

VIET NAM: NEGLECTED ANTECEDENTS

By IRA BODRY

This book is based, in part, on documents which have only recently become available. To my knowledge there is nothing in English giving a coherent account of the period 1945 and 1946.

And yet, it is this period in which the history of Viet Nam took a decisive turn: namely, reassertion of independence, this in turn provoking an attempt by France at reconquest (1945-1954). In 1946, the thinking processes and concurrent actions of DRVN leaders ( the same men sit in Hanoi today ) were laid bare in many official and private meetings with representatives of the French government. It is therefore inexcusable to claim ( as some highly placed American policy makers have ) that there was no objective basis for knowing how "Hanoi" would react to the bombing, or for that matter, to any other move. The record of the DRVN leadership, whether we approve of it or not, is both clear and consistent. Unfortunately, no one who counted dared to examine that record. Such probing would have revealed not only the consistency of Ho Chi Minh and his cohorts, but also the inconsistency, vacillation and basic dishonesty of U.S. policy in that area from the time F.D.R.'s pledges were renounced in 1945 by Harry Truman until we sided openly in 1950 with a thinly disguised war of colonial reconquest. A truthful, honest and unselfish individual in the Saigon government is rare indeed Colonel Pham Ngoc Thao was one ( until assassinated in cold blood by henchmen of Gen. Nguyen Chanh Thi ). Col. Pham's

'Letter from a Dead Man,' published in Newsweek after his death follows:

LETTER FROM A DEAD MAN

Newsweek Pentagon correspondent Lloyd H. Norman met Col. Pham Ngoc Thao, regarded as a troublesome coup-maker . Pham was exiled to the U. S. as press attache at the Washington Embassy. Shortly after Christmas, 1964, Pham left his family in Washington, appeared briefly in Feb. 1965 as one of the leaders of a plot against Gen. Nguyen Khanh. A wanted fugitive, he disappeared. Last week, he was caught and killed, only the day before Norman received this letter from Saigon dated June 4 ... excerpts follow :

Dear Mr. Norman:

You could, from afar, think that I am a born conspirator. This is an error. I think hard before acting. If Nguyen Khanh had been useful, truly useful ... I would have supported him completely. But he was bad for the country, and so I worked to overthrow him. The Americans initially fought me tooth and nail, but afterward realized I was right. Washington dreams often, with eyes open, because it bases its actions on reports which, though they may be sincere, are incorrect. The problem of Viet Nam has been poorly understood for the last twenty years

since 1945. If one does not begin with the facts of 1945\*, a good solution will not be found, and the Americans will continue to be on the wrong side all the time ... politically, one must realize that the Resistance against the French colonialists was a nationalistic war. Therefore one must draw the resistant elements into the nationalist government...

( Newsweek, 26 July, 1965. p. 40)

One wonders whether this counsel has been adopted by anyone in high office: 'Begin with the facts of 1945'. It may also be of interest to observe how often U.S. policy today commits the same blunders ( even in the same order) as France did almost twenty years ago.

Reconciliation and amity between French and Vietnamese not only failed then. It is still an unfulfilled hope. Inquiry into the background of that failure may be of use to those who wish to understand the roots of current thinking, both that of Ho and that of de Gaulle. The racial conflict involved two decades back, a vital aspect of the picture, had more than a superficial resemblance to the American racial problem. Although there are also important differences between the racial situation in colonial Indochina, and that in certain parts of the U.S., the similarities are obvious enough. In any event, this was one of the things Professor Fall and myself could easily agree on when

I was fortunate enough to talk with him in January, 1966.

\* Significantly, Paul Mus wrote in 1951, at a time when our Col. Pham was a high intelligence officer in Viet Nam's war effort in South Viet Nam, " ... the trouble (in French thinking) comes ... from initial disregard of the Vietnamese Resistance of 1945 and 1946 ..., " p. 68, Sociologie d'une Guerre.

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Guerre.

The first question which people, whether they are radio inter-  
viewers, or fellow travelers (on a Pennsylvania R.R. lounge car),  
throw at the author is: 'Have you been over to Viet Nam?' The most  
erudite 'No, but...' leaves the auditor coldly indifferent to  
whatever follows. So it seems essential to demolish the almost  
universal prejudice, to try to show it is neither necessary nor  
sufficient to 'have been there', in order to have something to say  
on the subject worthy of attention. First of all, it is not  
necessary. The innumerable, first-hand accounts, most of them

translated from the French, offer a passable substitute for  
personal presence, may in fact provide the ingredient usually  
missing in the American approach: an overall, historically valid  
perspective.\* Historical perspective is most useful if one wishes  
to 'catch' pompous officialdom in glaring misstatements which go  
by unchallenged by opposition Senators equally ignorant of the  
past.\*\* Most of these gentlemen have been to Viet Nam, some have  
served there. Deeply ingrained with what must be called superficial  
anti-colonialism, they recoil from the possibility that an official  
and officious Vietnamese source may be the worst as far as object-  
ivity on the ~~the~~ history of a colonial past shrouded in oblivion

or unpleasant memories. Aside from a solid historical framework,  
General Nguyen Van Vinh, one of the top commanders of PAVN, the army of the  
RVN, said in 1966 to Wilfrid Burchett: "We do not consider very competent  
either the generals in the field, ARVN, or the overall direction from the  
entagon. We think they (i.e. the U.S.A.) are especially weak in overall  
analysis." Burchett, Viet Nam North. p.144

See Report on Senate Hearings, "Situation in Viet Nam. Hearings before Sen.  
Mansfield's subcommittee on Organization of the Department of State...86th  
Congress..." 30 and 31 July 1959. None of the Senators now prominent in  
criticizing administration policy challenged egregious historical errors  
of witnesses flown in from Saigon to give the official version.

or unpleasant memories. Aside from a solid historical framework, a certain feeling for the downtrodden, a feeling deliberately discouraged in the fearful fifties, is essential. Affluent America of 1967 is, from Suburbia on in, very poor indeed as far as capacity to feel deeply what oppresses others. Callous, indifferent, passive cruelly, impersonal handling of suffering, these are standards which few question in the great centers of wealth and learning. In Viet Nam today, both the leaders and followers "on the other side" are imbued with hot and romantic feelings towards their struggle.\* How can a callous, cold and duly certified "expert" on Operations Research, such as abound in the Pentagon, grasp a state of mind capable of combining the logic of Leninist insurrection with the venerating passion of ancestor worship? \*\*. Practically all those who are read in America today are not only morally mutilated as indicated above, they are also arrogant from their status as knowing and all-judging commentators, commentators of such preeminence they are not required to take the trouble to study any subject before pontificating on it.

THE LATE ESTEEMED

As to sufficiency, the fact that Professor B.B. Fall had been to Viet Nam many times before 1965 did not keep him from misjudging the situation. Professor Fall then expressed the opinion that North Viet Nam would collapse within six months of a U.S. air war.\*\*\*

Pham Van Dong, premier of the DRVN, told Jean Lacouture in 1961: "But we Communists, especially Vietnamese Communists, are romantics...fortunately." Lacouture, *Between Two Truces*, French Edition. p. 56.

As far back as 1930 the young revolutionary student Nguyen spoke of the Communist Party with the same reverential tone his elders used when talking of their ancestors. Louis Roubaud, *le Viet Nam*. p. 210 .

\* Briefing given by Professor Fall to the 'Friends Committee on National Legislation. Mr. Ed Snider, then head of FCNL, reported this to the author.

Another widely acclaimed "expert", Robert Shaplen, who had made dozens of trips to Viet Nam between 1946 and 1966, stated in August of that year that it was very much his feeling that negotiations between the U.S. and the D.R.V.N. would take place shortly.\*

The Chief of U.S.I.A., Saigon,\*\* in a contrite substitute for psychotherapy, produced a most important volume on his two year tour

~~from~~ over there. Perhaps the most significant passage in that book

states flatly: "...The unpleasant truth was that few of us\*\*\* in

1962 (nor for that matter two years later) really had faced up to

the depth of our ignorance of the peasant and the nature of the

war in which he was of such pivotal importance. Top American off-

icials mouthed platitudes. A standard opening was 'This is a war

for the hearts and minds of the people'. All of us, in truth,

were long on eloquent pronouncements, but woefully short on know-

ledge of what we were talking about." \*\*\*\* The U.S. Mission in

Viet Nam, all of whom had not only been there, but remained for

long periods, were "operating in a world of illusion..." \*\*\*\*\*

( Lack of background, a lack which "having been there" could not

efface, was by no means limited to U.S. officials. Prize-winning

critics shared it. David Halberstam pines in recollecting that,

for no valid reason discernible to him, U.S. procedure in Viet Nam

differed from that followed in Africa, that here were two areas

ABC-TV program Scope, the War in Viet Nam. Interviewed by Howard K. Smith. John Martin Mecklin. \*\*\* 'us' means the people in the American Embassy in Saigon as well as their colleagues outside it.

\*\* Mecklin, Mission in Torment. 1965. p. 73. \*\*\*\*\* ibid. p. 100

IT ALSO SEEMS THAT SAIGON DEFENSE BOLD S. MURAMURA TO WARD JUST  
THAT HE, MURAMURA, VISITED MORE THAN SEVEN TIMES TO VIET NAM,  
FINALLY, ADMITTED HE HAD NEVER ACQUIRED A GRASP OF  
THE FUNDAMENTAL REALITIES

about equally "underdeveloped"\*, and yet such drastic changes...

Such yearning to Africanize the Vietnamese problem is at the heart of his contemptuous attitude towards any Vietnamese government, an attitude which turned to hot and lasting anger when the extra-territoriality then still available in much of Africa to the unofficial, yet semi-official N.Y. Times man was denied. Two of the major authorities on Viet Nam, writing a half century apart, might have proved enlightening to Mr. Halberstam had he taken the trouble to consult them, a most unlikely event. In 1902, Paul Doumer, Governor General for five years in Indochina, began his memoirs. He wrote: "They (i.e. the Vietnamese) reproach us (i.e. the French) for our inexplicable preference for Blacks, whom ~~we~~ they consider their inferior in intelligence and courage."\*\* Paul Mus, perhaps one of the leading contemporary scholars, in 1952: "Let us keep in mind, that some Vietnamese have a traditional repugnance to see themselves put on the same level as the 'Blacks'\*\*\*"

One way of looking at the war now raging is as an effort on the part of the Johnson Administration to degrade the people of South Viet Nam to the condition of the Negro masses in this country: many permanent welfare clients, moral decay, complete dependence on Washington for an essentially aimless existence, with no real hope of escape. In short, a complete lack of self-respect.

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The use of "underdeveloped" with the scornful implication of uncivilized is Mr. Halberstam's choice. His view is in Making of a Quagmire, 1965, pp. 30-32

\*Paul Doumer, *l'Indochine Francaise*. Second Edition. p. 86

\*\* Paul Mus, *Sociologie d'une guerre*. 1952. p. 47.

Another aspect of the futility of merely "having been there" is the scant possibility of genuine communication between ordinary Vietnamese and foreigners, Americans especially. As far back as 1950, Robert Shaplen determined empirically that ordinary people in Saigon, as opposed to prominent politicians, would not talk to foreigners.\* This was clarified in 1966 by an emphatic explanation given by a <sup>highly</sup> highly regarded young Vietnamese now studying here.\*\* He claimed that in South Viet Nam today only the influential few have any immunity from arbitrary arrest and summary punishment without trial. Open criticism of the government to a stranger, much less a foreigner, is therefore very dangerous. Aside from danger, there is also a kind of hostile aloofness, which crushes confidence before it sprouts.\*\*\*

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'A further ~~obstacle~~ rarely emphasized is the intellectual perspective adopted by Imperialism. A revealing feature of all official American accounts is that they leave the impression Viet Nam didn't really exist prior to 1954. The following quote from J. Nehru (1942) is relevant: "What has astounded me is the total inability of the British to think in terms of the new world situation, in terms of realism--- realism being more ~~than~~ than <sup>realism</sup> military ~~realism~~, it means political, psychological and economic

"Chien and Dr. Huyen (i.e. important political figures) were willing to talk to American correspondents... With a Vietnamese friend, I spent several mornings wandering around the city (Saigon) trying to engage people in conversation...(no success)...'If you want to know about us, take us to the police station', snapped a fisherman, turning his back...Shaplen, The Lost Revolution. 1965. pp 73 et seq.

\* This young man whom I shall call V. was highly recommended by the Embassy of the "Republic of Viet Nam" in Washington. He was a student leader in Hue.

\*\* V. exhibited this until I was able to penetrate his reserve. Michael Field, correspondent for the Daily Telegraph, wrote in his book, The Prevailing Wind, p. 292: "It demands great patience to penetrate the crust of suspicion in which most Vietnamese encase themselves."



realism also... Englishmen, whoever they may be, cannot think of India except as an appendage of England. Their history of India begins with their occupation of India." \*

Finally, almost a half century ago, Bruce Lockhart, a young British diplomatic agent in Russia, had an interview which he later put into his book: "Lenin smiled. "Like all your countrymen you think in concrete military terms. You ignore the psychological factors. This war ( it was the early part of 1918, and Lenin was referring to the Great War) will be settled in the rear and not in the trenches.'..." \*\*

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\* Nehru's remark is quoted in Theo H. White, Thunder out of China. 1946.p. 93

\*\* Bruce Lockhart, British Agent. 1933. p. 237

It was the century of Marco Polo and Magna Carta. Far from England and Rome a new breed of conquerors, the swiftest in all history, was overrunning China. Mongols under Kublai Khan and his cousins stirred dreadful awe from Old Japan to medieval Poland. An Asiatic Horde came close to spilling over into the Elbe valley, and might have reached the Netherlands but for a battle in Silesia. There Germanic knights blunted a thrust, withdrawing unbowed in gory honor, unaware how much blood the foe had lost in winning the field. For the Mongols veered toward the fertile Hungarian plain, and Europe was spared the fate of Russia... of Russia and China. "...but the Mongols were the first to extend their sway over the whole country. The subjugation of China was the work of Kublai, grandson of Genghis, who came to the throne in 1260, inheriting an empire more extensive than Alexander or Cesar had dreamed of. In 1264 the new Khan fixed his court at Peking and proceeded to reduce the provinces to subjection. Exhausted and disunited as they were the task was not difficult, though it took fifteen years to complete." \* With the pacification of China coming to a close, the troublesome Vietnamese with their little Kingdom of Annam found themselves facing invasion. Hanoi (known then as Thang-Long) was captured, but the invaders were so worn out by the climate, diseases and resistance they were too exhausted to

\* The Awakening of China, by W.A.P. Martin, D.D., LL.D., formerly President of the Chinese Imperial University. N.Y., 1910. p. 131. Dr. Martin spent over fifty years in China, from 1850 on. He adds to the above quotation: "Ambition alone would have been sufficient motive for the conquest, but his hostility was provoked by perfidy -- especially by the murder of envoys sent to announce his accession. 'Without good faith no nation can exist'..."

plunder as they retreated to Yunnan. Vietnamese country folk, observing this unseemly reticence, derisively spoke of them as "Buddhist warriors".\* The only tangible trophy of conquest was a vague promise by the Tran ruler of An Nam to pay triennial tribute to Peking. A decade passed, and Kublai Khan received no tribute. He let it be known that he was willing to accept the following six-point program instead of the tardy tribute:

1. The Tran King ( Tran Thanh Tong) must appear in person at Xanadu ( near Peking).
2. His children or brothers must remain as hostages.
3. A nationwide census must be taken in An Nam. (see points 4 and 5).
4. Vietnamese must serve in the Imperial Army, and pay taxes.
5. The Chinese overseers already in the country must remain.

Almost another decade passed before a Vietnamese envoy went to

China and bluntly told the Yuen that the Kingdom of An Nam was not a primitive country, that foreign supervision was no longer needed. Kublai Khan's response was an attempt to install Chinese officials down to the provincial and district level.

These unwelcome guests were soon chased back across the border.

It was war once again. In 1283, Tran Hung Dao was made Commander-in-Chief. As the Mongols advanced irresistibly, ravaging and killing, the King took a small boat to Hai Duong. There he summoned Tran Hung Dao, and told him he could no longer bear the sight of his suffering people. The Monarch meant to surrender.

Tran Hung Dao replied: "If your Majesty wished to surrender,

\*Nguyen Van Thai & Nguyen Van Mung, A Short History of Viet Nam. p. 98. This little volume is described as the "first history of Viet Nam written in English by Vietnamese using Vietnamese sources." It was published in 1958 by the Times of Vietnam, a highly pro-Diem newspaper run by an American couple. It was deliberately selected as the source for this section because neither the author nor the publisher could in any way be considered sympathetic to the Left in Viet Nam, or anywhere else.

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please, Sire, first cut off my head." This revived the King's courage. Patiently holding out until terrain, climate and disease had weakened the invader, Tran Hung Dao attacked with fresh, healthy forces. By June, 1285, the Mongol armies had been decisively beaten. Postponing an invasion of Japan, the Great Khan sent a far stronger force to deal with these upstart southerners. This time 300,000 men and 500 ships attacked a country roughly the size of what is now DRVN territory. By October, 1288, these forces also had been routed. Only then did King Tran dispatch an envoy to Xanadu; the tribute he bore was purely symbolic, none could mistake it for submission.\*

How did these events appear from the 'other side' ?

" (After describing the conquest of Burma and Laos)... In Tong King and An Nam the arms of Kublai were not so successful. Kublai's son Togan made an abortive campaign... Whenever an open force had to be overcome, the Mongol army was successful, but when the Mongols encountered the difficulties of a damp and inclement climate, the absence of roads, and other disadvantages, they were disheartened and suffered heavily in men and morale. With the loss of his ~~two~~ two generals and the main portion of his army ( this was 1285), Togan was lucky in himself escaping to China. Kublai wished to make another effort to subdue... these inhospitable regions and their

Note the reluctance to negotiate with an invader before his thrust is decisively and ~~clearly~~ obviously blunted. At Geneva in 1954, the DRVN delegation delayed actual negotiation until Dien Bien Phu fell.

"savage inhabitants. But Chinese public opinion proved too strong, and he had to yield to the representations of his ministers... There were indications that if he did not do so he would find a Chinese rebellion on his hands...<sup>\*</sup> The restless ambition of Kublai would not be satisfied with anything short of recognition, in some form or other, of his power by his neighbors, and so he ... sent envoys to all the Kingdoms of southern Asia ( today Southeast Asia ) to obtain, by lavish presents or persuasive language that recognition of his authority on which he had set his heart. In most cases he was gratified, for there was not a power in East Asia to compare with that of the Mongol Prince seated on the Dragon Throne of China... These successful embassies had only one untoward result: they induced Kublai to revert to his idea of repairing the overthrow of his son Togan in An Nam and of finally subjugating that troublesome country. The intention was not wise, and it was rendered more imprudent by its execution being intrusted to Togan again... Togan began as he had formerly... by carrying all before him. He won seventeen separate engagements, but the further he advanced into the country the more evident did it appear that he only controlled the ground on which he stood.<sup>\*\*</sup>The King of An Nam was a fugitive; his capital (Hanoi)

\* The nat  
own "Great Society," the Grand Canal, taxation for which galling. local

\*\* The emphasis is added. This phrase is a key one in judging the political nature of a here  
war. A war of conquest by one nation against another will almost invariably fit that not  
description; e.g. the American Revolution, "...the unwillingness of the inhabitants to ld  
join the British had shown here (in North Carolina), as formerly in New Jersey, that ted  
the British could not expect to recover any other part of the country than that which  
they held by actual occupation." John Spencer Bassett, A Short History of the United  
States. 1923. p. 210. Professor Bassett was a North Carolinian. TVA,

was in the hands of the Mongols, and apparently nothing more remained to be done. Apachi, the most experienced of the Mongol commanders, then counseled a prompt retreat. Unfortunately the Mongol prince Togan would not take his advice, and the Vietnamese\*, gathering fresh forces on all sides, attacked the exhausted Mongols, and compelled them to beat a precipitate retreat from their country. All the fruits of early victory were lost, and Togan's disgrace was a poor consolation for the culminating discomfiture of Kublai's reign. The people of An Nam then made good their independence, and they still enjoy it, so far as China is concerned; though An Nam is now a dependency of the French republic." \*\*

What does all this have to do with what is going on today? Vietnamese are extremely proud \*\*\*, always deeply conscious of their glorious past. \*\*\*\* Carl Zitlow, who visited Hanoi under bombs in March, 1967, reported \*\*\*\*\* how his Vietnamese hosts showed him artefacts of the Mongol invasion alongside relics of Dien Bien Phu. Both were displayed in a Museum of National Resistance. The Vietnamese he met in Hanoi asked him to relay to the American people what they considered important. First, before anything else, their history, how they were a strong

\* The text uses the word Annamites, a term we shall avoid because of its very offensive connotation in Viet Nam. The use of "Annamite" was outlawed in 1945.

\*\* Demetrius Charles Boulger, China. N.Y. 1893. pp. 129-132. \*\*\* Even the most scornful and unsympathetic French observers, such as Françoise Martin, a school teacher in Cochin Chine, and Rene Vanlande, a perceptive journalist, emphasize the "enormous pride" etc. \*\*\*\* Vanlande, Indochine sous la Menace Communiste. Paris. 1930. p. 21. Vanlande was astonished to learn, at what appeared to most as the zenith of eternal colonialism, of Vietnamese talking about how they had driven out the Mongol.

\*\*\*\*\* Talk given in Washington at Friends Meeting House, 26 April, 1967.

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nation with a record of heroic success in resisting the greatest empire in history long before Columbus discovered the New World. How one of their greatest National heroes ( Zitlow couldn't recall the name Tran Hung Dao) had led a thirty year struggle against those Mongols, never dreaming of surrender. This saga was not done up merely to impress a friendly American. The inspirational value of so rousing an epic in stirring the soul of a people still awed by ancestral tradition should be obvious. Zitlow didn't know \* that it was Ho Chi Minh himself who started it sixteen years ago during the first Indochina war:

"Our history has many great Resistance wars which are proof of our people's patriotism." \*\* Ho then goes on to name Tran Hung Dao among the greatest of patriots.

What of the South? Money circulated there ( piaster notes) today bears an engraving of Tran Hung Dao about to crush a horde of Mongol archers. A holiday is set aside each fall to celebrate his memory, and many worship at his shrines. \*\*\*

\* The author gathered this from his talk with Mr. Zitlow afterward.

\*\* These remarks were made in the course of a lengthy political report to top-level people of Viet Minh, those who would actually implement any policy. See "Political Report to Lao Dong Party," (i.e. Communist) February, 1951. Ho Chi Minh on Revolution, edited by Bernard B. Fall. Preager. N.Y. 1967. p. 223. \*\*\* It should not be inferred that Tran Hung Dao is venerated, or that his festival is celebrated more in the South. It is nationwide, and beyond. Almost forty years ago, an austere Buddhist monk passed through one of the larger Vietnamese settlements in Thailand. This was Sakhone, not far from the Mekong and the Lao town of Thakkek. The monk, known as Father Chin, found a community largely Catholic, while the people in the surrounding villages practiced Buddhism. A substantial minority in Sakhone worshipped "His Eminence," the Guardian Spirit Tran Hung Dao. Oh, by the way, Father Chin was Ho Chi Minh in disguise. See Le Manh Trinh in "Souvenirs sur Ho Chi Minh," Hanoi. 1962. p. 110. This composite biography of Ho is a semiofficial work made up of sections written by those of his compatriots best acquainted with each period. Henceforth called "Souv."

Chapter II

MODERN VIET NAM : PRODUCT OF OR REACTION TO THE SPANISH INQUISITION

Nowadays, anyone claiming he strives for a higher, unseen goal, an abstract and absolute Good, who feels within some sacred mission, and implicitly, the certainty that goes with it, is highly suspect. A major section of modern academia, smugly tracing its contempt for 'excessive enthusiasm' all the way back to the 'rational' snobbery of an eighteenth century England whose resemblance to our own day otherwise eludes them ( a point to be elaborated upon later ) go so far as to deny the genuineness of spiritual motivation to such godly men as Cromwell and Milton. What emerges instead is an amoral hodge-podge of selfish 'economic' motives and post-Freudian psychoanalysis. The New Subjectivism intolerantly insists on denying others possess what it stifles within itself: a thirst for God, for a Spiritual Absolute, a universally valid Moral Principle both above self and beyond its reach; One without which self is incomplete. This Subjectivism is neither so new nor so distant from our subject as might be supposed. What is new is its virtual domination of contemporary thinking. Back in 1930, M. Vanlande found it rampant enough in Indochina. He quite correctly considered it a major obstacle to rapport between the natives and French officials:



"Those blunderers who, not having anything of the kind in their own soul, imagine they can, with impunity, erase a people's beliefs, customs, humble pleasures and ceremonies." \*

This artificial and absolute alienation from Church by State is carried to a grotesque extreme in 1967 in South Viet Nam. Official U.S. policy restricts aid to government schools only. All available teachers, however, are often part of some religious school system, Catholic, Cao Dai, etc. The result: many thousands of children, refugees from American bombing, get no school at all.\*\*

\* Vanlande, op. cit., p. 216.

\*\* To assure the skeptical of the accuracy of these lines, copious quotation from testimony of Mr. Don Luce before the Senate sub-committee on refugees is in order. Mr. Luce spent the years 1958-1967 in South Viet Nam as an agricultural expert for IVS, an ultra-respectable private, non-sectarian relief organization. From 1961 on, he headed IVS. In September of 1967 he resigned in protest. His testimony follows:

"The refugees in 1965 were mainly refugees from Communism... today, however, there is a change in the kind of refugees or the reason for the refugees leaving. Today the refugee is, in only a few cases, fleeing Communist terrorism. In most cases he is either fleeing in fear of bombing or because he is being forced out because of Allied military action to prevent a food source for the VC..."

"When Vietnamese face a disaster, say there has been a flood, when people become refugees, etc, they look mainly to the Church, to the Catholic Church, or to the Catholic priest, the Buddhist monk, the Hoa Hao, Cao Dai priest or monk, etc. At the same time our own economic aid program in Viet Nam today specifically forbids assistance to religious organizations. To the extent that in working with one village, ..., U.S. AID, CORDS, I am sorry, would not give cement to build that particular school because it was being done under the auspices of the Church and not under the auspices of the local governmentt.

We felt it had to be built by the Church because the only way a teacher would be provided for is if a Church had control of it because the government just did not have teachers, and didn't have the machinery to get the teachers and so on."

The first quote is from p. 134, the second from pp. 152-153 of the original text as furnished NBC by the Chairman of the sub-committee, Senator Edward M. Kennedy. Mr. Luce testified on 10 October, 1967.

Saigon, the capital, is an exception. There it is easy for a bright nine-year old to learn... how to sell his ten year-old sister. The practice is that open. \* For the New Subjectivism, Soul-Chaos, so long as it is 'moderate' is far less controversial than any positive assertion of spiritual value, while asocial, mental trespassing is quite acceptable if it appears a smiling child. Such 'freedom' may or may not be un-American. Not only is it unquestionably un-Vietnamese. They find it unfathomable, beyond their ken. The author is in a position to know \*\* that Radio Hanoi, in its broadcasts to U.S.

troops in South Viet Nam, often takes a lofty moral tone, an approach so humanitarian it might almost be described as Christian. He also knows that the Vietnamese are surprised by the utter ineffectiveness of this approach, since they seem unaware their moral indignation is so often addressed to the products of an 'urban culture' which openly despises the aggregate of spiritual, unselfish, humanitarian and democratic values which America still blithely allows others to credit her. A poem recited amidst the glare of Con Thien by its Marine Corporal creator may reflect a truer image\*\*\*:

When youth was a soldier,  
 (he began, his voice low and flat)  
 And I fought across the Sea.  
 We were young and cold hearts  
 of bloody savagery.

\* Elaine Shepherd, a dynamic, roving reporter and writer, perhaps the most effective spokeswoman for the Pentagon viewpoint on Viet Nam, conceded this with mild regret. This was on the Barry Farber Show, WOR, NY in April, 1967. Don Luce had this to say: "The most dramatic of problems in cities, perhaps, is very widespread prostitution, which the Vietnamese are very upset about ... children begging (i.e. soliciting) on the streets. Not only children of poor families, but often children of very rich families see this as a very easy and interesting way to get money enough to buy candy or to get a Salem cigarette." p. 158 of testimony. \*\* Lengthy private talk with the head of the US Committee to Aid the NLF. \*\*\* New Yorker, 30 September, 1967. p. 161

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Still, avowal of the cold depravity, the savage numbness he witnessed, suggests Corporal Broderick retains a glimmer of spiritual awareness. Could that awareness be a relic of Christian sentiment\* endowed at a distant childhood Mass? Is it possible the Vietnamese appealing on Hanoi Radio are saying, 'You out there, who call yourselves Christians, why don't you apply the Biblical Commandments to our country?' Perhaps they are really addressing something far stronger within themselves than in the largely impenetrable "young, cold hearts of bloody savagery" who make up their audience. Some important Vietnamese Communist leaders are imbued with Christian values, but neither feel nor practice them as jaded and callous late Twentieth Century hearts do.\*\*\* A voyage to the Sixteenth and Seventeenth might help. Both Jesuit and Puritan are closer psychologically to Hanoi than any familiar panorama comfortable to middle class moderatism.

\* To avoid confusion, sentiment is used, although charity, from caritas, or the Greek agape, love of one's fellow as a creature in God's image, as quite different from eros, love based on sexual attraction.

(Any reader of Ho Chi Minh's early (1925) work, The Case against French Colonialism, finds from beginning to end emphasis on the immorality of Colonial rule by the standard of Christian civilization. The appeal throughout is to Nineteenth Century liberals. One thinks of a type with whom Ho sat at Tours in 1920 at the last unified Socialist Convention. Men quite dignified and bourgeois in appearance, mostly formed when the memory of the Second Empire was far from passé; men capable of discarding the supernatural and dogmatic claims of the Church, while holding on very firmly to standards of social ethic derived from Christian civilization.)

\*\*\*Writing as a Christian well-wisher in the fulness of age, Dr. W.A.P. Martin (cf. p. 10), sixty years ago in Peking, spoke of "three reforms of vital importance which have been scarcely mentioned at all, which China requires for full admission to the comity of nations." The second was abolition of Polygamy, leading toward female education, and the end to female abasement. The third was the slave traffic, involving boys as well as girls. He concludes by praising Chinese efforts to stamp out the use of opium, "bondage to the hateful vice". Martin, op. cit. pp. 292-306. It is an outright absurdity to deny that whatever else Mao Tse-Tung has done (before him there was nothing beyond talk of these "vital reforms") it took his revolution to introduce them.

About a year after his murder, Diem was described by Mao Tse-tung as "not so bad".\* And Ho Chi Minh, before that event, astonished the Indian ICSC\*\* chairman with the comment, "After all, Mr. Diem is a patriot in his own way." \*\*\* Neither Mao nor Ho, in glaring contrast to the official line of their own governments, berated Diem as a monster of absolute evil. Perhaps his zeal, purity and honest conviction, all features so close to their own makeup, forbade such abuse. If so, the comparison with Jesuit and Puritan may seem less far-fetched. For Diem, responding to a French Catholic who spoke of our 'common faith' is "reported to have answered calmly, 'You know, I consider myself rather as a Spanish Catholic.'"\*\*\*\* So sharp ( and unfriendly ) an observer as Brian Crozier, when he saw Ho in late 1956, noticed "a face that lends itself to sublimation. An El Greco face built vertically" etc. \*\*\*\*\* Wasn't El Greco the master at depicting late fifteenth century Spain in its mystical and monastic grandeur? In that age also, Wars of National Liberation or National Independence (Holland and England respectively offer good examples) were always inseparable from the incessant global conflict between World Revolution and Orthodoxy. And, while exceeding in intensity anything reported today, they surely matched our time in ferocity.

\* Edgar Snow in the New Republic, 27 February, 1965.

\*\* The International Commission set up to supervise the 1954 Geneva Accords.

\*\*\*Lacouture, op. cit., p. 97.

\*\*\*\* Fall, The Two Viet Nams. p. 236.

\*\*\*\*\*Crozier, The Morning After. N.Y. Oxford Univ. Press. 1963. p. 31.

To explore the Catholic imprint on Viet Nam, and it should never be forgotten that it was the first European impact with anything permanent about it, some view of its place of origin, Spain, Spain of the Inquisition, must be sought. The Inquisition was the most thorough, the most pervasive system of thought control ever devised. It was hunting down heretics and burning them for the edification of delighted crowds even before Martin Luther's christening. \* Its main target was the Sephardim, the Jew who had adopted Christianity to stay alive.\*\* That he harbored mental reservations as he kneeled in church, it did not doubt. Not the alien priest for him, but the forbidden Torah, pronounced the Word of the Living God. The Jew was guilty until proven otherwise.

During most of the Sixteenth Century, Spain magnified her peninsular conquests of the Fifteenth with world-wide invasions of unprecedented extent. Catalonian and Portuguese seafarers shared the lead in this momentous sequence. From Laos\* to the Philippines, from Mexico to the southernmost capes of America, Spain penetrated, often subduing multitudes in the Name of Christ. And with, or soon after, the galleons of the Holy Cross came the Inquisition. On reaching Goa and Macao, it made these Portuguese enclaves fit places to receive a new order of men called into

\* Luther was born in 1483. The first Auto da Fe roasted six who would not renounce heresy at Sevilla in 1481. John Lynch, Spain under the Hapsburgs, Volume I. NY Oxford Univ. Press. 1964. p. 20 \*\* Dr. Rafael Altamira, History of Spain. English edition. D. Van Nostrand, NY 1949. p. 289. \*\*\* Diego Beloso, a Portuguese subject of Philip II, had a series of amazing adventures from 1580 until he was murdered in 1599. Among other things, he married a royal Cambodian princess, and walked across Viet Nam all the way to Laos on the Mekong, a distance well over two hundred miles through some of the worst jungle and mountain terrain in the world. See Quiroga de San Antonio. ...Ralacion... del Reino de Camboxa. Valladolid. 1604.

being to preserve the old. But what an improbable army it was. No swords or cannon, nor armor, except the shield of faith and the inspiring courage of a stalwart founder. Ignacio of Loyola believed the Church to be in a state of war. And the Inquisition was not enough. The Dominicans, the 'Black Friars', were all right for snooping down helpless and despised Jew converts. Now there were whole kingdoms of armed and haughty heretics. Only a cosmopolitan, cultured company, untrammelled by monastery walls, yet bound by such faith it would accept cheerfully the discipline of soldiers, could wring with this Revolution and save humanity from eternal hellfire. For as Spain expanded in Asia and America, a wave of subversion from the north was shaking the very doctrine on which was founded its Pontifical faith: Reformation in the Germanies, spreading quickly to Holland, Poland, France, etc. From wayward England defiance. The most drastic measures failing, the Inquisition useless where doubt was legal, the Dominican a laughing stock when confronted by erudite Germanic theology, only the Company of Jesus could man the ramparts against an insidious Calvinist tide, the Komintern of four hundred years ago.\* Pope Paul III revived the Inquisition. Spain again took the lead. As the rekindled hunt sniffed for heresy, none could claim exemption. After 1526, it was no longer legal to profess Islam, much less the Talmud. A surge of exalted and mystical feeling,

MM \* "A modern English historian, Mr. Trevor Davies, has put forward the view that Calvinism was the Third International of the Sixteenth Century and Philip certainly saw it in that light." Sir Charles Petrie, Philip II. WW Norton. NY 1963. p. 191. It is even more direct to compare the Company of Jesus, in outlook and method, if not in faith and morals, with the inner core of the Soviet Communist Party, while the "Black Friars," the Dominicans, could be fairly compared to the commonplace NKVD interrogators.

aroused popular fervor.\* The Jews had already been expelled, in the flesh, \*\* just as Columbus was about to sail the westward ocean. While converted brethren received Holy Communion, the dissenting spirit of the exiles haunted the chancel. Let no one misunderstand. The Inquisition proceeded with massive popularity. Spying each converso to detect the slightest deviation was as natural as crossing oneself. The common throng baptized every Hebraic convert with an unmistakable title. The title is omitted entirely from histories compiled by ashamed Spanish liberals, \*\*\* but well remembered by every unassimilated Jew. 'Marrano' means 'pig'. The Marranos who survived the 'New Inquisition' of the Fifteenth Century \*\*\*\* would meet with one in the Sixteenth surpassing it in severity if not in victims.

Pr \* Professor Pears remarks: "So Angel Gavinet is right when he declares that Mysticism is the 'true centre' of the Spanish conception of Christianity so deeply rooted in Spain that we cannot take a step in life without it as our companion." E.A. Peers, *The Mystics of Spain*. p. 32. Popular feeling did not require too strenuous a rousing. As Elena de la Souchere puts it: "Jews, traditionally considered by the masses as the accomplices and secret agents of the Muslims..." de la Souchere, *An Explanation of Spain*. Random House. N.Y. 1965. pp. 85-86. \*\* In connection with the expulsion and the previous footnote, the widely read *Hanbuch der Judenfrage* blames the expulsion of the Jews solely on the aid a few area alleged to have given to fast fading Moors of Granada. Theodor Fritsch, *Hanbuch der Judenfrage*, 31st edition (the first was in 1887). Hammer-Verlag, Leipzig, 1932. p. 75. This version is hardly compatible with the one given in Volume 62 of the semiofficial *Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada*. Madrid. 1958. On pp. 1237 et seq.: "Torquemada had to use all his influence to convince their Majesties of the necessity of throwing out the Jews." The *Handbuch der Judenfrage* had a respectable and academically proficient board of consultants. Among them Professor Dr. Heinrich Wolf, Dr. Gercke, Dr. Muller, and Parson Falck. It may also be of interest to the reader to know that during his impressionable youth in Old Vienna, Adolf Hitler greedily absorbed the shallow draughts of Herr Fritsch. \*\*\* Dr. Altamira, op. cit. \*\*\*\* The original Inquisition goes back to the Thirteenth Century.

The Grand Inquisitor himself, Tomas de Torquemada\*, had he lived under Philip II instead of Fernando and Isabel, could never have risen to become so infamous a tormentor of the suspect. His blood was impure. A grandmother once Jewish had become, under Philip, eternal disqualification from any role in chambers inquisitorial.\*\* To Spaniards of Liberal (Nineteenth Century Liberal) persuasion, the "noble designs" of St. Ignatius Loyola were still admirable, the Inquisition nothing but a "terrible institution". \*\*\* It took the Twentieth Century to produce the following outright defense, and that not from a Spaniard.\*\*\*\*

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\* Llorente, Historia de la Inquisicion, claims Torquemada was personally responsible for roasting 8,800 heretics. Graetz, History of the Jews. Philadelphia, 1897, gives a figure of 2,000 Hebraic victims. Although either figure is paltry by Twentieth Century standards, it should be remembered that, unlike Eichmann, Torquemada knew and cared about each of his victims. Each had a hearing, was tortured and urged to confess, only condemned when deemed hopeless. Perhaps Torquemada's piety was misplaced when he appropriated his victims' gold to build the magnificent and majestic monasteries of Segovia and Avila. The semi-official Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada insists apologetically this covered only a fraction of the cost. loc. cit.

\*\* 'limpieza de sangre', 'purity of blood' became essential. "This prejudice against Jewish blood continued, even among some religious orders. By the end of the sixteenth century various bodies excluded men of 'tainted' descent from admittance: The Inquisition itself,...,all university colleges,... The Inquisition was the instrument for testing purity of descent. All the above... required the most rigorous investigation to trace the slightest... two sources of impurity: Jew or Moor ancestor, or one sentenced by the Inquisition." Lynch, op. cit. p.27

\*\*\* Francesco Giner de los Rios (1860-1905), Professor of the Philosophy of Law at the University of Madrid, and moving spirit behind the Institucion Libre de Enseñanza. quoted by Dr. Altamira on p. 358.

\*\*\*\* W.T. Walsh, Philip II, pp. 235-236, cited by Petrie, op. cit. p. 191. The apologetic Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada, loc. cit., remarks, "...if Torquemada went too far, it was with the best of intentions."



"The lives of a few agitators, most of them descendants of the Jews who had summoned the Mohammedans to ravage Spain for nearly eight centuries, were to be sacrificed to keep peace and unity in Spain.\* Germany had had her peasants' war and in the next century would know the horrors of the Thirty Years War with the butchery of many thousands... and a people forever divided,\*\* All as a result of the tolerance of Charles. In Spain, as long as the Inquisition lasted, there would be no religious wars, no burning of churches, no slaughtered priests. France would know these atrocities, and England and the Netherlands. It would be centuries before the enemies of Christendom could introduce them again into Spain. If the method seems cruel to us, it is because we forget the cruel fate, the long crucifixion of a great people, to which it was the harsh reply. It at least had the merit of proceeding judicially. It could at least claim that the evil it caused was far less than the horror it averted."

\* Does Father Walsh mean, 'A few worthless Jew traitors, surely a small ~~price~~ price, eh?' With such Scholars tolerated by the Vatican, it is scarcely right to blame those Jews (or even such as Hochhuth) who bristle angrily with excess of accusation against the Holy See for its connivance by passivity in genocide. Dr. Walsh's line of reasoning, if broadcast today by some Black Walsh, could incite, in fact, it already has incited the already considerable inclination to murder among not a few American Negroes into a righteous wrath which makes trifles of successful homicide. Black Muslims, James Baldwin and the magazine Ebony all further this mania by constantly harping on how their people were ravaged three centuries ago, or a century ago, and how this debt is now due and overdue, perhaps in blood... It may be too much to expect a keen attachment to the doctrine on which the slender thread of civilization hangs: individual responsibility, from such products of its violation as a Baldwin. Unfortunately, to tolerate its denial, even by a Baldwin is to invite Neo-Nazism. The old Nazis put it best in their jingle:

Was er sagt ist einerlei / Die Rasse ist die Schweinerei. which, translated freely, goes: No matter how you coo/ Your swinish race won't do.

\*\* One can almost hear Dr. Walsh leading the chorus of a decade or so ago in chanting, 'Germany divided due to F.D.R. tolerating Communism at Yalta'.

One prosperous Hebraic family of Aragon, failing to appreciate the historic advantages of sacrificing itself to avert the even greater horror alluded to by Dr. Walsh, moved to France. As Catholics, of course. Jews of the Exodus must part with their gold, silver and precious stones,\* perhaps to edify thereby monasteries consoling to retired inquisitors. How then cross a French frontier, already legally closed to infidel\*\*, without cash in hand to soften refusal into oversight? For there were many who returned to Spain, and converted to remain; they had been abroad and none would have them abide.\*\*\* The Rueda family of Aragon were a tenacious clan. Starting out in Avignon, where Pope protected, as mere silk merchants, they were not long in scaling to noble height as de Rhodes.\*\*\*\* Loyola's Jesuits welcomed the capable and willing faithful of any race.

\* Yitzhak Baer, A History of the Jews in Christian Spain. Volume II, Jewish Publ. Soc. of America. Philadelphia. 1966. p. 338

\*\* *ibid.* p. 338.

\*\*\**ibid.* p. 510. Until the Reformation broke the solid front against the fleeing Sephardim their chances of staying anywhere in Christendom were slim. In 1498, Fernando y Isabel "sent special messengers to England to express their sorrow that Flanders and England were infested with infidels cast out of Spain. Henry VII, laying both hands on his breast, swore he would treat without mercy any Jew or heretic whom the King of Spain had exiled." Professor Mark Vishniak, An International Convention Against Antisemitism. N.Y. 1946. p. 81

\*\*\*\* Solange Hertz, Rhodes of Viet Nam. The Newman Press. Westminster, Maryland. 1966. p. x. The reader might, by this point, find it difficult to believe anyone could discuss a family of Sixteenth Century Spanish Jews, converted or not, without mentioning the Inquisition. Americans, however, are known for attacking the impossible, for taking any dare. And Mrs. Hertz succeeds in accomplishing it. Not a hint in her ten page translator's preface nor in any of her numerous footnotes that there ever was such a thing. The unsuspecting reader might easily suppose that the de Rhodes moved to Avignon because fashions there were silkier.

Alexandre, the greatest of de Rhodes, first saw earth's shadows three years after Philip's Armada floundered attempting to subdue the English and punish the Dutch. When he joined the Society of Jesus, the news and talk in defiant England was of "how the Great Henry was stabbed in Paris streets; assassinated by the Jesuits; black sons of the scarlet woman, murderous to soul and to body." \* Alexandre chose the Jesuits to better reach his goal, the Farthest East of pagan Asia where "so many souls are perishing for want of preachers." \*\* Then not one, but three New Worlds shone on youth's horizon. America, which only had its tropic fringes settled, the East Indies, long past overcrowding with powerful, heathen kingdoms, and finally, the now proximate stars above. \*\*\* Flashing with such novel radiance and heavenly

Thomas Carlyle, Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches. Vol. I. London, 1897. p. 39. Dr. John Donne, who is usually restricted to incanting, "No man is an inland unto himself...", described the hottest part of Hell as shared equally by Macchiavelli and Ignatius Loyola. The Jesuits remained the favorite symbol of absolute evil in Britain long after Henry of Navarre had mouldered, and the Gunpowder Plot became a holiday. The foundation for this common English fury was the role of Jesuits as agents of a Power bent on destroying England's national independence. Even today, all has not abated. Some calm controversy can still flare into bitterness. Trevor-Roper, finding contemporary apologists crying religious persecution ( a wholly justifiable generality) retorts:

"...like our ancestors, we cannot take it. Like them, we put 'the Bloody Question'---whose orders, in politics, do these men take? It is bloody because it is inconveniently clear; and when it leads to equivocation only we do as our ancestors did. They sent the priests to the scaffold, to cold storage, or back to Flanders; we send their biographies to oblivion,..." H. R. Trevor-Roper, Men and Events. Harpers.N.Y. 1957, p. 116.

\*\* Originally de Rhodes had his heart set on Japan, where, a generation earlier, other Jesuits "confidently promised to redeem for the Papacy the loss of England by the conquest of Japan." Trevor-Roper, op. cit. p. 119 He wrote, "our superiors, ( in 1624) seeing Japan closed, believed God had permitted this misfortune so that Cochin China (Viet Nam) might be opened to the Holy Gospel." Hertz, op. cit. p. 49. The body of Mrs. Hertz' work is an English translation of Father de Rhodes' account of Viet Nam.

\*\*\* cf. Father Ricci's exquisite Galileo in China. An apologia proinquisitione

aura, he seemed one dropped a herald from those very stars, reaching down for the heart of Viet Nam.\* Dazzled by his resonating inner light, the matrix of its body politic trembled.\*\* Offering his wares free of charge, displaying publicly images of Life Eternal in blissful purity to the faithful, admonishing the doubtful against hellfire in boundless anguish, he stirred that deep sense of unfulfilment, that hunger for completeness in dramatic, exalting, mystical, yet clear and final choices which marks off Vietnamese from Chinese.\*\*\* All for the winning from perdition of souls: "My sole ambition in my travels has been the glory of my good Captain Jesus Christ and the benefit of the souls He conquers. I travelled neither for the sake of riches, nor for knowledge, nor to amuse myself." So wrote the R.P. Alexandre de Rhodes in 1652.\*\*\*\* Foremost of persuasive propagandists, prince of agitators, most beloved fellow conspirator, he was finally expelled, first from one, then from the other part of divided

\* The metaphor is valid well into the Twentieth Century. Among Vietnamese the Emperor was the Agent of Heaven above, and the white suited, starched Mandarins from France, ca. 1930, were looked on as Angels of Death, more awful than the Son of Heaven himself. P. Mus, op. cit. p. 121, 128. The nearby Meo, in 1919, gave refuge to rebels from Tonkin: "Rumor had it a Prophet fallen from the sky was calling on all the Meo to rise up and form an independent kingdom at Dien Bien Phu." le Boulanger, le Laos, quoted by J. S. Halpern, Government, Politics and Social Structure in Laos. 1964. p. 74. \*\* "The first storm arose from that which originally disturbed the world. (This was in 1627, in Tonkin, and Father de Rhodes is referring here to Eve). The wives, finding themselves rejected by the new Christians who had had several, made so loud an uproar that the whole kingdom was disturbed. The King, who till then had shown us great kindness,..." Hertz, op. cit. p. 70. \*\*\* "I began with all my strength to convert the Chinese, but...it was much easier in the blessed kingdom (Tonkin) I had just left... The other reason (de Rhodes mentions his need for an interpreter as one obstacle) might well be the pride of the Chinese, who consider themselves the greatest men on earth. I noticed they came to sermons (only) as long as they had something to argue about..." ibid. p. 76. \*\*\*\* R. P. is reverend pere, Reverend Father, and the title is used in that form to retain the French flavor of our subject.

Viet Nam. His monuments include the first dictionary from Vietnamese to Latin and Portuguese. Compiling this, he had to devise some way of transcribing a tongue so exotic it seemed at first a twittering of birds. The resulting script is still used today. The Society of Foreign Missions (S.F.M.), a creature of his gratitude to France\*, would soon take the lead in evangelizing Viet Nam. In its emphasis on native self-reliance, local responsibility, and use of the native language, his approach was much closer to late nineteenth century American Presbyterian than to later Catholic missionaries.\*\* In mystical intensity, and limitless devotion to the Person of Jesus, he was straight sixteenth century Spaniard; his inexhaustible resilience before the harshest secular rejection, while never giving an inch on Moral Principle, suggests the Old Hebraic element, even unto Isaiah.

The methods and structure of the whole enterprise de Rhodes organized in Viet Nam from 1624 until his last banishment in 1645, strongly resembles, all apology here for any presumption of blasphemy as none is intended, the Viet Cong. His, too, was a revolutionary conspiracy implying the overthrow of the authority of existing government. The true believer, and de Rhodes taught his Vietnamese coadjutors the rule so well they threw it right into the Imperial Presence, obeys a Higher Law, not government.

\* "I thought France the most pious kingdom of the world,...with the greatest monarch on earth (the boy king, Louis XIV, not yet le roi soleil), though the Queen Regent, Anne of Austria, was reached by Msgr. de Maupas, her confessor, and beloved superior of de Rhodes. Hertz, p. 237. \*\* In the case of Korea, e.g., American Presbyterians reaped a windfall after 1895 with such methods, while their Catholic competitors were still referring to Rome for every detail and insisting on the exclusive use of Latin. The result is that today most Korean Christians are Protestant. \*\*\* Statement by Mr. ??? the Catholics, and the communists resemble the Catholics so much...! Washington Post 7 April 1968 P. 35.

"Six magistrates questioned me on the new doctrine I was preaching, and why I was making so many converts despite the King's forbidding it. I answered that in doing so I was obeying God, who was above the King, that all of us had to obey Him without fear..." \* This inquest occurred soon after the Christmas of 1644, celebrated by de Rhodes as the Emperor's soldiers next door tortured a blind man to find out where Mass was hidden.\*\*

The main thing here is to first set up the proper dictionary. Satan, the chief of Devils, is American Imperialism, the Final Paradise, a life of dignity only possible by doing God's will to gain Redemption = Revolution, mainly against the Devil. This, in turn, can only come through the Holy Church = NLF, which promises Salvation = National Liberation by Faith and Works = Patriotism. Officials of the existing government, if they renounce the Devil, acknowledge their sins to a duly sanctified Priest = Party Cadre by Confession = Self Criticism may be spared. \*\*\* Neither race, nor previous faith, not even class is a barrier to the penitent. Anyone can join, provided

\* Father de Rhodes implies that fear of earthly government should not keep us from obeying the Lord. Hertz, p. 146. What made it so repugnant was not that de Rhodes himself disregarded the law but that he taught his flock of Vietnamese converts: "The King; himself questioned them, asking whether they were Christians, and ordering them to be such no more. (Vietnamese) spoke for all, saying they were Christians, and that, by God's Grace would remain so until death. Let him (the King) test that as soon as possible. The King grew angry and wondered aloud if their ability to suffer exceeded his own to inflict torture... Ignatius replied they were indeed weak, but the Grace of Jesus Christ was more powerful than all the Kings of earth." Hertz, p. 178. \*\* ibid p. 143. \*\*\*"As to the soldiers and officials of the administration in power...if they have done wrong to the people, and repented thereafter, the NLF will not hold it against them and punish them severely, or treat them as enemies." Declaration of the First NLF Congress, March, 1962. Hanoi. July 1962.



An official NLF pamphlet: "That is why men smile on their way to the firing squad...(Patriotism)." \* The main impact of killing off religious ( or patriotic) individuals who die cheerfully while their executioners wonder is to outrage popular decency. Provided the victims are not tarnished by alien connection. As to the fervor of the faithful de Rhodes informs us "it grew more ardent from its enemies' atrocities." \*\* Here is a major cause of the present war in South Viet Nam, and one largely overlooked by both the most professional of Communist publicists\*\*\* and, quite naturally, by his opposite number at M.I.T. \*\*\*\* A safe statement today, though it wasn't at the time respectable to deny that "we have against us(i.e. France in 1945-1946) only a handful of convicts... forcing themselves on the people by terror...the immense majority of the Vietnamese people fear and reject them...", is that Ho Chi Minh's Viet Minh enjoyed broad public support during its war for independence against the 'French Colonialists'. \*\*\*\*\*

\* \*Sparkling Fires in the South, by Che Lan Vien, quoted by Pike , op. cit. p. 437. Significantly enough, Pike sarcastically recommends it for insight into the mind of the NLF 'True Believer' (Pike's phrase). Equally significant, Che emphasizes the horrible contrast between the Christians professions of 'Diemist officers' and their practice of cannibalism.

\*\*Hertz, p. 139. \*\*\*Wilfred Burchett, My visit to the Liberated Zones of South Viet Nam, Hanoi. 1966. pp.17-22. Burchett gives a full account of the bestial torture and killing in Quang Ngai Province, 1956-1959, but instead of talking about popular indignation he tells of a populace so thoroughly terrorized it served Ngo Dinh Can's Inquisition. His whole approach is materialistic, and shallow. The NLF Declaration, however, resounds, "The atrocious nature of the repression! let loose by American Imperialism and its agents can only solidify the people of South Viet NAM in its struggle and strengthen its resolve."

\*\*\*\*Pike blandly ignoring the 1956-1959 Inquisition, says: "( a revolutionary organization begins ) with persons suffering genuine grievances...Exactly the reverse was the case with NLF...The grievances were developed or manufactured almost as a necessary afterthought." Pike, op. cit., p. 76 \*\*\*\*\*Mus, op.cit.p. 55. If this has a familiar ring to Americans of today, perhaps they should ponder why.



As the Voice of America 'expert' on Viet Nam affirms: "An important factor usually unnoticed by outside observers was the moral indignation generated in ordinary decent Vietnamese people by the corrupt practices sanctioned by the colonial regime...For the Vietnamese people, the Revolution was a conflict between virtue and vice... This attitude partly explains why neither Bao Dai, the ex-Emperor nor Ngo Dinh Diem, the ex-mandarin, have ever had any chance of success against Ho Chi Minh, the model revolutionary and symbol of virtue..." \* The Revolution Hoang Van Chi refers to is that begun in August 1945; it soon merged into the War of Resistance which went on until 1954. If the moral indignation was great against corrupt mandarins, how much greater must it have been against those who punished the bravest opponents of the mandarins? If the postulate that Viet Minh was a Holy Church embracing hordes of followers is correct, then persecution of its Preachers= Cadre could only make the faithful more ardent. It just was downright evil to come into a village, hunt down and torture as a despicable "Communist" a man almost everybody in town knew and looked up to as a selfless, devoted patriot, a catechist in the religion of Patriotism. Paul Mus has said, "Vietnamese, however, do have grounds for taking their history more seriously than we do." \*\*

\*H A standard method sources are selected which have either no interest in furthering the conclusion aimed at, or are actually inclined to its opposite. None have less love for Ho Chi Minh or Vietnamese Communism than Hoang Van Chi.

\*\*Mus, op. cit. p. 67. The analogy given above is even more valid if the NLF in action is compared to Moses and Joshua, leaders of the first National liberation movement recorded. Discipline was strictly enforced by the latter during the last battles and partition of lands. Achan, disobediently pillaging after a victorious siege, is put to death along with his entire family and households, such severity...??

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Unfortunately, few of those who should know realize that the history includes the fact that "from 1921 on, any opponent of colonial rule" was labelled a 'Communist' by the "right-wing dominated colonial administration."\* The general association 'Communist -- Patriot', the exact opposite of the one in the mind of Mr. & Mrs. America, i.e. 'Communist--Traitor', was established for a generation before Can's 1956-1959 Inquisition attempted to defy it.

How goes a genuinely inspired preacher if his message must be given under the Devil's government? By secret defiance of prohibition, meetings at night, hiding by day, all arranged so well by the faithful that no fear of discovery or betrayal inhibits. Again and again, from 1630 on, de Rhodes did all this, both North and South. To forestall treachery there must be staunch, firm faith,\*\* even unto death. As to the NLF: "That this machine was assembled secretively by night, in the remote back country makes it even more impressive, ... the apparatus withstood the threat of constant betrayal in a land where betrayal is the norm."\*\*\*

Similarity of structure goes even further. Donald Lancaster, in describing ~~the~~ Viet Minh control of its own disparages the "inquisitorial methods"\*\*\*\* used to keep members in line.

\*Professor Philippe Devillers, The Nation, 5 Dec. 1966. p. 598. In this excellent article, however, even the astute Devillers misses the issue of popular indignation over persecution of ex-Viet Minh by emphasizing mere self-preservation in the 1956-1959 period as a principal motive.

\*\*Hertz, pp. 72-73, 102, 139.

\*\*\* Pike, p. 111.

\*\*\*\* Lancaster, The Emancipation of French Indochina. 1959 p. 421.

Could it be that the real issue in Viet Nam was not whether "inquisitorial methods" would be used, but whose Inquisition would prevail? Would it be one for the country, for that precious sovereign independence Anglo-Saxons so imprudently take for granted at home, or would it be one for some little clique whose political fief required foreign, rather than, popular consent? When, in 1956, the amateurish Red Inquisition exceeded the bounds of human endurance, it was the more professional adepts of the medieval one that turned the tables on it. Radio Hanoi, outconfessed by their courageous witnessing of the Faith, went so far as to admit that the DRVN had connived at intolerable religious intolerance.\*

The following Komintern document, circa 1929, possibly one retouched by Ho Chi Minh's delicacy, fell into the hands of the colonial police\*\*: "We must find and train propagandists ready for anything, resolved to die if need be as Christian Vietnamese were during the time of persecutions."

\*The confession from Hanoi Radio came on 22 Nov. 1956, less than a fortnight after the uprising had been smothered. That occurred during the second week of November. Roman Catholics in Quynh Luu, 35 miles north of Vinh, Nghe An Province, marched on the district center, disarmed a platoon of the regular army and compelled both soldiery and party cadre to publicly confess their misdeeds and sign statements affirming these transgressions. Fall, Viet Nam Witness. p. 101. People of Nghe An Province are known for their readiness to revolt against tyranny. In 1873, a local revolt there assumed threatening proportions. Imperial forces were defeated. Catholics, just recently armed, were summoned by Mandarins to defend legitimacy. The rebels were defeated, but only with valuable help from the generally hated Christians.

\*\*Vanlande, op. cit. p. 65. M. Vanlande, arch-foe of Moscow and all others challenging the French Empire, comments, "Such propagandists exist. Already some have passed over to deeds, and died with a courage it would be childish for us to ignore." ibid.

That first summer of World Depression, Ho himself was telling agitator Nguyen Luong Bang he must adopt an entirely new approach in his work with soldiers: "It's not enough to make these appeals to 'Workers and Peasants'. Right now we're out to overthrow the French colonialists and free the nation. The innate patriotism of each of our countrymen must be aroused...That's the way, the only way, to win over those fellows." \*

The Religion of Patriotism, the identification of Salvation with National Liberation was already underway. It is no coincidence that the Communist Youth League (PRPYL) chronicles its martyrology from this time on: "The idea that joining PRPYL meant a new life or rebirth was heavily stressed in long and arduous indoctrination... League members prided themselves on the sacrifices Youth had made for the Revolution, and indoctrination sessions consisted largely of recounting the legendary exploits of revolutionary youths as far back as 1930." \*\*

Ho Chi Minh has said, "I learned about Revolution not in Moscow, but in Paris." He might have added that France itself had, by over a century, anticipated his Cult of Patriotism. Napoleon was looked on not only as a martyr and a saint, but Bellangé has a peasant exclaim to the village priest, "Hold it, Father, for me the Eternal Father is over there", pointing to a likeness of Bonaparte. \*\*\*

\* Nguyen Luong Bang, My meeting with Uncle Ho, in Souv. p. 65

\*\* Pike, op.cit. p. 152. PRPYL is very much alive today in South Viet Nam.

\*\*\* Philip Guedalla, The Second Empire. G.P. Putnam's Sons. N.Y. 1923. p. 31.

Updated smugness might scoff at any suggestion Father de Rhodes could be a living issue in a country preoccupied with bombs and rice bowls. Thich Nhat Hanh, however, perhaps the only bonze to ever beg His Holiness, Paul VI. in person to consider a Papal Pilgrimage for peace to Viet Nam, is still rankled by de Rhodes. Else why should he devote two irritated pages of his recent monograph to quoting from the good Father's 'Catechism in Eight Days', referring to de Rhodes' "maligning Buddhism" in "violently provocative language" \*. Bonze Nhat, aside from maligning de Rhodes and mixing up his centuries,\*\* has a point. Past Catholic intolerance for other theologies has bred its natural reaction. This heritage, unless disavowed, nurtures that hostility keeping Buddhist and Catholic from working toward so commonly felt a need as peace. It may be argued that the Sangha is too tolerant and too gentle to achieve anything; that the real conflict in the past was between rigid, ancestor-worshipping Confucian and rigid, Holy-Image-worshipping Catholic. If so, it still does not invalidate the timeliness of Buddhist resentment of R.P. de Rhodes, the pathfinder.

\* Thich Nhat Hanh, Viet Nam: Lotus in Sea of Fire. Hill & Wang, N.Y. 1967.

\*\* Rather too credulously quoting Dao Duy Anh's History of...Vietnamese Civilization, Nhat affirms "missionaries were often forerunners of the imperialist." Referring as it does to 1680, that observation is little short of fantastic. Pally, Vicar Apostolic for Viet Nam, could not get Louis XIV, already rebuffed in Thailand, to show the slightest interest in running either fore or aft of the isolated and almost forgotten envoys of the Rhodes' S.M.E. Nhat, on page 15 (op.cit.) says de Rhodes was expelled from Tonkin for "suspicion of having political links with the western powers". Inasmuch as the King had refused to see him at all, or let him state his case, de Rhodes' claim that courts eunuchs and others with vested interests in perpetuating polygamy had convinced the superstitious sovereign de Rhodes was a hypnotic sorcerer is more plausible.

A generation after de Rhodes started the S.M.E., Spanish Dominicans were allotted the eastern portion of Tonkin. They were "destined to later (i.e. after 1833) bear the brunt of one of the most terrible persecutions... Repeatedly banished from the country they ( here the pronoun compasses all and sundry missions, French S.M.E., Spanish Dominican, Italian Franciscan, etc.) turned their ships towards land again... thousands of the Annamese\*---a race whose name has become a byword for fickleness--- gladly laid down their lives for the faith,...no little credit is due (reference here to the period 1825-1885) to the fidelity of the natives to their pastors; regardless of danger, they sheltered proscribed priests, escorted them by concealed paths to their next place of hiding and ministry. Although prisons were filled with Christians, cases of apostasy were extremely rare." \*\*

\*Instead of changing it, as we usually do, to Vietnamese, 'Annamese' is here retained in the text quoted in order to preserve the flavor of this article. Written during the high noon of European Empire, and redolent of its easy condescension for subject peoples, this frank account is openly partisan, for Rome. Its vitality emerges if one collates the article by A. Gélinas on Viet Nam in the latest Catholic Encyclopedia (1966 Edition, prepared by the faculty of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., vol. XIV, pp. 661-663). That is hardly much more than a moribund jumble of statistics and nomenclature untarnished by passion or confidence. A note of pertinence to the name is the experience of Edmund Roberts, Andy Jackson's unsuccessful envoy to Minh Mang in 1833. Roberts found his Presidential letter ~~invited~~ unaccepted. Its address was incorrect. Mandarins from the capital, Hue, informed him "the country is not now called An Nam, as formerly, but Wietnam and is ruled, not by a King (wang), but by an Emperor (hwang-te)." Edmund Roberts, Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin China, Siam and Muscat, ... Harper & Brothers, N.Y. 1837. p. 182.

\*\* Article, Indochina, by Thomas Kennedy, R.U.I., in Volume VII, pp. 774 et seq. of the 1910 Edition Catholic Encyclopedia, published with the Nihil Obstat of John Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York.

By the middle of the last century, edict after edict from the Dragon Throne threatened to nullify the loving labors of Pigneau de Béhaine. Although foreshadowing modern science, Pigneau remained the direct, undiminished spiritual descendant of de Rhodes. Besides brewing his own saltpetre, he also founded cannon near Saigon.\* Advancing with a motley troop of French and Vietnamese, Pigneau, under his silken flag of red\*\*, preserved the dynasty which was to unify and name Viet Nam, while that of his own sovereign crumbled under the guillotine before Thermidor. He received in return a splendid funeral. The Church he loved most of all was spared its Calvary but for an hour.\*\*\*

\*Lt. John White, Voyage to Cochin China. Boston. 1823. p. 273

\*\*Captain A. Thomazi, la Conquête de l'Indochine. Payot, Paris. 1934. p. 22

\*\*\* Emperor Minh Mang (pronounced nasally Meen-Mack) decreed in 1825 that it was illegal to practice the (sic) Catholic Faith. Nguyen Van Thai, op. cit., p. 256. Eight years later, Edmund Roberts, off Phu Yen, was told "the few French, Spanish and Italian priests living in the country are obliged to conceal themselves. Father Jaccard, a Frenchman, is confined wholly to the precincts of the Palace, where he is employed in the care of the King's European books, charts, mathematical instruments, etc. It is difficult for foreigners, excepting Chinese, to gain admission." Roberts, op. cit. p. 186. That was on 20 January, 1833. Three years later, the Emperor decided it was all right for any of his subjects to kill Christian missionaries on sight, while denying, on pain of death, the option of concealing such intruders. Nguyen Van Thai, op. cit. , p. 257.

Mr. Joseph Buttinger, egregious apologist for what his Communist confreres would call "feudalist tyranny", just so long as it is not European, and a steady purveyor of bias tantamount to wholesale inaccuracy, insists Minh Mang showed great restraint. He doesn't, as he might have, extenuate Minh Mang by the obvious Confucian-Nationalist response. Perhaps the reason is that in this case his favorite target, "the French", are not involved. It was the British who upset Minh Mang. The British, usually somewhat sparingly lashed by Mr. Buttinger's sharp pen, though not wholly immune from his shafts as America and non-Red Vietnamese seem to be. By seizing Singapore in 1819, then invading Burma in 1826, the British smashed the whole balance of power in S.E. Asia. Minh Mang was upset (Devillers, Histoire du Viet Nam. Paris. 1952. p. 16). On 23 Jan. 1833 "they (mandarins from Hue) asked many questions, ... particularly desirous to know the affairs of England." Roberts, p. 187.

By 1851, all European priests, if they could be caught, were to be hurled from on high into the China Sea, while native clergy would be allowed to remain on the soil of their ancestors, after partition into at least two sections. Then, all had to renounce the 'perverse cult' within six months, Catholic mandarins excepted. They must trample the cross before the next moon had gone. Bishop Delgado, a stubborn Hispanic octogenarian, had perished in prison in 1838. Msgr. Diaz, another Iberian Bishop, lost his head in 1857. The following year, before an Allied force under French and Spanish command\* could land at Da Nang (Touran), a "Christian town was set aflame and all the inhabitants butchered."\*\*

by

Awaiting deliverance ~~from~~ the sluggish allies proved fatal to over 5,000 faithful, 100 nuns and one in every three Vietnamese priests. Many more among the half million or so Christians were horribly branded. Bishop Hermosillo and three other Spanish Bishops along with twenty eight Dominicans were tortured or done away with.

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\* In the initial assault on Saigon, in February of 1859, there were three companies of elite French sailors, fusiliers marins, F.M., and two of Filipino infantry under Spanish officers. The latter fought well, and bore the brunt of the last major Vietnamese counter-attack at Saigon, 3-4 July, 1860. Thomazi, op. cit. p. 34, 42. Thus, the maxim, 'Use Asians to fight Asians' was applied by the first western conquerors long before John Foster Dulles, who patented it~~y~~ in 1953 for the Republican Party, was born.

\*\* op. cit. of Thomas Kennedy in the Catholic Encyclopedia, 1910.



Vietnames still recall\*, although others may not\*\*, that it was the Empress Eugénie, the Jacqueline Kennedy of a century ago, who prevailed on her hesitant spouse to decide to make Viet Nam safe for missionaries.\*\*\* Eugenie Montijo was as loyal to her Spanish concept of the Vatican as any Queen of France could be after Robespierre; she left that worry to others. Born five years to the day after the great Napoleon succumbed at St. Helena, this most remarkable woman came from a noble line. Her father, maimed at Trafalgar, was Don Cipriano Montijo,"a younger son of the noble house of Montijo, among whose ancestors figured the famous knightly clan of de Guzman, Saint Dominic, founder of the Dominican Order, ....Cardinal Portocarrero who had negotiated the French succession ... with Louis XIV... an impressive record of great positions in State, Army and Church." \*\*\*\* How could a worthy daughter in the line of Saint Dominic, ~~an~~ mixed with fiery blood of Scotland, sit by while his inquisitorial offspring agonized afar?

\* N d  
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 \*Nguyen Van Thai, op. cit. p. 264. Le Thanh Khoi, le Viet Nam. les editions de minuit. Paris. 1955. p. 367. Both the -Marxist and Marxist here. \*\*Mr. Buttinger in his History of Viet Nam. Praeger. N.Y.1958. \*\*\*Empress Eugenie was irresistibile and incessant influence over her often hesitating husband. To compare her with Mme. Nhu might be flattering to neither, or both. Each was beautiful, devout, alert, and far too masterful for their own good. Each pushed enchanted men, step by step, towards abyss of absolute power; then, still avid for more, over the brink of disaster. Mme. Nhu, in urging defiance of the enigmatic Americans, who in their omnipotent inconsistency, had suddenly declared themselves Protectors of the Buddhist Faith in a manner fully comparable to Louis Napoleon's decision to coerce Liberty of religion of Catholics by overthrowing the State. Eugenie, in prodding Louis Napoleon, first into Mexico, and then toward a war with ironclad Prussia for which his Empire was woefully unprepared.

\*\*\* Harold Kurtz, The Empress Eugenie. Houghton Mifflin. Boston.1964. p. 5.

The drama of Elizabethan England mobilizing to fend an alliance of native Jesuit, the "fifth column" \*, with a foreign protector was replayed in the last century with Louis Napoleon a rakish substitute for Philip. This time, no Dutch allies, nor benevolent storms. Rome was vindicated by application of Galileo's Mechanics\*\* in Mekong channels. The monastic West had triumphed under that once atheistic banner, the tricolor. Dai Nam\*\*\* was duly racked for its ghastly persecution of the Faith. Aside from the contagion of imperial ambition, the fundamental reason was the conflict of two religions equally inseparable from State. Minh Mang had reaffirmed in deeds his choice of China (Confucian) and rejection of Europe (Catholic). The former rested on ancestral idols, an utterly abominable foundation by pontifical interpretation of the Second Commandment. But calling in question the Emperor's religion meant subverting the state. In Viet Nam, the traditional Viet Nam, every thought and act of the government, and this meant above all of its head, had a sacred ceremonial value bound to it.\*\*\*\*

\* Trevor-Roper's exact phrase; elsewhere "For the generation before the Plot had been the great age of the English Jesuits. Agents of a hostile power, propagandists of a foreign system, they were understandably regarded as traitors by the Elizabethan government and cruelly treated if found." p. 109.

\*/ In 1930, G.K. Chesterton could still rear up: "If the word 'Jesuit' is still to be used as synonymous with the word 'liar', I should prefer that the same simple translation should apply to the word 'journalist', of which it is much more often true." Chesterton, *The Thing Why I am a Catholic*. Dodd Mead & Co. N.Y. 1930. p. xii.

\*\* cf. Father Ricci's excellent, *Galileo in China*.

\*\*\* Dai Nam was also used as the name for Viet Nam in the period 1820-1945.

\*\*\*\* Mus, op. cit. p. 129, 130.

A secularized government, such as that introduced by M. Doumer and his civilization after 1900, could, therefore, never be a de jure power, but merely a de facto one. Paul Mus observes, "Either a Spanish-type State or the Second Empire (in which, he notes, there was no separation of church and state) would have been better understood, if not more highly esteemed." \* The clear implication is that a lasting conquest might have been possible had not the West turned secular, that once it did, the only hold was physical force and indolent habit.

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\* Mus, op. cit., p. 133, 134. The circumstantial validity of an Elizabethan comparison is enhanced by the fact that the persecution of the Roman Catholic Church from 1835 to 1885 in Viet Nam was "without parallel since the fiercest days of the Reformation." Kennedy, loc. cit.

'MAD JACK' DISGUISED AS UNCLE SAM DRAWS FIRST BLOOD

containing the thesis of this chapter

In Viet Nam, the first mortal aggressors from the West flew the Stars and Stripes. The most famous ship in the history of the U.S. Navy, 'Old Ironsides' herself, bombarded the Empire's chief port and sailed off, leaving a few dozen Vietnamese dead. Innocent victims of a quarrel they knew nothing about, this modest mass murder did alter the whole pattern of relations between Viet Nam and the West. The villain here was a penitent and senile ruffian, so much the man of his time he was held up long after as the gruff, but loveable model of a Yankee sea captain.\* Disavowal of his assault by the United States government was not followed by the kind of punishment which the American public would have demanded if some foreign vessel had fatally bombarded Boston and seized a few of its magistrates as hostages.

are  
clipped  
cf. ALSO  
Geo. TRAVIS  
No. 1  
of  
La Geste  
Hiccup  
on Indochina  
PP. 368-369  
for letter

Known in the service as 'Mad Jack'\*\*, John Percival was born during the American Revolution, son of a Massachusetts sea captain. Another Percival, great-grandfather of 'Mad Jack', had come from France, a fact of later pertinence, to settle in Barnstable in 1685.

Mess. 181000  
THIRTY  
TERRIFIC  
APPREHENSION  
OF

\* Biographical dictionaries give as a principal reference for details on Captain Percival the book by Harry Gringo, Tales for the Marines. Phillips, Samson & Co. Boston. 1855. Harry Gringo was the nom de plume of Henry Augustus Wise. Wise was an American naval officer who entered the service before Captain Percival sailed on this adventure. He undoubtedly knew some of Percival's intimate contemporaries. The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, J.T. Whit & Co., N.Y. 1920. Vol. XX has an article on Percival, p. 437. Unfortunately, this contains several inaccuracies including the following: (An obvious paraphrase of Gringo, p. 26) "Although a strict disciplinarian, he was idolized by his crew." The passage in Gringo: "Notwithstanding his very severe and often harsh conduct towards his crew, they fairly worshipped him." That is debatable. The reader should be warned that flogging was still legal in the Navy, and used freely by Percival. \*\* Wise, op. cit. p. 26.

A REPENTANT  
MAD  
S,  
JACKSON  
GESSNER.

At thirteen Jack, perhaps not yet mad, went to sea. Four years later, he was kidnapped in Lisbon, and impressed into the navy of George III. That was the year the red flag of revolution went up at every English naval base.\* In 1797, aggressively touching an officer of the Royal Navy, disobeying his repeated command, or flinching in battle, were all equally punishable by, and often punished by, hanging.\*\* Sometime during his second year as a Jack Tar, Percival slipped away at Madeira, and made for America. He got his revenge on the British during the War of 1812. Concealing thirty two volunteers under the hatches of a fishing ~~smak~~ smatk off New York, he lured H.M.S. Eagle \*\*\* into an ambush. After killing her two British officers with relish, he towed the prize past the Battery, while thousands cheered. The Congress voted him a sword for this and other wartime services.

In 1826, Lieutenant Percival commanded the schooner Dolphin, first American warship to visit the Hawaiian Islands. This "visit" revealed another side of the Lieutenant's character. In the U.S. Navy, it was an age "when oaths and flogging were the approved means of enforcing obedience." \*\*\*\*

\*James Dugan, The Great Mutiny. G.P. Putnam's Sons. N.Y.1965. p. 81,459.

\*\*ibid. p. 375. Homosexual acts were also capital offenses.

\*\*\*Not the H.M.S. Eagle defeated by Macdonough on Lake Champlain.

\*\*\*\*Captain Earle, U.S.N. & C.S. Alden, Makers of Naval Tradition. Ginn & Co. Boston. 1925. p. 63

The whisky ration was still a half pint daily as sailors simply refused either wine or beer.\* Although Spherical Trigonometry was an enigma even to Boards of Examiners, midshipmen were required to learn Spanish. \*\* Ten thousand miles from the nearest American territory lay the islands then called Sandwich. American missionaries had been, for seven years, exerting "efforts to raise that people ( the Hawaiian) from their degradation and barbarism, convert them from their idols, their cruel superstitions and their unbridled lusts... the union of a brother and a sister in the highest ranks became fashionable and continued so till the revealed will of God was made known to them by our mission...polygamy, fornication, adultery, incest, infant murder, ...,sorcery,... prevailed and seem hardly to have been forbidden or rebuked by their religion." \*\*\* Thus Hiram Bingham, "late missionary of the American Board", explains the dire need for his presence on heathen strand in mid-Pacific. He continues,\*\*\*\* "In the first month of 1826, while the Christian chiefs and missionaries were pressing on, with brightening prospects, and many thousands were, from week to week, receiving instruction

\*C.O. Paullin, Naval Administration 1842-1861, Proceedings of the U.S. Naval Institute. Vol. XXXIII, no. 4. Paullin discusses the period prior to 1842 in some detail.

\*\* Earle, op. cit. p. 112, 113. The requirement for Spanish was not only due to a concentration of interest in the Western Hemisphere. The only U.S. base in European waters throughout the Nineteenth Century was that leased at Port Mahon in the Baleares. A pedagogue might note that even though there was no Naval Academy then, monolingual midshipmen were not allowed to pass, as one instructor at Annapolis recently asserted they many nowadays.

\*\* Hiram Bingham, A Residence of Twenty One Years in the Sandwich Islands. Hartford, Hezekiah Huntington. 1849. Introduction, p. 18, 20.

\*\* Ibid. pp. 283 et seq.

"while other thousands remained in their stupid and degraded state, the anti-tabu party\* on shore and in the whaling and merchant service were strengthened by the arrival of a vessel of war. The crew of the whale ship Globe, Captain Worth, of our acquaintance, having mutinied in the Pacific; and with unprovoked madness, killed their captain... the U.S. schooner Dolphin, Lt. John Percival, was despatched to look after them... Hawaiians had heard of the power and greatness of the United States. Although Russia, France and Great Britain had sent their naval vessels to these islands, yet the inhabitants knew little or nothing of American ships of war, or of the urbanity, intelligence and elevated character of U.S. naval officers. How exceedingly desirable that a naval commander from the United States, arriving so soon after Lord Byron's agreeable visit, and especially at a time when hostility was showing itself among both English and Americans against the efforts of the best rulers of the Islands to restrain crime\*\*, should exert a high moral influence for good, or at least not interfere with the municipal or civil regulations of the place, or counteract our mission... Returning to Honolulu, he (Percival) soon made known his views of the restraint on vile women, and asked an audience with the chief rulers on that subject

\* The tabu referred to was against prostitution. In the fall of 1825, "chiefs were induced to forbid traffic in lewdness;" in October, the Daniel, a British whaler came to Maui. With their Captain's consent, the crew attacked missionary Richards' house. James Jackson Jarvis, History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands. London. Moxon. 1843. p. 240 etc.

\*\* See footnote above. A paramount chief had been converted in December, 1825, barely two months before the showdown. Bingham, op. cit. p. 277.

"of grievance, which his crew, by a committee, had presented to him. Kaahumanu\* and Kalanimoku proposed to him to write to them. (She) prepared a ... conciliatory statement to meet the strange pretence that an embargo on lewd women... was an insult to the American flag. In this statement she maintained, "She had a right to control her own subjects in this matter, that in enforcing this tabu she had not sought for money, that in apprehending and punishing the offending subjects, she had done no injustice to other nations, or the foreigners who belonged to other nations...". Boki, the Hawaiian governor, being charged to deliver this...(reported): 'The man-of-war chief (Percival) says he will not write, but will come and have a talk, and if Mr. Bingham comes, he will shoot him. That he was ready to fight, for though his vessel was small, she was just like fire.' Seeing Boki wavering, Kaahumanu said: 'Let us be firm on the side of the Lord, and follow the Word of God.' Then Boki answered: 'If we meet the man-of-war chief and then yield not to his demands, what will be the consequence?'

Kaahumanu: 'You are a servant of God and must maintain his cause.'

Both wept. On 22 February, Lieutenant Percival obtained an audience at the house of Kaahumanu. She called the little royal pupil from his studies under my instruction... as Lt. P had previously requested me not to be present... Kaahumanu's narrative follows:

\*\* She was regent while the King was still underage. ""In the days of her heathenism she had been haughtiest, the most imperious, the most cruel of her sex...no subject...dared face her frown." Manley Hopkins, Hawaii. Longmans Green & Co. London. 1866. p. 213.



'Percival came to the council and asked, "Who is the King of the country?" . I pointed to the boy. "Who is his guardian?".

K: "I and my brother, he being under me."

P: "You are then king. I also am a Chief...by whom are the women tabu? Is it by you?"

K: "It is by me."

P: "Who is your teacher that has told you that the women must be tabu?"

K: "It is God." He ( Percival) laughed with contempt.

P: "It was not by you; it was by Bingham."

K: "It was by me. By Bingham the Word of God is made known to us."

P: "Why tabu the women? Take heed my people will come; if the women are not forthcoming, they ( my men) ...will come to get women. If they do not get them, they will fight, my vessel is just like fire..."

K: " "Why make war upon us without a fault of ours...? We love the Word of God, and therefore hold back our women."

P B : "Formerly, with Kamehameha, you attended properly to ships, both American and English."

K: "In former times before the Word of God had arrived here, we were dark minded, lewd and murderous; at the present time we are seeking a better way."

P: "It's not good. It's not so in America. Why did you give women to Lord Byron's ship, and deny them to mine? Kamehameha didn't show such partiality between English and American vessels." \*

\* Percival, with his Anglophobia, could hardly bear the thought that the British had gotten anything denied to Americans. His crew felt much the same. Religious conviction as a motive for the sudden change was not credible to the likes of Percival.

\* Percival  
the  
much  
was

Later on) P: "Send and liberate the women, if you still hold them. If not, I will myself liberate them...why do you do evil to the women?"

K: "It is for us to give directions respecting our women-it is for us to establish tabus- it is for us to bind, to liberate,..."

P: "The missionaries are not good. They are a company of liars. The women are not tabu in America." (He snapped his fingers in rage and clenched his fists). "Tomorrow I will give my men rum. Watch out! They will come for women. If they do not get them, they will fight."..."My vessel is just like fire. Tell me the man who told you that women must be tabu, and after that my men will pull down his house...If the women are not released tomorrow, my people will come and pull down the houses of the missionaries."

(That is the end of Kaahumany's narrative.) Bingham continues,

"As we were assembling for worship\*, ... several seamen rushed in and with menacing gesture and tone made their demands and threats.

'Where are the women?'/...'Take off this tabu and let us have women on board our vessels, or we will pull down your houses.

There are a hundred and fifty of us...the tabu must come off.'

Thus commenced a riot which occupied the time and place of the expected divine service...I fell into their hands. One seized me

by the shoulder and exclaimed, 'What does this tabu mean? Here he is; I've got him. Come on!' One said; 'We're sent here by our

Captain.' (At this point Mr. Bingham observes in a note that

Lieutenant Paulding, being called and sworn at the request of

Percival at the latter's Court Martial in Charlestown, S.C.,

testified, 'that he heard Lt. Percival say in the cabin of the

Dolphin THAT the sailors would serve the missionaries right if

they should pull down their houses.\*\*

\* It was 26 February, 1826, and the 'Dolphin' men had gotten together with crews from other ships.

\*\* Bingham, p. 286.

" I called out to the natives for help...followed by one (sailor) who pressed me on my retreat, and asked to speak with me. Putting my hand into his club, I said, 'Put down your club if you wish to have me talk with you.'\* One of the 'Dolfin' men, who appeared like an Irishman, brandishing his knife near my face, said with malignant emphasis, 'You are the man every day'...Finally, I said (to the Hawaiians), 'Do you not take care of me?' (They) 'We do... Suddenly one of the 'Dolfin' men struck a spiteful blow with a club at my head, warded off partly by the arm of Lydia Namahana, and partly by my umbrella. It was the signal for resistance ...I entreated the natives not to kill the foreigners. ( Mr. Bingham's family was rather upset as) a company of sailors approached my premises, broke my gate and rushed through... one broke in a window...Lt. Percival, who...came upon the spot about an hour after the riot commenced, used his cane on...that evening Governor Boki yielded...Percival put in irons the two men who had assailed me with knife and club...After a visit of three months\*\*, ' Dolphin' sailed...Those citizens and subjects of other countries, and leading natives, who had been looking for something not less friendly, wise and honorable in a naval "chief" from the U.S. than...Lord Byron were disappointed."

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\*Lest any reader think of comparing the missionary's refusal to parley while a club was swinging around close to his head with DRVN ( Ho Chi Minh's) refusal to negotiate with the Johnson administration while bombs were falling in Hanoi, he should try to recall that these rough sailors, unlike Mr. Johnson, had failed to reassure their target, Mr. Bingham, that they meant only to chastise not to bradin him.

\*\*His vessel remained at Honolulu ten weeks in full enjoyment of the immorality for which he had so successfully intervened. " Jarvis, op.cit. p. 240. Thus, until the May heat, the crew kept assorted favorite prostitutes on board Dolphin.

The only outward effect of Percival's court martial was a long wait for promotion. Captain at sixty two, he was also chosen that same year to supervise refitting of the U.S.S. CONSTITUTION.\* Little more than a decade had passed since the stanzas starting

Ay! pull her tattered ensign down  
 Long has it waved on high,  
 And many a heart has danced to see  
 That banner in the sky,  
 Beneath it rung the battle shout,  
 And burst the cannon's roar;  
 The meteor of the ocean air  
 Shall sweep the clouds no more.

...

...

had saved 'Old Ironsides', the "eagle of the sea" from the "harpies of the shore" and transformed their author from an unknown Bostonian law clerk into a famous young American.\*\*

Percival had insisted the job on the frigate could be done for \$ 10,000, even though official estimates ran up toward \$ 70,000.

He managed to finish all repairs by 1844, and at a cost snug by that he had promised. \*\*\* CONSTITUTION was about to take a cruise around the world, and Percival would be her skipper. As she was refitting at Norfolk, Daniel Webster was appointed Secretary of State, mainly because both Henry Clay and the 'solid men of Boston'

\* Decatur was Captain at twenty five, Matthew C. Perry Commodore at fifty.

\*\* Oliver Wendell Holmes changed 'pull' to 'tear' in 1836. He was studying law with Judge Story at the new Harvard Law School until this poetic fame made him realize his distaste for that profession. See C.D. Bowen Yankee from Olympus. Little Brown & Co. Boston. 1945. pp. 55-58.

\*\*\* The Norfolk Navy Yard got the contract through the patronage of Henry A. Wise of Virginia, later President Tyler's favorite advisor. Wise

was chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs and a gentleman as ready for a duel as for a toast.

were seriously worried about avoiding a war with Great Britain.\*  
 The British Empire had just added Hong Kong, a yet to ripen fruit,  
 to the imperial domain. The Tartar dynasty in Peking would never  
 regenerate its cracked sceptre of prestige and authority. "China  
 was not opened; but five gates were set ajar against her will."\*\*  
 Americans, however, had long been enjoying much profitable trade  
 under the old restrictions. From the first cargo of Ginseng in  
 1784 until Russell & Co., a half century later, got a clipper  
 specially designed to smuggle in opium \*\*\*, American trade had  
 become big business. Now that the Treaty of Nanking restored  
 peace and enforced commerce, Americans expected to derive all  
 of its benefits without incurring the handicap of Empire. As  
 Percival charted a route to East Asia by way of the Indian  
 Ocean, Caleb Cushing awaited final instructions from Webster  
 before setting out as the first American Commissioner to China.  
 One of the American merchants in the oriental trade answered the  
 Secretary of State's request for suggestions by affirming, "Our  
 countrymen have now all the privileges granted to the British."\*\*\*\*  
 Commodore Lawrence Kearny had seen to that the year before (1842).

\*B Ben. Perley Poore, *Perley's Reminiscences*...Hubbard Bross. Philadelphia, 1886. Vol. I, p. 224.

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 \*\* Martin, op. cit. p. 155. Dr. Martin, well acquainted with the Anglo-American principals,  
 insists the real cause of the war was not the opium trade, but a pin: "The Chinese tossed back a  
 letter from Lord Napier because it was not headed with the character pin (or ping) meaning  
 'humble petition'. ...John Quincy Adams...declared its cause was not opium but a pin i.e. an  
 insolent assumption of the superiority on the part of China ." p.152-153.

\*\*\* Daniel Henderson. *Yankee Ships in China Seas*. N.Y. 1946. p. 18,140. Ginseng was the first  
 American import; it was considered an aphrodisiac by Chinese who could afford concubines.

\*\*\*\* Te-kong Tong, *U.S. Diplomacy in China, 1840-1860*. Univer. of Washington Press. Seattle,  
 \*\* 1964. p. 21,23.

Calling himself "Commander-in-Chief of a squadron of United States ships" ( only the flagship, U.S.S. Constellation, was really available), he informed the Chinese they would have to\* treat Americans no worse than subjects of the "nation most favored". This assertion, by threat of cannon in the wake of cannonading by the nation most favored, of 'rights' incompatible with Chinese sovereignty, is relevant to Percival's expedition and also to current Chinese problems.

Parts of a speech which China's representative at the United Nations debate on Korea was never allowed to give during his brief stay in N.Y. toward the end of 1950 follow: \*\*

"Posing as a kind-hearted gentleman, Mr. Dulles started his speech\*\*\* with a discussion of the friendship between the people of China and the people of the United States.... According to Mr. Dulles, this friendship was not based primarily upon American commercial interests in China, but was based on cultural and humanitarian motives. It is claimed this has always been the case in the relationship between the U.S. imperialists and China\*\*\*\*

\*\* Earle, op. cit. p. 94,95. Important Documents concerning the Question of Taiwan. Peking. 1955.pp. 73-75. John Foster Dulles was then U.S. representative on the General Assembly's First (Political and Security) Committee as well as chief architect of the Japanese Peace Treaty.

\*\*\* F.D.R retained this flowery vision until the end, and, had lived long enough might have made it a reality. In December, 1943, at Teheran, he told a genuine China `expert', General Joseph P. Stilwell: Well now, we've been friends with China for a g-r-e-a-t many years. I ascribe a large part of this feeling to the missionaries. You know, I have a China history. My grandfather went out... to Canton in 1829, and even up to Hankow. He did what every American's ambition was in those days--- he made a million dollars, and when he came back to put it into western railroads..." The Stillwell Papers. Arranged and edited by Theo H. White. Wm. Sloane.N.Y. 1948. P 252. F.D.R.'s grandfather, Edward Delano, joined the firm of Russal & Co the same year Percival started round the world.

"for the past 150 years... What is this so-called historic friendship of the U.S. imperialists towards the Chinese people? Who are really the friends of China?

Like the British, the American imperialists\* were traffickers in opium to China from the earliest years.\*\* A considerable portion of the opium seized in Canton in 1839 was found in the hands of American opium dealers. In the Opium War, the U.S. naval commander, Commodore Kearny, commanded a fleet which came to Chinese waters to Chinese waters to support the British forces. \*\*\* In July, 1844,\*\*\*\* the U.S. forced the Manchu government into signing the Treaty of Wanghsia. America was the first nation to devise provisions concerning 'extraterritoriality'... The Treat of Wanghsia was one of the earliest unequal treaties..."

This is the speech Wu Hsiu Chuan was not allowed to give at the U.N. on 16 December 1950. Aside from the two errors discussed in the footnotes, it is all too accurate historically, and Wu's choice of the Opium War as starting point shows the pregnancy of that period over a century later.

\*It is surely a misnomer to refer to merchants and smugglers such as Russell and Co. as 'imperialists' before 1842. Prior to that date, their interference with orderly government was through bribery and fraud, methods not favored by the strong.

\*\*By 1824, New York and New England shippers had a monopoly on Turkish opium shipping. Even though Chinese preferred the Indian variety, there was a still a market for the inferior cut in time of scarcity. Henderson, p. 137 etc. The only legal importer was the East India Company, so that all the Turkish opium smuggled in before the Opium War, an amount with a value of millions, was brought in by Americans. See Roberts, op. cit., p. 144.

\*\*\*Kearny never intervened on behalf of the British, but only to protest Americans. Far from working together, when Capitan Elliott, British agent, asked Americans to join the British retreating in protest 66 ??Macao, in May 1839, Russell & Co. remained at Canton, and took over the British market. Henderson, p. 160.

\*\*\*\* The year F.D.R.'s grandfather joined Russell & Co. See footnote on page 55

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Some American mercantile opinion was opposed to any treaty at all. Since the Treaty of Nanking\*, and Kearny's so much milder address, they had enjoyed all the advantages extracted by the British with gunpowder, along with the image of non-violent benevolence worth its weight in opium. "He ( Cushing ) cannot make us better off, and a very few of his important airs will make us hated by the Chinese. Then we'll lose all the advantages we now have over the English." \*\*

As CONSTITUTION Cleared Sandy Hook and stood to sea off N.Y, down in Baltimore the Democratic Convention was deliberating. The main issue was the Republic of Texas. Should the Convention override the Senate, and give the people a chance to decide if Texas was worth a war with Mexico? President Tyler, who had missed violent death only three months earlier solely because he could not get on deck in time to join the doomed Secretaries of State and Navy;\*\*\* was maneuvering the delegates to "raise the banner of Texas and convoke my friends to sustain it."\*\*\*\* The old navy, epitomized by Percival, was disappearing into an unfamiliar future. Even flogging was under attack in Congress. Two years back, the whisky ration had been cut in half, with those under twenty one compelled

\* Signed in August, 1842 aboard H.M.S. Cornwallis, as the guns of her squadron menaced the southern capital of the Empire.

\*\* Niles National Register, 21 Sept. 1844, quoted by Te-kong Tong.p<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> 23.

\*\*\*A new shell gun on the U.S.S. Princeton exploded fatally on the next to last day of February, 1844. Webster was no longer Secretary of State, having been forced out by the President whom he declined to follow toward war over Texas.

\*\*\*\* Poore, op. cit. p. 319. The war President, James K. Polk, was elected by a minority of those voting. The Mexican conflict intensified sectional strife so that it is no exaggeration to say that it laid the foundation for the Rebellion and Civil War which followed.



by the new law to totally abstain. Only the Marines still got their half pint every day.\* Like CONSTITUTION, most ships still sailed, ten, in fact, for every steamer. \*\* 'Old Ironsides' made her way round the southern tip of Africa, touching at Zanzibar before crossing the Indian Ocean. Pirates were duly set upon and eviscerated from Muscat to Java. Almost a year had passed since the voyage started at the Battery. CONSTITUTION was about to enter another harbor, the picture book bay of Da Nang, then called Turon. It was Monday, 12 May, 1845. At 10 A.M. six guns saluted the 'Cochin-Chinese' flag, the greeting returned by the Vietnamese fort commanding the harbor.\*\*\* Percival, sixty seven, and in a nasty mood as "from the time we left Singapore ( that was February) until our arrival at Touron, owing to my extreme ill health, navigation... devolved upon Lt. Amasa Paine who merits ... " \*\*\*\*

" On 14 May,... I received a visit from the authorities of the city ( of Da Nang) of Turon. They displayed some little pomp, usually affected by these people on such occasions, and were

\* Paullin, op. cit.

\*\* ~~ibid.~~ ibid.

\*\*\* All references in this section, unless otherwise indicated, are either from the Log or from the Journal of the U.S.S. Constitution for the month of May, 1845, or from the Letters and Annexed Documents from Captain Percival to the Secretary of the Navy. All of these documents are in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., the former in the original bound volumes in the handwriting and so forth of the principals, the last named in microfilm. Log, Journal and Letters will be abbreviated as L., J., and Let.

\*\*\*\* Let. Macao, 9 June 1845.

"received with courtesy\*... After remaining some time in the cabin, they expressed a desire to examine the amengements of the ship, and an officer was directed to attend them. A few minutes having elapsed, one of them returned, and with much anxiety handed me an open letter, making signs that if discovered he would lose his head... the letter was translated ( it being in French ), and was found to be directed to the French Admiral." Here is the letter which the Vietnamese mandarin delivered to Captain Percival at such great personal risk to himself:

Sir:

I have already had the honor to address a letter to you... I add some words today in order to better explain what I hope you will do for me, to obtain the peace for which we have sighed so many a year. As I stated to you in my first letter, I believe you should exact from the King of Cochin-China two things: First, my liberation, with permission to remain in the kingdom. Second, that no missionary shall be disturbed or arrested in this country.

\* Let. Whampoa, 21 June, 1845. Percival's contemptuous prejudice against the Vietnamese was in harmony with officially sanctioned statements. Edmund Roberts had written less than a decade earlier: "...for the present Emperor of Cochin-China is an ignorant, bloodthirsty savage..., ... his crazy, disjointed, and puny government would probably crumble into atoms, the moment a large force should quit the kingdom." Roberts, pp. 282-3. In the Introduction Roberts observes: "If, in the attainment of these benefits some sacrifice of personal feeling was at times made for the advantage of American commerce the dignity of my country was never lost sight of, nor her honour jeoparded by humiliating and degrading concessions to eastern etiquette. The insulting formalities required as preliminaries to the treaty by the ministers from the capital of Cochin-China, left me no alternative, save that of terminating a protracted correspondence, marked... by duplicity and prevarication in the emperor's servants. "p.6.

( Continuation of letter to Captain Percival )

I request further that you will require the second article be communicated to governors of each province in the whole kingdom by Royal Decree.

It would also be well to demand the release from confinement of the natives arrested at the time the Europeans were seized, and who have been groaning in irons since ...

I have heard that you are stationed at Macao, and that you have expressed a wish some of us should make representations to you to enable you to give the Cochin Chinese a lesson\*, and I trust you will do what I have asked and more.

I am, Admiral, your devoted servant,

Dom. Lefevre, Bishop of \*\*

Isauropolis and Vicar Apostolic for

May 10, 1845.

Western Cochin-China.

P.S. May 11. I am condemned to death without delay. Hasten or all is finished. Above are the demands I desire you would make of the King. You will obtain all you ask for. He is a timid and cowardly man to an extreme degree. \*\*\*

\* It was the Opium War and the British who whetted French interest in expansion. The cautious Guizot gave up his plan for a base north of Borneo when Spain objected that the Island of Basilan was too close to the Philippines; it was the same British expansion earlier (Burma and Singapore) which had induced the Vietnamese to keep the French out for fear of bringing in their traditional enemies, the English. Of . the footnote of page 39. Also Thomazi, p.25, and Ennis, French Policy and Developments in Indochina. U. of Chicago de France. P. 122.

\*\* Isauropolis was well inside the infidel Ottoman Empire, so that Msgr. Lefevre's diocese was merely nominal.

\*\*\* The Emperor was Thieu Tri, ruler of Viet Nam since 1841.

\*\*\* The Emperor was Thieu Tri, ruler of Viet Nam since 1841.

Percival replied at once:

Mr. Dominic Lefevre, Bishop of Cochin-China,  
Sir:

I have just received your letter of the tenth announcing your imprisonment and sentence to death by the authorities of the Cochin-Chinese government. As you have not stated the ~~name~~ name of the place where you are confined, I am at a loss to know whether you are far from, or near to, this place. I will immediately land, however, with a strong force and, in the event of not finding you, have a despatch forwarded to the King at Hue demanding your immediate liberation and surrender, for the present, into my hands...There is no French vessel of war here. We are Americans, but Christian and civilized, and will do all in our power to rescue you from these barbarians.\*

I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
your obedient servant,

J. Percival. \*\*

Percival explains his view of the situation \*\*\*:

"I was convinced that if aught could be done to prevent the catastrophe awaiting the Bishop, it should be done promptly. Great excitement prevailed throughout the ship, created by the postscript of the letter, which was the only part on which I acted. What caused

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\* Cf. the section on Percival's conduct in Hawaii two decades earlier.

\*\* Let. annexed doc.

\*\*\* Let. to ... , Whampoa Island, 21 June, 1845.

me the greatest anxiety was to decide how far I might proceed, and not overstep the limits of obligation in the cause of suffering humanity towards the subject of a nation united to us by the bonds of treaty stipulations and bygone, though not forgotten acts of kindness in the days of our national infancy.\*"

Percival then dashed off a note to the Emperor of Viet Nam:

To H.M. the King of Cochin-China:

It has come to my knowledge that a French missionary, Bishop Dominique Lefevre, with some others, is at present under sentence of death at or near this place.

As these persons are our national friends, the duty falls upon me to demand their immediate surrender into my hands.

I shall await your answer at this place.

I have the honor to be your Majesty's friend,

Turon Bay  
May 14, 1845.

J. Percival, Captain, U.S.S. Constitution

Nothing like a few hostages to make people take your demands seriously. Mishipman Jones records:

"At 1:30 P.M. the Captain with four armed boats left the ship, and proceeded to town. At 2, Captain Percival returned to the ship bringing with him five mandarins as hostages. This was

\* Percival's notions of relations between the U.S. and France are thoroughly muddled by his own predilections. His anti-British and pro-French feelings bulge. Ignoring the quasi-war of 1798 which sundered any bonds left by Lafayette, he thinks perhaps of his ancestors' nationality, rather than their religion. Jean Percival, the Massachusetts Huguenot, arrived the same year the Edict of Nantes was revoked. "Mad Jack" was taking the bilges of H.M.S. Victory when French and American frigates sought battle. The alliance of the U.S. and France, going back to 1778, was considered invalid by the former long before 1845. Cf. W.E. Curtis, The United States and Foreign Powers. 1891. Section on France.

"done in consequence of the inhabitants having imprisoned and condemned to death "Monsieur Lefevre", a French Catholic priest whom we are endeavoring to liberate. " \*

Two days later further pressure was applied: \*\*

"8 to noon watbh (meridian). Inspected crew at quarters and got the battery ready for instant service. At 11 A.M. stood in for the town. Sent launch, first and second cutters armed under Lt. Alden to take possession of three junks believed to be property of the King of Cochin-China.\*\*\* At 3 the boats boarded the junks.

(signed) Amasa Paine"

Another day passed. Hostages and armed menaces notwithstanding, there was still no sign of compliance from the Vietnamese at Da Nang. "Mad Jack" escalated:

To His Majesty the King of Cochin-China:

I addressed your Majesty a few days since, demanding that Bishop Dominique Lefevre should be delivered up to me to be carried from the country. I now inform you that I have placed my ship in a situation to destroy the city of Turon

\* It seems everyone on the ship accepted without question the version of the Msgr. Lefevre. The reliability of missionaries' forecasts of Vietnamese reactions during this period was comparable to the accuracy of Mr. McNamara's prognostications on the same subject. At the time of the actual invasion over a decade later, its commander, Admiral Rigault de Genouilly observed: "The government has been deceived on this campaign in Cochin-China; it has been represented as a small thing, it is hardly that... it has been told that the natives' opinion was one thing, while in fact it is quite another. It has been told the mandarins' power is feeble and worn out, while this power is strong and vigorous; that there was no army, while the regular army is numerous and the militia includes all able-bodied men. The supposedly healthy climate is actually just the opposite." Thomazi, p 32.

\*\*L. for Friday, 16 May 1845. The previous passage was from J. for 14 May, 1845 written up by Midshipman M. Patterson Jones. \*\*\*Admiral Stockton observes: "...capture of vessels... to be help as pledges are practically hostile operations difficult to reconcile with the existence of peace or as simple reprisals... the more forcible reprisals cannot be used without war except against a weak nationality. Int. Law, p. 288.

( Continuation of Captain Percival's ultimatum)

"and fortresses therein, that I have on board three of the authorities as hostages,\* and have detained three junks until I hear from you. I further inform you that there are three ships of war here belonging to your Majesty which are at my mercy, and if there is a particle of harm done to Bishop Lefevre, I shall destroy them, as well as the fort at the entrance to the harbor.

The French and American people are friends by treaty and a reciprocation of kindred sentiments for upward of seventy years, and a wrong done to a Frenchman is the same as if done to an American.\*\* I have a quantity of articles on board my ship as a present from the President of the United States\*\*\* to your Majesty, which I shall not deliver until Bishop Lefevre is brought to this place, or until I have a written answer from you, at which time your

\*Two of the five originally brought on board on Wednesday had been released.

\*\*An opinion closer to that of Andy Jackson and a large body of the public which idolized him was expressed in 1843 by Jarvis: "...Information has reached (it was 1843) this country, verifying some of the conjectures advanced in regard to the movements of France in the Pacific. It affords additional weight to the argument for the prompt and efficient interference of England and the U.S. to arrest their "conquests". The Society Island (Tahiti) have been obligated to succumb to the arts and power of Admiral de Petit Thouars. If this system of mingled priestly and political aggrandization which, in defiance of the moral sense of the age, the rights of nations and the dictates of the moral sense of the age, the rights of nations and the dictates of justice and humanity, is not speedily arrested, the flag of France will wave over all the groups of the Pacific, and what is now neutral ground, both in religion and commerce to the world, become the nursery of a bigoted creed and exclusive mercantile regulations. When the artillery of France and the spiritual decrees of the Pope shall have rendered their shores impregnable to the Protestant influence or enterprise, the nations now so intimately interested will awake too late to repair the effects of their indifference to the desire and claims of those whom they have been instrumental in redeeming from paganism, and awakening to a sense of their political rights and importance." Postscript to James Jackson Jarvais, History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands. London. Edw. Moxon, 1843. The cry against "exclusive mercantile regulations" colors all American critiques of French Indochina for a century and more thereafter. Cf. Ennis, op. cit. pp. 3-6, and R. McClintock, The Meaning of Limited War. Houghton Mifflin Boston, 1967. Pp. 141-142

( Conclusion of Captain Percival's ultimatum)  
 Majesty must send a mandarin of distinction to receive them. This is the 17th of May. I will wait until 12 o'clock of the 21st of the month, and if all I demand is not granted before that time, I will commence operations. Let no time be lost if you wish to preserve your ships and city.\*

I have the honor to be """"

J. Percival  
 Captain, U.S.S. Constitution.

Percival had been assured by the authorities at Da Nang that his ultimatum "would be promptly forwarded to Hue." \*\* The next day was a Sunday. The captains of the captive Vietnamese junks were allowed to return to their own vessels after spending the night under the vigilance of a Marine sentry.\*\*\* This went on days, for several days, freedom during daylight and close confinement on CONSTITUTION each night. The waters of Da Nang's bay were almost as torrid as the heavy air above. It was almost 90 in the shade. Finally, on Monday, 19 May, "after a detention of the hostages for five days, I received a letter from an officer on shore, stating that Mandarin had arrived from the King to settle the matter at issue on the following day, requesting me to come to shore and bring the hostages...which I did. On landing, I found no Mandarin from the King, neither anyone from whom I could obtain

\*The part of the ultimatum about "Presents from the President which I will not deliver" is the almost ludicrous first running of the carrot and stick as applied to the Vietnamese donkey. This was replayed at Johns Hopkins in April, 1965, (text missing) by Mr. Johnson. He did not acknowledge the original author, undoubtedly, only because he was unaware of Mad Jacks's priority as he was of his existence.

\*\*Let ter to French Admiral. Macao. 6 June, 1845. \*\*\*J. 18 May.

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satisfactory information/.....". \* Percival had gone on shore with four armed boats to tow the frigate nearer in to the city. The starboard guns bore on the town.\*\* That evening, "finding that the hostages had no influence while in my possession, and being well aware that the life of a mandarin is not held in great estimation by the King unless he be of the first rank, having also their assurance that if I allowed them to depart they would proceed directly to the King at Hue, and use every exertion to procure the release of the Bishop, and as one of them was his follower, and had been entrusted to deliver his letter, I consented to let them go. One of the officers of the ship volunteered to accompany them to Hue,...., but such a course was declared impossible, as it was more than their lives were worth (they said) to introduce a stranger into the Imperial City without first obtaining the permission of the King..." \*\*\* Next day came the climax, a bloody affair it was too. Mishipman Jones: "Tuesday, 20 May, 1845. Laying with starboard broadsides bearing on the town, with every gun clear for action, keeping a look out on the boat stationed at the mouth of the river, to make signal of 'danger' in case of attack on boats that had proceeded to town... At 8 A.M. two of

\* Let. to French Admiral, Macao. 6 June, 1845.

\*\* J. 19 May.

\*\*\* same as \* / Percival's ready acceptance of the assurances given by the Mandarin's he had kidnapped and was about to release is reminiscent of the most naive kind of common extortionist keeping an appointment to return later in the day to meet the victim who had promised to present himself at the hour 'agreed' upon with the objects sought by the former.

"the junks got under way; sent 2nd cutter to bring them to. At 8:20 a squall coming up, all the junks weighed and made all sail for the river. Fired several shots over them, to bring them to, but without success. Sent launch and four cutters in charge of Lts. Alden and Dale to retake and bring them out of the river, in which they succeeded at 12 M. ((noon))" \*

Why had the junks fled? The previous afternoon, "between 4 and 5, fired two experimental shots to the east of the town..."

(signed) G.W. Grant\*\*

The shots were fired from the same Paixhans guns which were later tried out on a Vietnamese island out in the China Sea off Da Nang.\*\*\* Lieutenant Wise, in a very jocular mood, not only conceded the loss of life, but made light of it, confusing, unintentionally\*\*\*\*, Thailand (Siam) with Viet Nam (Cochin-China): "...During this little ball practice, some stray shot ricocheted over the water upon the beach, and so on into the town, where they played the very mischief with about 40 Siamese (( Lt. Wise means Vietnamese )), leaving them, it was said, only a pound of brains, half a leg, a couple of tails, (( the meaning here is to compare them to monkeys, a practice still followed by a good many of the French Expeditionary Corps less than twenty years back\*\*\*\*\*)), and an arm among each half dozen of the wounded.

\*J. 20 May, 1845.

\*\*L. 20 May, 1845.

\*\*\*L. 26 May, 1845.

\*\*\*\*Lt. John White reports: "Manillans confound Siam and Cochin-China, and suppose them to be one kingdom." White, op. cit. p. 155.

\*\*\*\*\*Jean-Henri Roy: "If you cite actual instances of atrocities, some veterans say, 'A dukich is not a man, but a kind of monkey'." L'affaire Henri martin, p. 128 L'ffaire... was edited by Sartre, publ. 1953 by Callimard.

"Although the fellows killed and maimed on shore were not actually under arms or in a hostile attitude, it was generally known that they were, nevertheless, as great villains and pirates as those on board the junks of war, and consequently had been properly punished...The affair, indeed, had been almost forgotten, when, all at once, there sprang up a gentleman, who called himself a Native American\*, in virtue of having lived thirty years in China, and took it into his head, on the score of philanthropy, I believe, to investigate the business...Well, old Jack being at home in the bosom of his family, and leading a quiet sort of life,..., was absolutely unconscious that the crusader, whose name was Buster,\*\* was poking about among the bed bugs, and that he, Jack, came within an ace of being turned out, neck-heels, of the navy.

Fortunately, however, for Percy, a friend who happened to be on good terms with a trump card of the political pack, put in a word, and his commission was saved..." \*\*\*

"Old Jack" apologetically concludes his letter to his French colleague explaining why he did not live up to his own ultimatum:

"Having waited eight days after their departure, and my duties...

I was constrained, though with great reluctance to leave on 27 ult.

without having accomplished release of the Bishop. But I feel an

\* Lt. Wise was writing in the mid 50s, the height of the anti-Irish agitation. It is ironic that an anti-Catholic Know Nothing should be defending the attempted rescue of an overseer of the Scarlet Woman.

\*\* A contemptuous term applied to the lowest ruffians.

\*\*\* Gringo, op. cit. pp. 338-339.

encouragement by such information as I was able to obtain, that I may have been the instrument of postponing or perhaps deferring altogether the execution of the sentence of death upon the Reverend Divine. I could not proceed to hostilities without violating the instructions of my government, unless an offense had been committed against a citizen of the United States, or an insult offered to its flag.

The force of a frigate is entirely adequate to take possession of the town of Turon and its fortress, and that perhaps without the loss of a man. I would respectfully observe, without a desire to intrude my opinion, that if relief of Bishop Lefevre is intended, the sooner it is attempted the better..." \*

To the Secretary of the Navy, the famous historian George Bancroft, Percival should have known better than to address the following:

"This was a case to which I knew no parallel, but believing that a generous sympathy was a prominent characteristic of our government and that exerting its influence through its agents in the cause of humanity was typographical of its moral energy and usages since the adoption of the Federal Constitution, I proceeded to use my endeavor to effect the release of Bishop..., a distinguished subject of France. My impression is that every nation has the right

Let. to Frdnch Admiral. Macao. 6 June, 1845. A French Captain, Lapierre, was to follow Percival's advice less than two years later when he arrived at Da Nang to demand the release of ... Msgr. Lefevre, whoe had sneaked back into the country after his deportation in June of 1845.

"to regulate its own intercourse with others... In respect to foreigners, particularly those who have been invited to reside within its domains, and instruct its people in the arts and sciences and religion, every nation, it seems to me, is under an obligation, a moral obligation, to treat them with respect, kindness and humanity... Any interference with the ordinary pursuits of these persons thus invited, on the part of a nation, appears to me a harsh exercise of power, and to condemn them to death unheard and undefended, by an arbitrary tribunal, is inconsistent with the moral law, by which every nation should be governed.

If a nation invites and allows foreigners to enter into its territory; it is bound to respect the rights of such, so long as they conduct peaceably; if in breach of good faith, it proceeds to punish them vindictively when no offence has been committed, such nation is justly responsible for its conduct, more particularly if it is one semi-barbarous and that refuses to have treaties or social intercourse with the other nations of the earth..."\*

Here the influence of the disagreeable and unsuccessful Roberts mission is apparent. Roberts had come away thoroughly disgusted with the high-handed insolence of Minh Mang's mandarins. Percival believed he was in harmony with the commercial interest by acting in accord with that furious critic of Viet Nam. Two things contributed to his failure; first, as a historian, George Bancroft was well aware of

\* Let. ~~Mass.~~ Whampoa, Island. 21 June, 1845.

'Mad Jack's grubby record with American missionaries. Second, there was the matter of the China trade which depended on keeping up the non-violent image so advantageous in competition with the British. Bancroft noted in the margin of Percival's report:

Answer at once. The Department disapproves the conduct of Captain Percival as not warranted either by the demands of the Bishop or the Law of Nations. His conduct is not defensible by any point of view.

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The incident was not closed. "On 13 March, 1847, the Governor of Singapore, Butterworth, reported to the Government of India that trading vessels coming from Cochin-China had brought notice of new stringent regulations against foreigners there, and that he told the Mandarin in charge of them that 'the English sovereign would be displeased', if they were put in force against British subjects. 'The Mandarin at once gave me to understand that the regulations had originated in the visit to Turon Bay of the American ship 'Constitution', when that vessel fired upon the town and destroyed several of the inhabitants, because the demand of her commanding officer to have a French missionary Bishop, then in prison, given up to him, was not complied with. The restrictions in question must be viewed as a bit of policy on the part of the King, who was anxious to show his subjects that the insult offered to him had not been passed over in impunity. In proof of this he gave me a letter from Minh Mang.\*. who wished to hand over to me

\*Butterworth had not bothered to find out that The Tri was now sovereign.

the very Bishop above referred to, who had again made his way to Cochin-China, ((after once being released, cf. footnote on page 68))

The captain of the junk which brought the Bishop back had had his head chopped off... The Bishop had called on Butterworth who forbade him any movement, ... remarking the Jesuits are little scrupulous."\*

The question arises, first, how did this effect subsequent Vietnamese relations with the West? Second, was Percival behaving that way merely because he was a 'Mad Jack', unlike the typical American commander of that, or any other period?

All the evidence presented here leaves no doubt that the Vietnamese were not going to allow anybody to repeat the piratical incursion of 'Mad Jack' even if it meant attacking first. There is some controversy as to what happened in Da Nang in March and April, 1847, as to who started the fracas. Whoever did, "Mad Jack", by his violent and murderous raid, had set the pattern of mutual viciousness. It is worthwhile mentioning here, if only because Mr.

Buttinger may have been one of the shapers of the current American abortion in Viet Nam, that in his highly cited "History of Viet Nam" nearly all the facts as given by the author of that volume with regard to the circumstances of the visit of the U.S.S.

Constitution to La Nang in 1845 are incorrect.\*\*

\* David George Edward Hall. History of Southeast Asia. U. of London. 1964. P. 609.  
 \*\* Joseph Buttinger, The Smaller Dragon. Praeger. N.Y. 1958. P. 332, pp. 391-392. Pooh-poohing the assertion of a French writer that it was an American ship which committed the first 'act of armed intervention', Buttinger remarks, "To classify the temporary retention of some mandarins as an 'act of armed intervention' is rather an overstatement." Apparently Mr. Buttinger was able to conscientiously fill a closely printed page with authoritative looking footnotes (p. 391) about this incident, but never took the trouble to check the records available by going to the National Archives in Washington while waiting for the next meeting of American Friends of Viet Nam, read, American Friends of Diem.

If Percival's action was a manifestation of pathologically hasty violence, it was not entirely out of fashion. As 'Mad Jack' cut overreaching contractors down to equity at Norfolk, another officer was demonstrating elsewhere how little was the risk in striking at random.\* Relations between Mexico and the United States were still diplomatic rather than military, although the bone of Texas stuck unpicked. \*\* The frigate UNITED STATES, which under Decatur had taken H.M.S. Macedonian off the Canaries in 1812, was now flagship of Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones. When not sailing up from the west coast of Central America, Jones read the same newspapers which Dickens had found so pernicious that year. Besides, hadn't the American consul himself informed him on California's shore that war was "highly probable"? \*\*\* Deduction then was that tales of war in public print were the black and white irrefutable. Believing war had begun between Mexico and the U.S., and that the former "had turned Upper California over to England,...he sailed for Monterey." . His plan was to seize that seat of Mexican authority so near San Francisco's Bay before the British could get there. \*\*\*\*

\*Dickens traveling that year as far south as Richmond, and as far west as Cincinnati, found "Universal Distrust" a "great blemish on the popular mind of America". This, combining with a "licentious Press", with its "evil eye" in every house, its "black hand in every appointment", "the standard literature of an enormous class, who must find their reading in a newspaper or not at all.", created a public even quicker to draw conclusions than its heroes were to draw the sword. Dickens, American Notes, pp. 213-220.

\*\*William Ellery Channing, D.D., of whom Coleridge said: "He has the love of wisdom and the wisdom of love", died that year. He had written to Henry Clay on Texas: "By this act, slavery will be spread...I repeat it, this is but the first step of aggression. I trust, indeed, that Providence will beat back and humble our cupidity and ambition."

\*\*\*Justin H. Smith, The War with Mexico. 1919 (1963 reprint). Vol. I, p. 69.

\*\*\*\*O.P. Chitwood, John Tyler. 1964 reprint by Russell & Russell. N.Y. p. 337



Besides UNITED STATES, Jones had a sloop. It was 19 October, 1843. The flag of Mexico came down without a fight. And Thomas Jones became the first American to see the Stars and Stripes waving over California. This was the first scene of the Mexican War, although not a shot had been fired. On discovering that the war had been going on only in his own mind, the Commodore expressed his regrets and departed. At San Diego, his subordinates did likewise after cheerfully informing their unamused hosts that the cannon spiked by American sailors could be cleaned in no time with small diligence.

Mexico, already outraged\* by the easy passage both ways of citizens of the American Republic during the Revolution in Texas, demanded through her minister in Washington, Sr. Almonte, "that an example should be made of Jones, but he was merely recalled, ... indeed our government commended his zeal". \*\* An episode worthy of emulation, pondered 'Mad Jack', as he learned by early 1843 that Anglo-Saxon sea power had triumphed at both ends of the Pacific. And it has not yet faded from Mexican awareness. A popular work gives the following account: \*\*\*

\* Smith, loc. cit. For those avid for detail, the American Consul who told Jones war was highly probable was at Mazatlán not far from the Tropic of Cancer.

\* Smith, op. cit. p. 423. Professor Smith, a cool New Englander, describes Jones as "a rather self-sufficient and hasty person".

\*\* Alberto Maria Carreno, Mexico y los Estados Unidos de America. Editorial Jus. Mexico. 1962. (First Edition, 1922). pp. 78-79.

"A note from Bocanegra, the Mexican Foreign Secretary, to Waddy Thompson, U.S. Minister at Mexico, 19 December, 1842:

'Nevdr could the undersigned (Bocanegra) believe he would ever have the highly disagreeable and painful need to address the Honorable Envoy of the United States in a matter like this, since he could never have gotten himself fo believe, and he still can not, that a high officer of the Navy of your nation would go so far in violating international law, as happened on 19 October, this year, in the invasion and occupation of Monterey in Upper California.\* The greatest insult which can be given a sovreign and independent nation, that is what she (Mexico) has received.\*\* It hurts to see escapades of the 16th Century repeated... ports seized invoking the authority of a foreign sovreign, all of it based on "might makes right", and nothing else. Her flag struck down by the numerical superiority of the invading force, humiliated,... the greatest abuse on its glory ... honor, dignity, propriety all offended..., Thompson excusing it by claiming Jones believed a state of war existed... and, as if that wasn't enough, Thompson, in passing

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\*Upper California included all of what is today the State of that name. Monterey is a little over a hundred and fifty miles from the mouth of the Bay of San Francisco.

\* Rudyard Kipling, a most sensitive expert on interference with sovereignty, describes a scene in which a vigorous, young talent paws menacingly at a foolish and feeble employer, "There are few things more poignantly humiliating than being handled by a man who dees not intend to strike...".

Kipling, the Light that Failed. End of Chapter III.

'on Jones' explanation and asking the Mexican government to bear in mind "the crude epithets applied to my countrymen and the rude, boastful tone used by General Michiltorena, chief of the port"..."

'Mad Jack' had company. The "acrimonious and bitter"\* atmosphere at the Capitol set the tone. A week after Dickens had passed through, shocked to learn that right on the floor of the House one member had threatened to cut another's throat from ear to ear, John Quincy Adams, and not the slasher, was censured by that body. Mr. Wise of Virginia, friend to both the Norfolk Navy Yard, and 'Mad Jack', led the pack in branding, figuratively for the time being, the ex-President, "as his father before him", a vicious enemy, in league with Great Britian to overthrow the innocent South.\*\* Mr. Adams' shrill voice then rang through the House: "Four of five years ago there came to this House a man with his hands and face dripping with the blood of murder, the blotches of which are yet hanging upon him, and when it was proposed that he should be tried by this House for that crime, I opposed it."\*\*\*

Opposition to the war begun by Commodore Jones triumphed only long after its fruits had been safely absorbed. So much that in New England, a conscientious contemporary of Henry Adams and Admiral Dewey, found it worthwhile as late as 1908 "to acquit the United States as a nation of the most serious, if not the only charge ever

\*Poore, op. cit. p. 294

\*\*ibid.

\*\*\* The reference by the ex-President is to the duel in which Rep. Graves of Kentucky used a raffle to shoot Rep. Cilley of Maine. Mr. Wise was generally blamed for instigating the affair. It left Mrs. Chilley with three small children to feed before the days of social security and aid to dependent children. Ibid. pp. 207-208.

title to her largest possession... It is, or ought to be, a very dear wish of the historian to make apparent, if true, the right of the American citizen to say to his boy:

'Your country never fought an unjust nor an inglorious war.'..."

Counsellor Owen goes on to note, "When, therefore, General Grant,<sup>\*\*\*</sup> or President John Quincy Adams, ..., or C.T. Brady, LL.D.,<sup>\*\*</sup> the latest historian to develop the topic, expresses the opinion that the war waged by the United States with Mexico was unjustifiable, or that exorbitant terms of peace were exacted..., one is obliged to concede the right to hold that opinion, ... (but) historians should not rant nor talk of 'harpies of the United States', or 'Polk's ferocious war message with its howling catalogue of grievances', or the 'sin against the political Holy Spirit'..."<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

Dr. Brady's "no truly patriotic citizen can think of it without a sense of shame", or his judgment it was "the one serious blot on our national history" arouse a Connecticut Yankee such as Mr. Owen to righteous fury. The painful conflict in Owen's testimony is one omission: nowhere in the index, or in the text is there a mention of one A. Lincoln, an embarrassing absence since the author goes to the trouble of introducing himself not only as M.A. (Yale), and LL. B. (Harvard), but more impressively as "formerly staff, 4th Division, II Corps, Army of Potomac". Or is he merely applying

Charles H. Owen, The Justice of the Mexican War. C.P. Putnam's Sons. N.Y. 1908. Preface and p. 2.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Cyrus Townsend Brady graduated from Annapolis in 1883, but went into the ministry. During the Spanish-American War he was chaplain of the First Pennsylvania Volunteers.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Owen, loc. cit.

\*\*\* Please turn to back of this page →

a courtroom maxim of the President whom he knew enjoyed an almost reverential respect among readers to whom the phrase "Army of Potomac" meant anything: "In law it is good policy to never plead WHAT you need not, lest you oblige yourself to prove what you can not."\* Lincoln's views on the origin of the Mexican War not only would have demolished the efforts of Mr. Owen; they bear rather plainly on a similar situation today. We shall give them in full, immediately after treating a final aspect of the tale of 'Mad Jack'.

William Graham Sumner, a painstaking anti-extremist, the first holder of the chair of Political and Social Science at Yale (1872), offers evidence to support a theory that 'Mad Jack' partook of the 'Jacksonian Style' which culminated in the Mexican War. Andrew Jackson set a precedent for Commodore Jones by his incursion into Spanish Florida in 1818, an invasion quite different from the one he commanded during the War of 1812. This time, his country was at peace with Spain, and the rest of the world for that matter. An innocent old gentleman from Scotland, Mr. Arbuthnot, was hung by Gen. Jackson's order.\*\* The year before General Winfield Scott found himself obliged to decline Jackson's challenge after the victor of New Orleans learned that Scott had said something about him. That something was a comment on Jackson's order forbidding his subordinates on the borders of Florida to follow any command from

\* Letter from A. Lincoln to Usher P. Linder, Washington, 20 Feb. 1848. The collected ? of Abraham Lincoln. Edited by Roy D. ? ... Rutgers University Press. Now Brunswick, New Jersey, 1953. Vol. p. 453

\*\* William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson. Houghton Mifflin. Boston. 1882. P. 75.

Washington unless the directive had first passed the proconsular\* hands of the general. "Jackson showed evidence of an ungovernable temper and a willingness to profit by every opportunity for a quarrel..." \*\* His frame of mind was the antithesis of the judicious, the empirical, the scientific: "Jackson 'knew' how the matter stood by the current prejudices and assumptions, not by evidence and information. This was the tone of his mind."\*\*\* In the matter of "no sanctuary for injuns in Florida" and the doctrine of "hot pursuit", Jackson may have been well ahead of his time. He was also very much with his time. The publisher of Niles' Register put it this way: "The fact is that ninety nine in a hundred of the people believe that General Jackson acted on every occasion for the good of his country, and success universally crowned his efforts...". \*\*\*\* Sumner's comments: "With this dictum the case was dismissed and the matter stood so that General Jackson... could not be called to account although he had hung four persons without warrant of law...his popularity shielded him. He had become a privileged person, like a great French nobleman of the last century. To offend him was to expose one's self to assaults which could not be resented as they would be if they came from another man. All this he had won from and by his military success."\*\*\*\*\*

Sumner, op. cit. p. 63-64.  
 \* 1b \*ibid. p. 61  
 \*\* 1b \*\*ibid. p. 76  
 \*\*\* \*\*ibid. p. 79. Jackson needed almost 99 popular support since the President, Mr. Monroe, and the entire cabinet, John Quincy Adams excepted, were against his unauthorized invasion of Florida, in which he had deposed the Spanish governor, etc...  
 \*\*\*\* \*ibid. p. 79 and p. 86.

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In order to follow Lincoln's statements and irreducible background including those of his adversary, the President, is given. James Knox Polk miscalculated. As early as 1843, the Mexican

Minister at Washington had made it plain that war would follow on Texas joining the United States. Yet Polk confided to his journal on 16 September, 1845: "He (the "confidential agent of the United States in Mexico") gives it as his opinion that there will be no declaration of war against the United States and no invasion of Texas; that the government will be kept employed in keeping down another revolution... He is also of opinion that the government is desirous of re-establishing diplomatic relations with the United States, and that a Minister from the U.S. would be received." \* The American consuls at Mexico and Vera Cruz both concurred in this totally erroneous estimate of Mexican attitudes.\*\* This takes on more meaning if we recall that scarcely two weeks earlier, Polk had ordered General Taylor that the President would regard it as war if the Mexicans crossed the Rio Grande in force.\*\*\* The next day, the envoy which only the "confidential agent" and the consuls had believed would be received hinted at war as the only proper solution; Polk agreed.\*\*\*\* Eight months later came the War Message. In it Polk reviewed his "strong desire to establish peace with Mexico on liberal and honorable terms...(but) the Mexican

\*Polk's Journal for 16 Sept. 1845.

\*\*ibid

\*\*\*Owen, op. cit. p. 256.

\*\*\*\*Polk's Journal. 17 Sept. 1845

government not only refused to receive him (Slide 1 the envoy), but after a long series of continued menaces have invaded our territory and shed the blood of our fellow citizens on our own soil".\* Polk noted that we were "determined to leave no effort untried to effect an amicable adjustment with Mexico, (but) the Mexican government refused all negotiation and have made no proposition of any kind. (After asking the Congress to "recognize the existence of war") Polk affirms "I shall be prepared to renew negotiations whenever Mexico shall be ready".\*\* To round out the picture, and illustrate the deep split in the country, here is a resolution of the legislature of Massachusetts a fortnight earlier: "Resolved,

That the present war with Mexico has its primary origins in the unconstitutional annexation to the United States of the foreign state of Texas... that it must be regarded as a war against freedom, against Humanity, against justice, against the Union, against the Constitution, against the free states, that a regard for the fair name of our country, for the principles of morals, ... requires all constitutional efforts for the destruction of the unjust influence of the Slave Power, and the abolition..."\*\*\* This resolve "also called upon the country to retire from the position of aggression... towards the sister republic, Mexico."\*\*\*\*

\* Polk with assistance from George Baneroft, 'Mad Jack's' superior; the President worked it up all day Sunday, 10 May, taking time out only to attend church.

\*\*ibid.

\*\*\*Geroge Lunt, The Origin of the Lato Bar. N.Y. Appleton. 1856. P. 151

\*\*\*\*ibid.



James Russell Lowell's "Biglow Papers" were nowise contrary to the Resolve of his Commonwealth's lawmakers. Lowell has his rustic recruit Birdofredon Sawin tell of his war enlistment:\*

Afore I come away from hum I had a strong persuasion  
 That Mexicans worn't human beans, -an ourang outang nation,  
 A sort o' folks a chap could kill an' never dream on't arter,\*\*  
 No more'n a feller'd dream o' pigs that he hed hed to slarter;  
 I'd an idee that they were built arter the darkie fashion all,  
 an' kickin' colored folks about, you know, 's kind o' national;  
 But wen I jined I worn't so wise ez that air queen o' Sheby,  
 Fer, come to look at 'em, they aint much diff'rent from wut we be,  
 An' here we air aserugin' 'em out o' thir own dominions,  
 Ashelterin' 'em, ez Caleb sez, under our eagle pinions,

.....  
 He sez they'd ough' to stan' right up an' let us pop 'em farily,  
 (Guess wen he ketches 'em at that he'll hev to git up airly)\*\*\*,  
 That our nation's bigger'n thoirn an' so its rights air bigger,  
 An' that it's all to make 'em free they' we air pullin' trigger,  
 That Anglo Saxondom's idee's abreakin' 'em to pieces,  
 An' that idee's that every man doos jest wut he pleases (damn pleases);  
 Ef I don't make his meanin' clear, perhaps in some respex I can,  
 I know that "every man" don't mean a nigger or a Mexican;...

Lowell comments on this epic verse "(Those have not been wanting, as indeed when hath Satan been to seek for attorneys?, who have maintained that our late inroad upon Mexico was undertaken not so much to avenge any national quarrel as for the spreading of free institutions and of Protestantism.\*\*\*\*... Verily I admire that no pious sergeant among these new Crusaders beheld Martin Luther riding at the front of the host upon a tamed pontifical bull...If ever the country is seized with another such mania pro propaganda fide, I think it would be wise...to wrap every one of our cannon-balls in a leaf of the New Testament, the reading of which is denied to those who sit in the darkness of Popery...)

\* The Writings of James Russell Lowell, Volume VIII, Riverside Edition. Boston and New York. Houghton Mifflin and Co. 1895. pp. 58-59. The Biglow Papers date from 1848, the year the Mexican War came to an end.

\*\* Cf. footnote on page 66.

\*\*\* A constant complaint for over five years in Viet Nam.

\*\*\*\* Stephen F. Austin, one of the founders of Texas, in late 1835: "Freedom of conscience and rational liberty will take root in that distant and by nature much favored land where for ages past the upas ((Poisonous)) banner of the Inquisition, of intolerance and of despotism, has paralyzed and sickened or deadened every effort in favor of civil and religious liberty." Owen, op. cit. p. 104. The appeal was made in Louisville, perhaps in the hope that it might emulate the city of Cincinnati which sent two cannon to the Texas.

(Conclusion of excerpt from 'Biglow Papers')

"I do much fear that we shall be seized now and then with a Protestant fervor, as long as we have neighbor Naboths whose wallowings in Papistical mire excite our horror in exact proportion to the size of and desirableness of their vineyards. Yet I rejoice that some earnest Protestants have been made by this war, - I mean those who protested against it. Fewer they were than I could wish, \* for one might imagine America to have been colonized by a tribe of those nondescript African animals the Aye-Aye, so difficult a word is No to us all...I gave a stab to that pestilential fallacy, - 'Our country, right or wrong'....." \*\*

Lincoln reached Washington on 3 December, 1847. He was taking his seat in the Thirtieth Congress as the only Whig from Illinois, while Winfield Scott sat the capitol of Mexico not quite through "conquering a peace". Less than three weeks later, he fired off the 'spot' Resolutions in a speech which is worth pondering : "Whereas the President of the United States, in his message of 11 May, 1846, has declared that "The Mexican Government not only refused to receive him' (the U.S. envoy) `or listen to his propositions, but, after..., have at least invaded our territory, and shed the blood of our fellow citizens on our own soil'.

...And whereas this House desires to obtain a full knowledge of all the facts which go to establish whether the particular spot of soil on which the blood of our citizens was so shed, was, or was not, our own soil, at that time; therefore

Resolved by the House of Representatives, that the President of the United States be respectfully requested to inform this House---

\*Most of the opposition frittered away once the shooting started. As Ben. Perley Poore put it: "To the more intelligent portion of the Northern Whigs the contest was repulsive, and the manner in which it was used for the advancement of Democratic politicians was revolting. But few forgot their allegiance to this country in the face of the enemy... "Poore, p.33/

\*\*Lowallia Workd. Op. cit., p. 61, 63-64

First: Whether the spot of soil on which the blood of our citizens was shed as in his messages declared, was, or was not, within the territories of Spain, at least from the treaty of 1819 until the Mexican revolution.\*

Second: Whether that spot is, or is not within the territory which was wrested from Spain, by the Mexican revolution.

Third: Whether that spot is, or is not, a settlement of people, which settlement existed ever since long before the Texas revolution, until its inhabitants fled from the approach of the U.S. Army.

Fifth: Whether the People of that settlement, or a majority of the , or any of them, had ever, previous to the bloodshed, mentioned in the messages, submitted themselves to the government or laws of Texas,

or of the United States, by consent, or by compulsion, either by accepting office, or voting at elections, or paying taxes, or serving on juries, or having process served against them, or in any other way.

Sixth: Whether the People of that settlement, did, or did not, flee from the approach of the United States Army, leaving unprotected their homes and their growing crops,\*\* before the blood was shed, as in his messages stated; and whether the first blood so shed, was, or was not shed, within the inclosure of the People, ..., who had thus fled...

Seventh: Whether our citizens, whose blood was shed, as in his messages, were, or were not, at that time, armed officers and soldiers, sent into THAT settlement, by the military order of the President... and

\*The revolution was accomplished by 1823, although not recognized by Spain until 1831.

\*\*Lincoln the frontier farmer speaking to an audience made up of many like himself would have sympathized for more than the urbanized helot of today the treasure of growing crops to the Vietnamese peasant, and the corresponding grief at their destruction. Lincoln never heard of a refugee camp, at most ? would have considered it an invention of the Devil.

Eighth: Whether the military force of the United States, including those citizens. Was. Or was not, more than once, intimated to the War Department that, in his opinion, no such movement was necessary to the defense or protection of Texas.\*

Lincoln paid for his preference for morality over servility. On 2 March, 1848, about two months after the 'Spot Resolutions', A meeting in Clark County adopted the following declaration:\*\*

"Resolved that Abe Lincoln, the author of the 'spotty' resolutions in Congress, against his own country, may they long be remembered by his constituents, but may they cease to remember him, except in rebuke...". The self-entitled 'Patriotic Whigs and Democrats' had not finished. The Illinois State Register, a newspaper Lincoln never cared for, reported public meetings and other journals of opinion proclaiming 'A second Benedict Arnold' was loose in Congress.\*\*\*

Lincoln didn't intend to run again anyway. He spoke before this, and on the War with Mexico: "Mr. Chairman: 12 Jan. 1848  
//...the vote a week or ten days ago, declaring that the war with Mexico was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally begun by the President... When the war began, it was my opinion that all those who, because of knowing too little, or because of knowing too much, could not conscientiously approve the conduct of the President, should, nevertheless, as good citizens and patriots, remain silent

\*Remarks of Lincoln. Op. cit. pp. 420-422

\*\*? Sandburg, Abraham Lincoln. The Prairie Years. Vol. I. Marcourt Erace, .y. 1926. P. e, 372.

\*\*\*ibid.

"on that point, at least till the war should be ended... besides all this, one of my colleagues\* ...brought in a set of resolutions, expressly endorsing the justice of the war on the part of the President. Upon these resolutions, ..., I shall be compelled to vote; so that I can not be silent, if I would... The result of this examination was to make the impression, that taking for true, all the President states as facts, he falls short of proving his justification; and that the President would have gone farther with his proof, if it had not been for the small matter, that the truth would not permit him... The President, in his first war message of May 1846, declares that the soil was ours\*\* on which hostilities were commenced by Mexico; and he repeats that declaration, almost in the same language, in each successive annual message, ... Now I propose to try to show, that the whole of this- issue and evidence- is, from beginning to end, the sheerest deception. The issue, as he presents it, is in these words, 'But there are those who, conceding all this to be true, assume the ground that the true western boundary of Texas is the Nueces\*\*\*, instead of the Rio Grande; and that, therefore, in marching our army to the east bank of the latter river, we passed the Texan line, and invaded the territory of Mexico.'

Wm. A. Richardson, Democrat, who had been elected to fill the vacancy due to the resignation of Stephen A. Douglas.

\*The implicit defense of the aggression from the North theory of the administration is that either the Gulf or Tonkin, or the air base at Pleiku were in August, 1964 and February, 1965, somehow 'our soil', a place where we had every night to be without incurring any attack. The absurdity of this claim became evident to a student of history envichging the result of a British insistence on immunity in the event the Royal Navy had established a base on Confederate soil, or sent cruisers close to New York after escorting a Southern raid on Nantucket. The nueces is roughly parallel to and a hundred miles north of Rio Grande.

“Now this issue is made up of two affirmatives and no negative. The main deception of it is, that it assumes as true, that one river of the other is necessarily the boundary; and cheats the superficial thinker entirely out of the idea, that possibly the boundary is somewhere between the two, AND not actually at either... I now proceed to examine the President's evidence... His first item is, that the Rio Grande was the Western boundary of Louisiana as we purchased it from France in 1803; and seeming to expect this to be disputed, he argues over the amount of nearly a page, to prove it true; at the end of which lets us know, that by the treaty of 1819, we sold to Spain the whole county from the Rio Grande eastward to the Sabine. Now, admitting for the present, that the Rio Grande, was the boundary of Louisiana, what, under heaven, had that to do with the present boundary between us and Mexico? How, Mr. Chaseman, the lind, that once divided your land from mine, can still be the boundary between us, after I have sold my land to you, to me beyond all comprehension... The outrage upon Common right, of seizing as our own what we have once sold, merely because it was our before we sold it, is only equaled by the outrage on common sense of any attempt to justify it...\* ... His next piece of evidence is that `The Republic of Texas always claimed that river as her western boundary'. Now all of this is but the campaign slogan of 1844 was `reoccupation of Oregon and reannexation of Texas, as it was folk, who shines here as am illogician, did not get a majority of the votes cast, and was only 33,000 or so ahead of Henry Clay.

Naked claim... If I should claim your land, by word of mouth, that certainly would not make it mine; and if I were to claim it be a deed which I had made myself, and with which, you had had nothing to do, the claim would be quite the same in substance or rather nothingness... I am now through the whole of the President's evidence; and it is a singular fact, that if anyone should declare the President sent the army into the midst of a settlement of Mexican people, who had never submitted, by consent or by force, to the authority of Texas or the United States and that there and thereby, the first blood of the war was shed, there is not one word in all the President has said, which would either admit or deny the declaration. This strange omission, it does seem to me, could severely have occurred but by design, and therein lies the chief deception...\* If, as is probably true, Texas was exercising jurisdiction along the western bank of the Rio Grande, then neither river was the boundary; but the uninhibited country in between the two was. The extent of our territory in that region depended, not on any treaty-fixed boundary (for no treaty had attempted it) but one revolution. Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up, and shake off the

\*This is too reminiscent of the vital omission in the incumbent's description of the current fighting in the Viet Nam began, and where, and why. The shameful skeleton is the American relation to an attempt at colonial reconquest ? which four people defended in France today, fewer in fact than that very small minority there which sees anything in America policy other than a cracked ? record. If the reader has had the endurance to get through the incomplete presentation of point by point refutation of Presidential war messages over a century old, the only consolation that awaiting him is point by point dissection of the messages of the current successor. Polk much later on in this study.

"existing government, and form a new one that suits them better.

This is a most valuable, -a most sacred right-a right, which we hope and believe, is to liberate the world.\* Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government, may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionize, and make their own, of so much territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority,\*\* intermingled with, or near about them, who may oppose their movement. Such minority, was precisely the case, of the Tories of our own revolution... After this, all Mexico, including Texas, revolutionized against Spain; and still later, Texas revolutionized against Mexico. In my view, just so far as she carried her revolution, by obtaining the actual, willing or unwilling, submission of the people, so far, the country was hers, and no farther.† ...

Let the President answer the interrogatories I proposed...But if he can not, or will not do this-if on any pretence, or no pretence,... then I shall be fully convinced, of what I more than suspect already, that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong-that he feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to Heaven against him; that he ordered General Taylor into themidst

\* Last the reader imagine Abe Lincoln was the Ma Tse Tung of the Nineteenth Century, we have the assurance of Dean Rusk that "it has nothing in common with the great American revolutionary tradition. It being the ? of coarse Prince Nettemich, who has about a month of power left when Lincoln spoke, might not have been any distinction between the uncouth Illinois lawyer and disheveled prophet of the spectre that was haunting Europe.  
\*\*In a real sense, the Civil War was a revolution overthrowing the dominance of the Southrones by a coalition of Westerners and New Englanders it really ? a minority.



“of a peaceful Mexican settlement, purposely to bring on war,... he plunged into it, and has swept on and on , till disappointed in his calculation of the case with which Mexico might be subdued\*, he now finds himself he knows not where. How like the half insane mumbling of a fever-dream, is the whole war part of his late message! ... At one time, urging the national honor, the security of the future, the prevention of foreign interference, and even the good of Mexico herself, as among the objects of the war;... As I have said before, he know not where he is. He is bewildered, confounded, and miserably perplexed man. God grant he may be able to show, there is not something about his conscience, more painful than all his mental perplexity!\*\*

In another speech in the House about six months later Lincoln made some important distinctions: “But the distinction between the cause of the President in beginning the war, and the cause of the country after it was begun, is a distinction which you (the Democrats) cannot perceive. To you, the President and the country seems to be alone. You are interested to see no distinction between them; and I venture to suggest that possibly your interest blinds you....”\*\*\*

End of Chapter III

\*Mexico, in 1846, had no ally, and not even a friend for that matter. Viet Nam in this decade has two powerful allies, and many cordial supporters unable to send men or weapons. Mexico, in 1846 had no unifying leader or party to rally the ? to a prolonged guerrilla war. Viet Nam today has the most experienced and the most refined guerrilla cadre anywhere: just because they are on their own soil. It seems possible American policy makers have just begun to realize how Viet Nam differs from a banana republic.

\*\*Lincoln's Works. op. cit. pp. 432-442.

\*\*\*Ibid. Speech of 25 July, 1848. P. 515

## The AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Lincoln's opinion that the war in Mexico was one of conquest, designed to catch votes \*, begun "unnecessarily and unconstitutionally" by the President\*\*, did not bring him to vote to obstruct its course, much less challenge its ultimate premises and goals. Occupation and settlement by his kin and close neighbors of an empire not yet insular or global was nowise a matter of imposing on a distant, unwilling and populous nation governments selected by or sanctioned from Washington. This process, carried through in violent haste by Polk's Democracy, selected viable continental frontiers and could only be sanctioned by natural outgrowth and colonization after peace had been made. No doubt, American expansion toward California was a natural direction for all the leading interests of the Republic: the commerce and shipping of Boston and New York, now fully awakened by the first Opium War to the radiant, though not yet golden, future of San Francisco's Bay, the Midwest, Lincoln's own corner, reaching out for homesteads far beyond the Central Valley of the Mississippi, even beyond the mountains to Oregon, the New South, moving its economy ever westward as the demand for its cotton never ceased to rise, while it joined with the Atlantic South in the frantic hunger for new Slave States to maintain a parity made hopeless by the very growth just alluded to further north; all together, this clanging, clamoring, violent vanguard of the New Age of progress through iron rails, steam power and compulsory freedom for trade\*\*\* was as inevitable as the very tides themselves at ebb and flow.

\* Speech at Wilmington, Delaware. 10 June, 1848. Lincoln's Works, op. cit. p. 476.

\*\* ibid. pp. 514, 515.

\*\*\* The same year 'Mad Jack' shelled Da Nang, Congress authorized Commodore Biddle to make overtures for "effecting commercial arrangements with the Empire of Japan and the Kingdom of Korea." The result was nil. After the War in Mexico had changed the tone of the times, Commander Glynn ( 1847) freed American whaler by threatening to bombard Nagasaki. Six years later, in the wake of Glynn, Vera Cruz and the Opium War, Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry performed the most portentous deed for the future of the Pacific by Compelling the heretofore unapproachable Japanese to open their gates to the New Age under the banner of free trade, with California gold as the carrot and with visible cannon as the stick. The Great Commodore by Edw. M. Barrows. Bobbs Merrill. 1935. At the very same time the Amazon was forcibly opened by dire threats, against the wishes of the Brazilian government which could not see why it could not act there as the U.S. did on the Mississippi. Paraguay's turn came in 1858, a fleet of 19 vessels involved. cf. Curtis, The U.S. & Foreign Powers. pp. 78-83.

As a trickle of settlers staked their landmarks, Indian and Mexican must soon retreat, or be engulfed. For those venturesome rivulets were but beacons to broadening channels swelling up from the oceanic bosom of a nation loudly gushing its way across a continent on metallic auxiliaries, irresistible and final. Tireless and isolated communities of free peasant and artisan cling to the unwilling soil, take root and multiply, making permanent and inexorable what the steam railroad had made likely and attractive.

Geographically and mechanically so much less, the millenium of southward colonization by Vietnamese families \* takes deeper root as these hardy, persistent, oh how persistent, cultivators overcome and absorb dusker breeds. Cham and Cambodian must here recede as Mexican on the Brazos, scourged and feared "Montagnards" lament with Sioux and Hopi.\*\* First tropical Cham, cousin of the ferocious Malay, the "Cham pirates" of Vietnamese historians, the menace now a relic of magnificent ruins and legends, is driven back to join the lofty Rhade, a roaming hunter unable to expel the pale and diligent collectivists from the North. Then Cambodian, proud in all his lazy dignity of Brahman heritage, is overmatched by the insinuating and competitive Vietnamese. The boundary is pushed to the Gulf of Siam. Not merely the boundary between civilization mainly Indian and that of Chinese Confucian stamp, but a racial boundary as well, since inter alia, it is the boundary of the labia majora, almost complete absence of the larger lips "whose stylization intrudes at every turn in India" .\*\*\*

"Nam Tien" - to the South, advance! - brought the Vietnamese down the narrow ribbon parting China Sea and mountain barrier to entrench and nevermore withdraw: at Hué before the Black Plague carried off one Englishman in three as his sovereigns strove to subdue the French in Hundred Years' War; at Da Nang before Joan of Arc inspired national resistance; at Qui Nhon before the first book printed in England or Columbus learned ~~from~~ from Jewish cartographers that he could not sail to Indonesian spice islands by doubling Africa at the Equator; at Camranh Bay before New York so called itself; at Saigon before the first newspaper appeared in the American colonies or any of her revolutionaries had been born. We avoid the term 'moi', a Vietnamese expression reserved for the despicably barbarous, still

\*\*Used by unenlightened Vietnamese against the 'Montagnards', who have just barely begun to learn to cheat. Not only do these most serious men of brave arse conserve primeval dignity, substance of no market value, better than either their Vietnamese nemesis or European visitor, they often excel in useful knowledge. French soldiers owed their lives to Hre and shade herbals. Rene Riessen, Jungle Mission. Crowell. N.Y. 1957. P. 79 (Hre) Andre and Agnes Pagnon, Tu as de la chance (You're a Lucky One). Gallimard. Paris. 1954. Pp. 187, 215

\*\*\*Alan Houghton Brodrick, Little China. Oxford. 1942. P. 11.

Anything but indolent, except when enjoined to make the unbecoming dash into competition and mechanized marketing, the Mexican was, nevertheless, put down as a sluggish idler by such strange company as Waddy Thompson ( see p. 74) and Karl Marx. Self-evident Confucian superiority bolstered by invariable historical success as colonizers of rice land would stifle any Vietnamese qualm as he tore Mekong's profuse delta from faltering Cambodian grasp. Historical evolutionist Marx would hardly have withheld his imprimatur there, as he approved the grab of half Mexico by the U.S.A. : the energetic Yankee would develop California, the 'lazy Mexican' could not, and develop it must either by British direction, whose tolerance he was yet to discover, or by American, whom he never ceased to admire at a distance proof against the slightest disillusionment, and preferred in this case as the more progressive investor. \*

Admission of common character transcending stature and color between Lincolnian and Vietnamese farmer states would demolish the wicked myth of a homogeneous Southeast Asia, encompassing along with its Chinese enclaves and local placidity, an entire nation of midget and quasi-medieval Puritans. Paul Doumer, draftsman of a united and French Indochina, who lived to see his extractive machine transform a costly colony into a profitable one fitted for its purpose \*\* observed :

"They ( of course Doumer will call the Vietnamese Annamites which we translate as usual) are without doubt superior to all their neighbors. Neither Cambodian nor Lao nor Siamese could resist them. None of the nations which make up the

Both Marx and Engels wrote profoundly on the American Civil War. The former never visited this country, yet his overall analysis and forecasts were correct, while Engels', outside his own specialty of military affairs, were mistaken, even though he had 'been there'.

For Marx's views on the grab of Mexico see Horace B. Davis in the Monthly Review, a "socialist" periodical far from unfriendly to Marxism. Sept. 1967. p. 14 et seq.

That the issue is not gone from Mexican thinking may be illustrated by the following: Mexican cab driver, accustomed to deal with American ladies fugitive from matrimony, told me who inspired his confidence by her fluent Spanish and African complexion that: "los ladrones yanqui nos quieron... etc California... ect." This exhalation against robbery by "Yankee" thieves was reported by the auditor on her return to their metropolis. That purpose, and the mainstay in 'selling' a costly and bloody war of conquest to the unenthusiastic deputies of France (1885-1898), was to serve as wedge for opening the way to China's measureless, but otherwise inaccessible, interior wealth. Later (1900-1930) to demonstrate by modernization the superiority of European methods, once again in the hope and expectation of extending the same deeply to China.

Indian Empire have their virtues\*. You have to go to Japan to find a race which is their peer, and which resembles them. Both are highly intelligent, hard working, brave. The Vietnamese makes a fine soldier, disciplined and courageous. He is superior, both as a worker and a soldier to all the other peoples of Asia to which you might compare him.." \*\* Marx, having no land he could call his own, missed the vital connection between revolution and national feeling. Rostow \*\*\*, although undeserving of mention in the same breath with either the virtuous account-keeping bourgeois M. Doumer, or the author of the Communist Manifesto, from a philosophical or moral point of view, ignored everything beyond the day-to-day images required by Cold War. Even though respectable honesty denies the fatuous entity, 'Southeast Asia', by direct observation, without benefit of Doumer, the message is yet to penetrate the dominists. \*\*\*\*

It was precisely the high tone adopted by the Empire of the Great South which both marked it as incomparable to the more tropical kingdoms about it, and left President Jackson's envoy in a condition of spiteful exasperation. (cf. pp. 58 etc.) At the very moment 'Mad Jack' dented the hedge of imperial dignity hardly a day's ride from the throne, the Dragon Throne itself clung to the Mekong upstream beyond Phnompenh, all that was left from a decade which had begun with virtual dominance over all Cambodia. Striving against the war elephants of Rama III, King of Siam, Vietnamese authority was not yet prepared to forego absorption of the Khmer. Some Cambodians believe it still hasn't. \*\*\*\*

Doumer probably never came across a Gurkha ( a Mongolian, Buddhist tribe from Nepal who put down the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and whom even the Vietnamese could not match as a soldier). The term Indian Empire is instructive, since nowadays it is often forgotten that India, historically, was always an Empire, never a nation; therefore its consolidation today, except by consent, which is absent, is no less imperialistic because its constituent parts are contiguous and the central authority non-European.

\*\*Doumer, op. cit. p. 40. \*\*\*Walt W. Rostow, as a principle advisor to two Presidents, can hardly be omitted from any serious work on Viet Nam, regardless of moral and mental defects. \*\*\*\*Denis Warner, an Australian journalist, had learned before the Dulles administration announced the domino theory to the American people that "even the generic term Southeast Asia was misleading. It implies a unity that simply does not exist, and has never existed." D.A. Warner, Reporting South-east Asia . Angus & Robertson, Ltd. Sydney, 1966. P. 1 \*\*\*\*\*Rama III intervened to preserve Buddhism, no the Cambodians. The latter rose only when Vietnamese cupidity ordained a general census and registration of lands for taxation and corvee. That was in 1841, and it was 1847 before peace came within Cambodia.

Confuse Vietnamese, or earlier Americans, with Indians, East or West, at your peril. Both were aware of this gulf as their own revolutions fermented. An anonymous Britisher had noted about 1770: "Americans are of a disposition haughty, insolent, impatient of rule, disdaining subjection ( so plainly in contrast ) to the remarkably pliant and submissive disposition of the inhabitants of Bengal" \*; while John Dickinson, the reflective American attorney who incited opposition from his Quaker mansion near Philadelphia, and then refused to join when it boiled over into revolution, though none prompter than he to offer many hints for designing the Constitution, insisted: "Thank God we are not Sea Poys, nor Marattas" . \*\* As a prime example from among many of Vietnamese revulsion at such levelling, let us consider the very first international document between Ho Chi Minh's government and what was no longer the French Empire, nor yet the French Union. General Salan, released the other day by de Gaulle, was obliged to promise General Giap he would use no black or tawny Africans, but only white men\*\*\* from France herself to garrison those Vietnamese towns to be occupied for five years : "... ( the occupation troops) will have to be solely from France - uniquement de Français d'origine métropolitaine - except for those assigned to guard Japanese prisoners of war..."

John C. Miller, *Origins of the American Revolution*. Little, Brown & Co. Boston. 1943. p. 3  
 ibid. p. 342. This was part of a campaign against the British East India Company.

This expression of preference for white troops occurred in March and April, 1946, when Ho Chi Minh insisted conciliation with France was possible. That it revealed a definite negative feeling toward Africans, both black and otherwise, has already been mentioned in quotes from Doumer and Mus, p. 7 ante, and can be gleaned from Brodrick, p. 34.

Virginia Thompson, typical career girl journalist of the Thirties, wrote then: "Hindu judges ( in Cochinchine, the only part of Viet Nam officially under the French flag) from French India were resented by the Annamites as inferior to their own race and mandarins." V. Thompson, *French Indochina*. p. 84. In fact, it was not Hindu judges alone but even more the weird "law" of the Third Republic, despising all family and communal ties, viewing the citizen as an individual apart- unrelated to any collective but the abstract State - which aroused astonished resentment and frustrated hybrids.

The full text of the document quoted from above, an Annexed Accord to the Preliminary Agreement of 6 March 1946 between the government of the French Republic and the Government of Viet Nam, if found in Devillers, op. cit., p. 226. It bears the signatures SAINTENY, SALAN, VO NGUYEN GIAP. Neither Mr. Hunt, the Texas oil millionaire, nor Roger Hilsman, the guilt huckstering product of excessive Methodism, are aware of this document.

won if it became a "white man's war", thus displacing the emphasis on account of the burden of American racial past, and opening the mind to the possibility "Asians" might well do whereas a white skin would be sure to fail, disregarding morality (see p. 33)

How different today the Vietnamese Resistance from all the rest of tropical Afroasia in their capacity and will never to yield ! General Nguyen Van Vinh ( see page 1 ) is supposed to have said, in April of 1966, that the newer 'nationalist' countries of Africa and Asia were advising negotiation on U.S. terms since it was unthinkable his people could triumph over the American colossus. \*

#### RESISTANCE TO TYRANNY IS OBEDIENCE TO GOD

One part of Lincoln's speech in the Thirtieth Congress deserves repetition; "...Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up, and shake off the existing government, and form a ~~new~~ new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, - a most sacred right - a right, which we hope and believe, is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can, may revolutionize, and make their own of so much territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority, intermingled with, or near about them, who may oppose their movement. Such minority was precisely the case, of the Tories of our ~~own~~ own revolution..." \*\* Lincoln's attachment to "our own revolution" brings us to the relevant passages in the Declaration of Independence of 1776: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal \*\*\*, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are

\* Ralph Hammond, Communist Affairs, November - Dec. 1967. pp. 25 et seq. No mention is made of Japan, while China is supposed to have advised no negotiating until 1972. One might then ask, what does the Vietnamese have in common with Afroasian 'nationalists' ? Brian Crozier, albeit contemptuously, saw a part of the answer: "Like Nasser, Sekou Touré or Ho Chi Minh ( one is struck ) by the deep wound of bitterness they keep alive. Eyes and voices harden at some hidden memory of earlier injury, and the smile of welcome vanished in a scowl, habitually followed by a tirade." Crozier, The Morning After. Oxford. 1963. P. 27 \*\*See pp. 87-88 for the context.

\*\*\*Created equal here meaning there is no birthright to a monopoly of political power. Perplexity may arise here as regards the negro. Although favoring eventual emancipation, and trying vainly to include remarks on the "execrable slave trade" in the original draft of the Declaration Jefferson continued to believe negroes inherently inferior mentally. When past sixty five and ( see reverse side of the text (\*\*\*)

Conclusion of footnote\*\*\*

About to retire from the presidency, he modified his views. The following letter to one of Napoleon's bishops pertains:

Washington, Feb. 25, 1809

Sir, - I have received the favor of your letter. . . and with it the volume you were so kind as to send me on the 'Literature of Negroes'. Be assured that no person living wished more sincerely than I do, to see a complete refutation of the doubts I have myself entertained and expressed on the grade of understanding allotted to them by nature, and to find that in this respect they are on a par with ourselves. My doubts were the result of personal observation on the limited sphere of my own State, where the opportunities for development of ~~of~~ their genius were not favorable, and those of exercising it still less so. I expressed them therefore with great hesitation; but whatever be the degree of their talent, it is no measure of their rights. Because Sir Isaac Newton was superior to others in understanding, he was not therefore lord of the person or property of others...

from a letter to M. Henri Gregoire, Bishop and Senator, Paris.

Before castigating the temporizing of Jefferson, a Virginian by every tie and viewpoint, the reader might consider the observations of Dickens, an outsider free from any attachment to the Commonwealth of Virginia, and most sympathetic to the victims of slavery: "... All men who know that there are laws against instructing slaves, of which the pains and penalties greatly exceed in their amount the fines imposed on those who main and torture them, must be prepared to find their faces very low in the scale of intellectual expression. But the darkness - not of the skin, but of mind - which meets the stranger's eye at every turn; the brutalising and blotting out of all fairer characters traced by Nature's hand; immeasurably outdo his worst belief. That traveled creation of the great satirist's brain ( the reference here is to the last part of Swift's Gulliver's Travels), who, fresh from living among horses, peered from a high casement down upon his own kind with trembling horror, was scarcely more repelled and daunted by the sight than those who look upon some of these faces for the first time must ~~be~~ surely be."

Dickens, American Notes. p. 122. Cheap edition. Books, inc.



" instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundations ... to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, ~~while~~ while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, ... to provide new guards for their future security..."

So unmistakeable an assertion of the right, nay, the duty of revolution, the duty of mankind to overthrow governments evil and unrepenting, is surely a universal incitement to sedition. It has set going a current of uprising whose end is not yet in sight. To deny the prominence of sedition in the American character is, perhaps, conceivable for a Mao Tse Tung, beset by senility and encirclement, the maddening, unrelenting pressure of Dulles' ghost and of Truman's abrasive intrusion \*; but for the Croniad seated in Washington to ignore all that , and condemn the founders is to call up the hounds of hell. \*\*

\* As quoted in large size, bold print by the official Peking R Review : "Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but they all boil down to the one sentence, ' It is right to rebel!! For thousands of years, it had been said that it was right to oppress, it was right to exploit, and it was wrong to rebel. This old verdict was only reversed with the appearance of Marxism. This is a great contribution....." Peking Review, no. 24, June 14, 1968. p. 30. This astounding absurdity is all the more puzzling when we consider that Edgar Snow, in June of 1936, found that Mao "knew the American system in theory and had studied both our Revolutionary and Civil Wars... and had been inspired by the life of George Washington and Carlyle's lives of the French Revolution" . Snow, Journey to the Beginning. Random House. N.Y. 1958. Pp. 168 & 163. The only explanation is senility.

\*\* If one wishes to traverse the bush in Viet Nam it is impossible to avoid leeches. Those of Mr. Johnson's inner sanctum stick to the body politic here and suck up self-importance as they drain it of virtue and intelligence. One, calling himself a historian, compared the Suppression of Viet Nam to the Civil War and Lincoln's troubles with that of current opposition. The last person to suggest such a comparison, between a war to suppress a people just emerging from colonial rule, and a rebellion in our midst, was President McKinley, who had the merit, at least of seeming to really believe it.

No flimsy thread of descent by vague speculations, but a solid cable link of philosophies printed for monumental actions, joined Jefferson to the two centuries he looked back on. Since the Declaration revives the very language, tends to copy whole phrases from Locke's treatise, too much is ascribed too often to that philosopher, making Jefferson and his fellow patriots merely a kind of burly club of Lockians. That Locke was neither the ~~original~~ founder nor the original influence for the American creed as to the source of just power, the right to resist unjust, the great principle of government as a contract or compact between ruler and people, the latter prior to and superior of their governments, that it all goes far deeper and back to a time he, Locke, dared not to mention, such is the case. To fan a blaze so devouring as Jefferson's would seem even at first glance to overtax the prudent strictures of that legalistic priest of property. Four decades farther back there was a Milton. The deep imprint of his message could not be effaced by the hangman's pyre. His pamphlets did not smolder in English thoughts, while New England never ceased to practise them. \* What engraved his writings on minds who could not name him, but would transmit his pith untainted was his association with Cromwell. Cromwell, the squire whose revolutionary authority brought to trial a King of England, condemned him, and led the convict to stand at last above the watching crowd only to publish the proper ending for an attempt at absolute monarchy. Those years of civil war in Britain, the solemnly lawful cleaving of a royal head, that terrifying vision of wrath, unspeakable and unforgettable, hovering ever after before the crowned rulers of the English realm, a landmark whose brink must be shunned by self-restraint lest the kingdom crash; and yet, <sup>though</sup> such dreadful subjects, though uppermost in every political discussion, must be never be discussed as such. Locke could not examine or touch the tender regions Milton had explored so fiercely, for such was the law.\*\*

One of Milton's principal political works was burned by the common hangman the year of the Restoration ( 1660 ); In New England, comrades in arms of Cromwell retold the stories of his eminence knowing Puritan audiences proof against royalist retaliation. F. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The First Americans, 1607-1690.* p. 299. Even in Puritan Connecticut, the law in 1750 carried a capital punishment for compassing the death of the king, which Milton's writings might have, if discussed too freely, induced. L.L. H Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution, Vol. III.* p. 93 94

Milton's 'Tenure of Kings and Magistrates' is too long to reproduce, but salient passages merit rehearsal. Firstly, "neither do bad men hate ~~the~~ tyrants" \*, "although sometimes for shame, and when it comes to their own grievances of purse especially, they would seem good patriots and side with the better cause" \*\* ... "they plead for him ( the king captive ) , pity him; extol him, protest against those who talk of bringing him to the trial of justice, which is the sword of God, superior to all mortal things, ..." "...hazarding the welfare of a whole nation, to have saved one whom they so oft have termed Ageg \*\*\*, and vilifying the blood of so many Jonathans \*\*\*\* who have saved Israel..."" ( After giving a version of the compact theory very close to that which Locke offered forty years later, Milton goes much further) : "And this oftentimes with express warning, that if the king or magistrates proved / unfaithful to his trust, the people would be disengaged. ... it follows... that the titles of soverreign lord, natural lord, and the / like, are either arrogancies or flatteries, not admitted by emperors and kings of best note, and disliked by the church both of the Jews ( Isaiah xxvi. 13) and ancient Christians... Although generally the people of Asia, and with them the Jews also, especially since the time they chose a king against the advice and counsel of God, are noted by wise authors much inclinable to slavery... Unless the people must be thought created all for him, he not for them, and they all in one body inferior to him single; which were a kind of treason against the dignity of mankind to affirm... it follows, that to say kings are accountable to none but God, is the overturning of all law and government... for if the king fear not God ( as how many of them do not ), we hold then our lives and estates by the tenure of his mere grace and mercy... the people (may) as oft as they shall judge it for the best, either chose him or reject him, retain him or depose him, though no tyrant, merely by the liberty and right of freeborn men to be governed as seems them best... The Greeks and <sup>K</sup>Romans, as their

The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, from which all these extracts are drawn was written  
 ( please turn for remainder of notes)

( conclusion of footnotes at page 98 )

written during the trial of Charles the First, and published on 13 Feb. 1649, fourteen days after his execution.

\*\*\* This passage refers to the commercial Presbyterians of London, Glasgow and elsewhere, whose interests were economic, and who must have triumphed straightaway, if the economic interpretation of history is adequate; in fact, it was Cromwell and the Army of bible-reading revolutionaries who won out, for awhile, since he understood that 'men of honor', the royalist nobles, could only be matched and mastered in war by 'men of religion', the Independents, whose voice Milton became.

\*\*\* Samuel, the Prophet of the Lord, commanded Saul, King of Israel, to slay the captive king of Amalek, Agag or Agog, but Saul balked. Samuel then took up the sword and cut down the enemy of God's people.

\*\*\*\* Jonathan, whom David found a more tender feeling for in friendship than ever in his life he had felt for his beloved wives, is the paragon of loyal goodness to a righteous, i.e. a divinely appointed sovereign.

"prime authors witness, held it not only lawful, but a glorious and heroic deed, rewarded publicly with statues and garlands, to kill an infamous tyrant at any time without trial; and but reason, that he, who trod down all law, should not be vouchsafed the benefit of law. Insomuch that Seneca, the tragedian, brings in Hercules, the grand suppressor of tyrants, thus speaking/ - '...There can be slain no sacrifice to Jove more acceptable than an unjust and wicked king" \*  
 .... Surely it is not for nothing that tyrants, by a kind of natural instinct, both hate and fear none more than the true church and saints of God, as the most dangerous enemies and subverters of manarchy, though indeed of tyranny.  
 ... In the year 1564 John Knox, a most famous divine, and the reformer of Scotland to the presbyterian discipline, at a general assembly maintained... that subjects might and ought to execute God's judgments upon their king; that fact of Jehu\*\* against their king, having the ground of God's ordinary command to put such and such offenders to death, was not extraordinary, but to be imitated of all that preferred the honour of God to the affection of flesh and wicked princes; that kings, if they offend, have no privilege to be exempted from the punishments of law more than any other subject; so that if the king be a murderer, adulterer, or idolater, he should suffer, not as a king, but as an offender; and this... he repeats again and again.....  
 ( After deposing their lawful and hereditary queen in 1567 ) the Scots ... alleged they had used more lenity towards her than she deserved; that their ancestors had heretofore punished their kings by death or banishment; that the Scots were a free nation, made king whom they freely chose, and with the same freedom unkinged him if they saw cause... all which bore witness that regal power was nothing else but a mutual covenant... between king and people...

\* Milton translates Jovi as 'God', a turn open to dispute; a discussion of Milton in ca. 1750 with up to date references might now appear more clearly felonious than before. Consider then how such a discourse today with such references might not be regarded as jocular. How changed America today from 1944, when with a World war still not done with, Gen. Deane was highly amused to hear from Soviet general of secret police that an American engineer at Baku had been overheard to esteem, or rather disesteem F.D.R. as an 'S.O.B. who should be taken out and shot'. Maj. Gen. John R. Deane, The Strange Alliance. P. 59  
 \*\*Anointed by Elisha command and told to kill Ahab, King of Israel, and take his place.

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"Which no less in England than in Scotland \*, by the mouths of those faithful witnesses commonly called puritans and nonconformists, ... one of them, whose name was Gibson, foretold King James he should be rooted out, and conclude his race, if he persisted to uphold bishops... Therefore when the people, or any part of them, shall rise against the king and his authority, executing the law in anything established, civil or ecclesiastical, I do not say it is rebellion, if the thing commanded, though established, be unlawful, and that they first sought all due means of redress ( and no man is further bound to law ". In the Areopagitica, composed five years earlier, "For this is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the commonwealth; that let no man in this world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty obtained that wise men look for." \*\* E Resuming 'The Tenure of Kings':

"... And surely they that shall boast, as we do, to be a free nation, and not have in themselves the power to remove or to abolish any governor supreme, or subordinate, with the government itself upon urgent causes, may please their fancy with a ridiculous and painted freedom, fit to cozen babies; but we are indeed under tyranny and servitude, as wanting that power, which is the root and source of all liberty, to dispose and economise in the land which God hath given them, as masters of family in their own house and free inheritance."

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George Buchanan, born in Scotland a century before Milton's time, had lived in France, and pursued philosophy there for years before returning to tutor the royal father of Milton's target. Practically every line of thought quoted in this section was anticipated less eloquently by Buchanan in a work published in 1579 at Edinburgh; less eloquently for in Latin. Jefferson had in his library a complete set of Buchanan in translation of 1766. The best account of Buchanan's views is in Professor James Brown Scott, The Catholic Conception of International Law. Georgetown U. Press, Washington, D.C. 1934. pp. 345 et seq. Professor Scott, who was President of the American Society of International Law, as well as the American Institute of Law, observed quaintly: "So it doubtless was in Mariana's day, ( ca. 1600 ), but with the source of power in individuals, and therefore in the people, it would be suicidal on the part of a modern monarch or other chief of state to arrogate to himself alone the authority to declare war. Indeed, in the United States the Congress, by an express provision of the Constitution, is possessed of the exclusive right to declare war and the role of the President is merely to proclaim it, after it has been declared by the Congress of the United States. It is also the custom in our day to separate the executive from the judicial power, lest justice be contaminated at its source." That is on p. 296.

We shall refer to this again as the Principle of No Outlet, or of Last Resort. It bears so much on Viet Nam a particular title is advisable.

"And certainly if men, not to speak of heathen, both wise and religious, have done justice upon tyrants what way they could soonest, how much more mild and humane then is it to give them fair and open trial; to teach lawless kings, and all who so much adore them, that not mortal man, or his imperious will, but justice, is the only true sovereign and supreme majesty upon earth?" \* And finally, "...perhaps in future ages, if they prove themselves not too degenerate, will look up with honour, and aspire towards these exemplary and matchless deeds of their ancestors, as to the highest top of their civil glory and emulation; which heretofore, in the pursuance of fame and <sup>dominion</sup> foreign ~~domination~~, spent itself vaingloriously abroad; but henceforth may learn a better fortitude, to dare execute highest justice on them that shall by force of arms endeavour the oppressing and bereaving of religion and their liberty at home. That no unbridled potentate or tyrant, but to his sorrow, for the future may presume such high and irresponsible licence over mankind, to havoc and turn upside down whole kingdoms of men,\*\* as though they were no more in respect of his perverse will than a nation of pismires." So spoke Milton, the ripe scholar, past his fortieth summer, who once planned to minister, but soon found a clergyman must "subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which, unless he took with a conscience that could retch, he must straight perjure himself... better to prefer a blameless silence (than) with speaking, bought and begun with servitude and foreswearing." Impossible to dismiss his genius, its political side was concealed and denied, set down to personality, when the pursuit of foreign dominion overreached the seas.\*\*\*

\* Carlyle considered what was done to Charles Stuart "perhaps the most daring action any body of men to be met with in History ever, with clear consciousness, deliberately set themselves to do/" Carlyle, op. cit. p. 414. Carlyle studied Cromwell about 1840.

\*\* England and Scotland were separate kingdoms though both had Charles for sovereign.

\*\*\* We refer to the British Empire a century after Cromwell's death, when that most splendid English lucidity, Samuel Johnson, who could not even bear too long his own calumny of Milton, wrote, almost had to write, for such was the age of Adam Smith and the self-seeking, :  
Milton's republicanism was, I am afraid, founded in an envious hatred of greatness and a sullen desire for independence, in petulance impatient of control, and pride disdainful of superiority. He hated monarchs in the State and prelates in the Church, for he hated all whom he was required to obey. It is to be suspected that his predominant desire was to destroy rather than to establish. That he felt not so much the love of liberty as repugnance to authority..." More of the devastating Mr. Johnson a bit later on.

Britain, in the midst of what was the first real World War in human history, excluding only the Pacific, went from reverse to repulse to confusion at the start, though never doubting victory. Sam. Johnson, much less remote from the public, which was then also less remote from one another, than our editorialists keep themselves nowadays, struck a note almost familiar:

"The time is now come in which every Englishman expects to be informed of the national affairs, and in which he has a right to have that expectation gratified. For whatever may be urged by our ministers, or those whom vanity or interest make the followers of ministers...." \*

This then was the sprouting time for what is now become one of the dogmas, those affirmations unconsciously taken for proven without any evidence but affirmation, of representative government. British opinion was already being prepared by the vicissitudes of a great war to believe that being informed, having the right to be informed, and surveying with uneven thoroughness a printed gazette, were about the same thing. We may even take it a result of the war for North America, and India, and much more, that both Parliament, who conducted the government without publicity, and opinion which elected Parliament without privacy, felt they were being informed correctly and fully.

This contentment led to a Revolution in America, just as the like premise concerning Indochina brought, in our century, both the Third and Fourth Republics in France and the United States to a fanciful confusion of print and pith.

Johnson in the Literary Magazine of 1756. The author of that sentiment did not get his Royal Pension, £ 300 a year, until the world war was about over. Its regularity and prestige, after much solitary drudgery on a pauper's brink of anxiety, subdued what remained of any youthful impulse to "disregard all power and authority" so that both his revulsion for Milton's politics and the rebellious Virginians and Bostonians are clearly lapses such as success and old age afford to one whose ease was not sooner procured. Johnson's eccentricities were tolerated in an age which only disdained poverty and enthusiasm, the latter being an uncomfortably literal application of the official Christianity which disdained wealth and lukewarmness. That apart from royal myopia

Johnson esteemed and applauded Milton, in a moderate and balanced expression to be sure is plain from these quotations: (this was seven years before the pension)"... but I shall not my employment useless or ignorable, if my assistance forging nations and distant ages,

access to the propagators of knowledge and understand the teachers of truth; if my labours shed light to the repositories of science, and add celebrity to Bacon, to Hooker, to Milton, to Boyle". From the Preface to a Dictionary of the English Language.



A decade after Johnson's pension, and just before the Americans violently captured attention, Benjamin Franklin wrote in irritation to his employers:

"The great defect here ( i.e. in London ) is in all sorts of people a want of attention to what passes in such remote countries as America; an unwillingness to read anything about them if it appears ~~a~~ a little lengthy, and a disposition to postpone the consideration even of the things they know they must at last ~~compleatly~~ consider, so that they may have time for what more immediately concerns them, and withal enjoy the amusements, and be undisturbed in the universal dissipation." \* Franklin ' s exasperation was justly provoked, since each family in Boston town was matched <sup>by</sup> a soldier, the numbers of the latter in regiments of occupation almost more than the number of families. That for five years, and not a glimmer of intelligent interest or concern could Franklin detect. Oh, you may be sure Boston, and with it, Philadelphia, and Charleston, and the whole of Virginia were highly attentive to all such proceedings. They were the targets of a policy contrived by Ministers of State "under a disadvantage peculiar to themselves. While other Englishmen were ignorant, they were habitually misinformed... the personages upon whose reports Lord Hillsborough and Lord Dartmouth had to depend for forming their notions of the American population... were in many cases utterly unworthy of their trust." \*\*

\* Letter to Samuel Cooper. London, 7 July, 1773. There are literally a dozen examples forming an American counterpart as regards Viet Nam. In August, 1963, when Saigon appeared a madhouse to more than one observer, "The Attorney General ( Rob't F. Kennedy) reported back with great concern that nobody knew what was going to happen in Viet Nam and that our policy had not been fully discussed, as every other major decision since the Bay of Pigs had been discussed. . . Kennedy, beset by the missile crisis, congressional elections, Skybolt, de Gaulle, Latin American, the test ban negotiations and the civil rights fight, had little time to focus on Southeast Asia. His confidence in ~~McNamara~~ McNamara, so wholly justified in many areas, led the President to go along with the optimists on Viet Nam." A.M. Schlesinger, Jr. A Thousand Days. pp. 991, 982. Schlesinger's attempt to excuse is typically dishonest, and typically callous, since although de Gaulle, etc. are important, the only place American soldiers ( called advisors) were fighting and dying was Viet Nam; even though they were merely professional military men whom Schlesinger views as rivals in the power game of influence. Of course McNamara as he admitted in testimony, under oath, knew nothing of foreign affairs, and had probably no one on his staff who had done his homework on Viet Nam. 25 August, 1967.

Hearings, preparations Investigating Subcommittee of the Armed Service Committee, U.S. Senate. Air War against North Viet Nam. Of course, the latter part of Franklin's letter fits perfectly people on the fringes of power, such as radio news and interview people, editors, etc. G.O. Trevelyan, The American Revolution. edit. by Rich. B. Morris. p. 11

In France also the public has generally been "extraordinarily uninformed about its colonies chiefly because it is not interested. This cannot be blamed on a lack of information facilities... The Press is a slender reed of information on which to lean. Here, again, is the same vicious circle. The public is only interested in reading about colonial scandals which confirm their prejudices because they are uninformed, and they are uninformed because the papers print only sensational news about the colonies." \* In this country, the overall situation is worse, since American thinking, even the best of American observers disregard the fact that it was France which remolded Viet Nam with a heavy pestle. \*\* This is so substantial a consideration that an additional, if indirect argument, merits a place here. Cuban realities must always be more accessible, assuming probity and sincerity, ~~to disinterested~~ ~~investigators~~ <sup>AS AMBASSADOR</sup> than Vietnamese. And so it is conclusive that Herbert L. Matthews and his opponent, Earl G. T. Smith, who disagree on nearly everything else, are unanimous on the failure of the Press to report or to even understand the course of events. Smith, a wealthy broker, who got his appointment largely from contributing to party funds in the 1956 Eisenhower victory, affirms: "In some cases, before they (reporters) returned home to write their opinions of a complicated situation, they spent only twenty four hours in Cuba, hardly enough to obtain more than a glimpse of the country... too many people, without thoughtful consideration and without diligent study of the facts <sup>reached</sup> ~~reach~~ fixed conclusions about complex political and economic situations of a nation in a day or two. This is unfortunately true not only of tourists, but also of

\* Virginia Thompson, op. cit. p. 408.

\*\* Some might mention the late esteemed Professor Fall as an eminent refutation of the above statement. Fall, despite his brilliance, and cogency on tactics military, remained a French voice defending France against the monotonous verdict of guilty in Indochina, almost universally accepted here after Geneva. His monotonous apologia, publicly at least, for l'Indochine Francaise, when added to the typical sweeping anti-colonialism stance of Leading Americans added up, when taken together, to exactly zero as far as elucidating the complexities in Viet Nam. Colonel Wm. R. Corson. far and away the best observer

of the American presence in Viet Nam, fails in his otherwise outstanding effort, to avoid repeating the mistakes of other American secondary sources. Corson, The Betrayal. pp. 26- 27. Ironically, back in the days when the CIA was gestating as OSS, Dr. K.P. Landon its very first employee, and State Department neophyte accredited as expert on S.E. Asia found that all the information in the latter's files on French Indochina was from French sources. CORSON QUOTES NONE...

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newspapermen and TV commentators... The U.S. Press continued to intervene in the affairs of Cuba by grossly exaggerating and slanting the news on violent conditions thereby influencing public opinion in the U.S. and keeping American tourists away from Cuba... Jules Hubos(( veteran Latin American correspondent for the Chicago Tribune)) came out to the Embassy and ~~asked~~ asked me right off when I would get on the band wagon and get rid of that S.O.B. (( Battista)). He thought the State Department should issue a statement which would bring about the overthrow of the government of Cuba." \* Mr. Matthews, a pillar of the N.Y. Times itself until he questioned the veracity and preparation of his lists colleagues, some essential qualifications for a journalist reporting on Cuba: some knowledge of the country, its history, its people, the language, Latin America generally, and Communism. Mr. Matthews was what is still called a liberal; he was as sympathetic to ~~Fidel~~ Fidel Castro as the American Ambassador was hostile. His deliberated view that "The problem was not that there were so few American newspapermen with all the qualifications I listed. Nearly all the correspondents and editors handling the story could not fill a single one of the qualifications." \*\*\* Disparagement of journalists by government officials often reveals their own incompetence. William P. Bundy, the brother of Mc George, and son-in-law of Dean Acheson, is, for the last three years at least the State Department official most concerned day to day with Viet Nam. He "descended", \*\*\* along with the more imposing General Taylor and the more influential Mr. Walt Rostow, on Saigon in Oct. 1961. He has therefore been connected officially and physically, though perhaps not philosophically, with Viet Nam for seven years. Yet he condescended to mention two books by journalists in the Washington Post review of his own favorite reading, casually sneering at the same time that they weren't quite up to the best, which, oh by the way, he was not so immodest as to have actually read, although he had "dipped" into Paul Mus, la Sociologie d'une guerre; which, I might add, is probably more than either of the journalists ever did.\*\*\*

If Cuba, the American protectorate almost within sight of Florida, was such a riddle for the Press, and Mr. Matthews believed, for the government also\*, how much more the unscrutable "pp poor, tiny, weak, insignificant" Viet Nam.\*\*

Little has changed since the prelude to the American Revolution, except that ignorance today is more immune to criticism. Dr. Johnson felt that "the mental disease of the present generation, is impatience of study, contempt of the great masters of ancient wisdom, and a disposition to rely wholly upon unassisted genius and natural sagacity. The wits of these happy days ... cut the knots of sophistry which it was formerly the business of years to untie, solve difficulties by sudden irradiations of intelligence and comprehend long processes of argument by immediate intuition. Men who have flattered themselves into this opinion of their own abilities, look down on all who waste their lives over books, as a race of inferior beings condemned by nature to perpetual pupillage... Cicero remarks that not to know what has been transacted in former times is to continue always a child." \*\*\* Was it not childish indeed that "Washington, which set unusual store by documents signed and sealed assumed that when the Vietnamese agreed to do something, the thing would be done... Washington assumed that because there was a civil service and French trained at that, it ~~must~~ worked." \*\*\* Childish since Virginia Thompson had noted, and she not ineligible by any unamerican origins, in her indispensable digest for busy thinkers: "The French )) (( predecessors of Mr. Lodge and those under him)) have consistently found apparent acceptance of their projects did not guarantee in any way their execution... Mandarins ... can block with bland courtesy any measure they choose..."\*\*\*\*

"The ignorance of Latin America in American official and public life is appalling."op. cit. p. 234 and passim. Mr. Smith angrily insists State Dept. told him to rely on Matthews. Prominent commentators such as Eric Sevareid and observant wits such as Russell Baker join the Administration they dissect in these errors. Viet Nam is not, and wasn't a century ago, small, or weak, or poor, or unimportant, except if compared to China. Not the spot for a limited war. \*\*\* The Rambler, 7 Sept. 1751

\* Ward S. Just, To What End. Boston, 1968. Houghton Mifflin Co. p. 102.

\*\* V. Thompson, op. cit. p. 453.