

The USS Midway Museum Welcomes Symposium '24



he WNHA's social highlight of the year is our annual symposium, to be hosted for the fifth time by the USS Midway Museum this coming February. Please join us for our fantail social mixer Friday evening on the 16th, and enjoy our programming on Saturday and Sunday, the 17th and 18th.. As in prior years, paid members attend free and it's first come first serve so send your 2024 dues now. See details below.

Just like last year's gathering, which featured keynote speaker Norman Friedman, scheduled to appear in 2024 will be presenters from the Naval War College, the Navy History and Heritage Command, the National War College, King's College, London, and much more covering a constellation of topics celebrating naval history and our shared interest in conflicts at sea. Prior to Saturday's and Sunday's programming, the WNHA will host a mixer for all attendees on the Midway's fantail starting a 6 pm Friday. See our special announcement for details!



Book Review: Mediterranean Naval Battles that Changed the World by Quentin Russell, reviewed by John Burtt

most important battles took place in and around the ation Pedestal's convoy- certainly rank with Cape Med. Which brings us to Quentin Russell's book, Matapan as noteworthy battles. I was impressed, Mediterranean Naval Battles that Changed the World. though with Russell's even-handed discussion of the (Pen & Sword, 2021.) He takes a close look at six Med battles at that time. Many have shrugged off Itaseminal battles that took place there.

The battles he discusses are Salamis (480 BC), and finding quality. Actium (31 BC), Lepanto (1571), Aboukir Bay (1798), Navarino (1827) and Cape Matapan and the battle for Malta (1940-42.) He starts with a nice over- raphies of each battle for readers to look forward into view of the period he is covering in his Introduction, them. Overall, I enjoyed the book and can recomwhere he lays out why he chose the battles he did for mend it to any naval reader. his "changed the world" nomination. In all cases, with the possible exception of the last, his reasoning holds. For example, Actium saw Augustus Caesar "change" the Roman Republic to Empire. The battle for Malta certainly changed World War II, but I would say the Eastern Front did more to "change the world" than the naval battles in the Med.

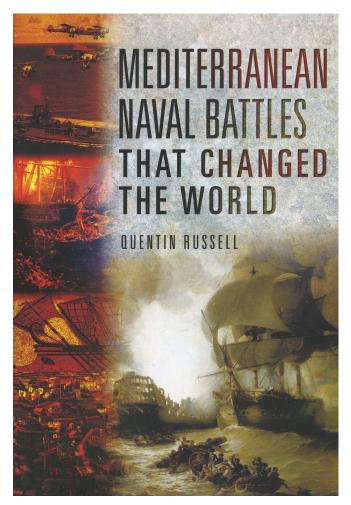
Russell follows his introduction with a very succinct overview of naval warfare in the Med. Following that he analyzes each of the individual battles in their own separate chapter.

In each he discusses the regional situation, the forces involved and then the details of the battles. I found his descriptions quite readable and the details engaging. For example, he noted that at Aboukir Bay, Napoleon faulted the French commander de Brueys for anchoring, when it was his orders that de Brueys was obeying in protecting the transports. He also adds some of the myths and legends that grew up around the battles: did Ali Pasha at Lepanto, die by his own hand, or hacked to death by the Spaniards in the melee. The inclusion of such tales adds to the color of the story, something I found enhanced the narrative.

Of the six battles, as noted above, I only found fault with the last. Cape Matapan was certainly a major victory for the British and led to a significant change in how Italy's Regia Marina fought the rest of the war. But the chapter is more on the whole Mediterranean campaign rather than a single battle. Other WWII battles - the air raid on Taranto that took half

he Mediterranean has been a focal point of the Italian battleships out of service (one never recivilizations - and their conflicts - for cen- turning), or the raid on Alexandria by Italy's Decima turies. Empires grew, fell and others re- MAS frogmen which took out Britain's only battleplaced them. As such, many of the world's ships in the Eastern Med, or the battle surround Operly's performance during the conflict, but newer historians, Italians among them, are revisiting the conflict

Russell has added short but complete bibliog-



Book review: Abandon Ship by PaulBrown, reviewed by John Burtt

t's a given fact that the "real" story behind con- these individual findings was the loss of the Sir Galafor instance. Another conflict that is seeing a lot of gentinians could reach. new information declassified is the Falklands War (or the Malvinas War, for South American readers) And warfare, both from the micro and macro levels. This with new information comes new books. One of the one is highly recommended. most interesting is Paul Brown's Abandon Ship: The Real Story of the Sinkings in the Falklands War (Osprey, 2021)

Brown delves into each individual sinking of the six British and one Argentinian ship sunk during the naval war for the islands, starting with the General Belgrano and ending with the Sir Galahad. He bookends the tales with a discussion of the approach to the war and Lessons learned chapters. Each chapter covers the ships, weaponry, tasks at the time before stepping through the sequence of events that lead to the sinking and its aftermath. This is followed by a discussion of the enquiry reports on the sinkings.

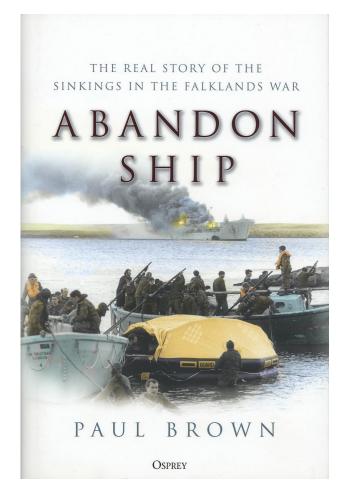
There is a lot of detail in the chapters, some of which are stunning. The discussion on the sinking of the Belgrano by HMS Conqueror had been controversial because it occurred outside the British Exclusion Zone. It entailed a discussion between the forces on hand and the War Cabinet authorities 7,100 nautical miles away in London; it brought to mind all the problems related to "rules of engagement" that can put forces engaged in peril because of such discussions. I was also surprised to learn that during the attack on HMS Sheffield, the Anti-Air Warfare (AAW) officer on HMS Glasgow, one of the ships on point with the Sheffield, was arguing with the AAW Commander on HMS Invincible (20 nautical miles away) about whether

there was, in fact an air raid in progress. And despite Glasgow's warning, the Combat center on Sheffield was essentially vacant - seemingly not taking the situation seriously enough. You also find out that the anti-air weaponry on these ships was...touchy. Several times the weapons either didn't fire, or otherwise function at the worst possible time.

The reports on the sinking are pretty harsh on the commanders and crews of the lost ships, but the goal of the reports is to make things better, so they are intended to be that way. Most found some fault with what happened on the ship, but Brown, to his credit, makes sure that the stories of heroic acts on the damaged ships is highlighted. The main exception to

flicts - before, during and immediately after - had (and needless loss of life among the Welsh generally takes years to be revealed. Things are Guards) which noted the ship should have never been still being declassified from the Vietnam War, sent unsupported and undefended into an area the Ar-

Brown has crafted a superb treatise on naval



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Commandos at Castelorizzo

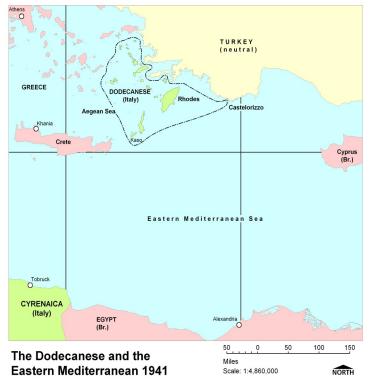
Vincent P. O'Hara

he modern concept of commando operations was born during the Second World War and today is firmly established; the U.S. military has the or more Special Forces units. There is a perception that commandos are super-soldiers who succeed in all but the rarest of situations. The word popularly evokes the image of a widely spaced file of soliders, faces darkened, blackclad, clutching tommy guns or gurka knives, filtering through enemy lines. However, the evolution of the commando concept saw many blotched operations and defeats. It is from these that modern doctine has developed. One of the most instructive of the early fiascos occurred in February 1941 when British commandos attacked Castelorizzo, an isolated Italian island off the Turkish coast. What followed was a textbook case of how not to conduct commando operations; it demonstrated that elite selfcontained fighting units, if used carelessly, could easily be defeated even by second-line enemy formations.

Before World War Two most nations shunned irregular warfare as exotic and incompatible with their military codes of honor. During the 1940 Norwegian campaign, however Great Britain developed specialized forces to practice what Great Britain's Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, graphically described as a "butcher and bolt" policy. As one of the pioneers of commando operations theorized, special units practicing "guerrilla warfare" could destroy the enemy's "brains," that is the commanders and headquarters, from within, as well as his supplies and means of communication." After the fall of France confronted Great Britain with enemy strength it could not hope to match through conventional means, the commando concept-with its promise of big results from small investments—gained even more appeal.

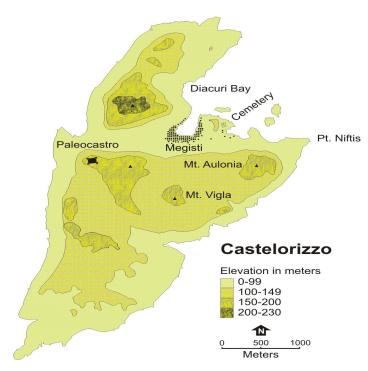
forces in the Mediterranean where, as one historian put seaplane base, at the last moment due to Italy's declait, he saw an opportunity to win early victories to encourage an embattled British nation. Since October 1940 he had been championing an operation dubbed

tween Tunisia's Cape Bon and Sicily's western nose. The prime minister felt that "if successful, [Workshop] would be electrifying." Admiral A. B. C. Cunningham, commander of Britain's Mediterranean Fleet, did not share Churchill's enthusiasm. His forces could barely keep Malta provisioned and he protested that adding Pantelleria to his burdens would exceed his capabilities. Instead Cunningham had his eyes on the Italian Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean Sea off the Turkish coast. It appeared that Churchill, not Cunning-Delta Force and Seals, and most nations maintain one ham, would get his way, but when German aircraft appeared over Malta in January 1941 the British Chiefs of Staff vetoed the Pantelleria venture and authorized Cunningham's plan shortly thereafter.



The force immediately available to Cunningham was 50 Middle East Commando-which he described as "400 thugs" he could use to make at start in "biting off the lesser isles" in the Aegean. It was, in fact, a volunteer, company-sized unit formed in July 1940. The Middle Eastern Headquarters had cancelled Churchill was eager to use his new special the commando's first operation, a raid on an Italian ration of war against Greece in October 1940. Instead 50 Commando relocated to Crete where it cooled its heels and practiced amphibious operations using expe-Workshop to capture the small Italian island of Pantel- dients like orchard ladders for ship-to-boat transfers. leria, which lay midway in the Sicilian Channel be- Here it was readily available for Aegean operations.

Admiral Cunningham decided 50 ME Commando should capture Kasos, the island guarding the Dodecanese's western approach, in order to secure the supply route to Greece which ran through the channel between Kasos and Crete. On the night of January 16/17 a section of troopers boarded the old sloop HMS *Derby* to scout the defenses. The ship had reached its



destination when suddenly orders arrived straight from London canceling the operation. Churchill had decided that the capture of Rhodes was urgent and had so ordered. Three full commandos of 500 men each had embarked on landing ships and set sail from Britain on the twelve thousand mile voyage to the Eastern Mediterranean via the Cape of Good Hope and the Red Sea.

offensive plans this wait would entail, he received per- cruiser squadron to deliver the Commando. The troops mission to have another crack at Kasos as long as it would capture the island while the warships cleared did not interfere with the main affair. Elements of 50 the area to avoid air attack. The next night a company scout the island. However, the minesweeper dropped form Castelorizzo's permanent garrison. them off on the wrong beach. Unable to find the guides they expected, they rowed back to the ship, where one participant remembered:

"The captain of HMS Derby had a very unpleasant bull terrier which bit me in the backside and started to bark its head off just as Commander Nicholl was returning from a reconnaissance. The

clouds rolled away and there was a large gun emplacement waiting for the unwary. The Royal Italian flag was hoisted by the *Derby* as a *ruse de guere* and we sailed away to Crete."

Cunningham responded to these setbacks by instead deciding to attack Castelorizzo, home to two thousand Greek civilians and a minuscule Italian garrison. This rocky, three-square-mile island lay three miles off the Turkish coast, 80 miles east of Rhodes and 180 miles west of Cyprus. Cunningham calculated it could serve as a forward motor-torpedo boat base for the Rhodes operation, but its real attractions seemed to be its isolation and a weak garrison. In fact, it was these qualities that made it an unsuitable target. Whereas possession of Kaso would have provided extra security to important shipping lanes and threatened Italy's whole position in the Dodecanese, capturing Castelorizzo did nothing to advance the British position or harm Italy's.

Confident that his "thugs" would have no problem, Cunningham ordered the landing to take place in a few days and placed the operation into the overworked hands of the 3rd Cruiser Squadron's Rear Admiral Edward de Faye Renouf. The admiral had had an exciting war to date; a few weeks before his flagship had been sunk—the fourth time he had come under enemy attack. He was also sick, suffering from an acute stomach ailment. Cunningham wrote, "he undoubtedly has too much imagination, but he has brains and his nerve has not suffered."

Renouf needed brains and imagination because he had to develop his plan based upon hearsay from Air France, which had used Castelorizzo's harbor as a seaplane base, one Italian chart and some picture post-When Cunningham protested the delay to his cards. He decided to use destroyers escorted by his ME Commando set forth aboard Derby once again to of regular infantry would relieve the commandos and

> On February 23 the destroyers HMS Hereward and Decoy put into Suda Bay. They embarked 50 Commando's commander, Lt-Colonel Peter Symons, and his 200 men and set sail escorted by the cruisers Gloucester and Bonaventure, and the gunboat Ladybird. The squadron arrived off Castelorizzo before dawn on the 25th. The destroyers each carried five whalers with a capacity of twenty men each, which

WNHA Newsletter

forced the troops to land in two waves.

Several boats in the first wave missed the landing point and entered the narrow harbor where the surprised garrison greeted them with gunfire. This recep- leaving the commandos unbloodied, but, as the unit's tion forced a hasty retreat back to the destroyers. The rest made it ashore, however. They engaged an Italian patrol with Bren guns and advanced into the town. less, the tired troopers, were confident as they posted The garrison consisted of less than fifty men, a mixed bag of customs guards, police, marines, and a few airmen and soldiers. The Italians retreated to Fort Paleocastro, an old crusader castle perched six-hundred feet above the harbor, and radioed for help while the rest of the commando came ashore.

At dawn Decoy and Hereward withdrewtheir orders required them to be well clear of the island by daylight-but Ladybird nosed into Megisti Harbor, the island's only port, and landed twenty-four Royal Navy marines. The old gunboat's shallow draft presented no problems in the narrow harbor and her two 6-inch guns provided powerful fire support for the commandos, lofting 100-pound shells up and into the castle. Most critically, however, the commandos were equipped with just one short-range radio and Ladybird's powerful wireless was to provide the communications link to Cyprus.

The Italian headquarters on Rhodes, meanwhile, reacted energetically to the British attack. Beginning at 8:00 a.m. Savoia 81 bombers, Savoia 79 bombers and Caproni 42 fighters appeared overhead. At 9:50 a.m. an S.81 landed a bomb on Ladybird's 3inch gun, seriously wounding two men and disabling the weapon. However, this aerial intervention was not enough to offset the British advantage in numbers and the garrison surrendered at 10:00 a.m. after losing a quarter of its strength (six men killed and seven wounded) in the struggle.

At 10:15 a.m., after Symons advised the gunboat of the fort's capture, Ladybird's captain decided to withdraw to Cyprus with the Royal Marines. The situation seemed well in hand, and the cost of staying and being sunk at anchor seemed greater than the risk involved in leaving the island out of touch for fifteen hours until the regular garrison arrived.

Italian aircraft continued to strafe and bomb Ladybird as she withdrew, and the captain radioed to Admiral Renouf that, while the operation was a complete success, the company of 'Sherwood Foresters' who were coming in a slow landing ship, should land after dark. Admiral Renouf accepted this recommen-

dation and timed his arrival for 3:00 a.m. on February 26.

The Italian air force harassed the island all day, second in command, Major Stephen Rose reported, "with ringing ears and splitting headaches." Nonethe-



Megisti and harbor. The Turkish mainland is visible in the distance.

sentries and turned in to sleep that night. Their optimism proved premature when, at 9:00 p.m., a bright light woke the men quartering in the town. Major Rose remembered:

> "On looking through the window toward the open sea we were blinded by a searchlight beam which unmistakably came from a warship . . . two shells had struck the building before we were all clear and several more followed as we leapt down the steps outside and dived for a narrow side street. . . . The noise and blast effect of this point blank range shelling was extremely frightening. . . . We spent the rest of the night expecting a landing and avoiding searchlights by lying behind rocks. It was extremely cold and rain made matters worse."

ian torpedo boats Lupo and Lince loaded with fifty- emy warships, but the British destroyer had already two black-shirts of the 201st Battalion and seventeen withdrawn forty miles, steaming to concentrate with other soldiers under the personal command of Rear Decoy. It reversed course upon receiving the admi-Admiral Luigi Biancheri, a popular and energetic ral's orders but the Italian warships had vanished. commander who was also an ex-boxing champion. The destroyers Francesco Crispi and Quintino Sella stood off the island in support. His aircraft had reported the gap in British naval coverage and Biancheri saw an opportunity to mount a reconnaissance in force, hopefully to snatch some prisoners, rescue friendly personnel, and recapture secret codebooks kept in a safe at the municipal palace. As the blackshirts came ashore, the commandos retired east toward the cemetery to protect their embarkation beach near Niftis Point. A crowd of Italians emerged from hiding places within the town and boarded the friendly warships.

Meanwhile, Hereward, sailing ahead of Renouf's force received a garbled report from Colonel



Highlands of Castelorizzo. Mt. Viga is to the left, and the monastery to right is where the Italian prisoners were locked up until liberated by the 13th Company.

tions-even in port it had taken four hours to embark of Admiral Renouf's ships returning to Alexandria, commandos and be gone before daylight. The sea was air or naval opposition. Accordingly it quickly assemness. Now, there appeared the possibility of a surface Biancheri's vessels and stepped up aerial reconnaising to Alexandria where he could transfer the troops moves. The Italian force sailed early on February 27

The searchlights and shells came from the Ital- to destroyers. He radioed Hereward to engage the en-

In fact, the Italians knew a British force was approaching. At 2:00 a.m. they finished re-embarking their troops and pushed off for Rhodes.



Men of 50 Commando practice ship to shore movement from HMS Derby with an orchard ladder.

After a wet and sleepless night the men of Command 50 looked forward to their relief. They had no idea that Admiral Renouf had returned to Alexandria, thus extending their mission by two days; and, with just one radio set with a range of fifty miles, they had no way of finding out. The British troops waited. There were problems with the local Greeks, who began looting the town. The Italian air attacks continued, but with less intensity. Lookouts scanned the horizon. As the sun went down, the disappointment was great, but at least the second night on the island passed quietly.

Meanwhile Italy's Aegean headquarters considered the situation. The first appraisal, communicat-Symons that two enemy ships were attacking and pos- ed to Rome on February 26, was that British naval sibly landing troops. This news alarmed the admiral. superiority and the island's insignificance, made an The Foresters were not trained in amphibious opera- effort to retake Castelorizzo too risky. Then, reports the company. He calculated he had about two hours to transformed the situation. Headquarters realized it had get them ashore if he were to have time to load the time to improvise an operation free from significant rising and the men beginning to suffer from seasick- bled troops and loaded them aboard Admiral action. The admiral decided to play it safe by return- sance to give early warning of any unexpected British

Page 7

WNHA Newsletter

to arrive at daybreak.

With dawn on the third day, the 27th, Major Rose remembered, "the troops were becoming a little restive and the 'barrack room lawyers' were holding troops opposing him were poor soldiers. "They stood forth pessimistic theories." Food, water, and ammuni- on the skyline [of a ridge about a thousand yards in tion were all in short supply. Working parties climbed front of the British line] like a lot of tourists, sightseethe mountain to salvage rations from the fort. Then, at ing. Their advance was very sticky and we heard an 9:00 a.m. a runner breathlessly arrived at the town N.C.O. . . . [reprimand] one of his men for a lack of with news that two warships had been sighted on the determination." This may have been true as the Italother side of the island. Shortly thereafter the vessels ians were garrison troops pressed by need into an ofrounded the headland. The Italians were back. "This fensive role, but if so, it made their swift capture of was a most unexpected surprise and caught us quite the castle and subsequent advance all the more reunprepared with men all over the place-patrols, fa- markable. The bombing, naval gunfire and pressure tigue parties, men filling water bottles in the town, from the ground troops, including another landing by sentry posts in the town etc."

Admiral Biancheri's flotilla included the torpedo boats Lupo and Lince, the destroyers Francesco Crispi and Quintino Sella and the motor-torpedo boats, MAS 541 and 546. They carried 175 troops of mandos, having lost forty men, having expended most Company 13, IV Battalion, 9th Infantry Regiment, 23 their ammunition, and having little food or water conmen from an antitank platoon with a pair of 47-mm templated, with the coming of dawn, surrender or a rifles, 4 communication specialists, and 88 sailors to suicide fight to the finish. man the garrison.

bor at 10:00 a.m. and began landing two platoons corted by the cruisers *Perth* and *Bonaventure*, and the while the other torpedo boat disembarked fifty men destroyers Hasty and Jaguar. Admiral Renouf was no just north of town. The warships supported the troops longer in command having reported sick and leaving with gunfire while aircraft crisscrossed overhead, the job to Bonaventura's Captain, H. J. Egerton. After strafing and peppering British positions with anti- a twelve-hour cruise the flotilla arrived at 11:15 p.m. personnel bombs.

The only resistance the commandos offered came from an eight man patrol occupying the town cemetery. They hosed the soldiers coming ashore with their Bren guns and mortally wounded the 13th Company's commander before falling back. As the commandos gave ground, the Italian occupied the town and began pushing cautiously toward the cemetery. Colonel Symons positioned troops between the cemetery and Niftis Point to protect the re-embarkation beach. A reinforced section held Paleocastro Castle. The majority of the Italian 13th Company, supported by the antitank section and naval gunfire, climbed the steep slope toward the castle and two platoons launched an attack. Despite the position's strength, the castle fell at 1:45 p.m. after a forty-five minute fight.

over the municipal Palazzo del governo the 13th esters had just lugged ashore. Company reorganized and, at 3:30 p.m. began travers-

ing the high ground toward Niftis Point. Lupo ranged offshore, her guns barking in support.

Major Rose later asserted that the Italian twenty men directly at Niftis Point, forced Colonel Symons to concentrate his entire force on Aulonia Mountain.

As darkness fell, fire tapered off. The com-

That same morning Decoy and Hero re-A torpedo boat and destroyer entered the har- embarked the Foresters and departed Alexandria esand, as the two cruisers patrolled around the island, the destroyers gathered off Niftis Point. Decoy landed a contingent of Foresters led by their commander, a Major Cooper. Almost immediately they encountered the body of a British soldier lying beside a stone breastwork. Then, two stragglers emerged from hiding and warned that the situation was desperate. Cooper immediately returned to *Decoy*. Meanwhile Symons, seeing that British ships had finally arrived, hastened down a steep footpath, found a boat and reached Hero. A hasty radio conference ensured. Cooper wanted to retake the town, but Egerton said he could not linger after daybreak so, faced with the prospect of no naval support, both army commanders agreed to evacuation. The 140 surviving commandos with twelve prisoners descended the narrow trail and, with fifty Foresters, were lifted off the beach with some difficulty. The steadily rising sea forced them to As the Italian tricolor replaced the Union Jack abandon all their gear, including the kitbags the For-

WNHA Newsletter

Autumn 2023

There were many warships concentrated in a small gun and knuckle duster basis and apparently can't dearea, but surprisingly only one encounter occurred. fend themselves if seriously attacked." After reading Crispi, Lince, and Lupo patrolled south of the island, Cunningham's report Churchill called for heads to Stella to the west and the MAS boats guarded the har- roll. "What disciplinary or other measures are going bor entrance. During the withdrawal, the large de- to be taken on this deplorable piece of mismanagestroyer HMS Jaguar, a 2,330 ton vessel, armed with ment after we have had eighteen months' experience vestigate the port. She spotting shipping and emptied and relieved him for health reasons, complaining that her torpedo tubes into the inner harbor. Her crew re- his subordinate had lost his nerve and "cracked." ported four explosions, but apparently these came from torpedoes detonating ashore. At the same time Crispi, after shelling the British positions, was cruis- roll should have been Cunningham's not Renouf's. ing slowly east, awaiting orders when a lookout re- Cunningham ordered the operation against a secondported two large shapes, evaluating one as a cruiser. ary objective with hardly any preparation, inadequate The captain snapped off two torpedoes, which mal- support, and little appreciation for the capabilities of functioned and ran deep. As Crispi turned to disen- the force he was sending into action or what they gage Jaguar came about and illuminated. Crispi were likely to face. Cunningham, in fact, fell prey to opened fire with her main batteries, but her first sal- the most dangerous of all temptations-to use his spevos missed despite the close range and the advantage cial forces for the sake of using them. There was no of surprise. Jaguar quickly replied and reported hit- reason the Sherwood Foresters, who demonstrated ting Crispi twice, but in fact, she likewise missed. The they could land from destroyers at night, could not machine guns on both ships rattled into action. have captured the island from so few defenders. On Crispi's gunnery officer felt rounds zipping pass just top of that, the enemy enjoyed air superiority, superiover his head. He dropped to the deck and another or communications and intelligence. Under these conburst grazed his back. A 40-mm shell snuffed ditions, the commandos, supposedly elite soldiers, Jaguar's searchlight and in the darkness Crispi broke proved no match for only an equal number of second contact. By the time Jaguar fired star shell, the Italian line, garrison troops. Castelorizzo was a road map for destroyer had vanished, suffering just one man defeat and one the British would follow several times wounded by a small caliber round. Jaguar continued before they began to realize true value from their spesouth as the evacuation was nearly completed. MAS cial forces. 546 and *Lince* arrived off the harbor entrance and the MAS boat fired a brace of torpedoes at 3:13 p.m., although it was not clear what its target was.

By 3:00 a.m. all the commandos who had made it to the evacuation point were aboard and the Barnett, Correlli. Engage the Enemy More Closely: British warships departed for Suda Bay. At least The Royal Navy in the Second World War. New York: twenty-seven men, however, remained behind. A few Bragadin, Marc' Antonio. The Italian Navy in World made the swim to Turkey, more died in the attempt War II. Annapolis: Naval Institute, 1957. and the balance became prisoners of war.

Castelorizzo remained in Italian hands for the next two and a half years. This defeat embarrassed the British. For example, London's daily situation report to President Roosevelt, wrapped the withdrawal of the commandos in the guise of a minor naval victory. Churchill wrote a memorandum to the army commander that was more direct: "I am thoroughly mysti- Dear, I.C.B. ed. The Oxford Companion to World War fied about this operation" Cunningham called it "a *II*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. rotten business that reflected little credit on anyone. . .

. These commandos we have out here are on a tommy

six 4.7-inch guns and five torpedoes, stood in to in- of war? Cunningham blamed the defeat on Renouf

If Churchill were in search of heads, the one to

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