

## 28 Bakkerstraat 63

A number of war crimes occurred during the Battle of Arnhem, not only involving military victims but sometimes civilians, too. In Bakkerstraat, on 19 September 1944, five men were shot dead in the remittance of the Van Gend & Loos transport company.

It is possible that the Germans thought they had been shot at by these men, or it could also be that they had heard about British wounded being cared for by the Arnhemmers.

A number of eyewitnesses have recorded their observations in diary form, and below is a reconstruction of events.



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## Five civilian victims of a war crime



The Van Gend en Loos building in Bakkerstraat before the destruction 1944/45 (Gelders Archive / J.D. Dijkland collection)

On the morning of 19 September 1944, the 50 year-old Dr Jan Zwolle [1], 40 year-old Jan Mielekamp, 42 year-old Cees Veldhuizen, 30 year-old Johan Smit and his 23 year-old brother Henri Smit were executed by the Germans. Mielekamp was the father of three children and lived in Tivolilaan. He was a member of the Luchtbeschermingsdienst (LBD, Air Defence Service) and, with other members of the service, was looking after some British wounded in the Nijverheidsschool voor Meisjes, Rijnkade 36. Cees Veldhuizen was the caretaker of the school and lived in Rijnkade. Next to the school, at number 35, was the caretaker's house which gave access to the school building. Johan Smit and his wife lived above a warehouse at Rijnkade 38. Johan's brother, Henri, lodged with them and was helping the members of

the LBD in the school. Even before the Battle of Arnhem began the LBD had set up a command post in the school cellar. The cellar was well protected by thick doors. And that was the place where the LBD, inhabitants and two British wounded were to be found.[2]

One of the wounded, 30 year-old Corporal Arthur Maybury of the 89th Parachute Field Security Section, was beyond help and died of his wounds. He had been wounded in the evening of 17 September in the vicinity of Rijnkade and taken to the school. He was buried in a field grave in a next door garden. In one of his uniform pockets Jan Zwolle found a list of addresses of Arnhem NSBers (collaborators) who had to be rounded up and interrogated by members of Maybury's unit. Zwolle put the papers in his coat pocket and Mielekamp wrote down the address of Maybury's family.

The condition of the other wounded British soldier worsened during the night of 18/19 September, and next morning the Nijverheidsschool voor Meisjes was occupied by German soldiers. Mielekamp, the Smit brothers, caretaker Veldhuizen and Doctor Zwolle were ordered to take the wounded man away. He was put on a wheeled stretcher. They were then marched off, pushing the stretcher, to Bakkerstraat, where the civilians were murdered not long afterwards. Who the British soldier was and what became of him is not known.

Mrs W.J. van Koldenhoven-Veldhuizen, the daughter of caretaker Veldhuizen, recalls:

"The prisoners went one way and my mother and I went the other. Shortly after my mother stopped for a moment and said: 'You no longer have a father.' Then we went to the house of my father's youngest brother, who was in hiding. We stayed there for a few days until we had to evacuate. Two days later someone from the Wehrmacht turned up by order of the Ortskommandant to say that the execution of these people had been a mistake. My mother was furious and said: "I want to hear no more." [3]

## Mr Dijkland

The director of Van Gend & Loos, Mr J.D. Dijkland, lived at Bakkerstraat 64a above his premises. His family left home during the night of 17/18 September, looking for a safe place to stay at acquaintances. Dijkland stayed behind to keep an eye on his business and home. He wrote this in his diary on 18 September 1944:

"That night I stayed alone in the remittance. After the Spoelstra family had left home it was occupied by the G. [Germans]. Later on it turned out they had used it as a Kraftstoff depot [motor fuel store]. [4] In the course of the evening shots were fired at this post from the roof. Consequently I was ordered to open the remittance and they carried out a house-search, suspecting that B. [British] parachutists were in our building.

Later in the night more shots were fired and fire was returned, smashing the window of the Becking family's [Bakkerstraat 14] upper storey. Again our house was searched and even [the] safe had to be opened to see if weapons were being concealed. The [shed] was given the once-over as well.

At seven in the morning the military 'show' in Bakkerstraat began, street fighting being expected with B. parachutists who had landed on Sunday and fought furiously in Oosterbeek.

At 07.30 a wounded G. was taken away in a handcart, groaning pitifully. At a quarter to nine a large group ( $\pm$  30) of B. POWs was assembled on the pavement outside Brouwer's Bookshop [Bakkerstraat 17] and taken away. [5] Immediately afterwards I saw 12 or so civilians standing in front of my remittance with hands up, being body searched. About 7 were taken away by motor vehicle, leaving 5 standing in front of our office when, at that precise moment, my family came in, having spent the night in Apeldoornseweg.

My son must have recognised one of the 5 because he walked over and spoke to one of them, at which point the five were herded inside. My son felt instinctively that something was about to happen and he tried to slip out through the remittance doors, which were being closed. In any case, the G. had placed guards outside our front door which, luckily, went no further than being a threat.

However, a drama that will never be forgotten was played out inside. Without more ado the 5 people were lined up against a wall and shot. My son, standing outside the remittance, heard many more shots and thought that his entire family had been shot dead. When, with much effort, he succeeded in getting away he was nevertheless taken away by the G. to the Ned. Handels Mij. [Bakkerstraat 71-72], (Dutch Trade Corporation). He was then ordered to leave the city at once. He arrived at acquaintances in an extremely nervous state and needed medical treatment.

Because of the consternation we, by now in the remittance, had no idea what had happened to our son, and when we couldn't find him in the house or in the office, we took a quick look to see if he was among the people who had been shot. Once I had convinced myself that he was not there, my wife and my son's in-laws left with some clothing for Apeldoornseweg, and after ½ hour I could telephone and heard that, happily, our son had arrived there and everyone was on the way to Velp.

The entire Tuesday morning was busy with the coming and going of military vehicles and motorcycles, and a couple of dead G. soldiers were placed in the remittance. In the afternoon they were taken away by delivery bicycle. The D. never returned the delivery bike, so that too disappeared.

At one in the afternoon the military activity was at its peak and I was advised to go to a cellar because a huge explosion was expected. But I stayed in my office instead..... (.....) Then I saw a car carrying high-ranking officers drive off. It had been loaded with fuel taken from Spoelstra's upper dwelling, too.

After 3 pm it became quieter and I noticed that the headquarters had gone, and I heard from the neighbours opposite that a lot of items from Mr Spoelstra's home had been loaded into the officers' car, something I had been unable to see.

At 7 pm G. entered the neighbour's house again and one of them left with a blanket tucked under his arm. After that I removed the key which was still in the door leading to the outside. Meanwhile fires had started in many places in the city and an exodus had begun of fleeing people. It looked as if the entire Markt, Walburgisstraat, Walburgisplein, Koningstraat, Groote Kerk and adjoining streets had apparently been set on fire deliberately.

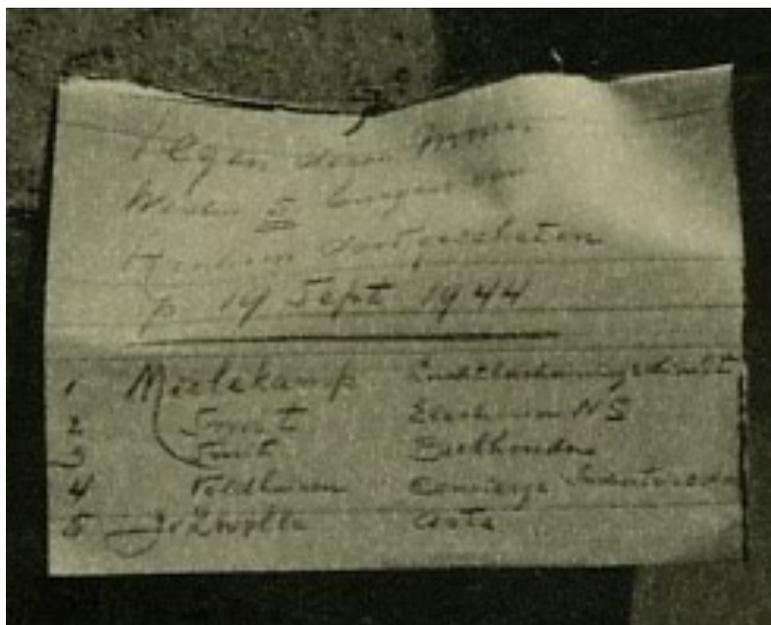
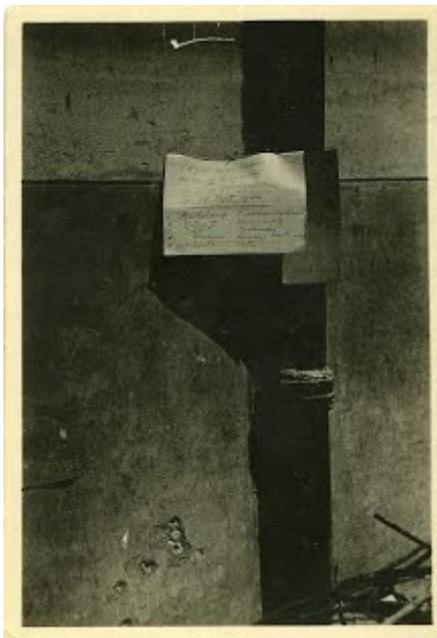
As far as I know the neighbours had already left and the glow of the fires increased, becoming bigger and more threatening. At 00.30 I too decided to leave. There was nothing I could do any more if the building caught fire. No water, no light and still 5 corpses in the remittance, so I went to acquaintances to get something to eat and to rest.

At seven next morning I returned to Bakkerstraat and found that the office door was still locked, but Mr Spoelstra's front door had been completely destroyed and soldiers were walking in and out.

In Bakkerstraat Mr Jorritsma's shop [Bakkerstraat 32] was still well ablaze. After making sure that everything was securely locked, I just left because I was no longer sure of myself amongst all this sorrow. Especially since the bodies were still there and the street was full of soldiers, just walking in and out of all the houses.

Tuesday afternoon I did everything in my power to have the bodies removed, but without luck because none of the telephone calls produced a result. Only the General Hospital told me to get the corpses to the hospital and they would do the rest. (.....)

In Velp I naturally heard all the latest news from my family, my son told me that one of the 5 people murdered was Dr. Zwolle, with whom he had spoken." [6]



A small note on the wall of the Van Gend en Loos building's remittance in Bakkerstraat. The text on the note reads: "Tegen dezen muur werden 5 burgers van Arnhem doodgeschoten op 19 Sept 1944" "On 19 Sept 1944 5 citizens of Arnhem were shot dead against this wall", followed by the names Mielekamp (Luchtbeschermingsdienst {Air Defence Service}), Smit (elektricien NS {Dutch Railways electrician}), Smit (boekhouder {bookkeeper}, Veldhuizen (conciërge Industrieschool {Industrial School concierge}), J. Zwolle (arts {doctor}). Right, the text on the reverse side of the original photo. (Gelders Archive /J.D. Dijkland collection)

## The Fire Service

On the same day, Tuesday the 19th, the Germans ordered the orderly crew to leave the main branch of the fire service in the city centre. A new command post was set up in Rozendaalsestraat. Orderly Theo W. Scholten recalled later:

"In order to keep in touch with what was going on in the city, Commander Jonker asked for volunteers from the Orderly Crew to ride now and then to the centre to see what was happening there. We were not to enter the danger zone but to remain outside and try to assess the situation before reporting back. (...)

I think it was Wednesday 20 September 1944 that I cycled to the centre and arrived at the Kleine Oord, at the corner of Weverstraat and Oeverstraat. A whole row of people were standing there looking at the burning houses in Broerenstraat and beyond. It was frustrating just to stand there and not be able to fight the fires.

Suddenly a large man rides up on a bike and demands loudly: "Is there anyone from the fire service here?" I approach him and say: "Yes. I am. From the Orderly Crew of the fire service. "So," says he, "I am Hollaar and I am the Regional Head of the Air Defence Service here. I have just come from the Ortskommandant and I have his permission to begin tackling the fires now." I ask where the Ortskommandant actually is. "In the Van Gend & Loos building in Bakkerstraat," he says. "If you can get a couple of fire engines here, my men and I will make a start on removing all wood and flammable stuff from the vicinity of the fire, as far as possible. I tell him I can't make that decision but will inform the commandant as quickly as I can. And so I speed off to the temporary command post in Rozendaalsestraat. And here I give commander Jonker's address."<sup>[7]</sup>

Commander Jonker wrote in his official report about the deployment of the Arnhem fire service that he had made several earlier attempts to get permission to start fighting fires. His calls included one to "the officer leading the battle." Jonker was disappointed that his men were not allowed to act. [8]

When the news came in that the Germans allowed the fire crews to take action, "personnel and equipment were sent out immediately." [9] However, this remark is in total contrast to orderly Scholten's notes, which state that Jonker had said to him:

"I don't intend sending one appliance to the centre. I'm not risking my men or my machine. (...) Only when I get permission in black and white from the Ortskommandant shall I give the order to go." [10]

Finally, Scholten, a fire-chief, a second orderly and a teacher of German to act as interpreter were sent on their bicycles to Bakkerstraat. They cycled to Velperplein, but could get no further:

"There, at the corner of Roggestraat, we are held up by German sentries. We explain what we are doing and then we have to leave our bikes behind and continue on foot. A German comes with us. At the corner of Walstraat we have to stop because, he says, the British are up ahead and they fire along the side streets. He peeps around the corner to see if it is safe. This is repeated at the Land van de Markt, but we are then able to carry on to the corner of Bakkerstraat. There we are handed over to another sentry who takes us to the Van Gend & Loos building.

We have to wait there while a soldier takes our message to the Ortskommandant whose office is upstairs. All types of German soldiers are hanging about down here. They have bottles of wine which they drain after first knocking the necks off. This accounts for the noisy mood. The Feldwebel, or whatever he is, reappears. Only two people will be allowed to see the Ortskommandant and we have to decide who does the talking. We hold a quick discussion. It strikes me that the interpreter has to go in the first place so as to explain what this is all about.

For the answering of organizational or technical questions concerning the deployment of fire-fighting equipment, it is probably best for the fire chief to go as well. This is agreed and the two men disappear upstairs with the German soldier. It takes some time but at last they return. And more importantly: they bring with them the requested, fully-stamped licence. The conditions are such that only fires on the north and west sides can be dealt with, and then only up to eaves level. Gunfire is still being exchanged so it is possible we could become targets. The limits reach approximately up to Pastoorstraat, Broerenstraat.

In the same manner we are handed from sentry to sentry and led back to Velperplein, where we climb aboard our bicycles and cycle back to the main post in Rozendaalsestraat. The commandant is now rather pleased that we can get to work and congratulates us on the result achieved. Volunteers are asked to go to the inner city with a fire-fighting appliance. Many people offer, and in no time at all we leave for the inner city." [11]

Who gave the order?

The 'Ortskommandant' in Theo Scholten's account was probably SS-Obersturmführer A. Harder. Originally Harder was the commander of 7. Kompanie of SS-Panzer Regiment 9, a unit from 9. SS-Panzer-Division 'Hohenstaufen'. [12] Harder's company was attached to the Kampfgruppe Spindler, a hastily formed battle group under the commander of SS-Panzer Artillerie Regiment 9, the 33 year-old SS-Sturmbannführer Ludwig Spindler. On 17 September Kampfgruppe Spindler was ordered to go to Arnhem immediately and block all roads in the western suburbs that led to the bridge. Around midnight Spindler reported to 9. SS-Panzer-Division 'Hohenstaufen' HQ that he had reached the western part of the town centre and had met opposition on the way. [13]



Fire in the Van Gend en Loos building in Bakkerstraat. The photo is from an unknown date, but it must have been taken after Wednesday morning 20 September 1944. (Gelders Archive collection)



The destroyed Van Gend en Loos premises in Bakkerstraat, seen from inside in 1945. (Gelders Archive / J.D. Dijkland)

## Spindler's battle group

Next day part of Spindler's battle group was sent in a north-westerly direction to link up with the SS-Panzer-Grenadier Ausbildungs und Ersatz Bataillon 16, making contact later that evening. The German defence line across the western part of Arnhem was now sealed. [14]

With the arrival of armed sappers from Reichsarbeitsdienst, sailors and so many other loose units in his battle group - cobbled together from various personnel - Spindler decided to restructure his command. SS-Hauptsturmführer Klaus von Allwörden received command of the rest of SS-Panzerjäger Abteilung 9 and smaller units in the north-west ('Kampfgruppe Von Allwörden'), while the earlier-mentioned SS-Obersturmführer Harder was given command of the remains of SS-Panzer Regiment 9. His Kampfgruppe Harder consisted of three infantry companies which respectively comprised one company of tank crews, a company of technical and logistics personnel and the third from a scratch collection of navy personnel. [15] Harder's battle group defended an imaginary line from above Arnhem station to Oude Kraan. He had to block the British battalions' route to the bridge and prevent any attempts by the British at the bridge to break out west. [16]

After the war Wilhelm Tieke wrote about Kampfgruppe Spindler's action on the night of 18/19 September:

"There were still a few groups of British in the city centre which we were unable to get hold off because of the lack of an overall view at night: they shot at a few radio-telegraphists [from Kampfgruppe Spindler] and disturbed the surroundings." [17]

The writer is undoubtedly referring to the British platoon of Lieutenant Hugh Levien in Bakkerstraat, which was captured on 18 September. SS-Obersturmführer Harder's battle group formed the rear section of Kampfgruppe Spindler in the city centre and was probably located in Bakkerstraat. He was in contact with both Spindler and the division commander, SS-Obersturmbannführer Walter Harzer, who set up his command post in a villa called 'De Heselbergh' at Apeldoornseweg 228 late in the evening of 17 September 1944. This was the office of the previous Ortskommandant and Field Commander, the 49 year-old General Major Friedrich Kussin, who had been killed earlier that day. One of Kussin's staff officers offered Harzer the position of Ortskommandant:

"My command post was located on the road to Apeldoorn on the outskirts of Arnhem. It had been the headquarters of the Ortskommandant, a certain General Kussin. He had been killed on the first day. His chief-of-staff looked me up and said that the HQ of the dead Kussin would make a good command post because it was the hub of all telephone traffic. This building had been a communications centre for years and the enemy knew it. It was the Dutch telephone network, and we trusted it. We used the same cables but different switchboards." [18]

Besides Kussin's chief-of-staff, some twenty or more staff members of Feldkommandantur 642 also fled. This meant that during the Battle of Arnhem Harzer was the local military commander as well as Ortskommandant of Arnhem. Each of his lower-level commanders was allotted a part of the city and was therefore also responsible for the civilians in the sector where his troops were centred.

It was probably SS-Obersturmführer Harder who received the fire-service delegation at Bakkerstraat in his position as Harzer's representative. However, when he spoke to Scholten the NSBer Arend Hollaar referred to Harder's function as that of Ortskommandant. It is very likely that Hollaar himself was unaware at the time that Harzer now occupied that post.

The story of fire service orderly Scholten is interesting in so far as it makes mention of a German command post in the Van Gend & Loos premises, the same place where a day earlier the five civilians were executed. In his book *Arnhem 44/45*, archivist Piet van Iddekinge (now deceased) wrote that a military headquarters had been located in Bakkerstraat. [19] This would seem to confirm Scholten's account and validate the assumption that SS-Obersturmführer Harder or another senior officer of 9. SS-Panzer-Division 'Hohenstaufen', as 'commander' of a part of Arnhem city centre, had an HQ in Bakkerstraat. Sadly, the question of who was responsible for the murder of Mielekamp, the Smit brothers, Veldhuizen and Zwolle remains unanswered.

## Attempt at clarification of the war crime

Shortly after the murders an attempt was made to find out who gave the order. At the time Wilhelmina Schouten lived with her parents in Mariënburgstraat and was the only female member of the LBD. She returned home on Wednesday 20 September after the LBD had left the Nijverheidsschool voor Meisjes in Rijnkade (see also point 14 Rijnkade):

"On Thursday 21 September I wanted to check that Mielekamp had got home safely. On the way I heard a rumour that Dr. Zwolle had been executed; he had so-called been talking to a British soldier in Bakkerstraat. In G.A. Smitstraat only the Mielekamp children were at home; father had not yet arrived back; mother had gone to the hospital to find out more about him. Someone had said he, Mielekamp, had gone there with a wounded British soldier. Mielekamp's wife was very distressed when she got home. She had heard nothing about her husband. I pacified her; her husband was surely with the Tommies; that had always been his plan, hadn't it? I was convinced that this was the case." [20]

Schouten bumped into Mielekamp's brother-in-law, Nederdaal, in Velperweg; he told her that his brother-in-law, Dr. Zwolle, Cees Veldhuizen and the Smit brothers had been shot in Bakkerstraat. He assured her that their bodies were still lying in the Van Gend & Loos warehouse. A few weeks later she wrote:

"I couldn't take it all in, but that afternoon I went to Bakkerstraat. I wanted to see for myself if anyone had been shot there, and if so, where were they? (...) My first attempt to enter Bakkerstraat failed. The next sentry relented when I said I wanted to check if among the 5 hingerichteten Niederländer mein bruder befand [if my brother was among the five executed Dutchmen]; that he had been missing for 4 days. He took me to Van Gend & Loos. There, I was told that the 5 Niederländer had already been buried. No one knew where or by whom; I was not much wiser after the description by a soldier who had seen the bodies. They were terrorists; they had fired from the school at German soldiers; der Arzt [Jan Zwolle] hatte Munition und sie haben mit Engländern zusammengehockt." [the doctor had ammunition, and they collaborated with the British] (.....)

When I got home I was told Nederdaal had called to say that Mielekamp had been shot. An inhabitant, I forget his name, had been forced to bury the corpses of the 5 people. Perhaps he could tell me more. I went to see the man; the address was wrong but the name was correct. I told him the reason for my visit. "Miss, I am still in a terrible state. Just imagine, I was plucked from the street along with another chap and told to bury 5 bodies in the garden behind the building. All I remember is bloodied faces and wide-open, terror-filled eyes. Ask no more. Maybe the director of Van Gend & Loos can help you." [21]

## Post war exhumation of the victims

After the liberation of Arnhem a new investigation into the murders in Bakkerstraat was instigated. In December 1945 acting leader of the LBD in Arnhem, B. van Brussel, wrote an account of the recovery of remains that were not, were partially or were temporarily buried in the period from 17 September 1944 up to the eventual liberation in April 1945. His group began their work at the end of April, and to begin with they were still without work clothing, rubber gloves and disinfectants. These were handed out a few days later and only then could the real work begin. Among the remains the group had to ex-hume were those of Jan Mielekamp, Henri Smit, Johan Smit, Cees Veldhuizen and Dr Jan Zwolle:

“We had a really wretched little job to do at Van Gend & Loos in Bakkerstraat, where 5 people had been buried in the garden, including a colleague, Jan Mielekamp, who together with Dr. Zwolle and three others had been murdered simply because they had helped British wounded at the Main Command Post. Personal identity cards and wallets etc were still in good condition, so they were all easily identifiable. Dr. Zwolle had a bullet wound near the heart and some wounds in the groin, as did the other people. This was clear to see after viewing the wounds. Four of them had been shot through the head, which agrees with the statements of eyewitnesses alleging that five people were murdered at 9 am and could still be heard groaning at 11.30 am. A German officer then finished off the crime with shots to the head.”[\[22\]](#)

## Mrs Van Koldenhoven-Veldhuizen

In 2007 Mrs Van Koldenhoven-Veldhuizen was totally devastated when she heard of the manner in which her father had died as described above, which differed from what she had always heard. She had been told that he had been hit by 17 bullets and must have died instantly.

“I wanted to identify my father’s body, but that was not allowed. My grandfather was also refused permission. In the end my father’s youngest brother identified him. They were recognisable by the clothing they wore.” [\[23\]](#)

However, besides this she disagrees with many of the passages in the text. In her view they are either unlikely or untrue. She spent two days in the school cellar in Rijnkade with Miss Schouten, whose diary has been quoted extensively here. Nevertheless Mrs Van Koldenhoven-Veldhuizen casts doubts on many of the things Miss Schouten wrote in her diary. The latter’s words are direct quotes, and as such cannot be altered. It shows once more that two people in the same situation can experience and picture things quite differently.

## Plaque in memory of the victims

On 19 September 1969, twenty-five years after the drama, a plaque was unveiled in Bakkerstraat in memory of the five murdered civilians. In the early nineteen-eighties the Van Gend & Loos premises fell victim to the demolisher's hammer. The plaque survived however, and R. Aveskamp, a journalist from De Nieuwe Krant, asked Arnhem council to have the plaque placed once more in Bakkerstraat. [24]

After consultation with the architect B.C.J. Bolder, it was agreed that a still-existing wall section could be kept and included in the new building. [25] On 21 September 1984 the old plaque, fixed to the original section of wall, was unveiled by burgomaster J. Drijber in the presence of the relatives of Mielekamp, the Smit brothers, Cees Veldhuizen and Jan Zwolle. Burgomaster Drijber included the following in his address:

"We hope that passers-by will pause and reflect for a moment at this spot. And that, from this place, may we send out a call to our fellow inhabitants for mutual responsibility, willingness to help and harmony. This is how we would like to understand the message of these dead citizens." [26]

A commemoration service for the victims is still held annually in Bakkerstraat. Mrs Van Koldenhoven-Veldhuizen always attends, and children from the school who have adopted the monument place wreaths. Mrs Van Koldenhoven-Veldhuizen believes the children are from St Anna's School. According to her there is always great interest. Various monuments are then visited, also those in the 'Bear-pit' (Airborneplein), followed later by a get-together in the town hall. [27]

Caretaker Veldhuizen and Dr. J. Zwolle are buried in Moscowa cemetery in the same row as allied war victims.

- [1] Doctor and friend of the Veldhuizen family. According to Mrs W.J. Van Koldenhoven-Veldhuizen Zwolle was in the resistance.
- [2] Interview with Mrs Van Koldenhoven-Veldhuizen on 23 May 2007, recorded by Willem Brouwer at her home.
- [3] Ditto.
- [4] The P. Spoelstra family lived next door to J.D. Dijkland at number 63. They came to live there on 10 July 1943. A few months earlier the previous occupiers, the Jewish family of Joseph G. Stern, had been transported to concentration camps in Germany. Joseph, his wife Bets and their daughter Lia died in Sobibor on 16 July 1943, six days after the Spoelstra family moved into their home. Six months later their son Gerard died in Auschwitz. M. Klijn, *De Stille Slag; Joodse Arnhemmers 1933-1945* (Westervoort, 2003), 23 and 98.
- [5] There were 14, not 30: Lieutenant Hugh Levien and thirteen men from 4 Platoon, B Company, 2nd Parachute Battalion. D.G. van Buggenum, B Company Arrived. The story of B Company of the 2nd Parachute Battalion at Arnhem, September 1944 (Renkum, 2003), 53.
- [6] J.D. Dijkland's diary, Bakkerstraat 64a, director of Van Gend en Loos. Gelders Archive, Documentation collection Second World War, inventory number 164. Some abbreviations are given in full.
- [7] Th. W. Scholten, *Enkele aantekeningen over mijn activiteiten bij de ordonnansdienst van de Arnhemse brandweer in de oorlogsjaren 1940-1945* (december 1976), 3-4. Gelders Archive, Documentation collection Second World War, inventory number 8.
- [8] A. Jonker, *Verslag omtrent de belevenissen bij de brandweer vanaf 17 september 1944 tot begin december 1944* (z.j.), 9. Gelders Archive, Documentation collection Second World War, inventory number 1410.
- [9] Ditto, 10.
- [10] Scholten, *Enkele aantekeningen over mijn activiteiten*, 4.
- [11] Ditto, 4.
- [12] H. Fürbringer, *9.SS-Panzer-Division* (Heimdal, 1984), 553.
- [13] R. Kershaw, *It Never Snows In September. The German View of MARKET-GARDEN and The Battle of Arnhem, September 1944* (Ramsbury, 1990), 107.
- [14] W. Tieke, *Im Feuersturm letzter Kriegsjahre* (Osnabrück, 1978), 325.
- [15] Kershaw, *It Never Snows In September*, 104.
- [16] Fürbringer, *9.SS-Panzer-Division*, 446.
- [17] Tieke, *Im Feuersturm letzter Kriegsjahre*, 325.
- [18] 'Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Walter Harzer - November 11, 1967', 2. This interview comes from the Cornelius Ryan Collection, Vernon R. Aldan Library, Ohio. A copy of the document used can be found in file 30 'Hohenstaufen' of the L.P.J. Vroemen Collection (Gelders Archive, 2867).
- [19] P.R.A. van Iddekinge, *Arnhem 44/45. Evacuatie, verwoesting, plundering, bevrijding, terugkeer* (Arnhem, 1981), 34. On page 44 Van Iddekinge again names the "Gefechtsstand" and writes: "it is probable that the commander responsible for the execution of the five Arnhemmers on Tuesday morning was also there." According to Van Iddekinge Hollaar knew nothing of this war crime.
- [20] W. Schouten, *10 septemberdagen*, 28. Gelders Archive, Documentation collection Second World War, inventory number 596. Miss Schouten wrote this account during her time of evacuation in Soestdijk.

[21] Ditto, 30-33.

[22] Report from B. van Brussel (December 1945), 1. Gelders Archive, Documentation collection Second World War, inventory number 4.

[23] Interview with Mrs Van Koldenhoven-Veldhuizen.

[24] Copy of a letter from Arnhem council to the family members of Jan Mielekamp, Cees Veldhuizen and Jan Zwolle, 27 August 1984. Gelders Archive, Documentation collection Second World War, inventory number 1335.

[25] Letter from B.C.J. Bolder BSc. to the Burgomaster and Aldermen of Arnhem, 3 September 1984. Gelders Archive, Documentation collection Second World War, inventory number 1335.

[26] 'Herdenking gefusilleerde burgers Bakkerstraat', Address by burgomaster J. Drijber on 21 September 1984. Gelders Archive,

Documentation collection Second World War, inventory number 1335.

[27] Interview with Mrs. Van Koldenhoven-Veldhuizen.