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OPERATION MARKET GARDEN THE BATTLE OF ARNHEM SEPTEMBER 1944

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OPERATION MARKET GARDEN – THE BATTLE OF ARNHEM SEPTEMBER 1944

INTRODUCTION

Operation Market Garden was a bold plan designed to push Allied ground forces across several river barriers and into Northern Germany with the hope of shortening the war. After landing in Normandy in June 1944 the Allies had first consolidated their foothold in France and then, in August, had broken out of the coastal area and inflicted a series of crushing defeats as enemy forces rapidly retreated eastwards towards Germany itself. By September 1944 the Allies had swept across Northern France into parts of Belgium and Holland, although several pockets of enemy resistance remained. Emboldened by the success of the campaign so far the push towards Germany appeared to many observers to be a race between the British forces led by Montgomery and American forces led by Patton. After much discussion Montgomery persuaded Eisenhower to back his strategic plan to advance into the North German Plain by way of a combined thrust through southern Holland to the strategic river-crossing point over the Rhine at Arnhem and then on to the Ruhr.

The plan was for a combined assault by airborne and ground forces along a narrow but extended front that would capture key bridges at Son, Veghel, Grave, Nijmegen and, lastly, Arnhem. Airborne forces would be parachuted or delivered by glider to the battle areas at the same time as a strong armoured column supported by infantry would advance from the south to link up with the airborne troops within two or three days. The American 101st Airborne Division was to be dropped just north of Eindhoven to capture bridges at Son and Veghel; the 82nd Airborne Division was to be dropped further north to take the bridges at Grave and Nijmegen; while the 1st British Airborne Division, with the Polish 1st Independent Parachute Brigade, was to drop at Arnhem. The ground-based element of the operation consisted primarily of XXX Corps with the Guards Armoured Division leading in the 43rd Wessex and 50th Northumbrian Infantry Divisions. The plan depended on surprise, speed and firepower to achieve its ultimate aim of providing a crossing over the Rhine at Arnhem, some 60 miles from the start point of the ground forces. It was a plan that needed all elements to work like clockwork with very little margin for error, deviation or delay. Unfortunately, despite Montgomery's insistence that it was "90% successful", the plan failed and no strategic advantage was gained at great cost to the Allied Airborne Army. The reasons for the failure have been discussed and analyzed ever since the battle took place and this makes Market Garden a good case study for Staff College exercises, military strategists and historians.

It should be remembered that Operation Market Garden consisted not simply of the battle at Arnhem but was a series of battles involving ground and airborne forces that took place along the corridor to the south of the town as they fought their way to link up with the 1st British Airborne Division. Some books on Arnhem include the whole operation while others limit themselves to the fighting in and around the town itself but to put Arnhem in its proper context the entire campaign needs to be understood. One feature that comes out strongly in all the literature on Market Garden is that although the operation was a dismal and very costly failure, the courage and sacrifice of those who took part, British, German and Dutch, stands out as a remarkable feature of this campaign.

BOOKS

The Battle – Major Works

A good starting point for the study of any campaign or battle is normally the published official history. However, the account by **ELLIS**, at less than 30 pages, is rather too succinct and also, perhaps, too 'official' with little of the criticism of faulty planning or leadership or the disregard of intelligence information that later authors tend to highlight.

A number of authors have produced good quality accounts of Operation Market Garden. It is difficult to pick out one particular title that stands out above the rest but the books by Bennett, Buckingham, Clark, Harclerode, Middlebrook, Powell, Ryan, Whiting and, of course, Urquhart all give good accounts of the plans, the events, and the outcome of the battle. One of the earliest and still one of the most highly regarded accounts is **RYAN'S A Bridge Too Far**. Skilfully written by a great narrator with good historical knowledge, the book was used as the basis for a major feature film of the same title. Like Ryan's book, **POWELL'S** work also covers the entire campaign linking the sloggish fight up the corridor from Eindhoven to the desperate struggle to survive at Arnhem. **HARCLERODE'S**

book *Arnhem*, written 10 years later than Powell and 20 years after Ryan, also provides a useful account which benefits from a serving soldier's military analysis of the operation. **MIDDLEBROOK** confines himself almost entirely to the battle at Arnhem itself which is a great pity as it is a very well researched and readable account that incorporates into the narrative the remembrances of around 500 of the British participants of all ranks thereby providing a vivid picture of the events. Most reviewers agree that Middlebrook's account is one of the best books on the subject. **WHITING** also provides a reasonable general account of the fighting in Arnhem. **URQUHART'S** book is both a personal and a divisional history of the battle of Arnhem and is a candid and comprehensive account of the events by the General who was responsible for directing operations on the ground at Arnhem.

In recent years there have been new books by Bennett, Buckingham and Clark that have significantly added to the knowledge and analysis of Market Garden and have challenged some of the myths that have grown up, in many cases encouraged by previous authors. **BUCKINGHAM** gives a narrative of the events but also provides analytical insight into the reasons for failure starting with the flawed planning assumptions that left no margin for error; the underestimation of German resistance (partly due to disregard of intelligence information but also to an overwhelming desire to proceed with the operation no matter what); and the slow progress of XXX Corps, in part self-inflicted. He also challenges the accepted wisdom surrounding such issues as the non-functioning radios (they had never worked properly in any previous airborne operation), the RAF's reluctance to drop over Arnhem itself; the combat capabilities and record of the 1st Airborne Division; and the motives of senior commanders who directed the operations with General Browning coming in for particular criticism.

Sandhurst lecturer **CLARK** has produced two books on Arnhem. The first, subtitled *Operation Market Garden*, published in 2002 is fairly standard general fare but his latest published book, published in 2008 and subtitled *Jumping the Rhine*, is more comprehensive, analytical and useful in that it does not stop at Arnhem but proceeds to cover the Rhine crossing of March 1945, thereby placing Market Garden in context. Like Middlebrook, Clark chooses to colour the narrative with comments from participants and also uses many quotations from previously published accounts. Another of the most recent additions to the ever-increasing literature on Arnhem is **BENNETT'S A Magnificent Disaster**. Although it is now becoming difficult to say anything new about Market Garden Bennett does tread less well travelled ground by assigning failure not so much to individual leaders but to the British Army's doctrine, structure and training as a whole, claiming that it was ill-suited to this type of operation. The author assumes a fair working knowledge of the operation and, surprisingly, doesn't include a map so it is probably a book to read after one has digested one or other of the classics on Arnhem. Bennett's appendices are very interesting as they focus on the logistics of the operation, the air force role, comments by the intelligence officer who was dismissed by Browning, and the disgraceful treatment of the Polish General Sosabowski after the event. A facsimile copy of official documents relating to the 21st Army Group during 1944 has been produced titled **OPERATION MARKET GARDEN AND THE BATTLE OF ARNHEM**. This includes reprints of 21st Army Group orders, correspondence and historical narratives including those for XXX Corps and the 1st Airborne Division during Market Garden.

Aside from the important works mentioned above there are several other books devoted to Market Garden. These range from the slim and now somewhat dated offerings of **FARRER-HOCKLEY** and **TUGWELL**, to the slightly more substantial books by **HARVEY**, **JACKSON** and **PIEKALKIEWICZ**. All give a fairly general, standard account of the events at Arnhem. Another slim volume is the bi-lingual work by **ALTES** and his Dutch colleagues which gives a brief account of the battle together with many well-captioned photographs. The book by **TOUT** tells the story of Market Garden but concentrates on the fighting in the Lower Maas area following the main battles in Arnhem and Nijmegen. It is often overlooked that for several months the area of Limburg and North Brabant was the scene of numerous small-unit actions intended to reinforce the Allied occupation of the corridor leading towards Arnhem.

An altogether different publication of recent years is the immense two-volume work edited by **MARGRY** and published by After the Battle Magazine. Produced in the publisher's usual 'then and now' format this is more than just a comparison of the Market Garden battleground of 1944 with today. The work provides an incredibly detailed and comprehensive history of the campaign, albeit concentrating very much on the tactical events and with little in the way of analysis.

The failure of the radio communications at Arnhem is usually given as one of the main causes for failure and **GOLDEN**, the Adjutant of 1st Airborne Divisional Signals provides his view on this issue in his history of the battle of Arnhem. While admitting the poor performance of the radios used, he rightly points out that the disaster at Arnhem was the result of multiple factors acting together.

The Polish part in the Arnhem battle has been touched on many times but the book by **CHOLEWCZYNSKI** remains the only major work devoted solely to the topic. Fortunately it is well written and offers some fascinating insights into the relationship between Sosabowski, the Polish airborne commander, and his British colleagues and includes Browning's vitriolic memo to the Deputy CIGS that resulted in Sosabowski's removal from command.

Two earlier offerings should also be mentioned. **BAUER and BOEREE** give a good account of the battle at Arnhem using German sources as well as British. **HIBBERT'S** book is also a well-researched account but its usefulness is limited by its lack of detail compared with many later works. Both books restrict themselves to the planning and events at Arnhem with barely a mention of the fighting elsewhere during the operation.

Among the smaller booklets is the series published by Leo Cooper under the series title Battleground Europe. In fact their small physical size is deceptive as some of these publications consist of up to about 200 pages. There are five booklets in this series that relate to Market Garden, all written by either **SAUNDERS** or **STEER**; two cover in some detail the landing grounds at Oosterbeek and the bridge at Arnhem while the others cover The Island, the 82nd and 101st Airborne Division and the Guards Armoured Division.

Mention must be made in this section of the excellent book by **KERSHAW** which is the only major account written about Market Garden primarily from the German point of view. Using archival documents and first-hand information from German soldiers of all ranks the author gives a fascinating insight into the battles from the 'other side of the fence' and highlights that it was the rapid and effective German reaction that was the root cause of the failure of the British forces at Arnhem. Written by an officer in the Parachute Regiment who attended the Fuehrungsakademie and served an exchange tour with the German Army, the author is uniquely qualified to write this book.

The Battle – Shorter Accounts

There are many concise accounts of Operation Market Garden or elements of the battle that appear as discrete chapters or sections in books of more general coverage. Among the better accounts in this category is the book by **HOLMES**, written to accompany his television series on major battles, which not only presents a good strategic account of the operation but also reviews previously published works on the subject. The chapter by **KOSNETT and NOFI** also focuses on the strategy but also has some useful facts and figures together with a concise list of the causes of failure. **BJORGE** uses Arnhem to illustrate the time factor in warfare when the disruption of tight timetables can affect the entire outcome of a battle. A similar theme is also mentioned by **ANDIDORA** in a brief assessment of Market Garden in his book on the Allied offensives of 1944. **WILMOT'S** epic but now dated history also includes a chapter on Arnhem. In a more recent book **NEILLAND** devotes three chapters to explore the controversies that have grown up around Market Garden, particularly the slow progress of XXX Corps, the distance that the 1st Airborne Division was dropped from Arnhem, and the Guards Armoured Division's advance north of Nijmegen.

A few books devote chapters to specific aspects of Market Garden. The story of the Polish Independent Parachute Brigade at Arnhem is told in the recent book by **KOSKODAN**. The logistical difficulties faced during the operation are discussed by **JONES** and also in the official British Army history on maintenance in the field by **CARTER and KANN**. The shadowy role of Phantom, the British secret intelligence regiment, is told by **PARLOUR**, who relates Phantom's efforts to provide radio communications at Arnhem.

Two very good American accounts of Market Garden are the US Army's official history by **MacDONALD** and the history of US airborne operations by **HUSTON**. Both books are well researched accounts that include major sections on the American part in the Market Garden operation and complement the (mainly) British accounts of the battle at Arnhem. The official history puts Market Garden into context, at least as far as the US Army is concerned, as it is a comprehensive

history of the war in Europe during the last quarter of 1944. Huston's opening chapter is devoted to Market Garden as a preamble to his story of the development of US airborne operations.

Among the many other general books on World War Two history that include reasonable and concise accounts of Market Garden are those by **ANDERSON**, **BADSEY** (in Guard's book on airborne operations), **CLARK** (a chapter in Badsey's book of battle plans), **DAVID** (a book on military blunders), **MACKSEY** (ditto), **GLOVER**, **McKEE** (a book on assaults on the Rhine in 1940, 1944 and 1945), **MERGLIN**, **PERRETT**, and **THOMPSON** (Imperial War Museum publication).

Battlefield Tour Guides

The growing popularity of battlefield tours and staff rides has resulted in, and in turn been encouraged by, the availability of commercially published battlefield guides. Among the better publications on Operation Market Garden the most comprehensive is by **HOLT** whose series of battlefield guides are well known. **WADDY'S** book is also a useful guide but confines itself to the battle in and around Arnhem while the more general guide by **BOOKMAN** and **POWERS** includes a chapter on the operation.

Airborne Operations

Books on the airborne aspect of Operation Market Garden tend to fall into three, often overlapping, categories. Firstly, there is a body of work on airborne forces in general, many of which have major sections devoted to Market Garden. Secondly there is an equally important collection of books on glider-borne warfare which, although an integral part of airborne operations during the Second World War, appears to have a distinct persona, possibly because of its short-lived and very specific use in several key battles. Lastly there are a growing number of books devoted to the often overlooked part played by the RAF and USAAF air transport and air support forces during the Operation.

It is fortunate that there are two official histories of the airborne forces, one from the British Army and one from the Royal Air Force, that devote major sections to the Arnhem operation. **OTWAY'S** War Office history puts the blame for the failure squarely on the RAF for not dropping the troops close enough to the bridge and spreading the drop over several days claiming that "The intelligence information supplied to 1 Airborne Division was sketchy and inaccurate" and that excessive reliance was given to photographic interpretation of the defences around Arnhem. The **AIR MINISTRY** history agrees with the desirability of delivering all forces in one lift and also that, with hindsight, the dropping and landing zones should have been closer. It also addresses the problems encountered during the re-supply phase due to the poor communication between the operation's planners in the UK and 2nd Tactical Air Force on the Continent which was to supply air support for the ground troops and protection for the vulnerable transport aircraft. One of the more interesting conclusions is that gliders are seen as becoming redundant as most heavy equipment can be dropped by parachute. In addition to these official histories the USAF Historical Division produced a well-balanced monograph by **WARREN** on airborne operations that uses Operation Market Garden as a case study.

Non-official histories that include useful accounts on the airborne operations at Arnhem include those by **ARTHUR**, who bases his account on interviews with participants, **BLANDIFORD**, who also uses first-hand reminiscences, and **GREGORY** who provides a solid, factual account of the events at Arnhem. One other book worth mentioning is **TANNER'S** collection of official RAF manuals relating to aircraft and gliders used in airborne operations which illustrates just how basic and unsuitable some of the aircraft were that took part in this role. The book by **CUMMINGS** concentrates on British casualties and awards, as well as on aircraft and units.

A fair number of books have been written over the years about the use of assault gliders during World War Two, most of which have devoted considerable space to Operation Market Garden. Books by **DEVLIN**, **LYNCH**, **MRAZEK** and **WOOD** (*History of the world's glider forces*) cover the history of military glider units, equipment, personnel and operations of both Allies and Axis forces and are useful as they illustrate the development of gliders by the British, German, Russian and American forces. Devlin and Mrazek have more extensive accounts of Market Garden than the other titles. **WOOD'S** other book (*The glider soldiers*) follows up on his earlier book by concentrating only on British glider forces and operations with a useful chapter devoted to Arnhem. Another book focused only on British operations is that by **WRIGHT** who, as an RAFVR officer and pre-war glider pilot, offers a rare insight into the development of the British glider forces during World War Two. A more popular and less useful account of British glider operations is given by **LLOYD**. **LOWDEN** presents an American

perspective of glider operations as he flew a Waco CG-4 glider to Nijmegen during Market Garden. **DANK** was also an American glider pilot and he uses the remembrances of some of the participants to relate the actions of USAAF glider operations during Market Garden and elsewhere.

There have been two general histories of the British Army's Glider Pilot Regiment, the earliest written by **CHATTERTON** who was the Regiment's second commanding officer who took over after his predecessor was killed in a glider accident. Colonel Chatterton took part in the Arnhem assault and was captured during the operation. **SMITH'S** history of the Regiment also has an air of first-hand authenticity as he was a glider pilot and also captured at Arnhem. These two books give a useful view of the same events from two ends of the Regimental spectrum. A recent book by **PETERS and BUIST** concentrates on the experiences of the Glider Pilot Regiment at Arnhem and contains a wealth of very comprehensive and detailed information supplemented by an excellent collection of annexes. This book will probably be the most authoritative history of the glider forces at Arnhem for some years to come.

Despite the immense effort and the huge sacrifice of the Allied air transport forces during Market Garden surprisingly little had been published about this aspect in book form until recent years. The official account of the RAF's transport effort is given in the **AIR MINISTRY'S** *Airborne Forces* volume but the Arnhem section is fairly brief although some useful conclusions and statistics are provided. To compensate for the paucity of information in the official history the Dutch author **VAN HEES** has produced two immensely detailed and well researched books on the Arnhem airlift. *Green on!* covers the parachute operations while *Tugs and Gliders to Arnhem* covers the glider-borne assault. The incredible amount of facts and figures and first-hand accounts in these two books add greatly to the often bald accounts of Arnhem presented in other histories. An even more recent publication is the story of the Stirling airborne forces squadrons by **WILLIAMS**. The author gives a good blow-by-blow account of the initially successful landings and the subsequently disastrous re-supply effort. **FROST** (*The RAF and me*) was a navigator with one of the Stirling squadrons and he provides a brief first-hand account of the Arnhem operation from his vantage point.

Three books provide good accounts of the role of the USAAF's C-47 Dakota-equipped troop carrier units during Operation Market Garden. These are particularly useful as they complement the books mentioned in the previous paragraph, all of which concentrate on the RAF effort at Arnhem. The wide-ranging history of the troop carrier squadrons by **YOUNG** includes an account of Market Garden with short contributions by some of the participants. **INGRISANO** provides the history of the 316th Troop Carrier Group which took part in the 82nd Airborne Division drop at Nijmegen. **WOLFE'S** account is even more specific, telling the story of the 81st Troop Carrier Squadron which dropped men of the 101st Airborne Division at Eindhoven. On a more general level **SHAMA** includes a chapter on Market Garden as a part of his broader history of US airborne operations during World War Two.

Very little has been published about the air support role of the 2nd TAF during Market Garden. This is unfortunate as it was one of most controversial aspects of the operation. **SHORES and THOMAS** provide a day-by-day account of the 2nd TAF during the period of the Arnhem operation but this only gives a brief glimpse of the part played by the fighters and fighter-bombers. Even rarer are accounts of the Luftwaffe's response to Market Garden. The operation is barely mentioned in any of the major Luftwaffe histories and only a fragmentary idea of the German air operations can be gauged from **LORANT and GOYAT**.

Intelligence

The intelligence available to the planners of the operation and the interpretation of the information has been a matter of great debate ever since the battle took place. The misuse of intelligence information, particularly the information provided by Ultra indicating a build-up of enemy forces in and around Arnhem, is certainly one of the major lessons that many authors have drawn from Market Garden. The lack of trust placed on the information being provided by members of the Dutch resistance is more understandable as by September 1944 it was known that the SOE network in Holland had been thoroughly infiltrated by the enemy. The intelligence aspect of the operation is mentioned in almost every account of the battle but a number of general books on military intelligence also mention Arnhem, albeit briefly. The intelligence issue is highlighted by **BENNETT** (*Ultra in the West*), **CASEY, KIST**, and **WINTERBOTHAM**, all except Casey focusing on the vital information provided by Ultra. The extent of the secret intelligence information provided by Ultra was not known by **LAURENS** whose 1969 account of the operation focuses on the role of the Dutch Resistance and

concludes that the ‘unexpectedly’ strong German reaction to the airborne landings was due to treachery.

Unit Histories

Many divisional and regimental histories devote pages to their part in Operation Market Garden. Among the divisions that took part in the campaign the three XXX Corps Divisions: the Guards Armoured Division (**ROSSE and HILL**), the 43rd Wessex Division (**DELAFORCE’S** *The Fighting Wyverns* and **ESSAME**), and the 50th Northumbrian Division (**CLAY**) as well as the 3rd Infantry Division (**DELAFORCE’S** *Monty’s Iron Sides*) of VIII Corps all include relevant information.

The bulk of regimental historical works that cover Arnhem are those of the airborne troops who took part, particularly the Parachute Regiment which formed the core of the airborne assault. The most comprehensive general history of the Parachute Regiment is by **HARCLERODE** (*Para!*) but the history by **SAUNDERS** (*The Red Beret*) is the most detailed on the Arnhem campaign while the books by **CANMER**, **NORTON**, **PARKER**, **REYNOLDS** and **THOMPSON** (*Parachute Regiment at war*) all have chapters on the Regiment’s disastrous experiences at Arnhem. A more specific and more personal account is given by **PEATLING’S** history of the 2nd Battalion of The Parachute Regiment while the story of the 21st Independent Parachute Company, the pathfinders who arrived first to pinpoint the landing zones, is told by **KENT**. The story of the Airborne Division’s organic armoured support as delivered by the huge Hamilcar gliders is told by **FLINT** while the story of the RAOC and RASC personnel who flew as air dispatchers with the RAF at Arnhem and provided valuable logistics support is told in some detail by **STEER** in *The Fight to Sustain*. Books on the Glider Pilot Regiment are covered in the Airborne Operations section.

A small number of other regimental histories include chapters or sections relating to Market Garden including the Grenadier Guards (**NICOLSON & FORBES**), the Irish Guards (**FITZGERALD**), the 4th/7th Royal Dragoon Guards (**STIRLING**), the Border Regiment (**SHEARS**), the Wiltshire Regiment (**McMATH**), and the 1st Airborne Reconnaissance Squadron (**FAIRLEY**). **GREEN** devotes an entire book to the 1st Battalion, the Border Regiment’s part in the airdrop and subsequent fighting. Some of the artillery units involved in the airborne landings and in the armoured thrust along the corridor from the south are represented by **KILN**, **WHATELY-SMITH** and, most comprehensively, by **WILKINSON**.

As for the American Airborne Divisions that took part in Operation Market Garden, their role is covered by two very good histories: **NORDYKE** for the 82nd Airborne Division and **KOSKIMAKI** for the 101st Airborne Division. These books provide much detail on the battles for the bridges south of Arnhem.

The Commanders

Many of the senior commanders, as well as some more junior commanders who also played a crucial role, have written about Operation Market Garden either in memoirs or in campaign histories. Brief biographical information on the airborne commanders can be found in the book by **DOVER** who was a Parachute Regiment company commander at Arnhem. **MONTGOMERY**, as the architect of the operation, covered it in his history of 21 Army Group. Here he places the blame for failure squarely on the air forces, stating that “Had the 1st Airborne Division received its planned measure of reinforcement and re-supply, together with the full scale of support from the air, I am confident that the result would have been different.” He then went on to claim that “The battle of Arnhem was ninety percent successful”, an assertion that has been ridiculed by most authors ever since. Monty’s biographer **HAMILTON** in two of his major works adds more balance and goes a long way to explain the thinking behind Montgomery’s concept for the operation as well as providing a fascinating insight into the relationship between the major players.

Unfortunately General Browning has not been the subject of any biographical work (although he is mentioned in Dover’s book). However, Browning’s 1st Airborne Division commander, Urquhart is the subject of a sound biography by **BAYNES** as well as having written his own history of the battle (already mentioned). A good part of the biography by Baynes is devoted to the battle of Arnhem and Urquhart is treated sympathetically and fairly. Of Urquhart’s Brigade commanders only **HACKETT** has written an autobiography, however, this is largely confined to his capture and subsequent escape, thanks to a courageous Dutch family, and return to British lines. A much more complete biography is provided by **FULLICK**. Lt Col John Frost’s 2nd Parachute Battalion was the only unit from the 1st

Airborne Division to reach the bridge at Arnhem. **FROST** wrote two books; *A Drop Too Many* being an autobiographical account of his Army career which includes a chapter on Arnhem. In his preface he gives his views on the reasons for the failure; spreading the air assault over several days; dropping too far from the bridge; the misuse of intelligence on German strength; the failure to use the Dutch underground movement; problems with communications; and the lack of priority given to the capture of the Nijmegen bridge. Frost's other book *Nearly There* consists of reminiscences of peacetime life and has nothing specifically about Arnhem however, it is a useful book through which to properly assess one of the central characters of Market Garden. **SOSABOWSKI**, the commander of the Polish Parachute Brigade wrote an autobiography that has a chapter devoted to Arnhem. His relationship with some of the British commanders was strained and his realistic approach to warfare and outspoken opposition to several aspects of the Market Garden plan made him deeply unpopular with Browning in particular.

The two American airborne division commanders, **GAVIN** and **TAYLOR** have both written their memoirs and give their insight into Market Garden from their own point of view. Gavin's first book *Airborne Warfare* is basically a primer on airborne operations using Second World War battles as case studies. His later book *On To Berlin* is much more of a personal memoir and having jumped from one of the lead aircraft he was in the action at Groesbeek from the very start. Taylor's chapter on Arnhem in his memoirs *Swords and Ploughshares* is tantalizingly brief but his son Jack **TAYLOR**, provided a little more information in *An American Soldier*, although more personal input by the General himself would have been useful. Gavin and Taylor's superior General Matthew **RIDGWAY** gives his brief comments on Market Garden in his memoirs and expresses his disappointment in not being given command of the airborne forces for the operation. **BLAIR** expands on Ridgway's comments and also offers several good reasons why Ridgway was overlooked. Despite its title Blair's book is actually less a biography on Ridgway and more a history of US airborne forces during the Second World War.

Although the majority of autobiographical accounts came from the airborne commanders, mention must also be made of the two books by **HORROCKS**, the commander of XXX Corps. In *Corps Commander* he confines himself to his wartime experiences, with a major section devoted to Arnhem, while *A Full Life* is a more comprehensive autobiography that places Arnhem into context along with other wartime and peacetime events in the author's life. **ADAIR**, the commander of the Guard's Armoured Division, also wrote his memoirs including a chapter on Market Garden in which he frankly admits errors in underestimating the difficulties facing the advance along the narrow corridor over difficult terrain as well as the strength of the German defences.

Personal Accounts

Some of the personal accounts relating to Market Garden merge into the regimental history category and vice-versa, also some of the books in the Commanders section can also be considered as personal accounts or memoirs.

There are several books written by soldiers who had taken part in Operation Market Garden and who relate their experiences in varying detail. From the airborne soldiers one of the most fascinating accounts is that by **SIMS** who was one of the survivors of Frost's battalion that fought at the bridge itself and who was ultimately captured. Other very useful accounts by airborne troops include those by **BLOCKWELL** (of the King's Own Scottish Borderers), **LONGSON** (Border Regiment) and **ALFORD** who tells the story of Sergeant Major Lord (Parachute Regiment). The account by **MAWSON** also gives a fascinating insight into the fighting at Arnhem, in this case seen through the eyes of a Regimental Medical Officer with the 11th Parachute Battalion. Less useful are the books by **ANGUS** (real name Geoffrey Powell) and **STAINFORTH** in that names have been changed and some events have been sanitised "for the sake of relatives". The pilots of the Glider Pilot Regiment fought alongside the airborne infantry as soon as they landed and **HAGEN'S** account is primarily concerned with events on the ground from the landing to his eventual escape across the Rhine during the evacuation. Another unique account is given by **SIMPSON** who tells the story of Len Wilmott, one of the Special Forces signallers who was one of the few able to provide communications from within the Arnhem perimeter.

Several of the Arnhem participants concentrate on their escape or capture and incarceration. **DEANE-DRUMMOND** of Airborne Divisional Signals made it across the Rhine only to be captured but then escaped and, assisted by a Dutch family, evaded back to Allied lines in November. **WARRACK**, who was the Division's Senior Medical Officer, was also captured but later managed to escape and evade

back across the Rhine, again with Dutch assistance. **HEAPS** tells the story of his own escape and his part in helping to organise the escape and evasion of hundreds of Arnhem survivors in the months after the battle. **ROBERTS**, a REME Lieutenant, was less fortunate and spent the rest of the war as a prisoner.

All accounts of Operation Market Garden praise the Dutch civilians caught up in the events, either during the fighting or the aftermath in assisting the escape and evasion of British soldiers. A few accounts by Dutch authors have been translated into English, the most famous of which is the tiny book by Kate Ter **HORST**, known by the airborne troops as the '*Angel of Arnhem*' for her kindly and courageous actions in caring for the wounded during the battle. With her permission her house was taken over as a regimental aid post and she helped tend over 250 soldiers under the most difficult circumstances. The Dutch Resistance, although greatly mistrusted by the British due to its known infiltration by the Germans, did provide an immensely useful service, particularly after the battle when it facilitated the return of many hundreds of soldiers who escaped capture. The book by **MARTENS and DUNLOP** tells the story from the point of view of the Dutch underground movement.

Personal accounts of the operations outside of Arnhem are scarcer but include autobiographical accounts from **FRASER** (Grenadier Guards with the Guard's Armoured Division), **HENNIKER** (Royal Engineers with the 43rd Division), **JARY** (Somerset Light Infantry), **TAYLOR** (*Infantry Colonel* - commanding officer of the 5th Battalion, Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry) and **WILSON** (Irish Guards). A number of Canadian Army officers took part in Market Garden while embedded with British units and their story is told by **SMITH** in *Code Word CANLOAN*. Of the autobiographies written by US paratroopers who took part in Market Garden the books by **MEGELLAS** (82nd Airborne Division) and **WEBSTER** (101st Airborne Division) are among the most useful.

PAMPHLETS

A small number of pamphlets or less substantial works contain some useful information on Operation Market Garden. **BADSEY'S** *Arnhem 1944* (recently republished as *A Bridge Too Far: Operation Market Garden*) gives a good account of the operation together with clear maps and order of battle information. The even briefer Pitkin Guide by **EVANS** and his colleagues reviews the operation in a day-by-day account together with a couple of clear, simplified maps of the battle. The paper by **GREEN** also gives an overall review of the battle and draws lessons to illustrate the Principles of War while **ABBATIELLO** draws out the lessons from Market Garden that were applied to the successful crossing of the Rhine in Operation Varsity six months later. The British official history of the 1st and 6th Airborne Divisions, **BY AIR TO BATTLE**, relates the story of Arnhem but it was written very soon after the event, probably even before information from German sources or returning British POWs could be incorporated into the narrative. Brigadier **MACKENZIE**, the GSO of the 1st Airborne Division, wrote a brief account of the battle to which is appended a report by Major General Sosabowski who gives an account from the Polish point of view. These accounts are quite factual and give little insight into the personal experiences or thoughts of these two principal characters.

A number of authors have specialized in particular aspects of the campaign. **SKEAT** looks at the German Army's ability to respond to the airborne invasion by forming ad hoc battle groups, an aspect that was greatly underestimated at the time. **CARBIS** has produced an extensive report on the contribution of the Royal Engineers to the battles at Arnhem and Nijmegen while **THURING** has compiled a detailed account of the crossing of the Waal at Nijmegen by the 82nd Airborne Division.

Operation Market Garden is often used as a campaign study at Staff Colleges and other teaching establishments, particularly as the campaign holds many valuable lessons for military planners that are as relevant today as they were in 1944. **COCHRAN** identifies 11 key lessons from the campaign and explains that the experience at Arnhem had an impact during the planning of British operations during Iraqi Freedom in 2003 and is embedded in British military doctrine. Lessons are also drawn out in the paper by **UNSWORTH** who analyses the reasons for failure and concludes that the most important lesson from Arnhem is the enduring requirement for rigorous planning of military operations even under the most difficult circumstances.

The command and leadership aspects of Market Garden have also been explored in Staff College student papers. **SCHULTZ** uses Market Garden as a case study in his paper on military decision making which uses prospect theory to explain decision making under risk. **SEMMENS** also looks at

decision making but studies the strategic decisions that linked grand strategy through military strategy to campaign design and how other factors influenced the decision to mount Market Garden.

The controversial topic of the use, or misuse, of intelligence is occasionally addressed by Staff College students and the paper by **BRADLEY** concludes that while intelligence analysts did a reasonable job the strategic and operational planners should bear some of the responsibility as they pressed on with the plan regardless and the author blames Montgomery for the failure. **JEFFSON** concentrates on the part played by Ultra intelligence concluding that it was largely ignored, again placing the onus on Montgomery who had been made aware of the full extent of the German units based in and around Arnhem. Montgomery also comes in for criticism by **PIPER** who delves into the intelligence planning for Market Garden in some depth, looking at the overall plan, the terrain, weather and the intelligence cycle whereby information was collected, processed and disseminated. Communications is another subject that is often cited as a cause of failure and **ALLEN'S** unpublished paper (which includes a personal assessment by John Frost) concentrates on communications in its widest sense from the failure of tactical radios to work properly to wider issues such as communications between major HQs. The paper by **GREENACRE** looks at the failure of signals communication at Arnhem in some depth and concludes that the problem lay with the procedures used at the time rather than the equipment itself, the limitations of which were well known.

The air power aspect of Operation Market Garden is covered by a small number of Staff College papers and concise official histories. **SPENCE** studies Allied and Axis airborne operations in the period leading up to Arnhem and which had an impact on the development of airborne doctrine. He concludes that four crucial aspects featured in successful airborne operations: surprise, intelligence, communications and tempo, only the first of which was notably present at Arnhem. **WINSTANLEY'S** paper (reprinted in RAF Air Power Review) assesses the role of air power during Market Garden and concludes that the Allied capability was un-coordinated and under utilised and did indeed contribute to the failure of the operation. The official report on Market Garden, **AIRBORNE ASSAULT ON HOLLAND**, was originally produced soon after the event by the United States Army Air Force (reprinted in 1992) and is quite dated but it is supplemented by a brief account in **BILSTEIN'S** more recent and more general history of US airlift and airborne operations during the Second World War. A vivid personal account of the operation is provided by **AMMERMAN**, an American glider pilot who flew missions during D-Day and the Rhine Crossing and who landed with the 101st Airborne Division at Son after a difficult flight through bad weather.

ARCHIVES

The JSCSC Library Archives contain a small number of very useful original documents concerning Operation Market Garden. A concise general history of the operation is given in **ACCOUNT OF THE OPERATIONS OF SECOND ARMY IN EUROPE 1944-1945** produced by General Dempsey's HQ in August 1945. Another brief account is given in **NOTES ON THE OPERATIONS OF 21 ARMY GROUP** which traces the Group's progress from D-Day to the end of the War. Section 4 of this document consists of 10 pages supplemented by two maps devoted to the Arnhem operation in very general terms. This report repeats Montgomery's claim of the operation being 90% successful with the blame for failure being placed on bad weather causing delays to the airborne plan. A much more substantial report of the campaign was produced by 21 Army Group as **OPERATION MARKET GARDEN**. This 122-page document goes into great detail about the planning, execution and lessons learned from XXX Corps' role in the campaign. The report cites poor weather, the planning process, communications and air support as major contributors to the outcome of the operation. An operation order from the **GUARDS ARMoured DIVISION** is preserved as a separate document.

The 1st British Airborne Division produced an extensive **REPORT ON OPERATION MARKET** which includes operation orders and instructions, intelligence summaries, the air plan, signals and medical instructions, and culminating in a war diary outlining the actual events from the landing to the final withdrawal. This is supplemented by numerous annexes that include brief after-action reports and a detailed report (CONF 4074D) supplemented by reports from Divisional intelligence, engineers, signals, and medical officers. This series of documents provides the most detailed official account of the plans and actions of the 1st Airborne Division. A diary of events by **1 AIRBORNE DIVISION SIGNALS** has been preserved as a separate document to the main report.

Although the Polish Parachute Brigade was included in the 1st Airborne Division report, the Poles were asked to compile their own report titled **THE ACTION OF THE FIRST POLISH INDEPENDENT PARACHUTE BRIGADE GROUP IN ARNHEM-DRIEL**. Dated by a covering letter of 4 December 1944 this day-by-day report is incomplete as it could not cover the fighting on the northern bank of the Rhine as many of the troops had been captured and were not yet available for debriefing.

The RAF's contribution to Market Garden is provided by a concise section in the **AIR HISTORICAL BRANCH** narrative which is simply an extract from the **AIR MINISTRY'S** *Airborne Forces* monograph. The report by **SCARLETT-STRATFIELD** adds some further detail to this report and includes statistics showing the air effort during the landings and subsequent re-supply. The report concludes with a lengthy analysis of lessons learned. An interesting personal account of Market Garden is given by Maj T I **TOLER**, who was Officer Commanding 'B' Squadron, Glider Pilot Regiment. His typewritten diary starts with preparations for the mission, the flight to Arnhem where he landed his Horsa accurately on the LZ, the fight with the airborne infantry and his swim across the Rhine to freedom on 24 September. This vivid first-hand, no holds barred account provides a real flavour of the battle from beginning to end.

PERIODICAL ARTICLES

There are many articles in a wide variety of periodicals and magazines that are relevant to Operation Market Garden. Many of these are written by participants while some are general histories that offer either a concise account of the battle or concentrate in more depth upon a particular aspect or feature.

Among the better general accounts of the operation are those by **CLARK, RAMSEY** (*Arnhem*), and **WOOLFORD** while articles by **BENTLEY, BURNEY, HOYER, JARY** (plus the follow up piece by 'CARBUNCLE') **MASSENGILL** and **THIEME** offer less of an historical review but a greater degree of analysis and review of the lessons drawn from the campaign.

Particular aspects of the battle are the focus of other authors including **CHERRY** and **NIDEROST** who both concentrate on the capture and defence of Arnhem Bridge by John Frost's 2nd Battalion, The Parachute Regiment. **BROOKS** tells the story of the men of the South Staffords who made a desperate attempt to reach the Bridge to reinforce the 2nd Battalion. Articles by **BRADBEER** and **RICHARDSON** concentrate on the role of British artillery during the operation with Richardson recounting the actions of the field artillery units which supported XXX Corps while Bradbeer tells the story of the Royal Artillery's 1st Airlanding Light Regiment that was airlifted into Arnhem and was almost wiped out during the battle. Information on the role of the American field artillery, much of which was parachuted in at Son and Nijmegen, is provided by **GLASS**. Some aspects of the Royal Engineers' work during Market Garden is available in the article **BRIDGING AND RAFTING TO ARNHEM** while the evacuation of the survivors from the Arnhem perimeter is covered by **BENNETT** in an article titled **PEGASUS AND WYVERN**.

The role of intelligence in airborne operations is highlighted by **WILKINSON** who uses Arnhem and the German invasion of Crete as examples where intelligence was used or misused resulting in very different outcomes for the airborne forces. The communications failures are addressed by **GREENACRE** (in a reprint of his Staff College paper) and **PRODGER** in his prize-winning essay, both of which largely agree as to the causes and consequences of the failure in signals communications at Arnhem. Articles from the German perspective at Arnhem are, regrettably, very rare with only **KERSHAW** writing in recent times with his article on Kampfgruppe Spindler. A translation of a contemporary article in a German newspaper by **PAULI** was reprinted in Military Review within a few months of the battle.

The purely air power aspects of Market Garden are covered in a number of periodical articles. An official account of the role of air power in Market Garden is provided by **COX** of the Air Historical Branch who concludes that Arnhem demonstrated both the supremacy of Allied air power in 1944 and the limitations posed by weather and command and control issues. Writing 20 years later, **RITCHIE**, also of the Air Historical Branch, reinforces Cox's position and states that the causes of failure were far deeper and more fundamental than inadequate air support over the battlefield. This view is not shared by **WINSTANLEY** whose Staff College paper reprinted in RAF Air Power Review cites Arnhem as a failure in joint planning and execution. **HOBSON** provides a concise day-by-day account of the airborne operations throughout Market Garden including the supporting bomber and fighter support and includes statistics on sorties flown and aircraft lost. The article **MARKET GARDEN AIRLIFT**

AND RESUPPLY reprints the daily intelligence summaries issued by 38 Group during its participation in the Arnhem operation.

A few personal accounts from or about airmen have been produced as periodical articles including those by **ENRIGHT**, who tells the story of a Stirling pilot who flew several sorties to Arnhem. The three articles by **JOHNSTON** give his vivid account of flying a Horsa glider into Arnhem and then fighting alongside the Airborne troops until his capture at the end of the battle. The story of Flt Lt David Lord, a Dakota pilot of 271 Squadron, is told in some detail by **MARGRY**. Lord sacrificed his life in trying to keep his burning aircraft airborne long enough for his crew to escape and was posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross. Two articles that deal with US airlift during Market Garden are those by **FULLER**, who focuses on the role played by weather during the air operation, and **CURRERI**, a C-47 crewman who tells of being shot down behind enemy lines and evading capture.

AUDIO-VISUAL

The best known title of audio-visual media is the feature film **A BRIDGE TOO FAR** which was based on Ryan's book of the same title. Opinions differ as how accurate this film is as a portrayal of the events and the characters and it must be remembered that it was intended for entertainment rather than an historical teaching aid. Having said that it does include all the major elements of the operation and is a useful overview of the battle. An earlier film, **THEIRS IS THE GLORY**, was shot on the actual battlefield just after the end of the war and is what is now known as a drama-documentary with the scenes being re-enacted by some of those who took part in the fighting at Arnhem and linked with contemporary newsreel footage.

In terms of more recent documentaries general accounts include **BATTLEFIELD: ARNHEM** and **LINE OF FIRE: ARNHEM**, both of which use computer-generated imagery to illustrate the operation. Earlier documentaries include **GREAT BATTLES OF WORLD WAR 2: ARNHEM**, **GREAT MILITARY BLUNDERS: A BRIDGE TOO FAR?**, and **THE TRUE GLORY**, the last named consisting primarily of contemporary footage filmed by combat cameramen. The **RETURN TO ARNHEM** series contains accounts of many of those who took part in the Arnhem battle and **BASKEYFIELD VC** tells the story of a Sergeant Gunner who was awarded a posthumous VC while **ESCAPE FROM** focuses on the escape and evasion stories of the survivors of the battle.

INTERNET WEBSITES

In general the Internet websites that contain information about Operation Market Garden are all privately run sites and are either part of a more general history site or are commemorative. Several of them are hosted by Dutch webmasters. Among the more professional and useful websites are **REMEMBER SEPTEMBER '44** and **THE PEGASUS ARCHIVE** both of which host a large amount of information on all aspects of Market Garden. **THE AIRBORNE SOLDIER.com** website also contains much useful information including edited transcripts of the operation orders and war diaries of many of the units that took part in the battle as well as a detailed day-by-day account. The **BBC** and the **OPERATION MARKET GARDEN** websites give brief accounts of the campaign while the **MARKETGARDEN.com** site is largely an index to brief information about the men who lost their lives during the operation. **PAUL REED'S BATTLEFIELDS OF WW2** is mainly intended for visitors to the battle sites and contains much potentially useful information for battlefield tours and staff rides. The **DEFENDING ARNHEM** website is well constructed and very useful as it uniquely represents the German point of view of the battle and gives detailed information on some of the German commanders.

*Compiled by Chris Hobson
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