**Appendix 1 – Timeline**

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| **Time** | **Event** |
| **4 April** |
| 1600 | Catalina QL-A sights KdB 360 miles southeast of Ceylon and is promptly shot down. |
| After 1600 | Numerous warships and merchantmen are sailed from Colombo and sent out of harm’s way. |
| **5 April** |
| 0400 | “Standby” assumed at British airfields, with pilots at immediate readiness. |
| 0534 | Catalina BN-L, piloted by F/L Bradshaw, takes off from Koggala to shadow KdB. |
| 0600 | KdB launches Colombo strike force and five search planes. |
| 0600? | A routine patrol by two of 30 Squadron's Hurricanes reports 8/10ths of storm clouds over most of the island with a base of 2,000 feet.  |
| 0600? | Six Swordfish of 788 Squadron take off from China Bay to fly to Ratmalana. |
| 0600? | Six Fulmars of 803 Squadron take off from Ratmalana to fly a line patrol across southern Ceylon |
| 0640 | 100 miles south of Ceylon, Bradshaw’s crew sight six aircraft resembling Fulmars heading north in a V formation. Two minutes later four aircraft resembling Sea Hurricanes are seen heading in the same direction. Believing these aircraft to be British, Bradshaw does not break radio silence to report them. |
| 0648 | Bradshaw reports sighting one battleship and two cruisers 115 miles south of Dondra Head and about 180 miles from Colombo, course 290 degrees. |
| 0715? | Leading elements of Japanese air strike make landfall in the Galle area. |
| By 0730 | 30 Squadron permits “small numbers of men” to go to breakfast.  |
| 0730 | 258 Squadron sights enemy aircraft approaching Racecourse.  |
| 0732 | Hiryu’s fighter unit sights “Colombo airfield”. (This was almost certainly Racecourse.) |
| 0735 | 258 Squadron’s 14 Hurricanes take off from Racecourse. |
| 0740 | Hiryu’s fighters attack 788 Squadron’s six Swordfish. |
| 0740 | Shokaku and Zuikaku’s Vals, and Soryu’s Zeros, approach Ratmalana from the south.  |
| 0740-0750 | 21 Hurricanes and 6 Fulmars scramble from Ratmalana in ones and twos. |
| 0745 | 16 Vals from Zuikaku attack Ratmalana.  |
| 0750-0753 | Shokaku’s Vals attack ships inside the harbour, hitting Hector and Lucia. They strafe anti-aircraft positions and merchant ships outside the harbour.  |
| 0752-0800 | Shokaku’s Vals are attacked by Hurricanes. |
| ? | Three Zuikaku Vals attack and near miss a tanker, probably San Cirilo. |
| 0756-0813 | The 53 Kates attack the harbour area. |
| 0815 | Last Kates withdraw from Colombo area. |
| 0818 | Fuchida recommends a second strike against Colombo be launched. |
| 0820-0836 | Air strike force units reassemble and begin return flights. |
| 0820-0830 | Zuikaku’s Zeros strafe a large merchantman. |
| 0830 | 10 Blenheims take off from Racecourse to attack KdB but fail to find it. |
| 0840 | Akagi’s Zeros strafe a medium-sized merchant ship. |
| ? | Soryu’s fighters strafe a merchant ship. |
| 0852 | Nagumo orders Shokaku and Zuikaku to remove the torpedoes from their Kates and rearm them with 800 kg land bombs, for a second attack on Colombo. A third of the Vals on the other carriers were to change their 250kg “ordinary” bombs for 242kg land bombs. |
| 0910 | CarDiv5 begins to change its Kates from torpedoes to 800kg bombs |
| 1000 | Floatplane from Tone sights Cornwall and Dorsetshire |
| 1023 | Nagumo orders his second wave aircraft to attack the British cruisers instead of launching a second attack on Colombo.  |

NOTES

Note: Unless indicated otherwise, all of the links to online sources given below were accessible as of December 2021.

1. UK National Archives file CAB 79/18.
2. CAB 79/19.
3. C-in-C EF 0315Z/7, in Admiralty War Diary.
4. CinC India 4231/G 27/2.
5. Map 1 is from Simpson, Michael (ed), *The Somerville Papers, Selections from the Private and Official Correspondence of Admiral of the Fleet Sir James Somerville, G.C.B., G.B.E., D.S.O.,* Naval Records Society, 1995, p. 400.
6. Canada Aviation and Space Museum (CASM) image 10713.
7. Imperial War Museum (IWM) image CF1267 .
8. Michael Tomlinson, *The Most Dangerous Moment*,Kimber, 1976, pp. 71-73; Womack, Tom, *The Dutch Naval Air Force Against Japan: The Defense of the Netherlands East Indies, 1941-1942*, McFarland & Company, 2006, p. 132; data from the Operations Record Book (ORB) of RAF Station Koggala provided to the author in March 2009 by Mark Horan.
9. 413 Squadron ORB; Tomlinson, pp. 84-85; Bayly, G.H.U., *Cats: Memoirs of 413 Squadron*, Graphic Image, 1993; extracts for March-April 1942 from Birchall’s personal log, via an 8 November 2010 post by Terry Higgins in the thread “Catalina I AJ155 information” on the RAFCOMMANDS website, at <http://www.rafcommands.com/forum/showthread.php?9517-Seeking-info-on-Catalina-AJ155>.
10. Data from the Koggala ORB (AIR 28/431) provided by Mark Horan; unnumbered 222 Group reports of 10 March and 21 March 1942. Information on Y-56 is derived from research by Dutch historian Nico Geldhof which was shared with the author by Canadian historian Arden Phair, December 2010 to January 2011.
11. Entry “R.A.F. Station / R.N.A.E Ratmalana” on the Royal Navy Research Archive site, at <http://www.royalnavyresearcharchive.org.uk/FAA-Bases/Ratmalana.htm#.XpDuZshKiUl>; Air Ministry signals AX.993 17/2 of 17 February and AX.95 18/2 of 18 February, both in AIR 20/4693; Shores, Christopher, and Cull, Brian, with Yasuho Izawa, *Bloody Shambles, Volume 2,The Defence of Sumatra to the Fall of Burma*, Grub Street, London , 1993, pp. 384, 390; Royal Air Force Museum, “No. 258 Squadron”, at <https://www.nationalcoldwarexhibition.org/research/squadrons/258/>. Per the latter two sources, 258 Squadron was formed in the UK in November 1940 and it remained there until October 1941, when it prepared for a move to the Middle East. The outbreak of war in the Far East prompted the squadron to be sent instead to Singapore where it was plunged straight into the action, but ten days later it was withdrawn to Sumatra. Following nearby Japanese landings the squadron was evacuated to Java and on 23 February was disbanded.
12. This image can be accessed at <http://www.royalnavyresearcharchive.org.uk/FAA-Bases/Ratmalana.htm#.XpDuZshKiUl> and at <https://rnzaf.proboards.com/thread/20621/infamy-ceylon>. According to the latter source, the photo was taken by RNZAF pilot Don Mackenzie, and since he was based at Ratmalana from probably March to November 1942, per a 24 December 2013 post by the site administrator, the image probably dates from this period.
13. From <http://www.royalnavyresearcharchive.org.uk/FAA-Bases/Ratmalana.htm#.YOZYX-hKiUk>.
14. Shores and Cull, pp. 384-5; Wallace, Gordon, *Carrier Observer: A Back Seat Aviator’s Story,* Airlife, 1992, p. 53-58; O’Toole, Tony, Derry, Martin and Robinson, Neil, *Hawker Hurricane and Sea Hurricane*, Pen and Sword, 2014; Hancock, Gerald A., “Eleven months aboard HMS Indomitable”, at <http://www.royalnavyresearcharchive.org.uk/11_months_INDOMITABLE.htm#.YciWMmjMKUk>; HMAS Nestor’s Diary of Events and Proceedings for January 1942, in Australian War Memorial (AWM) file AWM78 276/2, accessed at <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1421442>; Lind, L.J., and Payne, M.A*., N Class, The Story of H.M.A. Ships NIZAM, NESTOR, NAPIER, NORMAN and NEPAL*, The Naval Historical Society of Australia, 1974, p. 94; Roskill, S.W., *War at Sea 1939-1945, Volume II, The Period of Balance*, HMSO, 1956, p. 8, accessed at <http://www.ibiblio.org/hyperwar/UN/UK/UK-RN-II/>; Commander in Chief, East Indies Station (C-in-C EI, i.e., Arbuthnot) reports for January to March 1942, accessed at <https://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942.htm>; Commander in Chief, Eastern Fleet (C-in-C EF) report for 28 November 1941 to 26 March 1942 (Layton’s report for his period as acting C-in-C EF), accessed at <https://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1941ChinaStation.htm>; Minutes, C.O.S. (42) 49th Meeting (13 February 1942), in CAB 79/18; 17 February 1942 signal (AX 960 17/2) from Portal (Chief of the Air Staff) to Tedder (RAF CinC in the Middle East), in AIR 8/622; WO 71398 (M.O. 1) 18/2; 1st SL 2205A/3.
15. Chiefs of Staff No. India 29, ADM 223/867; C.O.S. 42/74, CAB 79/19/4.
16. IWM image A10506.
17. IWM image A11163; O’Toole, et al, op cit; Thomas, Andrew, *Royal Navy Aces of World War 2*, Osprey, 2013, p. 39.
18. Shores and Cull, pp. 386-7; Webmaster, RAF Commands website, “Memoirs of Sgt Fred Whittaker – Hurricane Pilot”, accessed at <http://www.rafcommands.com/india/memoirs-of-sgt-fred-whittaker-hurricane-pilot/>; <https://bbm.org.uk/airmen/Peacock-Edwards.htm>. The CO of 261 Squadron also had engine trouble after launching and likewise had to land on Indomitable. It seems that he probably took off with the second batch to be launched, at 1600 on 6 March, and then again on the morning of 7 March with the third and final batch.
19. 222 Group signal AO 664 12/2, of 12 February 1942, in AIR 8/622; Shores and Cull, p. 390; 258 Squadron ORB, in AIR 27/1530; 11 Squadron ORB, in AIR 27/157/35.
20. The sketch is from <http://www.royalnavyresearcharchive.org.uk/FAA-Bases/Colombo_Racecourse.htm#.VJc0t8BvA>. The image is courtesy of Mr. Henrik Melder of Sri Lanka.
21. Image is from <http://wp.scn.ru/en/ww2/f/79/9/12>.
22. Sturtivant, Ray, *The Squadrons of the Fleet Air Arm*, Air Britain Historians Ltd., 1984, pp. 173-174 and 184-186; entries for 803 and 806 NAS on the Fleet Air Arm Archive 1939-1945 site, accessed in April 2020 at <http://www.fleetairarmarchive.net/Squadrons/803.html> and <http://www.fleetairarmarchive.net/Squadrons/806.html> (both links now dead).
23. Tangmere Military Aviation Museum site, at <https://www.tangmere-museum.org.uk/aircraft-month/fairey-fulmar>.
24. The data on the Fulmar is from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fairey_Fulmar>, <https://www.warbirdsforum.com/topic/7169-fairey-fulmar-performancetimeline/> (link now dead) and <http://www.armouredcarriers.com/fairey-fulmar-models/>. The data on the Hurricane is from <http://www.wwiiaircraftperformance.org/hurricane/hurricane-I.html>; <https://www.fighter-planes.com/info/hurricane.htm> and <http://www.wwiiaircraftperformance.org/hurricane/hurricane-II.html>. The data on the A6M2 is from <http://www.combinedfleet.com/ijna/a6m.htm>.
25. On 29 March, 30 Squadron had 24 operational aircraft, according to its ORB, which is in AIR 27/344 and AIR 27/344/29, but one of its Hurricanes crashed into the sea on 3 April and was lost. It is not known why the unit had only 22 serviceable aircraft on 5 April, rather than 23. The figures for 258 Squadron are from its ORB, AIR 27/1530, which also notes that it had nine Hurricane IIs and six Hurricane Is “at readiness” on 4 April. An unconfirmed 2010 report on the “WalesOnline” site records the recollections of a former 258 Squadron pilot who recalled that when the Japanese arrived overhead on 5 April the tires of his Hurricane were being changed. If this account is accurate it would explain why only five Mark Is were serviceable on 5 April. It was accessed at <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/wwii-veterans-fighter-pilots-far-1896210>.
26. 30 Squadron ORB; 258 Squadron ORB; Shores and Cull, op. cit; Shores, Christopher and Williams, Clive, *Aces High: A Tribute to the Highest Scoring Fighter Pilots of the British and Commonwealth Forces in WWII,* Grub Street, 1994;Shores, Christopher, *Those Other Eagles: A Tribute to the British, Commonwealth and Free European Fighter Pilots Who Claimed Between Two and Four Victories in Aerial Combat, 1939-1982*, Grub Street, 2004; Kelly, Terence, *Hurricane over the* Jungle, Pen & Sword, 2005; Kelly, Terence, *Hurricane in* Sumatra, Arrow Books, 1991; Hamlin, John F*., Flat Out: The Story of 30 Squadron Royal Air Force*, Air-Britain, Tunbridge Wells, 2002; Lavigne, J. P. A. Michel, Edwards, James Francis, *Hurricanes Over the Sands, Part One, The Canadians and the RCAF Americans*, Lavigne Aviation Publications, 2003, p. 54; Halliday, Hugh, “Triple Front Ace”, in *The C.A.H.S Journal*, volume 2 number 2, Summer 1964; Halliday, Hugh, “Far East Flyers”, in *Legion*, 28 March 2014, at <https://legionmagazine.com/en/2014/03/far-east-flyers/>; memoire of Doug Nicholls, “One Foot on the Ground”, at <https://rafmontrose.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/One-Foot-on-the-Ground-Chris-Nicholls.pdf>; memoire of Fred Whittaker, at <http://www.rafcommands.com/india/memoirs-of-sgt-fred-whittaker-hurricane-pilot/> and at <http://www.rafcommands.com/forum/showthread.php?11196-Memoir-of-Fred-Whittaker-of-30-Sqdn>; information on Denis Sharp at <http://ww2talk.com/index.php?threads/kiwi-hurricane-pilot.22717/#post-278808>; <http://www.rafcommands.com/forum/showthread.php?8859-Denis-John-Thomas-Sharp-DFC> <http://www.webgirl.co.nz/SharpHealy/dennissharp.html>; website Battle of Britain Monument, at <https://www.bbm.org.uk/airmen/>; National Archives of Australia, at <https://www.naa.gov.au/>; and the following additional online sources: <http://www.london-gazette.co.uk>

<https://www.bognor.co.uk/news/nostalgia-royal-naval-officers-amazing-story-survival-849788> <https://www.unithistories.com/officers/RN_officersH6.html>

<https://www.unithistories.com/officers/RN_officersS3.html>

 <https://www.armouredcarriers.com/operation-maq3-may-26-1941>

<https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/lieutenant-commander-john-humphrey-charlesworth-s-187-c-0e74271bf7>

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<http://aircrewremembered.com/rcafnotes-surnames-r-z.html> <http://acesofww2.com/can/aces/whalen.htm>

<http://www.acesofww2.com/Canada/aces/whalen.htm> <http://airforce.ca/uploads/airforce/2009/07/ALPHA-WH.html>

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<http://www.manitobamilitaryaviationmuseum.com/PDF/WCDavidson.pdf>

<http://www.awm.gov.au/catalogue/research_centre/pdf/rc09125z004_1.pdf>

<http://www.rafweb.org/Biographies/>

<https://www.unithistories.com/officers/RNZAF_officers.html#W>

<http://www.aircrewremembered.com/RCAFNotesDatabase/?q=cameron>

<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-WH2-3RAF-c12.html>

1. Smith, Peter C., *Mitsubishi Zero, Japan’s Legendary Fighter*, Pen & Sword, 2014; Hata, IIkuhiko, Izawa, Yasuho, and Shores, Christopher, *Japanese Naval Fighter Aces 1932-45*, Stackpole, 2011; Sakaida, Henry, *Imperial Japanese Navy Aces 1937-45*, Osprey, 1998; Millman, Nicholas, *A6M Zero-sen Aces 1940-42*, Osprey, 2019; Ledet, Michel, *Samouraï sur porte-avions: Les groupes aériens embarqués japonais, 1922-​1944, Tome 1,* Lela Presse, 2017; Wenger, J. Michael, Cressman, Robert J., and Di Virgilio, John F., *No One Avoided Danger: NAS Kaneohe Bay and the Japanese Attack of 7 December 1941*, *This is No Drill: The History of NAS Pearl Harbor and the Japanese Attacks of 7 December 1941*, and *They're Killing My Boys: The History of Hickam Field and the Attacks of 7 December 1941*,Naval Institute Press, 2015, 2018 and 2019, respectively; Werneth, Ron, *Beyond Pearl Harbor*, Schiffer Military History, 2008;27 June 2021 post by “armstrong2” in the thread at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=18508.0;topicseen>; 2 August 2021 post by Jim Sawruk in the thread at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=18532.msg130846#new>.
2. 1 HAA Regiment RM War Diary, in ADM 202/153; 65 HAA Regiment War Diary, in WO 172/1538; HQ AA Command Ceylon War Diary, in WO 172/1521; C-in-C EI report for January; C.O.S.(42) 62 Annex V, in CAB 80/33; AIR 20/2144; information on ship arrivals at Colombo from the Convoy Web site, at <http://www.convoyweb.org.uk/index.html>; <http://www.royalmarinesmuseum.co.uk/unit-history-summaries-part-3>. The latter link was dead as of October 2021.
3. IWM image CAN 2428.
4. 1 HAA Regiment RM War Diary.
5. 1 HAA Regiment RM War Diary and annexed Movement Order ‘Z’ dated 30 January; 65 HAA Regiment War Diary; HQ AA Comd Ceylon War Diary.
6. Report dated 9 April 1942 on the loss of Hector by the ship’s captain, Cdr Barendell, RAN, in ADM 199/623; report on the loss of Tenedos, in ADM 199/623; “Report of an Interview with the Master, Captain H. Faulkner, S.S. British Sergeant”, T.D./139/1396, 5th August 1942, in ADM 199/623.
7. IWM images A1804, A17177 and A27641.
8. IWM image CH15200.
9. AMES 254 ORB, in AIR 29/174; No. 20 Operations Room ORB, in AIR 26/268; Hamlin, pp. 161-162.
10. AMES 249 photo album on CD, purchased by the author via the “Through Their Eyes” Military Photo Archive, at [www.throughtheireyes2.co.uk](http://www.throughtheireyes2.co.uk). (This link is now dead.)
11. Melder, Henrik, on-line article “990 Barrage Balloon Squadron during WWII”, accessible at <http://www.bbrclub.org/990%20Barrage%20Balloon%20Squadron%20during%20WWII..htm>; Stuart-Melder correspondence, February-April 2020.
12. Eleven destroyers sortied from Staring Bay with KdB but it appears that three of them were detached prior to 5 April. According to Japanese Monograph No. 118, *Operational History of Naval Communications, December 1941 – August 1945,* accessed at <http://cdm16040.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p4013coll8/id/2434/rec/23>, one destroyer was sent to the Ten Degree Channel, which lies between the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, “to report by radio the attack plan and subsequent movements of our force”. The other two destroyers were apparently detached to escort the oilers after refueling was completed on 3 April.
13. Table 4 is based on research by the author and on information provided by Marc Horan and Eugen Pinak (see <http://propnturret.com/tully/viewtopic.php?f=4&t=297> and <http://propnturret.com/tully/viewtopic.php?f=5&t=1430&p=8715#p8715>).
14. This widely available public domain picture of Nagumo is undated but was taken after 15 November 1939, when he was promoted to vice admiral.
15. From <https://www.pinterest.ca/pin/524669425312594234/>.
16. The War History Office of the National Defence College of Japan, War History Series (Senshi Sōsho), Volume 26, *The Operations of the Navy in the Dutch East Indies and the Bay of Bengal*, English edition, translated and edited by Willem Remmelink, Leiden University Press (LUP), 2018, p. 569, accessed at <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/65910>, hereinafter cited as Senshi Sōsho; C-in-C Eastern Fleet cable 0440Z/15, 15 January 1942; Admiralty signal 1511A/20, 20 January 1942.
17. Senshi Sōsho, Illustration No. 59, p. 615.
18. “Loss of H.M Ships Prince Of Wales and Repulse”, Supplement to the London Gazette, 26 February 1948; C-in-C EF Diary for 28 November 1941 to 26 March 1942, op cit. A copy of the public announcement of Layton’s appointment as Commander-in-Chief, Ceylon, as an acting full admiral, is at <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03071844209421359?journalCode=rusi19>.
19. *The Somerville Papers*, pp. 8-9, 58-59, 78-79, 348-385; C-in-C EF report for 28 November 1941 to 26 March 1942, op. cit; Thomas, David A., *Japan’s War at Sea, Pearl Harbor to the Coral Sea*, Andre Deutsch, 1978, p. 92; MacIntyre, Captain Donald, *Fighting Admiral*, *The Life of Admiral of the Fleet Sir James Somerville*, G.C.B, G.B.E., D.S.O., Evans Brothers, 1961, p. 181; *Task Force Operations*, Japanese Monograph No. 113, Military History Section, Headquarters, US Army Forces Far East.
20. C-in-C Eastern Fleet cable 0440Z/15, 15 January 1942; Admiralty signal 1511A/20, 20 January 1942.
21. UK National Portrait Gallery image x162966, accessed at <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw108377/Sir-Geoffrey-Layton?LinkID=mp79566&role=sit&rNo=1>.
22. IWM image A3747.
23. UK National Portrait Gallery image x163647, accessed at <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait-list.php?search=sp&sText=x163647&firstRun=true>.
24. IWM image CM175.
25. Willmott, HP, with Tohmatsu Haruo and W. Spencer Johnson, *Pearl Harbor*, London, Cassell, 2001, pp. 69, 95, 100; Prange, Gordon W., *At Dawn We Slept*, Penguin Books, 1991, pp. 483-484; p. 490.
26. Tabular Record of Movement (TROM) for I-2 on the combinedfleet.com site, accessed at <http://www.combinedfleet.com/I-2.htm>; Monograph 113; 29 August 2010 posting by Sander Kingsepp at <http://propnturret.com/tully/viewtopic.php?f=8&t=963&p=4484&hilit=sander#p4484>; 30 January 2013 email from Lu Yu to the author; Senshi Sōsho, pp. 616, 619, 647-648.
27. I-3 TROM, at <http://www.combinedfleet.com/I-3.htm>; Monograph 113; Senshi Sōsho, p. 647.
28. I-3 TROM; “SSSS” signal from Elmdale sent at 0300 on 7 April, received by Colombo’s naval radio station and noted in Admiralty War Diary.
29. Unidentified IWM image of I-8 accessed at <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q1802444#/media/File:I-8.jpg>; the public domain image of the E9W1 is from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Watanabe_E9W#/media/File:Watanabe_E9W1.jpg>; the E13A image is from <http://nhungdoicanh.blogspot.com/2011/07/aichi-e13a-jake.html>.
30. I-7 TROM, at <http://www.combinedfleet.com/I-7.htm>; Senshi Sōsho, p. 647; Tomlinson, p. 73; Monograph 113; “Report of Proceedings of Eastern Fleet from 29th March to 13th April 1942”, accessed at <https://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942-Introduction.htm>.
31. <https://ww2db.com/images/air_h6k8.jpg>.
32. Senshi Sōsho, p. 617, p. 619, pp. 638-639; 261 Squadron ORB, in AIR 27/1540.
33. Senshi Sōsho, p. 606, p. 619; Monograph 113; translated excerpt from Desron1’a War Diary, provided to the author by Lu Yu in a 30 January 2013 email.
34. Smith, Michael, *The Emperor’s Codes*, Arcade Publishing, 2000, p. 128; Prados, John, *Combined Fleet Decoded*, Random House, 1995, pp. 273-4; Commander-in-Chief Pacific operations log, at <http://www.ibiblio.org/anrs/docs/D/D7/nimitz_graybook1.pdf>; Op-16-F-2 summaries of Japanese Naval Activities, at <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu>; Blair, Clay, Jr., *Silent Victory The U.S. Submarine War Against Japan,* Vol. 1, J.B. Lippincott Company, 1975, pp. 168-169, p. 188; Mendenhall, Rear Adm. Corwin, *Submarine Diary*, Naval Institute Press, 1991, pp. 53-57; *USS Sculpin Report of Third War Patrol*, at <http://issuu.com/hnsa/docs/ss-191_sculpin?mode=a_p>.
35. HW 4/25, Captain H. L. Shaw RN, “The History of HMS Anderson”, 24 May 1946, Chap 4, p. 6. HMS Anderson was the shore-based intercept and direction finding station at Colombo.
36. Commander in Chief Eastern Fleet signal 0626Z/29, in ADM 223/867.
37. Tagaya, Osamu, *Aichi 99 Kanbaku ‘Val” Units 1937–42*, Osprey, 2011, p. 56, and Senshi Sōsho, pp. 601-602, which explain that Shokaku and Zuikaku were delayed primarily due to a wild goose chase in response to false reports of US carrier activity northeast of Wake; R. Stuart exchanges with Don Kehn, Jr. and the late Luke G.A. Ruffato, August 2010, at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=9799.msg70939#msg70939>; *USS Sculpin Report of Third War Patrol*, at <http://issuu.com/hnsa/docs/ss-191_sculpin?mode=a_p>.
38. *Battle Summary No. 15, Naval Operations off Ceylon, 29th March to 10th April, 1942*, Admiralty Training and Staff Duties Division, London, 1943, p. 5 note 2 and Plan 2, accessible at <http://www.navy.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/Battle_Summary_No_15_and_16.pdf>; Commander-in-Chief East Indies No. 804/E.I. 260, “War Dispatch”, 18 June 1942, paragraph 30, accessible at <https://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942-Introduction.htm>; Commander-in-Chief East Indies monthly report for March 1942, accessible at <https://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942.htm>; emails of 28 January 2011 and 5 February 2011 from Dutch naval historian Jan Viser to the author; 20 October 2009 post by Gerard Horneman at <http://www.dutchsubmarines.com/>.
39. *Battle Summary No. 15,* pp. 2-4; “Report of Proceedings of Eastern Fleet from 29th March to 13th April 1942”, op cit, paragraphs 11-18.
40. Stuart, Rob, “Leonard Birchall and the Japanese Raid on Colombo”, Canadian Military Journal, volume 7, number 4, Winter 2006-2007, accessible at <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo7/no4/stuart-eng.asp>.
41. Koggala ORB; 222 Group Operation Order No. 43, in AIR 25/930; Battle Summary No. 15, p. 6 and Plan 4; Commander-in-Chief East Indies War Diary, April 1942 (mislabelled as the Eastern Fleet War Diary), accessed at <http://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942a.htm>; “Report of Proceedings of Eastern Fleet from 29th March to 13th April 1942”, op cit, para 23; Colombo W/T 1229z/4 and D/C.inC. EF 0209z/4, both in ADM 223/259; Senshi Sōsho, p. 621.
42. Department of National Defence (DND) image PL-7405.
43. Courtesy of Moira Gourlay, niece of F/L Graham.
44. The quote is from the 30 Squadron ORB. The 258 Squadron ORB says that its CO also attended the meeting, or left to attend it, at 1700. Presumably the CO’s of 803 and 806 NAS also attended. The 30 Squadron ORB is in AIR 27/344. The 258 Squadron ORB is in AIR 27/1530 and AIR 27/1530/19.
45. 222 Group Operation Order No. 43, in AIR 25/930.
46. Jackson, Ashley, *Ceylon at War 1939-*1945, Helion, 2018, pp. 75-76.
47. For further information on the loss of the two cruisers see the author’s 2019 article “A Detailed Analysis of the Loss of Cornwall and Dorsetshire”, at <http://www.combinedfleet.com/articles.htm>.
48. Battle Summary No. 15, p. 4; Commander-in-Chief East Indies War Diary, April 1942, op cit.
49. Principal sources: Information on ship arrivals at and departures from Colombo from the Convoy Web site, op cit; information on warship movements on the Naval-History site, at <http://www.naval-history.net/xDKWW2-4202-42FEB02.htm>, <http://www.naval-history.net/xDKWW2-4203-43MAR01.htm>, <http://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1941ChinaStation.htm>, <http://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942.htm>, <http://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942a.htm>, and <http://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942-Introduction.htm>; Collard, Ian, *Blue Funnel Line An Illustrated History*, Amberley, 2010, p. 68;Aiken, Alex, *In Time of War,* Glasgow, 1980; Deputy C-in-C EF 1433Z/4, in ADM 223/259; <http://www.rnpatrolservice.org.uk/forum/install/index.php> (dead link).
50. Aiken, op cit; entry for Glenearn on the Historical RFA website, at <http://www.historicalrfa.org/requisitioned-auxiliaries/166-requisitioned-auxiliaries-g/2100-requisitioned-auxiliary-glenearn>; information on Glenearn on the Naval History website, <https://www.naval-history.net/index.htm>.
51. BT 389/42/234; Jordan, Roger W., *The World’s Merchant Fleets 1939, The Particulars and Wartime Fates of 6,000 Ships*, Chatham Publishing, 1999, p. 564; <http://www.warsailors.com/singleships/soli.html>; [http://www.helderline.nl/tanker/793/silver+shell/](http://www.helderline.nl/tanker/793/silver%2Bshell/).
52. Longwood: BT 389/19/177; I-162 TROM. San Cirilo: BT 389/26/14; I-162 TROM; emails from Don Kindell, 9 November 2009, and Convoy Web researcher Tony Cooper, 10 November 2009; <http://warsailors.com/forum/read.php?1,3846,3873#msg-3873>; <http://www.historicalrfa.org/requisitioned-auxiliaries/176-requisitioned-auxiliaries-s/1482-requisitioned-auxiliary-san-cirilo>. British Judge: BT 389/5/114; Slader, John, *The Fourth Service,* New Guild, 1995, p. 168. Storanger: <https://www.warsailors.com/singleships/storanger.html>, BT 389/43/39; Trocas: BT 389/30/151.
53. BT 389/8/170; 6 Aust Div A&QG Branch War Diary, accessed at <https://s3-ap-southeast-2.amazonaws.com/awm-media/collection/RCDIG1022370/document/4443921.PDF>; *Action Front: History of the 2/2nd Field Regiment*, accessed at <http://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=227104187317634>.
54. Information provided to the author by Tony Cooper on 14 November 2011; Bollinger, Marty, “Did a Soviet Merchant Ship Encounter the Pearl Harbor Strike Force?”, Naval War College Review, Volume 60, Number 4, Article 9, 2007, p. 98 and end note 21; entry for Igarka on the Tees Built Ships site, accessed at <http://teesbuiltships.co.uk/view.php?year_built=&builder=&ref=168110&vessel=IGARKA>.
55. BT 389/4/31; BT 389/16/251; [www.convoyweb.org.uk](http://www.convoyweb.org.uk) data on March-April 1942 arrivals at and departures from Colombo; Information provided to the author by Tony Cooper on 14 November 2011.

1. [www.convoyweb.org.uk](http://www.convoyweb.org.uk) data on March-April 1942 arrivals at and departures from Colombo; Information provided to the author by Tony Cooper on 14 November 2011; and the following list of additional sources for individual ships, which does not include sources already cited:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Reynella  | BT 389/24/279 |
| Tjibadak | Arbuthnot’s 20 April 1942 report, in ADM 199/623  |
| Clan Murdoch | BT 389/14/212; Slader, p. 168; Holman, Gordon, *In Danger’s Hour,* Hodder & Stroughton, 1948, p. 105. |
| Benledi | BT 389/4/94; AIR 20/2144. |
| British Sergeant | BT 389/5/151  |
| Waiwera | BT 389/31/135 |
| Danmark | BT 389/9/78; CO 323/1764/7; <http://www.snesejler.dk/z.htm> (dead link). Danmark was at Colombo on 9 April 1940 when the Germans invaded Denmark and was seized by the British.  |
| Valldemosa | BT 389/25/206  |
| Benrinnes | BT 389/21/23; <http://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942.htm>  |
| Uffington Court | BT 389/30/204 |
| British Colonel | BT 389/5/68 |
| Nellore | BT 389/21/264 |
| Sinnington Court | BT 389/27/87 |
| Stanmore | BT 389/28/70 |
| Clan MacGillivray | BT 389/19/267 |
| Kanbe | BT 389/17/118 |
| Yenangyaung | BT 389/32/193 |
| Nawab | BT 389/21/242 |
| Nurjehan | BT 389/22/157 |
| Clan MacTavish | BT 389/7/227 |
| Gogra | BT 389/14/63 |
| Pardo | BT 389/23/97 |
| Forthbank | BT 389/13/24 |
| Jalaganga | BT 389/16/241 |
| Sønnavind | BT 389/42/250; <http://warsailors.com/singleships/sonnavind.html>  |
| Marionga D. Thermiotis | BT 389/33/199 |
| Michael Livanos | BT 389/39/234; <http://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942a.htm>; CinC ME signal Mov/1/72128 13/3, in PWT India. |
| Drava | BT 3789/35/257 |
| Ashridge | BT 389/2/139 |
| Winifred Moller | BT 389/32/138 |
| Taiposhan | BT 389/29/103 |
| Halvdan | <https://www.warsailors.com/singleships/halvdan.html>  |
| Angby | <http://www.clydeships.co.uk/view.php?ref=16627> |
| Indragiri | BT 389/16/110 |
| Mariso | BT 389/39/151 |

1. “Report of Proceedings of Eastern Fleet from 29th March to 13th April 1942”, op cit, para 32.
2. [www.convoyweb.org.uk](http://www.convoyweb.org.uk) data on March-April 1942 arrivals at and departures from Colombo; Information provided to the author by Tony Cooper on 14 November 2011; and the following list of additional sources for individual ships, which does not include sources already cited:

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Masimpur | BT 389/20/173 |
| Koumoundouros | BT 389/38/223 |
| Kwai Sang | BT 389/26/35; C-in-C EI 0814Z/11, in Admiralty War Diary. |
| Colon | BT 389/8/62; C-in-C EI 0814Z/11, in Admiralty War Diary. |

1. Senshi Sōsho, pp. 606-607, p. 619; Monograph 113, p. 70; translated excerpts from Hiryū’s Detailed Action Report for Indian Ocean Mobile Operation and Desron1’a War Diary, provided to the author by Lu Yu in a 30 January 2013 email. See also the thread “KdB apparently carried 800 kg AP bombs during Operation C”, at <https://propnturret.com/tully/viewtopic.php?f=25&t=4629>.
2. Senshi Sōsho, pp. 619-620.
3. Monograph 113, p. 72.
4. Monograph 113, pp. 72-73; Hiryū Detailed Action Report for Indian Ocean Mobile Operation and Desron1 War Diary, op cit.
5. Map 3 is from Boyd, Andrew, *The Royal Navy in Eastern Waters Linchpin of Victory 1935-1942*, Seaforth Publishing, 2017, p. 371.
6. Senshi Sōsho, p. 622; information posted by Osamu Tagaya in June-July 2014 in the thread at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=14783.15> and February 2021 posts in the thread at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=18426.0>.

1. From the Japanese Aviation site, at <https://japanese-aviation.forumotion.com/t21-41-ceylon-raid-april-5-1942>.
2. Ibid.
3. Hiryu’s track charts are from Hiryu’s Detailed Action Report (DAR) for Operation C, in document C08030581700 at the Japan Center for Asian Historical Records (JACAR). Its kodochosho is JACAR C08051579300.
4. Koggala ORB, in AIR 28/431; Tomlinson, pp. 100-101.
5. From Japanese primary sources, via a 30 January 2013 email from Lu Yu to the author.
6. 17 Australian Infantry Brigade Group O.O. No. 3, 11 April 1942, accessed at <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1366869?image=113>.
7. AIR 25/930; Shores and Cull, pp. 402-403; Wallace, p. 81; Tomlinson, p. 92.
8. AIR 29/174.

1. AIR 29/31.
2. 222 Group report “Japanese Air Attack on Colombo on the 5th April, 1942”, probably issued on 9 June 1942, in AIR 23/4801.
3. AIR 29/174.
4. ADM 199/663, Commanders’ Meeting minutes, cited in Jackson, p. 77; Layton to Churchill, 2 May 1942, IZ 155, 1353Z/2, in AIR 20/4693.
5. *Signals Volume 5*, footnote on page 63, quoted in Ross McNeill post of 5 March 2014 at <http://www.rafcommands.com/forum/showthread.php?14236-Question-on-MRU-radar-stations>.
6. Figure 4 from “The Radar Pages” page at <http://www.radarpages.co.uk/mob/ch/chainhome4.htm>.
7. *Signals Volume 5*, footnote on page, op. cit; Hamilton, Angus, *Canadians on Radar in South East Asia*, 1941-1945, self published, Douglas, New Brunswick, 2000. MacPhail was one of 723 RCAF radar mechanics who served in what became the South East Asia Command (SEAC).
8. For an explanation of radar display types, see A.P.1093C, Vol. I, Chap. 3, at <http://www.vmarsmanuals.co.uk/archive/634_AP1093C_Vol_1.pdf>.
9. The process is described in a passage from *Signals Volume 5* quoted by Ross McNeill in his second post of 5 March 2014 at <http://www.rafcommands.com/forum/showthread.php?14236-Question-on-MRU-radar-stations>. The author is indebted to Mr. McNeill for his insights.
10. The image is from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radar_display#/media/File:Chain_Home_screen_shot_-NEDAD.2013.047.058A.jpg>. See also Figure 16-9 in the page on Display Methods in Radar System at <https://www.eeeguide.com/display-methods-in-radar-system/> and the accompanying text.
11. 258 Squadron ORB.
12. AIR 23/4801; Senshi Sōsho, p. 627; Tomlinson, p. 93, pp. 103-104. Hiryu’s kodochosho indicates that its Zeros attacked the Swordfish at 0740 while Akagi’s kodochosho indicates that its Zeros, at least some of which also attacked the Swordfish, headed for Ratmalana at 0745, which suggests that the attack on the Swordfish was finished by then.
13. IWM images A3538 and A21618.
14. Tomlinson, p. 93, pp. 103-104; Shores and Cull, pp. 395-397; Sturtivant, p. 177; Pountney, Cyril, Lt. Cdr. (A) RNVR, *Uncle’s War in the Fleet Air Arm*, United Writers, 1986, pp. 99-102; Meredith, Anthony, *The Pilot and the Commando*, AuthorHouse, 2011, pp. 36-41; Commonwealth War Grave Commission (CWGC) data; *The Navy List* (last 1941 edition and April 1942 edition); information from Admiralty War Diary at <https://www.naval-history.net/xDKWW2-4204-44APR-DEC.htm>; April 2021 exchange with Error Martyn and Paul McMillan at <http://www.rafcommands.com/forum/showthread.php?27420-Looking-for-info-on-Sub-Lt-NR-MacKay-and-PO-JS-Heath-of-788-Sqn>. Beale had won the DSC for “gallantry, daring and skill in the operations in which the German battleship Bismarck was destroyed”, having scored a torpedo hit on her amidships, for which see Horan, Mark E., *“With Gallantry and Determination”, The Story of the Torpedoing of the Bismarck*, at <https://www.kbismarck.com/article2.html>, and <https://www.dnw.co.uk/auction-archive/past-catalogues/lot.php?auction_id=160&lot_uid=172061> For an exchange on Cope’s rank and name see <http://www.rafcommands.com/forum/showthread.php?27386-looking-for-info-on-a-Sub-Lt-Cope-of-788-Sqn&p=160644#post160644>. For information on a memorial to Shaw erected north of Colombo, presumably near where his Swordfish came down, see <http://ww2talk.com/index.php?threads/memorial-on-sri-lankan-beach-to-jr-hall-canadian-pilot-died-sri-lanka-april-1942.54262/>. Other particulars of Swordfish aircrew shot down over Colombo are as follows:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Full Name** | **Remarks** |
| Longsdon  | Stephen Marshall de Longsdon Longsdon | Aboard Ark Royal when it was sunk in November 1941 |
| Beale  | Anthony William Duncan Beale | Won DSC for torpedo hit on Bismarck |
| Meakin  | Peter Arthur Meakin |  |
| Pountney  | Cyril Graham Pountney | Aboard Ark Royal when it was sunk in November 1941 |
| Shaw  | Charles Thomas Shaw |  |
| Carter  | David Robert Carter |  |
| McKay  | Given names not known | Erroneously identified in Shores and Cull as NR MacKay |
| Creese  | George Hill Creese |  |
| Heath | Given names not known | Previously shot down in a Catalina |
| Edwards  | Frederick Harry Edwards |  |
| Skingley  | George Edward Henry Skingley |  |
| Hall  | John Rumsworth (Rushworth?) Hall |  |
| Cope | Geoffrey H. Cope | Identified in some secondary sources as Sub-Lt J.E. Cope.  |
| Bolton  | David Alec Bolton |  |

1. Pountney, op. cit.
2. Meredith, op. cit.
3. Parshall, Jon, “Another Trip To The Drive-thru: Three More Wartime Whoppers Courtesy of Mitsuo Fuchida”, accessible at <http://www.combinedfleet.com/ThreeMoreWhoppers.htm>.
4. Ibid; information from Hiryu’s and Akagi’s kodochoshos posted by Osamu Tagaya in June-July 2014 in the thread at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=14783.15> and in February 2021 in the thread at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=18426.0>; Shores and Cull, Table 14, p. 404; Senshi Sōsho, p. 622, p. 625, p. 627.
5. <http://ww2in172.com/?p=3679>; Ledet, p. 126.
6. AIR 27/1530.
7. AIR 27/1530/20.
8. Information from the five carriers’ kodochoshos posted by Osamu Tagaya in June 2014 in the thread at <https://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=14783.15> and in February 2021 in the thread at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=18426.0>; Shores and Cull, pp. 395-405; Stuart, Rob, 2018 article “State of the Art: The Japanese Attacks on Hermes, Vampire, Hollyhock, Athelstane, British Sergeant and Norviken, 9 April 1942”, accessible at <http://www.combinedfleet.com/articles.htm>.
9. 258 Squadron ORB; also quoted in Shores and Cull, p. 399.
10. Tomlinson, pp. 106-108.
11. Fletcher’s DFC was gazetted on 29 December 1942, per <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/35837/supplement/5638>. The text of the citation is from the 7 January 1943 edition of the UK magazine *Flight*, which was accessed at <http://www.skynet.ie/~dan/war/flightsa/Flight_AS1943-1.pdf>.
12. UK National Portrait Gallery, at <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/use-this-image/?mkey=mw220265>
13. <https://bbm.org.uk/airmen/Peacock-Edwards.htm>
14. Tomlinson, pp 108-110.
15. Peacock-Edwards’ DFC was gazetted on 29 December 1942, per <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/35837/supplement/5638>. The text of the citation is from the 7 January 1943 edition of the UK magazine *Flight*, which was accessed at <http://www.skynet.ie/~dan/war/flightsa/Flight_AS1943-1.pdf>.
16. Doug Nicholls, p. 88.
17. <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/11443053/Squadron-Leader-Doug-Nicholls-obituary.html>
18. Doug Nicholls, p. 88.
19. 258 Squadron ORB; Tomlinson, pp 110-111; Shores and Cull, pp. 399-401; Thomas, Andrew, *Hurricane Aces 1941-45*, Osprey, 2003, pp. 73-74; Shores, Christopher, *Those Other Eagles*, Grub Street, 2004, p. 532.
20. Tagaya, pp. 56-57; information from Shokaku’s kodochosho and CarDiv5’s Direct Action Report (DAR), recounted by Osamu Tagaya (“Osamu T”) and “genie854” (whose identity is known to the author) in April 2015 in the thread at <https://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=15619.msg110545#msg110545>.
21. *They're Killing My Boys*, op. cit, p. 101.
22. Tagaya, p. 56; translated excerpts from Zuikaku’s kodochosho kindly provided by Osamu Tagaya in the 2014 thread at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=14783.0>; July 2021 exchange with Eugen Pinak in the thread at <https://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=18516.msg130735#msg130735>.
23. Werneth, pp. 65-66.
24. <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/4f/6c/8f/4f6c8f1b8abf83817d551dae497d5e6a.jpg>
25. Shores and Cull, p. 403; 24 March 2009 post by Mark Horan in the thread at <https://propnturret.com/tully/viewtopic.php?f=4&t=297>.
26. On 5 April 38 Vals were sent to attack Colombo, six of them being lost, and another 53 were sent to attack Cornwall and Dorsetshire later that day. These 91 aircraft represented KdB’s full complement of Vals. Four days later 85 Vals were launched to attack Hermes, from which it follows that any Vals damaged on 5 April were damaged lightly enough that they could be repaired aboard their ships in less than four days.
27. Table 11 is based on those of the sources cited above in note 26 which relate to 258 Squadron and its pilots.
28. Probably taken by P/O Milnes. Believed to be in the public domain.
29. <http://www.bbm.org.uk/airmen/Lockhart.htm>.
30. Doug Nicholls, p. 48.
31. Ibid, p. 78.
32. Tagaya, p. 56; Shores and Cull, pp. 399-401; AIR 23/4801, para 6; 5 April 1942 report by P/O LJ Christie, 258 Squadron’s intelligence officer, quoted in Nicholls, pp. 89-90; 24 April 2015 posts by Osamu Tagaya and genie854 in the thread at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=15619.0>.
33. 30 Squadron ORBs; Hamlin, pp. 162-163.

1. Shores and Cull, pp. 397-398; AIR 23/4801.
2. Tagaya, p. 56.
3. AIR 23/4801.
4. Information from relevant kodochoshos, via a post by Osamu Tagaya (“Osamu T”) in June 2014 in the thread at <https://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=14783.15> (reply #18).
5. AIR 27/344.
6. AIR 23/4801; Shores and Williams, p. 290, p. 295, p. 133; Shores and Cull, pp. 397-398, pp. 401-402; Tomlinson, pp. 110-111; Hamlin, p. 163; “RCAF Combat Claims 1942”, on the RCAF Association site, at <https://www.rcafassociation.ca/heritage/history/rcaf-combat-claims/rcaf-combat-claims-1942/>; <http://www.rcaf.com/whalen/> (dead link); entry on Davidson at <https://acesofww2.com/can/aces/davidson/>; entry at Whalen at <https://acesofww2.com/can/aces/whalen.htm>; Canadian newspaper story “Nine Jap Planes Felled By Seven Canadians”, 26 June 1942, accessed at <https://acesofww2.com/can/aces/whalen.htm>.
7. Shores and Cull, pp. 403-404; Ledet, p. 157; 24 March 2009 post by Mark E. Horan, at <https://propnturret.com/tully/viewtopic.php?f=4&t=297>; 19 June 2014 post (reply #14) by Osamu Tagaya (“Osamu T”) in the thread at <https://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=14783.15>. Horan’s and Tagaya’s posts were both based on information in the carriers’ kodochoshos.
8. Shores and Cull, p. 402; Australian 16th Infantry Brigade war diary for April-May 1942, at <http://www.awm.gov.au/cms_images/AWM52/8/AWM52-8-2-16-014.pdf>. The matter of who shot down Higashi was also discussed in the February 2021 exchange at <https://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=18426.0>.
9. Canadian newspaper story “Nine Jap Planes Felled By Seven Canadians”, 26 June 1942, accessed at <https://acesofww2.com/can/aces/whalen.htm>.
10. Accessible at <https://postimg.cc/CZpSP3DJ> and elsewhere. Believed to be in the public domain.
11. For further information on HW840 see <https://live.warthunder.com/post/785355/en/>, which is also the source for the image of the crest.
12. Library and Archives Canada (LAC).
13. <https://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/memorials/canadian-virtual-war-memorial/detail/2602225>.
14. Accessible at <http://fly.historicwings.com/2013/04/the-saviour-of-ceylon/> and elsewhere. Believed to be in the public domain.
15. Halliday, Hugh, “Triple Front Ace”, op. cit; Halliday, Hugh, “Far East Flyers”, op. cit; profile titled “Robert T.P. "Bob" Davidson”, accessed at <https://acesofww2.com/can/aces/davidson/>.
16. <https://twitter.com/project_typhoon/status/1294650117392302081/photo/1>.
17. <https://www.worldwarphotos.info/gallery/uk/raf/hurricane2/hurricane-iic-fo-bates-rcaf-30-sqn-ceylon-11july1943/>.
18. Hamlin, p. 163; Jackson, p. 76, pp. 78-79.
19. Barrass, John, “The Most Dangerous Moment: 30 Squadron and the Air Battle over Colombo 5th April 1942”, previously accessible at <http://www.30squadronassociation.com/history/ceylon.html>, where it was originally published. A copy was accessed in September 2021 from <http://www.lankalibrary.com/geo/30-squadron.htm>.
20. Hamlin, p. 163.
21. Shores and Cull, p. 397.
22. Cull, Brian, and Galea, Frederick, *806 Naval Air Squadron: The FAA's Top-Scoring Fighter Squadron of the Second World War*, Fonthill Media, 2019, Kindle Edition, pp. 214-216.
23. Shores and Cull, pp 398-399, p. 404; Millman, pp. 33-34; 20 June 2021 post by “Osamu T” (Osamu Tagaya) at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=18426.15>.
24. Perkins, Marcus, “Pearl Harbor The Japanese airmen’s story”, 2001, accessible at <https://marcusperkins.co.uk/pearl-harbor>; Hata, IIkuhiko and Shores, p. 271.
25. King, Dan, *The Last Zero Fighter. Firsthand Accounts from WWII Japanese Naval Pilots*, Pacific Press, 2016 edition.
26. Werneth, pp. 217-218.
27. <https://marcusperkins.co.uk/pearl-harbor>; <http://www.bbm.org.uk/airmen/SykesJHC.htm>.
28. <https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/lieutenant-commander-john-humphrey-charlesworth-s-187-c-0e74271bf7>
29. <https://marcusperkins.co.uk/pearl-harbor>
30. Ibid.
31. AIR 23/4801; WO 172/1538; WO 172/1521.
32. Table 13 is based on sources cited above in note 26. For Geffene see also the sources cited immediately below.
33. Nicholls, op. cit, p. 44, pp. 56-57; article “Don Geffene WWII Fighter Pilot, accessible at <http://whalens.ca/geffene.html>; entry on Geffene on the American Air Museum site, at <http://www.americanairmuseum.com/person/42818>.
34. Nicholls, p.50.
35. Nicholls, p. 90.
36. Nicholls, p. 91.
37. Shores and Cull, Table 14; Hata, Izawa and Shores, pp. 271, 280, 289, 316, 344; Millman, pp. 33-34; Information from relevant kodochoshos, via a post by Osamu Tagaya (“Osamu T”) in June 2014 in the thread at <https://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=14783.15> (reply #18).
38. Senshi Sōsho, p. 622 and p. 625. Page 622 says that the Zeros reported having brought down 41 fighters (19 Spitfires, 21 Hurricanes, 1 Defiant) and 10 Swordfish, a total of 51 aircraft (of which 9 were unconfirmed). Page 625 says that Nagumo’s staff signaled the ships of the task force at about 1900 local on 5 April that the attack on Colombo had brought down 47 fighters (19 Spitfires, 27 Hurricanes, 1 Defiant) and 10 Swordfish, a total of 57 aircraft, of which 9 were not confirmed. This would represent the 51 aircraft claimed by the Zeros plus the six Hurricanes claimed by the Vals. (The table on page 663 says the claims totalled 45 fighters (17 Spitfires, 27 Hurricanes, 1 Defiant) and 10 Swordfish, a total of 55 aircraft, of which 10 were unconfirmed. It again says that the Vals shot down 6 Hurricanes, all of them confirmed.)
39. ADM 223/259; Globe and Mail edition of 14 April 1942. (The Globe and Mail is a Toronto newspaper.)
40. Australian War Memorial (AWM) image P01161.005.
41. This image can be accessed at <http://www.royalnavyresearcharchive.org.uk/FAA-Bases/Ratmalana.htm#.XpDuZshKiUl> and at <https://rnzaf.proboards.com/thread/20621/infamy-ceylon>. According to the latter source, the photo was taken by RNZAF pilot Don Mackenzie, who was based at Ratmalana from 12 March to 21 November 1942. Sri Lanka-based researcher Henrik Melder has advised the author that “March 42” is written on the reverse side of a locally available print of it.
42. <http://www.pprune.org/aviation-history-nostalgia/455388-what-way-go-1950-s-style.html>
43. <https://picclick.ca/1926-India-Indian-Tourist-Map-Colombo-Environs-162061183270.html#&gid=1&pid=1>.
44. AIR 23/4801.
45. Tagaya, p. 56.
46. Public domain images from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kakuichi_Takahashi#/media/File:Kakuichi_Takahashi.jpg> and <https://japanese-aviation.forumotion.com/t39-23-pearl-harbor-raid-shokaku-s-dive-bombers>
47. <http://www.clydeships.co.uk/view.php?ref=17031#v>.
48. AWM image 301765.
49. Keegan, John (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to World War II,* entry “armed merchant cruisers”, Oxford University Press, 2005; Wiki entry on HMS Hector, at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/HMS\_Hector\_(F45)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/HMS_Hector_%28F45%29); entry on Hector at <http://www.clydeships.co.uk/view.php?ref=17031#v>; data on the movements of HMS Hector on various pages on the <https://www.naval-history.net/index.htm> site; entries on Armed Merchant Cruisers and HMS Hector on the uboat.net site (at <https://uboat.net/allies/warships/class.html?ID=145> and <https://uboat.net/allies/warships/ship/3324.html>).
50. ADM 199/623; entry on Howard at <https://www.unithistories.com/officers/RN_officersH6.html>, accessed in September 2021.
51. Battle Summary No. 15, p. 6; Tomlinson, pp. 153-154; entry on Hector at <http://www.clydeships.co.uk/view.php?ref=17031#v>.
52. AWM image 025318.
53. Polish page Facta Nautica, at <https://www.graptolite.net/HMSubs/Lucia.html>.
54. Entry on Lucia on the uboat.net site, at <https://uboat.net/allies/warships/ship/7270.html>; data on Berwick, Lucia, Trusty and Truant on various pages on the <https://www.naval-history.net/index.htm> site.
55. Lucia’s Report of Attack by Enemy Aircraft and its C.A.F.O. 889/40 report, in ADM 199/623.
56. BR 1886 (2), *H.M. Ships Damaged or Sunk by Enemy Action*, accessed at <http://www.navy.gov.au/media-room/publications/hm-ships-damaged-or-sunk-enemy-action-wwii>.
57. C-in-C Ceylon signal 0531Z/5, which, together with the USN LO’s report, was accessed at <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/_resources/images/mr/mr0231.pdf>; East Indies Station monthly reports for April to June 1942, accessible at <https://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942a.htm>, where they are wrongly identified as the Eastern Fleet War Diary; Arbuthnot’s 18 June 1942 “War Dispatch”, at <https://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942-Introduction.htm>; entry on Lucia on the uboat.net site, op. cit.
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59. King, William Donald Aelian, *Dive and Attack: A Submariner's Story*, William Kimber, 1983, pp. 139-142.
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61. Entry on Tenedos on the uboat.net site, at <https://uboat.net/allies/warships/ship/4242.html>; Wikipedia entry “HMS Tenedos (H04)”; Arbuthnot’s 18 June 1942 “War Dispatch”, op. cit; East Indies Station Monthly reports for January-March 1942, at <https://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942.htm>.
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2. Intelligence Summary entitled “ATTACK ON CBO.5.4.42”, War Diary, Headquarters, Ceylon Anti-Aircraft Command, in WO 172/152.
3. BR 1886, op cit.
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6. D. Bennett, “Walker Sons and Company War Record”, unpublished manuscript, 1945, cited in Jackson, p. 85.
7. Aiken, image 14.
8. Wikipedia article on Tenedos, ops. cit; entries on Salviking at <http://www.clydeships.co.uk/view.php?ref=17389>; <https://uboat.net/allies/merchants/ship/3186.html>;

 and <http://www.historicalrfa.org/rfa-salviking-ships-details>.

1. City of Vancouver Archives.
2. BT 389/4/94; AIR 20/2144.
3. East Indies Station monthly reports for April to June 1942, op. cit; Arbuthnot’s 18 June 1942 “War Dispatch”, op. cit; BT 389/4/94.
4. Blake, George, *The Ben Line*, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1956, p. 135.
5. *The Ben Line, The Story of a Merchant Fleet at War 1939-1945*, Thomas Nelson, London, 1946, (Author identified as Ben Line Steamers, Ltd.)
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8. <https://www.krigsseilerregisteret.no/no/skip/26747/#&gid=1&pid=1>.
9. BT 389/42/234; Jordan, Roger W., *The World’s Merchant Fleets 1939, The Particulars and Wartime Fates of 6,000 Ships*, Chatham Publishing, 1999, p. 564.
10. Entry on Soli on the excellent Warsailors site, accessed at <https://www.warsailors.com/singleships/soli.html>.
11. The Norwegian sites consulted include the following: <https://www.krigsseilerregisteret.no/no/forlis/221463/>; <https://www.sjohistorie.no/no/skip/26747/>; <https://www.krigsseilerregisteret.no/no/skip/26747/default>.
12. <https://www.helderline.com/tanker/san-cirilo>.
13. BT 389/26/14; [www.convoyweb.org.uk](http://www.convoyweb.org.uk) data on March-April 1942 arrivals at and departures from Colombo; I-162 TROM, at <http://www.combinedfleet.com/I-162.htm>; entry on San Cirilo on the Historical RFA site, accessed at <http://www.historicalrfa.org/requisitioned-auxiliaries/176-requisitioned-auxiliaries-s/1482-requisitioned-auxiliary-san-cirilo>; November 2002 post citing information from “Lloyd’s War Losses”, at [http://warsailors.com/forum/archive/forum/read.php-1,3846,3873.html#msg-3873](http://warsailors.com/forum/archive/forum/read.php-1%2C3846%2C3873.html#msg-3873); C-in-C EF report for 28 November 1941 to 26 March 1942, op. cit.
14. BT 389/33/242; [www.convoyweb.org.uk](http://www.convoyweb.org.uk) data on March-April 1942 arrivals at and departures from Colombo.
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16. <https://davidgibbins.com/journal/2015/3/21/a-merchant-navy-gun-crew-in-action-february-1941>
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18. Quoted in Holman, Gordon, *In Danger’s Hour*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1948, pp. 104-105.
19. IJN submarine TROMs at <http://www.combinedfleet.com/sensuikan.htm#tromsi> and the October 2021 discussion in the thread “Did I-65 or I-66 attack Clam Murdoch on 13 February 1942?” at <https://propnturret.com/tully/viewtopic.php?f=3&t=4599>; Commander-in-Chief Eastern Fleet war diary for 28 November 1941 to 26 March 1942, op. cit. The Commander in Chief East Indies Station report for March 1942, op. cit, states that the submarine attacked Clan Murdoch with gunfire as well as by torpedo.
20. BT 389/14/212; Slader, pp. 165-166.
21. Holman, op. cit, p. 105.
22. BT 389/14/212. Holman makes no reference to Clan Murdoch being damaged. Slader p. 168 says only that she was damaged. Edwards, Bernard, *Japan’s Blitzkrieg*, Pen & Sword, 2006, p 211, says that she sustained minor damage.
23. <https://passengers.history.sa.gov.au/node/934788>.
24. BT 389/24/279; Glaros, Maria, “Sometimes a little injustice must be suffered for the public good”, PhD thesis, University of Western Sydney, 2012, chapter 2.
25. <https://www.scrich.co.uk/deepsea_archive/images/kelantan.jpg>
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27. Senshi Sōsho, Volume 26, p. 625.
28. Translated excerpts from the five carriers’ kodochoshos, kindly provided by Osamu Tagaya in the 2014 thread at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=14783.0>.
29. <https://uboat.net/allies/merchants/ships/2108.html>.
30. <https://www.shipsnostalgia.com/media/nyco.217555/>.
31. Senshi Sōsho, Volume 26, p. 607, p. 622.
32. Entry on Vardaas on the Warsailors site, accessed at <http://www.warsailors.com/singleships/vardaas.html>.
33. Ibid; BT 389/44/99.
34. BT 389/41/140; entry on Nyco on the Warsailors site, accessed at <http://www.warsailors.com/singleships/nyco.html>.

1. BT 389/38/114; C-in-C EI signal 1238/4, of 4 April 1942.
2. Low, Joseph E, and Kingsepp, Sander, *The Kongô Class Battleship of the Imperial Japanese Navy, Volume 1 – Kirishima, Technical and Historical Development, 1913 to 1945*, Version Date 9 October 2021, p. 38.
3. Ibid; author’s October 2021 exchange with Ed Low and Sander Kingsepp in the thread at <https://propnturret.com/tully/viewtopic.php?f=5&t=4603>; Senshi Sōsho, Volume 26, p. 621; translated excerpts from the carriers’ kodochoshos kindly provided by Osamu Tagaya in the 2014 thread at <http://www.j-aircraft.org/smf/index.php?topic=14783.0>. See also the author’s November 2021 comments in the thread at <https://propnturret.com/tully/viewtopic.php?f=25&t=4619> and the post by “Piegziu” in that thread.
4. Senshi Sōsho, Volume 26, p. 622, p. 625; *Battle Summary No. 15*, p. 6; AIR 23/4801, p. 5; C-in-C Ceylon 5 April 1942 signal 0531Z/5; ALUSNOB Colombo to OPNAV, April 6, 1942, accessed on the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library site, at <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/_resources/images/mr/mr0231.pdf>, p. 11; October 1945 speech by Birchall, accessed at <http://speeches.empireclub.org/details.asp?r=vs&ID=60830&number=2>. Birchall recounted in this speech that when he and his surviving crew were questioned aboard Isokaze, the destroyer which picked them up, they told their interrogators that they “had just arrived in Colombo and had taken off immediately”. After they were interrogated, *Isokaze* reported to *Akagi* late on 4 April that QL-A “had taken off from Bombay on 28 March, arrived at Colombo after an overland transfer flight on 3 April, and was immediately employed to conduct recce flights from that location.”
5. London Gazette pages at <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/35828/supplement/5517> and <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/35828/supplement/5518>.
6. Section “Air Raids on Ceylon”, East Indies Station report for April 1942 (misidentified as the Eastern Fleet War Diary), at <https://www.naval-history.net/xDKWD-EF1942a.htm>; C-in-C Ceylon 5 April 1942 signal 1044Z/5, in ADM 223/259; AIR 23/4801, paragraph 25; 2 April 2017 NIMH post at <https://www.facebook.com/events/234136773725049/>; Jackson, p. 89.
7. AIR 23/4801, para 26-27.
8. Commander-in-Chief East Indies War Diary, April 1942, op. cit.
9. Australian 16 Infantry Brigade war diary for April-May 1942, accessed at <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1366147>.
10. Australian 17 Infantry Brigade war diary for April 1942, accessed at <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C1360839>.
11. Jackson, pp. 89-90. Per an earlier work by the same other, the Essential Services Labour Corps had been “formed so that defence and military work would not be hindered by strikes or labour shortages.” Jackson, Ashley, *The British Empire and the Second World* War, Hambledon Continuum, 2006, p. 321.
12. The text of Fuchida’s message is from Abe, Zenji, *The Emperor’s Sea Eagle*, Arizona Memorial Museum Association, 2006, p. 85; Senshi Sōsho, p. 622; and a 30 January 2013 email to the author from Lu Yu. The English translations given by these sources all differ. The translation in Abe’s book has been used, except that “ten transports” has been changed to “20 transports” to reflect the number given in the other two sources.
13. Abe, p. 85; Senshi Sōsho, p. 622; Tagaya, p. 57.
14. Map 5 is an updated version of Map 1 in “A Question of Estimates – How Faulty Intelligence Drove Scouting at the Battle of Midway”, by Anthony Tully and Lu Yu, in the Naval War College Review, Vol. 68, No. 2, Spring 2015, (The article can be accessed at <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol68/iss2/6/>.) The author is indebted to Joh Parshall, the copyright holder, who has updated the map for this article.
15. The question of which Daves participated in the morning search is discussed in the November 2021 thread “A minor error in ‘A Question of Estimates’?”, accessible at <https://propnturret.com/tully/viewtopic.php?f=25&t=4619>.
16. Senshi Sōsho, p. 622; Tagaya, p. 57.
17. 11 Squadron ORB.
18. Senshi Sōsho, pp. 621-625; information from CarDiv5’s Detailed Action Report (DAR) and DesRon1’s war diary provided to the author by Lu Yu; Tony Tully’s second post of 25 December 2018 in the thread at <https://propnturret.com/tully/viewtopic.php?f=20&t=3660&start=45>; Tagaya, p. 57; Abe, p. 86.