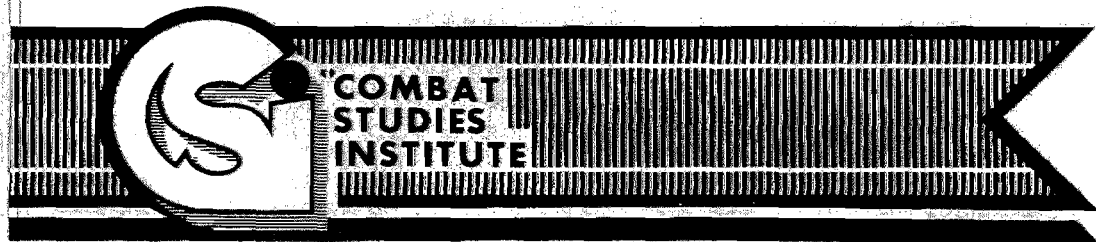


Jedburgh Team Operations in Support of the 12th Army Group, August 1944

by
S. J. Lewis



FOREWORD

In the wake of joint and combined operations in Panama and the Middle East, U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF) received accolades from their commanders, the media, and the public. Given the missions SOF performed in Operations Just Cause and Desert Storm, this praise was earned.

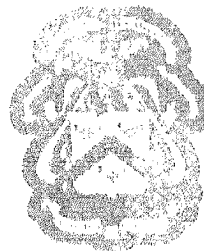
In the past, however, special operations have not always been viewed so positively. Prior to the early 1960s—when President John F. Kennedy expanded U.S. Special Forces and made counterinsurgency the cornerstone of his Flexible Response doctrine—the lot of special operations soldiers was far from satisfactory. Few in number, they were criticized as elitist and were considered suitable only for behind-the-lines operations in a major East-West conflict.

Little has been written about the missions and activities of special forces in the 1950s and even less about their predecessors in World War II. The Jedburghs were one such group, dropped in three-man teams in France during 1944 to assist the Allied advance from behind German lines. Dr. S. J. Lewis' study on the activities of a number of Jedburgh teams operating in northern France during the last year of the war addresses this often-overlooked aspect of the war in Europe. This study should advance the understanding of Special Operations Forces on the part of military professionals and civilians alike and stimulate further inquiries into a topic still shrouded in mystery and misunderstanding.



October 1991

ROGER J. SPILLER
Director
Combat Studies Institute

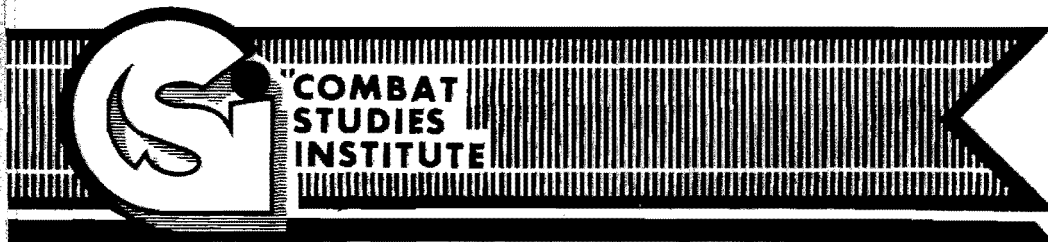


CSI publications cover a variety of military history topics. The views expressed herein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Department of the Army or the Department of Defense.

Jedburgh Team Operations in Support of the 12th Army Group, August 1944

by
S. J. Lewis

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College
Fort Leavenworth, Kansas 66027-6900



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Jedburgh Team Operations



CONTENTS

Illustrations	vii
Preface	ix
Introduction	1
The Operational Situation, 15 August 1944	16
German Rear-Area Administration and Security	18
Team Jacob, 12 August 1944	20
Team Aubrey, 12 August 1944	22
Team Augustus, 15 August 1944	26
Team Andrew, 15 August 1944	29
Teams Benjamin and Bernard, 20 August 1944	33
Team Alfred, 24 August 1944	39
Team Arnold, 24 August 1944	43
Team Archibald, 25 August 1944	47
Team Stanley, 31 August 1944	51
Team Rupert-Philip, 31 August 1944	54
Conclusions	59
Appendix A. Air-Dropped Supplies to Occupied France, October 1943—September 1944	67
Appendix B. Summary of Jedburgh Team Operations	69
Notes	71
Glossary	79
Bibliography	81

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

1. Communications channels for SFHQ 8

Maps

1. Jedburgh teams in France, June—September 1944 x
 2. Jedburgh teams deployed to northern France 2
 3. Team Aubrey's area of operations in the Seine-et-Marne 23
 4. Team Augustus' area of operations in the Aisne Department 27
 5. Team Andrew's area of operations in the Ardennes 32
 6. Teams Benjamin and Bernard's area of operations in the Meuse-Argonne 35
 7. Team Alfred's area of operations in the Oise River valley 41
 8. Team Arnold's area of operations in the Marne Department 44
 9. Team Archibald's area of operations near Nancy 49
 10. Team Stanley's area of operations in the Haute-Marne 52
 11. Team Rupert-Philip's area of operations in the Meurthe-et-Moselle 56
 12. Team Rupert-Philip's area of operations (additional) in the Meurthe-et-Moselle 58
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I would like to take this opportunity to publicly thank those who generously assisted in this effort: the archivists of the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv; the Patton family and the staff of the Library of Congress Manuscript Division for permission to use and cite the diary of General George S. Patton, Jr.; Dr. Richard Sommers of the U.S. Army Military History Institute for providing access to the diary of General Hobart R. Gay; John Taylor and Will Mahonney of the National Archives for their usual speed and efficiency in assisting with the OSS records; and Robin Cookson, Kat Yeager, Major John Diviney, Major Terry Griswold, Dr. Timothy Nenninger, and Dr. Lawrence Yates for their helpful advice. I would especially like to thank former members of the OSS and Jedburghs who took their valuable time and effort to assist in this effort, particularly Mrs. Daphne Friele, without whom this study would not have been possible.

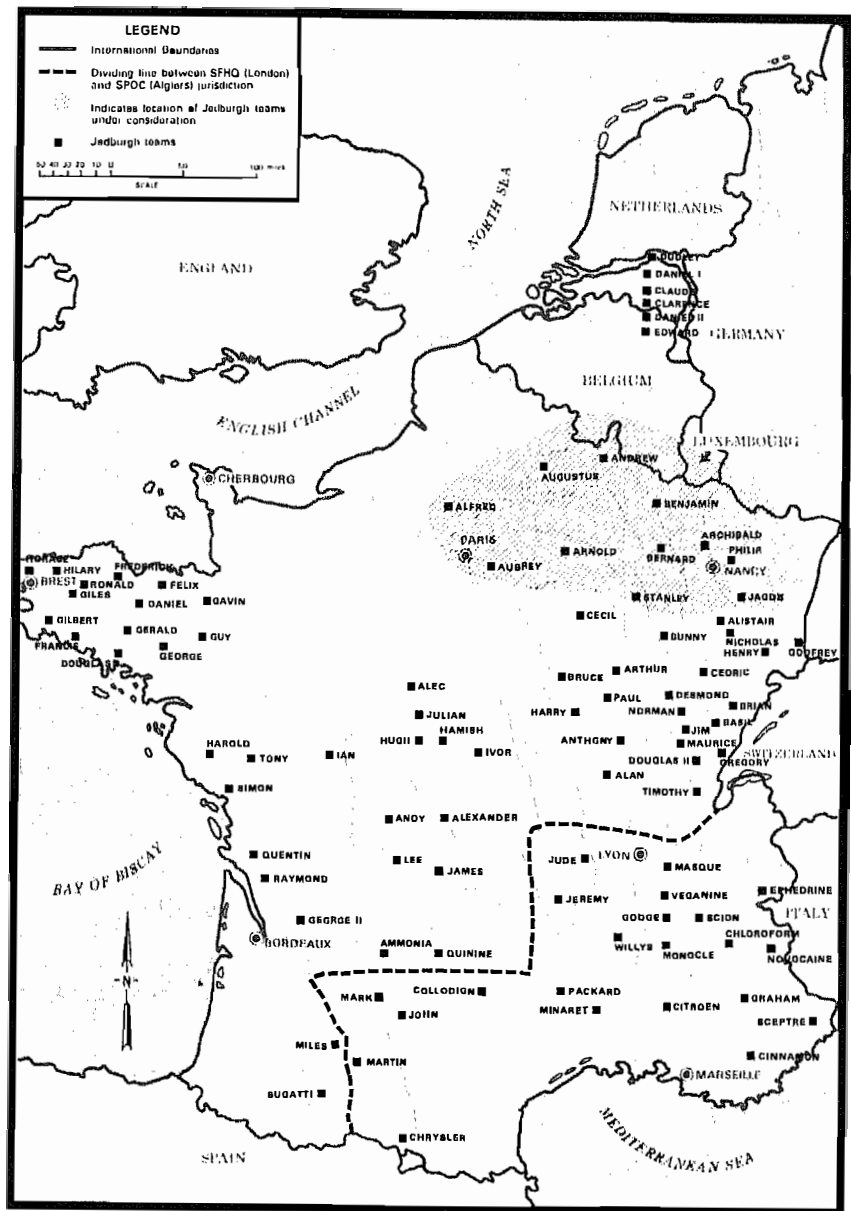
This study was made possible by financial support from the U.S. Army Special Operations Command.

PREFACE

In the summer of 1944, Allied special operations teams known as Jedburghs parachuted into occupied Europe to cooperate with resistance groups behind German lines and to aid in the advance of Allied ground forces. Each of the ninety-nine Jedburgh teams consisted of three specially trained volunteers. Clandestine operations of the kind that the Jedburghs conducted often have been recounted in memoirs and novels, but only a portion of the actual operational records have been declassified. The Jeds, as they called themselves, were but one group charged with clandestine work. Individual agents, inter-Allied missions, Special Air Service (SAS) troops, and other such organizations will only be included in this study when they specifically influenced Jedburgh operations.

This study examines the operations of the eleven Jedburgh teams dropped into northern France during the summer of 1944, with particular emphasis on the degree to which they assisted in the advance of the 12th Army Group from Normandy to the German border. The treatment of these Jedburgh teams will be arranged chronologically, by date of insertion. The area of operations covered by these teams reached from the Belgian border in the north, south to Nancy. Jedburgh operations south of Nancy lie beyond the scope of this study. The operational records of the eleven northern teams form the core of the documentation for this study, although a good deal of the story told here has been gleaned from other sources, memoirs and interviews with Jedburgh veterans (see map 1). Regrettably, the records of the Special Forces Headquarters (SFHQ), the organization with General Eisenhower's Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF), that provided operational command and control for Jedburgh teams, remain classified and, therefore, were not available for use in this study.

I have resolved to follow M. R. D. Foot's example and capitalize the names of intelligence circuits to assist the reader amid the sea of names and code names used to protect these operations. The name of each individual in the text is the individual's real name (as well as that can be determined). The nom de guerre of each French Jedburgh will be mentioned in the appropriate footnote. I have adopted the word "Axis" as a generic term for the German-dominated security forces. In some instances, these rear-area defense forces were not German, but Vichy security forces, such as the *Milice*.



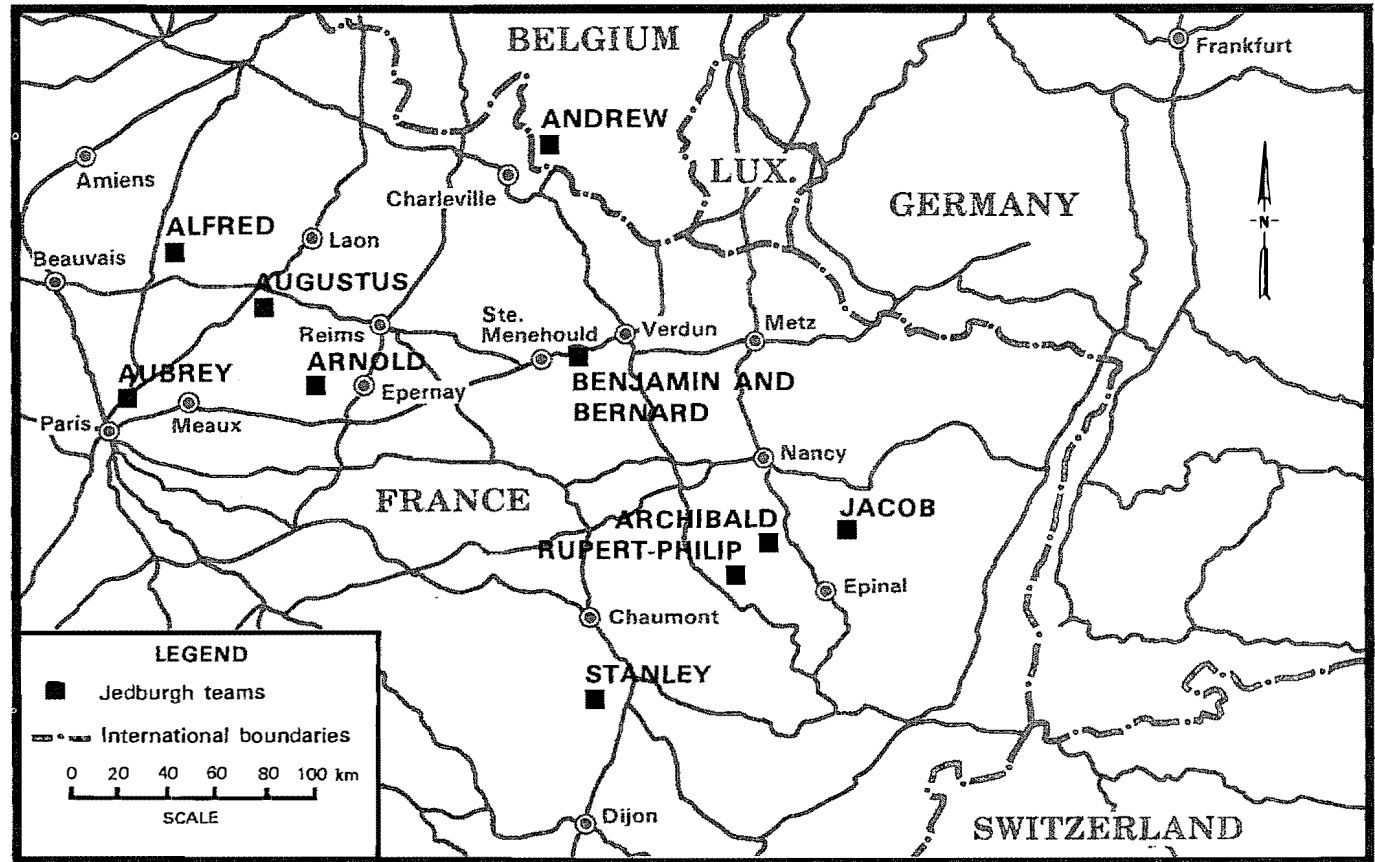
Map 1. Jedburgh teams in France, June–September 1944

Introduction

The sun was setting on 7 July 1944 at Harrington Air Base some fifty miles north of London. Captain Bill Dreux, a thirty-one year old lawyer from New Orleans, like his two partners, was weighted down by a .45-caliber pistol, carbine, ammo, binoculars, money belt, escape kit, flashlight, tobacco, and map case and could barely move. Over all this equipment, each man wore a camouflaged body-length smock. Dreux felt wrapped like a mummy and had trouble getting out of the station wagon. Finally, after the driver had assisted each out of the vehicle, the three tightly wrapped men waddled slowly in short, jerky steps toward a black-painted B-24 Liberator. The absurdity of the situation was not lost on the bomber's U.S. Army Air Corps crew, who succumbed to laughter. After a last cigarette, Bill Dreux, his partners, and the crew scaled the B-24 and took off for Brittany. Dreux and his two colleagues were Jedburghs.¹

Jedburghs were volunteers specially trained to conduct guerilla warfare in conjunction with the French Resistance in support of the Allied invasion of France. Bill Dreux and his two partners survived their mission. Their story has already been told, however, and with some skill, in one of the few published Jedburgh memoirs. This paper will examine the role of the eleven Jedburgh teams parachuted into northern France in the summer of 1944 whose story has not been told (see map 2). These eleven teams, like Dreux's, worked mostly with French teenagers and the few Frenchmen not drafted into German labor organizations or prisoners of war in Germany. Many Jedburgh teams had difficulty radioing London, and some that did contact London doubted that their reports were acted upon. After the Jedburgh operations in France concluded, the teams' after-action reports reflected a sense, not of failure, but rather of frustration. The teams felt they could have been used more effectively. The major reason for this frustration was a professional officer corps unfamiliar with the capabilities of unconventional warfare and the multiplicity of secret organizations (several of them new) competing for recognition, personnel, funds, and missions.

Following the fall of France, in July 1940, the Chamberlain cabinet, in one of its last acts, created the Special Operations Executive (SOE). Independent of other British intelligence services, its charter was suitably unique: to foster sabotage activity in Axis-occupied countries. Two offices in the War Office and one in the Foreign Office had been studying the subject since



Map 2. Jedburgh teams deployed to northern France

1938, and they combined to form SOE.² Although SOE ran intelligence circuits, it was independent of the Secret (or Special) Intelligence Service (SIS), which today is known as MI 6.³ In similar fashion, the Special Air Service Regiment remained independent of SOE and SIS. David Stirling, who created the SAS in 1941, summarized his organization's purpose as follows:

... firstly, raids in depth behind the enemy lines, attacking HQ nerve centres, landing grounds, supply lines and so on; and, secondly, the mounting of sustained strategic offensive activity from secret bases within hostile territory and, if the opportunity existed, recruiting, training, arming and coordinating local guerrilla elements.⁴

The United States approached World War II without a strategic intelligence organization. It first created the Committee of Information, a conspicuous failure that soon became the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Its director, William ("Wild Bill") Donovan, allowed it to duplicate the functions and methods of the British intelligence organizations, to which it was closely tied. But whereas the British effort was marked by independent competing organs, Donovan attempted to unify the many facets of the secret world in his neophyte OSS. Following September 1942, the OSS special operations branch joined the SOE London Group to create a combined office known as SOE/SO on Baker Street in London.⁵

SOE's first director, Dr. Hugh Dalton, explained his organization's purpose as follows:

We have got to organize movements in enemy-occupied territory comparable to the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, to the Chinese Guerillas now operating against Japan, to the Spanish Irregulars who played a notable part in Wellington's campaign or—one might as well admit it—to the organizations which the nazis themselves have developed so remarkably in almost every country in the world. This "democratic international" must use many different methods, including industrial and military sabotage, labour agitation and strikes, continuous propaganda, terrorist acts against traitors and German leaders, boycotts and riots.⁶

One of the most important personalities in SOE was Sir Colin McV. Gubbins, who eventually became its executive director. Born in Japan in 1896, Gubbins was a slight Scot who had served in the artillery on the Western Front in World War I, in Ireland during "the Troubles," and in northern Russia during the Russian Civil War. In 1939, in the War Office's small unconventional war section, he wrote two short pamphlets: "The Art of Guerilla Warfare" and "Partisan Leaders' Handbook."

He created the "Independent Companies" (later renamed commandos) and successfully led several of them in Norway in 1940. May 1942 found him a brigadier general with the title of military deputy to head of SOE.⁷

In May 1942, SOE entered into talks involving its support of a future Allied invasion of northwestern Europe. The British Chiefs of Staff foresaw SOE activity occurring in two phases. In the first phase (cooperation during the initial invasion), SOE would organize and arm resistance forces and "take action against the enemy's rail and signal communications, air personnel, etc."⁸ During the second phase, after the landing, SOE would provide guides for British conventional units, guards for important locations, labor parties, and organized "raiding parties capable of penetrating behind German lines."⁹

Brigadier Gubbins and SOE developed the Jedburgh concept from these discussions with one paper, drafted by Peter Wilkinson, summarizing its activities as follows:

As and when the invasion commences, SOE will drop additional small teams of French speaking personnel carrying arms for some forty men each. The role of these teams will be to make contact with local authorities or existing SOE organizations, to distribute the arms, to start off the action of the patriots, and, most particularly, to arrange by W/T [wireless telegraphy] communication the dropping points and reception committees for further arms and equipment on the normal SOE system. Each Team will consist of one British Officer, one W/T operator with set and possibly one guide.¹⁰

On 6 July, Gubbins (recently promoted to major general) briefly explained the project to the head of the SOE security section, requesting a code name for teams "to raise and arm the civilian population to carry out guerrilla activities against the enemy's lines of communication."¹¹ The following day, the security section issued the project the code name "Jedburgh," after a small town on the Scots-English border.¹²

The Jedburgh project evolved along with the changing Allied invasion plans of the Continent. Later in the month, SOE resolved that seventy Jedburgh teams would be required, with the British and Americans each providing thirty-five. In August 1942, the British Chiefs of Staff informed SOE that there was no longer a requirement for Jedburgh teams to provide guides and labor or raiding parties, effectively eliminating phase two of the original proposal. On 24 December 1942, a meeting at General Headquarters, Home Forces, determined that Jedburghs



Lt. Col. Henry C. Cox, Jr., and Lt. Col. Carlton Smith, R.A., Jedburgh heads at Baker Street

would all be uniformed soldiers and that one of the two officers in each team should be of the nationality of the country to which the team would deploy. This signified that the project would require Belgian, Dutch, and French soldiers. Furthermore, Jedburgh teams would be dropped to secure areas, where SOE agents would receive them. Each team would be given one or more military tasks to perform in their area. In addition, since it would take at least seventy-two hours to deploy a team and have them operational, Jedburgh teams would not be used to assist the tactical plans of conventional ground forces. Finally, SOE would provide twelve Jedburgh teams to further examine the concept's possibilities and limitations during Exercise Spartan from 3–11 March 1943.¹³

Exercise Spartan simulated an Allied breakout from the initial invasion lodgement area. SOE's Jedburgh teams attempted to assist the British Second Army advance, with the 8th Battalion of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers in the role of local resistance groups. SOE also used this opportunity to test the insertion of individual agents behind enemy lines and the role of SOE staff officers at army and corps headquarters. Each of these parties communicated via an SOE radio base in Scotland. Following the exercise, SOE concluded that Jedburgh teams should be inserted at least forty miles behind enemy lines to conduct

small-scale guerrilla operations against enemy lines of communication. The exercise also demonstrated that each army and army group headquarters required an SOE liaison and signals detachment. SOE also concluded that it should maintain a small detachment with the Supreme Headquarters.¹⁴

SOE and OSS, after compiling the Spartan lessons learned, both began the process of moving similar position papers through the British and American hierarchies, seeking approval, support, and personnel. On 19 July 1943, Lieutenant General Frederick R. Morgan, Chief of Staff to the Supreme Allied Commander, recommended that the SOE proposals be approved. To his understanding, SOE would provide small staffs and signal detachments to each army and army group headquarters (and the Supreme Allied Commander's headquarters) "for controlling resistance groups."¹⁵ Jedburgh teams would constitute a strategic reserve in England until D Day "to provide, if necessary, suitable leadership and equipment for those resistance groups found to be in need of them."¹⁶ Two days later, the British Chiefs of Staff approved the SOE proposal, with the Americans following suit on 24 August 1943. By October, SOE and OSS each agreed to provide sufficient personnel to field 35 Jedburgh teams plus 15 reserve teams—a total of 300 men in 100 teams.¹⁷

SHAEF created a special forces (SF) detachment for each army and army group headquarters to coordinate these operations with the field army. These detachments linked the field headquarters with SOE/SO. Each detachment fielded about twelve officers and twenty men. The senior OSS officer with the U.S. Third Army described the organization as follows: "The SF Detachment was an orthodox military staff organized to provide the Commanding General of the Army a direct means to exercise control over the organized resistance elements and to use these elements in connection with military operations."¹⁸ The detachments, however, had no means of directly contacting those organized resistance groups and Jedburgh teams other than through SOE/SO. That organization summarized agent and resistance group reports and dispatched those summaries to the SF detachments.¹⁹

To integrate this effort with the Allied invasion of France, SOE/SO on 1 May 1944 became the Special Forces Headquarters responsible to SHAEF's G3 Branch. Although SOE had several sections running circuits in France, the most important were RF Section (circuits supporting General Charles de Gaulle) and F Section (which operated non-Gaullist circuits). De Gaulle's

government in exile still remained at arm's length, but on occasion, its intelligence branch, *Bureau Central de Renseignements et l'Action* (BCRA), cooperated with SOE/SO. One such occasion was a 25 January 1944 London meeting to discuss the reception of Jedburgh teams in France. SOE, OSS, and the BCRA agreed to finance a mission for BCRA and F Section to establish reception committees and safe houses for Jedburgh teams. Through herculean efforts, de Gaulle's government managed to largely unify the many diverse French resistance groups, in March 1944 announcing the creation of the *Forces Francaises de l'Intérieur* (FFI). The FFI included the Communist *Franc Tireurs et Partisans* (FTP—French leftist resistance organization), the largest and most active resistance organization. It remained difficult, however, for the many diverse French resistance organizations to cooperate without considering postwar political dilemmas.²⁰

In July 1944, SHAEF directed de Gaulle's subordinate and personal friend, Pierre Koenig,²¹ commander of the FFI, to gradually assume command over SFHQ operations in France. The transfer did not occur until 21 August. In any case, this was largely a political and cosmetic measure, because Koenig's deputies from SOE and OSS maintained the mechanisms of command, communication, and supply (see figure 1).²² Most of the eleven Jedburgh teams examined here operated in eastern France, known as Region C to the FFI, commanded by District Military Representative "Planete." Region C consisted of the Ardennes, Marne, Meurthe-et-Moselle, Meuse, Vosges, Bas-Rhin, and Haute-Rhin Departments. This had been a difficult area in which to operate from the beginning, but in August 1944, it became even more difficult, as the Vichy police, the *Milice*, and its supporters fled east with the remnants of the defeated German Army.²³

In mid-September 1943, with the Allied invasion of France just around the corner, no Jedburgh force existed. Over the next three months, SOE and OSS each recruited officers and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) with French language skills—all volunteers. The NCOs would serve as radio operators, the officers as either Jedburghs or staff officers of the SF detachments. Little is known of the SOE selection process, but the OSS qualifications for Jedburgh officers were as follows:

Officers recruited as leaders and seconds in command should be picked for qualities of leadership and daring, ability to speak and understand French, and all-around physical condition. They should

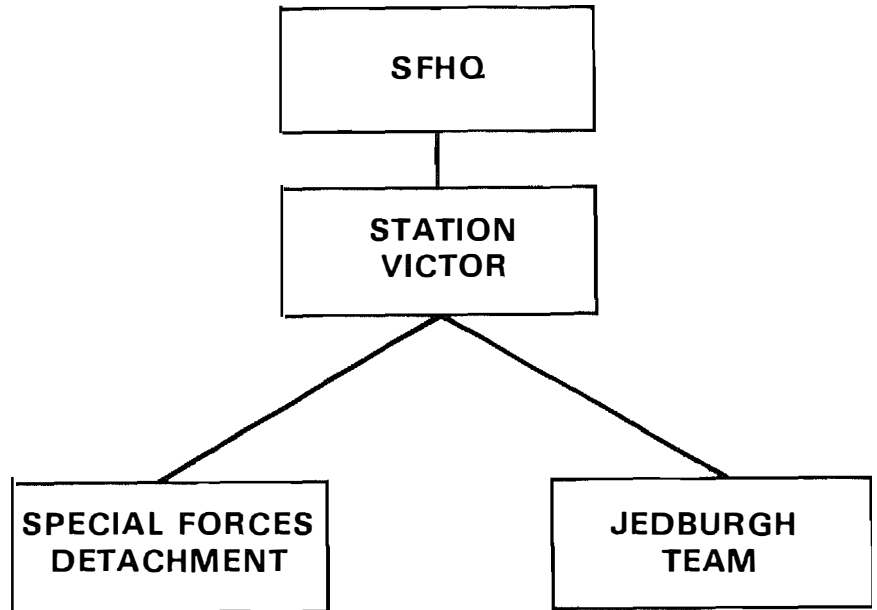


Figure 1. Communications channels for SFHQ

be experienced in handling men, preferably in an active theater of operations, and be prepared to be parachuted in uniform behind enemy lines and operate on their own for some time. They must have had at least basic military training and preferably have aptitude for small arms weapons.²⁴

Qualifications for the NCO radio operators were less stringent, requiring only a working knowledge of French and the ability to attain a speed of fifteen words per minute before leaving the United States. They, too, had to be in top physical condition. It would appear that the screening procedures were quite rigorous: of the fifty-five officers selected for further Jedburgh training in Great Britain, only thirty-five became Jedburghs. This signified that the OSS was forced to secure additional volunteers from U.S. Army units in Great Britain. Several of those volunteers did not join their colleagues until February, a good month after basic training had already begun.²⁵

Although SOE and OSS were theoretically coequals in SOE/SO (and later in SFHQ), SOE remained dominant. SOE provided the training sites and most of the instructors. The American volunteers arrived in Great Britain in late December 1943, with the officers spending two weeks going through psychological tests near Peterfield, south of London. The officers then split into three groups and rotated through the Special



Jedburgh sergeants practicing radiotelegraphy



Men participating in physical training, rear entrance of Milton Hall



Audience in a demolition class: first row left to right—Sgt. Jock Lindsay, Sgt. Ken Seymour (Br., Team Jacob), and Capt. Hugo Hood (Br.); second row center—Capt. Giles Mounoury ("Bourriot" of Team Desmond); third row—Capt. Godfrey Marchant on the left (Br., Team Aubrey), Sgt. Ivor Hooker fourth from left (Br., Team Aubrey), and Capt. Philip Donovan; fourth row—Sgt. Neville Wood on the left (Br.), and Sgt. Alan de Ville fourth from left (Br., Team Arnold)



Jeds on the pistol range at Milton Hall

Training Schools (STS) No. 6 at Walsingham, No. 45 at Fairford, and No. 40 at Gumley Hall. The sixty-two American NCOs attended the SOE communications school at Henley-on-Thames. Like the officers, however, they also underwent the ubiquitous psychological tests and practiced marksmanship, self-defense (taught by former members of the Shanghai Police), and physical training. In late January, all the Americans attended the Ringway parachute school, a three-day course, where they trained on parachuting through the small hole (joe hole) of an RAF bomber.²⁶

Lieutenant Colonel Frank V. Spooner of the British Army established the Jedburgh training school at Milton Hall, a large estate four miles from Peterborough, England. Operational training for the Jedburghs began there in February 1944, emphasizing guerrilla warfare tactics and skills: demolitions, use of enemy weapons, map reading, night navigation, agent circuit operations, intelligence, sabotage, escape and evasion, counterespionage, ambushes, security, the use of couriers, and hand-to-hand combat. Almost all Jedburghs practiced French, Morse code, and long marches. The Jedburghs also received briefings on the history and organization of the resistance in France and other European countries. The final seventy French volunteers did not arrive at Milton Hall until March 1944, after SOE/SO had conducted a recruitment drive through the Middle East. From 31 May to 8 June, many Jedburgh teams participated in Lash, the last large-scale exercise. In Leicestershire's Charnwood Forest, the teams rehearsed receiving orders, linking up with resistance groups, and later leading attacks against targets designated by radio message. SOE/SO, or SFHQ as it was now known, expressed pleasure with the exercise, although the simulated guerrillas had been observed moving during daylight in large groups. SFHQ concluded that the guerrillas should have approached their targets in smaller bands. In the category of "minor criticisms," the guerrilla groups had received vague orders, which led to confusion. In addition, the groups had difficulty with their escape and evasion techniques.²⁷

The Jedburghs formed their own teams in March and April, between the large-scale training exercises. In early April, Lieutenant Colonel George Richard Musgrave, British Army, became the new commandant at Milton Hall. By April, training was by and large complete, and on 2 May 1944, fifteen Jedburgh teams sailed for North Africa in preparation for insertion into southern France from Algiers. The teams remaining at Milton



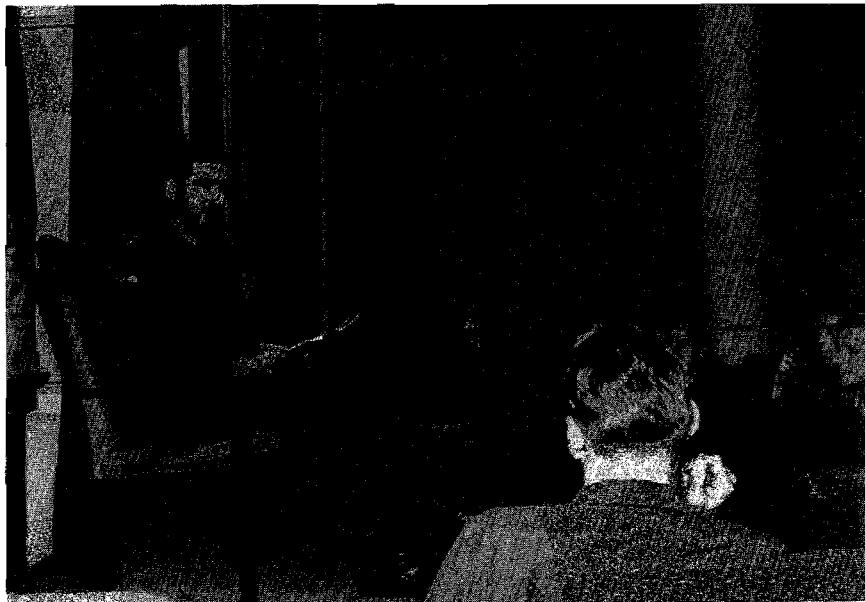
The main wing and front entrance to Milton Hall

Hall continued to train while awaiting their alert or warning order. As a rule, upon receipt of their alert order, the team would be isolated and driven to a London safe house, where SFHQ representatives from SOE's country sections briefed the officers on the particulars of the mission, local conditions, and background information. Although most Jedburghs entered France wearing military uniforms, several teams were informed at the briefing that they would be parachuted into France in civilian clothes. Needless to say, if they were caught wearing civilian clothes, the Germans would treat them as spies. From there, the team was usually driven to Harrington or Tempsford Air Bases to await a flight that same evening. Other air bases were occasionally used, but Harrington fielded the modified black-painted bombers of the U.S. Eighth Air Force's 801st (Provisional) Bomb Group (Heavy), while the RAF's 38th Group flew out of Tempsford. SFHQ maintained its supply and packing area (known as Area H) some thirty-five miles from Harrington near the village of Holme. Many of the Jedburghs heard of the D Day invasion while on Exercise Lash in Leicestershire. There was a general sense of disappointment upon the realization that they would be deployed not before, but after, the invasion. By the end of June, SFHQ had dispatched thirteen Jedburgh teams to France (six from England and seven from North Africa). At the end of July, the number of teams in France increased to twenty-five, although none had been dropped north of the Seine River.²⁸

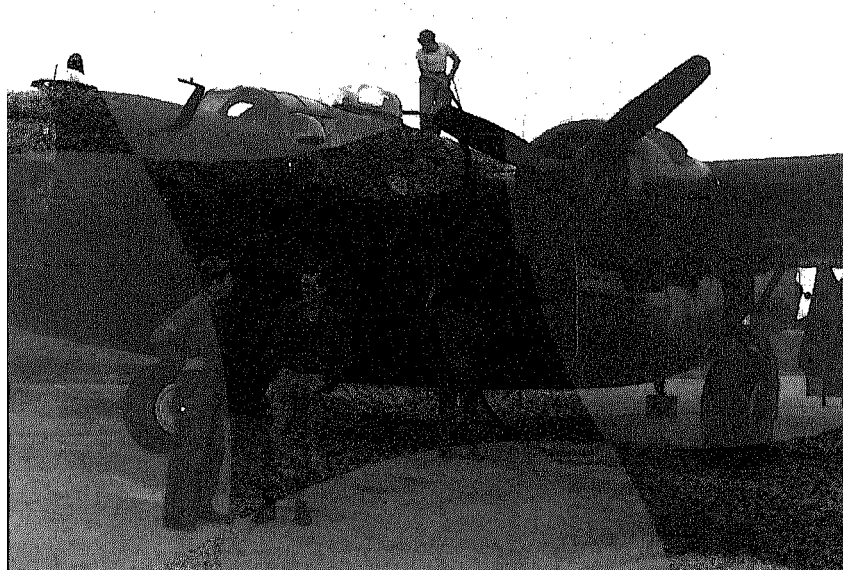
The Jedburgh concept had evolved considerably from Gubbins' original 1942 proposal. The number of teams mush-

roomed from 70 to 100, of which 93 would deploy to France and another 6 to Holland in support of Operation Market-Garden. From being a British force, the Jedburghs became an international one including Americans, French, Belgians, and Dutch. Basically, they constituted an unconventional warfare reserve in theater to provide leadership, organization, training, weapons, supplies, and communication links to FFI resistance groups. They would be inserted at least forty miles behind enemy lines and hence would not usually be in a position to provide tactical assistance to conventional forces. The teams would conduct unconventional warfare against German lines of communication, but not until told to do so by SFHQ. When Lieutenant General Frederick Morgan approved the Jedburgh concept in 1943, it was with the understanding that the special forces detachments at army and army group headquarters would control the organized resistance groups behind German lines. Furthermore, he believed it was the job of his army commander to exercise that control. How suitable, however, were the senior army officers for directing unconventional warfare behind enemy lines?

Modern professional officer corps, as a rule, have very little interest in unconventional warfare. That was certainly the case for the senior commanders and staff officers of World War II,



Commanding officer of the Jedburghs, Lt. Col. George Richard Musgrave at Milton Hall



Gassing up a B-24 of the U.S. Eighth Air Force's 801st (Provisional) Bomb Group (Heavy)

trained in the branch schools and staff colleges of the 1920s and 1930s. Robin Brook, senior SOE adviser to SHAEF, observed that the regular officers he served with had little knowledge of or interest in unconventional warfare.²⁹ The SF detachments began to see similar patterns upon taking the field in France. As early as 12 July, when the commanders of the 10th and 11th SF Detachments met, one observed: "It appears from his experience and ours here that Armies working under Army Groups are not very strategically minded."³⁰ The first response of the U.S. Third Army upon breaking out of the Normandy bridgehead was to disarm the FFI. It took a directive from the 12th Army Group to establish that the FFI were allies and not enemies.³¹ Basically, there was little interest in SF detachments or what was happening 100 kilometers in the enemy's rear. To complicate the situation further, the SF detachments could only contact Jedburgh teams and resistance groups through SFHQ. Another possible cloud on the horizon was the efficiency of communications between resistance groups, SFHQ, and the SF detachments. With more and more Allied special operations teams and resistance groups operating behind German lines, would SFHQ be capable of receiving and analyzing the increasing radio traffic and giving the SF detachments sufficient information to act upon?

Jedburgh teams were but one special operations instrument available to SHAEF in the summer of 1944. Current military doctrine emphasizes a rational construct of Special Operations Forces, an umbrella concept encompassing numerous organizations and functions ranging from psychological warfare and civil affairs all the way to elite special forces teams conducting direct-action missions deep behind enemy lines. In 1944, however, there was no such concept. Theoretically, SHAEF and its SFHQ provided the umbrella to encompass the many special-operations-type forces. But as we have seen, the Allied special operations effort was marked by different organizations competing for funds, personnel, and missions. Although pledged to support SHAEF in the invasion of western Europe, a number of organizations remained independent, the most conspicuous being British Intelligence and the Special Air Service Regiment. A number of Jedburgh teams in the field, when confronted with a mission beyond their means, specifically requested reinforcement by SAS parties. Unfortunately, SFHQ did not control the operational use of those forces. The modern concept of "deconfliction" (ensuring that simultaneous special or intelligence operations do not conflict or compromise each other) did not exist.



Jedburgh officers at the bar in Milton Hall on Bastille Day

The experience and skills of FFI groups (and SOE agents inserted to work with the resistance) varied considerably. Some groups were rather familiar with the reception procedures (flash-light identification signals and two lines of bonfires) and had even used the procedures once or twice. Other groups would form their first reception committee to meet a Jedburgh team. A coded BBC message (known as a blind transmission broadcast) informed each FFI group of the impending arrival of a Jedburgh team. Some Jedburghs trained to receive a small aircraft in the field to evacuate the severely wounded. Jedburghs, however, were expected to remain in the field until they linked up with advancing Allied ground forces. This event was called being "overrun" and required no special procedures other than a Jedburgh showing his SFHQ identification paper. The Jedburghs who would parachute into northern France followed the progress of Operation Overlord in the newspapers and BBC newscasts. Until they received their warning order and briefing in London, however, they did not know where they would be inserted. Of the 12th Army Group and its operations, they knew next to nothing.

The Operational Situation, 15 August 1944

The Allied invasion of Normandy on 6 June 1944 succeeded at all points, and Allied control of the sea and air ensured the rapid buildup of follow-on forces. The German High Command erroneously believed the main invasion would come farther north, in the Calais area. This misconception, along with Allied air interdiction, slowed the arrival of German reinforcements. The feared German counterattack never took place. Instead, a battle of attrition developed—a battle the Germans could not afford to fight. The strain on the German Army began to show by 13 June, when the U.S. VII Corps stretched the German line to the breaking point, severing the Cotentin Peninsula on 18 June and advancing north to capture the port of Cherbourg. The Allied armies in Normandy continued to grow in strength and experience as they wore down the Germans, who still ably defended the difficult Bocage terrain. On 18 July, the U.S. First Army captured St. Lô, while the British Second Army engaged most of the German armored divisions near Caen. What was needed was one powerful thrust to break through the German line. That occurred with Operation Cobra on 25 July 1944, when the U.S. First Army broke through the positions of the German Seventh

Army, ably exploiting the breakout and reaching Avranches on 31 July.

On 1 August, the Allied armies reorganized into two army groups. General Bernard Montgomery commanded the 21st Army Group, consisting of the Canadian First and the British Second Armies, while General Omar Bradley commanded the U.S. 12th Army Group, with General Courtney Hodges' U.S. First Army and General George S. Patton, Jr.'s, U.S. Third Army. Patton's Third Army swept across Brittany in a vain attempt to secure a usable harbor and then swung east against minimal opposition. SHAEF headquarters had been reading the most secret German signals communications and realized that Hitler, instead of allowing his forces to retreat to a defensible position, was about to counterattack at Mortain. This provided SHAEF the opportunity to surround and trap most of German Army Group B south of the Seine River. On 13 August, however, as the Canadian First and U.S. Third Armies were approaching each other to close the trap, General Bradley halted Patton's forces. Eventually, several days later, the trap closed, but the delay allowed many of the German troops to escape north across the Seine. A second attempt to destroy German Army Group B, by trapping it against the Seine River, also failed. Nevertheless, the Allies had largely destroyed the German Fifth Panzer and Seventh Armies. On the morning of 15 August, the second Allied invasion struck, not at Calais, but along the French Riviera.

Although the German forces in the west had been thoroughly defeated, Hitler, from his headquarters hundreds of miles away, issued orders to defend the Seine River and later the Marne River, as if the defeat in Normandy had not taken place. He did, however, allow the German forces in southern France to withdraw north, which made possible their escape. For the German commanders and troops, each day was a struggle to survive. Faced with total Allied air superiority, the remnants of the German Army could move freely only at night or in rain or fog. To their rear, the French Resistance had risen in arms and posed a real threat to any German force smaller than a company. On paper, German commanders still acted as if they were obeying Hitler's orders, but in actuality, they were simply trying to save what was left of their battered formations. They marched east, mostly at night, taking shelter behind the successive river lines in northern France, hoping to get back to Germany.

The Allied commanders, like their German counterparts, fully understood the magnitude of the German defeat in Normandy.

The only question remaining was how to exploit the situation. For the U.S. Seventh Army that had invaded southern France, this was rather simple: it would advance north up the Rhone River valley. General Eisenhower reexamined the preinvasion planning and decided to exploit the advance beyond the Seine River. He directed the 21st Army Group to advance northeast through Belgium and directed Bradley's 12th Army Group to protect the 21st Army Group's southern flank. General Patton's Third Army launched a subsidiary offensive due east towards Metz and Nancy. Both the western Allies and the Germans expected the war to end within weeks. The only shadow on the horizon was the possibility that the Allied system of logistical support would halt their triumphant procession to the east.

By 15 August, SFHQ had deployed only two Jedburgh teams in northern France in front of the advancing 12th Army Group. Nine more teams were soon to follow. Recent experience in Brittany demonstrated that U.S. Army field commanders were particularly impressed with the help of FFI guides and scouts. Therefore, most of the Jedburgh teams sent into northern France were instructed to be prepared to send FFI volunteers to meet the advancing field armies. SHAEF possessed abundant supplies to be parachuted to the SOF forces, but with resistance groups springing into action all across France, the limited air assets could not provide immediate delivery. SFHQ briefing officers informed most Jedburgh teams that deployed in northern France that it would take eight days for them to receive supply drops.

German Rear-Area Administration and Security

For the most part, the Jedburgh teams would not encounter German main-force combat units, but rather the rear-area security—administration and supply units of the Military Governor of France, the military government directly responsible to the German Army High Command. The German security forces observed a noticeable increase in French Resistance activity early in 1944, particularly in nocturnal English parachute drops of arms. As early as January and February, the Military Governor of France reported that his major effort was devoted to fighting the French Resistance with his security units, East Battalions (composed of Russians), and military police. By May, there was increased resistance activity in Brittany, which had earlier been rather quiet. The Germans believed that the major resistance activity was Communist inspired and centered in

southeast France and Dordogne. German security forces knew the basic organization of the resistance, its radio links to London, and its mission to prepare for and assist the coming Allied invasion of France. They also concluded that the majority of the population sympathized with and provided support to the resistance. Furthermore, French police and security forces for the most part were merely going through the motions of tracking down the resistance and in some instances assisted the resistance. The number of French who willingly provided information to the Germans was actually quite small and presumably known to the resistance. German security soon began to form the image of French Communists, professionals, former army officers, and students lined up shoulder to shoulder against the occupation force. The Third Reich considered all resistance activity to be terrorism, which was to be met with counterterrorism: shootings, illegal arrests, and torture. To assist in the more unspeakable aspects of this policy, the SS provided Gestapo and other security offices in the larger cities across France.³²

Besides the garrison of Paris, the Military Governor of France divided France into four sectors, each with a military commander: northwest, northeast, southwest, and south. Each military commander possessed basically one *Feldkommandantur* headquarters for each French department, usually commanded by a colonel or brigadier general and from 2,000 to 3,000 personnel. Most of those personnel, however, were administrators and sometimes civilians or women. The sector military commanders also possessed several security regiments and on occasion one or two East Battalions. The Jedburgh teams we shall examine in this study jumped into the sectors of either the Military Governor of Northwest France or Military Governor of Northeast France, the former's headquarters located at Paris and the latter's in Dijon. The experience of the Chaumont garrison indicated the inherent dilemmas of the German situation. *Feldkommandantur* 769 governed the Haute-Marne Department in northeastern France from the city of Chaumont and maintained a smaller headquarters (*Aussenstelle*) in Langres. One of its senior civil servants, a Dr. Achten, observed that Chaumont remained quiet and orderly through the German occupation. Since early August, the headquarters was responsible for constructing defenses behind the Marne River, its sector of the Kitzinger Line. Dr. Achten reported that about 60 percent of the French males in the area helped construct the fortifications and assisted the Germans in moving livestock and grain north of the Marne. He noted that the only difficulty was a tendency

of the German vehicles to break down. It would appear that as long as the area appeared quiet and orderly, the German occupation forces were satisfied. In reality, the forced laborers along the Marne sabotaged both the German motor vehicles and fortification efforts. Many of those same workers weeks later helped guide U.S. Third Army units through and around the Kitzinger Line. In addition, by August 1944, the German occupation forces really did not want to know what was happening in the countryside. The threat of FFI ambushes led the occupation forces to send only large armed groups outside their garrison. In August 1944, there were vast stretches of France, particularly in the south, virtually unobserved by the Germans.³³

Team Jacob, 12 August 1944

On the night of 12 August 1944, SFHQ dispatched Team Jacob to the Vosges area north of Epinal as the twenty-sixth Jedburgh team to the Continent. They landed at about 0100 on 13 August near the village of La Petite-Raon. SFHQ had previously been unable to support the eastern area of France and in mid-August resolved to send a Jedburgh team to the area. The SAS resolved to dispatch the ninety-one-man Team Loyton to the area also. Jedburgh Team Jacob was to assist the local Maquis, cooperate with the SAS, but to remain under the command of SFHQ. They were to avoid open offensive action against Axis forces. Team Jacob consisted of Captain Victor Andrew Gough (British), Captain Maurice Boissarie (French), and Sergeant Ken Seymour (British). Gough was a pleasant young man from Somerset, who before entering the service had been a cartoonist. It was Gough who created the design for the Special Forces wings that the Jedburghs wore on their uniforms.³⁴

On 15 August, Team Jacob radioed SFHQ reporting that they had landed safely and were with a Maquis two kilometers south of Vexaincourt. Sergeant Seymour injured his ankle in the jump, but they expected him to be ambulatory in seven days. Meanwhile, the team used the SAS radio operator and hoped to meet "Planete" in a day or two. Of the 800 FFI volunteers in the area, only 50 were armed. Some 600 were forced to remain as *sedentaire*, inactive in their homes. In two messages on 26 August, the team requested a large supply drop and indicated that their radio set was not functioning. On 5 September, Jacob reported that they had not yet received another radio but that they had contacted SAS Team Loyton. It would appear that



A Jedburgh briefing in a London flat (simulated)

several days earlier Jacob and SFHQ had attempted to conduct an arms drop that proved unsuccessful, resulting in numerous FFI casualties when Axis forces attacked them on the drop zone (DZ). On the following day, Team Jacob canceled that night's arms drop, reporting that Germans were on the DZ.

SFHQ next heard from Team Jacob on 15 September, when it reported that Sergeant Seymour had been captured on 17 August and was rumored to have been shot on the 20th. In a recent battle, Captain Boissarie had been killed along with 100 Maquis. Another 100 Maquis had been captured with the remainder dispersed. On 16 September, Captain Gough (Jacob's sole survivor) radioed SFHQ stating that he had rallied 200 Maquis and with SAS assistance had armed them. He also reported that the transmitter and radio set recently dropped had broken during the drop. Gough said he planned to continue using the SAS set. At 1900, 18 September, Captain Gough sent his last message:

Have contacted 800 Maquis under Marlier. Sent message with SAS yesterday for arms drop. Gave ground. SAS will liaise [liaison] with you. Great difficulty working alone. Can't come up on regular skeds [schedules]. Will come up on emergency when can. Please have

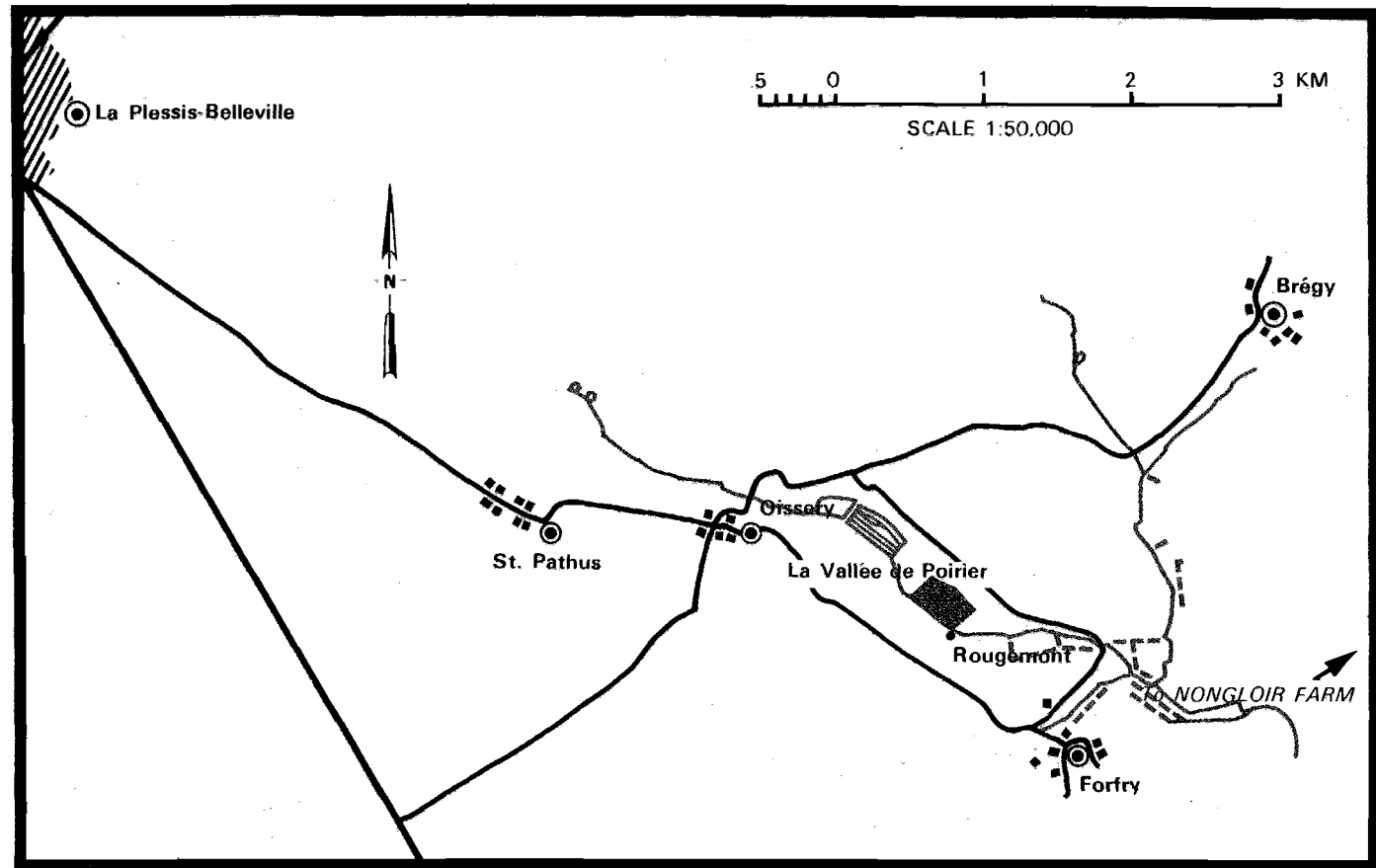
your message ready for me on this channel. Have not had money yet. SAS having personnel drop to team here tomorrow. Please send money addressed to me with one of their officers.³⁵

SFHQ continued to send messages to Team Jacob through 28 September. Captain Gough was captured in the days following 18 September and executed on 25 November 1944 at the Schirmek La Broque concentration camp in Alsace. He is buried at the Durnbach Commonwealth Cemetery near Bad Tölz, Bavaria. Captain Boissarie (alias Baraud) apparently died in a skirmish on 4 September 1944 at Viambois Farm in the Vosges. Sergeant Seymour was captured by the Germans, survived incarceration in a concentration camp, and returned to England.³⁶

Team Aubrey, 12 August 1944

SFHQ dispatched Aubrey as the twenty-seventh Jedburgh team to France from the United Kingdom. It was to assist the SPIRITUALIST network (code name for the organizer and circuit) in the Seine-et-Marne region east of Paris, providing an additional communication link to London, particularly for the delivery of arms and ammunition. The team consisted of Captain Godfrey Marchant (British), Captain J. Chaigneau (French), and Sergeant Ivor Hooker (British). They received their briefing in London on 11 August and left for Harrington Air Base at 1700. The team wore civilian clothes for the jump and took off in a modified B-24 from Harrington at 0015 on 12 August, followed by two more B-24s carrying weapons, ammunition, and equipment. At about 0155, the team parachuted without incident into a DZ near La Plessis-Belleville and were greeted by Major René Dumont-Guillemet, the leader of the SPIRITUALIST circuit, and a large reception committee from the village of St. Pathus (see map 3).³⁷

On the evening of 12 August, the team cycled to the village of Forfry, where they established themselves in a safe house. The following day, Sergeant Hooker developed a case of the mumps, and since there were no Germans in the village, he set up his radio and operated it from his sick bed throughout most of the remainder of the mission. On the 14th, SFHQ approved Captains Marchant and Chaigneau's request to shift operations to the suburbs of northern Paris, where Major Dumont-Guillemet had identified some 1,500 volunteers. The team believed it much safer to operate in the built-up suburbs than in the gently rolling



Map 3. Team Aubrey's area of operations in the Seine-et-Marne

hills of the Seine-et-Marne. Captain Marchant secured Spanish identity papers and traveled daily throughout the suburbs, instructing small groups (including Parisian gendarmes) on sabotage techniques. The local resistance group provided Captain Chaigneau with false papers and a motorcycle, and he served as a liaison between resistance groups. On 21 August, Chaigneau and Marchant decided that with the German Army retreating from France, it was time to move to the Meaux area. When Marchant and the SPIRITUALIST radio operator, "Blaise," bicycled back to St. Pathus, however, they found an SS and a German Army field unit camped about the village. The Germans moved north on 24 August, and the following day, Major Dumont-Guillemet, on his own initiative, instructed his forces to rise in revolt. Within hours, however, SFHQ radioed to tell him that the revolt could not start until SFHQ sanctioned the rising. Major Dumont-Guillemet and Captain Marchant then conferred and agreed that to call off the uprising would only create confusion. They decided to go ahead with the insurrection.

Team Aubrey put on their uniforms again on 26 August and awaited the arrival of the FFI volunteers from northern Paris. The latter arrived the following morning in some twenty vehicles, having managed to avoid large German military convoys escaping to the north. This FFI group with Major Dumont-Guillemet and Team Aubrey attempted to set up an ambush position near Rougemont, between Oissery and Forfry. It was not a bad defensive position, resting upon a sunken road³⁸ with a good field of fire to the south, protected on the west by a heavy wood and on the east by marshy ground impassable to armored vehicles. The problems were twofold: the Maquis were basically unorganized and untrained, and the men really had no idea what would be coming down the road into their ambush. Only two Bren guns were operational, and only the Jedburghs knew how to operate the four Piats (a hand-held antitank rocket). Even as the FFI column unloaded at the sunken road, a German armored car opened fire on two FFI vehicles in Oissery. Seconds later, a German light tank opened fire on the vehicles in the sunken road. After about eighty minutes, at about 1230, with the arrival of additional Germans, Major Dumont-Guillemet directed a covering force to hold off the Germans while the remaining men dispersed. Captain Marchant said he would remain with the covering force and ordered Sergeant Hooker to leave the field. Hooker moved east along the streambed, where he met Major Dumont-Guillemet. They spotted Captain Chaigneau about thirty yards ahead of them. Captain Marchant

and the covering force held their positions for a short while until another German tank approached and opened fire at close range, whereupon the covering force also fled. Marchant was forced to crawl north to a lake, where he hid for the next eight hours. The German armor continued to fire, killing Captain Chaigneau in the streambed with a high-explosive shell. The mud in the streambed was rather deep, so Hooker, Dumont-Guillemet, and the others crawled some two kilometers through the mud until they finally reached the shelter of the woods. From there, the group dispersed, with Hooker (who had discarded his codes) and Major Dumont-Guillemet making their way to a safe house in Nongloire-par-Puisieux.³⁹

Major Dumont-Guillemet and Sergeant Hooker spent the next day at the safe house. On the morning of 29 August, they awoke to the sound of machine guns and discovered a U.S. VII Corps column advancing down the road to Soissons. They received a ride from the Americans to Meaux, from where they returned to Paris. On the 30th, Sergeant Hooker borrowed a jeep and drove to Forfry, where he found Captain Marchant, and the two returned to Paris. Major Dumont-Guillemet had already returned to London, and the two surviving members of Team Aubrey followed soon after.

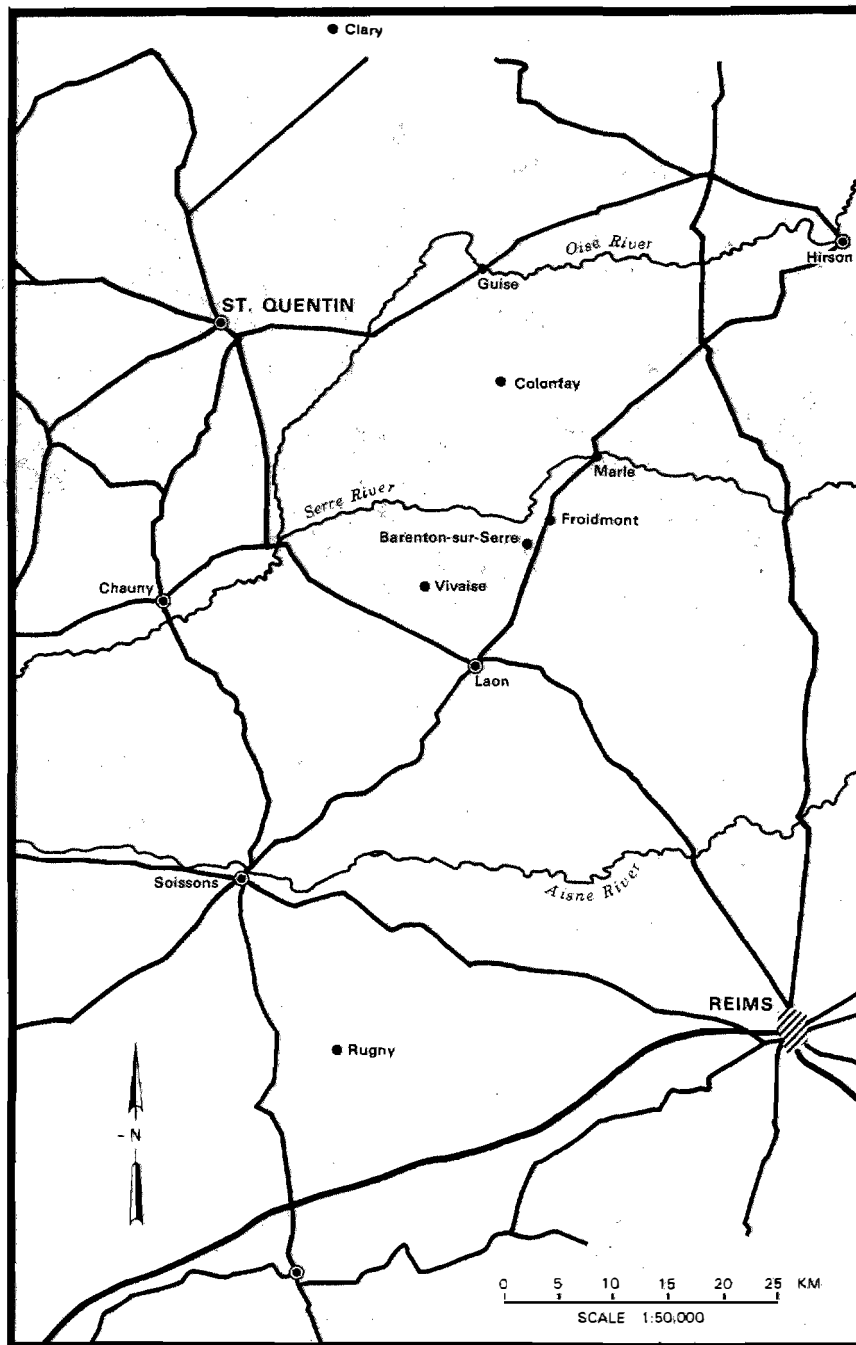
The German armored unit that Team Aubrey encountered belonged in all probability to the LVIII Panzer Corps, which was responsible to the German First Army on 25–27 August. It consisted of the remnants of several severely battered divisions, including the Panzer *Lehr* and 9th Panzer Divisions. The LVIII Panzer Corps concentrated its efforts on blocking the major road nets north of Paris until 27 August, when it was forced to retire to the line Beaumont—Survillers—Dammartin-en-Goële—Meaux. In the nineteen days it was in the field, Team Aubrey provided valuable information to London, particularly targeting data on active *Luftwaffe* airfields north of Paris. In addition, although SFHQ probably knew of the withdrawal of the German's Paris garrison, Team Aubrey's confirmation of its departure on 19 August undoubtedly assisted in clarifying the situation. Captain Marchant estimated that the FFI lost eighty-six men and women killed in the 27 August engagement near Rougemont. Godfrey Marchant, originally from Buenos Aires, died in April 1945 when his B-24, bound for an SOE mission in Burma, crashed on takeoff near Calcutta. Ivor Hooker survived the war, returning to England to live in Suffolk County. He died in June 1988.⁴⁰

Team Augustus, 15 August 1944

SFHQ dispatched Augustus as the thirty-fourth Jedburgh team to the Continent on 15 August 1944 to the Aisne region, where it was to assist the local Maquis and serve as an additional communication link to London (see map 4). Major John H. Bonsall, U.S. Army (USA), the team leader, was born on 11 June 1919 in Morristown, New Jersey. After attending a number of preparatory schools, he entered Princeton University, where he was in the ROTC program. He was commissioned an Army second lieutenant upon graduation in 1941, although he planned to follow his father's example and practice law. He was called to active duty in August 1941, arrived in England in December 1943, and was promoted to major in April 1944. Captain Jean Delwiche (French) and Technical Sergeant Roger E. Cote (USA) were the other members of the team. Delwiche was a professional officer born in Vivaise, a small village ten kilometers north of Laon. He was a profoundly quiet man, undoubtedly the result of the death of his wife and child to illness.

On the night of 15 August, the team flew from England with twenty-four containers weighing three tons and with no other passengers. Landing near the hamlet of Colonfay, about fifteen kilometers south of Guise, they moved to Le Nouvion-en-Thierache, the local resistance headquarters. On the afternoon of 16 August, they reached a farm near the village of Clary, which the resistance suggested would be much safer. The team radioed SFHQ on 17 August that the reception had gone perfectly. Two days later, they reported that they had successfully contacted the local resistance leader. At that meeting, they apparently decided to follow the suggestion of the resistance to conduct operations to the south near Soissons. On 20 August, the team radioed that the resistance movement in the Aisne Department was quite advanced, with 1,100 men armed and trained and 4,900 unarmed men.⁴¹

On 21 August, the team moved south about 100 kilometers to the village of Rugny. Through 24 August, the team sent London several reports on specific targets for the Allied air forces, mostly large German troop columns headed east for the German border or trains stuck between railroad demolitions. On the 25th, however, Augustus reported that there were so many German troops in the area that it would be unwise to form any Maquis and that hiding places were becoming harder to find. The following day, the team reported that the Germans were



Map 4. Team Augustus' area of operations in the Aisne Department



Gas cans being loaded into containers to be airdropped (picture taken at Holme)

constructing field fortifications behind the Aisne River, although without minefields. On 28 August, they learned that American tanks were in the vicinity and moved north to Soissons. There, they briefed staff officers of the U.S. 3d Armored Division on German defenses in the area. The American officers displayed particular interest in the German camp at Margival.⁴² SFHQ, on 30 August, sent Augustus the following message:

Have received order from Army commander for FFI to take all possible steps to preserve following Somme bridges from enemy demolition. All bridges Amiens area, also at Moreuil, Boves, Fiquigny, Conde, Longpre. You should attempt to preserve these bridges for about four days after receipt this message. This is important task. Count on you for fullest cooperation. If you need arms can drop from low flying typhoons.⁴³

Team Augustus presumably received this message. That same day, the team passed through the American lines north of Laon (south of Froidmont), an area well known to Captain Delwiche. A subsequent OSS investigation revealed that all three members were shot and killed on the night of 30 August at the village of Barenton-sur-Serre. Apparently, German troops stopped a

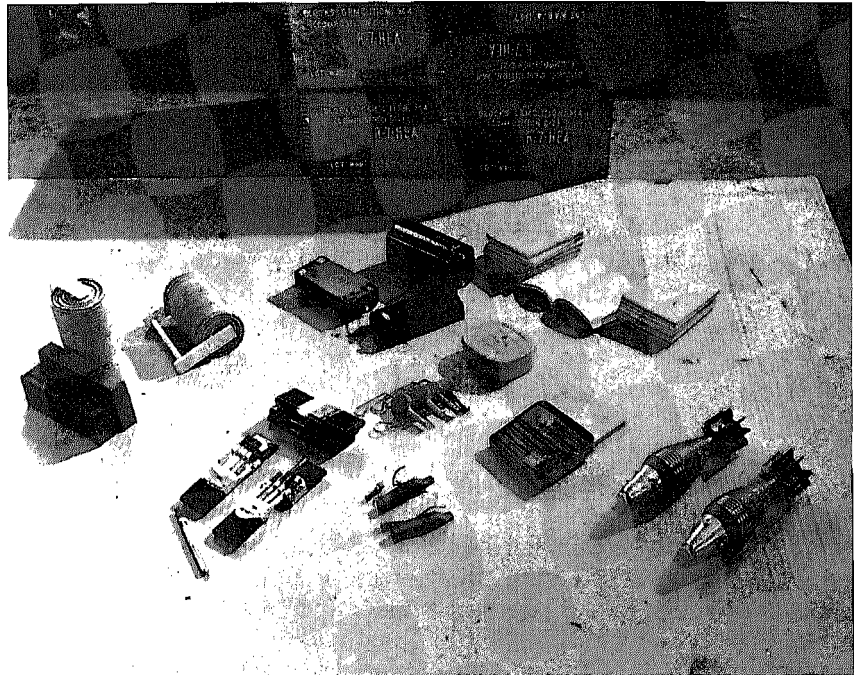
horse-drawn cart and found the three occupants in civilian clothes, carrying false French identity cards, and equipped with weapons, a radio, and other equipment. Since the German troops were the remnants of an armored unit interested mainly in escaping to the German border, they undertook no further searches but merely shot the team and soon departed in the rain. The horse, still towing its cart, returned on its own to its stable in Mr. Magnien's barn, which was occupied by armed FFI volunteers. The return of the horse and empty cart created considerable consternation. Mr. Magnien and his colleagues found the bodies of Jedburgh I team Augustus the following morning, buried the three men at the Barenton-sur-Serre cemetery, and subsequently erected a memorial in their honor.⁴⁴

Team Andrew, 15 August 1944

Operations in eastern France and Belgium were particularly difficult for SFHQ owing to the great distance from England and the proximity of German training areas and Axis security forces. In mid-April 1944, SFHQ dispatched the first four members of the CITRONELLE* inter-Allied mission to the Ardennes. The mission's leader, French Colonel Paris de Bolladière and seven more men parachuted into the area on 5 June. Their mission was to contact and assist Maquis on the French-Belgian border of the Ardennes. The Germans soon launched a series of attacks in the area, and an American member of CITRONELLE, Captain Victor J. Layton, radioed SFHQ to report that a German attack on 12 June had scattered the resistance group. He reported 5 FFI members killed, 140 captured, and estimated that perhaps 100 remained.⁴⁵

SFHQ on the night of 15 August dispatched Jedburgh Team Andrew to the southern Ardennes in Belgium, where they were to assist the FFI with arms deliveries and provide another communications link to London. The team consisted of Major A. H. S. ("Henry") Coombe-Tennant (British), Lieutenant Edouard Comte d'Oultremont (Belgian), and Sergeant Frank Harrison (British). Henry Coombe-Tennant was born on 9 April 1913 in the Vale of Neath, South Wales, and subsequently became a career officer, serving in the Welsh Guards. As a member of the British Expeditionary Force in 1940, he was captured near

*Code name for twelve-man inter-Allied mission led by Colonel Paris de Bolladière inserted into the Ardennes on 12 April and 5 June 1944.



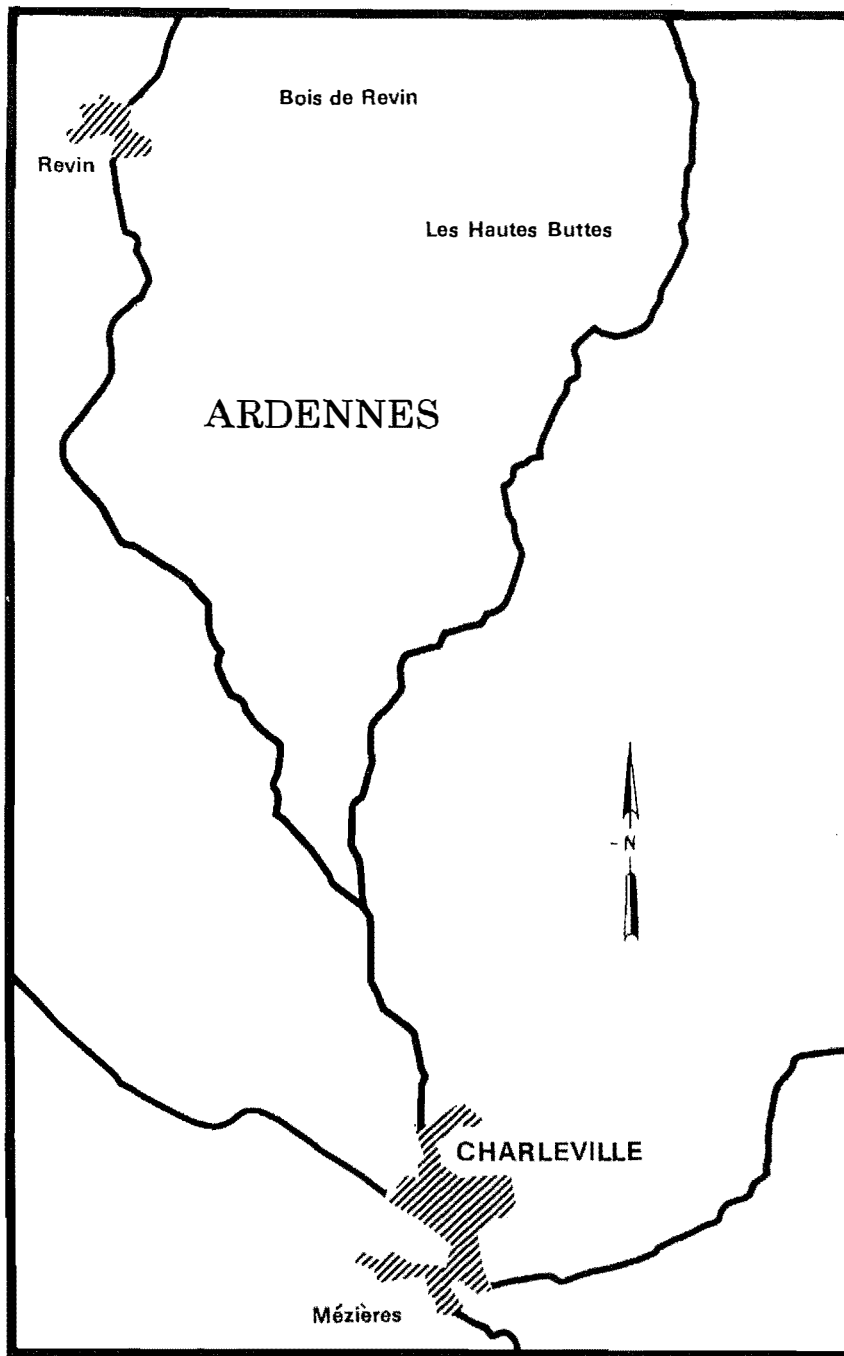
Display of equipment and supplies used by special operating forces: cortex, limpet (mine), mortar shells, radio receiver, and pencil time fuses

Boulogne. In 1942, he and two colleagues escaped from their German POW camp near Warburg in Westphalia and were fortunate enough to link up with the COMET network in Belgium, which assisted their return to England. Upon his return to England, Coombe-Tennant attended a staff college and in 1943 served on the SOE planning staff on Baker Street. Soon thereafter, he volunteered for the Jedburgh project. One of the members of the COMET network was Count d'Oultremont, born on 27 September 1916 in Paris, a resident of Brussels, who was of medium height, well built, with blonde hair and mustache, and distinguished in appearance. In 1943, d'Oultremont followed the COMET escape route, shortly before the Germans rolled up the network. The two men were rather surprised to meet each other again at Milton Hall and decided to form their own team. With d'Oultremont on the team, they guessed they would be inserted into Belgium. The team received their alert on 8 August and on the 10th traveled to London for their briefing. The briefers informed them that the resistance forces in the Ardennes had recently lost 200 men in an engagement, and only 150

remained. SFHQ instructed Team Andrew to contact the CITRONELLE mission upon their arrival. Two French officers on a similar mission would fly with the team. In addition, a ten-man Belgian SAS force on an independent mission would parachute with them (see map 5).⁴⁶

On the night of 15 August, the group flew to the Ardennes skirting a storm with high winds. SFHQ dispatched two bombers to the Ardennes that night carrying thirteen parachutists and forty-eight containers weighing approximately six tons total. Upon approaching the DZ, the landing lights were clearly visible, and the SAS team jumped first, about two kilometers east of Revin. The aircraft turned around to make a second pass, but this time the landing lights could not be spotted. Upon being informed that they would either have to jump "blind" or return to England, Major Coombe-Tennant decided to risk the jump. The strong wind scattered the team, but during the remaining hours of darkness, they located each other and buried their chutes. The Belgian SAS team had disappeared to conduct its own mission. At dawn, Team Andrew marched through the forest until they found a woodsman's cottage, where they were offered shelter. On 17 August, a Maquis lieutenant arrived and took them to meet Colonel de Bolladière's CITRONELLE mission. Along with some other equipment, Team Andrew lost its radio crystals in the drop and was therefore dependent upon CITRONELLE's radio for contacting SFHQ.

On 25 August, the de Bolladière group received a request for help from a Belgian resistance group about five miles to the east that was in a skirmish with a German convoy. Colonel de Bolladière took about sixty men with him and found the ambush site. Upon spotting women in the convoy, he ordered that it not be attacked; but it was too late, and a firefight ensued. The following day near noon, a German company from Belgium found and attacked the CITRONELLE group as they were having lunch. The Germans' use of 60-mm mortars proved particularly effective, and the CITRONELLE mission lost eight men killed and twelve wounded, including Colonel de Bolladière and Lieutenant d'Oultremont. The Germans, however, had not expected such firepower, and both forces simultaneously retired—the CITRONELLE group to a camp south of Tourbillon. The following day, Coombe-Tennant and Captain Layton returned to the scene of the engagement and observed that the Germans had not removed their dead. The CITRONELLE group subsequently remained deep within the forest about two miles



Map 5. Team Andrew's area of operations in the Ardennes

north of the French border. Their main link to the outside world was a Capuchin friar, Anton Hegelmann, who periodically visited their camp. Since they had little ammunition, they remained at their hideout the following week.⁴⁷

Around 1 September, the group learned of the advance of the U.S. Army and decided to move south toward Charleville. Upon reaching Charleville, they discovered that the U.S. Army had already seized the town. The group did, however, set up an ambush and managed to intercept a group of Germans retreating east. U.S. First Army's 10th SF Detachment picked up the team on 8 September at V Corps headquarters and gave them a ride to Paris. Major Coombe-Tennant and Lieutenant d'Oultremont left for Brussels to rejoin their regiments, leaving Sergeant Harrison to file the final report. Team Augustus was in the field for slightly more than three weeks, working with the CITRONELLE inter-Allied mission. The CITRONELLE group obviously undertook direct military action prematurely and consequently was forced to spend one critical week in hiding. If the CITRONELLE mission materially assisted the advance of Allied ground forces, it was only indirectly: by tying down German forces and constituting yet one more possible threat to German forces retiring east.⁴⁸

Major Coombe-Tennant returned to the Welsh Guards, served in the Middle East, and retired in 1956. In 1961, he joined the Benedictine Order. On 6 November 1989, he died at Downside Abbey. Edouard Comte d'Oultremont survived the war and returned to Brussels, where he died on 3 February 1988. The Jedburgh community subsequently lost touch with Frank Harrison.⁴⁹

Teams Benjamin and Bernard, 20 August 1944

SFHQ planned to dispatch Teams Benjamin and Bernard on the night of 19 August 1944 to the Meuse-Argonne area of northeastern France to assist the local FFI. Team Benjamin consisted of Major A. J. Forrest (British), Lieutenant Paul Moniez (France), and Second Lieutenant H. Kaminski (France) and was to operate east of the Meuse River. Team Bernard consisted of Captains J. de W. ("Jock") Waller (British), Etienne Nasica (France), and Sergeant Cyril M. Bassett (British). Each team parachuted with the standard Jedburgh radio set, with which they were to contact SFHQ in London to arrange the delivery

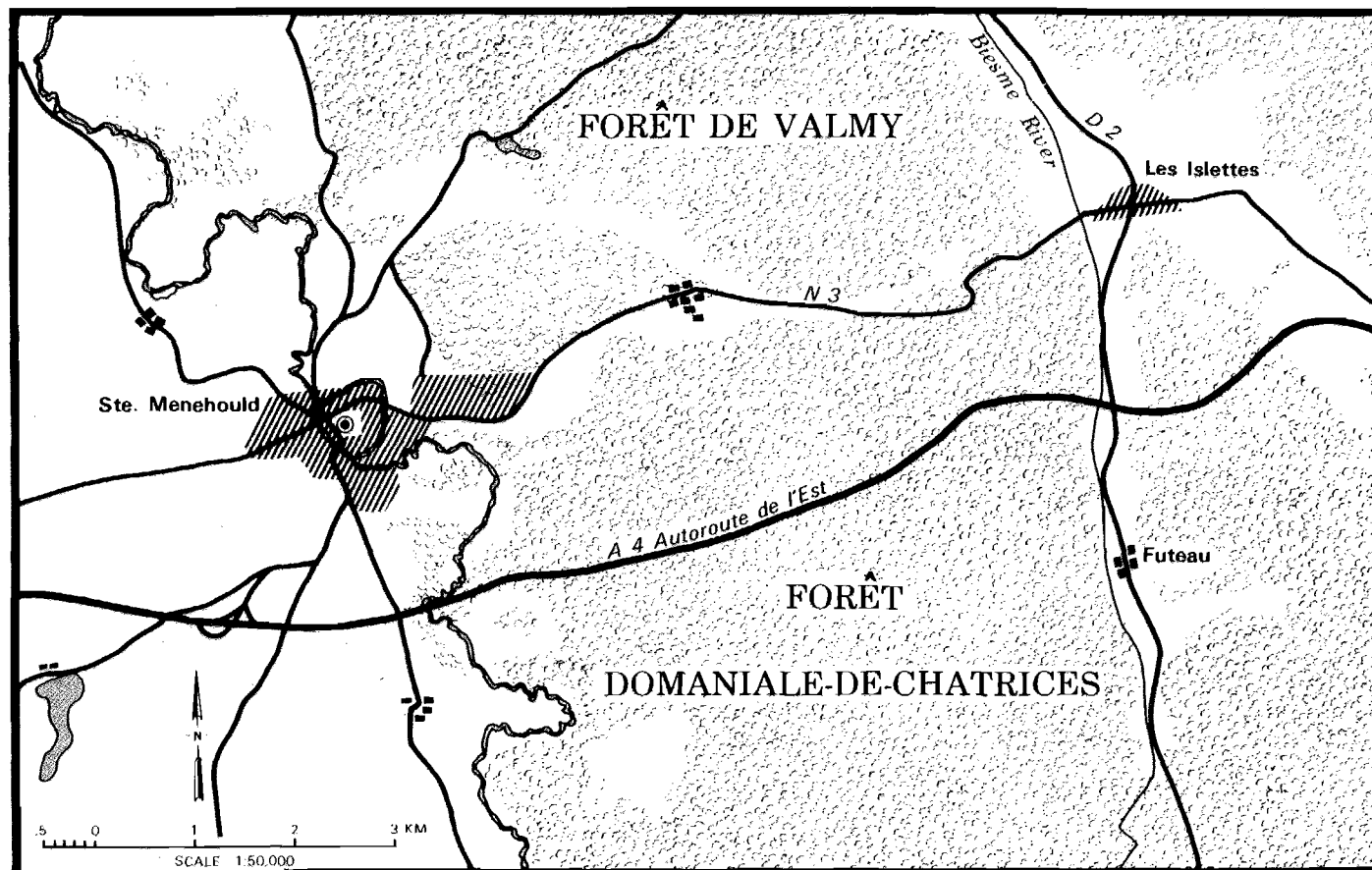


Special operations personnel arrive at Tempsford Air Base for a takeoff later in the evening. The man in front is carrying the TR-1 suitcase radio.

of additional weapons and supplies. Following a request for such supplies, it would take an estimated eight days for delivery.⁵⁰

The two teams received a joint briefing on 17 August that proved suspiciously brief. Information on the state of the resistance in eastern France proved sketchy, and the teams were not provided with detailed maps of the area. The planned jump for 19 August did not transpire, but on the following night, each team took off in a bomber from Fairford Air Base. Both bombers found their way to the DZ, several kilometers south of Clermont-en-Argonne, but could not spot the landing lights until directly above them. As the six Jedburghs parachuted, they suspected that something had gone wrong in the reception committee (see map 6).

The FFI reception committee had no previous experience working with parachuted men or materiel so consequently had not selected or prepared a suitable DZ. They had picked a very small field surrounded by the Argonne Forest. Thus, five of the Jedburghs, along with sixteen packages and about thirty containers, landed in the trees. The reception committee had selected a DZ that was far too small and complicated the problem by placing the landing lights too close to the tree line. Furthermore, they had only fifteen men, so it took two days and three nights to assemble the scattered containers and parachutes.



Map 6. Teams Benjamin and Bernard's area of operations in the Meuse-Argonne

On 21 August, two local resistance leaders escorted the Jedburghs to their camp on the edge of the Argonne, three miles south-southwest of Clermont, where at 0630, they established radio contact with SFHQ. They used Team Bernard's radio, since the other radio had been destroyed in the drop. They also decided to remain together in one large team until another radio could be supplied. It was not until 23 August that two senior FFI officials, "Colonel Aubusson" and "Angelet" (assistants of "Planete"), arrived to brief them on the local situation. They reported that "Planete" was in Nancy planning for a major operation in the Vosges and that he desired the FFI to harass the Germans in the Argonne region east and west of the Meuse. To accomplish this, there were about 600 men scattered about this rural area and another 300 in St. Mihiel. The *Franc Tireurs et Partisans* (FTP) had an estimated forty men in Stenay, 200 in Spincourt, and 50 in Souilly. To confuse the situation further, about 3,000 Russian POWs worked as miners in Bassin-de-Briey.

The two team leaders decided, therefore, to split up and return to their original plan. They would call for six priority parachute-supply drops at the beginning of the new moon: three in the Bernard sector west of the Meuse and three in the Benjamin sector east of the Meuse. They planned to arm a nucleus of 200 men in each sector. They consequently began preparations, contacting the local FTP leader to arrange his cooperation and to prepare for Team Benjamin to cross the Meuse. Then disaster struck.

The following morning, 24 August, the Gestapo and *Milice*, posing as FFI Maquis at the town of Les Islettes, arrested the local FFI leaders (see map 6). The two Jedburgh teams learned of this several hours later and began to carry off as much of their equipment as possible to a new camp. Later in the afternoon, 150 Axis troops led by an SS captain raided the Jedburgh camp evacuated only hours earlier. Through coincidence, an FTP patrol from Souilly, desiring to coordinate with the Jedburghs and secure more arms, arrived at the camp to find not Maquis but a large enemy force. The FTP fled, losing ten men and, no doubt, some measure of confidence in their FFI colleagues. The Jedburghs abandoned their earlier plans, knowing now that they were being hunted. They consequently moved again that same night through the heavily wooded Argonne to the western side of the Biesme valley into the Forêt Domaniale-de-Chatrices.

The move to the western side of the valley took three days, during which scouts attempted to determine the level of damage

done by the Les Islettes incident. On 28 August, they learned that one of the FFI leaders had been captured with a map showing the planned supply DZs. The following day, the group met with Major Rooney's SAS group Rupert, both groups having selected the same DZ for that night's supply drop. After coordinating for a joint drop, the SAS canceled the drop later that evening. Probably on this same day, SFHQ informed Team Benjamin of the imminent arrival of American ground forces and requested that Benjamin send guides through the German lines to meet them.⁵¹

On 30 August, the guides dispatched by the Jedburghs contacted the advancing American force (the U.S. 3d Cavalry Group, U.S. XX Corps), providing them with an estimate of the local situation. In the morning, the Jedburghs made three offensive patrols on the Ste. Menehould-Les Islettes-Clermont road, hoping to cut off retreating German forces. They also desired to prevent the destruction of the railway tunnel and bridges of Ste. Menehould. The road patrol encountered no German forces. A second patrol found the railway tunnel abandoned and not rigged for detonation. The third patrol (consisting of Lieutenant Moniez, Commandant Dulac, and six men) entered Ste. Menehould, killing four Germans, but later withdrew at the approach of German troops. A party of eighty FFI that was supposed to assist at Ste. Menehould proved unable to fight through German forces.⁵²

The U.S. XX Corps began its advance on Verdun on 30 August, led by its 3d Cavalry Group and the 7th Armored Division. The cavalry seized Ste. Menehould at 0545 on 31 August, and Combat Command A of the 7th Armored Division moved toward Verdun to capture a bridgehead over the Meuse River. The Germans had destroyed all of the Meuse River bridges in the area except the main bridge at Verdun, which was rigged for demolition and defended by a rear guard with two Mark V Panther tanks. As units of Combat Command A entered the town shortly after noon, a number of FFI volunteers ran under the bridge and managed to cut the wires to the explosive charge before the German sentries opened fire. Minutes later, the tanks of Combat Command A arrived, knocked out the two Panthers, and proceeded east to secure the bridgehead.

On 31 August, before the arrival of American forces, Captain Nasica was wounded in a skirmish with a German patrol at Futeau in the Biesme valley. The Maquis advanced along the Biesme valley, taking Les Islettes on 1 September. On 2 September, the group (about 100 men) entered Clermont and began



Lieutenant Colonel Robert I. Powell,
commander of the 11th Special
Forces Detachment of the U.S. Third
Army

to intercept German stragglers, killing or capturing about fifty men. The Jedburghs had turned over command of the Maquis to Commandant Dulac and on 31 August moved east across the Meuse toward Verdun. Upon reaching that historic town, they discovered troops of the U.S. XX Corps in force and decided to contact U.S. Third Army headquarters to receive new instructions. On the return drive as they approached Clermont, a German outpost opened fire on their truck, wounding everyone except Captain Waller and Lieutenant Moniez. The Jedburgh team fled, losing its truck, radio, and the last of its personal equipment. During the previous night, a regiment of the 15th *Panzer Grenadier* Division had driven the Dulac Maquis out of Clermont and occupied the town. The Jedburgh group infiltrated through the German lines and reached Epernay on 2 September, where Captain Waller met them. On the following day, they reported to Lieutenant Colonel Powell of the 11th SF Detachment at U.S. Third Army headquarters in Châlons.⁵³

The Jedburgh group rested and reequipped over the week. Captain Nasica and Sergeant Bassett were evacuated from local hospitals to England. On 11 September, Colonel Powell directed the group to assist the PEDLAR* circuit in the Chaumont area

*PEDLAR was an intelligence circuit led by Major Bodington that operated in the Châlons-sur-Marne area, see pp. 43–47.

(see Team Arnold report on PEDLAR). The group subsequently participated in a daylight supply drop at Gargonville on 13 September and, following the capture of Chaumont, assisted Major Bodington in the demobilization of his Maquis. From 18–22 September, Teams Benjamin and Bernard stored excess parachuted arms at Nancy. They returned to England on 2 October, observing that they should have been deployed at least two months prior to 20 August. They also noted that SFHQ had basically ignored the Meuse-Argonne region until August 1944, by which time it was too late to create an efficient organization. Teams Benjamin and Bernard served in France for roughly six weeks, although only nine days before the U.S. Third Army overran the area. Effective Axis security forced the two teams to hide from 24–30 August. Between 30 August and 2 September, four of the six Jedburghs were wounded, with two requiring evacuation.⁵⁴

In many ways, the story of Teams Benjamin and Bernard provides more questions than answers. Their after-action report makes no reference to the FFI of Verdun and the capture of the Verdun bridge, even though Verdun was only some thirty kilometers to the east. In similar fashion, U.S. Army records fail to mention any Jedburgh teams operating in the area. We also know that on 30 August, SFHQ directed Jedburgh teams to seize bridges in front of the U.S. First Army to assist the advance of the ground forces. There is no indication, however, that similar messages were sent to the SOF teams in front of the U.S. Third Army. How it came to pass that an FFI group knew when and how to cut the wires of the demolitions on the Verdun bridge remains open to question.

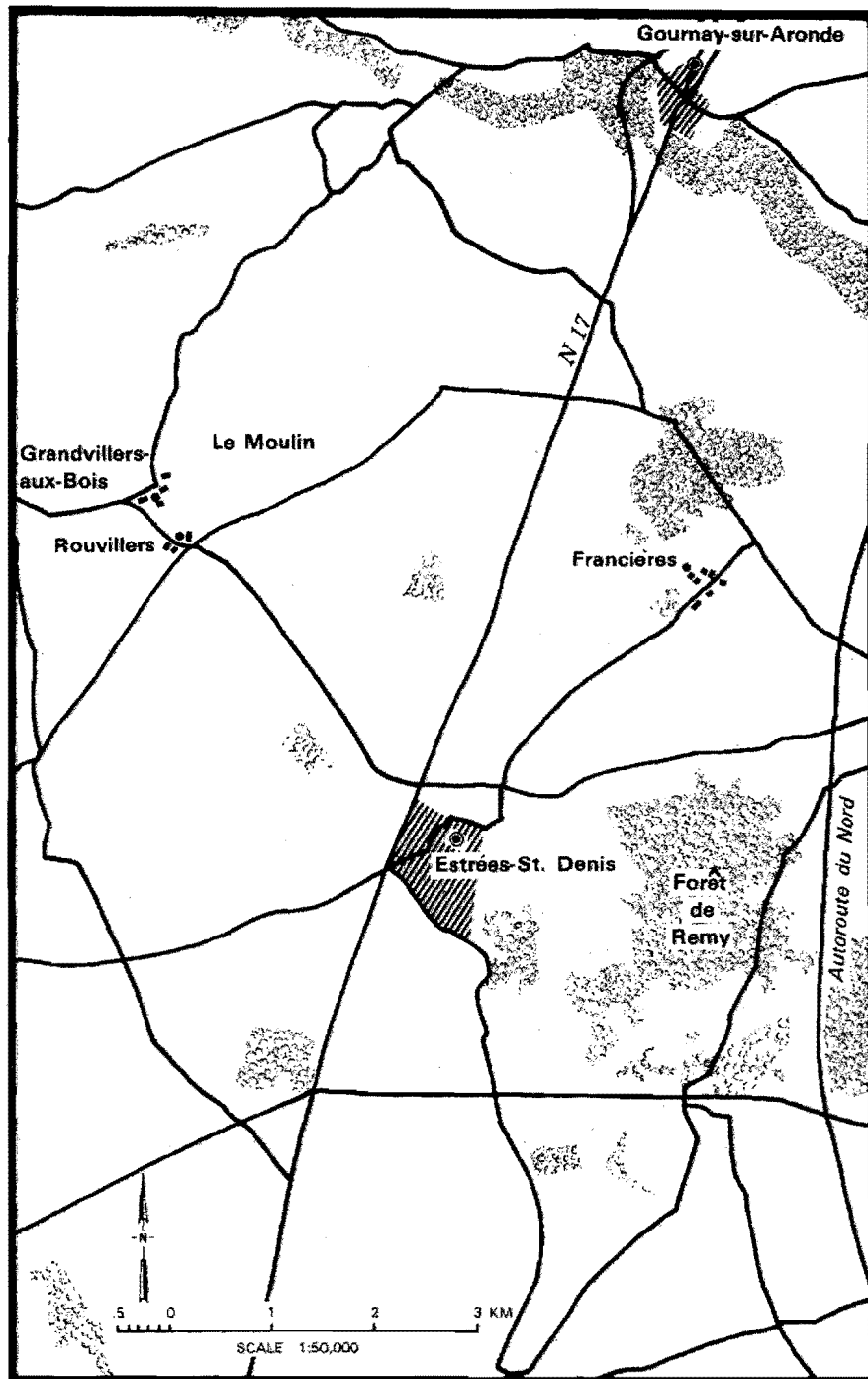
Team Alfred, 24 August 1944

SFHQ dispatched Team Alfred on 24 August 1944 to the Oise River valley north of Paris to assist in organizing the local FFI, particularly through providing them an additional radio link to London and assisting in the delivery of arms. The team consisted of Lieutenant G. Herenguel (French), Captain L. D. MacDougall (British), and Sergeant Albert W. Key (British). The team left Milton Hall in somewhat of a rush on the morning of 9 August for London, after which they prepared for their jump. It was not until 23 August that they received a rather hurried second briefing on the FFI and German situation in the Oise

sector. They were also informed that it would take about eight days for the delivery of arms drops. The briefing officer told them that if they found themselves within forty miles of the battle zone, they were to recruit fifteen volunteers and move toward the Allied army, gathering tactical information along the way. Upon landing in France, they were to contact the local FFI chief, Dupont-Montura. The team was instructed to avoid open combat (see map 7).⁵⁵

That night at 2300, Team Alfred departed on a two-hour flight through a rather severe storm for the DZ at Le Moulin (in all probability about fifteen kilometers northeast of Compiègne), where the pilot dropped the packages and containers with some difficulty. He then gained altitude for a second pass so the team could safely jump, but amid fierce winds, he could not spot the landing lights and was forced to cancel the jump. The following night, they tried again, and after a fifty-minute search for DZ Moulin, the RAF bomber dropped both the Jedburgh team and their packages and containers. It proved an excellent drop, and it took little time for the reception committee to assemble the team and equipment and take them to the safety of a nearby quarry. As it turned out, the reception committee had secured the containers and packages dropped the previous night but had moved the equipment to a village some twenty kilometers away. Thus, the team would have to do without their personal kits for some time.

On the morning of 26 August, Lieutenant Herenguel traveled to Clermont, where he met Commandant Dupont-Montura, the FFI commander for the Oise area. Following their meeting, Team Alfred sent the following message to SFHQ: "Have contacted Chef FFI departmental. Five to six thousand partisans in area poorly organized but very enthusiastic and demand arms and yet more arms. 400 of total armed in area Compiègne Clermont. Area Beauvais destitute of arms."⁵⁶ That night, the team vainly awaited an arms drop at DZ Moulin. The following morning, word arrived that there were parachutists nearby at Francières, so Captain MacDougall went to investigate. He returned later with five Special Air Service men. Their aircraft could not find the DZ, so the team dropped "blind," although the pilot did not drop the arms containers. The following day, Team Alfred radioed London, reporting the nonarrival of their arms shipment and stating that large bodies of disorganized German troops were moving north through Montdidier toward Lille. A coded BBC broadcast heralded another drop for that evening, so once



Map 7. Team Alfred's area of operations in the Oise River valley

again, the team assembled at DZ Moulin. This time, they waited until 0230, when a heavy thunderstorm struck. Team Alfred later learned that the arms shipment had been dropped some fifteen kilometers away, where the local Communist-Party-sponsored resistance group had retrieved it.⁵⁷

At this time, German activity forced Team Alfred to seek a safer location each day. On 28 August, they took shelter in a cave located in a small wood. That same day, the team sent SFHQ at least three messages, reporting that the Germans were destroying their air base at Creil, preparing bridges for demolition, and at several locations erecting antitank obstacles and minefields. The team also reported that it had dispatched five volunteers toward the Allied lines to gain tactical information. That same day, the team received its first message from SFHQ, enigmatically requesting exact map references—information the team was certain that agent “Pasteur” had already sent to London.

On 29 and 30 August, the team informed SFHQ that the Germans were preparing the Oise bridges for demolition and suggested that to prevent their destruction, London should send arms and an SAS group if possible. Team Alfred also reported that the Oise valley remained heavily congested with German troops and gave the location of forty tanks south of Compiègne. The team still hoped to set up several ambushes, even though it would have to use aged rifles and shotguns. Then at 1100 on 30 August, it received the following message from SFHQ: “Would like you to take all possible steps on receipt this message to preserve following Somme bridges from enemy demolition. All bridges Amiens area. Also at Moreuil, Boves, Fiquigny, Conde, Longpre. Try to keep bridges in state of preservation for about 4 days. This target of highest importance. Can drop arms to you from low flying typhoons if you need them.”⁵⁸

Team Alfred had still not received any arms drops, so attempting to stop the German Army from blowing up a number of bridges proved a rather difficult task. The team on 31 August radioed London twice requesting arms drops and that evening set off to conduct two ambushes. Lieutenant Herenguel and Sergeant Key remained with the ambush party, while Captain MacDougall took the radio with a horse and cart and attempted to contact the FFI in Amiens. When he arrived in Ferrières at the same time as an American armored column, an American staff officer provided him with a vehicle so he could rapidly reach Amiens. But just as he was preparing to leave Ferrières,

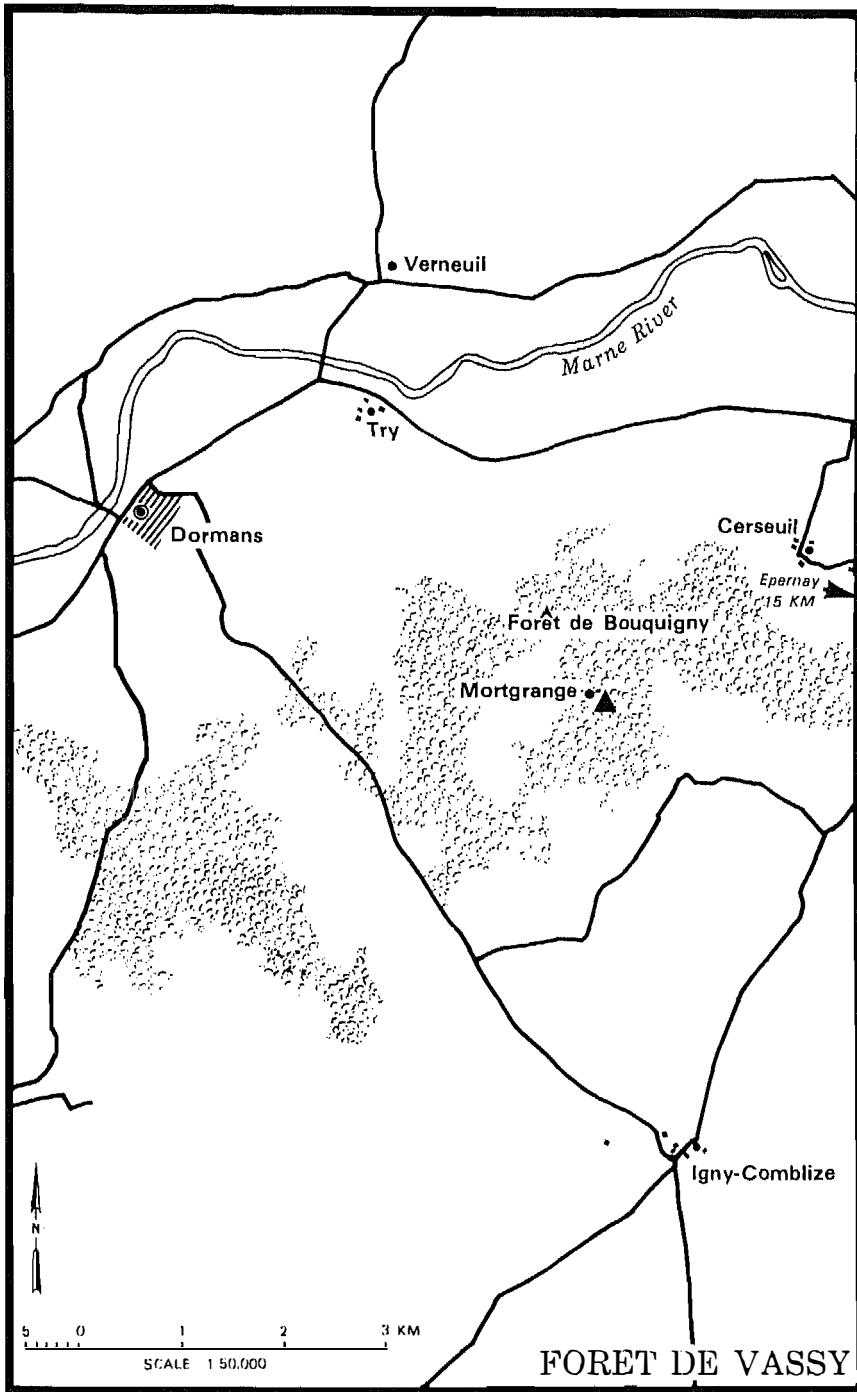
word arrived that the British Army had already captured the town. Team Alfred's ambushes went rather well, at Francières shooting up a German column while receiving few losses. The second ambush killed a small group of Germans while liberating thirty American prisoners of war. The following day, large U.S. Army forces overran the area. Team Alfred subsequently remained in the area working with the FFI attempting to locate German stragglers. After spending three days in Paris, the team returned to the United Kingdom on 27 September.

The team concluded its after-action report with the following paragraph: "This was the tale of the team Alfred, not a very glorious one but not through any fault of the team. If we had been dispatched when we were first 'alerted' some two weeks previous to our actual departure (team was 'alerted' and 'briefed' on 9 August but did not leave until 24 August) we could have done something useful." Team Alfred spent four weeks in France, but only eight days before U.S. Army conventional forces overran the area. Perhaps their own postmortem was too critical, for the team did provide valuable information on German troop movements and defenses.⁵⁹ Lieutenant Herenguel died on 8 September 1945 in Nape, Laos. Albert Key died shortly after the end of the war. The Jedburgh community subsequently lost contact with Captain MacDougall.⁶⁰

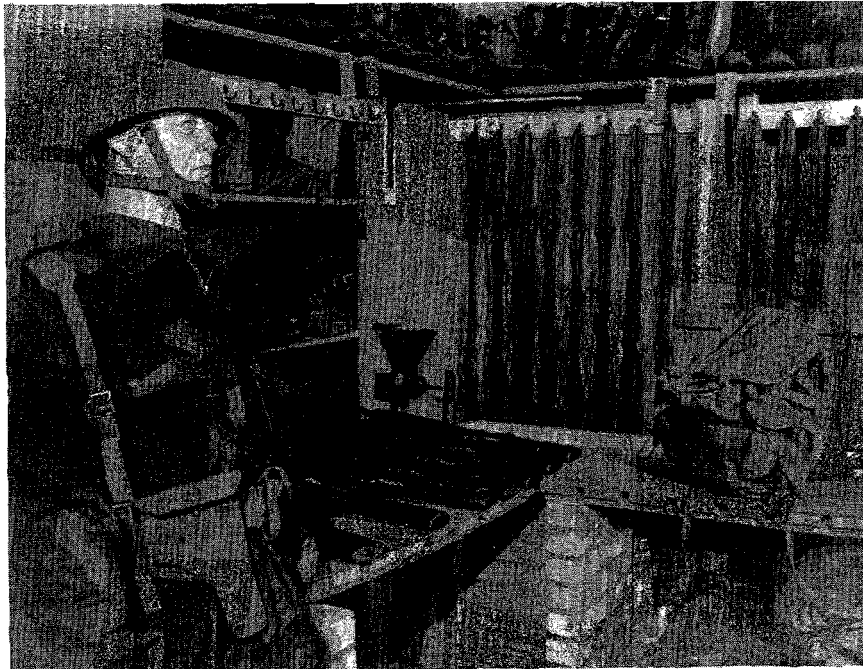
Team Arnold, 24 August 1944

The Marne Department of eastern France proved a difficult area for the French Resistance. SOE resolved to open an intelligence circuit in this area and picked one of its more experienced operatives to lead it, Major Nicholas R. Bodington (almost always misspelled Boddington). A former Reuters Paris correspondent, Bodington had already undertaken several journeys to occupied France. SFHQ sent him to the Marne region in early July 1944 to reopen the PEDLAR circuit. Jedburgh Team Arnold would assist Bodington's circuit in late August (see map 8).⁶¹

SFHQ dispatched Team Arnold late in the evening of 24 August 1944 to the Marne area near Epernay to assist the local FFI. The team consisted of Captain Michel de Carville (French) of the French Colonial Infantry, Lieutenant J. H. F. Monahan (British), and Sergeant Alan de Ville (British). The team flew from Tarrant Rushton Airdrome at 2230 on 24 August in two



Map 8. Team Arnold's area of operations in the Marne Department



The supply room at Milton Hall

Halifax bombers of the RAF's 38th Group, taking with them thirty containers of supplies. They dropped at 0030 on 25 August in civilian clothes southwest of Epernay near the village of Igny-Comblize.⁶² The DZ was easily recognized, and the team jumped without difficulty. Major Bodington (code-named "Nick") led the reception committee, which fetched the containers and retrieved all the equipment except Team Arnold's leg bags with their personal weapons, maps, uniforms, and crystals for the radio. As a result, the team could not contact SFHQ.⁶³

Major Bodington provided a secluded hunting lodge⁶⁴ and several guides to the Jedburghs and suggested that they control the zone from Epernay west to Dormans. On 26 August, Team Arnold sent four agents (selected by Bodington) south to contact the advancing forces of the U.S. Third Army. The team also decided to form a Maquis as soon as possible. The local FFI had already armed some 200 men from parachuted arms and hoped to field 200 more. On 27 August, while the team was visiting local FFI leaders, the resistance group in Cerseuil shot and killed a member of the Organization Todt (a labor organization that performed construction for the Wehrmacht). Team

Arnold decided to use this incident to raise the Cerseuil FFI to insurrection. On the way to Cerseuil, however, a German patrol spotted the team and drove it into hiding. The team spent that night in the village of Try. In the morning, they were awakened by the sound of German Army columns crossing the Marne River bridge at Try. Team Arnold sent word for the FFI to assemble at Try. Later in the morning, elements of the U.S. 7th Armored Division's Combat Command B and the local FFI arrived and attempted to seize the Marne bridge. As the Allied forces approached, however, the German defenders blew up the bridge and successfully ward off a subsequent American attack. The FFI assisted the troops of the 7th Armored Division by providing a flank screen and taking care of the wounded.⁶⁵

The German organization that prepared the defense of this sector of the Marne was Brigadier General Eckart von Tschammer und Osten's *Feldkommandantur* 531, which administered the Marne Department, but from some distance away in Châlons-sur-Marne. Its nearest office or outpost was in Epernay. In Châlons the Germans did not view resistance activity as very threatening and continued to work until American armor arrived on 28 August. The Germans concentrated on repairing roads and bridges and preparing demolitions. One major problem was transporting French collaborators and their families east, with some 200 leaving Châlons-sur-Marne only on 27 August. Besides assembling livestock north of the Marne, the *Feldkommandantur* was also responsible for constructing defensive positions behind the river's north bank. Only 7,690 of the requisitioned 12,000 French workers appeared on the first day. The Germans soon noticed that the French were sabotaging their vehicles. Lieutenant General Franz Beyer's LXXX Corps headquarters assisted in the construction of this sector of the Kitzinger Line. The German forces that crossed the Marne bridge at Dormans were the remnants of Lieutenant General Kurt von der Chevallerie's First Army retiring from the upper Seine. Included in this force was a battle group of the Panzer *Lehr* Division.⁶⁶

From 29 August until 2 September, Team Arnold collected weapons from the FFI. They reported no disturbances. On 2 September, along with Major Bodington and his Maquis, the team moved to Montier-en-Der, where they were to help collect German stragglers. The team discovered few if any Germans at Montier-en-Der, however, and resolved to move on to St. Dizier. They found that town occupied by about three companies of resistance troops and contacted Colonel de Grouchy, the head

of the resistance in the Haute-Marne. Their tranquility was disturbed on 8 September, when news came down through FFI channels to prepare rapidly to move south. Team Arnold went to U.S. Third Army headquarters for more precise orders and in the hope of securing more arms. Personnel at Patton's headquarters instructed them to move on Chaumont with all available forces to prevent German forces from escaping to the north.⁶⁷

Major Bodington dispatched one company from St. Dizier toward Chaumont on 10 September. The following day, Team Arnold followed with two half companies. They found FFI troops occupying villages on the road between Juzonnocourt and Boulogne, the latter village being ten kilometers north of Chaumont and the closest point to the German positions. The 2d French Armored Division secured Chaumont on 13 September, ending any possible threat to Patton's southern flank.

On 14 September, the FFI forces returned home. Team Arnold reported in at Paris on the 19th and later continued on to London. They observed that they had been inserted far too late to organize and coordinate resistance activities, that it had taken too long for them to receive their requested arms drops, and that since they had been parachuted in civilian clothes, they should have been issued false identity papers. Team Arnold was in France only three days before linking up with the U.S. Third Army. Its remaining twenty-three days were devoted to collecting weapons and finally leading FFI troops to Chaumont.⁶⁸

Team Archibald, 25 August 1944

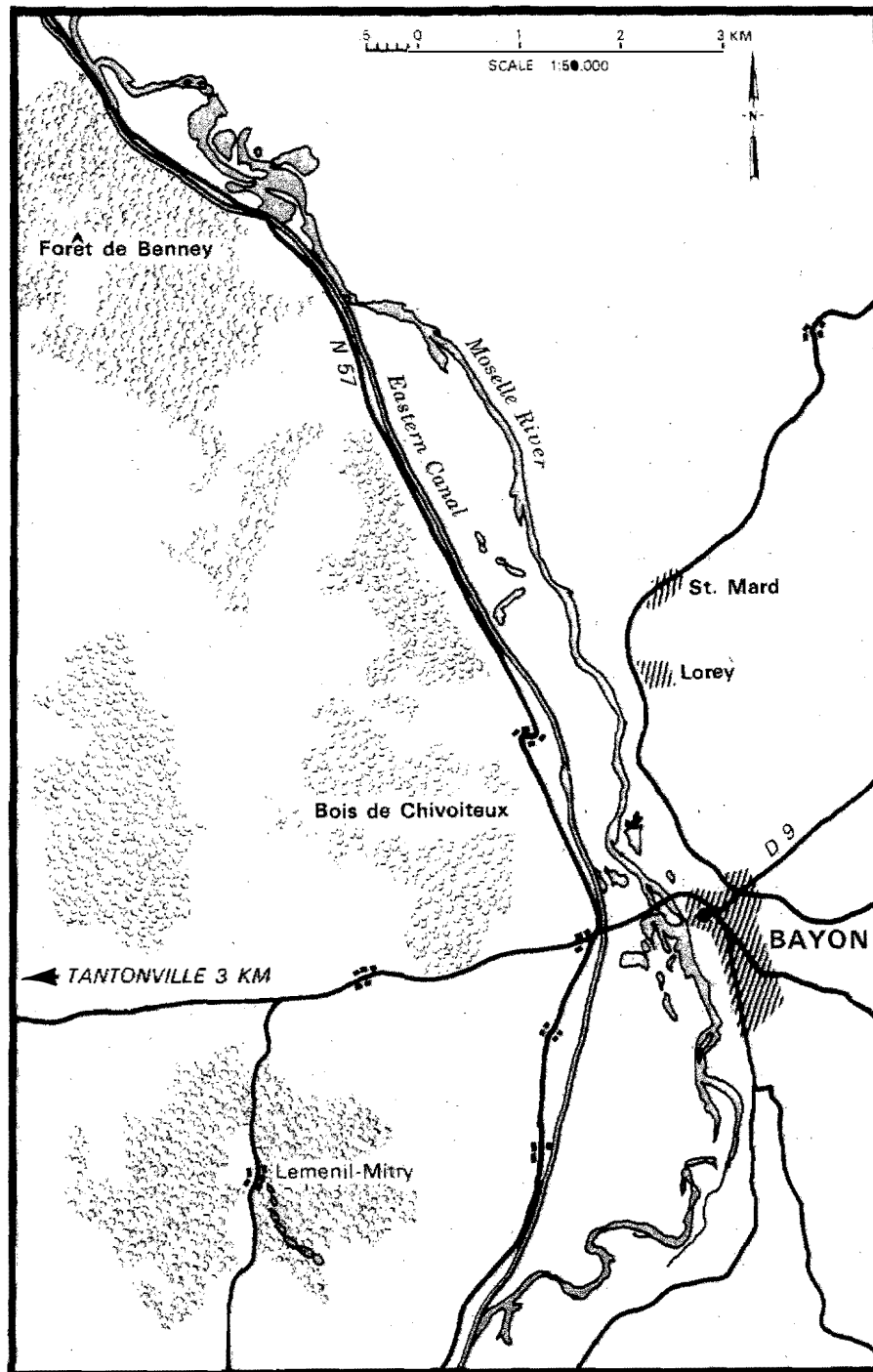
Jedburgh training, as previously mentioned, proved quite rigorous and, at most times, injured Jeds could be found in the local hospital. In May, while the Jedburghs were forming their own teams at Milton Hall, Major Arthur du P. Denning (British), Lieutenant Francois Coste (French), and Master Sergeant Roger L. Pierre (U.S.), while in the hospital, resolved to form their own team. Denning was a rather imposing figure at six feet three inches in height, with a trim regimental mustache and ever-present pipe. Coste was a career officer in the French Army, a St. Cyr graduate, who was usually found smoking a cigarette. Roger Pierre was a nineteen year old New Yorker. Upon their return to Milton Hall, their "self selection" was approved, and they volunteered to jump into France in civilian clothes. After receiving their briefing in London, however, their mission was

canceled. Finally, after waiting fourteen days in London, Denning and Coste received another briefing on 25 August. Team Archibald would jump in their uniforms near Nancy, contact "Planete," and assist the FFI through training, liaison, and delivery of weapons. Their premission briefing, however, was based on information six months old, and hence out of date. They were not informed that other Allied agents were operating in the same area nor that Team Archibald would be delivering a large sum of money to "Planete." The team was instructed to avoid pitched battles with Axis forces.⁶⁹

That same day, the team drove north for Harrington and took off in a bomber at 2045. The pilot had difficulty identifying the DZ but dropped the team and equipment on the second pass at 0110 of 26 August in the Nancy region near the Forêt de Charmes (see map 9). Two sixty-man reception committees, each desiring weapons, met the team. Major Denning gave half the weapons to each group and decided to join the Forêt de Charmes Maquis, which already possessed some weapons, was led by a Captain Noel, and was capable of some military action. On retrieval of the parachuted equipment, the team discovered that their radio set was destroyed and numerous weapons seriously damaged in the drop. Another agent from SFHQ, however, (code-named "Careful") was in the area and informed London that Archibald had arrived. Team Archibald received another radio with the first parachuted delivery of supplies.

Captain Noel led the team to his Maquis camp, where Major Denning and a former Yugoslavian captain attempted to repair the damaged firearms. Team Archibald also began to receive parachute drops—some expected, some a surprise. In the latter category was a ten-man Canadian SAS team with three jeeps led by a major code-named "Peter." After much handshaking and backslapping, the SAS team drove off toward St. Die and never returned. Team Archibald later discovered that the entire SAS team was killed in combat.

Archibald's guerrilla band soon rose to a strength of 300 armed and 250 unarmed men. "Planete" finally arrived to receive his 35 million francs, but he could offer little information on the resistance situation in the area. He promised, however, that one of his deputies would subsequently deliver that information. That deputy eventually arrived but only after the end of guerrilla operations with the arrival of U.S. Army field units. Upon learning of the approach of a German division, the group left 150 armed men to await further arms drops in the Forêt de



Map 9. Team Archibald's area of operations near Nancy

Charmes and moved the remainder to Lemenil-Mitry in the Bois de Chivoiteux.

The Germans subsequently swept the Forêt de Charmes, burning the village of St. Rémy. Maquis Noel lost much of its impetus when "Planete" called its leader away to Nancy. On 2 September, however, Captain Montlac led a resistance group to the German depot at Tantonville, in the afternoon ambushing a German column along the way and subsequently participating in an action at Tantonville. News received during the morning indicated that advancing U.S. Army field forces were only some thirty-five kilometers away, so Major Denning resolved to contact them. He encountered the 42d Cavalry Squadron and gave them his interpretation of the situation, but on the return trip, he ran into a skirmish and received a slight wound in the thigh. Upon returning to the Maquis camp, Denning discovered that Captain Coste and several of the group had been wounded. Owing to the severity of their wounds, Denning sent the wounded behind German lines to a Catholic hospital in Lunéville. If asked, the driver carrying them was to declare that they were "innocent victims of FFI terrorists." Denning remained with the Maquis, hoping to assist the U.S. Army in securing bridges over the Moselle.⁷⁰

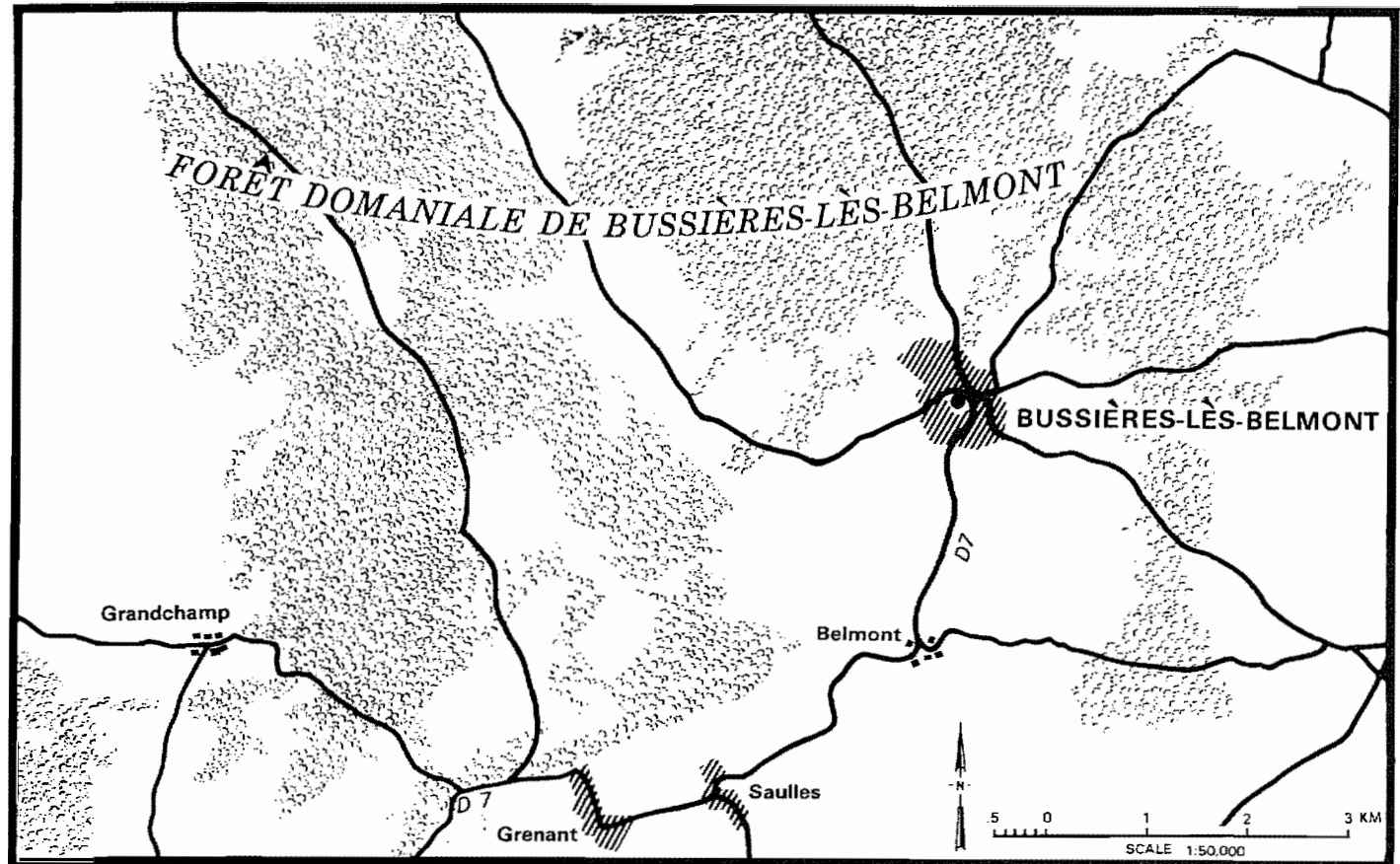
The only bridges between Nancy and Charmes not defended and rigged for demolition were at the towns of Charmes and Langley. Denning's group managed to capture the bridge at Charmes, driving off the small garrison in a coup de main in the evening. The U.S. Third Army, however, ran out of gasoline and was unable to push forward to Charmes. The Germans subsequently retook the town and destroyed the bridge during their defense of the Moselle. With the Americans temporarily out of fuel and German reinforcements now available, the front soon stabilized along the Moselle River. In early September, Patton's forces secured bridgeheads across the Moselle north of Bayon at Lorey, St. Mard, and Velle and asked the FFI for assistance. Major Denning consequently took four companies of Maquis across the river, placing one company in each village and a fourth in Domptail. Captain Noel meanwhile formed an 800-man mobile group that assisted in providing rear-area and flank protection in the no-man's-land between the U.S. Third and Seventh Armies. Following a brief trip to Paris, Major Denning returned to the Nancy area, but by and large, Jedburgh-FFI operations had come to a close. The French government intended to incorporate the Maquis into a field army,

and SHAEF saw no further use for Jedburgh teams. Team Archibald made numerous requests for arms drops after 3 September, but SFHQ or the RAF managed to avert the delivery of arms. Finally, on 31 October, the U.S. Third Army directed Team Archibald to return to the United Kingdom. Team Archibald served in the field for more than two months, although only nine days before the arrival of U.S. Third Army units. The team provided invaluable assistance in organizing a large Maquis that fought as a conventional infantry force with the U.S. Third Army along the Moselle River.⁷¹

Team Stanley, 31 August 1944

SFHQ dispatched Stanley as the fifty-third Jedburgh team to France on 31 August 1944 to the Haute-Marne region. It consisted of Captain Oswin E. Craster (British), Lieutenant Robert Cantais (French), and Sergeant E. J. ("Jack") Grinham (British). In addition, two French aspirants, Lieutenants Denis and Ely, jumped with Team Stanley and accompanied them throughout the operation, usually commanding platoon-size FFI groups. Oswin Craster had served since 1939 in the 5th Battalion of the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry. When it became apparent that his unit would not be sent into combat, he and several of his comrades volunteered for operations behind German lines. Cantais was a regular in the French Army, who eventually retired as a colonel. Jack Grinham had previously served in the Royal Armoured Corps. Their mission was to assist the FFI near Chaumont on the Plateau de Langres—particularly in setting up air-supply drops. SFHQ also directed them to prevent the destruction of several engineering structures in eastern France. By this late date, SFHQ knew of the imminent arrival of Allied ground forces, so Stanley received instructions to immediately dispatch agents to serve as guides for the advancing ground forces (see map 10).⁷²

Team Stanley was in a London hotel as late as 31 August, wondering if they would in fact ever be sent into action, when they received the alert notification. As they drove north for Tempsford airfield, Craster and Cantais received their briefing in the back of a truck. Team Stanley took off at 2045 on 31 August in a Stirling bomber. They parachuted shortly before midnight from too high an altitude, so the five parachutists and numerous cannisters scattered considerably near Rivi re-les-



Map 10. Team Stanley's area of operations in the Haute-Marne

Fosses, about twenty-five kilometers south-southwest of Langres. The reception committee assisted in the retrieval of the equipment and provided the team with shelter and transportation. They spent the night in the village and on the evening of 2 September drove about twenty-two kilometers northeast in the rain to join an organized Maquis, which they found in the woods west of Bussi res-l s-Belmont. On 3 September, the team reported that 300 armed Maquis were in the area along with three companies of the French 1st Regiment, which had defected to the Allies along with sixty French gendarmes. They estimated that another 2,000 Maquis could be raised if SFHQ dropped sufficient arms. The French 1st Regiment possessed only light infantry weapons and enough ammunition to last one day. The team also discovered that the Germans had already destroyed the facilities SFHQ had requested saved. An SAS troop in jeeps arrived one morning and asked to use the Jedburgh's radio, since theirs had been smashed on landing. Sergeant Grinham sent their message for them, and the SAS disappeared the following day.⁷³

Through 14 September, Team Stanley provided excellent information to SFHQ on German forces in the area, including the heavy road traffic toward Langres (held by 8,000 Germans, with one general identified) and Chaumont (which the Germans were preparing for defense). The team attempted to avoid pitched battles as a result of insufficient arms and ammunition. Beginning on 7 September, however, they began to capture small groups of German troops attempting to escape east from the Bay of Biscay on the road from Champlite to Bonne. On 8 September, the team received its first message from SFHQ, which requested more information on a prospective DZ. The following night, however, the team received its weapons drop. On 11 September, a large body of German troops and their Russian auxiliaries occupied the villages of Grenant, Saulles, and Belmont. A platoon of the French 1st Regiment on its way to guard the Saulles Chateau ran into these German forces and was repulsed. Team Stanley radioed SFHQ and requested that Allied aircraft attack the Germans dug in around the Belmont cemetery. Three hours later, four U.S. P-47s arrived and inflicted considerable damage on the German force, particularly the motorized transports. Team Stanley reported that they had no idea whether the P-47s' arrival was a result of their message or simply a coincidence, but it certainly improved their relations with the Maquis.

On the following day, Team Stanley radioed London that the German forces around Belmont remained stationary and indicated that they would surrender to the U.S. Army, but not to the FFI. On the same day, the FFI captured five Indians in German uniforms (from the Indian Legion). On 13 September, the Maquis contacted reconnaissance elements of French troops of the U.S. Seventh Army advancing from the south. While the French unit attacked the three villages occupied by the Germans (Grenant, Saulles, and Belmont), Team Stanley and the Maquis helped mop up German stragglers in the woods, guarded POWs, and protected the unit's rear. On 15 September, SFHQ told Team Stanley that their mission was completed and to return to England via Paris.

It remains unclear when Team Stanley dispatched local FFI volunteers to contact advancing Allied ground forces. In all probability, they did so on 1 or 2 September, since the volunteers returned to inform Team Stanley that they had successfully made contact. Since Team Stanley jumped into the no-man's-land between the U.S. Third and Seventh Armies, they sent messengers in both directions.⁷⁴

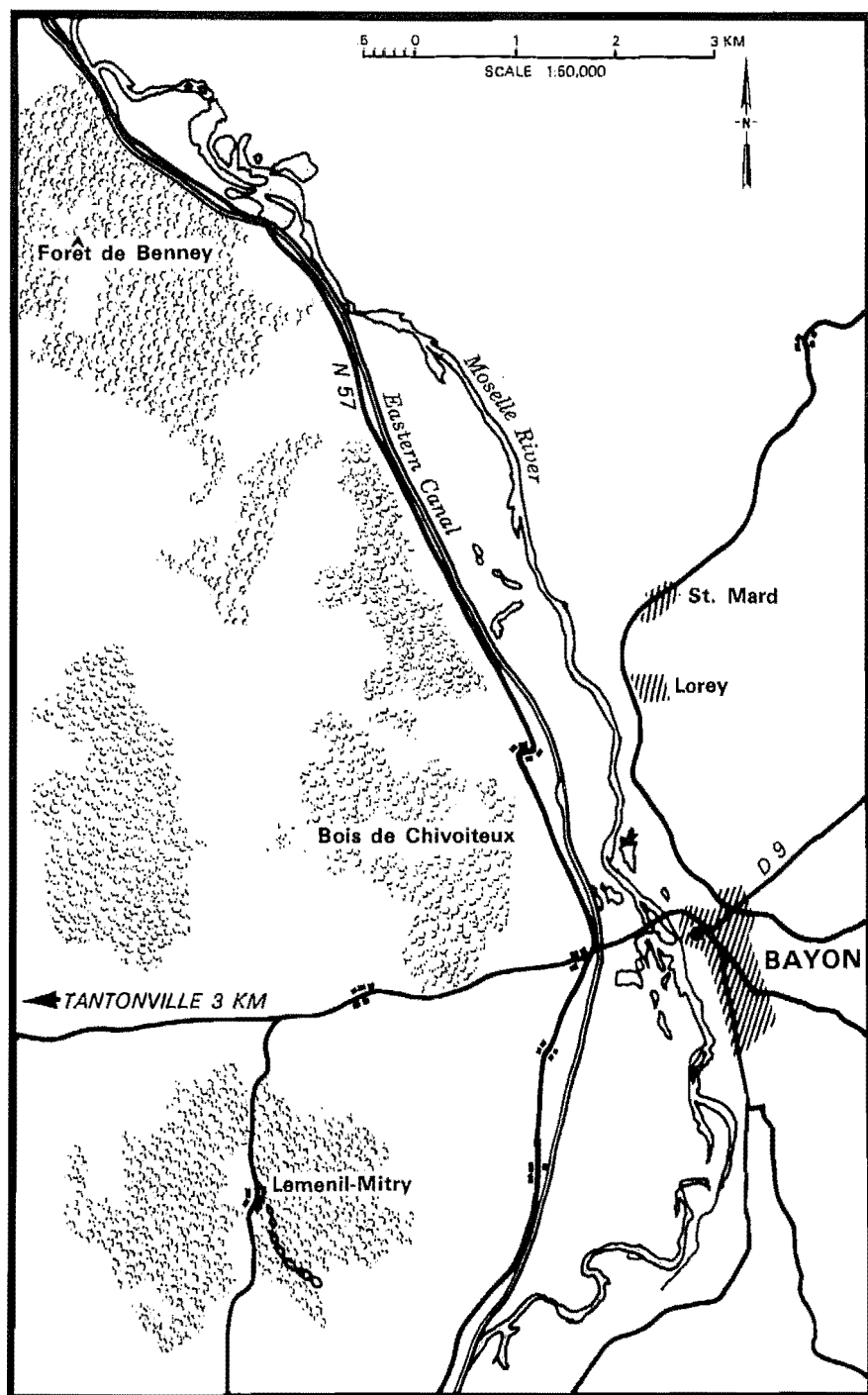
Team Stanley served in the field for fifteen days. Later, they reported that they had been dispatched to France at least a month too late. They obviously had little time to prepare the Maquis for combat. In addition, Team Stanley had instructions to prevent the destruction of several engineering structures, but when they landed, the Germans had already destroyed them. The team also observed that while the former Vichy officers were far too passive, the young volunteers performed quite well. The team also felt that SFHQ ignored their messages, particularly their requests for arms drops and an undamaged radio set. The team suggested that in the future, such Jedburgh teams be capable of direct communication with Allied aircraft so that enemy columns could be attacked immediately.⁷⁵

Team Rupert-Philip, 31 August 1944

SFHQ dispatched Rupert on the night of 31 August as the fifty-first Jedburgh team to France. It was to enter the Meurthe-et-Moselle region, assist the local FFI, particularly with communications and resupply, and provide information to advancing Allied ground forces. The team consisted of Captain J. Liberos (France), First Lieutenant Robert A. Lucas (U.S.), and

Specialist Third Class Joseph M. Grgat (U.S. Navy). Liberos was a career officer in his early forties, a St. Cyr graduate originally from Rouen. Robert Lucas was a twenty-seven year old infantry officer from Sheldon, Iowa, who had served in the Iowa National Guard and received his commission in 1942. Joseph Grgat was about twenty-one years old and from Uniontown, Pennsylvania. A young Frenchman in civilian clothes briefed Team Rupert in a safe house in the suburbs of northern London, telling them that their main mission was to prevent German sabotage of French utility structures between Nancy and Verdun. The team departed Harrington Air Base at 2125 of 31 August and flew east without incident. West of Mirecourt, they parachuted at about 0200, landed safely, and were met by a reception committee of about fifty FFI. Ten minutes later, another team of two French officers landed at the DZ from another B-24, so the area proved rather noisy and overcrowded. Team Rupert recovered all its gear except their civilian clothes, two carbines, and two bags including the cipher document. They decided to accompany the Offroicourt Maquis, which had three trucks and drove them most of the way to the camp (see maps 11 and 12).⁷⁶

On Friday 1 September, SFHQ radioed Team Rupert to tell them the team's name was changed to Philip. The team's radio, however, had been misplaced by the Maquis during the move, so they were out of contact with London. They spent the day with the Offroicourt Maquis, which consisted of about 100 men organized in 3 platoons. They spent the night in Viviers-les-Offroicourt attempting to contact a representative of "Planete." The following day around noon, the team met a light column of the U.S. Third Army at Jevoncourt. Team Philip recovered its radio, but their search of the DZ did not produce the lost cipher document. The team spent the night at Forcelles-St. Gorgon and on the morning of Sunday, 3 September, set off to contact the Lemenil-Mitry Maquis. That Maquis, which worked with Team Archibald (see pp. 47—51), had withdrawn from the Forêt de Charmes and consisted of about 300 armed and 400 unarmed men. Team Philip, at about 0900, found them at a large abandoned building, where they were under periodic fire from a German heavy-weapons platoon. In fighting west of Bayon and south of the Bayon-Vezélise road, the Germans inflicted rather heavy casualties on the Maquis, including three officers. At about noon, Team Philip radioed SFHQ, stating that they were with Team Archibald at Lemenil-Mitry and requesting



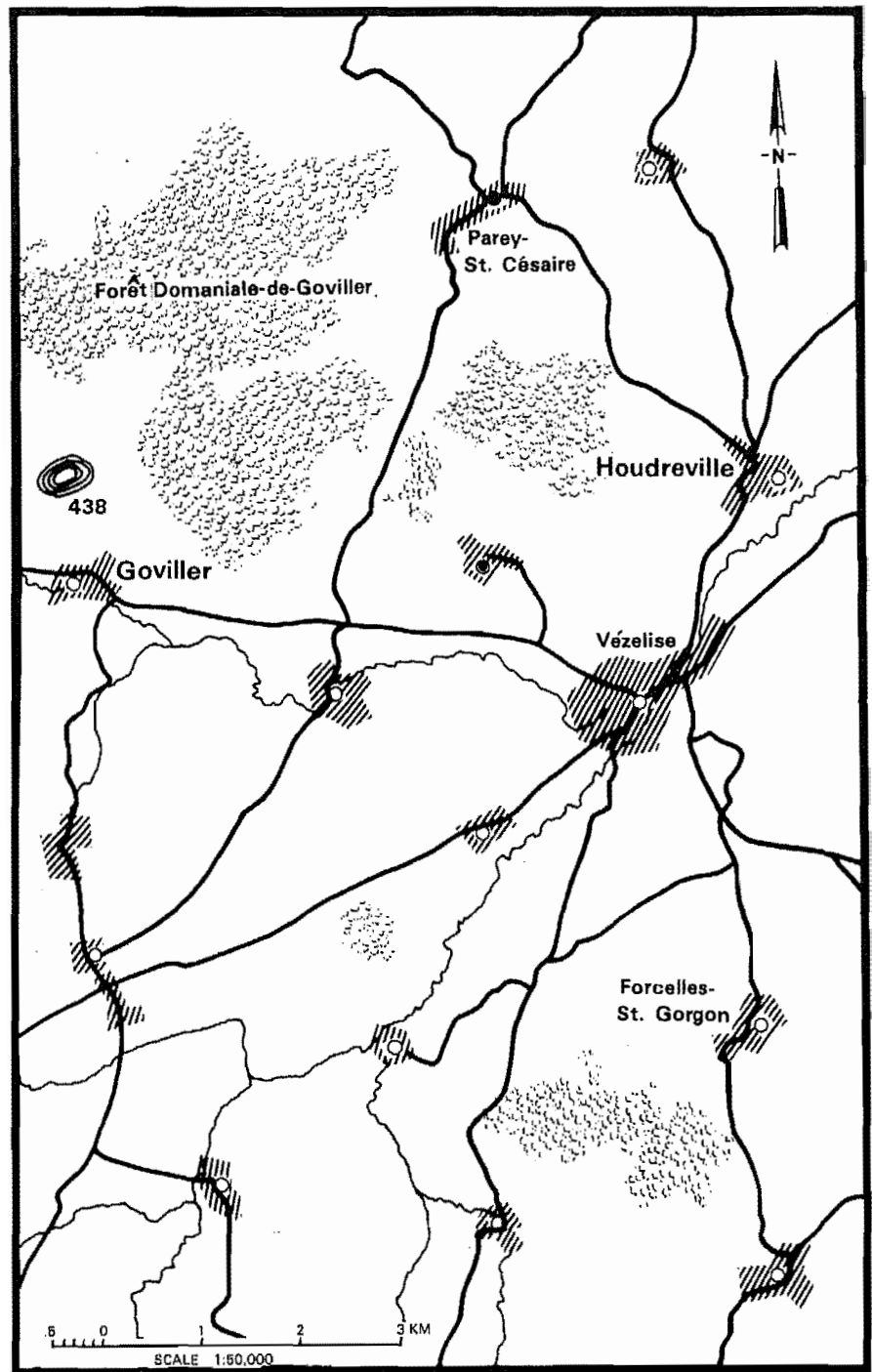
Map 11. Team Rupert-Philip's area of operations in the Meurthe-et-Moselle

an arms drop for 500 men at a DZ 3 kilometers west-southwest of Bayon (see map 12).⁷⁷

With the death of Captain Maurin and the absence of Major Denning, Captain Liberos of Team Philip attempted to prevent the Germans from destroying the bridges at Bayon and Bainville. Liberos sent two young French women on bicycles to determine if and how the Germans were defending the bridges. He also dispatched three groups of Maquis to the two towns to fire on the Germans if the latter attempted to blow up the bridges. In addition, he sent three volunteers to Bayon to sabotage the electric charges for its three bridges. At 1700, Team Philip radioed SFHQ, reporting that the bridge at Bayon was mined but not heavily guarded and that Majors Denning and Montlac had been slightly wounded. Major Denning returned at 2000 and approved Captain Liberos' actions.⁷⁸

On Monday, 4 September, with the return of Major Denning, Team Philip prepared to travel to Nancy. The team left Lemenil-Mitry at approximately 1900 in a truck. As they were driving out of Houdreville at about 2015, a column of military vehicles approached from the rear and opened fire. The three Jedburghs and their French driver all jumped out of the truck to seek cover. The approaching column proved to be the Reconnaissance Platoon of the U.S. 25th Cavalry from the U.S. Third Army. Its lieutenant regretted firing on Team Philip, fearing that the gunfire had alerted the German column he was stalking on a parallel road. Captain Liberos, Lieutenant Lucas, and the driver remained uninjured, but they could not locate Specialist Grgat. They consequently spent the night in the Forêt Domaniale-de-Serres west of Houdreville (two kilometers north of Vezélise) with an American platoon. The following day, as more U.S. Army field units passed through the area towards the Moselle River, the team searched for Specialist Grgat, but without success. In the evening, they entered their slightly altered truck and drove to Parey-St. Césaire, where they spent the night. On Wednesday at noon, they radioed SFHQ, reporting that they were in the Forêt de Goviller (five kilometers north-northeast of Goviller), that they had still not contacted "Planete," and again requesting resupply of their codes. That evening, as they were starting a trip to Toul, they encountered Colonel Charles H. Reed, commander of the U.S. 2d Cavalry Group, and followed his advice that it would be best to spend the night in the forest.⁷⁹

On Thursday, 7 September, the team drove to Toul, where they contacted the local Maquis leader and Lieutenant Ripley



Map 12. Team Rupert-Philip's area of operations (additional) in the Meurthe-et-Moselle

of the U.S. Third Army's 11th Special Forces Detachment. Team Philip radioed SFHQ in the afternoon, informing London that it was impossible to contact "Planete" in Nancy and requesting new orders. They awaited instructions from SFHQ until 9 September, when they drove to the headquarters of the U.S. Third Army. There, the Special Forces detachment commander informed them that Specialist Grgat had escaped and was on his way back to London. Lieutenant Colonel Powell gave Team Philip the following mission:

In liaison with the Chef de Bataillon Joly, Lieutenant Couton, F.F.I. Chief at Verdun, and Chef de Bataillon Duval, F.M.R. for the region Conflans-Briey-Longwy-Longuyon, to arm the Maquis of Verdun (2,000 men) and of Conflans (1,000 men). Once the men are armed and regrouped in the north, to protect the left flank of the 3rd U.S. Army.⁸⁰

Team Philip operated out of Verdun for the next weeks and met with a local FFI officer in an unsuccessful attempt to obtain arms drops from SFHQ. On Sunday, 17 September, the 11th Special Forces Detachment at U.S. Third Army headquarters directed the team to report to the 12th Special Forces Detachment at the Hôtel Cecil in Paris. Liberos and Lucas remained in Paris for several days and then returned to London.

Team Philip served in the field seventeen days, a period marked by repeated frustrations. Its members concluded that they had been dispatched to France far too late. They also observed that they were never able to contact "Planete" or his deputies and consequently were unable to reach Nancy. They noted that the Maquis from rural areas proved more reliable than their urban counterparts. Team Philip also concluded that the resistance volunteers were very enthusiastic but took too many casualties in combat. Robert Lucas subsequently served with the OSS in northern China. He left the U.S. Army as a captain in January 1946 and settled in the greater Kansas City area. After World War II, Joseph Grgat resided in Bowling Green, Ohio, where he died in early May 1988. Captain Liberos survived the war to retire as a colonel in Toulon.⁸¹

Conclusions

The operations of the eleven Jedburgh teams in northeastern France demonstrate a number of institutional failings. It would be altogether too easy to focus one's attention on radios that

did not function, teams inserted too late, or army staffs without the ability to directly contact the special operations forces (SOF) teams on the paths of their advance. One major problem was that SOE and OSS were new organizations attempting to conduct special operations with the new means of radio and aircraft. It should not be surprising that new organizations breaking new ground would encounter unforeseen difficulties. The second major problem was with the officer corps of the Allied armies, particularly at the senior levels, which remained unaware of the capabilities of SOF teams beyond postlinkup tactical assistance.

Most U.S. Army division, corps, army, and army group headquarters turned in favorable reports on both the French Resistance and the Special Forces detachments for the summer campaign of 1944. U.S. Army field commanders were particularly enthusiastic regarding the help provided by French guides who accompanied American units, briefed them on local conditions, interpreted for them, and led them around German positions. In short, U.S. commanders appreciated the tactical benefits provided by the French Resistance. There is scant reference, however, in the SF detachment summaries to Jedburgh teams or other special operations teams.⁸²

The SF detachments themselves frequently remarked that army headquarters remained uncertain where they would be operating in the future, which naturally retarded planning. On 29 July 1944, the First Army's 10th SF Detachment planned ahead only as far as Chartres and Dreux, and they were still not examining the area north of the Seine on 2 August. One of the problems was that the American staff officers and commanders had been schooled to not extend their boundary lines beyond the front, a practice many still maintained in August 1944. On 24 August, the detachment observed: "The army tactical plan is still confused. Col(onel) Colby at this moment is conferring at 12 Army Group with Col(onel) Jackson and it is expected that he will bring back to this Hq future tactical plans of the American Armies on the continent."⁸³

Besides a reluctance to plan ahead and inform subordinate headquarters of those plans, it would seem that the SF detachments did not always receive timely and accurate reports from SFHQ regarding resistance activities, as the following summary reveals:

Resistance Activities at V Corps: On arriving at this Corps on 7 September, we found them in the midst of the French Ardennes. They had just picked up the Citronelle Mission and Jedburgh

Andrew. These missions proved very disappointing, as they had been quite inactive. From their reports to London which had been transmitted to us in the field it had never appeared that resistance was very well organized in the Ardennes. This was found to be the opposite of the truth, and it seems that it was the Citronelle Mission that was not well organized. The local FFI had been doing a marvelous job for the V Corps throughout the entire area. The G-3 assigned, through Major Broussard, areas of responsibility to the FFI. It was very interesting to see that on the G-3 operations map the boundaries laid out for the FFI, as well as for the regular regiments and battalions. Major Broussard had one group of almost 500 armed men whom he dispatched here and there to clean up German pockets. Where necessary the FFI groups were augmented by light tanks and on several occasions with Anti-Aircraft units. It is interesting to note that the AA units in this Corps were used mostly to clean up Germans and not in their normal role.⁸⁴

This summary is revealing in several aspects. It tells us that the SF detachment was unaware of the difficulties in operating agents and networks in eastern France and Belgium, of the previous troubles SOE had encountered there, and of the very difficult time the CITRONELLE Mission (and Team Andrew) had in the Ardennes. The above-quoted summary also reveals that in spite of the difficulties, many French and Belgians came out to help the Allied cause once there was a realistic chance to participate without committing suicide. One might disparage such late election, but the volunteers provided valuable assistance that SHAEF's ground commanders appreciated. Furthermore, eastern France and Belgium proved one of the more difficult areas in which to operate, and premature revolts, as has been demonstrated, often led to catastrophe. Finally, the detachment's summary indicates certain preconceived notions about doing business, for example, a tendency to equate success with quantification: the number of armed FFI fielded, the number of POWs taken, or the number of sabotage actions. Those totals were usually associated with tactical missions. Operational significance, possibilities for further exploitation, or lessons learned tended to be deemphasized. It would appear, therefore, that the army headquarters were not the only ones thinking shallow and not deep.

The 11th SF Detachment of the U.S. Third Army used FFI troops to a far greater extent than the U.S. First Army. The U.S. Third Army used large bodies of resistance troops to assist in the reduction of German garrisons of the Breton seaports and subsequently used some 15,000 FFI troops to guard the Loire River line as the U.S. Third Army swept east toward the German border. Nevertheless, there are relatively few references in the

11th SF Detachment's summaries to Jedburgh teams, and those merely reported the linkup of ground units with the Jedburgh teams. The detachment observed the 4 September FFI capture of the Moselle bridge at Charmes but failed to mention the participation of Jedburgh teams.⁸⁵

As demonstrated in the reports of the eleven Jedburgh teams dropped in front of the 12th Army Group, most Jedburghs concluded that they had been inserted far too late. That sentiment was shared by many other Jedburgh teams regarding their own operations. Such spirit and aggressiveness speaks well for those soldiers but raises a number of awkward questions. We have observed how inherently dangerous such operations were. What would the teams have accomplished had they in fact been inserted a month or two earlier? In all probability, they would have recruited, armed, and trained more FFI volunteers. Had that been done, it would have made it all the more difficult to restrain the FFI from premature revolt and also would have given Axis security forces greater opportunity to infiltrate the resistance. The teams would also have sent additional radio messages to London, which would have given the Germans a greater opportunity to locate the radios with direction-finding sets. There were many areas in occupied France where it was very hazardous for individual agents to operate. To have inserted three-man, uniformed teams into such areas probably would have been risking too much.

One of the major problems with SOF operations in 1944 was clearly communications. Jedburgh team reports indicate that radios packaged in 1944 had a tendency to break during parachute drops. During training exercises early in 1944, a number of problems became evident, but by August, those problems had obviously not been resolved. Jedburgh team reports also demonstrated the feeling that their radio messages were not being listened to or acted upon. It would appear that in August 1944, the SFHQ message centers were receiving so much traffic that it became impossible to analyze, act upon, and disseminate information. The difficulties in the field were best summarized in the report of the SF detachment officer operating with the U.S. 4th Armored Division in Brittany, who on 12 August observed:

In my estimation and in the Division's the FFI did good work. It was a great sense of security to see armed friendly civilians all around us. They served an excellent purpose in that they helped to guard our supply lines and that they rounded up and cleared the area of German stragglers. However, due to lack of communications

between myself and this Headquarters, and myself and field, Resistance could not be controlled to the maximum effectiveness for use to the Division. Due to a lack of concrete orders, both concise and timely, from London, greater action on the part of Resistance in front of the Division was lost. All told, I would estimate that Resistance had been used at 50 percent efficiency in the Brittany campaign.⁸⁶

In the area of communications, there were obvious problems with the radio sets. Furthermore, in August 1944, SFHQ receiving stations received too many messages to effectively evaluate and act upon. And finally, a real problem existed in the inability of the ground force headquarters to effectively communicate tactically with the SOF groups.

One problem not unique to operations in the summer of 1944 was the dilemma of SOF organization. As a number of Jedburgh team reports indicate, when teams requested reinforcement by an SAS party, they usually did not receive it. On the other hand, there were numerous instances of Jedburgh teams encountering unannounced SAS parties. In most instances, when that occurred, the two groups simply went their separate ways. These "private wars" of the SAS often hindered the resistance, drawing Axis retaliation against the resistance and local villagers, usually after the SAS party had already exfiltrated. One thing is certain, however, and that is that the creation of separate and competing organizations, such as the SAS and SFHQ, leads to overlapping functions and creates the opportunity for unnecessary friction.

At army and army group headquarters, staff cells did on occasion incorporate SOF into their future plans. Before the Operation Cobra breakout from Normandy, SHAEF developed a plan using a large portion of the SAS brigade to cooperate with ground units in capturing Quiberon Bay in Brittany. That, like many other plans, was soon outdistanced by events. When the 21st Army Group undertook the ill-fated Operation Market-Garden in September, six Jedburgh teams deployed to support the operation.⁸⁷ In the Jedburgh team operations we have looked at, however, there was only one instance of an army or army group request for direct operational support: the 30 August request to seize and hold the Somme River bridges and those near Amiens for four days. Team Augustus was wiped out that evening, and Team Alfred was too far away and in too threatened a position to undertake the mission. The request itself, however, was far too ambitious. It might have been possible for each team to sneak in and blow up one bridge, but it would

have been suicide to attempt to hold those bridges for any length of time.

Within the British special operations community, there was a feeling that the higher-level commanders, particularly Montgomery, failed to appreciate the possible uses of SOF. It remains difficult, however, to find a U.S. Army commander who had a firm grasp of those potentialities. One searches in vain through the published Patton Papers for a reference to SOF, finally discovering a transcript of a 7 September 1944 press conference where a correspondent asked how much support he had received from the FFI. Patton responded: "Better than expected and less than advertised."⁸⁸ In his diary, however, on 2 September 1944, he observed: "General 'Wild Bill' Donovan was in camp when I got back and was most complimentary. While I think the efforts of his cohorts (office of strategic services) are futile, I personally like and admire him a lot. I will now get set for the next move."⁸⁹ This is not meant to single out General Patton as one of the generals who stubbornly opposed the use of SOF. To the contrary, he proved one of the commanders open to new ideas. He in fact used the FFI and SOF teams from SFHQ to a greater extent than his colleagues. Nonetheless, he disapproved of them. If even the bold and imaginative commanders disapproved of operations in the enemy's rear, what chance did such operations have in SHAEF's future? The answer to that question was not long in coming; SHAEF began to disassemble the SF detachments during the first week of September 1944, and by the end of the year, most of the Jedburghs and a large number of other SOF personnel had been transferred to Asia. SHAEF justified its decision by observing that there was no prospect for successful guerrilla warfare in Germany. That was no doubt a correct assessment, but one also senses a certain relief, as if unwanted house guests had finally departed.

One is left finally with the impression that the concept of Jedburgh operations was ahead of its time. The requirements for radios, modified aircraft, and other specialized equipment and weapons pushed the limits of 1943—44 technology and were not entirely reliable. In the realm of organization, this concept was relatively new and of necessity grew out of SOE's experiences in intelligence gathering. Indeed, one of the most instructive examples from these operations was the use of intelligence-gathering networks that provided guides and security for the insertion of the Jedburgh teams (what is known in today's

Special Forces lexicon as "area assessment" or "pilot" teams). That SFHQ organization proved deficient in a number of areas (i.e., failure to develop networks in eastern France, late deployment of Jedburgh teams, and inability to rapidly resupply teams in the field) should not have come as a surprise since such a major undertaking had not been tried before. Furthermore, the inability of senior ground commanders to appreciate the value of SOF and operations in the enemy's rear must also be placed within the historical context. For the generals of World War II—educated in the military schools of the 1920s and 1930s—guerrilla warfare tended to be an alien concept.⁹⁰ One of the most important lessons to be learned from these operations is that senior ground force commanders and their staffs must be fully educated in SOF capabilities and limitations.

It remains difficult to assess the effectiveness of the eleven Jedburgh teams dropped in front of the 12th Army Group in August 1944. Like the other teams dropped to the south, they provided organization, tactical expertise, and training to the FFI volunteers. Upon linkup with advancing Allied ground forces, they also provided well-documented assistance. The teams were designed, however, to work behind enemy lines, and it is on that basis that their performance must be evaluated. Viewed dispassionately, one must conclude that the operations of these eleven teams in northeastern France were only marginally successful. Their major contributions were indirect and defy quantification: their psychological effect upon occupied France and the German occupation force and their role in providing intelligence data, both to SFHQ by radio and by sending guides to meet the advancing Allied ground forces. That the teams could have been much more effective certainly was not the fault of the individual Jedburghs, who proved tough, resourceful, skilled, and highly motivated. It was not the job of these teams to single-handedly defeat the German Army in the west, and in any case, three-man teams were absurdly small. In the event of even one casualty, operations became extremely difficult if not impossible. If the Jedburghs may be faulted for anything, it is perhaps that they were too willing to enter into combat.

It would be altogether too easy to describe the shortcomings of these operations as the result of an institutional failure, but there was no SOF institution per se to blame. SOE and OSS were brand new organizations inventing the scope, direction, organization, and methods of SOF operations. SOE and OSS were so new and insecure that they were both abolished in 1946 and

therefore do not actually qualify as institutions. Upon reflection, it appears remarkable that SFHQ achieved as much as it did. One of the more important successes of the Jedburgh operations was the psychological impact the teams had on the citizens of occupied France. Following years of occupation, the sight of uniformed Allied soldiers behind the lines was a harbinger of liberation and a call to action. As these Jedburgh team operations have demonstrated, that call did not go unanswered. The ultimate triumph of the Jedburgh project, however, was in the successful formation of teams of professional and nonprofessional soldiers from different nations who worked together toward a common goal. To make an accurate and fair evaluation of Jedburgh operations, it remains clear that more study is required, not only of Jedburgh activities in other parts of France but also their subsequent operations in China and Southeast Asia.

APPENDIX A

Air-Dropped Supplies to Occupied France, October 1943—September 1944

	<i>Containers</i>		<i>Packages</i>	
	RAF	USAAF	RAF	USAAF
Oct—Dec 1943	1,202	—	263	—
Jan—Mar 1944	6,096	619	1,676	228
Apr—Jun 1944	12,188	4,151	2,828	2,359
Jul—Sep 1944	29,932	15,423	4,591	7,642

APPENDIX B

Summary of Jedburgh Team Operations

<i>Team</i>	<i>Date Inserted</i>	<i>End of Mission</i>	<i>Mission</i>	<i>Losses</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Jacob	12 August	18 September	Assist local FFI.	Team wiped out by 18 September.	Numerous FFI casualties.
Auhrey	12 August	30 August	Assist local FFI.	Capt. Chaigneau killed in action.	Eighty-six FFI killed near Rougemont.
Augustus	15 August	30 August	Assist local FFI.	All killed by 30 August.	Provided information on German troop movements.
Andrew	15 August	8 September	Assist local FFI and CITRONELLE interAllied mission.	D'Oultremont slightly wounded.	Numerous FFI casualties.
Benjamin and Bernard	20 August	2 October	Assist local FFI.	No killed, four of six wounded.	Mission compromised by Axis raid on Les Islettes, 24 August.
Alfred	24 August	27 September	Assist local FFI.	None.	Provided information on German troop movements and defenses.
Arnold	25 August	19 September	Assist local FFI.	None.	Led FFI advance on Chaumont.
Archibald	25 August	31 October	Assist local FFI.	Capt. Coste wounded.	Directed FFI as conventional infantry with U.S. Third Army.
Stanley	31 August	15 September	Assist local FFI and prevent destruction of several engineering structures.	None.	Provided information on German troop movements. Assisted U.S. Seventh Army.
Rupert-Philip	31 August	17 September	Assist local FFI and prevent destruction of utility structures in eastern France.	None.	Helped screen left flank of U.S. Third Army.

NOTES

1. William B. Dreux, *No Bridges Blown* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971).
2. M. R. D. Foot, *SOE in France: An Account of the Work of the British Special Operations Executive in France, 1940—1944* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1966), 1—39; Benjamin Cowburn, *No Cloak, No Dagger* (London: Jarrolds, 1960); Hugh Dalton, *The Fateful Years* (London: Muller, 1957); Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Baker Street Irregular* (London: Methuen, 1965); and David Stafford, *Britain and European Resistance, 1940—1945: A Survey of the Special Operations Executive, With Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).
3. F. H. Hinsley, et al., *British Intelligence in the Second World War: Its Influence on Strategy and Operations*, 3 Vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979—88).
4. John Strawson, *A History of the S.A.S. Regiment* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1985), 1—19.
5. Bradley F. Smith, *The Shadow Warriors: The O.S.S. and the Origins of the C.I.A.* (New York: Basic Books, 1983). See also William Casey, *The Secret War Against Hitler* (Washington, DC: Regnery Gateway, 1988); United States War Department, Strategic Services Unit, History Project, Vol. 1, *The War Report of the OSS (Office of Strategic Services)*, and Vol. 2, *The Overseas Targets: The War Report of the OSS*, with a new introduction by Kermit Roosevelt (New York: Walker and Co., 1976), hereafter cited as WDSSUHP, with the short title for the volume; Thomas F. Troy, *Donovan and C.I.A.: A History of the Establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency* (Frederick, MD: Aletheia Books, 1981); Corey Ford, *Donovan of O.S.S.* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Co., 1970; and Stewart Alsop and Thomas Braden, *Sub Rosa: The O. S. S. and American Espionage* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1946).
6. M. R. D. Foot, *SOE: An Outline History of the Special Operations Executive, 1940—46*, rev. ed., Foreign Intelligence Book Series (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1986), 19, hereafter cited as Foot, *SOE* (rev. ed.).
7. *Ibid.*, 13—36; and Gervase Cowell, SOE Adviser, Great Britain Foreign and Commonwealth Office, to Captain Robert G. Gutjahr, 14 February 1990, provided by Gutjahr to the author. A photograph of Gubbins appears in Foot, *SOE in France*, opposite page 196.
8. *Ibid.*; and Arthur Brown, "The Jedburghs: A Short History" (privately published, Kent, United Kingdom, 1991), 1—5.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. OSS/London: Special Operations Branch and Secret Intelligence Branch War Diaries (microfilm; Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1985), roll 3, frames 0631—33, hereafter cited as OSS/London SO microfilm.
12. *Ibid.*

13. Cowell to Gutjahr.
14. OSS/London SO microfilm, roll 3, frames 631—43.
15. Ibid., roll 3, frames 643—44.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., roll 3, frames 644—46.
18. Colonel C. S. Vanderblue, memorandum to General William J. Donovan, Subject: Report of C. S. Vanderblue on OSS Operations with the Third Army, 15 November 1944, Entry 99, Folder 50, Box 12, Record Group 226, Records of the Washington History Office, Office of Strategic Services National Archives, Washington, DC, hereafter cited as RG 226.
19. Ibid.; European Theater of Operations Report July 1944, RG 226, Entry 99, Folder 117, Box 93, RG 226; U.S. Army, 3d Army 11th Special Forces Detachment, G-3 Section Plan for Resistance Movements in Brittany, 10 August 1944, London S.O., Entry 115, Box 50, RG 226; and Colonel Frank Mills, U.S.A. (ret.), telephone conversation with the author, 14 September 1988.
20. OSS/London SO microfilm, roll 3, frames 672—76; and Foot, *SOE in France*, 16—39, 278—86, and 360—69.
21. General Marie-Pierre J. F. Koenig was born in 1898, became a professional officer, and served in World War I and the Rif campaign. In 1940, he participated in the Allied Expedition to Norway and subsequently joined General de Gaulle in Paris. He distinguished himself at Bir Hakeim in the 1941 Gazala battles in North Africa. In 1944, he became Commander of the French Forces of the Interior and subsequently was the military governor of Paris, and later commander of the French occupation army in Germany. He died in 1970.
22. Throughout August, SFHQ operated under the titular direction of the organization created for General Koenig, the *Etat-major des Forces Francaises de l'Intérieur* (EMFFI). For the sake of simplicity, however, the author decided to continue the 1944 U.S. Army nomenclature of SFHQ as the organ of command. Forrest C. Pogue, *The Supreme Command*, United States Army in World War II (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1954), 138—57 and 231—39; and Franklin Canfield, telephone conversation with the author, 29 December 1988.
23. "Planete" was the code name of Gilbert Y. E. Grandval, who was born on 12 February 1904 in Paris. He was a businessman until 1940, when the fall of France led him to join the French Resistance. Following the war, he served as governor of the Sarre and subsequently held numerous ambassadorial posts for the French government. Gilbert Grandval and A. Jean Collin, *Libération de l'Est de la France* (Paris: Hachette Littérature, 1974); John Bross, telephone conversation with the author, 18 March 1989; and Joseph de Francisco, telephone conversation with the author, 23 March 1989.
24. OSS/London SO microfilm, roll 3, frames 648—51.
25. Ibid.

26. Aaron Bank, *From OSS to Green Berets: The Birth of Special Forces* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1986), 13–31; Dreux, *No Bridges Blown*, 25–69; Robert G. Gutjahr, "The Role of Jedburgh Teams in Operation Market Garden," MMAS thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 1990, 30–34; and Elliot J. Rosner, "The Jedburghs: Combat Operations Conducted in the Finistère Region of Brittany, France, From July–September 1944," MMAS thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, KS, 1990, 24–32.
27. Ibid.
28. OSS/London SO microfilm, roll 3, frames 631–84; Foot, *SOE in France*, 400–402; WDSSUHP, *The Overseas Targets*, 199–204; Col. Aaron Bank, U.S. Army (ret.), interview with the author, Fayetteville, NC, 29 April 1985; Major Oswin Craster, British Army (ret.), to the author, 25 November 1988; and Robert Lucas, telephone conversation with the author, 28 December 1988.
29. Foot, *SOE* (rev. ed.), 167.
30. OSS/London SO microfilm, roll 5, frame 162.
31. Hobart R. Gay, Diary, entry of 6 August 1944, p. 442, Hobart R. Gay Papers, Archives U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, PA.
32. I have resolved to translate *Feldgendarmarie* as military police. Der Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich, Ia Nr. 1160/44 g.Kdos., Paris of 15 March 1944, Einsatzbericht fuer die Monate Januar und Februar 1944, in folder RW 35/30 Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich Abt. Ia Einsatzbericht 1.1.44–29.2.44, Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, Freiburg in Breisgau, Federal Republic of Germany, hereafter cited as B.A.-M.A.; and Feldgendarmarie-Trupp d 728 Tgb.-Nr. 41/44 geh. Sens, 11 February 1944, Erfahrungen im Kampf gegen den Terror und Widerstand; Befehlshaber Nordwestfrankreich Abt. Ic, 5 August 1944, Ereignis- und Erfahrungsbericht fuer die Zeit vom 1.7. bis 31.7.1944 Nr. 31; 4. Kompanie 2. Funkmessabteilung B. Nr. G 667/44, 15 May 1944, Kurzbefehl Auszug aus Geheim-Tagesbefehl Nr. 1/44, in RW 35/45, untitled, B.A.-M.A.
33. The Third Reich maintained the fiction of an independent Vichy government, so the *Feldkommandantur* staffs in southern France carried the nomenclature of German Liaison Staff, folder RW 35/31 Mil. Befr. K1–K5 Kartenband; Bericht der Verw. Gruppe der FK 769 Chaumont 10.9.1944, signed Oberrat Dr. Achten, in RW 35/1278, B.A.-M.A.
34. Victor A. Gough was born on 11 September 1918 in Hereford and before the war worked as a mechanical engineer in Bristol for the Imperial Tobacco Company. He received his commission in the Somerset Light Infantry in 1940. Captain Maurice Boissarie used the nom de guerre of Baraud. Team Jacob report, frames 376–79, roll 4, OSS/London SO microfilm; Daphne Friele to the author, 17 February 1988; Joseph de Francisco, telephone conversation with the author, 2 October 1989; and Strawson, *A History of the S.A.S. Regiment*, 136–40, 273.
35. Team Jacob report.
36. The OSS history erroneously listed the 15 September message as being sent on 15 August. Daphne Friele to the author, 17 February 1988; Daphne

- Friele, telephone conversation with the author, 12 November 1988; and E. J. Grinham to the author, 1 December 1988. See also Gilbert Grandval and A. Jean Collin, *Libération de l'Est de la France* (Paris: Hachette Littérature, 1974), 112–15, 140–46.
37. The leader of the SPIRITUALIST network used the nom de guerre of Major Armand; his real name was René Dumont-Guillemet. He was a thirty-five year old veteran who had entered France earlier in the spring. Lieutenant Chaigneau used the nom de guerre of Telmon. Foot, *SOE in France*, 368; Daphne Friele to the author, 17 February 1988; and Richard A. Rubinstein to the author, 8 December 1988.
 38. The Team Aubrey report edited by the OSS referred to the road as a "sunken road." An examination of a 1974 1:50,000 topographical map does not support this assertion. Nevertheless, since it could have been a sunken road in 1944, I have maintained the report's usage of the term. The team report also referred to "the Forest of Rougemont," which does not appear on a modern map. See Institut Géographique National, M 761 Dammartin-en-Goële, XXIV-13.
 39. I have corrected the report's more obvious spelling and typing errors, changing Mongloire to Nongloire and Doissons to Soissons.
 40. Team Aubrey report, frames 380–97, roll 4, OSS/London SO microfilm; E. J. Grinham to the author, 1 December 1988; Foot, *SOE in France*, 368; Daphne Friele to the author, 17 February 1988; and Richard A. Rubinstein to the author, 8 December 1988; and Brown, "The Jedburghs: A Short History," 29.
 41. Team Augustus report, frames 649–54, roll 4, OSS/London SO microfilm; Appendix 'A' to G-3 Periodic Report no. 73 issued by SFHQ, London, 16 August 1944, RG 226; G-3 Reports 10-111- and 1-19, entry 99, folder 56, box 13, RG 226; Joseph de Francisco, telephone conversation with the author, 28 September 1989; and General Paul Aussaresses, French Army (ret.), to the author, 19 October 1989. Decheville was the nom de guerre of Captain J. Delwiche. Daphne Friele to the author, 1 July 1988. Bonsall was a dedicated yachtsman and music lover, and a scholarship for musical studies is maintained in his memory at Princeton. Mrs. Katharine B. Strong to the author, 7 December 1988. *Feldkommandantur* 602 in Laon governed the Aisne Department with subsidiary offices in St. Quentin, Soissons, and Chateau-Thierry, folder RW 35/31, K1–K5, B.A.-M.A.
 42. Ibid.; United States Army, 3d Armored Division, Memorandum to the Adjutant General, Washington, DC, 25 September 1944, Subject: Action Against Enemy, in World War II Operations Reports, Record Group 407, National Archives, hereafter cited as RG 407; and United States Army, 3d Armored Division, CCB S-2 Journal and File, 28–31 August 1944, Memorandum to G-2 3AD, Subject: S-2 Activities for Period 280001 to 292200, signed Castille, RG 407. Neither report specifically mentions contact with a Jedburgh team from 28 to 30 August.
 43. The names of these towns were garbled in transmission. Team Augustus report.
 44. Same sources as note 41; *Veterans of OSS Newsletter*, Special Fortieth Anniversary Issue (Winter 1985):60–61; General Paul Aussaresses to the

author, 25 October 1989; and United States Army, 3d Armored Division, *Spearhead in the West, 1941-45* (Frankfurt am Main-Schwanheim: Franz Jos. Henrich Druckerei und Verlag, 1945), 80-86, 203-7.

45. The colonel's last name was Paris de Bolladière, who came from one of France's older noble families. He volunteered for this mission after recovering from rather severe wounds received at Bir Hakeim. Grandval and Collin, *Libération*, 57, 78-82, 133-36, 178-88; Western European Section SO Branch, OSS Progress report, 13 June to 27 June 1944, of 28 June 1944, to Chief SO Branch, OSS, OP-23 (15 April to June 30 1944), entry 99, folder no. 3, box 2, RG 226; and Foot, *SOE in France*, 365, 403.
46. Henry Coombe-Tennant attended Eton and subsequently won a double first at Trinity College, Cambridge. Besides being a distinguished scholar, he was also an avid hunter and a pianist of considerable talent. Before being captured near Boulogne, he assisted the escape of Queen Wilhelmina, for which the Netherlands government subsequently awarded him a decoration. D'Oultremont's full name was Edouard Charles Antoine, Comte d'Oultremont et du Saint Empire. Team Andrew report, frames 643-48, roll 4, OSS/London SO microfilm; Major A. H. S. Coombe-Tennant, British Army (ret.), to Daphne Friele, 30 November 1988; Major A. H. S. Coombe-Tennant, interview with the author, Downside Abbey, England, 9 May 1989; and *The Times* (London), 14 November 1989:20. Colonel Grabowski commanded *Feldkommandantur* 684 in Charleville, governing France's Ardennes Department with smaller headquarters in Rethel and Vouziers, RW 35/31, K1-K5, B.A.-M.A.
47. Team Andrew report; Activity Report of Captain Victor J. Layton, frames 171-222, roll 3, OSS/London SO microfilm; Appendix 'A' to G-3 Periodic Report no. 73 issued by SFHQ, London, 16 August 1944, G-3 Reports 10-111- and 1-19, entry 99, folder 56, box 13, RG 226; A. H. S. Coombe-Tennant to Daphne Friele, 30 November 1988; and Coombe-Tennant interview, 9 May 1989.
48. Team Andrew report; Report of Captain Layton; A. H. S. Coombe-Tennant to Daphne Friele, 30 November 1988; E. J. Grinham to the author, 1 December 1988; and Coombe-Tennant interview.
49. At the end of World War II, Major Coombe-Tennant received the Military Cross and the Croix de Guerre. See the sources in note 46.
50. Moniez used the nom de guerre of Marchand, Kaminski used the name Camouin, and Nasica used the nom de guerre of Prato (the village where he was born in Corsica). Team Benjamin report, frames 518-35, roll 4, OSS/London SO microfilm; Daphne Friele to the author, 17 February 1988; and Daphne Friele, telephone conversation with the author, 10 August 1988. See also Grandval and Collin, *Libération*, 90-96. *Feldkommandantur* 627 in Bar le Duc administered the Meuse Department, with smaller headquarters in Commercy, Verdun, and Briey, in RW 35/31, K1-K5, B.A.-M.A.
51. Team Benjamin report. Most of SAS team Rupert's fifty-eight men parachuted into the area on 4 August to attack railroads. Strawson, *A History of the S.A.S. Regiment*, 266.
52. Team Benjamin report.
53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.
55. Lieutenant G. Herenguel used the nom de guerre of De Wavrant. Daphne Friele to the author, 7 February 1988. *Feldkommandantur* 638 in Beauvais administered the Oise Department with smaller headquarters in Compiègne and Senlis, folder RW 35/31, K1—K5, B.A.-M.A.
56. Team Alfred report, frames 536—45, roll 4, OSS/London SO microfilm. The team report made numerous references to the village of La Neuville Roy, which does not appear on maps of the area. In all probability, that village is La Neuville-sur-Ressons, north of Compiègne (XXIV-10), which shall be referred to in the text as La Neuville.
57. In all probability, the parachutists were SAS team Wolsey, led by a Lieutenant McDeritt, directed to report on German dispositions in the Compiègne-Soissons area. Team Alfred report; and Strawson, *A History of the S.A.S. Regiment*, 271.
58. The names of these towns were garbled in transmission. Team Alfred report.
59. Team Alfred report; and Daphne Friele to the author, 17 February 1988.
60. Daphne Friele to the author, 17 February 1988; and E. J. Grinham to the author, 1 December 1988.
61. Bodington was a middle-aged, bespectacled man, who had last traveled to occupied France in 1943. During the six months leading up to the D Day invasion, SFHQ used him to lecture various Allied staffs and units on the political situation in France. See Foot, *SOE in France*, 49, 343, 409. Bodington's photograph is opposite page 196 in Foot.
62. The team report stated that the drop was at Igny-le-Jard, but modern maps do not indicate an Igny-le-Jard in the area. This village is probably Igny-Comblize.
63. Michel de Carville used the nom de guerre of Michel Coudray. The Jedburgh community has since lost touch with J. H. F. Monahan and Alan de Ville. Team Arnold report, frames 546—56, roll 4, OSS/London SO microfilm; Daphne Friele to the author, 1 July 1988; and E. J. Grinham to the author, 1 December 1988.
64. Mortgrange, point 247.
65. Team Arnold report.
66. Schlussbericht des Verwaltungsgruppenleiters der Feldkommandantur 531 Châlons-sur-Marne of 11 September 1944 in RW 35/1278, which erroneously lists von Tschammer und Osten's rank as colonel. Anlage zu Befh. NO Ia/Pi Nr. 840/44 g.Kdos. of 20 August 1944 in RW 35/1307 (untitled); and 14. Pi./S.R. 95 of 4 July 1944 Nr. 454 geh., Sprengentwurf fuer die Strassenbrücke ueber die Marne (50 m. westlich vom Elektr. u. Gaswerk) bei Epernay Dep. Marne, in RW 35/1305, all in B.A.-M.A. A battle group of the Panzer Lehr Division crossed the Dormans bridge in the morning, where it met the engineer battalion of the Panzer Lehr Division. It is possible that remnants of the 48th Infantry Division, 17th SS Panzer Grenadier Division and the 1010th Security Regiment also crossed the Marne at Dormans. Colonel Helmut Ritgen, German Army (ret.), interview with the author, 16 May 1989, Celle-Boye, Federal Republic of Germany.

67. Team Arnold report.
68. Ibid.
69. Coste used the nom de guerre of Montlac. Team Archibald report, frames 557—71, roll 4, OSS/London SO microfilm; Daphne Friele to the author, 1 July 1988; and Roger Pierre, interview with the author, Washington, DC, 19 December 1988. *Feldkommandantur* 591 in Nancy governed the Meurthe-et-Moselle Department with a smaller headquarters in Lunéville, RW 35/31, K1—K5, B.A.-M.A.
70. Commandant Noel was the nom de guerre of Frederic Remelius, who survived the war and subsequently had a successful business career in Belgium. Team Archibald report; and Pierre interview. See also Grandval and Collin, *Libération*, 139—40.
71. Allied forces liberated Montlac (Coste) in the Lunéville hospital. Despite his serious wound, he remained in the French Army, eventually retiring as a colonel. Ibid.
72. Cantais used the nom de guerre of Carliere, London-History-Off-OP-2, Team Stanley report, entry 101, box 1, Jedburgh Stanley I, RID/Archives, RG 226; Daphne Friele to the author, 17 February 1988; Oswin Craster to the author, 25 November 1988; and E. J. Grinham to the author, 1 December 1988. For the situation of *Feldkommandantur* 769 in Chaumont, see pp. 18—20.
73. The actual name of the French regiment was La Premier Régiment de France. Team Stanley report; and Oswin Craster to the author, 25 November 1988. It is possible these SAS men belonged to the fifty-five troops of SAS team Hardy, which operated on the Plateau de Langres through 18 September 1944.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. De Rouen was the nom de guerre of J. Liberos. Robert Lucas was born in Sheldon, Iowa, on 22 January 1917, entered the Iowa National Guard in 1934, and received his commission through OCS in 1942. Team Philip report, entry 101, box 1, Team Philip, RG 226; and Robert Lucas, interview with the author, Leavenworth, KS, 15 October 1988.
77. The OSS report erroneously printed Forcelles-St. Gorgon as Fortelles-St. Goron (see IGN XXX-16). Team Philip report. *Feldkommandantur* 591 in Nancy governed the Meurthe-et-Moselle Department with a smaller headquarters in Lunéville, RW 35/31, K1—K5, B.A.-M.A.
78. Ibid.
79. Lucas interview; and Team Philip report. Charles Hancock ("Hank") Reed was born on Christmas 1900 in Richmond, Virginia. He graduated from West Point in 1922 as a cavalry officer and subsequently was known as one of the better horsemen in the Army. He graduated from the Command and General Staff School in 1941. As commander of the 2d Cavalry Group, he won the Distinguished Service Cross, Purple Heart, two Silver Stars, and the Bronze Star, among other medals. At the end of the war, he planned and led the rescue of the Lipizzaner stallions of the Spanish Riding School

of Vienna. He retired at his own request in February 1948, returning to Richmond to direct his family's business. He died on 7 April 1980 in Richmond at the age of seventy-nine. *Assembly* 40 (December 1981):131.

80. Team Philip report.
 81. Same sources as note 76.
 82. Frame 162, roll 5, OSS/London SO microfilm.
 83. Frames 193—211, roll 5, OSS/London SO microfilm.
 84. Frame 250, roll 5, OSS/London SO microfilm.
 85. Frame 335, roll 5, OSS/London SO microfilm.
 86. Frame 354—55, roll 5, OSS/London SO microfilm.
 87. Gutjahr, "Role of Jedburgh Teams."
 88. Martin Blumenson, *The Patton Papers* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1974), 2:539—41.
 89. General George S. Patton, Jr., Diary, entry of 2 September 1944, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
 90. See Major John F. Diviney, "Command Control Communications Counter Measures in the Ardennes" (unpublished manuscript; Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 1989), which illustrates the difficulty U.S. Army commanders had in 1944—45 in adjusting to new forms and methods of warfare.
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GLOSSARY

BBC. British Broadcasting Company, the national radio system of the United Kingdom, which sent blind transmission broadcasts to FFI groups and SOF groups in the field.

Bren gun. British light machine gun ZGB30 Mark I, adopted in 1934 (a modification of the Czech Zb26 machine gun), which fired .303-inch ammunition. This was a reliable magazine-fed gas-operated selective-fire weapon weighing 10.04 kilograms. A distinctive feature of this weapon was the top-loading thirty-round box magazine.

CITRONELLE. Code name for the twelve-man inter-Allied mission led by Colonel Paris de Bolladière, which was inserted into the Ardennes on 12 April and 5 June 1944.

Containers. A strong metal or plastic cylindrical case under six feet in length containing supplies to be parachuted to resistance groups or SOF teams. The H container consisted of five metal cells, while the C container simply had one large compartment.

DMR. *Deligue Militaire de Region*, the FFI military delegate of a region, who normally organized reception committees for Jedburgh teams.

DZ. Dropping zone.

EMFFI. *Etat Majeur Forces Francaises de l'Interieure*—the headquarters of the French Forces of the Interior.

FTP. *Franç Tireurs et Partisans*, French Resistance organization representing the political Left.

Gestapo. German secret police (*Geheime Staats Polizei*).

Maquis. The name given to French guerrilla bands. The word originally signified the high ground in southeastern France covered with scrub growth in which the French guerrillas operated and from which they took their name.

Milice. Vichy France police organization.

OG. Operational group composed of specially trained volunteers, officers, and enlisted men who were dispatched on missions of sabotage and guerrilla fighting.

Organization Todt. German civilian organization responsible for large-scale engineering construction for both civilian and military projects.

Packages. Rectangular boxes dropped from an aircraft by parachute to SOF groups—also known as “special packages.” They usually contained items that could not fit into a container.

“Pasteur.” Code name of agent Wladimir Ritter.

PEDAGOGUE. Cover name for intelligence circuit and SOE organizer in the Reims area, who was infiltrated on 30 July 1944.

PEDLAR. Cover name for intelligence circuit led by Major Bodington that operated in the Châlons-sur-Marne area.

Piat. Acronym designator for a British hand-held antitank weapon, which stood for—projector, infantry, antitank. It weighed 32 pounds and was effective against armor up to a range of only 100 yards, which made it rather unpopular with the troops. Its advantage over the bazooka or the *Panzerfaust* (German equivalent) was that it could also fire high-explosive and smoke shells.

“Planete.” Code name for the FFI DMR in northeastern France, Gilbert Grandval, subsequently a minister in the French government.

SAS. Special Air Service. British Army airborne force for special operations.

Sedentaires. Individuals who sympathized with the French Resistance but who did not take part in guerrilla warfare, often because of the lack of arms.

SFHQ. Special Forces Headquarters, the combined SOE/SO headquarters in SHAEF responsible for the planning and execution of special operations.

SHAEF. Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces.

Skeds. Abbreviation for the word schedule, used to denote scheduled radio messages between SFHQ and SOF units and agents in the field.

SPIRITUALIST. Code name for organizer and intelligence circuit operating in Paris, infiltrated on 5 February 1944.

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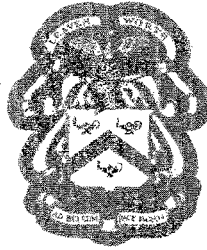
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. S. J. Lewis is a historian with the Combat Studies Institute. He received his Ph.D. in modern European history from the University of California Santa Barbara. Dr. Lewis has served as an archivist at the National Archives and as a historian at McClellan Air Force Base and the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center, Fort Bragg. He is the author of *Forgotten Legions: German Army Infantry Policy, 1918-1941* (New York: Praeger, 1985) and numerous other studies and articles.



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