	2,300
Vandermaesen		
Brigade 1	1 Ligne; 34 Ligne (2)	1,900
Brigade 2	34 Léger; 130 Ligne (2)	2,200
Cavalry	1 Hussars (2); 15 (2); 31 Chasseurs; 20 Dragoons	1,100

Clauzel does not appear to have brought any artillery on this march – and left at least one battery behind. The numbers in brackets are battalions or squadrons if there are more than one.

Historians tend to rate Clauzel as lacking in initiative – and therefore contributing to his late arrival. However there is no reason to rate him behind d'Erlon as a battlefield commander, so we can rate him as Strong; he did a good job when inheriting the French army at Salamanca, after all. His forces are standard French veterans.

PAKENHAM'S DIVISION

The British 6th Division, commanded by Pakenham, was left in the trail of the main army, for no particularly clear reason, and was catching up. If Clauzel is in the mix, then you argue to bring Pakenham in too. His division is as follows:

Unit	Regiments	Men
Stirling	42; 78; 91 Foot	2,400
Hinde	11; 32; 36; 61 Foot	2,400
Madden	8; 12 Port.; 9 Caçadores	2,400
Brandreth	Foot battery (5×6pdr; 1×how)	

Pakenham is a junior general (only making Major General in 1812), but a very capable one with high status – he should be rated as Strong. Stirling's brigade comprises Scots Highlanders, led by the Black Watch. Most would rate theses as elite. Hinde is standard veteran British; Madden standard trained Portuguese.

GIRÓN'S SPANISH ARMY

General Girón commanded the 4th Spanish army (which also included Morillo, Longa, and the cavalry of Sánchez) and closer to the battle than Clauzel or Pakenham. He arrived behind Graham on the 21st, too late to take part. He could be brought into the mix too. Unfortunately I don't have good infor-

mation on this army. The best information I have (from Jean Sarramon's work) is as follows:

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Unit	Regiments	Men
Losada	Toledo; Voluntarios de León; 1 Asturias; Monterey; Benavente; Rivero; Oviedo	5,800
Bárcena	2 Asturias; Guadalajara; la Constitución; Voluntarios de la Corona; Voluntarios de Asturias; Santiago	5,000
Porlier	1 Cántabro ; Laredo ; Tiradores de Cantabria	2,400
Penne Villemur (cavalry)	Algarve; Granaderos de Galicia; de Cantabria; Húsares de Extremadura; de la Rioja; de Castilla; Cazadores de Galicia	2,600

Some authors give 12,000 or 14,000 men overall, not nearly 16,000 as suggested by these figures, which date from 1st June. This suggests significant attrition or detachments – but may be because these authors have left out one of the formations present (Portlier was a late addition).

These formations are divisions; I have no information on brigades – and Losada, Bárcena and Penne Villemur's commands should be divided into two units each, under our rules (and maybe three for the cavalry). Quality was probably was probably weaker than the Portuguese units – but some of these troops were to perform steadily in the battles of the Pyrenees.

No doubt there was some artillery present too: but the Spanish army lacked the horses to move them, so this would have been quite weak.

SOURCES

I have used two main sources: Jean Sarramon's *La Bataille de Vitoria* and Sir Charles Oman's *History of the Peninsular War Volume VI*. These contain the most reliable accounts of the battle. George Nafziger has published some useful orders of battle, which I have used to calculate unit strengths (not a precise process for the Spanish and French armies – it being a matter of working forwards and backwards and making some educated guesses) and artillery information. Fortescue's *History of the British Army* has useful information on the battlefield and the best map (widely available online) – the author having visited the site before its modernisation ran wild. Some useful insights, and the best overall diagram of the battle itself, come from a pamphlet recently published by Vitoria's tourist office. The out of print Osprey title by Ian Fletcher has little in the way of new information, but plenty of pictures.