## INTRODUCTION BY THE PRESIDENT

Jack attended the Bexley Public Schools and graduated from Bexley
High School in 1938. He attended Amherst College and graduated cum
laude in 1942. He served in the United States Naval Reserve for four years
from 1942 to 1946 during which he served in the destroyer USS Dahlgren on
anti-submarine duty in the Atlantic, then served on the destroyer USS HART
DD 594 in the Pacific and finally served as executive officer in the destroyer
Minesweeper USS Carmick DMS 29 in Japan.

Upon his return from Japan, Jack entered the Yale Law School and two years later in 1948 graduated with a Juris doctor degree. He joined his father in the practice of law. He now practices with the firm of Chester, Willcox & Saxbe LLP. Jack is presently a member of the U.S. Naval Institute, an associate member of the U.S. Naval War College Foundation in Newport, Rhode Island, and a member of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Naval Memorial Foundation in Washington, D.C. Jack had his first boat at age 8 and now has more than several at his summer home in Drummond Island, Michigan.

Jack's first essay in 1972 was titled "Roses are Red or Nelson at the Battle of Cape St. Vincent." He has presented five essays since. Tonight is his seventh and is titled "SeaPower".

## **SEAPOWER**

It is always a pleasure – and an honor – to be asked to present an essay to be read to the very distinguished membership of the Kit Kat Club.

Last summer when I was asked to select a topic, I considered several subjects. Except for my first, my previous papers were about government and politics. I thought about doing a paper on the 1933 Ohio Penitentiary fire when 330 prisoners died. I have a copy of the Attorney General's investigation. Then I thought of my great grandfather and Jacob Cox. Cox's picture hangs in the hallway of this Club. I tell all who will listen that in the Civil War Jacob Cox, a general, rode his horse from Columbus to Atlanta and my great grandfather, a private, who accompanied him, walked all the way, at least as far as Kennesaw Mountain where he lost his leg. The story of that army, that division, that regiment are truly awe inspiring. These will make good essays that I can do in the future.

The decisive moment came as I worked in my study. On one wall is a picture of the USS Hart, one of the destroyers I served in during World War II, taken as she moved through Puget Sound on the way to the southwest Pacific. On another wall is a picture of the British Admiral, Horatio Nelson. The picture of Admiral Nelson reminded me of my first essay delivered in 1972 which was titled "Roses are Red" or Nelson at Cape St. Vincent. I

have lost my copy of this essay. At that time Nelson was my passion and is still a favorite. At this battle Nelson displayed his brilliance. The essay described the then Commodore, Horatio Nelson's performance at the Battle of Cape St. Vincent. The battle was between the British Fleet under the command of Admiral Sir John Jervis and the Spanish Fleet under the command of Vice Admiral Cordova. Since some of you were not here to hear it, I will review briefly Nelson's actions in that battle and then continue my essay from there.

Great Britain had been at war with France throughout much of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Spain had been a friendly ally. In 1796, Spain unexpectedly entered into an alliance with France. The Spanish fleet was in the Mediterranean. The French fleet was in the Atlantic. The British maintained a fleet in the English Channel and a fleet in the Mediterranean. If the French and Spanish fleets came together, their combined fleet would consist of one hundred fifty-two ships of the line against one hundred fifteen ships of the line in the British navy.

When the Spanish-French alliance was announced, the British

Admiralty ordered Admiral Jervis to vacate the Mediterranean. He was assigned the task of keeping the Spanish fleet from joining the French. In February, 1797, the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cordova sailed from

Cartagena to join the French fleet at Brest. He had twenty-seven ships of the line, one of which was the largest in the world – the 140 gun Santissima Trinidad. These were accompanied by twelve Spanish frigates. Admiral Jervis had fifteen ships of the line.

As the Spanish ships came through Gibralter, storms blew them out into the Atlantic. When they returned towards the coast, the British fleet was waiting for them. They met off Cape St. Vincent.

The British formed a line of ships heading south toward the Spanish. The Spanish were in line heading north. As they passed, foreseeing the British ships would not be able to fire on the passing Spanish ships, Admiral Jervis signaled the order for all ships to "Tack in Succession". As each ship reversed course in succession, in the same water as the ship it followed, this maneuver took a great deal of time. Commodore Nelson was aboard the ship named Captain. Its captain was an American, Ralph Miller. The Captain was the thirteenth ship in the British battle line. Nelson saw that the Spanish ships would be past the British fleet and be far to the north before most of the British ships could come about.

Nelson knew that British fleet doctrine required he maintain his ship in its place in the British battle line and also of Admiral Jervis's signal to turn in succession. Nonetheless, in disobedience of orders, he directed Captain Miller to bring the ship around and proceed toward the ships in the center of the Spanish line. The Captain proceeded, all alone.

Soon the Captain was fighting seven Spanish ships including the Santissima Trinidad. The Captain's sails and rigging and her foretop mast were shot away. Her sailors suffered heavy casualties. Admiral Jervis ordered the Culloden -- the first ship of the British line, which was the first to come about – and the Excellent -- the last ship in the British line, to go to Nelson's aid.

Disregarding the damage to his ship, Nelson ordered Captain Miller to ram it into the stern of the Spanish ship, San Nicholas, which in turn ran into the San Josef, a Spanish ship of one hundred twelve guns. The Captain's bow sprit ran up over the San Nicholas's stern. Captain Miller called away boarders. As he prepared to lead his boarders aboard the San Nicholas, Nelson stopped him declaring that he, Nelson, must have the honor. Nelson leaped aboard the San Nicholas shouting "Death or Glory". There was heavy fire from the San Josef. Nelson ordered "Boarders Away". The Captain's sailors and marines leaped over onto the San Josef. As Nelson followed onto the San Josef, the Spanish were surrendering. The Spanish Admiral had both of his legs shot off. Her captain surrendered both his sword and the Admiral's.

One out of three of the Captain's crew were dead or wounded – almost one third of the casualties suffered by the entire British fleet. Nelson had captured two ships -- his prizes.

Even though Nelson had disobeyed Admiral Jervis' orders, Admiral Jervis was pleased because he recognized that Nelson had led the fleet to victory.

Nelson proudly wrote to his wife about "the praise he had received from the highest to the lowest." He wrote a dramatic account of what had happened – titled "A Few Remarks Relating to Myself in the Captain."

Col. Drinkwater Balthune watched the Battle. In "a narrative of the Battle of Cape St. Vincent, he, the author, reports that after the battle Nelson told him the reason he boarded the San Nicholas was that when he saw the other British ships coming to help him he wanted to make sure that it was he who captured the San Nicholas and San Josef so that he would get prize money. The two prizes made Nelson wealthy. Col. Balthune said that he told Nelson he might be made a baronet – Nelson said he would prefer being made a "Knight of the Bath" because of the recognition it would give him.

The significance of Nelson's actions at Cape St. Vincent lies in his superior understanding of naval tactics, his quickness to see opportunity, his ability to seize it, and the audacity to control it.

He saw that Admiral Jervis and the British line would not make contact with the Spanish. He moved at a great risk to his ship, to his men, and with great risk to his career. His actions succeeded in disrupting the Spanish fleet and lead to its defeat. His personal bravery in boarding the two Spanish ships demonstrated he had no fear and loved combat. His coolness while under great stress demonstrated his ability to command. He had a great love for close battle. His insubordination was characteristic. He loved the public recognition that came with victory. He was promoted to Rear Admiral of the Blue immediately after the battle.

# LET ME CONTINUE WITH SOME HISTORY ABOUT CONTROL OF THE SEAS.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the British competed with the Spanish, the Dutch, and the French for colonies in America, the West Indies, India and elsewhere. The British and the French fought to achieve supremacy not only for trade and commerce, but for control of the seas.

Control of the seas meant control of trade and commerce.

The British and the Spanish went to war in 1739-40 over trading rights. War broke out between the British and the French in 1744 over, first Caribbean trade, and then over North America and India. Peace was made in 1748. In North America in 1754 war broke out again. By 1756, that war

had developed into a global struggle. In North America the French held strong positions with their many forts. The British, however, controlled the seas. The British were able to prevent France from supplying her colonies either with supplies or troops. This enabled the British to capture Louisburg, then Quebec and Montreal. The British channel fleet defeated the French navy at Quiberon Bay and at Lagos. They seized the French islands in the West Indies with their rich commerce. Peace came in 1763. The French gave up their possessions in North America. The British gave back the French West Indies to France.

With peace, France began to rebuild its navy. By 1779 the French fleet reached its peak in both numbers of ships of the line and in the training of its sailors. France declared war on Great Britain in 1779, to help the American colonies who were fighting for their independence. The French wanted to help the Americans bleed the British. France wanted to get even for their prior losses. They persuaded the Dutch and Spanish to become their allies. The British navy was badly stretched protecting its interests from America to India. It was fighting its war against France and her allies for control of the sea as well as fighting a land war in America three thousand miles away.

In 1781, Admiral DeGrasse with a French fleet sailed from the West Indies for Chesapeake Bay. Admiral Hood with a British fleet failed to stop him. When Hood turned away to New York, Admiral DeGrasse entered Chesapeake Bay. He landed three thousand troops at Yorktown. These troops sealed the fate of General Cornwallis. The French provided the one factor that the Americans had lacked-control of the seas. Cornwallis had no way to escape.

With the French Revolution, the French navy deteriorated. It lost most of its officers. The number of its ships declined. The philosophy of the French government was to save the ships, avoid battle, and stay in port. Thus its crews lacked training in ship handling and in gunnery while at sea.

The British ships were constantly at sea. They practiced ship handling, gunnery, and battle maneuvers until their crews functioned like machines. The British could fire 2 to 3 times faster than the French or Spanish. For example, Nelson had gone to sea as a midshipman at the age of 12. Most of his life thereafter was aboard a ship at sea.

### BACK TO ADMIRAL NELSON

Shortly after the Battle of Cape St. Vincent, Nelson led an attack to take Santa Cruz at Tenerife. The invasion failed. Nelson was wounded and

lost his right arm. At a prior invasion, that of Corsica in 1793, he had lost his right eye.

Notwithstanding his physical disabilities, upon his recovery, Nelson returned to the Mediterranean fleet still under the command of Admiral Jervis. Nelson was dispatched by Admiral Jervis to find the French fleet which had left Toulon. Napoleon had sailed with the French fleet and with an army to invade Egypt. Nelson followed, found the French fleet anchored at Abu Kir - near Alexandria – and proceeded to destroy it. Only two French ships escaped, Napoleon soon fled back to France, leaving his army in Egypt.

From this victory Nelson went to Denmark with the fleet under the command of Sir Hyde Parker. At Copenhagen, Nelson led the fleet to victory over the Danish fleet.

In 1805 the British fleet now under Nelson's command met a combined French and Spanish fleet off Cape Trafalgar. The combined French and Spanish fleets numbered 33 ships of the line. The British had twenty-seven. Nelson divided his ships into two columns to attack the center of the combined fleet's ships which were in a line of battle. With the battle joined, the number of enemy ships taken or burned by the British was eighteen. Four more attempting to escape were taken later. Nelson was shot

by a sniper and died as the battle ended. He was noted for his outstanding ability for and understanding of tactics by reason of which he was able to win numerous battles. His taking of great risks invariably led to success. He was known for the care he took of his men. The mutual high regard between Nelson and his ship's captains led to their being called the band of brothers. They understood and carried out his orders. This was the Nelson touch. His legacy was the continued inspiration of the British fleet and the continued adulation of the British people. The British navy controlled the seas from the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805 until World War II. Its officers developed a self confidence in an ability to fight with the expectation of winning. This control permitted the commercial growth of the British Empire. This was the age of Pax Britannica.

#### THE END OF THE PAX BRITANNICA

The supremacy of the British fleet remained unchallenged until the German Kaiser Wilhelm II read Captain Mahan's "The Influence of Sea Power upon History" – 1660-1783. Captain Mahan headed the naval war college. Starting about 1900, the Kaiser built the German Navy, particularly, with battleships. In World War I, the German navy under Admiral Scheer met the British navy under Admiral Jellicoe at Jutland in January 1915. After a long battle, the Germans had lost a single battle

cruiser, four light cruisers, five destroyers and 2,500 men. The British lost three modern battle cruisers, four armored cruisers, eight destroyers and more than six thousand officers and men. Nevertheless it was Admiral Scheer who broke off the engagement.

Admiral Scheer said he "saw in the British navy a fighting force with an unequaled reputation for invincibility in battle and bravery under fire."

The English fleet, he later wrote, "had the advantage of looking back on a hundred years of proud tradition which must have given every man a sense of superiority based on the great deeds of the past."

Captain Mahan did not – could not – foresee the future ending of battleship domination. World War I brought the development of the airplane and the submarine. In World War II, the last great battle between ships was at Leyte Gulf. The sinking by U.S. navy aircraft of the large Japanese battleship Yamato as it sailed from Japan toward Okinawa ended the era of the battleship.

At the end of World War II, the British Navy had over 900 vessels, including fifty-two air craft carriers. Great Britain was by now financially exhausted -- first by World War I and then by the five years of World War II. There was little choice but to abandon its navy. Its ships were scrapped. The Americans were now the policemen of the world. It was the Pax

Americana. The United States navy was the most powerful in the world and controlled the seas.

The U.S. Navy turned its attention to possible war with Russia. The U.S. submarines, the silent service, were developed with nuclear propulsion, and armed with ballistic missiles. They played a major role in controlling the seas – in becoming a major weapon against nuclear attack. But with the end of the cold war, during the Reagan administration, congressional appropriations for the Navy declined.

#### THE HISTORY LESSON IS ENDED – NOW ABOUT THE FUTURE.

Today the Navy has 274 combat ships. This is one-half of the number of combatant vessels that existed during the Reagan administration. It is the same number of ships that the Navy had on the eve of World War I. The U.S. is building about 7 naval combatant ships a year. At this rate, the number of ships will soon dwindle to the size of the navy as it was at the end of the Russo-Japanese War. The navy has 11 aircraft carriers. There are 17 carriers in the world that operate vertically launched aircraft. Ten of these are U.S. The navy has more nuclear submarines than the rest of the world combined. Fifteen of the seventeen largest navies are possessed by democracies.

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MARITIME STRATEGY

Admiral Mullin, then the Chief of Naval Operations, speaking at the Naval War College in June, 2007, stated that the Navy intended to expand the number of its combatant vessels to 313. He said to be effective worldwide, the Navy would need 1,000 ships. The additional ships would be sought through joint operations with other navies. He called upon the Navy, Marine Corp. and Coast Guard to devise a maritime strategy for the future. The new maritime strategy was then outlined in September, 2007.

The importance of the maritime arena is highlighted by the following:

Three quarters of the planet is covered by water. Over 90% of global trade is by sea; more than 60% of petroleum and natural gas is transported by tankers; due to advances in technology there will be greater offshore development of oil; the majority of the world's population live within a few hundred miles of an ocean. The waters of the Artic are slowly melting. New shipping routes, increased global transport, and resource opportunities may develop. Potential conflicts may develop as well.

India and China are competing with the United States for energy.

China is emerging as a major regional naval power in the Pacific. The Chinese Navy is expanding its submarine fleet and increasing the number of its surface ships. It has acquired Russian made guided missile destroyers

placing an emphasis on its ballistic missible capabilities. China will become more dependent on international trade and foreign energy resources. With its vast financial resources, it is developing its influence in Africa and South America. China now has 8 – 10 nuclear submarines and 50 – 60 diesel submarines. It is considering acquiring an aircraft carrier. By mid-century it plans to have a global fleet.

India's ship building industry has in production more than a dozen new naval vessels, including an air craft carrier. It is also buying ships from other nations.

And there is Russia.

Under pressure from China and North Korea, Japan is developing her own anti-ballistic missile systems. Japan must maintain the freedom of these seas in the Sea of Japan and the East China Sea. Japan is a critical Asiatic partner of the United States.

The illegal transport of weapons of mass destruction and its components are a major threat to security. Arms dealers, drug trafficking and human smugglers employ illegal shipping. As recent events have shown, pirates continue to be a menace. The availability of weapons, means of communication, and portable navigation systems enable the pirates to

attack shipping seemingly at will. Ships make good platforms for Terrorists to launch weapons of mass destruction.

# A COOPERATIVE STRATEGY FOR 21<sup>st</sup> CENTURY SEAPOWER AS PUBLISHED BY THE NAVY AND OBTAINED BY ME AT THE NAVAL WAR COLLEGE

The following six capabilities comprise the case of U.S. maritime strategy and emphasizes those activities that prevent war and build partnerships.

- 1. Maritime forces will be forward deployed. Operating forward enables familiarity with the environment and the personalities and patterns of the regional actors. It facilitates combating terrorism away and in conjunction with coalition partners.
- 2. Cooperation helps deterrence, creates security and removes conditions for conflict. Ballistic missile defense will not only protect our ships but also our friends and allies. Our advantages in space will be extended.
- 3. Sea control Sea control requires capabilities in all aspects of the maritime domain, including space and cyberspace. The major threat is the growing number of nations operating submarines. We will not permit an adversary to block vital sea-lines of communication and commerce. We will impose local sea control wherever necessary.

- 4. Power projection: We must maintain our ability to access, project and sustain power ashore. This requires properly sized forces, innovative technologies, joint planning processes and our sailors, marines and coast guard. We must have the ability to sea lift, concentrate and sustain forces. This capability relies on the maintenance of a strong commercial maritime transportation industry.
- 5. Maritime security: It is essential for security at sea to reduce piracy, terrorism, weapons of proliferation, drug trafficking, smuggling and other illicit activities.
- 6. Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response: We will continue to mitigate human suffering. We will maintain the ability to evacuate non-combatant citizens and others when their safety is in jeopardy.

To accomplish the above:

1. Improve integration and interoperability. Marines will be employed as air-ground task forces operating from amphibious ships.

Sailors, marines and Coast Guards will be teamed in various combinations to conduct security, cooperation and humanitarian assistance. The coast guard and the Navy will work as needed far from the U.S. or close at home for homeland defense.

Extended cooperation with other navies requires more interoperability with those having varying levels of technology.

To achieve the above, there must be increased ability to conduct integrated planning, execution, and assessment.

- 2. Enhance awareness: Intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance capability and capacity must be expanded. New partnerships with the world's maritime commercial interests and the navies of participating nations will reduce the anonymity of sea born transport of people and cargos. Information must be protected from compromise. We must remove the possibility of an adversary gaining the initiative and ensure decision makers get the information they need.
- 3. Prepare our People: We must properly prepare all for the challenges and opportunities ahead. They will constitute a dispersed force under decentralized authority in a world of copied information exchange. They must be trained in regional and cultural expertise. Operations as an integrated team requires mutual understanding of respective service or agency capabilities and culture.

The above strategy recognizes challenges imposed by the uncertain conditions in a time of rapid change and makes the case for the necessity for a cooperative strategy U.S. Sea Power in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

The premise is that "Our nation's interests are best served by fostering a peaceful global system comprised of interdependent networks of trade, finance, information, law, people and governance." But "Major power war, regional conflict, terrorism, law lessness and natural disasters – all have potential to threaten U.S. national security and world prosperity."

"U.S. maritime forces will be characterized by regionally concentrated forward deployed task forces with the combat power to limit regional conflict, deter major power war, and should deterrence fail, win our nation's wars as part of a joint or combined campaign."

"Credible combat power will be continuously postured in the Western Pacific and the Arabian Gulf/Indian Ocean to protect our vital interests."

Admiral Mullin, now Chief of Staff, seeks to reach his goal of 1,000 ships through interoperability with allied navies. Naval exercises in the Pacific were conducted with Japan, Australia, Singapore and India participating. Similar exercises have been conducted with South American navies. The stated purpose is international cooperation and the keeping of the sea lanes open for all nations. The task force patrolling the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean for the Somali Pirates is made up of ships of multinationalities. Their problem is communication and covering a large area.

The navy believes that with an expanded navy, a sea based marine corps trained as a fast striking force and an expanded coast guard trained to go wherever needed, it will be a force for peace in the world.

Secretary of War, Gates, on April 6 announced the Department of Defense budget for the coming fiscal year. The proposed budget has the full support of Admiral Mullin.

The changes in naval procurement he proposes are as follows:

- 1. Slow production of major surface combatants.
- 2. Slow the production of air craft carriers so as by 2040 there will be 10.
- 3. Delay the next generation cruiser program and the amphibious ship program.
- 4. Increase the buying of ships for counter insurgency operations in coastal waters eventually having 55.
- 5. Increase the acquisition of joint high speed vessel ships for inter-theater lift capacity.
- 6. Begin replacement of the Ohio ballistic missile submarine program.
  - 7. Re-start the Aegis Destroyer program.

# I LEAVE YOU WITH THIS THOUGHT

The author and historian, Paul Kennedy, echoes Captain Mahan when he says "Maritime strength depends, as it always did, upon commercial and industrial strength; if the latter is declining relatively, the former is bound to follow."

Will the commercial and industrial strength of the United States continue to be up to maintaining a Pax Americana?