

HISTORICIZING MODERNISM

JOHN
KASPER
AND EZRA
POUND

SAVING THE REPUBLIC

ALEC MARSH

B L O O M S B U R Y

John Kasper and Ezra Pound

Historicizing Modernism

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John Kasper and Ezra Pound

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Alec Marsh

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An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

50 Bedford Square
London
WC1B 3DP
UK

1385 Broadway
New York
NY 10018
USA

www.bloomsbury.com

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First published 2015

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: HB: 978-1-4725-0886-7

ePDF: 978-1-4725-1196-6

ePub: 978-1-4725-1302-1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Series: Historicizing Modernism

Typeset by Newgen Knowledge Works (P) Ltd., Chennai, India

*for Archie Henderson of Houston
the Mycroft Holmes of Pound Studies*

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Series Editors' Preface

This book series is devoted to the analysis of late-nineteenth to twentieth-century literary Modernism within its historical context. *Historicizing Modernism* thus stresses empirical accuracy and the value of primary sources (such as letters, diaries, notes, drafts, marginalia, or other archival deposits) in developing monographs, scholarly editions and edited collections on Modernist authors and their texts. This may take a number of forms, such as manuscript study and annotated volumes; archival editions and genetic criticism; as well as mappings of interrelated historical milieus or ideas. To date, no book series has laid claim to this interdisciplinary, source-based territory for modern literature. Correspondingly, two burgeoning subdisciplines of Modernism, Beckett studies and Pound studies, feature heavily as exemplars of the opportunities presented by manuscript research more widely. While an additional range of “canonical” authors will be covered here, this series also highlights the centrality of supposedly “minor” or occluded figures, not least in helping to establish broader intellectual genealogies of Modernist writing. Furthermore, while the series will be weighted towards the English-speaking world, studies of non-Anglophone Modernists whose writings are ripe for archivally based exploration shall also be included.

A key aim of such historicizing is to reach beyond the familiar rhetoric of intellectual and artistic “autonomy” employed by many Modernists and their critical commentators. Such rhetorical moves can and should themselves be historically situated and reintegrated into the complex continuum of individual literary practices. This emphasis upon the contested self-definitions of Modernist writers, thinkers and critics may, in turn, prompt various reconsiderations of the boundaries delimiting the concept “Modernism” itself. Similarly, the very notion of “historicizing” Modernism remains debatable, and this series by no means discourages more theoretically informed approaches. On the contrary, the editors believe that the historical specificity encouraged by *Historicizing Modernism* may inspire a range of fundamental critiques along the way.

Matthew Feldman
Erik Tønning

Acknowledgments

This book could not have been written without the constant, generous help and assiduous research of Archie Henderson, a man I have met only once, very briefly over dinner at the Rapallo Pound Conference in 2005. Since then we have exchanged thousands of emails in which he shared myriad references, newspaper clippings, and websites as we tried to organize and annotate the many letters John Kasper sent to Pound during the decade they were in touch. This book grew out of our collaboration on the Kasper letters as I attempted to provide a narrative and he a detailed Chronology of Kasper's movements and actions during the 1950s. Again and again, he has come to my rescue in supplying data or correcting my mistakes. His scholarship is especially visible here in the chapters on John Kasper's later career, from 1956 till 1960. Of course any mistakes that remain are my own. I owe much to my friends and colleagues in the world of Pound scholarship, my teachers and mentors, Mary de Rachewiltz most of all. I wish to honor the late George Kearns and Burton Hatlen; and especially thank, among senior colleagues, Demetres Tryphonopoulos, Peter Liebrechts, Tim Redman, Ron Bush, Walter Baumann, Massimo Bacigalupo, and David Moody as well as Roxana Preda and Miranda Hickman. I have been extremely grateful for the enthusiasm of Matthew Feldman—another friend I have yet to meet in person—for promoting the project at Bloomsbury. Thanks too, to all my friends in the Muhlenberg English Department among other Muhlenberg faculty—and students—for bearing with my Pound obsession. Many thanks to Will Trevethick who transcribed the Beinecke Kasper files from microfilm, and to Muhlenberg College for a Student Summer Research Grant that went some way toward compensating him for this tedious task. I appreciate the half of a Class of '32 Research Fellowship I received in 2013 that allowed a term off teaching to prepare this manuscript. I wish to thank the kind and patient help of the staff at the Trexler Library at Muhlenberg and the Beinecke Library at Yale as well as librarians I have never met at the Lilly Library at Indiana University, Bloomington, and those curating the Hall-Hoag Collection of extremist literature at Brown University. And thank you, Nicole, for who you are and all you do.

Alec Marsh Allentown, PA, October 3, 2014

Preface: An Invitation to a KKK Meeting

I daresay I was not the first, nor the last, young Pound scholar to feel a chill akin to fear when, years and years ago now, I encountered the Ku Klux Klan handbill amidst the eleven folders of John Kasper's letters to Ezra Pound in the Beinecke Library. It read:

JOHN KASPER

FROM WASHINGTON D.C. THE FIRST AMERICAN EVER TO BE
ARRESTED FOR FREE SPEECH

Plus

BILL HENDRIX

FROM FLORIDA

IMPERIAL WIZARD OF THE KU KLUX KLAN.

The handbill was authorized by the Great Titan of the S. C. Knights of the KKK. Why would such a thing, fairly reeking of the heart of American darkness, be sent to Pound? What sustenance could he take from it?

Kasper had sent this flyer to the poet as a courtesy, and I'd like to think that Pound would have had little interest in attending the rally scheduled for June 1, 1957, in West Gantt, South Carolina, even if he had been free to do so. But he was not free; Pound was incarcerated at St Elizabeths hospital in Washington, DC, as he had been for the previous ten years under indictment for treason. Indicted, but never tried, for broadcasting allegedly treasonous remarks over Axis-controlled radio during Second World War, Pound had been found mentally incompetent by a jury to stand trial. Instead, he had been remanded to St Elizabeths until he was deemed well enough to understand the charges against him and assist in his own defense. Tried for his sanity in 1946, Pound would remain at St Elizabeths until April 1958 unconvicted of any crime. That year charges against the aged poet, now 73 years old, were dropped on condition that he return to Italy in care of his wife, Dorothy.

John Kasper was the most important of the disciples and Right-wing acolytes who surrounded Pound during the St Elizabeths period, 1946–58. Since the Bollingen Prize controversy caused by its award to the poet in February 25, 1949,

for *The Pisan Cantos*, which had made Americans aware of the poet confined in the United States, Pound had become a magnet for sympathetic rightists as well as well-meaning literati. John Kasper was both; he had discovered Pound as an undergraduate at Columbia University, where he had read F. R. Leavis's *How to Teach Reading: A Primer for Ezra Pound*, and first visited Pound with the idea of writing a doctoral thesis on his work, but he was open to Pound's political and economic thinking because of his upbringing in a radically Right-wing milieu.

The transformation of Kasper from young anti-Semite to arch-segregationist after 1956 as he fought against the integration of public schools trying to comply with the two *Brown v. Board of Education* decisions of 1954 and 1955 is a compelling, and disturbing, story. Pound's transformation is more tragic only because we expect more from him, we want him to be a thoughtful, wise old man with broad and humane views; but, in fact, Pound's views during the Civil Rights era are consistent with the "strict constructionist" interpretation of the US Constitution in which he and more visible opponents of integration believed—that is to say, virtually all Southern Democrats. It is in line, too, with a persistent "southern" orientation in his thinking, which comes from his deep-dyed Jeffersonianism. Regardless of his opinions about race, Pound was bound to be a States' Rights man; it is not surprising that as his release drew near he inquired of a Southern friend if he might live in the stables at Monticello (Meacham 83).

The main source for this book is Kasper's rich and plentiful letters to the poet now held at the Lilly and Beinecke libraries. Running to some 400 pages they are more than "the portrait of a terrorist as a young man," they also shed light on the late *Cantos* and show how Pound steered his poem into the turbulent waters of American racism. Coded references to "states' rights" and old-fashioned Jeffersonian ideology are as marked in these poems as the more startling, and perhaps better-known references to Pound's fascist saints, Mussolini, and Hitler. In at least one instance (Canto 105) Pound devoted lines of his poem to aiding explicitly the segregationist cause in response to a plea from Kasper.

Unfortunately, only a few of Pound's innumerable letters to Kasper are known through carbon copies, the bulk of the letters themselves disappeared after Kasper's accidental death by drowning on April 7, 1998. Still, we can get some sense of the poet's side of things from Kasper's replies. There is abundant evidence to show that Pound himself was on the wrong side of the Civil Rights struggle, because like Kasper, he saw the attempt to integrate American schools as part of the Jewish/Communist conspiracy. Specifically: "Nothing is more damnably harmful to everyone, black and white than misceg[e]nation, bastardization and

mongrelization of EVERYthing” (qtd in Houen 180). In *The Cantos* Pound is more concise: “maintain anti-sepsis, / let the light pour” (94/655).

Generally seen as an embarrassment, not only to Pound but to Pound-studies, the Kasper correspondence with Pound has received little attention from scholars, even the biographers have given it short-shrift, typically seeing Kasper as a near-mental case rather than taking him seriously as an American extremist of a well-known type. As I will argue in this book, Kasper was a serious student of Pound; indeed he was one of his most astute and committed readers. He reads Pound as a political activist and took Pound’s unrelenting calls for action throughout his poetry and prose to heart. While the scholars of his time began the work of exhuming and exploring Pound’s numerous and often arcane sources, Kasper understood that Pound wanted his readers to *do something* about a world being destroyed on every level, political, cultural, ecological, and yes, even racial, by exploitative modes of production and distribution directed by a small predatory cabal.

Although in my own biography of the poet, *Ezra Pound* (Reaktion Books 2011), I tried to give Kasper his due, there wasn’t space for the longer appraisal that this intense young man’s friendship with the great poet deserves. Earlier biographers have downplayed that relationship. Pound’s first biographer, Eustace Mullins, a prominent member of Pound’s Right-wing coterie and Kasper’s some-time roommate asserts in *This Difficult Individual Ezra Pound* (1960) that “Pound neither sponsored nor approved of Kasper’s political activities” (Mullins 1960: 22), which is patently false. Since Mullins was entirely in tune with Kasper’s politics, he is protecting both men, one reason why Pound, when informed by James Laughlin that Mullins had approached New Directions about doing Pound’s biography, thought he’d do a better job than Charles Norman; “I plug for the Mulligator” he wrote, adding later, “YES, of course Mullins is qualified one of the 3 or 4 men I wd/ trust with my personal papers” (EP/JL 266, 267). Norman, on the other hand, is likely to produce a “subversive work, i.e. one that will distract from anything of value to non-ezzentials, non EZzentials” (EP/JL 266). Both Mullins and Norman wrote Pound biographies. Kasper appears in Norman’s book as a braggart, bohemian opportunist, his youthful head turned by the attentions of genius, arguing that “it is not Pound’s fault, of course, that Kasper became what he did” (Norman 1960, 1969: 450–3). In his generally hostile appraisal, *Serious Character: The Life of Ezra Pound* (1988), probably the best-known Pound biography, Humphrey Carpenter pays some attention to Kasper, but still tends to distance him from Pound. Much better is John Tytell, who in a few trenchant pages, titled “Manic Territory” lays out Kasper’s virtues

and shortcomings; paralleling them deftly with the fringy political milieu they mirrored (Tytell 306–11). Gregory Barnhisel in a recent study, *James Laughlin, New Directions and the Remaking of Ezra Pound* (University of Massachusetts Press 2005) is content to label Kasper a “crackpot” (158). As of this writing, David Moody’s third volume of his authoritative biography of Pound has not appeared and he is mum about what he intends to say about Pound and Kasper.

Half a chapter by Alex Houen in his *Terrorism and Modern Literature* (Oxford 2002) is a rare recent attempt to assess seriously the Pound/Kasper relationship. Despite the paucity of extant examples of Pound’s own letters to Kasper, Houen realizes that there can be no doubt that “Pound effectively sanctioned” Kasper’s activities (Houen 183). Houen’s work is a step in the right direction. A recent dissertation by Michael Alleman, written at University of Texas Dallas under the direction of Pound biographer Tim Redman, offers a chapter on Kasper and Pound, but for some reason does not use the Kasper letters; instead, Alleman relies on Pound’s letters to others to chart Pound’s reactions to his volatile, energetic protégé.¹

Both Houen’s and Alleman’s work is hampered by confusions of chronology. Close examination of the Kasper letters held at the Beinecke, most of which lack year dates, shows that despite best efforts by archivists, they are out of chronological order, which has led to confusion. This is not surprising as there were two Make It New Bookstore projects, and Kasper made two southern campaigns in 1956, one in the spring to help Admiral Crommelin in the Democratic primary in Alabama, and the other in the fall, to stop the integration of schools at Charlottesville, Virginia, and then at Clinton and Nashville, Tennessee. Finally, Kasper was in and out of county jails and twice in federal prison for his activities. All in all, only by carefully analyzing internal evidence can one begin to ascertain which letters were written when.

Clive Webb devotes two useful chapters to Kasper in *Rabble Rousers: The American Far Right in the Civil Rights Era* (Georgia University Press 2010) but does not make much use of the Beinecke material either. His main source is Kasper’s voluminous FBI file. Although Pound is mentioned (and wrongly convicted of treason!) in Webb’s account, his main interests lie elsewhere. Still, Webb has tried, as no one else yet has, to make sense of Kasper. He refuses to pathologize Kasper as biographers of Pound have tended to do and he tries to account for his motives. Webb considers that Kasper may have been a publicity seeker, but his main evidence on that score is “The Ballad of John Kasper,” which Webb assumes that Kasper wrote about himself in a fit of egomania; in fact, Tom Truelove, Kasper’s friend (and a Pound correspondent) wrote the song sometime in the

immediate aftermath of the Clinton Crisis. A copy of the lyrics was sent to Pound by Kasper and remains in the Kasper files at the Beinecke (Webb 99).² Still, Webb recognizes that terrorists are idealists, driven by a vision of truth, justice, and historical redress. He quotes Bruce Hoffman to point out that terrorists may see themselves as altruists, sacrificing themselves for the larger good (Webb 100), which seems close to how Kasper presented himself—"the first American to ever be arrested for Free Speech."

In the end, Webb concludes that "Kasper eludes easy analysis" and finds a "veil of mystery" covering Kasper's motives despite his own thoughtful attempts to make sense of them (Webb 100). Perhaps if Webb had probed more deeply into Kasper's close relationship with Ezra Pound he would have discovered more. Together, they evolved an ideology of racial destiny that can account for their hostile attitude toward Jews and their equivocal stance as self-described friends of black people yet upholders of segregation. Their fears of race-mixing have a eugenic basis amounting to a theory of history as racial struggle encoded in Pound's late cantos. Pound's long-held Jeffersonian theory of history as a contest between debtors and creditors takes on a racial coloring and a Cold War aspect as an implacable cabal of Communist Jews is seen to be subverting and ultimately enslaving the United States by encouraging racial mixing. The histories that Pound read and used in his late cantos support this view, which in fact, Pound shared with most southern racial ideologues, such as Senator Bilbo of Mississippi and even J. Edgar Hoover.³ The Warren Court and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) were the most obvious vanguard of this subversive operation, which, Pound felt, had been going on for a long time—at least since the Civil War.

Inevitably, for Pound scholars, it is the later Kasper, the Kasper whose seditious activity against the effort to desegregate schools in the South, which probably cost Pound a couple of years of freedom, who gets the most attention. But Kasper was more than a rabble rouser; he was a serious transmitter of Pound's ideas who imagined himself as the successor to James Laughlin as Pound's publisher. Pound's idiosyncratic Confucianist, Fascist, Jeffersonianism, and Kasper's home-grown Christian anti-Semitism fed off each other, influencing Pound's great poem and Kasper's "southern strategy"—ultimately having an obscure but real effect on the American political landscape as we find it today in our moment of recrudescent "Christian Fascism"—to cite a recent book by Christopher Hedges—and its political wing, the Tea Parties.

"Crackpot," (Barnhisel) "unstable" (Carpenter), a "rabble rouser no better than Mussolini's thugs" (Tytell), a fit candidate for the bughouse (Houen),

whatever he was, Kasper was energetic and courageous. Few histories of the Civil Rights era fail to mention him, usually as “itinerant troublemaker” (Klarman 351, 414), “itinerant rabble-rousing racist” (George Lewis, 80) or as “a notorious segregationist” associated with bombings (Greenberg 254); David Nichols calls him a “notorious agitator” and astutely links him to cross-burnings on the lawns of the Supreme Court justices and the attempted arson of Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr’s home (Nichols 151) a fact since confirmed by FBI files (Webb 53) although the Bureau did nothing about it. Even Gunnar Myrdal himself casts Kasper as a “minor type” who “seems to have a psychological drive to lead violent movements” in his introduction to a new 1962 edition of *The American Dilemma* (Myrdal xlvii).

Despite the appalling anti-Semitism and antiblack racism that saturates the correspondence—a concordance would list “kike” and (after Kasper’s alliance with Admiral Crommelin in 1956) “Nigra” and “nigger” as frequently used words—I am not much interested in assigning blame, even though Pound’s racism became (under the influence of Louis Agassiz) much more marked than that of most non-Southern whites. The fact that Pound was an anti-Semite, a fascist, and white racist bothers me a lot as an American and a human being and the fact that he could have stopped Kasper, who worshipped the poet as a father, teacher, and Master, at any time had he thought that his young protégé had gone too far is hard to bear. But to scholars of Pound, the poet’s support of Kasper and the racial politics they both espoused, the one as activist and the other as theorist, must be accepted, just as we accept the fact the Shakespeare was an anti-Semite, a monarchist, and thought fair folks handsomer and superior to dark ones. Our duty to Pound is to understand him, not to make him into the kind of ineffective liberal he despised, the kind who wring their hands while the republic totters and its sacred Constitution burns. For us, the question of interest is what racism *means* in Pound’s particular case and how the meanings of racism—“anti-sepsis” for example, might play out in Pound’s insistence on quoting De Gourmont’s “dissociation of ideas” and how dissociation becomes, after “scientific” reinforcement by Louis Agassiz, in effect, intellectual apartheid. And how is it that Pound, as is so often attested, can be both benevolent and bigoted, can be both the learned poet and the avid consumer of crude and patent tracts, forgeries, and pseudo-scholarship from *The Protocols of Zion* to John Beaty’s *Iron Curtain Over America*? The related problem of Pound’s constant calling for correct terminology and “right-naming” and his use throughout his later cantos of “Aesopian” language to disguise his meanings, a problem brought to scholarly attention some time ago by Robert Casillo in his

courageous *Geneology of Demons: Anti-Semitism, Fascism and the Myths of Ezra Pound* (1988), is worth further discussion. The Manichean world-view these tensions created between truth and falsehood, between Pound's immense real learning and the pseudo-scholarship within Pound's writing are what make *The Cantos* more lively and more disturbing than the more ideologically coherent, democratic, and happily pluralistic *Paterson* of William Carlos Williams, which shares so many of Pound's economic, but none of his racial, premises.

Disagree as we must with Kasper's beliefs, he spoke out, testified about them (and Pound) to Congress and in Court. He was even willing to go to prison for them. All in all Kasper was Pound's most perspicacious reader, seeing through the elaborate and recondite surface of the poem to its radical, and therefore simple intent: to "save the republic." In curious ways, some literary, some political and historical, he was Pound's most important reader in the 1950s.

John Kasper and Ezra Pound: The Poetics of American Extremism

Ezra Pound's "St. Elizabeths period," 1945–58 deserves more discussion than it has had. Arguably, his years as a political prisoner were his most productive. While incarcerated, Pound completed his translations of Confucius, including the *Book of Odes*, wrote two books of his *Cantos*, and saw through the republication of many of his earlier works. Only his political journalism suffered during this period, because Pound felt that overt political agitation would either result in a trial for his life or impede efforts to get his release. The political and economic propaganda on which he had spent so much energy since the mid-1930s was reduced to anonymous items reworked from letters, or work published under the names of his disciples. These disciples, however, were a very active and dedicated group. They represent an important sector of Pound's influence on others. Usually we think of Pound's *literary* influences, here was a group of younger people influenced by Pound's *political* ideas. Pound's political progeny included Dave Horton and John Kasper, who published Pound's political and economic curriculum—Confucius, Fenollosa, historian Alexander Del Mar, anti-Darwinist Louis Agassiz, anti-bank Senator Thomas Hart Benton in their Square \$ Books series. Another political son, Dallam Simpson (aka Dallam Flynn, Dallam Smith) published Basil Bunting through the "Cleaners' Press," which Horton and Kasper would inherit and absorb into their own operation. Others included Eustace Mullins, who wrote an expose of the Federal Reserve Bank at Pound's instigation and who later became his first biographer; William McNaughton, who published a newsletter for Pound's ideas called *Strike!* and Sheri Martinelli, who as mid-century American muse to a number of writers, brought Pound's conspiratorial outlook with her to San Francisco, where, in the 1960s, she became "mother of the Beats" and published her mimeographed *Anagoric & Paideumic Review*. David Wang, a refugee from Red China and a

Dartmouth graduate, was an admirer of Kasper as well as Pound. He brought their radically conservative message to Ivy League campuses in the late 1950s, with his offshoot of Kasper's segregationist Wheat In Our Bread Party, which Pound had Christened. Usually seen as a fringy character, Wang was an integral part of this group after making contact with the poet in 1955.

Through Dave Horton, a Hamilton College alumnus and law student, Pound made contact with the Defenders of the American Constitution (DAC), founded in 1953 by a Right-wing group of ex-military who published *Task Force*, a patriotic news and information sheet. Horton worked for the DAC and through him and his own personal friendship with its leader, General Pedro Del Valle, who visited him regularly at St Elizabeths, Pound had editorial input and invented "The Sen. Thomas Hart Benton Award" given by the DAC to worthy public servants for upholding the Constitution in the face of New Deal type judicial "activism" and suspected communist subversion. As "Chairman of the Executive Council" of the DAC, Horton testified before Senator Jenner's Sub-committee on Internal Security in the spring of 1958 to limit the Appellate Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, one tactic to contain the supposedly subversive potential of the Warren Court as instanced by *Brown v. Board of Education*, and other decisions that seemed to the Defenders and others to hand over the United States to Communists. Horton himself used his radio show to broadcast Pound's political views as well as his own. As a radio personality, he would play a role in the resistance to school integration in the District of Columbia. He continued his work with the DAC after Pound's release and eventually became legal counsel to the Committee to Restore the Constitution, run by Lt Col Archibald Roberts, the man who had written General Edwin Walker's notorious "Pro-Blue" (i.e. Anti-Red) pamphlet to educate his troops and, like Walker, been forcibly retired from the military as a result. Roberts was heavily involved with the "Minutemen"—a militia movement—in the 1960s and 1970s. Horton testified about states' rights and before various state legislatures through the 1970s (see Roberts 1984, *The Most Secret Science*). Based in Carson City, Nevada, he was involved in the "Sagebrush Wars" of the 1980s. His legal theories about the abuse of federal power over the public lands lies behind the recent (2014) stand-off at the Bundy ranch in Nevada, which drew some 3,000 armed militia-men from all over the country to resist federal demands that Bundy pay rent for his use of public lands.

David Gordon, later like McNaughton a professor of Chinese, published the *Academia Bulletin* also dedicated to Pound's views—its original title was to have been *Academia Poundiana*. He was an avid researcher for Pound, good at winking out pernicious Semitic influences infecting Aryan culture. Letters to

Pound show that Gordon also worked in Kasper's Cadmus bookstore and like Horton, he was active in trying to preserve segregated schools in the District of Columbia (YCAL MSS 43, folder 851). As Robert Casillo noticed long ago, Gordon continued to serve as an apologist for Pound (and thus himself) long after Pound's death. In his introduction to *Ezra Pound and James Laughlin: Selected Letters* (Norton 1994) Gordon insists that Pound wanted the *Academia Bulletin* to have nothing to do with Fascism or anti-Semitism, which may be strictly true, but insofar as it was dedicated to "establishing a permanent scale of values" of which Pound was the arbiter, it would have been impossible for the *Bulletin* not to promote those views. A letter from Pound to Gordon in December 1956 shows that contrary to Gordon's presentation, Pound did want the *Bulletin* to bring out his "LOCAL" and "active" message, correlated with assets already in place, like Hollis Frampton's mimeograph machine and the jailed Kasper's idle offset press. The *Bulletin* is to be more like Noel Stock's *Edge* and the Australian *New Times*, both anti-Semitic vehicles that Stock fed with Pound material:

note to D. G. 21 Dec [1956]
 Acad/ international/ but need LOCAL, and more convergent/
 more active re/ necessary ideas/
 some members Ac Po/ already merely receptive.
 Disgrace nowt in U.S. at level Ed[g]e and New Times /
 Framp/ mim/ Kasp/ offset (idle)
 mullins flighty, Kasp impulsive Horton solid.
 several others YOUNG. (Beinecke EP to DG YCAL MSS 43, folder 851)

Pound's list of his most helpful acolytes, Kasper, Horton, Mullins, and Frampton—this is the well-known film-maker, then located in Cleveland, and the emitter of *RES*, a mimeographed publication that circulated in 1956 and 1957¹—shows that he wanted Gordon's *Academia* to be more like their work. The references to *Edge* and *New Times* show that Gordon is urged to make the *Academia Bulletin* active "re/necessary ideas" more the way that the Australian publications were. Since these ideas had to do, relentlessly, with the Jewish conspiracy, it is no surprise that at the same time he was organizing the *Bulletin*, Gordon was researching the Aryan fantasies of L. A. Waddell, which underwrite Cantos 94 and 97. In his later writings about Pound, Gordon encouraged the myth that Pound's tribulations at Pisa purged him of anti-Semitism and his faith in Mussolini and Hitler (Casillo 95, Gordon, *Pai* 1974). His correspondence with Pound held at the Beinecke shows he knew that this never happened.

Prof. Giovanni Giovannini, the chair of the English Department at Catholic University of Washington steered clear of the worst Right-wing Poundian excesses. He was a brilliant scholar and a learned man. His impressive essay on Pound and Dante in the Beinecke is well worth the time of anyone interested in either poet. Correspondence shows he was made uncomfortable by praise of Mussolini in Giulio Del Pelo Pardi's physiocratic and autarkic essay *For World Peace* (1923), which he translated at Pound's request for publication by Paul Koch's Press of the Four Winds in Provincetown, Massachusetts, in 1955. He refused Pound's request to translate Mussolini's memoirs and it seems that Pound did so himself, publishing the results in *RES* and *Edge*. A native of Italy who experienced Fascism, Giovannini was sympathetic to Mussolini's domestic policy, but found his foreign policy a disaster. He affiliated himself with the Right wing of the US Republican party, was a strong anticommunist and although his correspondence is silent on the issue of school integration, he felt that the Warren Court was soft on Communism. His close colleague Edna Fluegel at Catholic University was also a researcher for arch-conservative Senator Jenner. Giovannini himself worked closely with Usher Burdick's assistant George Sieber on the Congressional Report, which helped free Pound. He was alarmed by John Kasper and Dave Horton and worried, quite correctly as it happened, that Kasper's activism would get Pound into trouble and delay his release.

Farther afield, in Australia, Noel Stock's connection with the Right-wing *New Times*, meant that it became the principal vehicle for Pound's propaganda, supplemented for a time, by Stock's own *Edge*. Like Giovannini, Stock was a devout Catholic.² In all, Stock published "eighty or more unsigned or pseudonymous items sent from St. Elizabeths in the middle 1950s" (Stock 1970: 442–3). Stock recalled that at age 24 he "was completely under Pound's spell" even though he lived half a world away. In *Reading the Cantos* (1966) he disparages "the rubbish which we, his correspondents, fed to him, or the rubbish which he in turn fed to us. . . . a good number of us, because we believed in him and (not least) sought his praise, helped to confirm him in the belief that he alone possessed a coherent view of the truth. It was his duty, therefore to hold out against The Enemy. I remember him speaking in all seriousness of the Cantos as a 'political weapon'" (Stock 1966: 91). Such adulation was not good for the poet. Pound needed colleagues and peers to keep his mind steady, not worshippers. Eventually, Stock regretted that he'd bought fully into Pound's program even after being warned off by Hugh Kenner (Stock, *Helix* 160). After repudiating anti-Semitism and to great extent, Pound himself, Stock would write *The Life of Ezra Pound* (1970), the first serious biography of the poet.

It is not generally appreciated how very active these people were on the extreme Right of American politics in the 1950s and even afterward—especially the inner circle of “disciples” Kasper, Horton, and Mullins; indeed, until his death, March 2010, Mullins was active on the internet, speaking at length in video interviews on Ezra Pound and the Jewish menace.

But Pound did not form, nor was he wholly responsible for the political views of these young men; these very young people were kindred spirits from the beginning. Like Pound himself these men were all steeped in Right-wing and anti-Semitic politics before and during the Second World War. For example, by his own account, Mullins was a reader of G. L. K. Smith’s *The Cross & The Flag*, while still a soldier (“My Struggle” p. 2). Dallam Simpson left Washington for Texas to become a Baptist minister preaching Smith-like Right-wing sermons while changing his name to suit. John Kasper had been raised in the militantly anticommunist atmosphere of Carl McIntire’s Bible Presbyterian Church of Collingswood, New Jersey. McIntire was one of the inventors of what would become the new “Christian Right.” Horton appears to have been involved with the DAC, independently of Pound. Like Pound, during the Cold War these young people asserted themselves as fervent anticommunists. Like Pound, they were enthusiastic McCarthyites. Kasper used his Pound-inspired Make it New bookstore in Greenwich Village to distribute McCarthy’s reports and investigations, while Mullins claims to have worked for McCarthy as a researcher. Mullins was also a member of the National Renaissance Party (NRP), a Nazi group operating out of Yorkville in Brooklyn, run by James Madole.

In a comment to a letter received from Pound in February 1953, Louis Dudek characterized Kasper as “a world disrupting individual” and bemoaned the fact that “Pound had at last come to be surrounded by a group of devoted activists—Dallam Flynn [Simpson], Eustace Mullins, John Kasper, Dave Horton etc.—the sort of practical people his dogmatic diatribes were destined to call forth, and who were quite ready to carry out to the letter, and beyond, every item of his didactic program” (Dk 97).³

Although Mullins runs a close second, the most important member of this group for Pound and for Pound scholarship is John Kasper. His importance lies not only in what he accomplished as a Poundian devotee—publisher of the Square \$ Books, operator of two bookstores dedicated to Pound—Make it New in Greenwich Village and the Cadmus Bookshop in Washington, DC—but also his transformation from neo-Nazi to arch-segregationist after 1956. He was the only one of Pound’s political disciples capable of inspiring others. From

1956 until at least 1964, when he represented the National States Rights Party (NSRP) as their candidate for president of the United States, Kasper was a major player in the neo-Confederate underground that actively resisted efforts in the federal government to enforce the racial integration of schools across the South. Through his friend and associate Admiral John Crommelin, Kasper knew and worked closely with everyone in the resistance movement, including Asa “Ace” Carter, J. B. Stoner, Bill Hendrix (Head of the Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan) George Bright (charged in the Atlanta synagogue bombing) and Ed Fields, founder, along with Kasper and others, of the NSRP and active into the twenty-first century as publisher of *The Truth at Last*, an old-fashioned racist newsheet emitted from Marietta, Georgia.

A speaker at KKK rallies and an effective rabble-rouser, often sharing the platform with Carter, Hendrix, and Crommelin, Kasper was closely associated with cross-burners, dynamiters, and terrorists. Kasper’s remarkable transformation from one kind of Right-wing radical (intellectual neo-Nazi anti-Semite) to another kind (Klan-style white-supremacist), was known to Pound through the hundreds of letters Kasper wrote to the poet, which are now in the Lilly and Beinecke Libraries. These letters, often long and informative, sometimes embarrassingly fulsome and worshipful, sometimes gossipy, sometimes mere business transactions revealing records of books (often anti-Semitic tracts) bought by the poet, offer fascinating views of the American Right in the 1950s. Among the letters are KKK handbills, propaganda material by Carter, NSRP founders Fields and J. B. Stoner, and scurrilous cartoons by George Lincoln Rockwell—who later led the American Nazi Party; all four were prominent figures on the far, far Right flank of the segregation battle.

Just as we see in Pound’s own writing, there is a touch of mania in Kasper’s ardent correspondence—“Granpaw, Granpaw, I love you, love you” (JK to EP May 28, 1952)—as in his astonishing energy of Pound’s behalf. These tended to reach a crescendo in Kasper’s birthday letters to the imprisoned poet, as in this 1952 letter dated October 30:

O Sidgismundo, Your army’s gathering every day, please, we need you for the offense and the “charge.” There’s nothing they can do, NO NUTHIN they can’t take it away from you, not a damn thing can they take way, from thee THOU GREATEST GIVER, KNOWER, SEER, SAGE, WATER, GRAIN, RAIN, and SUN. (JK to EP October 30, 1952)

The letter is signed by the 22-year-old with a boyish flourish: “Yours, John Kasper, Cap’n, 34th Brigade 16th Cuirassiers Regiment of the Line” (JK to EP

October 30, 1952). As the reference to Sigismundo implies, Pound is Kasper's commander; other times he'd sign off as "Little Sidg."

It doesn't take a degree in psychology to see from Kasper's correspondence that he adored his own father and saw him in others, not only in the patriarchal Pound, but in the Moses-like figure of his Right-wing pastor, Reverend McIntire, and, later, in the Alabama segregationist Admiral John Crommelin, with whom Kasper was closely associated during his white supremacy phase. Crommelin spoke of Kasper as though of a son when he talked to an interviewer in 1962 (Cook 159–60). In many ways, Kasper's patriotism was truly love of his fatherland.

Kasper's romantic temperament is also easy to see. It is expressed in his wildly fluctuant letters to Pound about his lover, Stephanie Dudek—when things are good between them, she is "my Lady" and a glory; when things are bad, Kasper admonishes Pound not to write to her as one not fit for commerce with him. Then she becomes a "Lithuanian" a snake-worshipper, a pagan, saturated in "Freudmuck and Reichmuck." He once went so far in a fit of rage to burn Stephanie's books; "numerous works by Freud, Reich, Einstein, Marx and other Jewish agents provocateurs" were consigned "to the flames of Kasper self-righteousness" he admitted a bit sheepishly in a July 1952 letter to Pound (JK to EP July 1954). Kasper's hatred of Reich in particular is rich in interpretive possibility, since Reich wrote against fascism and its psychological basis explicitly in *The Function of the Orgasm* (1942 English trans., 1948), a book very popular in Greenwich Village in the 1950s. Recall its central place in Jack Kerouac's *The Subterraneans* (Kerouac 46).

Kasper's Jew-mania was admitted: "As you know," Kasper reminded Pound in May 1955, "Kasper was nearly a total lunatic in those days [1952] (still is) on the subject of Jews. I'd smell 'em a mile away" (JK to EP May 19, 1955). But his later attitude toward black people is not so easily accounted for. Just a day earlier Kasper bragged to Pound "that JK. has organized some Afro-American vitality to break the Jew-grip. Bulleeve me Sir, they understand EVERYTHING and you don't have to use words to communicate. In their own words, they are DOWN for YOU, Granpaw, and why anyway, should 14,000,000 Nubians be left to the Baruchcrats?" (May 18, 1955). That summer, 1955, his best employee at Make It New and a most promising Poundian was Florette Henry, an African American "collitch girl" (St John's, Brooklyn) and keeper of the shop six days a week in the evening. Kasper reports to Pound that she "digs' the red question, the yidd question and is working on the problema de moneta" (JK letters 119).

That same month Kasper took Florette to meet Pound at St Elizabeths. In a letter thanking him for a lovely afternoon, she asked the poet for Langston

Hughes's address. There is something wonderful about the earnest young black woman and would-be Poundian fascist asking for the address of one of McCarthy's victims, the erstwhile Communist Langston Hughes. There is no question that at that time, Kasper treated Afro-American people with affection and respect. No wonder Pound and Stephanie Dudek pooh-poohed reports of his antiblack racism after being confronted by reporters with Kasper's racist activity. Yet, just a year after his visit to St Elizabeths with Henry, Kasper was an avowed white-supremacist. How that happened is one of the things this study seeks to explain. It is important, not just to understand Kasper, but to understand Pound's evolving politics as they shifted ever-rightward through final decade of his incarceration.

Ezra Pound as a “Southern” Writer: Race, Reconstruction, and the Fate of the Republic

Idaho born, New York and Philadelphia raised, Ezra Pound was not in the literal sense a writer from the South. “Southern” refers mainly to his “Jeffersonian” ideology that I have written about in a previous book called *Money & Modernity: Pound, Williams and the Spirit of Jefferson* (1998). Jeffersonianism is a belief in the independent producer as the model of citizenship and artistic integrity. It envisions history as a class-struggle between debtors and creditors, or otherwise put, “producers”—farmers, craftsmen, artists and small capitalists, and “exploiters”—invariably banks and financiers. “Usury spoiled the republic” (*Impact* 26) Pound states in his “Introduction to the Economic History of the United States” (1944) thus fixing on financial manipulation as the root of social evil, the reform of which might be the best route to a proper and republican civilization.

With its agrarian bias and notorious distrust of government—the best government is that which governs least idea—Jeffersonianism is very much a “Southern” doctrine that over the course of time underwrote the secession of the Southern states leading to the American Civil War (1861–5) and modulated into a broad, diverse, and hardy stream of ideology known as American Populism, still alive and kicking today in the US Republican Party. Pound, it is by now agreed, is very much in the populist mode, which explains his interest in money and its reform.¹ It also helps explain his Southern orientation during the 1950s when States’ Rights again became a national issue in the wake of the *Brown* decisions mandating the integration of schools.

For there is another, darker side—darker in every sense—to American populism, which on the surface can seem a rather attractive ideology; this is the issue of race. Jefferson’s political vision was based, literally and figuratively on

the economics of slavery.² Slavery, in the United States, permeates all discussion of race, and American racism is the ideology that accompanied and justified slaves in the land of the free. None have been such ardent champions of liberty as American slave-holders, none have made such extreme cases for the moral, spiritual, and biological inferiority of the so-called Negro.

The “contradictory and paradoxical” (Du Bois 11) nature of the Southern position extends to the very heart of the American experiment. Slaves were chattel, then cattle (see Du Bois 10) but they were also the descendants and relatives of the slaveholders, who knew, as Southerners from Thomas Jefferson to the Dixiecrat Strom Thurmond have known, that people of African descent were human and sexually desirable. This all-too human hypocrisy and this all-too-human bond has been the subject of much American literature of significance. This theme has been the special province of “Southern” writers white and black, but as the United States itself has been Southernized since the great migration of Afro-Americans out of the South into the Northern cities during the twentieth century, and as American populism has undergone a series of perverse transformations, from a “progressive” ideology suspicious of finance capital and industrial combinations, into a mainstream ideology deployed in defense of the free play of capital under the sign of corporate capitalism; race and “identity”—in United States they come to much the same thing—have become *the* theme of important American literature. And this includes Pound’s *Cantos*.

Pound has often been studied as a racist, but not much as an American racist. His notorious anti-Semitism has been the subject of many articles and books, but his attitude toward Afro-America is less well-known.³ And nobody considers Pound as a Southern writer, why should they? Yet, Pound’s attitudes toward race, including his populist anti-Semitism, are so inflected by his Jeffersonian consciousness that we can properly call them Southern. These attitudes mean that Pound felt affection and intellectual respect for individual black people—Nancy Cunard’s lover Henry Crowder and Langston Hughes would be examples—but he also believed in more abstract notions of racial destiny, and racial gifts. “Each race has its own qualities,” he wrote, “Any attempt to obscure racial character is antiscientific. No race can fully perform the functions of another” (“Note Against Degradation” Beinecke Box 49, folder 2190).

Until the 1950s, when he fell under the influence of Louis Agassiz’s scientific racism, Pound was not noticeably a white supremacist. However, his broadcasts over Axis radio, especially after 1942, could be construed that way insofar as they conform to Nazi racial ideology. No doubt this ideology had some effect on the later *Cantos*, which at times reveal Aryanist preoccupations based, inevitably, on

white supremacy. But prior to the war, Pound's fugitive writings on the subject register the belief that black Americans were as American as he was, which meant a good deal more American than others whose ancestors had come to this country only in the late nineteenth century—like his friend William Carlos Williams, for instance, who Pound jocularly explained, was not a real American at all, but a transplanted Englishman (WCW's father was English), or a Spaniard (WCW's mother was Puerto Rican) (SL 123–5).

The notion that Ezra Pound is a "Southern" writer gives us license to explore his attitudes toward slavery, "Negroes," and "States' Rights." In his Jeffersonian version of American history, both in *The Cantos* and elsewhere in his sprawling prose, we can better understand the poet and ourselves. For our peculiar and ever-changing ideology of race is what makes Americans American. Shared (though differently) by white and black Americans alike, American racial ideology is what makes the increasingly blurry categories of black and white tenable at all. The "amalgamated" American of the future will be neither, thank goodness, but until that time, blacks and whites, two increasingly marginalized minorities, will persist in enshrining an increasingly anachronistic way of being American.

Although slavery and therefore race are implicit everywhere in the concept "Southern," the term carries further explicit political connotations. One of these is "states' rights"—the specifically Southern idea that the rights of states to regulate their own interests are more important than their responsibility of the federal government, or to the nation as a whole. The states were bound to each other through a voluntary covenant, not a binding contract. This damaging doctrine, which in its extreme form in the ante-bellum period justified "nullification," of federal legislation on Constitutional grounds, and in the 1950s its legalistic cousin, "interposition," has left a lasting mark on American life, not least in our inability to create some uniformity in what in other countries are conceived as national projects, such as a uniform national public education curriculum.

The Southern version of what white Southerners pointedly called "The War Between the States" or, as Pound tends to call it "the War of Secession" (*Impact* 36) was, they claim, entirely about this states' rights idea. In this version the protection of their slave economy was a secondary cause of war—the real reason was the principle of state sovereignty upheld against federal encroachments on the South's "peculiar domestic relations" as the State of Mississippi put it in a call for a Southern Convention in order to "devise and adopt some mode of resistance" to what they perceived to be Northern legislative aggression against slavery in 1850 (Ames 257). Few, if any, contemporary historians will concede

this principle; virtually all historians now agree that “sectional differences on the slavery issue caused the civil war” (Frederickson 34).

This war is the biggest trauma ever experienced in the United States, unless we understand it as a symptom of a more comprehensive trauma—slavery itself—the effects of which refuse to disappear. The Civil War, however, just because it was a civil war, cannot be understood except by what the reunified nation made of it once the fighting had stopped. In order to understand the Civil War, we need to understand the era of Reconstruction. In order to understand Pound’s interpretation of the Civil War and how it is used in *The Cantos*, as well as his attitudes toward the “Second Reconstruction”—C. Vann Woodward’s evocative moniker for the Civil Rights era—we need to learn about the changing views on the tumultuous period that followed the Union victory. The end of Reconstruction resulting in the South’s so-called redemption was, in effect, a reversal of the Union victory when federal troops were withdrawn from the conquered South in 1877.

The historiography of reconstruction, Dunning, Du Bois, and Professor H. V. Ames

As of this writing, 150 years later, the nation has not yet healed from the terrible conflict of 1861–5. Reconstruction is still going on. The subtitle of Eric Foner’s definitive work in the field, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution* (1988) suggests that “Reconstruction” cannot be limited to a specific time period, but instead, signifies

the beginning of an extended historical process: the adjustment of American society to the end of slavery. The destruction of the central institution of antebellum Southern life . . . produced far-reaching conflicts and debates over the role former slaves and their descendants would play in American life and the meaning of the freedom they had acquired. (Foner 1988: xxvii)

These conflicts and debates came to a head in the 1950s and 1960s but are still everywhere audible in the current (2014) intransigence of the Republican Party, on which, ironically enough, the defense of white supremacy in the face of “Negro rule” in the age of President Obama has fallen. Its radical wing, the various tea parties—antitax, anti-federalist know-nothings—would have appealed to Pound.

States' rights reemerged as important during the Civil Rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s. The battleground was the integration of schools. In the 1950s, when Pound was a political prisoner in Washington, he was active behind the scenes in the struggle against the federal government's efforts to enforce the Supreme Court's 1954 decision (*Brown v. Board of Education*) to integrate US schools. Kasper—a young man who would today be called a "neo-Nazi"—agitated against such integration throughout the South bearing with him a vicious pamphlet written by himself, Pound, and others, designed to encourage "massive resistance" in the Southland, about which more later.

Pound's Jeffersonianism made him a segregationist. His sympathies were with white Southerners, or, another way of saying the same thing, with the rights of the Southern states to decide how they wanted to govern themselves, their right to "local control over local affairs" as he put it.

Pound's states' rights ideology goes back at least as far as his first years at the University of Pennsylvania. As he explained to the Virginian Harry Meacham in a letter that pointed out his wife's ancestral connection to the Virginia firebrand John Randolph and his own desire to "carry on the job T.J. intended" he noted that "The State's Rights angle goes back to what was possibly the first course in Reconstruction History, given by H. V. Ames at the U. of Penn. In 1901 or 02" (September 24, 1957, Meacham 52). Fuller Torrey, not the most reliable source to be sure, quotes Samuel Putnam, who wrote that while at Penn, Pound "rendered himself unpopular by defending the Southern slaveholder's side in the Civil War," possibly as a result of Ames's course (Torrey 26).

In fact, Pound's Southern viewpoint would not have made him unpopular, for it was the dominant trend in Reconstruction historiography at the time. Nor was Prof Ames alone in giving courses on the topic. The "Dunning School" as it has come to be called, after its proponent William Archibald Dunning, a prominent historian based at Columbia University, held that the era called Reconstruction 1865–77, the period when federal troops occupied the defeated South, had two phases. The first, Presidential Reconstruction (1865–7) was the attempt by Andrew Johnson to carry out Abraham Lincoln's policy of national reconciliation and ended with the 15th Amendment to the Constitution that mandated black suffrage for the first time in American history. Here, in this early phase of Reconstruction, a defeated South respectfully bowed in defeat and "stood ready to do justice to he emancipated slaves" desiring little more than "a quick reintegration into the fabric of national life" (Foner 1988: xix) with as little

readjustment of local conditions as the ending of slavery could permit. However, in Dunning's view:

Johnson's efforts were opposed and eventually thwarted by the Radical Republicans in Congress. Motivated by an irrational hatred of Southern "rebels" and the desire to consolidate their party's national ascendancy, the Radicals of 1867 swept aside the Southern governments Johnson had established and fastened black suffrage on the defeated South. There followed the sordid period of Congressional or Radical Reconstruction (1867-1877), an era of corruption presided over by unscrupulous "carpetbaggers" from the North, unprincipled Southern white "scalawags," and many ignorant freedmen. After much needless suffering, the South's white community banded together to overthrow these governments and restore "home rule" (a euphemism for white supremacy). (Foner xix-xx)

Foner concludes his summary by claiming that for exponents of the Dunning School, "Reconstruction was the darkest page in the saga of American history" (Foner xx). Aside from the scum of carpetbaggers and scalawags working their evil on an inert mass of credulous but potentially dangerous freedmen, its villains were the Massachusetts abolitionist Senator Charles Sumner and the Jacobin-like Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. In this narrative, the tragic hero of Reconstruction was the martyred Lincoln, who, had he lived, would have tried heroically to restore the Union, not radicalize it. He was betrayed by Andrew Johnson, so the story went, who, honest and courageous but drunk and barely literate mismanaged the business (Rhodes Vol. 6, 2-8).

Dunning's view was the dominant one at the time, yet it does not appear to have been endorsed in Herman Vandenberg Ames's courses at Penn. Although Ames was clearly Pound's favorite undergraduate teacher there, young Ezra's sympathy for the South during Reconstruction was not shared by Ames, judging from his legacy preserved in the Penn archives.

Ames was professor of Constitutional History and later, dean of the Graduate School. In a letter to Roy Nichols, a Penn Professor of History, who was organizing a memorial to Ames, Pound recalled him as "a most excellent professor, who in 1901 and '02 was considered 'very advanced'" (*New Democracy* February 15, 1935, *Impact* 230). Pound regretted that his former teacher was deprived of "the minor entertainment of knowing that his [patience] and indulgences of 30 years ago hadn't been wholly wasted on one of his most cantankerous pupils." In the letter printed in the *Memorial* Pound recalled "his courses had a vitality outlasting the mere time of his lectures. After thirty years,

I still have pleasant recollections of 'Reconstruction' and 'Foreign Relations' courses . . . The idea that a student might have a legitimate curiosity was in no way alien to his (Dr Ames') sensibilities" (P/W 322n).

Ames was not Dunning's student (he was a Harvard product with a Cornell PhD) and a Massachusetts man who would not have uncritically accepted the prevailing Dunningite interpretation. It would be most surprising to find that he did not have a "Northern" point of view when it came to the Constitution and federal relations with the states; indeed, there are strong reasons to think he disagreed with Dunning. One wonders if young Ezra's cantankerousness had to do with holding different political views than his professor's.

Ames was, of course, an expert in the relations between the states and the federal government. His anthology *State Documents on Federal Relations: The States and the United States* (1906) was published by his own Department of History "primarily to meet the need for illustrative material in connection with courses in the Constitutional History of the United States given in the University of Pennsylvania" (Ames "Preface" 2), and was widely adopted elsewhere. Pound took three courses from Ames in 1901–2 including "The Civil War and Reconstruction," "Foreign relations of the United States," and "American Colonial History" (Ten Eyck 15). Doubtless, an anthology of such documents would have been particularly useful in the classes Pound took with Ames.⁴

So, Ames was well qualified to judge the merits of the Dunningite perspective, but he did not share it. Judging from his own published work, Ames could not have sympathized with the South. His essay on the secessionist machinations of John Calhoun, *John C. Calhoun and the Secessionist Movement of 1850* (1918) although written after Pound's time at Penn, is sharply critical of the Southern theoretician and apologist for slavery. Ames states at the outset that Southern sectionalism, which "rallied under the banner of states' rights, was due to the divergence of interests . . . caused by the growth of the institution of slavery" (Ames 1918: 3).

Ames's extensive notes for an unpublished book of Reconstruction suggest that the finished manuscript would have been at odds with Dunning et al., and sympathetic to Negro citizens in the South. Finally, his exam questions about the Jacksonian period, which date from 1902–3 when Pound was his student, show that he stressed the issue of slavery over tariff and other issues in the antebellum period. Although in a late Canto Pound would claim that the "Civil War was rooted in tariff" (89/616) and in another claim the issue of slavery was a "red herring" (103/752), he did not learn this from Ames. In his essay on Calhoun, Ames quotes Calhoun admitting just the opposite in a letter of 1830; tariff was

“the occasion, rather than the real cause” of Southern discontent with the Union. The real cause was the South’s “peculiar domestic institution” of slavery (Ames 1918: 4).

Regardless, Ames’s course on “Civil War and Reconstruction,” which Ezra took at Penn, could not have avoided discussing the prevailing Dunningite view, which despite Ames, must have persuaded Ezra or supported ideas he already held.⁵ In his graduate courses taught while Pound was his student, Ames’s exam questions reveal that he taught John William Burgess’s brand-new book *Reconstruction and the Constitution 1866–1876* published earlier in the year (the preface is dated January 22, 1902). Ames must have been reading the book that term. Burgess’s opinion was that the Reconstruction was an “error as well as a failure” just as had been the Southern Secession of 1861 (vii). Indeed, the experience of imperialism in the wake of the Spanish-American War (1898) had now proved to Burgess the wisdom of “the white man’s mission”:

. . . now that the United States has embarked on imperial enterprises, under the direction of the Republican party, the great Northern party, the North is learning every day by valuable experiences that there are vast differences in political capacity between the races, and that it is the white man’s mission, his duty and his right, to hold the reins of power for the civilization of the world and the welfare of mankind. (ix)

This lesson was just what Southerners had been trying to tell the North since 1865: only whites were capable of running a civilized state. Now Northern Republicans were repeating Southern arguments against the political capacities of the Negro in the context of the nonwhite populations of Philippines and Cuba. Wasn’t it time Northerners resumed the white man’s burden their defeated Southern brethren had once so nobly carried?

The ascension of the Dunning School of historiography with its Southern perspective on the relationship between the federal government and the states coincided with US imperial expansion in the Philippines and Puerto Rico and the related consolidation of racial *apartheid*,⁶ or Jim Crow, throughout the South in the period 1897–1902. The Dunning School, of which Burgess was a leading proponent (he was also Dunning’s colleague at Columbia) endorsed this appalling development, rationalizing it as a logical consequence of Negro inferiority. If white supremacy was achieved through illegal means, including a military coup in Wilmington, North Carolina,⁷ Klan terror and general intimidation of the black citizenry, it was soon sanctioned by numerous state laws and two crucial Supreme Court decisions. Legalized segregation was soon so firmly established