

»»THE FALL OF ROME««

THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS, 100 A.D. to 500 A.D.



The Magazine of Conflict Simulation

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Outgoing Mail

"Outgoing Mail" is, primarily, a response to subscriber inquiries and questions. "Outgoing Mail" is also used to let subscribers know what's going on at SPI. What we're doing and what we plan to do. All of this directly affects subscribers. "Outgoing Mail" is written, for the most part, by Jim Dunnigan. The topics to be covered are provided by reader letters as well as odds and ends generated (and often written) by other SPI people.

NEWS (from SPI)

About the best news anyone could expect from SPI is that we have gotten our mail order service into high gear. Well, the proof is in the performance. Anyone who has ordered anything from us three or more weeks ago has received their order (except for the 12% of our customers that live outside UPS delivery areas,

then it takes a week or more extra). If you haven't received your order you've received some notification why not. We still have a few problems with some items. But we'll get into those inventory problems further on.

Because of our numerous run-ins with the paper shortage, larger-than-expected-increase in business, and sundry production problems we were out of boxes for about one-third of the time these past seven months. This meant that many orders got backed up. This compounded the problem of answering customer complaints because we didn't know which order complaints were due to the order being slowed up (which was the case in most instances), or to a real problem with the order itself. Most of these complaints were solved "automatically" when the order was shipped. But we had neither the money nor the trained people to sift through all the complaints to find the complaints that were not related to the box shortage. This is why we have provided you with a "Complaint Renewal Form." One advantage of our "efficient" new computer is that we do have a record of every order we received. Once we know your customer code

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Coming in our next issue: The game will be *Panzerarmee Afrika*, a regiment/division level game of the war in North Africa (1941-43). Also an article on the same subject as well as an article on Operation Sealion, the projected German invasion of Britain in 1940. Plus our regular features.

On the cover: Detail of bas-relief depicting the clash between the Romans and the Barbarians.

Sniper!

House-to-House Fighting in World War II

• Man-to-man combat

• Simultaneous movement system

• Special introductory rules provided

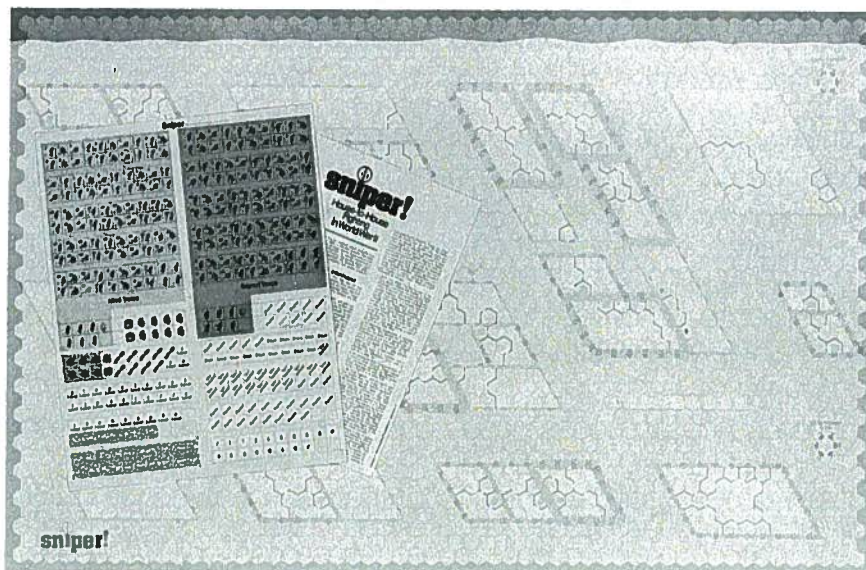
Sniper! gained a lot of distinction before it had even finished development. It is so captivating a game that staff developers continued playing it after they'd worked on their own (other) games. It combines, in just the right amounts, the factors which make a game interesting: it makes people think.

Sniper! simulates World War II urban combat from a soldier's eye-view. Fifteen orders of battle represent real actions which took place in Russia, North Africa, France, Poland, Yugoslavia and elsewhere. These are combined with any of the four "situations" (Patrol, Block Clearing, Cordon or Ambush) to produce up to 60 different scenarios. An Introductory Version introduces old gamers to the tactics of house-to-house conflict and allows for participation even by people who've never played a conflict simulation before.

The *Sniper!* mapsheet (22" x 34") portrays an overview of buildings, streets and alleys — a kind of three-dimensional battlefield (movement from one story to another, through apertures in walls, jumping to different levels). Each Game-Turn represents about thirty seconds of action and reaction time in which a soldier does or doesn't do what he planned to do (simultaneously plotted by the Players as a "mission" for each individual man).

In *Sniper!* the opposing forces encounter each other in squad level (6 to 20 men) battle. Each of the die-cut counters represent a single man armed with one of the four basic types of personal arms: rifles, machine-pistols, automatic rifles, or machine guns. Additionally, each of the men may employ smoke or fragmentation grenades, rifle-grenades, satchel-charges, and, in certain scenarios, flamethrowers and/or rocket-launchers for use against the vehicles: tanks, armored personnel carriers, and trucks (men are actually positioned in, maneuver and fight from and against vehicles).

Sniper! can account in part for its in-house popularity because of the innovations which make it so realistic. First, there is the Simultaneous Movement System by which missions and movements are plotted for the individual men (on the SMS chart, a pad of simple-to-use forms provided with the game). The opponents' actions are unknown until they are effected. The



nature of Infantry Combat — explosive, unpredictable, and uncontrollable — is joltingly demonstrated by the combination of "Panic" and "Preservation Level" considerations. Panic rules show individual human vulnerability: a panicked man will react against his orders, either fleeing or becoming immobilized with no warning. Each squad begins the game with a "Preservation Level" which, when reached, shows the "save-your-own-hide factor." Together, Panic and preservation take into account the differences which training and morale will inevitably have on a total action.

The *Sniper!* tactics depend to a great degree on the situation. In the Patrol situation, squad members try to move down a street and back again (through a hex-pattern, secretly established before play begins). In the Cordon situation, one squad tries to escape (off the mapsheet) from a line of enemy troops. Block-Clearing situations dictate a room-by-room mop-up down to the last enemy (hard to accomplish because of Preservation effects). Troops in the Ambush situations try to stop any enemy from successfully negotiating a particular block.

There is considerable variety in the individual missions each squad member may perform in order to accomplish victory,

including moving, issuing direct-fire, committing himself to "opportunity-fire" (firing only if anyone gets in the way), standing, falling prone, preparing grenades, engaging in hand-to-hand combat, or reloading or exchanging weapons. Enemy action can kill, incapacitate, wound, or stun men. Men can be taken prisoner, can rescue a wounded comrade, or retrieve a friend's dead body (it does make one think).

The employment of firepower in *Sniper!* is crucial, as is the use of cover. Grenades and spray weapons are lethal at close ranges. Essentially, men will be divided into fire and maneuver teams. Fire teams stay concealed in or behind buildings and attempt to draw the enemy's fire, while a maneuver team closes to grenade range. Smoke grenades can hide such movement.

Sniper! simulates a complex tactical engagement with surprisingly simple game-mechanics. After playing the Introductory Version, Players will be anxious to try out the additional rules (standard game). Soon, you'll be addicted and want to use the list of actual squad organizations throughout World War II (provided with the game, for major powers) in order to make your own scenarios. It's really a good game.

Sniper! is available (boxed) from Simulations Publications for \$6.00.

»»THE FALL OF ROME««

Around the beginning of the Third Century of the Christian Era, an essentially orderly and peaceful Mediterranean world fell upon bad times. The far-flung Roman Empire, guardian of peace and commerce for over two centuries, began to disintegrate and slide into anarchy and civil war, in a remarkable reiteration of the conditions which had led to its birth.

But for a brief revival during the Fourth Century, the disintegration proved inexorable. By the Seventh Century the Roman Empire, mightiest state of Classical Antiquity, had passed from the scene, giving birth in turn to three brilliant new civilizations. All part of the majestic, complicated and confused process known as the fall of the Roman Empire.

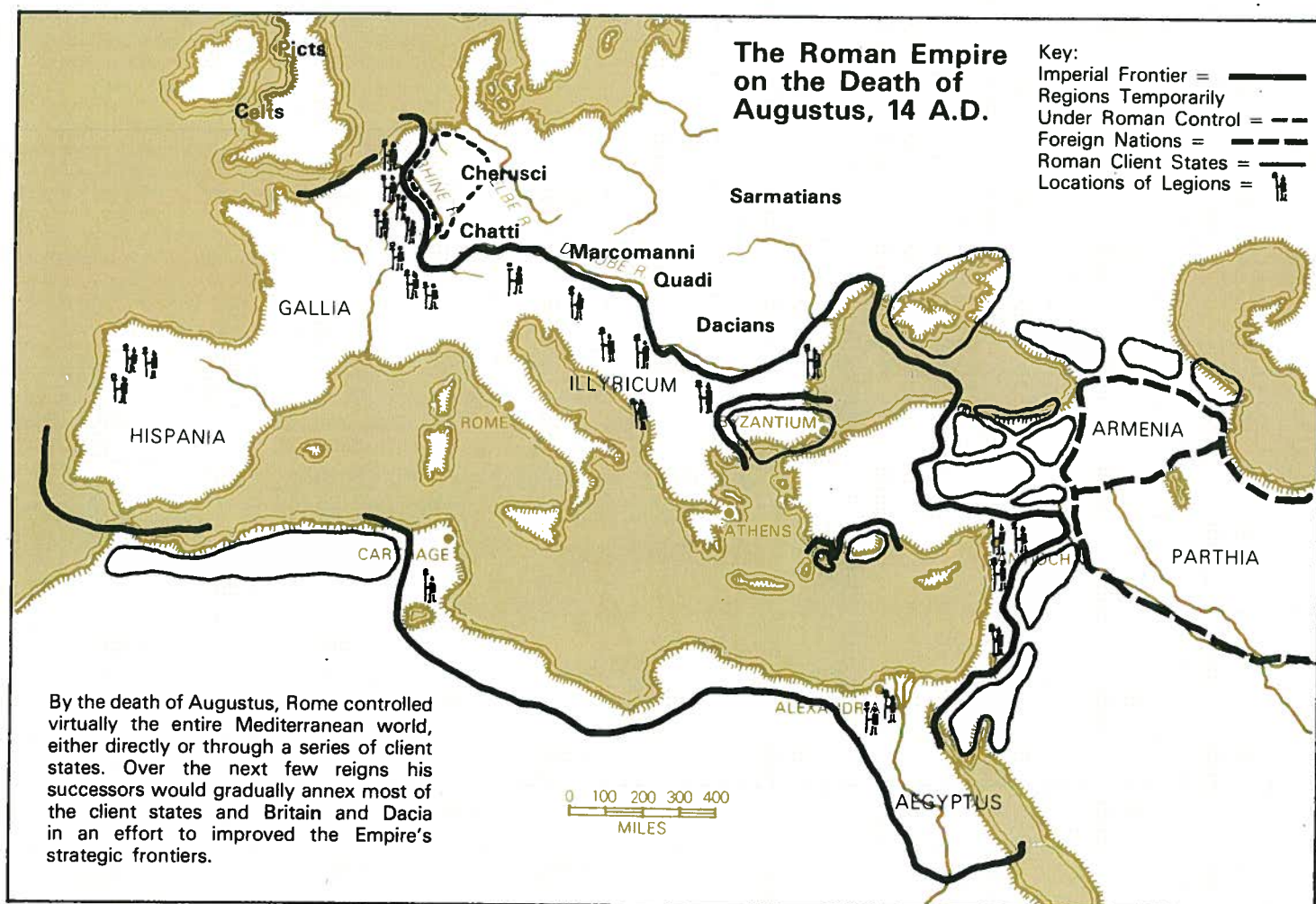
To understand the reasons for the fall of the Roman Empire one must examine the origins of the Empire. By the beginning of the First Century before the Christian Era, the Roman Republic held a position of primacy in the Mediterranean. No state possessed anywhere near the power or prestige of Rome. Many retained a precarious independence on Roman suffrance. But the Republic was flawed. Institutions suitable to the governance of a city-state on the Tiber and for the control of a number of subject-allies throughout Italy were insufficient when confronted with the problems of a world state. The rapid expansion of the republic during and after the Punic Wars (263-146 B.C.) had strained the administrative machinery of the state. The very necessity of



BY ALBERT A. NOFI

winning the great struggle with Carthage had forced the Romans to effectively overturn their most cherished institutions. Beyond that, the sudden influx of gold and slaves from the newly acquired provinces had totally disrupted Roman civil life. While a small number of prominent citizens became fabulously wealthy, the bulk of the citizen population became poorer. The net result was a severe class struggle during the late Second and early First Centuries before Christ, as the increasingly disenfranchised mass of the people fought to retain what power they still had. Roman citizens began massacring each other at an increasing rate until open civil war became virtually the normal pattern of life. Between about 80 B.C. and 31 B.C. there was an almost

continuous series of civil wars between different prominent civil-military leaders (in the Roman Republic the distinction was not as finely drawn as in modern society). Eventually, one of the numerous contenders for the mastery of the Roman world succeeded in imposing his will upon it. This was Octavius, later called "Augustus," grand-nephew and adopted son of the great Julius and in many ways his superior. In 30 B.C. Augustus stood supreme in the Roman world. He retained his primacy until his death in 14 A.D. A remarkable feat, considering that Rome had never before tolerated a master for even a tenth as long. How Augustus accomplished this feat is the essence of the strength, and weakness, of the Roman Empire.



occasional new province every few years. The Republic looked, and was, healthier than in decades.

The principal domestic program of Augustus was stabilization. The bout of civil wars had strained considerably the resources of the Mediterranean world and Augustus set about correcting the situation. One of his first tasks was the reduction of the army. In 30 B.C., with the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, there were over 60 legions in existence. This number Augustus quickly reduced to about 25. To be sure, he could have used the manpower thus available to embark upon a new burst of world conquest. But he recognized that the Roman world was tired. Conquest was the last thing Rome needed, rather it needed peace. This is not to say that Augustus did not add territories to the Empire, but he did so with an eye towards general improvements in the general strategic situation, rather than for aggrandisement. When the conquest of Germany and Arabia proved more difficult than expected, he abandoned the projects in favor of a series of punitive expeditions and raids designed to keep the local inhabitants ever at Rome's mercy. This was to be the military policy followed by most of his successors. The principal military conquests had been made. All future acquisitions of territory would be largely in the nature of improving the Imperial defenses along the frontier, or of securing existing territories.

In other spheres, Augustus undertook a stabilization of the Republic's finances, which had suffered greatly during the civil wars. He improved and systematized the coinage; reorganized provincial administration; cleared the seas of pirates; promoted public works; and lived quietly in Rome, less ostentatiously than some Senators. All of this had the net effect of reviving confidence. Commerce, which had virtually died out during some of the worst of the civil wars, flourished as a result. Ultimately, Rome's security lay in the grain fleets from Africa, Egypt and Sicily. Without regular shipments of grain, Rome, the heart of the Empire, would begin to starve. Once that happened, disorder would result. Thus, Augustus' program aimed at stability more than anything else.

Nor was the system essentially undemocratic. Although in theory subject to constitutional limitations, the power of the Emperor was in fact virtually absolute. But his full powers were rarely exercised. The mechanisms were still essentially Republican. Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) even made a show of renegotiating his powers with the Senate on his accession. Away from Rome, even the excesses of a Caligula, Nero or Commodus had but little effect on the daily life of the people. Local administration in the provinces was frequently in local hands, particularly as the honor and privilege of Roman citizenship spread. Numerous semi-independent city-states flourished throughout the empire. Many of the old Greek *poleis* retained virtually intact their ancient systems of government with all the trappings, including even small fleets and citizen militias. To be sure, the independence was limited and local governments could do nothing which ran counter to Imperial policy, but that policy was generally flexible. The Empire had room for everyone, as the relative infrequency of revolt in the more civilized areas testifies.

But there were serious flaws in the structure which Augustus erected and which his successors maintained for two centuries. The basic problem was simple: how was the succession to be regulated? Initially the solution seemed logical enough. The heirs of the deceased Emperor would succeed, with the formal ratification of the Senate. Of the seventeen successors to Augustus up to 180 A.D., fully eleven were the designated heirs of their predecessors and one other, Claudius (41-54 A.D.), was the logical heir. But what of the other five? Each of these men, plus Claudius, succeeded as a result of violent action. Murder or civil war could prove as efficient a method of regulating the succession as inheritance, particularly in the absence of a "legitimate" heir. And the unfortunate part of the whole thing was that, since there existed no mechanism for removing an incompetent or monstrous Emperor, murder or civil war was a necessity. Thus, in 41 A.D. Claudius succeeded his insane nephew Gaius Caligula (37-41), when the latter was murdered by the Praetorians, the Emperor's bodyguards. Nero (54-68). Claudius' heir, was forced to commit

Key:

- Combined:
- Internal Crises:
- External Crises:
- * Rebellion or Mutiny:
- Civil War/Coup d'état:
- Secession:

% Chance of Dissolution

30 BC 1 AD 100 AD 200 AD 300 AD 400 AD 500 AD

West Only

This table represents a statistical view of the stability of the Roman Empire from its founding to its dissolution in the west. *Internal Crises*, are things like civil wars over the purple, provincial rebellions, mutinies among the troops, and regional secessions. *External Crises* are either barbarian incursions or Parthian wars. After 400 A.D., of course, a barbarian incursion is difficult to distinguish from a regional secession, the barbarians being then in the process of ripping off huge chunks of the Empire for their own use. It should be noted that the *Combined* line reaches 100% before the traditional date of the collapse of the Empire in the west, 476 A.D. This is because by 476 the Empire was pretty much of a legal fiction.

suicide in 68 A.D. in the face of civil war. And, since Nero died without heirs — nor would anyone have wanted one of *his* heirs on the throne anyway — the Roman armies spent 68-69 A.D. marching back and forth in a series of civil wars which eventually saw four emperors actually wear the purple in the space of a single year, plus a few others aspire to it. The winner, Vespasian (69-79) proved remarkably able. The year of tumult was soon forgotten, although Vespasian began to reduce the size of legionary encampments, with an eye towards reducing the chance of revolt on the part of ambitious generals. But, though the events of 68-69 were dismissed from memory, they were a harbinger of the future. For ambitious generals would rise again. And strong Emperors could be murdered just as easily as incompetents.

THE FLAVIANS. (A.D. 69-98)

Vespasian's accession to the purple put the Empire back on a firm foundation. The bout of civil wars had been short, if very violent. Fortunately, it had done little lasting material damage. The most serious problem faced by the Empire in this period was in the east, where the Jewish Revolt was percolating along. While it is not the province of this article to examine the Roman attitude towards subject peoples, the perennial Jewish revolts deserve a brief notice. The basic problem was simple: the Jews wanted their independence. This had nothing to do with whether they were religiously oppressed or not, for the Roman Empire was mightily disinterested in people's religion. So long as you didn't practice human sacrifice and paid your taxes regularly, you could do what you wanted. This was not quite the same thing as independence, however. The Romans could not admit the Jewish god into their pantheon for obvious reasons, so the Jews tended to remain an alien element in Roman society. The Jewish religion had a strong nationalistic streak and stressed national liberty. Now an independent Judea was militarily impossible for the Empire to accept. Just a few miles away, relatively, lay Parthia. Parthia was the principal foreign enemy of Rome at this time and had designs upon Syria, Judea and fabulously rich, vitally important

Egypt. The net result was an impasse in Judea. Every so often the Jews would revolt. At those times, the legions would march and the revolt would be crushed out. Eventually the Romans dispersed the Jews, razed Jerusalem, and prohibited any Jew from returning there. Considering that the Jews were the only *consistently* restive subject people in the Empire there was no viable alternative.

A second problem which developed during the reigns of Vespasian and his sons Titus (79-81) and Domitian (81-96) was a change in the nature of the barbarian threat to the Empire. During the reigns of Augustus and his immediate successors the most seriously threatened frontier had been the Rhine. However, by Flavian times the Rhine line had settled down. Domitian, although not noted as a particularly effective Emperor, conducted some important operations in the area between the Rhine and the Danube which resulted in the addition of South Germany to the Empire, with considerable shortening of the frontier. But, while the Rhine frontier gradually settled down, the Danube began to become a problem. Around 80 A.D. the tribes of Dacia, roughly equivalent to modern Romania, were united under a single king. Thenceforth, they began to make forays into the Danubian provinces of the Empire. By the end of Domitian's reign the garrisons on the Danube comprised the largest portion of the Roman Army, upwards of eight legions at a time when there were an average of 28 in the entire army. And in addition to legions, the frontier also consumed an approximately equal number of auxiliary troops. Thus, of a combined armed force totalling at most 350,000 men, the Danube required about 90,000, or about 27% of the total manpower. Eventually, the Danubian frontier would become the most important line held by the Romans. Events during the Flavian period were merely an overture.

But military events were not the only concern of the Flavians. Several important developments in the institutions of the Empire occurred during their reigns. Most importantly is the rise of the provincial citizen. Augustus and his family had been Romans proper. The Flavians were also of old Roman stock. But the gradual

extension of citizenship, plus the settlement of colonies of discharged soliders in the provinces, was leading to a rise of the provincial citizen in the government system. By Domitian's reign Gauls were already members of the Senate. These men were the grandsons of long haired barbarians. One of Domitian's most successful generals, Trajan, was a provincial from Spain. Other high officials were also of provincial origins. Beyond that, by Flavian times a firmly established civil service had come to pass. This was based largely on the old equestrian order of Republican times. These were men who were not wealthy enough to be Senators, but sufficiently wealthy to be set in a class apart from the ordinary citizens. A number of them were successful businessmen, which gave them administrative experience the Senators often lacked. [Roman Senators had very particular ideas about work. Most of their wealth came from land, public office and graft. Business (i.e., work) was distinctly *tabu*.] The early Emperors had begun to use the services of the Equestrians because they were talented, skilled and above all loyal. Ultimately, an equestrian owed everything to the Emperor and served devotedly. The Emperor repaid them magnificently, and we hear of salaries running into the hundreds of thousands of sesterces.

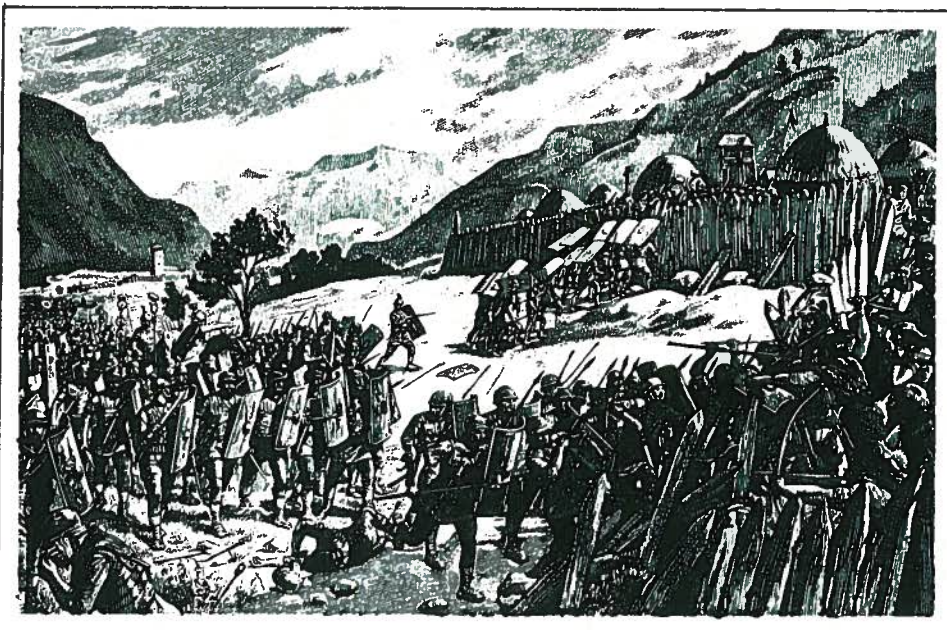
Probably the most important development of the Flavians, however, was their work in laying the foundations for the future. In 96 A.D., Domitian, who had a tendency to be overbearing and unpleasant, was murdered. Marcus Cocceius Nerva (96-98), an elderly Senator, assumed the purple. Nerva's reign seemed likely to be short. In desperation, he adopted the most successful general around as his son and heir. Nerva died in 98 A.D., to be succeeded by Trajan (98-117) and the golden age of the Empire began.

THE "GOOD EMPERORS" (A.D. 98-180)

In choosing Trajan as his successor Nerva chose well. The Empire prospered. A capable general and administrator, Trajan benefited from the fact that in spite of the excesses of Domitian and the initial period of uncertainty under Nerva, the Empire was essentially sound. But Nerva's action in adopting Trajan had another important result. It encouraged future Emperors to look about for the most capable possible successor, rather than rely on accidents of birth. For the next sixty years or so Emperor would succeed Emperor through adoption, rather than any blood-relationship, a process aided by the fortunate circumstance that none of the wearers of the purple in this period had sons to survive him. This helped foster the period of the "Good Emperors," the high point of the Empire. And when the chain of adoptions was broken, the slide into chaos and disintegration began.

But meanwhile, Trajan had his work cut out for him. This was probably fortunate, as the man seems to have been something of a megalomaniac. By throwing himself into the business of Empire, most of his less desirable instincts were held in check. His principal occupation was war. Wars which boded ill for the Empire. In 101 the long awaited Dacian War broke out, to be carried on through 106. Rather than a series of swift punitive campaigns against a disorganized barbarian tribe, the Romans found themselves faced with a hard, long lasting war. It was not that the legions were no longer up to their traditions. Rather, it was that the "barbarians"

(continued on page 10)



The Emperor — From First Citizen to Lord

Central to the growth of the power of the Emperor was the understanding that prior to Diocletian there was, legally, no such position. It all goes back to the dying days of the Republic and the fact that Rome, unlike few nations before (or since), was a nation of laws. The Romans had violently opposed one man rule ever since they had thrown out the last of the kings in 509 B.C. The principle of collegiality governed the nation: the top elective position was held by two men, the consuls. This was paralleled in smaller cities which were run by *duumvirs*. The general trend in the Republic tended toward diffusion of power. No one office or officer had all of it and each acted as a check on the other. In this collection was a hierarchy of offices: *aediles*, *quaestors*, *praetors* and *consuls*, as well as the *tribune of the plebs*. The *senate* and, to a lesser extent, the *ensor* (when appointed) also influenced the government, as did the popular assemblies. In times of emergency, the Romans would fall back on a *dictator*. Here, and here alone, there was one man rule. The dictator ruled for six months and then was supposed to surrender all of his powers.

But the ordered nature of things had been breaking down for some time before Julius Caesar. A strong man in one of the offices could confound the whole system. The Gracchi brothers did it as tribunes; Marius and Sulla as consul; Caesar himself as *proconsul* (the title given ex-consuls who were provincial governors). In addition there was a growing willingness to turn to military men. Before the Second Century B.C., only Scipio Africanus had gained distinction through military exploits before

he achieved it politically. Then Marius parlayed his military skills into an unprecedented seven consulships and Sulla followed soon after. Then came Crassus and Pompey and, finally, Caesar. Caesar, being a direct man, decided that the sham of a Republic should be ended. He therefore became consul for a series of consecutive terms and adopted the title dictator annually. In 45 B.C. he was made dictator for ten years, then dictator for life. He seized the heart of the Roman political power and held it to himself alone, effectively ending the Republic. For this he was assassinated.

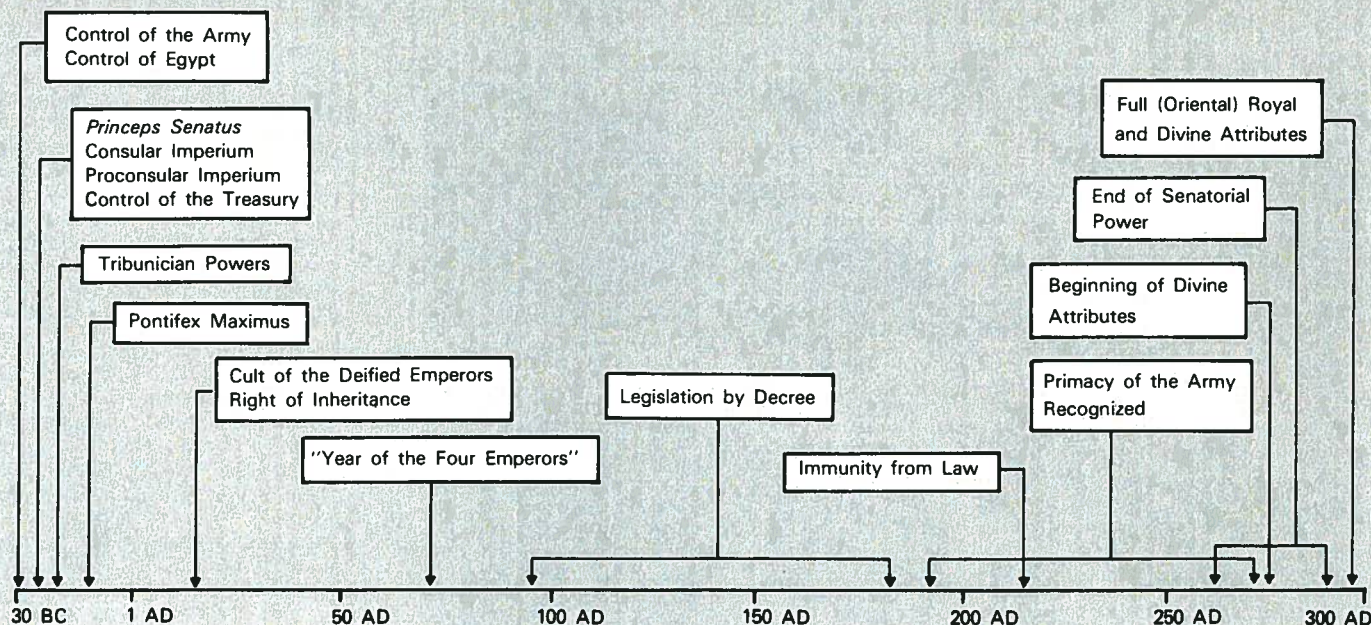
After the civil war, his adopted son, C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus found himself in about the same position. He had 43 legions under his personal command and by force of arms had defeated all of his foes. But the Republic, after the civil war, was even less fit to rule itself. Up to 30 B.C. it had been run by the *triumvirs*, Octavian, Antony and Lepidus (or such of them as still survived). Since a state of emergency could not be tolerated in a basically peacetime situation, Octavian had to establish a regularized system which would, hopefully, ensure peace past his death. He did this in two steps.

The first step was in 27 B.C. when he resigned all of his offices and, after an appropriate (and probably genuine) period of outcry, accepted certain selected powers, all honored by tradition. He was elected consul and re-elected annually, going through the formality of running for office. He was made *proconsul* (by the Senate, the body which traditionally exercised that power) in Syria, Gaul and Spain (where most of the legions were). He left Illyria, Africa and Asia (modern Asia Minor) under Senatorial control. Those

provinces did have some legions, but the bulk of military strength was under Octavian's control. The balance of the provinces were left to the administration of the Senate, though Egypt was annexed as Octavian's private fiefdom, beyond Senatorial control. He was also given the *imperium* for a term of ten years. *Imperium* is a concept, more than a true power. It is the implied right and authority given a person which enables him to rule, such as the ability to create regulations and impose penalties. The granting of *imperium* was a major element of this first step. Parenthetically, at the same time the Senate voted him the title of *Augustus*, which he adopted as his principal *cognomen*, in place of Octavian, to show his respect for the Senate.

How Augustus was to be titled posed a problem. He had no legally unique powers, but the accumulation of these powers in one man was unique. As a military leader he could be called *dux* (general or leader). But that had too many overt military connotations and Augustus wanted to de-emphasize the military in favor of the civil. He was, in his own right, *imperator* (the honorific awarded by legions to commanders who won major victories). Since this was not a formal title, but still had appropriate implications for the troops, Augustus adopted this title as his principal one. It is the origin of our word "emperor." In Rome he adopted the title of *princeps*. The title had been used by others. In the Senate it was the man who spoke first and hence often influenced the Senate's deliberations on any issue; in politics it meant the head of the party. It was generally considered to mean "first citizen" and it was the term used to characterize the government Augustus created — the principate.

The Growth of Power of the Emperor (B.C. 30 - 300 A.D.)



In 23 B.C. Augustus fell seriously ill and it appeared he would not survive. Immediately people jockeyed for position to succeed him and when he recovered he realized that a further change was necessary. He resigned his consular office and was granted *tribunicia potestas* or tribunician powers. The term has no literal meaning in the Roman government. Augustus was not a tribune but he had the powers of the tribune, including being sacrosanct in his person. Because this power was unique, it was conferred annually by the Senate (even though the confirmation was *pro forma*) and was listed as part of the honors on all imperial inscriptions to indicate the number of times it was awarded. The number indicated for tribunician powers in the imperial inscriptions is often a quick way of dating since, in effect, it indicated the number of years the Emperor had reigned. The *imperium* and the tribunician powers were the core of his authority. They were the core of the Roman political system, even though under the Republic they had never been given separate from an office which included such powers.

Augustus added the title of *pontifex maximus* in 13 B.C. Caesar had held it and Augustus probably wanted to maintain that tie. He also knew that the *pontifex maximus* was sacrosanct (which was partly why he spared his ex-partner Lepidus, who had gained the title on Caesar's death). Being *pontifex maximus* meant added insurance for his sacrosanctity. Besides, it conveyed the image of imperial piety and Romans admired piety as a virtue.

On Augustus' death, there was serious doubt whether Tiberius, his personal heir, could also keep the political power. He did, thereby establishing the fact that the power could be passed by will of the old Emperor, rather than by will of the Senate. Besides, by the time Augustus died, it had been almost 70 years since the government had really functioned without a strong man at its head. It is interesting to note that while Tiberius was actually a man of some military ability, he did not style himself *imperator* (though it was tacked on toward the end of his titles). In fact, none of the Julio-Claudian family, down to Nero, used that as a principal title. It was Otho (69 A.D.) who began its use as a designation for the Emperor.

On the suicide of Nero, Galba (68-69) was declared Emperor, thus making the point that the office need not be hereditary in one family. Then, within a year, Vespasian established the most crucial point: the true power was in the legions and one need not have come from noble family to gain it.

By this point it became apparent that the civil institutions were not able to stand the competition with the emperor. The consulate was used to reward people who wanted to add the office to their lists of honors on their tombstones or who needed the ego boost of having a year named after them (traditionally, the Romans dated both from the founding of the city and by

indicating the year when two people were consuls). The effective control of the state shifted to praefects and legates, appointed directly by the Emperor, and answerable only to him, not subject to an election or other sham of being presented to the people. Some emperors, such as Antoninus Pius, did defer to the Senate but that was rare and the advice the Senate gave was not particularly incisive. The Senate was at its best a debating body and at its worst a rubber stamp. In fact it had never had any legal powers even under the Republic, but mainly derived its authority from the fact that the elective offices were for terms of one year so only the Senate had continuity. Once the Emperor also had continuity, the Senate withered.

In all honesty, the emperor did not strip the governmental offices of power so much as they abdicated it. Collegiality undid the various branches of government as there was no strong consul, for example, to keep it an independent, meaningful office (which it could have been, if only to assist the emperor). In addition, the displacement of Italians as senators by provincials undid most of what little force the Senate had left. While it broadened popular support for the government when a Spaniard knew that one of his countrymen was in the Roman Senate, it also diluted the sense of responsibility which characterized the Roman Senate in its great days. Rome, the city, was only the capital. It was not the center of all Roman concern any longer.

The so-called "Five Good Emperors" were so strong that the civil institutions further withered so that, during the following century, when no Emperor seemed able to reign more than a few years, there was no Republican institution strong enough to move into this vacuum and assert itself. It was the legions and the Praetorians which made and unmade Emperors.

One of the big transitions of the Second Century was the relationship of the Emperor to the law. The fiction was always maintained that the emperor was subject to the law as was any citizen. In fact this was not an enforceable concept, except by deposing the Emperor. However, Imperial violation of the law could provide the cause (and justification) for revolt, such as the attitude of Caligula or Nero to the Senate. At the same time, in the Second Century, the legal position of the emperor as creator of laws was recognized. Previously he had "suggested" them and his suggestions were followed, but he did not actually create laws, as such. Now he could legislate by decree. The anarchy of the Third Century further broke down any notion that the Emperor was subject to the laws. The concept of a superior ruler was so attractive that by Caracalla's reign, Ulpian, a noted jurist, expressed the theory that the Emperor was in fact exempt from certain laws. Contrast this with the fact that one of the reasons why Nero committed suicide was fear of being punished "in the ancient manner" for his violation of law. A crucial step, in the Third Century, was the adoption of several oriental practices

(or the serious attempt to adopt them), all of which were finally adopted by Diocletian. Each of these practices would have appalled a Republican Roman but by Diocletian's time most seemed to favor any step which would further stability. Elagabalus tried to introduce prostration in the presence of the emperor and Diocletian formalized that practice; diadems, always the hated symbol of monarchy, appeared first as a representation of the sun's rays when worn by Aurelian (though as early as Caligula some of the less well-balanced emperors wore diadems in private); first Severus Alexander, then Aurelian liked to be called *dominus* (lord) and in fact Aurelian claimed divine birth. By the time of Constantine, the title of the emperor was not *imperator*, but *dominus noster* (our lord). Much of these developments were due to the desire of the Emperors to set themselves above the people in hopes that the citizens would not revolt against their betters. It didn't work because no one of any importance really believed that the Emperor was a god.

Caesar had been deified after death, as was Augustus. Although this had never been done in republican times, deification after death of great Emperors wasn't particularly a bad practice in a polytheistic society. But it wasn't long before the emperors saw themselves as gods awaiting deification, if not incarnate. The pharonic tradition of actually being a god was foreign to the Romans and took some time to adopt, though the eastern part of the Empire went for it quickly. Diocletian actually pressed the point and the idea arose that the Emperor, on assuming the purple, also acquired divinity. After Constantine this was changed to the idea of being God's anointed on earth.

Most important, the Third Century established that revolt was a legitimate means of gaining power. No stigma attached to being a usurper. If one could pull off a successful coup, one could claim full right to the throne of the Caesars.

So it was that Diocletian and Constantine reorganized the "office" of Emperor to make it a legal entity in its own right. They merely formalized the trends of the three previous centuries. The Emperor wore a crown; he was addressed as lord; people prostrated themselves in his presence; his advisors had to stand, rather than sit in his presence. When Constantine created his capital at Constantinople, he moved one of the two consuls there and set up a separate Senate. Thus the Roman Senate was reduced to its earliest purpose — the governing council of the city of Rome. This move efficiently ended any meaningful function for these bodies and marked a formal termination of the Republic. When Constantine's troops carried a banner with the initials SPQR (*Senatus Populusque Romanus* — the Senate and People of Rome) that banner represented the two most important segments of Imperial Society.

—SBP

(continued from page 7)

were becoming less barbaric with every generation. The Dacian Kingdom had existed for nearly a generation when the wars broke out. In that period the Dacians had acquired a considerable measure of sophistication. Although the legions finally triumphed, there would be other barbarians.

Between 106 and 114 Trajan's reign was one of peace, remarkable primarily for his extravagance in building programs, gladiatorial shows and such, and in his glorification of his family. In 114 he returned to the field.

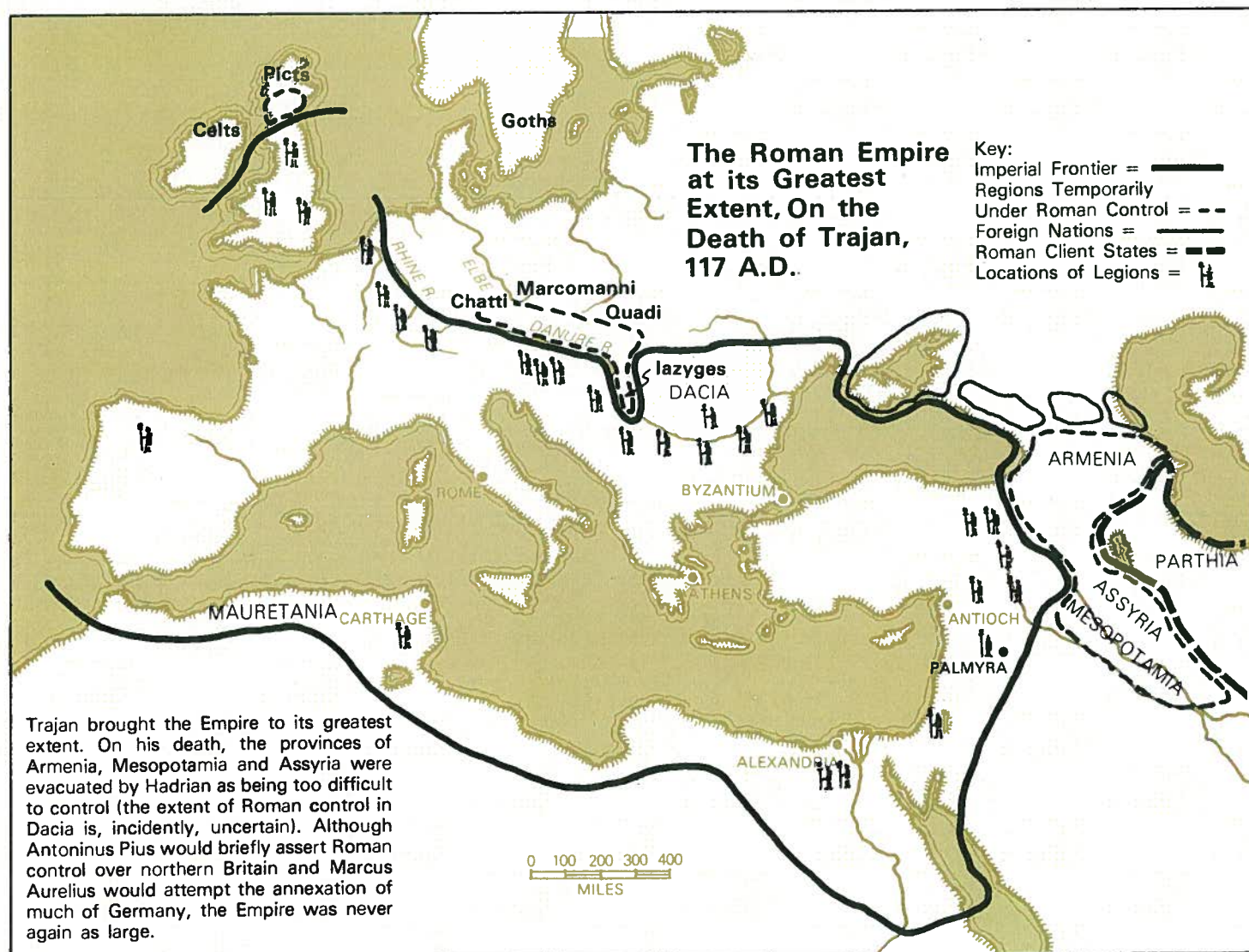
Trajan's Parthian War (114-117) proved eminently successful, adding Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria to the Empire and bringing it to its greatest geographical extent. In addition, he very nearly wrecked the Empire. Trajan might complain that he was too old to emulate Alexander the Great, but the new conquests were a liability rather than an asset. They were outside Rome's proper sphere of activity, the Mediterranean world and the populations were so alien to the Graeco-Roman way that they would require an enormous military establishment to keep them in subjugation. And Parthia would seek every opportunity to regain them. Fortunately, Trajan died before he could pursue further military glory. His successes brought him the

love of the common man, but Hadrian, his adopted heir, recognized the inherent flaws in the program of expansion. In 117 he negotiated an honorable settlement to the war, erected Armenia as a client state under Roman protection and returned the other areas to Parthia. It was a wise move, for in this way the peace on this frontier was maintained for generations. And it was timely too, for in gathering troops for his Parthian Campaign Trajan had stripped provincial garrisons. Hadrian would spend the first year of his reign stamping out revolts in Britain, Mauretania and among the Jews.

Hadrian (117-138) was perhaps the greatest of the Emperors, and clearly the most intellectually brilliant. He was the first Emperor to envision the Empire as a commonwealth for the benefit of all. He was also the first Emperor to conceive of the role of Emperor as principal servant of the people. As a result he spent most of his reign wandering from province to province, trying to satisfy an insatiable curiosity about the state of the Empire. He reformed the civil service, reduced taxes, improved the administration of justice, and provided for extensive public works. In twenty years he brought the Empire to its height of prosperity, progress and peace. But he was so powerful a personality that he never gained the affection of the people. And in some ways he helped to plant the seeds of future disaster.

Hadrian began the practice of permanently assigning legions to particular provinces. Traditionally, although some legions had garrisoned certain provinces for generations, none "belonged" to any particular area. At the whims and fancies of the Emperor a legion in Syria could next year find itself in Britain or on the Danube or even in Mauretania. By more or less officially assigning legions to particular provinces Hadrian improved considerably the lot of the ordinary soldier. In the old days, when the legions marched, the concubines and less formal associates of the troops suffered enormous hardships. Now, they received a measure of recognition. In addition, the move greatly improved recruitment, for the legions could draw upon the sons of discharged veterans. Youths who had grown up in the shadow of the *XX Valeria Victrix* or the *II Adiutrix*. But in the long run, his reform made the legions loyal to their local areas. Eventually, more loyal than to the Empire. No one could foresee it, but the day would come when legions would mutiny rather than be transferred to another theater. And ultimately, it was upon the unsophisticated, uncouth peasant legionaries that the brilliant Graeco-Roman civilization depended.

In 138 Hadrian died, not so much loved as held in awe. His successor, Titus Aurelius Fulvius Boius Arrius Antonius was a middle-aged senator of impeccable respectability, chosen



principally as a stop-gap ruler until Hadrian's nephews Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus could grow out of childhood. Antonius, surnamed "Pius," proved to be an excellent stop-gap.

The reign of Antonius Pius (138-161) is noted primarily for the fact that nothing happened of importance. This was probably fortunate for, although a fine individual, Pius was decidedly not a great ruler. But the work of Hadrian had been done well. The Empire continued in peace and prosperity. Less is known about the intimate history of this period than about any other under the Empire, confirming the old saying, "Happy is the land that has no history." Pius associated Hadrian's heirs in his rule rather early. It is doubtful that anyone in history was better prepared for rule than Marcus Aurelius (161-180).

Marcus Aurelius was, among other things, a philosopher and general. He was pretty good at both, but never got the chance to practice the former in the service of the Empire. The problem was partially the fault of Antonius Pius. During Pius' reign the barbarians had been under little or no pressure from the legions. As time went on they forgot the might of Rome. So, too, did the Parthians. On Pius' death the frontiers were becoming troubled once again. As a result, Marcus spent much of his reign away from Rome. A brilliant, talented administrator and able general, he found time to dictate his philosophical *Meditations* while on campaign. Well intentioned though he was, the Empire began to show serious signs of decay during his reign.

The first part of the problem was military. When the barbarians broke into the Empire in 166 they threatened Italy itself from the Danube frontier. Marcus therefore embarked upon an ambitious campaign designed not merely to drive them back, but also to conquer Germany itself, a project which Augustus had abandoned as too ambitious. After fourteen years of nearly constant warfare Marcus seemed to be on the verge of attaining his goal when he died in 180. But his imminent triumph was exceedingly costly. In order to subdue some of the Germans he had been forced to call in other tribes to do some of the fighting. The ravages of war had seriously depopulated several of the frontier provinces and he permitted German barbarians, albeit allies, to settle there, within the confines of the Empire as a sort of military buffer between their wilder cousins and the more civilized regions further south. The wars also helped exhaust the imperial treasuries, and taxes began to rise to the point where people were becoming unable to pay them. To raise money, the coinage was debased. All of these moves had a negative effect on trade. And the drain on manpower was becoming serious, for there was plague in the Empire.

Early in Marcus' reign a serious war had broken out with Parthia. By 166 Marcus and his colleague Lucius Verus (161-169) were able to celebrate a triumph in Rome as a result of their victory over the Parthians. But with the returning legions had come a plague, possibly bubonic, which ravaged the Empire for nearly twenty years. Marcus himself is believed to have died from it. The effects of the plague served to further certain trends which had been going on for some time, notably the depopulation of the countryside. This was partially linked to the reliance of the economy on slave labor, which forced free-holders off the soil. But, in addition, there had been a drop

in the birth rate which had become quite serious.

By Marcus' death the golden age was over, and the Empire was exhibiting all the signs of an ailing society. What was probably needed was another Hadrian or Augustus, or possibly a Vespasian or a Tiberius. A man to bend the Empire to his will, reorganize its finances and promote stability. Instead it got Lucius Aelius Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Commodus. Unlike Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and Antonius Pius; unlike Augustus himself, Marcus Aurelius had the misfortune to have had a son. And the son of this best of men was by far the worst.

THE SLIDE INTO ANARCHY. (A.D. 180-268)

With the accession of Commodus (180-192) the obvious decline of the Empire began. Although Marcus Aurelius had tried to teach the boy something, he proved incorrigible. Unable to name anyone else his successor for fear of civil war, Marcus had been forced to choose his son. Compared with Commodus, Nero emerges as a veritable paragon of virtue and wisdom. After twelve years of misrule by imperial favorites, of gladiatorial excesses, of orgies and dissipation, the people had had enough. Commodus was assassinated and replaced by an able general and administrator, Pertinax. But Pertinax proved too able. The Praetorians, the Imperial bodyguard, disliked his emphasis on discipline. The new Emperor was also not nearly so liberal with money as the old. That loveable reprobate Commodus had an open purse when it came to his troops. Within three months Pertinax was murdered and the Praetorians held an auction in their barracks, selling the Empire to the highest bidder, a senator named Didius Julianus. The fortunes of the Empire had fallen low indeed, that such would come to pass within a generation of Pius' death. But the armies on the frontier wished to register their vote as well. And the most powerful army was that on the Danube, commanded by Septimius Severus. Within less than three months Julianus was deposed and Septimius (193-211) reigned in his place. Not that this ended the bout of civil strife. There were other armies and other candidates. In the next four years Septimius fought first the Syrian legions and then the Gallic ones as each Army put forward its candidate. For the first time in a century and a quarter, legionary fought legionary. The *Pax Romana* was in serious trouble.

However, in spite of a streak of vindictiveness and cruelty, Septimius' accession seemed to bode well for the Empire. He was energetic and reorganized the bureaucracy, he attempted some public works, and extended citizenship. But for all his good works, Septimius knew one thing which no one else knew: the Empire was the plaything of the armies. "Enrich the army," he told his sons, "and you can do anything." Nevertheless, while enriching the army Septimius also subjected it to his will. He organized the *limitanei*, a sort of semi-feudal frontier guard system, to supplement the legions. He abolished the practice of recruiting the Praetorian Guards exclusively from Italy, he permitted soldiers to form legally recognizable unions with women, and he raised three new legions entirely devoted to his person. This act, incidentally, also raised the number of legions over 30 for the first time since 31 B.C. Thirty-three legions would henceforth be the norm for the army. On his death, Septimius left the empire, plus his pregnant warning, to his sons Antoninus, surnamed Caracalla (211-217) and Geta (211-212). For a year the two youths

jockeyed for position. Then, in true fraternal fashion, Caracalla managed to murder his brother and donate a huge gift to the armies. He was immediately named sole Emperor.

Caracalla's problem was that he had all his father's cruelty and vindictiveness and none of his talent. His one notable accomplishment was to extend Roman citizenship to all free adult males in the Empire. And he did that to get the death tax due from citizens. Although he managed to conduct a credible campaign against some Germans who had erupted over the frontier in 213, his excesses (things like massacring the populace of Alexandria-in-Egypt because he felt they had not paid him due honors as a second Alexander the Great) soon alienated most people. Inevitably, he was murdered.

Caracalla's murder began a most confused period in Roman history. At first gradually, and then with increasing rapidity Emperor followed Emperor with sickening regularity. Caracalla's murderer, Macrinus, reigned but a year, to be overthrown in turn by Caracalla's cousin, a degenerate, teen-aged Syrian priest named Elagabalus. Largely through the machinations of his mother and grandmother, Elagabalus reigned (orgied would be a better word, however) for four years (218-222) until his bodyguards, thoroughly disgusted, eliminated him in favor of his cousin Severus Alexander (222-235). The problem now was to find someone who would take the army firmly in hand, reorganize the bureaucracy (which was growing by leaps and bounds and becoming less efficient with each year), and make himself master of Rome. Alexander, who appears to have been an exemplary prince, was about fourteen on his accession and not the man for the task. While on campaign in Germany in 235 he was murdered by his troops, probably for being too strict with them, and the Empire fell into a cycle of anarchy virtually unbroken for nearly fifty years.

Alexander's murderer, Maximinus Thrax (235-238) was a near-barbarian, seven feet tall and incredibly strong. He knew one thing, the army. For three years he pillaged the Empire to keep the army happy. In the process he helped secure the frontiers for a time. But finally, even that most degenerate of bodies, the Senate, became disgusted. In 238 the Senate began a struggle with Maximinus which eventually saw six men wear the purple in less than a year. Finally, with Maximinus dead, Gordian III (238-244), grandson and son of two of the earlier, unsuccessful Senatorial candidates for the purple, acceded to the throne. He lasted six years. In the next nine years, six men wore the purple officially, plus many more in the provinces who never made it to Rome, where they could intimidate the Senate into proclaiming them.

By 265 things had grown so serious that one Emperor, Valerianus (253-260) was a captive of the Sassanid Persians, who had overthrown the Parthians and now ruled in the east. Valerianus' son, Gallienus (253-268) managed to cling precariously to the central portion of the Empire. This was not much, for in 259 Gaul, and its dependent provinces in Spain and Britain, had seceded from the Empire and formed the "Empire of the Gauls." In the east, the subject kingdom of Palmyra, in the Syrian desert, had stepped in to fill the gap created by Valerianus' disastrous campaign against Parthia. Palmyra had thus come away virtual ruler of the eastern Roman provinces. Not even the

(continued on page 14)

The Roman Armed Forces

The Roman military establishment, one of the most successful and enduring in history, eventually failed. Why this happened is difficult to determine.

After the civil wars, Augustus put the armed forces on a peacetime footing. In doing so, he also made several major changes. The armed forces were organized in four tiers. At the top were the Praetorian and urban cohorts. Then came the legions. On the third tier were the auxiliaries and on the fourth was the navy.

The Praetorian Guards were created by Augustus, adopting an older custom which gave each military commander a guard for the *praetorium*, or headquarters, in a legion camp. Augustus created nine Praetorian cohorts. Initially three were stationed in Rome, while the remainder were stationed in towns around Rome. While Augustus was officially the commander of these guards, two "Praetorian Prefects" existed.

Both the Praetorians and the urban cohorts were composed of Italians until Septimius Severus filled the Praetorians with Illyrians. Both units were organized and commanded like regular legions (though without the complex hierarchy among centuries found in the legion). Service in the praetorians and urban cohorts was officially sixteen years, though 25 was not uncommon.

At the end of the civil wars in 30 B.C., Augustus had control over 60-odd legions which had, in the past, sworn loyalty to at least one, and often several, of the participants in the wars. He reduced the number of legions to a more manageable 25. The legion was nominally 6000 men strong, with 60 centuries of 100 each. In fact, however, the century usually had only 80 men. This, coupled with the fact that the first cohort had five double-strength centuries, gave about 5180 fighting men to a legion. Service in the legion was 25 years at a pay of HS900 (= c. \$288.00) per year, later raised to HS1200 by Domitian. Citizenship was required for service in the legion, though not necessarily Italian birth.

The auxiliaries were composed of cavalry squadrons (called *alae* or "wings") and non-Roman infantry cohorts. Auxiliary units could either be 500 strong (quingenarian) or 1000 strong (milliarian). To further complicate the matter, a cavalry unit could have infantry attached and a foot cohort could have a cavalry element. The cohorts were primarily composed of the same auxiliaries who had borne that title prior to the empire — the slingers, archers, and other miscellany from across the empire. The cavalry was non-Roman, since Marius had abolished citizen cavalry. However, all of these units were commanded by citizens. Citizenship was normally the reward for faithful service, usually conferred on discharge. Sometimes, however, an entire unit might be made citizens if they were particularly valiant.

At the bottom was the navy, clearly an arm of the army, rather than a separate service. The navy was organized into separate fleets (*classes*), each commanded by a prefect.

The fleets were located at key positions. The main bases were Misenum (near Naples) and Ravenna (giving easy access to then-warlike Illyria). Secondary fleets were stationed at Alexandria and Syriaca. In addition, there were provincial fleets in Britain, Germany, Pannonia and Moesia (the last three located on the rivers).

Augustus' military system remained about the same for the next hundred years. A few legions were added so that there were 30 in Trajan's time. During the same period, a trend developed away from Italian participation in the legions and greater involvement of the provincials. A more significant trend was the practice of keeping the legion stationed in one place for extended periods. This made the provinces a natural recruitment base and created strong ties between the legion and its home station so that movement of whole legions became quite rare after Trajan.

Hadrian regularized two informal creations of Trajan to minimize the shifting of whole legions. The first was a *vexillation*, name for the *vexilla* or banner they carried. Although of no fixed size, the vexillation was generally larger than a cohort and might be likened to a task force. A vexillation could be sent half way across the empire to a particular trouble spot. However, when the need was past, as often as not the vexillation was absorbed into the unit it was assisting and the parent unit had to recruit to make good its losses. The other detachment was the *numerus*. Literally the name means "unit" but it did not have the broad usage modern armies apply to the term "unit." A *numerus* was formed from non-Romans, usually barbarians, and the members could retain their native garb and fight in their native styles, rather than adopting approved Roman methods. This was another step in the change from the traditional army to the later Roman form.

At the same time, Hadrian formalized the borders by setting up strategically located, permanent legionary camps. The stretch from the mouth of the Rhine to the mouth of the Danube is traditionally called the *limes* or border (a two-syllable word, not pronounced like the citrus fruit). These frontiers solidified as first wooden, then stone fortifications were built. Hadrian's Wall across Britain is the most famous surviving example of this system.

It was Septimius who laid the basis for the second major change. He converted the army into farmers by giving the legions allotments of land with instructions to raise their own crops to defray the costs of maintaining the legions. In addition, towns had arisen around the legionary camps and Septimius encouraged this. He further gave quasi-official recognition to the liaisons the soldiers had been forming with the local women, again to encourage more formal ties. Finally, he allowed the soldiers to "moonlight" by permitting them to run their own businesses after duty.

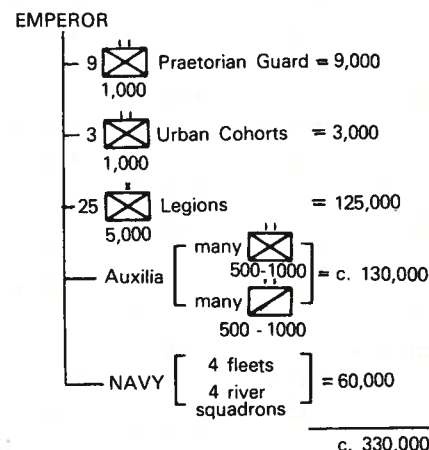
At the same time, he decided to form a new type of unit, called *limitanei* or frontier troops. They were to be raised from the peasantry living along the border as sort of

a minute man organization, to rise to the defense when the border was crossed. Of course, they were only half-trained and somewhat of a joke at that. However, recognizing that even the small training they received would take them from their farms, the frontier troops tended to be recruited from the barbarians who had moved across the border to settle in the empire and had not yet done anything to permanently establish themselves as farmers. Of course, the Romans also continued the use of mercenary troops hired from beyond the frontiers so that the typical legion camp would have provincial Romans in the legions, non-Roman auxiliaries and barbarian frontier troops.

At the same time, Septimius saw that the current static defense lacked depth to repel an invasion once it broke through the lines. His solution was to adopt the *cataphract* or heavily armored cavalry which the Parthians and Persians used to such great success in the east. The Romans had toyed with this type of unit for several hundred years but beginning with Septimius, they seriously began to employ it throughout the army. In the reign of Gallienus (253-268), a mobile cavalry force was created, based at Milan (Mediolanum). These squadrons had the traditional quingenarian organization but Persian style armor and conical helmets. In creating this arm, Gallienus had to give it a leader and by its nature, it was a prestige position which merited a proven commander. As a result, the people appointed had the power to try their own hand at revolt. The first commander was defeated. The second, Aurelian became emperor (which is not a bad success record).

Diocletian continued the trend toward mobility. He also created a new bodyguard

The Imperial Armies on the Death of Augustus, 14 A.D.



called the *Scholae* or Scholarians (so named because their barracks looked like classical schools). Each "school" had 500 men, was commanded by a tribune and was largely manned by barbarians. There were seven schools in the Scholarian force and they were based at Nicaea, Diocletian's capital, as a counterbalance to the Praetorians who had made and unmade emperors over the past century. More importantly, Diocletian formalized the division of the army into two parts. The more mobile part he called *comitatus* ("companions") from the fact that they would accompany the emperor to the site of the military operation. This mobile force was primarily cavalry with some infantry. The other part of the army was the static troops — both the old legions and the frontier troops. He extended the title *limitanei* to cover all of the static troops which may indicate the degree of barbarization present in the regular legions.

As the static forces were inferior in quality to the mobile troops, Diocletian tried to make up with quantity what he lacked in quality. Where Septimius Severus had about 300,000 to 400,000 men in the army, Diocletian raised it to over half a million. In addition, for the first time since the Republic, he formally reintroduced conscription. Further, Diocletian drew heavily on the barbarians settling into the empire, forming whole German units and granting unusual distinctions to their leaders. As extensive as these changes were, there were still more changes in the offing.

Because the Praetorians fought on the wrong side in the civil wars of 306-324, Constantine abolished them. At the same time, he set about fragmenting the army. The function of the Praetorians was now filled by the Scholarians, based in

Constantinople. To replace the two Praetorian prefects, he created several masters of horse, and several masters of foot (the exact number varied from time to time but ran on the order of ten or so). They were his "field marshals." In the regular army, Constantine created an elite body of soliders, above the mobile troops, called *Palatini*. The Palatine legions were stationed throughout the empire and were the emperor's own troops. He also formed 38 legions which he called *pseudo-comitatus* (quasi-mobile) legions. These were drawn from the frontier troops to augment the regular mobile troops.

The basic legion formation was now 1000 strong, though for no apparent reason some of the old 5000-man size legions remained. Cavalry was also divided into various types of formations. The frontier squadrons retained the old name *ala* and were 600 strong while the mobile squadrons were 500 strong and were called *vexillations*, with a standardized organization. Thus, Constantine had a multitude of units in his army: palatine, mobile (composed of legions and vexillations), quasi-mobile and frontier units (composed of legions, cohorts, auxiliaries and *alae*). This was all to do the same job Augustus accomplished with his legions and auxiliaries. In effect, this provided a series of checks to ensure that no one commander had control of all the troops in a given area. At the same time, each legion, cohort, vexillation and *ala* had a tribune in charge (rather than the old proportion of six per legion) which gave that many more jobs to the upper class in Roman society. Based on the idea that talent never runs very deep in any society, this must have ensured that the average unit commander was less able than his predecessor some two hundred years earlier.

This subdivision of function also existed in the guard. The Scholarians have been mentioned. A second branch of the guards was called the Candidates (so named from their white uniforms, which is the original sense of the modern term "candidate" because Roman politicians wore a white toga). In addition, the Palatine legions around Constantinople, formed before the Scholarians, continued to function as a quasi-guard unit. Further, the Domestics (*Domestici*) were created by Constantine as body guards, though they were stationed throughout the empire as need required. By this subdivision into four parts, the imperial body guard was never able to form the unanimity of opposition that made the Praetorians so powerful.

Obviously any major change will produce some unanticipated results, but it seems fair to assume that the major, favorable results of a change were the intended ones. In that case, the most favorable result of Constantine's reorganization was the elimination of a vehicle by which discontented provincials could seize the throne. While provincial usurpation had been the rule in the Third Century, during the next three only Heraclius, in 610, would be able to lead a coup from the provinces and Phocas (602-610), the emperor he overthrew, was

probably the worst tyrant since Caligula. However, the change also had a less desirable result. Rather than changing the army to meet outside pressures, as had been done in the past, the change was for internal reasons and the external problems were no longer adequately met. The multiplicity of units produced an ineffective army and it wasn't until the Byzantine system was finally organized (cutting out, as it did, duplication of function) that the Romans were able to field a strong defensive army. Despite the lack of long-ranging foreign policy during the Third Century, the borders stood fairly well, even though legion after legion was marching off to Rome to register its "vote" for Emperor. Now they no longer did their job, unless led by an extremely able leader, such as Stilicho or Aetius. The fact is that the old system did not require a good general, merely a competent one. Now a competent leader only had around 500 men at his disposal and that simply wasn't enough to make a difference.

At the same time, the trend toward barbarization went on full speed. The legions still had the citizenship requirement but the legions drew on the border provinces for most of their recruits and since Caracalla had made citizenship universal within the empire, today's citizen could, literally, be yesterday's barbarians. All one had to do was cross the border and swear loyalty to Rome. In fact, along the Danube the auxiliaries, which had no citizenship requirement, outranked the legions which were nominally citizen soldiers. About the only tradition maintained was that only free men could serve. A few slaves were conscripted but that was in times of genuine emergency.

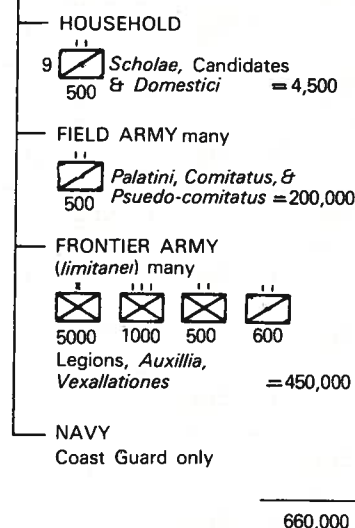
The internal order of the army had changed over the years. Much of this was merely substitution of titles. The myriad of jobs between the recruit and centurion were gone. The centurion was now called *centenarius* or *ducenarius*. However, centurion was no longer the top rank for a career soldier. He could be promoted to tribune and command the legion and, in fact might be accorded the title of *comes* (the origin of our word "count" though then not a title of nobility as much as social status). During the Fourth Century the size of the army expanded. The mobile troops numbered about 200,000 while another 450,000 were in the guards and frontier troops. However, it should be remembered that in effective terms, no battle involved much more than 50,000 on either side and more often 25,000 was the rule, due to supply problems.

Again, during the Fifth Century another major reorganization of the army was under way. But this had no influence on the outcome of the collapse in the west. It basically involved the complete subordination of the infantry to the cavalry, thereby setting up the Byzantine military system. Since the infantryman was the Roman Empire's hallmark in its early years, his passing marks a suitable point to end.

—S.B.P.

The Imperial Armies under Constantine, 325 A.D.

EMPEROR





(continued from page 11)

portion of the Empire which Gallienus ostensibly controlled was secure, for usurpers sprang up at every hand. Some of these claimants were unwilling, put up by an ambitious soldiery (there were so many claimants it was called the "Age of the Thirty Tyrants," but there were really only 19). In the north, the frontiers of the Empire had virtually ceased to exist, as the Goths and Herules — peoples first recorded less than two generations earlier — ravaged the Danubian provinces. In 268 one seaborn raiding party actually plundered the Aegean. Before being turned back by the citizen's militia, they even managed to sack Athens. And to top things off, a new series of plagues ravaged the Empire.

Gallienus can never be accused of having been an energetic Emperor. Nevertheless, several measures adopted during his reign help lay the foundations for a resurgence of the Empire. Gallienus was perhaps the first Emperor to realize that the old forms had to go: that the old farce of the Republic, with all its ancient institutions, had to give way to a full blown monarchy on the oriental pattern. The inefficiency of Augustus' jury-rigged monarchy was one of the causes of the anarchic conditions plaguing the Empire. The Senate could always try to assert some form of power. Gallienus began a systematic, if low key, persecution of the Senate, stripping it of its few remaining powers and favoring members of the equestrian order more than any previous Emperor. His second reform measure was the creation of a new military force.

By 260, the legions had become virtual immobile bodies of landed militiamen. Troops even "commuted" to drill every day, rather than live in camp. On several occasions, legions even raised the standard of revolt rather than be transferred to another province. Gallienus recognized that the legions were incapable of coping with the increasing frequency of barbarian raids. He therefore created a corps of mounted troops, trained and equipped primarily as mounted infantry, but with contingents of pure cavalry attached.

These troops were to be kept well in hand, in central locales. When word of a barbarian incursion — or army mutiny — was received these troops would march swiftly to the scene and offer battle as soon as possible. It was a major break with Roman military tradition, but unquestionably a necessary one. But Gallienus was not to profit by his reforms. In 268, while on campaign against the Goths, one of his most trusted aides revolted. During the campaign against the rebel, Gallienus was slain and another officer, Marcus Aurelius Claudius, known to history as Claudius Gothicus, was raised to the purple by loyal troops. With Claudius Gothicus began the restoration of the Empire. [The Romans, incidentally, never numbered their rulers. The second Claudius was known as Gothicus partly to distinguish him from the first. Tradition and convenience has permitted the use of numbers and occasionally Gothicus is known as Claudius II and others are given a number as well.]

RESTORATION. (A.D. 268-284)

Although Claudius Gothicus reigned but two years (268-270), his achievements were considerable. Almost as soon as he ascended the throne he decisively defeated a body of German barbarians. The following year he crushed the Goths in the Balkans, earning the title *Gothicus* — "Conqueror of the Goths." His military accomplishments were complemented by political victories. During his reign the Empire of the Gauls began to crumble, Spain and southern Gaul itself returned to Imperial jurisdiction. But the Empire of the Gauls was not the most serious threat to Rome at this time. Indeed, it might even be said to have made constructive contributions to Imperial security, for the Gallic armies kept the Rhine frontier relatively secure from barbarian inroads. In the east, however, storm clouds were gathering.

In Palmyra, a strong willed, capable woman had come to the fore as regent for her infant son. Zenobia, one of the great women of history, resolved that her son would rule as Emperor from Palmyra itself and in 269 virtually proclaimed him as such. Within a short time Palmyrene armies had overrun Egypt, Syria, Palestine and portions of Anatolia. Claudius, occupied on the Danube, could do little until his Gothic campaigns were over and died of disease during the campaign. Although his brother made a bid for the purple, the army preferred Lucius Domitius Aurelianus (270-275), the greatest of the "barrack Emperors." [Curiously, Aurelian, like Claudius and most of the string of Emperors to follow was of Illyrian peasant origins. Illyrian peasants played as important a role in restoring the Empire as Italian nobles played in founding it!]

In three years Aurelian accomplished the impossible; he reunited the Empire. In a brilliant series of campaigns he beat back the barbarians (270-271 and again in 272-273); overthrew Zenobia's Palmyra (271-272); and subdued the Empire of the Gauls (273). In between campaigns he found time to reform the coinage; strip the Senate of the remnants of its power; crush out several minor revolts; and raise the Sun worshiping Mithraic religion to the status of the official state church. Recognizing the weakness of the Empire, he fortified the great cities, including Rome itself. In addition, he abandoned the exposed province of Dacia, settling its evacuated population on depopulated lands south of the Danube. During his reign, the absolutism of the Emperor began to gain a veneer of divinity.

But his reign also fostered the growth of the caste system. Various decrees began to force people to follow the trade of their fathers, particularly in certain vital fields, such as certain forms of manufacturing. This process had begun earlier, and was a partial result of the increasing depopulation of the Empire. It would become one source of serfdom during the Middle Ages. By 275 a considerable degree of recovery had taken place. And in that year, Aurelian, who might have lived to be the restorer of the Empire, was foully murdered by some officers who were piqued over some supposed slight.

Surprisingly, Aurelian's murder did not signal a return to the anarchic conditions which had preceded his accession. The army endeavored to punish the murderers and even asked the Senate for a new Emperor. But after two senatorial crocks in less than two years, the Army elected Probus (276-282), one of Aurelian's most capable officers.

Probus proved nearly as energetic as his mentor, conducting campaigns across the Rhine to chastise the Germans; rebuilding devastated regions; repopulating provinces; and trying to further army reform. Unfortunately, he also enrolled large numbers of barbarians in the army, a practice which would lead eventually to the near total barbarization of the military establishment. But Probus' military reforms irked some troops. While on campaign in the Balkans his men mutinied, murdered him, and elected one of his staff officers, Carus (282-283) in his stead. This unfortunate officer died too soon for any assessment of his worth to be made, although he proved a fine general, carrying the legions deep into Mesopotamia, in the footsteps of Trajan and Septimius Severus. His death left the Empire to his sons Carinus and Numerianus (283-283). The latter was murdered after a very short time. While his officers punished the assassin, they also elected Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus (284-305) in his stead. Although Diocletian offered peace to Carinus, the latter refused. A civil war ensued and at the end of it, Diocletian was Emperor. He remained so for twenty years. Rome had finally found a master able to bend the Empire to his will.

THE AUTOCRATIC EMPIRE. (A.D. 284-395)

Diocletian, like Claudius Gothicus an Illyrian, was no intellectual giant. But he was observant, an able administrator and very well read. In addition, he had a certain ruthlessness which helped make him an able reformer. Merely to outline his reforms would consume more space than we have devoted to Augustus. The difference was that Augustus had inherited a going concern. Diocletian had to start from scratch. Like Hadrian, Diocletian envisioned the Emperor as the servant of the Empire. Unlike Hadrian, he had but shoddy materials with which to work. Nevertheless, he managed a number of remarkable reforms which we will touch on but briefly.

When he ascended to the purple, Diocletian found an Empire which had been devastated by a half-century of civil war and barbarian incursion; an Empire which was steadily declining in population; which had an incredibly inefficient government; which suffered from a sluggish economy; and which was the helpless victim of the very forces which were supposed to defend it. Diocletian's task, which was nothing less than the total reconstruction of the Roman Empire, was imposing. That he ultimately failed in his goal

to preserve the peace and security of the Empire ought not to be held against him. Men's ambitions were the one thing he could not control.

Among his accomplishments Diocletian totally reformed the civil administration. Instead of the old three dozen or so provinces, he created 116 — dividing Italy into provinces for the first time and abolishing its ancient tax exemptions, thus fully integrating it into the Empire. Over groups of provinces he established dioceses and over the dioceses, prefectures. Thus, he lightened the work load of the Emperor by interposing intermediate administrative levels between himself and provincial governors. In the process, he brought bureaucracy closer to the people and curbed the power of provincial governors. Most importantly, the collection of taxes was improved. But the reform also constituted a considerable drain on the limited manpower resources of the Empire, particularly on the increasingly shallow pool of trained, literate administrators.

Diocletian also achieved the virtual deification of the Emperor's person. No longer was he merely *princeps*. He now assumed the airs and habits of an oriental potentate, with complex protocol. This made revolt virtually unthinkable. Although there were bouts of civil war after Diocletian's abdication in 305 and after the death of Constantine I (306-337) and even later in the Fourth Century, they were

essentially different from the struggles of 68-69, 193-197 and 235-284. In those conflicts, rival generals had contended for the purple with no greater claim than an army at their backs. In the post-Diocletian bouts of civil war we find that practically every contender has some sort of "legitimate" claim to the purple and usually through blood or adoption ties with a deceased Emperor or co-Emperor. Thus, in the sense that there was no return to the anarchic conditions of 235-284, Diocletian's attempt to prevent civil war succeeded. But of course, the problem in preventing civil war was the old question of regulating the succession. This was the problem which had brought the principate to grief. Diocletian attempted a unique solution.

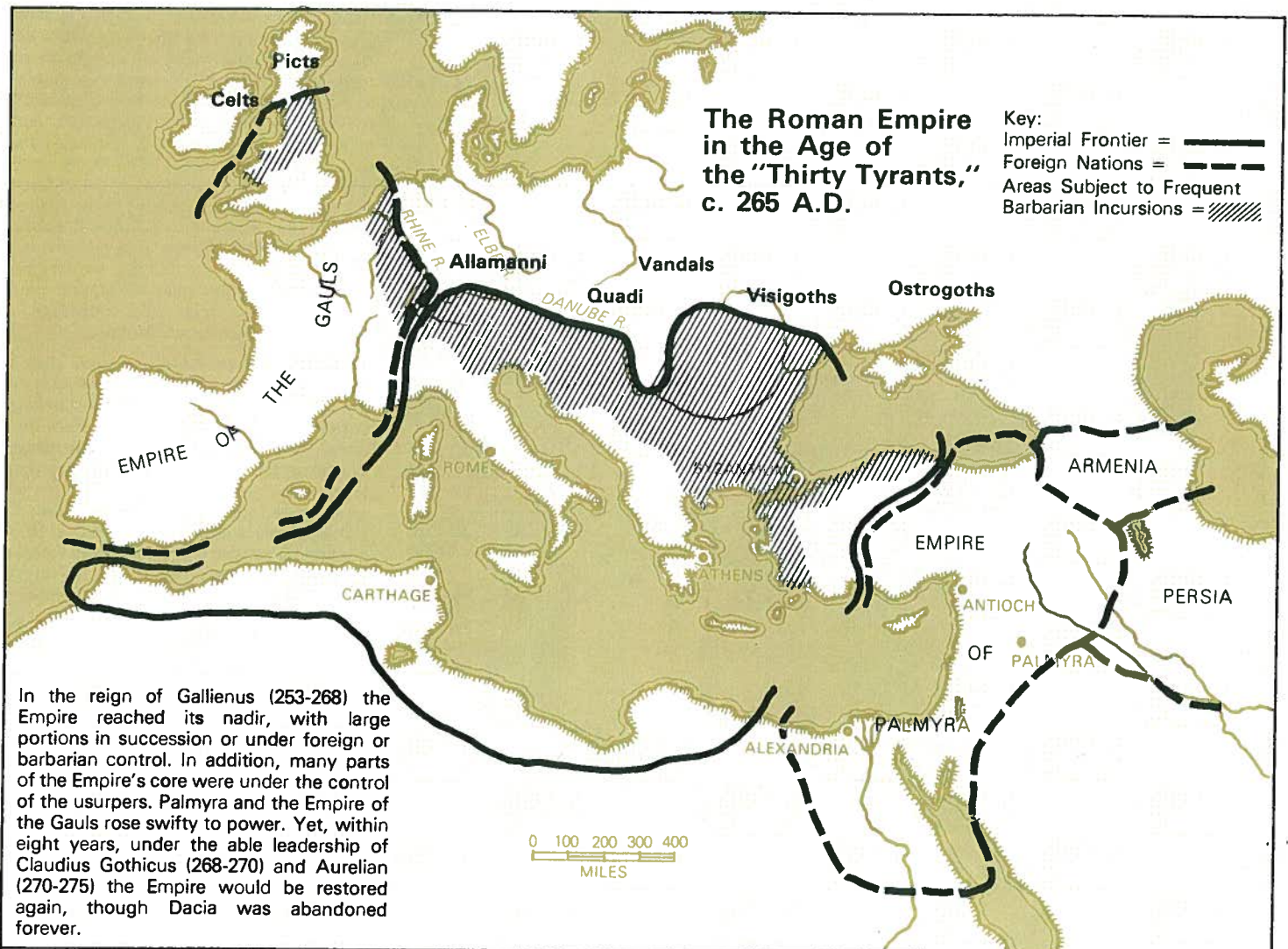
As early as 286 he associated with himself a co-Emperor, Maximianus (286-305). The basic idea was that while Diocletian concerned himself with the affairs of the eastern portions of the Empire, Maximianus would handle those of the west. Diocletian remained senior and the writ of both ran throughout the entire Empire. The system worked out well and Diocletian took steps to insure its continuation. In 293 each of the Emperors was given an assistant, with the title "Caesar," just a notch below the Imperial "Augustus." The basic idea was that the Caesar would handle whatever problems the Augustus was too busy to take care of. Maximianus' Caesar was an Illyrian, Flavius Constantius. Diocletian's was Gaius Valerius

Galerius. Diocletian's basic idea was that a man would become Emperor after a period of apprenticeship as a Caesar. On the death of an Augustus, his Caesar would move up into his shoes and a new Caesar appointed. It was an interesting approach not merely to the regulation of the succession, but also to the preparation of a man for supreme power. But, like the adoption system favored in the period of the "good Emperors," it required that people set aside their personal interests for the greater good. It would not last a tenth as long as the adoption system.

An important reform was that of the army. The idea here was to reduce the likelihood of revolt, while improving the defense of the Empire. The essentially sedentary defensive system established by Hadrian and confirmed by Septimius Severus had degenerated into a sort of militia on the frontiers. This was incapable of coping with massive barbarian incursions. What Diocletian did was bring certain trends apparent as early as the reign of Gallienus to their logical conclusions. The frontier troops remained a sort of glorified militia, while the small mobile forces first established by Gallienus were built up into a large, fully mobile army. At the same time, the old 5,500-man legions were largely abolished. New military formations were smaller, averaging 1,000 men, and more numerous. Though still called legions, they were no more than enlarged cohorts. This reduced the power of a

The Roman Empire in the Age of the "Thirty Tyrants," c. 265 A.D.

Key:
Imperial Frontier = ———
Foreign Nations = - - - -
Areas Subject to Frequent Barbarian Incursions = //



legion commander considerably. Under the old system, an ambitious legion commander could raise his own legion and have perhaps 6,000-7,000 men under his standard, counting auxiliaries. With the new system, he might have 1,000. Since the Empire now had four "Emperors," it could conduct large scale operations on several fronts without entrusting too much military power to any one general. The new military system gave the Empire more stability and security than at any time in generations. But, while most of his military reforms were beneficial, Diocletian also made some mistakes. To cope with the manpower shortage he furthered the massive enrollment of barbarians in the army. In addition, he permitted the recruitment of entire barbarian warbands under their own officers. In the long run, this would further the barbarization of the army. In the short run, it seemed like a good idea to let barbarians fight barbarians.

Diocletian attempted many more reforms. Indeed, his efforts at regulating prices; stabilizing the coinage; establishing a sort of caste system; and reshuffling of administrative duties, when linked with the reforms already discussed, make him one of the most energetic Emperors. The administrations of Augustus and Hadrian appear almost as "do nothing" in comparison.

Finally, in 305 Diocletian did something unique. Concerned that his system might work without him, he abdicated, forcing Maximianus to do likewise. He was right. The system could not work without him.

On Diocletian's abdication, the *Caesares* moved up to become *Augusti*. Constantius I (305-306) became senior Emperor, with Galerius (305-311) as his assistant. Now began a series of bitter struggles for control of the Empire. Galerius had managed to use his

influence with Diocletian to engineer the exclusion of the sons of Constantius and Maximianus from the rank of Caesar. The two new *Caesares* were his men. Then, rather suddenly, Constantius died while on campaign in Britain. The British army elevated Constantius' son, Constantine I (306-337) to the purple. But meanwhile, Galerius had elevated one of the *Caesares* to fill Constantius' position. Now began a bout of civil wars between rival *Augusti* and *Caesares*. In the next eighteen years, six men would wear the purple, including Maximianus, who returned from retirement. Diocletian made a brief attempt to reconcile everyone's differences in 308, but soon found that the only solution acceptable to all was their personal primacy. Disgusted, he returned to his villa at Spalato and died in 313. By 311, Constantine was supreme in the west. In the process of overcoming his opponents he had granted toleration to the upstart religion,



Legionaries defending a border fortress from barbarian marauders. As the barbarians grew more sophisticated and the Roman Army frittered away its strength in civil strife, the protection of the Imperial frontiers became an increasingly difficult problem.

The "Barbarians"

The names of the barbarian tribes during the great days of Roman expansion are inscribed in the writings of Caesar, Tacitus and others, as well as on the monuments of the early emperors. There were the Cimbri and the Teutons of Marius; the Nervii, Helvetii and others defeated by Caesar in Gaul; the "Germans" whom Caesar, Tiberius and others fought successfully and Varus less so (*Germanii* was originally the name of one tribe, but it came to be applied to the whole group of nations beyond the Rhine); the Britons, conquered by such as Agricola under aegis of Claudius. Later, new names appeared: the Dacii under Trajan; the Marcomanni under Marcus Aurelius; the Adiobenicans and Sarmatians, whom everyone fought and claimed to have defeated. These were barbarians in every sense of the word, worshipping strange gods, long haired, wearing pants instead of the toga and incapable of appreciating Roman civilization.

But after Marcus Aurelius, even spoiling raids into enemy territory became rare and the northern frontiers or *limes* became purely defensive. On the eastern front there were no barbarians. The Armenians, Parthians and Persians were heirs to a more ancient civilization than Rome and this was an accepted fact. To the south, along the Sahara, only a few nomadic tribes of no consequence existed. When the Romans spoke of barbarians, they meant the lot east of the Rhine and north of the Danube.

When the northern frontiers solidified, this did not mean that there was an absolute bar to travel. Roman traders are known to have gone as far as East Prussia for amber and up the Volga and other rivers from the Black Sea. Similarly, bands of barbarians came across to settle into Roman lands more and more frequently. The effect, however, was that civilization not only existed behind the frontier, but also in the "buffer zone" among the tribes which regularly dealt with the Romans and who had begun to adopt certain of their

Christianity, largely because his rivals had been strong Mithraists (also, he could use the oppressed Christians in his rivals' domains as an underground). There followed a long war with the east, which had fallen under control of Gaius Flavius Valerius Licinius Licinius (307-324). Actually, the war was interrupted from time to time by spates of peace, during which the rivals exchanged vows of love and affection and traded daughters to each other's sons. But in the end it had to come to a break. Licinius' persecution of Christianity offered the pretext and Constantine overthrew him in 324, giving the Empire a single master for the first time in twenty years.

Grateful Christian historians have called Constantine "the Great," but his accomplishments were relatively few. To be sure, he conducted successful campaigns on the frontiers of the Empire to drive back barbarian and Persian invaders. In addition he reformed

the coinage once again. By favoring Christianity, he helped retain the support of a sizeable segment of the population. But he was a hard master for all his veneer of Christianity. As one writer noted, "If Diocletian chastized the taxpayer with whips, Constantine plagued him with scorpions."

Administratively, Constantine brought many of the reforms of Diocletian to their logical conclusions. By his role as mediator of the petty squabbles of Christian sects, he furthered the cause of absolutism. He also established serfdom, which was the logical result of the quasi-caste system instituted by Diocletian. But perhaps his greatest achievement was his city.

While romantic notions about founding a truly Christian city may have influenced Constantine to build Constantinople, there were also good strategic reasons for the move

as well. The most seriously threatened frontiers of the Empire were on the Danube and in the East. Constantinople was convenient to both. In addition, its location on the Bosphorus blocked any possible barbarian advance into the Aegean, as had occurred during the reign of Gallienus. The city, if well fortified, could withstand an interminable siege so long as the Empire controlled the seas. And with Constantinople untaken, an invader could never be secure in the Balkans. Constantine chose well, for the city would stand as the center of a mighty empire for fifteen hundred years.

Constantine bequeathed the Empire to his sons, each to rule a third. Good Christians all, they immediately began a new series of civil wars, interrupted by periods of peace. By 361 they were all dead, along with most of their relatives, and Julian, a cousin (361-363) wore the purple. After an abortive attempt to restore

attitudes. Similarly, the crossing of barbarians into imperial territory tended to barbarize the Roman border lands.

When the next barbarian threats arose, a new tribal name appeared. Claudius II acquired the nickname "Gothicus" from defeating the Visigoths. By the mid-Third Century a new relationship existed. In Augustus' time few individuals located outside of Italy were even citizens; everyone in the Empire was expected to speak Latin to some degree and citizens were generally literate. The provincials, such as in Gaul, were quite civilized, with all of the trappings of Roman life, such as baths and libraries, even if they weren't citizens. On the other side of the frontier the barbarians spoke only their own tongues and were illiterate in that. They were largely nomadic and incapable of getting together in groups of much more than 100 without a fight for control.

But Caracalla extended citizenship to every freeman within the boundaries of the empire. The legions stationed on the border had been infiltrated by Germans to the point that by Diocletian's time, whole units spoke German and could not understand Latin at all. In addition, the settlements along the border were peopled by the families of the German legionaries and they kept their native traditions alive at the expense of Roman customs. Literacy was badly in decline, running around 10% in the empire. On the barbarian side of the border, things were little different. About the same percent were literate and, in fact, they were usually literate in both their own tongue and Latin; tribal unity had risen to the point that leaders commanded large enough groups of people to warrant the title "king"; while still somewhat nomadic, the barbarian tribes would settle in one place for a number of years and move on only when external pressures or the lure of greener pastures led them on. Some, such as the Goths, were already Christians (though they were Arian, rather than Orthodox) before they crossed into the

empire. While the bare fact of their Christianity is not necessarily an indication of civilization, the fact that they could cope with monotheism, rather than their earlier, naturalistic religion, does bespeak a higher sophistication than that of their ancestors two centuries earlier. In most respects, the barbarians living on one side of the border were as civilized as the Romans living on the other side and the true difference was merely an accident of residence. Most important was the fact that many people who were barbarian by birth (but "naturalized" Romans) had risen to controlling positions in the government. In fact, the commanders of the armed forces, such as Stilicho (a Vandal) and Aetius (half Hun), as well as their less-well-known rivals and successors, such as Arbogast (a Frank), all held considerable power in the late Fourth and early Fifth Centuries and were "naturalized" Romans in that they had become citizens in their youth and risen to power. While they did not hope to become emperors themselves, they were controlling whomever reigned and did not hesitate to put their own nominee forth when conditions permitted. The strongest example of how little the border came to mean is the case of Alaric, the Visigoth, who sacked Rome in 410. He was born a Roman, led Roman troops under Theodosius and yet came to lead the Visigoths in taking Rome.

The greatest evidence of the impact of Roman civilization on the barbarians came after the invasion. Almost without exception the tribes tried to keep Roman customs alive. None of the tribal kings called himself emperor because each knew a barbarian could not be emperor. But almost all of them paid at least token respect to Zeno, in Constantinople, and sought to be made legate or something. Clovis, King of the Franks, adopted the title consul after he had been addressed as such in a letter from the emperor; Odoacer and Theodoric of the Ostrogoths, made a point of ruling as imperial legate for Italy (even though they honored the title more in the breach than in

the observance of their duties); the Vandal kings in Africa and the Visigothic kings in Spain tried so hard to become Romans, in what they imagined to be the grand imperial style of a patrician, that they were easy targets for Belisarius and, later, the Moslems. They also abandoned their language for Latin, albeit a corrupted form. This would certainly not have happened had the barbarians been indifferent to the customs and values of Roman life. In fact, in an exception which helps prove the rule, it should be noted that the Angles, Saxons and Jutes migrated from a location in Germany which did not border on the Empire and when they got to Britain, they virtually extinguished Roman civilization, not to mention the language.

By 300 A.D., the term "barbarian" meant little more than its original sense, applied by the Greeks to anyone who didn't speak Greek (although in this case it meant a non-Roman German). With this distinction between Roman and non-Roman so blurred, it is no wonder that the Romans had such a difficult time defending against the barbarians. It was also not surprising that the people kept expecting the emperor to march west after 476 and re-establish his control, as if it were simply a matter of time. Obviously the failure to assimilate the non-Roman Germans proved the undoing of the Empire in some respects. A more farsighted policy in that respect might have given the Romans a new lease on life, in the same way that extension of recognition to Spain, Africa and Illyria produced such excellent, non-Roman (in the traditional sense) emperors as Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Diocletian and Constantine. When the legions were called out to repel the invaders, they were often fighting against their own kinsmen, using identical formations and weapons. It is obviously harder to inspire a German-speaking legionary to loyalty for far-off Rome than to have a Frank inspired by his king, who was fighting beside him. In effect, to paraphrase Pogo, the legions met the enemy and it was themselves. —S.B.P.

paganism, Julian too was murdered, ending the dynasty. The following year, his murderer was murdered in turn and Valentinian I (364-375) and his brother Valens (364-378) ascended the throne.

Under Valentinian and Valens the Empire prospered, the barbarians were kept at bay, and attempt was made to curb the bureaucracy. On Valentinian's death his young sons succeeded to the rule of the west. It seemed as though stability had returned to the Empire. But appearances were deceptive, for a new threat was rising in the east.

About 370, a Mongol people, the Huns, had swept out of Central Asia, pressing less savage peoples before them. Crushing the Ostrogoths, the Huns very nearly annihilated the Visigoths in 375. Under severe pressure, the Visigoths applied for permission to settle in the Empire in return for military service on the Danube. Valens refused, his generals attempted treachery and a long war ensued. On 9 August 378, near Adrianople, an army of Gothic horsemen destroyed an army of 60,000 Roman infantrymen, slaying 40,000 of them, including the Emperor Valens himself. It was the worst defeat suffered by Rome since Hannibal's triumph at Cannae, 2 August 216 B.C.

Adrianople was an irreparable blow to Roman prestige and strength, but for the Goths it was a victory which led nowhere. Although they could overrun the Balkans, they were

incapable of taking Constantinople. Constantine had built well. With his great fortress-city at their backs no invader could ever be secure. But Rome needed a savior and neither of the Emperors in the west were it. Gratian (367-383), Valentinian's older son, was but nineteen. Valentinian II (375-392), Gratian's brother, was only seven. Fortunately, Gratian knew his limitations and, in the only intelligent move of his reign, appointed a successful general of Spanish origins as co-Emperor. Theodosius I (379-395), surnamed "the Great," conducted an energetic, swift campaign against the Visigoths, finally permitting them to settle on Imperial territory in return for military service — precisely the terms which Valens had rejected. But Theodosius' campaigns furthered the barbarization of the army. Even his generals were Vandals and Goths and Franks. Nevertheless, they were sufficiently awed by Roman power as to serve faithfully and well (for the most part).

Theodosius' reign suffered from two sorts of conflict, religious and military. Ever since the recognition of Christianity as the "state" religion, the Christians had begun to demonstrate the fundamental tenets of their faith by persecuting the pagans and Jews. In addition, they began to persecute each other over incredibly minor points of doctrine. In this struggle, Theodosius sided with the orthodox faction over the "heretics." But even there, he had problems, for some orthodox bishops

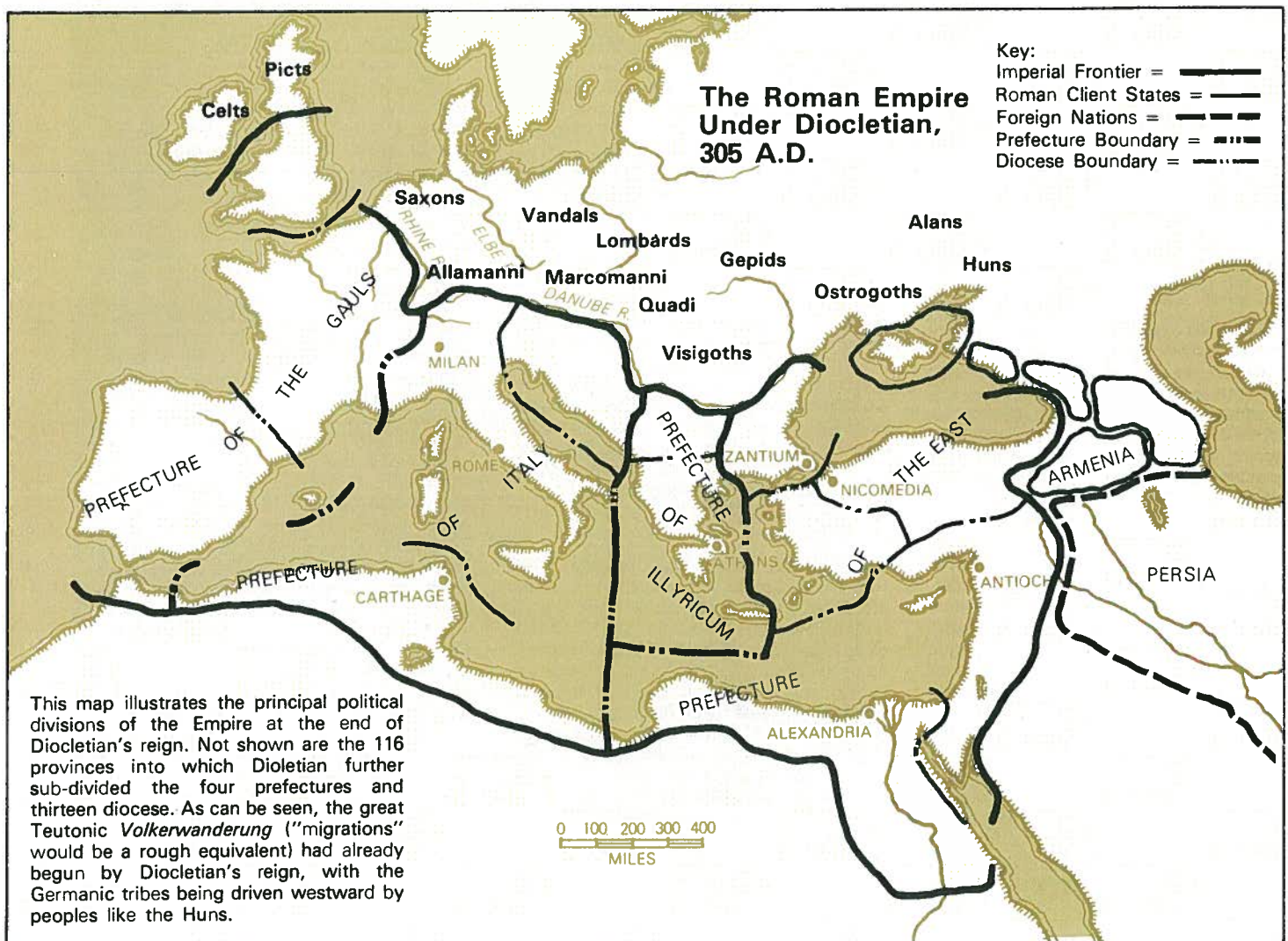
objected to some of his acts. Like the massacre of thousands of people in Thessalonika after a mob had lynched an unpopular governor. The first recorded persecution of Christian by Christian occurs in Theodosius' reign. Not a bad accomplishment for a religion which had itself been generally persecuted barely two generations earlier.

The other problem was usurpation. Both Gratian and Valentinian II perished at the hands of usurpers in the west. Theodosius spent years trying to put down the various pretenders. Just before his death he had succeeded. He was the last Emperor whose writ ran from the northernmost British march, to the upper reaches of the Nile.

DISINTEGRATION IN THE WEST.

(A.D. 395-476)

On his death, Theodosius left the Empire to his sons, Honorius (393-423) to rule the west and Arcadius (383-408) to rule the east. This marks the final division of the Empire into two parts. It also marks the beginning of the end in the west. None of the men who occupied the throne in the west after Theodosius' death can be called able by any stretch of the imagination. Each was dominated by various advisors, although some of these were relatively able men. Thus, Stilicho, a Vandal with a Roman soul, held Honorius' Empire together for a time. But able as Stilicho was, he could not be everywhere. Although he



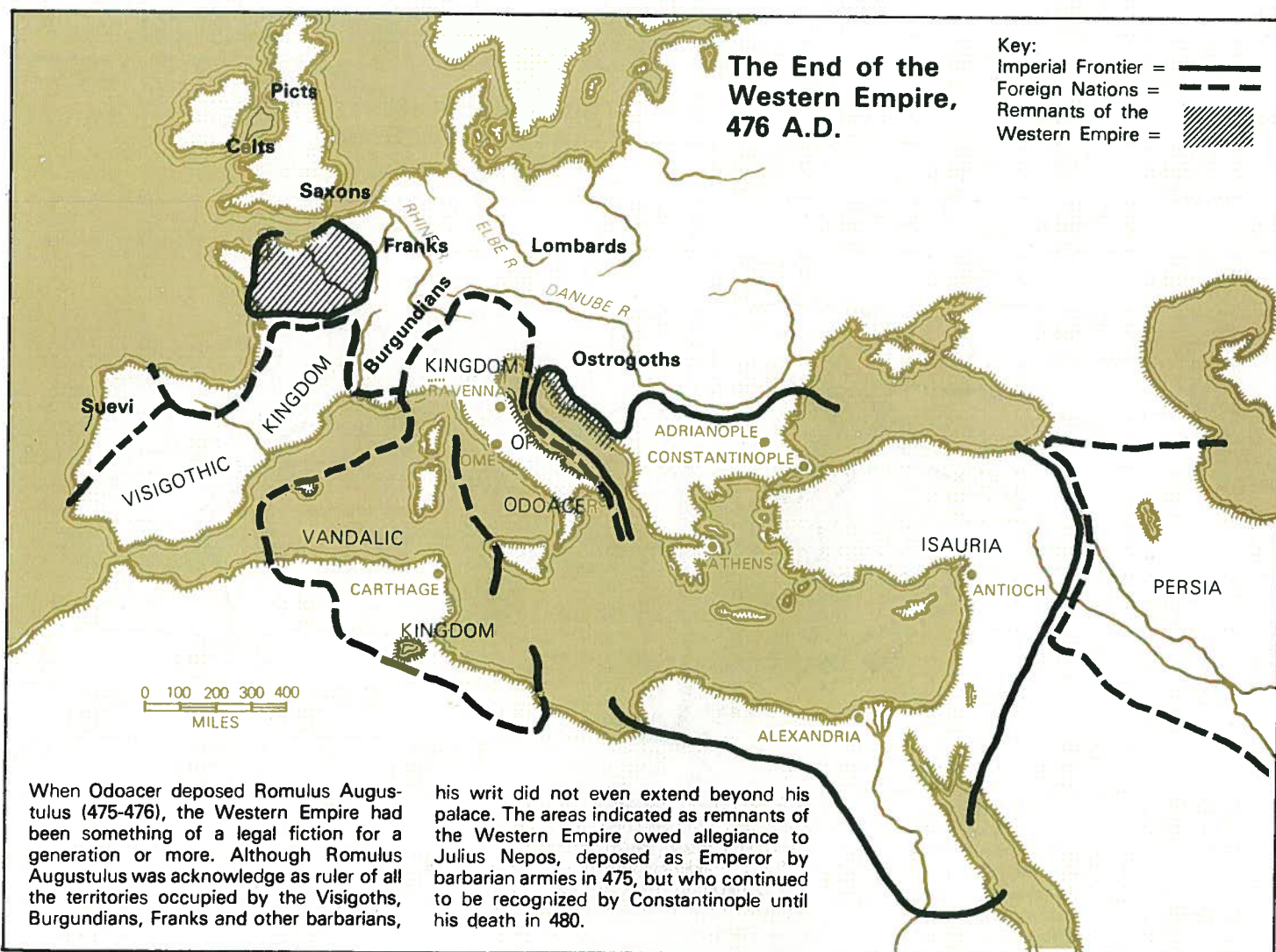
drove back the Visigoths several times, he was unable to prevent a major mutiny among the British armies (in 406) which resulted in the evacuation of Britain forever, leaving the peaceful civil populace at the mercy of the Celts and Picts and Saxons and Angles and Jutes. Nor could Stilicho prevent the mutinied troops from acquiring control of a large portion of Gaul. Nor could he keep the Vandals and Suevi and Alans from swarming over the remainder of Gaul in 407. But he tried. Unfortunately, his master's favor shifted. Fearing that Stilicho wished to make himself Emperor, Honorius had him murdered in 408, as the Vandals and Suevi, aided by rebellious Roman subjects, were overrunning the Spains. This led to renewed Visigothic incursions.

On 24 August 410 A.D., Alaric, King of the Visigoths and Roman citizen and general, did what Hannibal himself had been unable to do. He entered Rome as conquerer. For the first time since Brennus led his yellow haired Gauls into the city in 390 B.C., almost 800 years earlier to the day, Rome felt the tread of a foreign conqueror and the city was given up to sack. St. Jerome, busy dictating his Latin translation of the Bible, hundreds of miles away in a monastery wrote: "At the news my speech failed me, and sobs choked the words I was dictating. She had been captured — the City by whom the whole world had been captured." Thus, the mystic power of Rome even in an age when she had long been in her dotage.

But the sack of Rome was really just a milestone in the fall of the western Empire. The barbarian hordes who had overrun different provinces all pretended to do so in the Emperor's name and at his sufferance. Though, after a bout of civil wars Honorius was succeeded by his nephew Valentinian III (423-455), the Empire was already dead, it merely needed to be buried. Nevertheless, there was still some feeble, muscular reaction left in the corpse. Valentinian had an able general, Aetius, the last Roman in the west to attain greatness (even if he was half-Hun). Like Stilicho, Aetius ran hither and yon, keeping together an army composed largely of barbarians and using it to crush repeated incursions of barbarian war bands. Meanwhile, these incursions came so frequently that, though war band after war band was cut to pieces, no one man, or one army, could hold them back. The very roads which once speeded Roman armies and goods from place to place now aided the enemies of Rome. In 435, the Vandals overran Roman Africa, threatening, and then cutting off, the grain supply to Rome's poor. The depopulation of the city, already proceeding apace, accelerated. In spite of Aetius' efforts the Vandals took ship and plundered the Mediterranean islands. Then, in 455, they too sacked Rome. The invasion of the Huns under Attila was actually something of an anti-climax. The Huns, of course, had been largely responsible

for driving the Goths into the west. By 424 Constantinople was paying them regular tribute. In 441 and 447 they plundered Illyria and Thrace. And in 450 they turned their attention to the west. In Gaul, they were defeated by an army composed largely of Visigoths, Vandals, Franks and Burgundians under the titular command of Aetius. They were turned back from Italy by the piety, or the treasure, of Pope Leo I, "the Great" (440-461). Thus, the feeble Roman Empire in the west had little to do with turning back the Huns. After the Huns departed, the western Empire just went weakly on. In 454 Valentinian murdered Aetius — supposedly drawing his sword in earnest for the only time in his life. The following year the troops murdered Valentinian. Over the next twenty years there were nine Emperors and two considerable periods of interregna. Most of the Emperors were but "fronts" for the various barbarian factions within the army, although a few received the blessing of the Emperors in the east. Finally, one barbarian war chief did the inevitable.

On 22 October 476 A.D., Odoacer, Roman general and barbarian war chief, deposed the juvenile Emperor, Romulus Augustulus (475-476) and proclaimed himself ruler of Italy, immediately sending off to Constantinople for confirmation of his claim. Constantinople was naturally reluctant to confirm his possession, particularly since Julius Nepos (474-480) still



wore the purple for the west in Illyria. Not that it mattered. The deed was done, the western Empire dead and buried. But there still remained an Empire in the east. And the story there would turn out differently.

SURVIVAL IN THE EAST. (A.D. 395-641)

The events which overtook the western portions of the Roman Empire in the Fifth Century were not duplicated in the east. There, a fortuitous combination of existing conditions and notable personalities resulted in a sequence of events which helped insure that the Empire would survive. And in surviving, the Roman Empire in the east took on a life of its own for a thousand years.

Unlike the west, the east still had considerable reserves of military manpower, particularly in the regions of Illyria and Isauria. Thus, the barbarization of the armies which eventually helped to overwhelm the west, did not proceed at as rapid a pace in the east. Then too, there was Constantine's magnificent city, as extended and fortified by Theodosius the Great. As long as the Empire held Constantinople and the sea, no enemy could gain a permanent lodgement in the Balkan peninsula. Finally, by a geographical accident, the Balkans are a relative dead-end. A barbarian horde could always move on, into Italy and Gaul and the Spains. Of course, while the armies of the Empire remained composed

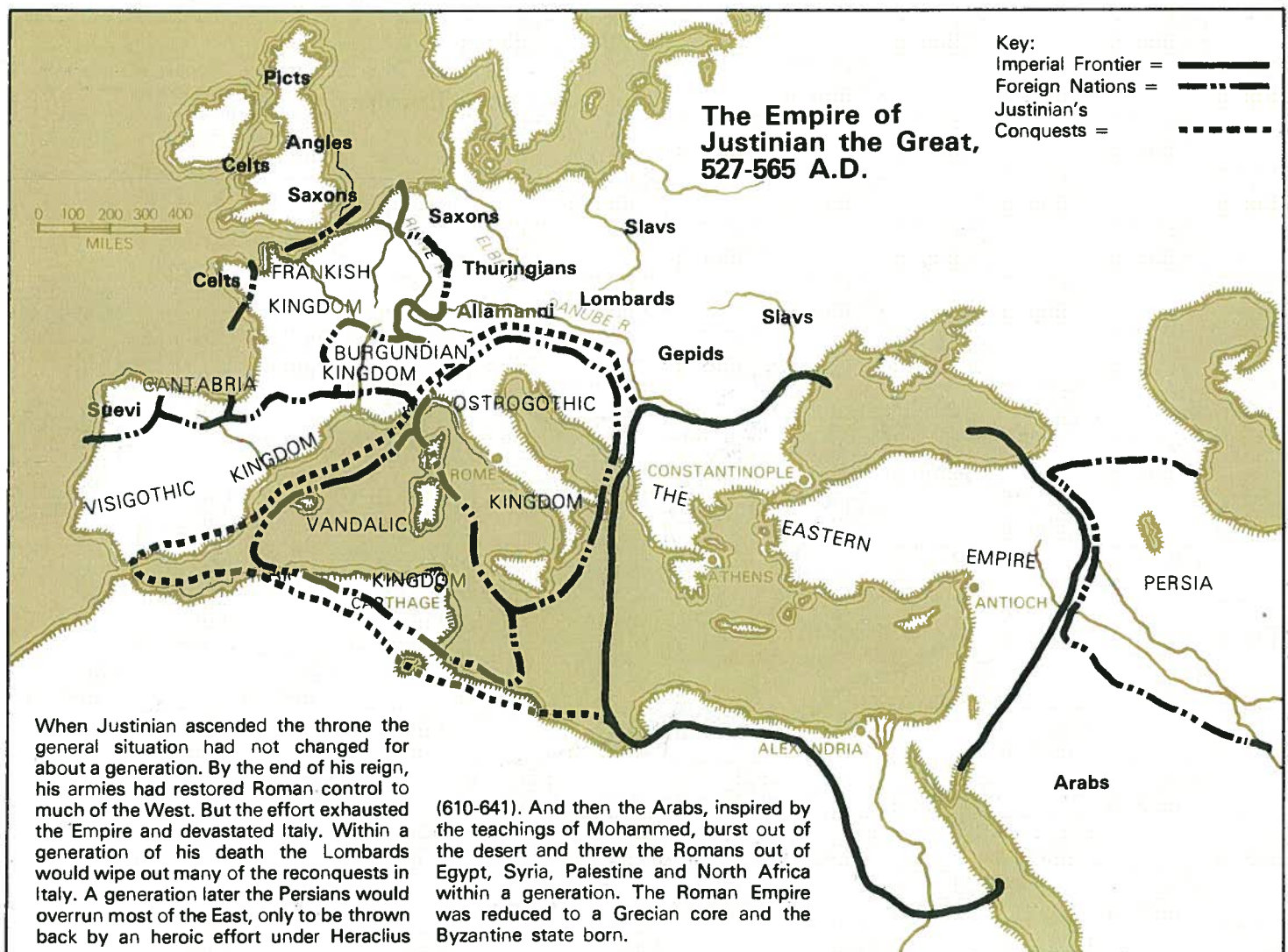
principally of Germans these advantages could not be capitalized upon. After all, German troops were stationed in the capital itself. But a curious event occurred which profoundly changed the nature of the armies of the Empire in the east.

On 12 July 400 A.D. a riot broke out in Constantinople, between some citizens and some German mercenaries. Suddenly a wave of anti-German sentiment swept the city. Someone locked the gates, other people produced arms. Although relatively unskilled in the use of arms, the populace had the advantage of fighting in their own city, a city from which the barbarian troops were desperately trying to escape. Within hours the massacre in the city was over. But it spread to other cities and 35,000 barbarian troops were slain. By this act, the Roman Army was purified. Although barbarian elements formed part of Roman armies for centuries to come, they never again attained sufficient influence to threaten the security of the Empire. And with the massacre, the rebuilding of the Empire began, aided by a string of able Emperors and capable civil servants.

Theodosius II (408-450), Arcadius' son, was a feeble ruler, but under the guidance of his mother, sister and others, the Empire prospered. Even the Persians cooperated, for Arcadius had made the Shah of Persia a sort of

god-father to his infant son. [Theodosius, incidently, is the *only* case of an infant successfully succeeded to the purple in the first six centuries of the Empire.] When Theodosius passed, a string of able rulers occupied the throne. Marcianus (450-457), Leo I, "the Great" (457-474), Zeno (474-491), Anastasius (491-518), and Justin I (518-527). By coincidence, rather than design, the adoption system of insuring the succession had been reverted to, with ties of ability being more important than those of blood. Each of these Emperors took steps to insure the continued security and stability of the Empire. Zeno, crafty as any Emperor ever, even managed to give Italy to Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, as a bribe to get him out of the Balkans. Considering that in 488 the Empire no longer owned Italy, Zeno got the better end of the deal. While Zeno and his successors rebuilt the Empire in the east, Theodoric conquered Italy and was in turn conquered by Roman civilization. Rather than furthering the eclipse of Roman society in Italy, the Ostrogothic invasion served to give it a brief renaissance. Then, in Constantinople, Justinian I, self-titled "the Great" (527-565), came to power.

Justinian deserved the title "Great" in many ways. But the ways in which men measure glory are not necessarily the most constructive. While Justinian's accomplishments in the



Why did Rome Fall...?

From time to time in the course of this discussion of the Roman Empire from B.C. 27 through 641 A.D. we have noted that a particular event or given situation or a certain individual helped further the fall of Rome. But nowhere have we attempted to say that "Rome fell because...." There is a very good reason for this: Rome "fell" longer than most states have *existed*. Consider that the only states since Rome to attain comparable power in Europe were the empires of Charlemagne, Napoleon, and Hitler; all alike ephemeral. Consider that the *Pax Romana* gave the Mediterranean world nearly two centuries of virtually uninterrupted peace, where the best that modern Europe can claim is a generation between 1871 and 1914. Anything coming to grief after centuries of supremacy is not going to collapse for one piddling reason. Rome fell because a complex set of circumstances were at work. Indeed, the fall of Rome begins long before the Empire was established. The Roman Empire was a partial result of the weakness of Hellenic civilization. For some centuries before Augustus assumed the title *princeps*, the Graeco-Roman world had been on the skids, with war and revolution at least as common as they are in "modern times." Many of the weaknesses of Hellenic civilization helped sap the strength of the Roman Empire. And the Empire itself created a few new problems.

Reasons for the fall of Rome range from the patently absurd ("The Roman Empire did not fall, it was murdered.") to the profoundly philosophical ("The Roman Empire fell because, having fulfilled its destined role as the Universal State of Hellenic Civilization, it was no longer needed."). Any attempt to plow through them all would take up more space than the entire article. Nevertheless, appended to this discussion is a sample of some of the more interesting "reasons," not all of which are valid. The real cause lies somewhere among these, most likely in a combination of the more logical suggestions. These have been marked with an asterisk (*).

Rome Fell Because...

*Plagues reduced the population and the fertility of the survivors.

Lead pipes and utensils poisoned the aristocracy, lowering their birth rate and intelligence level of this most important class.

The admission of "inferior" races to the citizenship lowered the vigor of the pure Roman stock.

Christianity made people less concerned with this world.

*Augustus' jury-rigged apparatus of state was unable to cope with certain types of recurring crises.

*Civil wars sapped the strength of the Empire.

The barbarians proved of "superior" (i.e., Teutonic) stock.

The people practiced birth control without restraint, thus causing a loss of population.

Abandonment of the old, "good" Roman institutions and virtues which had helped bring Rome to greatness.

"Bread and Circuses." The people became lazy.

*The army got out of hand due to lowering of standards and discipline.

Easy living made the Romans soft, permitting the barbarians to overrun them with ease.

The liberal-thinking Emperors attempted to spend too much on the poor in their efforts to uplift them, thus draining the financial resources of the state.

*Slavery impoverished the citizenry.

God turned his favor from Rome for its sins.

Orgies and other entertainments sapped the vigor of the Roman people, while venereal diseases destroyed their fertility.

*The state collapsed under the weight of its bureaucracy.

*The barbarians became civilized enough to contend with the Romans on an equal footing.

The flow of gold to the Orient to pay for luxury goods eventually dealt a death blow to the Roman economy.

*The enlistment of barbarians in the army created a potentially explosive situation.

*The existence of slavery and an impoverished citizen mass created a large internal proletariat which would eventually prove disloyal to the Empire.

The Empire had lasted long enough. It was time for a change.

*The bulk of the inhabitants of the Empire failed to share in the incredible prosperity, remaining impoverished and restive.

The aristocracy permitted too many members of the lower classes to participate in affairs of state, thereby diluting the value of the experience and brains which the aristocracy possessed.

*As the state became more despotic the average citizen, and even members of the upper classes, became less interested in it, thereby causing a loss of confidence and support.

*Failure to establish a workable constitution.

Too many of the old institutions were left with a measure of power, which tended to disrupt the machinery of Empire.

Abandonment of the old religion, which had given moral strength to the Roman people.

Widespread homosexuality among the upper classes led to a decline in the birth rate among the aristocrats, thereby reducing the available pool of leadership manpower.



promotion of public works and the codification of Roman Law are irreproachable, his military adventuring is not. Justinian spent much of his reign, and much of the energy and treasure accumulated by over a century of careful rule, in pursuit of nothing less than the reunification of the Roman world as it had existed under Hadrian. By the time of his death he had successfully brought Africa, Italy and Spain back into the Empire, and had even made some gains against the Persians. But in doing so Justinian also succeeded in exhausting the Empire. Moreover, the reconquest of Italy took thirty years, for Justinian expected his generals to accomplish miracles on a shoestring. One, Belisarius, could sometimes do so and it was to Belisarius that Justinian owed much of his military success. [In gratitude, Justinian later had Belisarius blinded. *Sic transit gloria mundi* — and the favor of megalomaniacs.] The long war in Italy ruined the country, and the ultimate victor was neither the Ostrogoths nor the Romans, but the Lombards, who overran much of the peninsula in 584.

After Justinian's reign, what the Empire needed more than anything else was a period of reconstruction under an able Emperor. This it was not to get. Justinian's immediate successors were feeble rulers at best. Hostilities with Persia soon broke out again, lasting mercilessly and interminably, from 572 to 592. No sooner was that at an end when a decade of barbarian invasions occurred, bringing the Slavs over the Danube and into the Balkans, depopulating the last Latin speaking provinces of the Empire. Then the Persians renewed the ancient struggle between Asia and Europe and overran most of the Empire. A revolt in Africa brought a new Emperor to the purple, Heraclius (610-641). For seventeen years Heraclius campaigned against Slav and Persian, recovering Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Greece, Illyria and Thrace for the Empire in a magnificent outpouring of energy. But the effort was exhausting. Growing in the deserts of Arabia was a force which would destroy the Roman and Persian Empires more effectively than the ancient rivals would ever have believed. And Heraclius, most unfortunate of men, lived to see it. In 628 an obscure Arab named Mohammed sent both the Emperor and the Shah an invitation to embrace Islam. Both alike ignored the summons. And in 632 the storm broke. Within a decade Persia was destroyed and the Roman Empire reduced to a rump concentrated in the Balkans and Anatolia when the Arabs, inspired by Islam and the promise of Paradise, swept out of the desert.

REBIRTH.

If the Germanic, Slavic and Arab migrations destroyed the last vestiges of Graeco-Roman civilization, they also laid the foundations of a new beginning. On the ruins of the Empire three brilliant new civilizations were born, drawing strength from Classical civilization and guidance from Faith. Around the Greek-speaking rump of the Roman Empire in Anatolia and the Balkans, Byzantine civilization was born, with Orthodox Christianity providing its unifying philosophy. In the west, in the lands occupied by the Frank and the Lombard and the Saxon, the Roman Church fostered the growth of Western Civilization. And in a wide arc from Arabia to Persia; from Syria to Egypt; from North Africa to Spain; Islam brought forth the flowering of Arab civilization. In its death, the Roman Empire provided the seeds of modern times.

Pass in Review

Books Relevant to Conflict Simulation

Pass in Review is devoted to presenting brief reviews of works recently published in the fields of history, international relations, military affairs, and simulation techniques. Each book is rated on the basis of Graphic Presentation, Literary Style, Content, and Objectivity using the numbers from 1 ("poor") to 5 ("excellent"). In addition, the same number system is used to present an overall rating of the work. Thus a book rated 4/4/4/4 would be of very high quality and would also be rather highly recommended by the reviewer. An effort is made to review each book objectively, taking into consideration what the work purports to be about, how effectively the subject is treated elsewhere, and how effectively it is treated in the book in question.

Prices indicated with an asterisk (*) are for paperback editions.

Reviewers: Unless indicated by initials all reviews are by the Review Editor. DCI, David C. Isby. IBH Irad B. Hardy.

RECOMMENDED: The works which appear in this section are likely to interest a broad spectrum of the readers, whether they have a particular concern for the subject matter or not.

From Crossbow to H-Bomb by Bernard Brodie and M. Fawn Brodie. Indiana: 1973. \$2.95* 320 pp. 2/4/4/4/4. A revision of one of the better popular works on the evolution of weapons and tactics. Concentrating on the period since the introduction of gunpowder, the Brodies discuss the impact of various developments in weaponry. Almost a quarter of the book is devoted to the impact of nuclear weapons and post-1945 technology on warfare. Although it could be better illustrated, it is still an excellent survey.

The Australians in Nine Wars by Peter Firkin. McGraw-Hill: 1973. \$11.95. xviii, 448 + pp. 4/4/4/3/4. The achievements of Britain's Commonwealth Allies have frequently been submerged in communiques using phrases such as "British" or "Allied" troops. As a result the often invaluable services of Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, and Canadians have been overlooked. This work attempts to rectify this injustice. It covers Australian participation in armed conflicts from the 1863 Maori War to Vietnam, although emphasis is placed on the two World Wars. An excellent book and long overdue.

Law and the Indo-China War by John Norton Moore. Princeton: 1972. \$22.50. xxiii, 794 pp. 3/3/4/3/4. A heavy discussion on the questions of international law raised by the Vietnam War, well supported with a mass of documents. Food for thought.

Codeword BARBAROSSA by Barton Whaley. MIT: 1973. \$10.00. x, 376 pp. 4/3/4/4/4. An excellent look at intelligence during World War Two with an emphasis on the Eastern Front and particularly on Russia's failure to heed warnings of the German invasion. Heavy going at times, but very good.

The Semblance of Peace by John W. Wheeler-Bennett and Anthony Nicholls. St. Martin's: 1972. \$35.00. xiv, 878 pp. 3/4/5/5/4. This well-written, if weighty volume, is devoted to a careful examination of the problems of peace-making after World War II. Sir John, ably assisted by Mr. Nicholls, brings an enormous mass of material into a coherent whole. Beginning with the early war period itself, the work carries the reader through the various inter-Allied conferences; the surrender of Italy, Germany, and Japan; the function of the UN; and the Nuremberg Trials. The work then proceeds to discuss the various peace treaties. Finally, there is a powerfully objective account of the origins of the Cold War. Excellent, particularly as it explains how we got where we are today.

The War Game, edited by Peter Young. Dutton: 1972. \$10.00. 128 pp. 5/4/4/4/5. Brigadier Young has gathered seven noted historians and wargamers to produce this very fine work. In ten chapters, the book deals with major battles from Thermopylae to Alamein as historical events using wargaming techniques to illustrate significant points. There is a profusion of maps and illustrations, an enormous amount of hard data, and a collection of magnificent illustrations for each battle. In addition, there is a useful appendix on items of interest to the wargamer.

SPECIAL: Works included in this section are likely to be of interest to some of the readers, especially those with special interest.

Classified Files: The Yellowing Pages by Carol M. Barker and Matthew H. Fox. Twentieth Century: 1972. n.p. iv, 115 pp. 3/3/4/4/4. A survey of U.S. government policies and procedures on granting access to official documents. A veritable mine of information on classified materials and very useful to the serious scholar.

Oudenarde, 1708 by Eversly Belfield. Knight: 1972. .90 pounds sterling (c.\$2.25). xi, 71 pp. 3/4/4/4/4. *Uniforms of Marlborough's Wars* by Arthur Kipling and Frank Wilson. Knight: 1972. .90 pounds sterling (c.\$2.25). viii, 32 pp. 4/4/5/4/4. An excellent pair of volumes from Knight, the British wargame and military history publishers. These form a neat set, *Oudenarde* discussing Marlborough's victory over the French in considerable detail, with a good background to the events, *The Book on uniforms*, of course, gives details for miniaturists and uniform buffs.

The Almanac of World Military Powers by T.N. Dupuy and Wendell Blanchard. Bowber: 1972. n.p. xiv, 373 pp. 3/3/4/3/3. This edition is an improvement over the previous one, but it still needs more "soft" information, particularly in the case of more powerful states. Also, the authors tend to see threats to internal security as emanating solely from the left. Some of the data is also outdated, which is unavoidable in such a compendium.

A History of the Irish Working Class by P. Berresford Ellis. Braziller: 1973. \$8.95. 352 pp. 1/3/4/3/4. Actually, this is a very good history of Ireland from Celtic times with an emphasis on socio-economic aspects of life. Unfortunately, no use is made of graphic presentation of data.

Solo Wargaming by Donald F. Featherstone. Warne: 1973. \$9.95. 192 pp. 4/4/5/4/4. For those who play solitaire games with miniatures, this book will provide a wealth of interesting ideas. It contains many stimulating concepts used by wargamers without opponents. Many of the ideas, however, could have been considered at greater length. DCI

African Liberation Movements by Richard Gibson. Oxford: 1972. \$2.95* xiv, 350 pp. 3/3/4/2/4. Students of revolution will find this work useful, but its lack of coverage of movement within independent states is a drawback.

The Search for the Niger by Christopher Lloyd. Collins: 1973. 2.75 pounds sterling (c.\$6.75). 220 pp. 4/3/4/4/4. The European exploration of the Niger River in West Africa was, unlike the search for the sources of the Nile, a quest for the mouth of the river. The source of the Niger was known for centuries, but who could connect the river rising in Senegal with the outflow in Nigeria, thousands of miles away and in the wrong direction? Fascinating.

The Dawn's Early Light by Walter Lord. Hamish Hamilton: 1972. 3.95 pounds sterling (c.\$9.50). xiii, 306 pp. 3/4/3/4/4. The first modern account of the British attack on Washington and Baltimore in 1814, and as such is valuable. It tends to be weak, however, in military information. There are, however, some good word pictures and on the whole, is quite nicely done.

The War of 1812 by John K. Mahon. Florida: 1972. \$12.00. xii, 476 pp. 2/3/4/4/4. Interest in this inglorious little war in reviving. There is a useful general account of the conflict.

The Alamo by John M. Myers. Nebraska: 1973. \$1.75. 240 pp. 2/4/3/3/3. A reissue of a useful standard work, one which is considerably more objective than others in the field.

The Dakota by Arthur Percy. Ian Allan: 192. 4.20 pounds sterling (c.\$10.50). 252 pp. 4/4/4/3/4. An excellent survey of the use of this classic transport by the R.A.F. and Commonwealth air arms. Well illustrated with many charts and much data. DCI

Napoleon's Conquest of Prussia by F. Loraine Petre. Arms & Armour: 1972. 3.00 pounds sterling (c.\$7.50). xxviii, 319 + pp. 3/4/4/3/4. A re-issue of an old (1907) but valuable work, with a new introduction by David Chandler.

The Reign of German Militarism and the Disaster of 1918 by Gerhard Ritter. Miami: 1973. \$18.00. viii, 496 pp. 2/3/4/4/4. This is the fourth and final volume of the author's super analysis of the problems of German militarism from 1740 to 1918, *The Sword and the Sceptre*.

The Origins of the Peloponnesian War by G.E.M. de Ste. Croix. Cornell: 1972. \$17.50. xii, 444 pp. 1/2/4/4/4. A very detailed, very scholarly introduction to the great war which overthrew Athens. Not for the novice, but valuable to the serious student.

The Berlin Crisis of 1961 by Robert M. Slusser. Johns Hopkins: 1973. \$8.50* xvi, 509 pp. 2/3/4/4/4. Students of the Cold War will find this a brilliantly done analysis both of the international crises over Berlin and the internal Soviet power struggle resulting from the 22nd Party Congress. Very detailed, very intriguing.

German Aircraft of the Second World War by J.R. Smith and Anthony Kay. Rowman & Littlefield: 1972. \$28.50. xiii, 745 pp. 4/3/4/4/4. Dealing with the entire spectrum of German aircraft, this is an excellent work and will probably become "standard reference" along with Green's *Warplanes of the Third Reich*, to which it is in many ways superior.

The Great Dirigibles by John Toland. Dover: 1972. \$3.00* 352 pp. 3/4/3/4/4. A fascinating account of those strange, stately aircraft, the rigid airships. The work proceeds from the first experiments in the mid-1800's to the *Hindenburg* disaster of 1937 and beyond to the blimp. Although not highly technical, the treatment is detailed and the work reads very well.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Second Oldest Profession: An Informal History of Moonshining in America by Jess Carr. Prentice-Hall: 1972. \$7.95. xvii, 249 pp. 4/5/4/5/5.

Admirals, Generals, and American Foreign Policy, 1898-1914 by Richard D. Challender. Princeton: 1973. \$16.00 x, 433 pp. 1/2/4/4/3.

The Citizen Soldiers: The Plattsburg Training Camp Movement, 1913-1920 by John G. Clifford. Kentucky: 1972. \$9.50. ix, 326 pp. 1/3/4/4/3.

A Practical Guide for the Light Infantry Officer by T.H. Cooper. Muller: 1970 [1806]. 4.00 pounds sterling (c.\$10.00).

John McIntosh Kell of the Raider ALABAMA by Norman S. Delaney. Alabama: 1973. \$8.50. x, 270 pp. 2/4/4/4.

Napoleon Wrote Fiction edited and translated by Christopher Frayling. St. Martin's: 1972. \$8.95. xvi, 173 pp. 3/3/5/4/3.

Japanese Combat Cars, Light Tanks, and Tankettes. Profile: 1973. \$2.00* 24 pp. 4/2/4/4/4.

Sport in Greece and Rome by H.A. Harris. Cornell: 1972. \$11.50. 288 pp. 4/3/5/4/4.

A Social and Economic History of Medieval Europe by Gerald Hodgket. Methuen: 1972. 2.75 pounds sterling (c.\$6.00). x, 246 pp. 1/4/4/4/4.

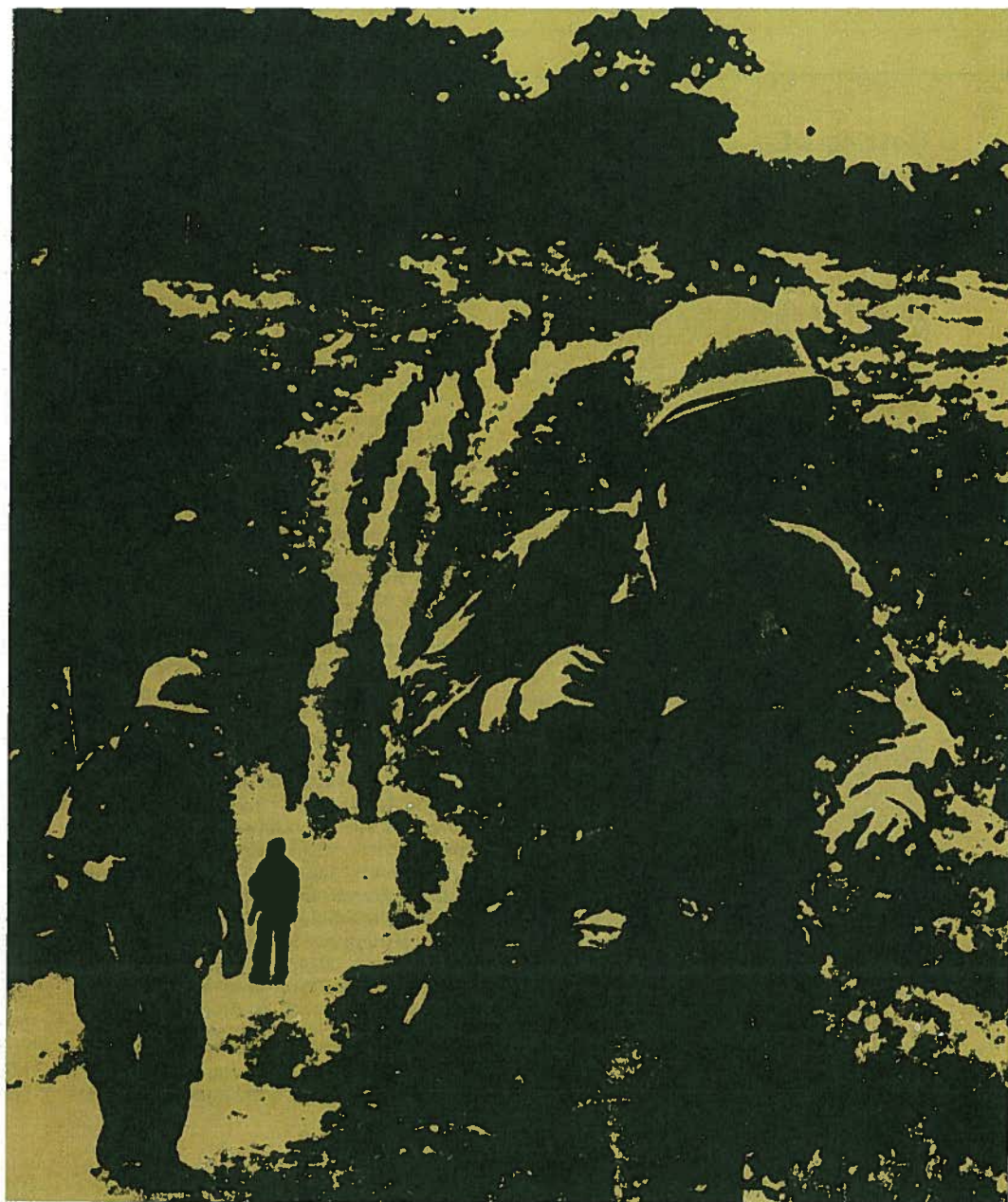
The Myth of Liberation: East-Central Europe in U.S. Diplomacy and Politics Since 1941 by Bennet Kovrig. Johns Hopkins: 1973. \$11.50. xi, 360 pp. 2/3/4/4/3.

Europe Since World War II by Norman Luxenburg. Southern Illinois: 1973. \$6.95. xi, 260 pp. 4/3/4/5/4.

Violence and Civil Disorders in Italian Cities, 1200-1500 edited by Lauro Martines. California: 1972. \$12.00. viii, 362 pp. 1/2/3/3/3.

Alliance in Decline: A study of Anglo-Japanese Relations, 1908-23 by Ian H. Nish. Athlone/Humanities: 1972. \$22.50. xii, 424 pp. 2/4/3/4/4.

(continued on page 39)



THE BATTLE FOR GUADALCANAL

7 August 1942–7 February 1943

by Stephen B. Patrick

INTRODUCTION

In the very early morning hours of 7 August 1942, 82 ships swung around the western end of Guadalcanal into the body of water bounded by Guadalcanal, Savo and Florida Islands. At 0614, three cruisers (*Quincy, Vincennes, Astoria*) and four destroyers (*Hull, Dewey, Ellet, Wilson*) opened fire: the first rounds of a campaign that was to take a full six months. By the end of that time, all three of these cruisers were lying on the bottom of the water along with many other ships. The majority of the Marines waiting on the transports to go in behind the naval gun fire were dead, wounded or sick from tropical diseases. But when it was all done, the tide of war had irreversibly turned. During those six months, unrecognized by either side at the time, Japan had lost a war.

(continued on page 26)

Battles of the Guadalcanal Campaign 7 August 1942 — 8 February 1943

Savo Island

When the Americans invaded Guadalcanal on 7 August 1942, the Japanese reacted with air attacks on the American transports. American fighters, however, repulsed most of the attacks. To break up the invasion fleet, the Japanese sent a force of three heavy cruisers, two light cruisers, and one destroyer down "The Slot" from Rabaul. In the early morning of 9 August, these ships attack a force of five Allied heavy cruisers and seven destroyers guarding the entrance to Iron Bottom Sound. Using their superior torpedoes, tactics and night optical equipment, the Japanese surprised the Allies and sank four of the heavy cruisers, leaving the remaining one badly damaged. Although they had defeated the only force between them and the American transports, the Japanese did not attack the transports in Iron Bottom Sound. They feared they would be in range of the American carriers at dawn, as they were unaware that the carriers had withdrawn to the south. The Japanese had scored a significant victory and forced the Americans to withdraw their transports before they were fully unloaded.

Japanese August Attack

In an attempt to push the Americans off Guadalcanal, the Japanese sent Colonel Ichiki and 900 men of the 28th Regiment to attack the Marine positions along the Ilu River, which was defended by the 2,500 men of the 1st Marine Regiment. The

"Banzai" attacks of the Japanese were repulsed, with some 800 casualties, including Colonel Ichiki who committed Hara-Kari. The Marines suffered less than 200 losses and maintained their defensive perimeter intact. The Japanese did not learn, however, that uncoordinated attacks could not break the Marines' position.

Eastern Solomons

Realizing the importance of the situation at Guadalcanal, the Japanese committed units of their Combine Fleet to clear the Solomons of American ships while landing troops and bombarding the Marine positions on Guadalcanal. To do this, they assembled a force of two aircraft carriers, one light aircraft carrier, two battleships, eleven heavy cruisers, four light cruisers, twenty-two destroyers, four transports and 180 aircraft. Opposing them was an American force of two aircraft carriers, one battleship, three heavy cruisers, one light cruiser, ten destroyers and 170 aircraft. The Americans intercepted the Japanese north of the Solomons on 24 August. American air attacks sank the Japanese light carrier and a destroyer. Japanese strikes on the American fleet did not sink any ships, and the Japanese lost ninety aircraft as compared to thirty American planes shot down. While the carriers were fighting, however, the Japanese landed 1500 men on Guadalcanal and bombarded Henderson Field. Eastern Solomons was an important American victory. It prevented the Japanese carriers from interfering in the Guadalcanal fighting and left the skies around Guadalcanal in American control.

Japanese September Offensive

In early September, the Japanese sent their 35th brigade of five battalions, some 4,000

men, to retake Henderson Field. Attacking all along the Marine perimeter on 12 September, most of the fighting centered on Bloody Ridge, where repeated Japanese attacks were repulsed. The Japanese suffered some 1200 losses, while the 5,500 defending Marines of the 1st and 5th Regiments and the Raider and Parachute Battalions had 260 casualties, almost all in the Raiders and Paratroops on "Bloody Ridge." The Japanese still could not break the defensive position and Henderson Field remained in American hands.

"Torpedo Junction"

During the first weeks of September, the Japanese positioned submarines between the American base at Espirito Santo and Guadalcanal. Within two weeks, an aircraft carrier and a destroyer had been sunk at "Torpedo Junction" and another carrier, a battleship, and a destroyer were damaged. This reduced American carrier strength to one, and battleship strength to zero. Fortunately, the Japanese carriers were also licking their wounds and did not attack again until the Americans had repaired a second carrier.

U.S. Matanikau Offensive

After realizing the weakness of the Japanese, the Americans launched an offensive to extend their defensive perimeter to the Matanikau River. Some 4,400 Marines drawn from the 2nd, 5th, and 7th Regiments and the Raider Battalion advanced to the Matanikau and by 27 September, the Americans had gained their objectives at a cost of 190 men. The 1,600 Japanese defenders lost 700 of their number in a vain attempt to halt the Marines. All the positions that could be used by artillery to bombard Henderson



Field were now in American hands, and the Marine perimeter had its eastern flank securely anchored.

Cape Esperance

During the night of 11/12 October, a Japanese force of three heavy cruisers and two destroyers, which were covering the landing of Japanese reinforcements on Guadalcanal, was attacked by two American heavy cruisers, two light cruisers, and five destroyers. Use of radar gave the Americans an advantage and the Japanese were defeated with a loss of a cruiser and a destroyer. The Americans lost a destroyer. Although they failed to prevent the Japanese landing troops that night, the American victory at Cape Esperance hindered later Japanese resupply efforts.

Japanese October Offensive

In late October, the Japanese opened a combined land, sea, and air offensive against Guadalcanal. The new offensive got off to a bad start on 23 October in an uncoordinated attack along the Matanikau in which 3,000 Japanese of the 4th and 124th Regiments suffered 800 losses in a futile effort to dislodge the 3rd Battalions of the 1st Marines and the 7th Marines. On the 24 and 25 October, the 29th and 16th Infantry Regiments, with elements of the 124th and 230th, launched their 5,460 men in an assault on the Ilu River positions and Bloody Ridge. The attacks on Bloody Ridge were thrown back by two battalions of the 7th Marines and the Ilu River was held by the 164th Regiment of the Americal Division, who used their new M-1 Rifles with good effect on the attacking Japanese. These attacks cost the Japanese some 2,200 men. American losses were very light. Again, uncoordinated Japanese attacks had failed to break the perimeter.

Battle of Santa Cruz Islands

The Japanese carrier force, after recovering from its wounds from Eastern Solomons, again tried to drive Allied ships from the Solomons and cut the supply routes to Guadalcanal in conjunction with the land offensive. To do this they had a force of two large and two light aircraft carriers, three battleships, eight heavy cruisers, two light cruisers, twenty-eight destroyers and 230 aircraft. To intercept them, the Americans had two aircraft carriers, one battleship, three heavy cruisers, three light cruisers, fourteen destroyers and 170 aircraft. On 26 October, the two forces spotted each other north of the Santa Cruz Islands and exchanged air strikes. By the end of the day, the Americans had an aircraft carrier and a destroyer sunk, with the battleship, a light cruiser, and a destroyer damaged. No Japanese ships were sunk, but one large and one light carrier were damaged, along with a heavy cruiser and three destroyers. In aircraft, 74 Americans and 100 Japanese were shot down. Although the Americans lost more ships and their carrier strength was down to nothing — the British had to dispatch reinforcements from the Atlantic — they had again kept the Japanese carriers away from Guadalcanal, albeit at some cost.

U.S. November Offensive

After the failure of the Japanese October offensive, the Americans again took the initiative, and pursued the retreating Japanese. While the retreating Japanese suffered losses, the Americans could not seize any additional ground as they did not have the men to hold any more ground. The Americans also made use of this lull to try to build an airfield at Aola Bay, but this did not prove feasible, due more to terrain than to Japanese opposition.

Naval Battles of Guadalcanal

The Japanese, with their carriers off licking their wounds (again), now had to rely on their surface warships to attempt to control the waters around Guadalcanal. On the night of 12-13 November, the Japanese sent a force of two battleships, a light cruiser, and eleven destroyers to deliver a possibly decisive bombardment of Henderson Field. The Americans intercepted them with a force of two heavy and three light cruisers and eight destroyers. In a confused, brief battle fought at ranges of under 1,000 yards, the Japanese lost a battleship and two destroyers to two American light cruisers and four destroyers sunk. Despite their losses, the Americans had prevented the bombardment of Henderson. On the 13th, the Japanese unwisely let one of their convoys venture within range of Guadalcanal in daylight. Airplanes sank seven of eleven transports and a light cruiser off Cape Esperance. On the night of 14-15 November, the Japanese sent a battleship, two heavy cruisers, two light cruisers, and nine destroyers to bombard Henderson Field. This time, the Americans met them with two battleships and four destroyers. A gunnery duel left the Japanese battleship and a destroyer

sinking. The Americans lost three destroyers. The Naval Battles of Guadalcanal prevented the last Japanese attempts to bring in large-scale reinforcements and to control the sea around Guadalcanal.

Tassafaronga

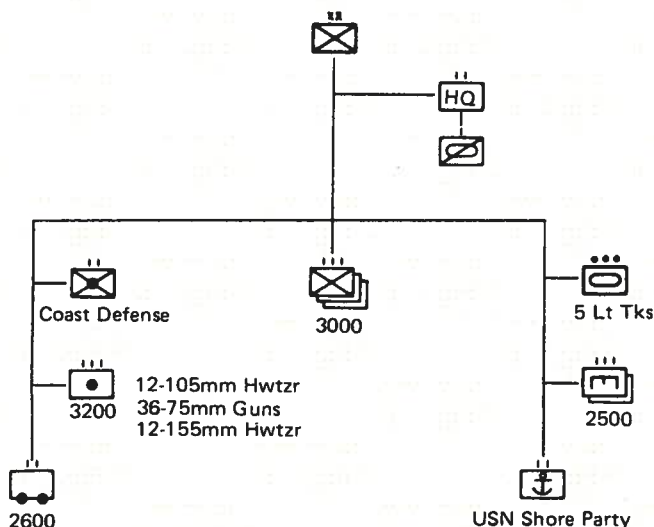
With the Americans controlling the air and sea around Guadalcanal, the Japanese had to carry supplies to their troops on the island on destroyers — the "Tokyo Express." The Battle of Tassafaronga, on the night of 30 November, was a result of an American effort to derail the Tokyo Express with one light and four heavy cruisers and six destroyers. But the "Express" turned the tables on the Americans, and the eight Japanese destroyers torpedoed four American cruisers, sinking one of them. The Japanese only lost one of their destroyers. Although superior Japanese training, tactics, and torpedoes gained them a tactical victory, the American Navy tightened their hold on the waters around Guadalcanal.

U.S. January Offensive

Lack of supplies weakened the Japanese forces remaining on the island. The Americans, with the Marines largely replaced with Army troops, had some 44,200 men and 24 battalions. The Japanese had only 26,000 men and 23 understrength battalions. In an offensive lasting from early December to 8 February, the Americans advance along the north coast of the island as the Japanese withdrew. The Americans suffered some 2,200 losses in skirmishes and delaying actions. The Japanese lost 15,000 men in this period and evacuated a similar amount. By 8 February, Guadalcanal was in American hands. — David Isby



U.S. Marine Infantry Division



The Marine Division (of which six were organized for the war) was a very large infantry combat team designed to move in and seize enemy strongholds by amphibious operations. This sort of thing can prove very costly, particularly in the initial landing phase. Marines were considerably better at amphibious assault than was the Army. One of the reasons for this was the organic Navy Shore Party which went in

with the first waves to organize the beachhead and assist in the disembarkation of troops. The large engineer and artillery contingents were also a result of this amphibious orientation and the Coast Defense Battalion was designed to defend the invaded beaches against possible enemy landings in the rear. Altogether a highly successful organization.

(continued from page 23)

THE FORGOTTEN BATTLE

A full history of World War II always mentions Guadalcanal. It was the first step toward pushing the Japanese back. In fact, in retrospect it was recognized as the turning point of the Pacific Theater. But most books covering just the major battles of the war omit it more often than mention it. Hanson Baldwin's excellent *Battles Lost and Won* and J.F.C. Fuller's *Military History of the Western World*, two of the best studies of that type, brush past it. In part this may be because Guadalcanal wasn't a neat battle. It was a series of small, violent operations with pauses between. It is impossible to encapsulate. Further, it is not a dramatic battle like Midway, the Bulge, Stalingrad or Leyte Gulf. Guadalcanal was not a fight between two well-honed, well-led forces. The impact of these other battles was immediate and obvious. Guadalcanal's importance was only apparent retrospectively as the war went on.

It is tempting to compare Guadalcanal to other battles to put it in some framework. It was the turning point of the Pacific war, the analogy to Stalingrad comes to mind. In some ways it is apt. The Americans landed little more than a month before the Germans started their final push on Stalingrad; the Japanese evacuated Guadalcanal four days after the Germans surrendered; the losers in each case lost the equivalent of an army in dead and prisoners; prior to the respective battles both Japanese and Germans had been repulsed (Midway and Moscow, respectively) but not defeated; after the respective battles each began a retreat that never really stopped until the final surrender.

Still, this comparison is not fair. The Japanese were not trapped on Guadalcanal the way the Germans were in the Stalingrad pocket. In fact, they evacuated their remaining forces with relative ease, once they began to pull out.

Perhaps the better comparison, if one must be drawn, is with the Wilderness Campaign of the American Civil War. The Americans, like the North, were able to win mainly because they had a greater ability to replace and absorb their losses than the enemy.

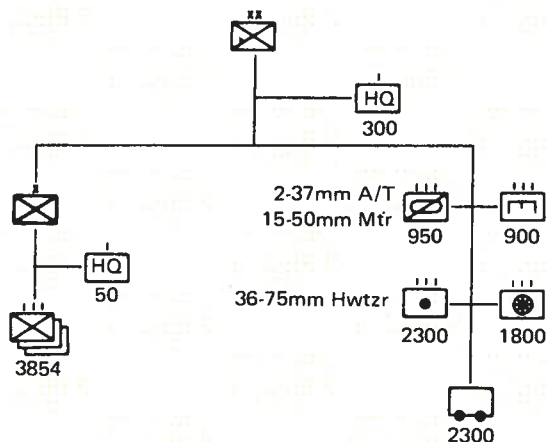
WHY GUADALCANAL?

Guadalcanal was a compromise battle. Midway was a case of serendipity for the Americans. Japan had sustained an unexpected defeat and was forced to look elsewhere for worlds to conquer. The Americans had gained an unexpected victory and were concerned about "cashing it in" before the Japanese could recover.

Attention quickly focused on the southern limits of Japan's recent conquests. Japan had rapidly expanded its Greater East Asia War to include southeast Asia, Indonesia, and all of the islands west of New Guinea, the northern two-thirds of New Guinea itself, the Bismark Archipelago and the Solomon Islands. The immediate threat was now to Australia. The Japanese had several options. They could push directly out of New Guinea on Australia itself or they could move southeast into the New Hebrides and Fiji Islands, cutting off communications between the United States and Australia.

In many ways Australia came to play the same role in the Pacific that England did in Europe: the main supply base for the Allied advance. Therefore, it was recognized as an important focal point for operations by both sides.

Japanese Infantry Division



On paper, the Japanese Infantry division ran to something like 19,000 to 21,000 men, but the T/O&E was rarely as tidy as this and elements were constantly being detached or attached so that some divisions had as few as 14,000 and some as many as 28,000 men. A good example of this would be the reconnaissance regiment. In some divisions this was a smaller outfit of horse cavalry, in others it was light tank, and in still others it was missing entirely. The artillery elements also greatly suffered from this sort of thing. Generally, Japanese organization was good, though the habit of attaching and detaching elements was a pernicious one

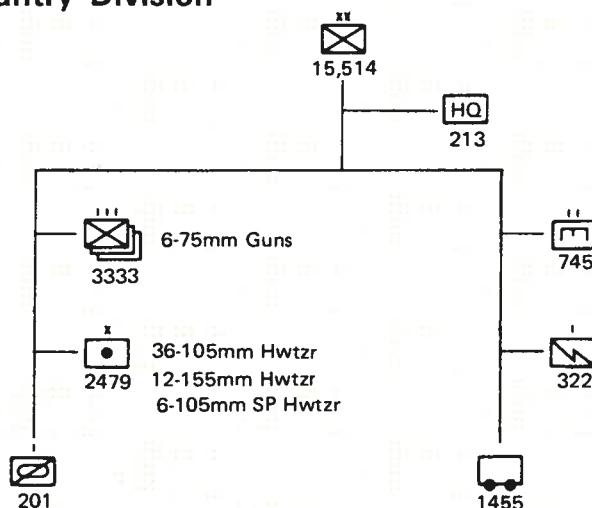
and not likely to promote efficient staff work. What was a problem, however, was Japanese equipment, which, while excellent on the small unit level, was much too light for sustained divisional action against American 105mm and 155mm guns and howitzers. Designed from experience of the China War, the Japanese division lacked the staying power to permit it to meet an American outfit on equal terms. Later in the war, a slightly different divisional structure — a brigade/battalion system — would be used along with this one, but the equipment problems were never made up.

General Douglas MacArthur, Commander in Chief, Southwest Pacific Area and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, Commander in Chief, South Pacific Area, were agreed that some offensive action in the area was desirable. As early as February Admiral Ernest J. King, Commander in Chief, U.S. Fleet, had told General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, that he thought the U.S. needed to take some islands in the area to keep lines open to Australia and provide bases for future operations.

The Japanese had developed Rabaul, on New Britain in the Bismark Archipelago, as a major headquarters. Stationed there were headquarters for Seventeenth Army, Southeastern Fleet, 8th Fleet and 11th Air Fleet. Both King and MacArthur agreed that Rabaul should be the ultimate goal. MacArthur wanted to strike directly at Rabaul. Nimitz wanted to go up the Solomons to avoid getting cut off in the middle of Japanese strongpoints on New Guinea and in the Solomons.

Since the only ground force available for amphibious operations was the Marines, this may have tipped the balance as to the course adopted. The Marines had been training for amphibious operations since 1940 while the Army had no similar training. In any event, Marshall and King agreed with the Nimitz plan. The attack on Rabaul would be in three stages. Stage One would be the seizure of Tulagi (a Japanese seaplane base) and Santa Cruz, as well as adjacent areas. Step two was the

U.S. Infantry Division



The standard American Infantry Division during the period from mid-1942 (when ground fighting began in earnest) to mid-1943 (when to all intents and purposes the campaign was over) was organized thusly. With special training and equipment, the unit could and did participate in amphibious operations, however with less efficiency than the Marine Divisions. The scales of equipment available were lavish.

And to supplement this lavish scale of equipment there would often be found a tank battalion, an anti-tank battalion, an anti-aircraft battalion, and additional engineers attached. Altogether, it was the perfect "general purpose organization," and had the additional benefit of permitting the formation of three "Regimental Combat Teams."

Weapons Comparison

AMERICAN					JAPANESE				
Designation	wt (lbs)	cal	rpm	rg (eff)	Designation	wt (lbs)	cal	rpm	rg (eff)
<i>Pistol</i>									
M1911A1 Semi-auto	2.4	.45	30	75	Nambu (1914)	1.9	8mm	36	75
<i>Rifle</i>									
Springfield M1903 bolt action	8.6	.30	12	600	Arisaka Model 38 bolt action	8.7	6.5mm	12	500
Garand M1 Semi-auto	9.5	.30	30	600	Model 99 (1939) bolt action	8.8	7.7mm	12	600
Carbine M1 Semi-auto	5.5	.30	45	600					
Browning Automatic Rifle full auto M1918AZ	20	.30	350 or 500	880	no counterpart				
<i>Submachinegun</i>									
Thompson M1928 A1	10.7	.45	600-625	100	no counterpart				
<i>Machinegun</i>									
Browning M1917(wc)	31	.30	450-600	1800	Model 99 light	20	7.7mm	250-800	1200
Browning M2	84	.50	450-500	2000	Model 93 heavy	90	13mm	420	2000
<i>Grenade Launcher</i>									
no counterpart					Model 91 (knee-mortar)	10.25	51mm	25	130
<i>Mortar</i>									
Light mortar	42	60mm	20	2000	no counterpart				
Medium mortar	141	90mm	15	4500	Model 99	52.51	81mm	15	1312 (141lb rd) 3280 (71lb rd)
<i>Howitzers</i>									
no counterpart					Model 92	1000	70mm	10	3000
Pack Howitzer	?	75mm	6	9500	Mountain Gun	1000	75mm	?	7750
Medium Howitzer	4980	105mm	2	12,330	no counterpart				
M2 Heavy Howitzer	12,700	155mm	.6	25,750	Model 96	10,000	150mm	4	12,900
					Model 4	13,500	150mm	.6	18,450
<i>Misc. Wpns.</i>									
Anti-Aircraft mg	121.5	.50	540	10,000	Model 93	110	13mm	420	12,000
AT gun	1700	37mm	20	1500	Model 97	2400	47mm	15	1500

NOTES: *Wt:* Weight of Weapon. *Cal:* Calibre of weapon. American small arms expressed in inches, all other in millimeters.

rpm: Rounds per Minute. The rate of fire of the weapon under combat conditions. *Rg:* Effective Range in yards. The weapon was

at its most effective under this range, although it was often physically capable of firing longer distances.

capture of the rest of the Solomons and Step three was the clearing of New Guinea and the Bismark Archipelago (including Rabaul). Step One was to be under naval control and the remaining steps under MacArthur. As a result, the boundary between Nimitz' zone of control and MacArthur's was shifted to the west of Florida and Guadalcanal Islands, to bring Tulagi under Nimitz. D-Day was set for August 1, 1942. Naval control was assigned to Vice-Admiral R.L. Ghormley. Under him was the 1st Marine Division (-) commanded by Major General Alexander A. Vandegrift, USMC. The whole operation was designated *Watchtower*.

Up to this point, Guadalcanal was not specifically included in any of the steps. However, in mid-July, 1942, an American recon flight noted that the Japanese were slowly building an airstrip on Guadalcanal. It was to hold 60 planes and be ready 15 August 1942. The Americans decided to include Guadalcanal in the operation. At the same time, they pushed the landing date back one week to 7 August 1942.

Vandegrift had only two of the three regiments assigned his division and the division had not actually worked as a unit before they held a series of discouraging rehearsals on Kore Islands, in the Fijis, on 28-30 July 1942. Because of the coral reefs, nobody wanted to risk the landing boats in a trial run and the whole thing was of little value. Vandegrift placed a wishful hope in the theater adage that a bad rehearsal meant a good performance and the plan went ahead on schedule.

THE MISSION

As finally conceived, the American mission was deceptively simple. They were to take the tiny islands of Tulagi and Gavutu, off Florida Island, and the airstrip on Guadalcanal. Both Tulagi and Gavutu were small and self-contained (except that Gavutu was connected to the still smaller island of Tanambogo by a cement causeway and that, too, had to be

taken). On the other hand, Guadalcanal was a good size and no plans were made as to what to do after the airstrip was taken. As it turned out, the Japanese provided the answer.

THE ISLAND

The Solomons are two parallel strips of islands of volcanic origin. They emerged from the sea, eons ago, with a crust of coral on top of the volcanic rock. Guadalcanal, the largest of the islands, was 90 miles long and averaged 25 miles wide. Running the length of the island, closer to the south shore than the north, was a ridge of mountains reaching up to 8,000 feet at points. On the northern part was a plain, intersected by a series of small rivers running from the mountains to the sea. On this northern plain between the small settlements of Tenaru and Kukuna, near Lunga Point, the Japanese were building their airfield. This plain had a series of small coconut plantations (the island's main industry) and large fields of kunai grass. Kunai grass grew as high as seven feet and had a razor edge. The few roads ran parallel to the coast. Any other movement on the island required a machete and a rate of speed of a mile or two a day.

The island lies at ten degrees south latitude and is an archetypical tropical climate. The average temperature runs in the high 80's; the average annual rainfall is over 150 inches and comes mainly in the period November to March. Aside from human inhabitants (Melan- asians), there were a variety of animals populating the islands. There were crocodiles and other reptiles in the swamps; all manner of insects, many of which were unappetizing to see, much less have crawl into one's bed. Worst of all were the mosquitoes which carried malaria, dengue and other fevers. In many ways the mosquito proved as deadly an enemy as the humans.

Guadalcanal was discovered by Don Alverado Medina in 1568 and was named for the city near Valencia, Spain. Don Alverado was searching for King Solomon's legendary mines

at Ophir (hence the islands' name) and the lost continent of Terra Australis. Part of the Solomons had been a British protectorate since before the turn of the century and the rest had been acquired by Britain from Germany as a League of Nations mandate after the war. Reliable maps were non-existent, aside from a few German maps from the turn of the century and those augmentations received from refugees. In fact the Americans never produced good maps during the entire campaign. The effectiveness of American knowledge of the island is indicated by the fact that they persisted in calling the Ilu River the Tenaru River for a number of weeks after they landed. The capital of the protectorate was on Tulagi. The British had the wisdom to stay clear of Guadalcanal unless absolutely necessary.

Guadalcanal was barely known to the Japanese who landed there. Most Americans didn't even recognize the name, much less have an idea as to its location.

OPPOSING FORCES

Guadalcanal was not a "tidy" battle. It involved all aspects of modern warfare, as practices in the Pacific. There were conventional ground operations; tactical air support of ground operations; bombing of ground installations; aerial-naval engagements (with both land and carrier based planes); air-to-air combat and ship-to-ship combat. As it turned out, these battles rarely happened at the same time so the advantage gained in one area was often lost in another.

The real problem was the inability of either side to muster enough strength to bring all of these forces to bear in decisive numbers at one time. The Japanese were over-extended and the Americans were green and inept in many respects.

Japanese

The Japanese brought an experienced, well-trained armed force to the battle. They had been fighting in China for more than ten years. Those who hadn't actually fought there still benefited from the lessons learned.

The Army

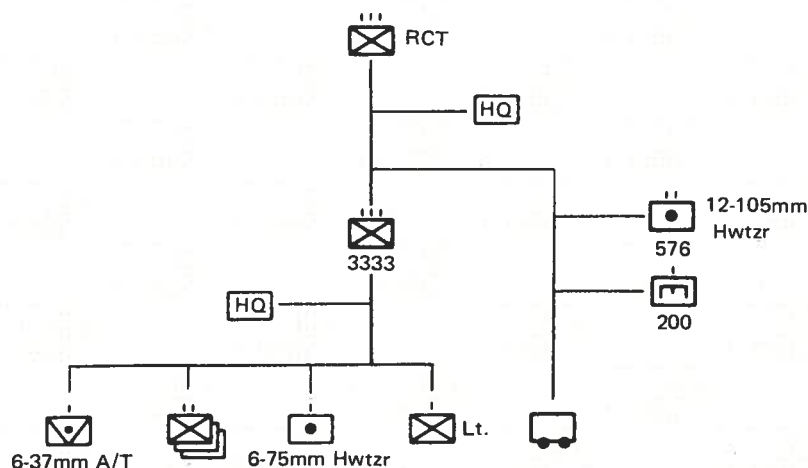
In the last analysis, the battle of Guadalcanal was a land battle: one army had to beat the other and control the island. The Japanese failure, then, is the failure of the army.

At first glance there seemed to be a rough parity between the Japanese and Americans in weaponry. In fact, the Japanese rifles were of light calibre and had less stopping power. In addition, their automatic weapons were plagued with jamming. That made them worse than non-automatic since they then could not fire a round until the stoppage was reduced.

The greatest problem was in effective numbers. Since the Japanese were attacking, they had a problem moving machine guns and heavier equipment. The result was that they could not bring this parity to bear in most of their offensive actions. In addition, Japanese tactical doctrine did not emphasize artillery preparations. Therefore, they didn't try to move their heavy artillery through the jungles. Their offensive operations lacked major preparatory fires, other than from mortars and scattered artillery.

The Japanese had great difficulty in simply moving their army around the jungles. There were no trails worth the name and movement proved to be a problem which the Japanese

U.S. Regimental Combat Team



Roughly speaking the U.S. Infantry Division could be broken down into three Regimental Combat Teams plus a Support Group. This was doctrine, and not merely battlefield practice, so the U.S. soon

became rather efficient at this sort of thing and training allowed for it. The RCT concept gave the divisional commander a degree of flexibility lacking to his Japanese counterparts.

The Guadalcanal Campaign at Sea: An Overview in Statistics

The Battle for Guadalcanal was essentially a sea fight. The issue ultimately revolved around the question of command of the seas. The following series of tables are a statistical overview of the naval aspects of the campaign, along with a look at the wider Pacific and World Wars going on around it.

Naval Strength Available The Pacific, December 1941

Type	Japan	United States Pacific	Allies Total	
CV	12	3	8	—
A/C	672	280	671	—
BB	11	9	17	2
CA	18	13	18	1
CL	17	11	19	10
DD	104	80	183	20
SS	— 67	73	112	13

These are the forces immediately available in the Pacific in the first month of the war, plus world wide strength figures for the United States, which could draw upon the Atlantic Fleet if in need. The Allies—Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and the Netherlands—also had additional forces outside the Pacific Theater, but were unable to draw upon them due to the pressures of the Hitlerian War. Abbreviations for this and succeeding tables: *CV*, aircraft carriers; *A/C*, aircraft carried by aircraft carriers; *BB*, battleships and battlecruisers; *CA*, heavy cruisers, those with guns of 8" caliber; *CL*, light cruisers, those with guns of 6" caliber or less; *DD*, destroyers; *SS*, submarines; *CVE*, aircraft carrier escorts; *DE*, destroyer escorts.

Naval Losses Dec. 1941 — Jul. 1942

Type	Japan	United States Pacific	Allies Total	
CV	5	2	2	1
A/C	357	190	190	15
BB	—	2	2	2
CA	1	1	1	3
CL	—	—	—	4
DD	10	5	10	15
SS	13	7	7	7

Cumulative losses during the first eight months of the Pacific War are set forth here. The table does not, however, include vessels effectively lost during this period but later returned to service. The most notable case of this being five American battleships sunk at Pearl Harbor, none of which were back in service before 1943.

Naval Forces Committed: The Guadalcanal Campaign Aug. 1942 — Feb. 1943

Type	Japan	United States
CV	6	6
CVE	—	2
A/C	330	466
BB	4	4
CA	13	15
CL	7	11
DD	c. 45	c. 35
SS	c. 25	c. 25

These are the forces committed to the Guadalcanal operation by both sides for the six months during which it effectively lasted. Allied forces, Australian and New Zealand, are included with American totals.

Losses: The Guadalcanal Campaign Aug. 1942 — Jan. 1943

Type	Japan		United States	
	<i>SoPac</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>SoPac</i>	<i>Pacific Total</i>
CV	1	1	2	2
A/C	48	48	184	184
BB	2	2	—	—
CA	3	3	5	5
CL	1	2	2	2
DD	11	16	14	18
SS	6	12	1	2

SoPac indicates losses incurred in the Guadalcanal/Solomons area during the period in question. *Pacific* indicates total losses incurred in all Pacific Ocean areas fighting, including *SoPac*. *Total* indicates world wide loss. Not included in United States Totals are losses to Allied navies, totalling one CA and several smaller vessels.

Guadalcanal Losses as a Percentage of Total War Losses

Type	Japan	United States Pacific	Total
CV	5%	50%	50%
CVE	—	—	—
A/C	4	36	33 1/3
BB	18	—	—
CA	17	71	71
CL	5	26	20
DD	6	25	17
SS	3	2	2

This table presents losses at Guadalcanal as a percentage of losses suffered by both fleets for the entire war. For the Americans,

the figure is sub-totaled for the Pacific War. Destroyer escorts (DE) are included with destroyers. A/C losses include spaces lost on four aircraft carrier escorts, three of which were lost in the Pacific and one in the Atlantic in 1944-45, and one light carrier lost in 1944, all of which are *not* included under CV above.

Warship Construction Jan. 1941 — Jun. 1943

Period	Japan	United States
Jan-Jun 1942	1CV, 1CVL, 1CVE(110 A/C) 1CL, 3DD	1CVE(21A/C), 3BB, 5CL, 25DD, 16SS
Jul-Dec 1942	1CV, 1CVL, 1CVE(128 A/C) 1BB, 1CL, 6DD	1CV, 10CVE (362 A/C) 3CL, 53DD, 21SS
Jan-Jun 1943	1CL, 5DD	5CV, 2CVL, 5CVE(695 A/C), 2CA, 2CL, 28DD, 48DE, 25SS

As can be seen, the U.S. was actually outproducing Japan in warships from the very beginning of the war and increased its margin of superiority with each month that passed. By June 1943 the American industrial establishment was fully under way and ships were coming down the ways with greater rapidity. Roughly speaking, it takes from six months to a year from completion — which is what is indicated above — to reporting for duty with the fleet.

Total Construction by Type

	Japan	United States
CV/CVL/CVE	6(238 A/C)	24(1,052 A/C)
BB	1	4
CA	—	2
CL	3	10
DD	13	146
DE	—	48
SS	—	62

Not shown on this chart are approximately 26 CVE (546 A/C) and 21 DE produced for (and turned over to) the British during this period in the U.S.



constantly underestimated. Further, the Japanese did not try to supply their troops with as nutritious a diet as the Americans. This, plus disease, soon weakened the Japanese soldiers. Of 21,500 casualties, 9,000 died of disease — malaria, malnutrition, beri-beri and dysentery. By the end of 1942, the Japanese front line troops were reduced to eating coconuts, grass, roots, ferns, bamboo sprouts and wild potatoes. On Mount Austen the Americans even found signs of cannibalism.

Though, unlike the Americans, their regimental units had prior combat experience in China and in the expansion during 1941-42, they rarely worked together as part of a division and therefore lacked that crucial experience. Even more rare was any work as part of a field army. Other problems included a low level of security consciousness. It was not at all uncommon for a raiding party to capture (or, more often, kill) a Japanese soldier and find a detailed diary on his person, setting forth specific orders of battle and outlining planned operations. Because they had been told that the Americans tortured prisoners, the Japanese often preferred death than risk capture. But once captured, they found the Americans weren't ogres and willingly proceeded to tell everything they knew.

The Japanese underestimated American capabilities. They were convinced that the Americans could plan fairly well, but once they had accomplished that mission, the Japanese believed that the Americans could not follow up an advantage without going back to plan the next step in detail. The ability of the Americans to react on the spur of the moment unhinged several of the already tenuous Japanese plans. The Japanese intelligence systems on Guadalcanal were bad. They never had even a fair estimate of American strength and chose to be overoptimistic by underestimating American strength and overestimating their own capabilities.

Nonetheless, the average Japanese soldier was far from incompetent. The training was rigorous and the typical soldier could be counted on to perform the given mission as long as he was physically able. The ultimate problem was in their military doctrine. It is fashionable to blame the officers for the losses Japan suffered. It is their fault to the extent that they did not buck the "system." But the code of *Bushido* haunted Japanese tactics. As long as they believed that anything less than a frontal assault was somehow dishonorable and that death in the attack was better than retreating and living, the results of Guadalcanal became unavoidable. Most of the Japanese losses were sustained dashing themselves against prepared positions.

Navy

Before the turn of the century, Japan had been a naval power in the Pacific. The Russo-Japanese war and the Japanese victory at Tsushima made the navy the premier branch of the Japanese armed forces. As a result, a great deal of concern was devoted to naval training as well as ship design and development in the years prior to World War II. Although the Japanese ships involved here were generally older than their American counterparts, they were not by any means obsolete (with the possible exception of the battleships, which were pre-World War II). The real key to the Japanese naval edge was that they were well trained. Moreover, they worked their ships together in task forces and were

therefore generally able to perform fleet maneuvers (even at night). In the course of the campaign, the Japanese actually lost 6% more tonnage in fighting ships (battleships, cruisers, destroyers, carriers, and submarines) but, as will be pointed out, this is deceptive since the Americans were able to save many damaged ships (which had they been Japanese would have been lost) due to the relative location of the supply and repair bases to the sites of battles. Even at that, the tonnage difference (8,599 tons) was only the equivalent of a light cruiser. The biggest disparity was in transports. There the Japanese took a clear loss.

One tangible, technological superiority that the Japanese enjoyed was their 24 inch torpedo. It was highly reliable and the Japanese developed a well-honed torpedo attack doctrine with their destroyers. Much of their success in the naval engagements which followed was achieved by skillful use of destroyers and these torpedoes. The same torpedo was used in Japanese submarines, but they were not nearly as imaginative or aggressive in deployment of the submarines. They liked to have the submarine lay in ambush in the main supply routes and pick off what they could. At first, they were successful in this tactic. The stretch of water between the Solomons and Espiritu Santo came to be known as "Torpedo Junction" because of it. However, the Americans soon developed an effective anti-submarine system and the Japanese submarines were reduced to attacking targets of opportunity.

Air Force

In the Zero, the Japanese had one of the great planes of the war. They flew rings around anything the Americans had at Guadalcanal. The Zero came in two forms — a carrier type and a float type. To the Americans, the carrier plane was known as "Zeke" and the float plane "Rufe." In fact, they were the same basic plane. The respective Japanese designations were A6M and A6M2-N. They were also known as Type OO because they were developed in 1940 (see *Japanese Aircraft Designations*). There is some common confusion on the names for the Zero. This is one of the few planes that became well known by its Japanese name. Often writers will try to distinguish between Zero and Zeke though they are the same plane. The practice of giving American names to Japanese planes was initiated by Colonel Frank MacCoy, USAAF. Male names were given to fighters and female names to bombers.

The Zero's main disadvantage was its light construction. It couldn't dive well nor could it take much of a beating. Its light armor afforded little protection for pilot or fuel. Further, it lacked heavy weaponry and was therefore of little value against American heavy bombers. Still, it was so maneuverable that, in the hands of a skilled pilot, it was a dangerous plane.

The Japanese air force was well trained and experienced. It had been through Pearl Harbor, as well as the attacks into the South Pacific, Midway and the Coral Sea. In addition, it too had cut its teeth in China. As a result, Japanese pilots were (initially) far more experienced than their American counterparts. However, Japan lacked the facilities to develop new pilots the way the Americans could and this became a problem after Guadalcanal had bled off so many good Japanese pilots.

The biggest problem for the Japanese pilots was distance. Their main base was Rabaul, 640

miles away from Guadalcanal. All of their attacks, except those few launched from carriers, had to fly from Rabaul (except in the last month or so when more advanced bases were opened). This round trip taxed their range limitations and meant that they had little time available in the air over Guadalcanal to pick their spot and do maximum damage.

AMERICANS

Ground Forces

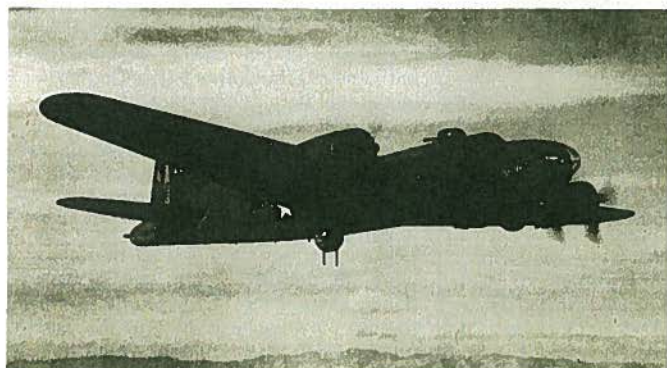
For the Americans, Guadalcanal re-introduced, for the first time in 44 years, amphibious operations. The Marines had been training since 1940 in amphibious operations and it was logical that they should make the initial landings. Although much of the Marine image of World War II was created on Guadalcanal, the idea of hard-bitten, career-type soliders is more myth than reality. The average age of the Marines on Guadalcanal was nineteen. Initially the Marine units sent in were not as effective as they should have been. They had not trained in division level operations and underestimated many of the difficulties Guadalcanal imposed. There is some reason to suspect that, had the Americans known what would have happened, they might have postponed the invasion until a later date. As noted, they were not particularly better equipped than the Japanese. Their rifle was, at the outset, the bolt action 30.06 M1903 Springfield. This was about as effective as its Japanese counterpart, though it had greater stopping power. It wasn't until the Army arrived that the better M1 Garand semi-automatic rifle became available in any numbers. This gave the Americans a decided edge. The cal .45 pistol proved useless in jungles, as did the Marine Reising cal .45 submachinegun. The Thompson submachinegun was much better but it sounded too much like the Japanese .25 cal weapons to be used safely at night. Although initially equipped with a water-cooled cal .30 machinegun (which was too heavy to be useful in offensive operations) these were soon replaced by an air-cooled version. This replacement was particularly successful. The most valuable automatic weapon was the Browning Automatic Rifle (BAR). In the defense, the Americans were able to get a lot of mileage out of the cal .50 machinegun and the 37mm antitank guns. Their weight made them unsuitable for offensive operations.

Communications was a problem for the Americans. Their radios were not designed for the extreme humidity of the jungle. Corrosion was rampant and caused the radios to shift frequency or quit altogether. In addition, the heavy jungle often damped out communications by any of the portable radios.

Tactically the Americans found that attacking the flank was very successful. The Japanese defended well against frontal attacks. On the defense, the Americans made use of their automatic weapons and barbed wire to create a series of strong points that were virtually invulnerable to Japanese frontal attack. Offensively, they made good use of artillery. No attack was launched without an extensive artillery preparation, followed by a cautious advance. This had both a positive and negative effect. Positively, it was a major reason why the Americans did not sustain as heavy casualties as the Japanese when they were unsuccessful in offensive operations. Negatively, this caution prevented them from crushing the Japanese in the final weeks when they were evacuating the island. In general, the

Allied & Japanese Aircraft

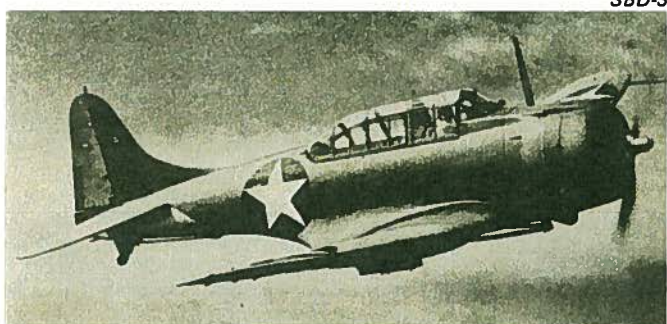
★ Type	Speed	R/C	Range	Ceil	W/L	Hp/W	Wt.	FP	Use	Bombs(lbs.)
P-39D/P-400 Airacobra-F	360	40	600	32.1	35.0	.15	3.8	9.0	41-43	500
P-40K Warhawk-F	360	34	700	30.0	34.0	.16	4.0	9.2	42-44	1500
P-38F Lightning-F	395	40	1750	39.0	42.0	.18	8.0	8.5	42-44	2000
B17F Flying Fortress-H	299	16	2100	31.0	28.5	.08	24.0	20.0	42-44	4000
F4F-4 Wildcat	328	38	845	30.0	29.0	.17	3.5	9.3	42-45	1000
SBD-3 Dauntless-D	250	20	1345	27.1	16.0	.13	4.2	4.0	41-45	1200
TBF-1 Avenger-T	271	24	1215	22.4	28.0	.13	6.8	2.5	42-43	1600/1 torp.
PBY-SA Catalina-R	189	12	2990	18.1	24.0	.07	17.0	4.0	41-45	4000/2 torp.
B-26B Marauder-M	317	22	1150	23.5	59.0	.12	17.0	9.2	41-45	3000/1 torp.



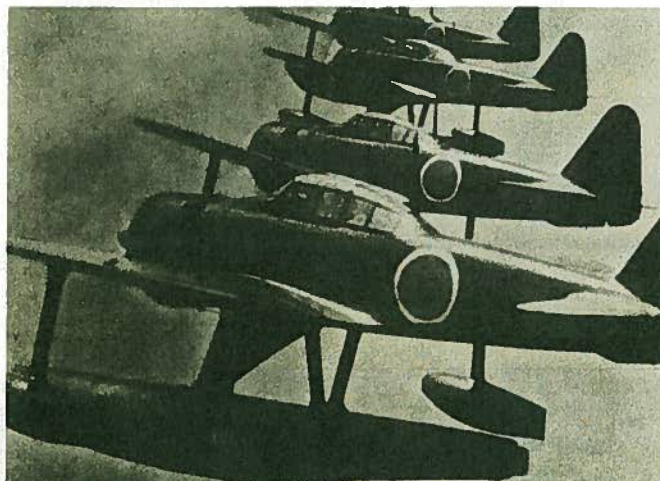
B-17F



B5N2 Kate



SBD-3



A6M2N Rufe

● Type	Speed	R/C	Range	Ceil	W/L	Hp/W	Wt.	FP	Use	Bombs(lbs.)
A6M2 Zero (Type 00)-F	336	75	1165	33.8	22.0	.14	2.7	6.6	41-45	264
B5N2 Kate (Type 97)-T	235	21	609	35.0	20.5	.12	4.2	3.7	41-44	1100/1 torp.
D3A2 Val (Type 99)-D	266	24	970	35.7	22.5	.18	4.1	3.7	41-45	816
G3M2 Nell (Type 96)-M	238	24	1850	28.8	22.0	.12	8.75	4.5	41-43	1100/1 torp.
G4M2 Betty (Type 99)-M	272	28	2200	29.3	34.0	.13	13.75	4.6	41-45	2479/1 torp.
H8K2 Emily (Type 01)-R	290	27	3862	29.0	31.4	.14	27.1	15.5	42-45	4408/2 torp.
A6M2-N Rufe (Type 2-11)-Fp	270	41	1107	32.8	22.5	.17	2.8	6.6	42-45	264

LEGEND: *Type:* Official designation is followed by the aircraft's name for American aircraft, or with the U.S. assigned code name for the Japanese. The Japanese designations in parenthesis are the old-style Japanese nomenclature still used at Guadalcanal. The identifying letter shows the type of aircraft: F—single-engine, single-seat fighter; Ft—twin-engine single-seat fighter; Fp—single-engine, single-seat fighter on floats; T—single-engine, three-place carrier borne torpedo bomber; D—single-engine, two-place, carrier borne dive bomber; M—twin-engine, multi-place medium bomber; H—Four-

engine heavy bomber; R—Long range reconnaissance flying boat. *Speed:* maximum, in miles per hour at c. 15,000 ft...*R/C:* Rate of Climb, maximum, in feet per second, at sea level. This decreased at high altitude. *Range:* in miles, the maximum distance the plane could stay in the air at cruising speed (usually about one-half maximum speed) at cruising altitude. *Ceil:* Ceiling, maximum operational altitude, in thousands of feet. *W/L:* Wing Loading, pounds of the plane's weight each square foot of wing surface had to lift. The lower this number the more maneuverable the

plane was. *Hp/W:* Horsepower to Weight Ratio, given in horsepower per pound of plane weight. The higher this number is, the better the plane can accelerate, maneuver, and climb. *Wt:* loaded weight, in tons, of the plane. Heavier planes could absorb damage. *FP:* Firepower of the plane's guns and cannon in terms of pounds of shell per second. *Use:* Years the particular type of plane was in use between. *Bombs:* the amount of bombs, in pounds, the plane could carry when acting as a bomber. Some airplanes could carry torpedoes in lieu of bombs.

Americans would register their guns well beyond the target zone and adjust closer to friendly lines. They had some bad experience, at the start, trying to register directly on the target. They often obtained short rounds on friendly positions, which was bad for friendly morale.

The U.S. Army, for its part, had the benefit of everything the Marines learned. The Marines had to develop techniques of jungle warfare. The Army did not arrive until early October, 1942, and did not actually appear in strength until early December. That gave them much more time to train and the result was that the Americal Division and the 25th Infantry Division were able to function more effectively right from the start than the 1st Marine Division did on landing. Further, by the time the Army arrived in full force, the supply problem had been beaten. Aside from the Japanese attacks, supplies proved the biggest American problem. Because of the differences between the supply situation and the strength of the Japanese during the early months, when the Marines were there alone, and later, when the Army arrived, it is unfair and unsound to compare the two services. They each faced different situations and coped with them as best they could. The Army regiments which fought with the 1st Marines fought as well as the Marine regiments; the Marine regiments which fought in the last part of the campaign performed no differently from the Army regiments.

Navy

The U.S. Navy had not been as badly hurt at Pearl Harbor as propaganda made it seem. The battleships were not crucial in the war (though they were far from useless, as some have contended). The carriers were, of course, away from Pearl Harbor and so were the cruisers. These were the backbones of the Pacific theater. Despite more modern shipping and such innovations as radar, the Americans were not particularly effective in ship-to-ship fighting. The carrier battles turned on the quality of American pilots, but that is another matter. American naval tactical doctrine was not effective, at the start. To their credit, the mistakes in one battle were corrected for the next. As a result, the balance generally shifted more and more in favor of the Americans as each battle was fought. Despite this, the Japanese inflicted far heavier damage than the Americans. The problem was, for the Japanese, that they had to sail back to Rabaul for repairs. The result was that ships with more than moderate damage were often lost because they couldn't get away fast enough and were sunk by American planes, or were simply abandoned because the Japanese knew they couldn't get them back to Rabaul safely.

Each battle left the Americans in possession of the "battlefield." This permitted damage control teams to take care of the ships which were dead in the water, or taking on water, on

the spot. Many ships were saved that would have been lost had they been forced to sail back to Espiritu Santo (the American base an equivalent distance to Rabaul from Guadalcanal). For the Navy, Guadalcanal was part of the learning process. They had not fought a naval war since the Spanish-American War and the quality of the enemy, then, was nowhere near the quality of the Japanese navy. As a result, the price of each lesson learned came high.

Air Force

There were three air arms involved at Guadalcanal: the Marines, Army Air Corps and Navy, with the Marines forming the largest part. Because Guadalcanal was given the code name *Cactus*, the various squadrons based on Guadalcanal were given the collective name of Cactus Air Force. In addition to the Marines, Cactus Air Force had a good-sized Army contingent and a number of naval elements, primarily off the carriers. The Cactus Air Force was generally understrength for the job given it, but it acquitted itself well. Except for one or two occasions, they protected the airfield and the transports and that was their mission.

In addition, there were the carrier planes, which were more involved with the carrier operations than defense of the island. They were, of course, in and out of the picture depending on the naval situation. Finally, the bombers available to defend the island (and conduct offensive operations against Rabaul and the Japanese shipping) came from Espiritu Santo, some 650 miles to the southeast.

The airplanes were generally inferior, at this stage, to their Japanese counterparts (with the exception of the bombers). But they were better built. The best U.S. plane on hand was the Gruman F4F-4 Wildcat. Less maneuverable than the Zero, it was more sturdy. It could dive more steeply and absorb more punishment than the Zero. As a result, the American pilots were more than able to hold their own, despite the Wildcat's weaknesses. On the other extreme was the Army's P-400, an export model of the P-39 Aircobra. The plane had a limited ceiling and was soon found fit only for strafing enemy ground operations.

In general, the air forces were the most successful for the Americans since they bested their opposition, despite being inferior in numbers and quality to the Japanese forces.

OPERATIONS

The battles which resulted in taking Guadalcanal are each capable of separate description. They were relatively neat in that each naval action took place when there was nothing of note on land and the land actions were for a fixed period, having a clear beginning and a clear end (unlike battles in Europe where the battle blended into the follow-up operations without much distinction, except in the eyes of an historian). More detailed accounts can be found in any number of sources and have been omitted here simply for the sake of space. What follows is the barest sketch, outlining the major problems that contributed to the result.

THE LANDING — 7 AUGUST 1942

The Americans landed on four islands: Florida, known to the natives as Nggela — a feint, Tulagi, Gavutu and Guadalcanal. Landings on Tulagi and Gavutu were opposed and it took the balance of the day before the Japanese were driven off. Guadalcanal was totally unopposed: the naval bombardment had frightened the few defenders into the jungle. On 8 August

American Order of Battle on Guadalcanal

1st Marine Div. — 1st, 5th, 7th, rgs., 11th art. rg.

Americal Div. — 132nd, 164th, 182nd rgs., 221, 245, 246, 247 art. bns., 57th eng. bn., 101st med. bn., 101st supply bn., 26th

signal co., Cav. sqdn.

25th Inf. Div. — 27th, 35th, 161st rgs., 8th, 20th, 64th, 89th art. bns.

2nd Marine Div. — 2nd, 6th, 8th rgs., 10th art. rg.



Japanese Order of Battle on Guadalcanal

SEVENTEENTH ARMY HQ

28 Rg. (+) (Ichiki Force).

35th Brigade (Kawaguchi Force) — 124 Rg.

38th Div. — 228th, 229th, 230th, inf. rgs., 4th art. rg.

2nd Div. — 4th, 16th, 29th rgs.

Army Troops (non-divisional) — 1 mtn art. bn., 1 mtn. art. rg., 1 arm. rg., 1 arm. co., 1 aviation co., 1 eng. rg., 1 mtr. bn., 1 art. rg. (+), 3 AA art. rgs., 3 AA art. bns., 1 AA art. bt.

the USMC took the airstrip, renamed it Henderson Field (for Major Lofton Henderson, a Marine flier killed at Midway) and had it available for some planes by 10 August.

The big problem was supplies. They had a major problem in getting the supplies off the beach because the Americans had underestimated the number of men needed to move them. In addition, they had few of the ramp-dropping amphibious tractors which would speed unloading. This, plus Japanese air attacks, slowed supply operations drastically.

SAVO ISLAND — 9 AUGUST 1942

In addition to an abortive attempt to ship in troops, the Japanese sent in a naval force under Vice Admiral Gunichi Mikawa. The U.S. Navy took up blocking positions between Savo Island and Florida and Guadalcanal Islands, as well as to the east, thereby cutting off access to the waters between Guadalcanal and Florida. The Japanese opened fire at 0143 on 9 August, at a range of 5000 yards, pouncing on the southern force. They dispatched it promptly, headed north and did the same to the northern force, which was not even alerted by the destruction of the southern force. Mikawa then headed home, only to be criticized because he didn't go after the transports off Guadalcanal.

The Americans lost four of the five cruisers which were engaged, with the fifth being seriously damaged. The Japanese had only light damage. American surprise can be attributed to several reasons. The first was an inability to coordinate communications on all levels. The Japanese fleet had been sighted by an aerial observer during the day, but because radio silence was in effect, no one knew of it until after dark when the pilot was debriefed and it was too late to send planes after the Japanese. Second, when the Japanese arrived near Savo, such radar as existed was either not believed or misunderstood. Third, when the southern force was getting hit, nobody bothered to tell the northern force, nor did the northern force apparently wonder what was going on and inquire on its own initiative. Further, the Americans had no coherent plan of operations. The Japanese were well drilled in night operations. The Americans had only the vaguest idea of what to do and no one had ensured that even that vague notion was understood by all participants.

The main result of Savo Island was that the Americans pulled all of their shipping out of Iron Bottom Sound (as the waters between Florida and Guadalcanal were aptly to be named) and left the Marines ashore with inadequate supplies (less than 30 days' rations). In effect, Mikawa did what he was supposed to do: deny the supplies to the Americans. He didn't sink the hulls the supplies were in, but then he also didn't risk further damage to his ships from any forces the Americans might have to the east.

BATTLE OF THE "TENARU" RIVER — 21 AUGUST 1942

The Japanese had faulty intelligence as to American strength. They thought there were only 2,000 Marines ashore (actual Marine strength: 17,000). So they sent Colonel Kiyanao Ichiki with a 900 man force composed of the 28th Infantry Regt (reinforced). Ichiki landed on 18 August, east of the American positions. The Marines dug in along the Ilu. Ichiki attacked on 21 August.

Aircraft Unit Arrivals at Guadalcanal

DATE	SERVICE	SQDN DESIGNATION	TYPE PLANE
20 Aug (1942)	USMC USMC	VMSB-232 VFM-223	SBD-1 F4F-4
22 Aug	USAAF	67 Ftr Sqdn (elem)	P-400
24 Aug	USN USN	VS-5 (elem) VS-6 (elem)	SBD-3 SBD-3
27 Aug	USAAF	67 Ftr Sqdn (elem)	P-400
30 Aug	USMC USMC	VMSB-231 VMF-224	SBD-1 F4F-4
11 Sep	USN	VF-6	F4F-4
13 Sep	USN	VT-8	TBF-1
23 Sep	USMC	VMSB-141	SBD-3
25 Sep	USMC	VMF-121	F4F-4
28 Sep	USN	VS-71	SBD-3
3 Oct	USAAF	339 Ftr Sqdn	P-38
3-16 Oct	USMC	VMF-212	F4F-4
15 Oct	USN	VS-5-D14	OS2U-3
29 Oct	USMC	VMSB-132	SBD-3
2 Nov	USMC	VMF-112	F4F-4
12 Nov	USMC USMC	VMSB-131 VMSB-142	TBF-1 SBD-3
13 Nov	USMC	VMF-122	F4F-4
14 Nov	RNZAF	9 Bomb Recon (elem)	Ventura
24 Nov	RNZAF	Recon Sqdn	Hudson
2 Dec	USMC	VMD-154	PB4Y-1*
8 Dec	USAAF	68 Ftr Sqdn	P-40
12 Dec	USMC	VMSB-233	SBD-4
15 Dec	USN	VP-2	PB4-5
17 Dec	USN	VS-4-D14	OS2U-3
21 Dec	USAAF	70 Ftr Sqdn (elem)	P-39, P-38
22 Dec	USAAF	44 Ftr Sqdn (elem)	P-40
31 Dec	USAAF	69 Bomber Det	B-25, B-26
3 Jan (1943)	USAAF	42 Ftr Sqdn (elem)	P-39
14 Jan	USAAF	31 Bomber Det	B-24
17 Jan	USAAF	17 Photo Recon	F-5 (mod. P-38)
28 Jan	USMC	VMSB-234	SBD-4
1 Feb	USN USN USN	VGS-11 VGS-12 VGS-16	F4F4-4/TBF-1 F4F-4/TBF-1 F4F-4/TBF-1
2 Feb	USMC	VMF-123	F4F-4

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTES

USMC — United States Marine Corps
 USN — United States Navy
 USAAF — United States Army Air Force
 RNZAF — Royal New Zealand Air Force
 VT — Torpedo Bomber Squadron (USN)
 VS — Scout Squadron (USN)
 VP — Patrol Squadron (USN)
 VMSB — Marine Scout or Dive Bomber Squadron
 VMF — Marine Fighter Squadron
 VF — Fighter Squadron (USN)
 VB — Bomber Squadron (USN)

Note: unit arrivals varied between 1 and 19 planes per squadron.

*based at Espiritu Santo and on tenders but assigned to Cactus.

TBF-1 Avengers



The Guadalcanal Campaign/Ground Forces Strength and Reinforcement, August 42 — February 43

On Hand Reinf. Losses Bns. Inf.

7 Aug* US 17,000 17,340 340 11 8,800

J 2,700 3,600 900 0 200

21 Aug US 12,500 13,000 500 8 5,500

J 3,400 5,000 1,600 2 1,400

28 Aug US 13,300 13,800 500 8 5,500

12 Sep US 13,500 14,000 500 8 5,500

J 8,000 10,700 2,700 8 5,300

24 Sep US 18,200 19,000 800 11 8,500

J 7,300 11,500 4,200 9 3,600

23 Oct US 23,000 24,200 1,200 13 9,800

J 20,000 27,000 7,000 19 9,000

c. 7 Nov US 31,300 33,800 2,500 19 13,400

J 27,000 37,000 10,000 21 10,200

c. 21 Nov US 36,200 38,800 2,600 21 16,800

c. 28 Nov US 38,000 40,800 2,800 22 17,300

J 30,000 50,000 20,000 23 9,000

c. 7 Dec US 41,500 44,400 2,900 24 18,800

c. 14 Dec US 51,600 55,000 3,400 27 21,000

c. 28 Dec US 44,200 48,000 3,800 24 18,800

J 26,000 51,000 25,000 23 8,500

c. 7 Jan 1943 US 50,800 55,000 4,200 30 23,100

c. 28 Jan US 52,300 58,000 5,700 30 21,900

J 22,700 51,700 29,000 23 4,000

c. 7 Feb US 52,300 58,000 5,700 30 21,900

J 11,700 51,700 40,000 23 2,500

on Gavutu: 1st, 3rd bns., 2nd Rg, 2nd arm. bn., 2nd Marine Dv., 1st Paramarine bn. on Tulagi: 1st Raider bn., 2nd bn., 5th Rg., 1 Marine dv. on Florida I.: B co., 1st bn., 2nd Rg., 2nd Marine Dv. on Guadalcanal: 1st, 5th, Rgs, 11th art. rg., 1st Eng. bn., 1st arm. bn., HQ, 1st Marine Dv. 3rd bn., 10 art. rg., 2nd Marine Dv. in Reserve: 2nd bn., 2nd rg., 2nd Marine Dv.

on Guadalcanal: 11, 13 Cons. bn. on Tulagi: 3rd Kure SNLF bn.

Additional troops brought from Tulagi.

2nd bn., 28th rg.(-) (Ichicki Force)

3rd Defense art. bn.

1st Raider bn., 6th Cons. bn., 1st Marine Dv.

2nd bn., 4th rg., 2nd Dv. 35th rgt., 2nd bn., 28th rg. (-). 5th Yokoshuka SNLF bn., 35th brigade

7th rg., 1st Marine Dv., 5th Defense arty. bn., 1st bn., 11th arty rgt., 1st Paramarine bn.

2nd rg., 2nd Marine Dv. to Guadalcanal, 164 rg., Americal Dv.

29th rg., HQ & support elements, 2nd Dv. HQ, 17th Army.

8th rg., 2nd Marine Dv., 1st bn., 147th rg., 2nd Raider bn (-), 1st bn., 10th art. bn., F bt., 244th art. bn.

38th Dv.

1st, 2nd bns., 182nd rg., 101st Med. bn., 245th art. bn. Americal Dv., 2nd bt., 11th art. bn.

3rd bn. 147th rg., 14th Cons. Bn., 9th Defense arty bn.

132nd rg. (-), Americal Dv.

1st Marine Dv. evacuated. 18th Cons. bn., C co., 2nd Eng bn., 2nd rg., 2nd Marine Dv., 1st, 3rd bns., 182nd rg., 247th, 221st, 246th, art. bns., 57th eng. bn., Cav. Sqdn., Americal Dv., 18th Cons. bn.

26th Cons. bn.

25th Dv. (-)

*Notes: This table sets forth the strengths of American (US) and Japanese (J) ground forces on Guadalcanal (and adjoining islands for the 7 August period) as it stood at the end of various periods in the campaign. Reduction in American forces after 7 August represents deduction of troops sent to Tulagi. These eventually make their way to Guadalcanal by 24 September.

On Hand: The number of troops available on the date given; Reinf.: total forces committed to action so far, since the beginning of the campaign. Actual rein-

forcements for each period that period's reinforcement figure, minus the previous period's reinforcement figure. A reduction in this figure represents evacuation of troops. Losses: cumulative total losses from the beginning of the campaign. Reinforcements less losses equal on hand. Bns.: number of infantry battalions on hand on the date indicated. Inf.: number of infantrymen on hand on the date indicated.

A total of 65,000 U.S. troops were landed on Guadalcanal, of whom 5,700 became casualties and 13,000 were evacuated in early February. Of 51,000 Japanese Army,

Navy and labor troops on the island or sent in later, 14,000 were evacuated (11,700 in February). 15,000 were turned back at sea, 21,000 were killed or died of disease, and 1,000 were captured.

Co.—Company. Bt.—Battery. Bn.—Battalion. Rg.—Regiment. Dv.—Division. arm.—Armored. Mtn.—Mountain. art.—Artillery. A.A.art.—Anti-Aircraft Artillery. cav.—Cavalry (recon.). Cons.—Construction. Med.—Medical. SNLF—Special Naval Landing Force (Japanese Naval Troops). All units without type designations are infantry.

The whole attack was right out of World War I trench warfare. Although given some protection by the dark (he attacked at 0310) Ichiki charged prepared positions over open ground. His men forced matters to get to hand-to-hand fighting but were eventually repelled. Vandegrift then counterattacked, using M3 Light Tanks (Stuart) and the net result was 800 Japanese dead and 15 Japanese prisoners. Only 130 survived. In addition, a number of wounded crawled off into the jungle and died there. The Marines lost 37 dead and 75 wounded.

This battle illustrated how far out of touch with reality the Japanese tactics were. They learned nothing from the lessons of 1914-18 and paid the price. Worse, they subsequently showed that they also learned nothing from this battle as they repeated the same tactics again and again. If raw courage were the key to victory, it might have won the day for the Japanese. Unfortunately for them, prudent tactics have a way of being more successful.

The balance of the month was consumed by aerial operations, particularly after Henderson was ready for operations. American losses were not that high but they were high in proportion to the number of planes available. On 30 August, only five Wildcats could fly.

BATTLE OF THE EASTERN SOLOMONS – 24 AUGUST 1942

Determined to reinforce Guadalcanal, the Japanese sent their ships to block American interdiction of their troop landings, as well as to block American reinforcements. The Americans, alerted to Japanese naval movements, sent their own ships out and American carrier-based planes drew first blood on 24 August 1942. The result was damage to the Americans and the loss of few Japanese ships. It was not decisive as a naval battle, but the Japanese lost a large number of pilots while the Americans lost only seventeen. This was the sort of loss the Japanese could not afford. Moreover, the Japanese pulled back so they failed to accomplish their mission.

THE BATTLE OF BLOODY RIDGE – 12-14 SEPTEMBER 1942

The Japanese now landed Major General Kiyotake Kawaguchi with the remainder of the 35th Brigade. They deployed their forces by putting 3,000 men to the east of the American position and 2,200 to the west. This period also saw the beginning of the nightly Japanese supply/reinforcement runs down the Slot (the strip of water between the two rows of islands) known as the "Tokyo Express."

The Japanese underestimated the difficulty of getting through the jungle, as well as the coordination problems once they got in positions. Kawaguchi planned a three-prong attack. The first was from the south, the second across the Ilu River and the third across the Matanikau, to the west.

Kawaguchi attacked, as planned, on 12 September, but the attack was uncoordinated and the western force didn't attack at all. The result was little more than a strong raid. They attacked again the following night (on the morning of 14 September), with the main attack on the coral outcrop south of the airfield known as Bloody Ridge. This time all three attacks came off as planned but within half an hour the Americans knew their positions would hold. There were several attacks that night, but by dawn Kawaguchi broke off. Marine casualties were 54 dead, 204 wounded,

of which 40 dead and 103 wounded came from Bloody Ridge. The Marines counted 600 Japanese dead on the Ridge and another 200 dead on the eastern flanks. The Japanese reported 633 men dead, 505 wounded. What with losses in the jungles, Kawaguchi lost almost half of his force that night.

THE STRUGGLE FOR ADVANTAGE: THE MATANIKAU – 23 SEPTEMBER - 9 OCTOBER

Again, aerial operations filled the "lull" in ground and naval operations. Between 7 August and 28 October, the Japanese lost 200 planes, the American 32.

On 23 September, Vandegrift began operations to expand his enclave. First he tried to the south, attempting to occupy Mt. Austen (also called Grassy Knoll), a hill 1514 feet high, six miles south of Henderson Field, but Japanese resistance prevented this. Then he tried to push over the mouth of the Matanikau with the same results. Finally he sent a battalion for an amphibious landing near Point Cruz. They were promptly pinned down and extricated only with great difficulty.

On 8 October Vandegrift planned a new attack. By coincidence the Japanese wanted to clear the east bank of the Matanikau as part of an overall offensive to eliminate the 7,500 Americans Hyukutake thought were left. The Japanese attacked first. The Marines trapped a pocket of them against Matanikau. They tried to get out to the north and back over the Matanikau but were slaughtered on the barbed wire the Marines had strung to protect their positions.

In the meantime the Marine attack sent three units out about 2,000 yards upstream. Each unit went a little further and swung north and the last one ran upon part of the Japanese 4th Infantry, inflicting 680 casualties at a total cost for the operation of 65 dead and 125 wounded to the Marines. Then they withdrew to the east bank of the Matanikau.

CAPE ESPERANCE – 11 OCTOBER 1942

Mutual attempts to land reinforcements led to the next naval engagement when the two naval covering forces met again near Savo Island. The Americans, under Rear Admiral Norman Scott, took up a north-south patrolling position that kept their ships in a line and required a rather intricate countermarch to reverse direction. Scott had trained his men for night operations, however, and they executed the countermarch as planned. Fortunately, though the Japanese were detected at 2325 (seven minutes before the countermarch), the Japanese didn't even know the Americans were there. For their part, the Americans really didn't realize the danger they were undergoing. The net result was that when they opened fire, at 2346, they crossed the "T" on the Japanese line, that is, they moved at right angles across the front of the Japanese exposing the Japanese column to their entire broadside.

Control measures proved damaging. Scott ordered a cease-fire when he lost track of what was going on and the Japanese were able to overcome their surprise. As it was, the Japanese inflicted some damage and turned away. The net result was the loss of one American destroyer and an American cruiser and destroyer damaged while the Japanese lost two destroyers and had a cruiser severely damaged. The tactic of moving in column was unfortunately successful – unfortunately in

that the Americans deliberately used the tactic the next time, not realizing that it was sheer chance that it worked so well here. In any event, the Japanese landed their convoy. Still, Cape Esperance began to tip the balance a little. Now the Americans controlled Iron Bottom Sound by day and the Japanese controlled it by night.

THE BATTLE FOR HENDERSON FIELD – 23-26 OCTOBER 1942

The Japanese landed heavy artillery on 11 October, which was crucial to their monthly attack on the Marine positions. During the same period, the Americans made some positive changes to reflect their increased concern with success on Guadalcanal: they replaced Gormley, the Naval Commander, with Vice Admiral William Halsey, and diverted 25th Infantry Division to the area.

By 19 October, the Japanese had 20,000 men ashore, including 2d (Sendai) Division, two battalions of the 38th Division, one regiment and three batteries of heavy artillery, a battery of mountain artillery, a mortar battalion, sixteen tanks and three rapid-fire gun battalions. That, plus what was left of Ichiki's forces and Kawaguchi's men, gave them more than the Americans for the first time (by about 2,000). In fact the Japanese thought they had a much greater margin since they thought the Americans were only 7,500 strong but in fact had 19,000. Hyukutake planned a more elaborate attack than Kawaguchi: Lt. General Maruyama was to lead the main force and attack from the south, with Major General Kawaguchi on the right wing and Major General Yumio Nasu on the left. This force was to attack near Bloody Ridge. The second prong, under Major General Sumiyoshi was to attack across the mouth of the Matanikau. The third prong, under Colonel Oka, was to cross the Matanikau a mile upstream and swing north behind Marine lines. At the same time, bombers from Rabaul and Zeros from Kahili were to shell Henderson. Finally, there was a reinforced battalion, the Koli Detachment, set to land at Koli Point and attack Marine positions from the east.

D-Day was 22 October, but Maruyama's force was marching through the jungle with 60 pounds of equipment and rations per man (over a road they were cutting, modestly named the Maruyama trail). He couldn't get in his attack position in time so the attack was postponed a day. 23 October passed and Maruyama still wasn't ready to go so he delayed it another day; but Sumiyoshi, sick with malaria, didn't get the word and he attacked on 23 October. He was beaten back at the cost of twelve tanks and 600 men for his efforts.

Sumiyoshi's attack on the Matanikau confirmed Vandegrift's suspicions that this was to be the focus of the next attack, so he pulled a battalion off Bloody Ridge and reinforced the Matanikau line. The following night, 24-25 October, the Japanese fell on Bloody Ridge. That night and the next, the Marines (aided by the 164th Infantry, which was nominally deployed along the eastern part of the perimeter) fought off the Japanese. Each attack was the same: a banzai charge out of the dark. Each had the same result – literally heaps of Japanese dead piled in front of the American positions. When the Japanese withdrew, the Americans counted 941 bodies on Bloody Ridge. The total Japanese losses for the period were between two and three thousand.

Although the Americans stayed in position until 29 October, the Japanese had pulled out in the dawn of 25 October. While the battle was going on, President Roosevelt decided that the Americans would not withdraw under any circumstances. So, in effect, this battle, in connection with surrounding events, was the turn of the tide. In fact, it marked the last major Japanese attack and, more importantly, it meant that major reinforcements would arrive for the Americans.

SANTA CRUZ ISLANDS — 26 OCTOBER 1942

Hard on the heels of the land battle came another naval operation. This was closely related to the land operations as the Japanese ships were staying close in anticipation of success on land. When it didn't come, they decided it was too late to pull off and so they would accept engagement with the Americans and try to destroy their fleet.

In terms of ships sunk, the Japanese won a victory. They sank *Hornet* and damaged *Enterprise*, the only two carriers the Americans had in the area. Santa Cruz cost the Japanese a damaged carrier and damaged cruiser.

OFFENSIVE — 31 OCTOBER - 12 NOVEMBER 1942

Now Vandegrift decided that he would try the offensive and the Marines found out how hard it was to attack prepared positions in the jungle. He managed to push west to the Point Cruz area, but a Japanese landing at Tetera, near Koli Point, forced Vandegrift to deal with them. Most of the Japanese got away, but the Americans did put the Japanese rear guard in a pocket and killed 450 Japanese at the cost of only 40 of their own dead.

An added element during this period was the attempt to build a new airfield on the eastern side of the island, at Aola. Since the land was too marshy, it was soon abandoned for a site near Koli Point, which was grassier. When

Aola was abandoned, 2d Raider Battalion moved back across country, reaching the perimeter on 4 December after having killed 450 Japanese at a loss of 16 dead and 18 wounded.

With the eastern flank secured, Vandegrift tried a second push in the west but ran into considerable resistance. After learning that the Japanese were landing major reinforcements (38th Division and a 3,000 man naval landing force), he called off the attack and pulled back east of the Matanikau.

FIRST NAVAL BATTLE OF GUADALCANAL 12-13 NOVEMBER 1942

The main action began at night, preceded by Japanese air attacks during the day. The new American commander, Rear Admiral Daniel J. Callaghan, drew a page from Scott's book at Cape Esperance and deployed a line formation. The result was what has been called the most ferocious naval battle in history. When the Japanese were engaged, Callaghan ordered odd numbered ships to fire to the port, even numbered to the starboard. That order was nonsensical. It left some cruisers with no targets and pitted destroyer (*Cushing*) against battleship (*Hiei*). Again, the matter was further complicated by the American commander ordering a ceasefire because he had lost control and thought he was firing on friendly ships (he was). The Japanese took advantage of the ceasefire to cripple some American ships. Fire was opened at 0150 on 13 November and broken off at 0200. In that period two American cruisers and four American destroyers were sunk or so badly damaged that they sank within twenty-four hours; one Japanese battleship and two destroyers were also lost. The biggest reason the Americans failed to do better was the lack of adequate radar and the fact that Callaghan lost control of what was going on (largely through his melodramatic firing order — it would have looked good in the history books had he survived and had his losses been less).

During this period, the "Tokyo Express" continued to make its runs. Tanaka had been planning to make a run on the 12th, but the naval battle delayed him. Instead he came on the 13th. A follow-up run came through on the 14th but was caught in the daylight resulting in the loss of seven of the eleven transports. Tanaka put the survivors on his destroyers and kept coming. To back him up, Vice Admiral Kondo came in from the northwest while Task Force 64, under Rear Admiral Willis Lee came up from the southwest and a second battle occurred that night.

SECOND NAVAL BATTLE OF GUADALCANAL — 14 NOVEMBER 1942

The battle was in two phases. The Americans opened fire first at 2322 hours but had four destroyers knocked out rather promptly. This battle had the added facet of battleships on both sides: *Kirishima* for the Japanese, *South Dakota* and *Washington* for the Americans. The Americans won this battle. *South Dakota* was damaged but *Kirishima* was shelled into a wreck by *Washington* and abandoned. At that, Tanaka still came through and landed 2,000 troops at Tassafaronga.

There was a coherent American plan of operations for the first time in this battle and, even though badly outnumbered, the Americans won this one. It was crucial. From this point on, the Japanese fleet never again contested the waters of Iron Bottom Sound. The "Express" still ran but far more circumspectly.

THE SECOND OFFENSIVE — 18-24 NOVEMBER 1942

This offensive was mainly the Army's. The Americans attacked toward Point Cruz and reached within 200 yards of the point by 20 November. Brigadier General Edmund Sebree of the Americal Division was in command. Despite eventually committing three regiments (one Marine, two Army) the attack stalled and Sebree dug in on 24 November.

TASSAFARONGA — 30 NOVEMBER 1942

The last naval operation in Iron Bottom Sound involved, aptly the "Tokyo Express" and Tanaka, the two most constant thorns in the American side. After Second Guadalcanal, the Japanese no longer off-loaded supplies: they dropped them in drums to float ashore. It is estimated that less than 30% of supplies dropped in drums actually got ashore. Now the American commander was Rear Admiral Carleton H. Wright. He was alerted that Tanaka was coming with a support force of eight destroyers to cover his six transports. Each destroyer had 1100 drums of supplies. American radar picked up the Japanese at 2306 and Wright altered course with a force of five cruisers and six destroyers. Able use of torpedoes by the Japanese resulted in damage to four American cruisers (one eventually sank) at a cost of only one Japanese destroyer sunk. Tanaka dropped his drums and left for Shortland Island.

The drum method of re-supply failed. So did attempts to land supplies in submarines. By the end of 1942, the Japanese lacked the ammunition for any offensive operations.

THE LAST PUSH — 17 DECEMBER 1942 - 7 FEBRUARY 1943

The Japanese 8th Area Army was deployed to Rabaul during December for the next big push. They moved 50,000 men on to New Britain. The commanding general, Imamura, planned

Combat Aircraft Attrition During the Guadalcanal Campaign

	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan
US a/c available	—	60	40	60	150	180	210
a/c lost per month	—	51	162	107	75	45	60
J a/c available	100	40	220	220	210	260	210
a/c lost per month	—	150	170	200	210	150	100
US total a/c sent	—	111	253	380	545	620	710
a/c sent per month	—	—	142	127	165	75	90
J total a/c sent	—	90	440	640	840	1040	1090
a/c sent per month	—	—	350	200	200	200	50

These figures include losses of all service's aircraft in the Guadalcanal Campaign and from all causes (one-third of the losses being due to non-combat causes). U.S. carrier plane losses (included above) came to 120 out of 350 aircraft sent in on carriers. Japanese carrier plane losses (also included above) were 200 out of some 500 sent in on the carriers.

U.S. carriers usually carried planes in the proportion: fighters 40%, divebombers

40%, torpedo bombers 20%. Japanese carriers usually had the proportion: fighters 37%, divebombers 37%, torpedo bombers 26%. During the entire campaign the ratio of Japanese plane types was fighters 59%, twin engined bombers 18%, single engined bombers 23%. U.S. planes during the campaign were in the ratio: F4F-4 40%, SBD-3 and TBF-1 40%, P-38 4%, P-39, P-40 and P-4 13%, B-17 and B-26 3%.

to land two more divisions on Guadalcanal to recapture. The attack was set for 1 February 1943. However, the transport losses, as well as the shift of control of Iron Bottom Sound to the Americans made it impossible to land these troops on Guadalcanal and as a result, Imamura cancelled the operation. This was a crucial step as it made withdrawal the next logical move.

In early December, 1st Marine Division was withdrawn. It was replaced by Americal Division and 25th Infantry Division. This was a sound move from two standpoints. 1st Marine Division was badly depleted by disease and could not remain an effective force much longer. In addition, now that the beaches were secure and the need for a sea-borne evacuation no longer likely, the amphibious capabilities of the Marines were wasted on Guadalcanal. The new commander was Alexander M. Patch, commander of Americal Division and soon commander of the newly formed XIV Corps. The Japanese had no such replacements. Hyakutake had 25,000 men on hand, but they were half-starved and malaria-ridden. In addition, the Army was soon joined by 2d Marine Division, giving the Americans overwhelming superiority.

The first effort to push the Japanese off Guadalcanal began 17 December. The Americans tried to clear Mt. Austen and spent the rest of the month in a futile effort. Mt. Austen was not one hill, but a series of steep, rocky, jungled ridges which made defense easy. The shoe was on the other foot and the Americans couldn't dislodge the Japanese from their positions. However, the Americans were less wasteful in their tactics. The whole operation cost 182 casualties.

The "Express" was making less frequent runs now. They ran on 3 December, 7 December and 11 December. On the last run, PT boats torpedoed Tanaka's destroyer, wounding Tanaka and taking him out of the picture. He didn't sail with the "Tokyo Express" again.

On 31 December 1942, the Japanese High Command went to see the Emperor, recommending withdrawal from Guadalcanal. After more than ten years of war, they recommended the first Japanese withdrawal. Permission was granted.

The Americans started what was to be their final drive on 10 January 1943. In fact, the Americans underestimated the Japanese strength at this time. They thought there were only 9,100 to 16,000 Japanese, whereas there were about 25,000. However, many of these were unfit for duty. They now had another division, 2d Marine, to augment their forces. First they tried Mt. Austen. The last positions there did not fall until 23 January. In the meantime, the main drive west, along the coast, began 13 January. Movement was slow but steady now. The Japanese defended as well as they could but the cost was terrific. Between 13 and 17 January the Japanese suffered 643 dead while losing 650 yards of ground. On 1 February the Americans landed a battalion at Verahue, on the west coast, and pushed north. The Japanese were caught like Rommel in Tunisia. By this time, though, the Japanese were withdrawing.

Just to underscore the fact that the Americans really didn't control the situation, the Japanese pulled off their withdrawal under the American noses without the Americans realizing what was happening. The "Tokyo Express" made three runs in February: 1-2, 4-5 and 7-8. The

New Guinea: The Other Campaign Aug 1942 — Jan 1943

While the Guadalcanal campaign ran its course, another operation was being conducted by Allied troops hundreds of miles away. This was the opening of the New Guinea campaign, fought in incredible jungles and amid some of the most rugged mountains in the world, the Owen Stanley Range.

The Japanese had occupied the northern coast of New Guinea during March of 1942. The Battle of the Coral Sea (4-8 May 1942) frustrated Japanese plans to occupy the southern coast of the island by sea. The result was a decision to launch an overland campaign against Port Moresby.

On 22 July, Japanese naval infantrymen occupied the twin mission stations of Buna and Gona on the northeastern coast of New Guinea, easily beating down ferocious resistance from tiny Australian Army detachments. Reinforced to about the strength of a division, the Japanese then began the long overland haul towards Port Moresby, about 100 miles to the southwest, over some of the roughest mountains and through some of the densest jungles in the world. Small Australian detachments offered skillful, stiff resistance which hindered the Japanese, though perhaps not so seriously as did the terrain. On 12 August, the Japanese siezed Kokoda airfield, roughly half way to their goal.

Meanwhile, in an effort to make an "end run," the Japanese attempted an amphibious landing at Milne Bay, on the southeast coast of the island. Although the troops managed to get ashore, they were defeated in a few days. This put the burden of victory on the troops in the Owen Stanleys.

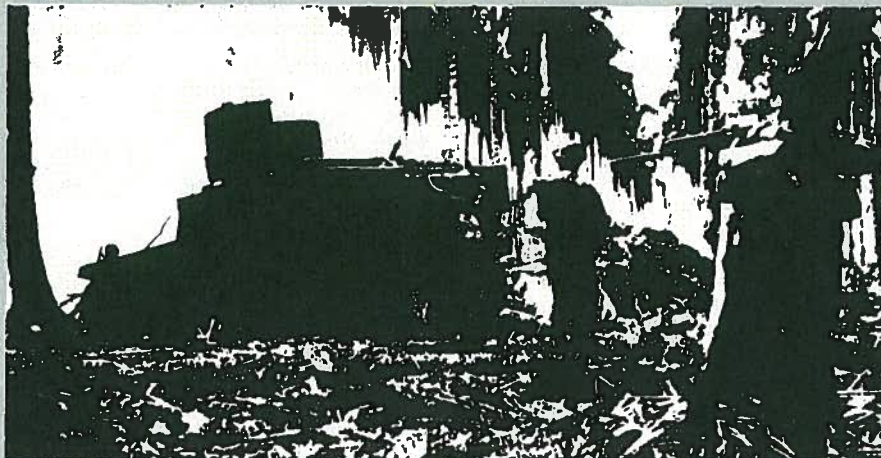
During this period the Australian efforts were frustrated by a shortage of virtually everything necessary for modern warfare. This shortage was partially caused by the spectacular events beginning to develop in the Solomons and partially to a general

shortage of strategic items throughout the Allied world. Then too, few American personnel respected the Aussies as soldiers. Exacerbating the problem was the fact that strategic direction of the New Guinea operations were in Douglas MacArthur's hands, and hence an (American) Army show, while the Solomons operations were a Navy show. All of this helped to facilitate the Japanese advance, though by early September the Australians were able to get a full division in against them, the Australian 7th Division. On 13 September the Japanese drive was halted barely 30 miles from Port Moresby. This was fortunate since Port Moresby is not an easily defensible position. Now began the difficult task of rolling the Japanese back.

While the Australians advanced overland, taking the hardest road and doing most of the work, elements of the American 32nd Division, composed of ill-prepared and unacclimated National Guardsmen, were leap-frogging ahead in a series of aerial jumps. Other elements of the 32nd Division joined the Australians in marching overland, while the bulk of the formation moved along the northeast coast, paritally by sea. Finally, on 18 November the Allied troops closed with the Buna-Gona defensive perimeter. And were halted dead in their tracks by about 6,500 Japanese troops. Part of the reason for this was the lack of preparation of the Americans, but the situation was complicated by a shortage of shipping, which meant that supplies, reinforcements, and evacuation all had to move by air. Nevertheless, the Allies and Japanese fought it out on the same lines until 22 January 1943, when Buna-Gona fell. Although there were further campaigns in New Guinea, this would prove the most difficult.

Japanese operations on New Guinea were complicated by the running sore which the Marines opened up on Guadalcanal. A number of troops sent to Guadalcanal were originally intended to go to New Guinea. American pressure in the Solomons proved too great, however, and the New Guinea front had to suffer.

— A.A.N



Australian Militia of the 5th Division with supporting tanks near Milne Bay.

Americans thought they were trying to reinforce again. However, they were pulling off a neat evacuation. They took off 11,706 troops in those three days. It took the Americans two days of cautious advance against a non-existent foe before Patch told Halsey, "The 'Tokyo Express' no longer has a terminus on Guadalcanal."

THE COST

Raw numbers don't really tell the whole story, but they do show the magnitude of the effort. The Americans had a total of 60,000 men involved and lost 1,592 killed and 4,183 wounded. The Japanese had more than 36,000 on the island and lost over 14,800 killed or missing, 9,000 dead from disease, and 1,000 prisoners. This doesn't count the numbers lost in sunken transports. Japan lost 909 fighters, 330 torpedo planes, 291 bombers, 268 float planes in the campaign. The naval losses have been mentioned before, but these figures, coupled with seriously damaged vessels, show that the Americans came out on the short end of that phase of the operation. The biggest indicator of Japan's problem is shown in the comparison between naval losses and additions. The Japanese lost two battleships, two heavy cruisers, two light cruisers, one carrier and eleven destroyers. During 1942 they built three light cruisers and eleven destroyers. At the same time, the Americans lost five heavy cruisers, two light cruisers, two carriers and thirteen destroyers. In 1942 they built three battleships, nine heavy cruisers, 105 destroyers, six carriers and fifteen escort carriers. The Japanese simply could not tolerate their losses as well as the Americans.

SUMMARY

The Americans did not defeat the Japanese in the sense that they drove them from the island.

The Japanese had overreached in extending their Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The key was that instead of recognizing their error, the Japanese kept pouring more men and materiel into the bottomless pit. Sort of the reverse of Thor's undrainable horn, the Japanese could never fill Guadalcanal with enough well supplied troops to do the job. Aside from combat casualties, disease was an unbeatable enemy. Exact figures on Japanese malaria problems are not known. What is known is that the Japanese had little medication and no real plan to combat malaria. In addition, their sick were not evacuated. They stayed, took their chances of surviving and were simply abandoned in the end. It is fair to say that the Japanese condition was considerably worse than the Americans'. Some American statistics give an idea of the magnitude of the problem for them. In October, 1942, 1,960 Marines were hospitalized from malaria. Of the 10,000 casualties the Marines sustained, over half were from malaria.

Perhaps the greatest irony in the whole campaign is that the key event occurred right at the start: the unopposed occupation of the Japanese airstrip. This gave the Americans local air superiority whenever they wanted it. In the long run, this was decisive. The whole battle turned on Japanese efforts to get the airfield away from the Americans. It is interesting to contemplate what might have happened if the Japanese had fought for the airfield with the few troops available on 7-8 August 1942. They might well have held off the disorganized 1st Marine Division long enough for them to get the reinforcements which would force the Marines to attack from the jungle, rather than as it was.

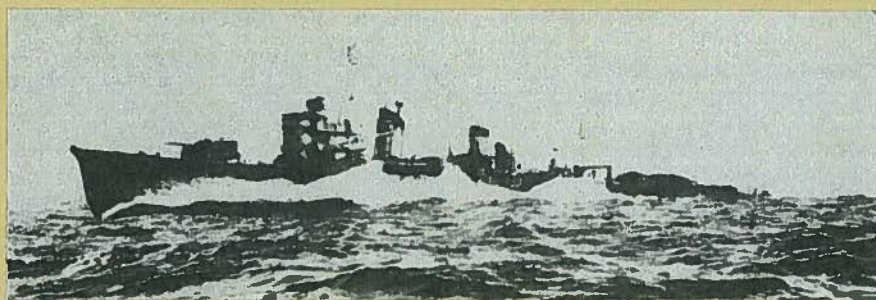
Aside from the strategic advantage of holding the airfield, the air forces themselves were crucial. They never lost a decisive engagement to the Japanese. There were days when they got fewer kills than the Japanese, but when it counted, the Cactus Air Force and the carrier planes really held the line.

The ground forces defended. They had little success on the offensive until the last months. Their tactics were sounder than the Japanese in that they didn't waste men trying to take Japanese positions. This was undoubtedly significant in the Japanese loss. They literally lost an army on Guadalcanal. Still, there was little glory for the ground forces. Mostly they spent their time sitting in water-filled fox holes, slogging around on muddy paths after tropical downpours and slapping mosquitoes. The American ground forces didn't buckle when the going was tough in the early months but, in all honesty, they didn't win the battle — the Japanese lost it.

As for the navy, the less said the better, at least on the American side. Due to the regular loss of commanders, the Americans didn't have the same man in charge for two consecutive battles. That didn't help. The Americans also had little idea of sound tactics for night surface battles. They did well in the carrier battles, but Midway showed that this was to be expected. Air combat turned out to be a strong point in the American war effort throughout the course of the war. Too often, on the surface, they had no attack plan, apparently expecting to be guided by the reaction dictated by each Japanese movement. As a result they took unnecessary losses. For example, each side committed a total of 51 separate units over the course of the surface engagements. Actually, the Americans and Japanese used only 47 and 41 different ships, respectively. Several ships fought in more than one battle. However, totalling the number of ships in each battle produces this parity. Yet, the Americans lost 31% of these ships and another 23% sustained significant damage. The Japanese lost 16% of their total ships and had only 4% significantly damaged. As noted, the disparity in losses in terms of total tonnage is partly due to the fact that the Americans saved ships which the Japanese had to abandon due to the relative proximity of the battle to their respective repair points. This loss by the Americans was hardly justifiable, even though it was readily replaced.

Guadalcanal was not the sort of battle that everyone recognized as important when it was fought. The Americans were ready to give it up a number of times. The Japanese had no real idea of how deep the quagmire was. When it was over, everyone knew the Japanese had been pushed back and that Guadalcanal was now in American hands; but it was really not until the end of the war that people could look back and see that Guadalcanal was not merely the first step on the counter-attack. It was the real turning point. The Japanese never recouped their losses; their naval superiority myth was destroyed; the morale of the navy was so shaken that it didn't seriously offer battle again until 1944; the cream of the air force had been lost and new pilots could not make up for the lost skills. This is what Guadalcanal did. It was very intangible; the impact of these effects on the Japanese war effort was so subtle that the war went on, of course, until 1945. Yet, when the Japanese pulled out of Guadalcanal, they had lost the war. That was what happened on Guadalcanal though it took more time and lives to prove it.

A Note on Japanese Destroyer Names



While most western navies use inspirational names for their ships, either patriotic in origin (*Prince of Wales*, *New Jersey*, *Admiral Graf Spee*), geographic (*Australia*, *Sendai*) or abstract, heroic qualities (*Indomitable*, *Intrepid*), the Japanese adopted a practice of naming their destroyers which belies their martial purpose. In general, each class had a series of names which were of roughly similar meaning. Thus, *Mutsuki* class used names of the months (*Mutsuki* — January, *Uzuki* — April). *Fubuki* class generally had names evocative of whiteness in natural phenomena (*Fubuki* — Blizzard, *Shirayuki* — White Snow; *Asagiri* — Morning Mist, *Murakumo* — Cloud Clusters). *Signe* class might be called "storms and breezes" (*Murasame* — Scattered Showers, *Yudachi* — Evening Thunder Showers in

the Summer, *Umikaze* [above] — Sea Breeze, *Kawakaze* — Wind from the Hills). *Kagero* class used names of natural phenomena which effected ships (*Oyashio* — Parent Tide, *Nowake* — Strong Autumn Wind, *Urakaze* — Wind in the Bay, *Isokaze* — Shore Breeze).

In fact, only a few names for the destroyers could be martial in nature. Of those used in the campaign, only *Tachikaze* (Wind caused by the Stroke of a Sword) fell in that category. Certainly the use of such names is not out of character for the Japanese, but it is hard to imagine a ship with a name meaning "Dawn" (Still the Moon Remains in the Sky) as anything other than a graceful sailing ship, far less a steel destroyer, smelling of oil, gunpowder and bilge.

PASS IN REVIEW (continued from page 22)

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Resources Devoted to Military Research and Development: An International Comparison Humanities: 1972. \$3.75. 112 pp. 4/3/4/5/5.

The Sovereign Remedy: Europe after Waterloo by Margaret Weiner. St. Martin's: 1971. \$8.95. xii, 272 pp. 2/3/4/4/4.

Chronology of the Spanish Civil War and its Origins by Jose Viadio. Revisionist: 1972 [Box 2009, Brooklyn N.Y. 11202]. \$4.00. 24 pp. 1/3/2/1/2.

Forts of the Upper Mississippi by Robert G. Athearn. Nebraska: 1972. \$2.25. xi, 339 pp. 2/4/3/3/3.

In Defence of Canada by James Eayers, 2 vols., Toronto: 1964. \$6.45. 1/3/3/3/3.

American Military Commitments Abroad by Roland A. Paul. Rutgers: 1973. \$10.00. xiii, 237 pp. 3/3/3/3/3.

The Pagoda War: Lord Dufferin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Ava, 1885-86 by A.T.Q. Stewart. Faber/Transatlantic: 1972. \$12.00. 273 pp. 3/4/3/3/3.

Missiles of the World by M.J.H. and J.W.R. Taylor. Scribners: 1973. \$6.95. 167 pp. 4/2/3/4/3.

National Security and American Society edited by Frank Trager and Philip Kronenberg. Kansas: 1973. \$8.95. xiv, 612 pp. 3/3/4/4/4.

The Blessed Trade by Marjorie Ward. Michael Joseph/Transatlantic: 1971. \$15.00. 300 pp. 2/3/3/2/3.

The Military and American Society edited by Stephen E. Ambrose and James Barber Jr. Free Press: 1972. \$10.00. xi, 322 pp. 2/3/3/3/3.

Operational Conflict Analysis by Norman A. Bailey and Stuart M. Feder. Public Affairs: 1973. \$6.00. viii, 136 pp. 4/2/2/3/2.

Gaming: The Fine Art of Creating Simulation/Learning Games for Religious Education by Dennis Benson. Abingdon: 1971. \$5.95. 64 pp. 3/3/3/3/3.

Content Analysis by T.F. Carney. Manitoba: 1972. n.p. xx, 343 pp. 5/2/5/5/5.

European Security and the Atlantic System edited by William Fox and Warner Schilling. Columbia: 1973. n.p. xiv, 276 pp. 2/3/3/3/3.

The Horizon Concise History of Greece by Alexander Eliot. American Heritage: 1972. \$8.95. 223 pp. 3/3/2/2/2.

Terror and the Urban Guerrilla edited by Jay Mallin. Miami: 1971. \$7.95. xi, 176 pp. 1/3/3/2/3.

Politics and Script by Stanley Morrison. Oxford: 1972. \$20.50. vi, 361 pp. 4/4/5/4/4.

The French Revolution of 1830 by David H. Pinkney. Princeton: 1972. \$16.00. ix, 393 pp. 1/4/4/4/4.

The Scourge of the Eagle: Napoleon and the Liberal Opposition by Louis de Villefosse and Janine Bouissouhouse. St. Martin's: 1972. \$10.00. 260 pp. 1/3/3/3/3.

Picture Book of the Revolution's Privateers by C. Kieth Wilbur. Stackpole: 1973. \$4.95. 96 pp. 4/2/4/3/3.

Tanks and Other AFVs of the Blitzkrieg Era 1939-41 by B.T. White. MacMillan: 1972. \$4.95. iii, 161 pp. 4/2/2/3/3.

The Old Front Line by John Masefield. Spur: 1972. 1.95 pounds sterling (c.\$5.00). 160 pp. 3/5/2/2/3.

The New Left and the Origins of the Cold War edited by Robert James Maddox. Priceton: 1973. \$7.95. ix, 169 pp. 3/3/3/3/3.

The End of Nowhere: American Policy Towards Laos since 1954 by Charles Stevenson. Beacon: 1973. \$4.45. vii, 367 pp. 1/2/3/3/3.

The Press and the Cold War by James Aronson. Beacon: 1973. \$3.95. viii, 308 pp. 3/3/3/3/3.



OUTGOING MAIL (continued from page 2)

and date of your order (roughly the week in which you sent it in) we can track it down. From samples we have taken we estimate that about three to four hundred orders have been screwed up during the period of the box famine/complaint deluge. If you're one of the people we inadvertently did in, fill out the form and we'll take care of it.

There's a lot more to the problem of what happened these past six months. Our enormous growth these past two years caught up with us. As we suspected it would. If it's any consolation, the mess could have been far worse.

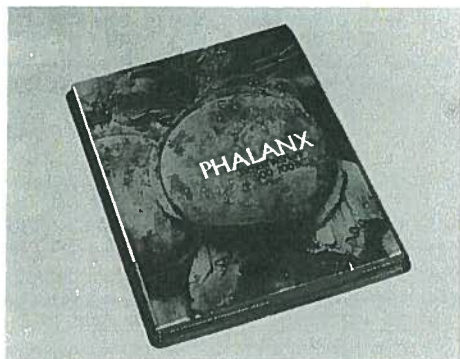
The hassles of mail order are considerable. The problems (in the short run) fall mainly upon the buyer. The seller gets his money and suffers only in the long run. By losing customers due to bad service. Even at its best, mail order is inconvenient. The time required to receive merchandise as well as the paperwork involved in the transaction. When sales stop growing (or decline) because of poor service not only do we suffer but so do the game players, because less money is thus available to develop new games, or to improve existing and upcoming games. Things never reached the point, but we began to see signs. Aside from getting orders out to you on time (which took eight months of feverish work on all aspects of SPI's "fulfillment" operation) there are three more things we are doing to alleviate the problems of getting your games to you. All of these are costing a lot of money and effort. Yours and ours. But so far both the money and the effort have been available in sufficient quantities to do the following things. 1—Improve our internal controls (quality control on our order fulfillment service), 2—Institute an "order by phone" service and, 3—Make all the games available in retail outlets. Details on each of these projects are as follows.

1—*Improved Supervision.* This involves, primarily, our Customer Service department. From the beginning of our period of fast growth we've had a "customer service" department. People were promoted into Customer Service since their jobs involved far more than answering complaint letters. CS's main function was to monitor all the operations which your order would go through from the time your letter came in until your games went out to you. This involved checking not only for actual "fulfillment" but also for accuracy and timeliness. Also for efficiency. CS people had to be knowledgeable about all aspects of our fulfillment operation, plus a more than passing knowledge of the editorial operations. Anyone who has dealt with any of our CS people has probably come away satisfied. At least that's the impression we get from the letters of thanks they get for unsnarling some unbelievable snafus. CS also exists to ensure that the computer doesn't take over. Working with out computer folks, CS has helped to refine and eliminate the bottlenecks. And to make sure that bottlenecks don't develop again. Our fulfillment system is now geared to get orders back to you within three weeks of our receiving them. By the end of the summer we hope to have that cut in half (this applies to people we can deliver to via UPS, the Post Office is another matter). It's not so bad that we have to fulfill some 90,000 orders this year. What complicates it is the fact that we have nearly a hundred items for you to choose from as well as two or three new products a month. It's quite a job and we think we have it under control.

2—*Phone Ordering.* Sometime later this summer we will announce an order by phone service. We are already testing it in order to get any possible bugs out of it. Unless you receive an "official notice" of the new phone service (with all the details on how to use it and what conditions are involved) please don't order by phone.

3—*Availability of SPI games in retail stores.* For about half of our subscribers, this new feature will have a significant affect. For about half of our subscribers will not buy games by mail. A magazine subscription, yes. But not boxed games. For the past ten months we've been testing retail distribution. Feeling out the situation. Working the kinks out of the system. Seeing what we could do and what it would take on our part. Beginning late this summer you'll be seeing our games in stores. We have included a special portion on our feedback card so that you can let us know which local store could carry our games (any store that already carries adult games, particularly Avalon Hill games, would be suitable). Our test marketing of our games reached only 7% of you. Releasing the entire line should make it possible to reach most of you within a few years. By letting us know where a good local outlet is should make that much easier. "Going retail" is quite a departure for us. It is dictated mainly by the fact that so many of you (50%) don't use mail order. We could continue to do quite well with just direct mail, but we'd continue to get complaints (as we always have) concerning the unavailability of our games in stores. Because of the price structure of selling games retail we only end up with about \$0.60 gross profit on a six dollar game sold in a store. The game sold through the mail leaves us with close to three dollars. That "gross profit" pays for the development of new games and the advertising that lets gamers know that we exist. Unfortunately, the "gross profit" has been declining of late. The "Great Inflation of 1973" has hit the raw materials industry (from whence we obtain most of our goodies). Price increases of 20% to 30% and more have hit us. But the biggest drain is getting the games into retail distribution. The distributor wants 50,000 games initially plus the capacity to deliver at least as many on two months notice. That's a lotta bucks. And we will have "in the

pipeline" \$50,000 (our cost) worth of games in order to have them available in stores. All of these factors made it impossible to hold the price at six dollars. So the games in the stores will go to seven dollars. What you'll get will be our usual games. But in addition you'll get the most efficient and utilitarian game container on the market. Below is a picture of our new game box.



The new box costs a bit more than the old one (the plastic tray and the white cardboard covering) but it is lighter for shipping. Considerably lighter than the original box with the corrugate filler. The box is almost 100% utilitarian. The base is a counter sorter and storage container. The clear plastic compartment covers are used only to keep the counters in. The clear plastic cover is used to keep the game components in place. The only "packaging" aspect is the colored "front sheet" which goes directly underneath the clear plastic cover. The front sheet is actually cheaper than the red and white label we used on the older white boxes. Compared to the cost of other game boxes, this new plastic box is very economical. The plastic tray base has chip-board on the bottom to give the entire package rigidity. The boxes are best stored flat, although they can be stored on their sides. Counter "leakage" occurs only when the box is turned upside down and moved around. Even at that, the leakage is minimal.

People will ask, "Why didn't we use this type of box in the first place?" The main reason was, because nobody here knew it could be done. After we'd developed the first box we kept on looking, and eventually we found all we needed for our new box. Just in time, as it turned out. For the paper shortage was making it rather difficult to get raw materials for the older cardboard and corrugated box. We will continue to upgrade this latest box, as we continue to upgrade everything we turn out. This, of course, is expensive. But so far the reaction to our continual upgrading has been positive. So we'll keep it up until told otherwise.

On October 1st, 1973 we will raise our mail order prices also. Many of the reasons for this have already been detailed above. Generally rising manufacturing costs, the enormous (for us) cost of stocking the "pipeline" for retail sale, and continuing our R&D and advertising programs. In general, the biggest reasons are inflation and the cost of going retail. The new price will most probably be as follows: \$6.00 games to \$7.00. \$10.00 games to \$12.00 or \$15.00 (depending on the game). *S&T* subs to \$12 a year. Lifetime subs to \$200. Game design equipment will probably go up also, but exact prices are not yet firm. *MOVES* subscriptions will probably stay where they are.

This little bombshell will raise a lot of questions. We'll try and answer them here. First, there's the question of how can we plead poverty and charge \$7 for a game when Avalon Hill charges \$7 for games such as *Battle of the Bulge* and *D-Day*. There are two reasons for this. First of all, Avalon Hill has sufficient distribution on the sixteen historical games they have so that they can have print runs five or more times that size of ours. This alone halves their manufacturing cost. If we could do that we could keep our price at six dollars despite inflation. But we can't do what AH does. Not yet. So in the meantime we have to pay for the small manufacturing runs. In effect, you pay an extra dollar per game in order to have three or four more times as many titles to choose from, plus many more new ones each year than come from Avalon Hill. The second problem is our growth rate. Making the operation larger (and the more of you there are, the larger the operation becomes) requires a lot of money. Keeping the R&D program going (although that's another "pipeline" sort of thing, but occasionally it needs additional inputs of money). Making a larger organization function efficiently is expensive. Although the new box costs about the same as the old one it required thousands of dollars (over five thousand) to pay for "start up" costs. Since we've never had any substantial outside investment in SPI, all money for growth has had to come out of your pockets and ours (in the form of deferred salaries and, in many cases, lower salaries than could be obtained elsewhere). There are two consolations for mail order buyers. First, we don't charge a dollar extra per game for mail orders as do most other companies (like Avalon Hill). Secondly, we are trying to work out some sort of "bonus coupon" plan for subscribers. For example, we could print a coupon with each feedback card. The coupon, either sent in with the feedback or sent in separately with a game order, would be good for one dollar discount on \$7 game. There is also consolation for retail buyers. The *S&T* games are sold in stores without boxes for five dollars. This costs us a bit of money because an *S&T* game is more expensive than a Simulation Series Game. Mainly because we have to print a copy of *S&T* with each game. Yes, we've thought of publishing the *S&T* games and magazines separately. But that wouldn't save you anything because the games still cost the same to manufacture no matter whether we sell them with or without a magazine. The price of *S&T* games in stores may have to go to \$6. But that won't happen before the end of the year.

Other questions you might ask. How can other small game companies (see *MOVES* 7 for more details) publish games for less than seven dollars. That's because no one else gives you six games a year for \$12 or less (in an *S&T* subscription). This is paid for through selling games. No, we can't raise the price to break even because we'd lose subscribers. Particularly new people who are thinking of subscribing upon seeing an ad.

What about people who "can't afford the new prices?" First, there's an *S&T* subscription. Six two-dollar games a year. You can't beat that price anywhere. Next, there are few of our subscribers who can't afford \$7 for a game. Average income has risen fast in the past four years. In fact, when you adjust for both the increase in income as well as for inflation, our original "\$5" games are costing \$5.23 now.

And where the average subscriber had ten dollars a month to spend on games each month four years ago, he now has \$13.38. The extra \$0.23 will probably be eaten up within the next year by inflation. While you may find all these numbers, etc., rather mundane and boring, these are the reasons for raising the prices. It isn't some spur of the moment decision born out of avarice. The situation was carefully considered before a decision was made. We were hoping to have solved the "mounted board" problem before having raised the prices. But events overtook us. So, as usual, we give a full explanation of why it was done. Some of you will just say, "Stuff and Nonsense." You're entitled to your opinion. But we, all of us, are up against some pretty stiff economic realities. Either we deal with them or they'll deal with us. In a rather summary and not-so-friendly fashion.

Which brings us to another point. A point which has to be stressed from time to time so that no one on either side of this column forgets who did what. Namely, how SPI, the games, magazines, the letters and phone calls flying back and forth, the midnight working sessions (both on 23rd Street and all over the world), everyone doing what they will with the games. How it's all tied together. General Motors might grow a bit distant from their "customers," even when they know it's not in their best interest. We started out telling all, and getting everyone involved in the decision making process. The system isn't perfect, but our mail indicates that most of you consider the approach we've taken as superior to any other. Those of you who've been with us from the beginning know the changes that have taken place in the past four years. There once was nothing: one or two new games a year from Avalon Hill. And even in 1963 they were selling *Stalingrad* for \$6.00. What happened wasn't the result of what a few people in New York did. The feedback system is obvious in its simplicity, and effectiveness. Ask people what they want and then give it to them with your best effort. And as cheaply as possible. That's why we go into financial data so much. To show you the "books" as it were. Anyone coming around on a Friday night (or any other day if they can slow someone around here down long enough) can see all the "numbers" right up on the wall. Receipts, expenses. Who got what for doing this and that. As this whole operation grows people become suspicious, if only because of the size. But you are still one person reading this now. Four years ago there were less than a thousand. The one-to-one relationship has not changed. It takes more people around here to answer letters and the phone calls. But that's understandable. The computer is a big help, once you've gotten it under control. You all were responsible for all that was good in SPI. On the other side of the coin you were also partly responsible for all that was bad. The only way we could assure continuity at SPI was through growth. A larger organization is more capable of taking the hard knocks it encounters than is a smaller one. A larger organization has more resources. It has more flexibility and can, quite simply, do more. You made demands upon the organization and the organization responded. We produced more games. We upgraded them. We got in contact with more gamers and they responded by getting the games they wanted. Growing from a \$40,000 a year operation in 1970 to over a million dollars in 1973. It's a lot harder than it looks. But we've responded and will continue to respond. As long as the feedback is there

and as long as it is responded to we will have to go where we are told to go. And we will tell you, as we often do, why such and such simply can't be done right now. And we'll probably continue to undertake projects for which we aren't really fully prepared. Experience (which we've gotten a lot of lately) will prevent a lot of these "not immediately successful" projects. But there will still be lumps.

Finally. We've just come through a rather rough period. It'll be a lot easier on you all for the rest of the year. We won't have it quite so easy at SPI. We know more now what has to be done. And we know a lot of things require a lot more work and attention that was originally thought. But we'll just have to bite the bullet and keep on truckin. We're gratified that so many of you stuck with us. Even if it was often in the form of a nasty letter or phone call. Any communication is better than none at all. It's that sort of communication that got this game thing going in the first place. And kept it going. And will, no doubt, continue to keep it going.

We have in the works a plan to soften the price increase for those of modest means. With each issue of *S&T* we will probably be able to offer a few games as "specials"...available at the old six dollar price. Say we have three or four different games per issue on "special." Thus in the course of a year a subscriber would have twenty or so games to choose from at the old price. This offer would be made only to subscribers, as you could only use the special with the order card included with the issue. If we can arrange this (and we probably can) we will start it with issue 40. We have found that, with a little extra effort, we can keep (almost) everybody happy. If only we didn't have to cater to so many different opinions, tastes, budgets...

A lot of other people are publishing games now. Their chief problems are (as ours once were) low quality and poor distribution. But people do get their hands on these games and we feel that folks would like to see these games "rated." OK, we'll rate any games that're available for sale (or has been, for at least six months). Send one (non-returnable) copy to SPI and another to Martin Campion (Dept. of History, Kansas State College, Pittsburg, Kansas 66762). Martin is our regular reviewer of games for *MOVES*. He will do a more extensive review of the games in *MOVES*.

We have a new brochure out. To supplement our catalog. Our catalog will no longer be free (except to subscribers, who will get one free catalog a year). The catalog will now cost fifty cents. This just about covers postage and handling. But it doesn't cover the cost of producing the catalog. Which now costs about the same as an issue of *S&T* (without the game). The new catalog is an expensive proposition and, quite simply, we can't afford to give *all* of them away. The brochure is nice, though. It covers fifty games (with more to come).

People say, how can you keep it up? How can you continue to grind out the games? So many games, issue after issue. People say they can't keep up with all those games. As we've said many times before, we don't expect anyone (save the hardcore "collector") to get all of our games. The basic idea is to offer plenty of variety. So that everyone will have available to them games which they want. And not be forced to take one or two new games a year (whether they want that particular title or not).

In addition, we have found through hard experience that the only way to improve the quality of games is through experience. Experience in designing, developing and producing. Any skill, once acquired, is eventually lost if not continually practiced. For that reason alone we must continue to produce more games. We *are* slowing down, but not for the reasons most frequently cited. It is usually thought that we would have to slow down because either people would stop buying so many games or else the design team would "burn themselves out." Buying has not slowed down. Simply because we constantly poll the buyers as to how many games they want. And which games in particular they want. We also keep a constant eye on buying patterns so as to spot changes before they get out of control. As far as design and development goes, there's no problem. If our R&D people could spend all their energies on games they could turn out 36 games a year with ever-increasing quality. Unfortunately, our R&D people cannot spend all their time on games. At SPI every full-time member of the R&D staff has another "job" in addition to their game work. These "other" jobs have mainly to do with managing SPI (everything from long-range planning to day-to-day supervision). And the way management works at SPI, the "managers" always find themselves (in the course of a week) in the trenches with the troops. Operating the computer, typing manuscripts, shipping orders, unloading trucks, answering the phones at the front desk and the list goes on and on. Because of our (where have you heard this before?) rapid growth the management end of the business has taken more and more time. The last twelve months have been particularly bad. With sixty hour work weeks becoming quite common. When we had a shower installed in our new digs it was to make it easier on the people who frequently live at the office for days at a time. And that's what's happened regularly. Since our growth continues the workload can be expected to increase. We have only limited resources in terms of money and trained people. In order to guarantee that our growth will continue in an efficient fashion we must draw resources from one of the few areas available to us. The game development program. So we'll cut the bi-monthly production of games from four to three. You won't be seeing this until January 1974. But for us the pressure will ease up starting in September. This additional \$1500 worth of talent a month will be put to work insuring that the retail sales programs gets on its way satisfactorily. In addition, and more importantly, many of the management systems which we have developed will be more efficiently implemented. Theories that look great on paper mean nothing unless you have the people to implement and maintain them. We've gotten a lot of systems moving in the past few years. But many more have been developed which could not be fully utilized due to a shortage of time and people. Getting some of these projects operational will be of enormous help to us (and you) in the future. Some of these projects are, for example, more sophisticated internal controls. Many of these will use the computer. But people have to make sure they work first. Systems like this will ensure that your orders are handled as "error free" as possible. Also, improved inventory control systems. We've saved a lot of money by not having too much inventory laying around and this can be done even more efficiently. A more sophisticated cash-flow

system. We have bankers coming to us now. They can help us, but only if we know what we are doing. A dollar saved through better cash-flow management will show up in improved games. Improved use of feedback will allow us to respond more efficiently to your wants. But people on this end must have the time to do their homework.

All of this does not mean that we are becoming a bunch of business fanatics. SPI's origins and fast growth are as much attributable to effective management as to good and plentiful games. It's much like the situations encountered while playing a game. You must frequently redeploy your resources in order to deal with a developing situation. We spoke once of an "SPI Game" which would show how all this stuff tied together. That's another of the projects we'd like to get into. When we have the time. In the meantime we're taking a fling at book publishing. A test anyway. See the feedback.

VIEWS (in response to readers letters)

Some subscribers are vexed at the narrow selection of games published in *S&T*. The choice of game subjects is geared to the feedback. At two dollars a game you can't really expect more than six a year and that alone tends to narrow the selection. In other words, you take a chance when you subscribe. We try to give high quality, variety and low price. That's a big order that isn't easily filled.

How do you apply our new standard grid reference system to older games that lack the hex numbers. Simple. First decide which side of the map is "up." This is done by holding the map so that you can easily read the place names, etc. In the upper left hand hex write the number 0101. Then, depending on the hex grain, you number the rest of the hexes.

Our Standard Game Boxes. All of them now have plastic inserts (including the "blank boxes" bought by the half dozen or dozen). With the new plastic inserts our boxes are capable of being used to sort AND store playing pieces. As before, the boxes are also suitable as shipping containers. Before we developed the plastic insert the boxes were good (primarily) as shipping containers as well as for sorting (but not storing) playing pieces. We wish we had developed the plastic tray earlier. It would have made things a lot easier all around. But, life being what it is, we found the plastic tray later. Better late than never. And before the end of the year the new plastic box will replace the old cardboard one. Things change, but life goes on.

Games grow old, just like everything else. Games suffer with age. Some more than others. It's always been our policy to constantly upgrade games. But this sort of nickle and dime modification will not remedy the need for fundamental change in a game. If a game is in need of fundamental change (and most are after a while) and does not get changed, it dies. Rather than have a lot of dead and dying games lying around we would like to see what we can do about upgrading older games. Now this is an expensive proposition. The rules folder of a game is probably the cheapest component of a game to manufacture. Yet that rules folder has had more time and money poured into it than any other component. Every rules folder costs about \$2,000+ to develop. Doing a good revision would cost at least half as much. And in some cases much more. Eventually, which may be as much as two years from now, we'll have the

(continued on page 44)

The Solomons Campaign

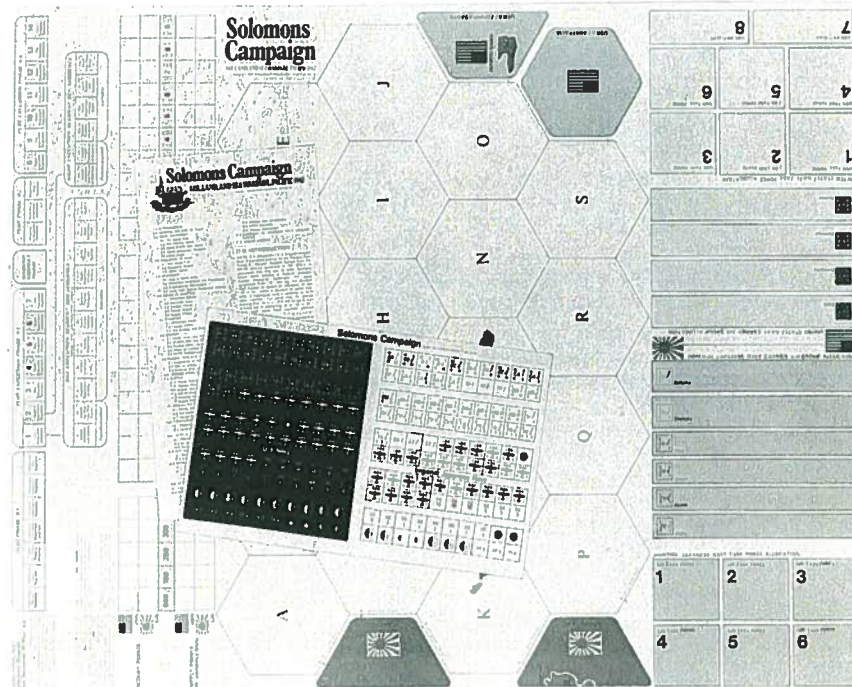
Air, Land, and Sea Warfare, Pacific 1942

- Simultaneous movement and limited intelligence
- Air, land, and sea action
- Giant-hex, area map

The Solomons Campaign is an historical simulation of the combined arms struggle between the United States and Japan for possession of the island of Guadalcanal during the summer and autumn of 1942. The game begins in August 1942, when the Americans invaded the islands of Guadalcanal and Tulagi, and continues for sixteen Game-Turns each of which represents the passage of one week. The Japanese objective is to retake the island of Guadalcanal while the American objective is to retain control of the island and the vital airbase of Henderson Field which is located on Guadalcanal.

The Solomons Campaign is a strategic simulation, employing a new simultaneous area movement system, as well as land, air and naval combat missions. The 22" x 28" mapsheet portrays the major islands of the Solomons Archipelago stretching between the Japanese bases at Rabaul and Truk, and the American Pacific bases at Espiritu Santo and Australia-New Zealand-New Caledonia. The mapsheet is divided into twenty oversized area-hexes which regulate and simplify the comprehensive game-mechanics enlisted to simulate combined arms movement and combat missions. The playing pieces represent the air, land, and naval units available to the Japanese and American forces in 1942. Each Air Strength Point represents the combat power of approximately 1,000 troops. The naval units represent either Capital ships (each represented by a single unit), cruisers (one unit per two cruisers), destroyers (one unit per five destroyers), transport ships, or Japanese submarines. The Simultaneous Movement System (SMS) employed in *The Solomons Campaign* is used to simulate the operational secrecy of strategic naval maneuvering. Briefly, the SMS dictates that both Players secretly plot in advance their respective naval operations for the ensuing Game-Turn. Such operations are noted in writing on each Players SMS pad prior to the movement execution phases of the next Game-Turn. During the movement execution phases (each of which represent the passage of twelve hours of real time) both the Japanese and American naval units move simultaneously on the mapsheet in accordance with their respective SMS notations. The use of SMS results in a faster moving game, which is also truer to the nature of strategic naval warfare than any other simulation technique we've come across.

Pursing the concept of operational secrecy, *The Solomons Campaign* incorporates the use of secret Task Force Compositioning. While during the Guadalcanal Campaign, Japanese and American aerial reconnaissance usually picked up major enemy movements, such intelligence was often spotty. In *The Solomons Campaign*,



although Task Forces are usually revealed by Japanese and American Intelligence rules, the exact composition of such forces remains secret until enemy naval groups are engaged in combat. Of course, night movements go undetected. The nighttime movement execution phases also allow the Japanese Navy to run the Tokyo Express "down the slot" to Guadalcanal while remaining immune to American air attack. The American Player, however, frequently holds an anti-ship Task Force on station to interrupt such Japanese "slot-runs." *The Solomons Campaign* employs five different combat results tables to resolve air and naval bombardment of Guadalcanal supply and air bases, ground combat on Guadalcanal, anti-aircraft (air-to-air and ship-to-air) combat, air-naval (air-to-ship) combat, surface naval combat, and Japanese submarine attacks. In the game, ground combat is limited to opposing ground forces on Guadalcanal only. Both air and ground combat use a step-reduction system, while naval units can either be crippled or destroyed in combat. Damaged naval units are returned to base for refitting and become available as reinforcements on a later Game-Turn. Air and naval combat missions are affected by such factors as the required training of inexperienced carrier air groups, and a double system of combat air patrol in which intercepting aircraft select to fly either in an area or point defense mission.

The strictly historical game begins with 15,000 (15 Ground Strength Points)

American troops on Guadalcanal attempting to activate Henderson Field. U.S.N. forces available include the carriers, *Wasp*, *Enterprise*, and *Saratoga*, three additional fleet carriers, a battleship, 14 cruisers, 25 destroyers, and a transport fleet. Against them initially the Imperial Japanese Navy will deploy 2 fleet carriers, 2 auxiliary carriers, 2 battle cruisers, 14 cruisers, and 30 destroyers. During *The Solomons Campaign*, the Japanese gain a significant naval superiority which must be used to wear down the American Navy and disrupt the accumulation of American supplies on Guadalcanal. Later in the game, the Japanese must attempt to land in strength on Guadalcanal and seize the island by ground combat. The possession of Henderson Field at the end of the game is the paramount victory condition. In order for the Japanese to gain control of the airbase, all American land forces must be eliminated from the island. If the Japanese Player isn't up to the task, by both players' mutual consent the Japanese naval forces may be augmented by incorporating into play the battleships *Yamato* and *Musashi*, both of which *could* have been made available for the Japanese effort at Guadalcanal.

The Solomons Campaign is a game for experienced Players. The rules are comprehensive and the game is particularly challenging. A complex game, *The Solomons Campaign* has nevertheless been designed to play in under three hours. *The Solomons Campaign* is available (boxed) from Simulations Publications for \$6.00.

The Battles of Bull Run

MANASSAS: June 1861 and August 1862

- Simultaneous movement
- Limited intelligence and leadership
- Re-creates two separate battles

Bull Run is an historical simulation of the two Civil War battles fought in the vicinity of Bull Run creek in Northern Virginia. First Bull Run (21 July 1861) was the opening engagement of the Civil War in which the Union Army was routed by the Rebels. Second Bull Run (29-30 August 1862) also resulted in a Confederate victory which cleared the way for Lee's 1862 offensive which culminated at the battle of Antietam. The *Bull Run* game is a tactical simulation of these two crucial battles. Each battle is simulated by a separate game with individual orders of battle, special rules, and victory conditions.

Each *Bull Run* simulation is basically a two player game in which the Union and Confederate armies are struggling to gain control of the Manassas rail junction and other geographic objectives, and attempting to destroy the enemy forces. The 22" x 28" mapsheet portrays the Bull Run battlefield twice contested during the Civil War. The map is scaled with each hex representing 400 meters from side to side. Each Game-Turn represents the passage of ninety minutes. Both Bull Run games are contested by brigade-sized units each of which represents between 1,000 and 9,000 Confederate or Union troops.

Bull Run incorporates the new Simultaneous Movement System (SMS) to more accurately portray the fluidity of battle. The purpose of the Simultaneous Movement System is to represent the two opposing armies in simultaneous movement across the battlefield, and to deny either Player the unrealistic advantage of movement against a stationary enemy. In the SMS design, the movement for all units is noted on a specially designed SMS pad at the beginning of each Game-Turn. Similarly, units are committed to attacks in writing on the SMS pad prior to the execution of their movement. After the movement and attacks for all units have been noted, both Players execute the previously plotted movements. Units which simultaneously (in terms of the expenditure of Movement Points) attempt to enter the same hex INTERCEPT one another. By employing a die roll either of these units will gain possession of the disputed hex, but neither intercepting unit may continue any further along its plotted move. Following the completion of all movement, those units which were previously designated to attack must attack any and all enemy units to which they are adjacent. All combat is considered to be simultaneous, i.e. combat losses (which are taken by a step-reduction system) become effective only after all combat has been resolved. Only those units



which were designated to attack may perform attacks, although all units which are attacked are able to defend themselves regardless of written orders. Units adjacent to enemy units which are neither attacking or being attacked are repulsed (retreated). The simultaneous movement and combat systems are workable because of the limited number of units involved. In most scenarios each Player maneuvers fewer than twenty Friendly units. The SMS is a significant step in the direction of a more realistic simulation of both the "fog of war" and tactical fluidity.

Certain of the *Bull Run* game-mechanics will be familiar to Players of SPI's *Napoleon at Waterloo*, *Borodino*, or *Austerlitz* simulations. *Bull Run* employs rigid zones of control, i.e. once a unit enters an enemy controlled hex, it cannot voluntarily leave that hex. There is also a similarity between the Napoleonic and *Bull Run* artillery rules. In *Bull Run* however, artillery may be used for both offensive and defensive bombardment functions. Other *Bull Run* mechanics are unique. Apart from the central Simultaneous Movement and Combat System, *Bull Run* features playable Command Control rules which adversely affect units beyond the control radius of Friendly Leader units. Such units ignore their plotted movement and become unreliable scattering formations. The Combat Results Table as previously noted, employs a

step-reduction system; something new for a tactical game.

The initial deployment for each *Bull Run* game is given separately off the mapsheet. The First *Bull Run* game lasts eight turns. There are three different scenarios to this game, one an historical recreation, a second depicting an earlier attack by McDowell's Union Army, the third portraying the battle assuming a further Union division had been on hand. The Second *Bull Run* game last twenty-four Game-Turns — three days real time. Two scenarios of this battle are presented. The first is the historical scenario properly crediting the superiority of the Confederate command. The second scenario allows the Confederates (only) to employ the optional Limited Intelligence rules which introduce concealed (face-down) and dummy units into the game.

Overall, *Bull Run* is a radically new approach to the problem of realistic tactical simulation. As a double package, *Bull Run* provides two entirely different game situations. In 1861, the Union Army is outnumbered and usually forced into a defensive stature. The following year, the tables are reversed. The Union has the strength, but the Confederates this time are being led by Robert E. Lee. *Bull Run* is available (boxed) from Simulations Publications for \$6.00.

(continued from page 41)

resources to undertake the revisions. But for the present we'll have to see who'll be willing to pay four dollars for a "revision kit" (mainly, a new set of rules) or an entire new game. See the feedback. In the meantime we have errata sheets on most games. Errata is also published in *MOVES* as soon as it becomes available.

We emphasize the games rather than the magazine because it is the games that pay the bills. Right now pure "word" material doesn't bring in enough money to pay for itself. While the situation is that blunt this does not mean that non-game material receives short shrift at SPI. The quality of our material attests to that. But "word" material publishing is a whole other operation. We are working on getting into book publishing. Using the material we have already published in *S&T* as a starting point. See the feedback.

Ah, the old simple games versus complex games controversy. See the feedback section of Outgoing Mail for some information on that.

Why did we publish *Scrimmage*? For the same reason (honest!) that people climb mountains. Because it was there. A lot of people didn't like it. But a lot of people did. For example, the game *Scrimmage* received a rating of 5.05 with 39% rating it a 7, 8, or 9. By comparison *Flying Circus* received an initial rating of 7.41 (79% rated it 7-9), *Winter War* was 7.36 (72% 7-9) and *Destruction of Army Group Center* was 6.87 (64% 7-9). Well, it's done. And with the feedback controlled game selection system we've been using since *S&T* 36 something like *Scrimmage* won't happen again. Which means we'll have to find some other way to get our rocks off.

We don't blindly follow the feedback results, as some have intimated. We still have the "power" to make up the questions. Although the proposed game titles are taken from areas determined by the feedback and titles you yourselves have mentioned in your letters. Naturally, there's still a lot of enthusiasm out there for certain areas of history. Some of the more obscure areas don't have sufficient enthusiasm to make it economically feasible for us to produce games on them. This, as we keep saying, is why we produce so many games. Eventually we cover nearly all the bases. In the past three years we've covered a lot of areas that, without all of us doing what we're doing, would still be uncovered. If you have a lot of enthusiasm for a "neglected" area, keep on pestering us. Eventually you'll find enough like-minded people to prod us into action. It's happened before and will continue to happen. In the meantime, lots of new game subjects and design ideas are covered in *MOVES* magazine (just to show you we're not ignoring new ideas).

Due to somebody suggesting it, we have added a comments section to the feedback card. To make it easier to elaborate on one point or another regarding the feedback. We'll be reading you.

Some folks are perplexed about the different methods we use to mail stuff. Our mailing policy is, basically, this. *S&T* is sent out by "3rd Class Bulk Mail." We pay by the pound for this type of mail. All pieces must be the same and there must be at least 200 of them. We pay \$0.26 a pound. This issue cost about \$0.14 to mail this way (plus a few cents for the mailer, a subcontractor who stuffs and seals the issue into the envelope and bundles it up

for delivery to the post office). Our foreign *S&T*'s go by surface overseas mail (it takes a long time to get there). *MOVES* also goes 3rd class bulk. Most of our other goodies are sent UPS (United Parcel Service). About 85% of our shipping is UPS. We can't send UPS to certain states or to Post Office Box numbers. So if you've got a PO box, give us another address if you can, cause UPS is about two weeks faster than regular third class mail (which we use for parcels we don't send UPS). We send renewal notices and other correspondence by first class mail. Books are sent fourth class (book rate).

If you don't have a bookstore handy and want to find a book we covered in *Pass in Review* you're pretty much out of luck. Book marketing in this country is still somewhere in the 18th century. (You might try writing the publisher which often works, but not always). And things don't look like they're going to get much better. We're starting up our own book service again. But we're starting very small and building carefully. It'll be a while before we can get hold of whatever book you want. Although that's what we're working towards.

FEEDBACK

First of all there's the results of that "super-survey" we conducted in *S&T* 37. Some very interesting data coming out of that. First, however, we should give you a "profile" of *S&T*'s subscribers. About 30% are age 17 or younger while 66% are age 18-35. Education: 34% are either still in high school or have graduated. A further 44% have either graduated from college or attended while 22% are in or have completed graduate school. A rather sharp bunch. You average 5-6 years experience with games (about 20% have a year or less experience while 25-30% have nine or more year's experience). You spend some 16-18 hours a month on games and own an average of 16-20 games each. We conduct validation surveys to see what the people who don't send in feedback surveys are like and find that the "non-respondants" own fewer games and spend less time on the hobby, but, in all other respects, rate things just like the regular respondents. This is encouraging. *S&T* now has over 25,000 subscribers. For each subscriber we know there are 2.4 people who read the magazine. In other words, we reach some 50,000 gamers now (making allowance for non-gamers who read the magazine and the thousands of gamers on our mailing list who do not subscribe). The subscriber profile has not changed much since we had 10,000 subscribers and it looks like the profile won't change much as we approach 50,000 subscribers. Our estimate of 100,000 active gamers in the country still seems reasonable. And the data we receive on opinions towards games jibes with the sales data on games (we know what Avalon Hill's sales are because most of the games they sell are ours and we get royalty statements).

Now comes the fun part. For years Avalon Hill (AH) had an attitude towards their market which no one seriously questioned. Mainly because there was no one else. We (SPI) came along with a lot of attitudes and theories quite different from AH's. It has not been, and never will be, our intention to "blow AH out of the water." But the different attitudes have come into conflict. The dust has cleared a bit and it's about time we took stock. First let's consider the results of the *S&T* 37 survey. We now have a pretty complete profile on a lot of different games, both ours, AH's and some others. Let us look at the overall scorecard.

Publisher (nr. of games)	Acceptability	Complexity	Average % Played	Currently % Played	Times Played Mar-May '73
AH(15)	5.88	4.69	53.8%	24.2%	2.85
SPI(42)	6.19	5.06	27.6%	15.0%	2.73
SPI (1st 15)	6.75	5.11	27.2%	16.2%	2.97
SPI (2nd 15)	6.18	5.40	31.9%	17.9%	2.68

The above averages show that newer SPI games have a considerable edge in acceptability. Overall, SPI games are only 7.9% more complex and, judging from the ratings, that much more complexity is in demand. Not more simplicity. AH comes out ahead in the "% Played" category by virtue of the fact that they'd sold over a million games before we even got started. The gap has been closing these past few years and will continue to close. More important is the "% Currently Played." Many people have played a particular game at one time or another. But tastes change and many of the older AH games are apparently considered "obsolete" by many gamers. The "Times Played" would be more favorable for SPI if it weren't for *PanzerBlitz* and *France: '40*. It's ironic that AH's two most popular and most played games were completely produced by SPI (all AH did was the printing and selling) and use game systems found in many other SPI games. To make comparisons between AH's "best" games and SPI's is rather foolish, since both groups of games came from the same source. All the other AH games do much less well in comparison to SPI games. AH's latest, *Richtofen's War* is so similar to SPI's *Flying Circus* that it's future can be predicted with a great deal of accuracy. *Flying Circus* received an initial rating of 6.58 (rated without the accompanying issue of *S&T*). After six months it's rating went down to about 6.00. There it has stayed and will probably remain. We warned AH that one of the worst subjects they could do a game on would be World War I in the air. The basis of our warning was our subscriber's opinions. Listening to game player's opinions is one area where SPI and AH have differed greatly in the past. AH is catching on now and, hopefully, their change in attitude will show up in their games. Even if it is only one or two games a year.

One or two games a year is AH's big problem. They try to please everybody with only two games a year and that approach just won't work. Especially when they pick one of the least popular periods (WWI in the air) for one of their games. We could do it because we had over twenty other games for people to choose from. People do like variety. Not only in terms of game subject but also in terms of game complexity. Only some 6% of our subscribers prefer "simple" games (complexity rating 1-3) while 50% prefer "intermediate" games (rated 4-6) and 44% prefer complex games (rated 7-9). People with a preference for more complicated games still play simple games. As Dave Williams (designer of *Anzio*) put it, "You need a game like *Borodino* that you can play when you're bombed." But for the main course people still prefer the likes of *Soldiers* and *Leipzig*, not *D-Day* and *Austerlitz*. There's a difference between an entertaining challenge and just killing time.

Taking all game playing activity as a whole, during the period from March to May (inclusive) 63% of the 480,000 games played by our subscribers were SPI games. If a lot of people didn't buy and play our games we wouldn't be here. Which just goes to show you that if you ask people what they want they'll tell you. And if you don't give them what they want, they'll tell you that too.

A lot of other conclusions can be drawn from the data in the survey. Let's hear some opinions from subscribers and players.

We surveyed a lot of other games in the S&T 37 survey. So, just for the purpose of comparison, here are the results. The first number given is the complexity rating, then average time to play (hours), then times played per month between March and May 1973 and, finally, the percentage of people who've played in those three months. *Destruction of Army Group Center*—4.68/2-2.5/.9/60%, *Quebec 1759*—3.33/5-1/1.5/4%, *Dunkirk*—3.53/4-4.5/1.3/2%, *Dunkirk 1940*—4.70/3.5-4/1.3/4%, *Flight in the Skies*—5.30/2-2.5/1.8/4%, *Anzio*—7.02/6-6.5/6/18%, *Battle of Britain*—5.59/5-5.5/8/9%, *Risk*—2.43/2-5-3/9/32%, *Stratego*—2.44/5-1/1.0/19%, *Chess*—4.77/1.5-2/1.8/59%, *Monopoly*—2.34/3-3.5/9/34%, *Acquire*—2.70/1.5-2/8/13%, *Football Strategy*—3.36/1-1.5/7/10%, *Facts in Five*—3.50/1-1.5/1.0/9%. The "Perfect" game would have a complexity rating of 6.19, would have an average playing time of 2.5-3 hours and would be played twice a month. Ponder that.

We got a lot of flak when we told you that we didn't process every feedback card we received. Again, we repeat, the results obtained from 500 cards are no different from the results obtained from 5,000 cards. We do need as many different opinions as possible and thus as many cards as possible to choose from. But for statistical reasons there is no point in putting more than a thousand cards into the computer. We still need all the cards we can get so please try not to get upset because your card isn't processed every time.

The games to be published in December on the basis of issue 37's feedback are: *War in the East*, *Sinai*, *Leyte*, *Kampfpanzer* and (in S&T 41) *Frigate*. There was no joy in SPI-Land when we discovered that we'd finally have to do *War in the East*. It's a godawful monster of a game. Well, you win some, you lose some.

AH = Avalon Hill; SSG = Simulations Publications, *Simulations Series Games*; S&T = Simulations Publications, *Strategy & Tactics* magazine game; GR = Privately published, *Games Research* of Boston; GG = *Guidon Games*; * = indicates designed by, or originally published by SPI.

Acceptability is overall "popularity" of the game. % *Played* is the percentage who have, at one time or another, played the game. *Complexity* is how complex the game is on a 1-9 scale. *Average Game Length* (time to play) is given in hours. *Number of times played per month* is only for those who have played the game between March and May 1973 (not all those who have ever played the game have played it in those three months). *Average games played per 100 subscribers* is for the period March-May 1973. Average rating for *Acceptability* is about 6.00. For *Complexity* it is about 5.00.

Game	Pub.	Pub. Date	Accept. Rating	% Played	Compl. Rating	Avg. Game Length (hrs.)	Avg. Games Per Month Per Player	Games Per 100 Players	March-May '73
GREATEST ACCEPTANCE:									
1. PanzerBlitz	AH*	10/70	7.50	73	7.04	2-2.5	1.3	199	
WIDE ACCEPTANCE-TO-GREATEST ACCEPTANCE:									
2. Red Star/White Star	SSG	12/72	7.33	39	6.38	2-2.5	1.3	86	
3. La Grande Armee	SSG	10/72	7.30	19	5.25	3-3.5	1.4	35	
4. Borodino	S&T	4/72	6.94	56	2.59	1.5-2	1.0	111	
5. American Revolution	SSG	12/72	6.91	16	4.03	2-2.5	1.1	27	
6. Wilderness Campaign	SSG	12/72	6.90	20	5.36	2.5-3	0.9	33	
7. Breakout & Pursuit	SSG	12/72	6.82	19	5.36	2.5-3	0.9	27	
8. Moscow Campaign	SSG	8/72	6.78	20	5.54	2.5-3	1.0	41	
9. France, 1940	AH*	6/71	6.77	62	5.78	2.5-3	1.0	124	
WIDE ACCEPTANCE:									
10. Winter War	S&T	8/72	6.66	60	4.54	2-2.5	0.9	99	
11. Soldiers	SSG	8/72	6.66	16	5.51	2-2.5	1.1	44	
12. Richtofen's War	AH	3/73	6.64	16	4.35	0.5-1	1.5	48	
13. Diplomacy	GR	6/61	6.63	42	4.34	6-6.5	1.1	81	
14. Nap at W'loo (Expansion)	SSG	2/72	6.56	31	3.49	1.5-2	0.9	53	
15. Franco-Prussian War	SSG	8/72	6.55	17	5.61	2-2.5	0.9	26	
16. Turning Point (AKA Battle Of Stalingrad)	SSG	2/72	6.52	29	5.36	2.5-3	0.9	32	
17. Kursk	SSG	6/71	6.48	31	5.50	3-3.5	1.0	41	
18. Blitzkrieg Mod System	S&T	12/69	6.42	17	6.26	5-5.5	0.8	23	
19. Grenadier	SSG	12/71	6.39	19	5.81	2-2.5	1.2	45	
20. Marne	SSG	10/72	6.37	11	4.27	2-2.5	0.8	16	
21. Barbarossa	SSG	12/69	6.35	29	5.16	3.5-4	1.1	54	
22. Battle of the Bulge	AH	4/65	6.32	52	4.69	3-3.5	0.9	59	
MODERATE ACCEPTANCE:									
23. Phalanx	SSG	10/71	6.31	22	5.30	2-2.5	0.9	37	
24. 1812 (hex)	SSG	10/72	6.31	16	5.03	3.5-4	1.0	29	
25. 1812 (area)	SSG	10/72	6.30	17	5.20	3-3.5	0.9	25	
26. Leipzig	SSG	12/69	6.26	22	5.27	3-3.5	1.0	38	
27. USN	S&T	12/71	6.22	43	8.11	6-6.5	0.8	52	
28. Stalingrad	AH	4/63	6.20	55	3.94	3-3.5	0.9	64	
29. Normandy	SSG	12/69	6.19	22	5.56	3-3.5	0.8	41	
30. Battle of Moscow	S&T	10/70	6.18	22	4.21	2-2.5	0.9	21	
31. Strategy I	SSG	6/71	6.17	31	7.87	6-6.5	0.9	44	
32. Year of the Rat	S&T	12/72	6.09	72	5.13	2-2.5	0.9	126	
33. Waterloo	AH	4/61	6.08	52	3.32	2-2.5	1.0	65	
34. Korea	SSG	2/70	6.06	24	5.63	3-3.5	0.8	30	
35. Afrika Korps	AH	4/64	6.05	62	3.54	2-2.5	0.9	78	
36. Midway	AH	10/64	6.05	54	4.71	2.5-3	0.9	57	
37. Combat Command	S&T	2/72	6.03	44	6.30	2-2.5	0.8	51	
38. Flying Circus	S&T	4/72	5.99	49	3.19	0.5-1	1.1	75	
39. Blitzkrieg	AH	10/65	5.94	69	5.82	5-5.5	0.8	63	
40. Luftwaffe	AH*	4/72	5.89	58	5.83	3.5-4	0.9	71	
41. Armageddon	S&T	10/72	5.89	55	4.82	1.5-2	0.8	78	
42. Napoleon at Waterloo	SSG	12/71	5.84	72	1.62	1-1.5	1.1	147	
43. Bastogne	S&T	4/70	5.79	17	6.26	3.5-4	0.8	13	
44. Dark Ages	SSG	10/71	5.74	20	5.13	1.5-2	0.9	27	
45. Goeben-Strategic	S&T	6/70	5.73	11	4.35	1.5-2	0.9	18	
46. D-Day	AH	4/61	5.72	56	3.93	3-3.5	0.9	76	
47. Centurion	S&T	12/71	5.69	17	4.70	2-2.5	0.9	19	
48. Anzio Beach Head	S&T	4/70	5.68	20	4.09	1.5-2	0.7	16	
49. 1918	SSG	4/70	5.68	19	4.61	3-3.5	0.7	16	
50. Origins of World War II	AH*	10/71	5.57	44	3.74	1.5-2	0.9	44	
51. Alexander the Great	GG	6/71	5.38	7	4.00	2-2.5	1.0	12	
52. 1914	AH*	4/68	5.30	56	7.70	5.5-6	0.9	49	
53. Ren. of Infantry	S&T	8/70	5.29	18	4.85	2.5-3	0.9	22	
LOW ACCEPTANCE:									
54. Grunt	S&T	4/71	5.24	31	4.95	1.5-2	0.8	28	
55. Lost Battles	S&T	10/71	5.20	34	6.65	2.5-3	0.8	23	
56. Crete	S&T	10/69	5.19	9	3.82	1.5-2	0.6	10	
57. Goeben-Tactical	S&T	6/70	5.11	10	4.06	1.5-2	1.0	12	
58. Gettysburg	AH	6/58	4.95	54	3.10	2-2.5	0.8	32	
59. Kriegspiel	AH	4/70	3.22	44	2.91	1.5-2	0.8	27	

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MOVES Magazine is designed to fill the need for a serious, professionally produced periodical dealing with the play and design of conflict simulations. In every 32 page issue you'll find articles covering a broad range of game-related subjects such as

- **GAME PROFILES:** In-depth surveys of individual games with photographs of all the components, summaries of the basic game systems and rules, and background material on the development and research effort that goes into the games. Often such profiles take the form of an historical analysis, using the game to illustrate the actual course of the campaign.

- **TACTICAL NOTES:** Not "perfect plans" but rather thoughtful suggestions as to how the play of particular games ought to be approached.

- **PLAYBACK REVIEWS:** Reader-generated statistical ratings of the eleven critical facets of a game, along with a capsule essay by our development staff. This system is probably the least biased, most accurate way to review games.

- **NEW SCENARIOS:** Additional battle situations which can be created using existing tactical games. Often, these scenarios are presented as a customized game map (which is compared to the standard game map) to illustrate a tactical situation in its actual setting.

- **DESIGNERS' NOTES:** A regular column which provides updates on the latest trends and events in the field, as well as previews and forecasts of future games.

- **GAME ERRATA:** Comprehensive list-outs of the ambiguities and outright errors contained in existing games, along with corrections.

- **HISTORICAL BRIEFS:** Short historical articles providing background material relating to game design.

- **DESIGN DEBATES:** Arguments about theory of design between prominent members of the game design community.

- **PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS:** Articles dealing with the various techniques used to make your own game components, alter or balance existing games, analyze and compare scenarios, etc.

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Feedback Questions

S&T nr. 39, published July/August 1973

How to Use the Feedback Response Card:

After you've finished reading this issue of S&T, please read the Feedback questions below, and give us your answers and opinions on the **Feedback Response Card**. The most convenient way to use the card is to hold it directly alongside the list of questions and then write your answer-number in the response-box on the card which corresponds to the question number. Please be sure your answer numbers are legible and be certain that the number of the response-box matches the number of the question you are answering.

Please be sure to answer **all** the questions asked. Cards which are incompletely filled-out cannot be processed. When a question-number has "no question" after it, **do not** write anything in that particular response-box.

What the Numbers Mean: Generally speaking, there are two types of questions asked in the Feedback section: (1) Rating questions and (2) "yes/no/no opinion" type questions.

Rating Questions: When answering a rating question (such as what you thought of a particular article in this issue) write one number from "0" through "9": "1" is the **WORST** rating; "9" is the **BEST** rating, "5" means an **AVERAGE** rating, and all numbers in-between express various shades of approval or disapproval. "0" indicates **NO OPINION** or **NOT APPLICABLE**.

Yes/No Questions: When the question is a "yes or no" question "1" means **YES**; "2" means **NO** (and "0" means **NO OPINION** or **NOT APPLICABLE**).

We hope you will use your **Feedback Response Card** as your direct-line to the editors of **S&T**.

QUESTIONS

1. No question
2. No question
3. No question

Questions 4 through 8 ask you to rate the articles in this issue [0=no opinion; 1=poor; 9=excellent].

4. Fall of Rome (game)
5. Fall of Rome (article)
6. Solomons Campaign
7. Outgoing Mail
8. No question
9. Pass in Review
10. No question
11. No question
12. This issue overall (on a scale from 1 to 9).
13. Was this issue better than the last one?
14. On the basis of this issue would you re-subscribe right now?
15. Was this your first S&T?

16. Which level of complexity do you prefer in games? 1,2, or 3 = *Napoleon at Waterloo*; 4,5, or 6 = *France '40*; 7,8, or 9 = *USN*. (In other words, rate your preference on a 1-9 scale using the games indicated as guidelines of complexity.)

17. Your age: 1 = 13 years old or less; 2 = 14-17; 3 = 18-21; 4 = 22-27; 5 = 28-35; 6 = 36 plus.
18. Your sex: 1 = Male; 2 = Female.
19. Education: 1 = 11 years or less; 2 = 12 years; 3 = 13-15 years; 4 = 13-15 years and still in school; 5 = 16 years; 6 = 17 plus years.
20. How long have you been playing Game Simulations: 0 = less than 1 year; 1 = 1 year; 2 = 2 years; 3 = 3-5 years; 4 = 6-8 years; 5 = 9 or more years.
21. What is the average number of hours you spend playing Game-Simulations each month? 0 = none; 1 = 1 hour or less; 2 = 2-5 hours; 3 = 6-9 hours; 4 = 10-15 hours; 5 = 16-20 hours; 6 = 21-25; 7 = 26-30; 8 = 31-40; 9 = 41 or more hours.
22. How many game-simulations do you possess (having this issue gives you at least one)? 1 = 1; 2 = 2-5; 3 = 6-10; 4 = 11-15; 5 = 16-20; 6 = 21-25; 7 = 26-30; 8 = 31-40; 9 = 41 or more.
23. Did you send in a feedback card for your last issue of S&T? 1 = yes; 2 = no.

Question 24-26 ask you to rate types of wargame "environments" [land, air, and naval]. Rate the game "environments" on a scale of 1 to 9. 1 = dislike the games in this "environment" to 9 = enjoy very much this game "environment."

24. Naval Games
25. Air Games
26. Land Games
27. Pick the ONE area that you would **MOST** like to see games and articles done about. 1 = Ancient (Rome, Greece, Biblical), 3000 BC-600 AD; 2 = Dark Ages and Renaissance (600 AD-1600 AD); 3 = 30 Years War and Pre-Napoleonic (1600-1790); 4 = Napoleonic (1790-1830); 5 = Civil War/19th Century (1830-1900); 6 = World War I (1900-1930); 7 = World War II (1930-1945); 8 = Post World II (1945-present); 9 = Present and future (anything goes).
28. Our games come in three levels of complexity: simple (*Napoleon at Waterloo*), Intermediate (*Kursk*, *France '40*), and Complex (*USN*, *Strategy I*). There are also three scales we use: Tactical (up to 500 men per unit, up to 1,000 meters per hex, each turn represents less than an hour of real time); "Operational" (up to "brigade," or 10,000 men, unit size, up to 5 kilometers per hex and usually one day per turn); and Strategic (everything larger). Choose from the following, the ONE combination of complexity and scale you **MOST** prefer in a game. 1 = Simple-Tactical; 2 = Simple-Operational; 3 = Simple-Strategic; 4 = Intermediate-Tactical; 5 = Intermediate-Operational; 6 = Intermediate-Strategic; 7 = Complex-Tactical; 8 = Complex-Operational; 9 = Complex-Strategic.

29. If you have ordered something from us in the last two months we would like to know how long the goods, or word of what was holding them up, took to reach you. 1-received goods or notification in less than two weeks, 2-less than three weeks, 3-took more than three weeks, 4-ordered goods less than two weeks ago and no delivery or notification yet, 5-ordered goods less than three weeks ago and no delivery or notification yet, 6-ordered goods more than three weeks ago and no delivery or notification yet.

The following game subjects are under consideration for publication in *March, 1974*. We leave the final choice up to you. Rate each proposed game on a 1 (least wanted) to 9 (most wanted) scale. The four highest rated games will be published and will, along with the four lowest rated games, be dropped from this list. Eight new titles will be added to the next list which will appear in the next issue of S&T.

30. *The Punic Wars*: from 264 B.C. to 146 B.C. Rome and Carthage fought a series of strategic wars for control of the western Mediterranean. A game covering all three Punic Wars.

31. *CVN*: Naval warfare in the 1970's. Carriers, nuclear submarines, missiles and nuclear weapons and much more.
32. *CIA*: A game of espionage and counter-espionage in which you really aren't sure whose agents belong to whom. Scenarios covering most types of 20th century espionage operations.
33. *Heist*: Hijacking, armed robbery, burglary. A "tactical" game showing all the elements involved. The risks and rewards.
34. *Surface Raider*: The German battle ships and battle cruisers in the North Atlantic in 1939-1941 and Allied actions to stop them.
35. *POW*: Survival in a World War II prison camp. What must be done to escape and the chances taken.
36. *Trireme*: tactical, ship to ship combat during the Greek and Roman periods (500 B.C. to 100 A.D.).
37. *The Crusades*: strategic game of the western attempt to recover Palestine from the Arabs and Turks during the 11th and 12 centuries.
38. *The English Civil War*: Oliver Cromwell and the King of England struggle for supremacy 1642 and 1651. Strategic level game.
39. *Trafalgar*: strategic naval game covering the sea campaign of 1805 which resulted in decisive British victory over the French at Trafalgar.
40. *The Peninsular War*: Wellington's campaigns against the French in Spain and Portugal during 1808-14. Using Leipzig game system.
41. *Tarawa* (Tactical level game on the Marine invasion of 1943 in the Gilberts).
42. *Battle of the Atlantic* (strategic level game of the German submarine offensive against Allied Shipping in the Atlantic during WW II).
43. *Poland: 1939*: The German invasion of Poland in 1939. A division level game showing that the Poles weren't as outclassed as is generally thought.
44. *Patrol*: Man-to-man level actions on a typical piece of wooded terrain. Patrols meet, ambushes are set, fortified positions are stormed. Includes use of tanks. Each hex equals two meters.
45. *Napoleon in Egypt*: Napoleons "blitzkrieg" campaign through Egypt and the middle east (1798-1800). Using Leipzig style game system.
46. *The Alpha Centauri Campaign*: A strategic, three dimensional game of deep space warfare. Fleets, armies and colonies all play a part in numerous scenarios.
47. *The Battle of Leyte Gulf* (the last stand of the Japanese Navy in 1944).
48. *The War Between the States*: A strategic army level game of the entire Civil War (1861-65).
49. *The Boer Wars*: The sometimes guerilla, sometimes conventional wars of the Dutch Boer colonists against the British occupation forces between 1880 and 1899 in South Africa.
50. *The Crimean War*: Actually, the military operations surrounding the siege of Sebastopol (1854-55). Operational level (brigade/division).
51. *Russo-Japanese War*: Strategic level game of the land/naval campaign between Japan and Russia (1904-05).
52. *Dieppe*: The Allied raid on the German "Festung Europa" on 19 August 1942. Company/battalion level.
53. *Spanish Civil War*: Strategic level game of the multi-front war in Spain between 1936 and 1939. Can be played as a multi-player game.
54. *Street Without Joy*: Strategic level game of French attempt to hold onto Indo-China between 1946 and 1954. Deals with guerilla warfare and more conventional combat (such as Dienbienphu).
55. *Wolfpack*: Tactical, ship-to-ship submarine and anti-submarine actions in the Atlantic during World War II.
56. *SSN*: Submarine and anti-submarine warfare in the 1970's. Tactical/operation level game.
57. *Vicksburg*: Grant's brilliant decisive victory over the Confederate bastion on the Mississippi in 1863. Division/corps level strategic game with scenarios.
58. *Chinese Civil War*: Strategic level game of the civil war which raged in China between the Nationalist and Communists (1945-49).
59. *Strategy II*: Revision of Strategy I with new rules and scenarios. Finished game would sell for \$12 although "revision kit" would be available at \$6 for owners of Strategy I.
60. Rifle & Saber
61. Musket & Pike
62. Austerlitz
63. Spitfire
64. Lee Moves North (formerly Lee at Gettysburg)
65. Ardennes Offensive
66. Destruction of Army Group Center
67. Scrimmage
68. CA
69. NATO
70. El Alamein
71. Foxbat & Phantom
- The following book titles are under consideration for publication as "S&T Books." These would be 100+ page hardcover books (S&T size pages) covering in greater depth and detail and in the same manner as subjects are covered in S&T articles. Much of the material would come from old S&T articles, but most of the material would be new. Price would probably be about \$7.00 and the books would be available direct from us or through your local book store. Rate the proposed books on a 1-9 scale with "1" indicating no interest and "9" indicating extreme interest. Consider a "7," "8," or "9" rating as an intention to buy the book.*
- 72 - "The Desert War" - The war in North Africa (1940-43). Including the naval war.
- 73 - "Red Star/White Star" - A survey of the land, sea and air forces of the Western and Soviet bloc armed forces in the 1970's.
- 74 - "Sword & Shield: Warfare in the Pre-gunpowder Age" - Survey of innovations and changes in weapons, tactics and military organizations from Biblical times up to the advent of gunpowder weapons.
- 75 - "Napoleon at War" - The art of war in the Napoleonic period, including details on all the Napoleonic campaigns and battles. As well as weapons, tactics, organizations and personalities.
- 76 - "The Iron Cross" - The German combat forces (mainly land) during World War II.
- 77 - "The Waterloo Campaign" - The campaign that led up to the battle as well as the battle itself. Illustrations of all aspects of the campaign and battle.
- 78 - "The Great War" - From 1914 to 1918, from the Western Front to Russia, the Middle East and Salonika. On the high seas and in the air. A complete survey.
- 79 - "The Greek Wars" - The wars of the Greeks from Troy to the Romans. A complete coverage of weapons, tactics, organizations and battles.
- 80 - "The Dark Ages" - The art of war from the collapse of Roman power in the west to the advent of gunpowder weapons (and the renaissance of infantry). Not a dark age for military developments.
- 81 - "The Roman Military System" - Roman weapons, manpower, organization, strategy and tactics from earliest times to the destruction of Byzantium. Two thousand years of military history.
- 82 - "The Renaissance of Warfare" - Beginning with the renaissance of infantry at the end of the dark ages and leading up to the "Napoleonic System."
- 83 - "The War in the Pacific" - From 1941 to 1945. All data on air, land and naval forces plus weapons, equipment, organization, tactics and the campaigns and battles.
- 84 - "War in the East - The Russo German War" - (1941-45) complete with details on all units and equipment as well as the battles themselves.
85. Would you be interested in attending a "Game Orgy" at SPI (you buy one \$6.00 game to reserve a seat to play the game of your choice for seven hours. The "Orgy" would last 28 to 49 hours straight on a weekend with each seven-hour session requiring a six dollar purchase. Available for play are unpublished SPI games as well as the SPI R&D folks. Held at SPI's offices)?
86. Would you be willing to pay for updated versions of games? 1 = yes, seven dollars for an entire new game, 2 = Yes, but only for a modification kit costing four dollars, 3 = No.
87. What percentage of SPI games would you prefer to be "simple" (complexity rating 1-3). 0 = 10% or less, 1 = 10%, 2 = 20%...9 = 90% +.
88. What percentage of your mail-orders from SPI were filled properly (you eventually received it and received exactly what you ordered)? 1 = 10%, 2 = 20%, 3 = 30%, 4 = 40%, 5 = 50%, 6 = 60%, 7 = 70%, 8 = 80%, 9 = 90% +
89. No question
90. No question
91. No question
92. No question
93. No question
94. No question
95. No question
96. No question

FEEDBACK RESULTS S&T 37

Rank	Article	Rating
1	The Ardennes Offensive	7.21
2	Caporetto	6.73
3	Outgoing Mail	6.50
4	Pass in Review	5.68
5	Sackson on Games	5.45
6	Scrimmage (game)	5.05
Overall		6.37

Was this issue better than the last? Yes = 38%

Game Errata

As a result of post-publication playtesting and game questions submitted to us, errata sheets for a number of our games are now available. Periodically, we will announce updates of these errata sheets, as well as new errata sheets as they become available. SPI Game errata is available free of charge. Please send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to:

Simulations Publications Inc.
Game Errata
44 East 23rd Street
New York, New York 10010

Please be sure to indicate which game errata you wish to receive. As of June 1973, errata for the following games is available.

Strategy I, La Grande Armee, Musket & Pike, Rifle & Saber, The Ardennes Offensive, Red Star/White Star, The Marne, The Moscow Campaign, The Franco-Prussian War, Spitfire, Lee at Gettysburg [now titled "Lee Moves North"], *The American Revolution, Destruction of Army Group Center* (S&T #36), *Year of the Rat* (S&T #35), *Armageddon* (S&T #34), *Winter War* (S&T #33), *Borodino* (S&T #32), *Flying Circus* (S&T #31), *Combat Command* (S&T #30), *U.S.N.* (S&T #29), *Lost Battles* (S&T #28), *Grunt* (S&T #26), and *Centurion* (S&T #25).

Plastic Map Covers

As much as people like our games, there has been a fairly constant demand for a better playing surface on our game maps. We can now offer you a solution: clear plastic cover sheets, very much like the ones we use at SPI when playtesting our new simulations. These mapcovers provide an excellent, smooth playing surface free of the "trampoline" effect which sometimes occurs in our paper maps.

What you get:

The map cover consists of four 12" x 18" x 1/8" planished, acrylic plastic sheets which when butted together can cover an area 24" by 36" (larger than all SPI game maps except for the *Strategy 1* double map).

How you can use it:

Simply take any paper or cardstock game map, lay it out on a flat table, and place the four plastic covers on top of the map, butting the edges together. Then just set up your counters and play the game as usual (but without the distraction of any possible buckling in the map surface).

If you buy *two* sets of covers, you can use one set to cover the map and the second set to cover a game-in-progress so that it won't be disturbed until you get a chance to return to playing. Other interesting possibilities present themselves when your game is

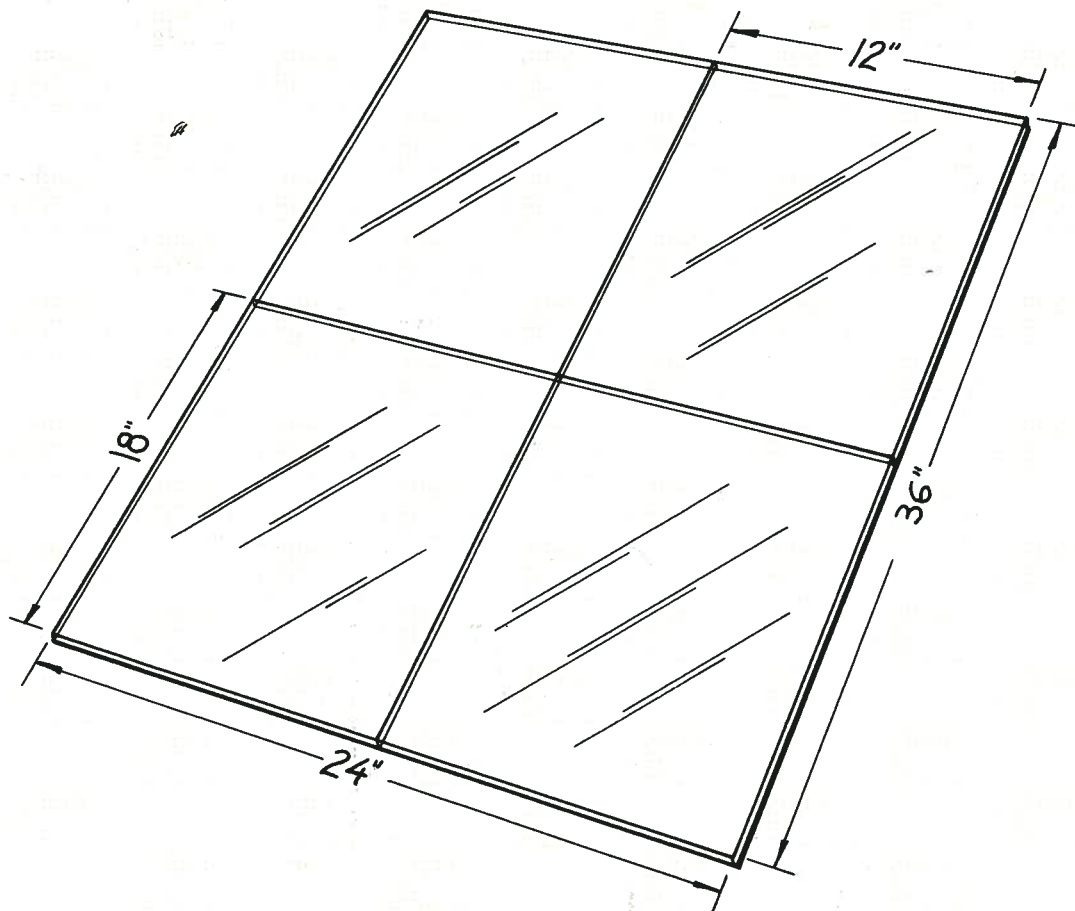
covered by a clear, hard, washable surface. For instance, you could plot out moves with a grease pencil or make notations directly on the playing area. A damp rag wipes these marks away when they're no longer wanted. You could also draw experimental terrain features, change coastlines, mark objectives, etc.

The great thing about this map cover is that you really only need to buy it once: the same set can be used over and over again on every SPI game map you have. With proper care, these plastic sheets will last indefinitely.

A little "truth-in-advertising"

To be frank, you can buy the identical plastic sheeting from a local plastics supply house or buildings materials dealer. You might even be able to get it a slightly lower price than we can afford to sell it at (we have to cover our shipping and handling costs). We are offering it for those of you who can't easily find a local supplier and/or don't have the time to hunt one up. We do feel it is a worthwhile item to have; one that will increase your enjoyment of our games.

Plastic map cover sets are available from Simulations Publications for \$10 for a set of four 12" x 18" x 1/8" sheets, shipped in a sturdy corrugated container. Sorry, but we cannot sell individual 12x18's — you must buy them in complete sets of four.



Fall of Rome

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1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L
1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L	1 L
2 L	2 L	2 L	2 L	2 L	2 L	2 L	2 L	5 M	5 M
5 M	5 M	5 M	5 M	5 M	5 M	5 M	5 M	5 M	5 M
5 M	2 M	2 M	2 M	2 M	2 M	2 M	2 M	2 M	2 M
2 M	2 M	2 M	2 M	2 M	2 M	1 M	1 M	1 M	1 M
1 M	1 M	1 M	1 M	Pers	Pers	Pers	Ger	Ger	Ger
1 M	1 M	1 M	Game Turn	Ger	Ger	Ger	Scy	Scy	Scy
Scy	Scy	Pic	Dac	Taur	Hun	Hun	Hun	Hun	Hun
Revolt M	Revolt M	Revolt M	Revolt M	Revolt M	Ind 1	Ind 2	Ind 3	Ind 4	

20 B	20 B	20 B	20 B	10 B	10 B	10 B	10 B	10 B	10 B
10 B	10 B	10 B	10 B	10 B	10 B	10 B	10 B	10 B	10 B
10 B	10 B	5 B	5 B	5 B	5 B	5 B	5 B	5 B	5 B
5 B	5 B	2 B	2 B	2 B	2 B	2 B	2 B	2 B	2 B
2 B	2 B	2 B	2 B	2 B	1 B	1 B	1 B	5 BP	2 BP
1 B	1 B	1 B	1 B	1 B	1 B	1 B	5 BP	5 BP	2 BP
5 N	5 N	5 N	5 N	5 N	10 N	10 N	1 BP	1 BP	2 BP
5 N	5 N	5 N	5 N	5 N	10 N	10 N	10 N	1 BP	2 BP
2 N	2 N	2 N	2 N	2 N	2 N	2 N	2 N	2 N	2 N
1 N	1 N	1 N	1 N	1 N	1 N	1 N	1 N	1 N	1 N

S&T39

»»THE FALL OF ROME««

THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS, 100 A.D. to 500 A.D.

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20.0 DESIGN CREDITS

[1.0] INTRODUCTION

Fall of Rome is a simulation of various crisis periods in Roman History, on a high strategic level, from roughly 100 A.D. to 500 A.D. Historically, these were periods of internal strife and external invasion that ravaged the Empire, culminating in its destruction in the Fifth Century. The game covers most of the extreme crisis periods, when the likelihood of the Empire being destroyed was at its greatest.

[2.0] GENERAL COURSE OF PLAY

Fall of Rome is basically played in scenarios. Each Game-Turn is equivalent to one year, and scenarios usually last for ten to twenty Game-Turns. *Fall of Rome* is essentially a *one-Player game*, although there are many different types of forces all opposing one another. Basically this Player creates, maneuvers and fights with the various forces opposing the loyal Romans (Persians, rebellious Romans, revolting militia, various types of Barbarians, and independent states) according to rigid rules dictating these functions. Then he moves the loyal Roman forces. The loyal Roman forces are the only units that may be moved with freedom. The game, therefore, is a game of the Roman Player only, defending against rigidly controlled opposing forces that are numerically superior and created somewhat randomly.

Movement is executed by moving from contiguous area to area. Each area costs a certain number of Movement Points to enter. All units have a Movement (Point) Allowance of five to expend each Movement Phase. Combat is resolved by comparing opposing Strength Points in the same area and expressing this comparison as a simplified probability ratio (commonly called "odds," such as 2 to 1). A die is rolled, and the outcome indicated on the Combat Results Table is applied to the units involved.

[3.0] GAME EQUIPMENT

[3.1] THE GAME MAP

The mapsheet portrays the area of the Roman Empire and its major opponents. The map has divisions which regulate movement and position of the Playing pieces. These divisions are known as "Movement Areas" (abbreviated to Areas for most purposes). Each Movement Area has a Movement Point cost to enter attached to it. These Areas are grouped into larger divisions called Provinces, which affect control, taxation and Barbarian Attrition.

Next to each province name (appearing in the same size type as the name itself) are two numbers: the first is the Victory Point Allowance for the province; and the second is the Militia Strength Point Allowance. The smaller letters have an abbreviation for the province, a unique identification letter as signed for the Area, and a Movement Point Cost for entry to the Area by land. For instance, "Ag-B 5" means the Province is Aegyptus, the Area is Area "B," and the Movement Point Entry Cost is five.

[3.2] THE PLAYING PIECES

Two differently colored sets of Playing Pieces (henceforth known as units) are included in the game, one representing the loyal Roman forces, the other representing all the different opposing forces. Loyal Roman forces are divided into two types: Militia and Legions. The non-loyal Roman forces are distinguished in type by identification markers placed on top of the stack of units.

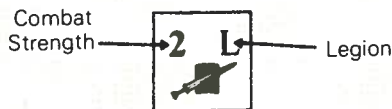
The units are ahistorical, merely representing quantitative groupings of men and material at one time. Each unit has the number of Strength Points it represents printed directly on it.

Each Unit has a Movement Allowance, which is the maximum number of Areas a unit may move in one Game-Turn, subject to the Movement Rules, the Terrain Effects Chart and special rules for Movement interruption. The Movement Allowance is the SAME, five for *all* Units (it is therefore *not* printed on the playing pieces).

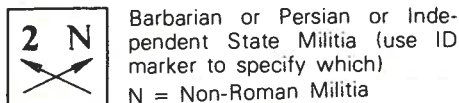
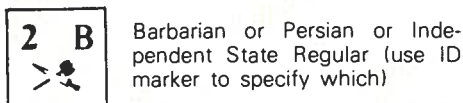
All units come in various denominations of Combat Strength. They are completely interchangeable within type as shown by identification marker, and act purely as quantitative representations. At any time, they may be broken down (without penalty) into smaller denominations, like making change with money. Additional units may be brought into play in the proper amounts when called for by the Barbarian Creation Table, or the Roman and Persian Replacement Charts. Units of a given type are always placed one on top of another (stacked) and a marker is placed on top of this stack to indicate which type of non-Roman or non-Loyal Roman forces they are.

[3.21] SAMPLE UNITS

Roman Legion



Note: to indicate a Rebellious Roman Legion, turn the counter face-down.

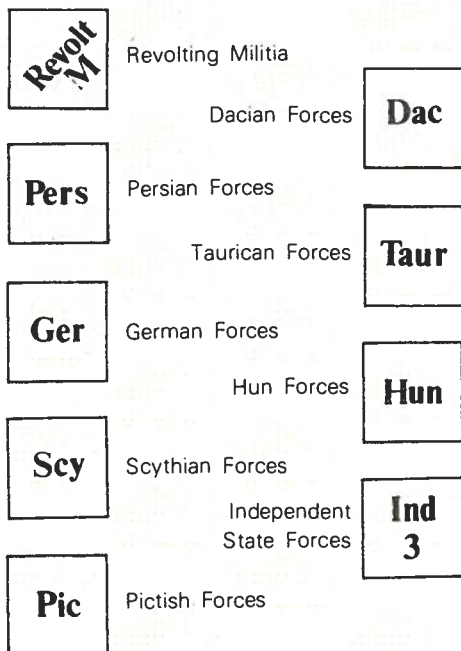


N = Non-Roman Militia



[3.22] IDENTIFICATION MARKERS

Identification markers are used on top of a stack of unit counters to specify to whom the units belong.



Each of these forces is separate and distinct and are mutually inimical. The Persian Regular and Persian Militia forces are allied, and are considered one force whenever in the same Area.

[3.3] DEFINITION OF TERMS

Combat Strength refers to the basic offensive and defensive value of a particular unit; this Strength is composed of Combat (Strength)

Points. Thus a unit with a Combat Strength of "5" has five Strength Points available.

Movement Allowance is the basic maximum number of Movement Areas which a unit may move during one Friendly Movement Phase. This allowance is composed of Movement Points; basically, a unit expends one Movement Point of its total Allowance to enter one Area. Certain areas require more than one Movement Point to enter (see the Movement rules). Since all units have a Movement Allowance of "5," this information has not been printed on the counters (as in most other games).

The Barbarian forces are further distinguished into Barbarian Levies and Raiding Parties specified on the Barbarian Creation Table.

[3.4] DEFINITION OF FORCES

Although *Fall of Rome* is basically a single Player game, there are many different inimical forces. There are eleven different forces in the game: Loyal Romans, Rebellious Romans, German Barbarians, Scythian Barbarians, Taurican Barbarians, Dacian Barbarians, Pictish Barbarians, Hun Barbarians, Persians, Independent States, and Revolting Militia.

There actually may be several different and mutually inimical Rebellious Romans, Independent States, and Revolting Militia.

All forces have different types of units composing the force. These are not considered inimical, and are not considered different forces, although they maintain functionally distinct rules. Loyal Romans are composed of Roman Legion Strength Points and active Militia Strength Points, as are Persians divided into Regular and Militia units. All Barbarians have Raiding Parties, most have Levies, and all have Militia in their own Home Provinces.

Independent States are composed of revolting militia and rebellious legions, called Independent State Regular units.

A **Force** is any individual nationality-type of unit, such as Scythian Raiding Party or Roman Militia.

Barbarians refer to all the Levies, Militia and Raiding Parties of the four types of Barbarians.

Militia refers to all the various types of units that arise within a Province automatically, whether by entrance of an opposing force, or Roman Internal Revolution Table.

Frequent references are made in the rules to "non-Romans" and "non-loyal Romans." The first is meant to include all except rebellious and loyal Roman legions, and Roman militia. The second is meant to include all except Roman militia and the loyal legions.

Legion is simply a colorful term to refer to a Roman Regular Strength Point.

[3.5] GAME CHARTS AND TABLES

Various visual aids are provided for the Players to simplify and illustrate certain game functions. All of these tables and charts are explained where presented.

The Combat Results Table is the method by which attacks are resolved, comparing the attacking Strength to the defending Strength, and rolling a die for the result.

The Barbarian Creation Table details the number and Area of arrival of Barbarian Strength Points on the map, by using a double die roll system.

The Internal Revolution Probability Table indicates the possibility of rolling on the

Internal Revolution Results Table. The Internal Revolution Results Table details the placement and Strength of Revolting Militia Forces.

The Period Chart indicates which years the letter-coded periods represent.

The Legion Rebellion Table details possible rebellions among Legion Strength Points in the same Area.

[3.6] GAME EQUIPMENT INVENTORY

A complete game of *Fall of Rome* should include the following parts:

- One Game Map
- One set of Game Rules
- One set of die-cut counters

[3.7] GAME SCALE

Each Game-Turn represents one year real time. Each Strength Point is equivalent to 10,000 to 50,000 men.

[4.0] SEQUENCE OF PLAY

[4.1] THE GAME-TURN

Fall of Rome is played in turns called Game-Turns. Each Game-Turn is composed of a fixed number of Phases, which occur in rigid sequence. Each Game-Turn is exactly like another, and these follow one another, until the game-length (the number of Game-Turns is indicated by the scenario) is finished. The force whose units are active (in movement or combat) is called the Phasing force.

[4.2] SEQUENCE OUTLINE

A. **Internal Revolution Phase.** The Player rolls the die for the Internal Revolution Probability Table. If the result is "yes," the die is rolled for the Internal Revolution Results Table.

This table depicts the number of Revolting Militia Strength Points that appear in a Roman-controlled province. Units are placed in accordance with non-Roman unit placement procedures (see 13.0). Already existing revolutions are also incremented.

B. **Non-Roman and Non-Loyal Roman Movement Phase.** The Player moves all the non-Roman and non-loyal Roman forces in accordance with the dictates of their movement restrictions. The forces are moved one type at a time, in this order:

1. Rebellious Roman Legions
2. Hun Barbarians
3. German Barbarians
4. Scythian Barbarians
5. Dacian Barbarians
6. Pictish Barbarians
7. Taurican Barbarians
8. Independent States' Regular Units (by number)

Note that each of these types are separate and distinct, and all these forces are inimical to one another as well.

As each force enters an Area, if it contains any opposing Strength Points at all, it may move no further in this Game-Turn. If it enters an Area containing a non-loyal Roman Force or non-Roman of a different type, it must immediately attack that force.

C. **Non-Roman and non-Loyal Roman Combat Phase.** Each of the different non-Roman and non-Loyal Roman forces must attack any loyal Roman force in the same Area. If there is more than one type of non-Loyal Roman force and Loyal Romans in the Area, the larger force attacks first, the second largest second, etc.

D. **Barbarian Creation Phase.** The Player rolls the die to create Barbarian forces. These differ

in number and nationality. See non-loyal Roman Force placement procedures (13.0), and the Barbarian Creation Table (16.0).

E. *Loyal Roman Movement Phase.* The Player may move his loyal Legions and loyal Militia forces freely. These units must stop moving if entering an Area with opposing forces.

F. *Loyal Roman Combat Phase.* Loyal Roman units (militia and/or Legions) may attack any one or combinations of opposing forces in the same Area.

G. *Legion Rebellion Phase.* The Player rolls the die for each Area containing Royal Roman Legions which might rebel, depending on the number of Strength Points.

H. *Control Determination Phase.* The Player determines which forces control an Area.

J. *Barbarian Attrition Phase.* One-Half of each Barbarian (Germans, Scythians, Huns, Dacians, Tauricans, Picts) force in a Province not controlled by that force is eliminated (round fractional losses up).

Attrition losses are taken first from Regular units, then from Raiding Party units.

K. *Tax Collection and Disbursement Phase.* The Player collects taxes for the Loyal Roman and Persian Provinces and adds them to the Treasury. Tax Credits are then withdrawn to pay active Strength Points, and purchase available replacements.

L. *Roman/Persian Replacement Phase.* The Player attempts to replace lost Royal Roman Legions and Persian Regulars if they are due to return this Game-Turn, and sufficient tax credits exist in the Treasury.

M. *Barbarian Bribe Phase.* The Player may attempt to bribe Barbarian forces.

N. *Game-Turn Record Phase.* The Player moves the Game-Turn Record Marker forward one grade on the Game-Turn Chart.

[5.0] MOVEMENT

GENERAL RULE:

During the non-Loyal Roman Movement Phase, the Player must move all non-Roman Forces as directed in the non-Roman Movement Rules (see 5.4). During the Roman Movement Phase, the Player may move as many or as few Roman units as he wishes. All units, or groups of units, may be moved by land or across water routes into as many Areas as desired within the limits of their Movement Allowance and in accordance with the Roman and non-Roman Movement Rules.

PROCEDURE:

Move each unit, or group of units, from Area to adjacent Area on land, and/or from one Area to another connected by a water route, expending the necessary amount of Movement Points for every Area entered and/or every water route crossed. All units have a Movement Allowance of five Movement Points.

CASES:

[5.1] HOW TO MOVE ALL UNITS

[5.11] Movement is calculated in terms of Areas and/or water routes. Different Areas have different Movement Point entry costs and different water routes have different costs to move across them. To enter a Movement Area or to cross a water route a unit, or group of units, must pay the full entry or crossing cost of that Area or water route.

[5.12] There is no limit to the number of

Strength Points that may be in a given Area at any point in the Game-Turn.

[5.13] Each unit, or group of units beginning in a given Area must complete its movement before moving another unit, or group of units.

[5.14] When using water routes, the Movement Points of the destination Area are not counted, only the Movement Point cost of the water route.

[5.15] A unit may only enter an Area or use a water route if it has sufficient remaining Movement Points to accomplish the movement.

[5.2] OVERALL MOVEMENT INHIBITIONS AND PROHIBITIONS

[5.21] When an individual force of Strength Points begins its Movement Phase in an Area that contains an equal or smaller number of Strength Points of another individual, hostile force, that force may, in accordance with the Roman and non-Roman Movement Rules, attempt to leave the Area in that Movement Phase.

[5.22] When an individual force of Strength Points begins its Movement Phase in an Area that contains a larger number of Strength Points of another individual, hostile force, that force may not leave the Area in that Movement Phase (Exception: Rebellious Legions, 8.5). This superiority preventing exit from an Area must be from one single type of force, not a mixture of force types or nationalities.

[5.23] Whether a unit, or group of units, can move is determined at the beginning of the Movement Phase and applies throughout that Phase.

[5.24] Unused Movement Points are *not* accumulated from Game-Turn to Game-Turn.

[5.25] Whenever units of one force enter an Area containing an opposing Force, the moving units must stop and continue no further.

[5.3] LOYAL ROMAN LEGION MOVEMENT

[5.31] Movement is always voluntary for Roman legions (Exception: case 5.51).

[5.32] Roman units may be moved individually, or in groups, in any direction or combination of directions. A Roman unit, or group of units, may be moved as many or as few Areas as the Player wishes, as long as the unit's Movement Allowance is not exceeded.

[5.33] Roman units may move through an Area containing solely loyal Roman units at any time during the Roman Movement Phase.

[5.34] Roman units must stop immediately when they enter an Area occupied by non-loyal Roman or non-Roman units, and move no further in that Movement Phase.

[5.4] NON-ROMAN MOVEMENT (BARBARIANS AND PERSIANS)

[5.41] All non-Roman forces must be moved sequentially (see 4.2) according to the type of force.

[5.42] Non-Roman units must be moved as directed and may not exceed their Movement Allowances.

[5.43] Different groups of non-Roman units belonging to the same force or same Independent State of origin (see: Independent States) may move through each other, without penalty.

[5.44] As each group of Non-Roman units enters an Area, one by one they must stop if

there are any units in that Area belonging to a different force. If the units in that Area are Loyal Roman, no combat occurs until Combat Phase C; if the units in that Area are not Loyal Roman, combat must occur immediately (see Combat, 6.33).

[5.45] All non-Roman units (no rebellious legions) must move toward the smallest group of loyal Roman legions in the same Province with them (Exception: cases 5.63, 5.65, 5.72, and 5.75). If there are no Romans in that Province they must move toward the smallest force contesting their control of the Province.

[5.5] REBELLIOUS ROMAN LEGION MOVEMENT

[5.51] Rebellious Roman legions that do not form an Independent State (see: Independent States) must move toward Rome (Italia A) by way of the shortest and most direct route (Exception: Rebellious legions, case 8.3) as measured by Movement Points only. It may not deviate from this path. If there are equidistant paths, a die should be rolled for each path, high roll being chosen.

[5.6] BARBARIAN MOVEMENT

[5.61] All Barbarian units, created as a group, must move as a group, and may not sub-divide (Exception: see Case 5.64).

[5.62] A die must be rolled whenever any group of Barbarian units attempts to enter an Area. A die result of "1" or "2" indicates that the group may not leave its present Area and may attempt to move no further in that Movement Phase. This Procedure may occur several times for the same force in the same Game-Turn.

[5.63] Raiding Parties must move toward the nearest Province in the Empire of five or fewer Victory Points, by way of the shortest and most direct route. If more than one of the above regions are equidistant then the Raiding Parties must go to the lowest Victory Point Region of the two.

[5.64] Barbarian forces, after gaining Control (see Control, 7.0) of a Region, must leave behind a sufficient number of Strength Points to control the Region and then must move the remaining Strength Points toward the new lowest Victory Point Region or "richest province" (see 5.65).

[5.65] Barbarian levies must move into the Empire, by way of the shortest and most direct route, toward the "richest province" not already controlled by friendly units (i.e., units belonging to the same force). To determine the "richest province," divide the total number of Victory Points for a Region by the total number of Movement Points it would cost to move there. Ignore intervening forces. After computation, the Region with the highest quotient is the "richest province." This definition may of course change from Game-Turn to Game-Turn for individual group of units. It is judged each Game-Turn for each group. If there should be two or more equivalent paths, roll the die for each path; high die roll is used. The "target" Province, is not changed for a given Force until it reaches its destination unless it merges with another barbarian force (see 5.69).

[5.66] The new lowest Victory Point Region or "richest province" is determined immediately upon gaining control of the old one for each group during the Control Determination Phase.

[5.67] When any Barbarian unit, or group of units, have two or more equidistant paths to their destinations, they must attempt to move

through the smallest individual group of hostile, non-Roman units (i.e. units not belonging to the same Province or the same Independent State of origin as the moving units) if any (Exception: Movement, case 5.45).

[5.68] If any Barbarian unit, or group of units, remaining in a Region during the Control Determination Phase (see: Sequence of Play, 4.2) fulfills the control conditions of that Region, then in the next non-Roman Movement Phase those Strength Points in excess of the amount needed to maintain control must attempt to move toward their predetermined destination ("richest province").

[5.69] The destinations for all newly created Barbarian units, or Barbarian units initially placed on the map, are determined separately, for each group of units (even of the same force) in the same placement Area and only at the beginning of the non-Roman Movement Phase immediately following their placement on the map. These destinations may not be changed unless two different Barbarian groups belonging to the same force are heading for different destinations and end their Movement Phase in the same Area. At this point, the groups must combine and redetermine their destination.

[5.7] PERSIAN MOVEMENT

[5.71] Persian replacement units must always be placed in Persia. The die must be rolled to determine which Movement Area they are placed in initially, as well as replacements. Die results of 1,2, and 3 equal Areas A,B, and C respectively. Die results of 4,5, and 6 mean roll again.

[5.72] The Persians must direct their forces into Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Syria, and Asia, in that order of priority, and may not leave a Province until they have gained control (see: Control) of that Province. If their order of priority is upset by losing control of a previously conquered Province, the Persians must attempt to regain control of that Province by moving all Strength Points in Regions of lower priority to that Province (Exception: Movement, cases 5.73 and 5.74). They may only move as is necessary to conquer a Province and must always attempt to engage the largest contesting individual force in that Area with all Strength Points available.

[5.73] Persian units may not enter any Area of a Province whose Victory Point value is greater than the number of Strength Points the Persians began that Scenario with.

[5.74] Persian units may not enter a Province with active militia (see: Militia) whose Militia Strength Point Allowance is greater than the number of Strength Points the Persians began the Scenario with.

[5.75] The Persians are not allowed to leave any forces behind in Provinces they have already conquered. Thus, in effect, there may only be Persian Regular units in one Area outside of Persia except for arriving replacements, and units unable to move (see 5.22).

[5.76] Persian units may not move through any Province that is not on their priority schedule. Thus they may only enter Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Syria, and Asia.

[5.77] If there is a choice where Persian Regular units can move, i.e., there is an equal number of contesting Strength Points of two different forces in a given Region, they must avoid Loyal Roman Legion groups, and move toward and attack other forces. In the case of

equal numbers of non-Loyal Roman units, high die roll for contesting force decides which to move toward and attack. Of course this movement may be interrupted by case 5.25.

[5.8] MILITIA MOVEMENT

[5.81] Only Loyal Roman militia may move. All other militia (Barbarian, Persian, revolting, Independent State) must remain in their area of initial placement and not move. See non-Loyal Roman placement procedure for placement of non-Roman militia. Roman Militia may be placed in any single Area of a given Province that the Player desires. Loyal Roman militia may move solely within the Areas of their Home province.

[5.82] Militia units appear on the map in any scenario that they are active, and any force opposing to the controlling forces enters that Province. Each Province has a Militia Strength Point value, although the militia is not active in some Provinces in certain scenarios.

[5.83] Once the militia units a given Province have been completely eliminated, the "ownership" of the militia switches to the new force controlling the Province as long as it is Roman, Persian or an Independent State. Militia are never controlled by Barbarian forces (i.e., will never fight someone else off for the Barbarians) unless the Province was controlled by Barbarians according to the Scenario at the beginning of the game. Independent States always activate the militia of Provinces where they are based or those that they conquer. The availability of all other militia is determined by the Scenario conditions.

[5.9] INDEPENDENT STATE REGULAR UNIT MOVEMENT

[5.91] Independent State Units, after clearing their home Province of all hostile forces (i.e. units not belonging to that Independent State) must move into the lowest Militia Strength Point value, Roman-controlled Province adjacent to their home Province, not already controlled by units belonging to the same Independent State and attempt to gain control (see: Control, 7.0) of it. Independent State Regular Units must repeat this procedure until all adjacent, Roman-controlled Regions are conquered, Loyal Romans inflict a Combat Result upon them, or until any unit, or group of units, not belonging to the same Independent State, enters their home or a previously conquered Province (see case 5.92). In each Game-Turn, these Independent State units must move to attack by the shortest route the largest opposing force group in the highest priority Province (Home province first; after all adjacent Provinces are controlled Independent State Regular units cease all movement until compelled to move again).

[5.92] If any unit, or group of units, not belonging to any given Independent State, enters that Independent State, or a Province controlled by it, all units belonging to that Independent State must immediately return to the threatened Provinces in the order that they were conquered (i.e. home region first) and clear them of all hostile forces (Exception: see case 5.22).

[5.93] Independent Units may not move into Provinces outside of their home Province that are not adjacent, Roman-controlled Provinces.

[5.94] Independent State Regular Units may not move through uncontrolled Provinces.

[6.0] COMBAT

GENERAL RULE:

Combat occurs between Roman and non-Roman units during the non-Roman and Roman Combat Phases and also between non-Roman units of different forces during the non-Roman Movement of the moving units. The currently moving units are considered to be the Attacker and the non-moving units are considered to be the Defender.

PROCEDURE:

Combat is resolved by comparing the total Combat Strength of the Attacker to that of the Defender. The comparison is stated as a probability ratio: the Attacker's Combat Strength to the Defender's Combat Strength. The ratio is simplified to conform to the odds given on the Combat Results Table (the ratio is always rounded off in favor of the Defender, it may not conform exactly to the ratios given in the table). The die is rolled and the die result is cross-indexed with the proper odds column on the Combat Results Table. The obtained result is applied before proceeding to another battle.

[6.1] COMBAT INHIBITIONS AND PROHIBITIONS

[6.11] The minimum odds of an attack are one-to-one. Attacks at odds less than one-to-one are not allowed.

[6.12] Regular and militia units of the same force (e.g. Persian regulars and militia) that are in the same Area may not be attacked separately. They must be combined and attacked as a group.

[6.13] Combat losses are extracted by order of preference from (1) Regular units; (2) Raiding Parties; (3) Militia units in the same Area. (Exception: $\frac{1}{2}$ De Results do not affect loyal Roman legions. If they are defending with Militia in a $\frac{1}{2}$ De Result, the Result is applied normally to the Militia *alone*).

[6.2] LOYAL ROMAN COMBAT

[6.21] Combat is voluntary for all loyal Roman units (legions and militia).

[6.22] All loyal Roman units (legions and militia) may only attack during the Roman Combat Phase (see Sequence of Play, 4.2).

[6.23] Loyal Roman units that are in the same Area must be combined and attacked as a group.

[6.24] Whenever there are two or more non-Roman groups of different forces in an Area, the Roman may attack one, or more, or none of them. They are never required to attack. However, they may not attack more than once per Roman Combat Phase. Thus, if more than one different force group is to be attacked, their Strength Points are added together for defensive purposes.

[6.3] NON-ROMAN COMBAT

[6.31] All non-Roman units must attempt to fight all Roman units in the same Area with them during the non-Roman Combat Phase.

[6.32] All attacks against loyal Roman units by different groups of non-Roman units in the same Area are rolled for separately, the forces attacking in order of size, largest Strength Point value attacking first.

[6.33] When a group of non-Roman units enters an Area containing non-Roman units of a different force they must stop and have combat immediately with the smallest group of non-Roman units of a different force already in that Area.

[6.34] Non-Roman units that had combat in their Movement Phase may not attack any non-Roman units in the following non-Roman Combat Phase.

[6.35] Whenever a group of non-Roman units entering an Area cannot attack the smallest group of non-Roman units of a different force already in that Area, then the moving units must be attacked by those units.

[6.36] Different types of Barbarian units, levies and raiding parties of the same nationality do not attack each other when one enters an Area with the other.

[6.37] Any Persian unit eliminated in a Province that is not adjacent to a Persian-controlled Province may not be brought back as a replacement and is lost for the remainder of the game.

[6.38] Non-Roman units that begin their Movement Phase in an Area with other non-Roman units of a different force may not attack any of these forces unless those units are in their target "richest province." If so, they must attack the smallest number of non-Roman units of a different force, and move no further.

[7.0] CONTROL

GENERAL RULE:

The Roman Player must control Provinces on the map to win the game (see: Scenarios, 19.0). Control is always judged in the Control Determination Phase, never during any other portion of the Game-Turn. Only one nationality can control a province.

PROCEDURE:

The Romans control a Province at the end of a Game-Turn if: (1) The Province was originally part of the Empire and no hostile force has units in it; or (2) The Roman Player began the game with control of the Province and maintains Strength Points equal to one-third of the single largest opposing force of Strength Points in that Province, or (3) They have, in a previous Game-Turn, lost control of the Province and they move in a number of Combat Strength Points superior to the number of Combat Strength Points of any one individual hostile force that is currently controlling the Province; or (4) they did not originally control the Province and they have eliminated all of the Province's militia and have a number of Strength Points in the Province superior to any individual hostile force that is currently in the Province. In effect, the Roman forces must garrison all conquered Provinces, outside of the Provinces he controls at the beginning of the Game, with at least one Combat Strength Point. If any hostile force moves into the Region, the Roman forces must either increase their garrison accordingly or eliminate that hostile force.

CASES:

[7.1] HOW NON-ROMAN FORCES CONTROL A PROVINCE

[7.11] Non-Roman forces control a Province when (a) they have eliminated all hostile Militia Strength Points (if any) and (b) have obtained a greater than three-to-one Strength Point superiority over Roman forces in the Province and (c) have superiority in Strength Points over any other hostile individual force in a given Province, and (d) have Strength Points equal to at least the Victory Point value of the Province.

[7.12] Rebellious Roman legions cannot control a Province although they interfere with Roman control. They do not interfere with non-Roman control of a Province.

[7.13] A Province's control is disputed if neither side can fulfill its control conditions.

[7.14] For any non-Roman force to gain control of an Independent State's Province that force must eliminate the Independent State's Regular and Militia units first and then fulfill any other necessary control requirements.

[7.2] SPECIAL ROMAN LOSS OF CONTROL
If rebellious Roman legions, or revolting militia, in any number, are in a Province during the Control Determination Phase, the Roman does not control that Province that Game-Turn.

[8.0] REBELLIOUS ROMAN LEGIONS

GENERAL RULE:

Whenever there are four or more loyal Roman legions in the same Area in the Legion Rebellion Phase a die must be rolled to see if a Rebellion occurs.

PROCEDURE:

Roll the die and consult the Legion Rebellion Table. Cross-index the die roll result with the column corresponding to the number of legions in the Area.

CASES:

[8.1] FORMING INDEPENDENT STATES

[8.11] Rebellious legions must roll the die immediately after they rebel to determine whether they move to Rome or form an Independent State. A roll of "1" means that the rebelling legions form an Independent State in the Province that they are currently occupying. All other results mean that the Rebellious Legions march on Rome.

[8.12] When Legions rebel in a Province where there is an Internal Revolution in progress these legions automatically join the revolution, and that Province becomes an Independent State.

[8.13] Rebellious Roman Legions that join an Independent State cease to be considered Roman Legions for all purposes, and become Independent State Regular units. However, if these are eliminated, these Strength Points join the Roman Legion Replacement pool in the normal manner.

[8.2] MARCHING ON ROME (Italia A)

[8.21] If Rebellious legions must move to Rome, any smaller groups of loyal Roman legions occupying an Area in their path immediately become rebellious legions and march on Rome as one group.

[8.22] When rebellious legions reach Rome (Italia-A), they just remain there. If they are, or become, the largest group of legions (loyal or rebellious) in any given Area on the entire map, then at the end of the current Game-Turn: (a) All rebelling legions in Rome become loyal again; (b) The Roman Treasury has 33 Tax Credits deducted from it; if necessary, the Treasury goes into a deficit (negative) position.

[8.3] DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE

Rebellious Roman Legions that do not form an Independent State must always march on Rome (Italia A) in all scenarios until 390 A.D. After 390 A.D., Rebellious Roman Legions that do not form Independent States still march on

Rome (Italia-A) *unless* they rebel east of Thracia and Aegyptus inclusive, in which case they must go to Byzantium (Thracia-B).

[8.4] VULNERABILITY TO ATTACK

If rebelling Roman Legions are attacked by Loyal Roman legions, and any combat result is scored, after effecting the result the Rebellious Legions are converted to normal Loyal Roman Legions, Strength Point for Strength Point.

[8.5] REBELLIOUS LEGION MOVEMENT FREEDOM

Rebellious Roman Legions may move into and through Areas containing any non-Roman forces freely. It need only stop if entering an Area containing more than half its number of Loyal Roman Strength Points.

[9.0] INDEPENDENT STATES

GENERAL RULE:

Rebellious Legions that do not march on Rome become an Independent State. The rebellious Legions that form the independent state are subtracted from the present total Roman Strength Points available (i.e., Roman forces are decreased in total for those Strength Points that form an independent state). If a legion is transferred to an Independent State, it is replaced by a Regular Strength Point with an Independent State marker.

PROCEDURE:

Whatever Province that rebellious legions "adopt" as an independent state home region always has an active militia, even if it was not active under the Romans. The Home Province is always the Province where rebellion took place.

CASES:

[9.1] LOSS OF STATUS

[9.11] Legions forming Independent States lose their status as Roman legions and may suffer combat results of ½ DE like all non-loyal Roman legion and non-Roman Strength Points.

[9.2] LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE

[9.21] Independent States cease to be independent states when any hostile force gains control of the Home Province of the state. If any Independent State is eliminated by loss of Home Province any remaining Independent State Regular forces immediately revert to being Loyal Roman Legions.

[9.3] INDEPENDENT STATE EXPANSION

[9.31] The Regular units of Independent States must move into, and attempt to conquer, the lowest militia strength, Roman or Persian controlled adjacent Province. This is done one by one for each Province adjacent to the Home Province, only. If control of already controlled Areas is interrupted, the Independent State units must attempt to recover, like Persians (see 5.72).

After a Province has been conquered by an Independent State force, no Strength Points need to be left behind to maintain control. The militia of the conquered Province, after being conquered, then acts in the interests of its new "owner," the Independent State, and is active even if not given as active in the scenario.

[9.32] All Independent State units must clear their "Home Province" of any and all hostile forces before moving to conquer adjacent Provinces. If hostile forces re-enter the Home Province, Independent State forces must come back and again clear their "Home Province" of hostile forces.

[10.0] MILITIA

GENERAL RULE:

Militia are local units which appear in the game only when there is a hostile force in their Province or a Roman Internal Revolution. They may never be used outside their Home Province. The number of Strength Points for each Province is printed on the map as the Militia Strength Point Allowance. Each Province thus has its own separate allocation of Militia. If militia are used, and a hostile force subsequently leaves they are removed, and if triggered again, later in the game, return at full strength.

PROCEDURE:

Every time a hostile force enters a given Province, that Province's Militia, if active, is placed on the map according to the rules of Placement (see 13.0) except loyal Roman militia which may be placed anywhere at the discretion of the Player. This also applies for placement of Revolting Militia.

CASES:

[10.1] MILITIA MOBILITY

[10.11] Militia units may never move out of the Area in which they are placed upon appearance, except Roman Militia.

[10.12] Roman Militia units may move and fight freely from Area to Area, within their Province only. They may never leave the Province.

[10.2] PERSIANS AND MILITIA

When the Persians gain control of a Province, that Province's Militia Strength immediately becomes Persian (i.e. appears and fights as ordinary Persian militia). In this case, should the Persians leave and then return to a Persian conquered Province, that Province's militia is not raised against them. Only the Persian forces may in effect convert militia strength to a friendly force. This new Persian Militia Strength is always active, even if it was not before.

[10.3] INCREASE OF MILITIA REVOLUTION FORCES

[10.31] If during the Internal Revolution Phase (see Sequence of Play, 4.2) there is already militia on the map in the revolting Province, that militia becomes hostile to Rome. However, no additional militia Strength Points are placed in that Province.

[10.32] If the Romans cannot move at least an equal number of Strength Points into any Area of a revolting Province by the Control Determination Phase, the revolting militia doubles in Strength Points. This doubling continues each Game-turn until the Romans move in the required forces or the revolting militia reaches the total Militia Strength Point Allowance for that Province. The last incrementing may be smaller than doubling to raise up to the maximum Strength.

[10.4] MILITIA GENERATION

If a hostile force moves out of a Province after eliminating some of the militia, that militia comes back at full strength as soon as any hostile force moves back into the Province.

[10.5] MILITIA AND CONTROL

Any Militia units hostile to the force attempting to gain control of a given Province must be completely eliminated before that force can gain control.

[10.6] MILITIA VARIABILITY

As has been seen, the Militia Strength Point Allowance of a Province may be Loyal Roman, Persian, an Independent State, Revolutionary or even Barbarian (if not controlled by Rome at the beginning of the scenario).

[10.7] REBELLIOUS ROMAN LEGIONS

Rebellious Roman Legion Strength Points marching on Rome do not trigger hostile militia to appear in Provinces moved into or through.

[11.0] TREASURIES

GENERAL RULE:

The Roman and Persian forces must be able to pay their troops and replacements with tax credits at the end of the Game-Turn. In addition, the Romans have the option to "buy" Barbarians in the Barbarian Bribe Phase.

PROCEDURE:

Tax credits equal the sum of the total number of Victory Points of controlled Provinces with no opposing forces in the Province, and one-half the number of Victory Points of controlled Provinces with an opposing force. These tax credits are added to the Treasury in the Tax Collection Phase. Half-credits for tax purposes are rounded down.

CASES:

[11.1] ROMAN TREASURY

[11.11] The Roman Player must pay each of the Loyal Roman Legion Strength Points on the map two Tax Credits per Game-Turn during the Tax Collection Phase.

[11.12] To replace an available Legion Strength Point, the Player must pay three Tax Credits during the Tax Collection Phase of the Game-Turn in which the Legion will appear.

[11.13] If the Roman Treasury does not have sufficient Tax Credits available in the Treasury to pay all Legion Strength Points two Tax Credits apiece, certain Strength Points must be selected to not be paid. Those not to be paid must be chosen from the areas with the largest numbers of Strength Points. For each Strength Point not properly paid, a die is rolled. A "1," "2," or "3" means the Legion Strength Point rebels; a "4," "5," or "6," the Legion stays loyal (and tightens its belt).

[11.14] Priority must be given to paying all current Loyal Roman Legion Strength Points on the map their two Tax Credits before introducing replacements.

[11.15] No Tax Credits accrue the Romans for any Province whose Militia is in revolt, or that contains rebelling legions.

[11.2] BARBARIAN BRIBING

[11.21] The Roman Treasury may "buy" Barbarians at the cost of one Tax Credit for each Barbarian Strength Point bought.

[11.22] "Bought" Barbarians may not move or attack loyal Roman legions in the Game-Turn following their purchase. They may, however, defend against Roman attacks normally.

[11.23] The Roman may "buy" any, or as many, Barbarians as he wishes, assuming he can afford it.

[11.24] Barbarians of a particular type and force in the same Area must be bought as an integral whole. The Roman may not "buy" only part of any Barbarian group.

[11.3] PERSIAN TREASURY

[11.31] The Player must pay each of his Persian Regular Strength Points two Tax Credits each per Game-Turn.

[11.32] To replace a unit the Persian Player must pay five Tax Credits per Strength Point on the Game-Turn to replace it.

[11.33] Should the Persian not be able to pay any unit(s), the unpaid unit(s) are eliminated, at the Player's choice.

[12.0] REPLACEMENTS

GENERAL RULE:

The Romans and Persians have the ability to replace regular, non-Militia units lost in combat. The Barbarians, Independent States and Rebellious Legions never receive replacements.

PROCEDURE:

When a Strength Point, Roman or Persian, is eliminated, it is removed from the map. Two Game-Turns for the Romans, five Game-Turns for the Persians after it was eliminated, the Strength Point becomes available to be returned to play during the Roman/Persian Replacement Phase.

CASES:

[12.1] ROMAN REPLACEMENTS

[12.11] To replace a legion Strength Point, the Roman must pay three Tax Credits per Strength Point on the Game-Turn that it is replaced. Thereafter, it is in all ways the same as an original legion.

[12.12] Roman replacements arrive in Italia A, Thracia B, or Syria C during the Replacement Phase, at the Player's discretion.

[12.13] Replacements that cannot be paid cannot be placed on the map in that Game-Turn. It may be returned at some later Replacement Phase when Credits are available.

[12.2] PERSIAN REPLACEMENTS

[12.21] To replace a unit, the Persian must pay two Tax Credits per Strength Point on the Game-Turn that it is replaced. Thereafter, it is in all ways the same as an original unit.

[12.22] Persian Replacements arrive in Persia.

[12.23] Replacements that cannot be paid cannot be placed on the map in that Game-Turn. They must be returned in the first subsequent Replacement Phase that credits are available.

[12.24] Persian units eliminated while not adjacent to a Persian controlled Province, are lost permanently and may not be brought back as replacements.

[12.25] Persian replacements may not move out of Persia if they cannot reach the farthest advanced Persian troops in one Movement Phase. They may attack and defend normally in Persia. They must move out of Persia if their priority is upset by losing control of a previously controlled Province.

[13.0] NON-ROMAN PLACEMENT

GENERAL RULE:

Several times in the game procedure units are called upon to be placed in a Province without specifying which Area in that Province is to be used. Essentially this is chosen randomly.

PROCEDURE:

When attempting to place created Barbarians, Persian Replacements in Persia, or militia activated by an opposing force or revolution use the following procedure to determine placement.

CASES:

[13.1] SINGLE AREA PROVINCES

In single Area Provinces, there is no problem. Simply place the units in the Area indicated.

[13.2] MULTI-AREA PROVINCES

In multi-area Provinces, each letter-coded Area is assigned a digit on the die, e.g., A=1, B=2, C=3, D=4. In placing any group of non-Roman units, roll the die until a number representing one of the existing Areas results. All the Strength Points are then placed in this Area.

[14.0] COMBAT RESULTS TABLE (See mapsheet)

[14.1] EXPLANATION OF RESULTS

Attacks greater than 6-1 odds are treated as 6-1 odds; attacks at less than 1-1 odds are not permitted. Combat losses are extracted by order of preference from (1) Regular units; (2) Raiding Parties; (3) Militia units (see: Combat, case 6.13).

De = Defender eliminated; all of the defending Strength Points are eliminated, removed from the map.

$\frac{1}{2}De$ = One-Half Defender eliminated; same as *De*, except only one-half of defending Strength Points are eliminated. Note that when non-Roman units are attacking Roman legions, $\frac{1}{2}De$ is treated as a no effect. Roman Militia units are affected by $\frac{1}{2}De$ results.

Ex = Exchange; all of the defending Strength Points and an equal number of attacking Strength Points are eliminated.

$\frac{1}{2}Ex$ = One-Half Exchange; all of the defending Strength Points, and one-half that number of attacking Strength Points are eliminated.

Persian Regulars, Roman Legions (loyal or rebellious) and Independent State regular units are eligible for replacement as always when eliminated or exchanged (see 12.0).

[15.0] PERIOD CHART

[16.0] BARBARIAN CREATION TABLE (See mapsheet)

[16.1] HOW TO USE THE BARBARIAN CREATION TABLE

This table is used with a varying degree of frequency, dependent on which period a given Game-Turn falls in (See the Frequency Table, 16.3). Each time the table is to be used, a die is rolled to determine which horizontal line is to be used for that Game-Turn. The die is then rolled as dictated by the Frequency Table. Each subsequent second die roll is used on the same horizontal line.

[16.2] EXPLANATION OF RESULTS

● = no Barbarians created on that die roll. All the other codes are composed of a letter (L or R) representing the type of Barbarian created (Levy or Raiding Party) and the number is the number of Strength Points created. After totalling the number of Strength Points created in each Province these are placed in accordance with the non-Roman Placement procedures (13.0).

[16.3] BARBARIAN CREATION FREQUENCY TABLE

(See mapsheet)

[17.0] INTERNAL REVOLUTION PROBABILITY TABLE

(See mapsheet)

[17.1] EXPLANATION OF INTERNAL REVOLUTION PROBABILITY TABLE

This table simply intersects the period that the Game-Turn falls into with a die roll. A result of "no" simply means the process ends here. A result of "yes" means that the Player proceeds to the Internal Revolution Results Table.

[17.2] INTERNAL REVOLUTION RESULTS TABLE

(See Separate Sheet)

[17.3] EXPLANATION OF INTERNAL REVOLUTION RESULTS TABLE

If there is a "yes" result on Table 17.0, the Player rolls for this table. Under each die result, numbers appear on lines with varying province names. This is the number of revolting Militia Strength Points to appear in that Province. They are placed according to the Non-Roman Placement procedures (13.0).

[17.31] If a Province is already in revolt, it cannot revolt again. Ignore result. Independent States are considered in revolt.

[17.32] In periods "A" through "F" Revolts may only be applied in Provinces that are controlled by Roman forces. Results apply in all Provinces except Persian controlled in period G.

[17.33] Results in parentheses are applied in Period "G" only, in addition to all other results.

[17.34] For each loyal Roman Strength Point in a given Province in excess of the number of revolting Strength Points, the revolt is reduced in strength by one Strength Point. It may be completely prevented by this method.

[17.35] If for any reason the loyal Roman Militia is on the map when a revolution is rolled for that Province, the existing militia turns revolutionary, and freezes in position.

[18.0] LEGION REBELLION TABLE (See mapsheet)

[18.1] HOW TO USE THE LEGION REBELLION TABLE

In the Legion Rebellion Phase of each Game-Turn, the Player examines the Areas on the mapsheet. In each and every Area containing four or more Loyal Roman Legions, he must roll for a possible rebellion. This die roll is modified for the period in which the Game-Turn falls, and the modified die roll is cross-indexed with the number of Strength Points of Legion in the Area to determine if there is a rebellion, and its size. A "●" indicates no rebellion, while any number indicates the number of rebelling Strength Points.

[19.0] THE SCENARIOS AND HOW TO USE THEM

Fall of Rome is played in scenarios, i.e., historical situations of limited duration where the Player attempts to achieve a specific objective. There are six scenarios, each using a specific format to outline the information

needed to play a given game. Each scenario is identified by a year, which is the initial year (Game-Turn) used.

The information in the scenario is presented in the following rigid format:

1) *Roman Controlled Provinces and Forces.* This details which Provinces the Roman Player initially controls, which of these Provinces have active militia, and where the Roman Legion Strength Points are placed. A number in parentheses after a Province name indicates that number of legions may be placed in any one or more Areas of the Province.

2) *Persian Controlled Provinces and Forces.* This details which Provinces are controlled by Persian forces, which militia is active, and the number and placement of Persian Regular Strength Points.

3) *Active Militia.* This details which of the non-Roman and non-Persian active militia (mostly Barbarian) are placed.

4) *Other Forces.* Other forces on the map are detailed, including Independent States (their Provinces and Regular forces numbers and placement), Barbarians (type, strength and placement), and militia (both in revolt and not).

5) *Treasuries.* This details the initial balance of the Roman and Persian treasuries in tax credits.

6) *Game Length.* This instructs the number of Game-Turns the scenario lasts.

7) *Victory.* This sets the number of Victory Points that Rome must control for the Player to win the scenario.

8) *Special Rules.* This details unusual activity that may occur in the scenario, outside the usual scope of the game.

[19.1] SCENARIO ONE: 67 A.D.

1) *Roman Controlled Provinces:* Gallia (6L), Hispania (1L), Italia (3L), Sicilia, Illyria (3L), Thracia, (3L), Graecia, Cyprus, Asia, Syria (6L), Aegyptus (2L), Africa (1L). No active militia. Additional four legions in Britannia A (not controlled).

2) *Persian Controlled Provinces:* Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia. All militia active. Fifteen Regular (B) Strength Points in Mesopotamia B.

3) *Active Militia:* Scythia, Dacia, Germania, Pictim.

4) *Britannia:* four militia (N) Strength Points in A.

5) *Treasuries:* Roman: 50 Tax Credits. Persian: 12 Tax Credits.

6) *Game Length:* fifteen Game-Turns, Period A.

7) *Victory:* the Player must have the Romans control Provinces worth 78 Victory Points at the end of the game.

8) *Special Rules:* In place of the usual procedures of the Legion Rebellion Phase, the Player rolls the die each Rebellion Phase. The first time a one is rolled, all Legion Strength Points exceeding three in a single Area automatically rebel. Thereafter, the normal Rebellion rules are reinstated.

[19.2] SCENARIO TWO: 247 A.D.

1) *Roman Controlled Provinces:* Britannia (3L), Gallia (4L), Illyria (6L), Thracia (5L), Dacia (1L), Asia (2L), Syria (6L), Aegyptus (1L), Africa (1L), Hispania (1L), Italia (1L), Sicilia and Cyprus. Two Legion Strength Points in Mesopotamia C (not controlled). No militia active.

2) *Persian Controlled Areas*: Persia and Mesopotamia. All militia active. Twelve (B) Strength Points in Mesopotamia B.

3) *Active Militia*: Armenia, Taurica, Germania, Pictum, Scythia.

4) *Mesopotamia*: Four militia (N) Strength Points in B. Scythian R4 in Scythia.

5) *Treasures*: Roman is zero; Persian is twelve Tax Credits.

6) *Game Length*: thirteen Game-Turns, period B

7) *Victory*: The Player must have Rome control fifty Victory Points of Provinces at the end of the game.

[19.3] SCENARIO THREE: 260 A.D.

1) *Roman Controlled Provinces*: Italia, Hispania, Africa Aegyptus, Cyprus, Sicilia, Graecia, Thracia, Asia. No active militia. Nineteen legion Strength Points may be placed in any of these Provinces. Africa revolting with two militia (Revolt M) Strength Points in A.

2) *Persian Controlled Provinces*: Persia, Armenia. All militia active. Six Regular (B) Strength Points in Armenia. Six replacement (B) Strength Points available in Game-Turn 4.

Independent States:

Syria: has conquered Mesopotamia. Both militia active. Seven Regular (Ind #1, B) units in Mesopotamia C.

Gallia: has conquered Britannia. Both militia active. Seven Regular (ind #2, B) units in Britannia A.

3) *Active Independent Militia*: Germania, Scythia, Dacia, Taurica.

4) *German* B15 in Illyria; *Scythian* B10 in Thracia.

5) *Treasures*: Roman: 0; Persian: 6.

6) *Game Length*: fifteen Game-Turns. Game-Turns 1 through 6, Period B; Game-Turns 7 through 15, Period C.

7) *Victory*: the Player must have Rome control at least 75 Victory Points of Provinces.

[19.4] SCENARIO FOUR: 332 A.D.

1) *Roman Controlled Provinces*: Britannia, Gallia (3L), Hispania, Illyria (3L), Thracia, Asia (3L), Syria (3L), Aegyptus, Africa, Italia, Graecia, Sicilia, Cyprus. Active militia, at half printed Strength (drop fractions): Britannia, Gallia, Illyria, Thracia, Syria, Aegyptus.

2) *Persian Controlled Provinces*: Persia, Mesopotamia. All militia active. Twelve Regular (B) Strength Points in Mesopotamia B.

3) *Active Independent Militia*: Germania, Scythia, Dacia, Taurica, Pictum.

4) *Scythian* B10 in Scythia; *German* B25 in Germania B.

5) *Treasures*: Roman: 50 Tax Credits; Persian: Six Tax Credits.

6) *Game Length*: twelve Game-Turns, Period D

7) *Victory*: the Player must have the Romans controlling Provinces worth 65 Victory Points.

[19.5] SCENARIO FIVE: 420 A.D.

1) *Roman Controlled Provinces*: Gallia, Hispania, Italia, Sicilia, Africa, Illyria, Thracia, Graecia, Asia, Syria, Aegyptus, Cyprus. Active militia: Gallia, Illyria, Thracia, Asia, Syria, Aegyptus. Roman Legion Strength Points: twenty-one, placed in any controlled Province in any size group.

2) *Persian Controlled Provinces*: Persia, Mesopotamia. Eighteen (B) Strength Points in Mesopotamia B.

3) *Active Militia*: Pictum, Britannia, Germania, Scythia, Taurica, Armenia.

4) *German* B12 in Gallia A, *Scythian* B7 in Asia B; *Taurican* BP2 in Cyprus.

5) *Treasures*: Roman is minus twenty Tax Credits; Persian is twelve Tax Credits.

6) *Game Length*: twelve Game-Turns, Period F

7) *Victory*: The Player wins if Rome controls sixty Victory Points in Provinces at the end of the game.

8) *Special Rules*: On Game-Turn five, Hun L150 appears in Scythia.

[19.6] SCENARIO SIX: 530 A.D.

1) *Roman Controlled Provinces*: Asia, Syria, Aegyptus, Thracia, Illyria, Graecia, Cyprus. All militia active. Twelve Legions in any controlled Province in any size group.

2) *Persian Controlled Provinces*: Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia. All militia active. Twelve (B) Strength Points in Armenia.

3) All militia on map fully activated.

4) *German* B12 in Gallia A; *German* B5 in Hispania C; *Scythian* B4 in Africa C, *German* B20 in Italia A, *Scythian* B10 in Dacia A.

5) *Treasures*: Roman is fifteen Tax Credits, Persian is ten Tax Credits.

6) *Game Length*: twenty Game-Turns, Period G

7) *Victory*: The Player must have Rome controlling seventy six Victory Points of Provinces at the end of the game.

[20.0] DESIGN CREDITS

Game Design: John Michael Young

Physical Systems Design and Graphics: Redmond A. Simonsen

Game Development: Bruce Evans, Kenneth Hoffman, John Michael Young, William J. Sullivan

Rules and Editorial: John Michael Young, Bruce Evans, Kenneth Hoffman

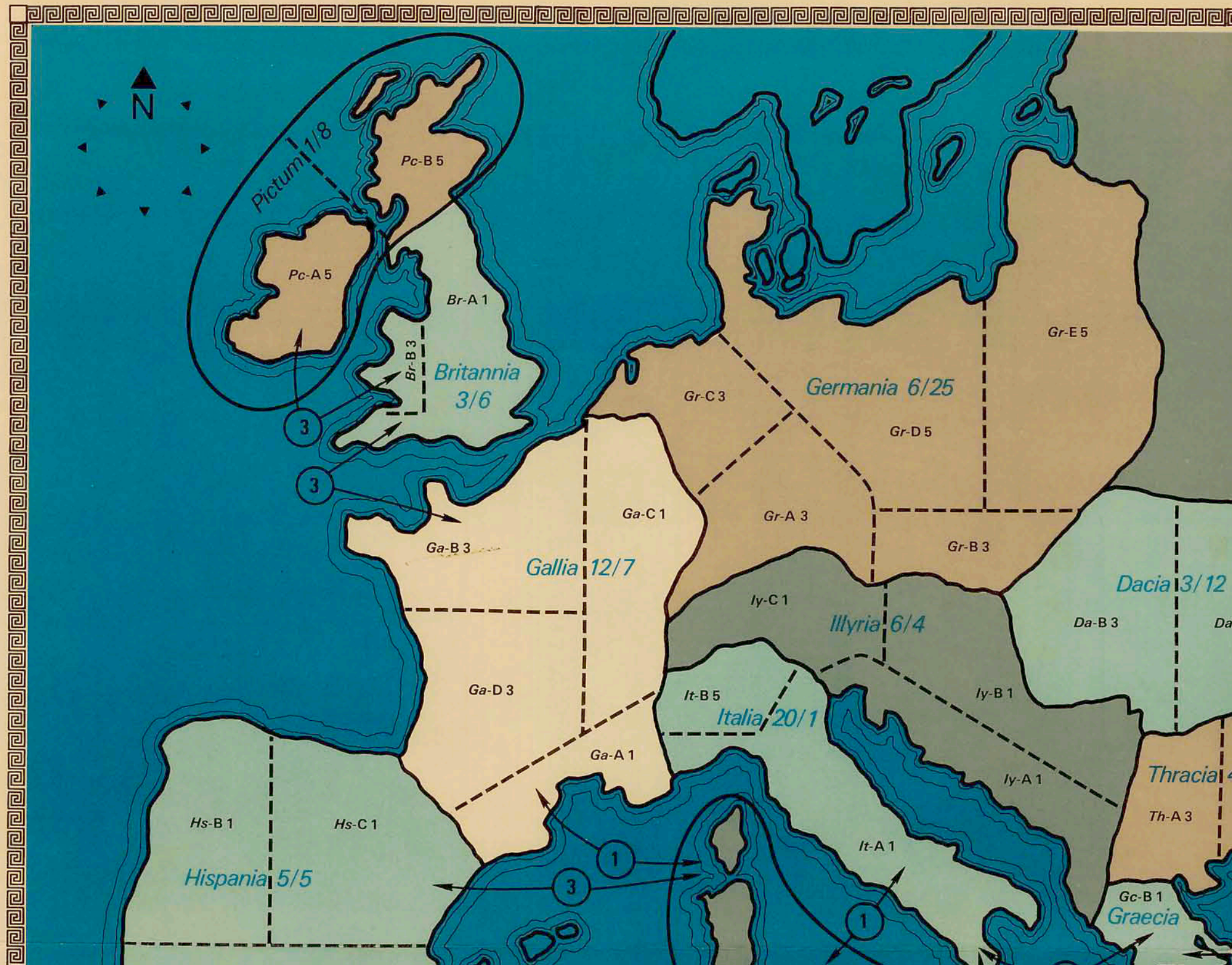
Production: Manfred F. Milkuhn, Marsha Treiber, Al Zygiar

DESIGNER'S NOTES

A funny thing happened on the way to *Fall of Rome*. It started out as a rather large project which was to be designed as an ultra-simple two-player game. The more research that was done, the more formal a pattern was determined for non-Roman movement, combat, and goals. To compound the second (non-Roman) Player's problems, all of the individual forces that he "controlled" were mutually inimical. During playtesting, the second Player would frequently gnash his teeth (occasionally moan also) over his inability to perform anything more decisive than to roll a die well. Q.E.D., we had the first truly-designed solitaire-playing game.

The game *Fall of Rome* operates under certain strictures. Essentially the game does not deal with ways in which the Empire's lot could be improved. The economic, social, and geographic reasons for the decreasing chances of Rome's survival are a constant within the framework of the game. Thus the rigid structure of the periods which so adversely affect the Roman Empire in matters of internal stability are left intact. The substance of the simulation is that of an occasional capable man trying to fend off the predictable incursions of Persians and Barbarians, while on the less predictable shifting sands of Army rebellion and internal revolution. Thus the one man is fighting the circumstances and being replaced by other capable (or not) men. The function of ability is admittedly built into the game purely as luck, but then that is what the Empire had degenerated to. The recurring dynastic crises made choice of rulers, in truth, a matter of randomness.





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

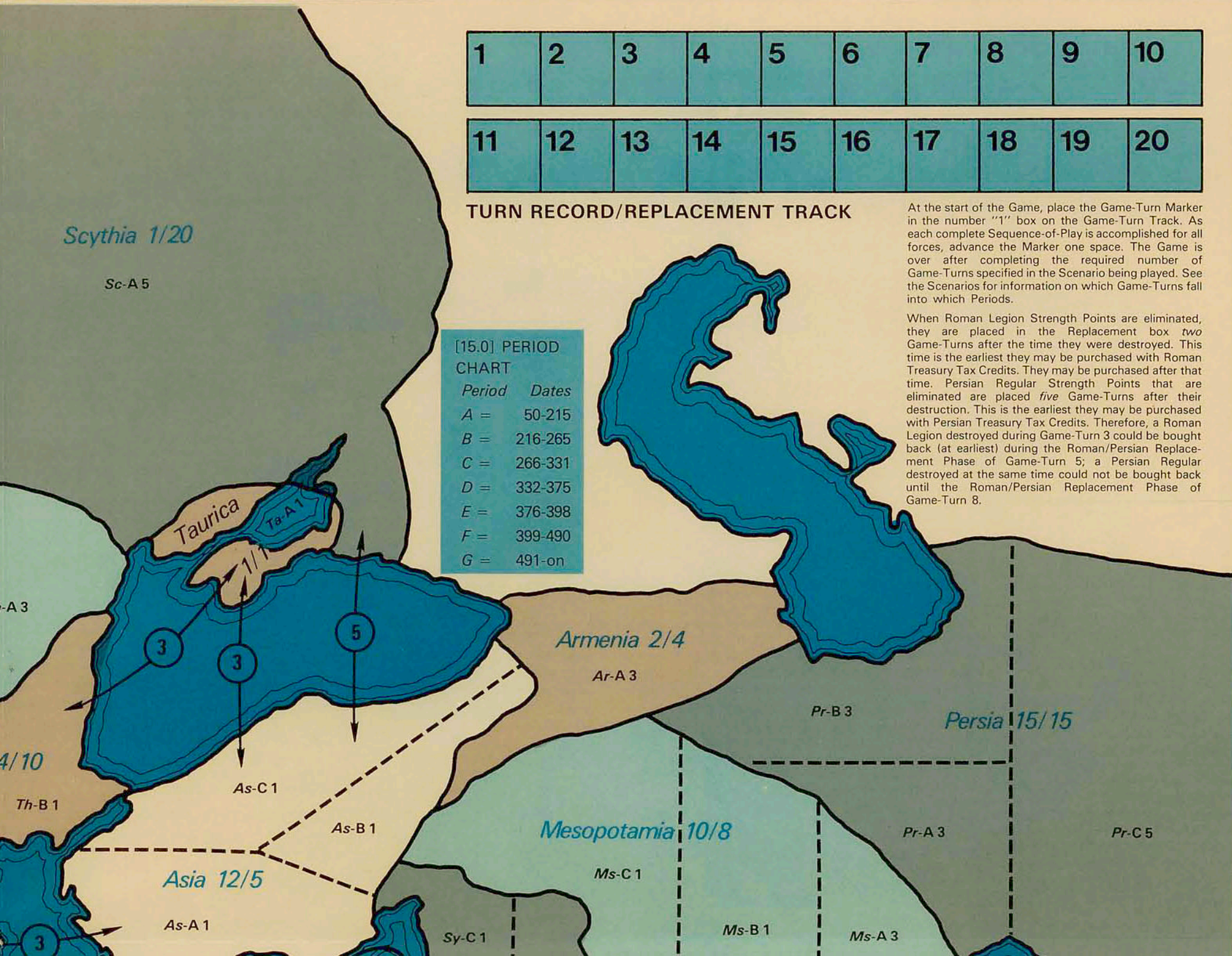
TURN RECORD/REPLACEMENT TRACK

At the start of the Game, place the Game-Turn Marker in the number "1" box on the Game-Turn Track. As each complete Sequence-of-Play is accomplished for all forces, advance the Marker one space. The Game is over after completing the required number of Game-Turns specified in the Scenario being played. See the Scenarios for information on which Game-Turns fall into which Periods.

When Roman Legion Strength Points are eliminated, they are placed in the Replacement box *two* Game-Turns after the time they were destroyed. This time is the earliest they may be purchased with Roman Treasury Tax Credits. They may be purchased after that time. Persian Regular Strength Points that are eliminated are placed *five* Game-Turns after their destruction. This is the earliest they may be purchased with Persian Treasury Tax Credits. Therefore, a Roman Legion destroyed during Game-Turn 3 could be bought back (at earliest) during the Roman/Persian Replacement Phase of Game-Turn 5; a Persian Regular destroyed at the same time could not be bought back until the Roman/Persian Replacement Phase of Game-Turn 8.

[15.0] PERIOD CHART

Period	Dates
A =	50-215
B =	216-265
C =	266-331
D =	332-375
E =	376-398
F =	399-490
G =	491-on





[14.0] COMBAT RESULTS TABLE

Combat Odds (Attacking Strength-to-Defending Strength)						
Die Roll	1-1	2-1	3-1	4-1	5-1	6-1
1	½De	½De	De	De	De	De
2	½Ex	½De	½De	½De	De	De
3	Ex	½Ex	½De	½De	½De	½De
4	•	Ex	½Ex	½Ex	½De	½De
5	•	•	•	Ex	½Ex	½Ex
6	•	•	•	•	•	•

[16.0] BARBARIAN CREATION TABLE

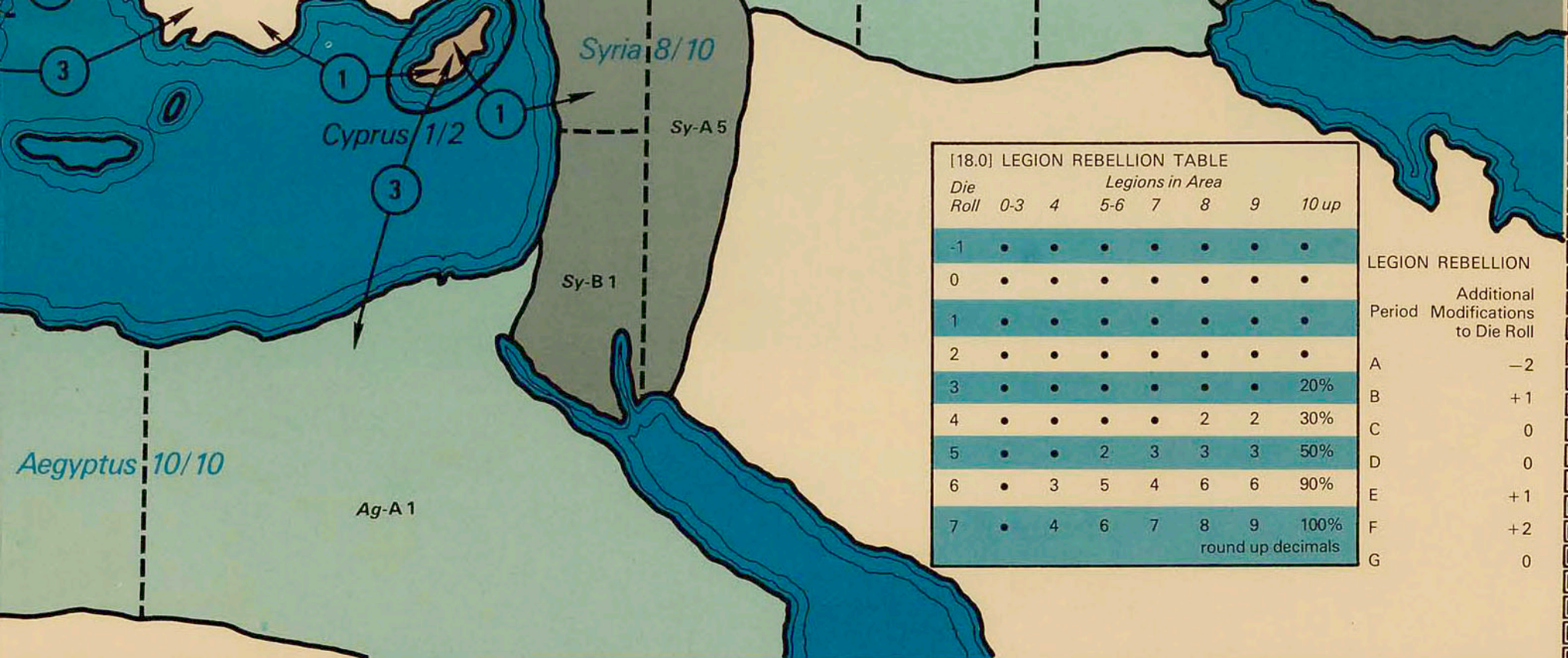
PROVINCE OF ORIGIN					
Pictum	Germania	Dacia	Scythia	Taurica	
1st Die Roll	2nd Die Roll				
	1	2	3	4	5
1	•	L10	•	L15	R2
2	•	L15	•	L20	•
3	L3	L20	L6	•	•
4	R1	R4	L6	R5	•
5	•	L25	R4	R4	•
6	R2	R6	•	L10	•

[16.3] BARBARIAN CREATION

Period Code	Frequency
A	One roll every even num
B	Two rolls per Game-Turn
C	One roll per Game-Turn.

[17.0] INTERNAL

Die Roll	A	B
1	no	no
2	no	no
3	no	no
4	no	yes
5	no	yes
6	yes	yes



[18.0] LEGION REBELLION TABLE								
Die Roll	Legions in Area							
	0-3	4	5-6	7	8	9	10 up	
-1	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
0	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
1	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
3	•	•	•	•	•	•	20%	
4	•	•	•	•	2	2	30%	
5	•	•	2	3	3	3	50%	
6	•	3	5	4	6	6	90%	
7	•	4	6	7	8	9	100%	
							round up decimals	

LEGION REBELLION

Period Additional Modifications to Die Roll

A	-2
B	+1
C	0
D	0
E	+1
F	+2
G	0

FREQUENCY TABLE

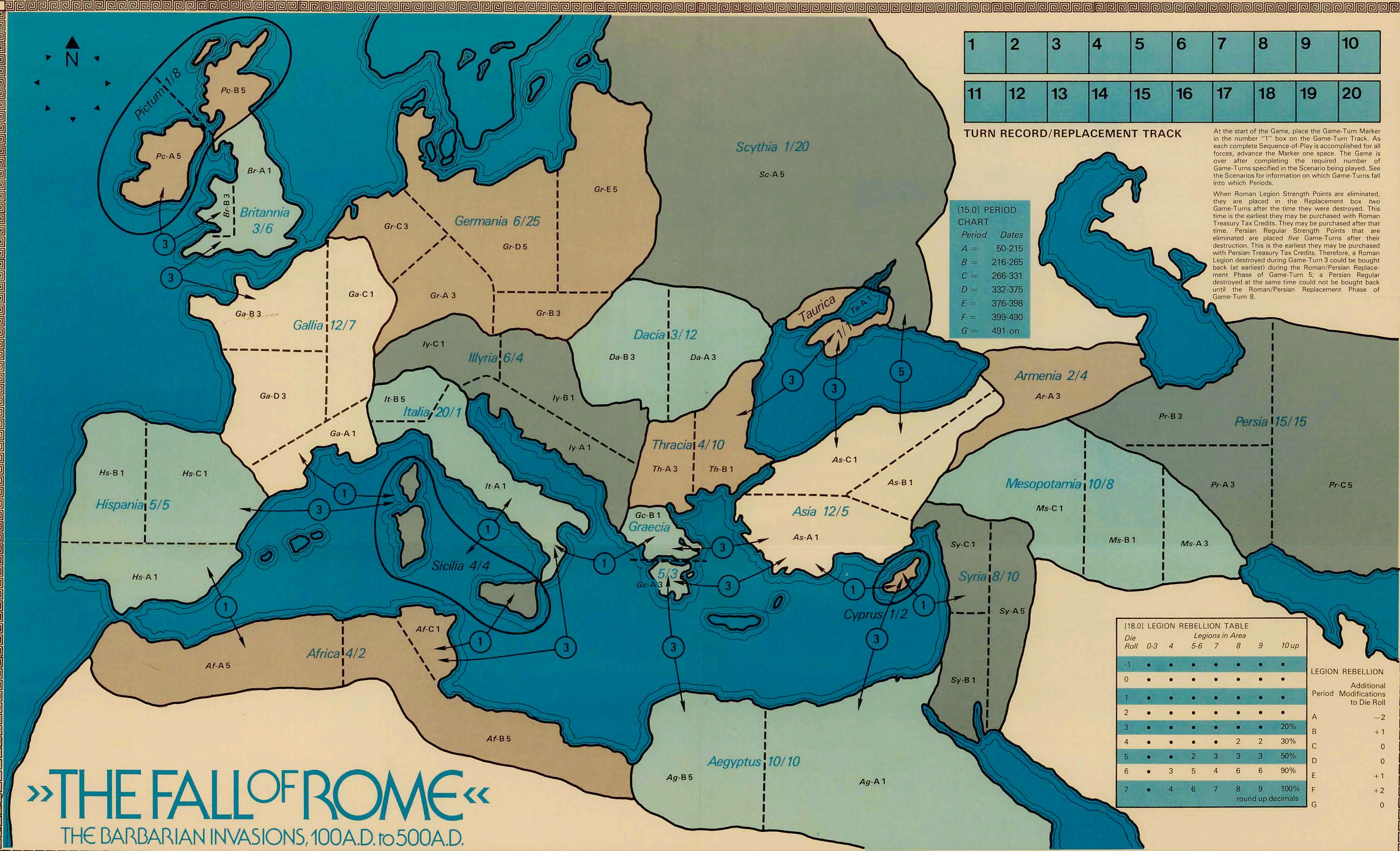
D	Two rolls per Game-Turn.
E	Three rolls per Game-Turn.
F	Four rolls per Game-Turn.
G	One roll per Game-Turn.

REVOLUTION PROBABILITY TABLE

C	D	E	F	G
no	no	no	no	no
no	no	no	yes	no
no	no	no	yes	no
no	no	no	yes	no
no	yes	yes	yes	no
yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

[17.2] INTERNAL REVOLUTION RESULTS TABLE

Die Roll	Region																			
	Pictum	Britannia	Hispania	Gallia	Italia	Illyria	Scythia	Dacia	Thracia	Graecia	Asia	Taurica	Armenia	Mesopotamia	Persia	Syria	Aegyptus	Africa	Sicilia	Cyprus
1	•	•	•	3	•	•	•	4(12)	•	•	1	•	4	4	•	4	•	2	•	•
2	•	•	(5)	•	•	(6)	20	•	•	(3)	1	•	•	•	15	•	•	1	•	•
3	8	2	•	3	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	15	•	•	•	•	•
4	8	1	1	•	•	4	•	3	•	•	•	•	•	•	15	•	2	•	•	1
5	8	1	1	•	•	2	20	•	3	•	(5)	•	•	•	15	•	(10)	•	1	•
6	•	1	(5)	3	•	2	20	12	(10)	•	•	•	4	8	•	•	4	•	1	•



»THE FALL OF ROME«

THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS, 100A.D. to 500A.D.

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

TURN RECORD/REPLACEMENT TRACK

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[15.0] PERIOD CHART	
Period	Dates
A	50-215
B	216-265
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D	332-375
E	376-398
F	399-490
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When Roman Legion Strength Points are eliminated, they are placed in the Replacement box two Game-Turns after the time they were destroyed. This time is the earliest they may be purchased with Roman Treasury Tax Credits. They may be purchased after that time. Persian Regular Strength Points that are eliminated are placed five Game-Turns after their destruction. This is the earliest they may be purchased with Persian Treasury Tax Credits. Therefore, a Roman Legion destroyed during Game-Turn 3 could be bought back (at earliest) during the Roman/Persian Replacement Phase of Game-Turn 5; a Persian Regular destroyed at the same time could not be bought back until the Roman/Persian Replacement Phase of Game-Turn 8.

[18.0] LEGION REBELLION TABLE									
Die Roll	0-3	4	5-6	7	8	9	10 up	LEGION REBELLION	
-1	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	Period Modifications to Die Roll	Additional
0	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		
1	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	A	-2
2	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	B	+1
3	•	•	•	•	•	•	20%	C	0
4	•	•	•	•	2	2	30%	D	0
5	•	•	2	3	3	3	50%	E	+1
6	•	3	5	4	6	6	90%	F	+2
7	•	4	6	7	8	9	100%	G	0
								round up decimals	

[14.0] COMBAT RESULTS TABLE

Combat Odds (Attacking Strength-to-Defending Strength)						
Die Roll	1-1	2-1	3-1	4-1	5-1	6-1
1	½ De	½ De	De	De	De	De
2	½ Ex	½ De	½ De	½ De	De	De
3	Ex	½ Ex	½ De	½ De	½ De	½ De
4	•	Ex	½ Ex	½ Ex	½ De	½ De
5	•	•	•	Ex	½ Ex	½ Ex
6	•	•	•	•	•	•

[16.0] BARBARIAN CREATION TABLE

PROVINCE OF ORIGIN					
Pictum	Germania	Dacia	Scythia	Taurica	
1st Die Roll	2nd Die Roll				
1	•	L10	•	L15	R2
2	•	L15	•	L20	•
3	L3	L20	L6	•	•
4	R1	R4	L6	R5	•
5	•	L25	R4	R4	•
6	R2	R6	•	L10	•

[16.3] BARBARIAN CREATION FREQUENCY TABLE

Period Code	Frequency	D	Two rolls per Game-Turn.
A	One roll every even numbered Game-Turn.	E	Three rolls per Game-Turn.
B	Two rolls per Game-Turn.	F	Four rolls per Game-Turn.
C	One roll per Game-Turn.	G	One roll per Game-Turn.

[17.0] INTERNAL REVOLUTION PROBABILITY TABLE

Die Roll	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	no	no	no	no	no	no	no
2	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no
3	no	no	no	no	no	yes	no
4	no	yes	no	no	no	yes	no
5	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	no
6	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

[17.2] INTERNAL REVOLUTION RESULTS TABLE

Region																
Die Roll	Pictum	Britannia	Hispania	Gallia	Italia	Illyria	Scythia	Dacia	Thracia	Graecia	Asia	Taurica	Armenia	Mesopotamia	Persia	Syria
1	•	•	•	3	•	•	•	4(12)	•	•	1	•	4	•	4	•
2	•	•	(5)	•	•	(6)	20	•	•	(3)	1	•	•	•	15	•
3	8	2	•	3	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	15	•
4	8	1	1	•	•	4	•	3	•	•	•	•	•	•	15	•
5	8	1	1	•	•	2	20	•	3	•	(5)	•	•	•	15	(10)
6	•	1	(5)	3	•	2	20	12	(10)	•	•	•	4	8	•	4