

## Notes

### Footnote: Note from the author

<sup>1</sup> According to De Graaff, ‘New perspectives’, p. 216.

### Footnotes: Introduction

<sup>1</sup> The first number was given by Willemse, see Section 4.9; Rijnhout, *In Dienst* (pp. 4, 227, 355) mentions at least 7,000.

<sup>2</sup> De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk V*, pp. 792-793.

<sup>3</sup> De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk VII*, p. 1044.

### Footnotes: The Context

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Bos/Bos, *Hoogezaand*, p. 60; *Elburg*, p. 53; Geerts, *Dagboek*, pp. 15, 32, 93, 115, 188; Kraaijenbrink, *Politierapport*, p. 125; Luisman, *Saksers*, pp. 41-42; Oerlemans et al., *Oorlog*, p. 57; Schoon, *De Knokploeg*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Hols/Steunenberg, *Holten*, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> *Het Grote Gebod II*, p. 56; Hoogezaand, *Blijvend Gedenken*, p. 303; Schulten/Penris, ‘Het uur’, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Taken from the poem ‘Heavenly music’ [‘Hemelse muziek’] by D. Hoogendijk, cited in Schoon, *De Knokploeg*, p. 35. For the text of several Dutch songs about British bombing flights to Germany, see Kokhuis, *Twente I*, pp. 28-39.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Orange-colored’ refers to the Dutch House of Orange. Wearing something orange-colored, however small, during the war was a sign of rebellion against the Germans. On 5 December, when the Dutch celebrate ‘Sinterklaas’, a child will often find a chocolate letter representing the initial of his/her name in the shoe.

<sup>6</sup> *Bierum*, p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> *Bierum*, p. 129.

<sup>8</sup> Adriani Engels/Wallagh, *Nacht*, p. 107.

<sup>9</sup> Zoetmulder, *Nederland*, pp. 43-44.

<sup>10</sup> Lagerwij/Plekkringa, *Ede*, p. 27.

<sup>11</sup> For examples of other surprises dropped over The Netherlands, see De Vries/De Groot, *De Wervelwind*, p. 8; Geerts, *Dagboek*, p. 188.

<sup>12</sup> Cited in Van Boldrik/Wijlhuizen, *In Water*, p. 83. The full names of the crewmen were Sergeant (Sgt.) Stanley H. Burley (pilot), Sgt. Lawrence D. Norman (observer), Sgt. Arthur W. Astle (radio operator), Sgt. Victor Tarrant (wireless operator/gunner), Sgt. Charles A. Smith (pilot; he could only be identified after the war).

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., Jellema, *Herinneringen*, pp. 115-116; Visser, *De Jaren*, pp. 9-12.

<sup>14</sup> Jansen, *Sporen II*, p. 248.

<sup>15</sup> Even the crash of a German airplane gave the impression that the Allies were coming; see, e.g., Klaassen, *Zij Kwamen*, p. 132; Korpel, *De Waard I*, p. 140.

<sup>16</sup> Poels, *Mémoires*, p. 157.

<sup>17</sup> Overy, *The Air War*, p. 34; H. Thomas/P.R.A. van Iddekinge, ‘Vergissen is menselijk. De slag om Engeland: Fase III’, *Bericht van de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, p. 476; Van der Veer, *De Luchtoorlog*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>18</sup> In Van der Klaauw/Rijnhout, *De Luchtoorlog* (p. 13), 84 Blenheims and 53 other British airplanes are mentioned; however, on page 30, the authors say that 95 airplanes crashed on Dutch territory. Korthals Altes, *Luchtgevaar*, pp. 70-71; Visser, *De Jaren*, p. 120.

<sup>19</sup> Van der Klaauw/Rijnhout, *De Luchtoorlog*, p. 30.

<sup>20</sup> W. Rhebergen/P. Rhebergen, *Vermist*, p. 92; Willemse, ‘Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant’, p. 39.

<sup>21</sup> Van der Graaf, *Rockanje*, p. 47. See *Blijvend Gedenken*, pp. 357-359, for a list of airmen who washed ashore at Hoogezang.

- <sup>22</sup> Van Alphen/Van Voorthuizen, *De Bommelerwaard*, p. II.
- <sup>23</sup> The machine guns in the nose of RAF/USAAF bombers were manned by the radio operator or navigator.
- <sup>24</sup> W. Rhebergen/P. Rhebergen, *Vermist*, p. 93.
- <sup>25</sup> Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo I*, p. 171.
- <sup>26</sup> Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo I*, p. 192.
- <sup>27</sup> Jansen, *Gevleugeld Verleden*, p. 275.
- <sup>28</sup> Van Alphen, *Tussen Waal*, p. 39.
- <sup>29</sup> Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo I*, p. 213. On 22 December 1943, 22 American aircraft were lost over The Netherlands; see Van Lith, *Vlucht*, p. III.
- <sup>30</sup> Jansen, *Sporen I*, pp. 243, 301.
- <sup>31</sup> Jansen, *Sporen I*, p. 319.
- <sup>32</sup> Frankland, *Bommen*, p. II4.
- <sup>33</sup> Davies, *A Leap*, p. 17; Jansen, *Gevleugeld Verleden*, p. 338.
- <sup>34</sup> Freeman, *The Mighty Eighth*, p. 137.
- <sup>35</sup> Rijnhout, *In Dienst*, pp. 162-163. Compare with Willemse, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant', p. 41.
- <sup>36</sup> Onderwater, *Reis*, p. 51.
- <sup>37</sup> Metselaar, *Hoogeveen*, p. 25.
- <sup>38</sup> Der Kinderen, *Halifax*, p. 21.
- <sup>39</sup> For a discussion on the historical evolution of the term *Flieger-* or *Flugabwehrkanonen*, see Van Lith, *Vlucht*, p. II.
- <sup>40</sup> Freeman, *The Mighty Eighth*, p. 139; Barker, *The Royal Air Force*, pp. 95, 144; Van der Veer, *De Luchtoorlog*, p. 30; Cornelissen/Slettenhaar, *In de Schaduw*, p. 184; Hoogezand, *Blijvend Gedenken*, p. 332; Korpel, *De Waard I*, p. 40.
- <sup>41</sup> Davies, *A Leap*, p. 17.
- <sup>42</sup> J. Hudson, "Are you Dutch?", in Tjepkema, *Ondergedoken*, p. 68.
- <sup>43</sup> Davies, *A Leap*, p. 17.
- <sup>44</sup> Jespers, *Witte Wolk*, p. II3.
- <sup>45</sup> Korthals Altes, *Luchtgevaar*, p. 328; Willemse, 'De doodstraf', in *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 42 (August 1984), p. 24; Gevers, *Pyama-House*, pp. 15-16; Der Kinderen, *Halifax*, p. 91.
- <sup>46</sup> Korthals Altes, *Luchtgevaar*, p. 329; Meijer, *55 Namen*, p. I; Thuring, *Sacrifice*, p. 6.
- <sup>47</sup> Meijer, *55 Namen*, p. I; Lower numbers of at least 1,500 dead and ca. 1,200 missing were given by Davies in *A Leap*, p. I; Jansen, *Sporen I*, p. II; Van der Klaauw/Rijnhout, *De Luchtoorlog*, p. 47; Korthals Altes, *Luchtgevaar*, p. 329. Considering the number of airplanes and crewmen, and the percentages for surviving a crash, this number must be considered too low.
- <sup>48</sup> About 3,029 Americans landed more or less intact on the ground; see Rijnhout, *In Dienst*, p. 7; W. Rhebergen/P. Rhebergen, *Vermist*, pp. 92-93; Willemse, 'De doodstraf', in *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 42 (August 1984), p. 24.
- <sup>49</sup> An article by J. Mennink in the newspaper *Meppeler Courant* (28 March 1980) was titled "Pilot helpers save 1,000 fliers".
- <sup>50</sup> Onderwater, 'En toen was het stil...', p. 190.
- <sup>51</sup> See, e.g., Van der Veer, *De Luchtoorlog*, pp. 64-65. A similar description has been given in ibidem, pp. 110-115.
- <sup>52</sup> An incident has been described in Meijer, *55 Namen*, p. 66, in which Dutch members of the SS shot parachutists. Another incident has been reported in Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo II*, opposite from. I9, about an NSB shooting. See, e.g., Van der Graaf, *Rockanje*, p. 72; Hols/Steunenberg, *Holten*, pp. 238-239; Jansen, *Vlucht*, pp. 53, 56-57, 61, 77, 89, 91; B. Kemp/K. Kemp, *Beklemmende Jaren*, pp. 66-67; Kraaijenbrink, *Politierapport*, p. 384; Van Loon, *Verzet*, p. 156.
- <sup>53</sup> See e.g., Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo II*, p. 219; Joosen et al., *Geschiedenis*, p. 105.
- <sup>54</sup> Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo I*, pp. 126-127.
- <sup>55</sup> Derix, *De Bospartizanen*, p. 200; Derix, 'Piloten op de Antoniushoeve', p. 137; Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo II*, p. 246; Rijnhout, *In Dienst*, p. 199; M. van Sleeuwen, 'De luchtoorlog boven Boxmeer', *Oorlog aan de Maas*, pp. 89-92.
- <sup>56</sup> Freeman, *Mighty Eighth War Diary*, p. 446.
- <sup>57</sup> See, e.g., Van Helden, *Luchtoorlog Arcen*, p. 35; J.W. Jansen, 'Barbarisme in en rond Gendringen', Nederkoorn/Stork, *Er Op*, p. 38; Schotman, *Zij Vielen*, p. 42.
- <sup>58</sup> According to Metselaar in *Hoogeveen*, p. 25, the events described probably did not take place in the autumn of 1944 but rather on 6 March of that same year.
- <sup>59</sup> Van den Berg, *Onze Vrijheid*, pp. 51-53.
- <sup>60</sup> In *De Luchtoorlog*, pp. 62-63, Van der Klaauw/Rijnhout spoke of five crewmen having been picked up. According to Van der Veer in *De Luchtoorlog*, the number was four: pilot Henry Harvey Molyneux Barton's feet were stuck in the directional rudder and he sank with his aircraft.
- <sup>61</sup> Van der Klaauw/Rijnhout, *De Luchtoorlog*, pp. 62-63.
- <sup>62</sup> Schotman, *Zij Vielen*, p. 23; compare with Dolph, *The Evader*, p. 38.
- <sup>63</sup> Jansen, *Gevleugeld Verleden*, pp. 339-340.
- <sup>64</sup> Buitkamp, *Verzet II*, p. 41; Wijnen, *Dongen*, p. 99.
- <sup>65</sup> For an example of the rapidity of movement in the later stages of the war, see Onderwater, *Reis*, pp. 112-115.
- <sup>66</sup> See, e.g., A.A. Jansen with the cooperation of J. Folmer, 'Vluchtlagen en pilotenhulp', Niemeijer/Mulder (Eds.), *Verzet*, p. 148.

- <sup>67</sup> In July 1947, the culprit was sentenced to 8,5 years in prison; see Jansen, *Sporen III*, pp. 253-262.
- <sup>68</sup> See, e.g., Van Helden, *Luchtoorlog Arcen*, p. 36.
- <sup>69</sup> See, e.g., Meijer, *55 Namen*, p. 41.
- <sup>70</sup> Van Soest, *Frontstad*, p. 102.
- <sup>71</sup> Hoogezaand, *Blijvend Gedenken*, pp. 315-316.
- <sup>72</sup> Van der Ham, *Zeeland II*, p. 207.
- <sup>73</sup> Korpel, *De Waard I*, p. 176.
- <sup>74</sup> Kokhuis, *Twente II*, p. 73; Wiegman, *Enschede*, pp. 283-284, 319-320.
- <sup>75</sup> See, e.g., Van der Graaf, *Rockanje*, p. 56.
- <sup>76</sup> Klaassen, *Zij Kwamen*, p. 74.
- <sup>77</sup> Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo*, p. 152.
- <sup>78</sup> See, e.g., D.W. Berkhoff, 'Sensationele jaren in de gem. Wisch', Nederkoorn/Stork, *Er Op*, pp. 503-505; Bruil Traanboer, *Wisch*, pp. 73-75; Liemburg, *2-III-II RI*, pp. 38-39.
- <sup>79</sup> G. Emeis, '320 mannen en een meisje', *Bericht van de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, p. 1638; Kooij, *Om Niet te Vergeten*, pp. 43-45; J. Vrij, 'Pistol Packin' Mama', *Orgaan van de Vereniging*, No. 71 (December 1991); idem, 'Pistol Packin' Mama weer in Nederland', *Orgaan van de Vereniging*, No. 73 (August 1992), pp. 15-17.
- <sup>80</sup> Rijnhout, *Het Mysterie*, p. 131.
- <sup>81</sup> That there were also airmen, however, who suffered hardships see Van Prooijen/Brouwer, "De Laatste Vlucht". For information about the interrogation and treatment that airmen had to endure in *Dulag Luft*, see Toliver, *The Interrogator*, passim.
- <sup>82</sup> Van Tricht, *Onderduikers*, p. 78.
- <sup>83</sup> Onderwater, *En Toen was het Stil ...*, p. 102.
- <sup>84</sup> See, e.g., Bodewes, *Buigen*, p. 109; Bolleboom, *Op 5 Mei*, pp. 113-114; Bos/Bos, *Hoogezaand*, p. 64; Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo II*, opposite from. p. 19; *Het Grote Gebod*, p. 57; Van Dort/Driessens, *Oegstgeest*, p. 150; Van der Ham, *Zeeland II*, p. 208; Jansen, *Vlucht*, p. 63; Klaassen, *Zij Kwamen*, pp. 53, 109; Korpel, *De Waard I*, p. 141.
- <sup>85</sup> Jansen, *Gevleugeld Verleden*, p. 345.
- <sup>86</sup> See, e.g., Geerts, *Dagboek*, p. 166.
- <sup>87</sup> Elburg, p. 21.
- <sup>88</sup> In general, the bodies of deceased airmen were treated with respect and they were given funerals with military honor. Around New Year's Eve 1943, however, the Germans consciously left the bodies of a few airmen lying in the wreckage of their airplanes; see Klaassen, *Zij Kwamen*, p. 39. See, e.g., Van der Ham, *Zeeland II*, p. 208; Minnema, *Dantumadeel*, p. 48; Noltus, *Wierden*, p. 39; Poorterman, *Stampende Laarzen*, p. 95; Poorterman, *De Jaren*, p. 146; J. Rengelink, 'Vorden doorstaat den oorlog goed', Nederkoorn/Stork, *Er Op*, pp. 293-294.
- <sup>89</sup> H.A.H. Spaan, 'Lichtenvoorde weerstaat vijf jaar het Herrenvolk', Nederkoorn/Stork, *Er Op*, pp. 238-242.
- <sup>90</sup> Diemer, *Op den Rand*, p. 255; De Graaff, *Op Leven*, p. 161.
- <sup>91</sup> Korpel, *De Waard I*, p. 131.
- <sup>92</sup> Bolleboom, *Op 5 Mei*, p. 114. For several other forms of punishment given for showing solidarity with Allied airmen, see Van der Ham, *Zeeland II*, p. 208. J.W. Jansen, 'Barbarisme in en rond Gendringen', Nederkoorn/Stork, *Er Op*, pp. 38-39.
- <sup>93</sup> See, e.g., Noordhuis et al., *In Verdrukking*, p. 77.
- <sup>94</sup> 'Afspringen van vijandelijke piloten', in *Nieuwsbulletin*, Year 4/No. 17 (May 1978), pp. 27-28; Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo II*, pp. 208-209.
- <sup>95</sup> 'Afspringen van vijandelijke piloten', in *Nieuwsbulletin*, Year 4/No. 18 (August 1978), p. 25.
- <sup>96</sup> Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo II*, tgo. 19.
- <sup>97</sup> Foot/Langley, *MI9*, pp. 17-18.
- <sup>98</sup> VO 24/44 (*Verordeningenblad 1944*), pp. 60-61.
- <sup>99</sup> Laansma, *Renswoude*, p. 43.
- <sup>100</sup> W. Willemse, 'Zo was het toen ...', in *Nieuwsblad*, No. 36 (March 1983), pp. 36-37; Visser, *De Jaren*, p. 120.
- <sup>101</sup> Hendrikse, *De Dag*, p. 118; De Nève, *De Grieuzen*, p. 19; Paape, *Donkere Jaren*, p. 44; Visser, *De Jaren*, p. 169.
- <sup>102</sup> Govers, *Pyama-House*, p. 49; Van Kemenade, *Hilvarenbeek*, p. 73; Pape, *Sequel*, p. 26-35; W. Rhebergen/P. Rhebergen, *Vermist*, pp. 94-95; Rijnhout, *Het Mysterie*, p. 11.
- <sup>103</sup> Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo I*, p. 124.
- <sup>104</sup> Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo I*, p. 120; '40 Van Oever, p. 43.
- <sup>105</sup> See, e.g., Hoogezaand, *Blijvend Gedenken*, pp. 258-259; *Ik Draag U Op*, p. 25; Klaassen, *Zij Kwamen*, p. 61.
- <sup>106</sup> Korpel, *De Waard I*, p. 174.
- <sup>107</sup> Bierum, pp. 48, 120-134.
- <sup>108</sup> The declaration has been printed in *Het Grote Gebod II*, p. 57; Der Kinderen, *Halifax*, p. 89; Poels, *Mémoires*, p. 302; see also Brand, *Het Verzet*, pp. 22-23.
- <sup>109</sup> The first time was on 13 March 1941 when 15 members of the resistance group 'De Geuzen' were executed by firing squad.
- <sup>110</sup> Van Prooijen/Brouwer, 'De laatste vlucht', pp. 53-54.
- <sup>111</sup> Laansma, *Renswoude*, p. 44.
- <sup>112</sup> Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo I*, pp. 151-152.
- <sup>113</sup> Kraaijenbrink, *Politierapport*, pp. 142-143.
- <sup>114</sup> It appears that Coster's execution was never carried out. Feldurteil van het Feldgericht des Kommandierenden Generals und Befehlhabers

im Feldluftgau Belgien/Nordfrankreich tegen W. Schmidt et al., 28 March 1944; E. van der Heijden, 'Het verzet in ons dorp', *De Hilverbode*, Year 18/No. 8 (21 February 1948).

<sup>115</sup> Warrack, *Tocht*, p. 118.

<sup>116</sup> Van der Graaf, *Rockanje*, pp. 101-120.

<sup>117</sup> 't Hoen en Witte, *Zet*, pp. 64-65; Swart, *Zaanstreek*, pp. 205-207.

<sup>118</sup> Noordhuis et al., *In Verdrukking*, pp. 78, 99-101, 188; Wonink, *Stille Getuigen*, pp. 76-78.

<sup>119</sup> H. Esmeijer and H. van Sambeek, 'De zwerfkeien aan de Frankenlaan', *Apeldoorn Monument*, p. 56; *Ik Draag U Op*, p. 25.

<sup>120</sup> Noordhuis et al., *In Verdrukking*, pp. 194-195; Poorterman, *Stampende Laarzen*, pp. 321-323; Wonink, *Stille Getuigen*, pp. 79-82.

<sup>121</sup> Willemse, 'De doodstraf', in *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 45 (June 1985), p. 22.

#### Footnotes: 'Pilot Help'

<sup>1</sup> Motto from the Royal Air Forces Escape Club.

<sup>2</sup> Foot, *Resistance*, p. 32; Foot/Langley, *MI9*, p. 21; Freeman, *The Mighty Eighth*, p. 281; Rijnhout, *Het Mysterie*, p. 91; Wilcox, *Destiny*, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 77; Foot, *Resistance*, p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> Examples from Cornelissen/Slettenhaar, *In de Schaduw*, pp. 195-196; Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo*, p. 131; Van der Veer, *De Luchtoorlog*, pp. 98-100; Jansen, *Sporen II*, pp. 266-268, 306; idem, *Sporen III*, p. 307.

<sup>5</sup> Davies, *A Leap*, p. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo II*, p. 205.

<sup>7</sup> Hoefnagels, *Gevels*, p. 230.

<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., J. Hudson, 'Are you Dutch?'; Tjepkema, "Ondergedoken", p. 71; Zijlmans, *Oorlogsfragmenten*, p. iii.

<sup>9</sup> Rijnhout, *In Dienst*, pp. 130-131.

<sup>10</sup> The following description has been taken from Klaassen, *Zij Kwamen*, pp. 9-21; F.M. Beukers, 'Tuck Away', *De Schakel*, Year 8/No. 31 (October 1986), pp. 17-19. Another example is that of David L. Smith, a right rump gunner, whose aircraft crashed on 29 April 1944 near Wilp and whose helpers were later arrested in Utrecht. From that moment, Smith undertook his journey alone, Rijnhout, *In Dienst*, p. 305. Another example: navigator Arthur J. Horning, who landed by parachute in Elsen near Markelo on 10 October 1943 and by 30 January 1944 had reached his airbase in England; Hols/Steunenberg, *Holten*, pp. 221-222; Horning, *In the Footsteps*, pp. 48-73.

<sup>11</sup> Woolderink, *Raalte*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>12</sup> Jansen, *Gevleugeld Verleden*, pp. 233-234.

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., Ypma, *Friesland*, p. 242. Compare with Neave, *Saturday*, p. 33; Tjepkema, 'Ondergedoken', p. 65.

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., Klaassen, *Zij Kwamen*, p. 14; Kouwen, *Deest*, pp. 26-27.

<sup>15</sup> De Vries-Van den Wall Bake, 'Pilotenhulp', p. 724.

<sup>16</sup> Van der Veer, *De Luchtoorlog*, p. 90. A similar act by a Canadian lieutenant in the RAF who landed on the roof of a house in Molkwerum on 3 July 1942 is described in *ibidem*, p. 100.

<sup>17</sup> See Van der Veer, *De Luchtoorlog*, pp. 236 v.v.

<sup>18</sup> Wijnen, *Dongen*, p. 87.

<sup>19</sup> E. van der Heijden, private communication, 6 September 1994.

<sup>20</sup> Jansen, *Wespennest Leeuwarden I*, pp. 201-202; idem, *Gevleugeld Verleden*, pp. 168-169; compare with *ibidem*, pp. 138, 232.

<sup>21</sup> Korpel, *De Waard I*, pp. 141-142.

<sup>22</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 126.

<sup>23</sup> Willemse, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant', p. 39.

<sup>24</sup> The exact data concerning this mysterious case are still unknown and descriptions are contradictory. See Dolph, *The Evader*, pp. 154-190, 327; De Haan et al., *Engelsmanplaat*, pp. 119-122; Minnema, *Dantumadeel*, pp. 279-280; Reitsma, *Gedenktekens*, p. 176; Schoon, *De Knokploeg*, p. 107; Ypma, *Friesland*, p. 246.

<sup>25</sup> According to Dolph, they were the fisherman named S. Visser from Paesens and the harbor master from Schiermonnikoog named Teun de Jong; according to De Haan et al., *Engelsmanplaat*, the two fishermen from Moddergat were Kees Vanger and Monte de Vries.

<sup>26</sup> According to Dolph, *The Evader*, p. 327, he was liquidated by the resistance in April 1945. According to De Haan et al., *Engelsmanplaat*, he was liberated in Birdaard.

<sup>27</sup> De Jong, *De Bezetting III*, p. 113.

<sup>28</sup> Willemse, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant', p. 37.

<sup>29</sup> Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 147.

<sup>30</sup> Willemse, 'De doodstraf', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 42 (August 1984), p. 25; for information about Conran, see also Lagerwij/Plekkringa, *Ede*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>31</sup> Hof, *Niet Schieten*, passim; De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk V*, pp. 862-864.

<sup>32</sup> De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk VII*, p. 636.

<sup>33</sup> De Graaff, 'Collaboratie', pp. 96-97.

<sup>34</sup> De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk Xa*, p. 88; *Het Koninkrijk Xb*, p. 544.

<sup>35</sup> J. van Baar, 'Neergestorte geallieerde vliegtuigen en pilotenhulp', Van Baar et al. (Eds.), *Verzet*, p. 137; Bodewes, *Buigen*, p. 134;

- Bornebroek, *De Illegaliteit*, p. 43; *Het Grote Gebod II*, p. 62.; Klaassen, *Zij Kwamen*, p. 141; W. Rhebergen/P. Rhebergen, *Vermist*, p. 93; Wybenga, *Bezettingstijd II*, p. 148.
- <sup>36</sup> De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk Xb*, pp. 544, 554.
- <sup>37</sup> Examples of such questionnaires can be found in, e.g., Der Kinderen, *Halifax*, pp. 109-111; Govers, *Pyama-House*, p. 75; Onderwater, *Reis*, pp. 75-76, 192-193; Poels, *Mémoires*, p. 319.
- <sup>38</sup> Neave, *Saturday*, p. 184.
- <sup>39</sup> See, e.g., Veterman, *Keizersgracht*, pp. 46-47.
- <sup>40</sup> See, e.g., Korpel, *De Waard II*, p. 119.
- <sup>41</sup> De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk VII*, p. 954.
- <sup>42</sup> Govers, *Pyama-House*, p. 68.
- <sup>43</sup> Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 77; Foot, *Resistance*, p. 41.
- <sup>44</sup> 'Wat ik nooit vergeet', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 67 (December 1990), pp. 31-32. The real name of the Canadian airman was Arthur Cullum.
- <sup>45</sup> Information about the involvement of the Lelivelt family in 'pilot help' has been obtained in particular from an interview with Martin's daughter Mia.
- <sup>46</sup> See, e.g., Van Berkum, *Het Verzet*, pp. 14-15; Govers, *Pyama-House*, pp. 46-47; Van de Kimmenade-Beekmans, *Gemert Bezet*, p. 139; Poortman, *De Jaren*, p. 148; Smit, *Fragmenten*, p. 304; interview Van der Klei.
- <sup>47</sup> For the letters that could follow, see Davies, *A Leap*, pp. 36-37, 41.
- <sup>48</sup> Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 70.
- <sup>49</sup> According to '40 Van Oever', p. 103: 'Many 'pilot helpers' were irritated to the hilt by the arrogant and careless attitudes of certain airmen.'
- <sup>50</sup> Paul/St. John, *Surgeon*, p. 166; Warrack, *Tocht*, pp. 177-178.
- <sup>51</sup> Paul/St. John, *Surgeon*, p. 146.
- <sup>52</sup> Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 69.
- <sup>53</sup> Bolleboom, *Op 5 Mei*, p. 100; see also Dekkers, *Vijf Bange Jaren*, p. 36.
- <sup>54</sup> Bolleboom, *Op 5 Mei*, p. 116.
- <sup>55</sup> Bolleboom, *Op 5 Mei*, p. 118.
- <sup>56</sup> Caspers, *Luizen*, p. 98.
- <sup>57</sup> *Dagboekfragmenten*, pp. 364-365; also cited in Cammaert, *Front*, p. 180, who writes that Hooijer-Dubois was not the only person to complain about the 'improper and dare-devil behavior of some American fliers'.
- <sup>58</sup> H. Eckstein, 'Het kamp op de Veluwe', Blase (Ed.), *Studenten*, pp. 39-40.
- <sup>59</sup> Nijnatten-Doffegnies, *Geheim Dorp*, pp. 68-69.
- <sup>60</sup> Visser, *Onderduikers*, p. 159.
- <sup>61</sup> Kooij, *Om Niet te Vergeten*, p. 45.
- <sup>62</sup> Caspers, *Luizen*, pp. 97-98.
- <sup>63</sup> See, e.g., De Vries-Van den Wall Bake, 'Pilotenhulp', p. 729; Mulder/Koedijk, *Van Randwijk*, p. 354.
- <sup>64</sup> See, e.g., Govers, *Pyama-House*, p. 68.
- <sup>65</sup> Bruil Traanboer, *Wisch*, p. 75; Liemburg, 2-II-11 RI, p. 38. The suggestion that this flier had sent a thank-you note from Lisbon to his helpers is not possible because he was liberated in Brussels on 4 September 1944.
- <sup>66</sup> Van Lieshout, *Aal*, p. 224.
- <sup>67</sup> Visser, *Onderduikers*, pp. 133-134.
- <sup>68</sup> Slats, *Noordwijk*, p. 120.
- <sup>69</sup> J.W. Hackett, 'I was taken inside ...', *Aan Th.A. Boeree*, p. 18; idem, *Stranger*, pp. 108-114.
- <sup>70</sup> Jansen, *Sporen III*, pp. 189-190.
- <sup>71</sup> Van der Have, *Kleine Kroniek*, p. 163.
- <sup>72</sup> Hols/Steunenberg, *Holten*, p. 284; Poorterman, *Stampende Laarzen*, p. 91.
- <sup>73</sup> Poorterman, *Van Bezetting*, pp. 144, 147.
- <sup>74</sup> See, e.g., Hanson, *Sprong*, p. 212.
- <sup>75</sup> Dolph, *The Evader*, pp. 207 v.v.
- <sup>76</sup> See, e.g., 'Eerste buitenlander krijgt Verzetsheldenkingskruis', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 31 (December 1981), p. 9.
- <sup>77</sup> Brickhill, *Escape*, pp. 66-85; Korpel, *De Waard II*, pp. 121-122.
- <sup>78</sup> 'Doetinchem werd geen egelstelling', Nederkorn/Stork, *Er Op*, p. 443.
- <sup>79</sup> J. van Baar, 'Neergestorte geallieerde vliegtuigen en pilotenhulp', Van Baar et al. (Eds.), *Verzet*, p. 133.
- <sup>80</sup> For more information about the fate of McCormick and Van Rij, see Van der Zwan, *De Dag*, passim.
- <sup>81</sup> *Het Grote Gebod II*, p. 63.
- <sup>82</sup> Friso, *Putten*, pp. 79-80; Groen/Van Maanen, *Putten*, passim; A. Leenstra, 'Hunnen in Putten', *Bericht van de Tweede Wereldoorlog*, pp. 2169-2171; 'Britse para Tex Banwell - leider aanslag stafauto - vertelt na bijna 37 jaar: "Die Duitse officier had het nooit mogen navertellen"', *Week Uit: Bijlage van de Arnhemse Courant*, 9 May 1981; *Het Drama van Putten. Een speciale uitgave van Puttens Nieuwsblad in samenwerking met de Stichting Oktober 44*; 29 September 1944; Paul/St. John, *Surgeon*, pp. 97-98; W.H. Timmens, 'Tex Banwell - Een levende legende', *Trouwblad*, Year 29 (1991), pp. 223-229, Heaps, *Escape*, pp. 92-93, speaks about another illegal attack during that period in which both he and Banwell were involved. It concerned an attack on two German trucks.
- <sup>83</sup> Van Heiden, *Luchtoorlog*, p. 66.
- <sup>84</sup> Derix, *De Bospartizanen*, p. 202. Compare with Wilcox, *Destiny*, pp. 130-131.
- <sup>85</sup> Pape, *Sequel*, pp. 42-43.

- <sup>86</sup> De Nève, *De Glorieuzen*, p. 45. Compare with Davies, *A Leap*, pp. 66, 101, who after his arrest rapidly had to remove the name and address that had been sown into his pants of the brother (who was in South America) of a woman in hiding.
- <sup>87</sup> Govers, *Pyama-House*, offers more examples, obtained directly from the Otten family, in comparison to the material that can be found in the regional archives of Brabant-Noordoost in Veghel.
- <sup>88</sup> Woolderink, *Raalte*, p. 120-121.
- <sup>89</sup> De Vries-Van den Wall Bake, 'Pilotenhulp', p. 727.
- <sup>90</sup> Bussels, *De Doodstraf*, p. 162. Compare with Van der Graaf, *Rockanje*, p. 68; *Het Grote Gebod II*, p. 59.
- <sup>91</sup> Over 'Boy', see Schouten, 'Boy', passim; Brug, *Cel 601*, p. 70.
- <sup>92</sup> Schouten, 'Boy', p. 62.
- <sup>93</sup> For more information about the Smit-Van der Heijden group, see, i.e., Van Kemenade, *Hilvarenbeek*, pp. 72-73, 83-112; *Die Tirannie Verdrijven*; 'Zo was het toen', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 30 (September 1981), pp. 20-22; E. van der Heijden, 'Oorlogsherinneringen. Smeergeld', idem, No. 80 (March 1994), pp. 31-34. Further information was obtained from interviews with E. van der Heijden and Smit.
- <sup>94</sup> The German authorities had decided that after 25 July 1940 the 'Royal Marechaussee' must drop the designation 'royal' from their title, W. van den Hoek, *De Koninklijke Marechaussee*, pp. 133-134, 295.
- <sup>95</sup> Compare with De Graaff, 'Collaboratie', p. 98.
- <sup>96</sup> For more about Krauss, see Morton Whitby, *Courage*, passim. The book that was written by Krauss' husband does not do the truth justice. In the copy kept on file at the RIOD, Karst Smit and Eugène van der Heijden have given their commentaries and further clarifications.
- <sup>97</sup> About De Gier's anti-German feelings, see also Geerts, *Dagboek*, p. 176.
- <sup>98</sup> The help that was given at the Dutch-Belgian border to Pahud de Mortanges en De Jonge is also discussed in Van Ballegoijen de Jong, *Man*, p. 61; help to Linthorst Homan in M.B. Rinkes, 'H.P. Linthorst Homan 29 Mei 1905 to 3 Februari 1989', *De Schakel*, Year 11/No. 41 (April 1989), pp. 2-5. See also Van der Heijden, 'Jean Weidner'.
- <sup>99</sup> Der Kinderen, *Halifax*, pp. 50-51.
- <sup>100</sup> Willemse, 'Vanuit Meppel', p. 22; E. van der Heijden, 'Het verzet in ons dorp XIV', *De Hilverbode*, Year 18/No. 6 (7 February 1948), mentions 28 Allied airmen, 30 escaped French prisoners of war, and ca. 150 Dutchmen (Jews, students, illegitimate refugees and other *Engelandvaarders*); Smit speaks of 155 Jews, 88 French, 53 Allied airmen, and a number of other *Engelandvaarders*, interview with the author, 19 February 1994.
- <sup>101</sup> Van der Stok, *Oorlogsvlieger*, pp. 68-69.
- <sup>102</sup> Weidner, 'De weg', p. 737.
- <sup>103</sup> Over MI9, see, namely, Darling, *Secret Sunday*, passim; Foot/Langley, *MI9*, passim; Neave, *Saturday*, passim.
- <sup>104</sup> For more about this see, i.e., Douw van der Krap, *Contra de Swastika*, pp. 123-124; Hartog, *Officieren*, pp. 158-159; Neave, *They Have Their Exits*, pp. 86 v.v.; idem, *Saturday*, pp. 41-44.
- <sup>105</sup> Neave, *Saturday*, p. 77.
- <sup>106</sup> Foot/Langley, *MI9*, p. 183.
- <sup>107</sup> Neave, *Saturday*, p. 105.
- <sup>108</sup> See, e.g., Neave, *Saturday*, pp. 191-192.
- <sup>109</sup> Neave, *Saturday*, p. 159.
- <sup>110</sup> Langley, *Fight Another Day*, p. 188; Neave, *Saturday*, p. 263.
- <sup>111</sup> Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 146.
- <sup>112</sup> Neave, *Saturday*, pp. 182-183, 204-207; Strubbe, *Geheime Oorlog*, p. 371.
- <sup>113</sup> Neave, *Saturday*, pp. 262-272; Rep, *Englandsspiel*, pp. 240-252; Schreieder, *Englandspiel*, pp. 184-185; VER IVC, pp. 237-242; Visser, *De Zaak*, pp. 308-317.
- <sup>114</sup> For information about the activities of Kragt, Piller and their helpers, see, i.e., 'Kootwijkerbroek hield zich vooral bezig met hulp aan gesneakte geallieerde piloten', *Barneveldse Krant*, 12 May 1990; "Op het laatst moest je wel doorgaan, als ze je pakten zouden ze je toch doodschieten", ibidem, 19 May 1990.
- <sup>115</sup> For information about the cooperation between Kragt and Piller, see, i.e., VER IVA, pp. 274-275; VER IVC, pp. 1320-1323.
- <sup>116</sup> De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk VII*, p. 947; CAD-MvD, BI Eindhoven IS9, J.W. Kay aan Dobson, [date unknown].
- <sup>117</sup> De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk IX*, p. 960; 'Ter nagedachtenis van Maurice Kiek', *De Schakel*, Year 2/No. 6 (June 1980), pp. 8-9.
- <sup>118</sup> For information about Kirschen and his group, see, i.e., Kirschen, *Zes Vrienden*; Lagerwij/Plekkringa, *Ede*, pp. 228 v.v.
- <sup>119</sup> See, e.g., Boeree, *Kroniek*, pp. 126-139.
- <sup>120</sup> See, e.g., Snijders/Van Wijnen, *Zolang*, pp. 40-46. Hackett wrote his experiences down on paper: Hackett, *Stranger*, passim.
- <sup>121</sup> Hackett stayed temporarily with Lieutenant-Colonel Boeree. See, J.W. Hackett, 'I was taken inside ...', *Aan Th.A. Boeree*, pp. 17-22.
- <sup>122</sup> Writings by G. Welbedacht, dated 6 December 1978, cited in De Graaff/Marcus, *Kinderwagens*, pp. 73-74.

- <sup>123</sup> For the events taking place in the Ebbens family, see Van Ommeren, *Zoelen*, pp. 65-66.
- <sup>124</sup> Van der Have, *Kleine Kroniek*, pp. 70-71.
- <sup>125</sup> For information about 'Operation Pegasus', see, i.e., Heaps, *De Gans*, pp. 89-183; Neave, *Saturday*, pp. 358-382; idem, *They Have Their Exits*, pp. 159-165; Peelen, 't Begon, *passim*; W.H. Tiemens, 'Ontsnapping over de Rijn. Het relaas van een generaal en van een soldaat', *Terugblik*, Year 32 (1994), pp. 251-258; Van der Veer, *Operatie*, pp. 65-119.
- <sup>126</sup> Boeree, *Kroniek*, pp. 155-157; Caspers, *Luizen*, p. 87; Dekkers/Vroemen, *Herfst*, pp. 155-201; Willemesen, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant', p. 42; A. Korthals Altes, 'Woord vooraf', *Warrack, Tocht*, p. 8.
- <sup>127</sup> Blase (Ed.), *Studenten*, pp. 257 v.v.; Boeree, *Kroniek*, pp. 161-166; Dekkers/Vroemen, *Herfst*, pp. 226-235; De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk Xb*, p. 551n; Lagerwij/Plekkringa, *Ede*, p. 234; Van der Veer, *Operatie*, pp. 115-119.
- <sup>128</sup> Warrack, *Tocht*, p. 136.
- <sup>129</sup> Boeree, *Kroniek*, pp. 177-203; Heaps, *De Gans*, pp. 187-191; Lagerwij/Plekkringa, *Ede*, p. 237; Paul/St. John, *Surgeon*, pp. 121-139; Kubly, *One More River*, pp. 3-4; Tiemens, *Facetten*, pp. 143-148; Willemesen, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant', p. 42.
- <sup>130</sup> *VER IVB*, p. 72.
- <sup>131</sup> W.J.M. Willemesen, private communication, 15 February 1995; the number '70' mentioned in Caspers, *Luizen*, p. 90, is too high.
- <sup>132</sup> *Pilotenstraat*, *passim*.
- <sup>133</sup> Fey, *Verzet*, *passim*; Verburg, *Zierikzee*, pp. 25-31; Visser, *Zeeland*, pp. 67-70.
- <sup>134</sup> See, Brand, *Het Verzet*, pp. 97 v.v.
- <sup>135</sup> Boeree, *Kroniek*, pp. 262-264; Heaps, *De Gans*, pp. 199-215; Van den Hoek, *Biesbosch Crossings*, pp. 89-132; Korpel, *De Waard II*, pp. 101-103.
- <sup>136</sup> For their own description of their experiences after Arnhem, see Paul/St. John, *Surgeon*, *passim*; Warrack, *Tocht*, *passim*.
- <sup>137</sup> Van Loon, *Verzet*, p. 160. The 46 names are mentioned in Korpel, *De Waard III*, pp. 191-192.

#### Footnotes: The Organizations

- <sup>1</sup> Bloemhof, *Amersfoort*, pp. 220-221.
- <sup>2</sup> See Gevers, *Pyama-House*, pp. 102-103.
- <sup>3</sup> Jansen, *Sporen III*, pp. 251-252.
- <sup>4</sup> If not specified otherwise, for more information about 'pilot helpers' and their organizations in Limburg, see the extensive and reliable work of Cammaert, *Front*, pp. 233-367, which contains a good index. In other cases, attempts will be made to give as well as possible an introduction to the existing literature.
- <sup>5</sup> Regenhardt, *Leven*, pp. 162 v.v.; *VER IVA*, pp. 159, 408-412; *VER IVC*, pp. 631-633, 694-695, 698, 700-703, 969-972, 1193-1195, 1204-1211; Veteran, *Keizersgracht*, *passim*; Bussels, *De Doodstraf* pp. 225-227.
- <sup>6</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 257; Willemesen, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant', p. 40; Bussels, *De Doodstraf*, pp. 46, 247-248.
- <sup>7</sup> See Visser, *De Bezetter*, pp. 195-195; Visser, *De Zaak*, pp. 332-334.
- <sup>8</sup> Reitsma, *Tekens*, p. 139.
- <sup>9</sup> W.J.M. Willemesen, private communication, 15 February 1995. The number '74' given by Bussels in *De Doodstraf* is too high.
- <sup>10</sup> N.E. Lind, private communication, 14 February 1995.
- <sup>11</sup> Rijnhout, *In Dienst*, p. 266; N.E. Lind, private communication, 14 February 1995.
- <sup>12</sup> De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk VII*, p. 950.
- <sup>13</sup> Rijnhout, *In Dienst*, p. 294.
- <sup>14</sup> In *VER IVC* (pp. 971-971, interrogation N.E. Lind) and *ibidem* (p. 1195, interrogation J.M. Folmer) it has been said that Joke Folmer transported 320 persons, among whom were ca. 180 'pilots'. These numbers have also been used by De Graaff/Marcus, *Kinderwagens*, p. 72; De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk VII*, pp. 951-952. The 'pilots' discussed here fall into a broad category into which escaped prisoners of war can also be placed. The number of true airmen was at least seventy. Resistance museum, interview J. Folmer; private communication with J. Folmer, 27 January and 18 February 1995.
- <sup>15</sup> 'In memoriam Herman Folmer', *Orgaan van de Vereniging*, No. 46 (March 1985), p. 3.
- <sup>16</sup> For a brief description about the fate of their fellow comrades and a more extensive story about their return to The Netherlands from prison, see H. Roosenburg, *The Walls*.
- <sup>17</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 76. For more information about the Erkens-Renkin group, see the extensive description given by Van Lieshout, *Het Hannibalspiel*, *passim*.
- <sup>18</sup> De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk V*, p. 883.
- <sup>19</sup> Willemesen, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant', p. 40; idem, 'De doodstraf', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 42 (1984), p. 26.
- <sup>20</sup> Van Lieshout, *Het Hannibalspiel*, p. 195.
- <sup>21</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 96.
- <sup>22</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, pp. 97-98.
- <sup>23</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 240. Strangely enough Cammaert tells us convincingly elsewhere that the number of airmen helped by the Dresen group was twenty-two, *ibidem* p. 97.

- <sup>24</sup> For information about the Bongaerts group, see, e.g., Hoogeveen, 'Evaneens', pp. 90-93.
- <sup>25</sup> See, e.g., J. Vrij, 'Een aanslag', *Orgaan van de Vereniging*, No. 77 (December 1993), pp. 16-19; J. Vrij, 'Iets raadselachtigs', *ibidem*, No. 78, p. 21.
- <sup>26</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 330.
- <sup>27</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, pp. 330, 337; De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk VII*, p. 944.
- <sup>28</sup> When describing this group use has also been made of the interview with Vrij and the 'Rapport betreffende de pilotengroep Vrij (schuilnaam v.d. Brink) te Maastricht', recorded by Vrij; David, *They Helped Me*, pp. 34-63.
- <sup>29</sup> For information about the contact between Van der Noordaa and Bosch, see Hilbrink, *De Illegalen*, pp. 280-282. For Bosch, see also Schuitens, 'Zeg mij', p. 55.
- <sup>30</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 338; De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk VII*, p. 947, mentions a higher number of at least 120.
- <sup>31</sup> Bussels, *De Doodstraf*, pp. 157-159; Willemse, 'Pilotenhulporganisaties', p. 97.
- <sup>32</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, P. 320.
- <sup>33</sup> Bussels, *De Doodstraf*, pp. 161-162; Cammaert, *Front*, p. 329.
- <sup>34</sup> See the well-documented story told by Bussels, *De Doodstraf*, pp. 171-173. For more about Van der Stok, see his book *Oorlogsvlieger van Oranje*, Brickhill, *The Great Escape*, passim; Kock, *Vijfentwintig Jaar*, pp. 68-70. Van der Stok himself placed his passage address in Heer, where he went directly by row boat to Belgium, a fact that is improbable, because no one can reach Belgium with a simple rowing boat from Heer, Van der Stok, *Oorlogsvlieger*, pp. 137-138.
- <sup>35</sup> J. Derix, 'Inleiding'; Poels, *Mémoires*, p. II.
- <sup>36</sup> In Smedts, *Waarheid*, p. 197, it is refuted that this would happen as a result of sadness about the arrests of his two sons. It probably took place during a chase by the *CCD*. Cammaert in *Front*, p. 319, however, writes that the heart attack most probably occurred after Poels senior had learned that the *Arbeitskontrolldienst* from Venlo, who had earlier arrested two of his sons, was on the way to him.
- <sup>37</sup> Willemse, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant', p. 41. This number is much lower than the one given by Poels himself.
- <sup>38</sup> See, e.g., Cammaert, *Front*, pp. 136 v.v.
- <sup>39</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 137.
- <sup>40</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 138.
- <sup>41</sup> For information about the work of the Vermeeren family in Sevenum, see also Hendrikse, *De Dag*, pp. 117-123.
- <sup>42</sup> A different version about the first contact between Bouman and Van de Vin claims that Bou-
- man and his colleague P.P.H. Dekkers had followed a small group of refugees who had approached Van de Vin, Cammaert, *Front*, p. 161.
- <sup>43</sup> For information about the help given by Floorquin and Gertrude Moors to airmen coming from just over the border in Dutch Limburg, see in particular Rutten, *Oorlog '40-'45*.
- <sup>44</sup> Bussels, *De Doodstraf*, pp. 55-57, 62-63, 143, 145-146; Smedts, *Waarheid*, p. 170; Willemse, 'De doodstraf', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 42 (August 1984), p. 26. Cammaert in *Front*, p. 182, himself mentions a number approaching almost 1,000 escaped prisoners of war.
- <sup>45</sup> When the German authorities were about to intern the Dutch military officers in April 1943, a strike took place, especially in the eastern part of The Netherlands. The Western part of the country did not follow suit, as they had experienced in February 1941 how a strike against ill treatment of Jews was fiercely brought to an end by the Germans.
- <sup>46</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, pp. 162-163. The number of 1,100 Frenchmen who were transported to the border by Bouman mentioned in Poels' *Mémoires*, p. 313, is called 'grossly exaggerated' by Cammaert.
- <sup>47</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 169.
- <sup>48</sup> W.J.M. Willemse, private communication, 1 March 1995. Elsewhere the number '80' is used; see Cammaert, *Front*, p. 309; Derix, *De Bospartizanen*, p. 54; W. Willemse, 'Enkele reis Peel-Engeland', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 54 (September 1987), p. 31.
- <sup>49</sup> W. Willemse, 'Enkele reis Peel-Engeland', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 54 (September 1987), p. 31.
- <sup>50</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 144.
- <sup>51</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 301; Willemse, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant', p. 41.
- <sup>52</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 303.
- <sup>53</sup> Over het contact Haeck-Marang-Goossens-Tummers, see, e.g., Van Lieshout, *Aal*, pp. 196-198; Pape, *Donkere Jaren*, pp. 48-49.
- <sup>54</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 328.
- <sup>55</sup> Although De Peel partly falls within the area of Limburg, this region will be largely discussed here.
- <sup>56</sup> See, namely, Govers, *Pyama-House*.
- <sup>57</sup> Jansen, *Sporen II*, p. 91.
- <sup>58</sup> Zijlmans, *Oorlogsfraagmenten*, p. 102.
- <sup>59</sup> Govers, *Corridor*, pp. 150-151; Der Kinderen, *Halifax*, p. 88; Smedts, *Waarheit*, p. 200; Willemse, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant' p. 41.
- <sup>60</sup> About these people, see also Hooglugt, *Wij Wisten Niet*, pp. 35-41; Lavender/Sheffe, *The Evaders*, pp. 119-124; Poels, *Mémoires*, pp. 329-330.
- <sup>61</sup> Govers, *Pyama-House*, p. 36.

- <sup>62</sup> See Govers, *Pyama-House*, pp. 80-81, 86.
- <sup>63</sup> For information about the underground camp in Lierop, see C. Berkenbosch, 'Het nooit ontdekte onderduikerskamp', *De Telegraaf*, 4 May 1985; Joosen et al. (Eds.), *Geschiedenis*, pp. 73 v.v.
- <sup>64</sup> W.J.M. Willemse, private communication, 15 February 1995; Derix in *Vliegveld Venlo*, p. 214, mentions a number of '57' which is too high.
- <sup>65</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 325.
- <sup>66</sup> For information about their activities, see *Beelden uit de Bezettingsjaren: Boxtel*, pp. 63, 66.
- <sup>67</sup> *Beelden*, pp. 114-122; Oerlemans et al., *Oorlog*, pp. 77-80.
- <sup>68</sup> For information about 'pilot help' in Schijndel, see Van Berkum, *Het Verzet*, passim.
- <sup>69</sup> Brok, *Piloten Escapeline*, p. 7.
- <sup>70</sup> For information about Van Broekhoven, see in particular, Brok, *Piloten Escapeline*, passim.
- <sup>71</sup> Biographic data on Cornelissen-Verhoeven have in particular been taken from E. Hofker, *Vrouw*. For information about her group, see also Tilburg, pp. 71-72.
- <sup>72</sup> See Van Kemenade, *Hilvarenbeek*, pp. 113-116.
- <sup>73</sup> See, e.g., Jespers, *Witte Wolk*, pp. 148-149.
- <sup>74</sup> For information about this group, see, i.e., Buitkamp, *Verzet I*, p. 28; idem *Verzet II*, p. 41; Didden/Swarts, *Provinciestad*, pp. 140-142; Wijnen, *Dongen*, pp. 98-101, 120-122, 193.
- <sup>75</sup> 'De speurtocht begint pas', *Yearbook 78, 'The Escape'*, p. 41.
- <sup>76</sup> Willemse, 'De doodstraf', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 45 (June 1985), pp. 24-25.
- <sup>77</sup> Buitkamp, *Verzet I*, p. 28; Didden/Swarts, *Provinciestad*, p. 142; Wijnen, *Dongen*, p. 99.
- <sup>78</sup> Didden/Swarts, *Provinciestad*, pp. 146-148; Govers, *Pyama-House*, p. 37.
- <sup>79</sup> *Het Grote Gebod II*, pp. 61-62.
- <sup>80</sup> For a source-critical discussion about the resistance history of Coba Pulskens, see De Beer, *Zo Maar een Stad*, pp. 115-143; in addition, Goossens, *Coba Pulskens*, passim.
- <sup>81</sup> Roy E. Carter from Canada, Jack Stewart Nott from Australia and Ronald Walker from Great Britain.
- <sup>82</sup> For information about this group, see Oerlemans et al., *Oorlog*, pp. 64-81, (especially pp. 64-70 about 'pilot help'), Schouten, 'Boy', pp. 60-65; interviews with Van der Klei and Tensen.
- <sup>83</sup> For information about Haeck and his group, see in particular Cammaert, *Front*, pp. 204-206; Hilbrink, *De Illegalen*, pp. 140-142.
- <sup>84</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 205.
- <sup>85</sup> See also Pipes, *The Playboy Crew*, p. 46.
- <sup>86</sup> W. Rhebergen/P. Rhebergen, *Vermist*, p. 94.
- <sup>87</sup> For information about 'pilot help' in Lichtenvoorde, see Liemburg, 2-III-II RI, pp. 10-11; Rijnhout, *In Dienst*, pp. 86-87, 272, 275; H.A.H. Spaan, 'Lichtenvoorde weerstaat vijf jaar het Herrenvolk', Nederkoorn/Stork, *Er Op*, pp. 251-256.
- <sup>88</sup> National Archives, information from the Holland Office, 6801, MIS-X Detachment, APO 887, concerning G.H. Rietberg.
- <sup>89</sup> For information about this group, see Bommel, *Heino*, pp. 65-70.
- <sup>90</sup> Poorterman, *Stampende Laarzen*, pp. 77-94; Pipes, *The Playboy Crew*, pp. 23-24.
- <sup>91</sup> There is little known about this group. See *Vrij Zwolle*, pp. 48-51, 57-58.
- <sup>92</sup> See Vos, *Deventer*, p. 65.
- <sup>93</sup> 'De gemeente Gorssel tijdens de oorlogsjaren III', *Maandorgaan*, Year 16/No. 3 (March 1978), p. 91.
- <sup>94</sup> This information was also supplied to the author by W.J.M. Willemse, 17 February 1995. See also *De Gemeente Bergh*, non-paginated.
- <sup>95</sup> About Jacob Muller, see De Lange, *Vlucht*, pp. 8-16.
- <sup>96</sup> Van Baaijen, *Paradijs*, pp. 153, 156; Wybenga, *Bezettingstijd II*, p. 146. See also Stolk, *Onderduikers Paradijs*, pp. 29-30; 'De dood van Jo Leo Snoep', *Terugblik*, Year 23 (1985), p. 13.
- <sup>97</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 306. The following has been based, i.e., on an interview with Van den Hurk. See also Bakker, *Bezetting*, pp. 75-97; Poortman, *De Jaren*, pp. 144-153.
- <sup>98</sup> *Het Grote Gebod II*, p. 60; Der Kinderen, *Halifax*, p. 88. The American named Harry Clark was one of the people who stayed with De Groot. He documented his experiences using the name 'Harry Dolph' in *The Evader*.
- <sup>99</sup> Harry Clark (Dolph) also spent some time here.
- <sup>100</sup> For information about the arrest of Van den Hurk, see Bakker, *Bezetting*, pp. 78-97; 'Weer zien Amerikaanse piloot met vrienden uit Meppeler verzet', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 59 (December 1988), pp. 31-33.
- <sup>101</sup> Govers, *Pyama-House*, p. 28. For Mandell's story, see also W.J.M. Willemse, 'De doodstraf als risico. Nick Mandell voor D-day terug in Engeland', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 46 (September 1985), pp. 21-24. Further information was obtained from an interview with J. van Faassen on 25 January 1995.
- <sup>102</sup> Hof, *Frits*, pp. 258-259.
- <sup>103</sup> See, e.g., Wybenga, *Bezettingstijd II*, pp. 146-157, 244-251; Ypma, *Friesland*, pp. 242-247. The numbers of ca. 200-235 airmen in Friesland and the Noordoostpolder and ca. 80 in Drachten who were helped (see *Het Grote Gebod II*, p. 61, Ypma, *Friesland*, p. 242, A.A. Jansen with the co-operation of J. Folmer, 'Vluchtlijken en piloten-

- hulp', Niemeyer/Mulder (Eds.), *Verzet*, p. 169) were too high. See Section 4.9, in this book.
- <sup>104</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, pp. 266, 289, 348. Van der Staal, *Kappie Marie: een Held uit de Ondergrondse Beweging*, Amsterdam, 1945; *Het Laatste Bolwerk*, pp. 81-86.
- <sup>105</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 268.
- <sup>106</sup> Information about her can also be found at the RIOD, archive collection for the LO, CBI-B (Friesland), 'Het koeriersterswerk'.
- <sup>107</sup> Wybenga, *Bezettingstijd II*, p. 152.
- <sup>108</sup> Jansen, *Sporen II*, p. 310.
- <sup>109</sup> See, e.g., Davies, *A Leap*, p. 33; Govers, *Pyama-House*, pp. 91-92.
- <sup>110</sup> Van der Veer, *De Luchtoorlog*, pp. 219-220, 297.
- <sup>111</sup> For information about Lenglet and his group, see, i.e., De Nève, *De glorieuzen*, pp. 9-57; Visser, *De Jaren*, pp. 121-122, 164-171; Van der Wilk, *Ed. de Nève*, pp. 158-200.
- <sup>112</sup> Citation from a report that De Nève wrote in 1946, Van der Wilk, *Ed. de Nève*, p. 158.
- <sup>113</sup> Van der Wilk, *Ed. de Nève*, p. 158.
- <sup>114</sup> De Jong, *Koninkrijk IV*, p. 705, who based this on data communicated by Lenglet himself.
- <sup>115</sup> Neave, *Saturday*, p. 251.
- <sup>116</sup> About Van der Leek and his fate during the occupation, see *Libertas ex veritate*, pp. 77 v.v.; 'Harmen van der Leek', *Terugblik*, Year 24 (1986), p. 74. The last letter that he wrote on 17 November 1941, the day of his execution, is kept at the RIOD, document 11-800A, a-2.
- <sup>117</sup> For information about the activities of these three *provocateurs* against the 'pilot helpers', see in particular Van Lieshout, *Hannibalspiel*, pp. 200-210, 229-246, 268, 317, 324-325. In addition Visser, *De Bezzetter*, pp. 38-41.
- <sup>118</sup> Pape, *Sequel*, pp. 60-61.
- <sup>119</sup> In addition to the books by Pape regarding this, see also G. te Hennepe, 'Steenderen weerstaat den vijand succesvol', Nederkoom/Stork, *Er Op*, pp. 320-322.
- <sup>120</sup> De Nève, *De Glorieuzen*, pp. 51-52; Van der Wilk, *Ed. de Nève*, pp. 183-184.
- <sup>121</sup> De Jong, *Koninkrijk IV*, p. 705; *Koninkrijk V*, p. 793.
- <sup>122</sup> Hof, *Niet Schieten*, passim; De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk V*, pp. 862-864.
- <sup>123</sup> Information about Scharrer can be found, i.e., in Baarda/Valk, *Alkmaar*, p. 57; Visser, *De Jaren*, pp. 359-361.
- <sup>124</sup> ARA, Ministry of Justice London, Box 214, P III, No. 5565, N.J. Celosse, report concerning the escape of the 1st Lieutenant K. De Graaf and N.J. Celosse, 11 July 1944; See also idem, Box 202, P 74, No. 6032, W.F. Kremer, interrogation report.
- <sup>125</sup> For information about this little-known group, see Govers, *Pyama-House*, pp. 83-84; W. Willemens, 'De ontsnapping van John Fullerton', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 63 (December 1989), p. 33.
- <sup>126</sup> For information about Balder, see J. van Baar, 'Neergestorte geallieerde vliegtuigen en pilotenhulp', Van Baar et al. (Eds.), *Verzet*, pp. 130-131, 137; Van Tongeren, *Beknopt Historisch Verslag*, p. 14.
- <sup>127</sup> For information about Ter Galestin, see, e.g., Giltay Veth/Van der Leeuw, *Rapport*, pp. 1231-1237; *VER IVC*, p. 1401.
- <sup>128</sup> See concerning the last one, *Gedenkboek van bet Verzet der Delftsche Studenten*, p. 112.
- <sup>129</sup> For information about Schrader, see in particular Pinto, *De Fuik*, pp. 238-263; H. van Liempd, 'Via Dordt naar Engeland', *Dordrecht 1939-1945 III*, pp. 100-107; *VER IVA*, pp. 276-279; F.M. Beukers, 'Zij die het niet haalden', *De Schakel*, Year 10/No. 40 (December 1988); A.B. Schrader, 'Jacob van Grondelle', *De Schakel*, Year 12/No. 45 (April 1990). For information about Schrader's involvement with help to airmen, see, i.e., E. Reijnders, 'Belevenissen'; idem, 'Mike Mora was hier', *Orgaan van de Vereniging*, No. 65 (December 1989); F.M. Beukers, 'Tuck Away', *De Schakel*, Year 8/No. 31 (Oktober 1986), pp. 17-19; H. Soeters, '13 mei 1943: De nacht dat Dutchy's DX-W (Willy) neerstortte', *Rotterdams Nieuwsblad*, 5 May 1986. In ARA, 2.09.06, Ministry of Justice London, in boxes 214 and 215 can be found a large number of reports concerning people who thanks to Schrader crossed to England.
- <sup>130</sup> Burger, *Oorlogsdaagboek*, pp. 18-20, 234; Van Esterik/Van Tijn, *Jaap Burger*, pp. 28-29.
- <sup>131</sup> Casey, *War*, p. 187; Kamminga, *Grijpskerk*, pp. 96-97; Parnell, *Carpetbaggers*, pp. 114-115; Persico, *Piercing*, pp. 204-206. Reports on the attitude of Dutch authorities towards Schrader being sent into the field are held in the National Archives, Washington DC, record group 226, entry 148, box 26, folder 384, Frank B. Jek to J. Creedy, 6 July 1945.
- <sup>132</sup> For information about 'pilot help' in Overschie, see Van den Hoek, *Biesbosch-Crossings*, pp. 133-134; M. Kooij, *Om Niet te Vergeten*, pp. 43-49; interview with A. Ockers.
- <sup>133</sup> Kooij, *Om Niet te Vergeten*, p. 49.
- <sup>134</sup> For information about 'pilot help' in Zeeland, see in particular Van der Ham, *Zeeland II*, pp. 205-210.
- <sup>135</sup> Van der Ham, *Zeeland II*, p. 209; Rijnhout, *In Dienst*, p. 235; W.J.M. Willemens, 'De ontsnapping van John Fullerton (2)', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 64 (March 1990), pp. 31-33.

- <sup>136</sup> Van der Ham, *Zeeland II*, p. 209.
- <sup>137</sup> Sporen, p. 103; J. van der Woude, 'Vijf uit velen', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 66 (September 1990), pp. 22-27; No. 67 (December 1990), pp. 20-26; No. 68 (March 1991), pp. 39-44; No. 69 (June 1991), pp. 25-29; No. 70 (September 1991), pp. 28-34.
- <sup>138</sup> For information about this group, see J.M. Goppel and P.E. de Wit, 'Twee October 1944: Het drama Groot Schuylenburg', *Apeldoorn Monument*, pp. 61-69; Meijer, *55 Namen*, pp. 53-55.
- <sup>139</sup> On this penetration see *Naoorlogse rechtspraak 947*, pp. 119-121.
- <sup>140</sup> For information about this camp and the refugees hidden there see, e.g., Nijnatten-Doffegnies, *Geheim Dorp*, passim; Visser, *Het Verscholen Dorp*, passim; Visser, *Onderduikers*, pp. 105-106, 159-161.
- <sup>141</sup> For information about the Klooster family, see 'Huis van Klooster groeide uit tot "verzetsnest"', *Barneveldse Krant*, 20 October 1990; 'Familie Klooster ving de piloten Bastow en Voss gastvrij op', *ibidem*, 27 October 1990.
- <sup>142</sup> For information about the Hein group, see, 'Groep Hein verzorgde zo'n honderd onderduikers', *Barneveldse Krant*, 23 June 1990.
- <sup>143</sup> Compare with Davies, *A Leap*, p. 46, to whom the English New Testament was given during his underground stay in Oosterwolde.
- <sup>144</sup> For a discussion on the problem of numbers of airmen helped, see, i.e., W. Willemse, 'De doodstraf als risico', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 42 (August 1984), pp. 23-29.
- <sup>145</sup> Poels, *Mémoires*, Smedts, *Waarheid*.
- <sup>146</sup> Cited and criticized in Cammaert, *Front*, p. 320.
- <sup>147</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 192.
- <sup>148</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. III.
- <sup>149</sup> Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 146.
- <sup>150</sup> *Het Grote Gebod II*, p. 61; Ypma, *Friesland*, p. 242; A.A. Jansen with the cooperation of J. Folmer, 'Vluchtlagen en pilotenhulp', Niemeijer/Mulder (Eds.), *Verzet*, p. 169; Schaaf, *Laarzen*, p. 203.
- <sup>151</sup> The numbers concerning locations where helped airmen came down were calculated as follows. In 1990 Willemse studied in particular 1,012 cases of assistance given to Allied airmen (Willemse, 'Bijdrage', pp. 25-26). Of these, the crash site for 134 was not known. In 29 cases the airman had come down in Germany, thus beyond the Dutch border. It was possible to designate to which province the remaining 849 cases belonged: the numbers for the population are from De Graaff/Marcus, *Kinderwagens*, p. 120;

those for participation with the resistance generally from *ibidem*.

Province	Helpers		Crash areas for 849 Allied airmen <sup>C</sup>
	Airmen (≤ 8) <sup>A</sup>	Airmen (> 8) <sup>B</sup>	
Gelderland	521	72	142 <sup>D</sup>
Overijssel	356	27	166 <sup>D</sup>
Noord-Brabant	333	54	200
Zuid-Holland	265	37	57
Limburg	256	70	67
Noord-Holland	232	16	25
Friesland	151	5	65
Utrecht	143	17	36
Drenthe	69	1	42
Groningen	51	1	16
Zeeland	49	1	33

<sup>A</sup> The numbers for individuals who helped ≤ 8 airmen are based on data concerning 2,426 Dutch men and women who offered their help to Allied aircraft personnel, within The Netherlands, and therefore were awarded the Eisenhower certificate.

<sup>B</sup> The numbers for individuals who helped > 8 airmen are based on data concerning 301 Dutch men and women who offered their help to Allied aircraft personnel, with The Netherlands, and therefore were awarded the Medal of Freedom.

<sup>C</sup> Further information in this footnote.

<sup>D</sup> This includes the Noordoostpolder.

<sup>152</sup> For an overview of aircraft shot down, see Derix, *Vliegveld Venlo II*, pp. 332-343.

<sup>153</sup> Schaaf, *Laarzen*, pp. 195-196.

<sup>154</sup> Niemeijer, *Groningen*, p. 72.

<sup>155</sup> Compare also with De Graaff/Marcus, *Kinderwagens*, pp. 74-75, 128.

<sup>156</sup> Compare also with De Graaff/Marcus, *Kinderwagens*, pp. 74-75, 128.

<sup>157</sup> Compare also with De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk V*, p. 833.

<sup>158</sup> Klumper, *Sociale Verdediging*, p. 116.

<sup>159</sup> Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 69; Foot, *Resistance*, p. 40; Foot/Langley, *My*, p. 63; P. Louyet, *Belië*, p. 78; Touw, *Het Verzet I*, p. 556.

<sup>160</sup> Blanken, *Groenlo*, p. 76; Hanson, *Sprong*, pp. 67-72.

<sup>161</sup> Touw, *Het Verzet I*, pp. 556-557.

<sup>162</sup> Delleman, *Opdat Wij*, p. 350.

<sup>163</sup> Delleman, *Opdat Wij*, pp. 259-261.

<sup>164</sup> See, e.g., Bolleboom, *Op 5 Mei*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>165</sup> See, e.g., Pape, *Sequel*, p. 36.

<sup>166</sup> Bodewes, *Buigen*, p. 121. See also ‘De B24 Liberator van Lhee/Dwingeloo’, *Terugblik*, Year 29, pp. 47-48; ‘Nogmaals de B24 Liberator van Lhee/Dwingeloo’, ibidem, p. 165.

<sup>167</sup> Kraaijenbrink, *Politierapport*, pp. 122-123.

<sup>168</sup> Jellema, *Herinneringen*, p. 174.

<sup>169</sup> See, e.g., Boeree, *Kroniek*, p. 136; Bolleboom, *Op 5 Mei*, p. 206.

<sup>170</sup> Foot/Langley, *MI9*, p. 73.

<sup>171</sup> Rossiter, *Women*, p. 220.

<sup>172</sup> The percentage of women who were members of the Comet Line and died was less than 35. Verhoeven, *België*, p. 284.

<sup>173</sup> Rossiter, *Women*, p. 24.

<sup>174</sup> De Graaff/Marcus, *Kinderwagens*, p. 95, 127.

## Footnotes: Continuation and Results

<sup>1</sup> W.J.M. Willemse, private communication, 12 and 17 February 1995. See also Foot/Langley, *MI9*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Verhoeven, *België*, p. 279; idem, ‘La route’, pp. 93-94.

<sup>3</sup> Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> Bussels, *De Doodstraf*, pp. 182-183.

<sup>5</sup> For more information about these lines, see Strubbe, *Geheime Oorlog*.

<sup>6</sup> W.E. Armstrong, “De ‘Cornet’ hielp hen naar huis”, *Nieuwsbulletin*, Year 2/No. 7 (26 April 1976); Cosgrove, *The Evaders*, pp. 25-39; Foot/Langley, *MI9*, pp. 79-82, 141-145; Jouan, *Comète*, passim; Langley, *Fight*, pp. 165-171, 186-188; Louyet, *België*, pp. 75-79; Neave, *Little Cyclone*, passim; Neave, *Saturday*, pp. 157-229; Rémy, *La Ligne de Démarcation, Réseau Comète* (3 volumes), Paris, 1966-1971; Rossiter, *Women*, pp. 24-31; Strubbe, *Geheime Oorlog*, pp. 190-203; Verhoeven, *België*, pp. 283-288.

<sup>7</sup> Commentary from Donald Darling, from *MI9*: “It was perhaps a merciful release from the tortures of the Gestapo”, Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 103.

<sup>8</sup> Rossiter, *Women*, p. 31. Compare with Cammaert, *Front*, p. 246; Strubbe, *Geheime Oorlog*, pp. 191-192; Verhoeven, *België*, p. 284; Willemse, ‘Pilotenhulporganisaties’, p. 96. In Der Kinderen, *Halifax*, pp. 105-108, the official list speaks of 184 persons, nearly all crewmen of Allied aircraft, who were helped across the Pyrenees mountains between August 1941 and the end of 1943. Among these men, 80 were guided by Dédée during her eighteen trips to Spain, Neave, *Saturday*, p. 199; Strubbe, *Geheime Oorlog*, p. 195. The complete list has been printed in Jouan, *Comète*, pp. 188-193. In Onderwater’s *Reis* is a description of the last trip made by airmen through the Comet

Line on 6 June 1944. Their journey had begun in The Netherlands.

<sup>9</sup> Verhoeven, *België*, p. 284.

<sup>10</sup> Verhoeven, *België*, pp. 284-285, speaks of 155 dead. This number was also written in Jouan, *Comète*, pp. 179-187. Strubbe, *Geheime Oorlog*, p. 191, and Willemse, ‘Pilotenhulporganisaties’, p. 98, speak of 216 people.

<sup>11</sup> Neave, *Little Cyclone*, p. 187.

<sup>12</sup> The experiences of Brusselmanns have been described in Hornsey’s *Rendez-vous* 127 as well as by her daughter in Y. Daley-Brusselmanns, Anne Brusselmanns.

<sup>13</sup> According to information given to Willemse by F. Strubbe, she helped 37 airmen move southward. Willemse, private communication, 19 February 1995; in ‘New Books Anne Brusselmanns – My Mother’, *The Air Forces Escape and Evasion Society 1993, Summer Communications*, p. 7, the number 137 is too high. ‘Anne Brusselmanns’, *Le Courier SRA 1993*, No. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Strubbe, *Geheime Oorlog*, p. 138.

<sup>15</sup> Information about the Dutch-Paris Line can be found especially in H. Ford, *Flee the Captor*, J.H. Weidner, ‘De weg naar de vrijheid’, *Onderdrukking en Verzet III*, pp. 730-739; CAD-MvD, Ministry of War London, Cabinet, Inventory no. 68A, Order No. 24, file 996A/44, report J. Weidner, 17 November 1944. See also H. Sandberg, ‘Interview met kapitein Weidner. Hoe de Hollanders door Frankrijk werden gesmokkeld’, *Internationale Informatie-bladen. Bijlage bij Vrij Nederland*, Year 3, No. 8 (23 February 1946).

<sup>16</sup> Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 134.

<sup>17</sup> See Roegholt, *De Geschiedenis*, pp. 38-39, 322-323.

<sup>18</sup> For information about this Dutch section of the Dutch-Paris Line, see “Harry en Co Guyt vertellen: ‘Ik kon niet alleen maar toekijken’”, *Ik Kon*, p. 54.

<sup>19</sup> For Aan de Stegge, see in particular Aan de Stegge, *Internationaal Geheime Dienst*, passim; Van Lieshout, *Aal*, pp. 345-354.

<sup>20</sup> For information about this episode see, i.e., Aan de Stegge, *Internationaal Geheime Dienst*, pp. 93-104.

<sup>21</sup> Ford, *Flee the Captor*, p. 365; Willemse, ‘Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant’, p. 41; Willemse, ‘Pilotenhulporganisaties’, p. 97; De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk VII*, p. 930. In the Central Archive Depot ... etc., report J. Weidner, 17 November 1944. Weidner himself speaks of ca. 100 airmen who were helped by his group. In Weidner, ‘De weg’, p. 737, he writes that his group helped 118 ‘Americans’.

<sup>22</sup> See, e.g., “Belinde Thöne-Siemens vertelt: ‘We leefden in angst en onzekerheid’”, *Ik Kon*, p. 63.

- <sup>23</sup> For information about Lindemans, see in particular Dekkers, *King Kong*, passim; De Graaff, *Spion*, passim.
- <sup>24</sup> Ford, *Flee the Captor*, pp. 243-244.
- <sup>25</sup> For information about his activities on behalf of the Allies, see in particular De Graaff, *Spion*, passim.
- <sup>26</sup> Braddon, *Nancy Wake*, passim; Brome, *The Way Back*, passim; Caskie, *Pimpernel*, passim; Foot/Langley, MI9, pp. 73-79, 138-141; Langley, *Fight*, pp. 151-164; Louyet, *België*, pp. 79-83; Neave, *Saturday*, pp. 91-156; Strubbe, *Geheime Oorlog*, pp. 169-174.
- <sup>27</sup> Darling wrote about his experiences in *Secret Sunday* and *Sunday at Large*, London, 1977.
- <sup>28</sup> Strubbe, *Geheime Oorlog*, p. 169, and Willemse, 'Pilotenhulporganisaties', p. 95, speaks of the number 400; Neave, *Saturday*, pp. 26, 156, mentions 600; Verhoeven, *België*, p. 289, speaks of 450 people, mainly airmen.
- <sup>29</sup> Willemse, 'Pilotenhulporganisaties', p. 98.
- <sup>30</sup> Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 110.
- <sup>31</sup> Dumais, *Operatie*, passim; Neave, *Saturday*, pp. 275-303; Rossiter, *Women*, pp. 77-102.
- <sup>32</sup> Neave, *Saturday*, pp. 233-261; Rossiter, *Women*, pp. 35-42; Wynne, *No Drums*, passim.
- <sup>33</sup> Foot, *Resistance*, p. 245.
- <sup>34</sup> Langley, *Fight*, pp. 205-224; Neave, *Saturday*, pp. 305-354; Strubbe, *Geheime Oorlog*, pp. 402-411.
- <sup>35</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 343. Compare with Van Ojen, *De Binnenlandse Strijdkrachten*, pp. 116, 120.
- <sup>36</sup> De Graaff, 'Collaboratie', pp. 95-97.
- <sup>37</sup> Neave, *Saturday*, p. 22.
- <sup>38</sup> De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk VII*, p. 923. Afterwards a number exceeding 2,000 was mentioned. Der Kinderen, *Halifax*, p. 91.
- <sup>39</sup> *Het Grote Gebod II*, p. 386.
- <sup>40</sup> *De Vrije Stem*, 7 September 1946, mentioned in Willemse, 'De doodstraf', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 42 (August 1984), p. 23.
- <sup>41</sup> Weidner, 'De weg', p. 736.
- <sup>42</sup> Willemse, 'De doodstraf', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 42 (August 1984), pp. 27-28.
- <sup>43</sup> Willemse, 'De doodstraf', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 42, (August 1984), p. 28; Willemse, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant', p. 42.
- <sup>44</sup> Cammaert uses, partly based on information from Willemse, nearly identical numbers: in Limburg at least 345, in Noord-Brabant ca. 225 and in Zeeland ca. 35 airmen who were helped; Cammaert, *Front*, p. 345.
- <sup>45</sup> Willemse, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant', p. 42.
- <sup>46</sup> De Vries-Van den Wall Bake, 'Pilotenhulp', pp. 722-723; compare with Neave, *Saturday*, p. 181.
- <sup>47</sup> Bussels, *De Doodstraf*, p. 258; Strubbe, *Geheime Oorlog*, pp. 160-161, 526.
- <sup>48</sup> At the end of the war, De Zitter and his mistress Florentine Giralt went underground in Germany. On 28 June 1946, they were detained and on 21 September 1948 executed by firing squad.
- <sup>49</sup> In 1947 Van Muylem and both of his colleague went on trial in Antwerp. Van Muylem was sentenced to death and executed on 29 May 1948 in Brussels. Pauline Vlaming and Maria Verhulst were sentenced to life imprisonment. Verhulst committed suicide on 17 September 1945 by taking poison after her arrest. While awaiting for her case to be tried in a higher court of appeal, Vlaming was able to escape to The Netherlands. She was sentenced to death in absentia. At the end of 1950 she was arrested in her house in Yerseke. During her trial in Breda in June 1951, in which her participation in the arrest and death of Miet Cornelissen-Verhoeven and the Marechaussee Gerritsen and Van Gestel was brought to light, she was condemned to 15 years in prison by the *Bijzondere Strafkamer* (special court) of the district court of Breda.
- <sup>50</sup> Le Neuve was tracked down by the resistance and killed after the liberation of France.
- <sup>51</sup> See Murphy, *Turncoat*, passim. After the war, Cole went to work for the American Secret Service in Germany. In September 1945, he was arrested by the British. They took him to a prison in Paris from which he eventually escaped. When another attempt was made to arrest him, a gun fight took place in which Cole was killed.
- <sup>52</sup> Lahey, cited in Poels, *Mémoires*, p. 307.
- <sup>53</sup> Klaassen, *Zij Kwamen*, p. 84.
- <sup>54</sup> Langley, head of the MI9 in Western Europe, wrote in 1983 that, in his opinion, in any case no more than 500 airmen escaped The Netherlands towards the south; written by Langley to Willemse, 20 January 1983, related in Willemse, 'De doodstraf', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 42 (August 1984), p. 28; Willemse, 'Pilotenhulp, spannend maar riskant', p. 42.
- <sup>55</sup> Willemse, 'De doodstraf', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 42 (August 1984), p. 28.
- <sup>56</sup> The estimated 4,000 to 8,000 escaped Belgian and French POWs who were helped to reach Belgium by the Dutch have not been included in this calculation, De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk VII*, p. 956; *Het Koninkrijk Xb*, p. 544.
- <sup>57</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, p. 345.
- <sup>58</sup> See, e.g., Foot, *Resistance*, pp. 311-312; Foot/Langley, MI9, p. 38; Neave, *Saturday*, p. 24; Oerlemans, *Oorlog*, p. 64.
- <sup>59</sup> Der Kinderen, *Halifax*, p. 7.

- <sup>60</sup> Cammaert, *Front*, pp. 131, 235, 353; De Vries-Van den Wall Bake, 'Pilotenhulp', p. 723. However, it is known that at least two airmen were shot down over The Netherlands twice., A.A. Jansen in cooperation with J. Folmer, 'Vluchtlijken en pilotenhulp', Niemeijer/Mulder (Eds.), *Verzet*, p. 160. This concerns, i.e., the Czech fighter pilot named Otto Smik; see Schotman, *Zij Vielen*, pp. 93-107.
- <sup>61</sup> Darling, *Secret Sunday*, p. 70.
- <sup>62</sup> Neave, *Saturday*, pp. 251-252.
- <sup>63</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs, London Archive/Secret Archive/DZ/BI 16(10), Messages about The Netherlands, help to Allied airmen, notations by Van Weede for Van Kleffens, 18 February 1944, supplement by Van Kleffens to Tets van Goudriaan, 29 February 1944. With gratitude to M. van Faassen, who brought this notation to my attention.
- <sup>64</sup> Foot/Langley, *M19*, p. 83; Neave, *Saturday*, pp. 21, 26, 181; Poorterman, *Stampende Laarzen*, p. 86; Strubbe, *Geheime Oorlog*, p. 192. George Duffee, whose Halifax crashed in The Netherlands during the war, said in 1975: "You knew that down below were unknown friends who stood ready to get you to safety and that gave a feeling of peace. It was as if you had been given a second armored coat." W.E. Armstrong "De 'Comet' hielp hen naar huis.", *Nieuwsbulletin*, Year 2, No. 7 (26 April 1976).
- <sup>65</sup> See, e.g., S.A. Garrett, *Ethics and Airpower in World War II. The British Bombing of German Cities*. New York, 1993; A. Korthals Altes, 'Barbaarse bombardementen', *NRC Handelsblad*, 11 July 1981; 'Documentaire wekt wrevel Queen Mother', *De Volkskrant*, 5 August 1994; 'Crucible of War', *Bulletin of the Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War*, 1994, pp. 4-7.
- <sup>66</sup> See, e.g., Hanson, *Sprong*, pp. 136-137; Van Tricht, *Onderduikers*, p. 76.
- <sup>67</sup> Jellema, *Herinneringen*, p. 187.
- <sup>68</sup> Schaaf, *Laarzen*, p. 193.
- <sup>69</sup> Korthals Altes, *Luchtgevaar*, pp. 324, 329; Meulenbelt, *De Duitse Tijd*, pp. 226, 232; compare with De Jong, *De Bezetting II*, pp. 110-111.
- <sup>70</sup> For an overview of the bombings which resulted in the largest loss of life, see Korthals Altes, *Luchtgevaar*, pp. 332-333.
- <sup>71</sup> Diemer, *Op den Rand*, pp. 183-184.
- <sup>72</sup> See, e.g., Van Baren, *Bommen*.
- <sup>73</sup> See, e.g., B. Kemp/K. Kemp, *Beklemmende Jaren*, p. 42.
- <sup>74</sup> Van der Ham, *Zeeland II*, p. 205; De Jong, *De Bezetting II*, p. 111; Onderwater, *Mobilisatie*, pp. 319-320. See also criticism in the underground paper *Katholieke Kompas* on the speech of Van Lokhorst, with the title 'Geëxploiteerd leed', printed in Plantema, *Nijmegen*, p. 144.
- <sup>75</sup> Smedts/Troost, *Nacht*, p. 87.
- <sup>76</sup> Van Kampen, *Burgers*, p. 112.
- <sup>77</sup> Korthals Altes, *Luchtgevaar*, pp. 298-300.
- <sup>78</sup> See, e.g., Diemer, *Op den Rand*, pp. 60, 127, 129, 188-189.
- <sup>79</sup> Van Soest, *Frontstad*, p. 155.
- <sup>80</sup> The airmen were Harold Killian and Henry Schulz.
- <sup>81</sup> De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk VII*, p. 955.
- <sup>82</sup> *Het Grote Gebod II*, p. 62.
- <sup>83</sup> Der Kinderen, *Halifax*, p. 88.
- <sup>84</sup> Willemse, 'De doodstraf', *Nieuwsbulletin*, No. 45 (June 1985), p. 22.