

*Horatio Nelson*

THE NELSON LEGACY CONFERENCE SERIES

## Nelson's Legacy in the Japanese Navy



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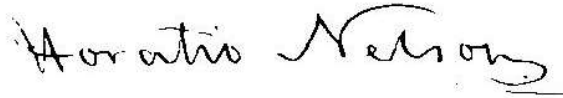
1. In response to a request from Japan, the British government dispatched a mission to Japan to train Japanese cadets at the Naval Academy.

It was Lieutenant Commander Archibald Lucius Douglas who headed the British mission. Douglas arrived in Japan on 28 July 1873 accompanied by 33 officers, petty officers, and seamen. Douglas famously taught Japanese cadets "to be gentlemen before naval officers". It is said that Douglas and his fellow British instructors disciplined cadets "to be smart". He also had fellow British instructors lecture Japanese instructors and cadets on the legend of Admiral Nelson.

During Douglas' tenure, the Meiji Emperor visited the Naval Academy at 10 o'clock in the morning on 9 January 1875 to attend a commencement ceremony. At one o'clock in the afternoon that same day, Takehei Aso, an assistant professor at the Naval Academy, gave a lecture on the life of Nelson before the Meiji Emperor. The lecture was a biographical sketch of Nelson from his upbringing to his death at the Battle of Trafalgar. In his concluding remarks, Aso said he hoped heroes like Admiral Nelson would emerge from the Imperial Japanese Navy.

Douglas served as head instructor at the Naval Academy from 28 July 1873 to 25 July 1875. During his tenure, the cadets and youth cadets at the Academy





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included Gonnohyoue Yamamoto, Hikonojo Kamimura, Tomosaburo Kato, Koichi Fujii, and Makoto Saito.

Gonnohyoue Yamamoto was Minister of the Navy during the Russo-Japanese War. He was the one who recommended Heihachiro Togo to the Meiji Emperor as Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet of the Imperial Navy. Later, Yamamoto would become prime minister not once but twice.

Hikonojo Kamimura served as Commander-in-Chief of the 2nd Fleet in the Imperial Navy during the Russo-Japanese War. During the Russo-Japanese War, Tomosaburo Kato served as chief of staff for the Combined Fleet of the Imperial Navy, and later became prime minister.

Makoto Saito was Vice-Minister of the Navy during the same war, and later also became a prime minister. Including these men, many of the cadets who studied under Douglas and the British instructors at the Naval Academy looked up to Admiral Nelson as their model and later became fine leaders and rendered great service to Japan.

Fleet Admiral Marquis Heihachiro Togo was greatly inspired by the Royal Navy. He comes across as a person raised by the Royal Navy. I'd like to share his early life with you.

2. Heihachiro Togo was the fourth child of Kichizaemon Togo and was given the name, Chugoro.

Togo was born on 22 December 1847 in the Kagiyacho district of the city of Kagoshima in the Satsuma domain of feudal Japan. The Satsuma domain was also called Shimazu domain because it was ruled by the Shimazu clan. Togo's father was a samurai serving under the Shimazu clan. In June 1853, Commodore Mathew Calbraith Perry of the East Indian Fleet of the U.S. Navy entered Uruga Harbor near modern Tokyo with four warships, urging Japan's feudal government to open up Japan to the West. After Perry's visit, Japan was in turmoil.

The Satsuma domain started upgrading its navy in 1856. Chugoro came of age in the spring of 1860, becoming a samurai of Satsuma. He was given the adult name, Heihachiro.

In 1862, the Namamugi Incident occurred in which four British nationals were attacked by samurai when traveling through the village of Namamugi. Hisamitsu Shimazu, father of the feudal lord of Satsuma, Mochifusa Shimazu, was travelling



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home from Edo through the village. The Britons cut across the feudal lord's procession without dismounting, which was against Japanese custom. Shimazu's guards attacked the Britons for disrespecting Shimazu, killing one and seriously injuring two.

One year after the Namamugi Incident, in May 1863, the feudal government paid £100,000 to the United Kingdom. Britain, however, was not satisfied with the payment because the Satsuma domain had refused to execute the assailants.

In July, the Royal Navy entered Kagoshima bay and bombarded the town of Kagoshima, damaging the area. This incident is known as the Anglo-Satsuma War. A 15-year old Togo along with his brothers participated in the war as retainers of the feudal government. They were guarding the resident castle of Lord Satsuma, Tsurumaru Castle.

From his experience in the Anglo-Satsuma War, Togo came to believe that an enemy coming from the sea has to be stopped at sea. On November 1st of the same year, the Satsuma domain paid a fine of £25,000 to the British envoys to settle the dispute stemming from the Namamugi Incident. In the following year, Togo along with his brothers enrolled the naval school of Kaiseijo, which was the Satsuma domain's newly opened institute of western studies.

In 1867, the Satsuma domain purchased a wooden paddle-wheel warship from Great Britain and named it the *Kasuga*. The *Kasuga* was a motor sailer with six guns. She weighed 1,290 tons and had a speed of 16 knots.

During a Japanese civil war called the Boshin War, the Satsuma and the Choshu domains fought against feudal government forces as pro-imperial domains. In 1868 during this civil war, Togo joined the *Kasuga* as a third-class officer and participated in several engagements against ships of the feudal navy. His performance during these engagements was noteworthy.

Later, on 1 December 1870, the Army Ministry of the Meiji government assigned Togo to the warship *Ryujo* as a midshipman. It was the first time he became a member of the Imperial Navy. The *Ryujo* was a 2,500-ton warship built in Britain. The Imperial Japanese government purchased the *Ryujo* from the United States. Sub-Lieutenant Hose of the Royal Marines had been invited to teach gunnery on the *Ryujo*.

In February of the following year, the Army Ministry decided to select 16 men from among Naval Academy cadets, naval officers and midshipmen, 12 of whom



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would be sent to the United Kingdom for study, and the rest to the United States. Togo applied for the scholarship and passed the test. He was about to embark on his naval science studies in England.

The group of 12 cadets left Yokohama on 2 May 1871 and arrived at Southampton on 4 July. From there, they went first to London. Toward the end of summer, Togo was admitted to the Royal Naval Academy at Gosport headed by the Reverend Bumey. The Academy was located at Clarence Square in Gosport on the opposite shore from the city of Portsmouth. It was said that, during his stay at the Academy, Togo often went to see the *Victory* moored at Portsmouth. It was there that he learned about Nelson's words and deeds.

In the following year of 1872, Togo spent the summer and autumn in Cambridge, where he studied mathematics under the Reverend A.D. Capel. Afterwards, he moved back to London to prepare for higher education while staying at a boarding house. Togo wanted to enroll in the Royal Naval Academy at Dartmouth, but was already 25 years old and unable to do so. Instead, he studied at the Worcester Mercantile Marine School.

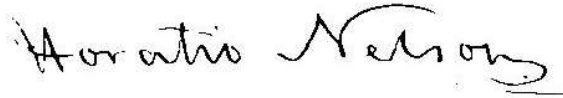
The cadets at the Worcester Mercantile Marine School lived and trained on a ship called the *HMS Worcester*. The *HMS Worcester* was a school ship moored at Greenhithe on the Thames and sometimes went to sea. The school's administrative office and auditorium were located on land at an old monastery.

The school was originally called the Thames Marine Officer Training School, *HMS Worcester*. The name of the school was later changed to the Thames Nautical Training College, *HMS Worcester*. In August 1873, Togo passed the entrance exam and was admitted to Worcester Mercantile Marine School. The principle at that time was Captain Henderson Smith. Captain Smith warmly looked after Togo.

Togo kept a journal while there, and wrote on 14 September 1874 that the *HMS Worcester* lay at anchor in Spithead. It is safe to say that Togo visited the *Victory* at that time. He probably received some kind of training on the *Victory*. The Worcester Mercantile Marine School was the only formal school that he attended during his entire naval career in both England and Japan. Long after graduating Togo continued to have a profound attachment to his old school.

As I will mention again later, Togo returned to England in 1911 and visited the Thames Nautical Training College, *HMS Worcester*. There he gave a speech in English and called England his "second home". During this visit, he donated his





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personal battle flag to the college. This flag had flown from the mizzenmast of the *Mikasa*, the flagship of the Combined Fleet, during the Battle of Tsushima. This donation demonstrated his profound attachment to his old college. Togo studied for three terms at the Worcester Mercantile Marine School. He left the school on 9 December 1874. One year later, in February 1875, he set sail around the world via Melbourne as a midshipman on the training sailing ship *Hampshire* (1,214 tons). At the end of September of the same year, he returned to England.

Afterwards, he revisited Cambridge, where he studied celestial navigation under the guidance of the Reverend Capel. In January 1876, the Japanese government was awaiting completion of three battleships, the *Fuso*, the *Hiei* and the *Kongo*, which it had commissioned Britain to build. Japanese cadets studying in England, including Togo, were ordered to stay in England until these newly built battleships were completed. So, Togo moved from Cambridge to Greenwich to continue his studies of celestial navigation.

On 30 January 1878, the Japanese cadets were divided up and ordered to board their individually assigned battleships. Togo boarded the *Hiei*, which was navigated by British crew. The *Hiei* left Milford Haven on 23 March and arrived at Yokohama on 22 May 1878.

Togo had been residing and studying in England for nearly seven years, from 1871 to 1878. There is no doubt in my mind that he had learned about the words and deeds of Admiral Nelson and had come to admire the Admiral. This is clearly demonstrated in the congratulatory telegram that Togo sent to the British organizers of the Admiral Nelson Centennial Celebration on 21 October 1905. Togo's message in the telegram read:

"On the occasion of your Naval centenary, I have to express our ever increasing admiration and devotion to the great Admiral. This feeling is more intense when we recall that our Navy was built up after the model of the British Navy."

**3.** The Battle of Japan Sea (the Battle of Tsushima) lasted two days, from 27 May to 28 May 1905. During the battle. Admiral Heihachiro Togo headed the Combined Fleet of the Imperial Navy as Commander-in-Chief and destroyed the Russian Baltic Fleet (more precisely, the 2nd and 3rd Russian Pacific Fleets) coming from a great distance.

The Combined Fleet of the Imperial Navy that engaged in the naval battle consisted of four battleships, the *Mikasa*, the *Shikishima*, the *Fuji* and the *Asahi* - all of which were built in Britain; eight armored cruisers, the *Kasuga*, the *Nisshin*,



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the *Izumo*, the *Azuma*, the *Toki-wa*, the *Yagumo*, the *Asama* and the *Iwate*, - out of which four, the *Izumo*, the *Tokiwa*, the *Asama* and the *Iwate* were built in Britain; four armored coast defense ships; twelve cruisers; 21 destroyers; and many other ships, amounting to a total of 91 ships with a displacement of 209,684 tons. On the other side, the Baltic Fleet consisted of eight battleships, three armored cruisers, three armored coastal defense ships, six cruisers, nine destroyers, and nine auxiliary vessels, amounting to a total of 38 ships with a displacement of 214,320 tons.

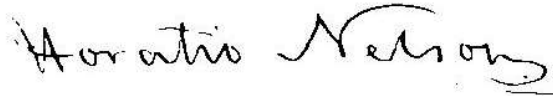
Around 13:39 on 27 May, the Combined Fleet of the Imperial Navy was heading west in the area to the north of Okinoshima Island in Tsushima Straits. After sighting the Baltic Fleet heading northeast in Tsushima Straits, Togo had the Z signal flag raised to the top of the mast of the flagship *Mikasa* at 14:55. The Z signal flag meant, "The survival of the Nation rests on this battle. Make the utmost effort." This appears to have been modeled on the incident in which Admiral Nelson had a flag raised to the top of the mast of his flagship *Victory*, signaling "England expects that every man will do his duty" before charging into the enemy fleet at the Battle of Trafalgar.

At 14:05, Togo had the fleet turn hard to port to battle the Baltic Fleet in a parallel line. The Baltic Fleet started firing at 14:08. Togo, on the other hand, waited a little while longer and commenced firing at 14:10. A heavy exchange of fire followed, and lasted for 47 minutes. Taking advantage of the superior speeds of their ships, the Imperial Navy tried to move ahead of the Baltic Fleet along its course. The Japanese Navy was executing the "Crossing the T" tactic. The Imperial Navy focused firing their guns at the flagship *Suvorov* of the 1st fleet, and the flagship *Oslabya* of the 2nd fleet. During the battle, Togo continued to give orders with dignity, standing on the bridge of the *Mikasa*. He never entered the conning tower.

The enemy fleet focused firing their guns on the flagship *Mikasa*, injuring and killing many Japanese sailors. Fortunately, Togo did not receive any enemy shots. When the Meiji Emperor asked the Minister of the Navy, Gonnohyoue Yamamoto, why he had recommended Togo as Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleet of the Imperial Navy, Yamamoto was said to reply "Because Togo is a man of good fortune." Togo indeed demonstrated his good fortune during this fierce battle.

The victory of the Japanese fleet was nearly decisive when both the leading flagship *Suvorov* and flagship *Oslabya* were set ablaze in the enemy battle line during the 47-minute salvo and started breaking off from the battle line.





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At 14:57, the Japanese 1st fleet made a sudden and simultaneous 90-degree turn to port. Commander Tetsutaro Sato, staff officer of the 2nd Japanese fleet, assessed that the *Suvorov's* turn to the north was due to rudder failure. Sato proposed to Commander-in-Chief Hikonojo Kamimura of the 2nd Japanese fleet that they should go straight ahead and continue to fight. Vice Admiral Kamimura agreed and ordered his fleet to go straight ahead and continue engaging the enemy fleet. Because of this attack, the *Oslyabya* was sunk and the Russian fleet was unable to escape to the north by sailing along the eastern side of the Japanese fleet.

Why did Admiral Togo order the simultaneous 90-degree turn to port after seeing the *Suvorov* make a turn northward? It is probably because either he thought the Russian fleet was trying to escape to the north by following the Japanese fleet or because he was trying to avoid torpedoes from the Russian cruisers, which were rapidly approaching the Japanese fleet. Either way, I suspect that Togo's simultaneous 90-degree turns could have been a problematic tactic. As I mentioned earlier, the 2nd fleet went straight ahead and continued to fight. If it hadn't done so, many of the ships in the Russian fleet would have been able to sail alongside the Japanese fleet and escape to the north. The Japanese fleet only lost three torpedo boats during the two-day Battle of Tsushima. Yet, the Japanese fleet sunk 19 Russian ships (six of which were battleships), captured five ships (two of which were battleships) and captured about 6,000 men including the admiral. Only one Russian cruiser and two destroyers made it back to Vladivostok. Without the 2nd fleet's move, it is doubtful that the Japanese fleet would have achieved such an unprecedented victory in world naval history.

At that time. Commander Tetsutaro Sato (who would later become vice admiral) was a military strategist bearing comparison with Commander Saneyuki Akiyama, a staff officer of the Combined Fleet. On the recommendation of the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, Gonnohyoe Yamamoto, then Lieutenant Commander Sato was sent to study as resident military officer in Britain and the United States between July 1899 and October 1900. Sato lived in England between July 1899 and May 1900 and studied Nelson's naval battles there.

A well-known modern Japanese author, Ryotaro Shiba, in the section of his novel *Saka no Ue no Kumo (Cloud above the Hill)* describing the Battle of Tsushima states that the aforementioned action taken by Kamimura's fleet (the 2nd fleet) during the Battle of Tsushima brilliantly demonstrated the lesson of "The Nelson Touch".



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4. In preparation for the Battle of Trafalgar, Admiral Nelson summoned his fleet captains to the flagship *Victory* in order to explain his engagement tactics, known as "The Nelson Touch." In Japan, tactics instructors were teaching cadets "The Nelson Touch" at the Naval Academy and Naval Accounting School. For example, Mamoru Sema, who enrolled in the Naval Accounting School on 7 April 1928 as a member of the 20th class, learned "The Nelson Touch" from Lieutenant Commander Shinichi Yoshimi (who would later become rear admiral). In Volume 241 of *Suiko*, the journal of the navy veterans association, published in 1972, Mr. Sema stated that he had memorized and was still able to recite the key point: "In case signals cannot be seen or clearly understood, no captain can do wrong if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy."

As a naval officer, I participated in many navy battles, including the Battle of Midway, the Battle of Santa Cruz Island and the Battle of the Solomon Sea. Also, as a fighter pilot, I engaged in the campaign to intercept enemy planes attacking Japan. So, I think highly of "The Nelson Touch" as closing tactics to spot and destroy the enemy. Throughout the 76-year history of the Imperial Navy, many Japanese men carried out closing tactics during naval, land and air battles just as "The Nelson Touch" taught, and were successful. Many of them, however, perished in the war.

Prince Yorihiro Higashifushiminomiya participated in the coronation of George V in 1911 on behalf of the Meiji Emperor. Admiral Togo and General Nogi were selected to escort the Prince on his visit to England. Admiral Togo received a great ovation as the admiral who won the stunning victory at the Battle of Tsushima.

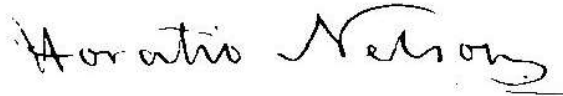
At that time, Lord Arthur Lee presented him with a framed lock of Nelson's hair as a memento of Admiral Nelson (Edit note: a PowerPoint image was shown).

The case contained the Union Jack in the center with a lock of Nelson's hair placed in a shallow indentation below the flag. To its right was a picture of Admiral Nelson and to its left was one of Lady Hamilton.

The text at the top of the case explained that the envelope displayed to the left of the centre included Lady Hamilton's address and Admiral Nelson's seal. The envelope had contained a letter sent by Admiral Nelson with the lock of his hair to Lady Hamilton by way of Captain Hardy of the *Victory*. Below the envelope was a letter written by Phillip Ward, husband of Nelson's daughter, Horatia. It was not clear to whom the letter was addressed, but Ward was thanking the recipient for assistance he had received in a legal case involving Horatia.







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To the right of the letter, were displayed fragments of Horatia's personal letter and Phillip Ward's letter.

Admiral Nelson's desk was taken apart and used to make the wooden case. There were two depressed areas in the upper and lower sections of the case, each displaying six coins horizontally. It was explained that the coins were from the Elizabethan Era and had been given to Nelson by Lady Hamilton as a gift. According to the explanation, Lady Hamilton treasured the lock of Nelson's hair and had passed it on to Horatia. However, it is not clear who gave these mementos of Nelson to Lord Arthur Lee. Admiral Togo brought the case back to Japan and donated it to the Naval Academy. The Naval Academy removed the lock of Nelson's hair from the case and placed it in a separate wooden case, which was displayed to cadets at the Academy.

I was admitted to the Naval Academy on 1 December 1938 and studied there until 15 November 1941. During my stay at the Academy, the lock of Nelson's hair was kept on a special shelf located at the center of the Sankokan (Educational Museum). Whenever I visited the displays, the instructors and senior cadets told me that Admiral Nelson won a great victory at the Battle of Trafalgar, but was killed by enemy shot. As he lay dying, Admiral Nelson said, "Thank God, I have done my duty." I was deeply moved every time I heard that story.

Today, the 1st Service School of Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force is located where the Naval Academy once stood. The Educational Museum of the 1st Service School holds another lock of Nelson's hair. This lock of Nelson's hair is part of the Nelson memorabilia given to Admiral Masaru Maeda, then Chief of Staff of the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force, by First Sea Lord, Sir Henry Leach, when Maeda visited Britain in October 1981 (Edit note: a PowerPoint image was shown). It is not the same lock of Nelson's hair that Admiral Togo received from Lord Arthur Lee when he visited Britain in 1911. The lock of Nelson's hair that Maeda received kept separate from the rest of the Nelson materials. It has been placed in a glass container inside a paulownia wooden box. The box is kept next to locks of hair from Admiral Togo and Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto in a special room of the Educational Museum (Edit note: a PowerPoint image was shown).

On 21 October 2003, the anniversary of Admiral Nelson's death, I and several friends were given the special privilege of seeing the lock of Nelson's hair in person through the good offices of Admiral Koichi Furusho, then Chief of Staff of the Maritime Self-Defense Force. We were not allowed to take pictures, so I



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asked Ms. Kazuko Takahashi, a professional illustrator who escorted the group, to draw the lock of Nelson's hair (Edit note: a PowerPoint image was shown). We donated the drawing to the Nelson Society. The Nelson Society was very pleased to receive the drawing and decided to display it at the Norfolk Nelson Museum in Great Yarmouth. I am thankful for this kind gesture from the Nelson Society.

The lock of Nelson's hair that Admiral Togo donated to the Naval Academy was replaced in a shield-shaped container with a caption plate entitled "VICTORY" , and kept at the aforementioned shelf located at the center of the Educational Museum at the Naval Academy as of 1942 (Edit note: a PowerPoint image was shown). As I got word that, immediately after the war in October 1945, the U.S. Army, which had entered Edajima, had requisitioned the container, I also got word that the container may have been passed on by the U.S. Army to the British Royal Navy.

When I visited the Nelson Society in London in May 2004 and met with the chairman and vice chairman of the Nelson Society, I asked, if the container with the lock of Nelson's hair were in Britain, that it be returned to Japan. The Nelson Society kindly agreed to cooperate with me, saying "We will assist you in any way possible." I was grateful for their kindness. However, our later research revealed that the likelihood that the container with the lock of Nelson's hair was in the U.K. would be extremely low or none.

However, as I thought that the possibility that the container had been taken to the United States by the U.S. Army should be very high, I returned on 17 December 2004, Taniwaki & Associates, a research firm located in Washington, DC, to investigate the whereabouts of the container with the lock of Nelson's hair.

Unfortunately, however, to date we have not found any information related to the container. Considering that, I would probably have to consider another hypothesis that, between August 23, 1945 when the Naval Academy was closed and October, 1945 when the U.S. Army entered the Naval Academy and started requisition, the container with the lock of Nelson's hair might have been stolen.

In any event, I am determined to continue my quest for the container with the lock of Nelson's hair which was exhibited at the Naval Academy until the Naval Academy was closed in August, 1945. I wish I could locate the lock of Nelson's hair given to Admiral Togo by Lord Arthur Lee and I ask the owner to return it to Japan. I would like to see that lock of Nelson's hair exhibited next to that of Admiral Togo's hair in the Commander-in-Chiefs quarters on the Memorial Ship *Mikasa*. By doing so, I sincerely hope that more people will visit the Memorial



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Ship *Mikasa*, and the historic achievements of these two admirals who saved their nations in time of crisis will be known by as many people as possible.

Thank you.



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