

My recollection of what happened at that instant is rather hazy. Both gyro horizons toppled ... The next thing I knew we were in a terrific dive. The control column was absolutely frozen so that I had to rely entirely on elevator trim to try and pull out. The airspeed indicator was reading in the vicinity of 300 miles per hour, the vertical speed was at 6,000 feet per minute down and the altimeter was unwinding at a frightening rate. I cannot say how much altitude I lost, as my one idea was to pull out of the dive before the aircraft went right into the ground. It finally did pull out and in a fraction of a second the vertical speed read 6,000 feet per minute up. I frantically applied more down trim and forward pressure on the control column, but could not do it fast enough and the next thing I knew the aircraft was on its back and I was hanging on to my safety belt. I applied full aileron and kicked full rudder and ... the aircraft must have half rolled and ended up in another dive. This time I was able to level out, and suddenly came into a clearing between the clouds. From there I was able to pick my way through the cloud till we reached clear conditions over the water.⁹¹

Despite the problems it posed, the monsoon did not appreciably alter the pattern of operations. But although aircraft still set off for their destinations singly or in small sections, the onus was now on the pilot to turn back at his discretion or to pick his way through as best he could. This was often a difficult decision to make – most pilots were extremely reluctant to ‘abort’ their missions and flew whenever possible. Sometimes, however, having fought their way through to the landing zone, they found it completely ‘socked in’ and could not land.

Although the capture of Rangoon was the symbolic culmination of Fourteenth Army’s advance, it did not end the fighting in Burma. Slim’s forces, many of them inaccessible to land transport, were now widening the railway corridor down which they had thrust and were attempting to destroy the Japanese forces making their way east out of Burma. Native guerrilla groups led by British officers were also active in rear areas, and they, too, had to be supplied by air. ‘As a navigator I served for about a year on 436 Squadron,’ Alvin Hamilton (later minister of agriculture in the government of John Diefenbaker) recalled; ‘on several occasions I flew missions which I did not fully understand, but understood that I was not to talk about [them.]’ Indeed, he admitted, he was ‘confused many times as to what I was doing in those special operations,’ flying to remote drop zones in the Pegu Yomas and Chin Hills and along the Sittang River, where there was always the possibility of enemy fire.⁹²

Some of the pressure was relieved when the port of Rangoon was opened in mid-June, but the withdrawal of all American transport units from the area, agreed to much earlier, left only seven RAF and RCAF squadrons to support Slim – and they would be flying in much worse weather. Except for No 435 – still at Imphal – all of them were committed to the continuing fight in the south, and No 436 Squadron moved from Akyab to Kyaukpyu, on Ramree Island, where it could operate economically to destinations between Meiktila and Rangoon.

A separate problem was posed by the civilian population, particularly that in the north. Their normal means of livelihood, indeed of survival, had largely

been destroyed during the fighting, and in the less fertile, hilly, jungle-clad north the food situation was especially serious. Mountbatten had directed that the local population be supplied to the level 'necessary to prevent disease and unrest and to secure the maximum assistance for the war effort.'⁹² Many of the villages in north and central Burma were inaccessible to vehicles and, in any case, land transport resources were heavily committed to moving supplies south. Once again, air supply was the only possibility and No 435 Squadron was directed 'to succour the most distressed areas.'⁹³

Its crews began devoting most of their efforts to that commitment early in June. The main cargo was bagged rice and most of it was dropped at Lashio, Bhamo, Myitkyina, and Muse and a wide range of drop zones in mountainous, northern Burma and across the Chinese border. When weather permitted, operations were intense. During one four-hour sortie on 30 May 1945 one crew dropped a total of 6200 pounds of rice and mail to four separate drop zones and then, only one hour after their return to base, carried 6200 pounds of fuel to Myingyan - a trip of three-and-a-half hours.⁹⁴ Another flew ten hours on 1 June 1945, to move a total of 10,500 pounds of freight from port areas to the interior, moving from Tuliha to Jessore, India, to Toungoo in southern Burma, to Ramree, and finally to Myingyan and then home to Imphal. This was the longest flying day undertaken by any 435 Squadron crew, although days of seven and eight flying hours were not uncommon.⁹⁵

Nothing like that was possible during the monsoon season, however, as many of the outlying landing zones could not even be approached safely. Crews tried in vain to find Fort Hertz (far to the northeast, in the upper reaches of Assam, 280 miles from Imphal) for two days through the cloud-covered mountains, and when they finally located it on the third day they discovered the airfield to be water-logged, overgrown, and only a thousand yards long - in other words, unfit for operations. At Htawgaw, meanwhile, where a guerrilla and special-operations base camp was located on one side of a hill between peaks 8000 feet high, approaches in good weather were risky enough, and only one crew managed a drop there despite several attempts. During the worst storms - some were reported measuring sixty miles wide and rising to 25,000 feet - long detours were necessary; but since there were no alternate airfields in the vicinity there was no way to avoid landing at Imphal even if the weather there had changed for the worse over the course of the day. Nevertheless, June's cargo total of 3062 tons exceeded the squadron's commitments (although it required an average of 187 flying hours for each serviceable aircraft.) In July it managed to lift 2951 tons of cargo and 1204 passengers - good enough to rank second - but required 231 flying hours per serviceable aircraft. Rain and cloud from 300 to 10,000 feet stopped all flying on 31 July, but two crews that took off before the grounding was announced 'managed to fight their way through to Meiktila and Lashio, but came back convinced that they'd be safer on the ground.'⁹⁶

⁹² He was also, of course, concerned with ensuring minimum resistance to the re-establishment of British rule, which he referred to as the 'long-term British interest.'

To the south, meanwhile, No 436 Squadron was still engaged in tactical support missions for XV Corps in the Arakan and IV Corps along the Sittang River railway corridor, where 17,000 soldiers from the Japanese Fifteenth Army were trying to make their way to Thailand. (Only four thousand succeeded.) It was also serving the supply depots at Meiktila, Toungoo, and Myingyan. To reach the drop zones they often had to fly over territory still occupied by Japanese forces, and on at least one occasion a drop was lost to enemy troops who had gained temporary possession of the zone. Weather was a factor there, too. Flying was severely restricted on fourteen days in June, but in July No 436 surpassed No 435's totals, delivering 3585 tons of cargo and 1170 passengers – at an astonishing 305 flying hours for each serviceable aircraft.⁹⁷

No 436 Squadron's base at Ramree was probably more unpleasant than Imphal, and on several days more than five inches of rain were recorded. Morale was nevertheless high, although the reaction to the news of victory in Europe was somewhat subdued: 'There is a surprising lack of enthusiasm ... All have been eagerly awaiting this moment, and now ... the dull realization that we are still at war in this theatre seems to overshadow the good news. Unfortunately, too, our beer ration is not available, and the airmen have nothing with which to celebrate the occasion.'⁹⁸

Perhaps they were thinking about their own future. Although informed in March that they would be withdrawn from Burma once Germany had been defeated, no word of that move was forthcoming. Indeed, although the Canadian government was under the impression that the agreement had been firm, the British were less definitive, observing that the availability of replacements had always been regarded as the ultimate determinant of when the Canadians would be able to leave. Ottawa was not impressed and, making its position very clear, in mid-June warned the Air Ministry to expect 'in the very near future that there will be greater insistence on their return to this country.' Five months earlier, Air Command South East Asia had asked for an increase of seventeen medium-range transport squadrons to carry the war to Japan itself – and allow the Canadians to leave – but now that that request was proving difficult to meet the question of the Canadians' departure was complicated further. 'I have all along had in mind our undertaking to withdraw these squadrons from India as soon as practicable after VE Day,' the British vice chief of the air staff, Air Marshal Sir Douglas Evill explained, 'and that is what we are seeking to do under the circumstances which are, in fact, more unfavourable even than I had pictured.'⁹⁹

Ottawa remained unsympathetic, however, and the chief of the air staff, Air Marshal Robert Leckie, told Air Marshal G.O. Johnson, the senior RCAF officer overseas, that 'this is just another instance of the difficulty we find in making plans on Air Ministry promises which, however sincerely made, cannot apparently be kept. The result must inevitably make us very unwilling to enter into agreements – the implementation of which cannot be relied on.' Choosing to weather the Canadian protests, the Air Ministry waited until 10 July 1945 to nominate two RAF squadrons to replace the Canadians. Moreover, as the

normal overseas posting procedures would take several weeks and the Air Ministry wanted these replacements fully acclimatized before committing them to operations, South East Asia Command was informed that the withdrawal of Nos 435 and 436 Squadrons might have to be postponed until October or November.¹⁰⁰

The Canadian units therefore kept flying, and not just on routine missions. In the first three weeks of August, for example, each was asked to provide a small detachment to support guerrilla groups in the Shan Hills, east and south of Mandalay, who were engaged with Japanese forces trying to make their way out of Burma. No 436 sent two crews, led by Flight Lieutenant H.W. Pearson and Warrant Officer D.G. Parker, and in eighteen days they flew forty-eight sorties out of Toungoo, 'an airstrip with the worst general weather conditions in the whole area.' Located in valleys or on cloud-obscured hills, the drop zones on these sorties were not easy to locate, and the two crews often spent hours of tricky flying trying to approach them while having to worry about the continuous threat from enemy ground fire. After 'valley crawling from Sit-tang,' they arrived 'rather shakily into the DZ. This we practically dive-bombed as our circuit was partly in cloud and almost solid with rain. Windshield wipers packed up and it was no fun groping about in there.' Pearson and Parker each received the DFC for their work. Four crews from 435 Squadron arrived in the area on 21 August, and over the next five days flew thirty-five sorties from Toungoo, breaking 'all previous records' in the volume of supplies delivered. Furthermore, as the British commander of the guerrillas reported, they had made extremely accurate drops.¹⁰¹

By then, of course, the war in the Pacific was over. Following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 8 August, the Japanese surrendered on the 15th; but word of the capitulation did not immediately reach all of the scattered enemy forces deep inside Burma. According to the letter and the spirit of the January 1945 agreement, the defeat of Japan should have been justification enough for the early withdrawal of Nos 435 and 436 squadrons from Southeast Asia; but with the British eager to reoccupy the rest of Burma and Malaya as quickly as possible, the RCAF staff officer at Air Command South East Asia, Group Captain D.S. Patterson, had to refuse a British request to extend the aircrews' operational tour, which would have facilitated such efforts. Succumbing to the inevitable, and recognizing that many RCAF personnel were approaching the end of their tour, South East Asia Command backed down and decided it would not be necessary, after all, for the Canadians to 'double-bank' with their British replacements. In other words, they could leave.¹⁰²

This they did in early September, in the aircraft their replacements had flown out, moving to Down Ampney and, subsequently, in the case of No 436 Squadron, to Odiham in England. Those crews due for repatriation returned to Canada, but the squadrons continued to fly transport operations in Europe – not, it must be said, without incident. On 13 February a Dakota from No 435 Squadron 'crashed into the side of a hill' on farmland near Croydon, killing

the pilot and co-pilot and six of twenty British servicemen being brought back from Buckeburg, Germany. When the ambulances arrived, the rescuers found 'residents of nearby cottages attempting to pull the injured from the wreckage. An eye-witness said the plane was a "complete wreck" and lay only a few yards from a main road.' The crash, according to Canadian Press, 'occurred in what airmen call "the valley of death," so named because of difficult climatic conditions which prevail in the vicinity.' It could hardly have matched some of the squadron's Burmese drop zones.¹⁰³

Less serious, the way things turned out, was the six-day work stoppage conducted by airmen from No 437 Squadron (Odiham) and the two Burma squadrons at Down Ampney between 5 and 11 February. 'Odiham went on strike today,' No 436 Squadron's diarist reported, 'as a protest against false repatriation reports in the Canadian press, and the lack of any definite information on the dates of repatriation. The question has been raised by numerous personnel as to how long they can be held for service in the RCAF in view of the fact that hostilities ceased on 14th August, 1945.' The protest moved to Down Ampney two days later: 'At an unauthorized meeting at 1000 hrs. at Canada House, airmen decided to go on strike in sympathy with Odiham strikers as from 1200 hrs today. Principal demands of strikers are: (i) replacement of all non-volunteers for occupational duties; (ii) public announcement ... that four/fifths of occupational force are volunteers; (iii) better standard of food.' Officers and NCOs immediately took over responsibility for cooking and other administrative and custodial functions, and the flying schedule of the squadrons did not suffer. As the RCAF was still on active service, the airmen could 'legally be held in uniform at the pleasure of the Government,' a fact explained to them (not entirely to their satisfaction) by representatives from Overseas Headquarters. However, the work stoppage ended on the 11th, No 436 Squadron's diarist predicting, correctly, that 'it is doubtful that any action will be taken against the strikers. A great deal of publicity has been given the "demonstrations" in the Canadian press, and it has doubtlessly served to let the Canadian people know that ... the majority of personnel serving overseas are anxious to get home to their families.'

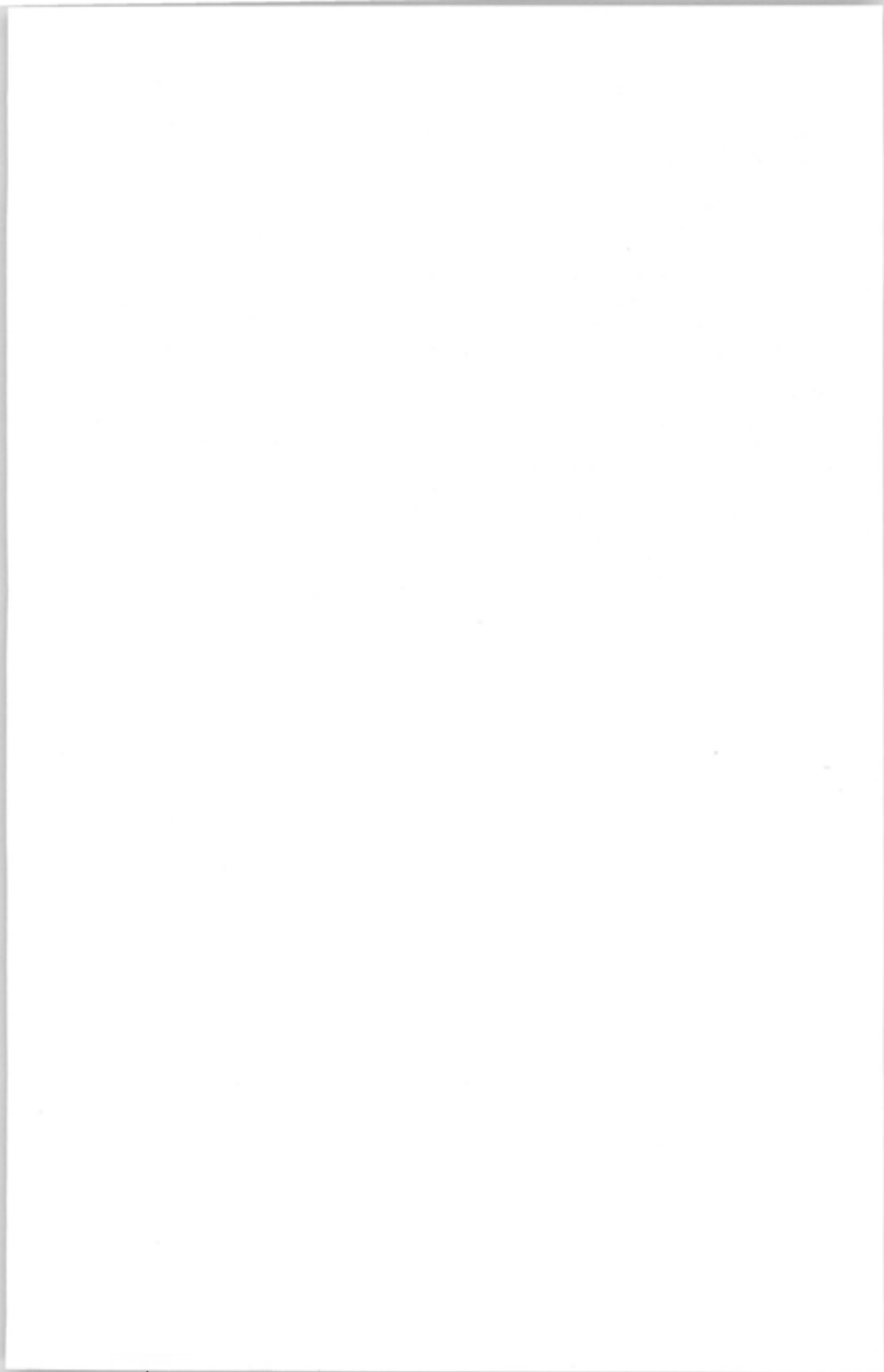
He was right. On 14 February it was announced that although No 435 Squadron would disband in April, and Nos 436 and 437 Squadrons in June, there would be a 'general reshuffle of crews between Squadrons ... in order to repatriate all non-volunteer aircrew and allow some who may now wish to return to Canada to be released from 436 and 437 Squadrons, and at the same time make room for No 435 Squadron personnel who wish to stay on' to transfer to Nos 436 or 437 until they too returned to Canada.¹⁰⁴

All told, during its time in Southeast Asia, No 435 Squadron had flown 29,873 operational hours and delivered 27,095 tons of cargo and about 15,000 passengers and casualties, while No 436 had flown 31,719 operational hours to deliver 28,950 tons of cargo and 12,725 passengers and casualties. Both had averaged well over the established intensive flying rate despite some of the worst flying weather in the world and exceptionally inadequate facilities.¹⁰⁵ As

General Slim concluded, 'by trial and error' they had contributed 'towards a new kind of warfare.'

We were the first to maintain large formations in action by air supply and to move standard divisions long distances about the fighting front by air ... The decisive stroke at Meiktila and the advance on Rangoon were examples of a new technique that combined mechanized and air-transported brigades in the same divisions. To us, all this was as normal as moving or maintaining troops by railway or road, and that attitude of mind was, I suppose, one of our main reformations. We had come a long way since 1928 when, as a junior staff officer, I had been concerned with other Indian Army officers in a struggle ... to introduce operational air transport and supply on the North-West Frontier.

Although we moved great tonnages and many thousands of troops by air, the largest number of transport aircraft we ever had was much less than would elsewhere have been considered the minimum required. It was quite easy theoretically to demonstrate that what we were doing was impossible to continue over any length of time. Yet the skill, courage and devotion of the airmen ... both in the air and on the ground, combined with the hard work and organizing ability of the soldiers, not only did it, but kept on doing it month after month. As in so many other things, we learnt to revise accepted theories and, when worth it, to risk cutting our margins.¹⁰⁶



Appendices

APPENDIX A

RCAF Casualties Overseas by Years of War

Date	Flying Battle				Flying Accidents				All Causes				
	Killed	Missing	POW	Wounded or Injured	Killed	Missing	POW	Wounded or Injured	Killed	Missing	POW	Died Natural Causes	Wounded or Injured
Aircrew													
3.9.40-2.9.41	169	8	48	41	133	—	7	76	303	8	55	1	123
3.9.41-2.9.42	1,428	96	303	228	594	10	2	337	2,046	115	307	5	582
3.9.42-2.9.43	2,875	274	641	307	750	20	1	455	3,645	297	646	11	786
3.9.43-2.9.44	3,918	740	937	436	1,029	17	3	404	4,970	759	940	6	866
3.9.44-8.5.45	1,941	610	327	245	415	19	—	166	2,367	632	327	6	447
9.5.45-14.8.45	29	42	1	8	40	2	—	15	77	44	1	4	34
Total	10,360	1,770	2,257	1,265	2,961	68	13	1,453	13,408	1,855	2,276	33	2,838
Groundcrew													
3.9.40-2.9.41	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	1	1	—	1	2
3.9.41-2.9.42	1	3	—	—	3	—	—	3	5	5	2	6	9
3.9.42-2.9.43	7	6	2	—	21	1	—	6	46	11	8	5	30
3.9.43-2.9.44	2	2	—	1	9	—	2	10	39	12	2	8	57
3.9.44-8.5.45	23	1	—	4	17	—	—	5	74	4	2	10	101
9.5.45-14.8.45	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	16	1	—	5	17
Total	33	13	2	5	52	2	2	28	181	34	14	35	216
Grand Total	10,393	1,783	2,259	1,270	3,013	70	15	1,481	13,589	1,889	2,290	68	3,054

Source: 'Gross Royal Canadian Air Force Casualties by Years of War,' nd, PRO, Air 22/312

APPENDIX B

Senior RCAF Appointments, Second World War*

CANADA

Minister responsible for the RCAF

Hon. Ian A. Mackenzie 23 Oct. 1935–18 Sept. 1939
Hon. Norman McL. Rogers 19 Sept. 1939–22 May 1940
Hon. C.G. Power, MC 23 May 1940–26 Nov. 1944
Hon. Angus L. MacDonald 27 Nov. 1944–10 Jan. 1945
Col. the Hon. C.W.G. Gibson, MC, VD 11 Jan. 1945–12 Dec. 1946

Deputy minister responsible for the RCAF

Maj.-Gen. L.R. LaFlèche, DSO 3 Nov. 1932–7 Sep. 1939
Lt-Col. K.S. Maclachlan 8 Sep. 1939–10 April 1940
J.S. Duncan 11 April 1940–2 Feb. 1941
S.L. DeCarteret, CMG 3 Feb. 1941–21 April 1944[†]
H.F. Gordon, CMG 15 Jan. 1944–12 March 1947[†]

Chief of the Air Staff

Air Vice-Marshal G.M. Croil, AFC 15 Dec. 1938–28 May 1940
Air Marshal L.S. Breadner, CB, DSC 29 May 1940–31 Dec. 1943
Air Marshal R. Leckie, DSO, DSC, DFC 1 Jan. 1944–31 Aug. 1947

RCAF OVERSEAS

SENIOR OFFICER, RCAF OVERSEAS

RCAF Liaison Officer

Wing Commander F.V. Heakes 15 Jul. 1937–31 Dec. 1939

Officer Commanding, RCAF in Great Britain

Wing Commander F.V. Heakes 1 Jan. 1940–6 March 1940
Group Captain G.V. Walsh 7 March 1940–3 June 1940

* Highest rank and decorations while serving in this appointment

[†] Shared appointment

Air Officer Commanding, RCAF in Great Britain

Air Commodore G.V. Walsh 4 June 1940–15 Oct. 1940
 Air Vice-Marshal L.F. Stevenson 16 Oct. 1940–6 Nov. 1941

Air Officer in Chief, RCAF Overseas

Air Vice-Marshal L.F. Stevenson 6 Nov. 1941–24 Nov. 1941
 Air Marshal H. Edwards 25 Nov. 1941–15 Jul. 1942

Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, RCAF Overseas

Air Marshal H. Edwards, CB 16 July 1943–31 Dec. 1943
 Air Marshal L.S. Breadner, CB, DSC 1 Jan. 1944–31 March 1945
 Air Marshal G.O. Johnson, CB, MC 1 April 1945–22 July 1946

SENIOR STAFF, OVERSEAS HEADQUARTERS

Senior Air Staff Officer

Squadron Leader W.I. Clements 6 Aug. 1940–25 Aug. 1940
 Group Captain A.P. Campbell 26 Aug. 1940–25 May 1941
 Group Captain E.L. MacLeod 26 May 1941–21 Nov. 1941

Deputy Air Officer-in-Chief

Air Vice-Marshal W.A. Curtis, DSC 22 Nov. 1941–15 July 1942

Deputy Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief

Air Vice-Marshal W.A. Curtis, CBE, DSC 16 July 1942–15 Jan. 1944
 Air Vice-Marshal N.R. Anderson, CB 16 Jan. 1944–22 March 1945
 Air Vice-Marshal C.R. Slemon, CBE[†] 23 March 1945–7 July 1945
 Air Commodore H.B. Godwin, OBE 8 July 1945–2 Jan. 1946

Director of Air Staff

Wing Commander G.R. McGregor, DFC 1 Sept. 1941–15 April 1942
 Squadron Leader V.B. Corbett, DFC 16 April 1942–21 July 1942
 Group Captain H.L. Campbell 22 July 1942–20 Sept. 1943
 Group Captain G.G. Truscott 21 Sept. 1943–25 Sept. 1944
 Group Captain M. Costello 26 Sept. 1944–6 April 1945
 Group Captain H.B. Godwin 7–27 April 1945
 Group Captain H.H.C. Rutledge 28 April 1945–12 Nov. 1945

[†] Between September 1944, when he left No 6 Group Headquarters as SASO, and March 1945, when he assumed the position of deputy AOC-in-C of the RCAF Overseas, Air Vice-Marshal Slemon was posted to Bomber Command Headquarters, to understudy the appointment of deputy SASO at High Wycombe; he served as acting AOC-in-C of No 6 Group when Air Marshal McEwen was in Canada; and he replaced Air Vice-Marshal Anderson as deputy AOC-in-C at Overseas Headquarters while the latter was ill.

Senior Personnel Staff Officer

Wing Commander A.P. Campbell 21 July 1939–25 Aug. 1940
 Wing Commander R.H. Foss 26 Aug. 1940–9 July 1941
 Wing Commander J.L. Jackson, MC 10 July 1941–1 Sept. 1941

Director of Personnel

Wing Commander J.L. Jackson, MC 2 Sept. 1941–23 Aug. 1942
 Air Commodore F.G. Wait 24 Aug. 1942–10 Oct. 1943
 Air Commodore E.E. Middleton, CBE 11 Oct. 1943–20 May 1945
 Group Captain C.C.P. Graham 21 May 1945–16 Sept. 1945

Director of Administration

Air Commodore F.G. Wait 11 Oct. 1943–8 May 1944
 Group Captain G.E. Scott May 1944–3 Sept. 1945

SENIOR RCAF COMMANDERS AND STAFF, NO 6 GROUP, BOMBER COMMAND

Air Officer Commanding

Air Vice-Marshal G.E. Brookes, CB, OBE 25 Oct. 1942–28 Feb. 1944
 Air Vice-Marshal C.M. McEwen, CB, MC, DFC 29 Feb. 1944–13 July
 1945

Air Officer Commanding, No 6 Group Main Headquarters, Halifax, NS

Air Commodore J.G. Kerr, AFC 14 July 1945–1 Sept. 1945

Air Officer Commanding, No 6 Group Rear Headquarters, Allerton Park

Air Commodore J.L. Hurley 14 July 1945–1 Sept. 1945

Senior Air Staff Officer

Air Commodore C.R. Slemon, CBE March 1943–15 Sept. 1944
 Air Commodore J.E. Fauquier, DSO and 2 Bars, DFC 16 Sept. 1944–27
 Dec. 1944
 Air Commodore R.E. McBurney, CBE 28 Dec. 1944–15 Sept. 1945

No 61 Base (Topcliffe) No 76 (RCAF) Base (Topcliffe) No 7 Group

Air Commodore C.M. McEwen, MC, DFC 5 April 1943–25 June 1943
 Air Commodore B.F. Johnson 26 June 1943–16 Feb. 1944
 Air Commodore R.E. McBurney, AFC 17 Feb. 1944–15 May 1944
 Air Commodore F.G. Wait 16 May 1944–7 Aug. 1944
 Air Commodore J.L. Hurley 1–18 Sept. 1944
 Air Commodore F.R. Miller 19 Sept. 1944–12 Jan. 1945
 Air Commodore J.G. Kerr, AFC 13 Jan. 1945–30 May 1945
 Air Commodore N.W. Timmerman, DSO, DFC 1 Aug. 1945–1 Sept.
 1945

No 62 Base (Linton-on-Ouse)

Air Commodore C.M. McEwen, MC, DFC 18 June 1943–28 Feb. 1944

Air Commodore A.D. Ross, GC 29 Feb. 1944–27 June 1944

Air Commodore J.E. Fauquier, DSO and 2 Bars, DFC 28 June 1944–18
Sept. 1944

Air Commodore J.L. Hurley 19 Sept. 1944–30 May 1945

Air Commodore J.G. Kerr 31 May 1945–15 July 1945

No 63 Base (Leeming)

Air Commodore J.G. Bryans 1 May 1944–12 Jan. 1945

Air Commodore F.R. Miller 13 Jan. 1945–25 May 1945

Air Commodore J.L. Hurley 30 May 1945–13 July 1945

No 64 Base (Middleton St George)

Air Commodore R.E. McBurney 1 May 1944–28 Dec. 1944

Air Commodore C.R. Dunlap, CBE 22 Jan. 1945–24 April 1945

Air Commodore H.B. Godwin 25 April 1945–29 May 1945

Air Commodore H.T. Miles 30 May 1945–15 June 1945

No 331 Wing (Mediterranean Air Command)

Group Captain C.R. Dunlap 1 May 1943–16 Nov. 1943

SENIOR COMMANDERS, RCAF FIGHTER, FIGHTER-BOMBER, AND
RECONNAISSANCE WINGS*Digby Wing (Fighter Command/Air Defence of Great Britain)*

Wing Commander G.R. McGregor, DFC 14 April 1941–31 Aug. 1941

Wing Commander H.P. Blatchford DFC (Can/RAF) 8 Sept. 1941–30
April 1942

Wing organization not used on operations, May 1942–March 1943

Wing Commander L.S. Ford, DFC and Bar 19 April 1943–4 June 1943

Wing Commander L.V. Chadburn, DSO and Bar, DFC 5 June 1943–30
Dec. 1943

Wing Commander N.H. Bretz, DFC 31 Dec. 1943–30 April 1944

Kenley Wing (Fighter Command)

Wing Commander J.C. Fee, DFC 25 Nov. 1942–17 Jan. 1943

Wing Commander K.L.B. Hodson, DFC 22 Jan. 1943–28 Feb. 1943

Wing Commander J.E. Johnson, DSO and Bar, DFC and Bar (RAF)
21 March 1943–4 July 1943*No 39 Wing (Army Co-Operation Command/Fighter Command/Second
Tactical Air Force)*

Group Captain D.M. Smith 12 Sept. 1942–9 Feb. 1944

Group Captain E.H.G. Moncrieff, AFC 10 Feb. 1944–8 Feb. 1945

Group Captain G.H. Sellers, AFC 9 Feb. 1945–15 May 1945

Group Captain R.C.A. Waddell, DSO, DFC 16 May 1945–7 Aug. 1945

No 17 Sector (Second Tactical Air Force)

Group Captain W.R. MacBrien 4 July 1943-13 July 1944

No 22 Sector (Second Tactical Air Force)

Group Captain P.Y. Davoud, DSO, DFC 9 July 1944-13 July 1944

*No 126 Wing (Second Tactical Air Force)*Wing Commander J.E. Walker, DFC and 2 Bars 9 July 1943-26 Aug.
1943Wing Commander K.L.B. Hodson, DFC and Bar 27 Aug. 1943-19 July
1944

Group Captain G.R. McGregor, OBE, DFC 20 July 1944-27 Sept. 1945

No 127 Wing (Second Tactical Air Force)

Wing Commander M. Brown 11 July 1943-18 July 1944

Group Captain W.R. MacBrien, OBE 19 July 1944-11 Jan. 1945

Group Captain P.S. Turner, DSO, DFC and Bar (Can/RAF) 12 Jan.
1945-7 July 1945*No 128 Wing (Second Tactical Air Force)*

Squadron Leader J.D. Hall, DFC 20 July 1943-3 Aug. 1943

Wing Commander J.M. Godfrey 4 Aug. 1943-2 July 1944

No 129 Wing (Second Tactical Air Force)

Wing Commander E.H.G. Moncrieff, AFC 4 July 1943-10 Feb. 1944

Wing Commander D.C.S. MacDonald, DFC 27 Feb. 1944-13 July 1944

No 143 Wing (Air Defence of Great Britain/Second Tactical Air Force)

Wing Commander F.W. Hillock 12 Jan. 1944-14 July 1944

Group Captain P.Y. Davoud, DSO, DFC 15 July 1944-31 Dec. 1944

Group Captain A.D. Nesbitt, DFC 1 Jan. 1945-7 Sept. 1945

*No 144 Wing (Air Defence of Great Britain/Second Tactical Air Force)*Wing Commander J.E. Walker, DFC and 2 Bars 4 March 1944-25 April
1944

Wing Commander A.D. Nesbitt, DFC 1 May 1944-13 July 1944

TIGER FORCE (RCAF PACIFIC FORCE)

Air Officer Commanding

Air Vice-Marshal C.R. Slemon, CBE 14 July 1945-1 Sept. 1945

No 661 Wing

Wing Commander F.R. Sharp, DFC 15 July 1945-5 Sept. 1945

No 662 Wing

Group Captain J.R. MacDonald, DFC 4 Aug. 1945-5 Sept. 1945

No 663 Wing

Group Captain J.H.L. Lecomte, DFC 4 Aug. 1945–5 Sept. 1945

No 664 Wing

Group Captain W.A.G. McLeish, DFC 6 Aug. 1945–1 Sept. 1945

Notes

Full references to books and articles are given the first time they are mentioned in each part. Short references are used thereafter.

CHAPTER 1: THE RE-CREATION OF A COLONIAL AIR FORCE

- 1 Department of National Defence, *Report ... for the Fiscal Year Ending 31 March 1940* (Ottawa 1940), 89, and *Defence Forces List 1939* (Ottawa 1940), 576ff; W.A.B. Douglas, *The Creation of a National Air Force* (Toronto 1986), 92; RCAF General List, Aug. 1939; C.R. Slemon biog. file, DHist
- 2 RCAF General List, Aug. 1939; biog. files, DHist; Douglas, *The Creation of a National Air Force*, app. A
- 3 'Our First CAS,' *Roundel*, June 1959, G.M. Croil biog. file, DHist
- 4 Chiefs of Staff Committee memorandum, 'Canada's national effort (armed forces) in the early stages of a major war,' 29 Aug. 1939, HQS 5199-S, vol. 1, PARC 395072
- 5 Defence Committee of the Cabinet minutes, 5 Sept. 1939, DHist 83/345; Chiefs of Staff Committee memorandum, 'Canada's national effort (armed forces) in the early stages of a major war,' 5 Sept. 1939, DHist 83/345
- 6 'Notes for CAS,' 12 Sept. 1939, DHist 77/543; Emergency Council (Committee on General Policy) of the Cabinet minutes, 15 Sept. 1939, DHist 83/345
- 7 Campbell to Skelton, with enclosure, 6 Sept. 1939, HQS 5199-S, PARC 395072
- 8 Heakes to CAS, 5 Sept. 1939, and Croil to minister, 10 Sept. 1939, HQS 5199-S, PARC 395072; King to Campbell, 12 Sept. 1939, quoted in C.P. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments: The War Policies of Canada, 1939-1945* (Ottawa 1970), 18
- 9 Croil to minister, 15 Sept. 1939, HQS 5199-S, PARC 395072
- 10 Croil to minister, 15 (three memoranda) and 17 Sept. 1939, HQS 5199-S, PARC 395072; Emergency Council (Committee on General Policy) of the Cabinet, minutes, 15 Sept. 1939, DHist 83/345
- 11 APSO to ASO, 23 Sept. 1939, HQS 5199-S, PARC 395072
- 12 'Policy Respecting the Distribution, War Establishments and Duties of RCAF Squadrons,' 25 Sept. 1939, DHist 77/543

- 13 Canliaison Air Ministry to RCAF HQ Ottawa, 26 Sept. 1939, and Croil to minister, 27 Sept. 1939, and secretary of state for the Dominions Office to secretary of state for external affairs, 26 Sept. 1939, HQS 5199-S, PARC 395072
- 14 Douglas, *The Creation of a National Air Force*, 344; secretary of state for external affairs to secretary of state for the Dominions Office, 28 Sept. 1939, and Croil to deputy minister, 4 Oct. 1939, HQS 5199-S, PARC 395072
- 15 S.F. Wise, *Canadian Airmen and the First World War* (Toronto 1980), 76-120; 'Dominion Air Training Scheme, Report of the Riverdale Mission to Canada,' Dec. 1939, 24-5, PRO Air 2/3160; Douglas, *The Creation of a National Air Force*, 207; King diary, 17 Oct. 1939, National Archives of Canada (NA), MG 26 J13; J.W. Pickersgill, *The Mackenzie King Record, 1: 1939-1944* (Toronto 1960), 42-3; Riverdale to Kingsley Wood, 6 Nov. 1939, PRO Air 20/338
- 16 Croil to minister, 23 Nov. 1939, DHist 80/408, pt 2
- 17 Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 20-6, and 'British Commonwealth Air Training Plan Agreement, 17 Dec 1939,' app. D; Croil to minister, 23 Nov. 1939, DHist 80/408, pt 2
- 18 'Item from the Conclusions of a Meeting of the War Cabinet held on Wednesday 13th December 1939,' nd, PRO Air 2/3159
- 19 Ibid. and 'Memorandum by the Chancellor of the Exchequer,' 12 Dec. 1939, PRO Air 2/3159
- 20 'Notes of a meeting held at the Department of National Defence at 2pm on 14th December 1939' [14 Dec. 1939], DHist 80/408, pt 2
- 21 'Extract from the 118th Conclusions of the War Cabinet Meeting held on December 18th, 1939,' nd, PRO Air 2/3159
- 22 Douglas, *The Creation of a National Air Force*, 219
- 23 'Extract from the 118th Conclusions of the War Cabinet Meeting held on December 18th, 1939,' nd, PRO Air 2/3159
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Brooke-Popham to Sir Arthur Street, 23 Dec. 1939, Street to Sir Eric Machtig, 14 Jan. 1940, PRO Air 2/3170
- 26 Air Ministry to United Kingdom high commissioner in Canada (UKHC), No 101, 23 Jan. 1940, and UKHC, to Dominions Office, 7-8 March 1940, No 485, pts I and II, Dominions Office to UKHC, 12 April 1940, No 624, 13 April 1940, No 625, all PRO Air 2/3170; Dominions secretary to secretary of state for external affairs, 24 Feb. 1940, and secretary of state for external affairs to Dominions secretary, 5 March 1940, *Documents on Canadian External Relations [DCER]*, VII, 676-8; Croil to Maclachlan, 4 March 1940, DHist 80/408
- 27 Gilbert to Rowlands, 27 March 1940; EATS Committee, 'Notes of the 5th Meeting Held on Wednesday 20th March, 1940'; 'Extract from Draft Minutes of 197th Progress Meeting, 26th March, 1940'; 'Empire Air Training Scheme; Interpretation of Article 15 of the Riverdale Agreement,' 21 March 1940; Telegrams 624, 625, 626 to UKHC, 12 and 13 April 1940; telegrams from UKHC, 15 April 1940, Nos 770 and 778; Hollinghurst to PAS, 29 April 1940; and Liesching to Campbell, 23 May 1940, all PRO Air 2/3170

- 28 Norman Ward, ed., *A Party Politician: The Memoirs of Chubby Power* (Toronto 1966), 206-7
- 29 Ibid., 207; Wise, *Canadian Airmen and the First World War*, 42, 144-5; L.S. Breadner biog. file, DHist
- 30 L.S. Breadner personnel file, National Personnel Records Centre
- 31 Officer in charge, RCAF Overseas Records, to officer commanding, RCAF in Great Britain, 29 March 1940, HQ RCAF Ottawa to Canliaison Air Ministry, X.744, 19 April 1940, DHist 181.009 (D865); Hollinghurst minute, 26 Oct. 1940, DHist 181.009 (D863); Massey to Eden, 22 April 1940, PRO Air 2/5066
- 32 Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 211-13, 255; Memorandum on the the Visiting Forces (British Commonwealth) Act, 1933, 16 Jan. 1942, DHist 181.006 (D601); 23-24 George V, ch. 21
- 33 Massey to Eden, 22 April 1940, PRO Air 2/5066
- 34 Air Ministry minute, 3 May 1940, PRO Air 2/5066
- 35 Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 210; L.B. Pearson, *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt-Hon. Lester B. Pearson*, 1, (Toronto 1972), 149
- 36 Caldecott to Massey, 19 May 1940, Overseas Headquarters ORB, May 1940, app. B, and AOC, RCAF in Great Britain, to No 1 Squadron, 16 Aug. 1940, Overseas Headquarters ORB, Aug. 1940, app. F, DHist; Handley to Walsh, 19 June 1940, with enclosures, and Walsh to Air Ministry, 29 June 1940, PRO Air 2/5066
- 37 Ward, ed., *A Party Politician*, 206
- 38 Cabinet War Committee minutes, 9 Oct. 1940, DHist 83/345; Heeney to Power, 12 Oct. 1940, Queen's University Archives, C.G. Power Papers, box 53, folder D1001
- 39 CAS to Roycanairf, 31 Aug. 1940, DHist 181.009 (D769)
- 40 Campbell to high commissioner for Canada, 5 Sept. 1940, DHist 181.009 (D769)
- 41 CAS to Overseas Headquarters, 7 Sept. 1940, DHist 181.009 (D769)
- 42 Stevenson interview, 21 Oct. 1974, L.F. Stevenson biog. file, DHist; Air Council minutes, 26 Sept. 1940, S.840-108, pt 1, PARC long-term loan to DHist
- 43 Cabinet War Committee minutes, 9 Oct. 1940, DHist 83/345
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 King Diary, 9 Oct. 1940, DHist 83/530; Cabinet War Committee minutes, 9 Oct. 1940, DHist 83/345
- 46 Heeney to Power, 12 Oct. 1940, Power Papers, box 53, file D1001
- 47 Breadner to minister, 12 Oct. 1940, *ibid.*
- 48 Roycanairf to CAS, 26 Sept. 1940, DHist 181.009 (D769); Overseas Headquarters ORB, 11 Sept. 1940, DHist; Campbell to AOC Eastern Air Command, 3 Feb. 1943, A.P. Campbell biog. file, DHist
- 49 Hollinghurst to Stevenson, 18 Oct. 1940, DHist 80/481, vol. 1
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Roycanairf to CAS, 22 Oct. 1940, DHist 80/481, vol. 1
- 52 Ibid., 24 Oct. 1940, A.892, DHist 181.009 (D769)
- 53 CAS to Roycanairf, 25 Oct. 1940, X.79 C.96, and CAS to Roycanairf, 31 Oct. 1940, X.198, A.219, both DHist 181.009 (D769)

- 54 Roycanairf to CAS, 14 Nov. 1940, DHist 181.009 (D769)
- 55 Campbell to Cranborne, 17 Oct. 1940, PRO Air 2/3170
- 56 EATS Committee minutes, 1 Nov. 1940, PRO Air 20/1379; Dominions Office to UKHC, 9 Nov. 1940, No 2289, PRO Air 2/3170
- 57 UKHC, telegram, 17 Nov. 1940, No 2299, PRO Air 19/219
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 EATS Committee minutes, 29 Nov. 1940, PRO Air 20/1379; Empire Air Training Scheme, 'Note for the Secretary of State for Air on Article 15 of the main Riverdale Agreement,' nd, PRO Air 19/219
- 60 Cabinet War Committee minutes, 5 Nov. 1940, DHist 83/345; UKHC telegram, 17 Nov. 1940, No 2299, PRO Air 19/219
- 61 R.S. Malone, *A Portrait of War 1939-1943* (Toronto 1983), 18, 30; Campbell to Machtig, 17 Nov. 1940, No 2300, and Cranborne to Sinclair, 5 Dec. 1940, PRO Air 19/219; King diary, 24 Jan. 1941, DHist 83/530
- 62 'Diary of the Hon. J.L. Ralston,' 28 Nov. 1940, National Archives of Canada (NA), MG 27 III, B11, vol. 1
- 63 'Aide Memoire on Article 15, Air Training Agreement,' nd, DHist 80/481, vol. 1; 'Diary of the Hon. J.L. Ralston,' 4 Dec. 1940, NA, MG 27 III, B11, vol. 1
- 64 'Aide Memoire on Article 15, Air Training Agreement,' nd, DHist 80/481, vol. 1
- 65 Ibid. and 'Memorandum Relating to RCAF Squadron Representation Overseas,' nd, DHist 80/481, vol. 1; Empire Air Training Scheme, 'Note for the Secretary of State on Article 15 of the main Riverdale Agreement,' nd, PRO Air 19/219
- 66 'Aide Memoire on Article 15, Air Training Agreement,' nd, DHist 80/481, vol. 1; 'Diary of the Hon. J.L. Ralston,' 9 Dec. 1940, NA, MG 27 III, B11, vol. 1
- 67 'Note of Discussion with Mr. Ralston at the Air Ministry on Friday, 13th December, 1940, on Article 15 of the Main Riverdale Agreement,' nd, PRO Air 19/219
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Roycanairf to CAS, from Ralston for prime minister and Power, 14 Dec. 1940, and CAS to Roycanairf, Power for Ralston, 15 Dec. 1940, DHist 80/481, vol. 1; King Diary, 14 Dec. 1940, 9 Jan. 1941, DHist 83/530
- 70 'Article 15 of the Main Riverdale Agreement, Note of a Meeting held at Whitehall on 16th December, 1940 at 11 am,' nd, PRO Air 2/3160
- 71 Stevenson, 'Memoranda for Colonel Ralston regarding Matters being discussed with Air Ministry Authorities,' 16 Dec. 1940, DHist 80/481, vol. 1
- 72 'Note of a discussion held at the Air Ministry on 16/12/40,' 18 Dec. 1940, PRO Air 2/3160
- 73 Ibid., Howard to Abraham, 18 Dec. 1940, PRO Air 2/3160
- 74 Massey to External [Affairs], from Ralston to prime minister and Power, 24 Dec. 1940, Sinclair to Ralston, 6 Jan. 1941, DHist 80/481, vol. 1
- 75 Ibid.
- 76 Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 262
- 77 R.S. Sayers, *Financial Policy 1939-45* (London 1956), 335; Roycanairf to CAS, from Ralston to prime minister and Power, 14 Dec. 1940, DHist 80/481, vol. 1

- 78 Riverdale, 'Empire Air Training Scheme, Article No 15,' 12 March 1940, PRO Air 2/3170
- 79 C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict*, vol. 2: 1921–1948, *The Mackenzie King Era* (Toronto 1981), 356–60
- 80 External to Dominions Office, 29 Jan. 1941, DHist 80/481, vol. 1; Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 261; King Diary, 14 Dec. 1940, DHist 83/530
- 81 'Aide Memoire on Article 15, Air Training Agreement,' nd, DHist 80/481, vol. 1
- 82 Stevenson to Breadner, 20 Jan. 1941, Overseas Headquarters ORB, Jan. 1941, app. E, DHist
- 83 Air Council minutes, 21 Feb. 1941, S.840-108, pt 2, PARC long-term loan
- 84 Stevenson to RAAF air liaison officer, 9 April 1941, DHist 181.009 (D767)
- 85 Stevenson to high commissioner for Canada, 3 April 1941, DHist 181.009 (D767)
- 86 Campbell to Stevenson, 8 April 1941, DHist 181.009 (D767)
- 87 Stevenson to high commissioner for Canada, 3 April 1941, Campbell to Stevenson, 8 April 1941, and Roycanairf to CAS, 4 April 1941, DHist 181.009 (D767)
- 88 Air Council minutes, 16 April and 14 May 1941, S.840-108, pt 2, PARC long-term loan
- 89 'Re Air Commodore Stevenson's memorandum on "Administration of RCAF Units Overseas"' [18 April 1941], DHist 181.009 (D767)
- 90 Pearson to Stevenson, 18 April 1941, and Johnson to AMSO, 1 May 1941, DHist 181.009 (D767); EATS Committee minutes, 23 May 1941, PRO Air 20/1379
- 91 Quoted in Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 263
- 92 Cabinet War Committee minutes, 24 June 1941, DHist 83/345; Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 263–4
- 93 BCATP Supervisory Board minutes, 14 July 1941, app. 1, Report of CAS, 9, DHist 73/1558, vol. 4; AMP, Progress Report, 6 Oct. 1941, DHist 73/1174, vol. 2
- 94 Kent to Campbell, 30 Sept. 1941, L.F. Stevenson personnel file, National Personnel Records Centre; Overseas Headquarters ORB, 19 May 1941, app. C, DHist

CHAPTER 2: THE FOUNDATIONS OF CANADIANIZATION

- 1 Power to King, 23 June 1941, Power Papers, box 58, folder D1028
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 King Diary, 10 June 1941, DHist 83/345; Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, *Canada 1900–1945* (Toronto 1987), 298
- 4 King Diary, 24 June 1941, DHist 83/345; Overseas Headquarters ORB, 30 June and 1 July 1941, DHist; Edwards to Breadner, 5 June 1941, H. Edwards personnel file, National Personnel Records Centre; Breadner minute, 18 June 1941, on Edwards to Breadner, 5 June 1941, H. Edwards personnel file, National Personnel Records Centre

- 5 'Note of a meeting held at the Air Ministry, London, on 8th July, 1941, between representatives of the Governments of the United Kingdom and Canada on various matters connected with the Commonwealth Air Training Scheme and the employment of RCAF personnel and formations with the Royal Air Force,' nd, DHist 80/525
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 'Report on Proposed Movement of RCAF Overseas Records Office to Gloucester and Assuming Control of JATP Canada Records,' nd; Stevenson to MacPherson, 20 Sept. 1941; MacPherson to officer in charge of records, Ruislip, 7 May 1942; and Squadron Leader H.M. Sinclair minute, 13 July 1943, all DHist 181.009 (D1186)
- 10 Director of intelligence (security) to Stevenson, 19 July 1941, 'RCAF Personnel in Britain, General Summary,' nd, DHist 181.009 (D293), vol. 2
- 11 Stevenson to AFHQ, 20 May 1941, DHist 181.009 (D283)
- 12 Squadron Leaders J.D. Parks and G. Vlastos, Morale Survey [Dec 1942], DHist 181.003 (D3456)
- 13 RAF Station Digby to No 12 Gp, 24 July 1941, DHist 181.009 (D767)
- 14 Quoted in John Sbrega, 'Anglo-American Relations and the Selection of Mountbatten as Supreme Allied Commander, South East Asia,' *Military Affairs*, 46, 3 (Oct. 1982): 142
- 15 Stevenson to Breadner, 1 Oct. 1941, DHist 181.009 (D724)
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 OSHQ ORB, 24 Oct. 1941, DHist; Breadner to Stevenson, 21 Oct. 1941, L.F. Stevenson personnel file, National Personnel Records Centre
- 18 *Ottawa Citizen*, 10 Dec. 1941, 14
- 19 Cabinet War Committee minutes, 19 Dec. 1941, DHist 83/345
- 20 Curtis interview, July 1975, W.A. Curtis biog. file, DHist; Edwards evaluation report, 26 Jan. 1940, H. Edwards personnel file, National Personnel Records Centre
- 21 W.A. Curtis biog. file, DHist; Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 272
- 22 Edwards to de Carteret, 6 Jan. 1942, and Edwards to Breadner, 21 Feb. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, folder D1084; Curtis interview, July 1975, W.A. Curtis biog. file, DHist; Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom to secretary of state for external affairs, 12 Sept. 1941, Power Papers, box 53, folder D1001
- 23 J. Halley, *The Squadrons of the Royal Air Force and Commonwealth, 1918–1988* (Tonbridge, Kent 1988), passim; RCAF squadron ORBs, 30 June 1942, DHist; AMP, Progress Report, 6 Oct. 1941, 30 June 1942, DHist 73/1174; see also PRO Air 22/312.
- 24 CAS to Roycanairf, 17 Oct. 1941, Roycanairf to CAS, 17 Oct. 1941, and CAS to Roycanairf, 22 Oct. 1941, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 25 Edwards to de Carteret, 6 Jan. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084; Overseas Headquarters ORB, 22 and 25 Nov. 1941, DHist
- 26 Curtis to director of postings, Air Ministry, 19 Dec. 1941, DHist 181.009

- (D774); Overseas Headquarters ORB, Nov.-Dec. 1941, DHist; Curtis interview, July 1975, W.A. Curtis biog. file, DHist
- 27 RCAF Squadron ORBS, 31 Dec. 1941, DHist; Squadron Progress Reports for period ending 26 Dec. 1941, DHist 181.003 (D68); Edwards to de Carteret, 6 Jan. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084
- 28 Breadner to Edwards, 21 Jan. 1942, Edwards to Breadner, 21 Jan. 1942, Breadner to Edwards, 23 Jan. 1942, Breadner to Power, 29 Jan. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1081; Breadner to Power, 2, 5, 8, 12, 19, 23, 26, and 27 Jan. 1942, DHist 181.003 (D68); Roycanairf to CAS, Jan. 1942, 181.003 (D50); RCAF Squadron ORBS, 31 Jan. 1942, DHist
- 29 Power to Breadner, 30 Jan. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1081; Breadner to Edwards, 3 Feb. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 30 Edwards to Breadner, 5 Feb. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 31 Power to Edwards, 18 Feb. 1942, and Edwards to Babington, 5 Feb. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 32 Babington to Edwards, 8 Feb. 1942, Babington to Edwards, 12 Feb. 1942, Edwards to Breadner, 16 Feb. 1942, Edwards to Babington, 19 Feb. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 33 Babington to Edwards, 12 Feb. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 34 Babington to Joubert, 10 Feb. 1942, PRO Air 15/52
- 35 'A statistical return on Canadianization,' nd, DHist 181.003 (D3596); Nos 404, 407, 413, and 415 Squadron ORBS, 31 Jan. and 30 June 1942, DHist
- 36 Baldwin to MacNeece-Foster, 25 Jan. 1942, PRO Air 14/1942
- 37 MacNeece-Foster to Bomber Command, 13 Feb. 1942, PRO Air 14/1942
- 38 W.A. Curtis interview, July 1975, W.A. Curtis biog. file, DHist
- 39 J.C. Slessor, *The Central Blue* (London 1956), 334-5
- 40 Slessor to Edwards, 1 Feb. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 RCAF Squadron ORBS, Jan.-June 1942, DHist; 'Statistical return on Canadianization,' nd, DHist 181.009 (D3596); S. Kostenuk and J. Griffin, *RCAF Squadron Histories and Aircraft, 1924-1968* (Toronto 1977), 89, 94, 112, 113
- 43 Quoted in Babington to Edwards, 14 Feb. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 44 MacGregor to AO-in-C, 18 Feb. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 45 Edwards to Breadner, 21 Feb. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084
- 46 Curtis interview, July 1975, W.A. Curtis biog. file, DHist
- 47 Edwards to Power, 20 Feb. 1942, and Babington to Edwards, 23 Feb. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 48 Squadron ORBS, 31 Dec. 1941, 31 March 1942, DHist; 'Statistical return on Canadianization,' nd, DHist 181.009 (D3596); Kostenuk and Griffin, *RCAF Squadrons and Aircraft*, 107
- 49 Edwards to Power, 27 March 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1090
- 50 Edwards to Breadner, 21 Feb. 1942, *ibid.*, file D1084
- 51 Edwards to de Carteret, 6 Jan. 1942, *ibid.*
- 52 Cranborne to Sinclair, 3 Feb. 1942, and Street to Liesching, 22 Feb. 1942, PRO Air 2/5394

- 53 Meeting in Power's office, 17 March 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084
- 54 Edwards to Breadner, 30 March 1942, *ibid.*
- 55 Edwards to Breadner, 21 Feb. 1942, *ibid.*
- 56 Edwards to Breadner, 30 March 1942, *ibid.*
- 57 Edwards to Breadner, 21 Feb. 1942, *ibid.*
- 58 *Ibid.*
- 59 H.L. Campbell personnel file, National Defence Records Centre
- 60 Edwards to Breadner, 21 Feb. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084
- 61 'Minutes of Squadron Commanding Officers' Conference,' 6 March 1942, DHist 181.003 (D4761); Edwards to Breadner, 30 March 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084
- 62 'Minutes of Squadron Commanding Officers' Conference,' 6 March 1942, DHist 181.003 (D4761)
- 63 Director of personnel to AOsc-in-C, March 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 64 SASO, No 5 Group to station commanders, 22 April 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 65 'Minutes of Squadron Commanding Officers' Conference,' 6 March 1942, DHist 181.003 (D4761)
- 66 *Ibid.*
- 67 *Ibid.*
- 68 Carr to Edwards, 21 Feb. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 69 No 405 Squadron ORB, Feb.-July 1942, DHist
- 70 Babington to Edwards, 16 March 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 71 Babington to Edwards, 23 Feb. 1942, *ibid.*
- 72 Overseas Headquarters to Babington, 2 March 1942, and Curtis to Babington, 30 May 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 73 Babington to Curtis, 17 June 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 74 OSHQ ORB, 7 and 15 April 1942, DHist
- 75 Dominions Office to United Kingdom high commissioner in Canada (UKHC), 27 April 1942, PRO Air 19/339
- 76 Edwards to Breadner, 1 May 1942, A.P. Campbell personnel file, National Personnel Records Centre
- 77 Edwards to CAS, 7 Aug. 1942, A.P. Campbell personnel file, National Personnel Records Centre; Campbell to AOC, EAC, 3 Feb. 1943, A.P. Campbell biog. file, DHist
- 78 Edwards to Breadner, 30 March 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084
- 79 Edwards to CAS, 7 May 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 80 Cowley to Breadner, 28 April 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1081
- 81 UKHC to Dominions Office, 7 May 1942, PRO Air 19/339
- 82 UKHC to Dominions Office, 19 May 1942, *ibid.*
- 83 Cabinet War Committee minutes, 22 May 1942, DHist 83/345
- 84 King Diary, 27 May 1942, DHist 83/530
- 85 UKHC to Dominions Office, 23 May 1942, and Balfour to Sinclair, 26 May 1942, PRO Air 19/339
- 86 *Ibid.*
- 87 UKHC to Dominions Office, 23 May 1942, *ibid.*

- 88 UKHC to Dominions Office, 23 May 1942, Dominions Office to UKHC, 26 May 1942, *ibid.*
- 89 UKHC to Dominions Office, 25 May 1942, *ibid.*
- 90 Balfour to Sinclair, 26 May 1942, PRO Air 19/339
- 91 'Memorandum of Agreement,' June 1942, app. III, DHist 80/255
- 92 'Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Chairmen's Committee,' 24 May 1942, DHist 80/255
- 93 UKHC to Dominions Office, 26 May 1942, PRO Air 19/339
- 94 *Ibid.*
- 95 Balfour to Sinclair, 26 May 1942, PRO Air 19/339
- 96 UKHC to Dominions Office, 26 and 29 May 1942, PRO Air 19/33; Group Captain D. Massey, 'Report on Canadianization,' 24 Nov. 1943, 66, DHist 181.003 (D1228); 'Memorandum of Agreement,' June 1942, DHist 80/255
- 97 UKHC to Dominions Office, 26 May 1942, UKHC to Dominions Office, 29 May 1942, Dominions Office to UKHC, 31 May 1942, PRO Air 19/339; 'Memorandum of Agreement,' June 1942, DHist 80/255
- 98 UKHC to Dominions Office, 26 May 1942, Dominions Office to UKHC, 27 May 1942, PRO Air 19/339; Balfour to Power, 28 May 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1081
- 99 UKHC to Dominions Office, 28 May 1942, PRO Air 19/339
- 100 Cabinet War Committee minutes, 28 May 1942, DHist
- 101 UKHC to Dominions Office, 28 May 1942, PRO Air 19/339
- 102 UKHC Dominions Office, 29 May 1942, *ibid.*
- 103 Dominions Office to UKHC, 31 May 1942, *ibid.*
- 104 UKHC to Dominions Office, 3 June 1942, *ibid.*
- 105 'Analysis of Post Graduate Aircrew Personnel at RAF Posting Disposal on 1st December, 1943,' July 1946, PRO Air 22/312; 'Canadianization Overseas Squadrons,' *nd*, DHist 181.003 (D3596)
- 106 'Memorandum of Agreement,' June 1942, DHist 80/255
- 107 *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 3: STRUGGLE AND DISSENT

- 1 Overseas Headquarters ORB, 29 June, 2 and 17 July 1942, DHist
- 2 'Canadian Bomber Group – Progress Meeting,' 3 July 1942, DHist 181.009 (D612)
- 3 'Diary, Mission to United Kingdom – 1942,' 3 and 19 Aug. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D2011
- 4 Harris to Freeman, 29 July 1942, PRO Air 20/2978; Harris to Portal, 12 Aug. 1942, Portal Papers, DHist 87/89, box C, folder 2; A.T. Harris, *Bomber Offensive* (New York 1947), 64
- 5 'Canadianization,' 4 Feb. 1943, Power Papers, box 64, file D1081
- 6 'Diary, Mission to the United Kingdom – 1942,' 19 Aug. 1942, *ibid.*, file D2011
- 7 'Canadianization,' 4 Feb. 1943, *ibid.*, file D1081; Power to King, 9 Sept. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D6155)

- 8 Overseas Headquarters ORB, 30 June 1942, DHist
- 9 Quoted in Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 283; Tinker to Brodribb, 27 Aug. 1942, Edwards to Sinclair, 31 Aug. 1942, Street to Edwards, and Aide Memoire, 24 Sept. 1942, Ault to AOC-in-C, nd, all DHist 181.009 (D774); Brian Loring Villa, *Unauthorized Action* (Toronto 1989), passim
- 10 Edwards to AMP, 26 Sept. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D720)
- 11 Sutton to Edwards, 9 Oct. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D720); 'Memorandum of Agreement,' June 1942, DHist 80/255; Personnel Reception Centre, 'Minutes of a Meeting held ... 2.7.42,' DHist 181.009 (D800)
- 12 Overseas Headquarters ORB, 31 Oct. 1942, DHist; Curtis to AFHQ, 18 Nov. 1942, Wait to Edwards, 'Report on Station Bournemouth,' 18 Jan. 1943, and Flying Training Command to Edwards, 2 March 1943, all DHist 181.009 (D800); Edwards to Flying Training Command, 3 May 1943, and Babington to Edwards, 10 May 1943, DHist 181.009 (D720)
- 13 Breadner to Power, 2 Oct. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1081, and Edwards to Breadner, 30 Jan. 1943, *ibid.*, file D1084; Overseas Headquarters ORB, 14 and 25 Sept. 1942, DHist; 'Information Regarding RCAF District Headquarters, India and South East Asia,' 18 Sept. 1945, DHist 181.009 (D762)
- 14 Edwards to Breadner, 11 Aug. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084; 'Minutes, Conference held at RCAF OSHQ,' 13 Aug. 1942, 'Note of a Special Meeting Held in the Air Council Room,' 18 Aug. 1942, and 'Extract of Minutes of Conference No 2,' 18 Aug. 1942, all DHist 181.009 (D6155); Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 283
- 15 Edwards to Breadner, 30 Oct. 1942, Curtis to Breadner, 1 Dec. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084; Overseas Headquarters ORB, Sept. 1942, app. III, DHist
- 16 Overseas Headquarters ORB, 9 Sept. 1942, DHist
- 17 Edwards to Power, 9 Sept. 1942, and 'Extract from *The Economist*,' 14 Sept. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D771); Overseas Headquarters ORB, 5 Sept. 1942, DHist
- 18 'Edwards Flays Belief Step is Blow to Bond of Empire,' *Hamilton Spectator*, 5 Sept. 1942
- 19 Shapiro to Bassett, 15 Oct. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D771)
- 20 Breadner to Edwards, 9 Sept. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D771)
- 21 Quoted in Breadner to Edwards, 11 Sept. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D771)
- 22 *Toronto Globe and Mail*, 10 Sept. 1942
- 23 Breadner to Edwards, 12 Sept. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D771)
- 24 Edwards to Breadner, 14 Sept. 1942, *ibid.*
- 25 Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 'Gallup Poll Releases, 1941-1942,' 27 June 1942
- 26 *Toronto Telegram*, 26 Sept. 1942; *Kitchener Daily Record*, 18 Sept. 1942; *Winnipeg Free Press*, 12 May 1943
- 27 *Vancouver Daily Province*, 15 Sept. 1942; *Toronto Star*, 12 Sept. 1942; *Kitchener Daily Record*, 18 Sept. 1942; *Edmonton Journal*, 10 Sept. 1942; *L'Action Catholique*, 12 Sept. 1942; Clark to Edwards, 14 Sept. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D771)

- 28 Parks and Vlastos, 'Morale Survey,' nd, DHist 181.003 (D3456)
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Sutton to Edwards, 16 Oct. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 33 D. Massey, 'Report on Canadianization,' nd, app. 6, DHist 181.003 (D1228)
- 34 Edwards to Breadner, 21 Oct. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 35 Edwards to Breadner, 30 Oct. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084
- 36 'Visit of Air Marshal Edwards, Middle East, India and Ceylon,' nd, Overseas Headquarters ORB, DHist; Nos 424, 426, 427, 428, 429, and 431 Sqn ORBS, 31 Dec. 1942, DHist; 'Statistical Return on Canadianization,' nd, DHist 181.003 (D3596)
- 37 'Statistical Return on Canadianization,' nd, DHist 181.003 (D3596)
- 38 No 3 PRC to Overseas Headquarters, 16 July 1942, DHist 181.009 (D800); Massey, 'Report on Canadianization,' nd, app. 6, DHist 181.003 (D1228)
- 39 Squadron ORBS, 30 June and 31 Dec. 1942, DHist; AMP, Progress Report, 7 Jan. and 30 June 1942, DHist 73/1174; Massey, 'Report on Canadianization,' nd, app. 6, DHist 181.003 (D1228)
- 40 Breadner to Edwards, 9 Jan. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 41 Breadner to Edwards, 20 Jan. 1943, *ibid.*
- 42 Edwards to Breadner, 22 Jan. 1943, *ibid.*
- 43 Curtis interview, July 1975, W.A. Curtis biog. file, DHist
- 44 Edwards to Air Ministry, 22 Jan. 1942, PRO Air 8/742
- 45 'Note on Dominionization of Article XV Squadrons,' 24 Jan. 1943, PRO Air 8/742
- 46 Empire Air Training Scheme Committee minutes, 25 Jan. 1943, PRO Air 8/742
- 47 Edwards to Breadner, 27 Jan. 1943, Power Papers, box 64, file D1090
- 48 Breadner to Edwards, 27 Jan. 1943, *ibid.*
- 49 Edwards to Breadner, 29 Jan 1943, *ibid.*
- 50 Breadner to Edwards, 28 Jan 1943, *ibid.*
- 51 Edwards to Breadner, 30 Jan 1943, *ibid.*
- 52 Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 286n
- 53 'Diary, Mission to United Kingdom - 1942,' 19 Aug. 1942, Power Papers, box 64, file D1090
- 54 UKHC to Dominions Office, 4 Feb. 1943, PRO Air 8/742
- 55 Vincent Massey, *What's Past Is Prologue* (Toronto 1963), 326-7
- 56 Breadner to Power, 3 Feb. 1943, Power Papers, box 64, file D1090
- 57 'Note of a Meeting held in DG of P's Room, Air Ministry,' 4 Feb. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 58 Sutton to all AOsC-in-C and AOsC, 19 Feb. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D769)
- 59 Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 287
- 60 'A Statistical Return on Canadianization,' nd, DHist 181.003 (D3596); AMP, Weekly Progress Reports, Jan. and Dec. 1943, DHist 73/1174
- 61 Edwards to Breadner, 27 Jan. 1943, Power Papers, box 64, file D1090; Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 287-8
- 62 Wait to Edwards, 12 March 1943, DHist 181.009 (D769)

- 63 Power to Edwards, 13 April 1943, Power Papers, box 59, file D1033
- 64 Curtis interview, July 1975, W.A. Curtis biog. file, DHist; see also Campbell to Edwards, 13 April 1943, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 65 Sully to Sutton, 13 Nov. 1942, Power Papers, box 66, file D1106; 'Trained Strength of RAF,' nd, PRO Air 22/312
- 66 Air Ministry letter, 24 March 1943, attached to Edwards to Breadner, 21 April 1943, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084
- 67 Edwards to Breadner, 30 Jan. 1943, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084
- 68 EATS Committee minutes, 24 Nov. 1942, 15 Jan. 1943, PRO Air 20/1379; *Vancouver Daily Province*, 15 Oct. 1942, 13 Jan., 9 Feb. 1943; *Toronto Daily Star*, 14 Sept. 1942; *Winnipeg Free Press*, 12 May 1943; *Edmonton Journal*, 4 June 1943; Minutes of Meeting held in Power's office, 2 Jan 1943, Power Papers, box 66, file D1106
- 69 EATS Committee minutes, 12 Feb. 1943, PRO Air 20/1379
- 70 Ibid., 16 April and 14 May 1943, PRO Air 20/1379
- 71 Sully to Sutton, 13 Nov. 1942, Power Papers, box 66, file D1106; 'Trained Strength of RAF,' nd, PRO Air 22/312; AMP, Progress Report, 31 Aug. 1943, 6 Oct. 1944, DHist 73/1174
- 72 Curtis interview, July 1975, W.A. Curtis biog. file, DHist; Curtis to minister, 17 June 1944, 17-1-4, pt 2, NA, RG 24, vol. 5210
- 73 Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 268; H.L. Campbell biog. file, DHist; Douglas, *The Creation of a National Air Force*, 585
- 74 Massey, 'Report of Canadianization,' 24 Nov. 1943, app. 6, DHist 181.003 (D1228)
- 75 'Note of Meeting held in DG of Ps Room,' 4 Feb. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D774); 'Monthly Strength Return of RCAF Squadrons,' 26 Jan. 1943, DHist 181.005 (D2101); EATS Committee minutes, 15 July 1943, PRO Air 20/1379; CAS, 'Progress Report No. 46,' 18 Oct. 1943, DHist 73/1558; AMP, Weekly Progress Reports, Feb.-Aug. 1944, DHist 73/1174; Daily Strength Returns, No 3 PRC, Jan.-July 1944, DHist 181.003 (D1440-1)
- 76 'Monthly Strength Return of RCAF Squadrons,' 26 Jan. 1943, DHist 181.005 (D2101); AMP, Weekly Progress Report, 29 Dec. 1942, DHist 73/1174; Sutton to Edwards, 16 Oct. 1942, Sully to Air Ministry, 14 Nov. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 77 Edwards to Breadner, 30 Jan. 1943, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084
- 78 Massey, 'Report of Canadianization,' 24 Nov. 1943, 10, app. 1, app. 38, DHist 181.003 (D1228); Roycanairf to CAS, 12 Jan. 1944, D/DPC minute, 2 Feb. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D4160); Edwards to Sutton, 30 Aug. 1943, Sutton to Edwards, 13 Sept. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D769)
- 79 'Monthly Strength Return of RCAF Squadrons,' 26 July 1943, DHist 181.005 (D2102); 'Statistical Return on Canadianization,' nd, DHist 181.003 (D3569); Massey, 'Report on Canadianization,' 24 Nov. 1943, app. 1, 5, 6, 25, DHist 181.003 (D1228)
- 80 Sutton to Edwards, 13 Sept. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D769); Massey, 'Report of Canadianization,' 24 Nov. 1943, 58, DHist 181.003 (D1228)
- 81 Edwards to Sutton, 30 Aug. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D769)

- 82 Sutton to Edwards, 13 Sept. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D769)
- 83 Massey, 'Report of Canadianization,' 24 Nov. 1943, app. 9, app. 25, DHist 181.003 (D1228); 'Statistical Return on Canadianization,' nd, DHist 181.003 (D3596)
- 84 Massey, 'Report of Canadianization,' 24 Nov. 1943, v, DHist 181.003 (D1228); Edwards to Breadner, 25 Sept. 1943, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084
- 85 Power to Edwards, 16 Oct. 1943, H. Edwards personnel file, National Personnel Records Centre; Stevenson interview, 21 Oct. 1974, L.F. Stevenson biog. file, DHist; Breadner to Croil, 7 and 14 Sept. 1939, L.S. Breadner personnel file, National Personnel Records Centre; Curtis interview, July 1975, W.A. Curtis biog. file, DHist; Overseas Headquarters ORB, 27 Oct. 1943, DHist; Breadner to minister, 9 Nov. 1943, Edwards to Breadner, nd, Power Papers, box 64, file D1090
- 86 Breadner to Power, 5 Feb. 1944, DHist 181.0-09 (D769); Campbell to Overseas Headquarters staff, 19 Aug. 1943, Curtis to AFHQ, 8 Dec. 1943, and enclosure, Power to Breadner, 12 Feb. 1943, Breadner to Power, 16 Feb. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D5162); Overseas Headquarters ORB, 24 Jan. 1944, DHist
- 87 UKHC to Dominions Office, 8 Feb. 1944, PRO Air 20/4983
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Ibid.; Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 300, app. L
- 90 Cabinet War Committee minutes, 9 Feb. 1944, and aide memoire, DHist 83/345
- 91 EATS Committee minutes, 12 Feb. 1944, PRO Air 20/1379
- 92 Street circular, 14 April 1944, DHist 181.009 (D769)
- 93 EATS Committee minutes, 3 March and 21 April 1944, PRO Air 20/1379
- 94 Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, app. L; Edwards to Breadner, 25 Sept. 1943, Power Papers, box 64, file D1084; Overseas Headquarters ORB, 17 Aug. 1943, DHist; Young to AMP, 4 Feb. 1944, Middleton to AOC-in-C, 8 Feb. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D867); Breadner to Power, 9 Feb. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D766)
- 95 Pirie to Edmunds, 28 Aug. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D766)
- 96 Power to Breadner, 12 Feb. 1944, Power to Breadner, 17 Feb. 1944, Power to Breadner, 4 March 1944, DHist 181.009 (D766); Power to Breadner, 21 Feb. 1944, and handwritten minute, nd, 181.009 (D878); Pirie to Edwards, 28 Aug. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D766); EATS Committee minutes, 17 March and 21 April 1944, PRO Air 20/1379; Power to Balfour, 25 April 1944, DHist 181.003 (D4910)
- 97 EATS Committee minutes, 17 March and 21 April 1944, PRO Air 20/1379; Power to Breadner, 21 Feb. 1944, and enclosure, DHist 181.009 (D878); Power to Balfour, 25 April 1944, DHist 181.003 (D4910); Balfour to Power, 2 June 1944, Power to Balfour, 14 June 1944, 17-1-4, pt 2, NA, RG 24, vol. 5210
- 98 Bendickson to Overseas Headquarters, 24 Aug. 1944, DHist 181.003 (D1522)
- 99 'Strength Return by Units,' 31 March 1945, DHist 181.005 (D850)
- 100 Air Council minutes, 18 April, 3 and 23 May 1944, PRO Air 6/75; Dominions Office to UKHC, 10 May 1944, Power to Breadner, 13 May 1944, Power to MacDonald, 19 May 1944, MacDonald to Power, 22 May 1944, Power to

- Balfour, 14 June 1944, Balfour to Power, 28 June 1944, Power to MacDonald, 29 June 1944, NA, RG 24, vol. 5210; Power to Breadner, 17 and 26 June 1944, DHist 181.009 (D774)
- 101 Overseas Headquarters ORB, 9 Oct. and Dec. 1944, DHist
- 102 'Minutes of Meeting on Bomber Command Operational Tour,' 14 March 1945, PRO Air 14/1018; W.S. Carter, 'An Acid Test of Sovereignty: Bomber Command and the Operational Tour, 1945,' CHA Conference Paper, May 1992
- 103 Harris to Sutton, 12 March 1945, PRO Air 14/1018; Air Council minutes, 13 March 1945, PRO Air 6/75
- 104 'Minutes of Meeting on Bomber Command Operational Tour,' 14 March 1945, PRO Air 14/1018; Carter, 'An Acid Test of Sovereignty'
- 105 Kostenuk and Griffin, *RCAF Squadron Histories and Aircraft*, 78, 207

CHAPTER 4: CUTTING OUT A PAPER TIGER

- 1 Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 54-62; King Diary, 20 Sept. 1944, NA, MG 26, J13; Cabinet War Committee minutes, 5 Oct. 1944, NA, MG 26, J4, vol. 425; Ivan Ciuciura, 'Policy and Planning for Participation in the War against Japan,' MA research paper, Royal Military College, 1974, 12-13
- 2 John Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI (London 1956), 237-9; King Diary, 21 Oct. and 16 Nov. 1943, 9 Feb. 1944, NA, MG 26, J13; T.W. Melnyk, 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' May 1978, 6-7, unpublished DHist narrative
- 3 King Diary, 5 and 7 Jan. 1944, NA, MG 26, J13; C.G. Power, *A Party Politician* (Toronto 1966), 242
- 4 Power, *A Party Politician*, 240-4; Melnyk, 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' 9
- 5 UKHC to Dominions Office, 8 Feb. 1944, PRO, Air 20/4983; 'Factors Affecting the Employment of the RCAF in the War against Japan,' nd [but late 1943], DHist 181.009 (D3696)
- 6 'Aide Memoire by the Canadian Government' [10 Feb. 1944], PRO, Air 8/194; Cabinet minutes, 9 Feb. 1944, NA, MG 26, J4, vol. 425; King Diary, 10 Feb. 1944, NA, MG 26, J13; Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 300
- 7 'Aide Memoire by the Canadian Government' [10 Feb. 1944], PRO, Air 8/194; Cabinet minutes, 9 Feb. 1944, NA, MG 26, J4, vol. 425; King Diary, 10 Feb. 1944, NA, MG 26, J13; Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 300
- 8 Empire Air Training Scheme Committee minutes, 12 Feb. 1944, PRO, Air 20/1379
- 9 Ibid.; Sutton to VCAS, 21 March 1944, DG (Plans) to AMSO, 15 Feb. 1944, Evill to ACAS(P), 18 Feb. 1944, PRO, Air 20/4983; Sinclair to Churchill, 26 Feb. 1944, MacDonald to Dominions Office, 11 Feb. 1944, PRO, Air 8/794
- 10 Heeney to Power, 19 Feb. 1944, Power Papers, box 55, file D1020; Cabinet minutes, 22 Feb. 1944, NA, MG 26, J4, vol. 425; Power, *A Party Politician*, 246
- 11 King to MacDonald, 25 Feb. 1944, Power Papers, box 55, file D1020; Cabinet minutes, 22 March 1944, NA, MG 26, J4, vol. 425
- 12 Breadner to Power, 20 Feb., 2 and 11 March, and 5 April 1944, Power Papers, box 58, file D1029; King Diary, 10 March 1944, NA, MG 26, J13; Melnyk,

- 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' 15-16; AMP to Evill, 21 March 1944, Dominions Office to MacDonald, 31 March 1944, Air Ministry document, 14 April 1944, PRO, Air 20/4983
- 13 Dominions Office to MacDonald, 31 March 1944, PRO, Air 20/4983; Pickersgill, *The Mackenzie King Record*, 1, ch. 23; King Diary, 15 May 1944, NA, MG 26, J13
- 14 Evill, 'Canadian Contribution to the Japanese War,' 12 May 1944, PRO, Air 8/794; Melnyk, 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' 16-17, 19-20; Curtis to Leckie, 17 April 1944, 'Canadian Participation in the War against Japan after Cessation of Hostilities against Germany,' 19 April 1944, S 15-26-10, NA, RG 24, vol. 5425
- 15 'Note Summarizing Discussions between RCAF O/S Headquarters and the Air Staff Air Ministry regarding the Possible RCAF Target Force for the Japanese War Phase,' 19 May 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696)
- 16 CSC minutes, S 85-1-2, NA, RG 24, vol. 5425; 'Memorandum to the Cabinet War Committee re Canadian Participation in the War against Japan,' 14 June 1944, NA, RG 2 7c, vol. 15; Cabinet minutes, 24 May, 14 June 1944, NA, MG 26, J4, vol. 425
- 17 Power to Balfour, 14 June 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696); Power to Breadner, 17 June 1944, DHist 181.009 (D1044); King to Churchill, 27 June 1944, PRO, Air 8/794
- 18 Air Ministry note, 19 July 1944, PRO, Air 20/4984; Breadner to Power, 7 July 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696)
- 19 Curtis to Leckie, 19 July 1944, DHist 181.002 (D258); Power to Breadner, 25 July 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696)
- 20 Power to Breadner, 25 July 1944, Breadner to Power, 7 July 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696); Breadner to Power, 3 Aug. 1944, Leckie minute, 14 Aug. 1944, S 85-7-4, NA, RG 24, vol. 5427
- 21 Air Ministry to Balfour, 9 Aug. 1944, Balfour to Evill, 16 Aug. 1944, PRO, Air 8/794; Power to Breadner, 23 Aug. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696); MacDonald to Dominions Office, 21 Aug. 1944, Evill to Balfour, 19 Aug. 1944, PRO, Air 20/4984
- 22 Air Ministry to Balfour, 9 Aug. 1944, Balfour to Evill, 16 Aug. 1944, PRO, Air 8/794; Power to Breadner, 23 Aug. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696); Evill to Breadner, 8 Aug. 1944, ACAS(P) item 4, chiefs of staff meeting, 30 Aug. 1944, MacDonald to Dominions Office, 21 Aug. 1944, Evill to Balfour, 19 Aug. 1944, PRO, Air 20/4984; Leckie minute, 13 Sept. 1944, PRO, Air 8/1284
- 23 'Aide Memoire on the employment of Canadian Forces After the Defeat of Germany,' 24 July 1944, Power to Breadner, 18 Aug. 1944, PRO, Air 20/4984; King Diary, 31 Aug., 13 Sept. 1944, NA, MG 26, J13; Power to King, nd, NA, MG 26, J1, vol. 369; Cabinet minutes, 31 Aug. 1944, NA, MG 26, J4, vol. 425
- 24 'Canadian Participation in the Pacific War and in Europe after the Defeat of Germany,' 6 Sept. 1944, S 85-1-2, NA, RG 24, vol. 5425; King Diary, 6 Sept. 1944, NA, MG 26, J13; Power, *A Party Politician*, 247
- 25 King Diary, 13 Sept. 1944, NA, MG 26, J13

- 26 Ibid.; C.P. Stacey, *Mackenzie King and the Atlantic Triangle* (Toronto 1976), 52-3; Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 182-4
- 27 King Diary, 14 Sept. 1944, NA, MG 26, J13
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 203, 220, 233
- 30 Cabinet minutes, 14 Sept. 1944, PRO, Cab 66/55; Leckie to Power, 18 Sept. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696); Curtis to Leckie, 18 Sept. 1944, Leckie minute, nd, S 85-1-2, NA, RG 24, vol. 5425
- 31 Leckie to Power, 18 Sept. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696)
- 32 'Aide Memoire: RCAF Participation in the War against Japan,' 12 Oct. 1944, DHist 181.002 (D258)
- 33 Leckie to Power, 18 Sept. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696)
- 34 King Diary, 20 and 28 Sept. 1944, NA, MG 26, J13; Cabinet minutes, 20 Sept. 1944, NA, MG 26, J4, vol. 425
- 35 Breadner to Power, 31 Oct. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696); Cabinet minutes, 11 Dec. 1944, NA, MG 26, J4, vol. 425
- 36 Leckie to AMP, 5 Jan. 1945, DHist 181.002 (D258); Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, 53; UKHC to Dominions Office, 11 July 1945, PRO, Air 8/1288
- 37 Sully to acting minister, 27 Jan. 1945, DHist 181.002 (D258)
- 38 Evill to Breadner, 6 Oct. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3693)
- 39 Breadner to Evill, 22 Dec. 1944, Evill to Anderson, 26 Oct. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696)
- 40 Melnyk, 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' 46; Ireland to Leckie, 16 Dec. 1944, Roycanairf to acting minister, 16 Dec. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D3696)
- 41 'Operation MOULD: Outline Administrative Plan,' 23 Nov. 1944, DHist 181.003 (D5092); Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 233-4; D (Plans) to DAMAS, 5 Jan. 1945, DHist 181.009 (D258)
- 42 Portal minute, 27 Jan. 1945, PRO, Air 8/1284
- 43 Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 234
- 44 Melnyk, 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' 53-5; King Diary, 29 March 1945, NA, MG 26, J13; Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 4 April 1945
- 45 Melnyk, 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' 46-7; Leckie to Breadner, 22 Dec. 1944, DAS to Breadner, 20 Jan. 1945, DHist 181.009 (D3696); Breadner to Leckie, 23 Dec. 1944, S 85-2-4, NA, RG 24, vol. 5426; House of Commons, *Debates*, 4 April 1945
- 46 AMSO to Leckie, 20 Jan. 1945, and reply, 23 Jan. 1945, DHist 181.009 (D3696); Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 234
- 47 Sully to acting minister, 27 Jan. 1945, Middleton to Breadner, 16 Feb. 1945, DHist 181.002 (D258); minutes of meeting of Redeployment Sub-Committee on VLR Pacific Force, 16 Feb. 1945, DHist 181.003 (D5089)
- 48 Argonaut to AMSFHQ, 7 Feb. 1945, and reply, 8 Feb. 1945, PRO, Air 8/1284; first meeting of Overseas Headquarters and AFHQ staffs to discuss Phase II, 26 Feb. 1945, DHist 181.002 (D264); Cabinet minutes, 28 Feb. 1945, NA, MG 26, J4, vol. 425
- 49 Report of Lloyd on visit to Washington and Ottawa, 9 March 1945, PRO, Air 8/1284; Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 234

- 50 Curtis to Leckie, 1 March 1945, minutes of meeting of Joint Planning Committee, 15 March 1945, DHist 181.002 (D258); minutes of meeting of chiefs of staff, 20 March 1945, S 85-1-2, NA, RG 24, vol. 5425
- 51 Portal note, 17 March 1945, PRO, Air 8/1284; Churchill to King, 20 March 1945, PRO, Air 8/1288
- 52 King to Churchill, 27 March 1945, PRO, Air 8/1288
- 53 Melnyk, 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' 58–9; Hollis to Portal, 31 March 1945, chiefs of staff to Churchill, 6 April 1945, PRO, Air 8/1284; Breadner to Leckie, 28 March 1945, DHist 181.002 (D258); DAS (Plans) to D/AOC-in-C, 19 April 1945, DHist 181.009 (D6223)
- 54 RCAF memorandum for Cabinet, 17 April 1945, DHist 181.002 (D264); Cabinet minutes, 19 April 1945, NA, MG 26, J4, vol. 425
- 55 Johnson to Leckie, 14 April 1945, DHist 181.009 (D6223); Melnyk, 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' 60; House of Commons, *Debates*, 4 April 1945; Curtis to Johnson, 20 April 1945, DHist 181.002 (D264)
- 56 Report of Lloyd on second trip to Washington, 21 April 1945, PRO, Air 8/1284; Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 235
- 57 Roycanairf to AFHQ, 28 April 1945, Johnson to Leckie, 14 May 1945, DHist 181.009 (D6223); extract from chiefs of staff meeting, 19 April 1945, PRO, Air 8/1284
- 58 Melnyk, 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' 66–71
- 59 Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 235; report of Lloyd on third trip to Washington, 2 June 1945, extract from chiefs of staff meeting, 14 June 1945, PRO, Air 8/1286
- 60 Churchill to King, 16 June 1945, DHist 181.009 (D6779); Johnson to Leckie, 12 June 1945, DHist 181.002 (D260); Heeney to Leckie, 15 June 1945, S 85-1-2, NA, RG 24, vol. 5426
- 61 Meeting of Combined Staffs, 18 June 1945, DHist 181.002 (D264); King to Churchill, 19 June 1945, DHist 181.009 (D6779); Melnyk, 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' 74–5
- 62 Meeting of chiefs of staff, 22 June 1945, Portal to Leckie, 23 June 1945, and reply, 25 June 1945, PRO, Air 8/1288
- 63 'RCAF Participation in the War against Japan,' nd, DHist 181.009 (D5757); Melnyk, 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' 79, 81; King Diary, 28 June 1945, NA, MG 26, J13
- 64 Melnyk, 'RCAF Planning for Tiger Force,' 80, 82–4; minutes of meeting with Lloyd, 21 July 1945, DHist 181.009 (D5757); 'Matters Arising out of Air Marshal Lloyd's Visit to Pacific,' 27 July 1945, DHist 181.003 (D5089); Tiger Force administrative plan, 30 July 1945, DHist 181.009 (D3366)
- 65 Report of Lloyd to Chiefs of Staff Committee, 6 Aug. 1945, PRO, Air 8/1286; Ehrman, *Grand Strategy*, VI, 310–13

CHAPTER 5: ESTABLISHING A PRESENCE

- 1 Giulio Douhet, *Il Dominio Dell' Aria* (1921), translated as *The Command of the Air* (Washington 1983); J.F.C. Fuller, *The Reformation of War* (London

- 1923); B.H. Liddell Hart, *Paris, or the Future of War* (London 1925); Basil Collier, *The Defence of the United Kingdom* (London 1957), 13-15
- 2 Sir John Slessor, *The Central Blue* (London 1956), chart opposite 184
- 3 N.H. Gibbs, *Grand Strategy* (London 1976), 1, 596
- 4 Collier, *Defence of the United Kingdom*, 38; Meeting of 23 July 1937, PRO Cab 16/181; 'Quarterly Report for Period 1-8-37 to 1-1-38,' DHist 75/360
- 5 John Terraine, *The Right of the Line: The Royal Air Force in the European War* (London 1985), 18
- 6 'Fighter Command Attacks - 1938,' 10-14, PRO Air 16/51
- 7 M. Spick, *Fighter Pilot Tactics: The Techniques of Daylight Air Combat* (Cambridge 1983)
- 8 Douglas to Slessor, 23 March 1938, PRO Air 2/2948
- 9 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 1939, III, 3237-63
- 10 C.P. Stacey, *The Military Problems of Canada* (Toronto 1940), 6; *Debates*, 1939, III, 3248; No 1 Squadron Permanent Reference File (PRF), DHist; No 1 Squadron ORB, Feb. 1939, DHist
- 11 *Debates*, 1939, III, 3247; SAO to minister, 2 Dec. 1938, McGill Papers, DHist 74/628, file A4
- 12 *Debates*, 1939, III, 3260; DND, *Militia Reports*, 1938 and 1939; 'Record of Cds in RAF-Offrs & ORS,' DHist 181.005 (D270)
- 13 Collier, *Defence of the United Kingdom*, 72
- 14 Prime minister to UK high commissioner, 12 Sept. 1939, *Documents on Canadian External Relations (DCER)* (Ottawa 1975), VII, pt 1, 855
- 15 Dominions Office to UK high commissioner, 17 Sept. 1939, PRO Air 2/3157; Skelton to Campbell, 29 Sept. 1939, *DCER*, VII, pt 1, 857-8
- 16 Undersecretary of state for external affairs to UK high commissioner, 14 Oct. 1939, *DCER*, VII, pt 1, 860-1; UK high commissioner to Air Council, 16 Oct. 1939, PRO Air 2/3157
- 17 Campbell to Skelton, 29 Sept. 1939, *DCER*, VII, pt 1, 859; undersecretary of state for external affairs to UK high commissioner, 14 Oct. 1939, *DCER*, VII, pt 1, 860-1; Air Council to UK high commissioner, 27 Oct. 1939, PRO Air 2/3157
- 18 Hugh Halliday, *242 Squadron, the Canadian Years* (Belleville 1981)
- 19 Brian Bond, *British Military Policy between the Two World Wars* (Oxford 1980); Malcolm Smith, *British Air Strategy between the Wars* (Oxford 1984); Lee Kennet, *The First Air War, 1914-1918* (New York 1991), 221
- 20 'Army Co-operaton: Meetings and Memoranda (1939-1940),' PRO Air 9/137; Air Policy: Co-operation between the Army and the RAF (Dec. 1939-June 1940),' PRO WO 106/1596. We are grateful to David I. Hall for these references.
- 21 'Notes for CAS,' 12 Sept. 1939, DHist 77/743
- 22 'Liaison Notes,' 24 Nov. 1939, DHist 181.009 (D580). This incomplete unsigned paper appears to be a draft of stenographic notes of the meeting.
- 23 W.D. Van Vliet personnel file, National Personnel Record Centre, National Archives of Canada (NPRC)
- 24 McNaughton to Walsh, 8 May 1940, DHist 181.009 (D4791)

- 25 W.A.B. Douglas, *The Creation of a National Air Force* (Toronto 1986), 207–19; 'Meeting on Air Questions ... on May 6th, 1940,' DHist 181.009 (D4791)
- 26 C. Carling-Kelly, 'Never a Shot in Anger,' 27, DHist 73/1417
- 27 *Ibid.*, 44, *passim*
- 28 *Ibid.*, 45, 49
- 29 RCAF Overseas HQ diary, 7 Sept. 1940, DHist
- 30 Caldecote to Massey, 19 May 1940, RCAF Overseas daily diary, DHist
- 31 External to dominion, 21 May 1940, RCAF Overseas HQ daily diary, app. C, DHist; No 402 Squadron ORB, June 1940–March 1941, DHist
- 32 J.R.M. Butler, *Grand Strategy*, II: *September 1939–June 1940* (London 1957), 290; DO(40) 39th Meeting, 31 Oct. 1940, PRO CAB 69/1, quoted in F.H. Hinsley et al., *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, I (New York 1979), 190; Martin Gilbert, *Finest Hour: Winston S. Churchill, 1939–1941* (London 1983), 878; C.P. Stacey, *Six Years of War* (Ottawa 1955), 86, 294–7
- 33 M.M. Postan, *British War Production* (London 1952), 116; D. Wood and D. Dempster, *The Narrow Margin* (London 1961), 461, 470
- 34 'Hitler's Reichstag speech of July 19, 1940,' quoted in H.A. Jacobsen and A.L. Smith, *World War II Policy and Strategy* (Santa Barbara nd), 84–5
- 35 Karl Klee, 'The Battle of Britain,' H.A. Jacobsen and J. Rohwer, eds., *Decisive Battles of World War II: The German View* (London 1965), 80
- 36 H. Probert and S. Cox, eds., *The Battle Re-thought: A Symposium on the Battle of Britain* (Shrewsbury 1991), 24
- 37 No 11 Group, 'Operations over France, May–June, 1940,' 6, PRO Air 16/352
- 38 Tactical Memorandum No 8, PRO Air 16/334; Hugh Dundas, *Flying Start: A Fighter Pilot's War Years* (New York 1989), 63
- 39 Wood and Dempster, *The Narrow Margin*, 209; E.B. Morgan and E. Shacklady, *Spitfire: The History* (Stamford 1987), 54, 56; R. Hough and D. Richards, *The Battle of Britain: The Jubilee History* (London 1989), 387
- 40 Air Ministry, Air Historical Branch (AHB), *The Rise and Fall of the German Air Force* (London 1983), 80
- 41 Gottfried Leske, *I Was a Nazi Flier*, ed. Curt Reiss (New York 1941), 149–52
- 42 Cajus Becker, *The Luftwaffe War Diaries*, trans. Frank Ziegler (New York 1968), 147; Wood and Dempster, *The Narrow Margin*, 285
- 43 Becker, *The Luftwaffe War Diaries*, 154–5; Wood and Dempster, *The Narrow Margin*, 298–303; Collier, *Defence of the United Kingdom*, 200n
- 44 Winston Ramsey, ed., *The Battle of Britain Then and Now* (London 1982), 571–5, 581–90; AHB, *The Rise and Fall of the German Air Force, 1933–1945*, 81; Collier, *Defence of the United Kingdom*, 453–9, 472–4; No 1 Squadron ORB, 17 Aug. 1940, DHist
- 45 Massey to Eden, 11 May 1940, PRO Air 2/3157; Canadian high commissioner to secretary of state for external affairs, 19 May 1940, *DCER*, VII, pt 1, 872–3
- 46 Secretary of state for external affairs to Canadian high commissioner, 21 May 1940, *DCER*, VII, pt 1, 874; No 1 Squadron ORB, 22 May and 8 June 1940, DHist

- 47 McGregor biog. file, DHist
- 48 S.F. Wise, *Canadian Airmen and the First World War* (Ottawa 1980); No 1 Squadron ORB, 25 June 1940, DHist
- 49 'Flying Training Syllabus,' DHist 181.009 (D1933)
- 50 Walsh to AOC-in-C Fighter Command, 13 July 1940, DHist 181.009 (D1933)
- 51 Park to Walsh, 15 July 1940, DHist 181.009 (D1933)
- 52 Walsh to Park, 19 July 1940, DHist 181.009 (D1933)
- 53 AOC-in-C No 11 Group to AOC RCAF in Great Britain, 22 July 1940, DHist 181.009 (D1933)
- 54 S/Ldr R.H. Foss to SASO, RCAF Overseas Headquarters, 24 July 1940, DHist 181.009 (D1933); AOC-in-C RCAF Overseas to AOC-in-C Fighter Command, 25 July 1940, and AOC 11 Group to AOC-in-C RCAF Overseas, 3 Aug. 1940, DHist 181.009 (D 1933)
- 55 Foss to SASO, OSHQ, 9 Aug. 1940, OSHQ ORB, Aug. 1940, app. B, DHist
- 56 No 1 Squadron ORB, 11 and 15 Aug. 1940, DHist
- 57 Leske, *I Was a Nazi Flier*, 131-4
- 58 Richard Collier, *Eagle Day: The Battle of Britain* (London 1981), 128
- 59 No 1 Squadron ORB, 24 Aug. 1940, DHist
- 60 *Ibid.*, 26 and 27 Aug. 1940
- 61 *Ibid.*, 30 Aug. 1940
- 62 *Ibid.*, Sept. 1940
- 63 No 1 Squadron ORB, 3 Sept. 1940, DHist
- 64 *Nottingham Evening Post*, 12 Sept. 1940, DHist 181.009 (D509)
- 65 Intelligence Report, No 401 Squadron ORB, 4 Sept. 1940, DHist
- 66 Wood and Dempster, *The Narrow Margin*, 332-3; Williamson Murray, *Luftwaffe* (Baltimore 1985), 53
- 67 Minute, Heakes to P/DDO, 9 July 1940, DHist 181.009 (D768), 23; Account of interview with A/C G.V. Walsh, 23 April 1959, No 401 Squadron PRF, DHist
- 68 Account of interview with A/C G.V. Walsh, 23 April 1959
- 69 *Ibid.*; Walsh to secretary DND, 3 Aug. 1940, DHist 181.009 (D4791); CAS RCAF to Roycanairf, 17 Aug. 1940; No 1 Squadron ORB, 30 Aug. 1940, DHist; DHist 181.009 (D1933)
- 70 Murray, *Luftwaffe*, 54-7; Telford Taylor, *The Breaking Wave* (London 1967), 152-3
- 71 Matthew Cooper, *The German Air Force, 1933-1945* (London 1981); Albert Kesselring, *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal Kesselring*, (trans. Lynton Hudson) (London 1953), 76
- 72 Becker, *The Luftwaffe War Diaries*, 172
- 73 *Ibid.*, 171-2; Murray, *Luftwaffe*, 54; Kesselring, *Memoirs*, 76
- 74 No 1 Squadron ORB, 7 Sept. 1940, DHist; RCAF Overseas headquarters diary, 7 Sept. 1940, DHist
- 75 No 1 Squadron ORB, 7 Sept. 1940, DHist; McNab combat report, 7 Sept. 1940, DHist 181.003 (D4711)
- 76 Wood and Dempster, *The Narrow Margin*, 336
- 77 Johannes Steinhoff, *Messerschmitts over Sicily* (Baltimore 1987), 88-9

- 78 Intelligence report, No 1 Squadron ORB, 9 Sept. 1940, DHist
 79 Adolf Galland, *The First and the Last* (London 1955), 73
 80 Leske, *I Was a Nazi Flier*, 218–19
 81 No 1 Squadron ORB, 11 Sept. 1940, DHist
 82 AHB, *The Rise and Fall of the German Air Force*, 85; Intelligence report, No 1 Squadron ORB, 15 Sept. 1940, DHist
 83 Ramsey, ed., *The Battle of Britain Then and Now*, 707
 84 No 1 Squadron ORB, 15 Sept. 1940, DHist; Collier, *Eagle Day*, 205–6
 85 *Rockcliffe Air Review*, May 1941
 86 Intelligence report, No 1 Squadron ORB, 18 Sept. 1940, DHist
 87 Ibid.
 88 Sholto Douglas, *Years of Command* (London 1966), 85–6
 89 Ibid.
 90 No 1 Squadron ORB, 21 Sept. 1940, DHist
 91 Quoted in J.E. Johnson, *The Story of Air Fighting* (London 1985), 111
 92 Alfred Price, *World War II Fighter Conflict* (London 1975), 139
 93 Operation of Fighter Forces by Day, PRO Air 16/933
 94 Tactical Memorandum No. 9, PRO Air 16/334
 95 No 1 Squadron ORB, 27 Sept. 1940, DHist
 96 Intelligence report, No 1 Squadron ORB, 27 Sept. 1940, DHist
 97 No 1 Squadron ORB, 28 Sept., 1 and 2 Oct. 1940, DHist
 98 Ibid., 2–5 Oct. 1940
 99 Nodwell to PMO, OSHQ, 7 Oct. 1940, No 1 Squadron ORB, DHist
 100 No 1 Squadron ORB, 8–10 Oct. 1940, DHist; *ibid.*, 8 Oct.–2 Nov. 1940
 101 Ibid., 9 Dec. 1940
 102 Ibid., Jan.–Feb. 1941
 103 Ibid., March–April 1941

CHAPTER 6: TURNING TO THE OFFENSIVE

- 1 J.E. Johnson, *Wing Leader* (Toronto 1956), 80
 2 AHB, 'The Air Defence of Great Britain,' v, 90–1, DHist 88/49
 3 Ibid., iv, 115, PRO Air 14/18
 4 'Report, Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief Fighter Command, November 1940–December 1941,' 21 [hereafter 'Report, AOC-in-C'], PRO Air 16/846; Peirse to Portal, 12–13 Feb. 1941, Portal Papers, DHist 87/89, folder 9 (1941)
 5 SASO to AOC-in-C, 27 April 1941, PRO Air 16/903
 6 Dundas, *Flying Start*, 63
 7 Ibid., 63–6; 'Report, AOC-in-C,' 32, PRO Air 16/486
 8 Morgan and Shacklady, *Spitfire*, 144
 9 No 402 Squadron ORB, 15 April 1941, DHist
 10 SASO to AOC-in-C, 27 April 1941, PRO Air 16/903
 11 Wing Cdr (Tactics) to AOC-in-C, SASO and G/C Ops, 7 March 1941, PRO Air 16/373
 12 'Report, AOC-in-C Fighter Command,' 22, PRO Air 16/846

- 13 Hinsley et al., *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, 1, 473; 'Report, AOC-in-C,' 22, PRO Air 16/846
- 14 'Report, AOC-in-C, Fighter Command,' PRO Air 16/846
- 15 Owen Thetford, *Aircraft of the Royal Air Force since 1918* (New York 1968), 92
- 16 Martin Middlebrook and Lewis Everett, *The Bomber Command War Diaries: An Operational Reference Book, 1939-1945* (New York 1985), 191
- 17 'Report, AOC-in-C,' PRO Air 16/846
- 18 McGregor biog. file, DHist
- 19 No 401 Squadron ORB, 3 July 1941, DHist; No 401 Squadron ORB, 5 July 1941, DHist; H.C. Godefroy, *Lucky Thirteen* (Stittsville 1983), 71
- 20 SASO to AOC-in-C, 27 July 1941, PRO Air 16/369
- 21 J.A. Kent, *One of the Few* (London 1971), 165-6
- 22 Douglas to VCAS, 29 Aug. 1941, PRO Air 16/373
- 23 'Canadianization of RCAF Sqns O/S ...' DHist 181.003 (D3596)
- 24 No 411 Squadron ORB, June-Sept. 1941, DHist
- 25 *Ibid.*, 11 and 14 Sept. 1941, DHist
- 26 McNair biog. file, DHist
- 27 No 411 Sqn ORB, 16 June-7 Nov. 1941, DHist; No 411 Squadron Narrative History, DHist 74/316, 5; No 411 Squadron ORB, 12 Dec. 1941, DHist
- 28 No 411 Squadron ORB, 16 Dec. 1941, DHist
- 29 No 412 Squadron ORB, 30 June-5 Oct. 1941, DHist
- 30 Douglas to undersecretary of state [for Air], 17 July 1942, PRO Air 19/286
- 31 H.A. Halliday, 'Canadians in the Battle of Britain,' *CAHS Journal* (winter 1973): 114; J.D. Morrison personnel record, NPRC; J.D. Morrison biog. file, DHist
- 32 Quoted in Alfred Price, *The Spitfire Story* (London 1982) 143
- 33 Intelligence Report, Biggin Hill Wing, 27 Oct. 1941, DHist 181.003 (D4711); No 401 Squadron ORB, 27 Oct., 8 and 22 Nov. 1941, DHist
- 34 'Report, AOC-in-C,' PRO Air 16/846
- 35 'Report, AOC-in-C,' app. K, PRO Air 16/846; Collier, *The Defence of the United Kingdom*, 294
- 36 Combat reports, DHist 73/847; Casualty lists, DHist 90/19
- 37 'Report, AOC-in-C,' PRO Air 16/846; Wise, *Canadian Airmen and the First World War*, chs. 13 and 14
- 38 'Report, AOC-in-C,' PRO Air 16/846; Terraine, *The Right of the Line*, 285; 'Memorandum by AOC 11 Group on the Results of "Circus" Operations ...' PRO Air 16/745
- 39 See Douglas, *The Creation of a National Air Force*, ch. 11, for an account; Lord Tedder, *With Prejudice* (London 1966), 238
- 40 A/V/M Hollinghurst to director of plans, Air Ministry, 11 Feb. 1942, PRO Air 2/5354; Internal Air Ministry memorandum, 4 July 1941, PRO Air 20/2978; SASO Fighter Command to Air Ministry, 21 Nov. 1941, PRO Air 2/5354; 'Minutes of the War Committee of the Cabinet,' 26 March 1942, DHist 83/345
- 41 Malfroy to HQs 10 and 14 groups, 14 March 1942, DHist 181.005 (D1564); No 417 Squadron ORB, 13 April 1942, DHist

- 42 John Deane Potter, *Fiasco: The Breakout of the German Battleships* (New York 1970), 113–22; 'The Channel Breakthrough, 1942,' Adolph Galland's lecture at the Canadian War Museum, 1975, DHist 75/301
- 43 'No 11 Group report on the Gneisenau and Sharnhorst operation, 14/2/42' [hereafter '11 Group report'], app. B, PRO Air 16/738; No 411 Squadron ORB, 12 Feb. 1942
- 44 Potter, *Fiasco*, 109, 112; '11 Group report,' app. B, PRO Air 16/738; No 401 Squadron ORB, 12 Feb. 1942, DHist
- 45 '11 Group report,' app. B, PRO Air 16/738
- 46 No 403 Squadron ORB, 12 Feb. 1942, DHist; No 403 Squadron Narrative, DHist 74/303; '11 Group Report,' 7 and app. B, PRO Air 16/738; Report of the Board of Enquiry, 14, PRO Air 16/403; 'The Channel Breakthrough, 1942,' Adolf Galland's lecture, DHist 75/301; Potter, *Fiasco*, ch. 13
- 47 'Extract from Conclusion of Chiefs of Staff Meeting,' PRO Air 16/548, 4A; Fighter Command, 'Appreciation on Methods of Causing by Air Action the Greatest Possible Wastage of the German Air Force in the West' (hereafter Fighter Command, 'GAF Wastage'), 18 April 1942, PRO Air 16/548
- 48 Murray, *Luftwaffe*, 137; AHB, 'The Air Defence of Great Britain,' vol. v, 102–4, DHist 88/49; Fighter Command, 'GAF Wastage,' 18 April 1942, PRO Air 16/548
- 49 *Jane's All the World's Aircraft* (1943), 55c, 93c, 107c; Fighter Command, 'GAF Wastage,' 18 April 1942, PRO Air 16/548
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 Fighter Command, '"Super Circus" Operations,' 24 April 1942, PRO Air 16/548, 38B; quoted in Martin Gilbert, *Road to Victory* (Toronto 1986), 71; Peter Wykeham, *Fighter Command* (London 1960), 224–5; Fighter Command, 'Large Scale Offensive Operations March to April 1942,' PRO Air 16/548; AHB, 'The Air Defence of Great Britain,' v, 109 and 114, DHist 88/49; Casualty lists, DHist 90/19; Combat reports, DHist 73/847
- 52 Alan C. Deere, *Nine Lives* (London 1969), 216–18; No 403 Squadron ORB, 2 June 1942, DHist
- 53 Deere, *Nine Lives*, 222; No 403 Squadron ORB, 2 June 1942, DHist; No 403 Squadron Narrative History, DHist 74/303
- 54 ACAS (Ops) to AOC-in-C, 13 June 1942, PRO Air 16/538
- 55 *Ibid.*; AOC-in-C to Nos 10, 11, and 12 groups, 17 June 1942, PRO Air 16/538
- 56 Director of Intelligence (O), 'GAF Fighter Reserves,' 6 July 1942, PRO Air 16/538, 90B; we are grateful to Professor John Campbell of McMaster University for establishing this connection for us; AHB, 'The Air Defence of Great Britain,' v, app. 10, DHist 88/49; AOC-in-C to Leigh-Mallory, 10 July 1942, PRO Air 16/538
- 57 C.F. Rawnsley and Robert Wright, *Night Fighter* (London 1957), 61; 'Night Interceptions,' 5 Feb. 1941 and 19 June 1941, PRO Air 16/524; C.H. Barnes, *Bristol Aircraft since 1910* (London 1964), 290–307; J.R. Smith and A.L. Ray, *German Aircraft of the Second World War* (London 1972), 418; M.M. Postan, D. Hay, and J.D. Scott, *Design and Development of Weapons* (London 1964),

- 387-8; K.E.B. Jay and J.D. Scott, 'History of the Development of Radio and Radar,' 173-4, part II, PRO Cab 102/641
- 58 No 401 Squadron ORB, May and June 1941; Samuel Kostenuk and John Griffin, *RCAF Squadron Histories and Aircraft 1924-1968* (Toronto 1977), 91-2, 95-7; C.P. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments* (Ottawa 1970), 269-70; 'A Statistical Return on Canadianization of RCAF Sqns,' DHist 181.003 (D3596)
- 59 Combat Reports, DHist 73/847
- 60 No 406 Squadron ORB, 20 Oct. 1941, DHist; No 409 Squadron ORB, 1/2 Nov. 1941, DHist; No 410 Squadron ORB, 1/2 Nov. 1941, DHist
- 61 The fatal accidents took place on 8 July and 30 August (410 Squadron ORB), 2 Sept., 11 Oct. 1941, 19 Jan., 28 Feb., and 27 March 1942 (409 Squadron ORB), and 14 Sept. 1941 and 8 Jan. 1942 (406 Squadron ORB); P.Y. Davoud biog. file, DHist
- 62 Exeter had neither a balloon barrage nor anti-aircraft defences. Collier, *The Defence of the United Kingdom*, 305, 306; AHB, 'The Air Defence of Great Britain,' v, 49, DHist 88/49; No 406 Squadron ORB, 28-29 April 1942, app. v, DHist
- 63 AHB, 'The Air Defence of Great Britain,' v, 53, DHist 88/49
- 64 'Provision of an Army Cooperation Squadron for Canadian Armoured Division,' 21 May 1941, DHist 181.009 (D4790)
- 65 P.M. Bowers, *Curtiss Aircraft 1907-1947* (Annapolis 1979), 474
- 66 DHist 181.009 (D283), vol. 1
- 67 S/L Foss to AOC, 1 July 1941, DHist 181.009 (D4791)
- 68 Supplement to Report No. C 13, 'RCAF Personnel in Britain: No 400 Squadron, Odiham,' DHist 181.009 (D283), vol. 4
- 69 Supplement to Report No. C 13, 'RCAF Personnel in Britain: No 400 Squadron, Odiham,' DHist 181.009 (D283), vol. 3, 70; No 400 Squadron ORB, 19 Oct. 1941, DHist
- 70 Supplement to Report No. C 13, 'RCAF Personnel in Britain: No 400 Squadron, Odiham,' DHist 181.009 (D283), vol. 4
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Charles Carrington, *Soldier at Bomber Command* (London 1987), 82; DMC Air Ministry to Air Vice-Marshal Edwards, 13 May 1942, DHist 181.003 (D1171); 'Co-operation between the Army and Royal Air Force,' nd, McNaughton Papers, file 1-3-7, NA, MG 30, E 133
- 73 Brian Bond, ed., *Chief of Staff* (London 1974), II, 19-20
- 74 Carrington, *Soldier at Bomber Command*, 83
- 75 A/GOC Canadian Corps to AOC RCAF in Great Britain, 21 Nov. 1941, DHist 181.009 (D4791); No 400 Squadron ORB, 13 Dec. 1941, DHist; General McNaughton to Colonel Ralston, 5 May 1942, DHist 181.003 (D1155); A/C Stevenson to C-in-C, Army Cooperation Command, 17 Nov. 1941, DHist 181.009 (D4791)
- 76 John Swettenham, *McNaughton, II: 1939-1943* (Toronto 1969), 201-11
- 77 McNaughton to Portal, 10 May 1942, Nye to McNaughton, 8 May 1942, 'Loose Minute,' DMC to PS to CAS, 12 Aug. 1942, PRO Air 8/664; 'A Meeting held at RCAF HQ, London, at 2100 hrs, 22 June 1942, to discuss ... the

- formation of the Cdn Air Component Overseas,' 25 June 1942, DHist 181.003 (D1155); Price, *World War II Fighter Conflict*, 108–9
- 78 Fighter Command Tactical Memorandum No 29, 16 March 1943, PRO Air 14/206
- 79 Hollinghurst to Edwards, 16 Feb. 1942, DHist 181.002 (D266)
- 80 No. 402 Squadron, General Report, Roadstead II, 16 Feb. 1942, DHist 74/623
- 81 It appears that the pilot declined to press his attack, dropping his bombs from 1500 feet but not using his machine guns. He was posted a short time later. No 402 Squadron Progress Report, 27 Feb. to 11 March 1942, DHist 77/229; German Naval Staff Operations War Diary, 17 Feb. 1942, DHist SGR II 261
- 82 Hollinghurst to Edwards, 16 Feb. 1942, DHist 181.002 (D266); Director of Organization, 'Replacement and Re-Equipment of Squadrons in Fighter Command,' nd, DHist 181.002 (D266); Squadron Leader E. Morrow to Edwards, 3 March 1941 [sic], DHist 181.002 (D266)
- 83 Barratt to Carr, Headquarters, Eastern Command, 13 March 1942, PRO Air 39/129; G.1 (L), 'A Summary of Recent Exercises within Fighter Command, Aug 1942,' PRO Air 16/776
- 84 AOC-in-C Fighter Command to groups, 24 Jan. 1942, PRO Air 16/776
- 85 Ibid.
- 86 'GHQ Directive on Training in Co-operation with the RAF,' 30 April 1942, PRO Air 16/552
- 87 'A Summary of Recent Exercises ... Fighter Command,' Aug. 1942, PRO Air 16/776; Carrington, *Soldier at Bomber Command*, 105. In the middle of Dryshod its director, General Montgomery, left to assume command of 8th Army in North Africa.

CHAPTER 7: THE TURN OF THE TIDE

- 1 Gilbert, *Road to Victory*, 73
- 2 'CoS Committee meeting No 112, 9 Apr 1942,' PRO Cab 79/56; J.R.M. Butler, *Grand Strategy* (London 1964), III, Pt II, esp. ch. 24
- 3 Stacey, *Six Years Of War*, chs 10–12; B.L. Villa, *Unauthorized Action* (Toronto 1989). See also Ronald Atkin, *Dieppe 1942: The Jubilee Disaster* (London 1980).
- 4 Kriegstagbuch, 1 Skl, Teil A, 1 Aug. 1942, US National Archives, T 1022/1674
- 5 Kriegstagbuch, 1 Skl, Teil A, 4 Sept. 1942, US National Archives, T 1022/1674. (We are indebted to Professor John Campbell of McMaster University for these two references.)
- 6 'The Dieppe Raid (Combined Report),' 30, DHist 72/502; 'Rutter – Notes for CAS,' 2 July 1942, PRO Air 8/895
- 7 Price, *The Spitfire Story*, 153
- 8 'Dieppe Raid (Combined Report),' 149, DHist 72/502
- 9 'Detailed Chronological Air Narrative – Operation Jubilee,' PRO Air 25/204; RCAF Decorations file, DHist; 'Report of German Commander-in-Chief West,'

4. DHist 594.019 (D8); 302nd Inf Div Report, Pt II (D) and 81st Corps Combat Report, Pt III, DHist
- 10 'Dieppe Raid (Combined Report),' 22-3, DHist 72/502; 'Combined Operation against Dieppe, Record of Events,' 3A, PRO Air 16/765; DDMC, 'Army Air Support and Tactical Reconnaissance during Operation "Jubilee"', 24 Oct. 1942, PRO Air 39/19
- 11 'Dieppe Raid (Combined Report),' annex 10, DHist 72/502
- 12 Carrington, *Soldier at Bomber Command*, 104
- 13 No 403 Squadron Narrative History, 37, DHist 74/303; 'Short Report on Air Operations Connected with "Jubilee"', PRO Air 8/883; 'Report by the Air Force Commander on the Combined Operation against Dieppe - August 19th, 1942,' PRO Air 37/199
- 14 No 411 Squadron ORB, 19 Aug. 1942, DHist
- 15 'Report by J.M. Godfrey,' 20 Aug. 1942, Godfrey biog. file, DHist
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 No 412 Squadron ORB, 19 Aug. 1942, DHist
- 21 Chadburn biog. file, DHist
- 22 No 416 Squadron ORB, 20 Aug. 1942, DHist
- 23 'Dieppe Raid (Combined Report),' DHist 72/502; DDMC, 'Army Air Support and Tactical Reconnaissance during Operation "Jubilee"', 24 Oct. 1942, PRO Air 39/19; DDMC, 'Army Air Support and Tactical Reconnaissance during Operation "Jubilee"', 24 Oct. 1942, PRO Air 39/19
- 24 No 414 Squadron to No 35 Wing RAF, 22 Aug. 1942, PRO Air 37/351
- 25 No 414 Squadron ORB, 19 Aug. 1942, DHist; Wallace Reyburn, *Rehearsal for Invasion* (London 1942), 115
- 26 Carrington, *Soldier at Bomber Command*, 104-5
- 27 Ibid., 105
- 28 Ibid., 104-5
- 29 F/L Kidd, 'Combined Operations against Dieppe, Record of Events, 18th August 1942 to 20th August 1942,' PRO Air 16/765
- 30 Report of the German C-in-C West ... 3 Sept. 1942, DHist 592.011 (D3)
- 31 'Dieppe Raid (Combined Report),' DHist 72/502; 'Operation Jubilee, Questionnaire for Air Force Commander,' and 'Answers to Questionnaire,' 12 Sept. 1942, PRO Air 16/765
- 32 'Operation Jubilee, Questionnaire for Air Force Commander,' and 'Answers to Questionnaire,' 12 Sept. 1942, PRO Air 16/765
- 33 'Short Report on Air Operations Connected with "Jubilee,"' 20 Aug. 1942, PRO Air 20/5186; N.R.L. Franks, *The Greatest Air Battle* (London 1979), 190-3. Franks gives slightly different RAF/RCAF losses from those listed in PRO Air 20/5186 as cited above.
- 34 Nos 400, 401, 402, 403, 411, 412, 414, and 416 Sqn ORBs, 19 Aug. 1942, DHist

- 35 'Short Report on Air Operations Connected with "Jubilee,"' PRO Air 20/5186; AHB, 'The Air Defence of Great Britain,' VI, 124, DHist 88/49
- 36 Murray, *Luftwaffe*, table 22, 104
- 37 'HQ Fighter Command to HQ 10, 11, and 12 Groups,' 17 March 1942, PRO Air 16/538
- 38 HQ Fighter Command to 10, 11, 83, and 84 Groups, 1 Aug. 1943, PRO Air 16/705
- 39 Quoted in Tedder, *With Prejudice*, 360
- 40 Swettenham, *McNaughton*, II, 94
- 41 Edwards to undersecretary of state, Air Ministry (DMC), 22 Aug. 1942, DHist 181.003 (D1171); Edwards, 'Order of Detail No. 29,' 5 Sept. 1942, DHist 181.003 (D1155); Van Vliet for CAS, 'Secret Organization Order No. 97,' 14 Sept. 1942, DHist 181.003 (D1155)
- 42 HQ First Cdn Army, 'Employment of Canadian AC Squadrons,' 11 Nov. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D94); 'Memorandum of Conversation between Lieutenant-General A.G.L. McNaughton, AVM M. Henderson and AVM H.W.L. Saunders,' 18 Nov. 1942, DHist 181.009 (D4919); Order of Battle No 11, 12 Nov. 1942, War Diaries, First Canadian Army, NA, RG 24, vol. 13; C.R. Stein, BGS, 'Employment of Canadian AC Squadrons,' 29 Nov. 1942, DHist 181.003 (D1184)
- 43 Smith to HQ RCAF OS, 6 Oct. 1942, DHist 181.003 (D1183); Overseas Headquarters, ORB, 1 Jan. 1943, DHist
- 44 'Report by Minister of National Defence for Air: Visit to United Kingdom,' 10 Aug. 1942-4 September 1942, DHist 79/429
- 45 Denis Richards and Hilary St George Saunders, *Royal Air Force 1939-1945* (London 1954), II, 145
- 46 Johnson, *Wing Leader*, 137-8
- 47 Wesley Frank Craven and James Lea Cate, *The Army Air Forces in World War II* (Chicago 1949), II, 217-19
- 48 Secret Narrative, Day Fighters, Sept. 1942-Feb. 1943, DHist 73/829
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ian V. Hogg, *Anti-Aircraft* (London 1978), app. 5; AHB, *The Rise and Fall of the German Air Force* 204; Harold Faber, ed., *Luftwaffe* (London 1979), 148
- 51 Secret Narrative, Day Fighters, Sept. 1942-Feb. 1943, DHist 73/829
- 52 J.C. Fee biog. file, DHist
- 53 'Air Aspect of G.H.Q. Exercise Spartan,' DHist 181.002 (D73); Secret Narrative, Army Cooperation, March-May 1943, DHist 73/832
- 54 Secret Narrative, Day Fighters, March 1943, DHist 73/829; No 83 Group ORB, 1 April to 4 July 1943, PRO Air 25/698
- 55 Leigh-Mallory to 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 83 groups, 21 April 1943, PRO Air 16/538
- 56 'Offensive Operations by Home Based Fighters,' Nov. 1942, 'Offensive Operations by Home Based Fighters,' 14 May 1943, PRO Air 16/933

- 57 No 417 Squadron ORB, 3 July 1943, DHist
- 58 Pitcher to Greenhous, 7 Dec. 1987, Pitcher biog. file, DHist
- 59 Massey to Attlee, 8 Dec. 1942, PRO Air 2/5354; External Affairs to Massey, telegram 2242, 4 Dec. 1942, DCER, IX, 367–8
- 60 Portal to Tedder, 28 Dec. 1942, Tedder to Portal, 30 and 31 Dec. 1942, PRO Air 20/2978
- 61 No 417 Squadron ORB, 13 Sept. 1942, DHist; quoted in Christopher Shores and Hans Ring, *Fighters over the Desert* (New York 1969), 229
- 62 No 417 Squadron ORB, 26 Sept. and 16 Nov. 1942, DHist
- 63 *Ibid.*, 1 and 13 Jan. 1943, DHist
- 64 *Ibid.*, March 1943, and app., 22 March 1943, DHist
- 65 *Ibid.*, 11, 19 April 1943, DHist
- 66 *Ibid.*, appendix, 19 April 1943, DHist
- 67 *Ibid.*, 6 May 1943, DHist
- 68 Foster to Patterson, 17 March 1943, DHist 181.009 (D1386)
- 69 P.L.I. Archer biog. file, DHist
- 70 Foster to RAF HQ Middle East, 30 and 31 March 1943, DHist 181.009 (D1386); No 417 Squadron ORB, 11, 25 June 1943, DHist
- 71 Patterson to Edwards, 16 July 1943, DHist 181.009 (D1386); ROYCANAIRF to Patterson, received 19 June 1943, DHist 181.009 (D1386); P.S. Turner biog. file, DHist.
- 72 Street to Distribution List, 16 May 1943, PRO Air 37/226; Secret Narrative, Army Co-operation, June 1943, DHist 73/832
- 73 WO (D.Air) to Air Ministry (DMC), 29 Dec. 42, PRO Air 2/7412
- 74 R.P. Pakenham-Walsh, *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers* (Chatham 1958), IX, 373–4
- 75 Sir Arthur S. Barratt, 'The Creation of an Air Expeditionary Force,' PRO Air 37/226
- 76 NATO Military Agency for Standardization, 'Air Superiority,' *NATO Glossary of Terms and Definitions* (1986)
- 77 Edwards to secretary of state for air, 13 Feb. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D719); 'Memorandum of a Conversation Lt-Gen McNaughton–G/C Smith,' 18 March 1943, NA, War Diary, March 1943, app. L, McNaughton Papers, MG 30, E133, vol. 249
- 78 D Policy to ACAS (P), 3 May 1943, PRO Air 20/4579
- 79 ACAS (P) to AMSO, 5 May 1943, PRO Air 20/4579
- 80 VCAS to AMSO, 13 May 1943, PRO Air 20/4579; AMSO to VCAS, 20 May 1943, PRO Air 20/4579
- 81 'Memorandum of a Conversation General McNaughton–General Paget,' 19 May 43, 'Minutes of Discussion between General A.G.L. McNaughton and AVM W.A. Curtis,' 26 May 1943, PA 1-3-8, McNaughton Papers, vol. 133
- 82 Howe to Heeney, 10 April 1943, PCO War Committee Memoranda, March–May 1943, NA, Mackenzie King Papers, MG 26, J4, vol. 426; Edwards to Yool, 4 May 1943, DHist 181.009 (D719)
- 83 Overseas Headquarters ORB, 19 May 43, DHist; 'Memorandum of a

- Conference Held at HQ First Cdn Army,' 1 June 1943, PA 1-3-7, McNaughton Papers, vol. 133
- 84 VCAS to AMSO, 5 June 1943, PRO Air 20/4579; Breadner to minister, 16 June 1943, PCO War Committee Memoranda, Mackenzie King Papers, vol. 426; 'PCO War Committee Minutes, 18 June 1943,' *ibid.*, vol. 425
- 85 'Memorandum of Telephone Conversation General McNaughton-AM Edwards,' 19 June 43, PA 1-3-7, McNaughton Papers, vol. 133
- 86 *Ibid.*; 'Memorandum on Discussion Regarding Deception Exercises,' 24 June 43, *ibid.*
- 87 Secret Narrative, Day-Fighters, July 1943, DHist 73/829; No 430 Squadron Narrative History, 11, DHist 74/431; Hammond, memorandum, 30 July 1943, DHist 181.009 (D718); BGS First Canadian Army, 8 July 43, 'Memorandum on Discussion Regarding Deception Exercises,' 24 June 43, PA 1-3-7, McNaughton Papers, vol. 133
- 88 List giving moves of day-fighters within RAF Fighter Command, Sept. 1939 to mid-1943, DHist 181.005 (D119); Secret Narrative, Day-Fighters, April 1943, DHist 73/829
- 89 No 421 Squadron ORB, 28 July 43, DHist
- 90 'Victories Credited to G/C R.W. McNair, DSO, DFC,' 'Royal Canadian Air Force Release No 7725, 31 August 1950,' W.R. McNair biog file, DHist
- 91 Secret Narrative, Day-Fighters, Aug. 1943, DHist 73/829; numbers derived from Secret Narrative, Day-Fighters, July 1943, DHist 73/832, and Secret Narrative, Day-Fighters, Aug. 1943, DHist 73/829; No 411 Squadron Narrative History, 38, DHist 74/316
- 92 Murray, *Luftwaffe*, 144, 176-7
- 93 Johannes Steinhoff, *The Straits of Messina* (London 1971)
- 94 *Ibid.*, 77
- 95 No 417 Squadron ORB, 9 July 1943, DHist
- 96 G.W.L. Nicholson, *The Canadians in Italy* (Ottawa 1956), 75; Steinhoff, *Straits of Messina*, 85-90
- 97 Hedley Everard, *A Mouse in My Pocket* (Picton 1988), 267
- 98 No 417 Squadron ORB, 16-25 July 1943, DHist
- 99 *Ibid.*, 24, 26 July 1943
- 100 *Ibid.*, 11 Aug. 1943
- 101 *Ibid.*, 13 Aug. 1943; A.U. Houle, unpublished manuscript in the possession of the author, 213; Carlo D'Este, *Bitter Victory* (London 1988), 499-500
- 102 D'Este, *Bitter Victory*, 514
- 103 Thetford, *Aircraft of the Royal Air Force since 1918*, 450-4. The first unit to receive the Mark VIII's was 145 Squadron, another 244 Wing unit; *Jane's All the World's Aircraft 1945-46*, 71c; J.R. Smith and Antony Kay, *German Aircraft of the Second World War* (Norwich 1972), 192-6
- 104 No 417 Squadron ORB, 21 Aug. 1943, DHist
- 105 C.P. Stacey, *The Victory Campaign* (Ottawa 1960), 11, 15
- 106 Carrington, *Soldier at Bomber Command*, 119

- 107 Sir Frederick Morgan, *Overture to Overlord* (London 1950), 108
 108 'Report by the Air Force Commander on Operation "Starkey" 16th August-9th Sept.ember 1943,' DHist 73/829

CHAPTER 8: PREPARING FOR D-DAY

- 1 L.F. Ellis, *Victory in the West* (London 1962), 1, 28
 2 Wykeham, *Fighter Command*, 242
 3 Cooper, *The German Air Force 1933-1945*, 296, 332; Stephen L. McFarland and Wesley Phillips Newton, *To Command the Sky* (Washington 1991), 137
 4 Galland, *The First and the Last*, 168
 5 Alfred Price, *Luftwaffe Handbook 1939-1945* (London 1977), 63-4; Douglas, *The Creation of a National Air Force*, 243, 245, 291
 6 W.B. Callaway (SASO) to illegible, 7 Oct. 1943, PRO Air 16/528
 7 Ibid.
 8 AFHQ, Secret Narrative, Fighter Reconnaissance (AFHQ Fighter-Recce narrative), Nov. 1943, 7-8, DHist 73/832
 9 Operational Research Section (ORS) Report No 476, PRO Air 37/182
 10 Combat Reports, DHist 73/847
 11 Quoted in Brian Nolan, *Hero: The Buzz Beurling Story* (Toronto 1981), 98-9
 12 Combat Reports, DHist 73/847; A.R. Mackenzie biog. file, DHist
 13 Christopher F. Shores, *2nd Tactical Air Force* (Reading 1970), 3; AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, Nov. 1943, 3, DHist 73/829
 14 Stacey, *Arms, Men, and Governments*, 295-6
 15 Portal to Breadner, 25 Aug. 1943, HQC 17-1-4, pt. 2, NA, RG 24, vol. 5210
 16 Douglas, *The Creation of a National Air Force*, 376, 395, 422, 424
 17 Fighter Command to D of O, 30 Oct. 1943, PRO Air 37/786; G.G. Truscott (DAS), 18 Oct. 1943, DHist 181.009 (D718); 'Decisions Given at a Conference,' 11 Nov. 1943, PRO Air 37/91; Leigh-Mallory to AMSO, 15 Nov. 1943; 'Notes of a Meeting,' 24 Nov. 1943, PRO Air 37/91
 18 Morris to D of O, 18 Dec. 1943, PRO Air 37/79; Truscott, 4 Jan. 1944, DHist 181.009 (D718)
 19 Truscott to D of O, 15 Jan. 1944, PRO Air 37/79
 20 'Memorandum of a Conversation between General McNaughton and General Paget, 17 June 1943,' 18 June 1943, PA 1-0-4, McNaughton Papers, vol. 131, 'Conversation - Lt Gen AGL McNaughton - Lt Gen Sir Archibald Nye, 2 Sept. 1943,' War Diary, Sept. 1943, app. A, *ibid.*, vol. 250
 21 'Memorandum of Discussions with Col Ralston and Lt Gen Stuart,' 10 Nov. 1943, PA 5-0-3-2, pt. 1, *ibid.*, vol. 167; 'Memorandum of Meeting with CIGS, 1 November 1943,' War Diary, Nov. 1943, appx B, *ibid.*, vol. 250; Swettenham, *McNaughton*, II, 345; Nigel Hamilton, *Monty, Master of the Battlefield, 1942-1944* (London 1983), 497-8
 22 Truscott, 'Report on Canadian Participation in 83 Group,' DHist 181.003 (D4738)

- 23 Ibid.
- 24 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, Feb. 1944, 2-3, DHist 73/829; AFHQ, Fighter-Recce narrative, Dec. 1943, 1-2, DHist 73/832; Kostenuk and Griffin, *RCAF Squadrons and Aircraft*, 81, 104, 127
- 25 Coningham to Edmonds, 4 Feb. 1944, PRO Air 37/106
- 26 ACAS (Ops), to AC-in-C AEAf, 26 Nov. 1943, PRO Air 37/613
- 27 SASO 2 TAF to 2, 83, and 84 groups, 30 Nov. 1943, PRO Air 37/613; SASO 83 Group to 483 Group Control Centre, 2 Dec. 1943, PRO Air 37/613
- 28 Norman Longmate, *The Doodlebugs* (London 1981), 51-6
- 29 D of Ops (AD), 'Report of Panel Appointed by DCAS to Consider Counter-Measures to Enemy Pilotless Aircraft,' 2 Dec. 1943, PRO Air 16/483
- 30 *German Evaluation of Allied Air Interdiction in World War II* (Fairfax 1969), IV, 8; Hogg, *Anti-Aircraft*, app. 5; AFHQ, Fighter-Recce narrative, Feb. 1944, DHist 73/832
- 31 J.F. Lambert personnel file, NPRC
- 32 Andrea Schlecht, 'Some Kardex Documents Providing Statistical Information on Canadianization of the RCAF,' DHist 91/116
- 33 J.F. Lambert, personnel file, NPRC
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 No 403 Squadron ORB, unofficial Squadron Diary, 3 Dec. 1943, DHist
- 36 Conrad biog. file, DHist
- 37 AFHQ, Fighter-Recce narrative, Nov. 1943, 1, Dec. 1943, 4, DHist 73/832; No 400 Squadron, ORB, Dec. 1943 to Feb. 1944, DHist
- 38 No 430 Squadron ORB, 5 Feb. 1944, DHist
- 39 No 430 Squadron narrative history, 26, DHist 74/341
- 40 Ibid., 24-5
- 41 No 416 Squadron narrative history, 61, DHist 74/326; Combat Reports, DHist 73/847
- 42 Healey to D/SASO, 30 Nov. 1943, Leigh-Mallory to ACAS (TR), 17 Dec. 1943, PRO Air 37/798
- 43 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, March 1944, 3, DHist 73/829; Shores, *2nd Tactical Air Force*, 47
- 44 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, March 1944, 21-2, DHist 73/829; Christopher Shores and Clive Williams, *Aces High* (London 1966), 193
- 45 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, March 1944, 22-3, DHist 73/829
- 46 Ibid., appendix Main HQ to groups, 20 March 1944, DHist 73/829
- 47 Godefroy, *Lucky Thirteen*, 237
- 48 OC No 402 Squadron to CO, RCAF Digby, 24 April 1944, DHist 181.009 (D5319); No 402 Squadron ORB, 14 March 1944, DHist; ADGB Training Staff Instruction No 2/44, app. A, 27 March 1944, DHist 181.009 (D5319)
- 49 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, April 1944, 26-7, DHist 73/829
- 50 Ibid., 32, DHist 73/829; 'AEAf ORS Report No 16, 10 June 1944,' PRO Air 16/498
- 51 Cooper, *The German Air Force 1933-1945*, 332; AHB, *The Rise and Fall of the German Air Force*, 316; Heinz Knoke, *I Flew for the Fuhrer* (London 1953), 153

- 52 Cooper, *The German Air Force 1933–1945*, 332–3; Hajo Herrmann, *Eagle's Wings* (Shrewsbury 1991), 222
- 53 No 410 Squadron ORB, 15 Aug. 1943, DHist
- 54 *Ibid.*, 10 Dec 1943
- 55 *Ibid.*, 13 Feb., 31 May, 6 June 1944
- 56 Collier, *The Defence of the United Kingdom*, 317–18
- 57 *Ibid.*, 327; Murray, *Luftwaffe*, 238
- 58 No 406 Squadron ORB, 19/20 March 1944, DHist; Combat Reports, DHist 73/847; No 406 Squadron ORB, 27/28 March 1944, DHist
- 59 No 410 Squadron ORB, Combat Report, 3 Feb. 1944, DHist; Combat Reports, DHist 73/847
- 60 No 410 Squadron ORB, 21 Jan.–19 April 1944, DHist
- 61 Shores, *2nd Tactical Air Force*, 219
- 62 Quoted in AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, April 1944, 9, DHist 73/829
- 63 Arthur Bryant, *Triumph in the West*, (London 1959), 178
- 64 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, April 1944, 23–5, DHist 73/829
- 65 *Ibid.*, and May 1944, 6, 85–6
- 66 Stacey, *The Victory Campaign*, 36; AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, May 1944, 27–8 and app. E, DHist 73/829
- 67 AHB, *Air Support* (Air Ministry 1955), 144; numbers derived from ORBs; AFHQ, Secret Narrative, Fighter-Reconnaissance, May 1944, 9, DHist 73/832; Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (New York 1948), 237–8
- 68 'Extract from Air C-in-C's 15th Conference, nd,' PRO Air 37/636; AFHQ, Secret Narrative, Fighter-Reconnaissance, May 1944, 1–2, DHist 73/832; No 400 Squadron ORB, May 1944, DHist
- 69 Nicholson, *The Canadians in Italy*, 202–6; C.J.C. Molony, *The Mediterranean and Middle East* (London 1973), v, 239, 242
- 70 No 417 Squadron ORB, appendix, 2–19 Sept. 1943, DHist
- 71 Albert Houle, unpublished manuscript, DHist
- 72 *Ibid.*
- 73 No 417 Squadron narrative history, 42, DHist 74/327
- 74 Molony, *The Mediterranean and Middle East*, v, 473–509; Nicholson, *The Canadians in Italy*, ch. 11
- 75 No 417 Squadron ORB, 30 Nov. 1943, DHist
- 76 *Ibid.*, appendix, 3 and 8 Dec. 1943, Jan. 1944; Houle, unpublished manuscript, 241, DHist
- 77 Winston Churchill, *Closing the Ring* (Boston 1951), 488
- 78 No 417 Squadron ORB, Jan.–March 1944, DHist
- 79 *Ibid.*
- 80 *Ibid.*, 11, 12, and 28 April 1944
- 81 *Ibid.*, 7–8, 23 April 1944; Owen Thetford, *Aircraft of the Royal Air Force since 1918* (New York 1968), 454; No 417 Squadron narrative history, 64, DHist 74/327
- 82 No 417 Squadron ORB, 19, 23–24 April, 19 May 1944, DHist
- 83 *Ibid.*, appendix, 14 May 1944

- 84 C.J.C. Molony, *The Mediterranean and Middle East* (London 1984), VI, part 1, 228–9, 232, 251, 274–5
- 85 George Brown and Michel Lavigne, *Canadian Wing Commanders of Fighter Command in World War II* (Langley 1984), 103–9
- 86 No 438 Squadron ORB, 8 May 1944, DHist
- 87 *Ibid.*, appendix, 8 May 1944; Brown and Lavigne, *Canadian Wing Commanders*, 109–11
- 88 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, May 1944, 85–6, DHist 73/829; No 416 Squadron narrative history, 65, DHist 74/326; No 416 Squadron ORB, 22 May 44, DHist
- 89 Combat Reports, DHist 73/847
- 90 *Ibid.*
- 91 Price, *World War II Fighter Conflict*, 92–3; Godefroy, *Lucky Thirteen*, 204–41
- 92 Scott to AOC-in-C RCAF Overseas HQ, 15 May 1944, DHist 181.009 (D718)
- 93 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, May 1944, 52–3, DHist 73/829
- 94 *Ibid.*, 58–9, 102–5
- 95 *Ibid.*, June 1944, 3–4; AFHQ, Secret Narrative, Fighter-Reconnaissance, June 1944, 2, 6, 12, DHist 73/832
- 96 McFarland and Newton, *To Command the Sky*, 94
- 97 Robert W. Gruenhagen, *Mustang* (New York 1969), 181–90
- 98 McFarland and Newton, *To Command the Sky*, 157, 160
- 99 Galland, *The First and the Last*, 206
- 100 Murray, *Luftwaffe*, 263; Ellis, *Victory in the West*, 1, 567, 28; Galland, *The First and the Last*, 211
- 101 Hogg, *Anti-Aircraft*, app. 5, 169; Hilary St George Saunders, *Royal Air Force 1939–1945* (London 1954), III, 83

CHAPTER 9: THE NORMANDY CAMPAIGN

- 1 John Keegan, *Six Armies in Normandy* (London 1982), 14–15
- 2 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 11, DHist 73/829; No 418 Squadron ORB, 5–6 June 1944, DHist
- 3 Galland, *The First and the Last*, 213–14; Ellis, *Victory in the West*, 1, 72
- 4 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 12–13, DHist 73/829
- 5 *Ibid.*, 14; Galland, *The First and the Last*, 213
- 6 AVM S.C. Trafford, 'A Review of Air Operations Preparatory to and in Support of Operation Neptune,' PRO Air 37/576; No 443 Squadron, Progress Reports, DHist 78/65; AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 17, DHist 73/829; 'ADBG Provisional Air Defence Plan for Operation Overlord,' 7 Feb. 1944, PRO Air 16/897; No 441 Squadron narrative history, 38, DHist 74/348
- 7 No 438 Squadron ORB, 6 June 1944, DHist; No 439 Squadron ORB, 6 June 1944, DHist; No 440 Squadron ORB, 6 June 1944, DHist
- 8 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 14, DHist 73/829; Shores, *2nd Tactical Air Force*, 55; No 430 Squadron ORB, appendix, 6 June 1944, DHist
- 9 'Report by Air Marshal Sir Arthur Coningham ... Concerning Operations

- Carried Out by Second Tactical Air Force between 6th June 1944 and 9th May 1945,' PRO Air 37/876
- 10 Cited in Gilbert, *Road to Victory*, 795–6; Ellis, *Victory in the West*, I, 222–3
 - 11 Walter Warlimont, *Inside Hitler's Headquarters, 1939–1945* (New York 1964), 424, 426
 - 12 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 17, DHist 73/829; Combat Reports, DHist 73/847
 - 13 No 414 Squadron narrative history, 64, DHist 74/325; No 5 MFP ORB, July 1944 to May 1945, DHist; No 6 MFP ORB, July 1944 to May 1945, DHist
 - 14 No 414 Squadron narrative history, 59, DHist 74/325
 - 15 AFHQ, Fighter-Recce narrative, June 1944, 6, 12, 73/832; No 414 Squadron narrative history, 60, 71, DHist 74/325; No 430 Squadron narrative history, 38, DHist 74/341
 - 16 Tactical Paper No 4, Sept. 1947, PRO Air 20/6857; AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 19, DHist 73/829
 - 17 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 23, DHist 73/829
 - 18 No 441 Squadron narrative history, 31, DHist 74/348; No 414 Squadron narrative history, 62–3, DHist 74/325; No 443 Squadron narrative history, 27, DHist 74/349; AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 90–1, DHist 73/829
 - 19 'The Effects of Air Power,' DHist SGR II 264, folder 24
 - 20 'Review of the Night Fighter Force, 4 August 1944,' PRO Air 16/664; No 410 Squadron ORB, June 1944, DHist; No 409 Squadron ORB, June 1944, 26 July 1944, DHist; Naval Staff Historical Section, *Operation 'Neptune' Landings in Normandy, June 1944: Appendices* (1947), 122–3; S.W. Roskill, *The War at Sea 1939–1945* (London 1961), III, part II, 59
 - 21 No 406 Squadron ORB, 14–15 June 1944, DHist
 - 22 *Ibid.*, 15–16 June 1944
 - 23 'Night Fighters,' nd, DHist 75/203
 - 24 *Ibid.*
 - 25 No 406 Squadron ORB, 21–22 July 1944, DHist
 - 26 Steele to Air Ministry Office, 6 July 1944, Fumerton pers file, NPRC; No 406 Squadron ORB, 25–26 July 1944, DHist
 - 27 'Report by Air Marshal Sir Arthur Coningham,' PRO Air 37/876; Shores, *2nd Tactical Air Force*, 13
 - 28 Strafford, 'A Review of Air Operations Preparatory to and in Support of Operation Neptune,' PRO Air 37/576
 - 29 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 100, DHist 73/829
 - 30 No 441 Squadron narrative history, 30, DHist 74/348; No 403 Squadron narrative history, 73, DHist 74/303
 - 31 AHB, *The Rise and Fall of the German Air Force*, 330; 'Fortnightly Review of GAF Activities on the Western Front,' 16 June 44, PRO Air 16/507
 - 32 No 438 Squadron ORB, 20 June 1944, DHist
 - 33 Extract from RAF Narrative, 'The Breakout and the Advance to the Lower Rhine, 12 June to 30 September 1944,' 7, DHist 83/474; AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 53, DHist 73/829

- 34 Collier, *The Defence of the United Kingdom*, 373; 'Review of the Night Fighter Force,' 4 Aug. 1944, PRO Air 16/664
- 35 David McIntosh, *Terror in the Starboard Seat* (Don Mills 1980), 64–5
- 36 *Jane's All the World's Aircraft* (1945–6), 71c; No 402 Squadron ORB, 10, 14, 19 Aug. 1944, DHist; Kostenuk and Griffin, *RCAF*, 85
- 37 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 37, 41, DHist 73/829; Tactical Paper No 4, Sept. 1947, PRO Air 20/6857; No 412 Squadron ORB, 14 June 1944, DHist; No 416 Squadron ORB, 14 June 1944, DHist; No 421 Squadron ORB, 14 June 1944, DHist; Middlebrook and Everitt, *The Bomber Command War Diaries*, 528
- 38 Tactical Paper No 1, Feb. 1947, PRO Air 20/6857; AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 46, DHist 73/829
- 39 Johnson, *Wing Leader*, 214
- 40 No 443 Squadron narrative history, 25, DHist 74/349; AFHQ, Day Fighter narrative, June 1944, 59, DHist 73/829
- 41 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 66, 77, DHist 73/829; 2nd Gordon Highlanders, War Diary, 26 June 1944, PRO, WO 171/5197; 46 (H) Infantry Brigade, War Diary, PRO, WO 171/648; No 439 Squadron narrative history, 40, DHist 74/347
- 42 'Daily Reflections on the Course of the Battle by Air Chief Marshal Sir Trafford Leigh-Mallory,' 24 June 1944, PRO Air 37/784
- 43 No 411 Squadron narrative history, 63, DHist 74/316; AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 77, 89, 91, DHist 73/829
- 44 AFHQ, Day-Fighter narrative, June 1944, 89, 91, App. B, table 1, DHist 73/829; AHB, *The Rise and Fall of the German Air Force*, 330; Max Hastings, *Das Reich* (London 1981), 215–16
- 45 Hastings, *Das Reich*, 210–11
- 46 'Air Ministry Weekly Intelligence Summary, No 260,' 26 Aug. 1944, DHist 85/291
- 47 *Ibid.*
- 48 'Air Ministry Weekly Intelligence Summary, No 302,' 16 June 1945, DHist 85/291
- 49 Ops 7, Air Effort Operation Neptune, PRO Air 37/575; 'Fortnightly Review of GAF Activities on the Western Front – 1 to 16 June 1944,' 14, PRO Air 16/507
- 50 'Report by Air Marshal Sir Arthur Coningham,' nd, PRO Air 37/876
- 51 Arthur Tedder, *With Prejudice* (London 1966), 554; Carlo D'Este, *Decision in Normandy* (London 1984), 222–3
- 52 No 443 Squadron, ORB, 9 July 1944, DHist
- 53 No 438 Squadron ORB, 9 July 1944, DHist; No 439 Squadron ORB, appendix, 9 July 1944, DHist
- 54 No 439 Squadron ORB, appendix, 9, 18 July 1944, DHist; 15th Div Recce Regt, War Diary, 7 July 1944, PRO WO 171/474
- 55 No 402 Squadron ORB, July 1944, DHist
- 56 No 401 Squadron ORB, 2 July 1944, DHist
- 57 No 441 Squadron ORB, 13 July 1944, DHist; No 416 Squadron ORB, appendix, 14 July 1944, DHist

- 58 AHB, *The Rise and Fall of the German Air Force*, 334
- 59 No 439 Squadron ORB, 14 July 1944, DHist
- 60 'Report by CSO 83 Group on the Operation of Signals during 1944,' Feb. 1945, PRO Air 37/333; No 441 Squadron ORB, 14 July 1944, DHist
- 61 No 417 Squadron ORB, June 1944, DHist
- 62 *Ibid.*, 16 June, 3, 4, 8 July 1944
- 63 Units named include the 10 Field Battery and 1st Canadian Army Brigade Workshops; No 417 Squadron ORB, 11 July 1944, appendix, Medical Officers Report, July and Aug. 1944, DHist
- 64 No 417 Squadron ORB, 26 Aug. 1944, DHist
- 65 CHMQ Report No 187, 12, DHist; Nicholson, *The Canadians in Italy*, 493; figures from W. Jackson et al., *The Mediterranean and Middle East* (London 1987), VI, part II, 106–7, 116–18
- 66 AHB, *Air Support*, 115
- 67 Report by CSO 83 Group on the Operation of Signals during 1944, Feb. 45, PRO Air 37/333
- 68 G (Air), Main HQ 21 Army Group, Notes on Air Support, June–Oct. 1944, 4–5, PRO WO 205/556
- 69 D'Este, *Decision in Normandy*, 370, 383
- 70 *Ibid.*; 'GOODWOOD' Visit – Serial 1, Discussion with A.V.M. Broadhurst, AOC 83 Group at His Headquarters, 26 July 1944, PRO Air 37/762
- 71 DSASO, 'Examination of Operation Goodwood,' PRO Air 37/762; Discussion with AVM Broadhurst, AOC 83 Group at His Headquarters, 25 July 1944, PRO Air 37/762
- 72 For more detailed discussions of such problems, see John A. English, *The Canadian Army and the Normandy Campaign* (New York 1991), and d'Este, *Decision in Normandy*.
- 73 Discussion with AVM Broadhurst, AOC 83 Group at his Headquarters, 25 July 1944, PRO Air 37/762; Discussion with Second Lieutenant P.M. Roberts, nd, PRO Air 37/762
- 74 Max Hastings, *Overlord* (London 1984), 276; G (Air), Main HQ 21 Army Group, 'Notes on Air Support, June–October 1944,' 5, PRO WO 205/556; 'Report by CSO 83 Group on the Operation of Signals during 1944,' Feb. 45, PRO Air 37/333
- 75 'Support to First Canadian Army,' 24 July 1944, 1-3-3, NA, Crerar Papers, MG 30, E157, vol. 3
- 76 Stacey, *The Victory Campaign*, 194
- 77 No 439 Squadron ORB, 1 Aug. 1944, DHist
- 78 'Report by Air Marshal Sir Arthur Coningham,' 9, PRO Air 37/876; Hans Speidel, *Invasion 1944: Rommel and the Normandy Campaign* (Chicago 1950), 141; No 438 Squadron ORB, 4 Aug. 1944, DHist
- 79 No 439 Squadron ORB, 6 Aug. 1944, DHist
- 80 'Report by Air Marshal Sir Arthur Coningham,' 10, PRO Air 37/876
- 81 No 442 Squadron ORB, 27 July 1944, DHist; No 401 Squadron ORB, 27 July 1944, DHist
- 82 Minutes of a Meeting held in the Air Council Room, 28 July 1944, PRO Air

- 37/636; AFHQ, Fighter-Recce narrative, July 1944, 5, DHist 73/832; Johnstone, 'Re-equipment of Squadrons,' 7 Aug. 1944, PRO Air 37/636; Morgan and Shacklady, *Spitfire*, 398, 458
- 83 AFHQ, Fighter-Recce narrative, July 1944, 16-17, DHist 73/832
- 84 *Ibid.*, Aug. 1944, 10
- 85 Stacey, *The Victory Campaign*, 208
- 86 'Request for Air Support,' 4 Aug. 1944, PRO Air 25/704
- 87 *Ibid.*
- 88 Stacey, *The Victory Campaign*, 220-1, 250; telegram, HQ AEF to 2 TAF and 9th AF, 8 Aug. 1944, PRO Air 37/741
- 89 No 439 Squadron ORB, 9 Aug. 1944, DHist
- 90 Stacey, *The Victory Campaign*, 231
- 91 No 438 Squadron ORB, 11 Aug. 1944, DHist; No 439 Squadron ORB, 11 Aug. 1944, DHist
- 92 Stacey, *The Victory Campaign*, 250; No 416 Squadron narrative history, 80, DHist 74/326; No 403 Squadron narrative history, 81, DHist 74/303
- 93 No 442 Squadron ORB, 13, 14 Aug. 1944, DHist; No 441 Squadron ORB, 13 Aug. 1944, DHist; No 438 Squadron ORB, 15 Aug. 1944, DHist; Johnson, *Wing Leader*, 236
- 94 No 414 Squadron ORB, 15 Aug. 1944, DHist; 'Report by Air Marshal Sir Arthur Coningham,' nd, 11, PRO Air 37/876
- 95 No 441 Squadron ORB, 18 Aug. 1944, DHist; No 442 Squadron ORB, 18 Aug. 1944, DHist; No 411 Squadron ORB, 18 Aug. 1944, DHist; No 401 Squadron ORB, 18 Aug. 1944, DHist
- 96 No 127 Wing ORB, 18 Aug. 1944, DHist
- 97 *Ibid.*
- 98 No 438 Squadron ORB, 18 Aug. 1944, DHist; No 440 Squadron ORB, 18 Aug. 1944, DHist
- 99 'Report by Air Marshal Sir Arthur Coningham,' nd, 11, PRO Air 37/876; Ellis, *Victory in the West*, 1, 448; Stacey, *The Victory Campaign*, 261; No 83 Group Intelligence Summary No 69 up to 0001 hours, 22 Aug., PRO Air 25/704
- 100 D'Este, *Decision in Normandy*, 430-1; 'Report by Air Marshal Sir Arthur Coningham,' nd, 11-12, PRO Air 37/876
- 101 Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, 279
- 102 2nd Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, War Diary, 25 Aug. 1944, PRO WO 171/1262
- 103 James Lucas and James Barker, *The Killing Ground* (London 1978), 158
- 104 'Account of Escape of F/Lt A.F. Halcrow,' DHist 79/507, vol. 5
- 105 No 409 Squadron ORB, 7 Sept. 1944, DHist
- 106 No 410 Squadron ORB, 10 Sept. 1944, DHist
- 107 No 430 Squadron ORB, 22 Aug. 1944, DHist; No 414 Squadron ORB, Aug. and Sept. 1944, DHist; 'Air Support and Air Reconnaissance Aspects of Combined Operations in Europe, June 1944-May 1945,' chap. 8, app. K, 4, PRO Air 37/881
- 108 Combat Reports, DHist 73/847; numbers derived from ORBS
- 109 Numbers derived from Secret Narratives and ORBS