Notes

The following chapter notes are designed to be used by readers of the paperback version of Hugh Sebag-Montefiore's Battle of the Arctic. They are being made available online so that anyone who reads the paperback can have access to the full notes, which have been corrected since the full notes first appeared in the book's hardback. The main reason why the full notes are being made available online is because only highlights from these notes have been printed in the book's paperback in an effort to make the paperback more portable.

The first page of these online notes has been labelled '673', which is the same page number as appears at the bottom of the first page of the abbreviated notes in the paperback. But because these online notes take up more pages than the abbreviated notes in the paperback, these online notes of course run on to higher page numbers than those page numbers used for the abbreviated notes in the paperback. This means that some of the page numbers used for these online notes are the same as the pages used in the paperback for the sections that come after the Notes section in the paperback.

Chapter 1

1. PQ17's formation before any of the convoy's ships were attacked is specified in the PQ17 formation diagram in **NA London** ADM 199/757 ('PQ17's Formation Diagram'), which is reproduced in this book's Appendix A.
2. Sound of the planes: *River Afton*'s Captain Harold Charlton's undated account, supplied by Richard Woodman, author of WOODMAN'S BOOK; time planes appeared: p. 70 of undated account by Douglas Fairbanks junior ('Fairbanks' Account'), **National Maritime Museum** MS 82/066; and 6 July 1942 'Report of operations with Commander Cruiser Squadron One, Cruiser Covering Force of PQ17' by American Destroyer Squadron

Eight's Captain Don Moon in USS *Wainwright* ('Wainwright's Report'), **David Irving's Papers**.

3. Group of merchant ships present during the big attack: all those in Appendix A, except for *Gray Ranger* which had previously departed, and *Christopher Newport* (previously sunk); ship sunk before big attack, and direction of travel: 8 July 1942 report by destroyer *Keppel*'s Commander Jack Broome ('Keppel's Report'), **Churchill Archives Centre** BRME 8/1.
4. The 5 July 1942 entry in the KTB DER SKL TEIL A refers to 23 aircraft, as does the 5 July 1942 morning report in **Luftflotte 5's Daily Reports**.
5. Appendix I to the 6 July 1942 report by Rear Admiral Louis Hamilton, commander of the First Cruiser Squadron ('Hamilton's 6 July 1942 Report'), who flew his flag in the cruiser HMS *London,* BRME 8/1 Churchill Archives Centre, states the main attack by German aircraft on 4 July 1942 took place at 75°43' N 27°45' E.
6. Keppel's Report.
7. Concerning the German aircraft shot down during the 2 July 1942 attack referred to in this chapter's main text, Keppel's Report states: 'Unless this aircraft died from fright, I think it should be credited to (the destroyer) U.S.S. *Rowan* who was seen at this time putting up a fine display of A.A. fire while approaching the convoy to fuel.' The same report concerning the destroyer USS *Wainwright*'s performance at and after *ca.* 6.50 p.m. 4 July 1942 in response to the second of the three main attacks by German aircraft that day stated: 'I was most impressed and grateful for the way she sped round the convoy worrying the circling aircraft, and it was largely due to her Fourth of July enthusiasm that the attack completely failed.'
8. 27 July 1942 report by Captain S. D. N. Lawford, commander of the anti-aircraft ship *Pozarica*, Churchill Archives Centre BRME 8/1, refers to six Heinkel 115 seaplanes.
9. Keppel's Report confirms the torpedoed ship was *Christopher Newport*.
10. Ibid.
11. PQ17's Formation Diagram.
12. CARRAWAY'S DIARY.
13. Hauptmann Eicke's account ('Eicke's Report') on p.138 of Rudi Schmidt, *Achtung – Torpedos los!* ('Schmidt's Achtung'), brought to my attention by Christer Bergström, one of the co-authors of *Black Cross Red Star: Air War Over the Eastern Front vol. 3*.
14. 8 October 1942 report by *Navarino*'s Captain A. Kelso, NA London ADM 199/2141.
15. Ibid.
16. Carraway's Diary.
17. Robert Henderson's diary, courtesy of his wife Lyndell and daughter Sue.
18. The chapter 'De mannen van de Paulus Potter' (The Men of Paulus Potter) in Anthony Van Kampen, ed., *Scheepsverklaring* p.190. It was brought to my attention by Jos Odijk.
19. Carraway's Diary.
20. For example 7 October 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The Master, Captain J. Pascoe: s.s. "Bolton Castle"', NA London ADM 199/2141; and report by M.I. Pavlov, skipper of *Donbass*, **GAOPDiFAO**, Archive Section 296, Inventory 1, Book 1210.
21. Keppel's Report.

22. Report by captain of *Azerbaijan*, in GAOPDiFAO, Archive Section 296, Inventory 1, Book 1210.
23. Eicke's Report on pp.138–9 of Schmidt's Achtung.
24. Roger Hill, *Destroyer Captain* ('Hill's Book') p. 49.
25. Fairbanks' Account, pp. 71–2.
26. Leutnant Georg Kanmayer's account in Schmidt's Achtung pp. 140–1; Hill's Book pp. 40–50; Keppel's Report; and Wainwright's Report.
27. Schmidt's Achtung p. 142.
28. Ibid p. 137.
29. Keppel's Report specifies PQ17's course. Hamilton's 6 July 1942 Report states PQ17 was scattered at 75°50' N 28°30' E.
30. Hill's Book p.51. What is written in Jack Broome, *Convoy Is To Scatter* ('Broome's Book') p.187 implies that it might have been a single flag raised by *Keppel*'s signalman which puzzled Hill rather than, as specified in Hill's account, the string of flags raised by the signalman in *River Afton*, the Commodore's ship.
31. Broome's Book p. 191.
32. Hill's Book p. 51.
33. Broome's Book p. 194.
34. Ibid. pp. 194–5.
35. Ibid. p. 195.
36. Ibid. pp. 189 and 200.
37. Fairbanks' Account pp. 73–4.
38. Carraway's Diary.
39. S. A. Kerslake, *Coxswain In The Northern Convoys* pp. 75–6.
40. Head of the Political Department of the Northern Sea Fleet Koltiakov to the head of the Political Department Commissar of the USSR Comrade Belakov on 17 August 1942, GAOPDiFAO Section 296, Inventory 1, Book 1210.

Chapter 2

1. WOODMAN'S BOOK pp. 36–7; and BRITISH NAVAL AVIATION HISTORY p. 176.
2. British Naval Aviation History p. 176.
3. Hubert Griffith, *R.A.F. In Russia* ('Griffith's Book') p. 5.
4. Ibid. p. 22.
5. Ibid. p. 21.
6. Morris O. Mills, *PQ13: Unlucky For Some* p. 35.
7. British Naval Aviation History pp. 176–7.
8. Ibid. p.176; and Griffith's Book pp. 44–88.
9. 22 June 1941 entry Gabriel Gorodetsky, ed., *The Maisky Diaries: Red Ambassador to the Court of St James's 1932–1943* ('Maisky Diaries') p. 366.
10. CHURCHILL'S BOOK vol. 3 pp. 331–2.
11. Robert Hugh Jones, *The Roads To Russia* ('Jones' Book') p. 35.
12. Churchill's Book vol. 3 p. 340.
13. REYNOLDS AND PECHATNOV p. 28.
14. Ibid. p. 30.
15. Robert E. Sherwood, *The White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins* (Hopkins' Book') pp. 317–8.
16. Jones' Book p.34; Joan Beaumont, *Comrades In Arms: British Aid to Russia 1941–1945* pp. 26–8.
17. Martin Gilbert, ed., The Churchill Documents 1941 ('Churchill Documents') p. 991.
18. Ivan Maisky, *Memoirs of a Soviet Ambassador: The War 1939–43* ('Maisky's Memoirs') pp. 180–1.
19. Hopkins' Book pp. 325–8.
20. Quote from *The American Magazine* (date not specified) in ibid. pp. 344–5. Dates of Hopkins'

meetings with Stalin, ibid. pp. 330 and 332.
21. Ibid. 341.
22. Ibid. p. 344.
23. Churchill's Book vol. 3 p. 381.
24. Hopkins' Book pp. 385–396 and 399.
25. Churchill Documents. pp. 1065–6.
26. Reynolds and Pechatnov pp. 40–1; British guilt at not complying with second front request, and Moscow informed: Maisky Memoirs pp. 185–7.
27. 4 September 1941 entry in Maisky Diaries p. 386; and Maisky's Memoirs pp. 190–1.
28. Reynolds and Pechatnov pp. 43–4.
29. W. Averell Harriman and Elie Abel, *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin 1941–1946* ('Harriman's Book') p. 87.
30. Tanks for Russia Week, referred to in the 22 September 1941 entry in Maisky Diaries p. 391.
31. Harriman's Book pp. 87 and 89.
32. Antony Beevor, *Stalingrad* ('Stalingrad Book') pp. 28–9 and 33.
33. Harriman's Book p. 89.
34. Ibid. p. 87.
35. Ibid. pp. 90–1.
36. Stalingrad Book pp. 33–4.
37. Harriman's Book p. 97.
38. Ibid. pp. 87–8.
39. Ibid.; and *Soviet Supply Protocols*, a publication by the US Department of State, pp. 1–12.
40. Anne Chisholm and Michael Davie, *Beaverbrook: A Life* p. 417; and Woodman's Book p. 42. Convoys in the first series of east-going Arctic convoys were all given the prefix PQ after Paul Quellyn-Roberts, the Admiralty officer who in 1941 was responsible for their administration. Convoys in the first series of west-going Arctic convoys were given the prefix QP, the reversal of the letters to show that the convoys were travelling in the opposite direction. This has been confirmed by Paul Quellyn-Roberts' son Paul junior, who was introduced to me by Sir James Vernon.
41. Churchill's Book vol. 3 pp. 418–19.
42. Distance from American east coast to Murmansk: 8 May 1942 report by *Dunboyne*'s Armed Guard commanding officer Ensign Rufus Brinn, US ARMED GUARD REPORTS. Stalin's objection to routes: Hopkins' Book pp. 330 and 340.
43. 27 June 1942 Agreement and 16 August 1941 Agreement, in both cases between Britain and the Soviet Union, a copy of which are in Appendix 2 and 3 respectively of the 'Report On Fulfilment Of The Moscow Protocol October 1941-June 1942', **NA London** PREM 3 401/7. Concerning non-military aid supplied by Britain, 40 per cent of its value had to be paid in cash, and 60 per cent in five equal annual instalments, the first to be paid 3 years after the purchase and the last 7 years after the purchase.
44. Jones' Book p. 261 describes how President Harry Truman's administration after the war sought to extract payment for a proportion of $2.6 billion, the latter figure being what the Americans believed to be the value of civilian-type supplies that remained in Soviet custody. The above figure was in its turn a proportion of the $10.8 billion worth of aid which the Americans believed they had supplied under lend-lease.

45. P. M. H. Bell, *John Bull and the* Bear ('Public Opinion Book') p. 59.
46. Minutes of 20 October 1941 Defence Committee meeting, NA London CAB 69/8 and 19 October 1941 Memorandum, NA London CAB 69/3.
47. Public Opinion Book p. 64, referring to the 20 October to 3 November 1941 reports produced by the Home Intelligence Division of the Ministry of Information.
48. Ibid.

Chapter 3

1. WOODMAN'S BOOK pp. 36–54.
2. Undated note headed 'Final Figures Of Arrivals And Losses For Each Convoy Up To And Including P.Q.16' with 29 July 1942 letter from the Offices of the War Cabinet's G. Fitch to N. Gifford, Commercial Secretary, Kuibyshev, **NA London** CAB 111/109; and report by Anastas Mikoyan, People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, following a 9 January 1942 conference in Moscow ('Mikoyan's Arrears Report'), quoted in Alexander Hill, *The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1941–1945: A documentary reader* pp. 171–2. Hill credits G. N. Sevost'ianov, *Sovetsko-amerikanskie otnsoheniia, 1939–1945* p. 192.
3. 24 January 1942 letter headed 'General Ismay' and attached table, NA London CAB 111/108.
4. Mikoyan's Arrears Report.
5. Antony Beevor, *Stalingrad* p. 41.
6. 13 January 1942 Ivan Maisky to Eden letter, NA London CAB 111/108.
7. The sources relied on for the description of the types of men in the Merchant Navy and US Merchant Marine include: British: *Merchantmen At War: The Official Story of the Merchant Navy: 1939–1944* pp.14–16; and Morris O. Mills, *PQ13: Unlucky For Some* pp. 54–94; American: Robert Carse, *A Cold Corner Of Hell* pp. 27–8 and 33–4.
8. William A. Carter, *Why Me Lord?* pp. 104–5.
9. Dalton Leslie Munn, *Diary of Squandered Valor: First Convoy to Murmansk* p. 2.
10. Ibid. p. 8.
11. Ibid. p. 40.
12. Ibid. pp. 9 and 16.
13. Ibid. p. 18.
14. 15 June 1942 sworn statement signed by *Silver Sword*'s C.W. Calbeth; and 31 October 1942 letter from a representative of Sword Line Inc. to the United States Coast Guard, US MERCHANT VESSELS SINKING REPORTS. Entry P-2 Box 45.
15. Woodman's Book p.53.
16. 22 January 1942 report by *Trinidad*'s Captain Leslie Saunders ('Trinidad's PQ8 Report'), NA London ADM 199/72.
17. ROHWER'S HUMMELCHEN'S AND WEIS'S CHRONOLOGY p. 134.
18. 11 November 1942 'Report of an Interview with the Master – Captain R.W. Brundle. S.S. Harmatris. P.Q.8.' ('Harmatris' Report'), NA London ADM 199/1709.
19. 3 February 1942 report by Captain Donald Bain, Captain (D) Sixth Destroyer Flotilla, HMS *Somali* with header 'Attack On Convoy P.Q.8 On January 17/18TH. 1942' ('Somali's PQ8 Report'), NA London ADM 199/72.
20. 17 January 1942 entry in KTB *U-454*.
21. Harmatris' Report.

22. Testimony of Captain Donald Bain, Lieutenant Commander John Cooke and Lieutenant William Whitworth, Minutes of Proceedings, 11-12 March 1942 Board of Inquiry into *Matabele* sinking ('Matabele Inquiry'), NA London ADM 1/11951; Somali's PQ8 Report; and 8 February 1942 report by Captain Donald Bain commander of HMS *Somali* with header 'Torpedoing And Sinking of H.M.S. Matabele' ('Somali Matabele Report'), NA London ADM 199/72.
23. Testimony of survivor Ernest Higgins, Appendix 1 to Somali Matabele Report ('Matabele Survivors' Report').
24. Admiralty's 1909A 17 January 1942 signal, Trinidad's PQ8 Report; and Extract of Somali Log in Appendix 3 to Somali's PQ8 Report.
25. Trinidad's PQ8 Report.
26. Testimony of Ernest Higgins, Matabele Survivors' Report.
27. Ibid.; and Matabele Inquiry.
28. Ibid.
29. 19 January 1942 report by Commander Eric Hinton commanding officer of HMS *Harrier* to Captain (D) 6th Destroyer Flotilla, HMS *Somali*, NA London ADM 199/72.
30. Ibid.
31. Matabele Survivors' Report.
32. William Burras, Matabele Inquiry.
33. Document entitled 'R.N. Casualties In N. Russia Convoys' sent with undated note, written after the 31 December 1942 Battle of the Barents Sea, from the office of the Director of Naval Intelligence, NA London ADM 199/604.
34. 17 January 1942 entry in KTB *U-454*.

Chapter 4

1. 4 January 1942 letter from Tovey to Admiralty Secretary which appears to be a draft of the final letter which was dated 29 January 1942, both in **NA London** ADM 199/757.
2. Jak Mallmann Showell ed., *Fuehrer Conferences On Naval Affairs 1939–1945* pp. 246–7 and 259; and NA London AIR 20/1332.
3. BRITISH WAR AT SEA OFFICIAL HISTORY vol. 2 p. 119.
4. TIRPITZ OFFICIAL HISTORY.
5. 25 February 1942 letter from Tovey to the Admiralty, NA London ADM 199/347.
6. PQ12's merchant ships: undated summary of sailing and arrival dates in Russian ports, NA London ADM 237/163. QP8 merchant ships: 1 March 1942 SBNO North Russia telegram, NA London ADM 199/347.
7. 27 February and 3 March 1942 messages from Tovey to Vice Admiral Curteis, NA London ADM 199/347.
8. I March 1942 message from SBNO North Russia to the Admiralty, NA London ADM 199/347.
9. WOODMAN'S BOOK p. 72.
10. 5 March 1942 entry in KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER.
11. Ibid.
12. 6 March 1942 entry in KTB DER SKL TEIL A.
13. Account by Dick Raikes, **IWM Documents** 6349.
14. 12.50 a.m. 7 March 1942 message from the Admiralty to Tovey (specified sending time being 2350A 6 March) referring to *Seawolf*'s signal, NA London ADM 199/347; and BRITISH ARCTIC CONVOYS HISTORY p. 8.

15. Account by Charles Friend ('Friend's Account'), IWM Documents 86/37/1.
16. 7 March 1942 entry in '832 Squadron's War Diary', NA London ADM 207/28.
17. Report by Admiral Sir Jack Tovey headed 'Operations In Support Of Convoys PQ12 & QP8', enclosed with 13 March 1942 letter ('Tovey's 2nd PQ12 Report'), NA London ADM 199/347.
18. Dalton Leslie 'Dal' Munn, *Diary of Squandered Valor: First Convoy to Murmansk* pp. 48–51, diary entries for 4–6 March 1942.
19. 'Summary of Captain Denny's Report of Proceedings (Kenya's 0355/A of 14.iii.42)' ('Kenya's Report') in **NHB**.
20. Ibid.; and British Arctic Convoys History p. 9.
21. 7 March 1942 message from the Admiralty to PQ12 escorts, timed 1519A (4.19 p.m., GMT + 2), which according to Kenya's Report appears to have been received in *Kenya* at 5 p.m. (GMT + 2) 7 March 1942.
22. 7 March 1942 entry in KTB der 5 Zerstörerflottille, **Militärarchiv Freiburg** RM 58/23; 6 March 1942 entry KTB der Skl Teil A; and Anlage 1 to the KTB DES BEFEHLSHABERS DER SCHLACHTSCHIFFE for 1–15 March 1942.
23. The 5 March 1942 entry in the KTB des Admiral Nordmeer covering 1–12 March 1942 refers to the sighting of PQ12 by the German aircraft; and that KTB's Anlage 18a states the sighting took place at the position referred to as AA 9918 on the German grid map (approximately 69°39' N 09°30' W); whereas *Kenya*'s Report states that the aircraft approached the convoy at 70°05' N 06°09' W. The latter location is around 90 miles to the north-east of the location reported by the German aircraft crew.
24. 7 March 1942 entries in: KTB *DES ZERSTÖRERS FRIEDRICH IHN*; KTB DES ZERSTÖRERS *Z 25*; and in KTB der 5 Zerstörerflottille, Militärarchiv Freiburg RM 94/84, RM 94/110 and RM 58/23 respectively.
25. Kenya's Report; *Onslow* message to Tovey timed '1632' (1732: GMT + 2) 7 March, NA London ADM 199/347; Tovey's 2nd PQ12 Report.
26. Admiralty message sent at 1518A (4.18 p.m.: GMT + 2) 7 March 1942, NA London ADM 223/109.
27. 7 March 1942 1652A (1752 p.m.: GMT + 2) and 1934A (2034: GMT + 2) messages from Admiralty to Tovey, NA London ADM 223/109.
28. BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OFFICIAL HISTORY vol. 2 pp. 207–8.
29. Part II Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet war diary covering 1–15 March 1942 ('Home Fleet PQ12 War Diary'), NA London ADM 199/427.
30. 7–8 March 1942 entry in 832 Squadron's War Diary.
31. 10 March 1942 report by Tovey ('Tovey's 1st PQ12 Report'), NA London PREM 3/191/1.
32. Home Fleet PQ12 War Diary.
33. 6–8 March 1942 entries in KTB des Befehlshabers der Schlachtschiffe.
34. Decrypt 239, NA London DEFE 3/88.
35. 8 March 1942 entry in KTB des Befehlshabers der Schlachtschiffe.

36. Decrypt 267 DEFE 3/88 contains Bletchley Park's codebreakers' translation of the all-important signal from Carls to Ciliax timed 2332 which was intercepted by the British at 2354 (both GMT + 2, 8 March), and sent to the Admiralty at 0155 (GMT + 2, 9 March). The decrypt stated: 'Hereby acknowledge short signal concerning break off of operation and rendezvous in square AF 3185' (the reference on the German grid map to the approximate position 68°15' N 10°38' E). Decrypt 268, DEFE 3/88, which was sent to the Admiralty at 0202, contains a similar signal sent from Carls to two of the German destroyers with the added confirmation the rendezvous was to be at 0800 (GMT + 2, 9 March). The Ultra passing on the information in these signals to Tovey was timed 0148A (0248 GMT + 2) 9 March 1942, ADM 223/88 and ADM 223/109. All documents in this note are in NA London.
37. Tovey's 1st PQ12 Report.
38. The Ultra, in NA London ADM 223/109, which prompted Tovey's turn towards the north-east was timed 1500A (1600 GMT + 2) 8 March 1942.
39. British War At Sea Official History vol. 2 p. 122.
40. Ultra timed 0248A 9 March 1942 (3.48 a.m. GMT + 2), NA London ADM 223/109, based on decrypt 273, NA London DEFE 3/88. The latter stated *Tirpitz* would pass through AF 6183, the reference on the German grid map to around 65°38' N 10°52' E, at 1400 (GMT + 2) 9 March.
41. Message from Bovell to Tovey timed 5.37 a.m. (GMT + 1), that is 6.37 a.m. GMT + 2, NA London ADM 199/347.
42. 9 March 1942 entry in 832 Squadron's War Diary.
43. Friend's Account.
44. The following appendices to the 15 March 1942 letter written by *Victorious*' Captain Henry Bovell ('Victorious' Letter'), NHB and NA London ADM 199/167: Appendix 1 containing 'Narrative' ('Victorious' Narrative'); and Appendix VII containing 'Victorious' List Of Aircraft Crews'; 832 Squadron's War Diary; and 9 March 1942 entries in: KTB DES SCHLACHTSCHIFFES *TIRPITZ*; and KTB des Zerstörers *Friedrich Ihn*.
45. Victorious' Narrative; Victorious' List Of Aircraft Crews; and 832 Squadron's War Diary.
46. Tovey to *Victorious* message timed 7.21 a.m. (GMT + 1; 8.21 a.m. GMT + 2), NA London ADM 199/347.
47. Time *Tirpitz* sighted: 10 March 1942 report by observer Sub-Lieutenant W.H.C. Browne in Appendix VI to Victorious' Letter; and Anlage 8 to 5 to 13 March 1942 KTB des Befehlshabers der Schlachtschiffe. *Friedrich Ihn's* position relative to *Tirpitz*, and location when the first aircraft from the British search force were sighted – AF 3443 right top (approximately 67°48' N 10°15' E) – 9 March 1942 entry in KTB des Zerstörers *Friedrich Ihn*.
48. Ludovic Kennedy, *The Life and Death of the Tirpitz* ('Kennedy's Tirpitz Book') p. 41.
49. Anlage 7 to 5 to 13 March 1942 KTB des Befehlshabers der Schlachtschiffe.

50. 'Remarks Of The Striking Force Leader' ('Lucas' Remarks'), in Appendix IV to Victorious' Letter.
51. Friend's Account.
52. Ibid.
53. Lucas' Remarks.
54. Time attack by British aircraft started: 9 March 1942 report by Lieutenant D. George ('Lucas' Observer's Report'), Appendix V to Victorious' Letter. Location of attack: AF 3461 left bottom (approximately 67°42' N 11°00' E), 9 March 1942 entry in KTB des Zerstörers *Friedrich Ihn.*
55. Kennedy's Tirpitz Book p. 42.
56. Lucas' Remarks. Map 4 is taken from Appendix III to Victorious' Letter.
57. Kennedy's Tirpitz Book p. 44.
58. Time attack by British aircraft ended: Lucas' Observer's Report. Location of attack by aircraft: 9 March 1942 entry in KTB des Zerstörers *Friedrich Ihn*.
59. 'Kurzbericht über den L.T. Angriff am 9.3.42 . . .', **NA Washington Microfilms**, T-1022 2905 PG 48531.
60. Kennedy's Tirpitz Book p. 45.
61. 11 March 1942 entry in 832 Squadron's War Diary.
62. Kenya's Report; Home Fleet PQ12 War Diary; and 14 March 1942 telegram from SBNO North Russia, NA London ADM 237/163.
63. Tovey's 2nd PQ12 Report.
64. 9 March 1942 Bovell to Tovey, NA London ADM 199/347.

Chapter 5

1. Report by Admiral Sir Jack Tovey headed 'Operations In Support Of Convoys PQ12 & QP8', enclosed with 13 March 1942 letter, **NA London** ADM 199/347.
2. Based on Jak Mallmann Showell ed., *Fuehrer Conferences On Naval Affairs 1939–1945* pp. 265–6; and the translation headed 'Report by the Commander-in-Chief, Navy to the Fuehrer at Headquarters "Wolfsschanze" the evening of 12 March 1942', NA London AIR 20/1332.
3. 26 April 1942 Commodore D.A. Casey 'Report on Convoy P.Q.13 from Reykjavik 18th March 1942' with accompanying note headed 'Position Of Convoy PQ. 13 At 0700. G.M.T.', NA London ADM 199/347; and 4 April 1942 report by HMS *Trinidad*'s Captain Leslie Saunders ('Trinidad's PQ13 Report'), NA London ADM 199/347 and **Alan Blyth Collection.**
4. John Dodds' diary supplied by his son Nick and daughter Jane.
5. The 150 miles figure: Trinidad's PQ13 Report referring to 28 March.
6. Dodds incorrectly believed there were only 18 merchant ships in the convoy.
7. 30 March 1942 report by *Sharpshooter*'s Lieutenant Commander David Lampen ('Sharpshooter's Report'), NA London ADM 199/72 refers to QP9's 19 ships, contradicting a QP9 formation diagram in the same file showing 16 merchant ships.
8. Sharpshooter's Report.
9. 23 and 24 March 1942 entries in KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER.
10. Decrypts 505 and 506 containing Carls to Gruppe Zieten 25 March 1942 orders, NA London DEFE 3/90.

11. 2315A 26 March 1942 message sent by the Admiralty which was received by Captain Saunders at 0015A on 27 March 1942 according to Trinidad's PQ13 Report.
12. PQ13's route was altered for the first time on 23 March 1942 pursuant to a 1336A message from the Admiralty, according to Trinidad's PQ13 Report.
13. The 28 March 1942 entry in the KTB des Admiral Nordmeer states the first sighting from *U-209* was at AC 4525 on the German grid map (approximately 73°21' N 23°30' E). Other evidence suggests the merchant ships sighted from *U-209* were from the group escorted by the destroyer *Eclipse,* referred to in Chapter 5's main text as the western group. The 31 March 1942 report by *Eclipse*'s commanding officer, in Appendix I to Trinidad's PQ13 Report, combined with the convoy formation sketch headed 'Convoy. Cruising Order. PQ13 . . .' in NA London ADM 237/164, suggests that: by 9 a.m. on 28 March 1942 *Eclipse* was escorting: *Eldena*, *El Estero*, *Empire Cowper*, *Gallant Fox, Mormacmar* and *Scottish American*; and by the time *Trinidad*'s *gunners* first fired at the German destroyers on 29 March 1942, *Eclipse* was also escorting *New Westminster City*, the trawler *Paynter* and the whaler *Sumba*.
14. 28 March 1942 entry in *U-209*'s KTB, PG 30197, **Acta Norvegica Arkiv**.
15. The 28 March 1942 entry in the KTB des Admiral Nordmeer, and 'Lagebetrachtung zur Operation gegen den Geleitzug "PQ 13"' in that KTB specify that the sighting was at AC 4816 on the German grid map (approximately 72°27' N 23°50' E). Other evidence suggests the merchant ships sighted from the aircraft were the following six, referred to in Chapter 5's main text as the eastern group (when first sighted, they were to the south-east of those specified in Note 13, but they would subsequently move to the east of those specified in Note 13, leading to their eastern group name): *Ballot*, *Dunboyne*, *Effingham*, *Empire Starlight , Induna*, and *Mana*.
16. 28 March 1942 entry in KTB des Admiral Nordmeer.
17. Trinidad's PQ13 Report; and Decrypt 747, NA London DEFE 3/91.
18. For example decrypt numbers 31, 33, 37, 38, 39, 47, NA London DEFE 3/91.
19. Decrypt number 64, NA London DEFE 3/91, was sent from Bletchley Park to the Admiralty at around 3.30 p.m. on 29 March 1942, i.e. after the battle with the British warships.
20. 28 March 1942 entries in KTB DES ZERSTÖRERS *Z 24* and KTB DES ZERSTÖRERS *Z 25*.
21. 'Gefechtsbericht des Zerstörers *Z 24* über das Gefecht am 29.3.42 mit Sicherungsstreitkräften eines englischen Geleitzuges im Nordmeer' ('*Z 24*'s Battle Report'), **Militärarchiv Freiburg** RM 94/106; and KTB des Zerstörers *Z 24*.
22. 28 March entries in KTB des Zerstörers *Z 24*, and KTB des Zerstörers *Z 25*.
23. Hans-Jürgen Meyer-Brenkhof's account, written after the war by which time his rank was Oberleutnant zur See, supplied by his son Jürgen ('Meyer-Brenkhof's Account')

24. *Trinidad*'s PQ13 Report refers to 72°13' N 32°10' E, the coordinates in *Empire Ranger*'s distress signal, received at around 8.30 p.m. on 28 March.
25. Ernst Pfefferle, ed., *Kameraden zur See* vol. 7 pp. 100–103, chapter written by Viktor Gernhard, Geleitzugkampf im Eismeer. Das Ende von Z 26 ('Viktor Gernhard's Report'); and 28 March 1942 entry in KTB des Zerstörers *Z 25*.
26. 28 March 1942 entry in KTB des Zerstörers *Z 24*.
27. Ibid.
28. Meyer-Brenkhof's Account.
29. Viktor Gernhard's Report; and 6 men rescued: 29 March 1942 entry in the KTB des Zerstörers *Z 25*.
30. *Bateau* casualties: 14 June 1942 report by the US Coast Guard's examining officer Frank Hicken, US CASUALTY REPORTS Box 6 A1 Entry 195.
31. 29 March 1942 12.35 a.m. signal in Appendix 75 to the 13 March to 2 April 1942 KTB des Admiral Nordmeer, recorded in the 2 a.m. 29 March entry in the KTB des Zerstörers *Z 24*.
32. 29 March 1942 entries in KTB des Zerstörers *Z 24*; and KTB des Admiral Nordmeer for 13 March to 2 April 1942, and the latter's Anlagen 81 and 84.
33. 29 March 1942 entry in the KTB des Zerstörers *Z 24*.
34. Meyer-Brenkhof's Account.
35. *Z 24*'s Battle Report.
36. 29 March 1942 entries, and maps, in KTB des Zerstörers *Z 24* and KTB des Zerstörers *Z 25*; Trinidad's PQ13 Report; and 17 April 1942 report by *Trinidad*'s Captain Leslie Saunders ('Trinidad's PQ13 Battle Report'), NA London ADM 199/347.
37. Report that escort was to the south of the convoy: *Z 24*'s Battle Report.
38. Radar not working in two German destroyers: 28 March 1942 entry in KTB des Zerstörers *Z 25*; and undated 'Gefechtsbericht *Z 25* über den Ansatz der 8 Zerstörerflottille gegen einen gemeldeten Geleitzug im Seegebiet nördlich Nordnorwegen', Militärarchiv Freiburg RM 94/110.
39. *Z 26*'s radar detected *Trinidad* before the cruiser opened fire: undated 'Vorläufiger Gefechtskurzbericht 8. Z.-Fl. Auf Grund mündlicher Aussagen Kmt. "*Z 25*" und I.O. "Z 26"', Appendix 111 to the KTB des Admiral Nordmeer for 13 March to 2 April 1942.
40. Trinidad's PQ13 Battle Report; and Frank Pearce, *The Ship That Torpedoed Herself* ('Trinidad's Book') p. 67.
41. Trinidad's PQ13 Battle Report; and Trinidad's PQ13 Report. These reports also confirm the Soviet ships were *Sokrushitelni* and *Gremyaschi.*
42. Ibid. These reports state that *Trinidad*'s position when her guns opened fire was approximately 72°21' N 33°32' E.
43. Trinidad's PQ13 Battle Report.
44. Viktor Gernhard's Report.
45. Leslie Saunders' memoirs 'His Coats of Navy Blue' ('Saunders' Memoirs'), Alan Blyth Collection, and supplied by Captain Saunders' son Iain.
46. Trinidad's PQ13 Battle Report; and the 1 April 1942 report by *Fury's* Lieutenant-Commander

C. Campbell ('Fury's PQ13 Report') which is in Appendix III to Trinidad's PQ13 Report.
47. Trinidad's PQ13 Battle Report.
48. Trinidad's PQ13 Report; and Trinidad's PQ13 Battle Report.
49. Saunders' Memoirs.
50. Ibid.; and Trinidad's Book p. 75.
51. Board of Inquiry report 'Extracts from Enclosure No. 1 Plymouth Letter . . . of 11th June 1942', NA London ADM 267/71; and 11 June 1942 'Finding and Minutes Of Board of Inquiry Held To Investigate The Circumstances In Which H.M.S. "Trinidad" Was Torpedoed On 29th March 1942 . . .' ('Trinidad Board of Inquiry Finding and Minutes'), NA London ADM 1/12032.
52. Saunders' Memoirs. *Trinidad* was torpedoed at 72°27' N 33°10' E according to her signal in Trinidad's PQ13 Battle Report's Appendix VI.
53. Trinidad's Book p. 77, and Appendix VII of Trinidad PQ13 Battle Report.
54. Trinidad's Book p. 81.
55. George Lloyd account dated 11 April 1992, brought to my attention by his nephew Bill Lloyd.
56. Appendix VIII to Trinidad's PQ13 Battle Report.
57. Fury's PQ13 Report.
58. Report by *Eclipse*'s Lieutenant Commander Edward Mack dated 7 April 1942 ('Eclipse's Battle Report'), NA London ADM 199/347. *Trinidad*'s first enemy report timed 0851A 29 March 1942 is mentioned in the aforementioned report's Appendix VIII.
59. Eclipse's Battle Report.
60. Ibid.
61. *Fury*'s John Manning in a letter dated 23 July 1991, Alan Blyth Collection.
62. Eclipse's Battle Report.
63. Ibid.
64. Josef Hirsch's account brought to my attention by Josef Neuberger.
65. Meyer-Brenkhof's Account.
66. Ibid.
67. Appendix V to Eclipse's Battle Report.
68. Narrative in Appendix I to Eclipse's Battle Report.
69. Ibid.; and Viktor Gernhard's Report.
70. Appendix IV to Eclipse's Battle Report; and signal timed 1958C from *Eclipse* in Appendix VIII to Eclipse's Battle Report mention ten men needing to go to hospital including seven cot cases.
71. Viktor Gernhard's Report.
72. Meyer-Brenkhof's Account.
73. Viktor Gernhard's Report.
74. Meyer-Brenkhof's Account.
75. 29 March 1942 entries in KTB des Zerstörers *Z 24* and *Z 25*.
76. Viktor Gernhard's Report.
77. Ibid.; and KTB des Zerstörers *Z 25*.
78. Trinidad's PQ13 Battle Report; and Fury's PQ13 Report.
79. Evidence of Able Seaman Edward Harris and Electrical Artificer James Goodwin in the Trinidad Board of Inquiry Finding and Minutes; Appendix XI to Trinidad's PQ13 Battle Report; and Trinidad's Book pp. 94–6.

Chapter 6

1. 19 January 1942 letter from Bernard Covington, supplied by his son via Eric Berryman (see Acknowledgements).

2. Morris O. Mills, *Convoy PQ13: Unlucky for Some* ('Mills' Book') pp. 17–19.
3. Ibid. pp. 89–90.
4. Ibid. pp. 90–92.
5. Statement by Lieutenant-Commander Colin Campbell, the commander of HMS *Fury*, during 7 April 1942 'Board of Enquiry' to enquire into the loss of HM Whaler *Sulla*, **NA London** ADM 1/12142, also part of **Alan Blyth Collection**.
6. Mills' Book p. 94.
7. 26 April 1942 report of proceedings by PQ13's Commodore D.A. Casey, NA London ADM 199/347; 16 June 1945 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS Raceland' ('Raceland Summary'), US CASUALTY REPORTS Box 6 A1 Entry 195; and internet site covering the *Raceland* sinking prepared by Leif Myrhoej, nephew of Eskild Lauth, a member of *Raceland*'s crew who did not survive.
8. Information from Lise Lindbaek, *Tusen Norsk Skip* pp. 185–7; Richard Larsson, *Porsgrunn I Krig Og Fred* p. 38; and Raceland Summary.
9. 4 April 1942 report by *Oribi*'s Commander John McBeath ('Oribi's PQ13 Report') in Appendix II to the 4 April 1942 report by *Trinidad*'s Captain Leslie Saunders ('Trinidad's PQ13 Report'), NA London ADM 199/347.
10. Mills' Book pp. 95–6; and Oribi's PQ13 Report.
11. 8 May 1942 report by Ensign Rufus Brinn, designated 'Commanding Officer, Armed Guard, of SS *Dunboyne*', US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 175 UD93.
12. 1 April 1942 report by Commanding Officer of *Fury,* Appendix III to Trinidad's PQ13 Report.
13. *Induna's* movements are taken from the 13 May 1942 'Report of an Interview with the Second Officer Mr E. Rowlands: SS Induna', NA London ADM 199/2140 ('Rowlands' Report'); and Austin Byrne's account, **IWM Sound** 11063 ('Byrne IWM').
14. Byrne IWM.
15. 30 March 1942 entry in KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER covering 13 March to 2 April 1942, and that KTB's Anlage 109.
16. Byrne IWM.
17. Austin Byrne in Byrne IWM makes it clear he either never knew or after the war did not recall the name of the *Ballot* seaman in his lifeboat. However the statement on a list of war graves in Murmansk, in the Alan Byrne Collection, which states that 'R. Bennett' died on 2 April 1942, the day when according to Byrne the American seaman passed away in the hospital in Murmansk, suggests that this is the *Ballot* seaman in question's name.
18. Ibid.
19. Rowlands' Report.
20. Byrne IWM.
21. William Short's account, IWM Sound 11276 ('Short IWM').
22. 30 March 1942 entry in the KTB *U-376*; and Byrne IWM. The 30 March 1942 entry in the KTB *U-376* states that the torpedoing of an unidentified ship (which appears to have been *Induna* – although ROHWER'S HUMMELCHEN'S AND WEIS'S CHRONOLOGY p. 153 only states that *U-376*'s and *U-435*'s torpedoes sank *Induna* and

Effingham on 30 March 1942 without specifying which U-boat was responsible for the sinking of which merchant ship) – took place shortly after 8 a.m. at the position shown as AC 8333 on the German grid map (approximately 70° 45' N 34°50' E), the position for the torpedoing marked on Map 5. It should be noted however that this is different from the position specified in the 26 April 1942 report by PQ13's Commodore D.A. Casey, NA London ADM 199/347, and Rowlands' Report – 70° 55' N 37°18' E – which were the coordinates in the two *Induna* distress signals received by the Commodore's ship *River Afton* at 8.18 and 8.27 a.m. 30 March 1942.

23. Short IWM.
24. The 8 May 1942 statement by *Effingham*'s master, Charles Hewett, US MERCHANT SHIP LOSSES Box 222 states the torpedoing was at 70° 28' N 35° 44' E; and the KTB *U-435* states the coup de grâce shortly after 12.15 p.m. 30 March 1942 was at AC 8646 on the German grid (approximately 70°21' N 35°50' E).
25. 11 May 1942 letter from Maynard B. Barnes, First Secretary of American Legation, Reykjavik to Secretary of State, in *Effingham* section of US Merchant Ship Losses Box 222.
26. 30 March 1942 entry, KTB *U-435*.
27. Charles Hunnefield's diary brought to my attention by his daughter Darlene and son-in-law Paul via Eric Berryman.

Chapter 7

1. 26 April 1942 Commodore D.A. Casey 'Report on Convoy P.Q.13 from Reykjavik 18 March 1942' ('PQ13's Commodore's Report'), **NA London** ADM 199/347. The coordinates referred to in *Induna*'s distress messages are described in Chapter 6's Note 22 along with the conflicting German specification.
2. 13 May 1942 'Report of an Interview with the Second Officer Mr E. Rowlands S.S. Induna' ('Rowlands' Report'), NA London ADM 199/2140 says there were 32 men in the boat, whereas William Short's account, **IWM Sound** 11276 ('Short IWM') refers to 34 occupants.
3. Short IWM.
4. Ibid.; and Rowlands' Report.
5. Short IWM.
6. Report by James Campbell ('Jimmy Campbell's Account') brought to my attention by his daughter Patricia, and the **Alan Blyth Collection**.
7. Short IWM.
8. Austin Byrne's account, IWM Sound 11063.
9. Ibid.
10. PQ13's Commodore's Report.
11. Article by Gus Lacy junior in the 9 June 1942 South Boston News ('South Boston News Article'), Bernard Covington's documents ('Covington's Documents'), supplied by Covington's son via Eric Berryman.
12. Undated letter from John Guthrie to Alan Blyth, Alan Blyth Collection.
13. *Effingham*'s Crew List with a 14 April 1942 letter from the US Coast Guard, in US MERCHANT VESSELS SINKING REPORTS Box 14, Entry P2, states Joseph de Silva, the Chief Cook, had a 'dark' complexion.

14. Charles Hunnefield's diary ('Hunnefield's Diary') brought to my attention by his daughter Darlene and son-in-law Paul.
15. BRITISH ARCTIC CONVOYS HISTORY p. 32; and PQ13's Commodore's Report.
16. 2 April 1942 report by *Ballot* master Henry Bejer and Chief Officer H. Stromberg, US MERCHANT SHIP LOSSES REPORTS Box 214.
17. 9 April 1942 report by Commander Eric Hinton, Senior Officer, Sixth Minesweeping Flotilla ('The Minesweepers' Report'), NA London ADM 199/347.
18. Bill Short's written account, brought to my attention by his daughter Helen, confirms the number of survivors in the boat; and Rowlands' Report.
19. Short IWM.
20. 21 September 2007 edition of *Izvestia* newspaper, brought to my attention by Bill Short's daughter Helen.
21. Jimmy Campbell's Account.
22. South Boston News Article; and Rowlands' Report.
23. The Minesweepers' Report; and undated despatch in Covington's Documents.
24. 21 July 1944 Report On U.S. Merchant Vessel War Action Casualty, based on information from *Effingham*'s master, US CASUALTY REPORTS Box 5.
25. Rowlands' Report.
26. Lise Lindbaek, *Tusen Norsk Skip* pp. 185–9; and 7 April 1942 entry in the war diary for the chief of Naval Defence, Tromso, referred to in the internet site covering the *Raceland* sinking prepared by Leif Myrhoej ('The Raceland Site').
27. 2 April 1942 entry in the war diary for the chief of Naval Defence, Tromso, referred to in The Raceland Site.
28. 9 April 1942 telegram, in Covington's Documents.
29. Undated newspaper article 'cutting', Covington's Documents.
30. Undated letter from 'Annie' to Bernard Covington's parents, Covington's Documents.
31. Undated note written by Bernard Covington's mother, Covington's Documents.
32. 4 May 1942 telegram, Covington's Documents.
33. 29 June 1942 letter Bernard Covington to his parents, Covington's Documents.
34. 24 May 1942 entry in Hunnefield's Diary.
35. 30 March 1942 entry in KTB DER SKL TEIL A.
36. 30 March 1942 report by *Kenya*'s Captain Michael Denny, NA London ADM 199/72.

Chapter 8

1. Morris O. Mills, *Convoy PQ13: Unlucky for Some* ('Mills' Book') p. 99; 26 April 1942 report by PQ13's Commodore D.A. Lacy, **NA London** ADM 199/347.
2. SBNO North Russia's Report for June 1942, NA London ADM 199/1104.
3. Undated 'Report of an Interview with the Chief Officer, Mr A.S. Galer. S.S. New Westminster City' ('New Westminster City's Report'); time of German attack: 16 July 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The Master, Captain . . . Stein S.S. Empire Starlight', both NA London ADM 199/2140.

4. Edward Starkey, 'To Murmansk and Back: My Arctic Run' for the Hull Chess Club brought to my attention by his daughter Marie; and New Westminster City's Report.
5. Edward Starkey's account, **IWM Sound** 15448.
6. Mills' Book pp. 103–104.
7. Undated report Morris Mills sent to Alan Blyth in 1994, **Alan Blyth Collection**.
8. Mills' Book pp. 104–106.
9. Austin Byrne's account, IWM Sound 11063.
10. 'Hospital Facilities In North Russia 1941/2' ('McMillan's Article'), including extracts from an article by G. H. G. McMillan, previously published in the *Journal of the Royal Naval Medical Service*, The Arctic Lookout Winter 1996: No. 26 pp. 20–1. The article contains a quote from Austin Byrne.
11. William Short's account, IWM Sound 11276 ('Short IWM').
12. Mills' Book p. 108.
13. Short IWM.
14. Mills' Book pp. 108–109.
15. Surgeon Lieutenant Ballantyne, *Ashanti*'s medical officer: Tovey's 30 July 1942 telegram, NA London ADM 116/4972.
16. Surgeon Lieutenant Ballantyne's 23 July 1942 report 'Medical Services in the Kola Inlet existent on the arrival of Convoy P.Q.16.' ('Ballantyne's Report'), NA London ADM 116/4972.
17. Ibid.
18. *Edinburgh*'s Surgeon Lieutenant Lillie ('Lillie's Account') in McMillan's Article.
19. Ballantyne's Report; and Mills' Book pp. 106–7.
20. Lillie's Account
21. Ballantyne's Report.
22. Mills' Book p. 109.
23. Undated untitled report in US NAVAL ATTACHÉ REPORTS, Box 23, File 2/5 Medical.
24. 22 September 1942 Boston Globe article about *Ballot*'s Peter Hyde, brought to my attention by Bobbie Berryman (see Acknowledgements).
25. Short IWM.
26. 8 July 1971 letter from Geoff Jelbart, Alan Blyth Collection.
27. Undated written account by Bill Short, brought to my attention by his daughter Helen.
28. Report by James Campbell supplied by his daughter Tricia, and the Alan Blyth Collection.

Chapter 9

1. 1 April 1942 Minutes of Chiefs of Staff Committee, **NA London** CAB 79/20.
2. The undated documents in NA London ADM 237/165 stating that 26 merchant ships sailed in PQ14 should be treated with caution because other documents and publications contain conflicting statistics; WOODMAN'S BOOK p. 104 for example refers to 25 PQ14 merchant ships. Concerning the 8 PQ14 ships which carried on post 11 April 1942: see undated report by Vice Commodore Captain W.H. Lawrence, Master of *Briarwood*, NA London ADM 199/721; and 26 May 1942 'Report of an Interview with the Master Captain H. J. M. Downie Convoy P.Q.14' ('Empire Howard's Report'), NA London ADM 199/1709.
3. 20 April 1942 'Report of Proceedings of Escort Group with Convoy P.Q.14', NA London ADM 199/721

written by the destroyer *Bulldog*'s Commander Maxwell Richmond ('Bulldog's PQ14 Report').

4. Ibid.; and 15 April 1942 entry in KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER which refers to the sighting of PQ14 in the location referred to as AB 5611 on the German grid (approximately 73°27' N 08°10' E).
5. Ibid.
6. Empire Howard's Report. The 16 April 1942 entry in KTB *U-403* whose crew fired the torpedoes states they did so at AC 4175 on the German grid map (approximately 73°51' N 21°10' E).
7. Empire Howard's Report.
8. Empire Howard's Report states that 56 men were in the ship when she was torpedoed, 16 were 'missing' after the ship sank, and 9 died after being picked up.
9. Empire Howard's Report.
10. The article in the *Journal of Royal Naval Medicine* 1991: 77: 139–149: 'Circum-Rescue Collapse' by F. St. C. Golden, G. R. Hervey and M. J. Tipton mentions the fallen blood pressure hypothesis. The article in the *Journal of Wilderness Medicine* 5, 88–98 (1994), which mentions the danger of drinking when cold, is: 'Alcohol ingestion and temperature regulation during cold exposure' by Beau J. Freund, Catherine O'Brien and Andrew J. Young.
11. No darkness: Bulldog's PQ14 Report.
12. Ibid.; and 27 April 1942 report by 18th Cruiser Squadron's Rear Admiral Stuart Bonham Carter ('Edinburgh's PQ14 Report'), NA London ADM 199/721.
13. Ships in QP10: Commodore D.A. Casey's 26 April 1942 'Report on Q.P.10. Sailed from Murmansk 10.4.1942' ('Commodore's QP10 Report'); and his 26 April 1942 report of proceedings ('Commodore's QP10 Proceedings') which referred to the former report, both NA London ADM 199/347.
14. 27 April 1942 report by the destroyer *Oribi*'s Commander John McBeath ('Oribi's QP10 Report'), NA London ADM 199/347.
15. 22 April 1942 report by the cruiser *Liverpool*'s Captain William Slayter ('Liverpool's QP10 Report'), NA London ADM 199/347.
16. Ibid.
17. Austin Byrne's account, **IWM Sound** 11063; Liverpool's QP10 Report.
18. Liverpool's QP10 Report.
19. 5 May 1942 'Report of an Interview with the Master, Captain J. H. Wigham S.S. Empire Cowper', ('Empire Cowper's Report'); and 28 April 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The Master, Captain H.W. Williams s.s. "Harpalion" ('Harpalion's Report'), both NA London ADM 199/2140.
20. Empire Cowper's Report; and the enclosure 'Track Chart of Convoy QP.10' ('QP10's Track Chart'), NA London ADM 199/358 which is said to go with Oribi's QP10 Report. According to the Commodore's QP10 Proceedings, *Empire Cowper* was torpedoed at 70°40' N 36°25' E.
21. Empire Cowper's Report.
22. 19 January 1992 letter to Alan Blyth from Thomas Errington, **Alan Blyth Collection**.
23. Undated report by *Empire Cowper*'s Captain J. H. Wigham, NA London BT 381/2203.

24. J. K. Neale's account, **IWM Documents** 2130.
25. Oribi's QP10 Report.
26. Empire Cowper's Report.
27. Empire Cowper's Report; and 28 April 1942 report by HMT *Paynter*'s Lieutenant Richard Nossiter, NA London ADM 199/347.
28. Three German aircraft were shot down, and others were damaged during the afternoon of 11 April 1942 according to British witnesses: Oribi's QP10 Report. But the British claims should be treated with caution given that the 11 April 1942 Evening Report and 12 April 1942 Morning Report in **Luftflotte 5's Daily Reports** only refer to the shooting down of two Ju-88s.
29. 25 April 1942 'Report of Attacks on Convoy Q.P.10 11-13th April, 1942' by *Punjabi*'s Commander John Waldegrave ('Punjabi's QP10 Report'), NA London ADM 199/347; and Oribi's QP10 Report.
30. Punjabi's QP10 Report.
31. Oribi's QP10 Report.
32. Oribi's QP10 Report. The 13 April 1942 entry in the KTB *U-435* appears to state her crew torpedoed *El Occidente* at AC 4662 on the German grid (approximately 73°09' N 28°30' E), in line with the 10 May 1942 'Summary of Statements by Survivors, SS El Occidente' ('El Occidente's Report'), US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 190 UD93, which states she was torpedoed at 73° 28' N 28° 30' E. Both are consistent with QP10's Track Chart.
33. Chapter: Smert' Kieva i Empair Bairon (Death of 'Kiev' and 'Empire Byron') by G.A. Rudnev, pp. 167–177 of *Severnie Konvoi: Issledovaniya, vospomininaniya, documenti, Vipusk 2* (*Northern Convoys: Research, memoirs, documents, vol. 2*).
34. Enclosure No. 2 to the 20 April 1942 report by *Speedwell*'s Lieutenant Commander Joseph Youngs, NA London ADM 199/347; and El Occidente's Report.
35. Oribi's QP10 Report.
36. John Dodds' diary supplied by his son Nick and daughter Jane.
37. 13 April 1942 Evening Report, Luftflotte 5's Daily Reports; and QP10's Track Chart.
38. Oribi's QP10 Report; Commodore's QP10 Report; 21 April 1942 'Report on Voyage of Convoy Q.P.10' by Commanding Officer of HMS *Fury*, NA London ADM 199/347; 22 May 1942 'Report of Interview with the Master, Captain A.P. Collister. S.S. Beaconstreet', NA London ADM 237/174; Harpalion's Report.
39. Oribi's QP10 Report.
40. Commodore's QP10 Report.
41. Liverpool's QP10 Report.
42. Edinburgh's PQ14 Report.
43. 18 April 1942 entry in the KTB DER SKL TEIL A.

Chapter 10

1. Minutes of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, 128th Meeting, 23 April 1942, **NA London** WO 193/580.
2. War Cabinet Conclusions, 52 (42), 24 April 1942, NA London CAB 65/26.
3. 26 April 1942 Roosevelt to Churchill, CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT CORRESPONDENCE BOOK, p. 473.
4. 28 April 1942 Churchill to Roosevelt, ibid. p. 474.

5. Anne Chisholm and Michael Davie, *Beaverbrook: A Life* p. 434.
6. 10 May 1942 'Report of Proceedings of Escort Group with Convoy Q.P.11' by Commander Maxwell Richmond, Commanding Officer HMS *Bulldog*, NA London ADM 199/721.
7. TOVEY'S DESPATCH.
8. Frank Pearce, *Last Call For HMS Edinburgh* ('Edinburgh's Book') pp. 53–4.
9. Barry Penrose, *Stalin's Gold* pp. xii–xiii.
10. Edinburgh's Book p. 54.
11. 8 May 1942 report by Rear Admiral Stuart Bonham Carter ('Bonham Carter's QP11 Report'); and 5 May 1942 report by Captain Hugh Faulkner ('Edinburgh's Report'), both in NA London ADM 199/165.
12. Enclosure No. 6 to Edinburgh's Report.
13. Morris O. Mills, *Convoy PQ13: Unlucky for Some* ('Mills' Book') p. 117.
14. Ibid. p. 118.
15. Ibid. pp. 118–9.
16. 29 April 1942 entry in KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER.
17. Undated report by SS *Briarwood*'s W. H. Lawrence, NA London ADM 199/1709.
18. Bonham Carter's QP11 Report.
19. 30 April 1942 entry in KTB *U-456*; translation of such entry in Daniel Morgan and Bruce Taylor, *U-Boat Attack Logs* pp. 230-1. Distance from Murmansk: BRITISH ARCTIC CONVOYS HISTORY p. 37.
20. 30 April 1942 entry in KTB *U-456*.
21. Bonham Carter's QP11 Report; and Edinburgh's Report.
22. The 30 April 1942 entry in KTB *U-456* gives the location of the torpedoing as AC 5519 on the German grid map (approximately 73°15' N 32°50' E), and the time as 4.18 p.m.; whereas Bonham Carter's QP11 Report states his ship was torpedoed at 4.13 p.m.
23. Enclosure 1 to Edinburgh's Report states that the first torpedo seems to have hit *Edinburgh* near the ship's station 80, which is at the after end of the stokers' mess deck. The stokers' mess deck appears to have been located on the ship's lower deck, which is the second deck down from the open air forecastle deck.
24. Norman Sparksman, *Jottings of a Young Sailor* p. 36.
25. Ibid. pp. 36–7.
26. Edinburgh's Report.
27. Jocelyn Salter's account ('Salter's Account'), **IWM Sound** 9304.
28. Edinburgh's Report.
29. John Kenny's account, **IWM Documents** 92/27/1.
30. Alan Higgins, *You're In The Navy Now* pp. 21–2.
31. Alan Higgins when interviewed by me in June 2020, facilitated by his daughter Susan.
32. Mills' Book pp. 120–2.
33. Edinburgh's Book pp. 66–7.
34. Salter's Account; and Edinburgh's Report.
35. Edinburgh's Report.
36. Jack Thwaite, 'A Signalman in HMS Edinburgh: the story of the "gold ship"', IWM Documents LBYK 95/384, also brought to my attention by his daughter Sue.
37. 30 April 1942 entry in the KTB des Admiral Nordmeer.
38. 1 May 1942 entry in KTB ZERSTÖRERGRUPPE NORDMEER.

39. Ibid.; and 1 May entry in the KTB des Admiral Nordmeer.
40. 3 May 1942 entry in KTB DER SKL TEIL A.
41. 1 May 1942 entry in KTB Zerstörergruppe Nordmeer.

Chapter 11

1. 10 May 1942 report by *Amazon*'s Lieutenant Commander Nigel Roper ('Amazon's QP11 Report'), **NA London** ADM 116/4544 brought to my attention by David Slade; and 5 May 1942 report by *Snowflake*'s Lieutenant Harold Chesterman, NA London ADM 199/721.
2. 10 May 1942 Report by *Beverley*'s Lieutenant Commander John Grant ('Beverley's QP11 Report'), NA London ADM 199/721.
3. Amazon's QP11 Report.
4. 10 May 1942 'Report of Proceedings of Escort Group with Convoy Q.P.11.' by *Bulldog*'s Commander Maxwell Richmond, NA London ADM 199/721 ('Bulldog's QP11 Report').
5. Recommendation for award to be given to Petty Officer Charles Green, 'Enclosure No.4 in 888/H.F. 0212/35 of 3rd July 1942', NA London ADM 116/4544.
6. Ibid.
7. Amazon's QP11 Report.
8. Bulldog's QP11 Report; and 6 May 1942 report by *Beagle*'s Commander Ralph Medley ('Beagle's QP11 Report'), NA London ADM 199/721.
9. Amazon's QP11 Report.
10. 13 August 1942 'Report Of Interview With The Master, Captain W. H. Lawrence O.B.E. S.S. Briarwood', NA London ADM 199/1709.
11. 10 May 1942 'Narrative' by *Bulldog*'s Commander Richmond, NA London ADM 199/721; Beverley's QP11 Report; and Beagle's QP11 Report.
12. 1 May 1942 entry KTB ZERSTÖRERGRUPPE NORDMEER.
13. BRITISH ARCTIC CONVOYS HISTORY p. 39.
14. Undated report by *Foresight*'s Commander Jocelyn Salter delivered to Admiral Bonham Carter on 8 May 1942 ('Foresight's Report'), NA London ADM 199/165.
15. 5 May 1942 report by Captain Hugh Faulkner ('Edinburgh's Report'); and 8 May 1942 report by 6th Minesweeping Flotilla's and *Harrier*'s Commander Eric Hinton ('Harrier's Report'), both in NA London ADM 199/165.
16. Foresight's Report.
17. Ibid.
18. Edinburgh's Report.
19. Gunnery report in Enclosure 8 to Edinburgh's Report; Appendix 1 to the 18 June 1942 letter from Admiral Jack Tovey to the Secretary of the Admiralty (Honours and Awards), NA London ADM 116/4544; and Rear Admiral Bonham Carter's 'Notes Made Onboard Harrier On The Way Back to Kola' ('Bonham Carter's Notes') in Appendix II to the 8 May 1942 report by Rear Admiral Stuart Bonham Carter ('Bonham Carter's QP11 Report'), NA London ADM 199/165.
20. Undated 'Gefechtsbericht "Hermann Schoemann" über Ansatz Zerstörergruppe "Nordmeer" gegen havarierten "Belfast"-Kreuzer bzw. Ost-West-Geleitzug' written by

Korvettenkapitän Heinrich Wittig ('Hermann Schoemann's Report') attached to 6 May 1942 letter circulating it, **Militärarchiv Freiburg** RM 58/41.

21. 6 May 1942 'Narrative of Action on 2nd May 1942' by Lieutenant Jack Bitmead ('Forester's Report'), NA London ADM 199/165.
22. Edinburgh's Report; and Bonham Carter's Notes.
23. Jack Thwaite memoir 'A Signalman in HMS Edinburgh: the story of the "gold ship"' p. 33, **IWM Documents** LBYK 95/384.
24. Harrier's Report.
25. Alan Higgins, *You're In The Navy Now* pp. 26–7; and Alan Higgins when interviewed by me in June 2020.
26. Enclosure 1: Damage Control section of Edinburgh's Report.
27. Forester's Report.
28. Forester's Report and Foresight's Report.
29. Account by Joseph Fowells ('Fowells' Report'). brought to my attention by his son Richard and grandson Chris.
30. Forester's Report, Foresight's Report; and Harrier's Report.
31. Foresight's Report.
32. Fowells' Report.
33. Foresight's Report; Forester's Report and Fowells' Report.
34. 22 October 1942 recommendation for the award of the Albert Medal to Stoker Petty Officer John P. Bain; the 6 January 1943 confirmation the Medal should be awarded; and the details in the document recommending that his rescuer Lt Pughe Davies Lewis should be honoured, NA London ADM 116/454; and Foresight's Report.
35. Hermann Schoemann's Report.
36. Bonham Carter's QP11 Report.
37. Harrier's Report.
38. Morris O. Mills, *Convoy PQ13: Unlucky for Some* p. 125.
39. Fowells' Report.
40. Bonham Carter's QP11 Report – which states he estimated *Edinburgh* sank at 71°51' N 35°10' E; and Bonham Carter's Notes.
41. Foresight's Report; Forester's Report; and Harrier's Report. Keith Jessop, *Goldfinger* pp. 291 and 383 state that: 431 out of the 465 gold bars in *Edinburgh*'s bomb room when she was sunk were recovered during 1981. The weight of the bars on board was around 5.5 long tons. All but 5 of the remaining bars were recovered during 1986.
42. Hermann Schoemann's Report; 2 May 1942 entry in the KTB Zerstörergruppe Nordmeer; 2 May 1942 entry in KTB DES ZERSTÖRERS *Z 25*; and Edinburgh's Report.
43. Undated report headed 'H.M.S. Forester and Foresight Shell Damage', NA London ADM 267/23.
44. Jocelyn Salter account, **IWM Sound** 9304.
45. Undated report by SS *Briarwood*'s W.H. Lawrence, NA London ADM 199/1709.
46. 2 May 1942 entry in KTB Zerstörergruppe Nordmeer.
47. 2 May 1942 entry in KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER.
48. 8 May 1942 entry in KTB DER SKL TEIL A.

Chapter 12

1. Number of PQ15 merchant ships: Commodore Herbert Anchor's 26 April 1942 Report of proceedings; and list of PQ15 ships ('PQ15's Ship List'), both **NA London** ADM 237/166.
2. PQ15's Ship List.
3. Manifest of aid carried by American SS *Topa Topa*, NA London ADM 237/166.
4. The War Transport Minister was Lord (Frederick) Leathers.
5. 28 April 1942 letter from Churchill to Roosevelt, CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT CORRESPONDENCE BOOK p. 474.
6. 21 May 1942 report by PQ15 Commodore H. J. Anchor refers to two trawlers, while his undated note headed 'Important Incidents' refers to a trawler with a different name to those in the aforementioned report. Both reports are in NA London ADM 237/166.
7. 6 May 1942 report by the 10th Cruiser Squadron's Rear Admiral Harold Burrough ('10 Cruiser Squadron's PQ15 Report'), NA London ADM 199/721.
8. Ibid.
9. 11 May 1942 report by Lieutenant Commander Roger Hill, commander of HMS *Ledbury*, NA London ADM 199/721; and 10 Cruiser Squadron's PQ15 Report.
10. The 1 May 1942 'Report of Collision or Grounding' with the minutes of the 7–8 May 1942 Court Martial relating to the 'Loss of H.M.S. Punjabi in collision with H.M.S. King George V: 1 May 1942' ('the Punjabi Court Martial Minutes'), NA London ADM 156/227, states the collision occurred at 66°52' N 08°02' W.
11. Robert Ellis' account ('Ellis' Account') supplied by his granddaughter Caroline.
12. 5 May 1942 report by Sub-Lieutenant A. M. Synnot with the Punjabi Court Martial Minutes.
13. Ellis' Account.
14. 2 May 1942 report by *Punjabi*'s Commander John Waldegrave in the Punjabi Court Martial Minutes.
15. 'Part II Of The Commander-In-Chief, Home Fleet's War Diary Covering The Period 16th to 30th April 1942' and subsequent days, NA London ADM 199/427.
16. Jugement in the Punjabi Court Martial Minutes.
17. 27 September 1989 letter from Stanisław Olszowski to Theresa Cass, Archivist at Naval Submarine Base, New London, Groton, Connecticut, USA ('Olszowki's Letter'), brought to my attention by Anna Pacewicz; About ORP Jastrząb featuring answers given by Stanisław Olszowski to questions posed, in Nasze Sygnaly Nr. 173 January to June 1993 pp. 56-63 brought to my attention by Wanda Troman; and 'Findings of Board of Inquiry Into Loss of O.R.P. Jastrząb ' ('Jastrząb Inquiry') held on 13–16 July 1942, **Sikorski Museum**, MAR AV 30/2.
18. 10 Cruiser Squadron's PQ15 Report.
19. Ultra timed 1 May 1942 1347B, NA London ADM 223/110.
20. The following documents specify where, near PQ15, *Jastrząb* was detected and attacked: the 7 May 1942 report by H. Nor. M.S. *St. Albans*' Commander Skule

Storheill ('St Albans' Jastrząb Report') specifies 73°01' N 17° 32' E; whereas the 3 May 1942 report by *Seagull*'s Lieutenant Commander Charles Pollock ('Seagull's Jastrząb Report') specified 72°58' N 18°09' E, both in NA London ADM 199/721.

21. Snow falling as *St Albans* passed: Romanowski testimony in minutes of 13 July 1942 'Board of Inquiry into the loss of Polish Submarine Jastrząb', Sikorski Museum MAR AV 30/2.
22. Bołeslaw Romanowski, *Torpeda W Celu* (Torpedo On Target) ('Romanowki's Book') pp. 254–9.
23. From the Frying Pan Into The Fire: ORP Jastrząb: The Last Patrol by Stanisław Olszowski ('Olszowki's Last Patrol'), in Nasze Sygnaly Nr. 161 January to April 1988 brought to my attention by Wanda Troman.
24. The Unsuccessful Patrol by Andrzej Guzowski in Nasze Signaly Nr.137 March to August 1977 pp. 3–6; Romanowski's Book; Olszowski's Letter; Olszowski's Last Patrol; and Seagull's Jastrząb Report.
25. St Albans' Jastrząb Report.
26. 8 May 1942 report by the minesweeper *Bramble*'s Captain Harvey Crombie ('Bramble's Report'), NA London ADM 199/721.
27. Jastrząb Inquiry.
28. Ibid.
29. St Albans' Jastrząb Report.
30. 10 Cruiser Squadron's PQ15 Report.
31. Ibid.
32. R.F.C. Struben account ('Struben's Account'), **IWM Documents** 3375; and Bramble's Report.
33. Struben's Account.
34. Bramble's Report states the location of the attack was 73°00' N 19°40' E.
35. Report by *Somali*'s Captain Jack Eaton ('Somali's PQ15 Report'), NA London ADM 199/721.
36. 'Report Of Interview With The Master Captain J. Barnetson. S.S. Cape Race' ('Cape Race's Report'), NA London ADM 237/166.
37. 4 June 1942 'S.S. Botavon Report of an Interview with the Master Captain J.H. Smith' ('Botavon's Report'), NA London ADM 199/2140
38. W. L. Cruickshank account ('Cruickshank's Account'), IWM Documents 96/21/1.
39. Struben's Account.
40. Cape Race's Report.
41. 23 June 1942 'Report Of Interview With The Master Captain H. Austin. S.S. Southgate', NA London ADM 237/166.
42. Struben's Account.
43. Cruickshank's Account; and Botavon's Report.
44. Cruickshank's Account; and 9 June 1942 'S.S. "Jutland" Report of an Interview with the Master, Captain J. Henderson' ('Jutland's Report'), NA London ADM 199/2140.
45. Ibid.
46. Cape Race's Report; and 14 August 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The Second Engineer, Mr. G. Waddingham s.s. Cape Corso' ('Cape Corso's Report'), NA London ADM 199/2140.
47. Struben's Account; and 5 June 1942 report by Captain Dan McGrath, commander of HMS *Ulster Queen*, NA London ADM/721.
48. Jack Whyte's account brought to my attention by Norman Angell, son of *Cape Corso* crew member Arthur Angell, who was killed when the ship was torpedoed.

49. Kenneth Allen statement given to Amy Cotton, sister of Seaman Hayes, who was killed when *Cape Corso* was torpedoed.
50. Cape Corso's Report.
51. Botavon's Report; and Jutland's Report.
52. Botavon's Report.
53. Jutland's Report.
54. Struben's Account.
55. 28 April 1942 Admiralty message, NA London ADM 199/110.
56. Struben's Account; and 22 April 1942 report by *St Albans*' Commander Storheill, NA London ADM 237/166.
57. Struben's Account; and concerning the deteriorating weather: Bramble's Report.
58. Somali's PQ15 Report.

Chapter 13

1. 30 April 1942 Roosevelt to Churchill, CHURCHILL'S BOOK vol. 4 p. 231.
2. 2 May 1942 Churchill to Roosevelt, ibid. p. 232.
3. 2 May 1942 Roosevelt to Churchill, CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT CORRESPONDENCE BOOK p. 483.
4. 6 May 1942 Stalin to Churchill, REYNOLDS AND PECHATNOV p. 108.
5. Antony Beevor, *Stalingrad* pp. 65–7 and 72.
6. 9 May 1942 Churchill to Stalin, Reynolds and Pechatnov pp. 108–9.
7. 13 May 1942 Stalin to Churchill, Churchill's Book vol. 4 p. 233.
8. 9 May 1942 Churchill to Stalin, ibid.
9. 10 May 1942 report by *Bulldog*'s Commander Maxwell Richmond, **NA London** ADM 199/721.
10. Jocelyn Salter account, **IWM Sound** 9304.
11. Captain Leslie Saunders' memoirs ('Saunders' Memoirs'), **Alan Blyth Collection,** and supplied by Captain Saunders' son Iain.
12. Rear Admiral Bonham Carter's 14 May 1942 'impressions' ('Bonham Carter's Trinidad Sinking Report') with 21 May 1942 letter to Tovey, NA London ADM 116/4544.
13. Frank Pearce, *The Ship That Torpedoed Herself* ('Trinidad's Book') p. 140.
14. Bonham Carter's Trinidad Sinking Report; and 26 May 1942 report by *Trinidad*'s Captain Leslie Saunders ('Trinidad's Sinking Report'), NA London ADM 116/4544.
15. 23 May 1942 report by Captain Jack Eaton, Captain (D), Sixth Destroyer Flotilla in *Somali* ('Somali's Trinidad Report'), NA London ADM 116/4544.
16. Diary by Midshipman Thomas Baird, later Vice Admiral Sir Thomas Baird ('Baird's Diary'), brought to my attention by him, and his friend David Dickson.
17. Somali's Trinidad Report.
18. Trinidad's Book p. 140.
19. Ibid. p. 141.
20. Ibid. p. 143.
21. Baird's Diary.
22. Somali's Trinidad Report.
23. Trinidad's Sinking Report.
24. Baird's Diary.
25. Trinidad's Book pp. 145–7.
26. Saunders' Memoirs.
27. Trinidad's Book p. 154.
28. Trinidad's Sinking Report.
29. Saunders' Memoirs.
30. Trinidad's Book pp. 162–3.
31. Baird's Diary. Trinidad's Sinking Report states *Trinidad* was bombed

and sunk at approximately 73°03' N 23°26' E.

32. Saunders' Memoirs. The following source appears to state that 93 of *Trinidad*'s officers and ratings were killed if one takes into account all those who lost their lives when she was torpedoed and later bombed and sunk: document entitled 'R.N. Casualties In N. Russia Convoys' sent with undated note, written after the 31 December 1942 Battle of the Barents Sea, and circulated by the office of the Director of Naval Intelligence, NA London ADM 199/604.
33. Trinidad's Book p. 167.
34. Saunders' Memoirs; Trinidad's Report; and 3 October 1942 letter to the Deputy Master, Royal Mint confirming the award of the Albert Medal, NA London ADM 116/4544.
35. Somali's Trinidad Report.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.

Chapter 14

1. PQ16's formation diagram is in this book's Appendix B.
2. 16 May 1942 minutes of War Cabinet Chiefs of Staff Committee, **NA London** CAB 79/21.
3. 19 May 1942 Churchill to Stalin, REYNOLDS AND PECHATNOV p. 111.
4. Graeme Ogden, *My Sea Lady* ('Ogden's Book') pp. 18–19 and 94.
5. Ibid. pp. 5–6.
6. Ibid. p. 94.
7. 29 May 1942 Report of Proceedings by Rear Admiral Harold Burrough, commander 10th Cruiser Squadron ('10 Cruiser Squadron's PQ16 Report'), NA London ADM 199/757.
8. Ogden's Book p. 95.
9. Ibid. pp. 94–5.
10. Ibid. p. 97.
11. 30 May 1942 report by PQ16 Commodore N. H. Gale, NA London ADM 199/757.
12. Ibid.; and list of ships that sailed in PQ16, NA London ADM 237/167. See also this book's Appendix B (PQ16's formation) and its Notes.
13. Ogden's Book p. 99.
14. Alexander Werth, *The Year of Stalingrad* ('Werth's Book') pp. 27–8.
15. 18 and 22 May 1942 entries of KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER; and 5 June 1942 message from SBNO Archangel to Admiralty, NA London ADM 237/167 specifying PQ16's route.
16. 6 June 1942 Report of Proceedings by *Ashanti*'s Commander Richard Onslow ('Ashanti's PQ16 Report'); and 10 Cruiser Squadron's PQ16 Report, both NA London ADM 199/757.
17. Ogden's Book p. 102; and Ashanti's PQ16 Report.
18. Ibid.
19. Ogden's Book pp. 102–3. The German word Schlachter means butcher.
20. William Edward Grenfell's account ('Grenfell's Account'), **IWM Sound** 15450.
21. 29 May 1942 report by Captain (D) Third Destroyer Flotilla in destroyer *Inglefield* specifies number of QP12 ships, and its escort: 6 destroyers, 4 trawlers, and an anti-aircraft ship after the local escort and the two Russian destroyers dropped out, which they did before reaching the meridian of North Cape, NA London ADM 199/347.
22. Ashanti's PQ16 Report.

23. 10 Cruiser Squadron's PQ16 Report.
24. Captain W. L. Cruickshank's account ('Cruickshank's Report'), **IWM Documents** 5145.
25. R. F. C. Struben's account, IWM Documents 3375.
26. Cruickshank's Report.
27. Ashanti's PQ16 Report states the attack commenced at 72°03' N 03°14' E.
28. Werth's Book pp. 30–1.
29. 10 Cruiser Squadron's PQ16 Report.
30. Grenfell's Account.
31. B. Pawłowicz, *O.R.P. Garland: In convoy to Russia* ('Pawłowicz's Book') p. 27.
32. Grenfell's Account.
33. Pawłowicz's Book p. 27.
34. 10 Cruiser Squadron's PQ16 Report.
35. Werth's Book p. 31.
36. Ashanti's PQ16 Report, including its Appendix I, and the latter's Annexe I and the screening diagrams referred to in such Annexe I.
37. Werth's Book p. 31.
38. Ashanti's PQ16 Report.
39. Ibid.
40. Undated report by *Hyderabad*'s Lieutenant Stuart Hickman, NA London ADM 237/176.
41. Ashanti's PQ16 Report; location: 10 July 1942 report by SS *Syros*' 2nd Officer James W. Davidson (Syros' 2nd Officer's Report'), US MERCHANT VESSELS SINKING REPORTS Box 47 Entry P-2.
42. Romuald Holubowicz's account ('Holubowicz's Account'), IWM Documents 2159, with permission from his daughter Diana Holubowicz. The 10 June 1942 report by J.G. Grotenrath, commanding officer of the Armed Guard in SS *City of Joliet,* US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 134 UD93, confirms the torpedo hit *Syros* on her port side. The document headed 'Appendix X. Anti-Submarine Operations', which is Appendix I to Ashanti's PQ16 Report, states *Syros* was torpedoed at 72°43' N 06°20' E.
43. 26 May 1942 entry in KTB *U-703*.
44. Holubowicz's Account.
45. Syros' 2nd Officer's Report.
46. Ashanti's PQ16 Report.

Chapter 15

1. PQ16's formation diagram is in this book's Appendix B.
2. 29 May 1942 Report of Proceedings by Rear Admiral Harold Burrough, commander of the 10th Cruiser Squadron, **NA London** ADM 199/757.
3. Alexander Werth, *The Year of Stalingrad* ('Werth's Book') pp. 27–8.
4. 6 June 1942 Report of Proceedings by *Ashanti*'s Commander Richard Onslow ('Ashanti's PQ16 Report'), NA London ADM 199/757.
5. LUFTFLOTTE 5'S WAR DIARY.
6. Ashanti's PQ16 Report.
7. Enclosure F with 2 June 1942 report by *Alynbank*'s Captain Henry Nash ('Alynbank's PQ16 Report'), NA London ADM 199/757 states that series of attacks starting at around 11.15 a.m. on 27 May 1942 commenced when the convoy was at 73°35' N 20°25' E.
8. Ibid.
9. Luftflotte 5's War Diary.
10. Werth's Book p. 34; and Appendix II to Ashanti's PQ16 Report.
11. 28 July 1942 report by *Garland's* Lt Commander H. Eibel, **Sikorski Museum**.

12. B. Pawłowicz, *O.R.P. Garland*: *In Convoy to Russia* pp. 38–46.
13. Ashanti's PQ16 Report.
14. 30 May 1942 message from O.R.P. *Garland* to the SBNO North Russia, NA London ADM 358/4083.
15. Loftus Peyton Jones, *Wartime Wanderings 1939–1945*, p. 83 brought to my attention by his son Professor James Peyton Jones.
16. Werth's Book p. 34.
17. Ralph Ransome Wallis, *Two Red Stripes* ('Martin's Surgeon's Book') pp. 83 and 93–5.
18. Undated report by Ensign William Gibson, 'Officer in Charge, Armed Guard Unit, S.S. Alamar', US NAVAL ATTACHÉ REPORTS Box 25, Entry UD 44.
19. 10 June 1942 report by Ensign Frank P. McConnell, Commanding Officer Armed Guard Unit SS *Mormacsul*, US ARMED GUARD REPORTS, Box 482 Entry UD 93.
20. Graeme Ogden, *My Sea Lady* ('Ogden's Book') p. 108.
21. 31 May 1942 'Report of Escorts of Convoy "P.Q.16" 13th May – 30th May 1942' by commanding officer HMS *Trident*, NA London ADM 199/1864.
22. Account by Commander Edward Grenfell ('Grenfell's Account'), as he was at the time of his post-war interview, **IWM Sound** 15450. Ashanti's PQ16 Report's Appendix II states the *Empire Lawrence* bombing was at 73° 27' N 22° 40' E, and specifies convoy's course.
23. Ogden's Book p. 109.
24. Grenfell's Account.
25. Werth's Book p. 35.
26. Ogden's Book pp. 109, and 34. Ogden's first lieutenant was Geoffrey Angus.
27. Grenfell's Account.
28. Werth's Book pp. 35–6.
29. Undated report by *Hyderabad*'s Lieutenant Stuart Hickman ('Hyderabad's Report'), NA London ADM 237/176; and 28 July 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The 2nd Officer Mr. N.S. Hulse. S.S. Empire Lawrence', NA London ADM 199/2140.
30. Ogden's Book p. 109.
31. Martin's Surgeon's Book p. 98.
32. 10 June 1942 report by *City of Joliet* Armed Guard Commander J.G. Grotenrath, US Armed Guard Reports Box 134 UD93. Time of bombing specified in Commodore N.H. Gale's 30 May 1942 report of proceedings ('PQ16's Commodore's Report'), NA London ADM 237/167. Location of bombing raid: Ashanti's PQ16 Report's Appendix II: 73°43' N 23°51' E.
33. Werth's Book pp. 36–7.
34. Number of German aircraft deployed: Luftflotte 5's War Diary; corroborated by the 27-29 May 1942 entries in **Luftflotte 5's Daily Reports**. The 3 June 1942 entry in KTB DER SKL TEIL A confirmed Luftwaffe's reports of sinkings were exaggerated.
35. Werth's Book p. 37.
36. 27 May entry in KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER.
37. Ashanti's PQ16 Report's Appendix II states that the raid during which *Empire Purcell* and *Lowther Castle* were hit commenced at around 73°49' N 24°38' E.
38. Werth's Book p. 38.
39. Thomas Edward Chilvers' diary, MSS 87/090, JOD/325, **National Maritime Museum**.

40. 21 July 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The Chief Officer Mr. J.G. Lomas. S.S. Lowther Castle', NA London ADM 199/2140.
41. Account by Roy Dykes given to me by Ian Claxton, author of *Honeysuckle's War: The Story of a Corvette* ('Dykes' Account'); and an interview with Roy Dykes posted on YouTube.
42. 15 July 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The Master Captain R. Stephenson. S.S. Empire Purcell', NA London ADM 199/2140.
43. Hyderabad's Report.
44. Dykes' Account; and Hyderabad's Report.
45. Hyderabad's Report.
46. PQ16's Commodore's Report; Ashanti's PQ16 Report; and Alynbank's PQ16 Report.
47. Ashanti's PQ16 Report.
48. Werth's Book p. 38.
49. 19 July 1942 Patrol Report by *Seawolf*'s Commanding Officer for period 13 May to 30 May 1942, NA London ADM 199/1836.
50. Ashanti's PQ16 Report; account by J. Lussey from *Alynbank*, **IWM Documents** 92/27/1, and 2166; and 28 and 29 May 1942 entries in KTB des Admiral Nordmeer.
51. Hyderabad's Report; and 2 June 1942 report by Armed Guard commander in SS *West Nilus*, US NAVAL ATTACHÉ REPORTS Box 25 UD 44.

Chapter 16

1. PQ17's formation diagram is in this book's Appendix A.
2. Tovey's 19 June 1942 letter to the Admiralty, **NA London** ADM 199/757. Although 28 merchant ships arrived in Russia, 29 remained afloat (*Carlton* had returned to Iceland).
3. TOVEY'S DESPATCH.
4. 12 January 1953 letter from Tovey to the official historian Stephen Roskill, **Churchill Archives Centre**, ROSK 4/29.
5. Jak Mallmann Showell, ed., *Fuehrer Conferences On Naval Affairs 1939–1945* pp. 284–7. Details about German aircraft based on Brian Filley, *Junkers Ju 88 in Action Part 1* and other sources brought to my attention by Peter Taghon; and Alexander Steenbeck, *Die Spur des Löwen*.
6. Ibid.; and 9 June 1942 message from the staff of the Oberbefehlshaber der Luftwaffe to the Seekriegsleitung, **Militärarchiv Freiburg** RM 7/1024.
7. Ned Denning's 'PQ17' account, **National Maritime Museum** DEN 6/1 File 38 MS/84/192.
8. Henry Denham, *Inside the Nazi Ring* pp. 87–90; and BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OFFICIAL HISTORY vol. 2 p. 213.
9. Militärarchiv Freiburg RW 49/551; and the Cobweb file in NA London KV2/1137, both brought to my attention by Alf R. Jacobsen and his book *X-Craft Versus Tirpitz: The Mystery of the Missing X5* pp. 41-57. Cobweb's real name was Ib Riis.
10. Report by Vladimir Nikolaevich Izotov, captain of *Azerbeijan*, ('Izotov's Report'), **GAOPDiFAO** Section 296, Inventory 1, Book 1210 pp. 63-73.
11. Report by Douglas Fairbanks Junior ('Fairbanks' Report'), **National Maritime Museum** MSS 87/090.

12. Douglas Fairbanks Jnr., *A Hell of a War* ('Fairbanks' Book') pp. 128–9.
13. Izotov's Report. Rear Admiral Louis Hamilton said he, Jack Broome and PQ17's Commodore Dowding spoke at the convoy conference, 11 July 1942 'Report Of Proceedings Of The Cruiser Force Covering Convoy P.Q. 17', Churchill Archives Centre ROSK 19/5. Fairbanks' Report states that Hamilton warned that the cruisers might not be seen by the convoy very often.
14. 13 July 1942 report by PQ17's Commodore John Dowding, NA London ADM 199/757.
15. PQ17 ships taken from: diagram in NA London ADM 237/168; and 8 July 1942 report by *Keppel*'s Commander Jack Broome ('Keppel's Report'), Churchill Archives Centre, ROSK 19/5.
16. Fairbanks' Book pp. 132–3.
17. 4 October 1942 report by Ensign E.S. Neely, the commanding officer armed guard: SS *Richard Bland*, US ARMED GUARD REPORTS UD93 Box 547; and Keppel's Report.'
18. Keppel's Report.
19. Godfrey Winn, '*P.Q.17*' ('Winn's Book') p. 61. Date taken from the Narrative attached to the July 1942 letter (date of document partly cut out of document) from *Palomares*' commander John Jauncey, Churchill Archives Centre ROSK 19/5.
20. Winn's Book p. 63.
21. Ibid.
22. Keppel's Report.
23. Winn's Book pp. 66–7.
24. 30 June 1942 entry in KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER.
25. Anlage 12 to KTB des Admiral Nordmeer for 16–30 June 1942 containing confirmation of where Gruppe Eisteufel U-boats were to line up on 29 June 1942.
26. Time aircraft sighted: Keppel's Report. Location of PQ17 when sighted by aircraft: AB 7167 on the German grid (approximately 71°09' N 4°50' W), 1 July 1942 entry in the KTB des Admiral Nordmeer.
27. Winn's Book p. 67.
28. Keppel's Report.
29. Fairbanks' Report.
30. Winn's Book p. 68.
31. The approximate location of the 2 July 1942 attack on PQ17 is specified as being 73°30' N 4° E in Appendix I to the 6 July 1942 'Report of the Operations Of The Cruiser Force Covering P.Q. 17' ('Hamilton's 6 July 1942 Report'), Churchill Archives Centre ROSK 19/5.
32. Keppel's Report; Hamilton's 6 July 1942 Report; Christer Bergström, a co-author of *Black Cross Red Star: Air War Over the Eastern Front vol.3* bringing to my attention Walter Lehwess-Litzmann, *Absturz ins Leben* p. 189.
33. Winn's Book p. 74.
34. Ibid.
35. Keppel's Report.
36. The signal from the Admiralty's Operational Intelligence Centre at 4.59 p.m. 3 July 1942 said no warships were in Trondheim harbour; this was corroborated by the photographs taken, according to the signal, at 7.47 p.m. 3 July 1942. A signal sent to PQ17's escorts at 10.22 p.m. 3 July 1942 confirmed the Admiralty's appreciation the German warships

had moved to the north, threatening the convoy. All in NA London ADM 237/168.
37. Winn's Book p. 75.
38. Hamilton's 6 July 1942 Report.
39. Rear Admiral Hamilton's 9 July 1942 'Report On Withdrawal Of First Cruiser Squadron And Scattering Of Convoy P.Q.17', Churchill Archives Centre ROSK 19/5.
40. 27 June 1942 Admiralty instructions in Tovey's Despatch; and Captain Jack Broome, *Convoy Is To Scatter* pp. 110–12.
41. Tovey's Despatch confirms the Home Fleet covered PQ17 during the morning of 4 July 1942, at the end of which according to Hamilton's 6 July 1942 Report it was not far short of 24°10' E, where it was at 1.35 p.m. on 4 July 1942. Home Fleet ships deployed: Part II Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet's War Diary 1–15 July 1942, NA London ADM 199/427.

Chapter 17

1. PQ17's formation diagram is in this book's Appendix A.
2. The coordinates given by the 14 July 1942 report by the Master of *Christopher Newport* ('Christopher Newport's Master's Report'), **NA London** ADM 199/757; and the 11 July 1942 report by Admiral Hamilton, **Churchill Archives Centre** ROSK 19/5 are: 75°49' N 22°15' E and 75°05' N 20°00' E respectively.
3. Christopher Newport's Master's Report. The ship's cargo is specified in 11 August 1942 'Convoy Room (PQ Section) Trade Division' list, NA London ADM 237/168.
4. 3 November 1942 'Summary of statements by survivors of the S/S Christopher Newport', US MERCHANT SHIP LOSSES REPORTS Box 218.
5. Report by Vladimir Nikolaevich Izotov, captain of *Azerbaijan*, **GAOPDiFAO** Archive Section 296, Inventory 1, Book 1210 pp. 63–73.
6. Godfrey Winn, '*P.Q.17*' ('Winn's Book') p. 83.
7. Douglas Fairbanks Jnr., *A Hell of a War* p. 137.
8. Hugh Sebag-Montefiore, *The Battle For The Code* pp. 198–9.
9. Patrick Beesly, *Very Special Intelligence* ('Beesly's Book') pp. 11–19.
10. Robin Brodhurst, *Churchill's Anchor* p. 201.
11. Ibid. pp. 113 and 121–3.
12. Arthur Hutchinson letter dated 16 October 1966, Churchill Archives Centre, MLBE 1/14.
13. Beesly's Book p.139; and Admiral Sir Henry Moore's 24 April 1967 letter ('Moore's PQ17 Letter'), Churchill Archives Centre MLBE 1/14.
14. 10.17 a.m. 3 July 1942 message sent by the OIC's Deputy Director Intelligence Centre, NA London ADM 223/111. The 'decrypts' of the messages to Schniewind summarized in the Ultra are in NA London DEFE 3/110 p.396 (sent to Schniewind at 11.03 p.m. 2 July 1942) and p.394 (sent to Schniewind at 3.26 a.m. 3 July 1942).
15. Reports of reconnaissance at 2 p.m. 3 July 1942 sent out by OIC's D.D.I.C. at 4.59 p.m. 3 July (visual observation: no warships in Trondheim); and 7.47 p.m. 3 July

1942 (photographs show warships have left Trondheim), both in NA London ADM 237/168.

16. 12.30 p.m. 4 July 1942 order from Admiralty to CS 1, Appendix II to Hamilton's 6 July 1942 report ('Hamilton's 6 July 1942 Report'), Churchill Archives Centre ROSK 19/5.
17. 3.12 p.m. 4 July 1942 order from Tovey to CS 1, in ibid.
18. 6.09 p.m. 4 July 1942 message from Hamilton to Tovey and Admiralty, in ibid. Position inferred from: Hamilton's 11 July 1942 report, Churchill Archives Centre ROSK 19/5; and report by Douglas Fairbanks Junior, **National Maritime Museum** MSS 87/090.
19. Ned Denning's 'PQ17' account ('Denning's PQ17 Account'), National Maritime Museum DEN 6/1 File 38 MS/84/192 states that Pound received Hamilton's 6.09 p.m. 4 July 1942 message while Denning and Pound were conferring in the OIC for the first time that evening. If Denning's recollection is correct, that puts their first meeting at some point between 6.09 p.m, and around 6.50 p.m. 4 July 1942, the latter time being the approximate time when the decrypts of the signals using the settings in force between midday 3 July to midday 4 July started to be sent to the OIC (inferred from decrypts in NA London DEFE 3/110 pp. 891 and 892 that were sent shortly after 6.45 p.m. 4 July 1942).
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.; Patrick Mahon, 'The History of Hut Eight' p.56, **NA Maryland** RG 457 Box 4685; and Hugh Alexander, 'Cryptographic History of the Work on the German Naval Enigma' p. 32, supplied to me by Hugh Alexander's son Sir Michael Alexander.
22. 6.58 p.m. 4 July 1942 message from Duty Captain to CS1, NA London ADM 237/168; and Denning's PQ17 Account.
23. Decrypt sent to the OIC at 6.59 p.m. 4 July 1942 containing 7.40 a.m. 4 July 1942 message from Flottenchef und Befehlshaber Schlachtschiffe to Befehlshaber der Kreuzer, NA London DEFE 3/110 p. 896.
24. Decrypt sent to the OIC at 6.51 p.m. 4 July 1942 containing 12.40 a.m. 4 July 1942 message from Fliegerführer Lofoten, NA London DEFE 3/110 p. 894.
25. Denning's PQ17 Account.
26. If Denning's PQ17 Account is correct, his second discussion with Pound during the evening of 4 July 1942 was after the time when the decrypt in Note 23 was sent to the OIC (6.59 p.m.), and it is likely it was before the 7.18 p.m. 4 July 1942 Ultra referred to in Note 29 below.
27. The words in rounded brackets, within the sentence at the end of which this chapter endnote number 27 appears, have been inserted by me since although Denning was attempting years afterwards to recall and to specify what he knew at the time of the meeting in question, unless Denning had access to decrypts not in NA London DEFE 3/110, the decrypts available to him at this point would not have been sufficient to support the assertion

quoted without the reservation in the brackets.

28. Denning's PQ17 Account.
29. 7.18 pm 4 July message from the OIC's Rear Admiral Clayton to Tovey and CS1, NA London ADM 223/111.
30. The 4 July 1942 German message in the decrypt in DEFE 3/110 p. 927 which was forwarded to the OIC at 8.03 p.m. 4 July 1942 appears to be one of the first messages using the post midday 4 July 1942 settings seen by the OIC.
31. Decrypt sent to the OIC at 8.15 p.m. 4 July 1942 containing 2.58 p.m. 4 July 1942 message from Admiral Nordmeer to *U-457*, NA London DEFE 3/110 p. 927. The decrypt which stated that CS1 only consisted of cruisers and destroyers was sent to the OIC at 8.08 p.m. 4 July 1942; it contained the 2.55 p.m. 4 July 1942 message from Fliegerführer Lofoten referring to a sighting at 2.22 p.m., NA London DEFE 3/110 p. 919.
32. Decrypt sent to the OIC at 8.31 p.m. on 4 July 1942 containing the message from Admiral Nordmeer to Eisteufel boats originated at 11.30 a.m. 4 July 1942, NA London DEFE 3/110 p. 937.
33. Denning's PQ17 Account.
34. Moore's PQ17 Letter.
35. David Irving, *The Destruction of Convoy PQ17* p.117; and David Irving's note of his 8 June 1963 conversation with Admiral Sir John Eccles, who in 1942 had been at the meeting described in his capacity as Director of Operations Division (Home), **David Irving's Papers**.
36. Denning's PQ17 Account.
37. 9.11 p.m. 4 July 1942 signal, NA London ADM 237/168.
38. 9.23 p.m. 4 July 1942 signal in ibid.; and Moore's PQ17 Letter.
39. 9.36 p.m. 4 July 1942 signal, NA London ADM 237/168; and Moore's PQ17 Letter.
40. Denning's PQ17 Account.
41. Hamilton's 6 July 1942 Report states the convoy was at 75°50' N 28°30' E when it was scattered.
42. Ransome Wallis, *Two Red Stripes* p. 72.
43. 8 July 1942 report by *Keppel*'s Commander Jack Broome, Churchill Archives Centre ROSK 19/5 ('Keppel's Report'); Captain Jack Broome, *Convoy Is To* Scatter ('Broome's Book') p. 173; and Broome's draft deposition ('Broome's Deposition') for the Irving libel court case, Churchill Archives Centre BRME 5/3.
44. Broome's Deposition.
45. Broome's Book p. 182. In 1970 Broome successfully sued David Irving and his publisher for damages concerning the depiction in David Irving, *The Destruction of Convoy PQ17* of Broome's actions during PQ17.
46. Keppel's Report.
47. Broome's Book p. 183.
48. Broome's Book pp. 190–1 which claim, possibly incorrectly, that Broome intended the orders to the escorts remaining with PQ17 to mean they should proceed independently of Broome's destroyer *Keppel*, rather than independently of PQ17's merchant and rescue ships. As will be seen in the next chapter, the orders' ambiguity led to a difference of opinion between two of the remaining escorts' commanders.

49. Broome's Book p. 193; 13 July 1942 'Report Of Convoy From Iceland To Time Of "Scatter" Signal. 4th July' by Commodore J.C.K. Dowding, NA London ADM 199/757.

Chapter 18

1. Captain Jack Broome, *Convoy Is To Scatter* ('Broome's Book') p. 194; and Hamilton's 6 July 1942 'Report Of The Operations Of The Cruiser Force Covering P.Q. 17', **Churchill Archives Centre** ROSK 19/5.
2. John Dodds' diary, brought to my attention by his children Nick and Jane.
3. Broome's Book p. 107.
4. Post-war interview given by Admiral Sir William O'Brien, as he then was (the recording is on Legasee, the online Veterans Video Archive), combined with his comments in the deposition he made for the Broome v David irving libel trial, Churchill Archives Centre. BRME 5/11.
5. 27 July 1942 report by *Pozarica*'s Acting Captain Edward Lawford, **NA London** ADM 199/757. Whatever Broome intended when he gave the ambiguous proceed independently orders, it was surely reasonable for Jauncey, who subsequently reported that he had been informed by Broome the convoy must scatter (*Palomares*' Jauncey's undated 'Narrative' with a 28 October 1942 letter from Commander-in-Chief Western Approaches, Churchill Archives Centre BRME 8/1), and who may like *Pozarica*'s Captain Lawford have received the Admiralty's scatter signal, to presume that Broome's proceed independently orders would be in line with the scatter orders. I should add that although Broome after the war claimed, as mentioned in Chapter 17's Note 48, that his orders were intended by him to merely mean proceed independently of *Keppel*, the claim should be treated with caution since what Broome was claiming appears to conflict with the scatter orders.
6. Report by captain of *Azerbaijan* ('Izotov's Report'), in **GAOPDiFAO** Section 296, Inventory 1, Book 1210.
7. Godfrey Winn, '*P.Q.17*' p. 85.
8. 11 July 1942 'Report of proceedings: S.S. Zamalek: Archangel' by her Master Captain Owen Morris, NA London ADM 199/757.
9. 13 July 1942 'Rescue Ship Zaafaran. Report Of Proceedings From The Time Of Dispersal Of The Convoy Till The Sinking Of My Vessel' by Master Charles McGowan, NA London ADM 199/757.
10. Broome's Book p. 167.
11. Izotov's Report; 14 July 1942 report by *Britomart*'s Commander S.S. Stammwitz; and 14 July 1942 report by *Halcyon*'s Lieutenant Commander Colin Corbet-Singleton, NA London ADM 199/757.
12. Izotov's Report.
13. Ronald Crees' account ('Crees' Account'), **IWM Sound** 10718.
14. CARRAWAY'S DIARY.
15. William Carter, *Why Me Lord?* p. 177.
16. Carraway's Diary.
17. Ibid.
18. According to the 5 July entry in the KTB *U-703*, *Empire Byron* was

torpedoed at AC 2629 on the German grid (approximately 75° 57' N 36° 50' E), contradicting the 23 July 1942 report by *Empire Byron*'s John Wharton ('Empire Byron's 1st Report'), NA London ADM 199/757, which states the location was 76°18' N 33°30' E.

19. 13 October 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The Master Captain John Wharton: s.s. Empire Byron' ('Empire Byron's 2nd Report'), NA London ADM 199/2141.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. The 5 July 1942 entry in the KTB *U-703* appears to confirm these explosions were caused by *Empire Byron*'s boiler blowing up.
24. Empire Byron's 2nd Report.
25. Ibid.; and bracketed words from Empire Byron's 1st Report.
26. Empire Byron's 2nd Report.
27. Empire Byron's 1st Report.
28. Empire Byron's 2nd Report.
29. 11 August 1942 'Convoy Room (PQ Section) Trade Division' list, NA London ADM 237/168.
30. Decrypt of 10.15 a.m. 5 July 1942 message from Bielfeld, commander of *U-703*, NA London DEFE 3/111 p. 234.
31. The 4 July 1942 entry in KTB *U-88* states that *U-88* sank *Carlton* at AC 2974 on the German grid map (approximately 74°33' N 35°10' E).
32. 11 August 1942 'Convoy Room (PQ Section) Trade Division' list, NA London ADM 237/168.
33. LUFTFLOTTE 5'S WAR DIARY.
34. Cargo statistics from 11 August 1942 'Convoy Room (PQ Section) Trade Division' list, NA London ADM 237/168. Details of specified attacks on PQ17 ships taken firstly from the following casualty reports addressed to the British Naval Control Service Officer, Archangel, NA London ADM 199/757: concerning *Aldersdale*: from 20 July 1942 report by master of *Aldersdale,* and 13 July 1942 report by Commanding Officer *Salamander*; concerning *Daniel Morgan*: 15 July 1942 report by George Sullivan master of *Daniel Morgan* ('Daniel Morgan's Casualty Report'); concerning *Earlston*: 30 July 1942 report by 2nd Officer Evans; concerning *Fairfield City*: 3 August 1942 report by Leon Walters master of *Fairfield City*; concerning *Honomu*: 4 August 1942 report by *Honomu*'s 2nd Officer Hodgin; concerning *Peter Kerr*: 22 July 1942 report by master of *Peter Kerr*; concerning *Zaafaran*: from 11 July 1942 report by Owen Morris Commanding Officer *Zamalek*. Details of abovementioned attacks also taken from following German KTBs' 5 July 1942 entries: via Acta Norvegica Arkiv: concerning *Daniel Morgan*: KTB *U-88*; concerning *Earlston*: KTB *U-334*; concerning *Honomu*: KTB *U-456*. The 7 July 1942 entry in KTB *U-457* confirms *Aldersdale* was finally torpedoed and sunk that day.
35. 5 November 1942 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of American SS Daniel Morgan', US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 157.
36. Daniel Morgan's Casualty Report; and 15 August 1942 report by Lieutenant Morton Wolfson, Commanding Officer of *Daniel Morgan*'s Armed Guard Unit, US Armed Guard Reports Box 157.

37. Cargo statistics from 11 August 1942 'Convoy Room (PQ Section) Trade Division' list, NA London ADM 237/168.
38. Crees' Account.
39. *Washington*'s Robert Glenn Henderson's diary, brought to my attention by his widow and daughters.
40. Crees' Account.
41. William Kenyon's account, IWM Sound 9040.
42. 5 July 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The Master, Captain J. Pascoe: s.s. "Bolton Castle"', NA London ADM 199/2141.
43. 3 August 1942 report by *Washington*'s master Julius Richter, NA London 757; and 21 July 1942 report by Ensign Charles M. Ulrich, Commanding Officer of the Armed Guard, SS *Washington*, US Armed Guard Reports Box 674 Entry UD 93.
44. Crees' Account.
45. Ibid.

Chapter 19

1. 5 July 1942 signal sent by DDIC (Admiral Clayton) at 2.38 p.m. to Tovey and Hamilton. '1200B' means midday according to GMT + 2 timing (see this book's Note for Readers).
2. 3 July 1942 entry in KTB des Befehlshabers der Kreuzer über Unternehmung Rösselsprung, PG 48723 in Microfilm 3007, **Acta Norvegica Arkiv**.
3. 20 July 1942 'Abschlussbericht Rösselsprung', Anlage 12 to 12–31 July 1942 KTB des Marinegruppenkommandos Nord, NARA Microfilm 1022–3950, PG 34863, Acta Norvegica Arkiv; and 'Translation of the final report on Operation Rösselsprung (Attack on PQ.17) submitted by Admiral Carls (Gruppe Nord) on the 12.7.1942' **Churchill Archives Centre** BRME 6/2. The two documents in this note are hereinafter together referred to as 'the Final PQ17 Report'. The importance of this report was first brought to my attention by Bill Geroux, author of *The Ghost Ships Of Archangel*.
4. 5 July 1942 entry in KTB DES MARINEGRUPPEN KOMMANDOS NORD specifies the Home Fleet was spotted from the German aircraft at 6.45 a.m. 5 July at AB 2732 on the German grid map (approximately 75°15' N 4°30' E); whereas the Final PQ17 Report states that at one point during period 6.45 to 8 a.m. 5 July, the Home Fleet was at 75°50' N 03°30' E, that is around 450 miles from the convoy.
5. Decrypt of 11.45 a.m. message from Schniewind to Carls, **NA London** DEFE 3/111. See Maps 1 and 13 for Rolvsøya's location.
6. 5 July 1942 entries in *Z 30*'s and *Friedrich Ihn*'s KTBs, **Militärarchiv Freiburg** RM 94/124 and RM 94/84 respectively.
7. Decrypt of Schniewind message to Carls originated at 11.45 a.m. 5 July 1942 which was forwarded to the Admiralty at 2.20 p.m. that day, NA London DEFE 3/111 p. 237.
8. 3.17 p.m. 5 July 1942 Ultra sent by Admiralty to Tovey, NA London ADM 223/111.The enclosure to Tovey's 11 July 1942 report, Churchill Archives Centre ROSK 19/5, does

not refer to this Ultra. But it does comment that after receiving an Admiralty suggestion sent to him at 7.10 p.m. 5 July to steer east in order to persuade *Tirpitz* not to attack PQ17, that it was essential to continue to the south-west so that his destroyers could be refueled.

9. Two cases of ships diverting to pick up survivors on 5 July 1942 are described in: the 13 July 1942 report by the Commanding Officer of the minesweeper HMS *Salamander*; and the 11 July 1942 report by rescue ship *Zamalek*'s Captain Owen Morris, both in NA London ADM 199/757.
10. 10 November 1969 deposition by *Pozarica*'s Captain Edward Lawford relating to the David Irving libel trial, Churchill Archives Centre BRME 5/2.
11. 26 July 1942 report by Temporary Lieutenant Vivian Bidwell commanding officer of *La Malouine* ('La Malouine's PQ17 Report'), NA London ADM 199/757.
12. Lieutenant John Hall's account brought to my attention by his son Christopher. The location specified in *Pan Kraft*'s SOS signal was '76°50' N 38°00' E according to the undated 'Report of Proceedings P.Q.17 H.M.S. "Lotus" ' ('Lotus' PQ17 Report'), NA London ADM 199/757. *Pan Kraft* is in some documents referred to as *Pankraft* or *Pan Craft*.
13. La Malouine's PQ17 Report.
14. 1904 5 July 1942 signal from SBNO North Russia, NA London ADM 237/168. According to the undated Narrative by *Palomares*' Captain John Jauncey, Churchill Archives Centre ROSK19/5, what was apparently a copy of this signal was received on his ship at 7.25 p.m. 5 July 1942; it may well have been received on *Lotus* at about the same time.
15. Lotus' PQ17 Report; and 12 July 1942 'Letter of Proceedings' by 'Commanding Officer H.M.S. "Lord Austin" ', NA London ADM 199/757.
16. 2 November 1942 'Summary of Statements made by Survivors of SS Pankraft,' ('Pan Kraft's Survivors' Report'), US ARMED GUARD REPORTS.
17. Aircraft numbers used during 5 July 1942: 5 July 1942 entry in KTB DER SKL TEIL A.
18. Pan Kraft's Survivors' Report; and 4 August 1942 report by *Pan Kraft*'s Master, both NA London ADM 199/757.
19. 11 August 1942 'Convoy Room (PQ Section) Trade Division' list, NA London ADM 237/168.
20. Lotus' PQ17 Report.

Chapter 20

1. 2.30 a.m. 6 July 1942 signal from '1st S.L.' (Sea Lord i.e. Pound), **NA London** ADM 237/168.
2. 8 October 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The Master, Captain H.W. Charlton. Convoy P.Q.17 S.S. River Afton' ('River Afton's 2nd Report'), NA London ADM 199/2141.
3. The 5 July 1942 entry in KTB *U-703* states *River Afton* was torpedoed at AC 3568 on the German grid (approximately 75°39' N 43°30' E), which is almost in line with the location 75°57' N 43°00' E specified in the 15 July 1942 'P.Q.17 Master's Statement: S.S. "River Afton" ' by Harold Charlton ('River Afton's 1st

Report'), NA London ADM 199/757. However, these locations do not in all respects line up with the location in *River Afton*'s SOS message: 73°43' N 43°18' E, picked up in the PQ17 merchant ships *Ocean Freedom* and *Azerbaijan*, as specified in 'S.S. "OCEAN FREEDOM" List of Distress Messages received after convoy P.Q.17 was scattered . . .' with *Ocean Freedom's* 21 July 1942 report, NA London ADM 199/757; and as specified in the document headed 'Signals picked up by the radio set in *Azerbaijan*' ('Azerbaijan's Signals Report') with the report by *Azerbaijan*'s Izotov, **GAOPDiFAO** Section 296, Inventory 1, Book 1210 pp. 62–4.

4. Quotation partly from River Afton's 1st Report, and partly from River Afton's 2nd Report.
5. George Jamieson account, **IWM Documents** 11412.
6. This quote uses words from: River Afton's 1st Report; and *River Afton*'s Harold Charlton's private account brought to my attention by Richard Woodman ('Charlton's Personal Account').
7. 5 July 1942 entry in KTB *U-703*.
8. River Afton's 2nd Report.
9. 13 July 1942 'Report of events in S.S. River Afton after convoy scattered' by Commodore J.C.K. Dowding ('Dowding's Post-Scatter Report'), NA London ADM 199/757.
10. Quotes from Percy Grey and Benjamin Coffee in this chapter are from the 12 and 13 April 2018 articles by Dorothy Ramser in *The Shields Gazette*.
11. Dowding's Post Scatter Report.
12. River Afton's 1st Report.
13. Charlton's Personal Account.
14. Ibid.
15. See Note 10.
16. Dowding's Post-Scatter Report.
17. Ibid.
18. Lieutenant John Hall's account brought to my attention by his son Christopher.
19. River Afton's 2nd Report.
20. Charlton's Personal Account.
21. Undated 'Report of Proceedings P.Q.17. H.M.S. Lotus' by *Lotus*' Lieutenant John Hall, NA London ADM 199/757.
22. 11 August 1942 'Convoy Room (PQ Section) Trade Division' list, NA London ADM 237/168.
23. Azerbaijan's Signals Report.
24. CARRAWAY'S DIARY.
25. Ibid.
26. Azerbaijan's Signals Report.
27. Carraway's Diary.
28. Walter John Baker, *The Convoy is to Scatter* p. 51 brought to my attention by William Geroux, author of *The Ghost Ships of Archangel,* and Baker's granddaughter Clare Howard.
29. Dick Elsden sequence of events supplied by his daughter Su, to whom I was introduced by BBC producer Gemma Hagen.
30. Carraway's Diary.
31. William A. Carter, *Why Me Lord?* pp. 177–8.
32. Carraway's Diary.

Chapter 21

1. 9 July 1942 report by the destroyer *Inglefield's* Commander Arthur West.
2. 2 July 1942 'North Russia – 11th Monthly Report – June 1942' in war diary for SBNO, North Russia, **NA London** ADM 199/1104.
3. 26 June 1942 report by *Gossamer*'s Lieutenant Commander Thomas

Crease ('Gossamer's Report'), NA London ADM 116/4544, brought to my attention by his son Paul and by Susan Griggs, daughter of *Gossamer* crew member John Maddern.

4. Geoff Jelbart's account recorded by his son John; his 29 May 1943 letter to his mother which John Jelbart brought to my attention; Gossamer's Report; 'R.N. Casualties In N. Russian Convoys' with undated Naval Intelligence Division letter sent after the Battle of the Barents Sea ('The Naval Casualties Summary'), NA London ADM 199/604.
5. 14 August 1942 minute by Admiral Henry Moore, Vice Chief of the Naval Staff, NA London ADM 199/347.
6. 12 July 1942 Report by Rear Admiral Frederick Dalrymple Hamilton, Admiral Commanding Iceland (C) ('Admiral Iceland's Report'), NA London ADM 199/347.
7. Ibid.
8. Graeme Ogden, *My Sea Lady* ('Ogden's Book') p. 136.
9. Admiral Iceland's Report.
10. The Naval Casualties Summary.
11. François Flohic, *Ni Chagrin Ni Pitié* ('Roselys' QP13 Account') p. 122.
12. Norman Pickles' account ('Pickles' Account'), **IWM Sound** 16757; and the torpedo seen by Ogden: Ogden's Book p. 137.
13. Romuald Holubowicz account, **IWM Documents** 2159, and account supplied by his daughter Diana; 22 July 1942 report by John C. Guibert, 'Commanding Officer Armed Guard Unit, S.S. Hybert', US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 315 UD93; and undated report by Joseph L. Dalton, Master of *Hybert*, US MERCHANT VESSELS SINKING REPORTS Box 20 Entry Point P-2.
14. Undated report by John J. Connor, Acting Third Assistant Engineer on SS *Massmar*, US Merchant Vessels Sinking Reports Box 32 Entry P-2; and 22 July 1942 report by Ensign William C. Gibson Jr., the Officer-in-Charge of the Armed Guard Unit assigned to *Alamar*, US Armed Guard Reports Box 8 UD93.
15. Concerning sunk or abandoned QP13 ships: 22 July 1942 report by *John Randolph*'s Armed Guard commander Ensign Alexander Anderson: part of ship sank, 5 men lost; 22 July 1942 report by *Hybert*'s Armed Guard commander Ensign John Guibert: ship sank, 0 men lost, aforementioned respectively in US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 363, UD93, and US MERCHANT SHIP LOSSES REPORTS Box 230, A1 350; 18 August 1944 Report On U.S. Merchant Vessel War Action Casualty based on information from *Heffron*'s master Edward Geddes, US CASUALTY REPORTS, Box 5, A1 191: ship abandoned, 1 man lost. Following QP13 ships damaged but not sunk or abandoned: *Mauna Kea*: 26 July 1942 report by her Armed Guard Commander Ensign Robert Crawford; and *Exterminator*: 9 July 1942 report by her master R. Kolsoe ('Exterminator's Report'), both latter two documents US Armed Guard Reports, Boxes 460 and 216 respectively, UD93.
16. Aleksandr G. Somkin, *Mi pomnim vas . . .* (*We remember you . . .*), p. 37.
17. Admiral Iceland's Report.

18. Roselys' QP13 Account pp. 122–3.
19. Pickles' Account.
20. Admiral Iceland's Report.
21. Exterminator's Report; and 28 July 1942 'Report of Homeward Bound Voyage enroute Murmansk, Russia to U.S.A.' by Ensign John M. Nisbet, Commanding Officer, Armed Guard Unit, SS *Mormacrey*, US Armed Guard Reports Box 481 UD93.
22. Report of Proceedings of QP13 by convoy commodore N.H. Gale, NA London ADM 199/347.

Chapter 22

1. 5 July 1942 entry in KTB DES MARINEGRUPPENKOMMANDOS NORD.
2. Ibid.
3. 5 July 1942 entry KTB DER SKL TEIL A.
4. 1.17 p.m. 6 July 1942 Ultra, **NA London** ADM 223/111; and decrypt of Schniewind's 2219 5 July 1942 Enigma message, NA London DEFE 3/111.
5. 7.46 p.m. 6 July 1942 message Admiralty to PQ17 escorts, NA London ADM 237/168.
6. 21 July 1942 report by Master of *Ocean Freedom*, NA London ADM 199/757; undated report by *Palomares*' Captain John Jauncey ('Palomares' Report'); and 27 July 1942 report by *Pozarica*'s Captain Edward Lawford ('Pozarica's Report') both in **Churchill Archives Centre** ROSK 19/5.
7. Godfrey Winn, '*PQ17*' ('Winn's Book') p. 109. He appears to be referring to the Guba Pomorskaya (Pomorskaya Bay) settlement on the south side of the strait near its western entrance.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid. p. 110; and Pozarica's Report.
10. Winn's Book p. 110.
11. 7.46 and 7.47 p.m. 6 July 1942 Admiralty messages to PQ17 escorts, NA London ADM 237/168.
12. Palomares' Report.
13. Undated report by J. S. Clark, Master of *John Witherspoon*; and 16 July 1942 report by Master of *Pan Atlantic*, both in NA London ADM 199/757; and 6 July 1942 entry in KTB *U-255*, which specified sinking of *John Witherspoon* was at AT 7216 on the German grid (approximately 71°33' N 50°50' E). *Pan Atlantic* fatalities and sinking location, very approximately 71°00' N 45°00' E , respectively 29 October 1942 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the MS Pan Atlantic . . .' and undated summary concerning *Pan Atlantic* sinking, both US MERCHANT SHIP LOSSES REPORTS.
14. Palomares' Report.
15. 7 July 1942 entry in KTB *U-255*: *Alcoa Ranger* sinking: AT 4875 on German grid (approximately 71°48' N 50°40' E), in line with *Alcoa Ranger*'s Master's 20 July 1942 report; and 8 July 1942 entry in KTB *U-255*: *Olopana* sinking: AT4827 on the German grid (approximately 72°21' N 51°10' E), in line with *Olopana*'s Master's 22 July 1942 report. Both masters' reports NA London ADM 199/757. *Olopana*: 5 killed: 27 November 1942 US Coast Guard report, US MERCHANT VESSELS SINKING REPORTS; *Alcoa Ranger*: 0 killed: 11 November 1942 Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS Alcoa Ranger . . .', US ARMED GUARD REPORTS.

16. 28 July 1942 report by Master of *Empire Tide* ('Empire Tide's Report'), NA London ADM 199/757.
17. Report by captain of *Azerbaijan*, **GAOPDiFAO**, Archive Section 296, Inventory 1, Book 1210.
18. 11 August 1942 'Convoy Room (PQ Section) Trade Division' list, NA London ADM 237/168; 13 October 1942 'Report of an Interview with the Master, Captain George W. Stephenson. S.S. Hartlebury' ('Hartlebury's 3rd Report'), NA London ADM 199/2141, also brought to my attention by Lee Stephenson, Peter Armstrong's nephew; 21 July 1942 report by Captain Stephenson ('Hartlebury's 1st Report'), NA London ADM 199/757; and Palomares' Report.
19. Hartlebury's 1st Report; and Hartlebury's 3rd Report. The 7 July 1942 entry in KTB *U-355* states that *Hartlebury* was sunk at the location on the German grid referred to as AT 4589 (approximately 72°39' N 51°50' E).
20. Hartlebury's 1st Report; and Hartlebury's 3rd Report.
21. Ibid.
22. Needham Forth's handwritten personal account ('Forth's Handwritten Account') made available by his daughter Catriona, whose whereabouts were traced by his former neighbour Joan Hudson.
23. Needham Forth in BBC documentary 'PQ17: An Arctic Convoy Disaster' presented by Jeremy Clarkson, first broadcast in 2014 ('Forth's TV Interview'); and knife incident mentioned in Hartlebury's 1st Report.
24. Forth's Handwritten Account.
25. Forth's TV Interview.
26. Forth's Handwritten Account.
27. 23 July 1942 report by *Hartlebury*'s first mate S. Gordon ('Hartlebury's 1st Mate's Report'), NA London ADM 199/757; and Hartlebury's 1st Report.
28. 7 July 1942 entry in KTB *U-355*.
29. Forth's Handwritten Account.
30. Peter Armstrong's account ('Armstrong's Account'), supplied thanks to an introduction from his granddaughter in the course of an interview with the author on 10 May 2019 when he was 94 years old, suggests that he believed there were at first 13 men on his raft. However Captain George Stephenson in Hartlebury's 1st Report states there were at first 14 on Armstrong's raft and 17 in Forth's lifeboat.
31. Armstrong's Account.
32. Hartlebury's 3rd Report.
33. 4 August 1942 report by Master of *Winston Salem*, NA London ADM 199/757.
34. Armstrong's Account.
35. Forth's Handwritten Account.
36. Hartlebury's 3rd Report.
37. Forth's Handwritten Account.
38. Ibid.; corroborated by Hartlebury's 1st Mate's Report.
39. Forth's Handwritten Report.
40. Hartlebury's 3rd Report.
41. Ibid.
42. Hartlebury's 1st Report.
43. Hartlebury's 3rd Report. The reference to Pomorski Bay appears to be to a bay near the Malyye Karmakuly settlement mentioned in this chapter's main text, possibly a bay which can be accessed from the nearby river (Reka Pomorskiy). The *Hartlebury* survivors were taken to

the settlement on 16 July, Empire Tide's Report.

44. Needham Forth's typed account supplied by his daughter Catriona, after being traced by Joan Hudson (mentioned above).

Chapter 23

1. 13 July 1942 report by *Pozarica*'s Captain Lawford ('Pozarica's Report'), **Churchill Archives Centre** ROSK 19/5.
2. Godfrey Winn, '*PQ17*' ('Winn's Book') pp. 119–20.
3. Report by *Palomares*' Captain Jauncey ('Palomares' Report') and accompanying map, **NA London** ADM 199/757.
4. Pozarica's Report.
5. 14 July 1942 report by *Britomart*'s Lieutenant Commander Spencer Stammwitz; and 21 July 1942 report by *Ocean Freedom*'s William Walker ('Ocean Freedom's Report'), both NA London ADM 199/757.
6. 3 August 1942 report by *Benjamin Harrison*'s master, NA London ADM 199/757.
7. Winn's Book pp. 123–4; and Pozarica's Report. Palomares' Report' states that the aircraft dived beneath the clouds whose altitude was 'approximately' 5,000 feet, and never released their bombs beneath 4,000 feet.
8. LUFTFLOTTE 5'S WAR DIARY states that 38 aircraft participated in the attack. The aircraft belonged to the 2nd wing of KG30 based in Banak.
9. Winn's Book p. 125.
10. July 1942 report by Louis D. Marks, Commanding Officer of Armed Guard Unit aboard *El Capitan*, US NAVAL ATTACHÉ REPORTS Box 25 UD44; and 2 November 1942 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS Hoosier', US MERCHANT SHIP LOSSES REPORTS Box 230 AI 350.
11. Map with Palomares' Report shows *Hoosier* abandoned at 69°35' N 41°91' E; *El Capitan* abandoned at 69°08' N 40°50' E.
12. Winn's Book pp. 125–6.
13. Pozarica's Report.
14. Winn's Book pp. 126–7.
15. 11 July 1942 Report by *Zamalek*'s master Owen Morris, NA London ADM 199/757.
16. Winn's Book p. 127.
17. 20 July 1942 report by Ensign H. Kroetz, Armed Guard Commander SS *John Witherspoon*, US ARMED GUARD REPORTS UD93; Undated report of proceedings by *Lotus*' Lieutenant John Hall, NA London ADM 199/757 (concerning *Pan Atlantic* boat).
18. Winn's Book p. 117.
19. Luftflotte 5's War Diary.
20. Ocean Freedom's Report; and 11 August 1942 'Convoy Room (PQ Section) Trade Division' list ('PQ17 Aid List'), NA London ADM 237/168.
21. 14 July 1942 report by Lt. John E. Sexton, Commanding Officer Armed Guard SS *Samuel Chase*, US Armed Guard Reports Box 580 UD93; and PQ17 Aid List.
22. Winn's Book p. 134; and 10-11 July 1942 entries in La Malouine's George Bagnall's account, **IWM Documents** 23380.
23. 10 July 1942 report by *Bellingham*'s Commanding Officer Armed Guard

Lieutenant Willard Brown, US naval attaché reports Box 25 UD44; and PQ17 Aid List.

24. 11 July 1942 report by *Rathlin*'s master Augustus Banning, NA London ADM 199/757.
25. 9 July 1942 Anastas Mikoyan to Stalin and Molotov, Collection 82. Inventory 2 Case 7 Page 81 Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, brought to my attention by Professor Mikhail Suprun.
26. This statistic has been extracted from the reports in the National Archives London and the National Archives Maryland and Washington relating to all the sunk or damaged PQ17 merchant ships.
27. 7 October 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The Master Captain J. Pascoe: s.s. Bolton Castle' ('Bolton Castle's Report'), NA London ADM 199/2141.
28. Ronald Crees' account, **IWM Sound** 10718 ('Crees' Account').
29. Medical Research Council, *A Guide To The Preservation Of Life At Sea After Shipwreck* p. 20.
30. Ibid. p. 9.
31. Anthony Van Kampen, ed., *Scheepsverklaring*: 'W. J. Sissingh, De mannen van de Paulus Potter', brought to my attention by Jos Odijk.
32. Robert Henderson's diary, courtesy of his widow Lyndell and his daughter Sue.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. 4 August 1942 report by Master *S.S. Winston Salem*, NA London ADM 199/757.
37. Crees' Account.
38. Ibid.
39. Bolton Castle's Report.

Chapter 24

1. 26 July 1942 report by *Ayrshire*'s Lieutenant Leo Gradwell ('Ayrshire's 2nd PQ17 Report'), **NA London** ADM 199/757.
2. CARRAWAY'S DIARY.
3. Ibid.; and Ayrshire's 2nd PQ17 Report.
4. Ayrshire's 2nd PQ17 Report; and 1 August 1942 report by William Carter, the Armed Guard Officer SS *Ironclad*, US NAVAL ATTACHÉ REPORTS Box 25.
5. Carraway's Diary; Salvesen's details from William Geroux, *The Ghost Ships Of Archangel* p. 8; and 11 August 1942 'Convoy Room (PQ Section) Trade Division' list ('PQ17 Aid List'), NA London ADM 237/168.
6. PQ17 Aid List.
7. The 'settlement' appears to have been the settlement of Lagernyy.
8. Ayrshire's 2nd PQ17 Report; text of Gradwell's 13 July 1942 message, NA London ADM 199/757; and Gradwell's private account, brought to my attention by Bill Geroux, and also supplied by Gradwell's daughter Mary.
9. 15 July 1942 letter from Rear Admiral Bevan to Gradwell, supplied by Gradwell's daughter Mary.
10. Undated 'Report Of Proceedings P.Q.17: H.M.S. Lotus' by her Lieutenant John Hall, referring to action commencing 16 July 1942, ('Lotus' 2nd PQ17 Report'); and 26 July 1942 report by *La Malouine*'s Lieutenant Vivian Bidwell ('La Malouine's 2nd PQ17 Report'), both NA London ADM 199/757.
11. Ayrshire's 2nd PQ17 Report.

12. Carraway's Diary.
13. Ayrshire's 2nd PQ17 Report; Lotus' 2nd PQ17 Report; and La Malouine's 2nd PQ17 Report.
14. Carraway's Diary.
15. Lotus' 2nd PQ17 Report; and 28 July 1942 report by *Empire Tide*'s Frank Harvey, NA London ADM 199/757.
16. Ibid; and La Malouine's 2nd PQ17 Report.
17. 4 August 1942 report by *Winston Salem*'s master William Lovegreen, NA London ADM 199/757; 1 August 1942 report by Robert Chitrin, Armed Guard Officer SS *Winston Salem*, US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 718 UD93; and PQ17 Aid List.
18. PQ17 Aid List.
19. 16 July 1942 report by Commanding Officer *Dianella*, NA London ADM 199/757; 6 July 1942 Admiralty order to pick up survivors, NA London ADM 237/168.
20. 21 July 1942 report by Commanding Officer HMS *Halcyon*, NA London ADM 199/757, which states the *Honomu* rafts were found at around 73°41' N 37°12' E; the 28 July 1942 entry in KTB *U-209*, which states the *Honomu* lifeboat was found at around AC 8126 on the German grid (approximately 71°33' N 30°50' E); the following documents with the 12 and 6 March 1945 letters from the War Shipping Administration: statements by *Honomu*'s radio operator Irving Elliot and master Frederik Strand, which confirm 11 out of 19 men in the lifeboat died before the remainder were rescued, US MERCHANT VESSEL SINKING REPORTS Box 20.
21. Charles Mulchy's diary brought to my attention by his son Timothy.
22. Charles Blockston interview, in documentary *Murmansk-Konvoiene* shown on Norsk Rikskringkasting (NRK), brought to my attention by Bjørn Tore Rosendahl, researcher at the Norsk Senter For Krigsseilerhistorie, Arkivet, Freds-og menneskerettighetssenter (Centre of the History of Seafarers At War, Arkivet, Peace and Human Rights Centre), Kristiansand, Norway.
23. 10 March 1945 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS Carlton', US Armed Guard Reports Box 29 UD93.
24. 13 July 1942 entry in KTB *U-255*.
25. 6 July 1942 entry in KTB DER SKL TEIL A.
26. Ibid. 13 July 1942 entry.
27. LUFTFLOTTE 5'S WAR DIARY.
28. 12 July 1942 entry in KTB der Skl Teil A; 20 July 1942 'Abschlussbericht Rösselsprung', Anlage 12 to 16–31 July 1942 KTB des Marinegruppenkommandos Nord; and 'Translation of the final report on Operation Rösselsprung (Attack on PQ.17) submitted by Admiral Carls (Gruppe Nord) on the 12.7.1942', brought to my attention by author Bill Geroux.
29. 30 July 1942 verdict on behalf of Rear Admiral Fricke, **Militärarchiv Freiburg** RM 48/266.
30. Head of the Political Department of the Northern Sea Fleet Koltiakov to the head of the Political Department Commissar of the USSR Comrade Belakhov on 17 July 1942 in **GAOPDiFAO**, Archive Section 296, Inventory 1, Book 1210.

31. Head of the Political Department of the Northern Sea Fleet Koltiakov to the head of the Political Department Commissar of the USSR Comrade Belakhov on 17 August 1942, ibid. Koltiakov's criticism of *Olopana*'s crew appears not to be justified by the evidence: the 22 July 1942 report by her master, NA London ADM 199/757 states that when first attacked by aircraft he and the crew agreed to stand and fight until the vessel was sunk or 'abandoned' (probably meaning until she had to be abandoned). The report went on to state that although there was a partial abandonment when aircraft attacked again, the men came back on board after the aircraft departed and *Olopana* was only abandoned after she was torpedoed by a U-boat.
32. 19 July 1942 letter from Admiral Nicolai Kuznetsov to Molotov, Collection 82. Inventory. 2 Case 866 pp. 24–31 Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, brought to my attention by Professor Mikhail Suprun.
33. 13 July 1942 War Cabinet Defence Committee, NA London CAB 69/4.
34. CHURCHILL'S BOOK vol. 4 pp. 238–9.
35. REYNOLDS AND PECHATNOV, pp. 124–6.
36. Antony Beavor, *Stalingrad* p. 79.
37. Reynolds and Pechatnov p. 129.
38. Ivan Maisky, *Memoirs Of A Soviet Ambassador* pp. 292–3; and Gabriel Gorodetsky ed., *The Maisky Diaries* ('Maisky Diaries') p. 453.
39. 24 July 1942 Confidential Annex, 95th War Cabinet Conclusions, Minute 2, NA London CAB 65/31. Report On Fulfilment Of The Moscow Protocol . . .", PREM 3 401/7.
40. 27 July 1942 Confidential Annex, 96th Conclusions, Minute 4, NA London CAB 65/31; and 11 August 1942 'Convoy Room (PQ Section) Trade Division' list, NA London ADM 237/168. In the latter document the cargo on the Panamanian flagged *Troubadour* was included in the US delivered figures, and the cargo on the Dutch *Paulus Potter* was included in the UK lost figures.
41. British and American documents in the British and American archives disclose that 157 men were reported to have been killed including one man who died after being flown to Archangel. However a small number of discrepancies make it safer to give an approximate figure. Fulfilment of First Protocol: The 17 September 1942 'Report On Fulfilment Of The Moscow Protocol October 1941 – June 1942', NA London PREM 401/7 appears to confirm that although the tanks and aircraft paid for or supplied on Britain's account which had been delivered to the Soviet Union numbered 1,442 and 1,337 respectively by the time the report was written, that is less than the 2,250 and 1,800 specified in the Protocol for the period until the end of June 1942, the number made available by the end of June 1942 was 2,443 and 1,836 respectively, in other words complying with the obligation in the Protocol which only obliged Britain to make these items available. The apparent delivery 'shortfall' was made up of 470 tanks and 288 aircraft lost when ships were sunk with them on board, and 531 tanks

and 211 aircraft that were being transported by sea. Rough preparatory notes for the above report suggest that 100 of the tanks en route to Russia were being sent via Persia, NA London CAB 111/27.
42. Maisky Diaries p. 456.
43. 31 July 1942 telegram from Churchill to Stalin, Reynolds and Pechatnov p. 132.
44. 31 July 1942 telegram from Churchill to Stalin, ibid. p. 133.
45. 31 July 1942 telegram from Stalin to Churchill, ibid. pp. 133–4.

Chapter 25

1. Godfrey Winn, 'P.Q. 17' ('Winn's Book') pp. 131–3. The signaler: George Bagnall account, **IWM Documents** 23380.
2. S. A. Kerslake, Coxswain *In The Northern Convoys* ('Kerslake's Book') pp. 92–3. The jetty described by Kerslake appears to be one of many alongside the sawmills lining the banks of the Dvina channel known as Maimaksa.
3. 24 January 1942 letter from HMS *Bramble*'s Captain Harvey Crombie, **NA London** ADM 223/249.
4. Samuel Frankel interview recorded on behalf of US Naval Institute's Oral History programme.
5. William Carter, *Why Me Lord?* p. 234; corroborated by Vice Admiral Sir Lennon Goldsmith report filed with his 14 March 1943 report on Convoy RA53, NA London ADM 199/73.
6. Kerslake's Book p. 93.
7. Winn's Book pp. 150–1.
8. R. Struben account, IWM Documents 3375.
9. Winn's Book p. 147.
10. Ibid. p. 148.
11. John Beardmore account, IWM Documents 92/45/1.
12. Winn's Book pp. 149–50.
13. SS *Paul Luckenbach*'s Virgil Sharp report, brought to my attention by Ian Millar.
14. William Geroux, *The Ghost Ships of Archangel* p. 195, and confirmed by Jim North when he was interviewed by me in 2019, following an introduction by William Geroux.

Chapter 26

1. W. Averell Harriman and Elie Abel, *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin 1941–1946* ('Harriman's Book'), p.154; and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr's account ('Kerr's Diary'), **NA London** FO 800/300.
2. Details of the meetings between Churchill and Stalin, NA London PREM 3/76A/12.
3. Harriman's Book p. 156.
4. Ibid. p. 185.
5. CHURCHILL'S BOOK vol. 4 p. 437.
6. Kerr's Diary, which includes an 11 and 12 June 1942 draft of an account of his meeting with Stalin that he sent to the Foreign Office's Christopher Warner; his 29 March 1942 telegram to the Foreign Office mentioning Stalin's satisfaction with British aid, NA London WO 193/645A; Clark Kerr's character, as well as Clark Kerr's description of his meeting with Stalin, and Churchill's visit to Moscow: Giles Milton, *The Stalin Affair: The Impossible Alliance that Won the War* pp. 121–5 and 144–165.
7. Night of 15–16 August 1942 meeting, NA London PREM 3/76A/12.

8. Churchill's Book vol. 4 pp. 446–7. A lively account of the meetings in Russia during Churchill's visit is to be found in Giles Milton, *The Stalin Affair: The Impossible Alliance that Won the War* pp. 147–165.
9. 28 August 1942 entry in the war diary of the British Naval Mission Moscow ('Moscow Naval Mission War Diary'), NA London ADM 199/1102.
10. 15 July 1942 letter from Lady (Juliet) Duff to Clementine Churchill, NA London PREM 3 396/2.
11. 16 July 1942 letter from Clementine Churchill to Lady (Juliet) Duff, ibid.
12. 26 July 1942 letter from J. N. Henderson at the Ministry of War Transport to T. L. Rowan, ibid.
13. 4 and 21 August 1942 Lady Duff letters to Clementine Churchill, ibid.
14. 24 July 1942 letter from Commander Richard Onslow to Admiral Tovey, ibid.
15. 30 July 1942 message from Admiral Tovey to the Admiralty, ibid.
16. 4 August 1942 message from SBNO Archangel, NA London ADM 116/4972.
17. Ronald Crees' account, **IWM Sound** 10718.
18. 23 July 1942 'Report of burial of Edward Hall, deceased plus observations made', section P2/5 Medical, US NAVAL ATTACHÉ REPORTS Box 23.
19. 22 November to 25 December 1941 entries, V.N. Il'in, V.A. Radishevskaya and T.V. Titova eds., *Voina: Zapechatlennie dni 1941–1942 War: Captured Days 1941–1942*; interviews with others who experienced Archangel famine: Elizaveta Khatanzeiskaya's article 'Everyday Life in Wartime Arkhangelsk: The Problem of Starvation and Death during the Second World War (1939-1945)', in open access Septentrio Conference Series site on internet. Deaths in Archangel: Mikhail Suprun, 'Lend-Lease food aid to Russia/USSR during the Second World War', *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 2023, 36: 1, 96-108. Absence of dogs: 17 April 1942 entry in war diary for 126 Base Unit, NA London WO 176/391. Soup kitchens: CARRAWAY'S DIARY.
20. 20 August 1942 letter from J. N. Henderson at the Ministry of War Transport to F. D. Brown, NA London PREM 3 396/2; and Surgeon Captain J. L. S. Coulter, *The Royal Naval Medical Service Vol.II: Operations* p. 440.
21. 10 September 1942 '13th Monthly Report 26th July to 31st August 1942', war diary of SBNO North Russia, NA London ADM 199/1104.
22. 21 August 1942 letter from Lady (Juliet) Duff to Clementine Churchill, NA London PREM 3 396/2.
23. 17 September 1942 letter to the Foreign Office, NA London ADM 116/4972.
24. Martin Gilbert, *Road to Victory: Winston Churchill 1941–1945* p. 218; and 10 and 28 August 1942 entries in the Moscow Naval Mission War Diary.

Chapter 27

1. PQ18's formation diagram is in this book's Appendix C.
2. 7 August 1942 Minute 1, Confidential Annex, for War

Cabinet's 107th Conclusions, **NA London** CAB 65/31.

3. Naval Staff History, *The Royal Navy and the Mediterranean Convoys* pp. 83–97.
4. REYNOLDS AND PECHATNOV p. 151.
5. 29 September 1942 report entitled 'Operation E.V.' by Rear Admiral Robert Burnett ('Scylla's Report'); and 22 September 1942 Report of Proceedings by HMS *Malcolm*'s Commander A. Russell ('Malcolm's PQ18 Report'), both NA London ADM 199/758.
6. Appendices I to III to Rear Admiral Burnett's 29 August 1942 order headed 'Operation E.V.', itself being Appendix 13 to Scylla's Report.
7. 'Cruising Order: Mercantile Convoy "P.Q.18"', NA London ADM 199/758.
8. 6 October 1942 Report of Proceedings by Commodore Boddam Whetham ('Commodore's Proceedings'), NA London ADM 199/758.
9. L. Dmitriev, 'West of Bear Island', *Labour* 30 November 1967, cited in *Gangut*, issue 3 1992 p. 113.
10. A. Iatkovskii, 'The 18th breaks out', *East Siberian Pravda*, 31 January 1974, cited in *Gangut* issue 3 1992 p. 113.
11. 6 September 1942 entry in KTB DER SKL TEIL A.
12. 7 September 1942 entry in ibid.
13. 8 September 1942 entry in ibid.; and Malcolm's PQ18 Report.
14. 12 September 1942 and following days' entries in KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER; and Malcolm's PQ18 Report.
15. Location of depth charging that turned out to be sinking of *U-88* was stated to be 75°04' N 04°49' E in 'Summary Of A/S Operations During Operation "EV"', Appendix 10 to Scylla's Report ('PQ18's Anti-Submarine Report').
16. Ibid.
17. The 13 September 1942 entries in KTB *U-408* and KTB des Admiral Nordmeer claimed respectively that at around or shortly before 10 a.m. 13 September 1942 a merchant ship was sunk by *U-408* at AB 2569 on the German grid map (approximately 75°39' N 07°50' E) and another was sunk by *U-589* at AB 2566 on the German grid map (approximately 75°45' N 07°50' E) without giving enough details to be sure which U-boat sank which of the two PQ18 vessels sunk at around this time.
18. 25 September 1942 report by Lieutenant John Laird, Commanding Officer Naval Armed Guard Unit, SS *Virginia Dare* ('Virginia Dare's Report'), US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 672.
19. 'Stalingrad's Last Journey' by V. F. Vorobiev, *Gangut*, 3, 1992, brought to my attention by Captain of the 3rd rank (equivalent to British Lieutenant Commander) Cyril Besson; and Enclosure II to 26 September report by 6th Minesweeping Flotilla's Commander Alan Jay ('Minesweepers' PQ18 Report'), NA London ADM 199/758.
20. 20 September 1942 report by Ensign Jeremiah Mahoney, commander of the Armed Guard in SS *William Moultrie* ('William Moultrie's Report'); and 26 September 1942 report by John F. Kelly,

Commanding Officer Naval Armed Guard, SS *Oliver Ellsworth* ('Oliver Ellsworth's Armed Guard Report'), US Armed Guard Reports respectively Boxes 696 and 504; 5 November 1942 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of SS Oliver Ellsworth' ('Oliver Ellsworth's Survivors' Report'); and 16 October 'Intelligence Report' concerning Oliver Ellsworth based on interview with ship's master Otto Buford ('Oliver Ellsworth's Intelligence Report'), both in US MERCHANT SHIP LOSSES REPORTS Box 240; and 26 September 1942 report by corvette *Bryony*'s Lieutenant Commander John Stewart, NA London ADM 199/758.

21. Oliver Ellsworth's Intelligence Report.
22. Oliver Ellsworth's Armed Guard Report states the hero was the armed guard Charles Ratz.
23. Ibid.
24. Oliver Ellsworth's Intelligence Report; Oliver Ellsworth's Survivors' Report: and Enclosure I to Minesweepers' PQ18 Report.
25. Malcolm's PQ18 Report; and Scylla's Report.
26. PQ18's Anti-Submarine Report.
27. British source: 'Brief Narrative of Voyage' by Rear Admiral Boddam Whetham ('Commodore's Narrative'), which appears to be referred to in the Commodore's Proceedings; Number of planes, German sources: 27 He 111 I/KG26 aircraft from Bardufoss under Werner Klümper; and 16 Ju 88 III/KG26 aircraft from Banak, i.e. in total 43 aircraft, attacked PQ18 in the big raid on 13 September 1942: 'Der Einsatz des KG26 als Torpedotraemer in Norwegen, by Werner Klümper ('Klümper's Account'), **AFHRA** Reel K1028-F; and 14 September 1942 Marinenachrichtendienst report ('Luftwaffe's 13 September 1942 Report'), **Militärarchiv Freiburg** RM7/1026. Location of attack: 76°44' N 08°30' E specified in 'Appendix A' referred to in undated document 'Convoy P.Q. 18 Summary of Air Attacks – September 13–21 1942', which was itself referred to in the 13 November 1942 report by the Director of Gunnery & Anti-Aircraft Warfare, all in NA London ADM 199/758.
28. Memoirs of Lieutenant Commander John Manners, as he was at the date when the memoirs were written, brought to my attention by his son Errol and daughter Diana.
29. 20 September 1942 report by Commander Anthony Colthurst, commander of HMS *Avenger* ('Avenger's Report'), NA London ADM 199/758.
30. 15 September 1942 letter from Rear Admiral Boddam Whetham ('Commodore's Letter') in Appendix 11 to Scylla's Report.
31. 5 January 1943 'Report of Interview with the Master, Captain C. Patton: S.S. Ocean Faith' ('Ocean Faith's Report'), NA London ADM 199/1709.
32. Virginia Dare's Report.
33. Lieutenant Commander John Manners when interviewed by me in 2018.
34. Virginia Dare's Report.
35. Horace Bell's account sent to his son on 1 November 1942 ('Copeland's Bell Account'), and preserved in his file in the **Arctic Convoy Museum**.

36. 28 September 1942 report by Ensign Thomas D. Carter, Commanding Officer Armed Guard, *Sahale*, US NAVAL ATTACHÉ REPORTS Box 25.
37. Copeland's Bell Account.
38. Undated report by Ensign Daniel Rooker, Commanding Officer Naval Armed Guard SS *Campfire*, US Armed Guard Reports.
39. Ocean Faith's Report; 19 September 1942 report by Lieutenant Albert Maynard, Armed Guard Officer in *Schoharie*, US Armed Guard Reports Box 597; and Commodore's Narrative.
40. Copeland's Bell Account.
41. Virginia Dare's Report.
42. Copeland's Bell Account.
43. 4 November 1942 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS Wacosta', US Armed Guard Reports Box 674, Entry UD93; and 25 August 1944 War Action Casualty report based on information from *Wacosta*'s master, US CASUALTY REPORTS Box 5.
44. 10 November 1942 'Summary by Survivors of SS Macbeth'; and 4 November 1942 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS Africander', respectively in US Armed Guard Reports Boxes 44 and 6, Entry UD93.
45. 30 September 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The Master, Captain D. J. Jones: S.S. Empire Beaumont' ('Empire Beaumont's Report'), NA London ADM 199/2142.
46. 13 November 1942 report by H. McDermott, Commanding Officer of the Armed Guard, SS *John Penn*, US Armed Guard Reports.
47. Minesweepers' PQ18 Report.
48. 4 November 1942 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS Oregonian', US Armed Guard Reports Box 506 UD93.
49. Empire Beaumont's Report.
50. William Moultrie's Report.
51. Avenger's Report.
52. Klümper's Account.
53. Luftwaffe's 13 September 1942 Report.
54. Commodore's Narrative.
55. 6 October 1942 message from SBNO Archangel to SBNO North Russia, NA London ADM 199/758.
56. Commodore's Narrative.
57. Commodore's Letter.
58. Commodore's Narrative.
59. 9 October 1942 'Letter of proceedings of H.M.S. Ulster Queen with Convoy P.Q.18', NA London ADM 199/758; and PQ18's Anti-Submarine Report.

Chapter 28

1. Bullshit Bob: account by Lieutenant Commander John Manners, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the first lieutenant in the destroyer *Eskimo* during PQ18.
2. 29 September 1942 report entitled 'Operation E.V.' by Rear Admiral Robert Burnett ('Scylla's Report'), **NA London** ADM 199/758.
3. Ibid.
4. 8 and 9 September 1942 entries KTB DER SKL TEIL A; 28 September 1942 report by Ensign Thomas D. Carter, Commanding Officer Armed Guard Unit, SS *Sahale* ('Sahale's Report'), US ARMED GUARD REPORTS, Box 571; 14 September 1942 entry in KTB *U-457* states *U-457* torpedoed *Atheltemplar* at AB 3643 on the German grid (approximately 75°51' N 17°50' E),

whereas Appendix 10 to Scylla's Report entitled 'Summary of A/S Operations During Operation "EV"' ('PQ18's U-boat Report') specified 'approximately' 76°17' N 16°40' E.

5. 6 October 1942 'Report Of An Interview With The Master – Captain Carl Ray M.V. Atheltemplar', NA London ADM 199/2142; and Enclosure I to 26 September report by 6th Minesweeping Flotilla's Commander Alan Jay, NA London ADM 199/758. The abandoned *Atheltemplar* appears to have been sunk by *U-408* during the afternoon of 14 September, 14 September 1942 entry in *U-408*'s KTB PG 30466/3 **Acta Norvegica Arkiv**.
6. PQ18's U-boat Report states the sinking of the U-boat which turned out to be *U-589* was at 75°40' N 20°32' E.
7. Ibid.; and 13 and 17 September 1942 entries in KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER.
8. Horace Bell's account sent to his son on 1 November 1942 ('Copeland's Account'), and preserved in his file in the **Arctic Convoy Museum**. Approximate location of Luftwaffe's 14 September attacks: 75°57' N 22°07' E, specified in 'Appendix A' referred to in undated document 'Convoy P.Q. 18 Summary of Air Attacks – September 13–21 1942', which was itself referred to in the 13 November 1942 report by the Director of Gunnery & Anti-Aircraft Warfare, all in NA London ADM 199/758.
9. Ibid. There is a conflict between the two principal German sources recording which Luftwaffe unit and how many aircraft attacked in the first wave which reached PQ18 around 1.35 p.m. 14 September 1942, and which Luftwaffe unit and how many aircraft attacked in the second wave which reached PQ18 around 3.10 p.m. 14 September 1942. However there are corresponding details in both Scylla's Report, which refers to the first wave consisting of two groups of 14 and 8 aircraft (i.e. 22 aircraft) some of which tried to attack *Avenger*, and in 'Der Einsatz des KG26 als Torpedotraemer in Norwegen', by Werner Klümper ('Klümper's Account'), **AFHRA** Reel K1028-F, which states that his 1st wing KG26 attacked before any other Luftwaffe unit with 22 aircraft, and acted as specified in Scylla's Report.
10. 'Summary of Air Attacks Of P.Q.18' in Scylla's Report's Appendix 3 ('PQ18's Air Attack Report'); and 20 September 1942 report by *Avenger*'s Commander Anthony Colthurst ('Avenger's Report'), NA London 199/758.
11. Sahale's Report; undated report by Ensign Daniel Rooker, Commanding Officer Naval Armed Guard SS *Campfire* ('Campfire's Report'), US Armed Guard Reports Box 88.
12. Scylla's Report.
13. Avenger's Report.
14. Both Klümper's Account, and the 12 October 1942 report by Luftflotte 5's commander Generaloberst Hans-Jürgen Stumpff: 'Zusammengefasster Bericht über Bekämpfung PQ18 und Aufklärung QP14 in der Zeit vom 5.9. 42 – 21.9.42' ('Luftflotte 5's Report'), in a document labelled 'Skl Akte VIII, 14, Unternehmungen, u Eispalast u

Meisen-Balz (PQ18)', **Militärarchiv Freiburg** RM7/1026 appear to be saying that 4 German aircraft were shot down during the 14 September attack's first wave, although the latter source states that the losses were sustained by the 3rd wing KG26 rather than by Klümper's 1st wing KG26. Klümper's Account states an additional 10 1st wing KG26 aircraft were so badly damaged during the 14 September raid, they could not be used in subsequent attacks.

15. Scylla's Report.
16. Ibid.
17. Scylla's Report refers to an air raid by high level bombers at around 2.05 p.m. on 14 September.
18. Ibid.
19. Hitler's instruction to Luftwaffe: Luftflotte 5's Report. Defective German intelligence: Klümper's Account.
20. Klümper's Account.
21. 25 September 1942 report by Lieutenant John Laird, Commanding Officer Naval Armed Guard Unit, SS *Virginia Dare* ('Virginia Dare's Report'), US Armed Guard Reports Box 672. *Virginia Dare*'s and other merchant ships' very approximate positions within PQ18 on 14 September: diagram with Sahale's Report; it put *Virginia Dare* in convoy position 83 (8th column, row 3).
22. Copeland's Account. The witness in relation to *Mary Luckenbach*'s position was Lieutenant R. M. Billings, 24 September 1942 report by Lieutenant R.M. Billings, Armed Guard Commander, SS *Nathanael Greene* ('Nathanael Greene's Report'), US NAVAL ATTACHÉ REPORTS.
23. Thomas Wells' account, **IWM Documents** 09/15/1.
24. This paragraph is based on: 'Report of Interview with the Master Captain C. Patton: S.S. Ocean Faith' ('Ocean Faith's Report'), NA London ADM 199/1709; Sahale's Report; the following in US Armed Guard Reports Boxes 597, 672 and 696 respectively: 19 September 1942 report by Lieutenant Albert Maynard, Armed Guard Officer: SS *Schoharie*; 'Virginia Dare's Report'; and 20 September 1942 report by Ensign Jeremiah Mahoney, Commander Armed Guard Unit SS *William Moultrie* ('William Moultrie's Report').
25. The five ships were those named in the following reports: Ocean Faith's Report; *Dan-Y-Bryn*: 'Report of Interview with The Master Captain H. Macleod: S.S. Dan-Y-Bryn' ('Dan Y Bryn's Report'), NA London ADM 199/1709; Nathanael Greene's Report; Virginia Dare's Report; and William Moultrie's Report.
26. Dan-Y-Bryn's Report.
27. Ocean Faith's Report.
28. *Nathanael Greene*'s Lieutenant Billings' sketch with Nathanael Greene's Report suggests his ship was on *Mary Luckenbach*'s port side.
29. Nathanael Greene's Report.
30. Ibid.
31. Robert Hughes, *In Perilous Seas* p. 111.
32. Copeland's Account.
33. Robert M. Browning, *United States Merchant Marine Casualties in World War II* p. 171.
34. Scylla's Report.
35. Avenger's Report; and map forming part of Appendix 3 to Scylla's Report.

36. The figures in the main text are given respectively in the 14 September 1942 entries in the KTB des Admiral Nordmeer, and in **Luftflotte 5's Daily Reports**.
37. PQ18's Air Attack Report states that the American SS *Kentucky* was abandoned after being bombed by the Luftwaffe at around 68°25' N 42°45' E.
38. Scylla's Report; Avenger's Report.
39. Klümper's Account; and 9 October 1942 report by *Ulster Queen*'s Acting Captain C. K. Adam.
40. 22 September 1942 report by *Kentucky*'s Ensign William Farrar, US Armed Guard Reports UD93.
41. PQ18's U-boat Report; and 15 and 17 September 1942 entries in KTB des Admiral Nordmeer.

Chapter 29

1. 27 September 1942 report by QP14 Commodore John Dowding, **NA London** ADM 199/721 ('QP14's Commodore's Report').
2. 13 September 1942 entry in KTB DER SKL TEIL A.
3. Conversation with van Laar, in Jelte Rep, *SOS Paulus Potter* ('Rep's Book') pp. 179 and 185 – brought to my attention by Jos Odijk.
4. 23 July 1952 letter from Sissingh to *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* newspaper as mentioned in Rep's Book – pp. 179 and 184.
5. 15 July 1942 report by Guy Maund, NA London ADM 199/2492.
6. 29 September 1942 report by *Bramble*'s Captain Harvey Crombie, NA London ADM 199/758.
7. QP14's Commodore's Report.
8. CARRAWAY'S DIARY.
9. Ibid.
10. 29 September 1942 report entitled 'Operation E.V.' by Rear Admiral Robert Burnett ('Scylla's Report'), NA London ADM 199/758.
11. 18 and 19 September 1942 entries in KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER.
12. Scylla's Report.
13. 20 September 1942 entry in KTB *U-435* states that she torpedoed the ship that turned out to be *Leda* at 76°27' N 05°32' E.
14. S.A. Kerslake, *Coxswain In The Northern Convoys* ('Kerslake's Book') pp. 98–9.
15. These words are taken partly from Lieutenant Commander A. H. Wynne-Edwards' evidence ('Wynne-Edwards' Testimony') in the 'Minutes Of Proceedings at a Board of Inquiry . . . into the circumstances attending the loss of His Majesty's Ship "Leda" on 20th September, 1942' ('Leda Inquiry Minutes') whose findings are dated 28 September 1942, and partly from his 21 September 1942 report ('Wynne-Edwards' Report') with these minutes, both in NA London ADM 199/163.
16. Testimony of Lieutenant Harry Pratt in the Leda Inquiry Minutes.
17. Testimony of Lieutenant Nicholas Lambrick in ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Kerslake's Book p. 99.
20. Wynne-Edwards' Report.
21. Wynne-Edwards' Testimony. The following source stated that 44 *Leda* officers and ratings were killed: document entitled 'R.N. Casualties In N. Russia Convoys' ('The Navy Casualty Report') sent with undated note, written after the 31 December 1942 Battle of the Barents Sea, from

the office of the Director of Naval Intelligence, NA London ADM 199/604.

22. Ibid.
23. 28 October 1942 report by Admiral Bruce Fraser, NA London ADM 199/163.
24. 25 September 1942 report by *Somali*'s Lieutenant Commander Colin Maud ('Maud's Somali Report'), NA London ADM 199/163.
25. The 20 September 1942 entry in KTB *U-255* states that the ship that turned out to be *Silver Sword* was torpedoed at AB 1648 on the German grid (approximately 75°39' N 00°30' W).
26. 2 November 1942 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the USA S/S Silver Sword', US MERCHANT SHIP LOSSES REPORTS Box 10.
27. 1 November 1942 'Summary of Submarine Operations During Passage of P.Q.18', NA London ADM 199/1834.
28. Scylla's Report.
29. The 20 September 1942 entry in KTB *U-703* stated she torpedoed the ship that turned out to be *Somali* at AB 1836 on the German grid (approximately 75°09' N 01°10' W).
30. 20 September 1942 entry, KTB U-703; Maud's Somali Report; Appendix 1 to Scylla's Report headed: 'Loss of H.M.S. Somali: Extract from Report by Captain (D), 6th Destroyer Flotilla', by *Ashanti*'s Acting Captain Richard Onslow ('Onslow's 1942 Somali Report').
31. Thomas Wells' account, **IWM Documents** 09/15/1.
32. Testimony by Lieutenant Walter Williamson, Flotilla Anti-Submarine Officer in *Somali*; Lieutenant G. Ritchie, Officer of the Watch in *Somali*; Able Seaman G.W. Windsor, an asdic rating in *Somali,* all in the minutes of the 27 September 1942 board of inquiry relating to *Somali* ('Somali Inquiry Minutes'), NA London ADM 199/163.
33. Lieutenant Walter Williamson evidence, the Somali Inquiry Minutes.
34. Ibid.; and undated report by an unidentified *Ashanti* officer ('Ashanti Officer's Account'), sent to Admiral Lord (Terence) Lewin, who at the time of *Somali*'s sinking was Sub-Lieutenant Lewin in HMS *Ashanti*, brought to my attention by Lord Lewin's son Tim.
35. 'A Tale of Two "Tribals" 'written years after the events described by the officer, who at the time of these events was Acting Captain Richard Onslow ('Onslow's Post-War Account'), brought to my attention by Tim Lewin, and Richard Onslow's son Richard.
36. Ashanti Officer's Account.
37. Onslow's Post-War Account.
38. Onslow's 1942 Somali Report.
39. Maud's Somali Report.
40. Onslow's Post-War Account; and Onslow's 1942 Somali Report.
41. Ibid.
42. Maud's testimony ('Maud's Testimony'); and Onslow's testimony, in both cases in the Somali Inquiry Minutes.
43. Report by Lieutenant M. J. Lee ('Lee's Somali Report') in the Somali Inquiry Minutes.
44. Onslow's 1942 Somali Report.

45. Onslow's Post-War Account.
46. Maud's Somali Report; and Maud's Testimony.
47. Onslow's Post-War Account. It should be noted that Maud's Somali Report and Maud's Testimony combined with Onslow's 1942 Somali Report, all of which were contemporaneous, have led me to accept that the extremely bad weather arrived just after *Somali* began to sink, rather than prior to the beginning of the sinking as described in Onslow's Post-War Account.
48. A compilation of words from both Onslow's 1942 Somali Report and Onslow's Post-War Account.
49. Onslow's Post-War Account refers to these words being spoken by 'the Pilot'; I have assumed from the context this must be the officer from *Somali* who Onslow states came on board *Ashanti*.
50. Onslow's Post-War Account.
51. Lee's Somali Report.
52. Maud's Somali Report.
53. Onslow's Post-War Account.
54. Ibid.
55. Lee's Somali Report.
56. Maud's Somali Report.
57. Ashanti Officer's Account.
58. Onslow's Post-War Account.
59. Ashanti Officer's Account.
60. Onslow's 1942 Somali Report.
61. Onslow's Post-War Account.
62. Onslow's 1942 Somali Report.
63. Onslow's Post-War Account.
64. Lee's Somali Report states that *Lord Middleton*'s crew picked up 19 men but one of them died after being 'rescued'; and The Navy Casualty Report.
65. Onslow's Post-War Account.
66. Scylla's Report.
67. 3 November 1942 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of U.S.A. SS Bellingham' ('Bellingham's QP14 Report'), US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 57 Entry UD93; and Scylla's Report. The 22 September 1942 entry in KTB *U-435* states the three ships were torpedoed at AA 9286 on the German grid (approximately 70°57' N 11°10' W).
68. 16 October 1942 'Report of an Interview with the Master, Captain Harold James Kay: S.S. Ocean Voice' ('Ocean Voice's QP14 Report'), NA London ADM 199/1709.
69. Bellingham's QP14 Report; and *Gray Ranger*'s undated 'List of the Crew which is undated but stamped with the date 30 March 1943, NA London BT 38/2175.
70. Ocean Voice's QP14 Report; and undated report by *Zamalek*'s Captain Owen Morris ('Zamalek's Report'), NA London ADM 237/177.
71. Rep's Book pp. 189–90.
72. 23 September 1942 entry in KTB des Admiral Nordmeer.
73. QP14's Commodore's Report; Zamalek's QP14 Report; undated report by *Benjamin Harrison*'s Lieutenant Paul W. Thompson; and 1 October 1942 report by *Deer Lodge's* Ensign Thomas Delate, latter two reports US Armed Guard Reports Boxes 61 and 166 respectively.
74. Undated report by *Troubadour*'s Ensign Howard Carraway; and 16 December 1942 report by *Winston Salem*'s Lieutenant Robert Chitrin, US Armed Guard Reports Boxes 661 and 718 respectively.

Chapter 30

1. REYNOLDS AND PECHATNOV p. 155.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. pp. 158–9.
4. Antony Beevor, *Stalingrad* pp. 161–5 and 220–2.
5. First Churchill to Roosevelt telegram in series discussing post-PQ18 Arctic convoys: 22 September 1942, CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT CORRESPONDENCE BOOK pp. 605–6.
6. 5 October 1942 from Roosevelt to Churchill, ibid. pp. 616–7.
7. 7 October 1942 Churchill to Roosevelt telegram text ('Churchill's 7 October 1942 Telegram') with 6 October 1942 War Cabinet Conclusions 134 W.M.42, **NA London** CAB 65/28.
8. Admiralty Note with ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Churchill's 7 October 1942 Telegram.
11. Ibid.; and Roosevelt to Churchill 7 October 1942, Churchill and Roosevelt Correspondence Book p. 624.
12. Reynolds and Pechatnov p. 160.
13. Roosevelt to Churchill 8 October 1942, Churchill and Roosevelt Correspondence Book p. 630.
14. 8 October 1942 Churchill to Stalin, Reynolds and Pechatnov p. 160.
15. Ibid. p. 162.
16. Ibid. pp. 167–8.
17. Ibid. pp. 165–6.
18. Harry Hutson, *Arctic Interlude: Independent To North Russia* ('Hutson's Book') pp. 141–4; and 13 November 1942 report by *Richard H. Alvey*'s Ensign Robert S. Platt, US NAVAL ATTACHÉ REPORTS Box 25.
19. 2 November 1942 entry in KTB *U-586* states the sinking was at AA 9469 on the German grid (approximately 70°15' N 13°10' W).
20. Ibid.
21. 4 November 1942 entry in KTB *U-354* states the torpedoing was at AA 9513 on the German grid (approximately 70°45' N 12°10' W).
22. 14 November 1942 report by trawler *St Elstan*'s Lieutenant R. M. Roberts, in Hutson's Book pp. 117–118; and 21 January 1943 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS William Clark', US MERCHANT SHIP LOSSES REPORTS Box 252.
23. 6 November 1942 entry in KTB *U-625*, a translation of which is laid out in Hutson's Book p. 105, states these events were at AB 3388 on the German grid (approximately 76°15' N 18°30' E).
24. 12 November 1942 'Armed Guard Report: S.S. Hugh Williamson' by Ensign Roger Philip Wise, US NAVAL ATTACHÉ REPORTS, Box 25 UD 44.
25. Ibid.
26. Hutson's Book pp. 141–4 and 179.
27. Ibid.
28. Details of *Donbass* sinking brought to my attention by Captain of the 3rd rank Kirill Lukyanov after he referred to *Donbass'* Captain Tsilke's account in Konstantin Badigin, *On The Sea Roads.*
29. The sources in this chapter's Note 29 confirm the sailing of *Dekabrist* was at the end of October 1942 without agreeing on the exact date.
30. 4 and 5 October 1942 entries in KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER.
31. The experiences of the *Dekabrist* survivors described in this chapter

are taken from the following sources: what some commentators believe to be a corrected version of the diary of Stepan Belyaev, *Dekabrist*'s captain, which was published in the 21, 23, 26 and 28 January 1960 editions of *Vodnyj Transport* (Maritime Transport); an abbreviated version of the account by *Dekabrist's* doctor Nadezdha Natalich which was published in *Polyarnaya Pravda* (Polar Truth) on 20 July 1979; pp. 176–180 of *Polyarniy Krug* (*The Polar Circle*), compiled by A.V. Shumilov: chapter: Perezhitoye: iz vospominaniy sudovogo medika parohoda "Dekabrist" (A testimony of what was experienced: from the memoirs of the ship's doctor on the vessel "Dekabrist") by Nadezhda Natalich. The Norwegian translations of all the abovementioned articles which are filed in the archives of the Norsk Polarinstitutts Bibliotek were brought to my attention and translated into English by Håvard Hansen in November 2022 while he was working as a weather observer at the Hope Island meteorological station. An extract from the Belyaev articles, and the Natalich article are also to be found in the U-boot Museum.

32. Report by *John Walker*'s Lieutenant Milton A. Stein, US Naval Attaché Reports Box 25.
33. Ibid.; and 4 October 1942 entry in KTB des Admiral Nordmeer.
34. Hutson's Book pp. 42–3.
35. G. A. Rudnev, *Na Morskih Dorogah Voini* (*The Naval Paths of War*) p. 142.
36. Charles T. Beke, ed., *Voyages By the North-East Towards Cathay and China Undertaken by The Dutch in the Years 1594, 1595 and 1596 by Gerrit De Vere* pp. 99 and 194. The literal translation is the Saved House but given the context, I felt House of the Saved captures an alternative meaning that might also have been intended.

Chapter 31

1. Section of 17 June 1943 'Report Of An Interview With The Master, Captain D.M. Williams and 3rd Officer, Mr. D.F. Clark: S.S. Chulmleigh' ('Chulmleigh Report') written by Captain Williams ('Williams' Report'), **NA London** ADM 199/2143.
2. Chulmleigh Report; and the account by Richard Peyer ('Peyer's Account') brought to my attention by his son; and the report by Captain Williams' nephew, which contained Peyer's Account, brought to my attention by the daughter of Robert Paterson, *Chulmleigh*'s Radio Officer.
3. Peyer's Account.
4. Williams' Report.
5. *Tuna*'s war diary, NA London ADM 199/1844.
6. Williams' Report.
7. Ibid.
8. Peyer's Account.
9. Section of Chulmleigh's Report written by David Clark ('Clark's Report').
10. Williams' Report.
11. Peyer's Account.
12. Ibid.
13. Williams' Report.
14. Clark's Report.
15. Peyer's Account.
16. The approximate location is specified in an undated remnant of a

telegram sent to the Admiralty after the survivors were found, NA London BT 381/2129. The Norwegian archaeologist Per Kyrre Reymert, formerly the director of archaeology at the Svalbard Museum in Longyearbyen, Svalbard, and the author of *Fangsthytter på Svalbard 1794-2015* (*Hunting cabins on Svalbard 1794-2015*), a book about the huts on Svalbard including Spitzbergen, has informed me that the hut where the *Chulmleigh* survivors were found was at Kapp Mineral, around one and a half miles north-east of Kapp Linné. It was burned down some time after the rescue. When the son of *Chulmleigh* sailor Andrew Hardy visited the site more recently, he found the foundations of the burned down hut, the dip in the ground left after the *Chulmleigh* sailors' remains were exhumed from the mass grave where they had initially been interred, so that they could be reburied in Tromso, and the remains of a lifeboat that may well have been the boat used by the survivors before they reached the huts.

17. Clark's Report.
18. Ibid.; and Williams' Report – which is also the source of all subsequent quotes and information attributed to him in the main text.
19. Dates of events during the survivors' stay in the hut should be taken as approximate; they are based on estimated dates worked out using the timings in Peyer's Account, Williams' Report and Clark's Report and the documents relating to *Chulmleigh* in NA London BT 381/2129 including the 20 July 1942 'List of the Crew' ('Chulmleigh's Crew List').
20. Williams' Report.
21. Peyer's Account – which is also the source of all subsequent quotes and information attributed to him in the main text; and Chulmleigh's Crew List.
22. Robert Paterson's account ('Paterson's Account') in the article headed 'Seaman's Epic Experience On Arctic Isle' in 25 June 1943 edition of *The Shetland Times* brought to my attention by Richard Peyer's son.
23. Brought to my attention by Douglas C. Smith in his article in *Shetland Life* 'Chumleigh Revisited', and by the son of *Chulmleigh* seaman Andrew Hardy.
24. Paterson's Account.
25. Ibid.
26. Thoralv Lund, *Kalde Krigsår: Den Norske Innsets På Og For Svalbard 1940–1945* (*Cold War Years: The Norwegian Efforts On And For Svalbard 1940-1945*) pp. 117–118, brought to my attention by Svalbard Museum's archivist Haakon Kvaale; and an account based at least in part on the experiences of the Norwegian Thoralv Lund, who cared for those in the Barentsburg settlement during the war; it was brought to my attention by *Chulmleigh*'s Andrew Hardy's son, as were many of the sources used by me to tell the *Chulmleigh* story.
27. Williams' Report.
28. Ibid. Clark's amputated fingers: article headed 'Another Epic Of The Sea' in 10 November 1943 edition of the *Western Morning News*.
29. Ibid.

30. Undated cutting apparently from the *Daily Express* brought to my attention by Richard Peyer's son.
31. 25 July 1943 entry in KTB *U-703*.
32. Leutnant Heinz Schlott's undated account, *U-703* file, **U-Boot Museum**.
33. 9 May 1980 letter from *U-703* crew member Hans Noack to Reinhart Reche ('Noack's Letter'), *U-703* section of Selinger collection, in the U-Boot Museum. The location of the huts occupied by the Russians, and the distance between them, is taken from the privately published book *Hopen 2014: Ishavøy og meteorologisk stasjon*, by Oddmund Søreide and Tor Børsting, brought to my attention by Håvard Hansen.
34. 7 October 1943 entry in KTB *U-703*.
35. Noack's Letter.

Chapter 32

1. CHURCHILL'S BOOK vol. 4 p. 537.
2. REYNOLDS AND PECHATNOV p. 179.
3. 6 December 1942 report by *Sahale*'s Ensign Thomas D. Carter, US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 571 UD93.
4. 17 November 1942 Report of Proceedings and attached narrative by Convoy's Commodore William Meek ('QP15's Commodore's Report'), **NA London** ADM 237/166.
5. V. Shackleton's account, **IWM Documents** 96/22/1. QP15 shipping: QP15's Commodore's Report.
6. The 23 November 1942 entry in the KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER states *Goolistan* and *Kusnetz Lesov* were respectively torpedoed by *U-625* at AB 3592 on the German grid (approximately 75°33' N 16°30' E) and by *U-601* at AB 3569 on the German grid (approximately 75°39' N 16°50' E), both of which locations are north-west of Bear Island; and QP15's Commodore's Report.
7. 'The Search For Sokrushitelni Is To Be Terminated' by V.I. Usov, *Gangut* journal edition 1 pp. 86–9, brought to my attention by Captain of the 3rd rank Kirill Lukyanov.
8. 'Sokrushitelni's Last Journey' by P. I. Nikiforov ('Nikiforov's Account'), *Gangut* journal edition 7 pp. 118–25, 1994, brought to my attention by Captain of the 3rd rank Kirill Lukyanov; and Arseni Golovko, *With The Red Fleet* pp. 133–40.
9. Nikiforov's Account.
10. TOVEY'S DESPATCH.
11. Appendix I to the 12 January 1943 report by *Obedient*'s Lieutenant Commander David Kinloch ('Obedient's JW51B Report'), NA London ADM 199/73.
12. Number of escorts: Appendix I; and number of merchant ships and their relative location: Appendix III, both appendices forming part of ibid.
13. Force R's movements 18-27 December 1942: War Diary of the Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet 16-31 December 1942, NA London ADM 199/427.
14. Force R's approximate position at 8.45 a.m. 31 December 1942 according to Burnett's 6 January 1943 report ('Force R's Report'), NA London ADM 199/73, was 73°47' N

28°54' E; Force R's prior movements shown in Map 16 are based on the BRITISH ARCTIC CONVOYS HISTORY'S Plan 14.

15. Force R's Report.
16. 25 miles to the north of the convoy: Report entitled 'Action In Defence Of Convoy J.W. 51B' with 25 January 1943 Tovey memorandum, NA London ADM 199/73.
17. 30 December 1942 entries in KTB *U-354;* KTB des Admiral Nordmeer; and KTB DES MARINEGRUPPENKOMMANDOS NORD. *U-354* reported the convoy was sighted at the place described on the German grid as AB 6388 (approximately 73°33' N 18°30' E).
18. 30 December 1942 entry in KTB *U-354*.
19. Vizeadmiral Theodor Krancke's report, ('Krancke's Report'), **NA Maryland**, RG38, Records of the Chief of Naval Operations, Entry UD-WW 24: Translated German War Diaries, 1941-45 Box 143.
20. 30 December 1942 entries in KTB des Admiral Nordmeer; and KTB *U-354*.
21. 30 December 1942 entry in KTB DES BEFEHLSHABERS DER KREUZER.
22. 30 December 1942 entry in KTB DES KREUZERS ADMIRAL HIPPER.
23. Krancke's Report.
24. The approximate location can be gleaned from the following slightly different coordinates taken from the following sources: The 31 December 1942 entry in the KTB des Befehlshabers der Kreuzer states the alarm was given at 7.58 a.m. that morning when *Hipper* was at AC 4395 on the German grid (approximately 73°39' N 28°30' E), but 'Skizze 1' entitled 'Gefechtskizze Kreuzer "Admiral Hipper" für das Gefecht am Geleitzug am 31.12.1942', with the KTB des Kreuzers Admiral Hipper, suggests the alarm was given with *Hipper* at around 73°25' N 27°40' E.
25. 30–31 December 1942 entries in the KTB des Befehlshabers der Kreuzer.
26. Ibid.
27. 2 January 1943 report on behalf of the destroyer *Onslow* ('Onslow's JW51B Report'), NA London ADM 199/73.
28. 30 December 1942 entry in KTB *U-354*.
29. Dudley Pope, *73 North: The Battle of the Barents Sea* p. 151.
30. Appendix I to Obedient's JW51B Report; and British Arctic Convoys History p. 93.
31. Appendix I and VII to Obedient's JW51B Report.
32. Alan Ross, *Blindfold Games* ('Ross' Book') p.164.
33. Appendix I to Obedient's JW51B Report.
34. Ross' Book p. 165; and Appendix VII to Obedient's JW51B Report.
35. *Achates'* Lieutenant Loftus Peyton Jones' 2 January 1943 report ('Achates' JW51B Report'), NA London ADM 199/73; and Obedient's JW51B Report.
36. George Charlton's account, brought to my attention by Michael Foight, Director of Distinctive Collectives and Digital Engagement at Villanova University's Falvey Memorial Library in America.

37. Loftus Peyton Jones, *Wartime Wanderings* ('Peyton Jones' Book') p. 121, brought to my attention by his son James, and the abovementioned Michael Foight.
38. Tom Marchant's account ('Marchant's Account'), IWM Documents 99/42/1.
39. Ross' Book p. 165.
40. Appendix I to Obedient's JW51B Report.
41. Achates' JW51B Report; Peyton Jones' Book p. 122; and transcript of Peyton Jones' evidence with 8 January 1943 report of the Board of Inquiry concerning the loss of HMS *Achates*, NA London ADM 199/73. The convoy did not turn to the south-east until around 10.15 a.m.: Appendix IV Obedient's JW51B Report.
42. Peyton Jones' Book pp. 122–3.
43. Undated 'Artilleristischer Bericht über das Gefecht am 31. Dezember 1942' ('Hipper's Regenbogen Artillery Report'), filed with the undated 'Gefechtsbericht Kreuzer "Admiral Hipper" über das Gefecht mit engl. Sicherungsstreitkräften am 31. Dezember 1942' ('Hipper's Regenbogen Report') written by Kapitän Hans Hartmann, which is in its turn referred to in the 31 December 1942 entry in the KTB des Kreuzers Admiral Hipper.
44. Hipper's Regenbogen Report.
45. British torpedoes' range: Marchant's Account.
46. Time when *Hipper* closed in on *Onslow* and the movements of the other destroyers; and distance separating ships: respectively Appendix I to Obedient's JW51B Report; and Hipper's Regenbogen Artillery Report.
47. Ross' Book p. 167. Time when *Hipper* fired on the right bearing for *Onslow*: Appendix I to Obedient's JW51B Report; and Hipper's Regenbogen Artillery Report.
48. Appendix I to Obedient's JW51B Report.
49. Marchant's Account.
50. Ross' Book p. 167.
51. Ibid.
52. Appendix I to Obedient's JW51B Report.
53. Marchant's Account; Onslow's JW51B Report states *Hipper* hit *Onslow* at 10.19 a.m. 31 December 1942.
54. Account by the officer who in 1942 was HMS *Orwell*'s Lieutenant Commander Nigel Austen ('Austen's Account'), IWM Documents 11/34/1.
55. Appendix I to Obedient's JW51B Report.
56. Austen's Account.
57. Appendix I to Obedient's JW51B Report.
58. Austen's Account.
59. Hipper's Regenbogen Report.
60. Hipper's Regenbogen Artillery Report. *Bramble*'s mission: Appendix III to Obedient's JW51B Report.
61. Appendix VII to Obedient's JW51B Report.
62. 8 January 1943 Board of Inquiry report into loss of HMS *Bramble*, NA London ADM 199/73.
63. Hipper's Regenbogen Report.

Chapter 33

1. Tom Marchant's account, **IWM Documents** 99/42/1.

2. Ibid.
3. Thomas Hanley's account, **IWM Sound** 12812.
4. Alan Ross, *Blindfold Games* pp. 161–3 and 168.
5. 31 December 1942 entry in KTB DES KREUZERS LÜTZOW.
6. 31 December 1942 entry in the KTB DES BEFEHLSHABERS DER KREUZER; and undated 'Gefechtsbericht Kreuzer "Admiral Hipper" über das Gefecht mit engl. Sicherungsstreitkräften am 31. Dezember 1942' ('Hipper's Regenbogen Report') written by Kapitän Hans Hartmann, KTB DES KREUZERS ADMIRAL HIPPER.
7. Undated 'Artilleristischer Bericht über das Gefecht am 31. Dezember 1942' ('Hipper's Regenbogen Artillery Report'), filed with Hipper's Regenbogen Report.
8. This sentence, taken from Loftus Peyton Jones' testimony at the January 1943 Inquiry into the sinking of *Achates*, has been inserted into the quotation from Loftus Peyton Jones, *Wartime Wanderings* ('Peyton Jones' Book') specified in Note 9 below.
9. Peyton Jones' Book p. 124; and *Achates*' Lieutenant Loftus Peyton Jones' 2 January 1943 report ('Achates' JW51B Report'), **NA London** ADM 199/73.
10. Peyton Jones' Book p. 125.
11. Achates' JW51B Report.
12. Peyton Jones' Book p. 125.
13. Ibid. pp. 125–6.
14. G.F. Barker, Villanova University's Falvey Memorial Library in America brought to my attention by Michael Foight, Director of Distinctive Collectives and Digital Engagement at the Library.
15. Achates' JW51B Report; and position of *Achates*' ERA Mess: Testimony of Chief Stoker Wilfred Brown, with 8 January 1943 report of the Board of Inquiry concerning the loss of HMS *Achates*, NA London ADM 199/73.
16. George Charlton, Villanova University's Falvey Memorial Library in America, brought to my attention by Michael Foight, Director of Distinctive Collectives and Digital Engagement at the Library.
17. Peyton Jones' Book p. 126.
18. Ibid. p. 125.
19. Hipper's Regenbogen Artillery Report; 5 January 1943 report by convoy Commodore Robin Melhuish, NA London ADM 199/73; and Appendix I to the 12 January 1943 report by *Obedient*'s Lieutenant Commander David Kinloch ('Obedient's JW51B Report'), NA London ADM 199/73.
20. Their delay through being out of position, as mentioned in Chapter 32, had been exacerbated by Rear Admiral Burnett temporarily mistaking two JW51B ships – the British trawler *Vizalma* and a straggling merchant ship – to his north for the enemy (their approximate position relative to Force R at dawn on 31 December 1942 can be seen in Map 17). He only turned towards the convoy to his south at around 9.50 a.m. after he had seen the flashes of the guns in that direction as the Germans attacked JW51B, Burnett's 6 January

1943 report ('Force R's Report'), NA London ADM 199/73.

21. Force R's Report; Petty Officer Fuller's account ('Fuller's Account'), **IWM Documents** 2425. Although *Sheffield*'s 'Gunnery Report On Action With German Surface Craft 31st December 1942' ('Sheffield's Gunnery Report'), Enclosure 1 to Force R's Report, states that *Sheffield* was 16,900 yards away (over 9 miles) from *Hipper*, *Jamaica's* Gunnery Control Officer's Narrative (Enclosure 5 to Force R's Report) says *Jamaica* was 12,400 yards away (7 miles). Tovey stated in his 9 February 1943 report in NA London ADM 199/73 that *Sheffield*'s specification of the distance was probably erroneous.
22. Fuller's Account.
23. Henry Brown, who served in one of *Sheffield*'s aft gun turrets during the engagement, **Arctic Convoy Museum.**
24. Sheffield's Gunnery Report.
25. Hipper's Regenbogen Artillery Report.
26. Hipper's Regenbogen Report
27. Force R's Report.
28. 31 December 1942 entry in KTB Kommando 5 Zerstörerflottille KTB, **Militärarchiv Freiburg** RM 58/23.
29. Force R's Report; and map in its Enclosure 2.
30. Fuller's Account.
31. Anlage 3e to KTB DES KREUZERS ADMIRAL HIPPER.
32. Fuller's Account; and *Sheffield*'s John Somers' post-war account (also quoted on p. 435), brought to my attention by his nephew Alan, which confirms *Friedrich Eckoldt* was on *Sheffield*'s starboard side when the cruiser passed the German destroyer.
33. Herbert A. A. Twiddy, *My Teenage War And Later Career* pp. 19–20.
34. Appendix I to Obedient's JW51B Report.
35. 20 January 1943 Official Admiralty Communiqué relating to loss of *Bramble*, NA London ADM 199/73; and Hipper's Regenbogen Report.
36. 31 December 1942 entry in KTB des Befehlshabers der Kreuzer; and Force R's Report.
37. Peyton Jones' Book pp. 128–9.
38. Sidney Kerslake, *Coxswain In The Northern Convoys* ('Kerslake's Book') p. 114.
39. Peyton Jones' Book p. 130.
40. Kerslake's Book p. 114.
41. Peyton Jones' Book pp. 130.
42. Survivors lists attached to Achates' JW51B Report. Number of dead: 'Fidus Achates', an unpublished book edited by David and Joan Wood, IWM Documents 12796.
43. Officers Steward Allan Jones and Canteen Manager G. Drummond, posthumously mentioned in despatches, Appendix XI Part II to Obedient's JW51B Report, NA London ADM 1/14229.
44. Peyton Jones' Book pp. 131–2.
45. Appendix VI to Obedient's JW51B Report.
46. Surgeon Captain J.L.S. Coulter, *The Royal Naval Medical Service Volume II Operations* ('Medical History Vol. II') p. 448.
47. Ibid.; and Part I of Home Fleet Destroyer Command War Diary for period from 16 to 31 December 1942, NA London ADM 199/429.

48. Surgeon Commander J.L.S. Coulter, *The Royal Naval Medical Service Vol. I Administration* pp. 405–6, and p. 441 which states Russian permission to open the hospital was granted on 5 October 1942.
49. Tovey's Report 'Action In Defence of Convoy J.W.51B' circulated on 25 January 1943, NA London ADM 199/73.
50. 23 January 1943, 'Abschliessender Bericht über das Gefecht im Nordmeer am 31. Dezember 1942', Militärarchiv Freiburg RM 7/129.
51. Nikita Khrushchev, *Memoirs* vol.1: *Commissar* p. 226. Number of trucks sent to Russia prior to the surrender of the Germans in and around Stalingrad: I have struggled to find precise figures that clearly include all trucks sent to Russia which were made in America as well as in Britain. A document referring rather misleadingly to 'Military Stores from United Kingdom production . . .', in NA London CAB 111/110, when interpreted in the light of other documents in NA London CAB 111/109, including one headed 'Final Figures Of Arrivals And Losses For Each Convoy Up To And Including P.Q.16', and the 29 July 1942 Office of the War Cabinet letter that accompanied it, appears to confirm that 3,037 trucks arrived in Russia during 1941–2, including 2,636 either made in the UK, or made in America for the British-Russia account, which were carried in the Arctic convoys that sailed prior to the sailing of PQ17.
52. Vizeadmiral Theodor Krancke's report ('Krancke's Report'), **NA Maryland**, RG38, Records of the Chief of Naval Operations, Entry UD-WW 24: Translated German War Diaries, 1941-45 Box 143.
53. Krancke's Report.
54. Grand Admiral Erich Raeder, *My Life* p. 370; Jak Mallmann Showell, ed., *Fuehrer Conferences On Naval Affairs* 1939–1945 pp. 306–8.
55. Krancke's Report.
56. Decision to surrender: memoir of German 194 Regiment's general Friedrich Roske, quoted in Iain MacGregor, *The Lighthouse Of Stalingrad* p. 265.
57. Antony Beavor, *Stalingrad* p. 396.

Chapter 34

1. REYNOLDS AND PECHATNOV p. 190.
2. 9 January 1943 Churchill note to Eden, **NA London** FO 954/3B/261.
3. 10 January 1943 Churchill to Stalin, Reynolds and Pechatnov pp. 194–5.
4. BRITISH ARCTIC CONVOYS HISTORY pp. 138 and 141.
5. WOODMAN'S BOOK p. 332; and 27 and 29 January 1943 entries in KTB DES FÜHRER DER UNTERSEEBOOTE NORWEGEN. The sunk merchant ship on 3 February 1943 was RA52's *Greylock*, 9 February 1943 report by RA52's Commodore R. Melhuish, NA London ADM 199/73.
6. Details supplied by Russ Riddell senior's son Russ and granddaughter Jennifer.
7. RA 53 consisted of 17 US, 9 British, 3 Panamanian and 1 Soviet merchant ships, Convoy formation, NA London ADM 237/956.
8. 14 March 1943 report by Captain I.M.R. Campbell, Captain (D) Third

Destroyer Flotilla ('Milne's Report'), NA London ADM 199/73.

9. Ibid.; two NA London ADM 199/73 documents: 18 March 1943 'Report Of Proceedings . . . Passage Of Convoy R.A. 53' by *Scylla*'s Commanding Officer ('Scylla's RA53 Report'); and list of convoy's daily positions filed with 14 March 1943 report by RA53's Commodore Vice Admiral Sir L. Goldsmith ('RA53's Commodore's Report'); and 2-5 March 1943 entries in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen.
10. The 5 March 1943 entry in KTB *U-255* states the torpedoing took place at AB 5939 on the German grid (approximately 72°21' N 10°50' E).
11. Ibid.; and 17 March 1943 report by Arthur C. Krohn, Commander of Armed Guard in SS Executive ('Executive Armed Guard Report'), US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 215 UD93.
12. 5 March entry in KTB *U-255*.
13. Undated and unsigned report which 1st Mate Gordon McAllister told his sons Gordon junior, Doug and Kevin was written by him ('Executive 1st Mate's Report'), US CASUALTY REPORTS Box 3 A1 190; and Executive Armed Guard Report.
14. Executive Armed Guard Report.
15. Executive 1st Mate's Report; 14 March 1943 'Report Of Proceedings For The Passage Of Convoy R.A. 53' by the Captain (D) Eighth Destroyer Flotilla in *Faulknor* ('Faulknor's RA53 Report'), NA London ADM 199/73.
16. 17 March 1943 report by Lieutenant William Carter concerning *Richard Bland* ('Carter's Richard Bland Report'), US Armed Guard Reports Box 547; and William A. Carter, *Why Me Lord?* ('Carter's Book') pp. 10–12.
17. Carter's Book pp. 15–17. Weather: Milne's Report.
18. Milne's Report; and 12 March 1943 'REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS FOR PERIOD 1ST TO 11TH MARCH 1943' by R.M Roberts, the lieutenant-in-command of *St Elstan* ('St Elstan's RA53 Report'), NA London ADM 199/73.
19. The 24 June 1943 'Supplement to Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS Puerto Rican' ('Puerto Rican Survivors Summary Supplement'), US CASUALTY RECORDS Box 38. The 9 March 1943 entry in the KTB *U-586* states the torpedoing was at AE 3574 on the German grid (approximately 67°21' N 08°22' W). But it is quite likely that *Puerto Rican*'s SOS recorded in Faulknor's RA53 Report, which refers to 66°44' N 10°41' W, was more accurate given that St Elstan's RA53 Report confirms that, while responding to the SOS, she passed a very large expanse of oil at 66°44' N 10°36' W, and her crew found a waterlogged boat in the vicinity.
20. 21 May 1943 report of August Wallenhaupt interview ('Wallenhaupt's Interview'), US Casualty Records Box 38.
21. 'Torpedoed in the Arctic' by Carl B. Wall in 24 June 1944 edition of the magazine *Liberty* ('Wallenhaupt Liberty Article'), US Casualty Records Box 38.
22. Wallenhaupt's Interview.
23. Wallenhaupt Liberty Article.
24. Ibid.

25. Wallenhaupt's Interview.
26. Wallenhaupt Liberty Article.
27. Faulknor's RA53 Report.
28. Carter's Book p. 18.
29. The 10 March 1943 entry in the KTB *U-255* appears to say the torpedoing at 4.36 p.m. was at AE 2824 on the German grid (approximately 67°03' N 14°22' W). This is close to the location picked up by the telegraphist in Faulknor from *Richard Bland*'s SOS: 66°53' N 14°10' W, Faulknor's RA53 Report. Westward course: 27 April 1943 'Summary of Statements by Survivors SS Richard Bland' ('Richard Bland's Survivors Report'), US Armed Guard Reports Box 547.
30. Carter's Book p. 19.
31. Ibid. pp. 9-10; and Carter's Richard Bland Report.
32. The 10 March 1943 entry in the KTB *U-255* states the torpedo was fired at 7.47 p.m.
33. Temperature: 3rd Mate Richard Braithwaite's undated sworn statement, US Casualty Records Box 38. Sludge: Carter's Book p. 24.
34. Carter's Book pp. 26–8.
35. Carter's Richard Bland Report.
36. 22 April 1943 report by Lieutenant William Carter, US Armed Guard Reports Box 547.
37. 24 August 1943 note from Navy Department Board of Decorations and Medals, US Armed Guard Reports Box 547.
38. George Carlson account courtesy of his daughters Hannah, Pat and Sue.
39. Richard Bland's Survivors Report.
40. St Elstan's RA53 Report.
41. Wallenhaupt Liberty Article.
42. Carter's Book p. 246.
43. Wallenhaupt's Interview; and Wallenhaupt Liberty Article.
44. Wallenhaupt Liberty Article.
45. 'Puerto Rican Survivors Summary Supplement'.
46. Scylla's RA53 Report; and Faulknor's RA53 Report.
47. 19 March 1943 note from NOB Iceland, US Casualty Records Box 38.
48. RA53's Commodore's Report.

Chapter 35

1. 30 March 1943 message Churchill to Stalin, REYNOLDS AND PECHATNOV pp. 225–6.
2. Gabriel Gorodetsky, ed., *The Maisky Diaries*, p. 503.
3. Ibid. p. 504.
4. Reynolds and Pechatnov p. 227.
5. Professor A. N. Yakolev with V. N. Haustov, V. P. Naumov, and N. S. Plotnikova, eds., *Lubyanka: Stalin and NKVD-NKGB-GUKR Smersh* ('Lubyanka Book') pp. 433–5, brought to my attention by Liudmila Novikova, 'Criminalized Liaisons: Soviet Women and Allied Sailors in Wartime Arkhangel'sk' ('Criminalised Liaisons Article'), Journal of Contemporary History 2020 vol. 55 issue 4, pp. 745–63.
6. 3 July 1943 comments at meeting of the bureau of the Archangel Communist Party committee, **GAOPDiFAO** Section 296, Inventory 1, Book 1445, p. 32, brought to my attention by the Criminalised Liaisons Article. Malkov complaint: Transcript of the 14 November 1941 meeting of the Archangel regional party activists, GAOPDiFAO Section 296, Inventory 1, Book 934, p. 84;

British laughing at empty shop shelves: V.N. Il'in, V.A. Radishevskaya, T.V. Titova, eds., *Voina: Zapechatlennie dni 1941–1942* (*War: Captured Days 1941–1942*) 16 August 1941 entry; foreign seamen looking down on Russians: report 'On board the U.S.S.R. leading Destroyer "Baku" 22nd October to 31st October 1943' with 7 November 1943 letter from unnamed lieutenant, NA London ADM 199/2492; Billie Moore's diary, **IWM Documents** 20866; venereal disease concerns: 12 October 1943 report by Captain A.B. Taylor, RAMC, **NA London** WO 222/1552; frozen Russian corpses, and channel cut in ice on Dvina icing over quickly: Christopher Stiff account, IWM Documents 8572.1; cut with razor blade: 29 June 1945 letter from William McCormick and Warren Asplin to US Naval Attaché, Murmansk, US NAVAL ATTACHÉ REPORTS Box 26.

7. 22 May 1944 report by Lieutenant A. Penn ('The Archangel NKVD Report'), NA London ADM 199/2492.
8. Gluzman's report about the Interclub in 1943, **GAAO** Section 1649, Inventory 2, book 3 pp. 34–7. NKVD agents in institutions: The Archangel NKVD Report.
9. WOODMAN'S BOOK pp. 333–5.
10. Gluzman report covering 8 January to 29 December 1945 ('Gluzman's Summary'), **GAAO** Section 1649, Inventory 2, book 6; and behaviour like in captialistc pub: Gluzman report covering 1943, Section 1649, Inventory 2, File 3.
11. 4 July 1943 resolution by Malkov, against Anastasia Sidorenko, **GAOPDiFAO** Section 296, Inventory 1, Book 1458, page 20.
12. 5–10 December 1943 entries in the British Naval Mission, Moscow war diary, NA London ADM 199/1102; and 5 December 1943 30 Mission to Admiralty telegram, NA London WO 193/668.
13. Document headed 'In A Russian Prison and Labour Camp', NA London ADM 199/2492.
14. Lubyanka Book p. 435. Gluzman's comment that foreigners were kept under observation in the Interclub: December 1943–4 Interclub report by Gluzman, GAAO Section 1649, Inventory 2, Book 3 p.37.
15. 6 March 1943 message from Clark Kerr to Molotov; 10 March 1943 Eden note, attached to Note by Secretary to Chiefs of Staff Committee, referring to message sent to Molotov pursuant to 25 February 1943 decision; and memorandum shown by Eden to Maisky on 26 February 1943, NA London ADM 199/604, CAB 80/68 and FO 954/3B/331 respectively.
16. Extract from the Minutes of the 9 March 1943 Chiefs of Staff Committee, NA London WO 193/669.
17. 12 March 1943 Memorandum from Eric Brind, Assistant Chief of Naval Staff, and Norman Bottomley, Assistant Chief of Air Staff (Operations) for the Chiefs of Staff Committee, NA London CAB 80/68.
18. 6 March 1943 Archibald Clark Kerr to Molotov, NA London ADM 199/604.

19. 18 August 1943 'Memorandum Regarding Vexatious Formalities . . .' ('Vexatious Formalities Memo'), NA London ADM 199/606.
20. 2 August 1943 note by Lieutenant Commander K. Henderson, Naval Base Archangel, US NAVAL ATTACHÉ REPORTS Box 23.
21. British troubles in Russia linked to No Second Front: 24 July 1943 report by Rear Admiral Ernest Archer, NA London ADM 199/606.
22. 12 September 1943 report by Rear Admiral Ernest Archer, NA London ADM 199/2492.
23. 12 September 1943 report by Rear Admiral Douglas Fisher, Head of British Naval Mission Moscow: 'Request from Soviet Government for Two British Officers and a British Army Officer to leave the Country', NA London ADM 199/2492.
24. 24 July 1943 report by Rear Admiral Ernest Archer, NA London ADM 199/606.
25. 17 July 1943 entry in British Naval Mission Moscow war diary, NA London ADM 199/1102.
26. Vexatious Formalities Memo. Reduction of *Dover Hill seamen*'s sentences: 19 October 1943 entry in Naval Mission Moscow war diary, NA London ADM 199/1102..
27. 11 August 1943 note by Humphrey Waldock, Head of M.(I), NA London ADM 199/606.
28. Extract from Chiefs of Staff 26 July 1943 meeting; and 28 July 1943 note by Humphrey Waldock, Head of M. (I) 'Difficulties In North Russia', both in NA London ADM 199/606.
29. 8 August 1943 telegram from Eden to Clark Kerr, NA London ADM 199/606.

Chapter 36

1. Operation Source has featured in the following books: Alf Jacobsen, *X-Craft Versus Tirpitz: The Mystery of the Missing X5*; Frank Walker and Pamela Mellor, *The Mystery of X-5*; Niklas Zetterling and Michael Tamelander, *Tirpitz: The Life and Death of Germany's Last Super Battleship*; Patrick Bishop, *Target Tirpitz*; Paul Watkins, *Midget Submarine Commander: The Life of Rear Admiral Godfrey Place VC*.
2. Battle Summary No. 29 by Tactical and Staff Duties' Division (Historical Section) p. 5, **NA London** ADM 234/348.
3. 23 September 1943 Archibald Clark Kerr to Foreign Office, NA London FO 954/3.
4. Ibid.
5. BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OFFICIAL HISTORY vol. 3 part 1 p. 261; 12 October 1943 report by Admiral (Submarines); and 26 July 1945 report by Rear Admiral G.E. Creasy ('1945 Operation Source Report'), both NA London ADM 199/888.
6. 1945 Operation Source Report, which refers to 'Kaa Fjord'. However some British documents refer to Kaa Fiord or Kaafiord.
7. Lieutenants Donald Cameron and Godfrey Place were awarded the Victoria Cross in February 1944, NA London ADM 199/888.
8. British Intelligence Official History vol. 3 part 1 pp. 256–8.

9. 1 October 1943 Churchill to Stalin, CHURCHILL'S BOOK vol.5 pp. 234–7; and NA London ADM 199/606.
10. Churchill's Book vol.5 pp. 237–9.
11. 15 October 1943 Churchill to Eden, ibid. p. 239.
12. 16 October 1943 Churchill to Roosevelt, ibid.
13. Ibid pp. 241–2.
14. Anthony Eden, *The Eden Memoirs: The Reckoning*, pp. 412–3.
15. The Third Protocol was signed in London on behalf of the US, Canada and UK on 19 October 1943.
16. 22 October 1943 Eden to Churchill via Clark Kerr, Churchill's Book vol.5 pp. 243–4; and NA London ADM 199/606.
17. 22 October 1943 Eden to Churchill via Clark Kerr, NA London ADM 199/606.
18. 23 October 1943 Eden to Churchill via Clark Kerr, NA London ADM 199/606.
19. 28 October 1943 entry in British Naval Mission, Moscow war diary, NA London ADM 199/1102.
20. 7 November 1943 telegram from Clark Kerr quoting Molotov's memorandum, NA London ADM 199/606.
21. Stalin's 13 October 1943 letter to Churchill, REYNOLDS AND PECHATNOV pp. 322–3 had only stated he had no objection to minor violations being dealt with by the British.
22. Admiral Fisher's 27 October 1943 message citing Clark Kerr's advice to let matters take their course; and hoping for improvement in better atmosphere, Clark Kerr 6 November 1943 telegram, both in NA London ADM 199/606.
23. Document headed 'In A Russian Prison and Labour Camp', NA London ADM 199/2492; and 24 May 1944 entry in British Naval Mission, Moscow war diary, NA London ADM 199/1102.

Chapter 37

1. 21 December 1943 report by Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser, **NA London** ADM 199/2492.
2. All Ultra messages in this chapter are taken from Appendix 14 in the BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OFFICIAL HISTORY vol. 3(1) pp. 537–41. The 22 December 1943 entry in the KTB DES ADMIRAL NORDMEER states that the first sighting of the convoy, that was JW55B, was on that day at AE 6983 on the German grid (approximately 63°51' N 04°52' W).
3. 28 January 1944 report by Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser ('Fraser's JW55B Report'), NA London ADM 199/913.
4. Ibid.; and the destroyer *Onslow*'s Captain James McCoy's Report of Proceedings ('Onslow's JW55B Report') in Appendix II to McCoy's 9 January 1944 letter ('McCoy's JW55B Letter' – mistakenly dated 9 January 1943), NA London ADM 199/77.
5. Escort list with Commodore Maitland Boucher's 20 December 1943 Report of Proceedings, NA London ADM 199/77.
6. 1 January 1944 report by Vice Admiral Burnett entitled 'Destruction of German Battle Cruiser "Scharnhorst" On St. Stephen's Day 1943' ('Burnett's

Battle of North Cape Report') NA London ADM 199/913; his 20 December 1943 report; and his 3 January 1944 report, both in NA London ADM 199/77.

7. Fraser's JW55B Report.
8. 23 November 1943 entry in KTB DER KAMPFGRUPPE.
9. Schniewind's 24 December 1943 'Lagebeurteilung und Vorschlag' ('Schniewind's First Proposal'), Anlage 8 to KTB DES MARINE-GRUPPENKOMMANDOS NORD UND FLOTTENKOM-MANDOS for 16–27 December 1943.
10. 24 December 1943 message from Kampfgruppe to Gruppe Nord and Admiral Nordmeer, in Anlage 13 to KTB des Marinegruppenkommandos Nord und Flottenkommandos for 16–27 December 1943.
11. Dönitz's 26 February 1943 meeting with Hitler, Jak Mallmann Showell, ed., Fuehrer Conferences on Naval Affairs 1939-1945 pp. 311–12.
12. 24 and 25 December 1943 entries in KTB DES FÜHRER DER UNTERSEEBOOTE NORWEGEN.
13. 25 December 1943 entry in ibid.
14. 25 December 1943 entries in: KTB des Marinegruppenkommandos Nord und Flottenkommandos; and KTB DER SKL TEIL A.
15. 25 December 1943 order from Dönitz ('Dönitz's Attack Order'), in Anlage 9 to KTB des Marinegruppenkommandos Nord und Flottenkommandos.
16. Schniewind's First Proposal.
17. 25 December 1943 message from Schniewind to Dönitz, in Anlage 10 to KTB des Marinegruppenkommandos Nord und Flottenkommandos.
18. 25 December 1943 entry in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen; and 26 December 1943 entry in KTB des Marinegruppenkommandos Nord und Flottenkommandos.
19. Dönitz's Attack Order.
20. 26 December 1943 entry in KTB des Marinegruppenkommandos Nord und Flottenkommandos.
21. 25 December 1943 entry in KTB der Skl Teil A.
22. 2.17 a.m. 26 December 1943 Admiralty message to Fraser and Burnett, NA London ADM 223/188.
23. 2.18 a.m. 26 December 1943 Admiralty message to Fraser and Burnett, ibid.; and decrypt of 5.15 p.m. 25 December 1943 message from 'Scharnhorst' to 'V 5903', NA London ADM 223/36.
24. When *Scharnhorst* left Lang Fjord, the watching Norwegian agent quickly telephoned his contact, and dropped into the conversation, mentioning his Christmas greetings, the pre-agreed code to announce the battlecruiser's departure. It went something like 'I shall be at home . . . but Grandmother is travelling'. Unfortunately the subsequent attempt to pass this on to the Admiralty appears not to have reached the Admiralty in time to make a difference (Tony Insall, *Secret Alliances* p. 325 points out that the British director of naval intelligence in January 1944 stated that information obtained from the *Scharnhorst* seamen captured after the ship was sunk showed that the Norwegian agents' information was

correct; although the written record of this intimation does not disclose what information was being talked about, this might have been a reference to the eventual receipt of the notification from the Norwegian agents that *Scharnhorst* was leaving Lang Fjord as she set out to attack JW55B). Story of the Norwegian agents based on Alf R. Jacobsen, *Scharnhorst* ('Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Book') pp. 153-4; interview with Harry Pettersen for the documentary film *The Scharnhorst Mystery* produced by Alf Jacobsen first shown on BBC's Timewatch in 2001 ('Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Documentary'); 31 July 1944 report by Torstein Råby supplied by Frode Færøy at Norway's Resistance Museum.

25. Burnett's Battle of North Cape Report states that on 26 December 1943 twilight in the relevant area lasted from around 9.40 a.m. to 1.15 p.m.
26. Fraser's JW55B Report.
27. Fraser's 0401 and 0628 26 December 1943 signals, in Appendix III to McCoy's JW55B Letter.
28. Fraser's JW55B Report.
29. Burnett's Battle of North Cape Report.
30. 26 December 1943 entry in KTB DER 4 ZERSTÖRERFLOTTILLE.
31. The location where the German battlegroup turned to the south-west – with the destroyers separated from *Scharnhorst* – was in the vicinity of 73°50' N 22°40' E, the map and 26 December 1943 entry in the KTB DES ZERSTÖRERS *Z 29*; and the 26 December 1943 entry in the KTB der 4 Zerstörerflottille.
32. Burnett's Battle of North Cape Report; Fraser's JW55B Report.
33. *Norfolk*'s 'Gunnery Narrative', Appendix 3 to Burnett's Battle of North Cape Report.
34. Fraser's JW55B Report. The 6 October 1944 account by *Scharnhorst*'s Matrosengefreiter Günther Sträter ('Sträter's Account'), **Marine Forum Archive**, states that during this first encounter, the battlecruiser's guns were fired although all the gun teams could aim at was the flash made by the enemy's guns.
35. Karl Doenitz, *Memoirs: Ten Years And Twenty Days* p. 380.
36. Burnett's Battle of North Cape Report.
37. Helmut Backhaus interview in Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Documentary; and extra information from the Backhaus interview in Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Book p. 174.
38. Burnett's Battle of North Cape Report.
39. John Winton, *The Death of the Scharnhorst* ('Winton's Scharnhorst Book') pp. 89-90, and 160 - the comment was by Admiral Sir Frederick Parham, as he became after the war; Burnett's Battle of North Cape Report specifies the time of receipt of Fraser's 10.58 a.m. 26 December 1943 signal mentioned in Fraser's JW55B Report.
40. Fraser's JW55B Report. The 26 December 1943 entry in the KTB des Marinegruppenkommandos Nord und Flottenkommandos states that the German aircraft crew saw the suspicious ships at AC 4776 on the German grid (approximately

71°51' N 20°50' E), which is going on 200 miles to the south-west of where the same KTB's same day's entry stated that the first of the day's engagements was fought according to Bey: AC 4133 on the German grid (approximately 74°21' N 22°50' E).

41. 26 and 27 December 1943 entries in KTB des Marinegruppenkommandos Nord und Flottenkommandos; and Cajus Bekker, *Hitler's Naval War* pp. 356–7.
42. 26 December 1943 entry in the KTB des Marinegruppenkommandos Nord und Flottenkommandos.
43. The detection of *Scharnhorst* prior to second engagement: Burnett's Battle of North Cape Report, which states the detection was approximately at 74°11' N 22°18' E.
44. Ibid.
45. *Sheffield*'s 'Gunnery Narrative' dated 29 December 1943, Appendix 3 to Burnett's Battle of North Cape Report.
46. Ibid.
47. 18 July 1948 letter from *Scharnhorst*'s Oberbootsmannsmaaten Willi Gödde to Kapitän zur See Helmuth Giessler, Marine Forum Archive.
48. Paymaster Commander Walker, Winton's Scharnhorst Book p. 99.
49. 'General Remarks On Gunnery', Appendix 2 to Burnett's Battle of North Cape Report.
50. Account by *Norfolk* gunner Leonard Wardle, brought to my attention by Ken Moth, the son of *Norfolk* stoker Bert Moth mentioned below.
51. Report by ordinary seaman Terry Hulbert, BBC WW2 People's War archive, available on the internet, brought to my attention by Bill Forster.
52. Chief Engine-room Artificer Davies, in Gordon Holman, *The King's Cruisers* p. 163.
53. Bert Moth account ('Moth's Account'), BBC recording made on 4 January 1944, **IWM Sound** 2449, brought to my attention by his son Ken Moth.
54. Number of *Norfolk* men killed: Fraser's JW55B Report.
55. Moth's Account.
56. Reverend Ken Mathews, 'Christmas In Battle', *Northern Light* journal December 1997, issue 51 p. 19, brought to my attention by Ken Moth.
57. 26 December 1943 entry in KTB des Marinegruppenkommandos Nord und Flottenkommandos, referring to the message Bey sent at 12.40 p.m.
58. Undated 'Narrative' on behalf of destroyer *Musketeer*, NA London ADM 199/913.
59. Burnett's Battle of North Cape Report.
60. Fraser's JW55B Report.
61. Sträter's Account.
62. Fraser's JW55B Report.
63. Admiral Sir Frederick Parham as he then was, IWM Sound 13407.
64. 26 December 1943 entry in KTB der 4 Zerstörerflottille.
65. Lord Fraser, as he then was, *The Life and Death of the Scharnhorst*, BBC documentary presented by Ludovic Kennedy ('Kennedy's Scharnhorst Documentary').
66. Lieutenant Vivian Cox, Kennedy's Scharnhorst Documentary.
67. *Duke of York*'s 'Gunnery Narrative' ('Duke of York's Gunnery Narrative') with Fraser's preliminary Report dated 31 December 1943, NA London ADM 199/913.

68. Captain Guy Russell's exchange with Fraser, Winton's Scharnhorst Book p. 111.
69. Fraser's JW55B Report; and Enclosure number 3 to the destroyer *Scorpion*'s Lieutenant Commander William Clouston's 30 December 1943 report, NA London ADM 199/913.
70. Undated report 'Gefecht im Nordmeer am 26.12.1943', **Militärarchiv Freiburg** RM7/1684 states approximate location of the third engagement was at 72°39' N 22°18' E.
71. 10 November 1984 letter from Captain A.G.F. Ditcham as he then was to John Winton, ROSK 5/77, Roskill's papers, **Churchill Archives Centre;** Ditcham's age: A.G.F. Ditcham, *A Home On The Rolling Main* p. 165.
72. Lieutenant Bryce Ramsden's account, 'Sinking The Scharnhorst: 26th December 1943', *Blackwood's Magazine* vol. 256, November 1944 No. 1549 p. 346.
73. Gunnery Officer Lieutenant Commander Crawford, Winton's Scharnhorst Book p. 115; and Duke of York's Gunnery Narrative.
74. 'Preliminary Report On The Interrogation Of Survivors From The German Battleship "Scharnhorst" . . .'; and 'Report On The Interrogation Of Survivors From The German Battle Cruiser "Scharnhorst" . . .', respectively in NA London ADM 1/16833 and ADM 199/913.
75. Winton's Scharnhorst Book p. 117.
76. Fraser's JW55B Report; and Duke of York's Gunnery Narrative.
77. Fraser's JW55B Report.
78. Winton's Scharnhorst Book p. 119.
79. Ibid.
80. Duke of York's Gunnery Narrative.
81. 1840 26 December 1943 message from Fraser to Burnett, NA London ADM 199/913.

Chapter 38

1. Account by Admiral Sir Henry Leach, as he then was, ('Leach's Account') when interviewed for the documentary film *The Scharnhorst Mystery* produced by Alf Jacobsen, first shown on BBC's Timewatch in 2001 ('Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Documentary'). Leach was the First Sea Lord and Chief of the Naval Staff who in 1982 advised British prime minister Margaret Thatcher that with the Navy's help British forces could retake the Falklands. His father Captain John Leach was killed when the battleship *Prince of Wales* was sunk in December 1941 (mentioned in Chapter 17).
2. 6 October 1944 account by Matrosengefreiter Günther Sträter ('Sträter's Account'), **Marine Forum Archive**.
3. Leach's Account.
4. 28 January 1944 report by Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser ('Fraser's JW55B Report'); German prisoners' reports cited in 'Gunnery Narrative' with Fraser's preliminary Report dated 31 December 1943, all in **NA London** ADM 199/913; and 'Information Captured From Prisoners Of War Ex Scharnhorst, Enclosure No.2 in H.F.1415/17 at 1st January 1944', NA London ADM 1/16833.
5. 30 December 1943 report by *Scorpion*'s Lieutenant Commander Bill Clouston ('Scorpion's Report'), NA London ADM 199/913; and

Fraser's JW55B Report. *Scharnhorst's* stern thrust upwards: one of the *Scharnhorst* survivors' reports mentioned in this chapter's Note 29.

6. Enclosure No. 3 to ibid.; and 1 January 1944 report by HNoMS *Stord*'s Lieutenant Commander S. Storheill ('Stord's Report'). Commander Campbell Clouston's death is described in my book *Dunkirk: Fight To The Last Man* pp. 443–4.
7. A.G.F. Ditcham, *A Home On The Rolling Main* ('Ditcham's Book') p. 175.
8. Ibid. pp. 178–82; Scorpion's Report.
9. John Winton, *The Death of the Scharnhorst* ('Winton's Scharnhorst Book') p. 127.
10. Quote supplied by *Scorpion*'s Rex Chard, a sub-lieutenant at the time of the battle, on being interviewed by me in 2001, after his testimony was brought to my attention by Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Documentary.
11. Scorpion's Report; and Fraser's JW55B Report. The latter states the approximate position where *Scharnhorst* was sunk was 72°16' N 28°41' E. This is going on 100 miles north-east of North Cape.
12. Ditcham's Book, pp. 179–80; and slightly different wording in Winton's Scharnhorst Book p. 128.
13. Scorpion's Report.
14. Stord's Report.
15. The 9 January 1944 report by *Saumarez*'s Lieutenant Commander Eric Walmsley, NA London ADM 199/913, states his ship's torpedoes were fired when *Saumarez* was just 1,200 yards from *Scharnhorst*; Fraser's JW55B Report says the distance was 1,800 yards.
16. Fraser's JW55B Report.
17. Appendix I to the 30 December 1943 report by *Savage*'s Commander Michael Meyrick ('Savage's Report'), NA London ADM 199/913.
18. Fraser's JW55B Report.
19. Savage's Report.
20. Enclosure 8 to *Saumarez*'s Lieutenant Commander Walmsley's 2 January 1944 letter, NA London ADM 267/110.
21. Kenneth Evans' account ('Evans' Account'), **IWM Sound** 13954.
22. Fraser's JW55B Report.
23. Lieutenant Bryce Ramsden's account 'Sinking The Scharnhorst: 26th December 1943', *Blackwood's Magazine* vol. 256, November 1944, No. 1549 pp. 348–9.
24. Report and Torpedo Narrative by *Jamaica*'s Captain John Hughes-Hallett, in Appendices A and C to his 1 January 1944 letter number 05/705 (together referred to as 'Jamaica's Report'), NA London ADM 199/913.
25. Fraser's JW55B Report; and 1 January 1944 report by Vice Admiral Burnett entitled 'Destruction of German Battle Cruiser "Scharnhorst" On St. Stephen's Day 1943', including the 29 December 1943 torpedo report in the report's Appendix 4. NA London ADM 199/913.
26. 1 January 1944 report by Commanding Officer of *Matchless,* NA London ADM 199/913.
27. Fraser's JW55B Report.
28. Ibid.
29. This quotation and subsequent descriptions of how sailors in *Scharnhorst* were affected by the shelling and torpedoing, as well as descriptions of Kapitän Hintze's actions, except for where specific

reference is made to other sources, are based on the 'Preliminary Report On The Interrogation Of Survivors From The German Battleship "Scharnhorst" . . .'; and 'Report On The Interrogation Of Survivors From The German Battle Cruiser "Scharnhorst" . . .', respectively in NA London ADM 1/16833 and ADM 199/913. These reports are together or separately referred to in Chapter 38's main text and Notes as 'the *Scharnhorst* survivors' reports'.

30. Helmut Feifer's account and thoughts are from Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Documentary produced by Alf Jacobsen; and Alf Jacobsen, *Scharnhorst* ('Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Book') pp. 206–7.
31. Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Documentary.
32. *The Life and Death of the Scharnhorst*, BBC documentary presented by Ludovic Kennedy.
33. Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Documentary.
34. Jamaica's Report.
35. Scorpion's Report.
36. Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Documentary, supplemented by my 2001 interview with Dick Squires, whose testimony was brought to my attention by Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Documentary. Fraser's JW55B Report specifies the 'approximate position' of sinking was 72°16' N 28°41' E. However Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Book p. 227 states that he and his advisers in the year 2000 found the wreck of the battlecruiser at 72°31' N 28°15' E.
37. Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Documentary.
38. My 2001 interview with John Wass whose testimony was brought to my attention by the Jacobsen Scharnhorst Documentary.
39. Fraser's JW55B Report.
40. Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Documentary.
41. Sträter's Account.
42. Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Documentary.
43. 8.18 p.m. Fraser to *Scorpion*, Enclosure No. 3 to Scorpion's Report.
44. 8.20 and 8.30 p.m. *Scorpion* to Fraser, in ibid.
45. 26 December 1943 Fraser to 'Scapa' message timed '2035', NA London ADM 199/913.
46. 26 December 1943 Admiralty to Fraser message timed '2136A', ibid.
47. Information from *Scorpion*'s signal log, recorded by telegraphist John Wass.
48. Number rescued: Fraser's JW55B Report.
49. Jacobsen's Scharnhorst Book p. 219.
50. 20 December 1943 report by JW55B's commodore Maitland Boucher, NA London ADM 199/77.
51. G. H. G. McMillan, 'Care of World War II convoy casualties in the Kola area of North Russia. Part 2 – The Royal Naval Auxiliary Hospital, Vaenga', *Journal of the Royal Naval Medical Service* 1996, 82, 61-79, a copy of which is in the **Arctic Convoys Museum**.
52. Evans' Account.
53. Karl Doenitz, *Memoirs: Ten Years And Twenty Days* p. 385.
54. 28 December 1943 report by Schniewind, Anlage 17 to 16–31 December 1943 KTB DES MARINEGRUPPEN-KOMMANDOS NORD UND FLOTTENKOMMANDOS.

Chapter 39

1. 9 February 1944 report by First Cruiser Squadron's Vice Admiral Arthur Palliser; and Admiralty's Anti-U-Boat Division's 15 May 1944 'Analysis Of Operations In The Vicinity Of Convoys J.W.56A, J.W.57B and R.A.56' ('Operation FW Anti-U-boat Report'), both in **NA London** ADM 199/77.
2. 2 and 25 January 1944 entries in KTB DES FÜHRER DER UNTERSEEBOOTE NORWEGEN.
3. 25 January 1944 entry in ibid.; and 26 January 1944 entry in the KTB *U-360*, which states *U-360* torpedoed the destroyer at the location referred to as AC 4452 on the German grid (approximately 73°09' N 21°30' E). The map entitled 'Convoy J.W.56A And J.W.56B' in Plate 7 of the Operation FW Anti-U-boat Report ('Operation FW Map') shows the convoy's direction of travel when the torpedoing took place.
4. 30 January report by *Obdurate*'s Lieutenant Commander Claude Sclater ('Obdurate's JW56A Report'), NA London ADM 199/77.
5. Convoy's direction of travel: Operation FW Map.
6. The 25 January 1944 entry in KTB *U-278*, which states the merchant ship was hit at the location referred to on the German grid as AC 4572 (approximately 73°22' N 22°30' E); and 16 March 1944 report by US Cadet-Midshipman John S. Morgan; and 8 March 1944 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS Penelope Barker' ('Penelope Barker Survivors' Report'), both of the latter reports in US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 521.
7. Unsigned and undated copy of report by Alex R. Boris, *Penelope Barker*'s 2nd Mate ('Penelope Barker's 2nd Mate's Report'), US MERCHANT VESSELS SINKING REPORTS Box 37, Entry P-2.
8. 17 February 1944 report by US Naval Port Officer, Belfast, US MEDICAL REPORTS Box 2 Entry 40.
9. Penelope Barker's Survivors' Report.
10. 'Extract from an NNI-142-X, US Naval Port Officer, Belfast, N. I. 12 February 1944', US Armed Guard Reports Box 521; Penelope Barker's 2nd Mate's Report; and Obdurate's JW56A Report.
11. The 26 January 1944 entries in the KTB *U-360* and KTB *U-716* state that *U-360* and *U-716* each torpedoed a merchant ship from JW56A at around 12.15 a.m. on 26 January 1944. The entries specify that the torpedoings were respectively at the locations referred to on the German grid as AC 4529 and AC 4552 (approximately 73°45' N 24°48' E and 73°22' N 24°15' E respectively). The entries do not make it possible to work out which ship each U-boat torpedoed, or which of the two locations specified is more accurate. The Operation FW Anti-U-boat Report states the sinkings were approximately at 73°22' N 24°45' E.
12. John Crawley, 'The Fort Bellingham: A View From HMS Offa', *The Arctic Lookout* journal Winter 1996 – Number 26 p. 45.

13. Undated Report of Proceedings by *Offa*'s Lieutenant Commander Rowland Leonard, NA London ADM 199/77.
14. 14 March 1944 'Report of an Interview with the Master – Captain J. N. Maley' (the master of *Fort Bellingham*), NA London ADM 199/77.
15. Ibid.
16. 10 April 1944 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of SS Fort Bellingham', US CASUALTY REPORTS Box 195.
17. Undated report by JW56A's commodore Ivan Whitehorn, NA London ADM 199/77.
18. For example 28 January 1944 0431A Ultra specifying position of 7 U-boats in JW56B's path, NA London ADM 223/189.
19. 12 February 1944 report by the destroyer *Milne*'s Captain Ian Campbell (Captain (D) 3rd Destroyer Flotilla) ('3rd Destroyer Flotilla's Report'); and 22 January 1944 report by Commodore Maurice Mayall and Formation Diagram, both NA London ADM 199/77.
20. 8 February 1944 report by the destroyer *Hardy*'s Captain William Robson (Captain. (D) 26th Destroyer Flotilla), NA London ADM 199/957.
21. 3rd Destroyer Flotilla's Report; and 29 January 1944 entry in KTB des Führer des Unterseeboote Norwegen.
22. Ibid.; and 22 January 1944 report by Commodore Maurice Mayall and Formation Diagram, NA London ADM 199/77.
23. 3rd Destroyer Flotilla's Report.
24. *U-314* was the U-boat sunk, 11 February 1944 entry in the KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen.
25. The Operation FW Anti-U-boat Report states *Hardy* was torpedoed at around 73°37' N 18°56' E.
26. 30 January 1944 entry in KTB *U-278*.
27. Sub-Lieutenant Lloyd Stainer account, **IWM Documents** 13762.
28. 2 February 1944 message from '*Hardy*' to the Admiralty; and undated Official Admiralty Communiqué, both in NA London ADM 358/3414.
29. 22 March 1944 report by Vice Admiral Irvine Glennie ('Vice Admiral's Operation FX Report'); Vice Admiral Glennie's 14 February 1944 Operation FX order with 'Plan of Convoy'; Vice Admiral Glennie's 18 February 1944 message to escorts amending aforementioned order; and Admiral Fraser's 17 April 1944 letter relating to Operation FX ('Fraser's FX Report'), all in NA London ADM 199/327.
30. Fraser's FX Report; Part I Home Fleet Destroyer Command War Diary 16–29 February 1944, NA London ADM 199/1426; 11 March 1944 report by destroyer *Milne*'s Captain Ian Campbell; undated report by frigate *Strule*'s Commander Lewis Majendie; all NA London ADM 199/327; and BRITISH NAVAL AVIATION HISTORY p. 205.
31. 13 March 1944 report by *Chaser*'s Captain H. McClintock ('Chaser's Report'), NA London ADM 199/327.
32. British Naval Aviation History pp. 205–6.
33. 23 to 26 February 1944 entries in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen.

34. The 25 and 26 February 1944 entries in KTB *U-990*, state that the torpedoing took place at what is referred to as AB 9423 on the German grid (approximately 70°45' N 12°50' E, two-thirds of the way along the invisible line stretching from Jan Mayen Island to Altenfjord – see Map 1). Convoy's course: transcript of testimony by the destroyer *Serapis*' Captain Peter Cazalet ('Cazalet's Testimony') in 'Minutes of Evidence Taken at Inquiry Held To Invest[igate] The Circumstances Attending The Loss Of *H.M.S. Mahratta*' ('Mahratta Inquiry Minutes'), NA London ADM 199/327
35. Cazalet's Testimony.
36. Lieutenant Commander Bekenn's testimony ('Bekenn's Testimony') in the 'Mahratta Inquiry Minutes'.
37. Post-war account by Captain Dennis Foster, as he then was ('Foster's Account'), in his unpublished memoir, referred to with the consent of his son Jonathan.
38. Bob Whinney, *The U-Boat Peril*: *An Anti-Submarine Commander's War* pp. 118–19. A record of what appear to be morse code signals sent from *Mahratta* after the torpedoing, which is in Cazalet's Testimony, contains similar content to what Whinney claims he heard over the radio telephone.
39. Foster's Account. Captain Peter Cazalet's evidence to the Inquiry appears to suggest that the messages 'heard' by Foster may have been read by someone in *Wanderer* after they had been sent by *Mahratta*'s telegraphist using morse code.
40. James Row in *Arctic Convoys*, 27 July 2013 documentary on BBC Radio Wales cited in 'A Welshman's Introduction To War: Letters from the Arctic Convoys' by S. J. Davies, an article available at the University of the West of England Research Repository. It should be said there is nothing similar to this in the Mahratta Inquiry Minutes.
41. Jack Humble's words in this chapter's main text ('Humble's Account') is mostly from *The Arctic Convoys*, an episode of Witness written and presented by Alex Last, broadcast on the BBC's World Service on 10 May 2013. The account in the text also includes some words from the article headed 'Arctic convoy veteran recalls miraculous rescue after his ship was torpedoed as he celebrates 90th birthday' written by Gavin Engelbrecht, which was published in the *Northern Echo* newspaper on 19 January 2016.
42. Humble's Account; and testimony of *Mahratta*'s Petty Officer Robert Hall, Mahratta Inquiry Minutes.
43. Bekenn's Testimony.
44. Vice Admiral's Operation FX Report; and Official Admiralty Communiqué, NA London ADM 199/957.
45. Article by Noel Simon, *The Arctic Lookout* journal Winter 1998, no. 33 p. 34.
46. 24 and 25 February 1944 entries in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen; and Vice Admiral's Operation FX Report.
47. 27 February 1944 entry in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen.
48. 2 March 1944 entry in ibid. The sunk U-boats were *U-601* and *U-713*.
49. British Naval Aviation History pp. 206-7. The sunk U-boats were

U-366, *U-472* and *U-973*, 4, 7 and 11 March 1944 entries in the KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen. *Empire Tourist* was sunk on 4 March 1944 by *U-703* at what is described in the German grid as AC 4438 (approximately 73°15' N 22°11' E), 4 March 1944 entries in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen; and in KTB *U-703*.

50. WOODMAN'S BOOK p. 385.
51. Fraser's FX Report.
52. British Naval Aviation History p. 206; and Chaser's Report.
53. Ibid.
54. Number of merchant ships in JW58: Formation with 5 April 1944 report by Commodore John Dunn ('JW58 Commodore's Report'), NA London ADM 199/327. Number of JW58 escorts: March 1944 War Diary of the Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet, NA London ADM 199/1427.
55. 5 April 1944 report by Captain G. Willoughby, Commanding Officer of *Activity*: and Enclosure to Appendix D of 5 April 1944 report by Captain J. H. Huntley, Commanding Officer of *Tracker* ('Tracker's JW58 Report'), both in NA London ADM 199/327. 819 Squadron operated from *Activity*, and 846 Squadron from *Tracker*.
56. Admiral Fraser's 1 June 1944 letter to the Admiralty concerning Operation FY ('Fraser's FY Letter'), NA London ADM 199/327.
57. 2 April 1944 message, British Naval Aviation History p. 121.
58. Fraser's FY Letter; and Tracker's JW58 Report. The U-boat sunk was *U-288*, David Hobbs, *The Fleet Air Arm And The War In Europe 1939-1945*.
59. Tracker's JW58 Report.
60. The 25 June 1944 report by Clarence Howard-Johnston, Director of Anti-U-Boat Division, NA London ADM 199/327, pointed out that 3 U-boats were sunk during 27 hunts in the course of JW58 and RA58, a rate of 11 per cent, half what might have been expected in the Atlantic.
61. Remarks with 11 April 1944 letter from 2nd Escort Group's Captain F. Walker, NA London ADM 199/327.
62. JW58 Commodore's Report.
63. April 1944 entry in the war diary of the Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet, NA London ADM 199/1427; and Tactical, Torpedo and Staff Duties Division, Historical Section, Naval Staff, 'Battle Summary No. 27 Naval Aircraft Attack on the Tirpitz ("Operation Tungsten") 3rd April 1944' pp. 4 and 8, NA London ADM 234/345.
64. 19 April 1944 entry Part II Home Fleet Destroyer Command War Diary, NA London ADM 199/1426; undated report by Commodore John Dunn ('RA59 Commodore's Report'); and Diagram with 10 July 1944 'Analysis of Operations in the vicinity of Convoy R.A. 59' by Anti-U-Boat Division ('RA59 Anti-U-Boat Report'), latter two documents in NA London ADM 199/351.
65. 5 May 1944 Report of Proceedings by the carrier *Fencer*'s Captain W. Bentinck ('Fencer's Report').
66. RA59 Anti-U-Boat Report. The sunk U-boats were *U-277*, *U-674* and *U-959*, British Naval Aviation History p. 224.
67. 5 May 1944 report by *Activity*'s Captain G. Willoughby, NA

London ADM 199/351; and Fencer's Report.
68. 28-30 April 1944 entries in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen.
69. The 30 April 1944 entry in KTB *U-307* states this occurred in the area referred to on the German grid as AB 6349 (approximately 73°51' N 17°50' E).
70. 30 April 1944 entry in KTB *U-307*.
71. 5 May 1942 report of proceedings by Commanding Officer HMS *Walker*, NA London ADM 199/351; and RA59 Commodore's Report.
72. 4 May 1944 report by the Commanding Officer of HMS *Whitehall*, NA London ADM 199/351.
73. 24 May 1944 Sworn statement by Daniel A. Sperbeck Master SS *William S. Thayer*, US MERCHANT VESSELS SINKING REPORTS Box 53 Entry P-2.
74. Chapter: Na pravah passazhirov (On the rights of passengers) by G. Polyakov on pp. 222–3 of *Bratsvo severnikh konvoev 1941–1945* (*Brotherhood of the northern convoys 1941–1945*), compiled by R.V. Gorchakov.
75. Appendix II to 17 May 1944 report by Rear Admiral Commanding First Cruiser Squadron, NA London ADM 199/351.
76. 3 June 1944 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS William S. Thayer', US MERCHANT SHIP LOSSES REPORTS.
77. Fencer's Report. Its 2 May 1944 entry confirms there was 'no night'.
78. 5 June 1944 'Operation FZ: Report of Proceedings' by Admiral Fraser, NA London ADM 199/351.

Chapter 40

1. 'Erinnerungen an die Unternehmungen mit U 367 von Februar 1944 bis Oktober 1944' by Kapitänleutnant Haimar Wedemeyer ('Wedemeyer's Account'), *U-365* file in **U-Boot Museum**.
2. 18 September 1944 Report by head of Northern Governmental Sea Shipping Company Novicov to People's Commissar of the USSR's Sea Fleet Shirshov**, GAAO** Section 367, Inventory 11, Book 76, pp. 1–4.
3. Chapter: Tragediya v Karskom more (Tragedy in the Karsky Sea) by Y.D. Kapralov on p. 117 of *V konvoyakh i odinochnikh plavaniyakh* (*In convoys and in solo voyages*) compiled by V.V. Kolt ('Kolt's Book').
4. Wedemeyer's Account. The 12 August 1944 entry in KTB *U-365* states the torpedoing took place at around AT 6434 (around 73°21' N 67°10' E).
5. 4 September 1944 report by Alexandrovich Karelski ('Karelski's Account'), GAAO Section 367, Inventory 11, Book 76, p. 47.
6. Ibid.
7. T5 torpedo fired at *T-118*: 12 August 1944 entry KTB *U-365*.
8. Kolt's Book pp. 119 and 121.
9. Wedemeyer's Account.
10. Ibid. Wedermeyer's short report in Appendix II/4 to the 16 to 31 August 1944 KTB DES FÜHRER DER UNTERSEEBOOTE NORWEGEN states the torpedo that hit *T-114* was fired at 11.45 p.m. 12 August 1944.
11. 14 October 1944 report by Fedor Rodionov GAAO Section 367, Inventory 11, Book 76, p. 38.
12. Kolt's Book p. 121.
13. Ibid. p. 125.

14. Karelski's Account; and report by Clavdia Nekrasova, GAAO Section 367, Inventory 11, Book 76, pp. 82–4.
15. 13 August 1944 entry in KTB *U-365*.
16. Wedemeyer's Account.
17. Ivan Vondrukhov's report, GAAO Section 367, Inventory 11, Book 76; chapter: Svidetel' gibeli parohoda 'Marina Raskova' (Witness of the death of the vessel 'Marina Raskova') by T.A. Sanakina on p. 180 of *Zashitniki Otechestva*, (*Defenders of the Motherland)* ('Motherland Book').
18. Ibid.
19. Motherland Book p. 175.
20. Kolt's Book. p. 126.
21. Ibid. p. 130.
22. Ibid. p. 131.
23. Ibid. pp. 131–2.
24. Motherland Book pp. 176–8.
25. Number of escorts: Part I of Home Fleet Destroyer Command War Diary 16–31 August 1944, **NA London** ADM 199/1426; and 14 September 1944 report by 10th Cruiser Squadron's Vice Admiral Dalrymple-Hamilton, NA London ADM 199/351.
26. U-boats' position: 1–21 August 1944 entries in KTB DES FÜHRER DER UNTERSEEBOOTE NORWEGEN; and 5 September 1944 report by *Vindex*'s Captain Horace Bayliss ('Vindex's Report'), NA London ADM 199/351.
27. 21 August 1944 entry in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen, which states the torpedoing took place at the location in the German grid referred to as AB 5450 (approximately 73°03' N 03°30' E).
28. 9 September 1944 findings of 'the Board of Enquiry' concerning loss of *Kite*, NA London ADM 1/16879.
29. Petty Officer John Payne's testimony in the 'Minutes of Board of Enquiry' concerning *Kite*, NA London ADM/1 16879.
30. 11 September 1944 report by the destroyer *Keppel*'s Commander James Tyson, NA London ADM 1/16879.
31. Vindex's Report.
32. The 3 November 1944 report by Admiral Sir Henry Moore, Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet ('Moore's Goodwood Report'), stated the fly off point was 71°35' N 21°55' E. The 1 October 1944 report by the First Cruiser Squadron's Rear Admiral Rhoderick McGrigor describes the Operation Goodwood attacks ('McGrigor's Goodwood Report'), both NA London ADM 199/942. Distance from Altenfjord: 23 August 1944 entry in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen.
33. 23 August 1944 entry in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen; and 1 September 1944 report by *Kent*'s Captain Geoffrey Hawkins, NA London ADM 199/942.
34. 23 August 1944 entry in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen, which states that the torpedoing of the carrier was at the location referred to on the German grid as AB 9333 (approximately 71°39' N 19°50' E).
35. Betty Warrilow, *Nabob: The First Canadian Manned Aircraft Carrier* ('The Nabob Book') p. 97; and 2 September 1944 report of proceedings by *Nabob*'s Captain Horatio Lay ('Nabob's 2nd Report'), NA London ADM 199/942.
36. Minutes of proceedings of the 'Enquiry Into Damage to H.M.S.

Nabob By Enemy Action', NA London ADM 199/957.

37. The Nabob Book pp. 4 and 92.
38. 2 September 1944 report of proceedings by *Nabob's* Captain Horatio Lay ('Nabob's 2nd Report'), NA London ADM 199/942.
39. Donald Macintyre, *U-Boat Killer* ('Macintyre's Book') p. 168.
40. Appendix 1 to the 31 August 1944 report by D. Macintyre, Senior Officer, 5th Escort Group with Minutes of 'Board of Enquiry – Loss Of H.M.S. Bickerton', NA London ADM 1/18925.
41. Nabob's 2nd Report.
42. Macintyre's Book p. 169; and Moore's Goodwood Report.
43. Macintyre's Book p. 169; and The Nabob Book p. 5.
44. BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OFFICIAL HISTORY vol. 3 (2) p. 277. According to the TIRPITZ OFFICIAL HISTORY vol. 1 one of the 1,600 lb bombs that hit *Tirpitz* on 24 August 1944 hit the port side of the upper deck abreast the forward conning tower, then penetrated through the armour deck to the lower platform. A German report said its failure to explode was 'an extraordinary stroke of luck' since the result of an explosion would have been 'immeasurable'.
45. Moore's Goodwood Report; and McGrigor's Goodwood Report.
46. 27 August 1944 report by Captain Horatio Lay, NA London ADM 199/957.
47. Vindex's Report.
48. Account by Lieutenant Commander John Mosse ('Mosse's Account') brought to my attention by his son Peter.
49. Ibid.
50. 'Hunt And Possible Destruction Of A U-boat By H.M.S. Mermaid In Position 72°49' N 30°41' E On The 24 August 1944' by *Mermaid*'s Lieutenant Commander John Mosse, supplied by his son Peter but also in NA London ADM 199/351.
51. 30 August 1944 entry in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen.
52. JW59 arrival date: War Diary of the Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet for the month of August 1944, NA London ADM 199/1427.
53. The location is specified in the report by *Mermaid*'s Lieutenant Commander Mosse entitled 'Hunt and Destruction of a U-boat by H.M. Ships "Keppel", "Whitehall", "Peacock", and "Mermaid" In Position 69°35' N 4°45' E on 2nd September 1944, Whilst With Convoy R.A.59A.', supplied by Mosse's son Peter but also in NA London ADM 199/351.
54. Vindex's Report.
55. Mosse's Account.
56. 2 September 1944 report by *Peacock*'s Lieutenant Commander Dick Stannard, NA London ADM 199/351.
57. Ibid.; and attached 3 September 1944 report by *Peacock*'s surgeon lieutenant.
58. 3 September 1944 entry in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen.
59. Mosse's Account.
60. Vindex's Report.
61. 23 August 1944 entry in KTB des Führer der Unterseeboote Norwegen.

Chapter 41

1. Churchill's 27 January 1942 note to the First Lord of the Admiralty refers to *Tirpitz* as 'the beast', **NA London** PREM 3/191/1.
2. BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OFFICIAL HISTORY vol. 3 (2) p. 277; and Tony Insall, *Secret Alliances* pp. 323–4 and 327–8 states that: for example on 1 October 1944, a Norwegian agent informed the SIS that the Operation Paravane bombing had made a 17 metre hole in *Tirpitz*'s hull partly above and partly below the water line stretching from the bow towards the stern; the agent reported the hole was 'so large that motor boats could go in'. After this bombing, the SIS congratulated the Norwegians for enabling the attack to go ahead when the weather was good, reflecting that the Norwegian agent Torstein Råby had sent the SIS, amongst other helpful intelligence, a weather report every two hours during the lead up to the operation, a very courageous act considering the Germans had access to direction finding equipment. The TIRPITZ OFFICIAL REPORT vol.1 confirmed that a Tallboy bomb hit *Tirpitz*'s upper deck on the extreme starboard side some 50 feet abaft the bow, passed through the flare of the forecastle into the water and detonated below keel level close to the ship. The damage resulted in the front 120 feet of the ship being flooded below the waterline.
3. James (Willie) Tait account, **IWM Sound** 2519. The 29 October 1944 bombing thanks to a near miss near the battleship's port quarter impacted the *Tirpitz*'s port shaft and rudder, and caused around 100 feet of the after end of the ship to be flooded, TIRPITZ OFFICIAL HISTORY vol. 1.
4. Frank Tilley interview, International Bomber Command Centre Digital Archive, University of Lincoln.
5. The film that was taken seems to corroborate the description of the damage to *Tirpitz* described in the Tirpitz Official History (see Note 6 below).
6. Interview with Hugh Rogers, International Bomber Command Centre Digital Archive, University of Lincoln. The Tirpitz Official History vols.1 and 2 state that *Tirpitz* appears to have been hit twice amidships on her port side aft of her funnel, and the same side was damaged by a near miss. The same source appears to suggest it was likely that the eruption emanating from *Tirpitz*'s Caesar gun turret was not directly caused by a hit but was either the result of an internal explosion not easily attributable to a particular bomb or was caused by a near miss.
7. *Hunting Tirpitz: Royal Naval Operations Against Bismarck's Sister Ship* pp. 284–5, commissioned by Britannia Royal Naval College's Britannia Museum.
8. The English version of Albert Zuba's account, possibly a translation by a third party, brought to my attention by Dr Robert Owen, 617 Squadron's Official Historian, in whose archive it is stored. Extracts from Zuba's account also appear in several books including Patrick Bishop, *Target Tirpitz*.

9. 4 December 1944 'Bericht über Aussergefechtsetzung des Schlachtschiffes "Tirpitz" am 12.11.44 (Liegeplatz bei Tromsö Netzkasten Haakoy)' by Kapitänleutnant Alfred Fassbender, **Militärarchiv Freiburg** RM 7/1056.
10. 17 November 1944 telegram from 'Skdt Tromsoe', Militärarchiv Freiburg RM 7/1056.
11. 12 November 1944 message from the British Embassy's Peter Scarlett relaying Sir Arthur Harris' notification to Churchill, NA London PREM 3/191/1.
12. 13 November 1944 Stalin to Churchill, ibid.
13. 13 November 1944 Roosevelt to Churchill, and 15 November 1944 Churchill to Roosevelt, ibid.
14. 3 September 1944 Memorandum by Anthony Eden, NA London CAB 66/54.
15. 12 October 1944 telegram from Eden to the Foreign Office, NA London CAB 121/297.
16. William Birch account, IWM Sound 12723.
17. 20 December 1944 report by RA62's Commodore Ernst Ullring, and RA62 formation document, NA London ADM 199/602. German U-boats had very limited successes against Arctic convoys between Operation Paravane and RA62, the subject of this chapter: On 29 September 1944 during RA60 US Liberty ship SS *Edward H. Crockett* and SS *Samsuva* were abandoned after being torpedoed. The numbers killed were 1 and 3 respectively, 2 November 1944 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS Edward H. Crockett'; and undated report by *Rathlin*'s G.L. Campbell, NA London ADM 217/113. On 1 November 1944, during lead up to RA61, frigate *Mounsey* was torpedoed but made it back to Kola Inlet under own steam. 10 of her crew were killed, Casualty list and 2 November 1944 SBNO North Russia message, NA London ADM 358/4408.
18. War diary of the Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet December 1944, NA London ADM 199/1427.
19. 19 December 1944 report by First Cruiser Squadron's Rear Admiral Rhoderick McGrigor ('1st Cruiser Squadron's RA62 Report'), NA London ADM 199/602.
20. ROHWER'S HUMMELCHEN'S AND WEIS'S CHRONOLOGY p. 375.
21. 1st Cruiser Squadron's RA62 Report.
22. Lieutenant Leslie testimony ('Leslie's Cassandra Testimony') in Minutes of 21 December 1944 board of inquiry concerning damage sustained by HMS *Cassandra* ('Cassandra Inquiry Minutes'), NA London ADM 199/1013. The 11 December 1944 entry in KTB DER SKL TEIL A states the torpedoing took place at the location marked on the German grid as AC 5763 (approximately 72°15' N 31°50' E).
23. 11 December 1944 entry in KTB der Skl Teil A.
24. Lieutenant John Brook testimony, Cassandra Inquiry Minutes.
25. Morris Birkett account in Peter Erwood, ed., *A Long Night For The Canteen Boat* ('Cassandra Book') p. 9.
26. Able Seaman Robert Fisher, ibid. p. 10.
27. R. Butler, ibid. p. 10.

28. Lieutenant George Leslie's report attached to his 16 December 1944 letter, NA London ADM 199/1013.
29. Norman Kemp, Cassandra Book p. 11.
30. Dudley Mills, ibid. p. 13.
31. Report with 15 December 1944 letter from 20th Escort Group's Commander George Thring, NA London ADM 199/1013.
32. Leslie's Cassandra Testimony.
33. 12 December 1944 entry in KTB der Skl Teil A.
34. 1st Cruiser Squadron's RA62 Report; and 12 December 1944 entry in KTB der Skl Teil A.
35. Bill Henley account, IWM Sound 19105, with editing thanks to Appendix 7 to 21 December 1944 report by *Campania*'s Captain Kenneth Short, NA London ADM 217/532, and the diagram illustrating the attack in the report's Appendix VII.
36. 1st Cruiser Squadron's RA62 Report.

Chapter 42

1. Alexander Steenbeck, *Die Spur des Löwen* ('KG26's History') p. 269; JW64's ship list in Convoy Form A1 attached to the 13 February 1945 report by JW64's Commodore Ernst Ullring ('JW64's Commodore's Report'); 2 March 1945 report by Captain Villiers Surtees, Commanding Officer of *Nairana* ('Nairana's Hotbed Report') and 1 March 1945 report by Captain Kenneth Short, Commanding Officer of *Campania* ('Campania's Hotbed Report'), latter three sources all in **NA London** ADM 199/759.
2. Plan 1, headed 'Passage of J.W. 64 . . .', ('The JW64 Plan') referred to in Rear Admiral Rhoderick McGrigor's 28 February 1945 report ('1st Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report'), NA London ADM 199/759 suggests the attack took place at around 66°40' N 01°30' E.
3. Escorts: War Diary of Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet for February 1945, NA London ADM 199/1440; and the 28 February 1945 report by the destroyer *Onslow*'s Captain Hugh Browning, Captain (D) 17th Destroyer Flotilla ('17th Destroyer Flotilla's Hotbed Report'), NA London ADM 199/759. 1st Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report; Campania's Hotbed Report; Nairana's Hotbed Report; JW64's Commodore's Report; and BRITISH NAVAL AVIATION HISTORY p. 300.
4. KG26's History p. 269.
5. 1st Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report; and KG26's History pp. 268–9.
6. Leutnant Hans-Werner Grosse quoted in KG26's History p. 268.
7. The JW64 Plan suggests this second air raid took place around 73°00' N 21°00' E.
8. Campania's Hotbed Report; and KG26's History pp. 270–1.
9. Leutnant Hans-Werner Grosse in KG26's History p. 270.
10. Ibid.; and 1st Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report.
11. Campania's Hotbed Report.
12. Ibid.; and 17 February 1945 report on *Denbigh Castle* casualties, NA London ADM 358/3080.
13. John Brackenbury in the film *Through Hell and High Water* directed by Elly M. Taylor ('Elly Taylor's Film').
14. Rodney Bowden in ibid.

15. 2 March 1943 report by *Zambesi*'s Captain John Allison ('The Opendoor Report') brought to my attention by the **NHB**.
16. 19 March 1945 *Daily Record* article headed 'Hunted From Cave To Cave For 3 Months', brought to my attention by Matthew Drennan, an amateur historian who has undertaken to write up the story of how Norwegian refugees were during the war brought over from Norway to Neilston, East Renfrewshire, Scotland, and housed there in a camp until it was safe for them to return home.
17. 1 April 1945 letter from Colin Christensen brought to my attention by Matthew Drennan, and quoted with the consent of the Christensen 'Whanau' (Maori word for family) including his son.
18. The Opendoor Report.
19. 1st Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report; and The Opendoor Report.
20. ROHWER'S HUMMELCHEN'S AND WEIS'S CHRONOLOGY pp. 393–4.
21. Report (date obscured) headed 'Narrative of the sinking of U-boat 425 by H.M. Ships "Lark" and "Alnwick Castle" on 17th February 1945' by *Lark* Anti-Submarine officer Lieutenant Anthony Parsons; and 3 March 1945 note by *Cygnet*'s Commander Anthony Thorold correcting Parsons' aforementioned report, both NA London ADM 199/759.
22. Herbert Lochner's 'In A Sinking Submarine' in the Winter 1993 edition of the Journal of the Royal Naval Amateur Radio Society Newsletter p.23.
23. Ibid.
24. The 19 February 1945 report by *Alnwick Castle*'s Lieutenant Commander Herbert Stonehouse ('Alnwick Castle's Report'), NA London ADM 199/759.
25. Notes written by John Durning, supplied by his daughters Frances and Susan.
26. Alnwick Castle's Report. The location of sinking in Map 21 is taken from the Plan 3 ('The RA64 Departure Plan') headed 'Approaches To Kola Inlet Showing RA64 Departing 17th February 1945' referred to in 1st Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report.
27. Ships list with Commodore Ernst Ullring's undated 'Report from Commodore of Convoy from Murmansk at 1000 BST. on 17th. February' ('RA64 Commodore's Report'), NA London ADM 199/759.
28. The location of the torpedoing is taken from The RA64 Departure Plan.
29. 17 February 1945 entry in KTB U-968; and 22 March 1945 document referred to as 'Minutes of the Proceedings at a Board of Enquiry . . . to investigate the circumstances attending the damage to H.M.S. "Lark" on 17th February 1945' concerning the damage to HMS *Lark*, NA London ADM 1/18932.
30. 20 February 1942 report by *Lark*'s Commander Hedworth Lambton, NA London ADM 1/18932.
31. 1st Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report; and undated report by Jack A. Teston, *Thomas Scott*'s Master, US MERCHANT VESSELS SINKING REPORTS. The location of the torpedoing is taken from The RA64 Departure Plan.
32. Elly Taylor's Film.

33. Rohwer's and Hummelchen's Chronology p. 334.
34. 1 March 1945 report by William Henry, who sailed in *Silas Weir Mitchell*, brought to my attention by Ian Millar.
35. The location of the torpedoing is taken from The RA64 Departure Plan.
36. 26 February 1945 report by *Zest*'s Lieutenant Commander Roger Hicks, NA London ADM 267/118.
37. Undated official Admiralty communiqué, NA London ADM 358/3080.
38. The messman was Joseph Psybysz, Donald R. Foxvog and Robert I. Alotta, *The Last Voyage of the SS Henry Bacon* ('Henry Bacon's Book') p. 113. Number of *U-425* fatalities: Herbert Lochner account in the booklet 'Der Landser Grossband', a copy of which is in the *U-425* section of the **U-boot Museum**.
39. Location of convoy during 20 February 1945 air raid: taken from Plan 2 headed 'Passage Of R.A 64 . . .' ('The RA64 Plan') referred to in the 1 Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report.
40. 1st Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report.
41. Ibid.; and KG26's History p. 272.
42. Josef Mang, KG26's History p. 272.
43. The Section 1 General Narrative attached to the 17th Destroyer Flotilla's Hotbed Report; and the list headed 'Weather Experienced' attached to the February 1945 report by the Commanding Officer of the destroyer *Whitehall*, both in NA London ADM 199/759.
44. Location where *Campania* temporarily left the convoy, based on The RA64 Plan. Campania's Hotbed Report.
45. Stephen Mearns' account, **IWM Sound** 11088.
46. Henry Bacon's Book pp. 118–21.
47. Ibid. p. 127.
48. Ibid. pp. 127–8.
49. Ibid. p. 126.
50. The convoy's changes of course in Map 21 are based on The RA64 Plan. They are in line with the confirmation in Campania's Hotbed Report that RA64 turned onto a 165° course at 9.12 p.m. 22 February, the RA64 Commodore's order to the convoy's merchant ships to turn at 4 a.m. to 225° after he had received *Bellona*'s Captain Gerald Tuck's 3 a.m. 23 February 1945 agreement; and Tuck's 10.40 a.m. 23 February 1945 order telling the Commodore to turn the convoy at 11 a.m. to 245°, both the latter two orders in Tuck's 28 February 1945 report's Appendix C, NA London ADM 199/759.
51. Henry Bacon's Book p. 125 states that the ship's 3rd Mate recalled the receipt of an order to change course, which according to his recollection was to 240°, but there is no record of anyone in the ship knowing about a second change of course.
52. Location based on The RA64 Plan. The 1st Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report states that survivors claimed they had been attacked by 19 aircraft.
53. KG26's History p. 277.
54. Henry Bacon's Book p. 129.
55. Ibid. p. 132.
56. Ibid. p. 130.
57. Time of first distress signal: 5 April 1945 'Summary of Statements by Survivors of the SS Henry Bacon . . .' ('The Henry Bacon Survivors' Report'), *Henry Bacon* file in the

Arctic Convoy Museum; and 1st Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report.

58. 1st Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report.
59. Henry Bacon's Book p. 135; The Henry Bacon Survivors' Report; and 16 May 1945 war action casualty report based on information supplied by Joseph Scott, *Henry Bacon*'s 3rd Mate ('Henry Bacon's War Action Casualty Report'), US CASUALTY REPORTS Entry A1 191 Box 5.
60. Henry Bacon's Book p. 135.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid. pp. 135–6.
63. Ibid. p. 141; and Henry Bacon's War Action Casualty Report.
64. Henry Bacon's Book p. 142.
65. Time of second distress signal: The Henry Bacon Survivors' Report. Carini's action after torpedo hit: E. Spurgeon Campbell, *Waves Astern* ('Campbell's Book') p. 82.
66. Henry Bacon's Book pp. 148–9; Campbell's Book pp. 82–3. Lifeboats used: 28 May 1945 report by Joseph Scott, *Henry Bacon*'s 3rd Mate, US Casualty Reports Box 3.
67. 28 May 1945 report by Joseph Scott, *Henry Bacon*'s 3rd Mate; and May 1945 Examining Officer report, both in US Casualty Reports Box 3.
68. Henry Bacon's Book p. 155; and Campbell's Book p. 87.
69. Account by *Opportune*'s Commander Robert Ryder ('Ryder's Account'), brought to my attention by his son Lisle and grandson Philip. Bearing: 1st Cruiser Squadron's Hotbed Report.
70. Henry Bacon's Book pp. 171 and 181; and Nairana's Hotbed Report.
71. *Henry Bacon* seems to have sunk at around 67°40' N 05°19' E, the location specified in the RA64 Commodore's Report.
72. Henry Bacon's Book p. 163.
73. Ibid. pp. 159–60 report based on testimony of baker George Bartin.
74. Nils Mortensen, *Refugees in Their Own Country* p. 70.
75. Campbell's Book pp. 83–4.
76. Appendix 2 to 5 March 1945 report by *Zambesi*'s Captain J. Allison, Captain (D) 2nd Destroyer Flotilla ('2nd Destroyer Flotilla's Henry Bacon Appendix'), NA London ADM 199/759; and Henry Bacon's Book p. 184.
77. Campbell's Book p. 85.
78. Justin F. Gleichauf, *Unsung Sailors* p. 184.
79. 2nd Destroyer Flotilla's Henry Bacon Appendix.
80. John Booth's account brought to my attention by *Zambesi*'s Roy Elwood.
81. Henry Bacon's War Action Casualty Report; and 2nd Destroyer Flotilla's Henry Bacon Appendix. Henry Bacon's Book pp. 247–9 states that of the 88 on board 60 survived and 28 died.
82. 2nd Destroyer Flotilla's Henry Bacon Appendix.
83. RA64 Commodore's Report.
84. Ryder's Account.

Chapter 43

1. Ships in convoy: JW65 Formation diagram read in conjunction with diagram in JW65's Commodore William Meek's 20 March 1945 report, both **NA London** ADM 199/759.
2. Escorts: March 1945 section of War Diary for the Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet, NA London ADM 199/1440; and 30 March 1945 report by the destroyer *Myng*'s Captain

P. Cazalet, Captain (D) 23rd Destroyer Flotilla ('23rd Destroyer Flotilla Operation Scottish Report'), NA London ADM 199/759; report attached to 31 March 1945 letter from the carrier *Trumpeter*'s Captain Kenneth Colquhoun, NA London ADM 199/759.

3. 31 March 1945 report by the 31 March 1945 report by the 10th Cruiser Squadron's Vice Admiral Dalrymple-Hamilton ('10th Cruiser Squadron's Operation Scottish Report').
4. Ibid.
5. ROHWER'S HUMMELCHEN'S AND WEIS'S CHRONOLOGY p. 399.
6. 8 May 1945 'Summary of Statements by the Survivors of the SS Horace Bushnell' ('Horace Bushnell Survivors' Report'), US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Box 310 states torpedoing was at 69°23' N 35°17' E.
7. U-boat: Rohwer's Hummelchen's and Weis's Chronology p. 399; and Horace Bushnell Survivors' Report.
8. Horace Bushnell Survivors' Report; and 23rd Destroyer Flotilla Operation Scottish Report.
9. 23 Destroyer Flotilla Report.
10. 10th Cruiser Squadron's Operation Scottish Report; and 15 April 1945 report by corvette *Allington Castle*'s Lieutenant Commander Phillips Read ('Allington Castle's Report'), NA London ADM 199/759.
11. *Allington Castle*'s Bill Bridges, speaking to me.
12. Undated report by *Lapwing*'s Lieutenant Ian Leitch ('Leitch's Report'), brought to my attention by John Kirke, nephew of Eddie Sheridan, one of those who died when *Lapwing* sank.
13. Allington Castle's Report.
14. Leitch's Report.
15. Ian Leitch account in Ian Hawkins, ed., *Destroyer*, p. 436; the number of survivors, taking into account the eight who died after being rescued, is confirmed in Allington Castle's Report.
16. 1 May 1945 report by *Thomas Donaldson* master Robert Headden ('Thomas Donaldson Master's Report'), US MERCHANT VESSELS SINKING REPORTS Box 47 Entry P-2; still rescuing *Lapwing*'s survivors: Allington Castle's Report; 2 columns: diagram with Commodore Meek's 20 March 1945 report on *Thomas Donaldson* sinking; and 21 March 1945 report by corvette *Oxlip*'s Lieutenant Commander John Craig, both latter documents NA London ADM 199/759.
17. 10th Cruiser Squadron's Operation Scottish Report.
18. Thomas Donaldson Master's Report.
19. 10th Cruiser Squadron's Operation Scottish Report. .
20. 1 April 1945 report by RA65's Commodore W. Meek; and RA65 ship list, both in NA London ADM 199/759; and WOODMAN'S BOOK p. 435.
21. 26 protected ships: 15 May 1945 report by the destroyer *Zephyr*'s Captain John Allison, Captain (D) 2nd Destroyer Flotilla, NA London ADM 199/1339. A 28 March 1945 note addressed to Churchill confirms the Chiefs of Staff opinion that the Arctic convoys were no longer a necessity on military grounds, NA London CAB 120/688.

22. Escorts: War diary of Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet April 1945, NA London ADM 199/1440.
23. Rohwer's and Hummelchen's Chronology.
24. 9 May 1945 report by 10th Cruiser Squadron's Rear Admiral Angus Cunninghame Graham ('10th Cruiser Squadron's Operation Roundel Report'), NA London ADM 1/30417.
25. Section II of report by *Loch Shin*'s Commander John Kitcat, Senior Officer 19th Escort Group ('19th Escort Group's Report'), attached to his 6 May 1945 letter, which gives the location of the sinking as 69°25' N 33°39' E, NA London ADM 199/1339.
26. G.A. Roy's account in Vic Ould, *Last But Not Least* ('Goodall's Book') pp. 61–2.
27. 19th Escort Group's Report.
28. 'Freddie Peeters' account, Goodall's Book p. 58.
29. Record of part of an enquiry with the reference M.O. 8383/45 on it, brought to my attention by Robert Wilson, nephew of Lieutenant Robert Whyte, who was killed by the explosion.
30. Report by Lieutenant James Dallaway ('Goodall's Report'), Goodall Book pp. 16–17 and 19–21; also brought's to my attention by the abovementioned Robert Wilson.
31. Freddie Peeters' account, Goodall's Book p. 58.
32. Bill Bates' account, Goodall's Book p. 27.
33. Bill Bates' account, **IWM Sound** 22327.
34. Goodall's Report.
35. Ibid.
36. 30 April 1945 report by *Honeysuckle*'s Lieutenant Commander Jimmy Wright, NA London ADM 199/1339.
37. Ibid.
38. 19th Escort Group's Report.
39. Ibid. states the location of the presumed sinking was: 69°29' N 33°37' E, that is, a short distance to the north-west of where Note 25 above states *U-307* was sunk.
40. Ibid.
41. Rohwer's and Hummelchen's and Weis's Chronology p. 412.
42. List of the dead and wounded in *Goodall*, NA London ADM 358/4448.
43. 19th Escort Group Report.
44. Dispatch Of The Commander-in-Chief Home Fleet covering up to the end of May 1945, NA London ADM 199/1440; 10th Cruiser Squadron's Operation Roundel Report.

Chapter 44

1. BRITISH WAR AT SEA OFFICIAL HISTORY vol. 3 part 2 pp. 261–2. BRITISH ARCTIC CONVOYS HISTORY p. 129 points out that the figures for east-going convoys exclude ships that sailed to Russia independently.
2. British Arctic Convoys History p. 129. British War At Sea Official History vol. 3 part 2 p. 262 points out that the specified number of sunk ships excludes the 5 merchant ships and 1 minesweeper sunk in Russian ports or waters after arrival in Russia.
3. Merchant seamen killed: British Arctic Convoys History p. 129. British War At Sea Official History vol. 3 part 2 p. 262 states 2,883 Allied

seamen were killed during the Arctic convoys; whereas the British Arctic Convoys History p. 129 states the total killed amounted to 2,773 men.

4. British War At Sea Official History vol. 2 p. 140; and Jeremy Clarkson, presenter of BBC's 'PQ17: An Arctic Convoy Disaster'.
5. BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OFFICIAL HISTORY pp. 220–2 explain why it can be argued that given his knowledge at the time Pound was acting reasonably when he decided to scatter PQ17 at the meeting convened during the evening of 4 July 1942. Some of the reasoning in those pages leading to that conclusion, backed up by additional points disclosed in this book, are laid out below:

   a. When Pound attended the meeting, he should have realized that Denning may well have correctly concluded that *Tirpitz* would only be permitted to attack PQ17 if the Germans knew the Home Fleet was too far away to intervene, and if the Germans realized there really was no battleship near the convoy. At the time of the meeting, Pound did not know the Germans' current knowledge concerning the location of the Home Fleet and regarding the claim by the crews of German reconnaissance aircraft that there was a battleship near the convoy. However given the constant daylight, it was reasonable for Pound to assume it was likely that the Home Fleet would be sighted by German reconnaissance plane crews sooner rather than later, if it had not already happened. It was also reasonable for him to assume it was probable that the Germans would soon realize that there was no Allied battleship near the convoy, if that had not already been discovered. Evidence had already been shown to Pound revealing that questions were being asked about whether there really was a battleship near the convoy: as mentioned in Chapter 17, an Enigma decrypt that was among the decrypts sent over from Bletchley Park to the Admiralty after 8 p.m. on 4 July contained a notification that the German aircraft crew which had initially stated that the Allied group near the convoy included a battleship, had subsequently reported that it just consisted of cruisers and destroyers. In other words during the meeting on 4 July, it was not unreasonable for Pound to assume that the Germans would realize the obstacles standing in the way of an attack on the convoy would be removed at any minute if they had not already fallen by the wayside, and that the *Tirpitz*-led battlegroup would soon be on its way to attack the convoy if it had not already departed with that in the German commanders' minds. He would also have been justified in concluding that the German battlegroup would be supported by the pocket battleships *Lützow* and *Admiral Scheer.* At the time he made his decision, he could not have known *Lützow* had been forced to drop out.

   b. Because Pound had been warned that messages sent in the Arctic might not be intercepted

quickly or at all, and some intercepted encoded messages would not be decoded quickly, there was always the possibility that a message sent by the Germans ordering or announcing *Tirpitz*'s departure from Altenfjord would not be seen or might not be decrypted quickly by Bletchley Park's codebreakers. In other words it was reasonable for Pound to assume that he might not be tipped off before *Tirpitz* reached the convoy. He could not be certain the crews in the British submarines off Norway would sight the German battlegroup before it approached PQ17. The possibility that an intercepted German Enigma message might not be decrypted quickly was highlighted by what actually occurred on 5 July: as mentioned in Chapter 18, the German message confirming that the *Tirpitz* battlegroup was about to sail was sent just minutes before midday on 5 July when the new Enigma settings began to be used. If that German message had been initiated and sent more than 15 minutes later, the signal would not have been decrypted until the next settings were worked out by British codebreakers many hours later. In those circumstances Pound might not have been tipped off about *Tirpitz*'s sortie until it was too late to save the convoy and its escorts.

c. It was reasonable for Pound to assume that if the *Tirpitz* battlegroup had attacked the convoy before he was tipped off, it would have been quite likely that many if not all of the supporting Allied warships would have been damaged or sunk, which was something Pound could not allow to happen given the impact this might have had on the keeping open of Britain's lifeline to and from America, as well as on the keeping open of the route to and from Malta at the same time as aid was being supplied to Russia. Britain could not afford to lose all or most of the convoy's escorts, which could have been the consequence of allowing the German battlegroup to attack PQ17. This leaves aside the British and American public's damaging loss of confidence in the Royal Navy that would probably have been the result of such a disaster. The loss of confidence would have been even more impactful than would otherwise have been the case because, as mentioned in Chapter 17, Pound had made a similar mistake before, which had ended in the sinking of two of Britain's capital ships. Pound's stance, which effectively enabled him to save the warships by sacrificing the merchant vessels, was all the more supportable because past sinkings of warships and merchant ships prior to the PQ17 scatter order had demonstrated that the fatalities were likely to be much higher for each warship sunk than for each merchant ship sunk. This was borne out by what actually happened in the Arctic during and after PQ17: as specified in Chapter 24, around 155 men lost their lives following the sinking or abandonment of 24 of the 'civilian' PQ17 ships, whereas the sinking of just one destroyer

during the 1944 convoy JW57, as described in Chapter 39, resulted in more than 200 fatalities.

d. When the meeting was convened, Pound would surely have realized that if he did not scatter the convoy on 4 July, it was quite likely that circumstances would arise the next day that would force him to scatter it then. These circumstances did indeed come into existence during the early afternoon of 5 July, when as mentioned in Chapter 19, Bletchley Park sent to the Admiralty the decrypt confirming that the *Tirpitz* battlegroup was setting out that afternoon to attack the convoy.

e. What is written above leads to the conclusion that Pound's decision to scatter the convoy on 4 July was arguably the only logical step he could have taken, however tempting it is to look for a scapegoat for the terrible losses that occurred after PQ17 was scattered.

6. British War At Sea Official History p. 262.
7. Tons transported and lost in Arctic convoys: British Arctic Convoys History p. x, relying on the 6 September 1950 assessment report by the Ministry of Transport's Michael Constance ('The Ministry of Transport's Assessment Report'), **NA London** ADM 1/20021; and the cited number of tanks and aircraft sent by Britain to the Soviet Union is based on the answer prime minister Clement Attlee gave when responding to a 1946 parliamentary question. It should be added that the answer as quoted in the British Arctic Convoys History pp. x–xi does not clearly state the tanks and aircraft mentioned were all sent via the Arctic convoys. While a substantial number may have been sent via the northern route, that is not clearly stated. The British War At Sea Official History vol. 3 part 2 p. 262, suggests that rightly or wrongly the book's author believed that some 5000 tanks and 7000 aircraft were sent in the Arctic convoys. The comments in Note 30 should be taken into account when referring to the figures covered by this Note.
8. B. B. Schofield, a director of the Admiralty's Trade Division, specified these figures in his *The Russian Convoys* pp. 215 and 224–5 without naming the primary source; he states he is relying on the 16 April 1946 verbal statement by Britain's prime minister Clement Attlee in the House of Commons and the '3rd report on Mutual Aid, 1946'; and what he refers to as 'Lease Lend reports 19, 20, 21 and 22 to US Congress'. They should perhaps be regarded as his best estimates, based on statements and documents supplied by the administrations in Britain and America.
9. The second Protocol specified a hope that 3.3 million short tons of aid would be sent to Russia via the northern route between 1 July 1942 and 30 June 1943. The 25 October 1943 Report On The Implementation Of The Second Soviet Protocol With Comparisons Between The Second And Third Protocols, NA London PREM 3 401/19, states that only 344,200 short tons were sent to Russia via the northern route

during the abovementioned period. It also states that the total sent via all routes during such period was 2,972,000 short tons compared with 4.4 million short tons pledged.

10. British War At Sea Official History vol. 3 part 2 p. 262. The sources relating to the impact on the western allies of prioritising giving aid to Russia are in the following NA London files: in CAB 69/2: Commander-in-Chief Middle East General Auchinleck inability to comply with instruction to attack quickly in Autumn of 1941: 1 August 1941 Defence Committee minutes; Chief of Air Staff Sir Charles Portal's agreement Russian supplies should be prioritized: 19 September 1941 Defence Committee minutes; Chief of Imperial General Staff Sir John Dill's opinion that Russians should be given Matildas: 17 November 1941 Defence Committee minutes. In CAB 69/3: number of British tanks and aircraft restricted due to US cutbacks: 22 September 1941 Report by Chairman of the British Representatives after the Conference on the British-United States Production and Assistance to Russia; India defenceless: Annex to 25 October 1941 Defence Committee minutes; Malaya and Singapore defenceless: 20 December 1941 War Cabinet Chiefs of Staff Committee minutes. In CAB 69/4: General Auchinleck unable to comply with instruction to attack quickly in 1942: 20 March 1942 telegram from Sir Stafford Cripps with 26 March 1942 Defence Committee documents; Churchill 19 January 1942 telegram to Australia's prime minister John Curtin: Defence Committee documents 21 January 1942; compromise concerning tanks for Australia: Chief of Imperial General Staff Sir Alan Brooke's conclusions in Annex in 31 January 1942 Defence Committee documents. Western allies accused of giving aid only fit for throwing in North Sea: undated 'Final Report by Lieutenant General M.B. Burrows', head of 30 Military Mission, Moscow starting in March 1944, NA London ADM 223/252.
11. Olga Kucherenko chapter 'Lend-Lease in war and Russian memory' ('Kucherenko's Lend Lease Appreciation Chapter') in David L. Hoffmann, ed., *The Memory of the Second World War in Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia*; and S. Monin, 'Vtoraia Mirovaia Voina. Mify o Lend-Lize', in *Liudi I Teksty: Istoricheskii Al'manakh* 12 (2019): pp. 146–64.
12. *Velikaia Otechestvennaia Voina 1941–1945* (*The Great Patriotic War 1941–1945*) vol. 9 p. 601, brought to my attention by Kucherenko's Lend Lease Appreciation Chapter.
13. Kucherenko's Lend Lease Appreciation Chapter; and Nikita Khrushchev, *Memoirs* vol.1 *Commissar* p. 226.
14. Nikita Khrushchev, *Memoirs* vol.1 *Commissar* p. 226.
15. 23 July 1942 telegram Stalin to Churchill, REYNOLDS AND PECHATNOV p. 129.
16. 18 February 1942 telegram from Stalin to Roosevelt, ibid. p. 85.
17. 13 October 1943 telegram Stalin to Churchill, ibid. p. 322.
18. 23 October 1943 Eden to Churchill via Clark Kerr, NA London ADM 199/606.

19. Boris Sokolov, 'The Role of Lend Lease in Soviet Military Efforts, 1941–1945', *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 7, 3, 567–86.
20. Ibid.
21. British Arctic Convoys History pp. x-xi quotes the British prime minister Clement Attlee while answering a parliamentary question in the House of Commons on 16 April 1946 stating that Britain had supplied 5,218 tanks to the Soviet Union during the war including 1,388 from Canada. Attlee did not specify his source.
22. Alexander Hill, Associate Professor, Military History, University of Calgary, *Journal of Military History* vol. 71 no. 3 (July 2007) pp. 773–808 in 'British Lend-Lease Aid and the Soviet War Effort, June 1941-June 1942' ('Hill's Soviet War Effort Article').
23. Hill is referring to Colonel-General G.F. Krivosheev, ed., *Soviet Casualties And Combat Losses In The Twentieth Century* ('General Krivosheev's Book').
24. General Krivosheev's Book p. 252.
25. The report by Anastas Mikoyan, People's Commissar for Foreign Trade, following a 9 January 1942 conference in Moscow, quoted in Alexander Hill, *The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, 1941–1945: A documentary reader* pp. 171–2. Hill credits G. N. Sevost'ianov, *Sovetsko-amerikanskie otnsoheniia, 1939–1945* p. 192, although it was previously referred to, and its source in Russian archives disclosed, in Mikhail Suprun, *Lend-liz I Severniye Konvoi 1941-1945* (*Lend Lease and the Northern Convoys 1941-1945*) ('Suprun's Lend Lease Book') p. 49.
26. 29 July 1942 letter from the Offices of the War Cabinet to the Commercial Secretary based in Kuibyshev, Russia and the statement sent with it entitled 'Final Figures Of Arrivals And Losses For Each Convoy Up To And Including P.Q.16', NA London CAB 111/109, which states that 426 tanks were sent in Arctic convoys PQ2 to PQ6 inclusive. The 9 February 1942 telegram headed 'From the Foreign Office To Washington', NA London CAB 111/109, confirms the abovementioned 426 tanks sent via the Arctic convoys were Valentines and Matildas.
27. 9 December 1941 telegram from 30 Military Mission to the War Office citing a report from the Russian tank directorate, NA London WO 193/580 brought to my attention by Hill's Soviet War Effort Article.
28. Suprun's Lend Lease Book pp. 120–122 states that the 4,697 tanks given by the Western allies to Russia during the First Protocol period (up to 30 June 1942) was 33% of the number of tanks produced by Russia during the country's first year in the war, and 96% of the number of tanks produced by Russia during the country's first six months in the war. The equivalent figures for the 3,296 aircraft given to Russia by the western allies during the First Protocol period was 17% and 34%, he says. He is not saying these tanks and aircraft were all received in Russia by 30 June 1942. But what he does say is that even the smaller number of tanks, armoured cars and aircraft actually delivered to North Russian ports via the Arctic convoys

by that date (he says 2,314 tanks, 1,550 armoured cars and 1,903 aircraft were delivered before July 1942) was an important contribution: prior to July 1942, the Arctic convoy shipping delivered approximately the same numbers of these items as Russia possessed at the beginning of 1942, he says.

Using such comparisons to highlight the significance of what the Western allies supplied is inventive. But because he is often having to comment on the usefulness of the aid without complete data, which through no fault of his own may only become available when more documentation is declassified, some of his commentary is most valuable for its general tenor, rather than for the precise statistics.

It is interesting for example to hear him praising the Western allies for supplying, partly via the northern route in the Arctic convoys and partly via the other routes, machine tools and the raw materials necessary to maintain Russian production, as well as radio and communications equipment to help the Red Army keep in touch on the battlefields.

He also has emphasized the significance of the enormous quantities of food after the Soviet Union was deprived of its 'bread basket' in the Ukraine, that the western allies sent via the various routes, the bulk of it during mid-1943 to mid-1945 (canned meat, sugar and flour are the individual items believed to have represented the largest share of these food supplies by weight). He has estimated that wartime food supplies from the West, some of it sent in ships in the Arctic convoys, were enough to feed the Red Army during all the years the Soviet Union was participating in the Second World War (Mikhail Suprun, 'Lend-Lease food aid to Russia/USSR during the Second World War', *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 2023, 36:1, 96–108).

29. Andrew Boyd, *Arms For Russia & The Naval War In The Arctic 1941–1945* pp. 173–182, 491–2 and 532.
30. The weight figures in the table are based on those in 'Table 16' headed 'Shipments From The Western Hemisphere To The U.S.S.R. By Route, June 22, 1941–September 20 1945' in Hubert P. van Tuyll, *Feeding The Bear* ('The Bear Book') p. 164. The Table 16 figures, which are also cited in Robert Jones, The Roads To Russia ('The Jones Book') p. 290, are said to be based on the US Department of State, Protocol and Area Information Staff of the USSR Branch of the Division of Research and Reports, 'Report on War Aid Furnished by the United States to the U.S.S.R.' (Foreign Economic Section, Office of Foreign Liquidation, November 28 1945, 29); and T. H. Vail Motter, *The Persian Corridor and Aid to Russia*, pp. 481–3. The Bear Book does not disclose whether or not the Table 16 figures include aid not produced in America. It should be noted that The Ministry of Transport's Assessment Report's figures for the year by year Arctic convoy shipments show similar trends to the figures in the abovementioned Table 16 figures, and a similar total for

the entire war, but different figures for each individual year. This reinforces the point that unless and until primary sources are discovered which reveal the true statistics, the Table 16 figures and The Ministry of Transport's Assessment Report figures as well as the figures referred to in this Chapter's Notes 7 and 8 should be regarded as estimates. The Jones Book p. 261 cites the US State Department's 1951 claim that $10.8 billion of US aid was sent to the Soviet Union during and shortly after the war. Various reports can be used to estimate what the $10.8 billion figure quoted is worth in terms of 2025 money (2025 being the date of publication of this book's hardback) taking into account inflation. If one accepts that the appropriate inflation multiplier is around 20, that puts the value of the aid in 2025 money terms at around $215 billion. (The 20 multiplier is at the bottom end of the range indicated by the US Bureau of Labor CPI Multiplier which appears to refer to a multiplier of ca. 17, and the Bank of England's Inflation calculator which appears to refer to a multiplier of ca. 36). The very approximate unverified figures that have been cited for what the US has donated to Ukraine during 2022-2024 are some $119 billion (source the Kiel Institute). Because none of these figures have been backed up with documentation, they should be regarded at best as very rough estimates.

Maps

1 The coast lines in Map 1, which is based on the theatre map in the BRITISH ARCTIC CONVOYS HISTORY, are very generalized, and they should not be taken to be anything other than approximations.

A note in the text box on Map 1 states that the explanations of the numbers that are to be seen on this map are to be found in this note. These explanations are laid out below. Each of the numbers laid out below has text beside it which explains the significance of the corresponding number on Map 1.

Please note that the numbers below are formatted differently to those on Map 1, in that those below, unlike those in Map 1, are not white numbers set in blacked in circles.

1 Location where after searching for PQ12 *Tirpitz* was unsuccessfully attacked by British aircraft on 9 March 1942, as described in Chapter 4.

2 Where the cruiser HMS *Trinidad* was located when while protecting PQ13 she was hit by her own torpedo on 29 March 1942, as described in Chapter 5.

3A Place where during the passage of QP11 the cruiser HMS *Edinburgh* was torpedoed on 30 April 1942, as described in Chapter 10, before she was sunk on 2 May 1942 in location **3B,** as described in Chapter 11.

4 Location where during the night of 14-15 May 1942 *Trinidad* was bombed, before she was finally sunk, as described in Chapter 13.

5 Approximate location of PQ16 on 27 May 1942 when 8 of the

Allies' ships were sunk or abandoned, or so severely damaged that they could not remain with the convoy, in the course of a series of raids by the Luftwaffe, as described in Chapter 15.

6A Where PQ17's ships were bombed during the big air attack on 4 July 1942, as described in Chapter 1, shortly before the convoy was scattered at **6B,** as described in Chapter 17.

7 Site where 8 of PQ18's ships were either sunk or abandoned during and after a raid by the Luftwaffe on 13 September 1942, as described in Chapter 27.

8 Approximate place where SS *Chulmleigh* was abandoned during the night of 5-6 November 1942 after sailing onto the reef on the west side of Spitsbergen's South Cape Island, as described in Chapter 31.

9 Place where the two British cruisers *Sheffield* and *Jamaica* were located when their gunners ambushed the German heavy cruiser *Admiral Hipper* at the climax of the 31 December 1942 Battle of the Barents Sea, as described in Chapter 33.

10 Approximate site, in Kaa Fjord (the Altenfjord sub-fjord), where on 22 September 1943 *Tirpitz* was damaged by charges dropped under her hull from two British midget submarines, as described in Chapter 36; and where, in a slightly different spot, on 15 September 1944 *Tirpitz* was damaged again, this time by bombs dropped by the RAF, as described in Chapter 41.

11 Where the survivors of SS *Dekabrist* who had been castaways on Hope Island for around eleven months were finally rescued by *U-703's* crew on 7 October 1943, as described in Chapter 31.

12 Approximate location where on 26 December 1943 the German battlecruiser *Scharnhorst* was sunk by the British Home Fleet, as described in Chapter 38.

13 *Tirpitz's* last resting place, a short distance to the south-west of Tromso, where she capsized and sank during a bombing raid by the RAF on 12 November 1944, as described in Chapter 41.

2 Map 4 is based on Appendix III to *Victorious*' commanding officer's letter dated 15 March 1942, in the **NHB**.

3 In addition to the sources in Chapters 5–7, Map 5 is also based on the 28 March 1942 entry in the KTB DES ZERSTÖRERS Z 25, and its 'Wegekarte Z 25 vom 28 III – 29 III', both in **Militärarchiv Freiburg** RM 94/110.

4 In addition to relying on sources in Chapter 5's notes, Map 7 is principally based on maps entitled 'Track Chart Of Engagement Between H.M.S. Trinidad & German Destroyers Barents Sea Sunday 29th March 1942' and 'Convoy PQ13 Action With German Destroyers

Barents Sea Sunday March 29th 1942', both in **NA London** ADM 199/348; and the map entitled 'Gefecht mit englischen Sicherungstreitkräften am 29.3.42 im Nordmeer. Wegekarte Zerstörer Z 24' in Militärarchiv Freiburg RM 94/106.

5 As well as taking into account the sources in Chapter 10's and 11's notes, Map 8 is principally based on the map entitled 'Track Chart Of Convoy QP11 HMS Bulldog S.O Escort 28th April To 7th May 1942', NA London ADM 199/165.

6 In addition to relying on sources specified in Chapter 10's notes, Map 9 is principally based on the map entitled 'Movements of H.M.S. Edinburgh between 1415 and 1615 (Zone -2) 30th April 1942' in NA London ADM 199/165; and map entitled 'Angriff U456 am 30.4.1942 auf einen britischen Kreuzer der Belfast-Klasse (2 Treffer) in KTB des Unterseebootes U456, Militärarchiv Freiburg RM98/950.

7 Map 10 relies on several of the sources in Chapter 10's notes, but it is principally based on the 10 May 1942 report by *Bulldog's* Commander Maxwell Richmond; the 6 May 1942 report by *Beagle's* Commander Ralph Medley; and 'Track Chart Of Action Against Three Enemy Destroyers Off Bear Island', all in NA London ADM 199/721.

8 In addition to relying on sources in Chapter 11's notes, Map 11 is principally based on maps entitled 'Action Between H.M.S. Edinburgh & Escort & Three German Destroyers In Barents Sea 2nd May 1942'; Action Between H.M. Ships Edinburgh Foresight & Forester & Three German Destroyers On Saturday the 2nd Day Of May 1942 From 0630-0820'; and 'H.M.S. Forester Track Chart May 2nd 1942, all in NA London ADM 199/165.

9 In addition to relying on other sources in Chapter 32's notes, Map 16 is particularly based on the map in NA London ADM 199/73 that is in Enclosure 2 to the document referred to in that chapter's notes as 'Force R's Report'; and the maps in Militärarchiv Freiburg RM7/1040 that take into account Hipper's Regenbogen Report and Hipper's Regenbogen Artillery Report, as those reports are defined in Chapter 32's notes.

10 This inset within Map 16 is based on the Naval Staff Battle Summary 29, The Attack On The Tirpitz By Midget Submarines (Operation "Source") 22nd September 1943, Plans 3 and 5, NA London ADM 234/348', and the despatches submitted by Rear Admiral C.B. Barry on 8 November 1943 and by Rear Admiral G.E Creasy on 26 July 1945, both published in Supplement to The London Gazette of 10 February 1948, NA London AIR 2/9875; and the plan entitled 'Bomber Command Attack on Battleship Tirpitz in Kaa Fjord Photos taken on 15.9.44' opposite p. 62 of the report entitled 'Tirpitz: An account of the various attacks carried out by the British Armed Forces and their effect upon the German Battleship Volume 2', NA London ADM 234/350.

11 As well as being based on other sources in Chapter 32's and Chapter 33's notes, Map 17 is particularly based on the plan labelled

'Gefechtsskizze Unternehmen "Regenbogen" am 31.12.42' in Militärarchiv Freiburg RM 7/1040.

12 The co-ordinates cited in the preliminary note that precedes this Map 17's key numbers' texts are based on what is mentioned in Force R's Report (defined above in Note 9 of the Maps section of this book's notes).

13 In addition to relying on sources in Chapter 37's and Chapter 38's notes, Map 18 is also based on 'Wegkarte des Zerstörers "Z 29" beim Unternehmen gegen engl. Geleitzug vom 25-27.12.1943' with the 16-31 December 1943 KTB DES ZERSTÖRERS Z 29.

14 Map 18's inset is based on the map entitled 'Bomber Command Attack on Battleship TIRPITZ in Kaa Fjord', NA London AIR 34/141.

15 The co-ordinates in the preliminary text preceding the text linked to the key numbers in Map 19 are based on Burnett's Battle of North Cape Report, as defined in Chapter 37's notes.

16 In addition to relying on sources in Chapter 42's notes, Map 21 relies on Plans 1, 2 and 3 referred to in 1st Cruiser Squadron's Rear Admiral Rhoderick McGrigor's 28 February 1945 report headed, Operation Hotbed – Passage of J.W.64 and R.A.64', NA London ADM 199/759.

17 Map 23 is based on sketch in a diary compiled by Lieutenant Commander P.W. Dolphin while he was serving as a midshipman aboard the cruiser *Trinidad*, **IWM Documents** 09/54/1.

18 Map 24 is based on a sketch with the war diary for the British 126 Base Unit, NA London WO 176/391.

Appendix A

1. Based on the formation diagram in NA London ADM 199/757.

Appendix B

1. Based on the PQ16 formation sketch in NA London ADM 199/757, and another slightly different PQ16 formation sketch and a document specifying which PQ16 ships reached Russia in NA London ADM 237/167.
2. 6 June 1942 reports by *Mauna Key*'s Ensign Robert G. Crawford, and *Massmar*'s Ensign William A. McDowell Commanding Officers Armed Guard, US ARMED GUARD REPORTS Boxes 460 and 458 respectively.

Appendix C

1. Based on the PQ18 formation sketch in NA London ADM 199/758.