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LA THÈSE À ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE
THE VORTEX NATURE

OF EZRA POUND'S 'ROCK-DRILL':

AMERICAN HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC ELEMENTS IN

SECTION: ROCK-DRILL

AND ANNOTATIONS TO CANTOS 88 AND 89.

by

Charles Watts

B.A., University of California, Davis

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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of

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APPROVAL

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DEGREE: Master of Arts

TITLE OF THESIS: THE VORTEX NATURE OF THE ROCK DRILL: AMERICAN HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC ELEMENTS IN SECTION ROCK DRILL AND ANNOTATIONS TO CANTOS 88/89.

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_The Vortex Nature of Ezra Pound's 'Rock-Drill': American Historical and Economic Elements in Section: Rock-Drill and Annotations to Cantos 88 and 89._

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25 April 1978

(date)
The present thesis is devoted to an annotation and exegesis of two of Ezra Pound's Cantos. The two cantos, LXXXVIII and LXXXIX, occur in the series entitled Section: Rock-Drill de Los Cantares, which comprises cantos LXXXV-XCV.

Canto LXXXVIII and Canto LXXXIX are for the most part concerned with a period of American legislative and governmental history which extends from 1826 to 1841, the first date being the year of the Clay-Randolph duel, the story of which opens Canto LXXXVIII; the last being the year in which the final attempt to charter a federal bank in the United States Congress was vetoed by President John Tyler. The two cantos are based on the two-volume memoir by Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Thirty Years' View; or, a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850. In this respect the subject matter of cantos LXXXVIII and LXXXIX differs from that of the other cantos in Section: Rock-Drill. The two cantos also contain material quoted from The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, Pound's source for Canto XXXVII; from The Works of John Adams, the source for cantos LXII-LXXI; and from other works. The purpose of the annotations in this thesis is twofold: first, to indicate the sources of quotations and allusions in the texts of cantos LXXXVIII and LXXXIX, and second, to provide the contexts from which these quotations and
allusions have been drawn, so as to allow an informed, scholarly reading of the two cantos. Contextual information will include references to other cantos as well as to many of Pound's prose texts.

The intention of this thesis is thus to give a clear reading of cantos LXXXVIII and LXXXIX in terms of the sources from which they are composed, in terms of their own accomplishment as poetry, and in relation to Pound's work as it is defined and measured in *The Cantos*.

An introductory essay will attempt to place cantos LXXXVIII and LXXXIX in the design of *Section: Rock-Drill* and more generally in the context of Pound's economic and historical thought as he has committed it to *The Cantos*. 
This work is for

The United Farmworkers

and for

Gary.
I owe my thanks to several people who have helped to realize this thesis. Prof. Robin Blaser, Department of English, Simon Fraser University, gave it the initial impetus by suggesting Rock-Drill as a subject for annotation; he has continued to provide both criticism and encouragement as the work has proceeded. Prof. Ralph Maud, Dept. of English, Simon Fraser, contributed information which aided my understanding of Pound's economic theory in relation to the Italian Fascist economy. The work and conversation of Thomas Grieve and Joan Henderson have clarified aspects of the Rock-Drill Cantos otherwise opaque to me; the scholarship of Prof. Jamila Ismail, Dept. of English, Simon Fraser, has been of great value in the same way.

Both Prof. Brian Newton, of the Department of Modern Languages, Simon Fraser, and Prof. Malcolm MacGregor, of the Department of Classical Studies, University of British Columbia, very graciously helped in translating and discovering literary sources for the Greek tag phrases which appear in Cantos 88 and 89.

The workers in both the Contemporary Literature Collection and the Interlibrary Loan service at Simon Fraser University Library have aided the research which appears in this study indispensably. And both Jane Harris and Georgina Carlson of the Simon Fraser English Department have continued to find both space and a typewriter for me while I have worked on this final draft.
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Foreword

This thesis began as part of a collaborative project to annotate the Rock-Drill Cantos. The project grew out of a graduate seminar on The Cantos, taught by Professor Robin Blaser at Simon Fraser University in the fall of 1972. Prof. Blaser suggested the task of annotating Section: Rock-Drill as the necessary basis for reading the later cantos. As the latest edition of Edwards' and Vass's Annotated Index to the Cantos has entries for Cantos 1-84 (exclusive of 72 and 73, which neither Faber nor New Directions has yet published in a collected edition of The Cantos) but no entries for those cantos which follow the Pisan sequence, an annotation of Rock-Drill seemed an appropriate and needed addition to the exegesis of Pound's work. Although various critics have examined aspects of Section: Rock-Drill, no attempt has been made to give a complete explication of its sources.

Three members of the seminar took up the project, under Prof. Blaser's supervision, in the Spring of 1973. Each person eventually concentrated on one of three currents which may be discerned in the canto sequence. One such current is the appearance of the Chinese ideogram and Pound's redaction of the Confucian history classic, the Shu King, in cantos 85 and 86. Another involves the Hellenic sources for cantos 90-95, including Pound's use of Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana in canto 94. A third is that of American econom-

ic history and Pound's use of the memoirs of Thomas Hart Benton and Martin Van Buren in cantos 88 and 89.

As result of this project, Thomas Grieve developed a master's thesis, *Annotations to the Chinese in Section: Rock-Drill*, which was published in the Fall-Winter issue of *Paideuma* for 1975 (vol. 4, nos. 2 & 3). While much work was accomplished by Joan Henderson in annotating the Hellenic sources, these remain unpublished. My investigation of the American sources for Rock-Drill issues in the present thesis.
This exegesis concentrates on an annotation of the allusions in Ezra Pound's Cantos 88 and 89 to an American economic history, for the most part to be found in Thomas Hart Benton's two-volume work, *Thirty Years' View*, and in Martin Van Buren's *Autobiography* in one volume. A number of other sources from or concerning the same period, to which Pound alludes, have been consulted and are noted in the text of annotations. It should be remarked that both Cantos 88 and 89 are composed almost entirely out of phrases drawn from sources in Pound's reading. He has worked these phrases into a poetry as, by analogy, an artist of mosaic works fragments of coloured stone into a total design.

I have made some effort to define obscure terms and to consult other works of literature, foreign language dictionaries, and the work of other scholars of Pound's poetry in order to provide as clear and comprehensive a reading of the two cantos as I am presently able; there are lacunae, and I have left blanks where I have not identified a source for a quotation or allusion.

I found that Pound's own prose writings, notably the economic and political writings collected in *Guide to Kulchur* (New Directions, 1970), *Jefferson and/or Mussolini* (Liveright, 1970), *Impact* (Regnery, 1960), and *Selected Prose: 1909-1965* (New Directions, 1975), were
not only helpful, and often necessary, in clarifying sources for statements in The Cantos: they were essential to understanding a philosophical ground and attitude for the composition of the history cantos, and therefore indispensable to a reading of the history cantos. David Heymann's remark on these essays seems perfectly just:

... Pound's economic and historical writings, particularly the pre-war ones, were merely parallel texts, or at the least, commentaries and footnotes to the epic.*

In the annotations to Cantos 88 and 89 I have frequently cited these prose writings, both as commentaries on or footnotes to original source material, and as texts to be read alongside the poetic composition.

Some peculiarities in the text, which appear to be poetic improvisations on allusive material, raise the problem of textual definition and the task of comparing the manuscript of the two cantos with the various printed editions. I have not pursued this task, but have indicated in the text of the annotations where such a comparison might be most enlightening.**

The method I have followed in preparing the text of the annotations is to cite the passage in the canto to be annotated, reproducing the lines with some fidelity to the typography of the text; to give the passage's location in the text by citing canto, page and line number in brackets; and then to quote the text of the source from which the passage is drawn. I have intended to quote enough


**See my introduction, p. 104, and annotations: 89/598: 10 and 89/603: 28; 604: 1, in particular.
of the original source to provide a context in which the lines from the canto may be read with greater clarity and recognition. I have also added my own remarks by way of exegesis and summary; these precede and follow the extracts from primary sources, and are printed in double-space. Footnotes comment further on both the poetry and the source material; supplementary material may be found in appendices.
Introduction
"Without guides, having nothing but courage..."

What is the price of Experience do men buy it for a song
Or wisdom for a dance in the street? No it is bought with the price
Of all that a man hath his house his wife his children
Wisdom is sold in the desolate market where none comes to buy
And in the withered field where the farmer plows for bread in vain

-- William Blake, from Vala or the Four Zoas.

Sero, sero! learned that Spain is mercury;
that Finland is nickel. Late learning!
S...... doing evil in place of the R.........
"A pity that poets have used symbol and metaphor
and no man learned anything from them
for their speaking in figures."

-- Ezra Pound, from Addendum for Canto C.

Look a here people, listen to me --
Don't try to find no home down in Washington D.C.
Lord it's a bourgeois town.

-- Leadbelly, from Bourgeois Blues.

I smelled Los Angeles before I got to it. It smelled
stale and old like a living room that had been closed too
long. But the colored lights fooled you. The lights were
wonderful. There ought to be a monument to the man who
invented neon lights. Fifteen stories high, solid marble.
There's a boy who really made something out of nothing.

-- Raymond Chandler, from The Little Sister.
In July, 1955, Ezra Pound wrote to a correspondent in England\(^1\) from his alcove in the Chestnut Ward, St. Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, D.C., that "The cantos in Hudson / esp / the 88/9 now in press due out next weak / MIGHT rate a crizsm / the Benton is purty clear." "The Benton" is the material from Thomas Hart Benton's two-volume memoir, Thirty Years' View; or, a History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from 1820 to 1850, out of which Pound composed the greater part of cantos 88 and 89. Benton's memoir and Pound's use of it in these two cantos are the primary concerns of this thesis.

An exegesis of cantos 88 and 89 includes two related tasks: the first is an annotation of each canto, often line by line, by means of comparing Pound's text with the material from which it was composed;\(^2\) the second is an attention to the way in which Pound uses this "raw material" in the composition of his own work. As the reader will see further on, the "Benton cantos" are not special cases; they are isolated neither from the series in which they occur, Section: Rock-Drill de los Cantares, nor from The Cantos as a work. They contain motifs, verbal elements, fragments of phrases which have

---

\(^1\) Denis Goacher. The letter is in an unpublished collection in the Contemporary Literature Collection, Simon Fraser University, catalogue number 552/103.

\(^2\) Besides the quotations and paraphrases from Thirty Years' View, Cantos 88 and 89 contain allusions to The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, Dante's Divine Comedy, several monetary studies by Alexander Del Mar, Claude Bowers' study, Party Battles of the Jackson Period, the Antigone of Sophocles, the Odyssey of Homer, and some events of Pound's life, among other sources.
appeared before, in other cantos, and they carry forward themes introduced in the opening cantos of Section: Rock-Drill. Another intention of this thesis is to make clear some of these thematic links and continuities.

The subject matter of the two cantos, the matter of historical interest, has appeared before in Pound's work, most notably in Canto 37, the canto framed after the Autobiography of Martin Van Buren. The central drama of all three cantos, and one which held Pound's interest for more than thirty years, is the struggle between the adherents of Andrew Jackson's democracy and the supporters of the quasi-public Second Bank of the United States over the power to issue an American currency. The question is whether a democratic-ally elected government shall have control over the money power, or whether this control shall be left to a private corporation unanswerable to public inquiry and criticism. This is a paraphrase of the Jacksonian position; it is the causa motuum which Pound advances in the Van Buren and Benton cantos.

Pound's reason for writing about an event which is unfamiliar to most modern readers is simple: it ought to be known. For Pound the Bank struggle of the 1830's in America is not isolated, not merely fixed in time and place: it is a particular and complete rehearsal of the universal struggle which he regards as the central

---

3 So far as I know, there is still no complete explication of Canto 37. Many of Pound's critics mention it in passing, but few provide any helpful exegesis. One example of such exegesis may be found in the "Answers to Queries" section of Paideuma, vol. V no. 3, pp. 493-495, in which the anonymous writer gives sources in Van Buren's Autobiography and in E.M. Shepard's Martin Van Buren for five lines of Canto 37.
dynamism of an historical and economic dialectic. For Pound, this is the dialectic of civilization. He states the dynamism pointedly at the opening of Canto 87:

...between the usurer and any man who wants to do a good job (perenne) without regard to production -- a charge for the use of money or credit. (87/569)

This observation is the motive for Pound's economic writing and for his poetry of history, including American political history. In writing a poetry of American political history, Pound's concern is to distill the writings, that is the recorded thought, of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Martin Van Buren, and in cantos 88 and 89, Thomas Hart Benton, to their perceived essence, their virtue or quiddity. That essence is, in Pound's view, the recognition of this economic struggle going on at the heart of the operation of the State, of national government, of national economy.

Every bank of discount is downright corruption taxing the public for private individuals' gain. and if I say this in my will the American people wd/ pronounce I died crazy. (71/416)

This is Pound's John Adams, going to the root of that interruption of life which Pound indicts as usury contra naturam. This,

---

4 This method will be used to denote citations throughout the introduction and body of the thesis: the number to the left of the / indicates the Canto number; the number to the right is the page number in the 1970 New Directions edition of The Cantos.

5 See Selected Prose, p. 313, and my annotation: 88/582: 15-16 (the number following the canto/page citation and set off by a colon is the line number which I have assigned for annotation purposes).
Pound emphasizes, is the mainspring of the dialectic, first of European history and later of American history. 6

Thomas Hart Benton is one of those who perceived the movement of this dialectic clearly. As Senator from Missouri from 1820 to 1850, he stood among the ones who struggled to abolish usury from the working of the American national government. In Congress he led the fight to oppose and rescind the public charter of the Bank of the United States, an institution which had been created to regulate the American currency, but which came to use the currency as a machine for extorting usurious interest from public and private debts.

Benton's book, Thirty Years' View, is an account of his life at the capital of the United States, of his actions in the United States Senate, and of the actions of his political friends and opponents; in large part it is an account of the struggle during the Presidencies of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren which has been called "the Bank War."

As I have said, Pound's aim and concern is to distill in his poetry that which is the live core of a particular thought or mode of thought. His prescription for the kind of poetry he writes is "dichten = condensare." 7 The method as it is performed presents a kind of shorthand or abbreviated utterance which has appeared to many readers as a kind of cryptograph which requires deciphering

6 Pound defines usury at the foot of Canto 45: "A charge for the use of purchasing power, levied without regard to production; often without regard to the possibilities of production." Cf. 87/569.
7 "Basil Bunting, fumbling about with a German-Italian dictionary, found that this idea of poetry as concentration is as old almost as the German language. 'Dichten' is the German verb corresponding to the noun 'Dichtung' meaning poetry, and the lexicographer has rendered it by the Italian verb meaning 'to condense'." (Pound, ABC of Reading, 36.)
before it may be read. Anyone who has spent time with even the earliest cantos has seen the difficulty of the text and the incumbency of reading a number of "source works" so to be familiar with a given canto's context.

The compression of Cantos 88 and 89 is extraordinary even for those familiar with Pound's earlier cantos. They follow the so demanding opening cantos of Section: Rock-Drill -- the "Shu King Cantos" of mixed Chinese and English typography -- and present a similar-seeming near-impenetrability of reference. Benton's memoir, a standard source for scholars of the period as one discovers, is news (and apparently a nuisance) to the "general reader" -- even to the American reader with the "standard" education in the history of the United States. Except to specialists, it has become an unknown work.

Pound's vernacular claim for clarity, then ("the Benton is purty clear"), may sound a little extravagant to him or her who sets out to read the two cantos without first having taken the trouble to read Thirty Years' View as preparation. But there is no alternative: without the Benton, a first reading, or a fifth, or a tenth, of Cantos 88 and 89 is likely to produce in the earnest but casual reader an impression almost perfectly opaque. Some

Much of this difficulty follows from the near-complete disappearance from college curricula of an education in classical languages and literatures like that available to Pound's generation and social class. Pound often singled out this disappearance as a progressive fault in the American system of universal education, as Hugh Kenner notes in The Pound Era.
names are recognized (more are not); ideas may be grasped in isolation, but amid such profusion, no sense of a whole; no coherence; no transition even, from line to line or from thought to thought.

As I intend to show, in light of an annotated reading this superficial impression proves false. But the reader who has searched "in vain" for "an explanation," an exposition or "the point" of the Cantos through the preceding 87, who insists that a poem be readable "at first sight," that it be perfectly transparent and referential to "common experience, common knowledge," or that a poem be complete, self-disclosing, that it provide an "epitome of experience" without demanding an extraordinary expense of the reader's time -- such a reader is bound to be frustrated with Cantos 88 and 89. And without realizing it, such a reader will be doubly frustrated, since the definition of poetry will have pretty well excluded Pound's method of writing.

Here is one critic's articulation of that frustration and annoyance which has characterized the response of many of Pound's critics, apart from the angry responses of many of his political critics. Here is Noel Stock, speaking of the Rock-Drill cantos and

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9 Political criticism may occur at many levels. Most criticism of Pound's politics heretofore has been addressed to his actions in support of Italian fascism during the 1930's and early '40's. Notably William Chace, in The Political Identities of Ezra Pound and T.S. Eliot, and David Heymann, in Ezra Pound: The Last Rover, have made efforts to explore Pound's politics in light of his writings, especially his prose pieces. But most criticism has been directed at his writing as pronunciamento, rather than to the theoretical background or foundation of his economic and political writing (though there is Earle Davis' rather incomplete Vision Fugitive: Ezra Pound
In Rock-Drill, more perhaps than anywhere else in the Cantos, we are aware of the isolation, the separateness from the rest of the lyric fragments. 'Not led of lusting, not of contriving', he writes in canto 85, 'but is as the grass and tree.' This is basically the Pound of A Lume Spento and the early London years. And when, in canto 90, he writes of Hell ('out of Brebus, the deep-lying'), he is really only carrying forward a little what already he knew in 1912. It is not so much the beauty of the lyric moments that strike us, as their fragmentary nature. Nor is there any place for them here, amid the manias ranged in tiers. For if it is a world it is neither clear and formal enough to be understood and criticized, as, say, the City of God, nor yet sufficiently infused with tone and other necessary qualities to be judged as poetry. That these cantos can at times hypnotize I admit. But that is only one aspect of art, and Rock-Drill and Thrones know no other....

One of our objections to Pound in the later cantos is his inability to make poetic use of what he takes from others. A poem, if it is genuine, contains its meaning within itself. Not absolutely, so that it is an isolated entity, but sufficiently to have a voice of its own. The imaginative centre must be in the poem and not outside it. But that is not all: equally important is the poem's relation to tradition and usage. For the poetry grows in intensity as it approaches a traditional centre of meaning without actually touching it. Too distant from a centre, it tends to be inane. So close that it touches, to dullness and inertia. Tension comes of establishing originality within the field of attraction exerted by tradition, but still, as it were, separate from it, so that the originality is not overwhelmed. In this way, the traditional force of a word, without which a literature can scarcely exist, is turned to new creation.

"The manias ranged in tiers." Apart from this off-hand diag-

and Economics), or to Pound's response both to Keynesian and Marxist economic thought. The debt of much of Pound's economic writing to Proudhon, for example, has not been traced, and probably for this reason: Pound has been taken seriously as poet but not as economic thinker. Since he announced his intention in the 1930's to write a poetry including economics, this attitude on the part of his critics would seem uncomfortably contradictory. "But Pound is not an economist, has no expertise," etc.

Noel Stock, Reading the Cantos, pp. 92, 93.
nosis of madness in the later cantos, there is evident in this passage, written by a dedicated "Pound watcher," a desire for a simpler, or at least a more consistently "lyrical" sort of poetry. There is the demand for a self-contained poem (but not an esoteric poem), a poem which describes its own limits and explains itself; there is the Newtonian expectation that the poem revolve round its own axis of meaning, and that it orbit the "traditional centre of meaning" at the proper allusory field-distance of a cultural satellite: no poem a "wandering star." What the critic really demands is a poetry of classical proportions, of reflective symmetries:

And so the most effective originality is sometimes achieved by the smallest possible alteration to what has gone before. By fine variations within an accepted form or on an accepted theme, or by the extension of a form invented by earlier poets who did not, or could not, see the possibilities.11

It is not that Pound did not "see the possibilities." He says in Guide to Kulchur:

Knowledge is NOT culture. The domain of culture begins when one HAS 'forgotten what book'.

Boccherini, Op. 8 N. 5 (as played by the New Hungarian Four) is an example of culture. Bartok's Fifth Quartet under same

11 Stock, Reading the Cantos, pp. 93-94. Stock gives examples: Pope and Johnson following the Courtiers, Pope following Dryden, Goldsmith following Dryden, Fitzgerald following Dryden...

Pound: "The Etchells-Macdonald reprint of Dr Johnson's London is a manifesto of civilization. Mr Eliot's preface is full of urbanity. My own slap-dash is eminently thereby rebuked. 'To be original with the minimum [for once italic'd] of alteration, is sometimes more distinguished than to be original with the maximum [italics his] of alteration.'

This was Anatole France's conscious process raised into a system. If I remember rightly Arthur Symons said a finer thing when
It has the defects or disadvantages of my Cantos. It has the defects and disadvantages of Beethoven's music, or of as much of Beethoven's music as I can remember. Or perhaps I shd. qualify that: the defects inherent in a record of struggle.

Man is an over-complicated organism. If he is doomed to extinction he will die out for want of simplicity...

Very well, the Boccherini Op. 8 N. 5 was, on the day before yesterday's evening, utterly beautiful. No trace of effort remained.

It was impossible to 'marvel' at the cleverness of the performers. By contrast the Bartok was, 'too interesting'. Given the fact that 'no one' cd. grasp the whole work at a first or even a second hearing, one did wonder what 'in hell' wd. occur if any other musicians attempted to play it. Koromzay says the 'Kolisch' have played it. He says they were marvellous. That makes two organizations of four men each who can deal with this new musical situation.

That is no more a 'culture' than the invention of a new smelting process is 'culture'. It is, or may be, a link in a chain of causation.

Culture, 'A' culture was. An age of infamy, usury and the hyper-usura of the money racket, was and is not yet burnt out of a carious Europe.

The Vth Quartet may 'go into a culture', as gold dust may go into a coin.\footnote{Pound, \textit{Guide to Kulchur}, pp. 134-136.}

Pound's sense -- which is present in the greater part of his critical writing -- is that "'A' culture," "the culture" which orthodox commentators demand of writers that they continue or reproduce, is of the past, has been disrupted by at least a century of usury on the public front; that a serious artist, as distinct from a fool or a liar, becomes involved in a struggle against usurious

he praised Whistler for that he 'sought neither to follow a model nor to avoid one'." \textit{(Guide to Kulchur, p. 178.)}
practice, if only by way of resistance, in an effort to survive
with some integrity. The work of such an artist bears the marks
of such a struggle -- "the defects inherent in a record of struggle."
In Pound's work such marks may appear to the reader as ellipsis,
abbreviation, compression of a reference to the point of obscurity.
Conversely, that culture which Pound is most concerned with building
is unfamiliar to modern readers, even to those schooled in "the
humanities" or "the liberal arts." Like "the Benton," the culture
expressed in Pound's work -- which includes a concern for "le mot
juste," an adherence in practice to the principle of sinceritas,
and an artisan's care that one's work and a just compensation for
it are enough of a "return," that bad or vicious or harmful work is
not redeemed by large payments of money for its performance -- has
largely passed out of public attention, and -- vast quantities of
lip-service to the contrary -- out of the agenda of those in North
America and Europe who have most to do with the public attention --
the state and corporate bureaucrats -- the professional educators
and legislators -- the manipulators and entrepreneurs of "public
opinion."

For Pound, "the traditional centres of meaning" have been
displaced from the public mind, or simply remain, distorted or
falsified. "The cultural tradition with regard to money, which
should never have become separated from the main stream of literary
Without understanding economics one cannot understand history. John Adams was amazed that very few men had studied systems of government. Between his time and that of Aristotle political literature is scarce enough...

The emphasis given to economics by Shakespeare, Bacon, Hume, and Berkeley does not seem to have been enough to have kept it prominent in the Anglo-Saxon public conscience. After the archheretic Calvin, it seems, discussion of usury has gone out of fashion. A pity! As long as the Mother Church concerned herself with this matter one continued to build cathedrals. Religious art flourished. 14

In a public world or a public mind dominated by a "usurocracy," religious art cannot be taken seriously, public art is flat and squalid, the lyric shrivels to a formal expression of narcissism. Honest efforts at lyric are fragmented, just as if they had been pulled from a ruined city. Coherence, the effort to bring a whole perception across to the reader, is reduced to a formalism in the parlance of usury, a "selling point," since everything, in the usurocratic view, has market value, is made "to sell and sell quickly." 15

A work of art, any serious work vivifies a man's total perception of relations. It makes no difference whether the work is a Bach fugue or a drawing by Durer or the movement of words in the Odyssey.
Les arts décoratifs, are mere relaxation, slumber stuff, escape mechanisms.
The hat trick is possible because this escape does in a way resemble the great breath, the refreshment and reinvigoration that comes with emergence from immediate fuss over some personal

14  Ibid., p. 323.
15  Pound, Canto 45, p. 229.
impasse. This is found in great art WHEN the beholder isn't too
 dulled or fatigued to deal with the great or real art at all.
 Naturally the bastards who do not want truth, who do not want
 a democratization of the perception of relations, howl and weep
 whenever poetry emerges from the lavender sachet and bric-à-brac
category.
 There are even in England, and they have to my disgust penen-
trated even to the purloins of Chancery Lane, mangy mice so low
 that they want to eliminate the whole major domain of writing --
 let us say, the major domain of the Divina Commedia -- from the
scope of the poets.
 This is in part due to stinking snobism, part to craven and
 bootlicking cowardice, and part to sheer gross and utter igno-ance of the tradition of writing, and of the great works of
literature.
The maintainers of mass murder and mass malnutrition have in
 these people very useful, if unconscious, allies.  

In Pound's view, "the maintainers of mass murder" are the
international munitions merchants who sell guns wherever there is
a market, i.e. wherever there is a conflict. They are also the
public officials who by their policies create the conditions for
conflict. And they are the controllers of markets, above all the
money market, who jam and clog economies, refuse to open them to
full distribution of the abundance of goods or to full employment
of all who can work for just compensation, on the principle that
any scarcity ensures high prices and maximum profits, from which
follows continued dominance of "the market." These same persons
are those who encourage imperial adventures, military predation
on weaker peoples, in the unending search for cheaper sources of
"labour" and "materials." We have seen that these adventures

never fail of harming both subject and conquering peoples. They
rarely fail of profiting their instigators. 17

In a world whose economy is controlled by such predators, an
insistence on a conventional lyric beauty of mere variation on
"accepted forms, accepted themes," is servile, obscene. It calls
for the artist's submission to a convention which causes little
discomfort to "public opinion" or to the dictators of "public
opinion," precisely when the artist feels obliged to make as much
resistance and discomfiture to the dictates of "public opinion"
as he is capable of making. In Pound's terms it is the "sachet bag"
school of criticism; its architectural analogy may be seen in the
"false fronts" of the baroque, in which the true form of the struc-
ture has been disguised, obscured by a mantle of architectural
clichés, bric-à-brac.

To repeat: an expert, looking at a painting (by Memmi, Goya,
or any other), should be able to determine the degree of the
tolerance of usury in the society in which it was painted. 18

with usura the line grows thick
with usura is no clear demarcation (Canto 45/229)

With usury, Pound might have added, the only possible paradise is
the artificial, drug-induced variety, which so easily becomes a hell.

With usury the effort to make a paradiso terrestre, which was Pound's

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17 The virtue of Pound's remarks on "mass murder and mass malnu-
trition" has been pretty much obliterated in any reader's under-
standing by recall of Pound's support for the regime which committ-
et the most despicable mass murder of modern history. His
ignorance of Hitler's policy of genocide, his blindness to the Nazi
intent, ironically classes him with those he accused of opposing
"a democratization of the perception of relations," as an uncon-
scious ally of what should have revulsed him.

chief attention from the time when he spoke of his world as having
lost "the radiant world where one thought cuts through another with
19
clean edge" and implied the possibility of regaining it, becomes
above all a battle of resistance, a struggle to save the tradition
of the practice of paradise, of contemplation, from destruction by
the rapacious money-power. Often only fragments of this tradition
remain to be saved from inundation. In this sense, and like the
"word-hoards" of the ancient British bards, Pound's Cantos are a
great store of rescued fragments and mnemonic particulars. He has
called them "the tale of the tribe." Actually they are a great
memory committed to print: a memory replete with misrememberings,
but alight with the recollected presences of paradise, and sharp
with the refusal to let wrongs slip uncorrected, unnoticed into the
oblivion of a "usurers' hell-a-dice." As Pound's own proper mem-
ory, which is the poem as distinct from a mere catalogue of note-
book entries, blossoms and fruits at Pisa and St. Elizabeths, so
the marks or defects of personal struggle, by which Pound had com-
pared his work to Bartok's, cut or seam the surface of the Pisan
and Rock-Drill Cantos more deeply than any of the earlier Cantos:
the "ideogrammic method" has its most sculptural expression: the
fragments of memory and tradition appear juxtaposed in the poems

19 'We appear to have lost the radiant world where one thought
cuts through another with clean edge, a world of moving energies
'mezzo oscuro rade', 'risplende in se perpetuale effecto', magnet-
isms that take form, that are seen, or that border the visible, the
matter of Dante's paradiso, the glass under water, the form that
seems a form seen in a mirror, these realities perceptible to the
sense, interacting...." (Pound, "Cavalcanti," in Literary Essays,
p. 154. Pound began this essay in 1910; completed it in 1931.)
of Pisa and the Rock-Drill as if carved out of matrix in high relief.

Le Paradis n'est pas artificiel but is jagged,

For a flash, for an hour.
Then agony, then agony,
Then agony,

Hilary stumbles, but the Divine Mind is abundant unceasing
improvisatore

Omniformis unstill ...

And against usury and the degradation of sacraments,

For 40 years I have seen this, now flood as the Yang tse
also desensitization
25 hundred years desensitization
2 thousand years, desensitization

After Apollonius, desensitization & a little light from the borders:
Erigena, Avicenna, Richardus.

Hilary looked at an oak leaf or holly, or rowan
as against the brown oil and corpse sweat & then cannon to take the chinks opium & the Portagoose uprooting spice-trees "a common" sez Ari "custom in trade"

(Paito 92/620, 622)

Pound was subjected to extreme hardship during the early months of his confinement following the end of the second world war. Vengeance seems to have dictated his treatment at the U.S. Army Detention Training Center near Pisa. He was not beaten; had he been so physically abused he might likely have died. His jailers were under orders not to engage in conversation with him; he was deprived of
human company through the summer and early fall of 1945. He suffered a physical and emotional collapse during that summer, apparently out of sheer exposure and nervous fatigue. During the early months of his confinement at St. Elizabeths, in the ancient jail for the dangerously insane called Howard Hall, he was allowed exercise for very short periods in a paved courtyard surrounded by brick and stone walls. He was permitted visitation periods of fifteen minutes' length. Psychiatrists who examined him for the United States District Court in Washington, D.C., declared that Pound was suffering from "delusions of paranoia and persecution." Each of four psychiatrists agreed to this diagnosis with a straight face.20

Pound himself expressed his condition this way, in a letter to his lawyer, Julian Cornell, dated January, 1946. He speaks of Charles Olson's kindness: Olson was one of Pound's first visitors at St. Elizabeths. He complains of the almost overwhelming pressure and velocity of his thought:

Problem now is
not to go stark
screaming hysterical...
relapse after comfort of
Tuesday * & mute.
olson saved my life.
young doctors absolutely
useless.
must have 15
minutes sane
conversation daily...
velocity after
stupor tremendous.

20 The transcript of the examiners' testimony may be found in Julian Cornell, The Trial of Ezra Pound, pp. 154-212, and Charles Norman, The Case of Ezra Pound, pp. 104-177. The psychiatrists' unanimous diagnosis of mental unfitness saved Pound from the uncertainties of a treason trial.
enormous work
to be
done.
& no driving
force
& everyone's
inexactitude
very
fatiguing.21

He brought this dream-like clarity, desperate sense of compulsion
and necessity, as well as of the vagueness and incomprehension of
so many around him, to his poem. He says of his critics and interpreters:

And as for the trigger-happy mind
amid stars
amid dangers; abysses
going six ways a Sunday,
how shall philologers?
A butcher's block for biographers,
quidity!
Have they heard of it?
"Oh you," as Dante says
"in the dinghy astern there" 22
(Canto 93/631)

And concerning that same danger -- a danger which apparently
rises out of the incomprehension of those about him -- incomprehen-
sion which has produced the disaster of the second world war, and
which hangs like a fog round the world's affairs -- he asks the
question of himself and, one infers, of his audience:

21 Quoted in Charles Norman, Ezra Pound, p. 431, and David Heymann,
Ezra Pound: The Last Rower
22 See Dante Alighieri, Paradiso, II, 1-7; see also annotation:
89/600: 3.
& as to mental velocities:
Yeats on Ian Hamilton: "So stupid he couldn't think unless there were a cannonade going on."
The duration in re/ mental velocity
as to antennae
as to malevolence.
Six ways to once
of a Sunday. Velocity.
Without guides, having nothing but courage
Shall audacity last into fortitude?
(Cantq 93/632)

While Pound was held at St. Elizabeths, he produced, along with Rock-Drill and Thrones, a publication draft of the Confucian Analects, an English translation of Sophocles' Women of Trachis, and a translation of the classic Confucian text, the Chi King; a large number of short essays, reviews and epigrams, which were published unsigned or over pseudonyms in several small journals; a massive international correspondence, much of which reads like the orders for mobilization of a literary army; a publishing scheme which included reprints of Pound's own prose pieces on economics, Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, selections from the writings of the American monetary historian Alexander Del Mar, the Swiss-American naturalist Louis Agassiz, the medieval philosopher Richard of St. Victor, and Thomas Hart Benton. He moved correspondents to start magazines, open bookstores, edit books, write articles and reviews in order to bring before as large a public as possible the view of human history, economics and politics for which he must
often have thought himself the personal executor.²³

Pound understood himself to be held prisoner, not because he had given aid to the enemies of the United States in time of war, or because he had been judged incapable mentally of entering a plea in his defense before a United States court judge, but because American government had been perverted from its proper course and was controlled by a clique of usurers; the American Constitution had been violated or disregarded by this same gang at the head of government; because American history and world history had been obfuscated or falsified by this same group who monopolized the product of American publishing houses and the curricula of American universities -- who had succeeded in the art of manipulating an uninformed public; because he had become aware of the fraud which had been and was being enacted on the American people, and had used his public notoriety to oppose and reveal it. The same gang had cajoled and compelled the United States into an alliance with British interests in Europe: hence war with Germany and with Italy. Pound had publicly denounced this war as part of a larger war, war of the usurers against the people. For these reasons, his freedom had been suppressed.

This is the gist of it -- but to render Pound's panic and rage in such calm and discursive language is to falsify him and his sit-

uation, to present too smooth a front on things to readers; you had best look at those letters and memoirs from that time which are now available.

To judge the Rock-Drill cantos in terms of their adherence to received formal tradition, and to pronounce them a "failure" by these dictates, and further to dismiss them as evidence of "derangement," however prodigious, amounts to disregarding Pound's own history as an exceptionally lucid critic, as clarifier of his own method as well as those of other artists. It is also to deprecate the seriousness of his cultural and historical criticism, a criticism above all of the unquestioning acceptance of dead conventions as guides for thought. To condemn these cantos on formal grounds is to dismiss consideration of the objective conditions under which Pound wrote them. And, following the lead of the rather inconclusive findings of Pound's medical examiners, to regard his criticisms of American government practice as "manias" is to belittle his effort, lasting over forty years, to make clear a correspondence between the quality of a nation's culture and the intelligence and ethics (or ignorance and vice) of its economic policies.

Charles Olson's notes on his visits with Pound, published in 1975 as Charles Olson and Ezra Pound: an Encounter at St. Elizabeths, Catherine Seelye, ed., is one solid and candid record of the extreme moment in which the two poets met. Olson does not blink Pound's abject condition, or the cruelty of his confinement, or Olson's own disgust with Pound's habitual resort to racism for words to express his hatred. The "Purgatory" chapters of David Heymann's Ezra Pound: The Last Rower comprise another recently published study of Pound's confinement from 1945 to 1958. Heymann quotes from several of Pound's letters to friends and indicates where other letters are currently housed. See my annotations and bibliography for other sources of material from this period.
The cultural "tradition" with which the European peoples were exhorted to the slaughter of the first world war revulsed Pound. He wrote of it in Hugh Selwyn Mauberley:

There died a myriad,
And of the best, among them,
For an old bitch gone in the teeth,
For a botched civilization ... 

It was not simply that friends had perished for "an ideal." It was that what currently passed for civilization, both before and after the "great war," was hollow, useless, bankrupt, and bore no relation, or a merely ironic relation, to the more cynical practice of European governments. More disturbing, the articulators or mouthpieces of this ersatz civilization admitted of no change or even of a hearing of the dissenting voices of artists like Pound, James Joyce, Wyndham Lewis. There was no effort in the "popular" public press to understand or recognize what a real tradition was, or to say anything clear or particular about it. This abyss and vagueness, on which modern culture was busily being founded, became the major subject of Pound's critical attack. The "slush and twaddle" of most popular literature is swiftly exposed, in Pound's view, by comparison to the work of serious artists, and he devoted himself to knowing such work, both of contemporaries and of artists of the past, and to making his knowledge public. There was no question of attempting to work inside the prescriptive limits of
received opinion: that was part of the dry-rot which threatened to bring the whole house of western culture down (bring on another international war).

Pound's other imperative was to understand why the popular press refused the work of serious artists in favour of ersatz, a question which came to knowing who controlled the popular media and what their motives were for feeding the public a daily diet of mental refuse and stuffing. Pound writes, in a biographical note to the 1949 edition of his *Selected Poems*, "1918 began investigation of causes of war, to oppose same." It was in 1918 that Pound met Major C.H. Douglas in the offices of Alfred Orage's journal, *The New Age*. What he learned in conversation with Douglas and Orage -- that "both war and lack of money had been caused by financiers' manipulations -- usury" -- moved him to draw a parallel between the "putrid" state of "culture" -- the oppressive nature of publishing -- and what appeared to be a criminally misdirected economic policy international in scope.25

.... His prevailing mood, combined with postwar conditions, especially those imposed by the Versailles Treaty of 1919, brought to the surface a sudden awareness of the very dangerous position of the artist and alerted him to the possibility that the Great War was due principally to poor fiscal management and an accordant failure of intelligence. Intelligence was society's most valuable resource, and artists were the 'antennae of the race.' What ultimately counted was the overall cultural level of civilization and Douglas, claimed Pound, was the first economist 'to postulate a place for the arts, literature, and the amenities in a system of economics.'26


26 Ibid., p. 33. The remark in single quotations is from Pound, in *The Criterion*, January 1935.
The system of economics which Douglas proposed rejected the Malthusian principle that scarcity was the controlling element in political economy. What Douglas called the "increment of association" -- the increased efficiency of production due to inherited techniques and innovations in technique -- together with a natural increase of plants and animals produced an abundance of goods which required only an equitable system of distribution to reach all the people who might want the goods. Such a system would demand an adequate number of certificates "good for" the products desired, available equitably to those who would use them. The system which did not provide enough such certificates to all those who desired its products was, in Douglas' and in Pound's opinions, wrong from the beginning. And any political system which allowed an inadequate number of certificates, i.e. a scarce supply of money, to represent its wealth was not only wrong but criminal. Such an inequity tended to concentrate real wealth in the hands of those who controlled the issue of the certificates. It favoured the issuers of the certificates over the actual producers of goods. It was clear to Douglas and through Douglas, to Pound, that the issue of money and its regulation could not be confided safely to any single private group; that the power to issue a currency of exchange was too great to rest with any other than the public agency intended to represent the whole people of a given nation. 27

With this understanding of the difference between a national monetary policy and a policy which favoured the manipulators of "credit," and of the dominance of a "false accounting system" in the paradoxical relationship of poverty to prosperity, there seemed to be two modes of action open to Pound. One was to live where there was a system in operation which appeared to be progressing toward a just and equitable distribution of the national product, and where there was the opportunity of affecting government by voicing the results of one's own study. Pound thought Italy to be that place, from 1924 when he moved to Rapallo, the resort of his friend, W.B. Yeats. His move came two years after Mussolini's march into Rome, during the early period of the fascist regime.

The other path of action was to attempt to re-educate the constituencies of governments which had surrendered their power to distribute into the hands of a clique of usurers. Among others, England and France seemed to Pound to have petrified their political associations and conventions into arch-forms of the usurocratic state. The new Soviet Russia was undergoing a massive re-education, on which Pound commented with some interest, but for him the method of redistribution was neither state ownership nor forced collectivization: it was rather a state program to guarantee work to all who could perform it -- intervening in private industrial management if necessary -- and to maintain an adequate supply of certificates "of

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28 Pound's criticism of Bolshevism is generally hostile, although he often quotes Lenin agreeably. An example of his agreement with Lenin is in "What is Money For?", reprinted in Selected Prose. He makes some comparison of fascism with Russian communism in Jefferson
work done" available to all who might want to purchase the products of the nation's labour.

He came to see his native United States as the best field for a re-education to the problem of issue. An attention to just distribution was evident in the writings of some American leaders from the beginnings of the Republic:

The true history of the economy of the United States, as I see it, is to be found in the correspondence between Adams and Jefferson, in the writings of Van Buren, and in quotations from the intimate letters of the Fathers of the Republic. The elements remain the same: debts, altering the value of monetary units, and the attempts, and triumphs of usury, due to monopolies, or to a 'Corner'....

The speculators boast about their courage or temerity, but this courage is a different kind of courage from that displayed at the Roulette, or other games of chance; for, by speculating on wheat and other commodities these gamblers are not just gambling among themselves, they are affecting the prices the public must pay for its necessities. Civic conscience has not developed in America. It seems to me that this conscience was higher during the first years of the Republic, or at least, the heroes of that era have left to us monuments of their personal consciences, which are higher than those in the publications of today.

From the War of Secession up to now, the economic history, I might almost say the history, of the United States has consisted in a series of stock exchange manoeuvres in New York and in Chicago; attempts to impose monopolies, corners, variations in the prices of the shares of new industries, and of the means of transportation. In the beginning they speculated on the value of land. An inflation in its value was stimulated without bothering about the difficulty, or the impossibility of transporting products from remote areas to the market. Then they speculated on the values of the railroads.

If it is in the interest of the common worker, producer, or citizen to have an equitable and fixed price, this is not at all in the interest of the speculator or broker. 'Hell,' he says, 'I don't want a still market. I couldn't make any money.'...

and/or Mussolini, passim, particularly Chapter VII, pp. 36-38, and pp. 88, 98, 99, 104.

The struggle between the Producers and the Falsifiers of Bookkeeping was clearly seen and understood by the Fathers of the Republic. Their wisdom was recorded in pungent phrases: 'The safest place of deposit is in the pants of the people.' 'Every Bank of Discount is downright iniquity, robbing the public for individuals' gain.' An insurance agent once asked a banker why the railroad companies, which are privately owned, must run to him, a banker, in order to sell their bonds. The banker, with ironic sadness, whispered: 'Hush'.

Pound's sense was that the wisdom of the Republic's initiators had been obscured, had "gone out of print" in the same way that his contemporaries' efforts had gone unnoticed: that is, at the behest of those in control of the centres of learning and publishing.

The historical process has been understood at various times, but this understanding on the part of a diligent minority fighting for the public good is again and again thrust down beneath the surface. In 1878 my grandfather said the same things that I'm saying now, but the memory of his efforts has been obliterated. The same applies to the revelations of men like Calhoun, Jackson and Van Buren. Forty years ago Brooks Adams assembled some very significant facts, but his books were not widely read. He had no vocation for martyrdom, he confessed with irony.

It took me seven years to get hold of a set of The Works of John Adams.... Besides, these works are partly incomprehensible to anyone who is not already provided with some knowledge of economics or, more specifically, monetary matters.

If you can understand the cause, or causes, of one war, you will understand the cause or causes of several -- perhaps of all. But the fundamental causes of war have received little publicity. School-books do not disclose the inner workings of banks. The mystery of economics has been more jealously guarded than were ever the mysteries of Eleusis. And the Central Bank of Greece was at Delphi...

I quote these apparently unconnected facts to indicate that certain high crimes are not due to any negligence on the part of a handful of scholars, and cannot be attributed to the ignorance

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30 Ibid., p. 172. The remark on "the safest place of deposit" is Thomas Jefferson's. See Pound, Jefferson and/or Mussolini, pp. 80-81. For Adams' "Every Bank of Discount," see p. 4 infra, as well as my annotation: 88/582: 15-16, and Selected Prose, p. 313.
32 Great-grandson of John Adams; author of The Law of Civilization and Decay.
of the great majority.

What the sages understood was recorded, but inscriptions disappear, books decay, while usurocratic publicity floods the public's mind like a muddy tide, and the same greed, the same iniquities and monopolies rise up again subjecting the world to their domination...

My ignorance, and yours, and that of the surrounding public is not today a natural phenomenon. Above and beyond natural ignorance, an artificial ignorance is diffused, artificially created.

This was the given condition, for universities as for the general public. Pound concluded to use his prestige as poet and critic to introduce a submerged history to the consciousnesses of his reading public, to remind his readers that they were citizens. In prose articles and books like Guide to Kulchur and Make it New and Jefferson and/or Mussolini he referred to historical knowledges he had discovered in his research as survivors of a working civilization, present in many eras and diverse places, but now, through centuries of suppression, disuse and ignorance, nearly vanished from the cultural heritage of Europe and America. And where he only referred to these knowledges and actions in his prose, he used the canto form to bring them revived and resumed to quick life, back or up to his readers' attentions. He worked these book-sequestered materials into poetry by two co-responding methods which, taken together, may be enunciated in Pound's "dichten = condensare." One is the ideogramic: the juxtaposition of apparently disparate particulars which, taken together, express or embody a total concrete

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idea, a formalization of perception by a kind of manifold metonymy. 34
The other is the mimetic, the imitative: Pound makes his American
history into poetry by bringing the work of Adams, Jefferson, Van
Buren, Benton into his metric as speech. He does not simply quote:
he becomes the rhapsodist, takes these men's words as his own,
measures them, sustains or diminishes their emphases by the length
of his own poetic line, by means of his poetic sensibility.

The world, the flesh, the devils in hell are
Against any man who now in the North American Union
shall dare to join the standard of Almighty God to
Put down the African slave trade...what can I
Seventy-four years, verge of my birthday, shaking hand
...for the suppression of the African slave trade...

(34/170-171)

This is Pound's versification of John Quincy Adams' diary prose. 35
It is clearly not in the lyric mode, nor is it narrative descrip-
tion: Pound's purpose in the history cantos is neither simply to
entertain nor to refer to an idolized and gone past: it is to recall
an intelligence, latent but quiescent under the usurers' current
monopoly over public expression:

The degradation in America is phenomenal in that legally the
machinery for local resilience EXISTS, all the cadres, frames for
local organization are nicely plotted out, many of them have func-
tioned, but the populace AND the intelligentsia are now too lazy,
cowardly or ignorant to make any use of them. Occasionally South

34 Pound: "I mean to say the purpose of the writing is to reveal
the subject. The ideogramic method consists of presenting one facet
and then another until at some point one gets off the dead and desen-
sitized surface of the reader's mind, onto a part that will register."
(Guide to Kulchur, p. 51.)
35 See my annotation: 89/593: 7 for the diary source for this
passage. At 74 Adams took the challenge "to put down the African
slave trade" by successfully opposing a "gag law" to prevent the
introduction in Congress of anti-slavery legislation or debate.
Dakota or some incult western state informs the world that it has its own legislature, but the efforts of this kind are neither coherent nor very enlightened.

My next analogy is very technical. The real life in regular verse is an irregular movement underlying. Jefferson thought the formal features of the American system would work, and they did work till the time of General Grant but the condition of their working was that inside them there should be a de facto government composed of sincere men willing the national good. When the men of understanding are too lazy to impart the results of their understanding, and when the nucleus of the national mind hasn't the moral force to translate knowledge into action I don't believe it matters a damn what legal forms or what administrative forms there are in a government. The nation will get the staggers.

And any means are the right means which will remagnetize the will and the knowledge.

THE CIVIL WAR drove everything out of the American mind. Perhaps the worst bit of damage was that it drove out of mind the first serious anti-slavery candidate, not because he was an anti-slavery candidate, but because he saved the nation and freed the American treasury. Jackson had the glory, let us say he got the glory because he already had a good deal, the aureole of New Orleans, and Van Buren caught the reaction. His autobiography didn't get printed until 1918 or 1920.

Whether by reason of villainy I know not. I suspect it was due more to stupidity and to the laziness and ineptitude of professors. You can't expect history professors to be connoisseurs of economic significance, at least they weren't to be trusted for it from 1860 to 1930.

I have already started to put the bank war into a canto. I don't know whether to leave it at that, or to quote sixty pages of "Van's" autobiography.

Cataclysm -- America and the Second World
War -- Anti-usury / or Anti-Semitism

The ambition to "remagnetize the will and the knowledge" moved Pound to write cantos which would show the economic roots of American history, as he discovered them, to his readers. It is a measure of Pound's wish to speak directly to his readers' common sense that he

36 Pound, Jefferson and/or Mussolini, pp. 108-109, 94-95. Pound wrote this in 1933. He refers to Canto 37.
writes so often in vernacular idioms (it is also a measure of Pound's humour). The same ambition moved him to try a correspondence with American statesmen. It is what prompted his journey to the United States in 1939: a desire to speak with American leaders and by discovering to them his knowledge of the constitutional heritage and the economic thought of Douglas, persuade them of a programme against usury. The journey was not entirely audacious: he had corresponded with a few members of Congress during the preceding decade, had been somewhat encouraged by the replies; and beyond this there was the urgency that "the men of understanding" had a duty to offer their knowledge and advice to the service of the nation.

There was also the urgency -- which compelled him to act -- that war between the United States and Italy was clearly possible, imminent. There is reason to believe that Pound's return to America in 1939, following an absence of twenty-eight years, would have been unlikely had he not felt the imperative to act as minister-without-portfolio in the defense of Italy -- in the effort to head off war between his native and his adopted states. David Heymann writes:

William Carlos Williams, Ford Madox Ford, and H.L. Mencken had been trying for years to get Pound to return home, if only for a brief visit. He had toyed with the prospect before, but at the last moment had always reneged, insisting that the lumpish American scene was worth avoiding.37

But Olivia Shakspear, Pound's mother-in-law and the guardian of his son, Omar, had died in London in October, 1938, and when

37 Heymann, Ezra Pound: The Last Rower, p. 83.
Pound went there to settle her estate, he may have been touched with a further, more personal insecurity. A visit homeward would mean a renewal of old affections. A further encouragement: Wyndham Lewis had moved to New York "and Pound wanted to join him." 38

What transformed Pound's visit into a mission was the European crisis. For him, showing where and how American economic policies were in error was akin to making peace: international finance had usurped America's internal government, had tricked the American people into debt, had entangled the United States in imperialist schemes. The United States were being dragged into a foreign war because their government had lost control of their finances.

What infuriated him was the inexorable fact that not one American in a thousand knew his Constitutional rights. No one, for example, was aware that the United States had not, since 1913, issued its own money, but was instead borrowing money issued by the Federal Reserve Bank, and that part of the onerous taxes which American citizens paid their government was actually interest on this alleged perpetual loan. Pound felt that if the people could ever know that they were being 'duped' into paying unlawful taxes and encouraged to fight needless wars 'they would rise up in revolution, purify the government and return to a simple, taxless federation of states, ruled by laws, locally passed and locally enforced.' Such was the trigonometry of his vision, and in order to see it through he was prepared, if need be, to accept an advisory post in government and to spend some months each year in his own country. 39

The response from Washington was similar to the book trade's judgment of twenty to thirty years before:

38 Ibid., & n. 1, p. 349.
39 Ibid., p. 83.
"am sure I don't know what a man like you would find to do here" 40

With few exceptions, the attitude was like a massive deafness. Pound had gone looking for the job of historical/economic advisor; cabinet members, senators, congressmen, professors had listened patiently, at least politely; and he had been refused. His friends were not patient:

The man is sunk, in my opinion, unless he can shake the fog of fascism out of his brain during the next few years, which I seriously doubt that he can do. The logicality of fascist rationalization is soon going to kill him. You can't argue away wanton slaughter of innocent women and children by the neo-scholasticism of a controlled economy program. To hell with a Hitler who lauds the work of his airmen in Spain and so to hell with Pound too if he can't stand up and face his questioners on the point. 41

The mechanized savagery of the Nazis in smashing the Spanish rebel movement -- the first sign abroad of Germany's power and inclination toward military domination -- had convinced others besides communists that the Italians had thrown in with murderers. Pound's belief was that the Versailles treaty, engineered by financiers and carried out by servile ministers of the French, English and American powers, had not guaranteed the peace publicly sought by Wilson, but had spurred every industrial nation to rearm in the struggle for commercial dominion. This rearmament was general, was not confined to the axis powers, was the effect of the open as well as covert manipulations of capitalist powers for trade monopoly.

40 Pound, Canto 84/537: 10-11; quoted in Heymann, p. 86
41 Letter of William Carlos Williams to James Laughlin, in Heymann, pp. 87-88.
Pound had noted that arms dealers traded among rival nations like auctioneers, and that foundations such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace published studies of the effects of war to the utter neglect of causes. To him, the arms trade was synonymous with international finance capital:

The known causes of war are:
1. Manufacture and high pressure salesmanship of munitions, armaments etc.
2. Overproduction and dumping, leading to trade friction, etc. strife for markets etc.
3. The works of interested cliques, commercial, dynastic and bureaucratic....

.... Usurocracy makes wars in succession. It makes them according to a pre-established plan for the purpose of creating debts.... War is the highest form of sabotage, the most atrocious form of sabotage. Usurers provoke wars to impose monopolies in their own interests, so that they can get the world by the throat. Usurers provoke wars to create debts, so that they can extort the interest and rake in the profits resulting from changes in the values of the monetary units....

.... Italy's ambition to achieve economic liberty -- the liberty of not getting into debt -- provoked the unleashing of the ever-accursed sanctions....

A NATION THAT WILL NOT GET ITSELF INTO DEBT DRIVES THE USURERS TO FURY

But the killing had already started with Spain, and the invasion of Poland, which Pound regarded as part of a limited Russo-German war, having nothing to do with the Mediterranean or Western Europe, frightened and infuriated the people of the western world

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42 Pound devoted part of Canto 18 to sketching the activities of one such cannon merchant, Sir Basil Zaharoff, a.k.a. Zenos Metevsky.
44 Ibid., p. 222.
however much pleasure or anger it might have given the usurers. Italian autarchy or economic independence seemed a charade in light of the military aid pact with Germany. Increasingly through the 1930's Pound had been taken, by numerous enemies and not a few friends, for a crank. With the beginning of the war the crank had become a traitor. His efforts during the war, including the radio broadcasts for which he was charged with treason in 1943, did not alter substantially in content: they simply increased in vituperative intensity. His biographers generally characterize his wartime articles and radio speeches as "strident." A war hysteria, a frenzy for survival which developed in fear and hatred, took hold of him. His daughter remembers him this way:

.... He was not getting enough to eat and he was overworking. Translating Confucius into Italian, writing pamphlets on the causes of war; writing the radio speeches and articles for the Meridiano di Roma, translating Enrico Pea's Moscardino into English -- "Trying to save the world." And one felt the pressure -- inside, outside? -- and the seriousness of purpose and dedication were such as to turn the hyperbole into an understatement.

.... The sincerity of his expressions and intentions conferred such dignity upon him that I felt sure he was enunciating eternal truths. The beauty of it was that he believed it too. It never occurred to me at the time that the Axis might not win. But "victory" had become something so abstract that it seemed not to matter which side won. Il nemico è l'ignoranza -- ignorance was the enemy. And usury the cause of all wars....

Bellum cano perenne...
...between usura and the man who
wants to do a good job

For this battle he availed himself of the Italian microphone and of the Italian newspapers, with total disregard of his own welfare. He thought only downright corruption and malice -- and stupidity of course -- prevented people from seeing, and therefore fighting, the true causes of war.
But there was an inner, metaphysical war going on at the same time, over which he had no power. The usury of time itself was at work inside him.

Time is the evil. Evil.

...Geryon twin with usura

He was losing ground, I now see, losing grip on what most specifically he should have been able to control, his own words. Lord of his work and master of utterance--he was that no longer. And perhaps he sensed it and the more strongly clung to the utterances of Confucius, because his own tongue was tricking him, running away with him, leading him into excess, away from his pivot, into blind spots. I know no other explanation for some of his violent expressions -- perhaps he felt the exasperation at not being able to get his real meaning across. The long hostility of his country must have weighed heavily upon him, but he remained free from self-pity.46

Pound was, in fact, being overcome by the heavy machine of the state at war. More and more his thought was at the service of a state mysticism which confused a race, Jewry, with a class, usurers. The ambivalence of his Anglo-American birth, culture and education held in paradox a belief in the common rights, equalities, liberties of men arising from a sense of common effort along with a hatred, or at the very least a despair, of the dispossessed immigrants to America from central and eastern Europe. These "newcomers" seemed to care nothing for the elevated conception of liberty which governed the thought of the democratic aristoi of America: since, dispossessed, they must either work for factory-wages or starve -- and sometimes work and starve. Pound did see correctly that the masses who were shipped to the United States following the Civil War were imported for an army of wage slaves which would break down the

46 Mary de Rachewiltz, Discretions, pp. 171, 173-174.
political and economic institutions of the democratic community.

What he did not see was that many of them would rebel against such usage. His belief was that, coming from the most exploited and despised communities in Europe, their sense of justice would expect little in the way of liberties.

A handful of people, who lived on little and did not run into debit brought to, and preserved in America, a rather high, severe culture, and a civic sense nourished by the traditions of English legal liberty, that is, by a centuries-long conquest in which the traditions of North European tribes and Roman Law converge.

The Republic was started with a limited suffrage which was gradually extended from the love of justice and because of the good sense of the common people. The frontier aristocracy was, of necessity, a physical aristocracy. The others either died or weakened. My grandfather used to wrestle with his lumberjacks not only for sport, but to maintain his prestige. Lincoln was the last president of this race and of this tradition. For two centuries the frontier required daring. With the danger gone came the people who know how to suffer and to endure; or those who merely subside....

The employers naturally tried to get their work done for the least possible price. The working-men, in self-defence, asked for the suffrage. The people won the war against the Bank of the U.S. between 1830 and 1840 but, with the new waves of European work hands, the quality of the electorate declined, and demagogy undertook to corrupt it. The Press misled, or distracted, the people from the nature of the economic problem. 47

The immigrants, the majority of them, were forced into the production machines by finance-affiliated bosses who would use them to build an empire based on mass labour and capital-intensive methods. The bosses would pay their workers as little as possible in order to maximize available investment capital. They would consider building and tooling costs as part of the price of their goods, but they would not consider the quality or even the safety of working conditions as

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47 Pound, "An Introduction to the Economic Nature of the United States," in Selected Prose, pp. 175, 176. This article was written in Italian and first published in 1944.
due to their workers. They would not regard workers as the proper consumers of the goods which workers produced, and so would not pay wages sufficient to buy those goods.

The Catholic economy had proclaimed the doctrine of the just price. Monopoly is a manoeuvre against the just price. To be able to speculate one needs a fluctuating market....

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Republic was in revolt against the privileges of 'birth', and the whole democratic movement was in revolt against the monopolies held by the guilds; monopolies of the opportunity of working. This explains the bearing of Adam Smith's phrase: 'Men of the same trade never gather together without a conspiracy against the general public.'

But the monopolies, the sanctions, the restrictions imposed by the guilds were, at least, monopolies of producers. The various monopolies which culminate in the monopoly of money itself, key to all the other monopolies were, and are, monopolies of exploiters.48

In the case of many manufacturing owners, the decision for instance to pay higher, more equitable wages was no longer theirs to make, had been contrived out of their hands through the "exigencies" of the "money-market." Capital production was determined by the availability of loan capital; and loan capital was money-at-a-price. The price of money was determined by the total amount of money available, and that amount was manipulable. The trade in money as a commodity, increasing or decreasing in value according to the wishes of those who had control of the market, determined the amount of loan capital available to producers (that is, it determined the price of or interest on money, which in turn governed the amount a producer might safely borrow), which itself determined the cost of capital goods such as machinery and building materials --

48 Ibid., p. 176.
themselves priced according to the "price" of money -- and finally, because this trade in money forced on producers the necessity to expand production in order to meet the costs on equipment and on loans, i.e. their debts, and because this necessity required an increasing proportion of production capital to be invested in new technology and machinery, it determined the amount to be paid in wages -- workers appearing as the last, and the weakest, link in the chain of capital necessities.

But the influence of the money market -- of the money monopoly -- did not disappear with the allocation of capital in the form of equipment costs and wages: as the ultimate effect on economy, it determined the price of the goods produced, since both the cost of capital goods -- of the machinery of production -- and the "cost of labour" -- wages -- were added to the initial cost of the capital -- the interest charged on money borrowed in order to buy both capital goods and labour power -- in the computation of prices. What this means to the consumer, argued Major Douglas, becomes clear when one compares the total price of goods in a given economy with the total amount of wages, or "purchasing power." Pound wrote Douglas' comparison into a canto, thus:

A factory
has also another aspect, which we call the financial aspect
It gives people the power to buy (wages, dividends
which are power to buy) but it is also the cause of prices
or values, financial, I mean financial values
It pays workers, and pays for material.
What it pays in wages and dividends?
stays fluid, as power to buy, and this power is less, per forza, damn blast your intellec, is less than the total payments made by the factory (as wages, dividends AND payments for raw material bank charges, etcetera) and all, that is the whole, that is the total of these is added into the total of prices caused by that factory, any damn factory and there is and must be therefore a clog and the power to purchase can never (under the present system) catch up with prices at large,

and the light became so bright and so blindin' in this layer of paradise that the mind of man was bewildered.

(38/190)

Once the brilliance of this revelation abates and one's mental acuity returns augmented, Pound might say, one will also comprehend that the condition which Douglas is describing constitutes a system of tribute of which the ultimate commanders and beneficiaries are those who control the amount and price of finance-capital: the money-commodity. That is why Pound reiterates, "Sovereignty inheres in the right to ISSUE measured claims to wealth, that is MONEY."49 This right had been delegated to the Congress of the United States by the framers of the U.S. constitution, who regarded a national currency as one of the bases for a democratic community: a national currency, that is, charging no interest beyond the actual cost of issuing it. Such a currency was part of that community of right and liberty which Pound felt to be uniquely American. He believed that the power to issue currency had been usurped during the American Civil War through the intrigues of the international money-

49 Pound, 'What is Money For?' in Selected Prose, p. 297.
marketeteers based in Europe. The marketeers were interested in a currency which would cause prices to rise and fall at their behest, so that real wealth -- land, goods, the power to direct other men's labour -- would come to them at the cheapest price: the price of their "credit." These men controlled the European emigration to America, created a labour "market" which, flooded by the influx of immigrants, forced wage levels below previous American standards, and produced the "institution" we know now as "unemployment," a mass of human beings without independent means, forced to do the work required by capital-intensive industry at a wage which cannot purchase what is produced, and subject to lay-offs when commodities are not being sold in enough quantity to meet the current price of money.

American producers, forced to take money at interest rates set by the profiteers of Europe and America, and faced with competitors who would draw on the immigrant masses as on an increasing "supply" of "cheap labour," either bankrupted, or lowered the wages of native-born workers, or resorted to turning them out when the occasion seemed to demand. In other words, they adopted the methods of capitalists. Regarding this adoption, Pound says:

The situation is complicated when the same man has his hand both in production and in finance as the cleverest men have today. Henry Ford found himself forced into this situation in order to defend himself against Wall Street. 50

What American workers, themselves immigrants at prior epochs,

saw and believed to be the case, was that foreigners were taking over their jobs, causing their wages to fall, forcing them out of work or off their lands, making slums, destroying the possibilities. Foreigners spoke languages, shared cultures which were unintelligible to Americans: native workers could not know from the immigrants themselves what misery they had been forced into, and so had no means of tempering their resentment or of fully discovering its real cause -- the manipulation of prices and wages, of the price of money. They came to hate the immigrants and fear them as members of a competing race, and that racism which had supposedly been annulled under the administration of a republic dedicated to equality, liberty, right, but which had remained as a contradiction in the Anglo-American character, came presently to the surface of American culture, as jingoism and anti-semitism.

Pound, who imbibed anti-semitism as a part of speech of his mother (and father) tongue, who on occasion expressed his distaste for Jewish culture and tradition as for a kind of disease, still did not regard ordinary working people, whether they were Jewish or not, as responsible for the economic disasters visited on his fellow Anglo-Americans. Usurers manipulated economies, and he noted that while many usurers were Jews, many were Christians who had made innovations in the traditional game of money-lending. But the emotional vocabulary which Pound used often to characterise the

51 In his essay "Cavalcanti," for instance, Pound contrasts his lost "radiant world" (see my p. 19) with "the two maladies, the Hebrew disease, the Hindoo disease, fanaticisms and excess that produce Savonarola, asceticisms that produce fakirs...." (Literary Essays, p. 154.)
evil of usury was traditionally anti-semitic. It was the hubris of Pound's bourgeois heritage that he did not see clearly the historical conditions which forced the practice of usury on the Jews; that he did not often enough distinguish, and frequently -- for rhetorical uses -- blurred the difference between those compelled to make their livings by lending money at interest and those who profited from usury by preying on the money-lenders. Among this latter group might be counted many of the "great" princes of Europe.

Since the middle ages, Christian states had excluded Jews from most of the activities which compose a community; the field for the subject Jews of the European city was straitened to the very special phase of economic activity, money-changing and money-lending. Church edicts forbade Christians to practice usury on pain of excommunication -- and excommunication was the natural estate of the Jews in the Christian world. The extraction of life-destroying interest on loans was associated metaphorically with Judaism and that association was incorporated into law. The fact that some Jews actually practiced usury seems only a special incident of a universal condemnation. The Christian community had cast out a practice whose nature was contrary to the Christian ethos, frugality, patience, labour, but had not extinguished it; had simply associated the practice with a race who were outlaw. The periodic slaughter of Jews was the savage attempt of a guilty community to purge itself of the need which it had not been able to extinguish or

52 See Leon Poliakov, History of Anti-Semitism, v.1, p. 75, at which he cites both Christian and Jewish prohibitions against usury, as well as pressures which moved Jews to ignore their own injunctions.
reconcile.

But here it is necessary to dissociate motives. The persecution and murder of Jews throughout the history of Christian Europe had another, more pragmatic object than simply the purgation of an otherwise insoluble guilt.

... The Jews commenced to be persecuted in 1262, in which year the barons despoiled them and slew 700 of them in London. In 1278 they were again despoiled, and 280 more slain. A great scarcity of money ensued. The rate of interest rose to 50 per cent., and even to 70 per cent. In 1288 the rate was 40 per cent. It was after this period, and before the Statute of Jewry, 1290, by which the Jews were entirely expelled from the kingdom, that Edward built the castles of Conway and Carnarvon, and must also have commenced that of Beaumaris. In 1280 the king greatly degraded the silver groats, the first instance of either degradation or debasement of the coinage since the accession of the Norman line.... As a more available source of revenue, Edward afterwards robbed and expelled 16,000 Jews, by which he made 'a mighty mass of money.'

Jews were the unrecognized but de facto bankers for Christian monarchs and nobles; as other, legitimate pursuits were prohibited them, active and capable Jews who dealt in money accumulated money, gained wealth inside their communities. But Christian rulers had no intention of allowing wealth (or any of its consequences) to remain long in the hands of the despised. Two analogies come to mind: one is to the great abbeys of the English church, treasuries of wealth and learning which Henry VIII despoiled when he proclaimed the divorce of England and the Roman Church. The other is to the storage of plant protein in domestic animals for eventual consumption

53 Alexander Del Mar, Money and Civilization, p. 65. The authors cited in this brief outline of the twin growth of usury and anti-semitism, Del Mar and Christopher Hollis, are historians whose work Pound knew and referred to as models of historiography. He bases much of his writing on monetary history in their accomplishments.
as meat. The Jews were treated as cattle, their holdings subject to liquidation, either by robbery or by murder.

As many writers have noted, such violence is hardly consonant with Christian ethics. But the majority of the European Christian population, subdued by the militarism of the feudal system and by the dogmatism of the church hierarchy, rarely resisted, often condoned and encouraged the robbery and murder of masses of Jews as well as other non-Christians, and with at least two rationales: the mythological, that Christ had been condemned and sacrificed for the sake of the Jews; the historical, that Jewish money-lenders had plundered and murdered individual Christians by the extortion of interest. (There was also the fear of Jewish conspiracies, of ritual murder: the paranoia that comes with the quasi-enslavement of a racial minority inside a dominant population.)

With the revulsion in the Church of the Renaissance and the rise of Protestantism, the edict against usury among Christians began to be ignored. Merchant ventures requiring large sums of money to be invested, in which every European head of state became involved, could only be mounted on loans. Every European state used a variety of means to acquire money: by rents and taxes, by seigniorage on the produce of mines and the coinage of gold, silver and copper; by revenue from royal grants of privilege or letters patent; by war, robbery and murder. But the only way by which

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54 See Poliakov, v.1, p. 77: "The Jewish usurer has been promoted to the dignity of an archetype because behind him stood the silhouette of another archetype: that of Judas Iscariot, the man with the thirty pieces of silver. Ultimately the specter thus evoked, creating an unbearable tension between Christian society and the Jews, contributed significantly to the stereotype."
enough money could be collected to finance mercantile exploits like the voyages of discovery, or like wars of conquest, was by taking large sums on loan. And the state was rarely willing to undertake the entire burden of financing. Wealthy individuals were petitioned who were unwilling to risk capital except with the prospect of large returns. They wanted substantial interest on their investments. Many of these persons were Christians. A clerical orthodoxy was established which did not specifically prohibit the practice of usury. Among others, Max Weber and R.H. Tawney have described the reciprocity between the rise of mercantile capitalism and that of protestantism.

Both the mercantile bank, that is the bank which issues notes against its deposits on loan as interest, and the investment capitalist, were legitimized. The states of Europe began to rely on "Christian" as well as "Jewish" loan capital; in fact, usury itself came into common practice. Pound associates the development of usury with the protestant break from the Church:

The Church slumped into a toleration of usury. Protestantism as factive and organised, may have sprung from nothing but pros- usury politics....

... The scale and proportion of evil, as delimited in Dante's hell (or the Catholic hell) was obliterated by the Calvinist and Lutheran churches. I don't mean to say that these heretics cut off their ideas of damnation all at once, suddenly or consciously, I mean that the effect of Protestantism has been semitically to obliterate values, to efface grades and graduations.57

55 Christians had practiced usury on a substantial scale before the "Reformation," but had led lives as precarious as their Jewish counterparts. See Poliakov, History of Anti-Semitism, v.1, pp. 76-77.
57 Pound, Guide to Kulchur, p. 185.
This permission of usury, which is at the basis of modern finance capital, had a number of peculiar effects. Among others, it allowed the development of a new social class, founded on the economic ties between the state and finance capitalists. It allowed the acquisition of social rank and prestige as well as wealth. Ultimately, it provided for the total dependence of the state on financiers for its revenue; and consequently, as Pound sees it, it allowed for the usurpation of state sovereignty by the banker.

Usury ruined the Republic. Usury has been defined as too high an interest on money. The word finance became fashionable in the bankpaper era. And it is to this that Jefferson alludes in the phrase: 'No one has a natural right to be money-lender save him who has it to lend.' With the 'financial' era the word usury disappeared from polite conversation. 58

As Alexander Del Mar points out, banks as agents of the state traditionally have been the signs of weakness or corruption in government.

Banks have always been regarded by writers on political economy as evidences of progress in a state. Whatever may be the case at the present time, the original establishment of banks in Europe was due to social decay or paralysis rather than to progress. Their single function was to substitute credits in good coins for deposits of worn, clipped, counterfeit, or uncurrent ones; and they were nowhere established until the decay or misfortunes of the state and the inferior character or bad condition of its coins rendered it unsafe or troublesome for the merchants to accept them. 59

Traditionally the European state had served to limit the influ-

59 Del Mar, Money and Civilization, p. 66.
ence of the money-lender either by law (prohibition, exclusion from the community) or by force (rapacity, plunder, murder). But many European states had suffered severe losses to their financial resources through war and mismanagement. In England, Magna Charta had signaled a quasi-democratic movement to limit the power of the monarchy; it culminated in the Puritan Revolution and the transfer of the money power from the king to Parliament. The monarchy, its sovereignty revoked in a real way, looked to other sources of wealth as means of regaining ceded power. The opportunity took form as a banking scheme. A private loan to William of Orange, made in return for the granted right to issue notes as currency up to the amount of the loan, was the seed of the Bank of England. William used the loan, which he had taken only when Parliament refused to vote an increase of his income, to carry on a Dutch war against France. Wars, of course, only destroy what is invested in them; gains are always uncertain, especially as measured against the losses. But the directors of the newly-formed bank stock company, the holders of William's debt, found this loss to be a convenient lever for raising capital beyond their initial issue of notes. I want to quote a rather long passage from Christopher Hollis' Two Nations to show how this was done and how the practice and tolerance of

60 It should be noted in this context as in most others that the use of law is the measured application of force, that as subject peoples the Jews were victims of repression, whether enacted by councils or by mobs seems only a matter of degree, especially if we consider that both the harshness and the leniency of the anti-Semitic laws might be annulled at the whim of the prince, the bishops of the church, or the barons. The rule of law was subject to "exigencies of state," and usury, the evil condemned by religion (Jewish, Christian) and by law, was often tolerated while those with whom it had become symbolically associated were persecuted.
usury grew beyond the severely defined, culturally determined, socially vulnerable estate of the moneylender or "goldsmith" to become established as a functionally omnipotent banking corporation little subject to government control. 61

Before long they [the directors of the Bank of England] had thus issued notes to the full extent of £1,200,000 which the Act of Parliament entitled them to issue 'under their common seal'. No one but a special-pleading lawyer doubted that the intention of the Act had been to prevent them from issuing notes beyond that amount at all, but they knew very well that William was now so dependent upon their notes for the carrying on of his business that he would not dare to break with them. He was caught by what was perhaps the cleverest trick of blackmail in history. If he tried to repudiate his debt, his creditors would certainly go over to James and he would lose his throne. On the other hand he could only pay it if Parliament should vote him the money in extra taxation. The sum required would have been an inconvenient, but not an impossible, burden, but the Bank had seen to it that their influence in Parliament was sufficient to prevent it being voted. The monarchy was caught in a trap from which it was never to escape.

Therefore they the bank directors issued the further notes beyond the £1,200,000, guarding themselves against prosecution by issuing them signed by the cashier and without their 'common seal'. The Bank of England...confident that the King was impotent against them and that at the same time it was the King who would be blamed by public opinion for a rise in prices, saw now no necessity for restraint. They lent freely -- a proceeding which did not cost them a halfpenny -- issuing their notes well beyond the country's productive capacity. As the figures given in the contemporary Houghton's Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade show, prices rose as a result from 100 to 137 between June, 1694, and August, 1695.

The Government, quite mistaking the disease, thought that the rise in prices was due to the clipped money, although English money had been clipped since the beginning of time and prices had remained perfectly stable since Cromwell's death. They therefore determined to call in all the old money and reissue it instead

in milled money, and fixed a date after which unmilled money would no longer be legal tender. This was wise and fair enough, but with incredible folly they made no provision for seeing that the nation had an adequate temporary monetary supply during the time that silver was in the Mint for recoining. The consequence was a most drastic deflation, threatening far greater suffering than had been caused by the inflation. Through the folly of the Government the Bank of England notes were alone available to prevent that disastrous fall in prices. Sir John Houblon, its Governor, was able to explain to the people that he would indeed, if they demanded it, pay them a proportion of their notes' value in cash but that nothing could be less in their interest than that he should pay the full value, as such a demand would compel a drastic calling in of the Bank notes at the very time of the severe restriction of cash. The people agreed; so did the Government, which had quite lost control of the situation and was only too grateful for any suggestion which might save the country from chaos. It was not until three months later that it occurred to them to issue their own paper money as an expedient.

Therefore as a result the Bank was allowed to make its notes partly inconvertible. They issued these partly inconvertible notes and with them bought up the Government's tallies [Royal promises-to-pay or 'i.o.u.'s']. So, when in November, 1696, a return of the position of the Bank of England was given to a Parliamentary committee, it was discovered that only £1,500,000 of cash had ever passed out of the hands of the Bank into those of the King or of anybody else — £1,200,000 of its own capital and £300,000 which it had borrowed in Holland. Yet nevertheless by this puerile conjuring trick the King was in debt to the Bank £3,034,576 16 s. 5d.

The effect of the creation of paper money by the Bank of England was totally different from that of its creation by either Charles II or the Caroline goldsmiths [moneylenders]. The King, if he issues money, spends it and it becomes merely a part of the general money circulating in the country. The goldsmiths were but individuals, who, if luck favoured them, perhaps made fortunes, but, having made them, retired and spent them on consumable goods. Their paper had no guarantee; they were always liable to the demands of their depositors and, taking one goldsmith with another, the profit from the interest of one was not perhaps more than sufficient to balance the loss of another. But the paper money of the Bank introduced an entirely new element. In the first place, the Bank was a continuing joint-stock corporation. There was no moment when it died and divided up its fortune among its relatives, no moment when it retired from business and settled down to spend that which it had amassed. It existed to lend and it proposed to go on lending until the end of time. In the second place, so long as it lent only to the Government or against adequate collateral
security, it was lending virtually without risk. Its only risk lay in a risk of the general collapse of the regime.

Now, if a corporation lends money at interest and without risk, then re-lends the repaid loan and so on, never distributing more than a trifle of its profits either as wages or dividends, then, however small its original capital, however moderate its rate of interest, it is but a simple proposition in mathematics that in course of time it must necessarily become the possessor of the entire wealth of the country. The only remedy is, it may be said, for the people to refuse to borrow from it. But, if the corporation has itself the privilege of issuing money, then the public has no choice but to borrow from it, for, as we have seen, the consequence of a deflation is a violent fall in the price-level, causing most widespread suffering. And, if the money issued by the corporation as a loan has once established itself as an important part of the country's monetary supply, then it is clear that the public, if they suddenly started to refuse that corporation's loans, would throw the whole of their productive machinery into chaos.

It is then obvious why it was that the Bank inflated in 1695. As a general rule the bias of a bank is towards deflation, for the bank prefers prices low. But in 1695 the incidental consequence of inflation was a rise in prices, its essential consequence was so to increase the proportion of the Bank's money in circulation to King's money as to make the Bank's money an essential part of the nation's economy.

It is perfectly true, of course, as an abstract proposition in financial theory, that the King might have cancelled the privileges of the Bank and have filled the gap by paper money of his own. But by the bargain by which he held his throne, by the Bill of Rights of 1689, he was prevented from doing this without the consent of Parliament -- which meant in practice without the consent of the Bank of England. This bill was passed to protect the liberties of Englishmen against such tyrants as James II. As if the maddest of believers in the divine right of kings had ever fashioned in imagination a tyranny one-hundredth part as strong as that which was clamped upon us by the Revolution of 1688! 62

No more was usury to be considered a public anathema, however much damage a corporation such as the Bank of England might do to the nation's economy. For the Bank had taken control of the instrument for moulding public opinion -- the national legislature itself, as well as the Church. With the establishment of the Bank and the

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62 Hollis, The Two Nations, pp. 30-34.
national acceptance of bank notes, i.e. paper promises-to-pay lent at interest, as a measure of exchange, money, a new ruling class appears. The bourgeoisie, which uses all the opportunities afforded by a bank note currency for controlling the amount and value of a nation's money supply -- and therefore its price and wage levels -- comes to power. As the sanction against taking usury loses effect, some Jews grow powerful. What does not change is the Christian condemnation of Jews as Jews; nor does the mythical association of Jewry with usury. The Jewish people bear the great blame for the economic evils visited on the Christian working population as they have formerly, but now the evil is greater, more wide-spread -- and perpetrated by fellow-Christians.

The red herring is scoundrel's device and usurer's stand-by... Race prejudice is red herring. The tool of the man defeated intellectually, and of the cheap politician... It is nonsense for the anglo-saxon to revile the Jew for beating him at his own game.63

Tour du Pin curses usury. He baptises the XIXth century the 'Age of Usury'. He says several good things in so doing. He then without documents or much detail, blames the Jews for Aryan inability to think clearly. This runs back into retrospect, the Templars, etc. He blames the Jews equally for Calvin and for Voltaire. Taking it impartially as a transpontine Confucian I fail to see why the Jews should commit race suicide merely because Aryans can't think clearly. And I still more emphatically fail to see why any Jew should be expected to think so.64

Usurers have no race. How long the whole Jewish people is to be sacrificial goat for the usurer, I know not.... It cannot be too clearly known that no man can take usury and observe the law of the Hebrews. No orthodox Jew can take usury without sin, as defined in his own scriptures.

The Jew usurer being an outlaw runs against his own people, and uses them as his whipping boy....

63 Pound, Guide to Kulchur.
But the Jew is the usurer's goat. Whenever a usurer is spotted he scuttles down under the ghetto and leaves the plain man Jew to take the bullets and beatings.

All hostilities are grist to the usurer, all racial hates wear down sales resistance on cannon. 65

As clearly as Pound enunciated the difference between race and class in the decade before the second world war, the race fanaticism which is a permanent element of reactionary psychology, and was a structural principle in nazi ideology (and to a lesser though still influential extent in Italian fascism), deformed his thought and speech, especially his radio speech, during the war itself:

As to your [British] Empire, it was not always won by clean fighting; but however you got it, you did for a time more or less justify keeping it on the ground that you exported good government, or better government than the natives would have had without England. But you let in the Jew and the Jew rotted your Empire, and you yourselves outjewed the Jew. Your allies in your victimized holdings are the bunya, that is, the money lender. You stand for usury, and above metal usury you have built up bank usury, 60 percent as against 30 and 40 percent, and by that you will not be saved....

Was it an instinct to save the butt end of the race by not fighting? Is there 'a race' left in England? Has it any will left to survive? You can carry slaughter to Ireland, but will that save you? I doubt it. Nothing can save you, save a purge. Nothing can save you, save an affirmation that you are English.

Hore-Belisha is not. Isaacs is not. No Sassoon is an Englishman racially. No Rothschild is English, no Streiker is English, no Roosevelt is English, no Baruch, Morgenthau, Cohen, Lehman, Warburg, Kahn, Schiff, Sieff or Solomon was ever yet born Anglo-Saxon. And it is for this filth that you fight. It is for this filth that you have murdered your Empire. It is this filth that elects, selects, elects your politicians.66

I am not arguing, I am just telling you, one of these days you will have to start thinking about the problem of race, breed, preservation.67

.... Well, you have been fed on lies, for 20 years you have been fed on lies, and I don't say maybe. And Mr. Squinny and Mr.

67 Ibid., 2 July 1942.
Slime are still feeding it to you right over the BBC radio, and every one of the Jew radios of Schenectady, New York, and Boston -- and Boston was once an American city; that was when it was about the size of Rapallo....

And how much liberty have you got anyhow? And as to the arsenal -- are you the arsenal of democracy or of judeocracy? And who rules your rulers? Where does public responsibility end and what races can mix in America without ruin of the American stock, the American brain? Who is organized? What say have you in the choice of your rulers? What control of their policy? And who does own most of your press and your radio? E.P. asking you.68

Just which of you are free from Jewish influence? Just which political and business groups are free from Jew influence, from Jew control? Who holds the mortgage, who is the dominating director? Just which Jew has...nominated which assemblyman indebted to whom? And which one is indebted to Jewry or dependent on credit he cannot get without the connivance of Jewry?69

The Jew is a savage, his psychology is...may the stink of your camp drive you onward -- herders -- having no care but to let their...herds grouse and move onward when the pasture is exhausted.70

At no point in his wartime speeches and articles did Pound preach genocide. He was appalled at the massacre of Polish soldiers at Katyn, which he believed from axis newspaper accounts to have been perpetrated by Russian soldiers. According to his daughter, Mary de Rachewiltz, he knew nothing of the German death camps.

Whether he knew of or suspected an increasing practice of arrests for political or racial reasons in Italy is a question which so far as I know has been neither asked nor answered. But the character of his writings and the accounts of his self-conduct speak against his conscious participation in genocide or political murder, and suggest that had he been aware he would have resisted the Nazi crimes as vigorously as he resisted the Allied war effort. This

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68 Ibid., 22 July, 1942.
69 Ibid., 19 March 1943.
70 Ibid., 9 May, 1943.
seems true despite his occasional excesses of speech. But it would be naive to absolve Pound of responsibility for supporting the authoritarian state which made possible the conditions for genocide. Perhaps Pound's own naiveté, in thinking that the fascist dragon could be made docile to righteous social ends, is his most frightful aspect, his "insanity":

Don't start a pogrom. That is, not an old-style killing of small Jews. That system is no good, whatever. Of course, if some man had a stroke of genius, and could start a pogrom up at the top, there might be something to say for it. But on the whole, legal measures are preferable. The 60 kikes who started this war might be sent to St. Helena, as a measure of world prophylaxis, and some hyper-kikes or non-Jewish kikes along with them. 71

Don't shoot him, don't shoot him, don't shoot the President. Assassins deserve worse, but don't shoot him. Assassination only makes more murders.... Don't shoot him, diagnose him, diagnose him. It is not only your affair, but it is your bound duty as American citizens. Duty begins at home. 72

From our present vantage, Pound's self-defined task was clearly to prevent war in Europe: it was his most compelling vision from the mid-1930's; it was the staple of his prose and the motive for his broadcast speeches. It is also clear that Pound did not understand the scope of the war. He discerned that the prize was political and economic supremacy in Europe, but he thought the usurers, headquartered in London and the "allies of usurers" in Moscow the only aggressors lusting for the prize. For him, Italian fascism was the spirit of national economic self-sufficiency: autarchy; the national socialist party in Germany was struggling against the

71 Ibid., 30 April 1942.
72 Ibid., 18 February 1943.
depradations of international usurrocracy to rebuild an economically
shattered and politically dermorolized nation. It did not precisely
occur to him that the nazi authoritarian order was as great a lust
for absolute hegemony as anything he had surmised or concluded about
international usury. The fear of control by an international clique
was part of nazi orthodoxy, and Pound compared Hitler's condemnation
of usury with his own. But the nazi basis for action against usury
was racism becoming genocide. Pound's nice distinctions, along with
his will, were swallowed up in the holocaust.

... and the state can lend money
as proved at Salamis
and for notes on monopoly
Thales; and credit; Siena;
both for the trust and the mistrust;
"the earth belongs to the living"
interest on all it creates out of nothing
the buggering bank has; pure iniquity
and to change the value of money, of the unit of
money
METATHERMON
we are not yet out of that chapter
Le Paradis n'est pas artificiel

Pound's failure at the heart -- and that of his generation --
was the failure to dissociate, even metaphorically, class from
race. But even this root error in his thinking does not utterly
confound the legitimacy of much of his economic writing, or the
relevance of many of his historical judgments. His ideal sympathy
is with the agrarian society of free peasants; he regards as the
proper consequence of technical advance the more equitable distribu-
tion of its benefits. The fundamentals of all human activity are,

73 Pound, Canto 77/468. For explication of this passage see
Selected Prose, pp. 314, 172, 270, 256, 308; and Edwards & Vasse,
Annotated Index to the Cantos, p. 265.
properly, the earth, then labour, and with labour "teXne, skill in
an art, in making things," then enjoyment, ownership in the sense
of a right to what one has made. The basis for human happiness is
the earth's abundance. Evil consists in the destruction of abun-
dance, in engorgement, exploitation of the labour of many for the
sake of a few. Government's task is to ensure that the natural
abundance is available to all members of society. Its powers
include the regulation of trade and market value, and pivot on the
issue of enough purchasing power, that is a quantity of "certific-
ates of work done" commensurate with the quantity of goods avail-
able, that is with the natural fruitfulness of the earth.

PURPOSE OF MONEY

Most men have been so intent on the individual piece of money,
as a measure, that they have forgotten its PURPOSE, and they
have got into inextricable muddles and confusions regarding
the TOTAL amount of money in a country...

Statally speaking, that is from the point of view of a man
or party that wants to govern justly, a piece of money is a ticket,
the country's money is a mass of tickets for getting the country's
food and goods justly distributed.

The job for a man today who is trying to write a pamphlet on
money is not to say something new, it is SIMPLYto make a clear
statement about things that have been known for 200, and often
for 2,000 years.

You have got to know what money is FOR.

If you think that it is a man-trap or a means of bleeding the
public you will admire the banking system as run by the Rothschilds
and international bankers. If you think it is a means of sweating
profits out of the public, you will admire the stock exchange.

Hence ultimately for the sake of keeping your ideas in order
you will need a few principles.

THE AIM of a sane and decent economic system is to fix things
so that decent people can eat, have clothes and houses up to the
limit of available goods.

THE VALUE OF MONEY

Take money IN SUCH A SYSTEM as a means of exchange, and then
realise that to be a JUST means of exchange it must be MEASURED...

Unterguggenberger, the Austrian monetary reformer, used WORK as a measure, 'Arbeitswert', 10 schillings' worth of work. That was O.K. in a mountain valley where everyone could do pretty much the same kind of work in the fields.

Charlemagne had a grain measure, so many pecks of barley, wheat or rye worth a DENAR, or put it the other way on. The just price of barley was so much the peck.
In A.D. 796 it was 2 denars.
And in A.D. 808 it was 3 denars.
That means that the farmer got MORE denars for the same quantity of barley. And let us hope that he could buy more other goods with those denars.

Unfortunately the worth of all things depends on whether there is a real scarcity, enough or more than can be used at a given time.
A few eggs are worth a great deal to a hungry man on a raft.
Wheat is worth MORE in terms of serge in some seasons that in others. So is gold, so is platinum.
A single commodity (EVEN GOLD) base for money is not satisfactory.

STATE AUTHORITY behind the printed note is the best means of establishing a JUST and HONEST currency.
The Chinese grasped that over 1,000 years ago, as we can see from the Tang STATE (not Bank) NOTE.

SOVEREIGNTY inheres in the right to ISSUE money (tickets) and to determine the value thereof.
American interests HIDE the most vital clause in our constitution.
The American government hasn't, they say, the right to fix prices. BUT IT HAS THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THE VALUE OF MONEY and this right is vested in Congress.
This is a mere difference in legal formalities and verbal arrangements.
The U.S. Government has the right to say 'a dollar is one wheat-bushel thick, it is one serge-foot long, it is ten gallons of petrol wide.'
Hence the U.S. Government could establish the JUST PRICE, and a just price system....

THE QUANTITY OF MONEY

Having determined the size of your dollar, or half-crown or shilling, your Government's next job is to see that TICKETS are properly printed and that they get to the right people.

75 See annotation: 89/601: 6, "From Charlemagne's grain price..."
76 See also: annotation: 88/580: 19.
77 See annotation: 89/596: 12-14.
The right people are all the people who are not engaged in crime, and crime for the duration of this pamphlet means among other things cheating the rest of the citizens through the money racket.

In the United States and England there is not enough money. There are not enough tickets moving about among the whole people to buy what they need -- even when the goods are there on the counter or going to rot on the wharves.

When the total nation hasn't or cannot obtain enough food for its people, that nation is poor. When enough food exists and people cannot get it by honest labour, the state is rotten, and no effort of language will say how rotten it is.

But for a banker or professor to tell you that the country cannot do this, that or the other because it lacks money is as black and foetid a lie, as groveling and imbecile, as it would be to say it cannot build roads because it has no kilometres! (I didn't invent that phrase, but it is too good to leave idle.)

For Pound, the real history of the world consists in a series of struggles "between the Producers and the Falsifiers of Bookkeeping,"

...between the usurer and any man who wants to do a good job (perenne) without regard to production -- a charge for the use of money or credit.

This is the common field and condition of every person's struggle. It is a proper field for epic. The vast epos of war, the dismemberment and loss of world, the drawing up of every person's destiny into the battle field, the destruction of the city and its terrible demarcation of lives, the aftermath, the long periply of the wanderer, the periply effort to return to deflected happiness are 'istorin. They are rehearsed so as to know how to proceed. They come out of mouth as naturally as acts are born out of body; fit future to memory. The Iliad is loss. The Odyssey is return.

78 Pound, "What is Money For?" in Selected Prose, pp. 291-293.
79 Both "story," in the sense of a personal narrative, and "history," in the sense of a larger cultural narrative.
Rome emerges out of destruction, is founded in *amor*. Pound measures his song against Virgil's "Arma virumque cano," extends the measure to include the condition of action as well as action itself.

Bellum cano perenne...
...between the usurer and any man...

(86/658; 87/569)

The war is wider than the war at Troy, because it is waged at the level of type or kind in the same sense that the Homeric war is not itself typal but bodies forth in the play of human heroes/victims the typal strife of the gods. For Pound the war originates in the alteration of the measure and means of exchange for the sake of profit:

**THE PIVOT**

All trade hinges on money. All industry hinges on money. Money is the pivot. It is the middle term. It stands midway between industry and workers. The pure economic man may not exist, but the economic factor, in the problem of living, exists. If you live on clichés and lose your respect for words, you will lose your 'ben dell' intelletta'.

Trade brought prosperity to Liguria; usury lost it Corsica. But in losing the ability to distinguish between trade and usury one loses all sense of the historical process. There has been some vague talk in recent months about an international power, described as financial, but it would be better to call it 'usurocracy', or the rule of the big usurers combined in conspiracy. Not the gun merchants, but the traffickers in money itself have made this war; they have made wars in succession, for centuries, at their own pleasure, to create debts so that they can enjoy the interest on them, to create debts when money is cheap in order to demand repayment when money is dear.

But as long as the word 'money' is not clearly defined and as long as its definition is not known to all the peoples of the world they will go blindly to war with each other, never knowing the reason why. 80

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In this sense that "money is the pivot," it is the type of all exchanges of commodities. It is the measure of exchange and it is the medium by which commodities are exchanged. As social relations are determined in large part if not completely by the exchanges of commodities, money is also a type or condition, if not the type, of social relations. Now, if the quantity of money in a system is not commensurate with the quantity of goods available, or if the "value" (the determinative function as measure) of money is subject to fluctuation, to that extent both the exchange of commodities and the social relations will suffer deformation. Class systems rise based on the possession, not merely of wealth, but of the power to alter the quantity and value of a nation's money. Thus the nature and direction of a monetary system is conditional to the health of a nation's economy, to the equity of its laws, to the prosperity of its citizens, to the vision of its culture, to the sanity of its relations with other nations. And a struggle between the representatives of a whole citizenry and those of a class of special or corporate interests over the power to issue and regulate a national currency is a typological struggle, a struggle whose character and results conditions the totality of other relations.

The first five cantos of the Rock-Drill sequence are concerned with this struggle at the basis of government.

81 Cf. Marx: "In the money relation, in the developed system of exchange (and this semblance seduces the democrats), the ties of personal dependence, of distinctions of blood, education, etc. are in fact exploded, ripped up (at least, personal ties all appear as personal relations); and individuals seem independent (this is an independence which is at bottom merely an illusion, and it is more correctly called indifference), free to collide with one another.
William Cookson notes the following structural principle governing Section: Rock-Drill:

It Rock-Drill can be divided into two parts: 85-89 are historical, didactic; 90-95 is an immense lyric, 'above civic order, 1'AMOR'; showing a kind of beauty that has not been present in English since medieval times and was only there in flashes then. These two parts animate each other, it is consequently impossible to understand one without the other; 85-89 provide an historical basis for 90-95. They are different sides of the same reality....

Cantos 85-89 deal chiefly with what Mr. Pound has called, 'the two forces in history: one that divides, shatters and kills, and one that contemplates the unity of the mystery'.... 82

Cookson might have elaborated by saying that while both "parts" or five-canto sequences visible in Rock-Drill speak of "the two forces," the first five cantos are primarily concerned with the struggle against the divisive, shattering and killing force, the concluding five with the vision of "the unity of the mystery":

Beatific spirits welding together as in one ash-tree in Ygdrasail.  
(Canto 90/605)

Crystal waves weaving together toward the gt/healing  
(Canto 91/611)

Likewise the heroes of the first five cantos (85-89) are men who have a vision of civic order, who are moved by "the tradition of the undivided light," but whose action is recorded on the historical plane, in struggle against the falsifiers and destroyers of order; they stand for the dispensation of the abundance, but that

and to engage in exchange within this freedom; but they appear thus only for someone who abstracts from the conditions, the conditions of existence within which these individuals enter into contact (and these conditions, in turn, are independent of the individuals and, although created by society, appear as if they were natural conditions, not controllable by individuals)."  
stance is disclosed amid resistance to the occlusion of abundance. Their clarities radiate intermittently out of a clouded strife.

The heroes of Cantos 90-95 are, perhaps, emergents out of combat (as Odysseus out of the waves at the end of Canto 95); are, beyond confusion, subjects of, order, and "Beyond civic order: / l'AMOR," vision:

that the body of light come forth
from the body of fire
And that your eyes come to the surface
from the deep wherein they were sunken,
Reina -- for 300 years,
and now sunken ...
(Canto 91/610)

from deep eye, versus armada
from the green deep
he saw it,
in the green deep of an eye:
Crystal waves weaving together toward the gt/
healing

Light **compenetrans** of the spirits ... 

That Drake saw the splendour and wreckage
in that clarity
Gods moving in crystal
ichor, amor ... (91/611)

Here is the **typos** of natural order, the continual emergence of
"light and the flowing crystal," "the unmixed functions without
bourne," which governs the growing of the great trees and grasses. 83

Toward the end-of his life Pound said that he would have avoided a number of mistakes had he paid more attention to the

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83 As for definition of **typos**, a clarity proceeds from Charles Olson: "The other two words are *tropos* and *typos*. Obviously the latter is very easy, it's type, and is typology, and is typification, and is, in a sense, that standing condition of...I mean standing, really, in the very literal sense of substantive or object or manifest or solid or material...." (Poetry and Truth, pp. 42-43.)
writing of the naturalist, Louis Agassiz:

.... 'Forgive me for about 80% of the violent things I have said about some of your friends,' he wrote 'Archie,' '...it is probably too late to retract 'em.... Violent language is an error. I did not get full of Agassiz. That might have saved me. Whether my errors can be useful to others, God knows.' 84

Agassiz gained his respect by the precision of writing which proceeded from observation so close that Pound advised the "litteratus" to study his method. The poet's homage to Agassiz appears in Section: Rock-Drill, with a recognition of the naturalist residing as accomplishment in the sphere of the fixed stars, Dantescan eighth heaven to which corresponds the pursuit of natural science. 85 Honour to the observer of form in nature -- in glacier and embryo -- comes properly in this sequence the whole of which Hugh Kenner calls Pound's "hymn to vegetal powers." 86

As Kenner notes, the Rock-Drill's natural form is the curling root: 87

... pine seed splitting cliff's edge. (Canto 87/572)

Our immediate notion of Rock-Drill, the mechanical, is not the first which Pound proposes, nor is it the final, the completed image:

84 Pound, letter to Archibald MacLeish, quoted in Heymann, p. 270. MacLeish, American poet and lawyer, worked under Roosevelt's administration during the second world war, and Pound directed some of his radio remarks to him. During Pound's confinement in St. Elizabeths MacLeish visited him, and was so appalled by Pound's situation that he worked long to gain his release.

85 See Canto 93/625. Pound's inspiration for these lines is Dante, Convivio, I. xv. 120-159.


87 See Kenner, Ibid., p. 528: "The rock-splitter in these Cantos is persistent growth...."
The word 'roots' is emphatic as early as line 3 of the text; a dynasty grows massively when 'a great sensibility' roots it. Pound had uncovered an organic analogy between the dynamic structure of natural growth and the underlying stability of a human culture:

To escape a word or a set of words loaded up with dead association Frobenius uses the term Paideuma for the tangle or complex of the inrooted ideas of any period.

The root structure or Paideuma of any culture is that which gives it power to survive, that ethical core from which its visible health proceeds. Should this core somehow go rotten, as through a large-scale practice of usury, the symptoms of the ethical death show on the cultural forms as root death shows on the vegetable leaves.

The essence of cultural growth as of the growth of trees is the seeking intelligence at root: "the kind of intelligence that enables grass seed to grow grass; the cherry-stone to make cherries." The root is intelligence which breaks through inert matter, drinks up the flowing elements, feeds growth and metamorphosis. It is the drill and lever by which the spirits imprisoned by earth in their latency rise into the freedom of the aether, the triumph of solid light. Here is its mythic statement:

88 Ibid.
90 Kenner, _The Pound Era_, p. 528: "...we are to think of 'pine seed splitting cliff's edge,' and reflect, prompted by the flyleaf of Pound's Analects, on 'the kind of intelligence that enables grass seed to grow grass; the cherry-stone to make cherries.'" (See Pound, _Confucius_, p. 193.)
the crystal funnel of air
out of Erebus, the delivered
 Tyro, Alcmena, free now, ascending
 e i cavalieri,
 ascending,
 no shades more,
lights among them, enkindled ...
(Canto 90/608-609)

This victory, or vision of victory, comes forth from a remembrance struggling up from the little space where it had been buried alive by the falling ruins of history. These spirits are the same whose shades the living man, Odysseus, had witnessed in their sorrow -- the same whose sorrow had given the dark key to the opening of Pound's poem, Canto I. Now, out of the hell of lies,

from the dulled edge beyond pain ...

Out of heaviness where no mind moves at all ... (90/606-607)

the live man, old with sorrow, makes a ceremony with what he has left, what has not been rent from him: an intelligent belief which may be called, after him, "the quality of affection;" and prays the release which comes forth from a column of light and scented air, an analogy in flame of the force that drives the green flower of clear form. And isn't the live man descending to the underworld the cultural analog of the tap root? and the news which he brings back out of hell, isn't that the good news of resurrection? a pagan

91 Pound wrote to his father about The Cantos, April, 1927: "Afraid the whole damn poem is rather obscure, especially in fragments. Have I ever given you outline of main scheme ::: or whatever it is? 1. Rather like, or unlike subject and response and counter subject in fugue.
A. A. Live man goes down into world of Dead
C. B. The 'repeat in history'
again, and not solely a Christian vision: the return of sun's potency, promise of grain's growth, paradiso terrestre brought by effort of human concentration:

The golden sun boat
by oar, not by sail
Love moving the stars
by the altar slope
'Tamuz!' Tamuz!
They set lights now in the sea
and the sea's claw gathers them outward.
The peasant wives hide cocoons now
under their aprons
for Tamuz
That the sun's silk
hsien 显
tensile
be clear (91/612)

The organic metaphor appears at the opening of the Chinese Rock-Drill cantos, where the sensibility of the Confucian emperors is honest after nature:

Not led of lusting, not of contriving
but is as the grass and tree
eccellenza (85/544)

But for a narrative of the modern world, in which the ruling sign of wealth (and power, wealth's disease) is the presence of metal, only a mechanical drill with a diamond cutting bit will break through the mental petrifaction to discover live thought. So Pound has made a pneumatic hammer ("I made it out of a mouthful of air") a metaphor for the measure and impact of another mode of poetry,
a poetry whose intention is primarily didactic. Wyndham Lewis, who associated Pound with the term "Rock-Drill" in a review of D.D. Paisge's Selected Letters of Ezra Pound, said:

"... He [Pound] could not create without at the same time teaching and he could not teach except as a product of creation. (He writes: 'It's all rubbish to pretend that art isn't didactic. A revelation is always didactic.') He is a double-barrelled genius of simultaneous action. But whereas his teaching is volcanic, his creation is a highly disciplined discharge."

Lewis is speaking generally of Pound's action in the field of prosody, but the force and precision of which he speaks are the same, the registry of the line is the hard fact (round which one finds it impossible to go without assuming a blind aestheticism) in his anthropoetry of economics and history. Pound makes it clear that this poetry is a tool, an instrument for use, not simply an objet:

The Emperor's furrow,
Antoninus: Law rules the sea,
meaning Lex Rhodi,
they mixed in money rent, and insurance,
This section is labeled: Rock Drill. (89/601)

And as to its use, and the necessity of its use, Pound has only to point to the massive rock-headedness of received opinion among the general public, which had prompted H.L. Mencken's exasperation:

"But an economic idea will not (Mencken author) go into them in less than a geological epoch."

(87/574)

So to illustrate this remark, Pound follows it with the observation

of a Chinese sage of the fourth century before the present era
on the best and worst methods of providing revenue for a government:

'Nowt better than share (Mencius)
  nor worse than a fixed charge.' (87/574)

This is what Pound means when he says he uses the ideogramic method:
these two statements, that of Mencken and that of Mencius, placed
side by side, and tied together by the rhyme of the names, make one
implication: that the economic advice of a Mencius has generally
been ignored for a "geological epoch," or since he first offered it,
that the best method for levying the state revenue, i.e. a share,
a tithe of what is actually produced by the people in good years or
in lean years, is presently discarded by most governments in favour
of the worst, a tax or charge on purchasing power regardless of
what is produced, in other words usury. 93

As moderns have, contrary to the general belief in intellectual
progress, actually forgotten or been forced to give up that sensi-
tivity to the root source of growth, and have turned instead to
paying or being forced to pay their tribute to a substitute for
wealth, symbol which has gradually usurped and misappropriated the
real which it was intended merely to symbolize, Pound has worked to
invent a tool -- a technique -- with the psychic power and instruc-
tive capability to shock people into sensibility to the conditions
of their lives. Aboriginal peoples use an analogous sensibility
to natural conditions as the basis of their continued survival,

as Frobenius demonstrates:

'Wherever'
said Frobenius 'we find these drawings, we
find water at not more than 6 feet ...' (87/574)

Pound comments in *Guide to Kulchur*:

Some of my contemporaries have suffered on visiting Schönbrunn. I have seen a lady almost in tears on leaving the Venice Bienalle from sheer depression at the stuff there hung on the walls. Let us say this is hyper-aesthetics or rather let us deny vigorously that it is anything more than very high form of intelligence capable of sensing idiocy and corruption where the noseless and eyeless mind senses nothing whatever. People find ideas a bore because they do not distinguish between live ones and stuffed ones on a shelf. I mean there are ideas, facts, notions that you can look up in a phone book or library and there are others which are in one as one's stomach or liver, one doesn't have to remember them, though they now and again make themselves felt.

The value of Leo Frobenius to civilization is not for the rightness or wrongness of this opinion or that opinion but for the kind of thinking he does.... He has in especial seen and marked out a kind of knowing, the difference between knowledge that has to be acquired by particular effort and knowing that is in people, 'in the air'. He has accented the value of such record. His archaeology is not retrospective, it is immediate.

Example: the peasants opposed a railway cutting. A king had driven into the ground at that place. The engineers dug and unearthed the bronze car of Dis, two thousand years buried.

It wd. be unjust to Frazer to say that his work was merely retrospective. But there is a quite different phase in the work of Frobenius.

'Where we found these rock drawings, there was always water within six feet of the surface.' That kind of research goes not only into past and forgotten life, but points to tomorrow's water supply.

This is not mere utilitarianism, it is a double charge, a sense of two sets of values and their relation.

Pound's effort, then, is to produce an impression with the informative power of the aboriginal sign, or with the sensibility

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inherent in for example the Chinese character for the power to shock,

CHEN. Chen is the sign of measured rain, the cloudburst, the thunder. It is the character of the sky's hammer, and in the I Ching, the Chinese Book of Changes, is the name for the 51st hexagram, which Richard Wilhelm translates as "The Arousing:"

Thunder repeated: the image of SHOCK.
Thus in fear and trembling
The superior man sets his life in order
And examines himself.95

This hexagram signals "the beginning of things in the east -- the spring," renewal; Wilhelm says the image of the hexagram "shows the upward movement of electricity, thunder, making itself heard again in the spring."96 It is read as the heavenly analogy of breaking ground, and announces the quickening of new growth. Its appearance, the great fissure of light and rift of sound out of the invisible and inaudible process, shocks the settled and dozing sensibility into alertness. It denotes one of the great agencies of change, and in the Rock-Drill movement Pound gives it as emblem of Fortune, the Latin goddess of the turning world and change, the middle term in the dispensation of Heaven's justice on earth:97

non coelum non in medio
but man is under Fortuna
? that is a forced translation?
La donna che volgo
Man under Fortune, CHEN

95 Wilhelm, trans., The I Ching, pp. 648-649.
97 See Daniel D. Pearlman's remarkable essay on the Fortuna motif
The Chinese Confucians, who collected the classic books of which the Book of Changes is one, are noted as the scholars of change and permanence in change. They revere the institution of the San Ku, they are learned in "timing the thunder," are "skilled in fire," regard the proper actions of men as proceeding out of the interaction of heaven and earth, call the sensibility of this interaction to this sensibility to the root interaction; it is the substance, basis for proceeding, of Cantos 85 and 86. For the human image of reciprocity between heaven and earth is the relationship of the sovereign to the people. The emperor is regarded as the pivot, the middle term between the action of nature and the people. The emperor's duty is, in fact, to perfect a just distribution over the whole nation, to increase justice:


98 See Canto 87/572: "from the San Ku to Poictiers."
100 See Canto 91/615.
101 "It is important to focus here on the reciprocal relationship between the ruler and his people that is stressed throughout the Shoo King... There is the explicit analogy in the paragraphs under discussion between the generating function of the primal forces of Earth and Sky and that of the sovereign in ordering and shaping his
Deviations from this single responsibility of sovereignty are regarded as the sources of ill to the people, both of the rebellions of lesser nobles and of crime among the people:

We flop if we cannot maintain the awareness ... (85/557)

Can't see it (ming) could extend to the people's subsidia, that it was in some fine way tied up with the people ... (85/558)

Lost the feel of the people (86/560)

Those are some of Pound's concisions of key passages from the Shu King, and here are James Legge's translations of the same passages:

Oh! you have said, O prince, 'It depends on ourselves.' I also do not dare to rest in the favour of God, never forecasting at a distance the terrors of Heaven in the present time when there is no murmuring or disobedience among the people; -- the issue is with men....

'The favour of Heaven is not easily preserved. Heaven is hard to be depended on. Men lose its favouring appointment because they cannot pursue and carry out the reverence and brilliant virtue of their forefathers....'  

'God sent down correction on Hea, but the sovereign only increased his luxury and sloth, and would not speak kindly to the people. He proved himself on the contrary dissolute and dark, and would not yield for a single day to the leading of God; -- this is what you have heard. He kept reckoning on the decree of God in his favour, and would not promote the means of the people's support. By great inflictions of punishment also, he increased the disorder of the States of Hea. The first cause of his evil course was the internal misrule, which made him unfit to deal well with the multitudes. Nor did he seek at all to employ men

people ('our dynasty')." Grieve, p. 424.

102 (tê²56162, Matthews' Chinese-English Dictionary): Virtue, moral excellence. (See Grieve, p. 404.)

103 (ming): will of God; decree. (See Grieve, p. 449)

104 Legge, trans., Shoo King V. XVI, 3-4, in Grieve, pp. 445-446.
whom he could respect, and who might display a generous kindness to the people, but he daily honoured the covetous and cruel, who were guilty of cruel tortures in the cities of Hea... "In the case indeed of T'ang the Successful, it was because he was the choice of your many regions that he superseded Hea and became the lord of the people. He paid careful attention to the essential virtues of a sovereign, in order to stimulate the people, and they on their part imitated him, and were stimulated."105

Thus virtue in sovereignty is identical with the practice of just distribution. The method by which Pound brings this meaning across is historical narrative condensed into vibrant form: colloquial American speech measured with the Latin and French of the Chou King's translator, Fr. Seraphin Couvreur, and the great cultural mnemonic of which he had been aware since the Fenollosa manuscripts had first been placed in his hands: the Chinese ideogram.

For Pound, the American reciprocal of Chinese sovereignty, the pivot on which American history turns, is the interactive function of the Confucian emperor (the distributive function) abstracted and innovated by a recession from personhood of state authority. American authority resides in a constitution which guarantees the citizenry certain specified rights, to which all the officers of government are subordinate in power, and which all government officers are bound to uphold on taking office. Among the features of American government which are stamped there by its constitution are the requisite that all legislation be measured by the articles of the constitution itself, and the care for distributive justice which demands that the value of United States currency

105 Ibid., V. XVIII, 4-5; 8-9, in Grieve, pp. 448-449, 459.
be measured and regulated by the body of national representatives
elected by the people:

The Congress shall have power; to coin money, regulate the
value thereof and of foreign coin and to fix the standards of
weights and measures.
Constitution of the United States, Article I Legislative Depart-
ment, Section 8, page 5.106

coin is the symbol of equity  
(Canto 105/748)

In Canto 85 Pound strikes a parallel from the Shu King by
which to measure the Chinese/American reciprocal:

As the pivot perceived by Y Yin
quam simplex animus Imperatoris
that the different clans say: Bigob! He said it.
III. 6. xi, Right here is the Bill of Rights (85/547)

Here is Legge's translation of the cited passage:

E Yin, having returned the government into the hands of his
sovereign, and being about to announce his retirement, set forth
admonitions on the subject of virtue...

'Such virtue will make the people with the myriad surnames
all say, "How great are the words of the king!" and also, "How
single and pure is the king's heart!"...

'The sovereign without the people has none whom he can employ;
and the people without the sovereign have none whom they can serve.
Do not consider yourself so enlarged as to deem others small in
comparison. If ordinary men and women do not find the opportunity
to give full development to their virtue, the people's lord will
be without the proper aids to complete his merit.'107

Pound saw the Jeffersonian "right to life, liberty and the pur-
suit of happiness" and the defense of the people's individual lib-
erties as embodied in the constitutional Bill of Rights anticipated

107 Legge, The Shoo King, IV. VI, 1; IV. VI iv, 9, 11, in Grieve, pp. 408, 409-410.
in Y Yin's advice to his sovereign, particularly as Couvreur translated him: "la liberté de s'appliquer de toute ses forces (à faire le bien)...." 108

The constitution of the revolutionary United States fully removed the power to fix and regulate the value of currency from the person of the head of state:

...the highest and most delicate sovereignty...

POWER vested not in one, but in 3 parts of government.

This transfer of power was realised out of the lesson of oppression which the American colonies learned through suffering from the imperfect apportionment of powers among the British king and Parliament, and the de facto power of the group of private interests known as the Bank of England. The king, without power to raise an income and so dependent on Parliament and the Bank, but with nominal power to direct and regulate the issue of the treasury, had become a parody of his originally pivotal function (the power to issue had been usurped in the previous century, climaxing centuries of royal folly and infamy). Instead of serving the interests of his subjects, he mediated between the nation's productive forces and the Bank of England, with the result that the productive forces were required to take the notes of the Bank of England as currency and pay the interest on them demanded by the bank. With this impetus, the modern British industrial system began its rapid development:

108 At 85/547, Pound refers ("III: 6. xi") to Couvreur's translation, Chou King, p. 131. (See Grieve, p. 409.)
the bank and the merchants grew great on bankruptcies and foreclosures; peasant freeholders were forced off their lands and into wage-slavery by debt. Colonial merchants were required to pay their bills and notes in gold, that is in what British merchants would pay in gold for American produce. And British merchants were subject to the charge on money issued by the Bank of England.

When a paper currency was issued in several colonies in an effort to supplement the chronic lack of British coins, the internal trade and production of the colonies prospered. But when the same paper currency was tendered to British customs officers as tax payments, the ministry and the bank became aware that the bank's hegemony over currency was threatened, and prohibited the payment of public debts in colonial currency, then suppressed that currency altogether. Pound, following the lead of the monetary historian Willis Overholser, regards the suppression of these notes and the consequent depression in colonial production and trade as the real ignition of the American revolution.109

By the direction of the constitution, the legislative/regulative and judicial powers of government were removed from the sphere of the nominal head of state. The president's authority was limited to executing the laws and collecting the revenues of the United States. The president was given, in addition, authority to limit the power of Congress by exercise of the veto; Congress was given authority in the body of the Senate to limit the power of the President by approval or rejection of his ministerial and judicial ap-

pointments and treaty negotiations with foreign powers. In the House of Representatives, Congress was apportioned the power to make appropriations of United States moneys, limited by the consent of the Senate and the president. And as Pound emphasizes, Congress was given the authority to coin and regulate the currency of the United States -- an authority which Senator Benton, as we shall see, considers a responsibility which may not be delegated to a private corporate interest. As further safeguard against tyranny, both executive and legislative powers were limited by the authority of the United States Supreme Court to decide the appropriateness of their acts to the principles of the constitution. The constitution ultimately limited the authority both of the president and of Congress by fixing tenures of office, so that the highest sanction for governmental authority might be said to reside in the American electorate. The constitution also specified what powers could legitimately be regarded as proper to the federal government, and plainly stated that all other powers were within the jurisdiction of the individual states. A Bill of Rights was added to this document to limit the power of government bodies from encroaching on individual freedoms.

All these questions -- the regulative authority of Congress, the veto power of the President, the proper exercise of these powers, the relation between federal and state authority, the responsibility of elected officers to interpret their mandates correctly, according to the principles of the constitution -- are subjects for discussion,
are in fact the themes of the narrative in Thomas Hart Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, and come into play in Pound's conversion of *Thirty Years' View* into poetry in Cantos 88 and 89. One other great theme which comes into play is the responsibility of each of the three branches of federal government to exercise a regulative function -- to ensure an equity of distribution of wealth: the responsibility of government to abstain from partnership, either for mutual benefit or for the protection of an industry, with any section of American (or foreign) business or industry. This last responsibility and prohibition is the crux, as becomes clear from a reading of *Thirty Years' View*, of the integrity of government, of the general welfare of the people of the United States, and of the conditions for peace or war.

... The government itself ceased to be independent -- it ceases to be safe -- when the national currency is at the will of a company. The government can undertake no great enterprise, neither of war nor peace, without the consent and co-operation of that company; it cannot count its revenue for six months ahead without referring to the action of that company -- its friendship or its enmity -- its concurrence or its opposition -- to see how far that company will permit money to be plenty, or make it scarce; how far it will let the moneyed system go on regularly, or throw it into disorder; how far it will suit the interests, or policy, of that company to create a tempest, or to suffer a calm, in the moneyed ocean....

The science of political economy as distinct from the theology of the subject may be said to begin with Adam Smith's dictum that 'men of the same trade never meet together without a conspiracy against the public.'

The focus of Cantos 88 and 89 is the pivotal function of the issue of money as part of the regulative and distributive responsi-

bility of government; the calamities in succession which hit the productive forces of the nation and cripple the national abundance when that responsibility is deranged, argue the struggle to return the power to issue and regulate the national medium of exchange to the national public authority as one of the twin necessities of American history -- the other being the absolute responsibility of the governmental authority to the interests of the great majority of the people -- the producers, the workers. Andrew Jackson publicly took that responsibility to be his mandate, at a time when the will and wishes of the president had more bearing on the state's responsiveness to the people's wishes than did the people's power to instruct government. That condition has hardly changed. Open debate has often been stifled in Congress by privileged interests -- as it has in the councils of the presidency. The debate in Congress around the bank of the United States is only one such instance. Pound commends Jackson's will -- a democratic paradox, the authoritarian exercise of a non-authoritarian principle, similar in spirit to the mandate conferred by Y Yin in his Confucian "Bill of Rights" -- and types it as a Latin virtue, in the spirit of res publica, thus:

... he, Andy Jackson
POPULUM AEDIFICAVIT (Canto 89/596)

At the time of the opening of the "Thirty Years," in 1820, the national sovereignty over coinage had been relinquished by Congress and the executive to a private institution. As Secretary of the Treasury under Washington, Alexander Hamilton had proposed and drawn up a funding system for the United States which included a national
bank, privately directed. The bank would hold the government revenues in deposit, make large loans available to the government, have the power to discount loans to individuals and to issue its own notes as security against these loans; these notes were to be receivable in payment of public revenues and convertible into gold and silver coins, i.e. specie. The charter of this First Bank of the United States, which was nothing more than imitation of the Bank of England charter, was passed by Congress and approved by Washington in 1791. Thomas Benton suggests one argument which may have persuaded its enactment over the constitutional limitation of the money power to Congress:

... [I]t is worthy of note, in order to show how much war has to do with the working of government, and the trying of its powers, that the strongest illustration used by General Hamilton, and the one, perhaps, which turned the question in Washington's mind, was the state of the Indian war in the Northwest, then just become a charge upon the new federal government, and beginning to assume the serious character which it afterward attained. To carry on war at that time, with such Indians as were then, supported by the British traders, themselves countenanced by their government, at such a distance in the wilderness, and by the young federal government, was a severe trial upon the finances of the federal treasury, as well as upon the courage and discipline of the troops; and General Hamilton, the head of the treasury, argued that with the aid of a national bank, the war would be better and more successfully conducted: and, therefore, that it was 'necessary,' and might be established as a means of executing a granted power, to wit, the power of making war. That war terminated well; and the bank having been established in the mean time, got the credit of having furnished its 'sinews.' 112

The first U.S. Bank's charter was allowed to expire in 1811 when it was discovered that the bank had assumed a regular practice of issuing notes far beyond its reserves of gold and silver, was

gradually replacing the country's coin currency with a currency of interest-bearing bank notes, was selling gold and silver abroad at a profit and periodically suspending specie payments, was systematically increasing the public debt of the United States by making loans to the federal government while at the same time holding the government deposits as security against its own loans: that is, the United States was bamboozled into the position of paying interest on money borrowed from its own deposits -- while the bank had the benefit of interest on money which it had created out of nothing. This bank was supported by powerful monied interests in Congress, and it was only after it had failed to maintain the credibility of its own notes -- after it had suspended specie payments and caused the notes of other banks as well as its own to depreciate, that the first bank was refused a renewal of its charter in Congress. Benton says, in his first speech against the recharter of the second Bank of the United States:

.... It is to no purpose that gentlemen may come forward, and vaunt the character of the United States Bank, and proclaim it too just and merciful to oppress the state. I must be permitted to repudiate both the pledge and the praise. The security is insufficient, and the encomium belongs to Constantinople. There were enough such in the British Parliament the year before, nay, the day before the bank stopped; yet their pledges and praises neither prevented the stoppage, nor made good the damage that ensued. There were gentlemen in our Congress to pledge themselves in 1810 for the then expiring bank, of which the one now existing is a second and deteriorated edition; and if their securityship had been accepted, and the old bank re-chartered, we should have seen this government greeted with a note, about August, 1814 -- about the time the British were burning this capitol -- of the same tenor with the one received by the younger Pitt in the year 1795; for, it is incontestable, that that bank was owned by men who would have glorified in arresting the government, and the
war itself, for want of money. Happily, the wisdom and patriotism of Jefferson, under the providence of God, prevented that infamy and ruin, by preventing the renewal of the old bank charter. 113

The United States government then relied on local banks for a national currency:

.... There was no national currency -- no money, or its equivalent, which represented the same value in all places. The first Bank of the United States had ceased to exist in 1811. Gold, from being undervalued, had ceased to be a currency -- had become an article of merchandise, and of export -- and was carried to foreign countries. Silver had been banished by the general use of bank notes, had been reduced to a small quantity, insufficient for a public demand; and, besides, would have been too cumbersome for a national currency. Local banks overspread the land; and upon these the federal government, having lost the currency of the constitution, was thrown for a currency and for loans. They, unequal to the task, and having removed their own foundations by banishing specie with profuse paper issues, sunk under the double load of national and local wants, and stopped specie payments.... 114

Both national and local currencies depreciated rapidly, and Benton charges this depreciation with forcing the United States into an inconclusive end to the war of 1812:

.... Treasury notes were then the resort of the federal government. They were issued in great quantities; and not being convertible into coin at the will of the holder, soon began to depreciate. In the second year of the war the depreciation had already become enormous, especially towards the Canada frontier, where the war raged, and where money was most wanted. An officer setting out from Washington with a supply of these notes found them sunk one-third by the time he arrived at the northern frontier -- his every three dollars counting but two. After all, the treasury notes could not be used as a currency, neither legally, nor in fact: they could only be used to obtain local bank paper -- itself greatly depreciated. All government securities were under par, even for depreciated bank notes. Loans were obtained with great difficulty -- at large discount -- almost on the lender's own

113 Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 192.
114 Ibid., p. 1.
terms; and still attainable only in depreciated bank notes. In less than three years the government, paralyzed by the state of the finances, was forced to seek peace, and to make it, without securing, by any treaty stipulation, the object for which war had been declared. Impressment was the object -- the main one, with the insults and the outrages connected with it -- and without which there would have been no declaration of war. The treaty of peace did not mention or allude to the subject -- the first time, perhaps, in modern history, in which a war was terminated by treaty without any stipulation derived from its cause.115

Advocates of a national bank took this failure as proof of the necessity of such a bank in maintaining a "sound national currency:"

The establishment of the second national bank grew out of this war. The failure of the local banks was enough to prove the necessity of a national currency, and the re-establishment of a national bank was the accepted remedy. No one seemed to think of the currency of the constitution -- especially of that gold currency upon which the business of the world had been carried from the beginning of the world, and by empires whose expenses for a week were equal to those of the United States for a year, and which the framers of the constitution had so carefully secured and guarded for their country. A national bank was the only remedy thought of. Its constitutionality was believed by some to have been vindicated by the events of the war. Its expediency was generally admitted.... The war of 1812 languished under the state of the finances and the currency, no national bank existing; and this want seemed to all to be the cause of its difficulties, and to show the necessity of a bank. The second national bank was then established -- many of its old, most able, and conscientious opponents giving in to it, Mr. Madison at their head. Thus the question of the national bank again grew up -- grew up out of the events of the war -- and was decided against the strict construction of the constitution -- to the weakening of a principle which was fundamental to the working of the government, and to the damage of the party which stood upon the doctrine of a strict construction of the constitution. But in the course of the "Thirty Years" of which it is proposed to take a "View," some of the younger generation became impressed with the belief that the constitutional currency had not had a fair trial in that war of 1812! that, in fact, it had had no trial at all! that it was not even in the field! not even present at the time when it

115 Ibid., p. 1.
was supposed to have failed! and that it was entitled to a trial before it was condemned.116

The struggle to disentangle the monetary system of the United States from the control of the second national bank gathered the forces of all those who, like Benton, came to believe that the currency of the constitution, a currency for which the American people should pay tribute to no one, had never received an adequate trial. Southerners and westerners especially joined this struggle who saw the United States Bank, which carried on a large business of loan discounts in these regions, steadily encroaching on the trade and productive activity of their states, and forcing from them a steady drain of goods and hard money to the banking centres of the east, in return for the bank's continuing favorable "credit."

Here is an example, from the speech of Mr. Clayton, Representative from Georgia, in support of a motion to order a committee of the House to investigate the bank's affairs, of the bank's machinery of extortion at work:

I will now make a fuller statement; and I think I am authorized to say that there are gentlemen in this House from the West, and under my eye at present, who will confirm every word I say. A person has a note in one of the Western branch banks [of the Bank of the United States], and if the bank determines to extend no further credit, its custom is, when it sends out the usual notice of the time the note falls due, to write across the notice, in red ink, these three fatal words -- well understood in that country -- 'Payment is expected.' This notice, thus rubricated, becomes a death-warrant to the credit of that customer, unless he can raise the wind, as it is called, to pay it off, or can discount a domestic bill of exchange. This last is done in one of two ways. If he has a factor in New Orleans who is in the habit of receiving and selling his produce, he draws upon him

116 Ibid., pp. 2-3.
to pay it off at maturity. The bank charges two per centum for two months, the factor two and a half, and thus, if the draft is at sixty days, he pays at the rate of twenty-seven per centum.

If, however, he has no factor, he is obliged to get some friend who has one to make the arrangement to get his draft accepted. For this accommodation he pays his friend one and a half per cent., besides the two per cent. to the bank, and the two and a half per cent. to the acceptor; making, in this mode of arrangement, thirty-six per cent. which he pays before he can get out of the clutches of the bank for that time, twelve per cent. of which, in either case, goes to the bank; and so little conscience have they, in order to make this, they will subject a poor and unfortunate debtor to the other enormous burdens, and consequently to absolute beggary. For it must be obvious to everyone that such a per cent. for money, under the melancholy depreciation of produce everywhere in the South and West, will soon wind up the affairs of such a borrower. No people under the heavens can bear it; and unless a stop is put to it, in some way or other, I predict the Western people will be in the most deplorable situation it is possible to conceive. There is another great hardship to which this debtor is liable, if he should not be able to furnish the produce; or, which is sometimes the case if it is sacrificed in the sale of it at the time the draft becomes due, whereby it is protested for want of funds, it returns upon him with additional cost of ten per cent. for non-payment. Now, sir, that is what is meant by domestic bills of exchange, disguised as loans, to take more than six per cent.; for, mark, Mr. Speaker, the bank does not purchase a bill of exchange by paying out cash for it, and receiving the usual rate of exchange, which varies from one-quarter to one per cent.; but it merely delivers up the poor debtor's note which was previously in bank, and, what is worse, just as well secured as the domestic bill of exchange which they thus extort from him in lieu thereof. And while they are thus exacting this per cent. from him, they are discounting bills for others not in debt to them at the usual premium of one per cent.
The whole scene seems to present the picture of a helpless sufferer in the hands of a ruffian, who claims the merit of charity for discharging his victim alive, after having torn away half his limbs from his body.117

This is the same system, still practiced more than a hundred years later, which prompted Pound to write:

For every debt incurred when a bushel of grain is worth a certain sum of money, repayment is demanded when it requires five

117 Ibid., p. 240.
bushels or more to raise the same sum. This is accompanied by much talk of devaluation, inflation, revaluation, deflation, and a return to gold. By returning to gold, Mr. Churchill forced the Indian peasant to pay two bushels of grain in taxes and interest, which a short time before he had been able to pay with one only.

(By "a return to gold," Pound does not mean a return to a strictly metallic currency issued by the national government out of what it collects in revenues, as Benton advocated, but rather a "return to the gold standard," that is, a dumping of the silver standard of monetary value, which had been used since the time of the Roman empire for fixing the relative value of gold, and the assumption of a single standard of value, the quantity of gold in the world (scarce at the most prosperous of times), to determine the price of a national currency, i.e., of bank notes. What this assumption did, of course, was to make money (bank notes) "worth more" in terms of the amount of goods it could buy, and to contract the whole amount of money in circulation, since with the loss of silver as a standard of value, there was less "standard" by which money could be issued. The whole scheme enriched those who held gold-backed notes, i.e. the great banks; it hurt the holders of silver currencies and silver producers by devaluing silver; and it impoverished the producers of real goods, as for example agriculturists such as the Indian peasants of whom Pound speaks -- those who are responsible for the abundance.)

What Benton, Jackson, Van Buren, and the other men of their party realized was that the Bank's scheme of extorting usury was

not only hopelessly entangling individual producers in a cycle of accumulating debt, it was doing so with the aid of the U.S. government deposits, and more seriously, it was pursuing a similar course with respect to its loans to the government. That is, the Bank grew more powerful as the national debt increased -- the Bank being the United States' chief creditor -- and so it fell to the interest of the Bank to stay the time of repayment of the national debt as long as possible -- and if possible, to delay repayment by the issue of new loans until the total interest on the principal would render the debt itself perpetual -- which would, in other words, render the directors and stockholders of the Bank the proprietors of the national treasury, the owners and operators of the national measure of wealth, the dictators, in fact, of the national fortune. Benton and Jackson and Van Buren saw this monopolizing tendency, both in its present effects and in its possible consequences if allowed to proceed over long time. They had the historical and contemporary example of the Bank of England's monopoly over British commercial and political interests. They realized that their fight to redeem the national debt and to regain the power to issue currency to the national representatives was in fact the struggle to retain national democratic sovereignty and to prevent the will of the people from being enslaved to the interests of a clique of monopolists.

And this realization and the effort to regain the currency of the constitution which it provoked are the substance of Cantos 88 and 89.
Benton's narrative is the model for Pound's procedure (he has modeled other cantos on the diaries and papers of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren): Benton appears from the beginning of Canto 88 as major voice as well as among the field of major actors (Thirty Years' View is Benton's view of the events on the national political scene during his tenure of office, and especially of the events of the bank war).

Cantos 88 and 89 continue the story of the bank war begun in Canto 37, Pound's transcription from Martin Van Buren's memoir. The two works are proper sequels to each other; they are both spirited and meticulous accounts of the same events, each from its particular and very sagacious vantage point. Van Buren's tribute to Benton's keenness of perception is phrased more than once in his Autobiography, quoted in Canto 89:

I need add nothing, wrote Van Buren, to the description by Col. Benton.

The two Rock-Drill cantos extend the theatre of the story to include the great parliamentary arena in the Senate and House of Representatives. As Vice-President and President of the Senate, Van Buren moved between the White House and the Capitol; but Benton's special field of action was the Senate. He could and did possess the Senate with speeches of from one to three days' duration and wealth of allusion and incident. His sense of self-possession was extraordinary, and was coloured into legend:
Two tales of Benton's institutionalized egotism became part of Missouri folklore. One tells of a party in Washington, where drinks were served. After a few rounds, the guests sought to top one another in speaking Benton's praises — "the greatest Senator in the United States" ... "not only the greatest Senator in the United States; he is the greatest man in the United States" ... "the greatest man not only in the United States, but in the world" ... "not only the greatest man in the world, but he is the greatest man who ever lived" ... "not only the greatest man who ever lived, but he is the greatest man who ever will live." At this point, the story concludes, Benton rose, bowed, and intoned: "My friends, you do me but simple justice." The other story recounts a conversation after Benton had made a speech in St. Louis. "Senator," said a man who brought a young boy with him to the platform, "this boy walked 200 miles to hear you." "Young man," Benton is supposed to have replied, "you did right." 119

This image, which bears at least some substantial likeness to its original, is the personal fruit of a national renown for prowess in speech both courtly, homiletic, lawyer-like in evidence, vigorous to the length on occasion of fury. In the days when the only national public medium was print, Benton took the Senate as a public theatre, an instrument for broadcasting his evidence to the people at large, when the legislation of the Senate was tied up and certified the property of his adversaries, the pro-bank party of whigs, at that time the majority.

From the time of President Jackson's intimations against the recharter of the Bank, in the annual message of 1829, there had been a ceaseless and pervading activity in behalf of the Bank in all parts of the Union, and in all forms — in the newspapers, in the halls of Congress, in State legislatures, even in much of the periodical literature, in the elections, and in the conciliation of presses and individuals — all conducted in a way to operate most strongly upon the public mind, and to conclude the question in the forum of the people before it was brought forward in the national legislature. At the same time but little was done, or could be done on the other side. The current was all setting

one way. I determined to raise a voice against it in the Senate, and made several efforts before I succeeded -- the thick array of the Bank friends throwing every obstacle in my way, and even friends holding me back for the regular course, which was to wait until the application for the renewed charter to be presented; and then to oppose it. I foresaw that, if this course was followed the Bank would triumph without a contest -- that she would wait until a majority was installed in both Houses of Congress -- then present her application -- hear a few barren speeches in opposition; -- and then gallop the renewed charter through. In the session of 1830, '31, I succeeded in creating the first opportunity of delivering a speech against it; it was done a little irregularly by submitting a negative resolution against the renewal of the charter, and taking the opportunity while asking leave to introduce the resolution, to speak fully against the re-charter....

This speech was not answered. Confident in its strength, and insolent in its nature, the great moneyed power had adopted a system in which she persevered, until hard knocks drove her out of it: it was to have an anti-bank speech treated with the contempt of silence in the House, and caricatured and belittled in the newspapers; and according to this system my speech was treated. The instant it was delivered, Mr. Webster called for the vote, and to be taken by yeas and nays, which was done; and resulted differently from what was expected -- a strong vote against the bank -- 20 to 23; enough to excite uneasiness, but not enough to pass the resolution and legitimate a debate on the subject. The debate stopped with the single speech; but it was a speech to be read by the people -- the masses -- the millions; and was conceived and delivered for that purpose; and was read by them; and has been complimented since, as having crippled the bank, and given it the wound of which it afterwards died; but not within the year and a day which would make the slayer responsible for the homicide.120

Benton's speeches were directed to the American masses -- and were understood by them -- because Benton himself realized the effect of Congressional legislation on the vast complex of national production and trade. The paradoxical condition of the republican system is that a very small group of representatives make laws which order (or disorder) the activities of a whole people, population of millions.

120 Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 187, 204.
The constitutional intention is that each representative reflects the needs and desires of a majority of his constituents -- the predominant opinion of the region from which he is elected. The imposition of money power without regard to the regional pursuits of peoples, careless of the diversities of cultivated economy or of the ecology which conditions them, voids the constitutional intention. Benton saw that a majority of men who were nominally representatives of the regional districts but whose real constituency was a consortium of capitalist/industrialist interests could and did intend to alter the living conditions of people living great distances away from them, simply by changing laws affecting regulatory practices. By imposing high tariffs on manufactured goods and preventing tariffs from being applied to agricultural products, this majority clique could ensure a 'free' market and cheap prices on raw materials wanted by manufacturers as well as guarantee that the factory goods of the industrial districts of the American northeast were sold at high prices; never mind the chronic depression which resulted in most of the south in the first half of the nineteenth century. By legalizing the sale of the public lands at auction and for bank paper they could make lands subject for speculation and a paper-money market -- and incidentally, would remove the possibility of owning and working homesteads from the lives of the great mass of honest workers who had no access to bank paper or credit, had only their strength and what they could earn by it. (This would create the conditions for two paradoxical situations of American economy: the ownership of vast tracts of land by bank-financed individuals and corporations, or by banks themselves,
purchased with bank paper; the rootlessness and nomadic condition of the American masses, the dispossessed peasant populations. This rootlessness, of course, facilitated the exploitation of poor Americans by the same bank-financed capital-industrialists. Monopoly of ownership, the wage-labour system and class antagonism -- horrors which many immigrants believed they had left behind them on their departure for the American republic -- were among the fruits of this policy of public land sales.) By maintaining bank control over the issue of the national currency, these mock representatives could render all American production and trade subject to the bank's charges and demands; and by the astute manipulation of the bank's financial engine, the national debt, they might bring within reach a monopoly over national political decisions. Benton understood that, unless they were checked, the representatives of the banking/manufacturing consortium would use the national legislature as a lever to make the American republic over into an empire, its seat nominally in Washington, actually in Philadelphia and New York. The senator disciplined all his effort to oppose this scheme. His speeches on the tariff question, on public land policy, and on the bank and the national currency are directed to the defeat of monopoly. They address the American people as to whether they shall have the will of their own labour, or whether their good discretion will go subject to the will of a company: "The Government ceases to be independent / when currency is at will of a company."\(^ {121} \)

And for Benton, as for Pound, government is the collective reflection of the individual capacity for independence, good discretion, among

\(^ {121} \) See infra, p. 79, & annotation: 89/594: 22-24.
the citizenry at large. (For Pound, good discretion has to do with understanding the terms of one's existence: "If you live on clichés and lose your respect for words, you will lose your 'ben dell' intelletto."

"Thirty Years" and the Benton Cantos testify to the power of Benton's speech, Van Buren's astuteness, Jackson's decisiveness, as the whig monopoly on legislation in the Senate at the beginning of the Jacksonian campaign against the bank is broken by the end of Jackson's second Presidential term. Pound brings Canto 89 to a climax by reference to the triumph of the expunging resolution: to the great moment in 1836, during the last Congressional session of Jackson's Presidency, when democratic majorities in the states have reversed the field of power in the Senate, and a democratic majority causes the Senate's censure of Jackson's bank policy, a whig-manipulated gesture, to be stricken out of the Senate record. The expunging is a victory especially for Jackson; Pound compares it to the surgical removal of a bullet which had nearly killed Jackson in a duel twenty years before, a bullet which, ironically enough, had been fired at him by Benton, the initiator and leader of the effort to remove the censure. (In this sense, the metaphor for the

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122 "Homely english wd. get that down to 'USE OF YOUR WITS!' but I reckon Dante meant something nearer to Mencius' meaning: ...sense of EQUITY." E.P. in a radio speech, see If This be Treason, p.32. (Translator's note, in Selected Prose, p. 342.) See Dante, Inferno III, 18: "Noi siam venuti al loco ov' io t' ho detto, / Che tu vedrai le genti dolorose, / Ch' hanno perduto il ben dell'intelletto. / 'We have come to the place of which I spoke, / Where you shall see the people doomed to pain, / Who forfeited the good of intellect." (Dante, The Divine Comedy, Hell, Louis Biancolli trans., p. 9.)
conflict with the bank and its partisans is the duel -- like the debates in Congress, and like political campaigns generally, the duel was a formalized mode of conflict much practiced: it was in fact a last resort, comparable on an individual scale to war, in the resolution of sharp differences. Benten describes his speech as the crippling, perhaps the deadly blow, to his opponent; at one point during the bank's public campaign against him, Jackson exclaims (to Van Buren, who later records the remark): "The Bank is trying to kill me, Mr. Van Buren, but I will kill it!" Canto 88 opens with the narrative of a duel involving principal actors in the bank war; Canto 89 closes with the healing of one old wound suffered in a duel and of another sustained from parliamentary chicanery.

Throughout this struggle, Jackson takes on the Confucian function of leadership: he is the medium of the interactive principle, the facilitator for the equitable distribution of the national wealth; he is the "one man" who initiates the repossession of the nation's circulating medium. His decision to veto the bill to recharter the bank and to remove the government's deposits from the bank's vaults turns the focus of the bank party's anger on himself; he is charged as the principal cause of the ruin of the nation's economy: the national bank calls in half its loans, starts a panic, and the consequent effect, a depression, is laid up against Jackson. Clay calls him a despot and a usurper of power, pointing the finger away from himself and his own party's vicious ambition.

Van Buren shares the interactive function with Jackson: he succeeded him as President and established the independent treasury
system. As legislator and governor in New York state, Van Buren worked to enact a law prohibiting imprisonment for debt; it was Van Buren whom Pound called "the first serious anti-slavery candidate, not because he was an anti-slavery candidate, but because he saved the nation and freed the American treasury." Van Buren became President in the midst of a bank-engineered panic and depression which lasted through the four years of his administration; he was burdened with another whig-controlled Congress which voted away the entire federal treasury in an insane scheme to distribute the proceeds of public land sales to the Atlantic states. This scheme, which had been approved by President Jackson after the national debt had been paid off and when there appeared to be a surplus, proved untenable when it impoverished the treasury to the extent that the federal payroll could not be met. The whigs clearly manoeuvred the scheme to mortgage the United States to another funding system with a national bank; but Van Buren called for an issue of federal treasury notes, a national currency to meet the present emergency, to be redeemed at short term and with a premium. It was a Jeffersonian measure, and it stopped the revival of the national bank, but it did not prevent Van Buren from being regarded popularly as the instigator of the nation's economic troubles. In the Presidential election of 1840 he was slandered as a luxuriant by the whig party machine, which boasted a log-cabin-bred, hard-cider-drinking, "plain man" in William Henry Harrison, as alternative. Harrison, needless to say,

favoured the reestablishment of the Bank of the United States, but he was mute on that point during the election campaign. (The President of the United States Bank, Nicholas Biddle, wrote of Harrison's candidacy in 1836:

.... If Gen. Harrison is taken up as a candidate, it will be on account of the past, not the future. Let him then rely entirely on the past. Let him say not one single word about his principles, or his creed -- let him say nothing -- promise nothing. Let no Committee, no convention -- no town meeting ever extract from him a single word, about what he thinks now, or what he will do hereafter. Let the use of pen and ink be wholly forbidden as if he were a mad poet in Bedlam. Gen. Harrison can speak well & write well -- but on this occasion he should neither speak nor write -- but be silent -- absolutely and inflexibly silent....) 124

In 1840 Harrison was true to Biddle's word, and said nothing on questions of public policy such as finance. He won the election. Van Buren, whom Pound called "Fisci Liberator," was saddled with the responsibility for the country's financial disease, the Jacksonian financial measures were repealed; whig celebrants behaved as if they had exorcised the disease: "Van Buren caught the reaction." A biographer of Van Buren has a perhaps clearer understanding of what happened in force during Van Buren's administration which caused voters to reject Jacksonian democracy, of what levers were pulled to give the public impression that Van Buren's fiscal innovations were the source of the depression:

.... It is not possible rightly to estimate Van Buren's moral courage and keen-sighted wisdom in meeting the terrible pressure of 1837 without appreciating what it was which had really happened. ... To most Americans, whatever their differences, the explanation

124 Letter of Biddle to Herman Cope, dated 11 August 1835, in McGrane, ed., The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle, p. 256.
125 Canto 37/186.
of this profound and lasting disturbance seemed to lie in the machinery of finance, rather than in the deeper facts of the physical wealth and power of the trading classes.\footnote{126}

There are other principals in this story: Clay, Webster, Calhoun -- together with Nicholas Biddlé they form the central coalition of adversaries. Clay and Webster: co-leaders of the bank forces in the Senate, each moved by huge ambition, hope of political or material gain, each as much the adversary of his fellow coalitionist as of Jackson or the Jackson forces. Clay and Webster were the chief propagandists for the so-called "American System," the germ of the present incestuous partnership of "business and government" known variously as the "multinational corporation" and the "military-industrial complex." And Calhoun, one of the most curious contradictions to gain American political life: the champion of States' Rights against the encroachment of Federal power who, under pressure of his own ambition, fell in with or was caught up by the party of federal centralism. Calhoun, who railed against the tyranny of majorities but who supported, in his factious but powerful way, the wielder of financial tyranny in the South, the Bank of the United States.

Pound does not choose to portray any of the three -- Clay, Webster, Calhoun -- as individual subjects for biography. They are, rather, caricatured as emblems of error and vice:

... Mr Webster erroneous. (Canto 89/590)
...Monsieur Webster voulait lezarder. (89/593)
..."Shd/have shot Clay and hung John Calhoun." A.J.'s sole repentance. (89/603)

\footnote{126 Edward M. Shepard, \textit{Martin Van Buren}, pp. 303-304.}
They are opponents of national sovereignty in the money power, of local responsibility for decisions affecting local economy; they are enemies of the just price, mouthpieces for usurers, promoters by their advocacy of tariff inequities, land speculation, sectional wrangles; of civil war; they are the pernicious who figure in the hell presided over by "Geryon's prize pup, Nicholas Biddle."

One principal actor does figure as a subject for Pound's biographical powers. John Randolph of Roanoke is perhaps the most extraordinary figure on this historical scene. Randolph, a Virginia aristocrat and ardent agrarian, was the chief exponent and architect of an American doctrine of individual liberty which he seemed to practice always at some verge between nobility and absurdity. His first public speech of record was made in debate with Patrick Henry in opposition to the Alien and Sedition laws of 1798. His erudition and power of extemporaneous speech commanded an attention of historical proportions. He was John Calhoun's master in the school of States' Rights. He renounced every political association which he perceived to impinge on his own and others' liberties -- including ties with Jefferson and Jackson. His sarcasm towards those politicians whom he regarded as witless or pernicious was generally both apt and stinging. Benton calls him "the scourge of corruption," and Pound echoes Benton.

Canto 88 opens with a narrative after Benton of the duel which Randolph accepted because he felt bound to answer Henry Clay's chal-
lenge. Friends had reported to Clay that Randolph had called him a swindler and a forger in open Senate; on this evidence Clay issued a challenge. Randolph acceded to the duel, stating that he would not satisfy Clay by answering for what he had said as a Senator; that he would waive the Senate's protection due his person, but would make no explanation of what he had said under constitutional sanction. His refusal to answer Clay extended to a resolution, communicated only with his friend Benton, not to return Clay's fire; and with some misgivings at the time of the duel itself, he kept his resolution.

Randolph is the most heroic, if clearly the most erratic, of all the figures out of Benton's memoir. A slaveowner, he is the only southerner of his time, and almost the only political man of his time to speak against the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Randolph is the opponent from its inception of the United States Bank. "Nation silly to borrow its own," Pound quotes him as observing, and when, as he prepares for the possible event of his death on the duelling ground, he sends for a few gold pieces from his deposit in the U.S. branch bank, and is informed that there is only paper to be had, he rages, "They are liars from the beginning!" and thunders to the bank to claim the gold he had placed in account.

Randolph's action is the very type of the nation's in Jackson's order to remove the government deposits from the Bank's vaults; and so the story of the duel between Randolph and Clay is microcosmal -- a morality play, turning on the issue of courage and virtue, inside

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127 See Canto 87/569, and 89/592: 10-14 and annotation.
128 See Canto 88, pp. 577-579 and my annotations.
the theatre of the bank war. Curiously, Randolph took no direct part
in fighting the major action of the 1830's. His public career, begun
at the turn of the century, was winding to a pitiable end. His
energy had been spent fighting men who had small regard for justice;
he felt himself hounded out of the Senate.  

There are other figures: men such as Macon, Taney, Wright, Clay-
ton, Polk, Tyler appear in the Benton cantos in a phrase as they
were seen by Benton. Pound goes to the heart of Benton's succinct-
ness and in one case utterly transcends it. The absurd John Tyler,
the man who took John Randolph's seat in Congress out from under
him, the whig democrat ultimately hated both by whigs and by demo-
crats: by the whigs for his democratic principles and maverick nature,
by the democrats for abandoning principle to run with Harrison on
the whig Presidential ticket. By accident of Harrison's death from a
winter cold, Tyler succeeded to the Presidency, and throughout his
four year term he acted by contradiction and indecision. His former
party despised him and expected nothing from him but whiggery. But
he stifled the ruling measures of the whig majority in Congress,
utterly discouraged Henry Clay, alienated every member of the cabinet
he had retained from Harrison but Webster, killed the political hopes
of his adopted party. Benton's contempt for him and his ambition is
present in his entire narrative of Tyler's administration. But Pound
remembers him with the honorific, one man, for Tyler, despite
much indecision, double-dealing, lack of candor, despite his own

129 See Benton's Chapter on Randolph's character, Thirty Years'
131 See annotation: 89/600: 6-7.
avowal to approve some sort of "fiscal agent" comparable to the Bank of the United States, ultimately went back to Jeffersonian principles and refused to sanction another banking institution. On two occasions a confident Whig majority sent bills to charter a third national bank to Tyler for his expected approval; and on both occasions Tyler returned the bills with his reasons for rejecting them. In the political rout that ensued, the Whig attempt to revive the national funding system and bank note currency collapsed.

There are spirits who preside over these cantos. Jefferson and Adams, in Pound's view the ideological predecessors of Benton, Jackson and Van Buren, are present even as they depart the American scene: their passing on the same day, the half-century's anniversary of the American declaration of independence, is reckoned a watershed of American history, just as those who regard themselves as belonging to the Jeffersonian school feel themselves to have received spirit as well as doctrine.\textsuperscript{132} The live speech both of Jefferson and Adams, which Pound esteems the core of American political genius and which moved him to write cantos commemorating their writings, survives in mnemonic fragments in Cantos 88 and 89.

The other great guiding spirit of the American Rock-Drill cantos is the Italian poet, Dante. By Pound's invocation, the presence of Dante's voice and image in the quick of the American milieu, like the apparition of Greek epigrams and Chinese characters, reinvokes the epic typos:

\textsuperscript{132} See annotation: 88/583: 7.
\textsuperscript{133} See cantos 31-33 and the Adams cantos, 62-71, \textit{passim}.
\textsuperscript{134} See annotations: 88/582: 11-16; 89/593: 9-11; 12-13.
For forty years I have schooled myself, not to write an economic history of the U.S. or any other country, but to write an epic poem which begins 'In the Dark Forest', crosses the Purgatory of human error, and ends in the light, and 'fra i maestri di color che sanno'. For this reason I have had to understand the NATURE of error.... 135

THE ERROR

The error has been pecuniolatry, or the making of money into a god. This was due to a process of denaturalisation, by which our money has been given false attributes and powers that it should never have possessed.

Gold is durable, but does not reproduce itself -- not even if you put two bits of it together, one shaped like a cock, the other like a hen. It is absurd to speak of it as bearing fruit or yielding interest. Gold does not germinate like grain. To represent gold as doing this is to represent it falsely. It is falsification. And the term 'falsificazione della moneta' (counterfeiting or false coining) may perhaps be derived from this. 136

The cultural tradition with regard to money, which should never have become separated from the mainstream of literary culture, may be traced from Demosthenes to Dante; from Salmasius to M. Butchart's Money (an anthology of opinions of three centuries); from the indigination of Antoninus Pius, that people should attempt to exploit other people's misfortunes (e.g., shipwrecks), to

...il duol che sopra Senna induce, falseggiando la moneta. (Par. XIX, 118-119).

We find two forces in history: one that divides, shatters, and kills, and one that contemplates the unity of the mystery.

'The arrow hath not two points.'

There is the force that falsifies, the force that destroys every clearly delineated symbol, dragging man into a maze of abstract arguments, destroying not one but every religion.


There shall be seen the hardships being caused
To the Seine -- from falsifying coinage...

(From Dante, Paradise, Biancolli trans., pp. 76-77.)
But the images of the gods, or Byzantine mosaics, move the soul to contemplation and preserve the tradition of the undivided light.138

Dante is present in Pound's condemnation of Nicholas Biddle ("Geryon's prize pup"). His words (chi crescere: "who will increase") bring into focus the purpose of histories -- "to know good from evil / And know whom to trust" -- and resonate with the Chinese, Ching Hao, the epithet for the Confucian classics, the "good books." Benton's character sketch of Van Buren, "Of great suavity and gentleness of deportment," is followed by Dante's description of the light which radiates from St. John in the eighth heaven, the heaven of the fixed stars, which in its turn is followed by Benton's remark, "You cannot make mariners of slaves," which has its numenal echo in Dante's "O voi che siete in picioletta barca," as well as in the Odyssean saga.140 Benton's view that "Wright spoke to mind not to passions" is registered over the interjection, "Quiditas essence," remarked D. Alighieri."141

The last reference to Dante in Canto 89 is also the most playful: "Securing his (A.J.'s) admiration by the majesty / of his (Dante's) in'elect." As Dante's name has been substituted here for Daniel Webster's in a remark made originally about Webster by

139 See annotations: 89/590: 1-7.
140 Annotation: 89/599: 28-29; 600: 2; and 600: 3.
141 See 89/600: 18-20 and annotations:
142 See annotation: 89/603: 28; 604: 1.
a sycophantic biographer, it occurs to me that Pound saw the melo-poeic play: Daniel (or Dan'l): intellect :: Dante: in'elect, and simply chose to transpose terms, bringing Jackson into hieratic relation to Dante, and showing that Jackson, had he known the poet's work, would much more readily have praised Dante's intellect than ever Dan'l's.

It seems to me that these cantos may be read comprehendingly only by a process of discovery. Discovery is the task I've adopted in annotating the Benton cantos. The text is grounded indispensably in the reading of at least two other texts -- the Benton and Van Buren memoirs -- and supplies information from a number of other sources, literary and oral. But there is no mystery in this: Pound has often acknowledged Van Buren's Autobiography as a major source of American history, and he calls attention to Thirty Years' View by citing volume and page numbers in cantos 88 and 89. But reading these cantos also involves a certain amount of detective work, as a number of their elements have only abbreviated references, or appear themselves as abbreviations of concepts or percepts or themes which have been stated in earlier cantos and in prose pieces. In a sense -- often a very concrete sense -- the Benton cantos include all the other cantos concerned with economics and history as themes for restatement: so that one may not legitimately deal with them as isolated poems, but in the context of the whole work,
as concretions of subject matter which is already familiar, in variation with new thematic material. In other words a counterpoint of the themes associated in a dialectic of usury and justice occupies these cantos.

And as I reread them, and those others which comprise the Rock-Drill sequence, in light of my own and others' scholarship, I find them -- admittedly difficult in a crotchety sense, by appearance a collection of shards, a name, a fragment of speech: a poetic midden -- but on closer handling, quick in perception and signification, full of the play of musical and verbal elements -- a composing outward and by wit, an ordering of significances as if they were compass readings on a poet's navigation chart, and the chart tracing a periplum course through history's strange waters. Pound might have said that these poems contain images of the underpinnings of most Americans' histories: underpinnings of which most Americans are unaware, yet which have had something to do with the conditions of their daily lives. That is why writing an epic of American culture demands the exposure of the roots of American growth.

The method of Rock-Drill's versification is the practice of surprise, as by pun and rhyme, by the sheer force of mimetic discernment, to get to the quick of the matter. An instance of the method is the working in of details from the history of the Benton family -- which, taken together, form the pattern of a larger American history. By the placement of a few significant details, Pound
gives the trace of a remarkable connection, latent in Benton's narrative. Pound shows us Benton's struggle to win a free national currency; his courtesy and spirit which were communicated to his family; the spirit of his daughter and son-in-law -- the son-in-law, John Frémont, who made expeditions of some scientific merit to the far west; the daughter, Jessie Benton Frémont, who refused to forward dispatches recalling her husband from his expedition -- a refusal which allowed him to proceed to California and take part in the Mexican-American war there, and the Mexican-American war itself, moments of which Pound extracts from Benton's and Frémont's accounts.

The American conquest of California is thus related in Benton's narrative and in Pound's redaction to the Jacksonian struggle for an interest-free currency, both by family ties and by the success of a war waged without reliance on bank credit. For Benton regards the Mexican war as the trial and vindication of the currency for which he fought so long:

... That trial has been obtained. The second national bank was left to expire upon its own limitation. The gold currency and the independent treasury were established. The Mexican war tried them. They triumphed. And thus a national bank was shown to be 'unnecessary,' and therefore unconstitutional. And thus a great question of constitutional construction, and of party division, three times decided by the events of war, and twice against the constitution and the strict constructionists, was decided the last time in their favor; and is entitled to stand, being the last and the only one in which the constitutional currency had a trial.144

At 89/598, Pound quotes from Frémont's memoir of the war in California, and cites the date and place of the treaty of peace.

143 See annotation: 89/597: 4-6.

144 Benton, Thirty Years' View, v. I, p. 3. See infra, p. 404. Benton furiously opposed the action taken by Presidents Tyler and Polk which opened the war with Mexico. See Thirty Years, v. 2, pp. 633-649.
between Mexico and the United States. He then draws a genealogy of scientists: the methods of the naturalist Agassiz, the monetary historian Del Mar, the archaeologist Frobenius proceeding from the work of the natural scientist, statesman and economist Alexander von Humboldt, whose book, *Cosmos*, cites Frémont's geographical investigations. Pound then paraphrases Benton's comment on Frémont's courage in the midst of the disaster which nearly finished his fourth surveying expedition:

.... Frémont found himself in a situation which tries the soul -- which makes the issue between despair and heroism -- and leaves no alternative but to sink under fate or to rise above it.... He resolved to go forward....

Pound renders it:

The wrong way about it: despair.

(I think that is in Benton) (89/598)

It seems to me that Pound regards this statement as homiletic, and applicable not only to Frémont's difficulties but to Benton's travail as well -- not only to Benton's struggle, but also to his own.

So that there is some sense that Frémont's trial and passage through danger is comparable, in the total imagination of *Thirty Years' View*, to that trial which Benton had begun, as he was pleased to describe it,

.... Solitary and alone, and amidst the jeers and taunts of my opponents, I put this ball in motion. The people have taken it up, and rolled it forward, and I am no longer any thing but a unit in the vast mass which now propels it. In the name of that mass I speak.

146 Ibid., v.I, p. 727.
So Pound closes the Benton cantos, not triumphantly, not exultantly -- the tone of the last lines is too subdued, diffident for triumph -- but with a sense of emergence, of release, as Jackson is purged of the bullet which had pained him for twenty years and of the censure which had burdened the last years of his Presidency. The expunging of the censure comes as notice that Jackson's effort, and the effort of the Jackson men, to free the nation from the apparatus of national debt and bank note currency has at least temporarily succeeded, has won the approval of the citizens. That much can be registered, as Pound dryly observes,

which is, I suppose, part of parliamentary history dull or not, as you choose to regard it.

(89/604)

The poet then turns to an image of ascent to calm and clear air -- to Frémont's emergence out of struggle up to an epic vantage -- and, in another turn, as a gesture almost of largesse, doubles the vision, and gives us his friend, Michael Reck, at the gravesite of his own master, the American explorer of Japanese and Chinese literature, Ernest Fenollosa, whose notebooks had by fortune brought Pound into the study of Asia. Frémont in the upper reaches of the Continental Divide; Reck overlooking the immense blue glimmer of Lake Biwa: these are twin images of a tender grandeur:

The pine at Takasago
grows with the pine of Ise!
Wei and Han rushing together
two rivers together
... in the stillness outlasting all wars

(4/15) (90/607) (74/427)
There is no close in Canto 89. The last lines are a vision outward from the human tangle of history; the last line opens into Canto 90 with a vision into the world not ruled by human passion, so that Canto 90 proceeds from this line as love, in Richard of St. Victor's verses, proceeds from the human soul:

Animus humanus amor non est,  
sed ab ipso amor procedit, et  
ideo seipso non diligit, sed amore  
qui seipso procedit. (90/605)

The human soul itself is not love, but love proceeds from it; and therefore the soul delights not in itself, but in the love which flows from it. From the mundane world ruled by fortune -- out of the clash, by way of vision, by passage through a comma, the pilgrim enters the holy world outside time, a real place

... where one can stand  
casting no shadow, (90/605)

world which releases souls from strife

out of Erebus, the delivered,  
Tyro, Alcmene, free now, ascending  
e i cavalieri,  
ascending,  
no shades more, (90/608)

into order of amor.

Canto 90 is chih, gnomon, centre of rest amid the great vortex movement of history, law, violence, splendour which Pound has brought into composition. Dante's emblem for the vortex was the road of souls winding up the Mount Purgatory. Pound's is the Rock-Drill.
Annotations to-
Cantos LXXXVIII and LXXXIX.
Canto LXXXVIII

It was Saturday the 1st day of April, toward noon, the Senate not being that day in session... came to my room at Brown's asking was I Mrs Clay's blood-relation?

[88/577: 1-4]¹

[From Thomas Hart Benton, Thirty Years' View, Chapter XXVI, "Duel Between Mr. Clay and Mr. Randolph":]

"It was Saturday, the first day of April, towards noon, the Senate not being that day in session, that Mr. Randolph came to my room at Brown's Hotel, and (without explaining the reason of the question) asked me if I was a blood-relation of Mrs. Clay? I answered that I was, and he immediately replied that that put an end to a request which he had wished to make of me; and then went on to tell me that he had just received a challenge from Mr. Clay, had accepted it, was ready to go out, and would apply to Col. Tatnall to be his second. Before leaving, he told me he would make my bosom the depository of a secret which he should commit to no other person: it was, that he did not intend to fire at Mr. Clay. He told it to me because he wanted a witness of his intention, and did not mean to tell it to his second or any body else; and enjoined inviolable secrecy until the duel was over. This was the first notice I had of the affair."²

Prompt in agreeing to meet...exact in protesting Clay's right to call him. "Col. Tatnall, the bearer, is authorized..."

[88/577: 5-7]

¹ The numbers enclosed in brackets following each quotation from The Cantos refer, respectively, to: the Canto number; the page number in the 1970 New Directions edition of The Cantos (a table correlating the New Directions pagination with that of the 1964 Faber & Faber edition is given in an appendix, pp. 575-576); the line number. For convenience, the first line of each page under study is numbered as "one," and lines are numbered consecutively to the bottom of the page. Single words are numbered as lines.
² Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 70. Because Thirty Years' View constitutes so much of the source material for Cantos 88 and
"The circumstances of the delivery of the challenge I had from Gen. Jesup, Mr. Clay's second, and they were so perfectly characteristic of Mr. Randolph that I give them in detail, and in the General's own words:

'I was unable to see Mr. Randolph until the morning of the 1st of April, when I called on him for the purpose of delivering the note. Previous to presenting it, however, I thought it proper to ascertain from Mr. Randolph himself whether the information which Mr. Clay had received -- that he considered himself personally accountable for the attack on him -- was correct. I accordingly informed Mr. Randolph that I was the bearer of a message from Mr. Clay, in consequence of an attack which he had made upon his private as well as public character in the Senate; that I was aware no one had the right to question him out of the Senate for anything said in debate, unless he chose voluntarily to waive his privileges as a member of that body. Mr. Randolph replied, that the constitution did protect him, but he would never shield himself under such a subterfuge as the pleading of his privilege as a senator from Virginia; that he did hold himself accountable to Mr. Clay.

These were the circumstances of the delivery of the challenge, and the only thing necessary to give them their character is to recollect that, with this prompt acceptance and positive refusal to explain...there was a perfect determination not to fire at Mr. Clay. That determination rested on two grounds; first, an entire unwillingness to hurt Mr. Clay; and, next, a conviction that to return the fire would be to answer, and would be an implied acknowledgment of Mr. Clay's right to make him answer. This he would not do, neither by implication nor in words. He denied the right of any person to question him out of the Senate for words spoken within it. He took a distinction between man and senator. As senator he had a constitutional immunity, given for a wise purpose, and which he would neither surrender nor compromise; as individual he was ready to give satisfaction for what was deemed an injury. He would receive, but not return a fire. It was as much as to say: Mr. Clay may fire at me for what has offended him; I will not, by returning the fire, admit his right to do so....

.... I dwell upon these small circumstances because they are characteristic, and show the man -- a man who belongs to history, and had his own history, and should be known as he was. That character can only be shown in his own conduct, his own words and acts: and this duel with Mr. Clay illustrates it at many points....

The acceptance of the challenge was in keeping with the whole

89, I have chosen generally to cite volume and page numbers from that text in parentheses at the end of each corresponding annotation. Other sources than Benton will be cited in footnotes.

The source for Pound's treatment of the Randolph-Clay duel, Canto 88, pp. 577-579, is Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XXVI. Benton narrates.
proceeding -- prompt in the agreement to meet, exact in protesting against the right to call him out, clear in the waiver of his constitutional privilege, brief and cogent in presenting the case as one of some reprehension -- the case of a member of an administration challenging a senator for words spoken in debate of that administration; and all in brief, terse, and superlatively decorous language. It ran thus:

'Mr. Randolph accepts the challenge of Mr. Clay. At the same time he protests against the right of any minister of the Executive Government of the United States to hold him responsible for words spoken in debate, as a senator from Virginia, in crimination of such minister, or the administration under which he shall have taken office. Colonel Tatnall, of Georgia, the bearer of this letter, is authorized to arrange with General Jesup (the bearer of Mr. Clay's challenge) the terms of the meeting to which Mr. Randolph is invited by that note.'" (Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 70-71.)

3 Henry Clay was Secretary of State under John Quincy Adams, 1824-28. Not only was Randolph a member of the democratic opposition to the Adams-Clay administration; not only did the opposition generally regard the administration as a "corrupt coalition" because Clay had thrown his support to Adams when the presidential election of 1824 had been referred to the House of Representatives (Adams at that time held fewer electoral and popular votes than Jackson, who, however, could claim only a plurality and not a majority); Randolph also had personal reason to vent his invective:

The cause of...all the keen personality in the Panama speech, was the belief that the President and Secretary, the latter especially, encouraged the newspapers in their interest to attack him, which they did incessantly; and he chose to overlook the editors and retaliate upon the instigators, as he believed them to be. This he did to his heart's content in that speech -- and to their great annoyance, as the coming of the challenge proved. (Benton, v.1, p. 71.)

The Panama controversy arose when the Adams-Clay administration proposed sending an American delegation to the expected congress of Latin American republics on the Isthmus of Panama. The American mission was represented as an opportunity to organize the other American republics as a "united front" against further European colonialism. Adams recommended the mission as a fulfillment of the Monroe doctrine, which Adams, as Monroe's Secretary of State, had had some influence in drafting. Benton says:

It was evidently relied upon as a means of acting upon the people -- as a popular movement, which might have the effect of turning the tide which was then running high against Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay on account of the election in the House of Represent-
Was defiance of Adams, not Clay, in the senate speech, but to Jesup had said he would waive privilege, which constitutes a very palpable difference.

[88/577: 8-11]

"This protest which Mr. Randolph entered against the right of Mr. Clay to challenge him, led to an explanation between their mutual friends on that delicate point -- a point which concerned the independence of debate, the privileges of the Senate, the immunity of a member, and the sanctity of the constitution. It was a point which Mr. Clay felt; and the explanation which was had between the mutual friends presented an excuse, if not a justification, for his proceeding. He had been informed that Mr. Randolph, in his speech, had avowed his responsibility to Mr. Clay, and waived his privilege -- a thing which, if it had been done, would have been a defiance, and stood for an invitation to Mr. Clay to send a challenge. Mr. Randolph, through Col. Tatnall, disavowed that imputed avowal, and confined his waiver of privilege to the time of the delivery of the challenge, and in answer to an inquiry before it was delivered.

The following are the communications between the respective seconds on this point:

'In regard to the protest with which Mr. Randolph's note concludes, it is due to Mr. Clay to say that he had been informed Mr. Randolph did, and would, hold himself responsible to him for any observations he might make in relation to him; and that I (Gen. Jesup) distinctly understood from Mr. Randolph, before I delivered the note of Mr. Clay, that he waived his privilege as a senator.'

... and the broad doctrines of the inaugural address.... It agitated the people, made a violent debate in the two Houses of Congress, inflamed the passions of parties and individuals, raised a tempest before which Congress bent, made bad feeling between the President and the Senate; and led to the duel between Mr. Randolph and Mr. Clay." (Benton, v.I, p. 65.)

See Benton, v.1, pp. 65-69; see also Van Buren, p. 200, for his assessment of the Panama affair.
To this Col. Tatnall replied:

'As this expression (did and would hold himself responsible, &c.) may be construed to mean that Mr. Randolph had given this intimation not only before called upon, but in such a manner as to throw out to Mr. Clay something like an invitation to make such a call, I have, on the part of Mr. Randolph, to disavow any disposition, when expressing his readiness to waive his privilege as a senator from Virginia, to invite, in any case, a call upon him for personal satisfaction....'

.... For my part, I do not believe that Mr. Randolph used such language in his speech. I have no recollection of having heard it. The published report of the speech, as taken down by the reporters and not revised by the speaker, contains nothing of it. .... The occasion was not one in which these sort of defiances are thrown out, which are either to purchase a cheap reputation in extracting a challenge when there is a design to kill. Mr. Randolph had none of these views with respect to Mr. Clay. He had no desire to fight him, or to hurt him, or gain cheap character by appearing to bully him. He was above all that, and had settled accounts with him in his speech, and wanted no more. I do not believe it was said; but there was a part of the speech which might have received a wrong application, and led to the erroneous report: a part which applied to a quoted passage in Mr. Adams's Panama message, which he condemned and denounced, and dared the President and his friends to defend. His words were, as reported unrevised: 'Here I plant my foot; here I fling defiance right into his (the President's) teeth; here I throw the gauntlet to him and the bravest of his compleers to come forward and defend these lines,' &c. A very palpable defiance this, but very different from a summons to personal combat, and from what was related to Mr. Clay. It was an unfortunate report, doubtless the effect of indistinct apprehension, and the more to be regretted as, after having been a main cause inducing the challenge, the disavowal could not stop it.” (v.I, pp. 71-72.)

Vague report that he had said that Salazar's letter bore earmarks

("blackleg")

Which led to absolute challenge absolutely accepted,

By which time it had become "forgery"

(Jessup to Tatnall)

"Forged or manufactured"
"Thus the agreement for the meeting was absolute; and, according to the expectation of the principals, the meeting itself would be immediately; but their seconds, from the most laudable feelings, determined to delay it, with the hope to prevent it, and did keep it off a week, admitting me to a participation in the good work, as being already privy to the affair and friendly to both parties. The challenge stated no specific ground of offence, specified no exceptionable words. It was peremptory and general, for an 'unprovoked attack on his (Mr. Clay's) character,' and it dispensed with explanations by alleging that the notoriety and indisputable existence of the injury superseded the necessity for them. Of course this demand was bottomed on a report of the words spoken -- a verbal report, the full daily publication of the debates having not then begun -- and that verbal report was of a character greatly to exasperate Mr. Clay. It stated that in the course of the debate Mr. Randolph said:

'That a letter from General Salazar, the Mexican Minister at Washington, submitted by the Executive to the Senate, bore the ear-mark of having been manufactured or forged by the Secretary of State, and denounced the administration as a corrupt coalition between the puritan and blackleg; and added, at the same time, that he (Mr. Randolph) held himself personally responsible for all that he had said.'

This was the report to Mr. Clay, and upon which he gave the absolute challenge, and received the absolute acceptance, which shut out all inquiry between the principals into the causes of the quarrel. The seconds determined to open it, and to attempt an accommodation, or a peaceable determination of the difficulty. In consequence, General Jesup stated the complaint in a note to Col. Tatnall, thus:

"The injury of which Mr. Clay complains consists in this, that Mr. Randolph has charged him with having forged or manufactured a paper connected with the Panama mission; also, that he has applied to him in debate the epithet of blackleg. The explanation which I consider necessary is, that Mr. Randolph declare that he had no intention of charging Mr. Clay, either in his public or private capacity, with forging or falsifying any paper, or misrepresenting any fact; and also that the term blackleg was not intended to apply to him." (v.I, pp. 72-73.)

(Tatnall quoting his principle: Charlotte jury

Wd/ find presumptive strong likeness

"in points of style" to other papers,

Not proof but suspicion, for which he declined to offer explanation.

4 A "blackleg," according to Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, fifth edition, is "a swindler...a dishonest gambler."
To this exposition of the grounds of the complaint, Col. Tatnall answered:

'Mr. Randolph informs me that the words used by him in debate were as follows: "That I thought it would be in my power to show evidence sufficiently presumptive to satisfy a Charlotte (county) jury that this invitation was manufactured here -- that Salazar's letter struck me as bearing a strong likeness in point of style to the other papers. I did not undertake to prove this, but expressed my suspicion that the fact was so. I applied to the administration the epithet, puritanic-diplomatic-black-legged administration." Mr. Randolph, in giving these words as uttered by him in debate, is unwilling to afford any explanation as to their meaning and application." (v.I, p. 73.)

Adams and Clay were for entanglement.

[88/577: 24]

"... [Randolph's]...speech was a bitter philippic, and intended to be so, taking for its point the alleged coalition between Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams with respect to the election, and their efforts to get up a popular question contrary to our policy of non-entanglement with foreign nations, in sending ministers to the congress of the American states of Spanish origin at the Isthmus of Panama. I heard it all, and, though sharp and cutting, I think it might have been heard, had he been present, without any manifestation of resentment by Mr. Clay. The part which he took so seriously to heart, that of having the Panama invitations manufactured in his office, was to my mind nothing more than attributing to him a diplomatic superiority which enabled him to obtain from the South American ministers the invitations that he wanted; and not at all that they were spurious fabrications. As to the expression 'blackleg and puritan,' it was merely a sarcasm to strike by antithesis, and which, being without foundation, might have been disregarded. I presented these views to the parties, and if they had come from Mr. Randolph they might have been sufficient; but he was inexorable, and would not authorize a word to be said beyond what he had written." (v.I, p. 73.)

Right bank, which is in Virginia*

above bridge of the Little Falls

*where there was a law

ten paces

against duelling.

I alone knew how he meant to avoid that.
"All hope of accommodation having vanished, the seconds proceeded to arrange for the duel. The afternoon of Saturday, the 8th of April, was fixed upon for the time; the right bank of the Potomac, within the State of Virginia, above the Little Falls bridge, was the place, -- pistols the weapons, -- distance ten paces; each party to be attended by two seconds and a surgeon, and myself at liberty to attend as a mutual friend. There was to be no practising with pistols, and there was none; and the words 'one,' 'two,' 'three,' 'stop,' after the word 'fire,' were, by agreement between the seconds, and for the humane purpose of reducing the result as near as possible to chance, to be given out in quick succession. The Virginia side of the Potomac was taken at the instance of Mr. Randolph. He went out as a Virginia senator, refusing to compromise that character, and, if he fell in defence of its rights, Virginia soil was to him the chosen ground to receive his blood. There was a statute of the State against duelling within her limits; but, as he merely went out to receive a fire without returning it, he deemed that no fighting, and consequently no breach of her statute. This reason for choosing Virginia could only be explained to me, as I alone was the depository of his secret." (v.I, pp. 73-74.)

I went to Clay's on the Friday, the youngest child went to sleep on the sofa.

Mrs Clay, as always since the death of her daughter, the picture of desolation

But calm and conversable.

Clay and I parted at midnight.

"The week's delay which the seconds had contrived was about expiring. It was Friday evening, or rather night, when I went to see Mr. Clay for the last time before the duel. There had been some alienation between us since the time of the presidential election in the House of Representatives, and I wished to give evidence that there was nothing personal in it. The family were in the parlor -- company present -- and some of it staid late. The youngest child, I believe James, went to sleep on the
sofa -- a circumstance which availed me for a purpose the next day. Mrs. Clay was, as always since the death of her daughters, the picture of desolation, but calm, conversable, and without the slightest apparent consciousness of the impending event. When all were gone, and she also had left the parlor, I did what I came for, and said to Mr. Clay, that, notwithstanding our late political differences, my personal feelings towards him were the same as formerly, and that, in whatever concerned his life or honor my best wishes were with him. He expressed his gratification at the visit and the declaration, and said it was what he would have expected of me. We parted at midnight." (v.I, p. 74.)

Saturday, Randolph's, Georgetown, Could not ask him but mentioned the child asleep on the sofa. He said:

"I shall do nothing to disturb its sleep or the repose of its mother", and went on making codicils for things of slight value; To Macon, some English shillings to keep game when he played whist; Young Bryan sent back to school to save him shock if...and so forth.

[88/578: 10-20]

"Saturday, the 8th of April -- the day for the duel -- had come, and almost, the hour. It was noon, and the meeting was to take place at 4 1/2 o'clock. I had gone to see Mr. Randolph before the hour, and for a purpose; and, besides, it was so far on the way, as he lived half way to Georgetown, and we had to pass through that place to cross the Potomac at the Little Falls bridge. I had heard nothing from him on the point of not returning the fire since the first communication to that effect, eight days before. I had no reason to doubt the steadiness of his determination, but felt a desire to have fresh assurance of it after so many days' delay, and so near approach of the trying moment. I knew it would not do to ask him the question -- any question which would imply a doubt of his word. His sensitive feelings would be hurt and annoyed at it. So I fell upon a
scheme to get at the inquiry without seeming to make it. I told
him of my visit to Mr. Clay the night before -- of the late sit-
ting -- the child asleep -- the unconscious tranquillity of Mrs.
Clay; and added, I could not help reflecting how different all
that might be the next night. He understood me perfectly, and
immediately said, with a quietude of look and expression which
seemed to rebuke an unworthy doubt, 'I shall do nothing to dis-
turb the sleep of the child or the repose of the mother,' and
went on with his employment -- (his seconds being engaged in
their preparations in a different room) -- which was, making
codicils to his will, all in the way of remembrance to friends;
the bequests slight in value, but invaluable in tenderness of
feeling and beauty of expression, and always appropriate to the
receiver. To Mr. Macon\(^5\) he gave some English shillings, to keep
the game when he played whist. His namesake, John Randolph
Bryan, then at school in Baltimore, and since married to his niece,
had been sent for to see him, but sent off before the hour for going
out, to save the boy from a possible shock at seeing him brought
back."  

(v.1, p. 74.)

Wanted gold, coins not then in circulation,

sent Johnny to Branch bank to get a few pieces,

who returned, saying they had none.

"They are liars from the beginning. My HORSE!"

which was brought him, for he never rode Johnny's...

Down Penn. Avenue to what is now Corcoran, Riggs,
Johnny behind him at 40 paces.

Asked for the state of his account. The teller

took up packages of bills and

asked in what size notes he wd/ have it.

"I want money."

said Mr Randolph.

The teller, beginning to understand him, said: Silver?

"My MONEY!" said Mr Randolph.

"Have you a cart, Mr Randolph?"

By that time the cashier
told him there was a mistake in the answer to Johnny
and that he shd/ have what he wanted.

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\(^5\) "Mr. Macon" is Nathaniel Macon, American Revolutionary and
Senator from North Carolina. See annotations: 88/583: 11, 584:
23-28; 89/590: 12, 22.
He got it, and closed the account, returned and gave me an envelope to open if he were killed, and a slip to read before I got to the ground: to feel in his breeches pocket: nine pieces, I think it was, 3 for me, Tatnall, Hamilton, each to make seals of, as mementos. We were all three then at his lodgings. He and the seconds took carriage, I followed on horseback.

[88/578: 21-30; 579: 1-19]

"He wanted some gold -- that coin not being then in circulation, and only to be obtained by favor or purchase -- and sent his faithful man, Johnny, to the United States Branch Bank to get a few pieces, American being the kind asked for. Johnny returned without the gold, and delivered the excuse that the bank had none. Instantly Mr. Randolph's clear silver-toned voice was heard above its natural pitch, exclaiming, 'Their name is legion! and they are liars from the beginning. Johnny, bring me my horse.' His own saddle-horse was brought him -- for he never rode Johnny's, nor Johnny his, though both, and all his hundred horses, were of the finest English blood -- and rode off to the bank down Pennsylvania avenue, now Corcoran & Riggs's -- Johnny following, as always, forty paces behind. Arrived at the bank, this scene, according to my informant, took place:

'Mr. Randolph asked for the state of his account, was shown it, and found to be some four thousand dollars in his favor. He asked for it. The teller took up packages of bills, and civilly asked in what sized notes he would have it. "I want money," said Mr. Randolph, putting emphasis on the word; and at that time it required a bold man to intimate that United States Bank notes were not money. The teller, beginning to understand him, and willing to make sure, said, inquiringly, "You want silver?" "I want my money!" was the reply. Then the teller, lifting boxes to the counter, said politely: "Have you a cart, Mr. Randolph, to put it in?" "That is my business,

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6 This is, of course, the game against which Benton, Jackson, Randolph warred: the notes of a private company being substituted for coins struck by the government, so that the power to issue money passes from the public to a private agency. This vignette gives the familiar face of the bank duplicity.
sir," said he. By that time the attention of the cashier (Mr. Richard Smith) was attracted to what was going on, who came up, and understanding the question, and its cause, told Mr. Randolph there was a mistake in the answer given to his servant; that they had gold, and he should have what he wanted.

In fact, he had only applied for a few pieces, which he wanted for a special purpose. This brought about a compromise. The pieces of gold were received, the cart and the silver dispensed with; but the account in bank was closed, and a check taken for the amount on New-York. He returned and delivered me a sealed paper, which I was to open if he was killed -- give back to him if he was not; also an open slip, which I was to read before I got to the ground. This slip was a request to feel in his left breeches pocket, if he was killed, and find so many pieces of gold -- I believe nine -- take three for myself, and give the same number to Tatnall and Hamilton each, to make seals to wear in remembrance of him. We were all three at Mr. Randolph's lodgings then, and soon sat out, Mr. Randolph and his seconds in a carriage, I following him on horseback." (v.1, pp. 74-75.)

His (R's) stepfather brought out a "Blackstone" (a.D. 1804)

Pound interrupts the narrative with this remark; it is not part of Benton's account of the duel. Randolph's stepfather was St. George Tucker, an immigrant to Virginia from Bermuda who acquired fame as Revolutionary soldier, Constitutional delegate, lawyer and judge. Randolph's biographer William Cabell Bruce says of Tucker:

"... In 1803, upon the death of Edmund Pendleton, he was made the President Judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia. To have had Edmund Pendleton as well as George Wythe as a predecessor in office, was an honor that could have been accorded in Virginia at that time to no one but a man of eminent talents; and such, in sober truth, was St. George Tucker, as his judicial opinions, his Dissertation on Slavery, his letters to Dr. Jeremy Belknap on the

Col. Tatnall, Randolph's friend and second, was at the time of the duel (April, 1826) a congressman from Georgia. James A. Hamilton, Randolph's other second, the son of Alexander Hamilton, New York democrat and confidante of Van Buren, drafted Andrew Jackson's first message to Congress, which briefly challenged the constitutionality and expediency of the federal bank, the most
same subject; and his edition of Blackstone's Commentaries show."8

In a speech made toward the end of his congressional career, in 1850, Benton refers to Tucker's "Blackstone":

"... But my opposition to the extension of slavery dates further back than 1844 -- forty years further back; and as this is a suitable time for a general declaration, and a sort of general conscience delivery, I will say that my opposition to it dates from 1804, when I was a student at law in the State of Tennessee, and studied the subject of African slavery in an American book -- a Virginia book -- Tucker's edition of Blackstone's Commentaries...."9

Pound has placed some emphasis on this fact by giving it in the midst of the narrative, and while the chief actors and their seconds are on their way to the place of the duel. The part of the story which this mention of Tucker's "Blackstone" interrupts, and which Pound excludes from the Canto, concerns Randolph's determination not to fire at Clay. When the two adversaries meet at the duelling ground, and before they take up their places, instructions are repeated. Clay objects to the rapid count:

"To Mr. Randolph, who did not mean to fire, and who, though agreeing to be shot at, had no desire to be hit, this rapidity of counting out the time and quick arrival at the command 'stop' presented no objection. With Mr. Clay it was different. With him it was all a real transaction, and gave rise to some proposal for more deliberateness in counting off the time; which being communicated to Col. Tatnall, and by him to Mr. Randolph, had an ill effect upon his feelings, and, aided by an untoward accident on the ground, unsettled for a moment the noble determination which he had formed not to fire at Mr. Clay...."

The seconds, considering Clay's request, rule against it and agree to retain the original counting time. The "untoward accident" occurs when Randolph, testing his pistol grip, accidentally fires the weapon into the ground.

"Instantly Mr. Randolph turned to Col. Tatnall and said: 'I pro-

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8 James Hamilton served for a time on Jackson's cabinet. See 88/585: 3-4. Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke, v.1, p. 67. According to Bruce, Tucker took part in three decisive actions in the American Revolution, "and...was a delegate to the Annapolis Convention of 1786 which proved to be the foetus of the Federal Convention of 1787." Benton, v.11, p. 759.
tested against that hair trigger.' Col. Tatnall took blame to himself for having sprung the hair. Mr. Clay had not then received his pistol.... This untimely fire, though clearly an accident, necessarily gave rise to some remarks, and a species of inquiry, which was conducted with the utmost delicacy, but which, in itself, was of a nature to be inexpressibly painful to a gentleman's feelings. Mr. Clay stopped it with the generous remark that the fire was clearly an accident: and it was so unanimously declared...." (v. I, p. 76.)

The incident so unnerves Randolph, however, that his annoyance at Clay's request for a slow count, which has given rise to indecision whether to fire, brings him to aim at Clay during the first exchange of shots. His intention is given in a note which Hamilton passes to Benton before the duel commences. The note, in Randolph's hand, runs:

"Information received from Col. Tatnall since I got into the carriage may induce me to change my mind, of not returning Mr. Clay's fire. I seek not his death. I would not have his blood upon my hands -- it will not be upon my soul if shed in self-defence -- for the world. He had determined, by the use of a long; preparatory caution by words, to get time to kill me. May I not, then, disable him? Yes, if I please." (v. I, p. 76.)

What may be so clearly remarked in this incident and in what follows in the course of the duel, is Randolph's unwavering concern with justice, both to Clay and to himself. He does not recognize Clay's right to an explanation from him concerning what he has said in Senate; however he waives his privilege of protection as a Senator from Clay's challenge. He countenances Clay's right to reply to his accusation, even in the lethal form of pistol fire; but he refuses to return the fire as a Senator whose right not to explain words uttered in Senate, even to an officer of the government, is guaranteed by the Constitution. He alters his position with the suspicion that his adversary means cold-bloodedly to kill him; yet his intention is not to kill in self-defence, but rather to disable his adversary from killing him. The legal nicety of all this reasoning is only tempered by Randolph's passion, the evident medium for the taking place of the whole affair. In this sense, Pound's
explanatory remark about Randolph's stepfather and Blackstone's Commentaries on English law is apt. Randolph is a law maker; his conduct is of one who recognizes both his privileges and his duties as a lawmaker, and his rights and responsibilities as a person. That is, he is one who knows, and he has no intention of shucking off the consciousness or the responsibility that he knows; which makes him, as we shall see should we continue to read, another of Pound's personae. The narrative continues:

The place was a thick forest in which a little depression or basin.

[88/579: 22-23]

"...the preparations for the duel were finished; the parties went to their places; and I went forward to a piece of rising ground, from which I could see what passed and hear what was said. The faithful Johnny followed me close, speaking not a word, but evincing the deepest anxiety for his beloved master. The place was a thick forest, and the immediate spot a little depression, or basin, in which the parties stood. The principals saluted each other courteously as they took their stands. Col. Tatnall had won the choice of position, which gave to Gen. Jesup the delivery of the word. They stood on a line east and west -- a small stump just behind Mr. Clay; a low gravelly bank rose just behind Mr. Randolph. The latter asked Gen. Jesup to repeat the word as he would give it [here Randolph's pistol accidentally discharged]. ... Another pistol was immediately furnished; and exchange of shots took place, and, happily, without effect upon the persons. Mr. Randolph's bullet struck the stump behind Mr. Clay, and Mr. Clay's knocked up the earth and gravel behind Mr. Randolph, and in a line with the level of his hips, both bullets having gone so true and close that it was a marvel how they missed. The moment had come for me to interpose. I went in among the parties and offered my mediation; but nothing could be done. Mr. Clay said, with that wave of the hand with which he was accustomed to put away a trifle, 'This is child's play!' and required another fire. The seconds were directed to reload. While this was doing I prevailed on Mr. Randolph to walk away from his post, and renewed to him, more pressingly than ever, my importunities to yield to some accommodation; but I found him
more determined than I had ever seen him, and for the first time impatient, and seemingly annoyed and dissatisfied at what I was doing. He was indeed annoyed and dissatisfied. The accidental fire of his pistol preyed upon his feelings. He was doubly chagrined at it, both as a circumstance susceptible in itself of an unfair interpretation, and as having been the immediate and controlling cause of his firing at Mr. Clay. He regretted this fire the instant it was over. He felt that it had subjected him to imputations from which he knew himself to be free -- a desire to kill Mr. Clay, and a contempt for the laws of his beloved State; and the annoyances which he felt at these vexatious circumstances revived his original determination, and decided him irrevocably to carry it out. . . . . .

But he declared to me that he had not aimed at the life of Mr. Clay; that he did not level as high as the knees -- not higher than the knee-band; 'for it was no mercy to shoot a man in the knee;' that his only object was to disable him and spoil his aim. And then added, with a beauty of expression and a depth of feeling which no studied oratory can ever attain, and which I shall never forget, these impressive words: 'I would not have seen him fall mortally, or even doubtfully wounded, for all the land that is watered by the King of Floods and all his tributary streams.' He left me to resume his post, utterly refusing to explain out of the Senate any thing that he had said in it, and with the positive declaration that he would not return the next fire. I withdrew a little way into the woods, and kept my eyes fixed on Mr. Randolph, who I then knew to be the only one in danger. I saw him receive the fire of Mr. Clay, saw the gravel knocked up in the same place, saw Mr. Randolph raise his pistol -- discharge it in the air; heard him say, 'I do not fire at you, Mr. Clay,' and immediately advancing and offering his hand. He was met in the same spirit. They met half way, shook hands, Mr. Randolph saying, jocosely, 'You owe me a coat, Mr. Clay' -- (the bullet had passed through the skirt of the coat, very near the hip) -- to which Mr. Clay promptly and happily replied, 'I am glad the debt is no greater.' I had come up, and was prompt to proclaim what I had been obliged to keep secret for eight days. The joy of all was extreme at this happy termination of a most critical affair; and we immediately left, with lighter hearts than we brought. I stopped to sup with Mr. Randolph and his friends -- none of us wanted dinner that day -- and had a characteristic time of it. A runner came in from the bank to say that they had overpaid him, by mistake, $130 that day. He answered, 'I believe it is your rule not to correct mistakes, except at the time, and at your counter.' And with that answer the runner had to return. When gone, Mr. Randolph said, 'I will pay it on Monday: people must be honest, if banks are not.' . . . On Monday the parties exchanged cards, and social relations
were formally and courteously restored. It was about the last high-toned duel that I have witnessed, and among the highest-toned that I have ever witnessed, and so happily conducted to a fortunate issue -- a result due to the noble character of the seconds as well as to the generous and heroic spirit of the principals. Certainly duelling is bad, and has been put down, but not quite so bad as its substitute -- revolvers, bowie-knives, blackguarding, and street-assassinations under the pretext of self-defence." (Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 75-77.)

Pound breaks off his quotation from Benton's narrative with the description of the place of the action; at the moment of keenest suspense, in the expectation of the violence and issue of the duel. The place becomes important because it is neutral, it is empty of the action which is about to fill it, so is curiously full, an empty plenum -- like an instrument in the moment before music, an engine about to be ignited. The word Pound uses to describe the place is "basis:" Benton's word is "basin" (although, curiously enough, the word appears in Benton's text with a very faint, almost indiscernible typed n, over which there appears to be superposed an s in script). Whatever Pound saw in the text he used, he certainly read the place as basis, and in that sense I believe we can take this entire opening passage. Now the adversaries, the principals, or "principles" as Pound chooses to spell them, are drawn up en face along a line of fire. Cantos 88 and 89 are about a war: the "Bank war" -- struggle for sovereignty over the power to issue and control the value of money. The struggle, as Pound repeatedly will stress, is for control of nothing less than the economic life of a nation. The adversaries are in this instance the elected officers of the republic, acting in their capacities as representatives of the whole people -- and the directors and adherents of a private monopoly which masquerades as a public convenience. Randolph, as we shall see, classes with the former group in this contest, Clay with the latter. But these antagonists, and this specific struggle, illustrate only one particular moment of Pound's general theorem:
Bellum cano perenne...
...between the usurer and any man who
wants to do a good job
(perenne)
without regard to production --
a charge
for the use of money or credit. 10

So that Pound does not follow Benton's narrative to the happy conclusion of the duel. He fixes the antagonism in the moment of its suspense and expectancy, as a basis on which to build the poem. The condensed and urgent narrative of the duel serves as overture to the larger action, which opens with a primary thematic statement: perennial war, war of the usurers against the people:

Bellum perenne:
1694: on what it creates out of nothing
1750: shut down on colonial paper.
Lexington;
'64 "greatest blessing" said Lincoln.
1878: in circulation as currency.
    sangue, fatica, in our time.

[88/579: 24-30]

Each of these dates refers to a specific event in a monetary history which, taken with the consequences of the event, becomes a general history, which may be headed or labeled: Bellum perenne.

Bellum perenne: (L.): Perennial war.
[From Canto 46/233: 9-11, 22]:

Said Paterson:
    Hath benefit of interest on all
the moneys which it, the bank, creates out of nothing.
...1694 anno domini, on through the ages of usury...

10 Canto 86/568: 20, 87/569: 1-6. At the foot of Canto 45, Pound gives a definition of Usury: "A charge for the use of purchasing power, levied without regard to production; often without regard to the possibilities of production...." (See 45/230.)
"...as Napoleon was to tell the world a century later, 'the hand that gives is above the hand that takes,' whatever social appearances may seem to say. Just as, forty years before, Cromwell had discovered that he had deposed Charles only to inherit his financial problems in an aggravated form, so now with William III. The Parliament which had been unwilling to vote a sufficient income to Charles II was just as unwilling to vote one to his nephew. Yet William almost from the first moment of his accession was at war with Louis XIV -- a war of desperate importance to his own country, Holland, but of little real concern to England and acquiesced in by the moneyed classes principally that they might use it as an opportunity for establishing their power over the State. How was William to get his money?

After a number of tricks in the way of tontines and lotteries had been tried with little success, the following plan was adopted. It was suggested by a curious financial adventurer called Paterson and piloted through Parliament by Montague, then a Lord of the Treasury. The bill was called 'A Bill for Granting to Their Majesties Several Rates and Duties upon Tunnages of Ships and Vessels and upon Beer, Ale and other Liquors; for Securing Certain Recompenses and Advantages, in the said Act mentioned, to such Persons as shall voluntarily advance the Sum of Fifteen Hundred Thousand Pounds towards carrying on the War with France'. The bill was vigorously opposed, especially in the House of Lords, but Camarthen, who was in charge of it there, was able to silence all objectors with the unanswerable answer that, if the bill was rejected, the Country would be left without a fleet in the Channel -- as indeed it would have been, unless the rich were to consent to tax themselves more heavily, of which of course there was no question.

The plan was that, instead of borrowing from the goldsmiths, the Government should instead borrow £1,200,000, of which it was in need, from a newly formed Corporation called the Bank of England. This corporation promised to collect the required money from the public and to lend it on to the King at 8 per cent plus £4,000 per annum for expenses -- a rate considerably lower than that which he would have had to pay to the goldsmiths. In return for lending at this low rate the Bank received a number of privileges of which the most important was that it had the right to issue notes up to the extent of its loan to the Government 'under their common seal' on the security of the Government. That is to say, it had the right to issue a £1 note; the holder of that £1 note had the right to demand that the Bank give him cash for his note; but, if he made that demand, the Bank had the right to demand that the Government raise that £1 by taxation and repay £1
worth of debt to the Bank so that the Bank might repay its £1 to
the note-holder. As Disraeli put it, 'the principle of that sys-
tem was to mortgage industry in order to protect property,' or,
as Paterson, the originator of the Bank, himself explained with
charming simplicity, 'The bank hath benefit of the interest on
all moneys which it creates out of nothing."

The required £1,200,000 was easily subscribed. The Bank, how-
ever, did not hand over the whole sum to William in cash. They
handed over £720,000 in cash and the remaining £480,000 in notes
'under their common seal'. The Government was thus compelled
to use the Bank's notes to pay its bills, which gave them prestige.
The Bank on its part was left the possessor of £720,000 in notes
'under their common seal' and £480,000 in cash. Now William, in
the difficulties of the previous years, had been reduced, as
Charles had been reduced before him, to issuing tallies in lieu
of payment of his debts. The Bank now determined to use its
spare notes and cash to buy up these tallies at a considerable
discount, usually of 7 per cent, just as the goldsmiths had done
in Charles's day.

Before long they had thus issued notes to the full extent of
£1,200,000 which the Act of Parliament entitled them to issue
'under their common seal'. No one but a special-pleading lawyer
doubted that the intention of the Act had been to prevent them
from issuing notes beyond that amount at all, but they knew very
well that William was now so dependent upon their notes for the
carrying on of his business that he would not dare to break with
them. He was caught by what was perhaps the cleverest trick of
blackmail in history. If he tried to repudiate his debt, his
creditors would certainly go over to James and he would lose his
throne. On the other hand he could only pay it if Parliament
should vote him the money in extra taxation. The sum required
would have been an inconvenient, but not an impossible, burden,
but the Bank had seen to it that their influence in Parliament
was sufficient to prevent it being voted. The monarchy was caught
in a trap from which it was never to escape."11

[From Pound, "A Visiting Card"]12

"The war in which brave men are being killed and wounded, our
own war here and now, began -- or rather the phase we are now
fighting began -- in 1694, with the foundation of the Bank of
England.

Said Paterson in his manifesto addressed to prospective share-
holders, 'the bank hath benefit of the interest of all moneys
which it creates out of nothing.'


12 First written in Italian and published in Rome, 1942. The
English translation is by John Drummond and was first published by
Peter Russell in 1952.
This swindle, calculated to yield interest at the usurious rate of sixty percent, was impartial. It hit friends and enemies alike.

[From Pound, "An Introduction to the Economic Nature of the United States"]: 14

"The Bank of England was based on the discovery that instead of lending money, the Bank's paper could be put out on loan.... Towards the end of the Eighteenth Century the settlers, driven by the desire for freedom of conscience, hardened by privations, favoured and betrayed, reached a certain degree of prosperity, thanks to their own hard work and a sane system of using paper money as a means of exchange that freed them, temporarily, from the pincers of the Bank of England.

The settlers, or colonizers, in Pennsylvania and in other colonies, irritated by the disappearance of metal money, understood that any other document could be used for bookkeeping and as a certificate of what the bearer was entitled to receive in the market. The agriculturists who arrived in the new country, while they cleared the forests and prepared their camps, lacked the power to buy what was necessary to build houses, to buy ploughs, and to live. So the governments of several colonies began to lend paper-money for these purposes. Pennsylvania chose the best method adapted to the conditions -- repayment in ten or twelve years, and lending amounts up to one half the value of the farm. Those who lent the money, living near to those who had received the loan, could judge the character of the borrowers. This arcadian simplicity displeased the London monopolists and the suppression of this competition, together with other irritants, provoked the 1776 'Revolution'."

[From Pound, "Gold and Work"]:

"It is no use assembling a machine if a part is missing or defective. One must first have all the essential parts. Fully to understand the origins of the present war it will be useful to know that:

The Bank of England, a felonious combination or, more precisely, a gang of usurers taking sixty per cent interest, was founded in 1694. Paterson, the founder of the bank, clearly stated the

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14 Written in Italian, 1944; translated into English by Carmine Amore and first published by Peter Russell, 1950; translation revised by John Drummond, 1971.
15 Pound, Impact, pp. 18, 16; Selected Prose, pp. 169, 167-168.

Pound also remarks in this essay, 'I do not believe that the method of historiography has progressed much since the days when Confucius selected the documents of the old kingdoms, and condensed
advantages of his scheme: 'the bank hath benefit of the interest on all moneys which it creates out of nothing.' In 1750 the paper currency of the Colony of Pennsylvania was suppressed. This meant that this confederacy of gombeen-men, not content with their sixty per cent, namely, the interest on the moneys they created out of nothing, had, in the fifty-six intervening years, become powerful enough to induce the British Government to suppress, illegally, a form of competition which had, through a sane monetary system, brought prosperity to the colony.

Twenty-six years later, in 1776, the American colonies rebelled against England. They were thirteen independent organs, divided among themselves, but favoured by geographical factors and European discords. They conquered their perennial enemy, England, but their revolution was betrayed by internal enemies among them."

[From Willis A. Overholser, A Short Review and Analysis of the History of Money in the United States]:

"The early settlers, in leaving England for this continent, obtained of the English Crown charters for the establishment and governing of colonies. Some of the charters expressly granted to the colonies power to coin money. All of the colonies had broad powers, which undoubtedly authorized them to coin money and issue currency, and no restrictions were originally placed upon them in this respect.

As time passed the various colonies proceeded to issue paper currency in addition to coining metallic money. While at first this was done without any restraint being imposed by the English Crown or Parliament, nevertheless, later, restrictions were established. The most important part of Colonial monetary history is the period preceding the Revolutionary War, during which time the English Government sought to impose more and more restraints upon the Colonies in connection with their power over money.

These restraints came, to a large extent, through the influence of the English money barons who wished to exploit the Colonies..."
by forcing them to do business on English credit and pay tribute in the form of interest, etc., to the British, just like the international bankers have exploited our own people in modern times by influencing and obtaining virtual control over the Governmental function of regulating our money system.

Pennsylvania in issuing its paper currency loaned the money to its citizens. A loan would be made to a farmer, for example, equal to one half of the value of his farm, and with this money he employed labor to clear the land and put up buildings. The Pennsylvanians of that period were, in fact, good builders, and some of the buildings are still standing as monuments to the usefulness of a regulated paper money.

Thus we can see what is possible when statesmen and patriots are ruling a land, instead of privilege granters, such as we have been ruled and ruined by, and have been suffering under, during recent years. The money barons of England, however, during that period, could not stand to see the people of the colonies continue in prosperity after the cause thereof had been brought to their attention. Peter Cooper, one of our early patriots, described the situation as follows:

'When Franklin was brought before the Parliament of Great Britain and questioned as to the cause of the wonderful prosperity growing up in the colonies, he plainly stated that the cause was the convenience they found in exchanging their various forms of labor one with another by paper money, which has been adopted; that this paper money was not only used in the payment of taxes, but in addition it had been declared legal tender. It rose two and three per cent, above the par of gold and silver as everybody preferred its use.... After Franklin explained this to the British Government as the real cause of prosperity they immediately passed laws forbidding the payment of taxes in that money. This produced such great inconvenience and misery to the people that it was the principal cause of the Revolution. A far greater reason for a general uprising than the tea and stamp act was the taking away of the paper money.'

In 1751 Parliament had passed an act forbidding the issue of paper money in the New England Colonies except for certain stated objects; but these exceptions were sufficiently broad to cover the flotation of paper money in time of war and often in time of peace. However, in 1763 Parliament extended the restriction to all colonies and declared all acts for issuing paper money void. This was the straw that broke the camel's back.... Depriving the colonies of their paper money, and not the Stamp Tax, was the great cause of the Revolution, and this is confirmed by the opinions of John Adams, Franklin and others of that period.'

[From Canto 33/161]:

...was in the minds of the people, and this was effected from 1760 to 1775 in the course of fifteen years...before Lexington....

[From Canto 50/246]:

'Revolution' said Mr Adams 'took place in the minds of the people in the fifteen years before Lexington'...

[From a letter of John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, dated August 24, 1815]:

"As to the history of the Revolution, my Ideas may be peculiar, perhaps singular. What do We Mean by the Revolution? The War? That was no part of the Revolution. It was only an Effect and Consequence of it. The Revolution was in the Minds of the People, and this was effected from 1760 to 1775, in the course of 15 years before a drop of blood was drawn at Lexington." 19

[From Pound, Introductory Textbook (In Four Chapters)]: 20

CHAPTER III

'...and gave to the people of this Republic THE GREATEST BLESSING THEY EVER HAD -- THEIR OWN PAPER TO PAY THEIR OWN DEBTS.

Abraham Lincoln.

[From "A Visiting Card"]: 

'OVERHOLSER

A small country lawyer, 'not trained in research', which means he was not in the pay of usurocratic capital and the monopolies, not dominated by the trusted functionaries of some 'university' -- Overholser gives us, in his History of Money in the United States, the essential documents.

The great debt that (our friends the) capitalists (of Europe) will see to it is made out of the war must be used to control the volume of money.... It will not do to allow the greenback, as it is called, to circulate ... for we cannot control them. ('Hazard Circular, ' 1862).

Lincoln, assassinated soon after, had said '... and gave the people of this Republic the greatest blessing they ever had -- their own paper to pay their own debts.'

Without understanding these facts and their bearing on each other, one cannot understand history." 21

[From Overholser, History of Money in the United States, Ch. IV]:

"Following the termination of the Second United States Bank, the major portion of business was again carried on by means of State bank notes. The next important phase of our monetary history thereafter occurred during the Civil War period.

In aiding in the financing of the War it was decided that the Government issue its own legal tender notes, which became commonly referred to as 'greenbacks'. Three issues of these notes were authorized....

The banking interests were bitterly opposed to the issuance of this type of currency, and their reasons for opposing it were quite succinctly stated a number of years later (1872) in a circular sent out by Wall Street bankers to all the banks throughout the Country, which read as follows:

It is advisable to do all in your power to sustain such prominent daily and weekly newspapers, especially the agricultural and religious press, as will oppose the issuance of greenback paper currency money, and that you also withhold patronage or favors from all applicants who are not willing to oppose the government issue of money. To repeal the law creating National Bank Notes, or to restore to circulation the government issue of money, will provide the people with money, and will therefore seriously affect your individual profits as bankers and lenders....

.... The history of the greenbacks would not be complete without considering the following statement contained in a letter written to Col. Edmund Taylor in December, 1864:

Chase thought it a hazardous thing, but we finally accomplished it and gave to the people of this Republic, THE GREATEST BLESSING THEY EVER HAD -- THEIR OWN PAPER TO PAY THEIR OWN DEBts.

That statement could have been written by only one man. The man who penned it could only have been occupying one position when it was written. It was, in fact, written by none other than Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States!" 22

[From Pound, "An Introduction to the Economic Nature of the United States"]:

"1878: The Greenback Party, was in favour of the National Bills and against the bankers' monopoly. This party received a million

21 Pound, Selected Prose, p. 310.
22 Overholser, pp. 41, 44.
votes.... 23

After the assassination of Lincoln, President Johnson did not have the means to maintain fiscal liberty. In 1878 a Congressman expressed or explained his position by saying that he wanted to keep at least part of the non-interest bearing national debt in circulation as currency." 24

[From "A Visiting Card"]: 25

"It was only when my father brought some old newspaper clippings to Rapallo in 1928 that I discovered that T.C.P. [Thaddeus Coleman Pound, E.P.'s grandfather] had already in 1878 been writing about, or urging among his fellow Congressmen, the same essentials of monetary and statal economics that I am writing about today." 26

[From "Gold and Work"]: 26

"A sound economic system will be attained when money has neither too much nor too little potential. The distinction between trade and usury has been lost. The distinction between debt and interest-bearing debt has been lost. As long ago as 1878 the idea of non-interest-bearing debt was current -- even of non-interest-bearing national debt. The interest that you have received in the past has been largely an illusion: it has functioned on a short-term basis leaving you with a sum of money arithmetically somewhat greater than that which you had 'saved', but expressed in a currency whose units have lost a part of their value in the meantime." 27

[From "On Military Virtue"]: 28

"A nation which does not respect its literature is uncivil and the less it respects its literature the more quickly it rots. Literature at rock bottom is the right use of words. A nation which is slack in distinguishing the meaning of words, and which tolerates the use of ambiguous phrases, rots. A confusion between war and the military virtues is a very grave confusion. The military virtues are a possession so precious that it is almost worth a war to preserve them. No soldier makes war. Armies do not make war. Fear makes war; economic pressure makes war, and men make war when they are in no personal danger. That is why my dislike of professional pacifists scarcely

23 Impact, p. 39; Selected Prose, p. 184.
24 Impact, p. 33; Selected Prose, p. 179, has a variant reading: "In 1878 a Congressman expressed, or explained, his position by saying that he wanted to keep at least part of the national debt in circulation as non-interest-bearing currency."
25 Impact, p. 65; Selected Prose, p. 325, reads "1937" for "1928".
26 Printed in Impact as "The Enemy is Ignorance."
27 Selected Prose, p. 349; Impact, p. 115.
permits me to name them....

War is what General Sherman called it. His military virtues were above question. Sangue, merda e fatica, was the definition given me by an officer in the last European war. Blood, dung and fatigue. Had he been English he would have said damnable boredom. 

.... We are flooded with a slush of pacifist sentimentality that does not come from courageous men, it comes from men who either will not or dare not analyze the real causes of war....

A financial system wherein it is more profitable to sell guns than to sell farm machinery, textiles or food stuff is fundamentally vicious." 28

And there is, undoubtedly, blood on their silver,
Without honour men sink into servitude.
Responsible, or irresponsible government?
  Minimum of land without surveillance.

[88/580: 1-4]

I have not found the source or sources of these lines. The first belongs with 11. 24-30 on p. 579: this silver is the profit of war, usurers' money. The comment may be Pound's, or it may have a historical source; in any case, its weight is elegiac, this blood is in our time. I should not comment on 11. 2-4 very far, as I am not acquainted with their specific density, except that: they have the tone of Jefferson's thought, or of Benton's, Van Buren's, perhaps of Randolph's. It may perhaps be the elder or the younger President Adams who is speaking. Or perhaps the originals are to be found in St. George Tucker's five-volume edition of Blackstone's Commentaries, as are those of 11. 5-15, p. 580. In this work Tucker reprints Blackstone's Commentaries on English law together with his own notes on Blackstone's text, on the application of English law to

the United States twenty years after the Revolution; on the American Constitution and Government in relation to constitutions and governments of the past; on the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia and their relation to Federal law; on the Bill of Rights; on the situation of African slavery in the southern United States; on usury, its vicious influence on American trade and agriculture, especially in relation to southern agriculture and slavery; on methods of surveying and granting land to settlers in Virginia and on the frontier. I have only looked at this work in a cursory way: but its clarity and integrity persuaded me why Pound would regard it as an important text. Of the lines under study, I found a paraphrase of 1. 3, "Responsible, or irresponsible government?" in Tucker:

"Inseparably connected with this distinction between limited and unlimited governments, is the responsibility of the public functionaries, and the want of such responsibility. Every delegated authority implies trust; responsibility follows as the shadow does its substance. But where there is no responsibility, authority is no longer a trust, but an act of usurpation. And every act of usurpation is either an act of treason, or an act of warfare." 29

And as to peerage:
I. Edward vi, c. 12
lords of parliament and peers of the realm, having place and voys in parliament may have benefit of their peerage, equiv/ that of clergy, for first offence, though they cannot read, and without being burned in the hand, for all offences then clergyable and also for housebreaking for robbery on the high-ways, horse stealing and robbing of churches.

Hal. P.C. 377

[88/580: 5-13]

29 Tucker, ed., Blackstone's Commentaries, v.II, ed. appendix note H, p. 54. Benton's admiration for Tucker is evident in his speech against the extension of slavery: "In that work -- in that school -- that old Virginia school which I was taught to reverence -- I found my principles on slavery: and adhere to them." (Benton, v.II, p. 759.)

Pound to Denis Goacher, 21 Dec. 1953: ".... The thing is to get
"Clergy, the privilègium clericale, or in common speech, the benefit of clergy, had it's original from the pious regard paid by Christian princes to the church in it's infant state; and the ill use which the popish ecclesiastics soon made of that pious regard. The exemptions which they granted to the church, were principally of two kinds: 1. Exemption of places, consecrated to religious duties, from criminal arrests, which was the foundation of sanctuaries: 2. Exemption of the persons of clergymen from criminal process before the secular judge in a few particular cases, which was the true original and meaning of the privilègium clericale.

Originally the law was held, that no man should be admitted to the privilege of clergy, but such as had the habitum et tonsuram clericale. But in process of time, a much wider and more comprehensive criterion was established; every one that could read (a mark of great learning in those days of ignorance and her sister superstition) being accounted a clerk or clericus, and allowed the benefit of clerkship, though neither initiated in holy orders, nor trimmed with the clerical tonsure. But when learning, by means of the invention of printing, and other concurrent causes, began to be more generally disseminated than formerly; and reading was no longer a competent proof of clerkship, or being in holy orders; it was found that as many laymen as divines were admitted to the privilègium clericale; and therefore, by statute 4 Hen. VII, c. 13, a distinction was once more drawn between mere lay scholars, and clerks that were really in orders. And, though it was thought reasonable still to mitigate the severity of the law with regard to the former, yet they were not put upon the same footing with actual clergy; being subjected to a slight degree of punishment, and not allowed to claim the clerical privilege more than once. Accordingly the statute directs, that no person, once admitted to the benefit of clergy, shall be admitted thereto a second time, unless he produces his orders: and, in order to distinguish their persons, all laymen who are allowed this privilege, shall be burnt with a hot iron in the brawn of the left thumb. This distinction between learned laymen, and real clerks in orders, was abolished for a time by the statutes 28 Hen. VIII, c. 1, and 32 Hen. VIII, c. 3, but is held to have been virtually restored by statute 1 Edw. VI, c. 12, which statute also enacts that lords of parliament and peers of the realm, having place and voice in parliament, may have the benefit of their peerage, equivalent to that of clergy, for the first offence, (although they cannot read, and without being burnt in the hand) for all offences then clergyable to commoners, and also

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back into print." Pound to Coacher, 7 March 1953: "...Delmar] / Benton, only mrkn. prodk to putt in Blackstone class." Both letters are in Simon Fraser University Special Collections, cat. nos. 552/55 and 552/47.
for the crimes of house-breaking, highway-robbery, horse-stealing, and robbing of churches. 30

After this burning the laity, and before the real clergy, were discharged from the sentence of the law in the king's courts, and delivered over to the ordinary, to be dealt with according to the ecclesiastical canons. Whereupon the ordinary, not satisfied with the proofs adduced in the profane secular court, set himself formally to work to make a purgation of the offender by a new canonical trial; although he had been previously convicted by his country, or perhaps by his own confession. This trial was held before the bishop in person, or his deputy: and by a jury of twelve clerks: and there, first, the party himself was required to make oath of his own innocence; next, there was to be the oath of twelve compurgators, who swore they believed he spoke the truth; then, witnesses were to be examined upon oath, but on behalf of the prisoner only; and, lastly, the jury were to bring in their verdict upon oath, which usually acquitted the prisoner; otherwise, if a clerk, he was degraded, or put to penance. A learned judge, in the beginning of the last century [the 17th], remarks with much indignation the vast complication of perjury and subornation of perjury, in this solemn farce of a mock trial; the witnesses, the compurgators, and the jury, being all of them partakers in the guilt: the delinquent party also, though convicted before on the clearest evidence, and conscious of his own offence, yet was permitted and almost compelled to swear himself not guilty: nor was the good bishop himself, under whose countenance this scene of wickedness was daily transacted, by any means exempt from a share of it. And yet by this purgation the party was restored to his credit, his liberty, his lands, and his capacity of purchasing afresh, and was entirely made a new and an innocent man...."

[Tucker adds this note]:

"All claims to dispensation from punishment by benefit of clergy, shall be, and are hereby forever abolished, and every person convicted of any felony heretofore deemed clerigable, shall undergo an imprisonment at hard labour and solitary confinement in the gaol and penitentiary house, of this commonwealth,

30 Pound: 'Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Republic was in revolt against the privileges of 'birth', and the whole democratic movement was in revolt against the monopolies held by the guilds; monopolies of the opportunity of working. This explains the bearing of Adam Smith's phrase: 'Men of the same trade never gather together without a conspiracy against the general public.' ("Economic Nature of the United States," Selected Prose, p. 176.) This adage Pound quotes often. See Selected Prose, pp. 209, 210, 217, 231, 280.
for any time not less than six months, and not more than two
years. L.V. 1796, c. 2, Sec. 13, Sess. Acts."

The books of a scholar, his countenance (wainagium)
that of a villein.

[88/580: 14-15]

[From Tucker, Blackstone's Commentaries, v.V, "Public Wrongs"]: 

"... And it is moreover one of the glories of our English
law, that the species, though not always the quantity or degree
of punishment, is ascertained for every offence; and that it is
not left in the breast of any judge, nor even of a jury, to alter
that judgment, which the law has beforehand ordained, for every
subject alike, without respect of persons. For, if judgments
were to be the private opinions of the judge, men would then be
slaves to their magistrates; and would live in society, without
knowing exactly the conditions and obligations which it lays them
under....

The discretionary fines and discretionary length of imprison-
ment, which our courts are enabled to impose, may seem an excep-
tion to this rule. But the general nature of the punishment, viz.
by fine or imprisonment, is, in these cases, fixed and determi-
nate: though the duration and quantity of each must frequently
vary, from the aggravations or otherwise of the offence, the qual-
ity and condition of the parties, and from innumerable other cir-
cumstances. The quantum, in particular, of pecuniary fines nei-
ther can, nor ought to be, ascertained by any invariable law.
The value of money itself changes from a thousand causes; and,
at all events, what is ruin to one man's fortune, may be matter
of indifference to another's.... Our statute law has not, there-
fore, often ascertained the quantity of fines, nor the common law
ever; it directing such an offence to be punished by fine in gen-
eral, without specifying the certain sum: which is fully suffi-
cient, when we consider, that however unlimited the power of the
court may seem, it is far from being wholly arbitrary: but it's
discretion is regulated by law. For the bill of rights has par-
ticularly declared, that excessive fines ought not to be imposed, 
 nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted....

The reasonableness of fines in criminal cases has also been
usually regulated by the determination of magna carta, c. 14,
concerning amercements for misbehaviour by the suiters in matters

31 Blackstone, in Tucker, ed., Blackstone's Commentaries, v.V,
32 Amerce: "To punish by a pecuniary penalty the amount of which
is left to the discretion of the court." (Webster's Collegiate
Dictionary, 5th ed., p. 34.)
of civil right. 'Liber homo non amercietur pro parvo delicto, nisi secundum modum ipsius delicti; et pro magno delicto, secundum magnitudinem delicti; salvo contenimento suo; et mercator eodem modo, salva mercandia sua; et villanus eodem modo, amercietur, salvo wainagio suo.' A rule, that obtained even in Henry the second's time, and means only, that no man shall have a larger amercement imposed upon him, than his circumstances or personal estate will bear; saving to the landholder his contenement*, or land; to the trader his merchandize; and to the countryman his wainage, or team, and instruments of husbandry. In order to ascertain which, the great charter also directs, that the amercement, which is always inflicted in general terms ('sit in misericordia') shall be set, ponatur, or reduced to a certainty, by the oath of good and lawful men of the neighborhood....

*[Blackstone's note:] Lord Coke says, that 'contenement signifies his countenance, as the armour of a soldier is his countenance, the books of a scholar his countenance, and the like.' 2 Inst. 28. He also adds, that 'the wainagium is the countenance of the villain, and it was great reason to save his wainage, for otherwise the miserable creature was to carry the burden on his back.' ....[Christian. Ibid.] 33

That these are the Histories

OR

Thus recapitulate:

That T'ang opened the copper mine
(distributive function of money).

[88/580: 16-20]

[See Canto 53/264:

For years no waters came, no rain fell
for the Emperor Tching Tang
grain scarce, prices rising
so that in 1760 Tching Tang opened the copper mine (ante Christum)

made discs with square holes in their middles
and gave these to the people
wherewith they might buy grain

where there was grain

[From Pound, "What is Money For?"]:

"There is nothing new in creating money to distribute wealth. If you don't believe the Emperor Tching Tang issued the first national dividend in 1766 B.C. you can call it something else. It may have been an emergency dole, but the story will at least clear up one muddle. The emperor opened a copper mine and issued round coins with square holes and gave them to the poor 'and this money enabled them to buy grain from the rich', but it had no effect on the general shortage of grain.

That story is 3,000 years old, but it helps one to understand what money is and what it can do. For the purpose of good government it is a ticket for the orderly distribution of WHAT IS AVAILABLE. It may even be an incentive to grow or fabricate more grain or goods that is, to attain abundance. But it is NOT in itself abundance."

Nothing on which he leans, the chuntze, under heaven should have nothing on which he leans,

[88/580: 21-22]

[From Pound, trans., Chung Yung, The Unwobbling Pivot, X, "Tsze Lu's Question"]:

Tsze Lu asked about energy.

Kung answered: Do you mean the energy of the South or do you mean Nordic energy, or your own, that which you ought to have yourself and improve?

To teach with kindly benevolence, not to lose one's temper and avenge the unreasonableness of others, that is the energy of the South. The wellbred man accumulates that sort of energy.

To sleep on a heap of arms and untanned skins, to die unflinching and as if dying were not enough, that is Nordic energy and the energetic accumulate that sort of energy.

Considering which things, the man of breed, in whom speaks the voice of his forebears, harmonizes these energies with no loss of his own direction; he stands firm in the middle of what whirls.

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34 Pound, "What Is Money For?", 1939, reprinted in Selected Prose; see p. 295. Tching Tang is the emperor who scribed "MAKE IT NEW" on his bathtub. See Canto 53/265-265; Edwards & Vasse, p. 216. See also Grieve, Paideuma, vol. 4, nos. 2 & 3, p. 486, in which he quotes an account from Legge (Shoo King, p. 190) of Tang's reign.
Without leaning on anything either to one side or the other, his energy is admirably rectificative; if the country be well governed, he does not alter his way of life from what it had been during the establishment of the regime; when the country is ill governed, he holds firm to the end, even to death, unchanging. His is an admirably rectificative energy.

Chun Tzu: The princely man, a gentleman; the wise man; a man of complete virtue, the beau-ideal of Confucianism." (See Matthews' Chinese-English Dictionary, p. 241 (M. 1715).

Or monopoly, Thales, common practice, but dirty,

[88/580: 23]

[From Pound, "Economic Nature of the United States"]: "The usual frauds of book-keeping, monopoly, etc., have been known since the beginning of history, and it is precisely for this reason that the usurers are opposed to classical studies. Aristotle, in his Politics 1. 4/5, relates how Thales, wishing to show that a philosopher could easily 'make money' if he had nothing better to do, foreseeing a bumper crop of olives, hired by paying a small deposit, all the olive presses on the islands of Miletus and Chios. When the abundant harvest arrived, everybody went to see Thales. Aristotle remarks that this is a common business practice. And the Exchange frauds are, nearly all of them, variants on this theme -- artificial scarcity of grain and of merchandise, artificial scarcity of money, that is, scarcity of the key to all the other exchanges."

Antoninus lent money at four percent

that being the summit of Empire (Roman)

[88/580: 24-26]

Antoninus Pius, 86-161 (c.e.), was the Emperor of Rome from 138 to 161. Pound says of him in Guide to Kulchur:

36  Selected Prose, p. 172. See also Canto 92/622: 8-11.
"The love of wisdom, or the responsibility that carries wisdom into details of action, is not a Greek glory but a Roman. Caesar was a hi-jacker, Crassus a Wall St bloater etc. But Antoninus, Constantine and Justinian were serious characters, they were trying to work out an orderly system, a modus vivendi for vast multitudes of mankind." 37

See annotation: 89/601: 14-16, for Antoninus' concern with maritime usury. Pound's source for the activity of Antoninus is Claudius Salmasius, De Modo Usurarum. Pound's point here is that "the State can lend," that the State has sovereignty over the issue of money, and can thus eliminate the "common practice" of lending for profit at usurious interest rates. This is the contested question in the struggle between the Bank of the United States (it must be reiterated, a private company partially funded by the government, on the model of the Bank of England) and the U.S. government under Jackson, for sovereignty over the nation's money supply. Presumably it was "the indignation of Antoninus Pius, that people should attempt to exploit other people's misfortunes (e.g., shipwrecks)" which moved him to outmaneuver the usurers by offering government loans at moderate interest rates -- "that," as Pound says, "being the summit of Empire/(Roman)." 38

The issues rehearsed at 580: 19-26 have their earlier statement in Canto 77 ("Thus recapitulate"): and as to the distributive function 1766 ante Christum it is recorded, and the state can lend money as proved at Salamis 39 and for notes on monopoly Thales; and credit, Siena; 40 both for the trust and the mistrust; "the earth belongs to the living" interest on all it creates out of nothing the buggering bank has; pure iniquity and to change the value of money, of the unit of money METATHEMENON we are not yet out of that chapter 41

39 Salamis, the island east of Greece, off which a united Greek fleet, funded by a State loan, defeated the Persian fleet in 480 B.C.
"Trying," he said, "to keep some of the non-interest-bearing national debt in circulation as currency. one, eight, seven, eight,

[88/580: 27-30]

See annotation: 88/579: 29, "1878: in circulation as currency." These lines turn on the pronoun "he" as on a pivot. The pronoun seems to refer to Antoninus, but in the context refers to the poet’s grandfather. The overlapping is apt, as we see that both politicians advocate a State-sponsored circulation of currency bearing no interest charges, or at most only enough interest to pay for its administration. The intention is the same; the difference is one of time and place ("how is it far if you think of it?").

Mencius on tithing,

[88/580: 31]

See 87/574: 27-29,

"Nowt better than share (Mencius) nor worse than a fixed charge."
That is the great chapter, Mencius III, I, III, 6

[From Legge, trans., The Works of Mencius, Bk. III, Pt. I, Ch. III]:

"The duke Wan of T'ang asked Mencius about the proper way of governing a kingdom. Mencius said, 'The business of the people may not be remissly attended to.... Therefore, a ruler who is endowed with talents and virtue will be gravely complaisant and economical, showing a respectful politeness to his ministers, and taking from the people only in accordance with regulated limits.
"Yang Hu said, "He who seeks to be rich will not be benevolent. He who wishes to be benevolent will not be rich."

"The sovereign of the Hsia dynasty enacted the fifty mau allotment, and the payment of a tax. The founder of the Yin enacted the seventy mau allotment, and the system of mutual aid. The founder of the Chau enacted the hundred mau allotment, and the share system. In reality, what was paid in all these was a tithe. The share system means mutual division. The aid system means mutual dependence.

"Lung said, "For regulating the lands, there is no better system than that of mutual aid, and none which is not better than that of taxing. By the tax system, the regular amount was fixed by taking the average of several years. In good years, when the grain lies about in abundance, much might be taken without its being oppressive, and the actual exaction would be small. But in bad years, the produce being not sufficient to repay the manuring of the fields, this system still requires the taking of the full amount. When the parent of the people causes the people to wear looks of distress, and, after the whole year's toil, yet not to be able to nourish their parents, so that they proceed to borrowing to increase their means, till the old people and children are found lying in the ditches and water-channels: -- where, in such a case, is his parental relation to the people?"

The duke afterwards sent Pi Chan to consult Mencius about the nine-squares system of dividing the land. Mencius said to him...

"I would ask you, in the remoter districts, observing the nine-squares division, to reserve one division to be cultivated on the system of mutual aid, and in the more central parts of the kingdom, to make the people pay for themselves a tenth part of the produce....

A square li covers nine squares of land, which nine squares contain nine hundred mau. The central square is the public field, and eight families, each having its private hundred mau, cultivate in common the public field. And not till the public work is finished, may they presume to attend to their private affairs....

... In the fields of a district, those who belong to the same nine squares render all friendly offices to one another in their going out and coming in, aid one another in keeping watch and ward, and sustain one another in sickness. Thus the people are brought to live in affection and harmony."42

[From Pound, "Destruction by Taxation"]

"There are probably not six men in the Commons and Lords who have the intellect required to distinguish a tithe from a tax, or a just payment from an extortion.

A tithe is a payment made in something the payer has. A tax is normally paid in money.

A tithe is strictly proportional to production. Justice from time immemorial has limited tithe to a tenth or a ninth. More was considered evil and less inadequate for the good conduct of the state.

Extortion is forced payment of an exaggerated sum. One of the prime means of extortion is that of insisting on payment in something which the payer has not, and which he can only obtain at a price unjustly high.

In present circumstances your taxes are to be paid in money. And the taxpayer is too illiterate in matters of money to ask what money is; who issues it; under what circumstances is it obtainable?"43

PERENNE.

Cano perenne,

I believe the Dai Gaku.

[88/581: 1-3]


Dai Gaku: (Jap.) The Great Learning; the Japanese name for the Confucian text, Ta Hsio.44

[From Pound, "Date Line," in Make It New, 1934]:

'Further attempt to answer Mr Eliot's indirect query as to 'What Mr P. believes', would be perhaps out of place at this juncture. I have, I think, at no time attempted to conceal my beliefs from my so eminent colleague, but I have at all times desired to know the demarcation between what I know and what I do not know.... As to what I believe:

I believe the Ta Hsio." 45

Belascio or Topaze, and not have it squish,

43 Written 1938; reprinted in Impact.


45 Reprinted in Literary Essays, pp. 85-86.
a "throne", something God can sit on
without having it squish;
With Greek tags in his excellent verses,

Eriugena,

In reign of Carolus Calvus.

[88/581: 4-9]

Belasčio, or balascio: (It.) a kind of ruby.

See: Canto 36/179: 23-31,

"Called thrones, balascio or topaze"
Eriugina was not understood in his time
"which explains, perhaps, the delay in condemning him"
And they went looking for Manicheans
And found, so far as I can make out, no Manicheans
So they dug for, and damned Scotus Eriugina
"Authority comes from right reason,
never the other way on"
Hence the delay in condemning him

Canto 74/429: 3-4, 20-24,

in the light of light is the virtu
"sunt lumina" said Erigena Scotus ...

"sunt lumina" said the Oirishman to King Carolus,
"OMNIA,
all things that are are lights"
and they dug him up out of sepulture
soi disantly looking for Manicheans.

Canto 83/528: 11-21,

the queen stitched King Carolus' shirts or whatever
while Eriegena put greek tags in his excellent verses
in fact an excellent poet, Paris
toujours Pari' (Charles le Chauve)

and you might find a bit of enamel
a bit of true blue enamel
on a metal pyx or whatever
omnia, quae sunt, lumina sunt, or whatever
so they dug up his bones in the time of De Montfort
(Simon)

[From Pound, Guide to Kulchur]:

"Take it that Leibniz was the last serious character to worry
about the reconciliation of churches. He and Bossuet ran onto
the snag of 'authority', shd. one accept Church authority when
it was against one's own conscience?

I repeat: the Catholic Church went out of business when its
hierarchy ceased to believe in its own dogma. Leo X didn't take
Luther's thought as a serious matter. He didn't expect others
to do so.

Scotus Erigena held that: Authority comes from right reason.
I suppose he thought himself a good catholic.

This page can stand in lieu of an Agony Column. I still
invite correspondence as to the trial of Erigena and his condem-
nation centuries after his death.

I can still see a Catholic renaissance or the Church 'taken
seriously once again' if Romé chose to dig up the records, if
Rome chose to say that Scotus was heretical because of some pother
about the segments of the trinity but that on 'Authority' he was
sound, a son faithful etc." 46

Carolus Calvus, Charles le Chauve, or Charles the Bald, is
Charles II, Holy Roman Emperor from 875-877, who held court at Paris.
John Scotus ('the Irishman') or John Eriugena ('born of Ireland')
came to the royal court of France about 845 and lived there until
the death of Charles the Bald. "His poems, most of them either
about or addressed to King Charles, are in fact studded with Greek
references." 47

(There is a story about Erigena which has a peculiar rhyme in
a line of Cantó 89. The line is at 89/603: 20, and is apparently
addressed to the author: "You damn sadist!" said mr cummings,
"you try to make people think." Walter Michaels tells the story
in explanation of Erigena's second appearance in Thrones, the sec-

46 Pound, Guide to Kulchur, p. 75.
47 For an exegesis of the lines concerned with Erigena in the Cantos,
see Walter B. Michaels' remarkable "Pound and Erigena," in Paideuma,
vol. 1, no. 1, 1972, pp. 37-54. Mr. Michaels deals with all the
lines quoted here, with the one incredible exception of the "thrones,
balascio or topaze"! For further detail about Erigena's life and
philosophic writing, see Jean A. Potter's Introduction to Erigena's
tion of the Cantos immediately following Rock-Drill:

"The second mention of Erigena is in Canto 105, 'They probably murdered Erigena.' (105/751:775) What is apparently referred to here is one of several accounts of the philosopher's death. According to William of Malmesbury, after the death of his friend Charles the Bald, Erigena returned to England at the request of King Alfred. He took up residence at the Abbey of Malmesbury and taught there for a number of years until one day several of his students stabbed him to death with their pens. Bett says: 'There is no reason why William of Malmesbury's story should not be accepted as substantially true.' To which Sheldon-Williams adds 'A pleasing, but wholly apocryphal sequel (which) is still related in Dublin: when asked why they had done it they replied, 'Because he forced us to think.'" At any rate, Erigena's writings continued for many years to be held in great esteem at the Abbey."48

As for thrones, of balascio or of topaze, Mr. Michaels omits to note a source for the line in Erigena; I have not so far discovered it, either in the new English translation of Erigena's De Divisione Naturae,49 or in Henry Bett's biography of Erigena.50

There is a mention of thrones in Dante's Paradiso. In the third heaven, the heaven of Venus, Dante meets Cunizza, the mistress on earth of the troubadour, Sordello, who tells him of the disasters which will strike certain arrogant and unrepentant cities of Italy, and explains the means of her knowledge:

Above are mirrors -- you speak of them as Thrones --
Through which God reflects back to us how he
Judges, which makes these words seem proper to us.51

With this explanation Cunizza falls silent; Dante describes her as suddenly appearing to look inward, and she returns to "the ring where she had been." At this moment Dante's gaze is drawn to the spirit of the amorous troubadour, Foulquet of Marseilles, thus:

L'altra letizia, che m'era gia nota
Preclara cosa, mi si fece in vista
Qual fin balascio in che lo sol percota.

The other light of joy, which was made known
To me as something famous, struck my eyes

48 Michaels, ibid., pp. 53-54.
49 Uhlfelder, trans., Periphyseon.
50 Michaels notes that Pound's early interest in Erigena derives from his study of Cavalcanti, in whose work he discovered the imprint
Like a fine ruby that the sun falls on.  

In answer to Dante's question, Foulquet speaks of his own birthplace and fame on earth, and of the third heaven:

Here we look on the art that embellishes  
Such creation and see the beneficence  
That returns the world below to the upper.  

Another ruby light appears to Dante in the heaven of Mars. In the form of a ray, it joins with a ray of white to form the Greek cross illuminated with the souls of the warriors of God. A light speeds towards Dante and Beatrice out of the crossed chorus of souls

As a sudden fire, from time to time,  
Will race across the pure and tranquil sky ...  

The light addresses Dante:

You believe that your thought emanates to me  
From that very first one, the way five and six,  
If so understood, radiate from one.  
For that reason you have not asked who I am  
And why I seem to you to be more jubilant  
Than any other in this happy crowd.  
What you believe is true. The lesser and the Greater of this life look in the mirror  
In which, before you think, your thought is spread.  
But, so that the sacred love which I gaze on  
With perpetual sight, and which makes me thirst  
With sweet desire, may be fulfilled the better,  
Let your voice be sure and glad and daring  
In speaking your will and your desire,  
To which my answer has already been decreed.  

Dante responds:

Ben supplico io a te, vivo topazio,  
I strongly beg of you, O living topaz  
That bejewel this most precious jewel,  
That you gratify my wish to know your name.  

The topaze light then reveals himself to be Dante's great-great grandfather, Cacciauguida:

of medieval philosophers of light. Pound read about Erigena in the studies of medieval philosophy of Gilson, Renan and Fiorentino. Michaels says that Fiorentino's Manuale di Storia della Filosofia is "the source of most of the Erigena material in Canto XXXVI;" the Italian scholar's work may contain the source for the 'thrones.'

Dante, Paradise, IX, Biancolli trans., p. 34.  
Ibid.
O living leaf of mine, in whom I found joy
Even while I waited, I was the root of you.57

"Captans annonam
maledictus in plebe sit!"
that was Ambrose:
"Hoggers of harvest!" Delacroix (properly):
"always the same."

[88/581: 10-14]

"St. Ambrose (340?-397), bishop of Milan, Doctor of the Church, b. Trier, of Christian parents. Educated at Rome, he became the governor of Liguria and Aemilia -- with the capital at Milan. He was highly regarded in that office, and popular demand caused his appointment (374) as bishop, although he was reluctant and lacked religious training.... He excommunicated Theodosius I for the massacre at Salonica (390) and imposed a heavy public penance on him before reinstating him. Ambrose's eloquent preaching spurred the conversion of St. Augustine...."58

[From Pound, Guide to Kulchur, "Totalitarian"]:

"The history of a culture is the history of ideas going into action. Whatever the platonists or other mystics have felt, they have been possessed sporadically and spasmodically of energies measurable in speech and in action, long before modern physicians were measuring the electric waves of the brains of pathological subjects.... Nothing is, without efficient cause. Rationalizing or rather trying to rationalize the prerational is poor fishing.

St Ambrose midway between Athens and the Sorbonne pulls up with a root of reality 'CAPTANS ANNONAM'. Hoggers of harvest, cursed among the people....

The fight against unjust monopoly has never let up from the hour of St Ambrose's philippic. Jean Barral will trace it back to the Egyptian captivity. Matsumiyo with Japanese angle of incidence writes his history by dividing the year, spring, summer, autumn, winter.

No conception of culture will hold good if you omit the enduring constants in human composition." 59

53 Ibid., p. 35.
54 Ibid., XV, p. 57.
55 Ibid., p. 58.
56 Ibid., p. 59.
57 Ibid.
59 Pound, Guide to Kulchur, pp. 44-45, 47.
[From Pound, "Gold and Work," "The Toxicology of Money"]: 

"Money is not a product of nature but an invention of man. And man has made it into a pernicious instrument through lack of foresight. The nations have forgotten the differences between animal, vegetable, and mineral; or rather, finance has chosen to represent all three of the natural categories by a single means of exchange, and failed to take account of the consequences. Metal is durable, but it does not reproduce itself. If you sow gold you will not be able to reap a harvest many times greater than the gold you sowed. The vegetable leads a more or less autonomous existence, but its natural reproductiveness can be increased by cultivation. The animal gives to and takes from the vegetable world: manure in exchange for food.

Fascinated by the lustre of metal, man made it into chains. Then he invented something against nature, a false representation in the mineral world of laws which apply only to animals and vegetables....

The durability of metal gives it certain advantages not possessed by potatoes or tomatoes. Anyone who has a stock of metal can keep it until conditions are most favourable for exchanging it against less durable goods. Hence the earliest forms of speculation on the part of those in possession of metals -- especially those metals which are comparatively rare and do not rust.

But in addition to this potentiality for unjust manipulation inherent in metallic money by virtue of its being metallic, man has invented a document provided with coupons to serve as a more visible representation of usury. And usury is a vice, or a crime, condemned by all religions and by every ancient moralist....

No! it is not money that is the root of the evil. The root is greed, the lust for monopoly. 'CAPTANS ANNONAM, MALEDICTUS IN PLEBE SIT!' thundered St. Ambrose -- 'Hoggers of harvest, cursed among the people!'" 60

Delcroix, as Christine Brooke-Rose notes, is

"Carlo Delcroix, the Italian fascist deputy who in 1924 joined Dino Grandi in denouncing the killing of Matteoti. He turns up in Cantos 88, 92 [621: 4-7], 95 [643: 15-16], 97 [678: 5], 98 [690: 25], 101 [726: 26-27], in the Bridson interview...and in Guide to Kulchur, pp. 229 and 249." 61


61 Brooke-Rose, A ZBC of Ezra Pound, p. 172. In D.G. Bridson's interview with Pound, Pound says of the Delcroix line in Canto 101: "...Delcroix, who was the head of the Italian Veterans -- he was blinded and lost both arms in the other war -- when he first heard of stampscript [a feature of Silvio Gesell's monetary program], he beat on his head with his little wooden artificial arms and said 'che magnifica idea' -- what a magnificent idea." ("An Interview with Ezra Pound," in New Directions 17.)
Get the meaning across and then quit.

[88/581: 15]

[From Pound, trans., The Confucian Analects, Book 15, XL]:

"He [Confucius] said: Problem of style? Get the meaning across and then STOP." 62

Said Baccin: "That tree, and that tree,
"Yes, I planted that tree..."

Under the olives
Some saecular, some half-saecular

trees, conduits, cisterns, ad majorem

Dum ad Ambrosiam scandet,

sacro nemori.

altro che tacita

[88/581: 16-23]

See Canto 87/573: 18-20,

Bombs fell, but not quite on Sant'Ambrogio.
Baccin said: I planted that
tree, and that tree (ulivi) [It. olives]

The word saecular is derived from the Latin saeculum, meaning either the period of one human generation, or the longest duration of a human life, a hundred years, a century.

ad majorem: (Lat.) to greater, to the greater; perhaps, to the forebear or ancestor.

Dum ad Ambrosiam scandet: (Lat.) Now to Ambrose (Ambrogio?)
he ascends (climbs).

sacro nemori: (Lat.) I consecrate the grove.

altro che tacita: (It.) another who quiets.

62 Hugh Kenner reports Pound's conversation at St. Elizabeth's hospital: "What Confucius has to say about style is contained in two characters. The first says 'Get the meaning across,' and the second says 'Stop.' And on being asked what was in the character 'Get the
[From Pound, Guide to Kulchur]:
"... Happy the man born to rich acres, a saecular vine bearing good grapes, olive trees spreading with years." 63

[88/581: 24]

(Gr.) Without brotherhood, lawless, hearthless. From Homer, Iliad IX. 63. The words are Nestor's. They come at a moment of crisis in the Greek camp following the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, Achilles' refusal to fight the Trojans, and a disastrous rout of the Greek army earlier in the day. A general panic has seized the camp. Nestor stands to give encouragement and counsel against disunity:

Out of all brotherhood, outlawed, homeless shall be that man who longs for all the horror of fighting among his own people. 64

To the all-men as to the Emperor.
Antoninus as apex, but on slavery and on bhoogery...
Not un-man, my Estlin, but all-men

[88/581: 25-27]

See 85/547: 9-12 for idea rhyme:
As the pivot perceived by Y Yin

meaning across,' 'Well, some people say I see too much in these characters' -- here a good-natured glance at ambient lunatics -- 'but I think it means' -- the Jamesian pause -- "Lead the sheep out to pasture."" (Kenner, The Pound Era, p. 13.)
See also Canto 79/486: 4-7, "In/discourse/what matters is/to get it across e poi basta"; see also Edwards & Vasse, p. 273, for explication of the two characters which flank these lines.
64 Homer, Iliad, Richmond Lattimore tr., pp. 199-200.
that the different clans say: Bigob! He said it.
III. 6. xi, Right here is the Bill of Rights ...

[From Chou King, Couvreur's translation]:

"(Si votre vertu est pure), elle fera dire a tout le peuple:
'Que notre empereur exprime de grandes pensees!' Elle lui fera
dire aussi: 'Que les intentions de notre empereur sont pures!'...
'Un prince sans sujets n'aurait pas a qui commander; un peuple
sans prince n'aurait pas a qui obeir. Ne cherchez pas a vous
grandir en rabaisssant les autres. Si un homme ou une femme du
peuple n'a pas la liberte de s'appliquer de toutes ses forces
(a faire le bien), le maître du peuple aura un secours de moins,
et le bien qu'il doit faire ne sera pas complet." 65

[From Pound, Guide to Kulchur]:

"Until the power of hell which is usura, which is the power
of hogging the harvest, is broken, that is to say until clean
economic conditions exist and the abundance is divided in just
and adequate parts among all men, legal enforcements and inter-
jections of the legal finger in relations between man and woman,
will be deformation and evil, and no lawgiver will be able to cure
the bone disease of society by bits of sticking plaster and paint." 66

For Antoninus, see 88/580: 24-26,

Antoninus lent money at four percent
that being the summit of Empire

(Roman)

For "slavery and...bhoogery" see Pound, "John Buchan's 'Cromwell'":

"By great wisdom sodomy and usury were seen coupled together.67
If there comes ever a rebirth or resurrection of Christian Church,
one and Catholic, a recognition of divinity as

La somma sapienza e il primo amore

it will come with a recognition and an abjuration of the great
sin contra naturam, of the prime sin against natural abundance." 68

"Estlin" is edward estlin cummings; his "un-man" is perhaps from
dpoem XIV of l X 1, "pity this busy monster, manunkind, / not..." 69

65 Couvreur, Chou King, III. VI, 9, 11. Pp. 130-131. See Grieve,
in Paideuma, vol. 4, nos. 2 & 3, p. ; see also my introduction, p
67 In Selected Prose, p. 265.
68 In Dante, Inferno.
69 In Cummings, Poems 1923-1954, p. 397.
pity this busy monster, mankind,
not. Progress is a comfortable disease:
your victim (death and life safely beyond)
plays with the bigness of his littleness
-- electrons deify one razorblade
into a mountain range; lenses extend
unwish through curving wherewhen till unwish
returns on its unself....

as 敬

To respect the vegetal powers

[ching 4 1138]: To reverence; to respect; to honour. A present. Reverent attention to. 70

[See Canto 85/555, 敬 and you can know the sincere 71

[From Pound, Preface to The Analects]:

"respect for the kind of intelligence that enables grass seed to grow grass: the cherry-stone to make cherries"72

Or "life however small" (Hindoustani).
Make him of wood with steel springs".

[88/582: 2-3]

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70 Grieve, in Paideuma, vol. 4, nos. 2 & 3, p. 487. The number above the character's romanized spelling indicates its inflected tone; the number following gives its location in Matthews' Chinese-English Dictionary.
71 See Grieve, Ibid., pp. 435-436.
72 Pound, Confucius, p. 195.
I have not so far discovered the source of these lines.

... to act that, training the child as shih, in the 1st tone.

(shih
\textsuperscript{1}.
\textsuperscript{5756}): A corpse. One who impersonates the dead at a sacrifice. (\textsuperscript{A}Aorporse on the throne; an idler, one who does nothing for his bread; the person who represents Confucius in sacrifices; one who impersonates the dead. As verb: To arrange. To manage or superintend.)\textsuperscript{73}

Pere Henri Jacques still speaks with the sennin on Rokku,

[See Canto 4/16: 16-17,

Pere Henri Jacques would speak with the Sennin, on Rokku, Mount Rokku between the rock and the cedars.

Edwards & Vasse give as another name for Rokku Mount Tai Haku, "prob. Taihoku, mountain peak in South Kankyo province of N Korea." \textsuperscript{74} Tai Haku appears in Canto 56/301: 30-31, "Mt Tai Haku is 300 miles from heaven/lost in a forest of stars..."

In a letter to Felix Schelling, dated 9 July, 1922, Pound notes of Canto 4:

\textsuperscript{73} See Grieve, \textit{Paideuma}, vol. 4, nos. 2 & 3, p. 488.
"Sennin are the Chinese spirits of nature or of the air. I don't see that they are any worse than Celtic Sidhe. Rokku is a mountain. I can perhaps emend the line and make that clearer.... The name and title indicate a French priest (as a matter of fact he is a Jesuit)." 75

"These people" said Mr Tcheou "should be like brothers. They read the same books." meaning Chinese and Japanese.

[88/582: 8-9]

[See Pound, "A Visiting Card"]: 

"C'EST TOUJOURS LE BEAU MONDE QUI COUPERNE

Or the best society, meaning the society that, among other things, reads the best books, possesses a certain ration of good manners and, especially, of sincerity and frankness, modulated by silence.

The Counsellor Tchou said to me 'These peoples (the Chinese and Japanese) should be like brothers. They read the same books.'" 76

Marse Adams done tol' 'em. The Major done told 'em having a First Folio (Shx) in his lock-box could afford waiting to see it.

"Every ...etc..."
downright corruption". "To the consumer".

[88/582: 10-15]

[From a letter of John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 28 August, 1811]:

".... every bank of discount, every bank by which interest is to be paid or profit of any kind made by the deponent, is downright corruption. It is taxing the public for the benefit and profit of individuals." 77

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75 Paige ed., Selected Letters of Ezra Pound, p. 180. See also Personae, p. 139, "Sennin Poem by Kukuhaku (Kuo P'u)"
76 In Selected Prose, p. 313.
The Major is C. H. Douglas, author of *Economic Democracy* (1920) and *Social Credit* (1932); he outlined the social credit system of national economics. Pound says of him in his "Introduction to the Economic Nature of the United States:"

"Toward the end of the First World War, C.H. Douglas insisted on the possibility of great potential abundance and demanded national dividends, that is, a distribution of family or individual allowances so as to permit the public to buy what the public was producing.

Naturally, all that was called insane. The London Times, and other newspapers, in the hands of financiers opposed this suggestion.

The justice of Major Douglas’s views was confirmed by the Loeb Report (Report of the National Survey of Potential Product Capacity, New York City Housing Authority, 1935). No one has been willing to dispute these statistics. Before entering this war [WW II] every family of four persons in the United States could have had a $4,000.00 to $5,000.00 Standard-of-Living. Only the iniquity, the imbecility of the monetary-financial system prevented the realisation of this material welfare.

War was brought about to impede the utilisation of this abundance. Without scarcity unjust prices cannot be imposed through monopolies."

[And from *ABC of Economics*]:

"The manufacturer is 'paid' in two ways under the present system. He gets 'money' or 'is owed' money for what he sells, and he gets ability to borrow from banks, i.e. his action and potentiality to produce enable him to get credit as well as payments (cash and deferred) and the banks get more credit than they give HIM, i.e. he has to hand part of it back to them, and for the part he hands back he gets no direct credit, though he may get the ability to have more (on similar terms)....

By the time the banks have got more credit than they gave the manufacturer, the potential consumer hasn't enough credit to purchase the needed goods. Where would he get it? The banks will always give him less than he has to give them. They are not there for their health." 79

[From "The Individual in His Milieu"]:

"Douglas and Gesell both aim at enabling the whole people in any one country, to use their own product, and both release the

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78 Pound, Selected Prose, pp. 177-178.
79 Ibid., p. 254.
entire people from dependence on export. That is to say make it possible for them to buy what they have, instead of placing them under the murderous necessity of throwing it overboard at the command of ghouls and tyrants in order to get purchasing power to buy steadily decreasing amounts of steadily worsening food, cloths, [sic] etc."

[From "In the Wounds"]:"

"The fundamental material reality underlying the Douglas solution of poverty, slums, industrial tyranny, is that the cost of production is consumption.

That is to say a nation during a year is out of pocket, or out of possession of those things it consumes, destroys, sends abroad. Whether it produce goods (raw and fabricated), buildings, etc. to the value of one billion or ten billion, the material cost of those things is what it exports and consumes, and that destruction includes the wear and tear on the workmen, it includes the depreciation of the national health during the period...

Toulousains do not eat the veal they ship to Paris. Platitude! Obvious! But absolutely invisible and incomprehensible to a banker. You don't believe me? All right ask a banker. Ask any banker.

When a costing system, that is a system for estimating what anything costs, and therefore what people should pay for it in proportion, takes count of this fundamental basis, that system will be heading toward the 'piu alta giustizia sociale', it will be heading toward economic justice and you will either have Douglas's 'just price' or you will have something with another name that will be found to be rather like it." 

"Shx" is Pound's abbreviation of Shakespeare. I have no idea who had the first folio Shakespeare "in his lock-box."

Waal, they bust the abundance and had to pay Europe,

[88/582: 16-17]

[From Pound, "Economic Nature of the United States"]: 

80 Pound, Selected Prose, p. 279.
81 Ibid., pp. 445-446. See appendix A, pp. 559-560, for Douglas' remarks on "the consumer" as quoted from Economic Democracy.
The following phases follow one another: Open Country. The need of manpower. Slaves. Debts. 'Free' craftsmanship in competition with the slave system. In the beginning personal commerce without indebtedness in finance. In many cases direct superintendence by the owners.

.... Even if economic, the history of the United States was, up to the year 1860, romantic. It was the period of the cult of business which continued an Italic tradition, the tradition of the great City Republics of Venice and Genoa, the Superba and the Dominante. Economic affairs were not wholly sordid. Usury however is a cancer, Finance a disease....

The American tragedy is a continuous history of waste -- waste of the natural abundance first, then waste of the new abundance offered by the machine, and then by machines, no longer isolated, but correlated and centuplicating the creative power of human labour.

The improvident Americans killed bison without thought of protecting them. Forests were cut down without thought of conservation. This had no immediate effect on the prosperity of the inhabitants, because of nature's abundance. The usurers, now called financiers, plotted against abundance. To understand the effect of the American system, 'it is necessary to go back to the monopoly of Thales and then take up the thread of the so-called Reformation, or protestant schism, seen from the economic angle. The Protestants did not wish to pay ecclesiastical taxes to Rome, and to the priests for their rites. The Bible was invented as a substitute-Priest. The Canonical prohibition against usury disappeared. Polite society did not consider usury as Dante did, that is, damned to the same circle of Hell as the sodomites, both acting against the potential abundance of nature.

The Catholic economy had proclaimed the doctrine of the just price. Monopoly is a manoeuvre against the just price. To be able to speculate one needs a fluctuating market.

The employers naturally tried to get their work done for the least possible price. The working-men, in self-defence, asked for the suffrage. The people won the war against the Bank of the U.S. between 1830 and 1840 but, with the new waves of European work hands, the quality of the electorate declined, and demagogy undertook to corrupt it. The Press misled, or distracted, the people from the nature of the economic problem....

John Quincy Adams, almost alone and smeared as an eccentric, supported a doctrine giving more authority to the state. He wanted to conserve the national lands as property of the nation.

The romance of the covered wagon, clipper of the prairies, finds its analogy in the Italian colonization in Africa.* All this emigration had some resemblance to what Italy was doing on her Fourth Shore, but the former was done without the state's doing anything save granting the land without foresight.

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*Pound is referring, presumably, to the Italian campaign in Ethiopia of 1935.
The natural abundance existed, but it was wasted. Today, among the few merits of F.D.R. stands, perhaps, a vague idea of reforestation. But he was scared into it by the dust bowl of the west.

**BANKS**

The trap of the banking system has always worked in the same way -- some case of abundance is used to create optimism. This optimism is exaggerated, usually with the help of propaganda. Sales increase; prices of land, or of shares, rise beyond the possibility of material revenue. The banks had favoured exaggerated loans, in order to manoeuvre the increase, restrict, recall their loans, and presently panic overtakes the people." 82

[From Overholser, *History of Money in the U.S.* Overholser quotes from a letter of Lincoln, dated 21 November, 1864, in which he predicts the disaster to follow from the adoption of another National Banking system]:

"As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions may prove groundless." 83

[From Hollis, *The Two Nations; "America"]:]

"...the effect of the Civil War and the reconstruction was virtually to transfer the Government of the United States to the professional politicians of the Republican Party, whose nominees held the Presidency save only during Cleveland's terms of office, from the Civil War until 1912. And of that Republican Government, whether it was a good government or a bad government, at least this can be said in no spirit of wanton paradox, that it was probably the least democratic government that ever flourished in any great country in the whole history of European man.

The Republican party was the party of the money-power. In Lincoln's day it had made a bid for, and had captured, western support by its promises of free land to those who would settle there. It had kept its promise, and it still, as a general rule, allowed some citizen of a western state to be the holder of the nominally supreme power. But the masters of the credit machinery could always get back what they had given away by putting the owners of land into debts which it was impossible for them to pay

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82 Pound, Selected Prose, pp. 175-177.
and then foreclosing on their land. The policy of the 1870's was
one of drastic deflation, owing to the return from greenbacks to
gold and owing to the stoppage of silver coinage, a deflation
which caused a fall in the price of wheat from over $2 a bushel
in 1865 to under $1 a bushel in the subsequent decade. It was
therefore obviously quite impossible for the farmer to get out
of debt. Thus under the Republican rule of the last quarter of
the century the land of the West was passing steadily into the
hands of absentee landlords. In 1884 it was found that approxi-
mately 20,000,000 acres had passed into alien hands. Lord Dun-
more had 100,000 acres, Lord Dunraven 60,000, the Duke of Suther-
land nearly 500,000, a syndicate headed by the Marquis of Tweed-
dale 1,550,000. Two English syndicates owned over 7,000,000
acres in Texas and a German syndicate more than 1,000,000 acres.
More than half the land in the Pacific and Mountain states was
in the hands of absentee landlords. An official commission ap-
pointed by President Theodore Roosevelt made itself responsible
for the strong judgment that 'hardly a single great western est-
ate held a title untainted by fraud'...

The dominating factor in the economic and political situation
was that the country still needed foreign loans and, so long as
that factor remained, so long the ultimate seat of American Gov-
ernment was neither Washington nor New York but London. If the
capital goods were to continue to flow to America, she must be
able to provide exports with which to offer the investor the
prospect of dividends. What could she offer? Even after the
Civil War there was still cotton, and Republican politicians, who
fought secession, who clamoured for the humiliation of the planter,
who loudly proclaimed the negro's right to a vote, were careful
not to demand for him higher wages. Yet, as the volume of invest-
ments grew, cotton was no longer enough. What else could the
Americans provide? There was corn in the West, and the English
foreign investor in the 1870's, by destroying his own domestic
agriculture, made it possible for payments to be made to him by
importation of corn. Yet, if the western farmers were to sell
their corn on the London market, they must put it there at the
same price as competing exporters from Canada or from the Crimea.
How could that be done? There were two ways. They could, as the
American manufacturers did, sell a portion of their crop at a
high price to the American consumer and the rest at the world
price to the English consumer. But, had they done so, the price
of bread in America would have risen. Wages would have had to
be raised, and with more paid out in wages there would have been
less to be paid out in dividends. Therefore, to prevent the far-
mers from doing this, the politicians, acting of course for their
masters, while giving protection to every American industry, al-
lowed no tariff on corn, and thus they could prevent any attempt
of the American farmer to sell his corn at home at a high price by importing corn from Canada or elsewhere to undersell him.

The only remedy then was for the farmer to produce more cheaply than his competitor by making a freer use of the latest labour-saving devices. This he did, and was thus able to maintain a standard of living, which, though lower than that of his fellow countryman in the town, was higher than that of the farmer in other countries. But inevitably every invention was soon copied by the competitor and it was a hard race to keep always ahead. Once that for one instant he lost his lead, he had no alternative but to accept a yet lower standard of living and to go into debt. Once that he was in debt, his creditors could dictate his policy, could compel him to concentrate on the production of crops for the export market, just as they had compelled the southern planters to concentrate on cotton."84

[From Pound, Canto 22/101: 11-16]:

Tale of the American Curia that gave him, Warenhauser permission to build the Northwestern railway
And to take the timber he cut in the process;
So he cut a road through the forest,
Two miles wide, an' perfectly legal.
Who wuz agoin' to stop him!85

an' Anatole tol' 'em:
"no export? No need to make war."
Ile des Pinquins,

[88/582: 18-20]

[From Anatole France, Penguin Island, "The Journey of Doctor Obnubile"]: 

"After a succession of amazing vicissitudes, the memory of which is in great part lost by the wrongs of time and the bad style of historians, the Penguins established the government of the Penguins by themselves....

The new state received the name of Public Thing or Republic. Its partisans were called republicanists or republicans. They were also named Thing-mongers and sometimes Scamps, but this latter name was taken in ill part.

The Penguin democracy did not itself govern. It obeyed a

84 Hollis, The Two Nations, pp. 213-216.
85 The Weyerhaeuser ("Warenhauser") story follows the remark of another type of railroad builder that "As in any indian war it costs the government/20,000 dollars per head/To kill off the red warriors, it might be more humane/And even cheaper, to educate."
financial oligarchy which formed opinion by means of the newspapers, and held in its hands the representatives, the ministers, and the president. It controlled the finances of the republic, and directed the foreign affairs of the country as if it were possessed of sovereign power.

Empires and kingdoms in those days kept up enormous fleets. Penguinia, compelled to do as they did, sank under the pressure of her armaments. Everybody deplored or pretended to deplore so grievous a necessity. However, the rich, and those engaged in business or affairs, submitted to it with a good heart through a spirit of patriotism, and because they counted on the soldiers and sailors to defend their goods at home and to acquire markets and territories abroad. The great manufacturers encouraged the making of cannons and ships through a zeal for the national defence and in order to obtain orders. Among the citizens of middle rank and of the liberal professions some resigned themselves to this state of affairs without complaining, believing that it would last for ever; others waited impatiently for its end and thought they might be able to lead the powers to a simultaneous disarmament.

The illustrious Professor Obnubile belonged to this latter class.

'War,' said he, 'is a barbarity to which the progress of civilization will put an end. The great democracies are pacific and will soon impose their will upon the aristocrats.'

Professor Obnubile, who had for sixty years led a solitary and retired life in his laboratory, whither external noises did not penetrate, resolved to observe the spirit of the peoples for himself. He began his studies with the greatest of all democracies and set sail for New Atlantis.

After a voyage of fifteen days his steamer entered, during the night, the harbour of Titanport, where thousands of ships were anchored. An iron bridge thrown across the water and shining with lights, stretched between two piers so far apart that Professor Obnubile imagined he was sailing on the seas of Saturn and that he saw the marvellous ring which girds the planet of the Old Man. And this immense conduit bore upon it more than a quarter of the wealth of the world. The learned Penguin, having disembarked, was waited on by automatons in a hotel forty-eight stories high. Then he took the great railway that led to Gigantopolis, the capital of New Atlantis. In the train there were restaurants, gaming-rooms, athletic arenas, telegraphic, commercial, and financial offices, a Protestant Church, and the printing-office of a great newspaper, which latter the doctor was unable to read, as he did not know the language of the New Atlantans. The train passed along the banks of great rivers, through manufacturing cities which concealed the sky with the smoke from their chimneys, towns black in the day, towns red at night, full of noise
by day and full of noise also by night.

'Here,' thought the doctor, 'is a people far too much engaged in industry and trade to make war. I am already certain that the New Atlantans pursue a policy of peace. For it is an axiom admitted by all economists that peace without and peace within are necessary for the progress of commerce and industry.'

As he surveyed Gigantopolis, he was confirmed in this opinion. People went through the streets so swiftly propelled by hurry that they knocked down all who were in their way. Obnubile was thrown down several times, but soon succeeded in learning how to demean himself better; after an hour's walking he himself knocked down an Atlantan.

Having reached a great square he saw the portico of a palace in the classic style, whose Corinthian columns reared their capitals of arborescent acanthus seventy metres above the stylobate.

As he stood with his head thrown back admiring the building, a man of modest appearance approached him and said in Penguin:

'I see by your dress that you are from Penguina. I know your language; I am a sworn interpreter. This is the Parliament palace. At the present moment the representatives of the States are in deliberation. Would you like to be present at the sitting?'

The doctor was brought into the hall and cast his looks upon the crowd of legislators who were sitting on cane chairs with their feet upon their desks.

The president arose and, in the midst of general inattention, muttered rather than spoke the following formulas which the interpreter immediately translated to the doctor.

'The war for the opening of the Mongol markets which ended to the satisfaction of the States, I propose that the accounts be laid before the finance committee....'

'Is there any opposition?....'

'The proposal is carried.'

'The war for the opening of the markets of Third-Zealand being ended to the satisfaction of the States, I propose that the accounts be laid before the finance committee....'

'Is there any opposition?....'

'The proposal is carried.'

'Have I heard aright?' asked Professor Obnubile. 'What? an industrial people and engaged in all these wars!'

'Certainly,' answered the interpreter, 'these are industrial wars. Peoples who have neither commerce nor industry are not obliged to make war, but a business people is forced to adopt a policy of conquest. The number of wars necessarily increases with our productive activity. As soon as one of our industries fails to find a market for its products a war is necessary to open new outlets. It is in this way we have had a coal war, a copper war, and a cotton war. In Third-Zealand we have killed
two-thirds of the inhabitants in order to compel the remainder to buy our umbrellas and braces." 86

As for the verb rhyme:

Marse Adams done tol' 'em.
The Major done told 'em...
an' Anatole tol' 'em:

The formula gives thematic emphasis to all the quotations of the previous pages, as saying something definite (definitive) about the nature of abundance, wealth of productivity, and about the cancerous effects of usury, contra naturam. It's very likely that Pound borrowed the rhyme from a poem of e.e. cummings, in a way to continue the dialogue begun at 11. 25 and 27, p. 581. The poem reads:

plato told
him: he couldn't
believe it (jesus
told him; he
wouldn't believe
it) lao

tsze
certainly told
him, and general
(yes
mam)
sherman;
and even
(believe it
or
not) you
told him: i told
him; we told him
(he didn't believe it, no
sir) it took

86 Anatole France, L'Ile des Pinguins, trans. as Penguin Island by A.W. Evans, pp. 145-149. The real-historical American counterpart of the Atlantan industrial war-mongering begins with American foreign lending, as for instance Christopher Hollis traces it, The Two Nations, pp. 217-220. See also Pound's quotation from this passage in L'Ile des Pinguins, in "America and the Second World War;" Pound says: "This book was immensely popular round about 1908, but the world failed to learn its lesson." (Impact, p. 196.)
a nipponized bit of the old sixth

avenue
e; in the top of his head: to tell him

So that Perry "opened" Japan.

[88/582: 21]

[From Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke. Bruce recounts Randolph's voyage in 1829 to Russia as Jackson's minister]:

"The voyage to Russia he made in the United States man-of-war Concord, Captain Matthew C. Perry, who afterwards opened up Japan to intercourse with the Occident." 88

Use of foreign coin until 1819.

Exception Spanish milled dollars, every dealer occupied in exporting them, page 446 their exclusion an unconstitutional fraud...

A currency of intrinsic value FOR WHICH They paid interest to NOBODY

page 446 column two

("Thirty Years", Benton)

Is suppressed in favour of fluctuation, this country a thoroughfare.

[88/582: 22-26; 583: 1-6]

[From Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.1, Ch. CV, "Revival of the Gold Currency -- Mr. Benton's Speech."]:

"Sir, said Mr. B[enton], I am unwilling to appear always in the same train, tracing up all the evils of our currency to the

87 e.e. cummings, poem XIII from I X I, in Poems 1923-1954, p. 396.
88 Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke, v.1, p. 636. See also Appendix B, p. 561, for Brooks Adams' account of the opening of Japan.
same fountain of mischiefs -- the introduction of the paper system, and the first establishment of a federal bank among us. But justice must have its sway; historical truth must take its course; facts must be told; and authentic proof shall supply the place of narrative and assertion. We ascend, then, to the year '91 -- to the exhibition of the plan for the support of public credit -- and see in that plan, as one of its features, a proposition for the establishment of a national mint; and in that establishment a subsidiary engine for the support of the federal bank. We have already seen that in the proposition for the establishment of the mint, gold was largely undervalued; and that this undervaluation had driven gold from the country and left a vacuum for the circulation of federal bank notes; we are now to see that the same mint establishment was to give further aid to the circulation of these notes, by excluding foreign coins, both gold and silver, from circulation, and thus enlarging the vacuum which was to be filled by bank paper. This is what we are now to see; and to see it, we will look at the plan for the support of public credit, and that feature of the plan which proposes the establishment of a national mint.

Mr. B. would remark, that four points were presented in this plan: 1. The eventual abolition of the currency of foreign coins; 2. The reduction of their value while allowed to circulate; 3. The substitution of domestic coins; and, 4. The substitution of bank notes in place of the uncurrent and undervalued foreign coins. Such were the recommendations of Secretary Hamilton; and legislative enactments quickly followed to convert his recommendations into law. The only power the constitution had given to Congress over foreign coins, was a power to regulate their value, and to protect them from debasement by counterfeiters. It was certainly a most strange construction of that authority, first, to under-rate the value of these coins, and next, to prohibit their circulation! Yet both things were done. The mint went into operation in 1794; foreign coins were to cease to be a legal tender in 1797; but, at the end of that time, the contingencies on which the Secretary calculated, to enable the country to do without foreign coins, had not occurred; the substitutes had not appeared; the mint had not supplied the adequate quantity of domestic coin, nor had the circulation of bank notes become sufficiently familiar to the people to supersede gold. The law for the exclusion of foreign coins was found to be impracticable; and a suspension of it for three years was enacted. At the end of this time the evil was found to be as great as ever; and a further suspension of three years was made. This third term of three years also rolled over, the supply of domestic coins was still found to be inadequate, and the people continued to be as averse as ever to

the bank note substitute. A fourth suspension of the law became
necessary, and in 1806 a further suspension for three years was
made; after that a fifth, and finally a sixth suspension, each
for the period of three years; which brought the period for the
actual and final cessation of the circulation of foreign coins,
to the month of November, 1819. From that time there was no fur-
ther suspension of the prohibitory act. An exception was contin-
ued, and still remains, in favor of Spanish milled dollars and
parts of dollars; but all other foreign coins, even those of Mex-
ico and all the South American States, have ceased to be a legal
tender, and have lost their character of current money within
the United States. Their value is degraded to the mint price of
bullion; and thus the constitutional currency becomes an article
of merchandise and exportation. Even the Spanish milled dollar,
though continued as a legal tender, is valued, not as money, but
for the pure silver in it, and is therefore undervalued three or
four per cent. and becomes an article of merchandise. The Bank
of the United States has collected and sold 4,450,000 of them.
Every money dealer is employed in buying, selling, and exporting
them. The South and West, which receives them, is stripped of
them.

Having gone through this narrative of facts, and shown the
exclusion of foreign coins from circulation to be a part of the
paper system, and intended to facilitate the substitution of a
bank note currency, Mr. B. went on to state the injuries resulting
from the measure. At the head of those injuries he was bound to
place the violation of the constitution of the United States,
which clearly intended that foreign coins should circulate among
us, and which, in giving Congress authority to regulate their
value, and to protect them from counterfeiters, could never have
intended to stop their circulation, and to abandon them to debase-
ment. 2. He denounced this exclusion of foreign coins as a fraud,
and a fraud of the most injurious nature, upon the people of the
States. The States had surrendered their power over the coinage
to Congress; they made the surrender in language which clearly
implied that their currency of foreign coins was to be continued
to them; yet that currency is suppressed; a currency of intrinsic
value, for which they paid interest to nobody, is suppressed; and
a currency without intrinsic value, a currency of paper subject
to every fluctuation, and for the supply of which corporate bodies
receive interest, is substituted in its place. 3. He objected
to this suppression as depriving the whole Union, and especially
the Western States, of their due and necessary supply of hard
money. Since that law took effect, the United States had only
been a thoroughfare for foreign coins to pass through. All that
was brought into the country, had to go out of the country. It

90 The second Bank of the United States was chartered in 1816;
by 1819 it was near bankruptcy; the whole country was suffering
from a scarcity of currency; bank notes were depreciated; state
and local banks suspended specie payments; a financial panic and
depression followed. The panic of 1819 was largely the result of
was exported as fast as imported. The custom-house books proved this fact. They proved, that from 1821 to 1833, the imports of specie were $89,428,462; the exports, for the same time, were $88,821,433; lacking but three quarters of a million of being precisely equal to the imports! Some of this coin was recoin before it was exported, a foolish and expensive operation on the part of the United States; but the greater part was exported in the same form that it was received [sic]."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 445-446.)

Pound's emphasis is quite clear: as Benton says, a currency for which the people paid interest to nobody, was suppressed in 1819, following Alexander Hamilton's recommendation, in favour of a currency for which interest must be paid to a private company, a company which moreover gained the monopoly of exporting that currency, of intrinsic value, for which its notes were substituted, at a profit of six per cent!

OB EUNT 1826, July 4.

[88/583: 7]

Ob eunt: (L.) They pass on, they die.

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XXXI, "Death of the Ex-
Presidents John Adams and Thomas Jefferson."]:

"It comes within the scope of this View to notice the deaths and characters of eminent public men who have died during my time, although not my contemporaries, and who have been connected with the founding or early working of the federal government. This gives me a right to head a chapter with the names of Mr. John Adams and Mr. Jefferson -- two of the most eminent political men of the revolution, who, entering public life together, died on the same day, -- July 4th, 1826, -- exactly fifty years after they had both put their hands to that Declaration of Independence

excessive lending by the U.S. Bank to businesses in the South and West, which could not provide an immediate return. Because the supply of metallic money (specie) was insufficient (for reasons which Benton outlines in Chapter CV) to pay a rapidly inflating issue of national bank notes, most national notes were repaid in the notes of local banks. As local banks also were participating in the loan boom, they had not enough specie on deposit to make good their own notes. The panic was precipitated when the national bank began a policy of demanding that local bank notes which it had received be repaid in specie. See Benton, v.I, pp. 5-6, and Catterall.
which placed a new nation upon the theatre of the world. Doubtless there was enough of similitude in their lives and deaths to excuse the belief in the interposition of a direct providence, and to justify the feeling of mysterious reverence with which the news of their coincident demise was received throughout the country." (Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 87.)

The epigraph marks the passing away of the first generation of American revolutionaries. The live memory of the revolution passes with them, leaving men to carry it on who, like Benton, were children or were not yet conceived when the revolutionary government was building, and who have learned their history from their parents' recollections, from the writings of the public men and from records. Benton's sense, as well as Pound's, is that men make governments, but that a government should last to the benefit of a people depends on the memories of those who come after the first generation. The acts of the men and the events of the building must of necessity live on in the minds of those who follow, directing their acts as from a source of strength. Benton consistently maintains, and derives his political adherence from this proposition, that proper government proceeds from a strict and limited construction of the words of the constitution. Benton says at the head of a chapter:

"To show the working of the federal government is the design of this View -- show how things are done under it and their effects; that the good may be approved and pursued, the evil condemned and avoided, and the machine of government be made to work equally for the benefit of the whole Union, according to the wise and beneficent intent of its founders."

At the end of his chapter on the deaths of Adams and Jefferson, Benton describes his only meeting with Jefferson:

"... I never saw him but once, when I went to visit him in his retirement; and then I felt, for four hours, the charms of his bewitching talk. I was then a young senator, just coming

91 See also: Pound, "The Jefferson-Adams Letters As a Shrine and a Monument," in Selected Prose, pp. 147-158; "Introductory Textbook," Chs. I and II, in Selected Prose, p. 159; see Edwards & Vasse for Cantos in which Adams and/or Jefferson speak.
92 Benton, v.II, p. 130. See also annotation 89/595: 1-3.
on the stage of public life -- he a patriarchal statesman just
going off the stage of natural life, and evidently desirous to
impress some views of policy upon me -- a design in which he
certainly did not fail. I honor him as a patriot of the Revolu-
tion -- as one of the Founders of the Republic -- as the founder
of the political school to which I belong; and for the purity of
character which he possessed in common with his compatriots, and
which gives to the birth of the United States a beauty of parent-
age which the genealogy of no other nation can show."

(Thirty Years' View, v. I, p. 88.)

Not battlements, but that the land go to the settlers,

[88/583: 8]

[From Thirty Years' View, v. I, Ch. XXXV, "The Public Lands --
Their Proper Disposition -- Graduated Prices -- Pre-Emption Rights --
Donations to Settlers."]:

"I do not know how old, or rather, how young I was, when I
first took up the notion that sales of land by a government to
its own citizens, and to the highest bidder, was false policy;
and that gratuitous grants to actual settlers was the true pol-
cy, and their labor the true way of extracting national wealth
and strength from the soil. It might have been in childhood,
when reading the Bible, and seeing the division of the promised
land among the children of Israel: it might have been later, and
in learning the operation of the feudal system in giving lands
to those who would defend them: it might have been in early life
in Tennessee, in seeing the fortunes and respectability of many
families derived from the 640 acre head-rights which the State
of North Carolina had bestowed upon the first settlers.... And
when I came to the then Territory of Missouri in 1815, and saw
land exposed to sale to the highest bidder, and lead mines and
salt springs reserved from sale, and rented out for the profit
of the federal treasury, I felt repugnance to the whole system,
and determined to make war upon it whenever I should have the
power. The time came round with my election to the Senate of the
United States in 1820.... I resolved to move against the whole
system, and especially in favor of graduated prices, and donations
to actual and destitute settlers...." (v. I, pp. 102-103.)

[From a speech of Benton supporting his bill for graduated
land prices and donations of public land to destitute settlers]:
"... We are a republic, and we wish to continue so: then multiply the class of freeholders; pass the public lands cheaply and easily into the hands of the people; sell, for a reasonable price, to those who are able to pay; and give, without price, to those who are not. I say give, without price, to those who are not able to pay; and that which is so given, I consider as sold for the best of prices; for a price above gold and silver; a price which cannot be carried away by delinquent officers, nor lost in failing banks, nor stolen by thieves, nor squandered by an improvident and extravagant administration. It brings a price above rubies -- a race of virtuous and independent laborers, the true supporters of their country, and the stock from which its best defenders must be drawn.

'What constitutes a State?
Not high-raised battlements, nor labored mound,
Thick wall, nor moated gate;
Nor cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd,
Nor starr'd and spangled courts,
Where low-born baseness wafts perfume to pride:
But MEN! high-minded men,
Who their duties know, but know their RIGHTS,
And, knowing, dare maintain them.'"

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 104.)*

Tariff! Monsieur de Tocqueville may pass in Europe for American history.

[88/583: 9-10]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XV.]:

"European writers on American affairs are full of mistakes on the working of our government; and these mistakes are generally to the prejudice of the democratic element. Of these mistakes, and in their ignorance of the difference between the theory and the working of our system...two eminent French writers are striking instances: Messrs. de Tocqueville and Thiers...." (p. 37.)

In the course of his book, Benton replies often to Alexis de Tocqueville's vision of the American republic and people as set forth in his Democracy in America. His remarks are rebuttals of "the errors of Monsieur de Tocqueville...on the working of our gov-

* See also infra., annotation: 89/590: 15-19, pp. 265-268, and Appendix D, pp. 563-567.
ernment." Pound notes both the rhythmical recurrence of these rebuttals and the author's indignant tone in reply to what he regards as Tocqueville's ignorance or misperception of the American dialectic. Benton says, following a critique of Tocqueville's disparagement of Andrew Jackson as President:

"Regard for Mons. de Tocqueville is the cause of this correction of his errors: it is a piece of respect which I do not extend to the riffraff of European writers who come here to pick up the gossip of the highways, to sell it in Europe for American history, and to requite with defamation the hospitalities of our houses. He is not of that class: he is above it: he is evidently not intentionally unjust. But he is the victim of the company which he kept while among us; and his book must pay the penalty of the impositions practised upon him. The character of our country, and the cause of republican government, require his errors to be corrected: and, unhappily, I shall have further occasion to perform that duty." (Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 114.)

Nowhere in his book, so far as I have been able to discover, does Benton respond directly to Tocqueville's comments on the subject of American tariff laws. Pound is quoting Benton out of context so as to particularize the nature of Tocqueville's error. The tariff is but one division of a national system which Tocqueville regards as essential to the continued existence of the American Union. That system includes: national appropriations for the building of commercial thoroughfares (called "internal improvements"); a central national bank, whose notes "are taken upon the borders of the wilderness for the same value as at Philadelphia, where the bank conducts its operations;" high tariffs on imported goods, for the protection of American manufactures; a strong central government, and particularly a strong Presidency, to implement these mechanisms. Under this system, the President is to work closely with Congress, and especially with the Senate, to fashion a broad plan of national development. Taken together, these features constitute the programme of the federalist or whig party, formed by Alexander Hamilton and advanced in the 1830's by Henry Clay (who took the ascendant from

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John Quincy Adams and Daniel Webster. This programme was christened by its proprietors in the 1820's, the "American system." Here are some of Tocqueville's views on this system and the popular reaction to it.

"...it is important to inquire whether, if the Union continues to survive, their [the Anglo-Americans'] government will extend or contract its sphere of action, and whether it will become more energetic or more weak.

The Americans are evidently disposed to look upon their condition with alarm. They perceive that in most of the nations of the world the exercise of the rights of sovereignty tends to fall into a few hands, and they are dismayed by the idea that it may be so in their own country. Even the statesmen feel, or affect to feel, these fears; for in America centralization is by no means popular, and there is no surer means of courting the majority than by inveighing against the encroachments of the central power. The Americans do not perceive that the countries in which this alarming tendency to centralization exists are inhabited by a single people, while the Union is composed of different communities, a fact that is sufficient to baffle all the inferences which might be drawn from analogy. I confess that I am inclined to consider these fears of a great number of Americans as purely imaginary. Far from participating in their dread of the consolidation of power in the hands of the Union, I think that the Federal government is visibly losing strength....

The contest between the bank and its opponents was only an incident in the great struggle which is going on in America between the states and the central power, between the spirit of democratic independence and that of a proper distribution and subordination of power. I do not mean that the enemies of the bank were identically the same individuals who on other points attacked the Federal government, but I assert that the attacks directed against the Bank of the United States originated in the same propensities that militate against the Federal government, and that the very numerous opponents of the former afford a deplorable symptom of the decreasing strength of the latter.

But the Union has never shown so much weakness as on the celebrated question of the tariff. The wars of the French Revolution and of 1812 had created manufacturing establishments in the North of the Union, by cutting off free communication between America and Europe. When peace was concluded and the channel of intercourse reopened by which the produce of Europe was transmitted to the New World, the Americans thought fit to establish a system of import duties for the twofold purpose of protecting their incipient manufactures and of paying off the amount of the debt
The question of a tariff or free trade has much agitated the minds of Americans. The tariff was not only a subject of debate as a matter of opinion, but it affected some great material interests of the states. The North attributed a portion of its prosperity, and the South nearly all its sufferings, to this system. For a long time the tariff was the sole source of the political animosities that agitated the Union. 94

Tocqueville cites as example of the tendency of Federal authority to weaken in relation to the demands of the states, the events following the passage of the tariff act of 1832, which culminated in the South Carolina nullification ordinances.

"As early as 1820 South Carolina declared in a petition to Congress that the tariff was 'unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust.' And the states of Georgia, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi subsequently remonstrated against it with more or less vigor. But Congress, far from lending an ear to these complaints, raised the scale of tariff duties in the years 1824 and 1828 and recognized anew the principle on which it was founded. A doctrine was then proclaimed, or rather revived, in the South, which took the name of Nullification.

I have shown in the proper place that the object of the Federal Constitution was not to form a league, but to create a national government. The Americans of the United States form one and the same people, in all the cases which are specified by that Constitution; and upon these points the will of the nation is expressed, as it is in all constitutional nations, by the voice of the majority. When the majority has once spoken, it is the duty of the minority to submit. Such is the sound legal doctrine, and the only one that agrees with the text of the Constitution and the known intention of those who framed it.

The partisans of Nullification in the South maintain, on the contrary, that the intention of the Americans in uniting was not to combine themselves into one and the same people, but that they meant only to form a league of independent states; and that each state, consequently, retains its entire sovereignty, if not de facto, at least de jure, and has the right of putting its own construction upon the laws of Congress and of suspending their execution within the limits of its own territory if they seem unconstitutional and unjust." 95

95 Ibid., pp. 410-411.
Following this interpretation, the South Carolina legislature adopted ordinances to prevent the enforcement of the tariff act of 1832, and began to organize the militia in expectation of federal interference. In reply, President Jackson issued a proclamation denouncing the nullification ordinances as unconstitutional and demanding their repeal, and brought a bill into Congress giving him the power to raise and equip federal troops to enforce the law in South Carolina. He also recommended an amelioration of the tariff law itself, and after a great deal of haggling in Congress, a "compromise tariff," drawn up by Henry Clay and given the reluctant support of the "Great Nullifier," John C. Calhoun, was passed. The compromise proposed a reduction of duties on a list of manufactures over a period of years to a final maximum of twenty percent. Tocqueville views this compromise as a marked symptom of the federal government's weakness in the face of armed threats.

"... Thus Congress completely abandoned the principle of the tariff and substituted a mere fiscal impost for a system of protective duties. The government of the Union, to conceal its defeat, had recourse to an expedient that is much in vogue with feeble governments. It yielded the point de facto, but remained inflexible upon the principles; and while it was altering the tariff law, it passed another bill by which the President was invested with extraordinary powers enabling him to overcome by force a resistance which was then no longer to be feared.

But South Carolina did not consent to leave the Union in the enjoyment of these scanty appearances of success: the same national convention that had annulled the tariff bill met again and accepted the proffered concession; but at the same time it declared its unabated perseverance in the doctrine of Nullification; and to prove what it said, it annulled the law investing the President with extraordinary powers, although it was very certain that the law would never be carried into effect." 96

This willingness on the part of the majority to abandon the principle of a protective tariff Tocqueville sees as a weakness in the federal structure. Benton sees it quite otherwise: the tariff law having become a patchwork of special and general inter-

96 Tocqueville, Democracy in America, pp. 412-413.
ests, "the work of politicians and manufacturers": "...what began as a special benefit, intended for the advantage of a particular interest, became general, and ended with including all manufacturing interests -- or at least as many as were necessary to make up the strength necessary to carry it." Benton shows that many of those senators and congressmen who voted for the various tariff bills did so not out of principle, but because their constituencies demanded inclusion of local interests in the mixed bag of protection. He quotes Senator Rowan of Kentucky to that effect:

"It might, he observed, be inferred from what he had said, that he would vote against the bill. He did not wish any doubts to be entertained as to the vote he should give upon this measure, or the reasons which would influence him to give it. He was not at liberty to substitute his individual opinion for that of his State. He was one of the organs here, of a State, that had, by the tariff of 1824, been chained to the car of the Eastern manufacturers -- a State that had been from that time, and was now groaning under the pressure of that unequal and unjust measure -- a measure from the pressure of which, owing to the prevailing illusion throughout the United States, she saw no hope of escape, by a speedy return to correct principles; -- and seeing no hope of escaping from the ills of the system, she is constrained, on principles of self-defence, to avail herself of the mitigation which this bill presents, in the duties which it imposes upon foreign hemp, spirits, iron, and molasses." 97

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 95.)

Benton says in summation,

"Thus, this tariff bill, like every one admitting a variety of items, contains a vicious principle, by which a majority may be made up to pass a measure which they do not approve." 98

And while Benton, like Tocqueville, condemns the "compromise act" of 1833, he does not regard it as the result of the minority's successful bullying of the majority, i.e. the abolition of the principle of protective tariffs. Benton sees the act rather as a fraud and a miscarriage of the wishes of the American people, concocted by the advocates of the protective principle in collusion with the nullification advocates so as to defer an adverse decision

97 See also annotation: 89/592: 16, p.292, for Senator Rowan's judgment on the "American System."
98 Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 95.
on the principle of protection and to consolidate a power base for
the Calhoun-Clay coalition: the protectionists and the nullifiers in
the same political bed! Benton says that the decision against pro-
tective tariffs had already been reached in the late elections, which
had returned a majority of Congressmen and a President prepared to
discard the protective policy as a policy of sectional favoritism
and of encouragement to special-interest greed and opportunism.
The Clay faction, no longer in the majority, took advantage of the
nullification panic to push through a bill which reduced tariff
duties but left both the principle and the apparatus of protectionism
intact. A majority was indeed swindled by a minority, but not in
Charleston: the swindle took place in Washington, in the caucus-rooms
of a lame-duck Congress:

"The act of 1833, called a 'compromise,' was a breach of all
the rules, and all the principles of legislation -- concocted
out of doors, managed by politicians dominated by an outside
interest -- kept a secret -- passed by a majority pledged to its
support, and pledged against any amendment except from its mana-
gers; -- and issuing from the conjunction of rival politicians
who had lately, and long, been in the most violent state of legis-
lative as well as political antagonism. It comprised every title
necessary to stamp a vicious and reprehensible act -- bad in the
matter -- foul in the manner -- full of abuse -- and carried
through upon the terrors of some, the interests of others, the
political calculations of many, and the dupery of more; and all
upon a plea which was an outrage upon representative government --
upon the actual government -- and upon the people of the States.
That plea was, that the elections (presidential and congressional),
had decided the fate of the protective system -- had condemned
it -- had sentenced it to death -- and charged a new Congress with
the execution of the sentence; and, therefore, that it should be
taken out of the hands of that new Congress, withdrawn from it
before it met -- and laid away for nine years and a half under
the sanction of a, so called, compromise -- intangible to the
people -- safe in its existence during all that time; and trust-
ing to the chapter of accidents, and the skill of management,
for its complete restoration at the end of the term. This was
an outrage upon popular representation -- an estoppel upon the
popular will -- the arrest of a judgment which the people had
given -- the usurpation of the rights of ensuing Congresses. It
was the conception of some rival politicians who had lately distracted the country by their contention, and now undertook to compose it by their conjunction; and having failed in the game of agitation, threw it up for the game of pacification; and, in this new character, undertook to settle and regulate the affairs of their country for a term only half a year less than the duration of the siege of Troy; and long enough to cover two presidential elections. This was a bold pretension."

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 345.)

So that the protective tariff, which Tocqueville holds to be the policy of a majority, is seen to be the creature of a special and sectional interest, manipulated into reluctant acceptance by a loose coalition of special interests acting primarily in self-defense, and operating to the benefit of one section of the Union — and, in fact, of only one class — the manufacturing, merchandising and investing interest of the Northeast — at the ultimate, disastrous expense of the agricultural producers of the South and West.99 Tariff is certainly a part of American history, but it is not native history, nor is it a history of progress: tariff is part of the history of betrayal, of the introduction of debt and tenancy into a freeholding agrarian society, of the imposition of a European system of banking, credit, investment and ownership on an economy whose basic goal was self-sufficiency and freedom from debt, and of the continual rise to domination of a land-owning and capitalist class with powerful connections to European capital, and with the intention, quite clearly outlined from time to time by its projectors, of turning American society into a new colonialism, a vast system of company towns, inhabited by tenants and wage-slaves, and dominated by domestic and foreign capital, by a mechanism of usury and debt. That is why Benton says that Tocqueville's version of American political and economic life may pass in Europe for American history — since it is simply European history transmigrated to the American setting — but that it will not do for Americans:

"This may pass for American history, in Europe and a foreign lan-
guage, and even finds abettors here to make it American history
in the United States, with a preface and notes to enforce and
commend it: but America will find historians of her own to do
justice to the national, and to individual character."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 112.)

Macon, Guilford.

[88/583: 11]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XXXIX, "Retiring of Mr.
Macon."]:

"In almost all strongly-marked characters there is usually
some incident or sign, in early life, which shows that character,
and reveals to the close observer the type of the future man.
So it was with Mr. Macon. His firmness, his patriotism, his self-
denial, his devotion to duty and disregard of office and emolument;
his modesty, integrity, self-control, and subjection of conduct
to the convictions of reason and the dictates of virtue, all so
steadily exemplified in a long life, were all shown from the early
age of eighteen, in the miniature representation of individual
action, and only confirmed in the subsequent public exhibitions
of a long, beautiful, and exalted career.

He was of that age, and a student at Princeton college, at the
time of the Declaration of American Independence. A small vol-
unteer corps was then on the Delaware. He quit his books, joined
it, served a term, returned to Princeton, and resumed his studies.
In the year 1778 the Southern States had become a battle-field,
big with their own fate, and possibly involving the issue of the
war. British fleets and armies appeared there, strongly supported
by the friends of the British cause; and the conquest of the South
was fully counted upon. Help was needed in these States; and Mr.
Macon, quitting college, returned to his native county in North
Carolina, joined a militia company as a private, and marched to
South Carolina -- then the theatre of the enemy's operations.
He had his share in all the hardships and disasters of that trying
time; was at the fall of Fort Moultrie, surrender of Charleston,
defeat at Camden; and in the rapid winter retreat across the upper
part of North Carolina. He was in the camp on the left bank of
the Yadkin when the sudden flooding of that river, in the brief
interval between the crossing of the Americans and the coming up
of the British, arrested the pursuit of Cornwallis, and enabled
Greene to allow some rest to his wearied and exhausted men. In
this camp, destitute of every thing and with gloomy prospects ahead, a summons came to Mr. Macon from the Governor of North Carolina, requiring him to attend a meeting of the General Assembly, of which he had been elected a member, without his knowledge, by the people of his county. He refused to go: and the incident being talked of through the camp, came to the knowledge of the general. Greene was a man himself, and able to know a man. He felt at once that, if this report was true, this young soldier was no common character; and determined to verify the fact. He sent for the young man, inquired of him, heard the truth, and then asked for the reason of this unexpected conduct -- this preference for a suffering camp over a comfortable seat in the General Assembly? Mr. Macon answered him, in his quaint and sententious way, that he had seen the faces of the British many times, but had never seen their backs, and meant to stay in the army till he did. Greene instantly saw the material the young man was made of, and the handle by which he was to be worked. That material was patriotism; that handle a sense of duty; and laying hold of this handle, he quickly worked the young soldier into a different conclusion from the one that he had arrived at. He told him he could do more good as a member of the General Assembly than as a soldier; that in the army he was but one man, and in the General Assembly he might obtain many, with the supplies they needed, by showing the destitution and suffering which he had seen in the camp; and that it was his duty to go. This view of duty and usefulness was decisive. Mr. Macon obeyed the Governor's summons; and by his representations contributed to obtain the supplies which enabled Greene to turn back and face Cornwallis, -- fight him, cripple him, drive him further back than he had advanced (for Wilmington is South of Camden), disable him from remaining in the South (of which, up to the battle of Guilford, he believed himself to be master); and sending him to Yorktown, where he was captured, and the war ended."

(Thirty Years' View, v. I, pp. 114-115.)

"Renewal has failed to achieve that end.

[88/583: 11]

[From Thirty Years' View, v. I, Ch. XLI, "First Annual Message of General Jackson to the Two Houses of Congress."]:

"The first annual message of a new President, being always a recommendation of practical measures, is looked to with more interest than the inaugural address, confined as this latter must
be, to a declaration of general principles. That of General Jackson, delivered the 8th of December, 1829, was therefore anxiously looked for; and did not disappoint the public expectation. It was strongly democratic, and contained many recommendations of a nature to simplify, and purify the working of the government, and to carry it back to the times of Mr. Jefferson -- to promote its economy and efficiency, and to maintain the rights of the people, and of the States in its administration...

The inutility of a Bank of the United States as a furnisher of a sound and uniform currency, and of questionable origin under our constitution, was thus stated:

'The charter of the Bank of the United States expires in 1836, and its stockholders will most probably apply for a renewal of their privileges. In order to avoid the evils resulting from precipitancy in a measure involving such important principles, and such deep pecuniary interests, I feel that I cannot, in justice to the parties interested, too soon present it to the deliberate consideration of the legislature and the people. Both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this bank, are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow-citizens; and it must be admitted by all, that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency.'" (Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 121-124.)

Pound's paraphrase of this statement recalls that the institution which will seek so vigorously for a renewal of its charter throughout Jackson's administration has had a previous incarnation and history as the First Bank of the United States, Alexander Hamilton's brainchild, whose charter was allowed to expire under the same charge which Jackson makes here against its successor.

That the allusion to Macon's part in the battle of Guilford and the phrase from Jackson's first message to Congress appear on the same line indicates their relation in a matrix or ideogram of history which may be set up counter, for instance, Tocqueville's version of American history (Macon appears again with Guilford at 88/584, immediately following a quotation from Benton on Tocqueville's misjudgment of Jackson, so that there is a complete parallel of the terms: Tocqueville's version of American history (false); Macon/Guilford, Jackson (true)). Macon is a hero of an American history which includes the South; a southerner who contributed to saving
the Revolutionary republic from defeat and subjection to British rule. Jackson's part is his critique of the bank's usefulness to the republic, an article of faith among writers of Tocqueville's class; but there is also Jackson's military heroism, which Tocqueville disparages in his appraisal of the President's qualities. Among the prejudices which Benton regards Tocqueville as having imbibed from the whig-banking-manufacturing class of Americans, are the northerner's antipathy for the South, the capitalist's distrust of the democratic-agrarian intelligence, and the readiness on the part of the whig class to disadvantage the South and West economically. Benton's effort, and Pound's in paraphrase, is to expose this sectional rivalry and mistrust as a blind for the unbounded practice of usury. And the first necessity in that effort is to show the contribution of southerners like Macon, Randolph and Jackson to the preservation of the democratic republic.

In England, salt tax overthrown.

[88/583: 12]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XLV, "Repeal of the Salt Tax."]:

"A tax on Salt is an odious measure, hated by all people and in all time, and justly, because being an article of prime necessity, indispensable to man and to beast, and bountifully furnished them by the Giver of all good, the cost should not be burthened, nor the use stinted by government regulation; and the principles of fair taxation would require it to be spared, because it is an agent, and a great one, in the development of many branches of agricultural and mechanical industry which add to the wealth of the country and produce revenue from the exports and consumption to which they give rise. People hate the salt tax, because they are obliged to have the salt, and cannot evade the tax: governments love the tax for the same reason -- because people are obliged to pay it. This would seem to apply to governments des-
potic or monarchial, and not to those which are representative and popular. But representative governments sometimes have calamities -- war for example -- when subjects of taxation diminish as need for revenue increases: and then representative governments, like others, must resort to the objects which will supply its necessities. This has twice been the case with the article of salt in the United States....

... I found the salt tax in full force when I came to the Senate in 1820, strengthened by time, sustained by a manufacturing interest, and by the fishing interest (which made the tax a source of profit in the supposed return of the duty in the shape of bounties and allowances): and by the whole American system; which took the tax into its keeping, as a protection to a branch of home industry. I found efforts being made in each House to suppress this burden upon a prime necessity of life; and, in the session 1829-'30, delivered a speech in support of the laudable endeavor, of which these are some parts:

"Mr. Benton commenced his speech, by saying that he was no advocate for unprofitable debate, and had no ambition to add his name to the catalogue of barren orators; but that there were cases in which speaking did good; cases in which moderate abilities produced great results; and he believed the question of repealing the salt tax to be one of those cases. It had certainly been so in England. There the salt tax had been overthrown by the labors of plain men, under circumstances much more unfavorable to their undertaking than exist here. The English salt tax had continued one hundred and fifty years. It was cherished by the ministry, to whom it yielded a million and a half sterling of revenue; it was defended by the domestic salt makers, to whom it gave a monopoly of the home market; it was consecrated by time, having subsisted for five generations; it was fortified by the habits of the people, who were born, and had grown gray under it; and it was sanctioned by the necessities of the State, which required every resource of rigorous taxation. Yet it was overthrown; and the overthrow was effected by two debates, conducted, not by the orators whose renown has filled the world -- not by Sheridan, Burke, Pitt, and Fox -- but by plain, business men -- Mr. Calcraft, Mr. Curwen, and Mr. Egerton. These patriotic members of the British Parliament commenced the war upon the British salt tax in 1817, and finished it in 1822. They commenced with the omens and auspices all against them, and ended with complete success. They abolished the salt tax in toto. They swept it all off, bravely rejecting all compromises when they had got their adversaries half vanquished, and carrying their appeals home to the people, until they had roused a spirit
before which the ministry quailed, the monopolizers trembled, the Parliament gave way, and the tax fell. This example is encouraging; it is full of consolation and of hope; it shows what zeal and perseverance can do in a good cause: it shows that the cause of truth and justice is triumphant when its advocates are bold and faithful. It leads to the conviction that the American salt tax will fall as the British tax did, as soon as the people shall see that its continuance is a burthen to them, without adequate advantage to the government, and that its repeal is in their own hands." (v.I, pp. 143-144.)

Andy vetoed the Maysville Road bill...

[88/583: 13]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. LII, "Veto on the Maysville Road Bill."]:

"This was the third veto on the subject of federal internal improvements within the States, and by three different Presidents. The first was by Mr. Madison, on the bill 'to set apart, and pledge certain funds for constructing roads and canals, and improving the navigation of watercourses, in order to facilitate, promote, and give security to internal commerce among the several States; and to render more easy and less expensive the means and provisions of the common defence' -- a very long title, and even argumentative -- as if afraid of the President's veto -- which it received in a message with the reasons for disapproving it. The second was that of Mr. Monroe on the Cumberland Road bill, which, with an abstract of his reasons and arguments, has already been given in this View. This third veto on the same subject, and from President Jackson, and at a time when internal improvement by the federal government had become a point of party division, and a part of the American system, and when concerted action on the public mind had created for it a degree of popularity: this third veto under such circumstances was a killing blow to the system -- which has shown but little, and only occasional vitality since. Taken together, the three vetoes, and the three messages sustaining them, and the action of Congress upon them (for in no instance did the House in which they originated pass the bills, or either of them, in opposition to the vetoes), may be considered as embracing all the constitutional reasoning upon

100 See Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 21-27."
[From Van Buren, Autobiography]:

"The condition of things at the period of Gen. Jackson's elevation to the Presidency was thus described in one of his annual Messages. Speaking of the claim of power in Congress to make internal improvements within a State, with the right of jurisdiction sufficient for its preservation, he says:

"... The desire to embark the Federal Government in works of Internal Improvement prevailed in the highest degree during the first session of the first Congress that I had the honor to meet in my present situation, and when the Bill authorizing a subscription on the part of the United States for stock in the Maysville and Lexington turnpike company passed the two Houses, there had been reported by the Committees on Internal Improvements, Bills containing appropriations for such objects, inclusive of those for the Cumberland Road, and for harbours and light houses, to the amount of about one hundred and six millions of dollars. In this amount was included authority to the Secretary of the Treasury to subscribe for the stock of different companies to a great extent and the residue was principally for the direct construction of Roads by this Government...."

"Col. Johnson, of Kentucky, was induced by Western members, who had been alarmed by floating rumors, to sound the President and if he found that there existed danger of such a result to remonstrate with him, in their names and his own, against a veto. At the moment of his appearance the President and myself were engaged in an examination of the exposé of the state of the Treasury.... After a delay natural to a man possessed as the Colonel was of much real delicacy of feeling and having an awkward commission in hand, he said that he had called at the instance of many friends to have some conversation with the General upon a very delicate subject and was deterred from entering upon it by an apprehension that he might give offense. He was kindly told to dismiss such fears.... He then spoke of the rumors in circulation, of the feelings of the General's Western friends in regard to the subject of them, of his apprehensions of the uses that Mr. Clay would make of a veto, and encouraged by the General's apparent interest, and warmed by his own, he extended his open hand and exclaimed 'General! If this hand were an anvil on which the sledge hammer of the smith was descending and a fly were to light upon it in time to receive the blow he would not crush it

more effectually than you will crush your friends in Kentucky if you veto that Bill!' Gen. Jackson evidently excited by the bold figure and energetic manner of Col. Johnson, rose from his seat and advanced towards the latter, who also quitted his chair, and the following questions and answers succeeded very rapidly: 'Sir, have you looked at the condition of the Treasury -- at the amount of money that it contains -- at the appropriations already made by Congress -- at the amount of other unavoidable claims upon it?' -- 'No! General, I have not! But there has always been money enough to satisfy appropriations and I do not doubt there will be now!' -- 'Well, I have, and this is the result,' (repeating the substance of the Treasury exhibit,) 'and you see there is no money to be expended as my friends desire. Now, I stand committed before the Country to pay off the National Debt, at the earliest practicable moment; this pledge I am determined to redeem, and I cannot do this if I consent to encrease it without necessity. Are you willing -- are my friends willing to lay taxes to pay for internal improvements? -- for be assured I will not borrow a cent except in cases of absolute necessity!' -- 'No!' replied the Colonel, 'that would be worse than a veto!'

"...this measure [the Maysville Road veto] was but the entering wedge to the course of action by which that powerful combination known as the Internal Improvement party was broken asunder and finally annihilated. I have already given an extract from the President's Message descriptive of its ramifications and extent at the period of the veto. The power which a combined influence of that description, addressing itself to the strongest passion of man's nature and wielded by a triumvirate of active and able young statesmen as a means through which to achieve for themselves the glittering prize of the Presidency, operating in conjunction with minor classes of politicians, looking in the same general direction and backed by a little army of cunning contractors, is capable of exerting in communities so excitable as our own, can easily be imagined....

... The propriety of the veto was therefore reduced to the single question as to the character of the road -- was it national or local? -- an issue which [Gen. Jackson's] opponents could not sustain themselves for a moment. He was thus enabled to go to the Country with his views in favor of suspending action even upon works of national importance until the public debt was paid and constitutional amendments obtained, to guard against otherwise unavoidable abuses....

It was the consciousness of the soundness of the positions taken in the veto-Message that produced the raving debates in the House when it was first presented to that body, and it was doubt-

less a similar consciousness that forced Mr. Clay in a speech on the Message delivered at Cincinnati, shortly after its appearance, so far to forget the proprieties of his position to compare the Message to the paper sent by George III, during his insanity, which, tho' it had his name attached to it, could not be said to have spoken his sentiments, and to exclaim that he could not read it without having the name of Talleyrand! Talleyrand! Talleyrand! continually recurring to his mind. He could hardly have been aware of the weight of testimony he bore in the latter exclamation in favor of the Message on the score of talent and power."103

unconvertable paper...

mines now yielding...

Prospects, as Peru, now 1/2 million per annum

and what is still better, have exports.

[88/583: 14-17]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. LVI, "Bank of the United States. -- Non-Renewal of Charter." This chapter contains Benton's first speech against renewal of the Bank of the United States' charter, delivered February, 1831. He argues for a government issue of metallic currency and against the proliferation of a currency of bank notes which are held to represent gold and silver yet may not be redeemable for them.]

"I am willing to see the charter expire, without providing any substitute for the present bank. I am willing to see the currency of the federal government left to the hard money mentioned and intended in the constitution.... Such a currency filled France with the precious metals, when England, with her overgrown bank, was a prey to all the evils of unconvertible paper.... The United States possess gold mines, now yielding half a million per annum, with every prospect of equaling those of Peru. But this is not the best dependence. We have what is superior to mines, namely, the exports which command the money of the world; that is to say, the food which sustains life, and the raw materials which sustain manufactures. Gold and silver is the best currency for a republic;

103 Van Buren, Autobiography, pp. 327, 329. Clay is referring to Van Buren, who was called "the American Talleyrand." See also annotation: 89/597: 15, "Van Buren already in '37 unsmeaing Talleyrand," for a further expression of Van Buren's regard for the French statesman.
it suits the men of middle property and the working people best; and if I was going to establish a working man's party, it should be on the basis of hard money: -- a hard money party, against a paper party." (Thirty Years' View, v. I, p. 187.)

Geryon's prize pup, Nicholas Biddle.

[88/583: 18]

[From Dante, Inferno, XVII]:

"'Behold the wild beast with the sharp tail,
That scales mountains and crushes walls and weapons;
Behold the one that makes the whole world stink!' With these words my guide began to speak to me, And beckoned to it to come ashore Close to the edge of our stony road; And that foul incarnation of Deceit Approached, and put ashore its head and chest, But did not drag its tail out of the sea. The beast's face was the face of a just man, So thoroughly benign was its expression; But the remainder was a serpent's trunk. ... I found my guide, who was already mounted Upon the back of the ferocious beast. 'Be strong and daring!' he said to me. 'On such a staircase must we now descend; You get on in front; I want to be between So that the tail can do no injury.' ... Now he who had once helped me in another State of doubt, as soon as I was mounted, Clasped me and thus steadied me; And he said: 'Start moving now, Geryon! Go down slowly and in large circles; Be mindful of the kind of load you have.'" 105

[From Pound, Canto 51/251]:

... and a sour song from the folds of his belly sang Geryon; I am the help of the aged; I pay men to talk peace;

104 See also annotations: 88/585: 16-25; and 89/591: 1-4.
Mistress of many tongues; merchant of chalcedony
I am Geryon twin with usura,
You who have lived in a stage set.
A thousand were dead in his folds ...” 106

Nicholas Biddle (1786-1844), was President of the Bank of the United States from 1822 to 1839. Among his policies as President was to reduce the decision-making body of the bank from a directorate of twenty-five including five publicly appointed directors, to committees of seven, of four, and to a dictatorship of one. Most of the violations of the bank's charter were charged up against Biddle's administration. And it was Biddle who used the financial resources of the bank to support a political war against the Jackson administration, and to underwrite the ambitions of his political generals, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun. 108

L. 18 is not a quotation from Benton: Benton's language is generally courtly with respect to individuals. Pound's paraphrase is metonymic for Benton's vision of the bank: they both refer to the same beast, thus:

"A report of the affairs of the institution was made by a committee of the stockholders: it was such an exhibition of waste and destruction, and of downright plundering, and criminal misconduct, as was never seen before in the annals of banking. Fifty-six millions and three quarters of capital out of sixty-two millions and one quarter (including its own of thirty-five) were sunk in the limits of Philadelphia alone: for the great monster, in going down, had carried many others along with her; and, like the strong man in Scripture, slew more in her death than in her life. Vast was her field of destruction -- extending all over the United States -- and reaching to Europe, where four millions sterling of her stock was held, and large loans had been contracted. Universally on classes the ruin fell -- foreigners as well as citizens -- peers and peeresses, as well as the ploughman and the wash-woman -- merchants, tradesmen, lawyers, divines: widows and orphans, wards and guardians: confiding friends who came to the rescue: deceived stockholders who held on to their stock, or purchased more: the credulous masses who believed in the safety of their deposits, and in the security of the notes they held -- all -- all saw themselves the victims of indiscriminate ruin." 109

106 See also Edwards & Vasse, p. 78.
107 See annotations: 88/586: 18-19; and 89/603: 22.
108 See particularly, Letter of Webster to Biddle, dated 21 December, 1833, in McGrane, ed., Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle, p. 218.
Mr Benton then proposed an amendment:

on imported indigo 25 cents toward
producing a home supply in a valuable staple,
First planted in Carolinas, in or about 1740
encouraged by George, Number 2,
an outbreak of revolution over one million pounds,
Britain then turned to India and the Carolinas' product
decayed.

1814: 40 thousand.

Our manufacturers seek it, now seek it, abroad
and pay ready money at
two fifty per pound.
You cannot carry cloth without indigo,
Cotton, woolen, importation already 2 million a year.
And yet the South HAD four staples
(Sardenga 1954, query)
Rice, cotton, indigo and tobacco,
Has exported for 800 million,
in value to \( \frac{1}{2} \) the gold coined in Mexico
from Cortez' time until now.
The tariff of 1816 murdered indigo.

[88/583: 19-30; 584: 1-9]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XXXIV, "Revision of the Tariff." Benton is speaking to propose an amendment to the tariff bill of 1828. He prefaces his speech with a sketch of "tariff history" to 1828, outlining his reasons for moving the amendment on indigo.]

"... After...(1816) the tariff bills took a sectional aspect --
the Southern States, with the exception of Louisiana (led by her
pinching the baby..." In the democratic newspapers at the time of
the bank war, Biddle was referred to as "Old Nick."


sugar-planting interest), against them: the New England States also against them: the Middle and Western States for them. After 1824 the New England States (always meaning the greatest portion when a section is spoken of) classed with the protective States -- leaving the South alone, as a section, against that policy. My personal position was that of a great many others in the three protective sections -- opposed to the policy, but going with it, on account of the interest of the State in the protection of some of its productions. I moved an additional duty upon lead, equal to one hundred per centum; and it was carried. I moved a duty upon indigo, a former staple of the South, but now declined to a slight production; and I proposed a rate of duty in harmony with the protective features of the bill. No southern member would move that duty, because he opposed the principle: I moved it, that the 'American System,' as it was called, should work alike in all parts of our America. I supported the motion with some reasons, and some views of the former cultivation of that plant in the Southern States, and its present decline, thus:

'Mr. Benton then proposed an amendment, to impose a duty of 25 cents per pound on imported indigo, with a progressive increase at the rate of 25 cents per pound per annum, until the whole duty amounted to $1 per pound. He stated his object to be two-fold in proposing this duty, first, to place the American System beyond the reach of its enemies, by procuring a home supply of an article indispensable to its existence; and next, to benefit the South by reviving the cultivation of one of its ancient and valuable staples.

Indigo was first planted in the Carolinas and Georgia about the year 1740, and succeeded so well as to command the attention of the British manufacturers and the British parliament. An act was passed for the encouragement of its production in these colonies, in the reign of George the Second; the preamble to which Mr. B. read, and recommended to the consideration of the Senate. It recited that a regular, ample, and certain supply of indigo was indispensable to the success of British manufacturers; that these manufacturers were then dependent upon foreigners for a supply of this article; and that it was the dictate of a wise policy to encourage the production of it at home. The act then went on to direct that a premium of sixpence sterling should be paid out of the British treasury for every pound of indigo imported into Great Britain, from the Carolinas and Georgia. Under the fostering influence of this bounty, said Mr. B., the cultivation of indigo became great and extensive. In six years after the passage of the act, the export was 217,000 lbs. and at the breaking out of the Revolution it amounted to 1,100,000 lbs. The Southern
colonies became rich upon it; for the cultivation of cotton was then unknown; rice and indigo were the staples of the South. After the Revolution, and especially after the great territorial acquisitions which the British made in India, the cultivation of American indigo declined. The premium was no longer paid; and the British government, actuated by the same wise policy which made them look for a home supply of this article from the Carolinas, when they were a part of the British possessions, now looked to India for the same reason. The export of American indigo rapidly declined. In 1800 it had fallen to 400,000 lbs.; in 1814 to 40,000 lbs.; and in the last few years to 6 or 8,000 lbs. In the mean time our manufactories were growing up; and having no supply of indigo at home, they had to import from abroad. In 1826 this importation amounted to 1,150,000 lbs., costing a fraction less than two millions of dollars, and had to be paid for almost entirely in ready money, as it was chiefly obtained from places where American produce was in no demand.... Our manufacturers now paid a high price for fine indigo, no less than $2 50 per pound, as testified by one of themselves before the Committee on Manufactures raised in the House of Representatives. The duty which he proposed was only 40 per cent. upon that value, and would not even reach that rate for four years. It was less than one half the duty which the same bill proposed to lay instanter upon the very cloth which this indigo was intended to dye. In the end it would make all indigo come cheaper to the manufacturer, as the home supply would soon be equal, if not superior to the demand; and in the meantime, it could not be considered a tax on the manufacturer, as he would levy the advance which he had to pay, with a good interest, upon the wearer of the cloth.

Mr. B. then went into an exposition of the reasons for encouraging the home production of indigo, and showed that the life of the American System depended upon it. Neither cotton nor woollen manufactures could be carried on without indigo. The consumption of that article was prodigious. Even now, in the infant state of our manufactories, the importation was worth two millions of dollars: and must soon be worth double or treble that sum. For this great supply of an indispensable article, we were chiefly indebted to the jealous rival, and vigilant enemy, of these very manufactures, to Great Britain herself.... A stoppage of a supply of indigo for one year, would prostrate all our manufactories, and give them a blow from which they would not recover in many years. Great Britain could effect this stoppage to the amount of three fourths of the whole quantity by speaking a single word, and of the remainder by a slight exertion of policy....
'Mr. B. said he expected a unanimous vote in favor of his amendment. The North should vote for it to secure the life of the American System; to give a proof of their regard for the South; to show that the country south of the Potomac is included in the bill for some other purpose besides that of oppression. The South itself, although opposed to the further increase of duties, should vote for this duty; that the bill, if it passes, may contain one provision favorable to its interests. The West should vote for it through gratitude for fifty years of guardian protection, generous defence, and kind assistance, which the South had given it under all its trials; and for enlarging the market, increasing the demand in the South and its ability to purchase the horses, mules, and provisions which the West can sell nowhere else. For himself he had personal reasons for wishing to do this little justice to the South. He was a native of one of these States (N. Carolina) -- the bones of his father and his grandfathers rested there. Her Senators and Representatives were his early and hereditary friends. The venerable Senator before him (Mr. Macon) had been the friend of him and his, through four generations in a straight line; the other Senator (Mr. Branch) was his schoolfellow.... He felt for the sad changes which had taken place in the South in the last fifty years. Before the Revolution it was the seat of wealth as well as of hospitality. Money, and all that it commanded, abounded there. But how now? All this is reversed.

'wealth has fled from the South, and settled in the regions north of the Potomac, and this in the midst of the fact that the South, in four staples alone, in cotton, tobacco, rice and indigo (while indigo was one of its staples), had exported produce since the Revolution, to the value of eight hundred million dollars, and the North had exported comparatively nothing. This sum was prodigious; it was nearly equal to half the coinage of the mint of Mexico since the conquest by Cortez. It was twice or thrice the amount of the product of the three thousand gold and silver mines of Mexico, for the same period of fifty years. Such an export would indicate unparalleled wealth; but what was the fact? In place of wealth, a universal pressure for money was felt; not enough for current expenses; the price of all property down; the country drooping and languishing; towns and cities decaying; and the frugal habits of the people pushed to the verge of universal self-denial, for the preservation of their family estates. Such a result is a strange and wonderful phenomenon. It calls upon statesmen to inquire into the cause; and if they inquire upon the theatre of this strange metamorphosis, they will receive one universal answer from all ranks and all ages, that it is fed-
eral legislation which has worked this ruin. Under this legislation the exports of the South have been made the basis of the federal revenue. The twenty odd millions annually levied upon imported goods, are deducted out of the price of their cotton, rice and tobacco, either in the diminished price which they receive for these staples in foreign ports, or in the increased price which they pay for the articles they have to consume at home. Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia, may be said to defray three fourths of the annual expense of supporting the federal government; and of this great sum annually furnished by them, nothing, or next to nothing, is returned to them in the shape of government expenditure. That expenditure flows in an opposite direction; it flows northwardly, in one uniform, uninterrupted and perennial stream; it takes the course of trade and exchange; and this is the reason why wealth disappears from the South and rises up in the North. Federal legislation does all this; it does it by the simple process of eternally taking away from the South, and returning nothing to it.

'Every new tariff increases the force of this action. No tariff has ever yet included Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, within its provisions, except to increase the burdens imposed upon them. This alone, presents the opportunity to form an exception, by reviving and restoring the cultivation of one of its ancient staples, -- one of the sources of its wealth before the Revolution. The tariff of 1828 owes this reparation to the South, because the tariff of 1816 contributed to destroy the cultivation of indigo; sunk the duty on the foreign article, from twenty-five to fifteen cents per pound."110

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 97-99.)

Freemen do not look upward for bounties.

[88/584: 10]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XXXIV]:

"The proposition for this duty on imported indigo did not prevail. In lieu of the amount proposed, and which was less than any protective duty in the bill, the friends of the 'American System' (constituting a majority of the Senate) substituted a nominal duty of five cents on the pound -- to be increased five cents annually for ten years -- and to remain at fifty. This

110 Pound's allusion to "Sardegna 1954" remains obscure. A parallel to the manufacturers' suppression of domestic cultivation of indigo by discouraging a tariff on cheaper imported stuff?
was only about twenty per centum on the cost of the article, and that only to be attained after a progression of ten years; while all other duties in the bill were from four to ten times that amount -- and to take effect immediately. A duty so contemptible, so out of proportion to the other provisions of the bill, and doled out in such miserable drops, was a mockery and insult; and so viewed by the southern members. It increased the odiousness of the bill, by showing that the southern section of the Union was only included in the 'American System' for its burdens, and not for its benefits. Mr. McDuffie, in the House of Representatives, inveighed bitterly against it, and spoke the general feeling of the Southern States when he said:

'Sir, if the union of these States shall ever be severed, and their liberties subverted, the historian who records these disasters will have to ascribe them to measures of this description. I do sincerely believe that neither this government nor any free government, can exist for a quarter of a century, under such a system of legislation. Its inevitable tendency is to corrupt, not only the public functionaries, but all those portions of the Union and classes of society who have an interest, real or imaginary, in the bounties it provides, by taxing other sections and other classes. What, sir, is the essential characteristic of a freeman? It is that independence which results from an habitual reliance upon his own resources and his own labor for his support. He is not in fact a freeman, who habitually looks to the government for pecuniary bounties. And I confess that nothing in the conduct of those who are the prominent advocates of this system, has excited more apprehension and alarm in my mind, than the constant efforts made by all of them, from the Secretary of the Treasury down to the humblest coadjutor, to impress upon the public mind, the idea that national prosperity and individual wealth are to be derived, not from individual industry and economy, but from government bounties. An idea more fatal to liberty could not be inculcated.'" (Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 100.)

Freeholds, Mirza Mohammed on the persian Abbas' authority "for production of barley, rice, cotton free of tax or of any contribution whatsover."  

July 8, 1823.
[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XXXV. This continues the thought at 88/583: 8, "Not battlements, but that the land go to the settlers," and quotes from the same speech on public lands and their donation to settlers which informs 1. 8. Benton is speaking.]:

"I quoted the example of all nations, ancient and modern, republican and monarchial, in favor of giving lands, in parcels suitable to their wants, to meritorious cultivators; and denied that there was an instance upon earth, except that of our own federal government, which made merchandise of land to its citizens -- exacted the highest price it could obtain -- and refused to suffer the country to be settled until it was paid for.... I added:

'... In fact, throughout the New World, from Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn (with the single exception of these United States), land, the gift of God to man, is also the gift of the government to its citizens. Nor is this wise policy confined to the New World. It prevails even in Asia; and the present age has seen -- we ourselves have seen -- published in the capital of the European world, the proclamation of the King of Persia, inviting Christians to go to the ancient kingdom of Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius, and there receive gifts of land -- first rate, not refuse -- with a total exemption from taxes, and the free enjoyment of their religion. Here is the proclamation: listen to it.

The Proclamation.

"Mirza Mahomed Saul, Ambassador to England, in the name, and by the authority of Abbas Mirza, King of Persia, offers to those who shall emigrate to Persia, gratuitous grants of land, good for the production of wheat, barley, rice, cotton, and fruits, -- free from taxes or contributions of any kind, and with the free enjoyment of their religion; THE KING'S OBJECT BEING TO IMPROVE HIS COUNTRY.

"London, July 8th, 1823."

"Freemen" and "Freeholds" link together nicely, both lyrically and mnemonically. The two texts for 11. 10-14, together with that for p. 583, 1. 8, give us two aspects of a single concept. A free man or woman is one who makes no claims upon his/her government for what he or she can rightfully produce; is one upon whom no claims, rising either from public or from private interests, are valid which
usurp his or her productive capacity. Productive capacity includes, as Lord Coke so well put it, "his countenance" or means of living.112 During the tenure of the American republic, a "freeman" was also a "freeholder": one who owned the means of his or her own living; one who cultivated one's own land. To the Republicans; the American wilderness was the promise and guarantee of a free people, so long as lands were available free to American citizens. The donation of public land to actual settlers guaranteed the freedom to own the means of life. The sale of public lands, at auction and to the highest bidder, as became the practice of the federal government, brought in the inequity of wealth as against poverty in the bid for lands; disadvantaged those settlers who would need whatever savings they had to sustain them while they built houses, cleared fields; prepared the conditions for land speculation, inflation of land values, landlordism, absentee landlordism and tenantry or "sharecropping." To a Republican such as Benton, a freeman was a freeholder: he could be no less and still be free. The donation of the public lands to those settlers who could not afford to buy them was an absolute necessity: otherwise the inequities of wealth and poverty, in a system of favoritism toward wealth, would institute a chaos of tenant misery more extensive than had ever been witnessed in Europe. It is, perhaps, needless to add at this point that those who favored the "American System" of tariff inequities also favored the sale of public lands to the highest bidder, and disapproved Benton's scheme of graduated land prices, of pre-emption rights, and of donation outright to those settlers who were unable to pay.

Jackson 183. to 83 for Mr Adams no jealousy in the North at that time.

[88/584: 15-16]

* "Republicans" here signifies Jeffersonian Republicans, who became Jacksonian democrats, as opposed to Hamiltonian Federalists, who became whigs, and later took the name Republican, which they hold to this day.
[From Thirty Years' View; v. I, Ch. XXXVIII, "Presidential Election of 1828, and Further Errors of Mons. de Tocqueville.]

"General Jackson and Mr. Adams were the candidates; -- with the latter, Mr. Clay (his Secretary of State), so intimately associated in the public mind, on account of the circumstances of the previous presidential election in the House of Representatives, that their names and interests were inseparable during the canvass. General Jackson was elected, having received 178 electoral votes to 83 received by Mr. Adams. Mr. Richard Rush of Pennsylvania, was the vice-presidential candidate on the ticket of Mr. Adams, and received an equal vote with that gentleman: Mr. Calhoun was the vice-presidential candidate on the ticket with General Jackson, and received a slightly less vote.... In this election there was a circumstance to be known and remembered. Mr. Adams and Mr. Rush were both from the non-slaveholding -- General Jackson and Mr. Calhoun from the slaveholding States, and both large slave owners themselves -- and both received a large vote (73 each) in the free States -- and of which at least forty were indispensable to their election. There was no jealousy, or hostile, or aggressive spirit in the North at that time against the South!" (v. I, p. 111.)

Stay laws, stop laws, replevin.

And he has abolished the national debt.

Did not care for relieving one part of the country

by taxing another,

And New Orleans occurred in 1815, Monsieur de Tocqueville may pass in Europe for American history

in a foreign tongue.

[88/584: 17-23]

[From Thirty Years' View, v. I, Ch. XXXVIII]:

"... And here it becomes my duty to notice an error, or a congeries of errors, of Mons. de Tocqueville, in relation to the causes of General Jackson's election; and which he finds exclusively in the glare of a military fame resulting from 'a very
General Jackson, whom the Americans have twice elected to the head of their government, is a man of a violent temper and mediocre talents. No one circumstance in the whole course of his career ever proved that he is qualified to govern a free people; and, indeed, the majority of the enlightened classes of the Union has always been opposed to him. But he was raised to the Presidency, and has been maintained in that lofty station, solely by the recollection of a victory which he gained twenty years ago, under the walls of New Orleans; -- a victory which, however, was a very ordinary achievement, and which could only be remembered in a country where battles are rare.'

--(Chapter 17.)

This may pass for American history, in Europe and in a foreign language, and even finds abettors here to make it American history in the United States, with a preface and notes to enforce and commend it: but America will find historians of her own to do justice to the national, and to individual character. In the mean time I have some knowledge of General Jackson, and the American people, and the two presidential elections with which they honored the General; and will oppose it, that is, my knowledge, to the flip-pant and shallow statements of Mons. de Tocqueville.... 'Medio-
cre talent, and no capacity to govern a free people.' In the first place, free people are not governed by any man, but by laws. But to understand the phrase as perhaps intended, that he had no capacity for civil administration, let the condition of the country at the respective periods when he took up, and when he laid down the administration, answer. He found the country in domestic distress -- pecuniary distress -- and the national and state legislation invoked by leading politicians to relieve it by empirical remedies; -- tariffs, to relieve one part of the community by taxing the other; -- internal improvement, to distribute public money; -- a national bank, to cure the paper money evils of which it was the author; -- the public lands the pillage of broken bank paper; -- a million and a half of 'unavailable funds' in the treasury; -- a large public debt; -- the public money the prey of banks; -- no gold in the country -- only twenty millions of dollars in silver, and that in banks which refused, when they pleased, to pay it down in redemption of their own notes, or even to render back to depositers. Stay laws, stop laws, replevin laws,* baseless paper, the resource in half the States to save the debtor from his creditor; and national bankrupt laws from Congress, and local insolvent laws, in the States, the demand of every session.

* Replevin: The return to, or recovery by, a person of goods or chattels wrongfully taken or detained upon giving security to try the matter in court and return the goods if defeated in the action. (Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 5th ed.)
Such was the state of the country when General Jackson became President: what was it when he left the Presidency? Protective tariffs, and federal internal improvement discarded; the national bank left to expire upon its own limitation; the public lands redeemed from the pillage of broken bank paper; no more 'unavailable funds'; an abundant gold and silver currency; the public debt paid off; the treasury made independent of banks... and the measures established which, after one great conflict with the expiring Bank of the United States, and all her affiliated banks in 1837, put an end to bank dominion in the United States, and all its train of contractions and expansions, panic and suspension, distress and empirical relief. This is the answer which the respective periods of the beginning and the ending of General Jackson's administration gives to the flippant imputation of no capacity for civil government. I pass on to the next... 'Raised to the Presidency and maintained there solely by the recollection of the victory at New Orleans.' Here recollection, and military glare, reverse the action of their ever previous attributes, and become stronger, instead of weaker, upon the lapse of time. The victory at New Orleans was gained in the first week of the year 1815; and did not bear this presidential fruit until fourteen and eighteen years afterwards, and until three previous good seasons had passed without production. There was a presidential election in 1816, when the victory was fresh, and the country ringing, and imaginations dazzled with it: but it did not make Jackson President, or even bring him forward as a candidate. The same four years afterwards, at the election of 1820 -- not even a candidate then. Four years still later, at the election of 1824, he became a candidate, and -- was not elected; -- receiving but 99 electoral votes out of 261. In the year 1828 he was first elected, receiving 178 out of 261 votes; and in 1832 he was a second time elected, receiving 219 out of 288 votes. Surely there must have been something besides an old military recollection to make these two elections so different from the two former; and there was! That something else was principle!..." (Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 112-113.)

Guilford
Made Yorktown possible. In 1828 Macon retired.

Used plough and hoe until he was sixty

And to receive all guests in his house,

Drew a knife to defend Mr. Randolph.
"The philosophy of history has not yet laid hold of the battle of Guilford, its consequences and effects. That battle made the capture at Yorktown. The events are told in every history; their connection and dependence in none. It broke up the plan of Cornwallis in the South, and changed the plan of Washington in the North. Cornwallis was to subdue the Southern States, and was doing it until Greene turned upon him at Guilford. Washington was occupied with Sir Henry Clinton, then in New-York, with 12,000 British troops. He had formed the heroic design to capture Clinton and his army (the French fleet co-operating) in that city, and thereby putting an end to the war. All his preparations were going on for that grand consummation when he got the news of the battle of Guilford, the retreat of Cornwallis to Wilmington, his inability to keep the field in the South, and his return northward through the lower part of Virginia. He saw his advantage -- an easier prey -- and the same result, if successful. Cornwallis or Clinton, either of them captured, would put an end to the war. Washington changed his plan, deceived Clinton, moved rapidly upon the weaker general, captured him and his 7000 men; and ended the revolutionary war. The battle of Guilford put that capture into Washington's hands; and thus Guilford and Yorktown became connected...

The military life of Mr. Macon finished with his departure from the camp on the Yadkin, and his civil public life commenced on his arrival at the General Assembly, to which he had been summoned -- that civil public life in which he was continued above forty years by free elections -- representative in Congress under Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, and long the Speaker of the House; senator in Congress under Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams; and often elected President of the Senate, and until voluntarily declining; twice refusing to be Postmaster General under Jefferson; never taking any office but that to which he was elected; and resigning his last senatorial term when it was only half run...

Philosophic in his temperament and wise in his conduct, governed in all his actions by reason and judgment, and deeply imbued with Bible images, this virtuous and patriotic man (whom Mr. Jefferson called 'the last of the Romans') had long fixed the term of his political existence at the age which the Psalmist assigns for the limit of manly life: 'The days of our years are threescore years and ten; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labor and sorrow, for it is soon cut off, and we fly away.' He touched that age in 1828; and, true to all

113 See annotation: 88/583: 11.
his purposes, he was true to his resolve in this, and executed it with the quietude and indifference of an ordinary transaction. He was in the middle of a third senatorial term, and in the full possession of all his faculties of mind and body; but his time for retirement had come -- the time fixed by himself; but fixed upon conviction and for well-considered reasons, and inexorable to him as if fixed by fate. To the friends who urged him to remain to the end of his term, and who insisted that his mind was as good as ever, he would answer, that it was good enough yet to let him know that he ought to quit office before his mind quit him...

He was above the pursuit of wealth, but also above dependence and idleness; and, like an old Roman of the elder Cato's time, worked in the fields at the head of his slaves in the intervals of public duty; and did not cease this labor until advancing age rendered him unable to stand the hot sun of summer -- the only season of the year when senatorial duties left him at liberty to follow the plough, or handle the hoe. I think it was the summer of 1817, -- that was the last time (he told me) he tried it, and found the sun too hot for him -- then sixty years of age, a senator, and the refuser of all office. How often I think of him, when I see at Washington robustious men going through a scene of supplication, tribulation, and degradation, to obtain office, which the salvation of the soul does not impose upon the vilest sinner! His fields, his flocks, and his herds yielded an ample supply of domestic productions. A small crop of tobacco -- three hogsheads when the season was good, two when bad -- purchased the exotics which comfort and necessity required, and which the farm did not produce. He was not rich, but rich enough to dispense hospitality and charity, to receive all guests in his house, from the President to the day laborer -- no other title being necessary to enter his house but that of an honest man; rich enough to bring up his family (two daughters) as accomplished ladies, and marry them to accomplished gentlemen...and above all, he was rich enough to pay as he went, and never to owe a dollar to any man.

He was steadfast in his friendships, and would stake himself for a friend, but would violate no point of public duty to please or oblige him. Of this his relations with Mr. Randolph gave a signal instance. He drew a knife to defend him in the theatre at Philadelphia, when menaced by some naval and military officers for words spoken in debate, and deemed offensive to their professions; yet, when speaker of the House of Representatives, he displaced Mr. Randolph from the head of the committee of ways and means, because the chairman of that committee should be on terms of political friendship with the administration, -- which Mr. Randolph had then ceased to be with Mr. Jefferson's."

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 115-116, 114, 117.)
"He [furrows] the imperishable, inexhaustible earth." From Antigone, 11. 337-338, the chorus. A translation of the full speech:

"Many wonders there be, but naught more wondrous than man;
Over the surging sea, with a whitening south wind wan,
Through the foam of the firth, man makes his perilous way;
And the eldest of deities: Earth that knows not toil nor decay
Ever he furrows and scores, as his team; year in year out,
With breed of the yoked horse, the ploughshare turneth about."

Unnecessary duration of which (i.e. DEBT)
is incompatible with real independence,
Counteract profligacy public and private which
profuse outpouring is apt to engender.
Confirmed: Martin Van Buren, Jas Hamilton son of
the late General Hamilton, Ingham, Berrien, Barry.

[88/584: 29-30; 585: 1-4]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XL, "Commencement of General
Jackson's Administration."]:

"On the 4th of March, 1829, the new President was inaugurated,
with the usual ceremonies, and delivered the address which belongs
to the occasion; and which, like all of its class, was a general
declaration of the political principles by which the new adminis-
tration would be guided.... On the cardinal doctrine of economy,
and freedom from public debt, he said: 'Under every aspect in
which it can be considered, it would appear that advantage must
result from the observance of a strict and faithful economy.
This I shall aim at the more anxiously, both because it will fac-
litate the extinguishment of the national debt -- the unneces-
sary duration of which is incompatible with real independence; --
and because it will counteract that tendency to public and private
profligacy which a profuse expenditure of money by the government
is but too apt to engender.'... The oath of office was adminis-
tered by the venerable Chief Justice, Marshall, to whom that duty
had belonged for about thirty years. The Senate, according to
custom, having been convened in extra session for the occasion,
the cabinet appointments were immediately sent in and confirmed.

They were, Martin Van Buren, of New-York, Secretary of State (Mr. James A. Hamilton, of New-York, son of the late General Hamilton, being charged with the duties of the office until Mr. Van Buren could enter upon them); Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, Secretary at War; John Branch, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; John M. Berrien, of Georgia, Attorney General; William T. Barry, of Kentucky, Postmaster General...." (v. I, pp. 119-120.)

This cabinet lasted two years, and broke up over two different controversies in Jackson's administration. The first occurred over John Eaton's marriage to Margaret O'Neale, a young woman who was the daughter of a well-known Washington taverner and the widow of a navy purser. Washington society regarded her as sluttish because she had waited tables at her father's tavern and had not been shy in the company of men; and condemned the marriage because Eaton had been seeing her while she was still married. A busybody clergyman presumed on an acquaintance with Jackson to tell him of a rumored abortion which Mrs. Eaton, then Timberlake, had undergone when her husband had been more than a year at sea -- the date fixed as 1821. When confronted by the fact that the first husband had not gone to sea until 1824, the clergyman lightly changed the date to conform. This disgusted and enraged Jackson. Because he cross-examined the gentlemen of the cloth regarding a matter affecting the reputation of a woman, some historians have been resentful of his severity. The purpose was to convince the members of the Cabinet, who were present, that their ladies were working a grave injustice upon the wife of a colleague in refusing her social intercourse."\(^{115}\) This exposure of falsehood did not prevent many of the wives of cabinet members, and even one or two members, from refusing to invite Mrs. Eaton to their parties, or from avoiding or snubbing her at public functions. Jackson, who had suffered similar charges against his marriage to Mrs. Rachael Donelson Robards after her

\(^{115}\) Bowers, *Party Battles of the Jackson Period*, p. 120.
divorce from Lewis Robards, vigorously defended Peggy Eaton, held public receptions in her honour, and virtually ordered the members of his cabinet to greet her civilly. Van Buren also acted kindly toward the Eatons, but several cabinet officers were discomfited and made little attempt to conceal their distaste for the obligation of mixing with a fallen woman. John Eaton was angered by this kind of behaviour in Washington society, and would not speak to John Branch. The rancor and bad behaviour ran through an entire Washington season, at the end of which the Jackson cabinet was divided by the antagonism.

The other controversy happened about the same time, and rose as result of inquiries made by some of Jackson's close supporters, during the 1828 Presidential campaign, about John C. Calhoun's attitude toward Jackson's handling of the Florida Seminole War of 1819. Calhoun, who was seeking the office of Vice President in 1828, had in 1819 been a member of James Monroe's cabinet. There was a rumor that Calhoun had advised the President that Jackson's command of the Seminole campaign had exceeded his orders, and that he should be arrested, his command given to another officer. Calhoun denied the rumor, but the recollections of other members of Monroe's cabinet contradicted him. Calhoun was elected Vice President; Jackson inquired of Calhoun directly about his conduct in 1819, Calhoun replied that he had indeed made such a recommendation in Monroe's cabinet, and that the cabinet member who had told about the proceedings was wrong to do it. This ended friendly feelings between Jackson and Calhoun, and virtually finished Calhoun's succession to the Presidency. In 1831, Calhoun printed a pamphlet containing correspondence between himself and Jackson about the Seminole incident, defending himself and charging Martin Van Buren as the instigator of the controversy, with the intent of removing Calhoun from Jackson's favour and making himself heir to the Pres-

idency. Van Buren publicly denied the charge, but feared that his presence on Jackson's cabinet would continue to draw the accusation to the harm of the administration's efficacy. He persuaded Jackson to accept his resignation; Jackson did so reluctantly. Both Jackson and Van Buren then spoke to John Eaton, who was also willing to resign to save further rancor over his marriage. Jackson then requested Ingham, Berrien and Branch, who were friends and political allies of Calhoun, to resign their posts.

"The decision made, the old President must have felt a sense of ineffable relief. His Cabinet had been a failure and he realized it. His dissatisfaction with a majority of its members was not due entirely to their hostility to Mrs. Eaton. The fight against the National Bank was in its incipiency and he looked upon Ingham as a tool of the Bank; the Nullification doctrine was being promulgated and he considered Berrien a Nullifier — and in both surmises he was right. He thought Branch pompous, incompetent, and subservient to petticoat rule. And we may be sure that whether or not the Cabinet was to be reorganized in the interest of Van Buren, the relations of all three toward the Carolinian [Calhoun] entered into his decision to rid himself of them."\textsuperscript{117}

Jackson then appointed Edward Livingston as Secretary of State, Louis McLane, Treasury, Lewis Cass, War, Levi Woodbury, Navy, Amos Kendall, Postmaster, Roger B. Taney, Attorney General. Taney was the only cabinet member who favoured a break with the United States Bank; he became Secretary of the Treasury when Louis McLane and William Duane, his immediate successor, both refused to remove the government deposits from the national bank on Jackson's orders. Van Buren was appointed ambassador to England; he was discharging that duty when he received word that his nomination as ambassador had been rejected in the Senate.\textsuperscript{118}

For defence, not for conquest,
"The first annual message of a new President, being always a recommendation of practical measures, is looked to with more interest than the inaugural address, confined as this latter must be, to a declaration of general principles. That of General Jackson, delivered the 8th of December, 1829, was therefore anxiously looked for; and did not disappoint the public expectation. It was strongly democratic, and contained many recommendations of a nature to simplify, and purify the working of the government, and to carry it back to the times of Mr. Jefferson -- to promote its economy and efficiency, and to maintain the rights of the people, and of the States in its administration....

On the subject of a navy, the message contained sentiments worthy of the democracy in its early day, and when General Jackson was a member of the United States Senate. The republican party had a policy then in respect to a navy: it was, a navy for DEFENCE, instead of CONQUEST; and limited to the protection of our coasts and commerce. That policy was impressively set forth in the celebrated instructions to the Virginia senators in the year 1800, in which it was said:

'With respect to the navy, it may be proper to remind you that whatever may be the proposed object of its establishment, or whatever may be the prospect of temporary advantages resulting therefrom, it is demonstrated by the experience of all nations, who have ventured far into naval policy, that such prospect is ultimately delusive; and that a navy has ever in practice been known more as an instrument of power, a source of expense, and an occasion of collisions and wars with other nations, than as an instrument of defence, of economy, or of protection to commerce.'

These were the doctrines of the republican party, in the early stage of our government -- in the great days of Jefferson and his compeers. We had a policy then -- the result of thought, of judgment, and of experience: a navy for defence, and not for conquest: and, consequently, confinable to a limited number of ships, adequate to their defensive object -- instead of thousands, aiming at the dominion of the seas. That policy was overthrown by the success of our naval combats during the war [of 1812]; and the idea of a great navy became popular, without any definite view of its cost and consequences.... Correspondent to his army policy was that of President Jackson in relation to the navy; he proposed a pause in the process of ship-building and ship-rotting. He recommended a total cessation of the further building of vessels..."
of the first and second class -- ships of the line, and frigates -- with a collection of materials for future use -- and the limitation of our naval policy to the object of commercial protection."

(v.I, pp. 121, 122-123.)

direct trade with the West Indies

(124)

[88/585: 6-7]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XLII, "The Recovery of the Direct Trade with the British West India Islands."]:

"The recovery of this trade had been a large object with the American government from the time of its establishment. As British colonies we enjoyed it before the Revolution; as revolted colonies we lost it; and as an independent nation we sought to obtain it again. The position of these islands, so near to our ports and shores -- the character of the exports they received from us, being almost entirely the product of our farms and forests, and their large amount, always considerable, and of late some four millions of dollars per annum -- the tropical productions which we received in return, and the large employment it gave to our navigation -- all combined to give a cherished value to this branch of foreign trade, and to stimulate our government to the greatest exertions to obtain and secure its enjoyment; and with the advantage of being carried on by our own vessels. But these were objects not easily attainable, and never accomplished until the administration of President Jackson." (v.I, p. 124.)

A treaty with Great Britain on direct trade with the West Indies would allow American merchant ships to carry goods to and from the West Indies without having to transfer the goods to ships of foreign nations with treaty privileges. Negotiations were carried on with Great Britain over a period of forty years and six separate conferences, from the time of George Washington's recommendations. These negotiations generally failed when the American side insisted on the right, rather than the privilege, of direct trade, and the British rejected the discrimination. Such was the
result of negotiations carried on under Jackson's predecessor, John Quincy Adams. Adams, as Secretary of State under Monroe, had maintained the theory of American right to direct trade; Britain had countered by throwing West Indian trade open to all nations who would accept it as a privilege, and allowing a time period in which nations might accept the offer, and at the end of which the privilege would be rescinded forever. The American position remained the same into the second year of Adams's administration, and was then modified so that Britain's offer might be accepted; but the period specified by the British minister had passed, the terms were withdrawn, and the United States was interdicted from trading with the West Indies at all! This condition persisted during Adams's administration; the British government refused to reopen negotiations again until Jackson was elected and sent Louis McLane to London as minister with instructions to seek a treaty which specified the trade as a privilege, under the earlier terms which had been rejected by Adams's ministers. The British government granted the trade under these conditions. Martin Van Buren, as Secretary of State for Jackson, managed the negotiations which resulted in this treaty; his enemies charged him with giving up the American claim to the trade as a right, and made this concession the basis for rejecting his nomination as minister to England. Benton says:

"... The act of Parliament gave us the trade on terms nearly as good as those suggested by Washington in 1789; fully as good as those asked for by him in 1794; better than those inserted in the treaty of that year, and suspended by the Senate; and, though nominally on the same terms as given to the rest of the world, yet practically better, on account of our proximity to this British market; and our superabundance of articles (chiefly provisions and lumber) which it wants. And the trade has been enjoyed under this act ever since, with such entire satisfaction, that there is already an oblivion of the forty years' labor which it cost us to obtain it; and a generation has grown up, almost without knowing to whom they are indebted for its present enjoyment. But it made its sensation at the time, and a great one. The friends of the Jackson administration exulted; the people rejoiced; grat-
ification was general -- but not universal; and these very instructions, under which such great and lasting advantages had been obtained, were made the occasion in the Senate of the United States of rejecting their ostensible author as a minister to London."

(Thirty Years' View, v. I, p. 128.)

And at the foundation of the northwestern states
Nathan Dane drew it, excluding servitude.
Save it were by the will of the serving.
ORDINANCE
passed not by the North alone.

[88/585: 8-12]

[From Thirty Years' View, v. I, Ch. XLIV, "Limitation of Public Land Sales. Suspension of Surveys.... Origin of the United States Land System. Authorship of the Anti-Slavery Ordinance of 1787...."

In the course of debate on a bill to limit the sale of public lands to those already surveyed and in market and to suspend the survey of further lands until those in market are sold, Southern senators accuse the North of attempting to limit emigration to the frontier, by requiring uncultivable lands to be sold before new lands may be thrown open to sale. Daniel Webster attempts to counter this charge by asserting that the ordinance of 1787, which contains a clause prohibiting slavery in the territories northwest of the Ohio river, was authored by a Senator from a northern state and was passed "by the North, and by the North alone." The implication is that the North, and not the South, is the guarantor of freedom in the new territories. Benton counters by reading extracts from the Congress journal for the days when the ordinance was introduced, read and passed, to show that southerners were on the committee that reported the ordinance with the anti-slavery clause, and that southerners
made up the majority that passed the bill. He says:

"The bare reading of these passages from the Journals of the Congress of the old confederation, shows how erroneous Mr. Webster was in these portions of his speech:

'At the foundation of the constitution of these new northwestern States, we are accustomed, sir, to praise the lawgivers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus; but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character, than the ordinance of '87. That instrument, was drawn by Nathan Dane, then, and now, a citizen of Massachusetts. It was adopted, as I think I have understood, without the slightest alteration; and certainly it has happened to few men to be the authors of a political measure of more large and enduring consequence. It fixed, for ever, the character of the population in the vast regions northwest of the Ohio, by excluding from them involuntary servitude. It impressed on the soil itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to bear up any other than free men. It laid the interdict against personal servitude, in original compact, not only deeper than all local law, but deeper, also, than all local constitutions.... Now, sir, this great measure again was carried by the north, and by the north alone. There were, indeed, individuals elsewhere favorable to it; but it was supported as a measure, entirely by the votes of the northern States. If New England had been governed by the narrow and selfish views now ascribed to her, this very measure was, of all others, the best calculated to thwart her purposes. It was, of all things, the very means of rendering certain a vast emigration from her own population to the west. She looked to that consequence only to disregard it. She deemed the regulation a most useful one to the States that would spring up on the territory, and advantageous to the country at large. She adhered to the principle of it perseveringly, year after year, until it was finally accomplished....'

This is shown to be all erroneous in relation to this ordinance. It was not first drawn by Mr. Dane, but by Mr. Jefferson, and that nearly two years before Mr. Dane came into Congress. It was not passed by the North alone, but equally by the South -- there being but eight States present at the passing, and they equally of the North and the South -- and the South voting unanimously for it, both as States and as individual members, while the North had one member against it." (Thirty Years' View, v. I, pp. 134-135.)
Repeal of the salt tax

[88/585: 13]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XLV, "Repeal of the Salt Tax.

"Mr. B. entered into statistical details, to show the aggregate amount of this tax, which he stated to be enormous, and contrary to every principle of taxation, even if taxes were so necessary as to justify the taxing of salt. He stated the importation of foreign salt, in 1829, at six millions of bushels, round numbers; the value seven hundred and fifteen thousand dollars, and the tax at twenty cents a bushel, one million two hundred thousand dollars, the merchant's profit upon that duty at fifty per cent. is six hundred thousand dollars; and the secret or hidden tax, in the shape of false weight for true measure, at the rate of thirty pounds in the bushel, was four hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Here, then, is taxation to the amount of about two millions and a quarter of dollars, upon an article costing seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and that article one of prime necessity and universal use, ranking next after bread, in the catalogue of articles for human subsistence....

... The third effect [of a free trade in salt] would be, to establish a great trade, carried on by barter, between the inhabitants of the United States and the people of the countries which produce alum salt, to the infinite advantage and comfort of both parties. He examined the operation of this barter at New Orleans. He said, this pure and superior salt, made entirely by solar evaporation, came from countries which were deficient in the articles of food, in which the West abounded. It came from the West Indies, from the coasts of Spain and Portugal, and from places in the Mediterranean; all of which are at this time consumers of American provisions, and take from us beef, pork, bacon, rice, corn, corn meal, flour, potatoes, &c. Their salt costs them almost nothing. It is made on the sea beach by the power of the sun, with little care and aid from man. It is brought to the United States as ballast, costing nothing for the transportation across the sea. The duty alone prevents it from coming to the United States in the most unbounded quantity. Remove the duty, and the trade would be prodigious. A bushel of corn is worth more than a sack of salt to the half-starved people to whom the sea and the sun give as much of this salt as they will rake up and pack away. The levee at New Orleans would be
covered -- the warehouses would be crammed with salt; the barter trade would become extensive and universal, a bushel of corn, or of potatoes, a few pounds of butter, or a few pounds of beef or pork, would purchase a sack of salt; the steamboats would bring it up for a trifle; and all the upper States of the Great Valley, where salt is so scarce, so dear, and so indispensable for rearing stock and curing provisions, in addition to all its obvious uses, would be cheaply and abundantly supplied with that article. Mr. B. concluded with saying, that, next to the reduction of the price of public lands, and the free use of the earth for labor and cultivation, he considered the abolition of the salt tax, and a free trade in foreign salt, as the greatest blessing which the federal government could now bestow upon the people of the West." (Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 144, 147-148.)

And has already been shown by A.J's first message...

[88/585: 14]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XLIX, "Bank of the United States."]:

"It has been already shown that General Jackson in his first annual message to Congress; called in question both the constitutionality and expediency of the national bank, in a way to show him averse to the institution, and disposed to see the federal government carried on without the aid of such an assistant.... I was not in Washington when this message was prepared, and had had no conversation with the President in relation to a substitute for the national bank, or for the currency which it furnished, and which having a general circulation was better entitled to the character of 'national' than the issues of the local or State banks. We knew each other's opinions on the question of a bank itself; but had gone no further. I had never mentioned to him the idea of reviving the gold currency -- then, and for twenty years -- extinct in the United States; nor had I mentioned to him the idea of an independent or sub-treasury -- that is to say, a government treasury unconnected with any bank -- and which was to have the receiving and disbursing of the public moneys. When these ideas were mentioned to him, he took them up at once; but it was not until the Bank of the United States should be disposed of that any thing could be done on these two subjects; and on the latter a process had to be gone through in the use of local banks as depositories of the public moneys which required several years
to show its issue and inculcate its lesson....

In the mean time the question which the President had submitted to Congress in relation to a government fiscal agent, was seized upon as an admitted design to establish a government bank -- stigmatized at once as a 'thousand times more dangerous' than an incorporated national bank -- and held up to alarm the country. ... Thus was the 'war of the bank' commenced at once, in both Houses of Congress, and in the public press; and openly at the instance of the bank itself, which, forgetting its position as an institution of the government, set itself up for a power, and struggled for a continued existence -- in the shape of a new charter -- as a question of its own, and almost as a right. It allied itself at the same time to the political party opposed to the President, joined in all their schemes of protective tariff, and national internal improvement: and became the head of the American system." (v.I, p. 158.)

then vetoed the Maysville Road.

[88/585: 15]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XC, "Public Lands: -- Distribution of Proceeds." Benton quotes from Jackson's message to Congress stating his reasons for vetoing a bill to distribute the proceeds of sale of public lands to the states):

"But there are other principles asserted in the bill, which would have impelled me to withhold my signature, had I not seen in it a violation of the compacts by which the United States acquired title to a large portion of the public lands. It reasserts the principle contained in the bill authorizing a subscription to the stock of the Maysville, Washington, Paris, and Lexington Turnpike Road Company, from which I was compelled to withhold my consent, for reasons contained in my message of the 27th May, 1830, to the House of Representatives. The leading principle, then asserted, was, that Congress possesses no constitutional power to appropriate any part of the moneys of the United States for objects of a local character within the States. That principle, I cannot be mistaken in supposing, has received the unequivocal sanction of the American people, and all subsequent reflection has but satisfied me more thoroughly that the interests of our people, and the purity of our government, if not its existence, depend on its observance." (v.I, p. 366.)

See also annotation: 88/583: 13.
To pull down, insufficient.
Willing to see a currency of hard money
(under circumstance AT that time)
as France since the time of mandats and assignats.
Filled France with metals,
having neither mines in her land, nor yet exports
Which command others' specie.
Ours yield half a million per annum,
Our mines do,
and above mines we have exports. 121

[88/585: 16-25]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. LVI, "Bank of the United
States -- Non-Renewal of Charter."

"From the time of President Jackson's intimations against the
recharter of the Bank, in the annual message of 1829, there had
been a ceaseless and pervading activity in behalf of the Bank in
all parts of the Union, and in all forms -- in the newspapers,
in the halls of Congress, in State legislatures, even in much of
the periodical literature, in the elections, and in the conciliation
of presses and individuals -- all conducted in a way to
operate most strongly upon the public mind, and to conclude the
question in the forum of the people before it was brought forward
in the national legislature.... In the session of 1830, '31, I
succeeded in creating the first opportunity of delivering a speech
against it; it was done a little irregularly by submitting a nega-
tive resolution against the renewal of the charter, and taking
the opportunity while asking leave to introduce the resolution,
to speak fully against the re-charter. My mind was fixed upon
the character of the speech which I should make -- one which
should avoid the beaten tracks of objection, avoid all settled
points, avoid the problem of constitutionality -- and take up the
institution in a practical sense, as having too much power over
the people and the government, -- over business and politics --
and too much disposed to exercise that power to the prejudice of
the freedom and equality which should prevail in a republic, to
be allowed to exist in our country. But I knew it was not suffi-
cient to pull down: we must build up also. The men of 1811 had

121 See also annotation: 88/583: 14-17, and annotation: 89/591:
1-4.
committed a fatal error, when most wisely refusing to re-charter the institution of that day, they failed to provide a substitute for its currency, and fell back upon the local banks, whose inad-
eguacy speedily made a call for the re-establishment of a national bank. I felt that error must be avoided -- that another currency of general circulation must be provided to replace its notes; and I saw that currency in the gold coin of the constitution, then an ideal currency in the United States, having been totally ban-
ished for many years by the erroneous valuation adopted in the time of Gen. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. I proposed to revive that currency, and brought it forward at the conclusion of my first speech (February, 1831) against the Bank, thus:

'I am willing to see the charter expire, without providing any substitute for the present bank. I am willing to see the currency of the federal government left to the hard money mentioned and intended in the constitution; I am willing to have a hard money government, as that of France has been since the time of assignats and mandats...* Such a currency filled France with the precious metals, when England, with her over-
grown bank, was a prey to all the evils of unconvertible paper... and, when France possessed no mines of gold or silver, and was destitute of the exports which command the specie of other countries. The United States possess gold mines, now yield-
ing half a million per annum, with every prospect of equalling those of Peru. But this is not the best dependence. We have what is superior to mines, namely, the exports which command the money of the world....'' (v.1, p. 187.)

His reference to
Parnells, Humes, Ellices, Wm. Pultneys
Was laid on the table
but printed.

[88/585: 26-29]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. LVI]:

"In the speech which I delivered [against the Bank, February, 1831], I quoted copiously from British speakers -- not the brilli-
ant rhetoricians, but the practical, sensible, upright business-
men, to whom countries are usually indebted for all beneficial

* Assignats were notes "issued as currency by the French Revolu-
tionary state with the appropriated lands as currency." (Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, Fifth ed.)
legislation: the Sir Henry Parnells, the Mr. Joseph Humes, the Mr. Edward Ellices, the Sir William Pulteneys; and men of that class, legislating for the practical concerns of life, and merging the orator in the man of business.

The Speech -- Extracts.

'.... He [Mr. Benton] said it had been his fortune, or chance, some three years ago, to submit a resolution in relation to the undrawn balances of public money in the hands of the bank, and to accompany it with some poor remarks of unfavorable implication to the future existence of that institution. My resolution [said Mr. B.] was referred to the Committee on Finance, who made a report decidedly adverse to all my views, and eminently favorable to the bank, both as a present and future institution. This report came on the 13th of May, just fourteen days before the conclusion of a six months' session, when all was hurry and precipitation to terminate the business on hand, and when there was not the least chance to engage the attention of the Senate in the consideration of any new subject. The report was, therefore, laid upon the table unanswered, but was printed by order of the Senate, and that in extra numbers, and widely diffused over the country by means of the newspaper press. At the commencement of the next session, it being irregular to call for the consideration of the past report, I was under the necessity to begin anew, and accordingly submitted my resolution a second time, and that quite early in the session; say on the first day of January. It was my wish and request that this resolution might be discussed in the Senate, but the sentiment of the majority was different, and a second reference of it was made to the Finance Committee. A second report of the same purport with the first was a matter of course; but what did not seem to me to be a matter of course was this; that this second report should not come in until the 20th day of February, just fourteen days again before the end of the session, for it was then the short session, and the Senate as much pinched as before for time to finish the business on hand. No answer could be made to it, but the report was printed, with the former report appended to it; and thus, united like the Siamese twins, and with the apparent, but not real sanction of the Senate, they went forth together to make the tour of the Union in the columns of the newspaper press. Thus, I was a second time out of court; a second time nonsuited for want of a replication, when there was no time to file one. I had intended to begin de novo, and for the third time, at the opening of the ensuing session; but, happily, was anticipated and prevented by the annual message of the new President [General Jackson], which brought
this question of renewing the bank charter directly before Congress. A reference of this part of the message was made, of course, to the Finance Committee: the committee, of course, again reported, and with increased ardor, in favor of the bank. Unhappily this third report, which was an amplification and reiteration of the two former, did not come in until the session was four months advanced, and when the time of the Senate had become engrossed, and its attention absorbed, by the numerous and important subjects which had accumulated upon the calendar. Printing in extra numbers, general circulation through the newspaper press, and no answer, was the catastrophe of this third reference to the Finance Committee. Thus was I nonsuited for the third time. The fourth session has now come round; the same subject is again before the same committee on the reference of the part of the President's second annual message which relates to the bank; and, doubtless, a fourth report of the same import with the three preceding ones, may be expected. But when? is the question. And, as I cannot answer that question, and the session is now two thirds advanced, and as I have no disposition to be cut off for the fourth time, I have thought proper to create an occasion to deliver my own sentiments.... The renewal of the charter is a question which concerns the people at large; and if they are to have any hand in the decision of this question -- if they are even to know what is done before it is done, it is high time that they and their representatives in Congress should understand each other's mind upon it. The charter has but five years to run; and if renewed at all, will probably be at some short period, say two or three years, before the time is out, and at any time sooner that a chance can be seen to gallop the renewal through Congress. The people, therefore, have no time to lose, if they mean to have any hand in the decision of this great question." (v. I, pp. 187-189.)

"Was now acting as pawn-broker on system entirely contrary to institution's intention".
Said Mr Hume (Joseph)

"Privileges" sd/ Ellice

"which belonged to no other contraption".

[88/585: 30; 586: 1-4]
[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. LVI. Benton continues.]:

"I hold myself justified, Mr. President, upon the reasons given, for proceeding in my present application; but, as example is sometimes more authoritative than reason, I will take the liberty to produce one, which is as high in point of authority as it is appropriate in point of application, and which happens to fit the case before the Senate as completely as if it had been made for it.... It so happens, that the charter of the Bank of England is to expire, upon its own limitation, nearly about the same time with the charter of the Bank of the United States, namely, in the year 1833; and as far back as 1824, no less than nine years before its expiration, the question of its renewal was debated, and that with great freedom, in the British House of Commons. I will read some extracts from that debate, as the fairest way of presenting the example to the Senate, and the most effectual mode of securing to myself the advantage of the sentiments expressed by British statesmen.

The Extracts.

'.... Mr. Hume said it was of very great importance that his majesty's ministers should take immediate steps to free themselves from the trammels in which they had long been held by the bank.... Let the country gentlemen recollect that the bank was now acting as pawn-broker on a large scale, and lending money on estates, a system entirely contrary to the original intention of the institution....'

'Mr. Edward Ellice. It (the Bank of England) is a great monopolizing body, enjoying privileges which belonged to no other corporation, and no other class of his majesty's subjects. ... He hoped that the exclusive charter would never again be granted; and that the conduct of the bank during the last ten or twelve years would make government very cautious how they entertained any such propositions.'"  (v.I, pp. 189-190.)

Mr Benton proceeding: American

part of the stockholders, I would not reply to foreign complaints.

Must have known this. They

have laid up real estate of three million...

peculiar privileges enabled them to make profits

stock-holders ought to be grateful
at 46 in the hundred.

SCIRE FACIAS

[88/586: 5-13]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. LVI, Benton proceeding.]

"But, it is said that the debate [on the re-charter of the Bank of the United States] will injure the stockholders; that it depreciates the value of their property, and that it is wrong to sport with the vested rights of individuals. This complaint, supposing it to come from the stockholders themselves, is both absurd and ungrateful. It is absurd, because the stockholders, at least so many of them as are not foreigners, must have known when they accepted a charter of limited duration, that the approach of its expiration would renew the debate upon the propriety of its existence; that every citizen had a right, and every public man was under an obligation, to declare his sentiments freely; that there was nothing in the charter, numerous as its peculiar privileges were, to exempt the bank from that freedom of speech and writing, which extends to all our public affairs; and that the charter was not to be renewed here, as the Bank of England charter had formerly been renewed, by a private arrangement among its friends, suddenly produced in Congress, and galloped through without the knowledge of the country. The American part of the stockholders (for I would not reply to the complaints of the foreigners) must have known all this; and known it when they accepted the charter. They accepted it, subject to this known consequence; and, therefore, the complaint about injuring their property is absurd. That it is ungrateful, must be apparent to all who will reflect upon the great privileges which these stockholders will have enjoyed for twenty years, and the large profits they have already derived from their charter. They have been dividing seven per cent. per annum, unless when prevented by their own mismanagement; and have laid up a real estate of three millions of dollars for future division; and the money which has done these handsome things, instead of being diminished or impaired in the process, is still worth largely upwards of one hundred cents to the dollar: say, one hundred and twenty-five cents. For the peculiar privileges which enabled them to make these profits, the stockholders ought to be grateful: but, like all persons who have been highly favored with undue benefits, they mistake a privilege for a right -- a favor for a duty -- and resent, as an attack upon their property, a refusal to prolong
their undue advantages. There is no ground for these complaints, but for thanks and benedictions rather, for permitting the bank to live out its numbered days! That institution has forfeited its charter. It may be shut up at any hour. It lives from day to day by the indulgence of those whom it daily attacks; and, if any one is ignorant of this fact, let him look at the case of the Bank of the United States against Owens and others, decided in the Supreme Court, and reported in the 2d Peters.

[Here Mr. B. read a part of this case, showing that it was a case of usury at the rate of forty-six per cent. and that Mr. Sergeant, counsel for the bank, resisted the decision of the Supreme Court, upon the ground that it would expose the charter of the bank to forfeiture; and that the decision was, nevertheless, given upon that ground; so that the bank, being convicted of taking usury, in violation of its charter, was liable to be deprived of its charter, at any time that a scire facias should issue against it.]" (v.I, p. 190.)

institution too great and too powerful,
The Vice President directed that Mr Benton proceed.

Direct power prodigious...boundless emissions,
and too much of the individual property of the citizens of these States. The money power of the bank is both direct and indirect. 

[The Vice-President here intimated to Mr. Benton that he was out of order, and had not a right to go into the merits of the bank upon the motion which he had made. Mr. Benton begged pardon of the Vice-President, and respectfully insisted that he was in order, and had a right to proceed. He said he was proceeding upon the parliamentary rule of asking leave to bring in a joint resolution, and, in doing which, he had a right to state his reasons, which reasons constituted his speech; that the motion was debatable, and the whole Senate might answer him. The Vice-President then directed Mr. Benton to proceed.]

Mr. B. resumed. The direct power of the bank is now prodigious, and in the event of the renewal of the charter, must speedily become boundless and uncontrollable. The bank is now authorized to own effects, lands inclusive, to the amount of fifty-five millions of dollars, and to issue notes to the amount of thirty-five millions more. This makes ninety millions; and, in addition to this vast sum, there is an opening for an unlimited increase: for there is a dispensation in the charter to issue as many more notes as Congress, by law, may permit. This opens the door to boundless emissions; for what can be more unbounded than the will and pleasure of successive Congresses?" (v.I, p. 191.)

To whom is this power granted?

in a remote corner, a company.

By whom directed?

By seven, by four, none by the people elected

Nor responsible to them.

Encroaching on power of States,

monopoly absolute.

[88/586: 17-23]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. LVI. Benton continues]:

"The indirect power of the bank cannot be stated in figures; but it can be shown to be immense. In the first place, it has the keeping of the public moneys, now amounting to twenty-six millions per annum (the Post Office Department included), and the gratuitous use of the undrawn balances, large enough to constitute, in
themselves, the capital of a great State bank. In the next place, its promissory notes are receivable, by law, in purchase of all property owned by the United States, and in payment of all debts due them; and this may increase its power to the amount of the annual revenue, by creating a demand for its notes to that amount. In the third place, it wears the name of the United States, and has the federal government for a partner; and this name, and this partnership, identifies the credit of the bank with the credit of the Union. In the fourth place, it is armed with authority to disparage and discredit the notes of other banks, by excluding them from all payments to the United States; and this, added to all its other powers, direct and indirect, makes this institution the uncontrollable monarch of the moneyed system of the Union.

To whom is all this power granted? To a company of private individuals, many of them foreigners, and the mass of them residing in a remote and narrow corner of the Union, unconnected by any sympathy with the fertile regions of the Great Valley, in which the natural power of this Union -- the power of numbers -- will be found to reside long before the renewed term of a second charter would expire. By whom is all this power to be exercised? By a directory of seven (it may be), governed by a majority, of four (it may be); and none of these elected by the people, or responsible to them. Where is it to be exercised? At a single city, distant a thousand miles from some of the States, receiving the produce of none of them (except one); no interest in the welfare of any of them (except one); no commerce with the people; with branches in every State; and every branch subject to the secret and absolute orders of the supreme central head: thus constituting a system of centralism, hostile to the federative principle of our Union, encroaching upon the wealth and power of the States, and organized upon a principle to give the highest effect to the greatest power. This mass of power, thus concentrated, thus ramified, and thus directed, must necessarily become, under a prolonged existence, the absolute monopolist of American money, the sole manufacturer of paper currency, and the sole authority (for authority it will be) to which the federal government, the State governments, the great cities, corporate bodies, merchants, traders, and every private citizen, must, of necessity apply, for every loan which their exigencies may demand.

(v.I, p. 191.)

Gt Britain in '95, had been noted:

"Wish of the Court of Directors"

[88/586: 24-25]
''The rich ruleth the poor, and the borrower is the servant of the lender.' Such are the words of Holy Writ; and if the authority of the Bible admitted of corroboration, the history of the world is at hand to give it. But I will not cite the history of the world, but one eminent example only, and that of a nature so high and commanding as to include all others; and so near and recent, as to be directly applicable to our own situation. I speak of what happened in Great Britain, in the year 1795, when the Bank of England, by a brief and unceremonious letter to Mr. Pitt, such as a miser would write to a prodigal in a pinch, gave the proof of what a great moneyed power could do, and would do, to promote its own interest, in a crisis of national alarm and difficulty. I will read the letter. It is exceedingly short; for after the compliments are omitted, there are but three lines of it. It is, in fact, about as long as a sentence of execution, leaving out the prayer of the judge. It runs thus:

'It is the wish of the Court of Directors that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would settle his arrangements of finances for the present year, in such manner as not to depend upon any further assistance from them, beyond what is already agreed for.'

Such were the words of this memorable note, sufficiently explicit and intelligible; but to appreciate it fully, we must know what was the condition of Great Britain at that time? Remember it was the year 1795, and the beginning of that year, than which a more portentous one never opened upon the British empire. The war with the French republic had been raging for two years; Spain had just declared war against Great Britain; Ireland was bursting into rebellion; the fleet in the Nore was in open mutiny; and a cry for the reform of abuses, and the reduction of taxes, resounded through the land. It was a season of alarm and consternation, and of imminent actual danger to Great Britain; and this was the moment which the Bank selected to notify the minister that no more loans were to be expected! What was the effect of this notification? It was to paralyze the government, and to subdue the minister to the purposes of the bank." (v.I, pp. 191-192.)

Political as well as pecuniary. Such

a bank tends to subjugate government;

It tends to collusions,

...
it tends to create public DEBT.

1694: Loan One Million 200,000.

Interest 80,000, Expenses 4.

GERM, nucleus, and is now 900 Million.

It tends to beget and prolong useless wars;
aggravate inequalities; make and break fortunes.

[88/586: 26-30; 587: 1-5]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. LVI. Benton continues to enumerate his reasons for opposing the renewal of the charter.]:

"Secondly. I object to the continuance of this bank, because its tendencies are dangerous and pernicious to the government and the people.

What are the tendencies of a great moneyed power, connected with the government, and controlling its fiscal operations? Are they not dangerous to every interest, public and private -- political as well as pecuniary? I say they are; and briefly enumerate the heads of each mischief.

1. Such a bank tends to subjugate the government, as I have already shown in the history of what happened to the British minister in the year 1795.

2. It tends to collusions between the government and the bank in the terms of the loans, as has been fully experienced in England in those frauds upon the people, and insults upon the understanding, called three per cent. loans, in which the government, for about £50 borrowed, became liable to pay £100.

3. It tends to create public debt, by facilitating public loans, and substituting unlimited supplies of paper, for limited supplies of coin. The British debt is born of the Bank of England. That bank was chartered in 1694, and was nothing more nor less in the beginning, than an act of Parliament for the incorporation of a company of subscribers to a government loan. The loan was £1,200,000; the interest £80,000; and the expenses of management £4,000. And this is the birth and origin, the germ and nucleus of that debt, which is now £900,000,000 (the unfunded items included), which bears an interest of £30,000,000, and costs £260,000 for annual management.

4. It tends to beget and prolong unnecessary wars, by furnishing the means of carrying them on without recurrence to the people. England is the ready example for this calamity. Her wars for the
restoration of the Capet Bourbons were kept up by loans and subsidies created out of bank paper. The people of England had no interest in these wars, which cost them about £600,000,000 of debt in twenty-five years, in addition to the supplies raised within the year. The kings she put back upon the French throne were not able to sit on it. Twice she put them on; twice they tumbled off in the mud; and all that now remains of so much sacrifice of life and money is, the debt, which is eternal, the taxes, which are intolerable, the pensions and titles of some warriors, and the keeping of the Capet Bourbons, who are returned upon their hands.

5. It tends to aggravate the inequality of fortunes; to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer; to multiply nabobs and paupers; and to deepen and widen the gulf which separates Dives from Lazarus. A great moneyed power is favorable to great capitalists; for it is the principle of money to favor money. It is unfavorable to small capitalists; for it is the principle of money to eschew the needy and unfortunate. It is injurious to the laboring classes; because they receive no favors, and have the price of the property they wish to acquire raised to the paper maximum, while wages remain at the silver minimum.

6. It tends to make and break fortunes, by the flux and reflux of paper. Profuse issues, and sudden contractions, perform this operation, which can be repeated, like planetary and pestilential visitations, in every cycle of so many years; at every periodical return, transferring millions from the actual possessors of property to the Neptunes who preside over the flux and reflux of paper. The last operation of this kind performed by the Bank of England, about five years ago, was described by Mr. Alexander Baring, in the House of Commons, in terms which are entitled to the knowledge and remembrance of American citizens. I will read his description, which is brief, but impressive. After describing the profuse issues of 1823-24, he painted the reaction in the following terms:

'They, therefore, all at once, gave a sudden jerk to the horse on whose neck they had before suffered the reins to hang loose. They contracted their issues to a considerable extent. The change was at once felt throughout the country. A few days before that, no one knew what to do with his money; now, no one knew where to get it...'

This is what was done in England five years ago, it is what may be done here in every five years to come, if the bank charter is renewed. Sole dispenser of money, it cannot omit the oldest and most obvious means of amassing wealth by the flux and reflux of paper. The game will be in its own hands, and the only answer
"To carry on trade of banking
upon the revenues,
and in the name of the
United States;
to pay revenues to the
Government
in its own (the bank's own) notes of promise. To
Hold United States moneys
in deposit, without making compensation;
To discredit other banks and disparage 'em; to
hold real estate, and retain a
body of tenantry; To
set branches in States without their consent or approval;
to be exempt from liability if they fail;
To have the U.S. for a partner, and to have partners
outside this country;
To be exempt from the regular administration of Justice,
and to have all this in
Monopoly.

[88/587: 6-24]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. LVI, continued]:

"Thirdly. I object to the renewal of the charter, on account
of the exclusive privileges, and anti-republican monopoly, which
it gives to the stockholders. It gives, and that by an act of
Congress, to a company of individuals, the exclusive legal priv-
ileges:

"1. To carry on the trade of banking upon the revenue and
credit, and in the name, of the United States of America.
"2. To pay the revenues of the Union in their own promissory notes.

"3. To hold the moneys of the United States in deposit, without making compensation for the undrawn balances.

"4. To discredit and disparage the notes of other banks, by excluding them from the collection of the federal revenue.

"5. To hold real estate, receive rents, and retain a body of tenantry.

"6. To deal in pawns, merchandise, and bills of exchange.

"7. To establish branches in the States without their consent.

"8. To be exempt from liability on the failure of the bank.

"9. To have the United States for a partner.

"10. To have foreigners for partners.

"11. To be exempt from the regular administration of justice....

"12. To have all these exclusive privileges secured to them as a monopoly, in a pledge of the public faith not to grant the like privileges to any other company.

"These are the privileges, and this the monopoly of the bank. Now, let us examine them, and ascertain their effect and bearing. Let us contemplate the magnitude of the power which they create; and ascertain the compatibility of this power with the safety of this republican government, and the rights and interests of its free and equal constituents." (v.I, pp. 193-194.)

Benton goes on to detail the implications and effects of these privileges, which appear on pp. 194-202. Pound refers to some of this material at 89/591, 11. 9-27; the passages from which these lines quote appear in the annotations. It seems worthwhile, in addition to noticing these passages, to include here a section from Benton's explication which did not draw Pound's direct attention. Its bearing on other moments of the poem will become clear with the reading.

"5. To hold real estate, receive rents, and retain a body of tenantry. This privilege is hostile to the nature of our republican government, and inconsistent with the nature and design of a banking institution. Republics want freeholders, not landlords and tenants; and, except the corporators in this bank, and in the British East India Company, there is not an incorporated body of landlords in any country upon the face of the earth whose laws emanate from a legislative body. Banks are instituted to promote trade and industry, and to aid the government and its citizens with loans of money. The whole argument in favor of banking -- every argument in favor of this bank -- rests upon that idea.
No one, when this charter was granted, presumed to speak in favor of incorporating a society of landlords, especially foreign landlords, to buy lands, build houses, rent tenements, and retain tenantry. Loans of money was the object in view, and the purchase of real estate is incompatible with that object. Instead of remaining bankers, the corporators may turn land speculators: instead of having money to lend, they may turn you out tenants to vote. To an application for a loan, they may answer, and answer truly, that they have no money on hand; and the reason may be, that they have laid it out in land.... To this power to hold real estate, is superadded the means to acquire it. The bank is now the greatest moneyed power in the Union; in the event of the renewal of its charter, it will soon be the sole one. Sole dispenser of money, it will soon be the chief owner of property. To unlimited means of acquisition, would be united perpetuity of tenure; for a corporation never dies, and is free from the operation of the laws which govern the descent and distribution of real estate in the hands of individuals. The limitations in the charter are vain and illusory. They insult the understanding, and mock the credulity of foolish believers. The bank is first limited to such acquisitions of real estate as are necessary to its own accommodation; then comes a proviso to undo the limitation, so far as it concerns purchases upon its own mortgages and executions! This is the limitation upon the capacity of such an institution to acquire real estate. As if it had anything to do but to make loans upon mortgages, and push executions upon judgments! Having all the money, it would be the sole lender; mortgages being the road to loans, all borrowers must travel that road. When birds enough are in the net, the fowler draws his string, and the heads are wrung off. So when mortgages enough are taken, the loans are called in; discounts cease; curtailments are made; failures to pay ensue; writs issue; judgments and executions follow; all the mortgaged premises are for sale at once; and the attorney of the bank appears at the elbow of the marshal, sole bidder and sole purchaser.

What is the legal effect of this vast capacity to acquire, and this legal power to retain, real estate? Is it not the creation of a new species of mortmain?... All the States abolished the anti-republican tenures; but Congress re-establishes them, and in a manner more dangerous and offensive than before the Revolution. They are now given, not generally, but to few; not to natives only, but to foreigners also; for foreigners are large owners of this bank. And thus, the principles of the Revolution sink before the privileges of an incorporated company. The laws of the States fall before the mandates of a central directory in Philadelphia. Foreigners become the landlords of free-born Amer-
icans; and the young and flourishing towns of the United States are verging to the fate of the family boroughs which belong to the great aristocracy of England.

Let no one say the bank will not avail itself of its capacity to amass real estate. The fact is, it has already done so. I know towns, yea, cities, and could name them, if it might not seem invidious from this elevated theatre to make a public reference to their misfortunes, in which this bank already appears as a dominant and engrossing proprietor. I have been in places where the answers to inquiries for the owners of the most valuable tenements, would remind you of the answers given by the Egyptians to similar questions from the French officers, on their march to Cairo. You recollect, no doubt, sir, the dialogue to which I allude: 'Who owns that palace?' 'The Mameluke;' 'Who this country house?' 'The Mameluke;' 'These gardens?' 'The Mameluke;' 'That field covered with rice?' 'The Mameluke.' -- And thus have I been answered, in the towns and cities referred to, with the single exception of the name of the Bank of the United States substituted for that of the military scourge of Egypt. If this is done under the first charter, what may not be expected under the second? If this is done while the bank is on its best behavior, what may she not do when freed from all restraint and delivered up to the boundless cupidity and remorseless exactions of a moneyed corporation?...

11. Exemption from due course of law for violations of its charter. -- This is a privilege which affects the administration of justice, and stands without example in the annals of republican legislation. In the case of all other delinquents, whether persons or corporations, the laws take their course against those who offend them. It is the right of every citizen to set the laws in motion against every offender; and it is the constitution of the law, when set in motion, to work through, like a machine, regardless of powers and principalities, and cutting down the guilty which may stand in its way. Not so in the case of this bank. In its behalf, there are barriers erected between the citizen and his oppressor, between the wrong and the remedy, between the law and the offender. Instead of a right to sue out a scire facias or a quo warranto, the injured citizen, with an humble petition in his hand, must repair to the President of the United States, or to Congress, and crave their leave to do so. If leave is denied (and denied it will be whenever the bank has a peculiar friend in the President, or a majority of such friends in Congress, the convenient pretext being always at hand that the general welfare requires the bank to be sustained), he can proceed no further. The machinery of the law cannot be set in motion, and the offender laughs from behind his barrier at the impotent resentment of its helpless victim. Thus the bank, for the plainest violations of its charter, and the greatest oppressions of the citizen, may escape the pursuit of justice."

(v.1, pp. 197-198, 201-202.)
"This speech [against the Bank's re-charter] was not answered. Confident in its strength, and insolent in its nature, the great moneyed power had adopted a system in which she persevered, until hard knocks drove her out of it: it was to have an anti-bank speech treated with the contempt of silence in the House, and caricatured and belittled in the newspapers; and according to this system my speech was treated. The instant it was delivered, Mr. Webster called for the vote, and to be taken by yeas and nays, which was done; and resulted differently from what was expected -- a strong vote against the bank -- 20 to 23; enough to excite uneasiness, but not enough to pass the resolution and legitimate a debate on the subject. The debate stopped with the single speech; but it was a speech to be read by the people -- the masses -- the millions; and was conceived and delivered for that purpose; and was read by them; and has been complimented since, as having crippled the bank, and given it the wound of which it afterwards died; but not within the year and a day which would make the slayer responsible for the homicide. The list of yeas and nays was also favorable to the effect of the speech. Though not a party vote, it was sufficiently so to show how it stood -- the mass of the democracy against the bank -- the mass of the anti-democrats [for] it. The names were: --


Nays. -- Messrs. Barton, Bell, Burnet, Chase, Clayton, Root, Frelinghuysen, Holmes, Hendricks, Johnston, Knight, Livingston, Marks, Noble, Robbins, Robinson, Ruggles, Seymour, Silsbee, Smith of Md., Sprague, Webster, Willey -- 23." (v.I, pp. 204-205.)

That it failed to produce a uniform currency,
Issued illegal and vicious paper
"payable at Philadelphia"
tho' usually issued by remote and inaccessible branches
and so made into a local currency pro
tected by distance
AND, being of small denominations,
lingered in the hands of labouring people
until through "wear and tear" it
became a large item of gain
(for the Bank)
It was invented by a scotch banker in Aberdeen
who issued his notes on London in England
and always of small denominations
So that no one wd- take them there for redemption.

[88/587: 28-30; 588: 1-12]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. LX., "Bank of the United
States -- Illegal and Vicious Currency."]

"In his first annual message, in the year 1829, President
Jackson, besides calling in question the unconstitutionality and
general expediency of the Bank, also stated that it had failed
in furnishing a uniform currency. That declaration was greatly
contested by the Bank and its advocates, and I felt myself bound
to make an occasion to show it to be well founded, and to a greater
extent than the President had intimated. It had in fact issued
an illegal and vicious kind of paper -- authorized it to be issued
at all the branches -- in the shape of drafts or orders payable
in Philadelphia, but voluntarily paid where issued, and at all
the branches; and so made into a local currency, and constituting
the mass of all its paper seen in circulation; and as the greatest
quantity was usually issued at the most remote and inaccessible
branches, the payment of the drafts were well protected by dis-
tance and difficulty; and being of small denominations, loitered
and lingered in the hands of the laboring people until the 'wear
and tear' became a large item of gain to the Bank, and the diff-
culty of presenting them at Philadelphia an effectual bar to
their payment there. The origin of this kind of currency was
thus traced by me: It was invented by a Scotch banker of Aberdeen, who issued notes payable in London, always of small denominations, that nobody should take them up to London for redemption. The Bank of Ireland seeing what a pretty way it was to issue notes which they could not practically be compelled to pay, adopted the same trick. Then the English country bankers followed the example. But their career was short. The British parliament took hold of the fraud, and suppressed it in the three kingdoms. That parliament would tolerate no currency issued at one place, and payable at another." (v.I, p. 220.)

Mr Benton asked leave...

joint in character
against these orders as
currency...

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. LX.]:

"The mode of proceeding to get at the question of this vicious currency was the same as that pursued to get at the question of the non-renewal of the charter -- namely, an application for leave to bring in a joint resolution declaring it to be illegal, and ordering it to be suppressed; and in asking that leave to give the reasons for the motion: which was done, in a speech of which the following are some parts:

Mr. Benton rose to ask leave to bring in his promised resolution on the state of the currency.... He had adopted the form of a declaratory resolution, because it was intended to declare the true sense of the charter upon a disputed point. He made his resolution joint in its character, that it might have the action of both Houses of Congress; and single in its object, that the main design might not be embarrassed with minor propositions. The form of the resolution gave him a right to state his reasons for asking leave to bring it in; the importance of it required those reasons to be clearly stated....

The resolution, continued Mr. B., which I am asking leave to bring in, expresses its own object. It declares against the legality of these orders, as a currency. It is the currency which I arraign. I make no inquiry, for I will not embarrass my subject with irrelevant and immaterial inquiries -- I make no inquiry into the modes of contract and payment which are permitted, or not permitted, to the Bank of the United States, in the conduct of its private dealings and individual transactions. My business lies with the currency; for, between public currency and private dealings, the charter of the bank
has made a distinction, and that founded in the nature of things, as broad as lines can draw, and as clear as words can express. The currency concerns the public; and the soundness of that currency is taken under the particular guardianship of the charter.... The charter of the Bank of the United States has authorized, but not regulated, certain private dealings of the bank; it is full and explicit upon the regulation of currency. Upon this distinction I take my stand.... I arraign the currency!" (v.I, pp. 220-221.)

"Are they signed by the president? They are not.
Are they under corporate seal?
Are they drawn in the name of the body?
Are they subject, as credit, to time and amount?
They may exceed 60 days.
And no Treasury supervision.
Has the holder the right to sue?
No Sir, but he is allowed to go,
at his own charge to Philadelphia, at his own cost

[88/588: 17-26]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. LX. Benton continues]:

"I object to it [the Bank's currency order] because it authorizes an issue of currency upon construction. The issue of currency, sir, was the great and main business for which the bank was created, and which it is, in the twelfth article, expressly authorized to perform; and I cannot pay so poor a compliment to the understandings of the eminent men who framed that charter, as to suppose that they left the main business of the bank to be found, by construction, in an independent phrase, and that phrase to be found but once in the whole charter. I cannot compliment their understandings with the supposition that, after having authorized and defined a currency, and subjected it to numerous
restrictions, they had left open the door to the issue of another
sort of currency, upon construction, which should supersede the
kind they had prescribed, and be free from every restriction to
which the prescribed currency was subject:

Let us recapitulate. Let us sum up the points of incompati-
bility between the characteristics of this currency, and the
requisites of the charter: let us group and contrast the frightful
features of their flagrant illegality. 1. Are they signed by the
president of the bank and his principal cashier? They are not!
2. Are they under the corporate seal? Not at all! 3. Are they
drawn in the name of the corporation? By no means! 4. Are they
subject to the double limitation of time and amount in case of
credit? They are not; they may exceed sixty days' time, and be
less than one hundred dollars! 5. Are they limited to the mini-
mum size of five dollars? Not at all! 6. Are they subject to
the supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury? Not in the
least! 7. The prohibition against suspending specie payments?
They are not subject to it! 8. The penalty of double interest
for delayed payment? Not subject to it! 9. Are they payable
where issued? Not at all, neither by their own terms, nor by any
law applicable to them! 10. Are they payable at other branches?
So far from it, that they were invented to avoid such payment!
11. Are they transferable by delivery? No; by indorsement! 12. Are
they receivable in payment of public dues? So far from it,
that they are twice excluded from such payments by positive
enactments! 13. Are the directors liable for excessive issues?
Not at all! 14. Has the holder a right to sue at the branch
which issues the order? No, sir, he has a right to go to Phila-
delphia, and sue the directors there! a right about equivalent
to the privilege of going to Mecca to sue the successors of Mahomet
for the bones of the prophet! Fourteen points of contrariety
and difference. Not a feature of the charter in the face of
these orders. Every mark a contrast; every lineament a contra-
diction; all announcing, or rather denouncing, to the world, the
positive fact of a spurious progeny; the incontestable, evidence
of an illegitimate and bastard issue....

I do insist, Mr. President, that this currency ought to be
suppressed for illegality alone, even if no pernicious consequences
could result from its circulation. But pernicious consequences
do result. The substituted currency is not the equivalent of the
branch bank notes, whose place it has usurped: it is inferior to
those notes in vital particulars, and to the manifest danger and
loss of the people.

In the first place, these branch bank orders are not payable
in the States in which they are issued. Look at them! they are
nominally payable in Philadelphia! Look at the law! It gives
the holder no right to demand their contents at the branch bank, until the order has been to Philadelphia, and returned. I lay no stress upon the insidious circumstance that these orders are now paid at the branch where issued, and at other branches. That voluntary, delusive payment may satisfy those who are willing to swallow a gilded hook; it may satisfy those who are willing to hold their property at the will of the bank. For my part, I want law for my rights. I look at the law, to the legal rights of the holder, and say that he has no right to demand payment at the branch which issued the order. The present custom of paying is voluntary, not compulsory; it depends upon the will of the bank, not upon law; and none but tyrants can require, or slaves submit to, a tenure at will. These orders, even admitting them to be legal, are only payable in Philadelphia; and to demand payment there, is a delusive and impracticable right. For the body of the citizens cannot go to Philadelphia to get the change for the small orders; merchants will not remit them; they would as soon carry up the fires of hell to Philadelphia; for the bank would consign them to ruin if they did. These orders are for the frontiers; and it is made the interest and the policy of merchants to leave them at home, and take a bill of exchange at a nominal premium. Brokers alone will ever carry them, and that as their own, after buying them out of the hands of the people at a discount fixed by themselves."

And as for the charter?

Seven violations,
15 abuses."

These Mr Clayton read to the house, not Polk,
Mr Clayton,
from a narrow strip of paper, rolled round his finger so that the writing shd not be seen,
He not having had leisure to copy and amplify.


122 Benton concludes: "Leave was not given to introduce the joint resolution; The friends of the bank being a majority in the Senate, refused the motion, but felt themselves bound to make defence for a currency so illegal and vicious. Further discussion was stopped for that time; but afterwards, on the question of the recharter, the illegality of this kind of currency was fully established, and a clause put into the new charter to suppress it. The veto message put an end to the charter, and for the necessity of the remedy in that
"Seeing the state of parties in Congress, and the tactics of the bank -- that there was a majority in each House for the institution, and no intention to lose time in arguing for it -- our course of action became obvious, which was -- to attack incessantly, assail at all points, display the evil of the institution, rouse the people -- and prepare them to sustain the veto.\footnote{123} It was seen to be the policy of the bank leaders to carry the charter first, and quietly through the Senate; and afterwards, in the same way in the House. We determined to have a contest in both places, and to force the bank into defences which would engage it in a general combat, and lay it open to side-blow, as well as direct attacks. With this view a great many amendments and inquiries were prepared to be offered in the Senate, all of them proper, or plausible, recommendable in themselves, and supported by acceptable reasons; which the friends of the bank must either answer, or reject without answer; and so incur odium. In the House it was determined to make a move, which, whether resisted or admitted by the bank majority, would be certain to have an effect against the institution -- namely, an investigation by a committee of the House, as provided for in the charter. If the investigation was denied, it would be guilt shrinking from detection; if admitted, it was well known that misconduct would be found. I conceived this movement, and had charge of its direction. I preferred the House for the theatre of investigation, as most appropriate, being the grand inquest of the nation; and, besides, wished a contest to be going on there while the Senate was engaged in passing the charter; and the right to raise the committee was complete, in either House. Besides the right reserved in the charter, there was a natural right, when the corporation was asked for a renewed lease, to inquire how it had acted under the previous one. I got Mr. Clayton, a new member from Georgia (who had written a pamphlet against the bank in his own State), to take charge of the movement; and gave him a memorandum of seven alleged breaches of the charter, and fifteen instances of imputed misconduct, to inquire into, if he got his committee; or to allege on the floor, if he encountered resistance.

On Thursday, the 23d of February, Mr. Clayton made his motion -- 'That a select committee be appointed to examine into the..."
affairs of the Bank of the United States, with power to send for persons and papers, and to report the result of their inquiries to the House.'... [A]n attempt was made to repulse it from the consideration of the House... a question which is only raised under the parliamentary law where the motion is too frivolous, or flagrantly improper, to receive the attention of the House. It was a false move on the part of the institution [the bank]; and the more so as it seemed to be the result of deliberation, and came from its immediate representative [Mr. Watmough, of Pennsylvania].... [T]he motion of Mr. Watmough was disallowed.... Another movement was then made to cut off discussion, and get rid of the resolution, by a motion to lay it on the table, also made by a friend of the bank.... This motion was withdrawn at the instance of Mr. McDuffie, who began to see the effect of these motions to suppress, not only investigation, but congressional discussion.... But resistance to investigation was continued by others, and was severely animadverted upon by several speakers -- among others, by Mr. Polk, of Tennessee, who said:

'The bank asks a renewal of its charter; and ought its friends to object to the inquiry? He must say that he had been not a little surprised at the unexpected resistance which had been offered to the resolution under consideration, by the friends and admirers of this institution -- by those who, no doubt, sincerely believed its continued existence for another term of twenty years to be essential to the prosperity of the country. He repeated his surprise that its friends should be found shrinking from the investigation proposed.... The friends of this institution have been careful always to commit it to the same committee, a committee whose opinions were known. Upon the occasion first referred to, that committee made a report favorable to the bank, which was sent forth to the public, -- not a report of facts, not a report founded upon an examination into the affairs of the bank. At the present session, we were modestly asked to extend this bank monopoly for twenty years, without any such examination having taken place....

He would now call the attention of the House to the examination of the bank, made by a committee of this House in the year 1819, and under the order of the House.... That committee visited the bank at Philadelphia; they examined its books, and scrutinized its conduct. They examined on oath the president, a part of the directors and officers of the bank. And what was the result? They discovered many and flagrant abuses. They found that the charter had been violated in divers particulars, and they so reported to this House.... It was suf-
icient to say that at that period, within three years after
the bank had gone into existence, it was upon the very verge
of bankruptcy.... The indulgence of Congress induced them not
to revoke the charter. The bank had gone on in its operations.
Since that period no investigation or examination had taken
place. All we knew of its doings, since that period, was from
the ex parte reports of its own officers. These may all be
correct, but, if they be so, it could do no harm to ascertain
the fact.'

Mr. Clayton then justified his motion for the committee, first
upon the provisions of the charter (article 23) which gave to
either House of Congress the right at all times to appoint a
committee to inspect the books, and to examine into the proceedings
of the bank; and to report whether the provisions of the charter
had been violated; and he treated as a revolt against this prov-
sion of the charter, as well as a sign of guilt, this resistance
to an absolute right on the part of Congress, and most proper to
be exercised when the institution was soliciting the continuation
of its privileges.... Next, he justified his motion on the ground
of misconduct in the bank in seven instances of violated charter,
involving forfeiture; and fifteen instances of abuse, which
required correction, though not amounting to forfeiture of the
charter. All these he read to the House, one by one, from a nar-
row slip of paper, which he continued rolling round his finger
all the time. The memorandum was mine -- in my handwriting --
given to him to copy, and amplify, as they were brief memoranda.
He had not copied them; and having to justify suddenly, he used
the slip I had given him -- rolling it on his finger, as on a
cylinder, to prevent my handwriting from being seen: so he after-
wards told me himself. The reading of these twenty-two heads of
accusation, like so many comts in an indictment, sprung the
friends of the bank to their feet -- and its foes also -- each
finding in it something to rouse them -- one to the defence, the
other to the attack. The accusatory list was as follows:

'First: Violations of charter amounting to forfeiture:
1. The issue of seven millions, and more, of branch bank orders
as a currency.
2. Usury on broken bank notes in Ohio and Kentucky: nine hun-
dred thousand dollars in Ohio, and nearly as much in Kentucky....
3. Domestic bills of exchange, disguised loans to take more
than at the rate of six per cent. Sixteen millions of these bills
for December last. See monthly statements.
4. Non-user of the charter. In this, that from 1819 to 1825,
a period of seven years, the South and West branches issued no
currency of any kind. See the doctrine on non-user of charter and duty of corporations to act up to the end of their institution, and forfeiture for neglect.

5. Building houses to rent. See limitation in their charter on the right to hold real property.

6. In the capital stock, not having due proportion of coin.

7. Foreigners voting for directors, through their trustees.

Second: Abuses worthy of inquiry, not amounting to forfeiture, but going, if true, clearly to show the inexpediency of renewing the charter.

1. Not cashing its own notes, or receiving in deposit at each branch, and at the parent bank, the notes of each other. By reason of this practice, notes of the mother bank are at a discount at many, if not all, of her branches, and completely negatives the assertion of "sound and uniform currency."

2. Making a difference between members of Congress and the citizens generally, in both granting loans and selling bills of exchange. It is believed it can be made to appear that members can obtain bills of exchange without, citizens with a premium; the first give nominal endorsers, the other must give two sufficient resident endorsers.

3. Making a difference in receiving notes from the federal government and the citizens of the States. This is admitted to all notes above five dollars.

4. The undue accumulation of proxies in the hands of a few to control the election for directors.

5. A strong suspicion of secret understanding between the bank and brokers to job in stocks, contrary to the charter. For example, to buy up three per cent. stock at this day; and force the government to pay at par for that stock; and whether the government deposits may not be used to enhance its own debts.

6. Subsidies and loans, directly or indirectly, to printers, editors, and lawyers, for purposes other than the business of the bank.

7. Distinction in favor of merchants in selling bills of exchange.

8. Practices upon local banks and debtors to make them petition Congress for a renewal of its charter, and thus impose upon Congress by false clamor.

9. The actual management of the bank, whether safely and prudently conducted. See monthly statements to the contrary.

10. The actual condition of the bank, her debts and credits; how much she has increased debts and diminished her means to pay in the last year; how much she has increased her credits and multiplied her debtors, since the President's message in 1829, without ability to take up the notes she has issued, and pay her deposits.
11. Excessive issues, all on public deposits.124
12. Whether the account of the bank's prosperity be real or delusive.
13. The amount of gold and silver coin and bullion sent from Western and Southern branches of the parent bank since its establishment in 1817. The amount is supposed to be fifteen or twenty millions, and, with bank interest on bank debts, constitutes a system of the most intolerable oppression of the South and West. The gold and silver of the South and West have been drawn to the mother bank, mostly by the agency of that unlawful currency created by branch bank orders, as will be made fully to appear.
14. The establishment of agencies in different States, under the direction and management of one person only, to deal in bills of exchange, and to transact other business properly belonging to branch banks, contrary to the charter.
15. Giving authority to State banks to discount their bills without authority from the Secretary of the Treasury.

Upon the reading of these charges a heated and prolonged discussion took place, in which more than thirty members engaged (and about an equal number on each side); in which the friends of the bank lost so much ground in the public estimation, in making direct opposition to investigation, that it became necessary to give up that species of opposition -- declare in favor of examination -- but so conducted as to be nugatory, and worse than useless." (v.1, pp. 235-239.)

Congressmen who were friendly to the bank attempted to neutralize the committee of investigation by several ploys: by throwing the investigation into the Committee of Ways and Means, which was known to be friendly to the bank; by reversing the normal House rule of appointing a majority of members favorable to the investigation; by limiting the scope of the inquiry.

"... Mr. Adams introduced a resolution to limit the inquiry to the operations of the mother bank, thereby skipping the twenty seven branches, though some of them were nearer than the parent bank; also limiting the points of inquiry to breaches of the charter, so as to cut off the abuses; also limiting the time to a short day (the 21st of April) -- March then being far advanced; so as to subject full investigation to be baffled for the want of time. The reason given for these restrictions was to bring

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124 See annotation: 89/592: 17.
the investigation within the compass of the session -- so as to
insure action on the application before the adjournment of Cong-
ress -- thereby openly admitting its connection with the presi-
dential election. On seeing his proposed inquiry thus restricted,
Mr. Clayton thus gave vent to his feelings:

'.... It [Mr. Clayton's resolution] has been opposed in every
shape; vote upon vote has been taken upon it, all evidently
tending to evade inquiry; and now it is determined to compel
the committee to report in a limited time, a thing unheard of
before in this House, and our inquiries are to be confined
entirely to the mother bank; whereas her branches, at which
more than half the frauds and oppressions complained of have
been committed, are to go unexamined, and we are to be limited
to breaches of the charter when the abuses charged are numer-
ous and flagrant, and equally injurious to the community....
If the bank can reconcile it to herself to meet no other kind
of investigation but this, she is welcome to all the advantages
which such an insincere and shuffling course is calculated to
confer; the people of this country are too intelligent not to
understand exactly her object.'

.... For myself I became convinced that the bank was insolvent,
as well as criminal; and that, to her, examination was death;
and therefore she could not face it.

.... The committee was composed according to the parliamentary
rule -- the majority in favor of the object....

The committee made three reports -- one by the majority, one
by the minority, and one by Mr. Adams alone. The first was a
severe recrimination of the bank on many points -- usury, issuing
branch bank orders as a currency, selling coin, selling stock
obtained from government under special acts of Congress, donations
for roads and canals, building houses to rent or sell, loans
unduly made to editors, brokers, and members of Congress. The
adversary reports were a defence of the bank on all these points,
and the highest encomiums upon the excellence of its management,
and the universality of its utility; but too much in the spirit
of the advocate to retain the character of legislative reports....
Both, or rather all three sets of reports, were received as ver-
acious, and lauded as victorious, by the respective parties which
they favored; and quoted, as settling for ever the bank question,
each way. But, alas, for the effect of the progress of events!
In a few brief years all this attack and defence -- all this
elaboration of accusation, and refinement of vindication -- all
this zeal and animosity, for and against the bank -- the whole
contest -- was eclipsed and superseded by the actualities of the

125 For Mr. Clayton's description of the Bank's methods of taking
usury, see my introduction, pp. 85-86.
times -- the majority report, as being behind the facts: the minority, as resting upon vanished illusions. And the great bank itself, antagonist of Jackson, called imperial by its friends, and actually constituting a power in the State -- prostrate in the dust and ashes -- and invoking from the community, through the mouth of the greatest of its advocates (Mr. Webster), the oblivion and amnesty of an 'obsolete idea.'

It is not the design of this View to explore these reports for the names of persons implicated (some perhaps unjustly), in the criminating statements of the majority. The object proposed in this work does not require that interference with individuals. The conduct of the institution is the point of inquiry; and in that conduct will be found the warning voice against the dangers and abuses of such an establishment in all time to come."

(Thirty Years' View, v. I, pp. 239, 241-242.)

[88/589: 5-11]

[From "Notes and Queries," 11A, Paideuma, vol. 2 no. 1]:

"... The four aces [sic] at the end of Canto 88 [88/589: 5-11] were originally printed in color. The 52 cards of the pack are related to the 52 weeks of the year and the four seasons only in Pound's associative mind. He saw the playing cards printed on the skirt of one of his visitors to St. Elizabeth's. He interpreted it as an evil omen that the printer placed the Ace of Spades upside down, as it appears in all editions.

Eva Hesse" 126

[From Christine Brooke-Rose, A ZBC of Ezra Pound]:
"In the first edition of Rock-Drill the card suits were in red and black, instead of just black, which was not only prettier, but also emphasized the pairing of the seasons. The juxtaposition creates a marvellously active image. Time is not just years and dates, but weeks and seasons. Time is a pack of cards, to be shuffled by skill and chance, or gathered together in suits through complex games, built up or down black on red in endless sets of patience, or of solitaire, with care perhaps not to get the ace of spades (here printed upside down like a reflection of the ace of hearts and betokening ill-fortune) covered up so that you can't get him out, or a gambling game, no trumps, somebody winning and somebody losing, or else laid out in mysterious formulae from which Madame Sesostris foretells the future, reads character, digs out the vital spots."  

[From Goren, Encyclopedia of Games, "The Implements of Games":]

"Any of several peoples may independently have created playing cards, but the earliest known reference is A.D. 969, and the place is China. The early Chinese cards were almost indistinguishable from Chinese paper money. They established the pattern that has prevailed since: The pack of cards consists of four 'suits,' which is to say, one quarter of the pack consists of cards bearing identical markings in some design or being identical in color, no other card of the pack bearing that design or color....  

The pack of cards sold in the United States was originally the 'French pack.' This 52-card pack was adopted in England, imported when the law permitted, smuggled in when it did not. The French pack and various other packs of cards grew out of the development of card playing in Europe after the 14th century.

At some unknown time (but probably no earlier than the 13th century) there arose in Italy an indigenous pack of twenty-two cards called tarots. Not many decades later, the oriental pack of 'number cards' was introduced into Europe, and perhaps this introduction too came first through Italy. The Italians thereupon developed a pack of 78 cards -- the 22 tarots, and 56 number cards, consisting of cards numbered 1 to 10 in each of four suits, plus four picture cards, a king, a queen, a knight or cavalier, and a knave (jack). This pack is still used for the ancient and basic European game Tarok.... It was varied in other countries, and no doubt for practical reasons: because the printing press would take a sheet ample for 32, or 36, or 40, or 52 cards, but not for more; or because the papermakers in that country made a sheet too small for more than the number of cards that came  

127 Brooke-Rose, ZBC of Ezra Pound, p. 184. In "A Packet for Ezra Pound," W.B. Yeats has compared the structure of The Cantos to the Schifanoia Frescoes at Ferrara; in an interview with D.G. Bridson, Pound agrees: 'The Schifanoia does give -- there is an analogy there. That is to say, you've got the contemporary life, you've got the seasons, you've got the Zodiac and you have the Triumphs of Petrarch in different belts -- I mean, that's the only sort of map or suggestion of a map...." (Bridson, "Interview with Ezra Pound," in New Directions 17.)
to be the national standard; or because a printer had managed to obtain plates for the number cards but not for the tarots; or for any similar reason....

Many playing cards not conforming to the standard designs have been produced and constantly appear.... Some replace the kings, queens and jacks with historical figures (as, in revolutionary France and Russia, and in the United States after the Revolutionary War, heroes of the revolutions replaced them)."128

[From Pound, "ABC of Economics";]

"Every economist has to start somewhere. I start on the proposition that every man who is decent enough to be willing to work for his keep or that of his helpless dependents (immature or senescent) ought to have the chance of doing a reasonable amount of work. This is highly American and anti-English.

THE FIRST STEP is to keep the working day short enough to prevent any one man doing two or three men's paid work.

THE SECOND STEP is the provision of honest certificates of work done (goods produced, or transported, discoveries, facilitations, etc.).

Nobody can be left free to fill in cheques with large figures regardless of services rendered.

Yes, yes, I have a cheque book but if I get fanciful the bank doesn't pay for my cheque.

But there be some, alas my brother there be some who can write cheques for great figures and for mysterious reasons. Who, my brother, controlleth the bank?

In one country the east wind, and in another country the west wind. In England a private firm has for so long done it so quietly that the world has forgotten it. All that our great grandfathers did for the liberation of the American treasury before our fathers were yet in the egg, has been allowed to slip into oblivion, and we are so little taught economics (a dry, dull and damned subject) that there are not ten thousand Americans who are the least aware that a similar movement, a similar step toward liberty or democracy or individual responsibility and state control of the national finances simply never occurred in England. So clever was the British clique, so astute and so prudent that the 'issue has never arisen'. The American in the street knows that England has a 'curious old institution called royalty' [funny old thing out of the poker deck], but he supposes that the two nations have the same fiscal system (that is, if he ever stops to consider it)."129

128 Charles Goren, Goren's Hoyle: Encyclopedia of Games, pp. 579, 580, 582.
129 Pound, in Selected Prose, pp. 237-238.
As against the flat view of time as "funny old thing out of the poker deck" we have:

[From Pound, Guide to Kulchur]:

"At immense remove from popular novelist, Binyon in 1908 or 1909: 'I cdn't do that. Never can do anything QUICK.' Later, in, I think, The Flight of the Dragon, or it may have been in the same conversation, 'Slowness is beauty.'

The sincere reader or auditor can find in those words a very profound intuition of verity. It is a personal aesthetic. The bare 'wrong' phrase carries a far heavier charge of meaning than any timorous qualification such as 'We admit that beauty can't be hustled, it cannot be scamped for time'.

Again I reiterate that if my respected pubrs. expect of me, in accord with contract, a chronological exposition, they will have to wait for tables and an appendix, I have no intention of writing one HERE. Mr Matsumiya is doing his history of Japanese poetry as spring, summer, autumn, winter. J.J. in Ulysses treats his matter as in 24 hours.

I see no reason why the unities shd. be restricted to greek stage plays and never brought into criticism." 130

[From Van Buren, Autobiography, Ch. XLVII]:

"It so happened that my personal relations with Senator Poin-dexter were, from the first, of an arms length character....

He had justly acquired very considerable distinction by his support of General Jackson in the great debate in the House of Representatives, in which the conduct of the latter in the Seminole war; was sought to be deeply implicated; and had now been elected a Senator of the United States by the General's friends and supporters in the State of Mississippi. He presented him- self at Washington for the first time, in that capacity, a few days before the session of 1830-31, drove to the White House in a coach drawn by four cream colored horses, and was announced to the President whilst he and myself (I then being Secretary of State) were engaged on business in the President's office. We repaired at once to the Drawing room, where he was received by the General with cordiality and respect. Having never met him before, I was introduced and a long and sprightly conversation ensued, which was chiefly confined to the President and his vis- itor. In the course of it, old times and scenes were, in suc-cession introduced by the latter and freely spoken of, whilst the exciting political questions of the day were, as it appeared to me, studiously avoided on the part of the Senator, and singularly

130 Pound, Guide to Kulchur, pp. 129-130. See also p. 47:

"The fight against unjust monopoly has never let up from the hour of St Ambrose's philippic. Jean Barral will trace it back to
enough, having regard to the nature of the President's relations with that gentleman, Mr. Clay's sayings and doings constituted the principal theme. The conversation received that direction from the Senator, who introduced and dwelt on the positions which he and Mr. Clay occupied towards each other, and the stirring scenes which had occurred between them, more particularly in the sporting way, at different periods of their busy lives. On the latter head, he gave us the particulars of a famous brag* party, at which Mr. Clay, stung to madness by his losses, had bragged him, against a named sum, his Hotel establishment at Cincinnati — an estate of great value, a brag which he had declined to meet, although he held a hand which could not fail to win, that of two aces and a bragger, and his the oldest hand, which he laid down on the table at the moment of refusal. Mr. Clay, he said, had often told him, that he was the only man who had ever held him in his power. I remember these particulars the more distinctly, from the effects produced on my northern ears by this revelation of the enormous sums of money which were lost and won between them. To the General's they did not, it must be admitted, produce equally astounding effects; but were listened to, as Poindexter knew they would be, as racy reminiscences of somewhat similar scenes through which he had himself passed, at an early period, on the famous 'Clover bottom race course' between him and his life long competitors in all things, the McNairys, the Ervings and the Cannons — cum multis aliis, in the progress of which land patents and class rights in bundles, and horse flesh by droves had been staked on their respective racing steeds in which the General had generally been the favorite of fortune.

Suspicions unfavorable to Mr. Poindexter's fidelity to the administration he had been elected to sustain were already extensively entertained in political circles. With me, at least, they lost none of their force from a personal acquaintance.... The President accompanied him to his carriage, but hastened back after he took his departure, with the question, 'Well, what is your opinion of Poindexter?' My conviction of his hostility and the certainty that he would soon be found in the ranks of the opposition, were of course freely expressed; to which the reply was 'You are certainly right. We are not to his taste, and it will be thought no discredit to us that such is the case, but we will soon shew him that we can do without him.'*131

the Egyptian captivity. Matsumiyo with Japanese angle of incidence writes his history by dividing the year, spring, summer, autumn, winter.

No conception of culture will hold good if you omit the enduring constants in human composition."

* Brag is "the English representative of the Poker family. The full 52-card pack is used. There are three wild cards, the ace of diamonds, jack of clubs and nine of diamonds...called braggers." (Goren, Encyclopedia of Games, p. 81.)

XXVI. CANZONE.

A Song of Fortune.

Lo! I am she who makes the wheel to turn;
Lo! I am she who gives and takes away;
Blamed idly, day by day,
In all mine acts by you, ye humankind.
For whoso smites his visage and doth mourn,
What time he renders back my gifts to me,
Learns then that I decree
No state which mine own arrows may not find.
Who clomb must fall; -- this bear ye well in mind,
Nor say, because he fell, I did him wrong.
Yet mine is a vain song;
For truly ye may find out wisdom when
King Arthur's resting-place is found of men.

Ye make great marvel and astonishment
What time ye see the sluggard lifted up
And the just man to drop,
And ye complain on God and on my sway.
O humankind, ye sin in your complaint;
For He, that Lord who made the world to live,
Lends me not take or give
By mine own act, but as He wills I may.
Yet is the mind of man so castaway,
That it discerns not the supreme behest.
Alas! ye wretchedness,
And chide ye at God also? Shall not He
Judge between good and evil righteously?

Ah! had ye knowledge how God evermore,
With agonies of soul and grievous heats,
As on an anvil beats
On them that in this earth hold high estate, --
Ye would choose little rather than much store,
And solitude than spacious palaces;
Such is the sore disease.
Of anguish that on all their days doth wait.
Behold if they be not unfortunate,
When oft the father dares not trust the son!
O wealth, with thee is won
A worm to gnaw for ever on his soul
Whose abject life is laid in thy control!
If also ye take note what piteous death
They oftentimes make, whose hoards were manifold,
Who cities had and gold
And multitudes of men beneath their hand;
Then he among you that most angereth
Shall bless me, saying, "Lo! I worship thee
That I was not as he
Whose death is thus accurst throughout the land."
But now your living souls are held in band
Of avarice, shutting you from the true light
Which shows how sad and slight
Are this world's treasured riches and array
That still change hands a hundred times a-day.

For me; -- could envy enter in my sphere,
Which of all human taint is clean and quit, --
I well might harbour it
When I behold the peasant at his toil.
Guiding his team, untroubled, free from fear,
He leaves his perfect furrow as he goes,
And gives his field repose
From thorns and tares and weeds that vex the soil:
Thereto he labours, and without turmoil
Entrusts his work to God, content if so
Such guerdon from it grow
That in that year his family shall live:
Nor care nor thought to other things will give.

But now ye may no more have speech of me,
For this mine office craves continual use:
Ye therefore deeply muse
Upon those things which ye have heard the while:
Yea, and even yet remember heedfully
How this my wheel a motion hath so fleet,
That in an eyelid's beat
Him whom it raised it maketh low and vile.
None was, nor is, nor shall be of such guile
Who could, or can, or shall, I say, at length
Prevail against my strength.
But still those men that are my questioners
In bitter torment own their hearts perverse.

Song, that wast made to carry high intent
Dissembled in the garb of humbleness, --
With fair and open face
To Master Thomas let thy course be bent.
Say that a great thing scarcely may be pent
In little room: yet always pray that he
Commend us, thee and me,
To them that are more apt in lofty speech:
For truly one must learn ere he can teach.
This is the canzone to which Pound alludes at 86/566: 19-22:

but man is under Fortuna
? that is a forced translation?
La donna che volgo
Man under Fortune,

"La donna che volgo" is Cavalcanti's Italian, from the first line of the canzone. In The Spirit of Romance, chapter VI, "Lingua Toscana," Pound gives Cavalcanti's first four lines and a translation:

Io son la donna che volgo la ruota
Sono colei, che tolgo e do stato
Ed e sempre biasmato
A torto el modo mio da voi mortali.

I am the woman who turneth the wheel,
I am who giveth and taketh away.
And I am blamed alway
And wrongly, for my deeds, by ye, mankind. 132

Fortune is she of whom Virgil said to Dante:

"He whose wisdom surpasses everything
Made the heavens and gave them overseers,
So that each part would glow on every other,
Thus evenly distributing the light.
So, also, for the splendors of the world
He chose a general minister and guide
Who would from time to time shift vain belongings
From people to people and from kin to kin,
Beyond man's mental powers to prevent:
Thus, one people dominates,
In consequence of her decisions, which,
Like the serpent in the grass, remain concealed...." 133

Robert Graves says that Fortuna's name comes from the Latin vortumna, "she who turns the year about." And there was during the life of the Latin tongue a god named Vortumnus, "the god of the changing year, and of all transactions of sale; near his statue the booksellers had their shops." 134

133 Dante, Hell, VII, 73-84, Louis Biancolli trans., p. 28.
134 Graves, The Greek Myths, v. I, p. 126. Graves speaks of Fortuna’s Greek original, Nemesis, and says: "That Nemesis's wheel was originally the solar year is suggested by the name of her Latin counter-
Fortuna is the ruling spirit of the world, the ideal regulator of distributive justice. As Daniel Pearlman shows in his essay, "The Blue-Eyed Eel: Dame Fortune in Pound's Later Cantos," her presence in Rock-Drill and Thrones, like her presence in the world under the moon (invisible, pervasive), declares itself in signatures:

"... Fortuna's association with change is beautifully represented in the 'violet, pervanche, deep iris;' the shifting colors of her eyes which are also the flowers that come and go in their season and evidence the Divine Mind operating behind nature's 'phase over phase,' the holiness of nature and organic time. Fortuna was, after all, originally a goddess of fertility. The persistence of the popular religious tradition, through which Fortuna enters the work of Dante, is equated with the indestructibility of nature itself, which is forever making manifest the periwinkle eyes of the unblindfolded goddess. Pound is always declaring in these cantos that there are 'signatures' in nature, persistent non-verbal traditions, so that now we can understand some lines previously quoted ('with eyes pervanche,/ three generations, San Vio') as an affirmation of the persistent order and intelligence operating in nature.

In these images of Fortune, therefore, in Canto 97, Pound is reasserting his faith in an indestructible ordering power in nature and man by which any attempts on the part of the ruling classes of men to hide the truth or subvert the Tao must inevitably, in due season, fail. Fortuna, as dispenser of retributive justice, will eventually set things right." 135

Fortune, in the cloak of irony, presides over the turn of the cards; her signature appears in the pips on the card faces.

[See also these lines in Rock-Drill which make up an ideogram:]

89/598: 10, "Che tolgo lo stato."
89/601: 6, " 見 chen, beyond ataraxia"
93/629: 21-22, 630: 1, "Plus the luminous eye / chien / the terror of all four-flushers"
95/646: 30, 647: 1, "a hand without face cards, / the enormous organized cowardice."

part, Fortuna... When the wheel had turned half-circle, the sacred king, raised to the summit of his fortune, was fated to die -- the Actæon stags on her crown... announce this -- but when it came full circle, he revenged himself on the rival who had supplanted him. Her scourge was formerly used for ritual flogging, to fructify the trees and crops, and the apple-bough was the king's passport to Elysium...." 135

See Pearlman, in Agenda, 9, no. 4/10, no. 1, pp. 74-75. For exegesis of quoted passages, see Pearlman, passim. It may be added that "fortune" and "vortex" have their Latin root in the word vertere, "to turn."
Canto LXXXIX

To know the histories to know good from evil

And know whom to trust.

Ching Hao.

[89/590: 1-5]

書 (shu¹ 5857): Books; writings; To narrate; to write.

經 (ching¹ 1123): Classic books.

Shu Ching or Chou King, the Book of History, one of the five Chinese Classic Books. See Pound, Cantos 85 & 86, especially 85/559 Note: "Kung said he had added nothing. Canto 85 is a somewhat detailed confirmation of Kung's view that the basic principles of government are found in the Shu, the History Classic...."

經 (ching¹ 1123): Classic books; or

支 (ching¹ 1117): Streams running underground; flowing water.

文 (hao³ 2062): Good, excellent; well, superior; right. [lit. woman as source of generation & renewal.]

Chi crescera

(Paradiso)

[89/590: 6-7]

Chi crescera: (It.) Who will increase.

[From La Divina Commedia, Paradiso, V. 11. 85-108]:

Così Beatrice a me, com'io scrivo;
Poi si rivolse tutta disiante
A quella parte ove il mondo è più vivo.
Lo suo tacere e il trasmutar sembiante
Poser silenzio al mio cupidio ingegno,
Che già nuove questioni avea davante.
E si come saetta, che nel segno
Percote prìa che sia la corda queta,
Così corremmo nel secondo regno.
Quivi la Donna mia vid'io sì lieta,
Come nel lume di quel ciel si mise,
Che più lucente se ne fe il pianeta.
E se la stella si cambio è rise,
Qual mi fec'io,'che pur di mia natura
Trasmutabile son per tutte guise!
Come in peschiera, ch'è tranquilla e pura,
Traggonsi i pesci a ciò che vien di fuori;
Per modo che lo stimis lor pastura;
Sì vid'io ben più di mille splendori
Trarsi ver noi, ed in ciascun s'udia:
'Ecco chi crescèrà li nostri amori.'
E si come ciascuno a noi venia,
Vedeas! l' ombra piena di letizia
Nel fulgor chiaro che da lei uscia.

Thus, as I write, Beatrice spoke to me.
Then she turned, full of desire, in that direction where the world is most alive.
Her silence and her transfigured face
Imposed silence on my covetous fancy,
Which already had new questions on the way.
And, like an arrow that strikes the target
Before the bowstring has grown still,
So we ran on into the second kingdom.
There I saw my lady look so happy
When she put herself within that Heaven's light
That the star became more luminous from it;
And, if the star itself could change and laugh,
Think what I must have become who by nature
Am transmutable in every fashion!
As in a fish pond that is clear and tranquil
The fish are lured to what comes from outside,
Supposing it to be food meant for them --
So I beheld more than a thousand splendors
Approaching us, and in each one could be heard
"Behold the man who shall increase our loves!"
And as the spirits came up close to us,
We could see that each of them was full of joy
From the great radiance that issued from it. 137

"of societies" said Emanuel Swedenborg.

[89/590: 8]

"The Heavens Consist of Innumerable Societies.

The angels of each heaven are not together in one place,
but are divided into larger and smaller societies in accordance
with the differences of good of love and of faith in which they
are, those who are in like good forming a single society. Goods
in the heavens are in infinite variety, and each angel is as it
were his own good . . .

Again, heaven is where the Lord is acknowledged, believed in,
and loved. Variety in worship of the Lord from the variety of
good in different societies is not harmful, but beneficial, for
the perfection of heaven is therefrom . . .

It is worthy of mention that the greater the number in any
society in heaven and the more these make a one, the more perfect
is its human form, for variety arranged in a heavenly form is what
constitutes perfection, as has been shown above . . . and number gives
variety. Moreover, every society of heaven increases in number
daily, and as it increases it becomes more perfect. Thus not only
the society becomes more perfect, but also heaven in general, because
it is made up of societies. As heaven gains in perfection by increase
of numbers, it is evident how mistaken those are who believe that
heaven may be closed by becoming full; for the opposite is true, that
it will never be closed, but is perfected by greater and greater fulness.

Mr Jefferson lining up for Louis Philippe,
a fact which shd have been known to
M. de Tocqueville.

[89/590: 9-11]

137 Biancolli, trans., Paradiso, p. 19. Pound quotes from this
passage and comments, Guide to Kulchur, p. 292.
138 Swedenborg, Heaven and Its Wonders and Hell, pp. 23, 29, 36.
Pound elaborates the link between Dante's and Swedenborg's visions
at 93/631: 26-28: "E 'chi crescera' they would be individuals./
Swedenborg said 'of societies'/by attraction."
"In the summer of this year General Lafayette, accompanied by his son, Mr. George Washington Lafayette, and under an invitation from the President, revisited the United States after a lapse of forty years. He was received with unbounded honor, affection, and gratitude by the American people. To the survivors of the Revolution, it was the return of a brother; to the new generation, born since that time, it was the apparition of an historical character, familiar from the cradle.... He was received in both Houses of Congress with equal honor; but the Houses did not limit themselves to honors: they added substantial rewards for long past services and sacrifices -- two hundred thousand dollars in money, and twenty-four thousand acres of fertile lands in Florida.... The grants were voted with great unanimity, and with the general concurrence of the American people. Mr. Jefferson was warmly for them, giving as a reason, in a conversation with me while the grants were depending (for the bill was passed in the Christmas holidays, when I had gone to Virginia, and took the opportunity to call upon that great man), which showed his regard for liberty abroad as well as at home, and his far-seeing sagacity into future events. He said there would be a change in France, and Lafayette would be at the head of it, and ought to be easy and independent in his circumstances, to be able to act efficiently in conducting the movement. This he said to me on Christmas day, 1824. Six years afterwards this view into futurity was verified. The old Bourbons had to retire: the Duke of Orleans, a brave general in the republican armies, at the commencement of the Revolution, was handed to the throne by Lafayette, and became the 'citizen king, surrounded by republican institutions.' And in this Lafayette was consistent and sincere. He was a republican himself, but deemed a constitutional monarchy the proper government for France, and labored for that form in the person of Louis XVI. as well as in that of Louis Philippe...."

(Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 29-31.)

139 See 89/595, "...Louis Philippe suggested that/Jackson stand firm/and not sugar his language...." See also annotations 88/583: 9-10 (pp. 177-185 infra.) and 88/584:17-23 (pp. 204-206 infra.).
Privilege to serve with King and Macon
& John Taylor of Carolina.

[89/590: 12-13]

"Retiring of Mr. Rufus King. [1825]

In the summer of this year, this gentleman terminated a long and high career in the legislative department of the federal government, but not entirely to quit its service. He was appointed by the new President, Mr. John Quincy Adams, to the place of Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of St. James, the same place to which he had been appointed thirty years before, and from the same place (the Senate) by President Washington; and from which he had not been removed by President Jefferson, at the revolution of parties, which took place in 1800. He had been connected with the government forty years, having served in the Congress of the Confederation, and in the convention which framed the federal constitution (in both places from his native State of Massachusetts), in the Senate from the State of New-York, being one of the first senators from that State, elected in 1789, with General Philip Schuyler, the father-in-law of General Hamilton. He was afterwards minister to Great Britain, -- again senator, and again minister -- having, in the mean time, declined the invitation of President Washington to be his Secretary of State. He was a federalist of the old school, and the head of that party after the death of General Hamilton; and when the name discriminated a party, with whose views on government and systems of policy, General Washington greatly coincided. As chief of that party, he was voted for as Vice-President in 1808, and as President in 1816....

Like Mr. Macon and John Taylor of Carolina, Mr. King had his individuality of character, manners and dress, but of different type; they, of plain country gentlemen; and he, a high model of courtly refinement.... His colleague in the Senate, during the chief time that I saw him there, was Mr. Van Buren: and it was singular to see a great State represented in the Senate, at the same time, by the chiefs of opposite political parties; Mr. Van Buren was much the younger, and it was delightful to behold the deferential regard which he paid to his elder colleague, always returned with marked kindness and respect.

I felt it to be a privilege to serve in the Senate with three such senators as Mr. King, Mr. Macon, and John Taylor of Carolina, and was anxious to improve such an opportunity into a means of benefit to myself. With Mr. Macon it came easily, as he was the cotemporary and friend of my father and grandfather; with the venerable John Taylor there was no time for any intimacy to grow up, as we only served together for one session; with Mr. King it required a little system of advances on my part, which I had time to make, and which the urbanity of his manners rendered easy....
... he gave me proofs of real regard, and in that most difficult of all friendly offices, -- admonition, counselling against a fault: one instance of which was so marked and so agreeable to me (reproof as it was), that I immediately wrote down the very words of it in a letter to Mrs. Benton (who was then absent from the city), and now copy it, both to do honor to an aged senator, who could thus act a 'father's' part towards a young one, and because I am proud of the words he used to me. The letter says:

"Yesterday (May 20th, 1824), we carried $75,000 for improving the navigation of the Mississippi and the Ohio. I made a good speech, but no part of it will be published. I spoke in reply, and with force and animation. When it was over, Mr. King, of N.Y., came and sat down in a chair by me, and took hold of my hand and said he would speak to me as a father -- that I had great powers, and that he felt a sincere pleasure in seeing me advance and rise in the world, and that he would take the liberty of warning me against an effect of my temper-ament when heated by opposition; that under these circumstances I took an authoritative manner, and a look and tone of defiance, which sat ill upon the older members; and advised me to moderate my manner.'

This was real friendship, enhanced by the kindness of manner, and had its effect. I suppressed that speech, through compliment to him, and have studied moderation and forbearance ever since...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 57-58.)

For Macon see 88/583: "Macon, Guilford..."; 88/584: "... Guilford/Made Yorktown possible..." &c.; 89/590: "Macon mentioned hillsides for grave yards." As for John Taylor, of Caroline, Benton says:

"... by that designation was discriminated, in his own State, the eminent republican statesman of Virginia, who was a Senator in Congress in the first term of General Washington's administration, and in the last term of Mr. Monroe -- and who, having voluntarily withdrawn himself from that high station during the intermediate thirty years, devoted himself to the noble pursuits of agriculture, literature, the study of political economy, and the service of his State or county when called by his fellow-citizens. Personally I knew him but slightly, our meeting in the Senate being our first acquaintance, and our senatorial association limited to the single session of which he was a member -- 1823-1824; -- at the end of which he died. But all my observation of him, and his whole appearance and deportment, went to confirm the reputation of his individuality of character, and high qualities of the head and the heart. I can hardly figure to myself the ideal of a republican statesman more perfect and complete than he was in reality: -- plain and solid, a wise counsellor, a ready and vigorous debater, acute and comprehen-sive, ripe in all historical and political knowledge, innately republican -- modest, courteous, benevolent, hospitable -- a skilful, practical farmer, giving his time to his farm and his books, when not called by an emergency to the public service -- and returning
to his books and his farm when the emergency was over.... He seemed
to have been cast in the same mould with Mr. Macon, and it was pleasant
to see them together, looking like two Grecian sages, and showing
that regard for each other which every one felt for them both. He
belonged to that constellation of great men which shone so brightly
in Virginia in his day, and the light of which was not limited to
Virginia, or our America, but spread through the bounds of the civil-
ized world. He was the author of several works, political and agri-
cultural, of which his Arator in one class, and his Construction
Construed in another, were the principal -- one adorning and exalting
the plough with the attributes of science; the other exploring the
confines of the federal and the State governments, and presenting
a mine of constitutional law very profitably to be examined by the
political student who will not be repulsed from a banquet of rich
ideas, by the quaint Sir Edward Coke style -- (the only point of
resemblance between the republican statesman, and the crown officer
of Elizabeth and James) -- in which it is dressed. Devotion to
State rights was the ruling feature of his policy; and to keep both
governments, State and federal, within their respective constitutional
orbits, was the labor of his political life...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 45-46.)

Entangling alliance with none,
would be from their cultivation,

[89/590: 14-15]

"Inauguration of Mr. Van Buren. [1837]

March the 4th of this year, Mr. Van Buren was inaugurated Pres-
ident of the United States with the usual formalities, and conformed
to the usage of his predecessors in delivering a public address on
the occasion: a declaration of general principles, and an indication
of the general course of the administration, were the tenor of his
discourse: and the doctrines of the democratic school, as understood
at the original formation of parties, were those professed. Close
observance of the federal constitution as written -- no latitudin-
arian constructions permitted, or doubtful powers assumed -- faithful
adherence to all its compromises -- economy in the administration
of the government -- peace, friendship and fair dealing with all
foreign nations -- entangling alliances with none: such was his
political chart: and with the expression of his belief that a
perseverance in this line of foreign policy, with an increased
strength, tried valor of the people, and exhaustless resources of
the country, would entitle us to the good will of nations, protect
our national respectability, and secure us from designed aggression
from foreign powers. His expressions and views on this head deserve
to be commemorated, and to be considered by all those into whose
hands the management of the public affairs may go; and are, there-
fore, here given in his own words:
"Our course of foreign policy has been so uniform and intelligible, as to constitute a rule of executive conduct which leaves little to my discretion, unless, indeed, I were willing to run counter to the lights of experience, and the known opinions of my constituents. We sedulously cultivate the friendship of all nations, as the condition most compatible with our welfare, and the principles of our government. We decline alliances, as adverse to our peace. We desire-commercial relations on equal terms, being ever willing to give a fair equivalent for advantages received. We endeavor to conduct our intercourse with openness and sincerity; promptly avowing our objects, and seeking to establish that mutual frankness which is as beneficial in the dealings of nations as of men. We have no disposition, and we disclaim all right, to meddle in disputes, whether internal or foreign, that may molest other countries; regarding them, in their actual state, as social communities, and preserving a strict neutrality in all their controversies..." ¹⁴⁰

These are sound and encouraging views, and in adherence to them, promise to the United States a career of peace and prosperity comparatively free from the succession of wars which have loaded so many nations with debt and taxes, filled them with so many pensioners and paupers, created so much necessity for permanent fleets and armies; and placed one half the population in the predicament of living upon the labor of the other...." (Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 7.)

would be from their cultivation,
That is to say: revenue from the waste lands would be.

[89/590: 15-16]

This bloc of quotation, together with 1. 14, elides the idea that government, especially federal government, must be free of interests which do not strictly adhere to the welfare of the whole nation, with Benton's militancy against the then current federal practice [year 1828] of selling wilderness lands and unimproved resources at prices comparable to those asked for cultivated lands:

"...sales to the highest bidder, and donations to no one -- with an arbitrary minimum price which placed the cost of all lands, good and bad, at the same uniform rate (after the auctions were over), at one dollar twenty-five cents per acre. I resolved to

¹⁴⁰ See also the Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, pp. 485-486, and annotation: 89/603: 2-5, p. 523.
move against the whole system, and especially in favor of graduated prices, and donations to actual and destitute settlers. I did so in a bill, renewed annually for a long time; and in speeches which had more effect upon the public mind than upon the federal legislation -- counteracted as my plan was by schemes of dividing the public lands, or the money arising from their sale, among the States. It was in support of one of these bills that I produced the authority of Burke...and no one took its spirit and letter more promptly and entirely than President Jackson. He adopted the principle fully, and in one of his annual messages to Congress recommended that, as soon as the public (revolutionary) debt should be discharged (to the payment of which the lands ceded the States were pledged), that they should CEASE TO BE A SUBJECT OF REVENUE, AND BE DISPOSED OF CHIEFLY WITH A VIEW TO SETTLEMENT AND CULTIVATION. His terms of service expired soon after the extinction of the debt, so that he had not an opportunity to carry out his wise and beneficent design...."

Here is Benton's quotation from Edmund Burke's speech in support of a bill for the sale of public lands:

""... The revenue to be derived from the sale of the forest lands will not be so considerable as many have imagined; and I conceive it would be unwise to screw it up to the utmost, or even to suffer bidders to enhance, according to their eagerness, the purchase of objects, wherein the expense of that purchase may weaken the capital to be employed in their cultivation.... The principal revenue which I propose to draw from these uncultivated wastes, is to spring from the improvement and population of the kingdom; events infinitely more advantageous to the revenues of the crown than the rents of the best landed estate which it can hold.... It is thus I would dispose of the unprofitable landed estates of the crown: throw them into the mass of private property: by which they will come, through the course of circulation and through the political secretions of the State, into well-regulated revenue....'

"Mr. Burke considered the revenue derived from the sale of crown lands as a trifle, and of no account, compared to the amount of revenue derivable from the same lands through their settlement and cultivation. He was profoundly right! and provably so, both upon reason and experience. The sale of the land is a single operation. Some money is received, and the cultivation is disabled to that extent from its improvement and cultivation. The cultivation is perennial, and the improved condition of the farmer enables him to pay taxes, and consume dutiable goods, and to sell the products which command the imports which pay duties to the government, and this is the 'well-regulated revenue' which comes
through the course of circulation, and through the 'political
secrections' of the State, and which Mr. Burke commends above
all revenue derived from the sale of lands...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 102, 103.)

Benton argues that government sale of land discourages settle-
ment and ownership by those who are willing to homestead it, and
weakens the virtu of the whole country as it encourages absentee
landlordism, tenantry: "the sale of land brings no people: cultivation
produces population: and people are the true wealth and strength
of nations...." (Ibid., p. 103.)

Freedom not favoured by tenantry,

[89/590: 17.]

".... These various views were presented, and often enforced, in
the course of the several speeches which I made in support of my
graduation and donation bills: and, on the point of population,
and of freeholders, against tenants, I gave utterance to these
sentiments:

'Tenantry is unfavorable to freedom. It lays the foundation
for separate orders in society, annihilates the love of country,
and weakens the spirit of independence. The farming tenant
has, in fact, no country, no hearth, no domestic altar, no
household god. The freeholder, on the contrary, is the natural
supporter of a free government; and it should be the policy
of republics to multiply their freeholders, as it is the policy
of monarchies to multiply tenants. We are a republic, and we
wish to continue so: then multiply the class of freeholders;
pass the public lands cheaply and easily into the hands of the
people; sell, for a reasonable price, to those who are able to
pay; and give, without price, to those who are not able to pay;
and that which is so given, I consider as sold for the best
of prices; for a price above gold and silver; a price which
cannot be carried away by delinquent officers, nor lost in
failing banks, nor stolen by thieves, nor squandered by an
improvident and extravagant administration. It brings a price
above rubies -- a race of virtuous and independent laborers,
the true supporters of their country, and the stock from which
its best defenders must be drawn...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 103-104.)
compare as above Abbas Mirza
"wheat, cotton, barley" July 1823.

[89/590: 18-19]

See 88/584: 'Freeholds, Mirza Mohammed on the persian Abbas' authority/ 'for production of barley, rice, cotton/free of tax or of any contribution whatsoever.' /July 8, 1823."

At p. 106, v.I Thirty Years' View, as part of his speech for a bill to permit the graduated sales and free gift of public lands, Benton quotes "the example of all nations, ancient and modern, republican and monarchical, in favor of giving lands, in parcels suitable to their wants, to meritorious cultivators..." and crowns his list with the proclamation of Abbas Mirza to encourage settlement in Persia. (The proclamation is given in full at annotation: 88/584 above, p.202.)

As to whether law cd/ be abolished by Indian treaty...

[89/590: 20]

"Cession of a Part of the Territory of Arkansas to the Cherokee Indians.

Arkansas was an organized territory, and had been so since the year 1819. Her western boundary was established by act of Congress in May 1824...and was an extension of her existing boundary on that side; and for national and State reasons. It was an outside territory -- beyond the Mississippi -- a frontier both to Mexico (then brought deep into the Valley of the Mississippi by the Florida treaty [1819] which gave away Texas), and to the numerous Indian tribes then being removed from the South Atlantic States to the west of the Mississippi. It was, therefore, a point of national policy to make her strong -- to make her a first class State, -- both for her own sake and that of the Union, -- and equal to all the exigencies of her advanced and frontier position....

In the month of May, 1828, by a treaty negotiated at Washington by the Secretary at War, Mr. James Barbour, on one side, and the chiefs of the Cherokee nation on the other, this new western
boundary for the territory was abolished -- the old line re-established: and what had been an addition to the territory of Arkansas, was ceded to the Cherokees. On the ratification of this treaty several questions arose, all raised by myself -- some of principle, some of expediency -- as, whether a law of Congress could be abolished by an Indian treaty? and whether it was expedient so to reduce, and thus weaken the territory (and future State) of Arkansas? I was opposed to the treaty, and held the negative of both questions, and argued against them with zeal and perseverance. ... The proper objects of treaties were international interests, which neither party could regulate by municipal law, and which required a joint consent, and a double execution, to give it effect. Tried by this test, and this Indian treaty lost its supremacy. The subject was one of ordinary legislation, and specially and exclusively confined to Congress. It was to repeal a law which Congress had made in relation to territory; and to reverse the disposition which Congress had made of a part of its territory. To Congress it belonged to dispose of territory; and to her it belonged to repeal her own laws....

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 107-108.)

The fulcrum of Benton's argument is that the Cherokee nation was neither a foreign nor a sovereign power, coming under the jurisdiction of the federal government of the United States; thus a treaty concluded between the Cherokee nation and officers of the United States would not take precedence over a law of Congress. The question of Cherokee sovereignty was argued before the United States Supreme Court in 1830, when counsel for the Cherokee brought suit against the State of Georgia for encroaching on Indian national rights. The Governor of Georgia refused to participate in the case, denying Cherokee claims to sovereignty within the borders of the State of Georgia; the Cherokee appeal was set aside by the Court, although Chief Justice Marshall in an extra-judicial decision granted that "so much of the argument of counsel as was intended to prove the character of the Cherokees as a State, as a distinct political Society, separated from others, capable of managing their own affairs, and governing itself, has, in the opinion of a majority of the Judges, been completely successful."141

Both Benton and Martin Van Buren describe the movement in support

141 The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, p. 291. In light of the history of the American government's relations with native peoples, including the misery suffered by the Cherokee as result of Jackson's removal policy, the constitutional issue which Benton raises seems rather barren, and only thinly veils his expressed view of native inferiority.
of native claims to sovereignty as a reaction to a federal program, begun in earnest by Andrew Jackson during his first term as President, to remove the Indian nations from their homes within State boundaries to territories west of the Mississippi. Both Benton and Van Buren regard this support as politically motivated, either by white-native "half-breeds" who sought to gain power within tribes otherwise content to obey the government's orders, or by overzealous missionaries, or by the partisans opposed to Jackson's administration and to the democratic party. Neither Benton nor Van Buren consider Cherokee sovereignty a question to be taken seriously. Van Buren says of the Cherokee suit against the State of Georgia:

To sustain this suit it was necessary that two points, independent of its merits, should be decided in [the Cherokees'] favor: 1st, that the Cherokees were a foreign State, in the sense of the Constitution, and, 2nd, that the Supreme Court was competent so far to exercise the political power as to enjoin the action of a State Government in the highest exercise of its authority. It required an extraordinary stretch of charity to believe that their learned and intelligent counsel could have entertained the slightest confidence in the tenability of either position. The fact that the majority of a Court composed of their political friends, honorable men but cherishing sympathies in favor of the cause in which the great abilities of the counsel were employed as strong as their own, rejected both propositions without hesitation, makes overwhelmingly against the good faith in which the proceedings were instituted. 142
to which the "enlightened classes" had sunk.

Benton is replying to the charge made by Alexis de Tocqueville against Andrew Jackson that "The majority of the enlightened classes always opposed to him." Benton says:

"A majority of those classes which Mons. de Tocqueville would chiefly see in the cities, and along the highways -- bankers,

[89/590: 21]

142 Van Buren, Autobiography, p. 292. See also Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 163-166. Most evident here is Van Buren's political cynicism, which if taken as an accurate judgment, reflects the most pervasive racism. Pound's 11. 20-21 here seem to reiterate that sentiment.
brokers, jobbers, contractors, politicians, and speculators --
were certainly against him, and he as certainly against them:
but the mass of the intelligence of the country was with him!
and sustained him in retrieving the country from the deplorable
condition in which the 'enlightened classes' had sunk it!"

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 113.)

Macon mentioned hillsides for grave yards.

[89/590: 22]

".... He [Nathaniel Macon] directed his own grave on the point
of a sterile ridge (where nobody would wish to plough), and covered
with a pile of rough flint-stone, (which nobody would wish to build
with), deeming this sterility and the uselessness of this rock the
best security for that undisturbed repose of the bones which is
still desirable to those who are indifferent to monuments."

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 114.)

[From Pound, Guide to Kulchur]:

"Of living men, Edmondo Rossoni, with his agricultural experts
and his care for crops, is nearest the Confucian model. Nothing
cd. be more false than the idea that Xang was preoccupied with
the dead. He was concerned with the living. Cemeteries shd. be
on high ground, hills least use for cultivation."[43]

Mr Webster erroneous.

[89/590: 23]

This glances back to 88/585,

And at the foundation of the northwestern states
Nathan Dane drew it, excluding servitute
Save it were by the will of the serving.
ORDINANCE

passed not by the North alone.

Except for the last line of this passage, the words quoted are
Daniel Webster's, in support of his contention that the Northern
states have traditionally encouraged the incorporation of new states
as governments of freeholders, to the exclusion of slavery, and that

143 Pound, Guide to Kulchur, p. 274.
Southern states have voted to oppose freehold governments in new states. Benton says that Webster's contention is in reply to a charge in debate that the North holds a record of obstructing settlement of western lands. The year is 1829, the question in debate is whether the sale of public lands should be limited to those currently in market and whether land surveys should be suspended until all lands then in market have been sold. Benton says:

"The debate spread, and took an acrimonious turn, and sectional, imputing to the quarter of the Union from which it came [the North] an old, and early policy to check the growth of the West at the outset by proposing to limit the sale of the western lands to a 'clean riddance' as they went -- selling no tract in advance until all in the rear was sold out. It so happened that the first ordinance reported for the sale and survey of western lands in the Congress of the Confederation, (1785), contained a provision to this effect; and came from a committee strongly Northern...and was struck out in the House on the motion of southern members, supported by the whole power of the South....

Still enlarging its circle, but as yet still confined to the sale and disposition of the public lands, the debate went on to discuss the propriety of selling them to settlers at auction prices, and at an arbitrary minimum for all qualities, and a refusal of donations; and in this hard policy the North was again considered as the exacting part of the Union -- the South as the favorer of liberal terms, and the generous dispenser of gratuitous grants to the settlers in the new States and Territories....

The debate was taking a turn which was foreign to the expectations of the mover of the resolution, and which, in leading to sectional criminations, would only inflame feelings without leading to any practical result. Mr. Webster saw this; and to get rid of the whole subject, moved its indefinite postponement; but in arguing his motion he delivered a speech which introduced new topics, and greatly enlarged the scope, and extended the length of the debate which he proposed to terminate. One of these new topics referred to the authorship, and the merit of passing the famous ordinance of 1787, for the government of the Northwestern Territory, and especially in relation to the antislavery clause which that ordinance contained. Mr. Webster claimed the merit of this authorship for Mr. Nathan Dane -- an eminent jurist of Massachusetts, and avowed that 'it was carried by the North, and by the North alone.' I replied, claiming the authorship for Mr. Jefferson, and showing from the Journals that he (Mr. Jefferson) brought the measure into Congress in the year 1784 (the 19th of April of that year), as
chairman of a committee, with the antislavery clause in it, which Mr. Spight, of North Carolina, moved to strike out; and it was struck out -- the three Southern States present voting for the striking out, because the clause did not then contain the provision in favor of the recovery of fugitive slaves, which was afterwards ingrafted upon it. Mr. Webster says the ordinance reported by Mr. Jefferson in 1784, did not pass into a law. This is a mistake again. It did pass; and that within five days after the antislavery clause was struck out -- and that without any attempt to renew that clause, although the competent number (seven) of non-slaveholding States were present. Two years afterwards, in July 1787, the ordinance was passed over again, as it now stands, and was preeminently the work of the South. The ordinance, as it now stands, was reported by a committee of five members, of whom three were from slaveholding States, and two (and one of them the chairman) were from Virginia alone. The authorship of that ordinance of 1787, and its passage through the old Congress, may be shown in all time to come as the indisputable work, both in its conception and consummation, of the South.

Closely connected with this question of authorship to which Mr. Webster's remarks give rise, was another which excited some warm discussion -- the topic of slavery -- and the effect of its existence or non-existence in different States. Kentucky and Ohio were taken for examples, and the superior improvement and population of Ohio were attributed to its exemption from the evils of slavery. This was an excitable subject, and the more so because the wounds of the Missouri controversy [whether Missouri would be admitted as a state unless slavery were prohibited there], in which the North was the undisputed aggressor, were still tender, and hardly scarred over. I replied to the same topic myself, and said:

'... I was well prepared for that invective against slavery, and for that amplification of the blessings of exemption from slavery, exemplified in the condition of Ohio, which the senator from Massachusetts [Webster] indulged in, and which the object in view required to be derived from the Northeast. I cut the root of that derivation by reading a passage from the Journals of the old Congress; but this will not prevent the invective and encomium from going forth to do their office; nor obliterate the line which was drawn between the free State of Ohio and the slave State of Kentucky. If the only results of this invective and encomium were to exalt still higher the oratorical fame of the speaker, I should spend not a moment in remarking upon them. But it is not to be forgotten that the terrible Missouri agitation took its rise from the "substance of two speeches" delivered on this floor; and since that time, anti-slavery speeches, coming from the same political and geographical quarter, are not to be disregarded here. What was said...
upon that topic was certainly intended for the north side of
the Potomac and Ohio; to the people, then, of that division
of the Union, I wish to address myself, and to disabuse them
of some erroneous impressions. To them I can truly say, that
slavery, in the abstract, has but few advocates or defenders
in the slave-holding States, and that slavery as it is, an
hereditary institution descended upon us from our ancestors,
would have fewer advocates among us than it has, if those who
have nothing to do with the subject would only let us alone...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 131-134, 136.)

Obit Picabia 2. Dec. '53

[89/590: 24]

"Died. Francis Picabia, 75, wealthy, erratic French-
born Cuban painter; of arteriosclerosis; in Paris. A bored,
respectable success at 35, Picabia joined the madcap Dadaist
revolt against tradition during the 20s, in 1950 enraged Paris
critics with a deadpan display of canvases, each enlivened
only by a colored dot placed just off center." 144

See 87/570: "'Europe' said Picabia/'exhausted by the conquest of
Alsace-Lorraine.'"

From "D'Artagnan Twenty Years After," first published in The
Criterion, July 1937:

".... If this present note can be regarded as spoken to toddlers
gathered at one's knee, I should reiterate the sentence on: a great
deal of Paris being chronologically later than the London of 1914,
the best of Paris followed fairly quickly (meaning Picabia then
in New York and Dada then suckling in Geneva). The afternoons
at Picabia's with Cocteau and Marcel Duchamp were thoroughly à la
page in 1920-21, but the rest of Paris was not, and so far as I
can make out from incipient London 1936-37 there is ten years of
time lag still in your city. News is, I suppose, news after a
decade if the news reader is overpoweringly earth-bound, spatial,
etc., but the velocity is rather that of a fog than of etheric
vibration....

The wave that had Picasso as foam rose at least into 1922.
And the intellect inside it was Picabia whose mental activities
cannot be ignored in any serious chronicle of the decade 1914-24.
You can trace a very vital critical action [sic]: Wyndham Lewis,
Picabia, Cocteau. Disjunct, not the conscious process of a con-

spiraq but lively minds meeting a common need of the period.

He discovers the moon once a week' remarked Francis Picabia of Mons. Z.

Picabia is the only man I have ever met who has a genius for handling abstract concepts with the ease and surety a chartered accountant would have with a bill (ordinary) of lading. Bert Russell strikes me as a half wit. The philosophers de carrière, the men who write ABOUT what they call thought, etc. and philosophy, are all heavy, incompetent dunderheads, insensitive to one or other part of the spectrum....

Francis, enfant terrible as draughtsman, ten lines to summarise a year's work by Picasso. Francis the only man who was really indignant at the Mariés de la Tour Eifel because it was not a new creation from scratch. Cet homme, il abime tout. C'est La Tour Eifel de Delauny.

To my mind this was very unjust, in that it did not credit the energy and real work required to get a given effect from a painter's canvas onto the stage and into action. But it was nevertheless prophetic of what the delightful entertainment became: the instant Cocteau took his hands off it and the performers were free to break down all Jean's precisions of movement. I mean the stylisation of their gestures, whereof they were limited to one each in the original presentation.

Picabia greeted Marinetti post-war with: 'I dreamt that it was my great-grandfather who discovered America, but not being an Italian he said nothing about it to anyone.'

.... Picabia was the dynamic under Dada.

It is you might say 'footless' to present surrealism without its mental etat civile -- merely because 66 pages of Picabia were locked in a cellar by a terrified publisher, and are, thence, little known outside the very active group which had immediate access to them in 1919 and '20.

'Europe exhausted by the conquest of Alsace Lorraine.' Pauvres êtes tombés par centaine pour la gloire d'un ventriloque.

Il y a beaucoup moins de choses sur terre que ne nous le fait croire notre philosophie

Even if Picabia's sole virtue were corrosive, which I don't for a moment grant, Europe in 1919-22 needed ammonia, it needed an eau de Javel triple strong, and a man who could cut the barnacles off Picasso, Cocteau, Marinetti, pitilessly but with consummate good humour was an asset to Europe.

I have written more than once that Gaudier-Brzeska was the most complete case of Genius I have ever encountered. Put it creative genius, fully equipped, but Gaudier wasn't a danger to everyone in the room. You could have slept or dreamt for twenty minutes while Gaudier was hammering the butt end of a chisel, but you had not the excitement of mental peril which accompanied François Picabia.
There was never a rubber button on the end of his foil. It wasn't a foil, it was a razor sharp at the point and had thereby the vastly greater pedagogical value."

From "For a New Paideuma," first published in The Criterion, January 1938:

... The Trial of Barrès was a definite intellectual act. Picabia's tremendous phrase, 'Europe exhausted by the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine' ought to have enlightened more men than it did. All war in Europe is civil war from henceforth, it is a man tearing at his own viscera.

It is in perspective four centuries since Milan declined to make war on Venice, on ground that war between buyer and seller could profit neither. Ideas do not go into mass action the day they are born.

... And we might go back to the Trial of Barrès for a perspective....

It was a show, as I remember it, in a smallish hall near the Boulevard 'Mich'. M. Aragon in legal robes as prosecutor, Barrès a wax barber's dummy, and Aragon talked too long. He wore out the audience. That isn't essential. The drama existed when, I think it was, Eluard (it may have been Crevel) came on in a gas mask. That was the antithesis, the dead rhetoric vs. the cannon fodder. A system of clichés had broken down. A bit of stale gas had been left in the mask and the protagonist at a certain point nearly suffocated, could stand it no longer, and tore off the mask. One very red faced real youth sputtering in the stage set.

It ought to have made people think more. At any rate I take it no one actually in the hall has forgotten it. Mme. Rachilde was indignant. All this was seventeen years ago."

And paper cd/ be left to the states.

Filled France with precious metals

when England with her overgrown bank...

and France had no mines for these metals. (187)

[89/591: 1-4]

(See annotation: 88/585, 11. 16-25.)

[From Benton's first speech against renewal of the U.S. Bank's charter, February, 1831:

146 Pound, Selected Prose, pp. 287-288.
"... I am willing to see the currency of the federal government left to the hard money mentioned and intended in the constitution; I am willing to have a hard money government, as that of France has been since the time of assignats and mandats. Every species of paper [currency] might be left to the State authorities, unrecognized by the federal government, and only touched by it for its own convenience when equivalent to gold and silver. Such a currency filled France with the precious metals, when England, with her overgrown bank, was a prey to all the evils of unconvertible paper. It furnished money enough for the imperial government when the population of the empire was three times more numerous, and the expense of government twelve times greater, than the population and expenses of the United States; and, when France possessed no mines of gold or silver, and was destitute of the exports which command the specie of other countries...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 187.)

Public debt increased (England) 400 million.


by paper, when the Bank, on its own declaration, had not a shilling.

[89/591: 5-8]

These lines continue the thought at 88/586: 24-25 and passim. (See above, p.230).

Benton is speaking of the effects on England's economy when the government capitulated to the Bank of England's ultimatum that unless the Bank's paper notes were substituted for specie payments as currency, there would be no further loan accommodations.

"... It was a season of alarm and consternation, and of imminent actual danger to Great Britain; and this was the moment which the Bank selected to notify the minister that no more loans were to be expected! What was the effect of this notification? It was to paralyze the government, and to subdue the minister to the purposes of the bank. From that day forth Mr. Pitt became the minister of the bank; and, before two years were out, he had succeeded in bringing all the departments of government, King, Lords, and Commons, and the Privy Council, to his own slavish condition. He stopped the specie payments of the bank, and made its notes the lawful currency of the land. In 1797 he obtained an order in council for this purpose; in the same year an act of parliament to confirm
the order for a month, and afterwards a series of acts to continue it for twenty years. This was the reign of the bank. For twenty years it was a dominant power in England; and, during that disastrous period, the public debt was increased about 400,000,000 sterling, equal nearly to two thousand millions of dollars, and that by paper loans from a bank which, according to its own declarations, had not a shilling to lend at the commencement of the period! I omit the rest. I say nothing of the general subjugation of the country banks, the rise in price of food, the decline in wages, the increase of crimes and taxes, the multiplication of lords and beggars, and the frightful demoralization of society. I omit all this. I only seize the prominent figure in the picture, that of a government arrested in the midst of war and danger by the veto of a moneyed corporation; and only permitted to go on upon condition of assuming the odium of stopping specie payments, and sustaining the promissory notes of an insolvent bank, as the lawful currency of the land. This single feature suffices to fix the character of the times; for when the government becomes the 'servant of the lender,' the people themselves become its slaves. Cannot the Bank of the United States, if re-chartered, act in the same way? It certainly can, and just as certainly will, when time and opportunity shall serve, and interest may prompt."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 192.)

Profuse issues,

Sudden contractions.

By power of "construction"

CONstrued.

[89/591: 9-12]

"What are the tendencies of a great moneyed power, connected with the government, and controlling its fiscal operations?

.... 6. It tends to make and break fortunes, by the flux and reflux of paper. Profuse issues, and sudden contractions, perform this operation, which can be repeated, like planetary and pestilential visitations, in every cycle of so many years; at every periodical return, transferring millions from the actual possessors of property to the Neptunes who preside over the flux and reflux of paper."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 193.)

".... [I]n the year 1817, when the [second U.S.] Bank went into operation, the United States owed, among other debts, a sum of about fourteen millions and three-quarters, bearing an interest of three per cent. In the same year, the commissioners of the sinking fund were authorized by an act of Congress to purchase
that stock at sixty-five per cent., which was then its market price. Under this authority, the amount of about one million and a half was purchased; the remainder, amounting to about thirteen millions and a quarter, has continued unpurchased to this day; and, after costing the United States about six millions in interest since 1817, the stock has risen about four millions in value; that is to say, from sixty-five to nearly ninety-five. Now, here is a clear loss of ten millions of dollars to the United States. In 1817 she could have paid off thirteen millions and a half of debt, with eight millions and a half of dollars; now, after paying six millions of interest, it would require twelve millions and a half to pay off the same debt. By referring to the statement of undrawn balances, it will be seen that the United States had, during the whole year 1817, an average sum of above ten millions of dollars in the hands of the bank, being a million and a half more than enough to have bought in the whole of the three per cent. stock. The question, therefore, naturally comes up, why was it not applied to the redemption of these thirteen millions and a quarter, according to the authority contained in the act of Congress of that year? Certainly the bank needed the money; for it was just getting into operation, and was as hard run to escape bankruptcy about that time, as any bank that ever was saved from the brink of destruction. This is the largest injury which we have sustained, on account of accommodating the bank with the gratuitous use of these vast deposits....

...It is now two years since I made an effort to repeal the 4th section of the Sinking Fund act of 1817; a section which was intended to limit the amount of surplus money which might be kept in the treasury, to two millions of dollars; but, by the power of construction, was made to authorize the keeping of two millions in addition to the surplus. I wished to repeal this section, which had thus been construed into the reverse of its intention, and to revive the first section of the Sinking Fund act of 1790, which directed the whole of the surplus on hand to be applied, at the end of each year, to the payment of the public debt. My argument was this: that there was no necessity to keep any surplus; that the revenue, coming in as fast as it went out, was like a perennial fountain, which you might drain to the last drop, and not exhaust; for the place of the last drop would be supplied the instant it was out.... This was the argument, which in fact availed nothing..." (Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 195.)

Branch forced on Alabama, trade in bills Ersatz for products (199)

Hence WAR, 30 years later.

[89/59]: 13-15]
"... I object to the renewal of the [second U.S. Bank's] charter, on account of the exclusive privileges, and anti-republican monopoly, which it gives to the stockholders...." [One of the privileges given to the Bank under the charter, which Benton sees as "dangerous and pernicious to the government and the people," is]:

"7. To establish branches in the different States without their consent and in defiance of their resistance. No one can deny the degrading and injurious tendency of this privilege. It derogates from the sovereignty of a State; tramples upon her laws; injures her revenue and commerce; lays open her government to the attacks of centralism; impairs the property of her citizens; and fastens a vampire on her bosom to suck out her gold and silver.... The State of Alabama, but four years ago [1827], by a resolve of her legislature, remonstrated against the intrusion of a branch upon her. She protested against the favor. Was the will of the State respected? On the contrary, was not a branch instantaneously forced upon her, as if, by the suddenness of the action, to make a striking and conspicuous display of the omnipotence of the bank, and the nullity of the State? ..... [This privilege of establishing branches in different States without their consent] is injurious to the commerce of the States (I speak of the Western States), by substituting a trade in bills of exchange, for a trade in the products of the country.... It fastens a vampire on the bosom of the State, to suck away its gold and silver, and to co-operate with the course of trade, of federal legislation, and of exchange, in draining the South and West of all their hard money. The Southern States, with their thirty millions of annual exports in cotton, rice, and tobacco, and the Western States, with their twelve millions of provisions and tobacco exported from New Orleans, and five millions consumed in the South, and on the lower Mississippi,— that is to say, with three fifths of the marketable productions of the Union, are not able to sustain thirty specie paying banks; while the minority of the States north of the Potomac, without any of the great staples for export, have above four hundred of such banks. These States, without rice, without cotton, without tobacco, without sugar, and with less flour and provisions, to export, are saturated with gold and silver; while the Southern and Western States, with all the real sources of wealth, are in a state of the utmost destitution. For this calamitous reversal of the natural order of things, the Bank of the United States stands forth pre-eminently culpable. Yes, it is pre-eminently culpable!" (Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 193, 199.)

["Hence WAR, 30 years later," is Pound's remark. It refers to the American war between the southern and the northern states.]

Prototype in Threadneedle St. failed...overtrading.
"... Let no one say that the bank of the United States is too great to fail. One greater than it, and its prototype, has failed, and that in our own day, and for twenty years at a time: the Bank of England failed in 1797, and the Bank of the United States was on the point of failing in 1819. The same cause, namely, stock-jobbing and overtrading, carried both to the brink of destruction; the same means saved both, namely, the name, the credit, and the helping hand of the governments which protected them..." (Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 200.)

Our OWN money lent 'em and WE paid one and one half million interest.

"... I pass over other instances of the damage suffered by the United States on account of this partnership [with the bank]; the immense standing deposits for which we receive no compensation; the loan of five millions of our own money, for which we have paid a million and a half in interest..." (Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 200.)

and more serious: the Political aspect.

"... Disadvantageous as this partnership must be to the United States in a moneyed point of view, there is a far more grave and serious aspect under which to view it. It is the political aspect, resulting from the union between the bank and the government. This union has been tried in England, and has been found there to be just as disastrous a conjunction as the union between church and state. It is the conjunction of the lender and the borrower, and Holy Writ has told us which of these categories will be master of the other. But suppose they agree to drop rivalry, and unite their resources. Suppose they combine, and make a push for political power: how great is the mischief which they may not accomplish!" (Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 200.)
As against its hug as well as its blow,
I speak of Sir William Pulteney.

"... But, on this head, I wish to use the language of one of the brightest patriots of Great Britain; one who has shown himself, in these modern days, to be the worthy successor of those old iron barons, whose patriotism commanded the unpurchasable eulogium of the elder Pitt. I speak of Sir William Pulteney, and his speech against the Bank of England, in 1797."

"The Speech: -- Extract.

'I have said enough to show that government has been rendered dependent on the bank, and more particularly so in the time of war; and though the bank has not yet fallen into the hands of ambitious men, yet it is evident that it might, in such hands, assume a power sufficient to control and overawe, not only the ministers, but king, lords, and commons... As the bank has thus become dangerous to government, it might, on the other hand, by uniting with an ambitious minister, become the means of establishing a fourth estate, sufficient to involve this nation in irretrievable slavery... My object is to secure the country against all risk either from the bank as opposed to government, or as the engine of ambitious men.'

"And this is my [Benton's] object also. I wish to secure the Union from all chance of harm from this bank. I wish to provide against its friendship, as well as its enmity -- against all danger from its hug, as well as from its blow. I wish to provide against all risk, and every hazard; for, if this risk and hazard were too great to be encountered by King, Lords, and Commons, in Great Britain, they must certainly be too great to be encountered by the people of the United States, who are but commons alone."

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 200-201.)

Name for name, king for king

Pound is perhaps remarking here on Benton's use of "language" parallel to Sir William Pulteney's (Benton has not only quoted Pulteney,

147 See 88/585: 26-27, "His reference to/Parnells, Humes, Ellices, Wm. Pultneys...."
he has also used Pulteney's idiom and phrasing) by way of noticing paradigms: for example, the principle that sovereignty is "in the power to issue" a currency, and thus rests with government and not with a private corporation. This tenet, as the extract quoted above shows, is both Benton's and Pulteney's. The measured repetition of ("Name for name, king for king/wang/wang") gives emphasis to the re-emergence of paradigm, as a kind of tally -- names on the firm side of this struggle ("Bellum perenne").

| wang
| wang

[wang² 7037] A prince or king: A ruler.

"... The hoary character 王 'King' (found already on Sang bronzes) is interpreted as 王 the mediator between 王 the three powers: heaven, earth and man." 148

Foreigners own 7 million

[89/591: 25]

Indicting the bank for admitting foreign partners, Benton says:

"... the report of the Committee of Ways and Means, in the House of Representatives, for the last [1830] session of Congress...admits that foreigners own seven millions of the stock of this bank; and every body knows that the federal government owns seven millions also.... The name of this bank is a deception upon the public. It

is not the bank of the federal government, as its name would import, nor of the States which compose this Union; but chiefly of private individuals, foreigners as well as natives, denizens, and naturalized subjects. They own twenty-eight millions of the stock, the federal government but seven millions, and these seven are precisely balanced by the stock of the aliens.... Now mark a few of the privileges which this charter gives to these foreigners. To be landholders, in defiance of the State laws, which forbid aliens to hold land; to be landlords by incorporation, and to hold American citizens for tenants; to hold lands in mortmain; to be pawnbrokers and merchants by incorporation; to pay the revenue of the United States in their own notes; in short, to do every thing which I have endeavored to point out in the long and hideous list of exclusive privileges granted to this bank. If I have shown it to be dangerous for the United States to be in partnership with its own citizens, how much stronger is not the argument against a partnership with foreigners?" (Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 201.)

usury at 46 in violation,

[89/591: 26]


Benton is describing the U.S. Bank's privilege of "exemption from due course of law for violations of its charter" through intervention by Congress or by the President of the United States:

"... Another and most alarming mischief results from the same extraordinary privilege. It gives the bank a direct interest in the presidential and congressional elections: it gives it need for friends in Congress and in the presidential chair. Its fate, its very existence, may often depend upon the friendship of the President and Congress; and, in such cases, it is not in human nature to avoid using the immense means in the hands of the bank to influence the elections of these officers. Take the existing fact -- the case to which I alluded at the commencement of this speech. There is a case made out, ripe with judicial evidence, and big with the fate of the bank. It is a case of usury at the rate of forty-six percent., in violation of the charter, which only admits an interest of six. The facts were admitted, in the court below, by the bank's demurrer; the law was decided, in the court above, by the supreme judges. The admission concludes the facts; the decision concludes the law. The forfeiture of the charter is established; the forfeiture is incurred; the application of the forfeiture alone is wanting to put an end to the
institution. An impartial President or Congress might let the laws take their course; those of a different temper might interpose their veto. What a crisis for the bank! It beholds the sword of Damocles suspended over its head! What an interest in keeping those away who might suffer the hair to be cut!"

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 202.)

if beneficial, why not several?

[89/591: 27]

Benton comes to the twelfth exclusive privilege held by the bank:

".... To have all these unjust privileges secured to the corporators as a monopoly, by a pledge of the public faith to charter no other bank. -- This is the most hideous feature in the whole mass of deformity. If these banks are beneficial institutions, why not several? one, at least, and each independent of the other, to each great section of the Union? If malignant, why create one? The restriction constitutes the monopoly, and renders more invidious what was sufficiently hateful in itself...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 202.)

Adams match for 1/2 the House till the last,
Randolph scourge of corruption.

[89/592: 1-2]

Benton is replying to Alexis de Tocqueville's notion that governments directly elected by popular choice are incompetent to manage affairs:

".... A fundamental error of this kind -- one which goes to the root of representative government, occurs in chapter 8 of his work [de Tocqueville's Democracy in America], where he finds a great difference in the members comprising the two Houses of Congress, attributing an immense superiority to the Senate, and discovering the cause of the difference in the different modes of electing the members -- the popular elections of the House, and the legislative elections of the Senate. He says: --

'.... Why is the former body [the House] remarkable for its vulgarity, and its poverty of talent, whilst the latter
[the Senate] seems to enjoy a monopoly of intelligence and sound judgment? .... The only reason which appears to me adequately to account for it is, that the House of Representatives is elected by the populace directly, and that of the Senate is elected by an indirect application of universal suffrage [through the State legislatures]; but this transmission of the popular authority through an assembly of chosen men operates an important change in it, by refining its discretion and improving the forms which it adopts....'" 

"....[De Tocqueville] seems to look upon the members of the two Houses as different orders of beings -- different classes -- a higher and a lower class; the former placed in the Senate by the wisdom of State legislatures, the latter in the House of Representatives by the folly of the people -- when the fact is, that they are not only of the same order and class, but mainly the same individuals. The Senate is almost entirely made up out of the House! and it is quite certain that every senator whom Mons. de Tocqueville had in his eye when he bestowed such encomium on that body had come from the House of Representatives! placed there by the popular vote, and afterwards transferred to the Senate by the legislature; not as new men just discovered by the superior sagacity of that body, but as public men with national reputations, already illustrated by the operation of popular elections.... 

Monsieur de Tocqueville is profoundly wrong, and does great injury to democratic government, as his theory countenances the monarchial idea of the incapacity of the people for self-government. They are with us the best and safest depositories of the political elective power. They have not only furnished to the Senate its ablest members through the House of Representatives, but have sometimes repaired the injustice of State legislatures, which repulsed or discarded some eminent men. The late Mr. John Quincy Adams, after forty years of illustrious service -- after having been minister to half the great courts of Europe, a senator in Congress, Secretary of State, and President of the United States -- in the full possession of all his great faculties, was refused an election by the Massachusetts legislature to the United States Senate, where he had served thirty years before. Refused by the legislature, he was taken up by the people, sent to the House of Representatives, and served there to octogenarian age -- attentive, vigilant and capable 149 an example to all, and a match for half the House to the last. 'The brilliant, incorruptible, sagacious Randolph -- friend of the people, of the constitution, of economy and hard money -- scourge and foe to all corruption, plunder and jobbing -- had nearly the same fate; dropped from the Senate by the Virginia general assembly, restored to the House of Representatives

149 Adams died while still serving in the House, in 1848, at the age of 80.
"An advantage, Mr Van Buren".

(Aukland at Talleyrand's)

[89/592: 3-4]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Chap. LIX., "Rejection of Mr. Van Buren, Minister to England."]:

"At the period of the election of General Jackson to the Presidency, four gentlemen stood prominent in the political ranks, each indicated by his friends for the succession, and each willing to be the General's successor. They were Messrs. Clay and Webster, and Messrs. Calhoun and Van Buren; the two former classing politically against General Jackson -- the two latter with him. But an event soon occurred to override all political distinction, and to bring discordant and rival elements to work together for a common object. That event was the appointment of Mr. Van Buren to be Secretary of State -- a post then looked upon as a stepping-stone to the Presidency -- and the imputed predilection of General Jackson for him. This presented him as an obstacle in the path of the other three, and which the interest of each required to be got out of the way. The strife first, and soon, began in the cabinet, where Mr. Calhoun had several friends; and Mr. Van Buren, seeing that General Jackson's administration was likely to be embarrassed on his account, determined to resign his post.... He made known his design to the President, and his wish to retire from the cabinet did so -- received the appointment of minister to London, and immediately left the United States; and the cabinet, having been from the beginning without harmony or cohesion, was dissolved -- some resigning voluntarily, the rest under requisition.... The voluntary resigning members were classed as friends to Mr. Van Buren, the involuntary as opposed to him, and two of them (Messrs. Ingham and Branch) as friends to Mr. Calhoun; and became, of course, alienated from General Jackson....

Mr. Van Buren had nothing to do with this dissolution, of which General Jackson has borne voluntary and written testimony.... But the whole catastrophe was charged upon him by his political opponents, and for the unworthy purpose of ousting the friends of Mr. Van Buren.

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150 Mr. Benton omits to mention himself on this list: in 1850, after thirty years' service in the U.S. Senate, Benton's nomination for another term was rejected by a combined political opposition in the Missouri state assembly. In 1852 he campaigned for a seat in the House of Representatives from his home district of St. Louis, and
Calhoun, and procuring a new set of members entirely devoted to his interest. This imputation was negatived by his immediate departure from the country, setting out at once upon his mission, without awaiting the action of the Senate on his nomination. This was in the summer of 1831. Early in the ensuing session -- at its very commencement, in fact -- his nomination was sent in, and it was quickly perceptible that there was to be an attack upon him -- a combined one; the three rival statesmen acting in concert, and each backed by all his friends. No one outside of the combination, myself alone excepted, could believe it would be successful. I saw they were masters of the nomination from the first day, and would reject it when they were ready to exhibit a case of justification to the country: and so informed General Jackson from an early period in the session....

It was Mr. Gabriel Moore, of Alabama, who sat near me, and to whom I said, when the vote was declared, 'You have broken a minister, and elected a Vice-President.' He asked how? and I told him the people would see nothing in it but a combination of rivals against a competitor, and would pull them all down, and set him up. 'Good God!' said he, 'why didn't you tell me that before I voted,' and I would have voted the other way."

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 214, 215.)

Benton tells how the vote to reject Van Buren's nomination was contrived by the anti-Van Buren coalition to appear as a tie -- an equal number of Senators voting for the nomination as against it -- so that John Calhoun, then Vice-President and President of the Senate, might cast the deciding vote in rejection of Van Buren: "The combination had a superfluity of votes, and, as Mr. Van Buren's friends were every one known, and would sit fast, it only required the superfluous votes on one side to go out; and thus an equilibrium between the two lines was established...."

There was, at the time, some doubt among their friends as to the policy of the rejection; but the three chiefs were positive in their belief that a senatorial condemnation would be political death. I heard Mr. Calhoun say to one of his doubting friends, 'It will kill him, sir, kill him dead. He will never kick, sir, never kick....'

.... I said nothing in the debate; but as soon as the vote was over I wrote to Mr. Van Buren a very plain letter, only intended for himself....

The prominent idea in this letter was, that the people would

was elected by a large popular vote. See W.N. Chambers and E.B. Smith for accounts of the elections and of the anti-Benton forces in Benton's home state.
see the rejection in the same light that I did -- as a combination
to put down a rival -- as a political blunder -- and that it would
work out the other way. The same idea prevailed in England. On
the evening of the day, on the morning of which all the London
newspapers heralded the rejection of the American minister, there
was a great party at Prince Talleyrand's -- then the representative
at the British court, of the new King of the French, Louis Phillippe.
Mr. Van Buren, always master of himself, and of all the proprieties
of his position, was there, as if nothing had happened; and received
distinguished attentions, and complimentary allusions. Lord Auckland,
grandson to the Mr. Eden who was one of the Commissioners of Con-
ciliation sent to us at the beginning of the revolutionary troubles,
said to him, 'It is an advantage to a public man to be the subject
of an outrage' -- a remark, wise in itself, and prophetic in its
application to the person to whom it was addressed. He came home --
apparently gave himself no trouble about what had happened -- was
taken up by the people -- elected, successively, Vice-President
and President -- while none of those combined against him ever
attained either position." (Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 218-219.)

2 buffer states and 3 dynasties.

[89/592: 5]

[See Canto 86/560: 14-17,

.... But Talleyrand set up Belgium,

Two dynasties, two buffer states,

wd/ have set Poland.

So that Belgium saved Frogland; Svizzera neutral.

Ca'our, tessitore.

[89/592: 6]

(It.): Cavour, weaver.* Count Camillo Benso di Cavour (1810-
61), Italian statesman; premier (1852-59). See Pound, "A Visiting
Card:"

151 Van Buren's account of this incident has a slightly different
* The allusion contained in the epithet "weaver" is not clear.
It is perhaps a popular nickname for Cavour (?)
"The Rothschilds financed the armies against the Roman Republic. Naturally. They tried to buy over Cavour. Naturally. Cavour accomplished the first stage towards Italian unity, allowing himself to be exploited according to the custom of his times, but he refused to be dominated by the exploiters." 152

Author: Good God you don't mean they're worse than the other gang?

Borah: "Eh...e... No,
I...eh...can't say that e...exactly."

[89/592: 7-10]

"Borah" is William E. Borah, Senator from Idaho 1907 -1940. Pound corresponded with Senator Borah, who worked during the latter part of Franklin Roosevelt's second administration to keep the United States out of another war in Europe, and visited the Senator in Washington during his visit to the U.S. in 1939. In Canto 84 (p. 537) Pound quotes Borah's conversation:

"am sure I don't know what a man like you would find to do here"
said Senator Borah
Thus the solons, in Washington, on the executive, and on the country, a.d. 1939

In Guide to Kulchur Pound says of Borah and others,

"America (the U.S.) has not paid its debt even in thought to the men who kept the U.S. OUT of the League at Geneva. If we have Susan B. Anthony in the rogues' gallery recently shoved onto our postage stamps, we shd. think up something better, some really honorific memento, say a monument really well sculpted, for Lodge, Knox, Borah and George Holden Tinkham, for having kept our fatherland out of at least one stinking imbroglio." 153

152 Pound, Selected Prose, p. 327. Pound mentions Cavour several times in Guide to Kulchur. See the index.
As for the conversation between the "auctor", Pound, and Sen. Borah, from which these lines presumably come, I have discovered neither its source, nor its context, nor which gangs are being discussed.

"Borrowing its own
(the Nation's own)
money".

Said Randolph of Roanoke,
"And paying interest."

[89/592: 11-15]

[See 87/569:

Of Roanoke, EIGHTEEN 31:
"Nation silly to borrow its own."

I have not so far found such a statement attributed to John Randolph. Benton, in his speech of 1831 against the bank's recharter, counts among the bank's unjustly held privileges, "To hold the moneys of the United States in deposit, without making compensation for the use of the undrawn balances," and remarks:

"... At the same time it is incontestable, that the United States have been borrowing these undrawn balances from the bank, and paying an interest upon their own money." 154

Tariff promoted sectional feeling.

[89/592: 16]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. XXXIV, "Revision of the Tariff."]:

154 Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 194. For Benton's proof of this charge, see Appendix C, p. 562.
"The tariff of 1828 is an era in our legislation, being the event from which the doctrine of 'nullification' takes its origin, and from which a serious division dates between the North and the South. It was the work of politicians and manufacturers; and was commenced for the benefit of the woollen interest, and upon a bill chiefly designed to favor that branch of manufacturing industry. But, like all other bills of the kind, it required help from other interests to get itself along; and that help was only to be obtained by admitting other interests into the benefits of the bill. And so, what began as a special benefit, intended for the advantage of a particular interest, became general, and ended with including all manufacturing interests -- or at least as many as were necessary to make up the strength necessary to carry it."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 95.)

Advocates of this tariff system declared that the tariff was to be protective since it imposed duties on imported goods which gave a competitive advantage to home products; in fact, it amounted to an inflation of prices on home-produced goods commensurable to the increased prices of imports. The tariff of 1828 and its successors gave a government sanction to price-inflation. Benton quotes Senator Rowan of Kentucky, who gives his estimate of this tariff's real operational effect:

"'He was not opposed to the tariff as a system of revenue, honestly devoted to the objects and purposes of revenue -- on the contrary, he was friendly to a tariff of that character; but when perverted by the ambition of political aspirants, and the secret influence of inordinate cupidity, to purposes of individual, and sectional ascendency, he could not be seduced by the captivation of names, or terms, however attractive, to lend it his individual support.

'It is in vain, Mr. President, said he, that it is called the American System -- names do not alter things. There is but one American System, and that is delineated in the State and Federal constitutions. It is the system of equal rights and privileges secured by the representative principle -- a system, which, instead of subjecting the proceeds of the labor of some to taxation, in the view to enrich others, secures to all the proceeds of their labor -- exempts all from taxation, except for the support of the protecting power of the government.... Those who may need, and buy those articles [supported by the tariff], must pay to the grower, or manufacturer of them, an increased price to the amount of the duties imposed upon the like articles of foreign growth or
fabric. To this tax upon the labor of the consumer, his individual opinion was opposed...."  

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 95.)

This protective tariff, the so-called "American System," chiefly benefited manufacturing interests in the northeastern United States. It laid the greatest burden on the staple-producing regions of the South, whose products were either excluded from the protection of the tariff, or were taxed in foreign ports in reprisal against the American tariff. Benton says:

".... Under this legislation the exports of the South have been made the basis of the federal revenue. The twenty odd millions annually levied upon imported goods, are deducted out of the price of their cotton, rice and tobacco, either in the diminished price which they receive for these staples in foreign ports, or in the increased price which they pay for the articles they have to consume at home. Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia, may be said to defray three fourths of the annual expense of supporting the federal government; and of this great sum annually furnished by them, nothing, or next to nothing, is returned to them in the shape of government expenditure. That expenditure flows in an opposite direction; it flows northwardly, in one uniform, uninterrupted and perennial stream; it takes the course of trade and of exchange; and this is the reason why wealth disappears from the South and rises up in the North. Federal legislation does all this; it does it by the simple process of eternally taking away from the South, and returning nothing to it...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 98-99.)

Excessive issues, all on public deposits.

[89/592: 17]

This is the eleventh head of a list of fourteen abuses by the Bank of the U.S. of its charter, which was read out by Rep. Clayton of Georgia, in support of his motion to select a committee to investigate the bank's affairs in relation to its public pledges. Benton had said in his first speech against the bank's recharter:

"... The bank is now authorized to own effects, lands inclusive, to the amount of fifty-five millions of dollars, and to issue notes to the amount of thirty-five millions more... [It] has the keeping of the public moneys, now amounting to twenty-six millions per annum.... " (Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 191.)

Martin Van Buren remarks that during this same period when Benton and others were beginning to call for an investigation of the bank's practices, the bank increased its discounts [loans] by nearly thirty million dollars: "Forty millions had been for years the average amount of the loans of the bank. In October 1830 they stood at $40,527,523. Between January 1831 and May 1832 they were increased to $70,428,007...." 156

Treasury wd/ pay one hundred Cents on the $
for what cd/ be had for odd 60.

[89/592: 18-19]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Chap. LXV, "The Three Per Cent. Debt, and Loss in Not Paying It When the Rate Was Low, and the Money in the Bank of the United States Without Interest."]:

"There was a part of the revolutionary debt, incurred by the States and assumed by Congress, amounting to thirteen and a quarter millions of dollars, on which an interest of only three per centum was allowed. Of course, the stock of this debt could be but little over fifty cents in the dollar in a country where legal interest was six per centum, and actual interest often more. In 1817, when the Bank of the United States went into operation, the price of that stock was sixty-four per centum -- the money was in bank, more than enough to pay it -- a gratuitous deposit, bringing no interest -- and which was contained in her vaults -- her situation requiring the aid of the federal government to enable her to keep her doors open. I had submitted a resolve early in my term of service to have this stock purchased at its market value; and for that purpose to enlarge the power of the commissioners of the sinking fund, then limited to a price a little below the current

156 Van Buren, Autobiography, p. 621: "The design [of the Bank]... was to place the Country so deeply and unless relief could in some other way be obtained -- so irretrievably in debt as to compel the whole community to demand of the President that he should give his assent to a bill which it was certain would be passed by the two Houses, to extend the charter of the bank as the only means by which it could be saved from wide spread distress and cureless ruin; an
rate: a motion which was resisted and defeated by the friends of the bank. I then moved a resolve that the bank pay interest on the deposits: which was opposed and defeated in like manner. Eventually, and when the rest of the public debt should be paid off, and the payment of these thirteen and a quarter millions would become obligatory under a policy which eschewed all debt -- a consummation then rapidly approaching, under General Jackson's administration -- it was clear that the treasury would pay one hundred cents on the dollar on what could be then purchased for sixty-odd, losing in the mean time the interest on the money with which it could be paid." (Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 242.)

As Indian silver in our time
21 but the suckers paid 75.

[89/592: 20-21]

[From "Gold and Work"]:

"Usurocracy makes wars in succession. It makes them according to a pre-established plan for the purpose of creating debts.

For every debt incurred when a bushel of grain is worth a certain sum of money, repayment is demanded when it requires five bushels or more to raise the same sum. This is accompanied by much talk of devaluation, inflation, revaluation, deflation, and a return to gold. By returning to gold, Mr. Churchill forced the Indian peasant to pay two bushels of grain in taxes and interest which a short time before he had been able to pay with one only....

The enemy is ignorance (our own). At the beginning of the nineteenth century John Adams (Pater Patriae) saw that the defects and errors of the American government derived not so much from the corruption of government officials as from ignorance of coin, credit, and circulation.

The situation is the same today. The subject is considered too dry by those who do not understand its significance. For example, at about the end of last December [1943?] a banker boasted to me that at a certain period he could remember Italian paper money was worth more than gold. One concludes that in that particular 'golden age' the Rothschilds were wanting to purchase gold cheap, in order to send its price rocketing later.

In the same way the Sassoons and their accomplices profited from the slump in silver. At one period, in fact, silver fell to 23 cents per ounce, and was later bought by certain American idiots

appeal which the bank managers believed he would not dare to disregard and which, if disregarded, would inevitably defeat his re-election."
at 75 cents per ounce, in order to please their masters and to 'save India', where, with the return to gold, Mr. Churchill, as we have remarked, forced the peasants to pay two bushels of grain in taxes and interest which a short time before could have been paid with only one. 157

Catron (I think it was) had shown horse-sense.

[89/592: 22]

[See 89/603: 13, "Yes, it was Catron, had already told Jackson."] John Catron, political friend and correspondent of Andrew Jackson, was chief justice of the Tennessee supreme court from 1830-1836, and in 1837 was appointed by Martin Van Buren to the United States supreme court. Benton's only mention of Catron, so far as I can see, is in this last connection.

[From a letter of Catron to Andrew Jackson, March 21, 1835. Catron advises against the nomination of Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, for Vice-President by the democrats at their upcoming convention. Johnson was nominated and became Van Buren's Vice-President from 1837-1841. Catron says:

"My dear Sir we must not in this great and I trust final battle against thirty five millions of money [the Bank], against uncompromising nullification, against a scheme of protection, and of its correlative, waste by internal improvements, think of humouring third rate politicians from a state flatly against us [Kentucky was rightly regarded as a Clay stronghold]. In all conscience we have been most kind to our next neighbors considering they had so little to offer in exchange...

158 Bassett, ed., The Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, v.5, p. 332.
If our government must sell monopolies!

sd/ Andy Jackson

A bill to renew the charter of the second United States Bank was brought into the Senate in 1832, four years before the first charter was to expire. The bill was introduced by Clay and Webster with the approval of the bank's president, Nicholas Biddle, and was passed by both houses of Congress despite strenuous opposition from Benton and nineteen other democratic, anti-bank senators and an adverse majority report from a House committee formed to investigate the bank. In Thirty Years' View, v.I, at pp. 243-250, Benton gives the history of the bill's passage and of the struggle to stop it. In Chap. LXVIII, he tells how and why Jackson vetoed the recharter:

"....[The President's] first objection was to the exclusive privileges which it granted to corporators who had already enjoyed them, the great value of these privileges, and the inadequacy of the sum to be paid for them. He said:

'Every monopoly, and all exclusive privileges, are granted at the expense of the public, which ought to receive a fair equivalent. The many millions which this act proposes to bestow on the stockholders of the existing bank, must come directly or indirectly out of the earnings of the American people. It is due to them, therefore, if their government sell monopolies and exclusive privileges, that they should at least exact for them as much as they are worth in open market. The value of the monopoly in this case may be correctly ascertained.
The twenty-eight millions of stock would probably be at an advance of fifty per cent., and command, in market, at least forty-two millions of dollars, subject to the payment of the present loans. The present value of the monopoly, therefore, is seventeen millions of dollars, and this the act proposes to sell for three millions....

It is not conceivable how the present stockholders can have any claim to the special favor of the government. The present corporation has enjoyed its monopoly during the period stipulated in the original contract. If we must have such a corporation, why should not the government sell the whole stock, and thus secure to the people the full market value of the privileges granted?

.... But this act does not permit competition in the purchase of this monopoly. It seems to be predicated on the erroneous idea that the present stockholders have a prescriptive right, not only to the favor, but to the bounty of the government. It appears that more than a fourth part of the stock is held by foreigners, and the residue is held by a few hundred of our citizens, chiefly of the richest class. For their benefit does this act exclude the whole American people from competition in the purchase of this monopoly, and dispose of it for many millions less than it is worth....

.... If our government must sell monopolies, it would seem to be its duty to take nothing less than their full value; and if gratuities must be made once in fifteen or twenty years, let them not be bestowed on the subjects of a foreign government, nor upon a designated or favored class of men in our own country. It is but justice and good policy, as far as the nature of the case will admit, to confine our favors to our own fellow-citizens, and let each in his turn enjoy an opportunity to profit by our bounty. In the bearings of the act before me upon these points, I find ample reasons why it should not become a law."

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 251-252.)

70 million,

mehercule ventum!

[89/592: 26-27]

The Senate and House had voted to recharter the bank; President Jackson had vetoed the bill to recharter. Pro-bank Senators and Congressmen, including Clay and Webster, predicted financial ruin on
a national scale, especially in the West, if Jackson's veto held and the bank's charter were allowed to expire. The implication was that as long as Jackson was President, financial ruin was certain. Replying to Clay in a speech printed in Thirty Years' View, v. I, at pp. 256-265, Benton lays blame for any future ruin of the West to the bank's machinations:

"Mr. B. demanded how the West came to be selected by these two senators [Clay and Webster] as the theatre for the operation of all the terrors and seductions of the bank debt? Did no other part of the country owe money to the bank? Yes! certainly, fifteen millions in the South, and twenty-five millions north of the Potomac. Why then were not the North and the South included in the fancied fate of the West? Simply because the presidential election could not be affected by the bank debt in those quarters.... The bank debt was the argument for the West; and the bank and the orators had worked hand in hand, to produce, and to use, this argument. Mr. B. then affirmed, that the debt had been created for the very purpose to which it was now applied; an electioneering, political purpose, and this he proved by a reference to authentic documents.

First: He took the total bank debt, as it existed when President Jackson first brought the bank charter before the view of Congress in December, 1829, and showed it to be $40,216,000; then he took the total debt as it stood at present [1832], being $70,428,000; and thus showed an increase of thirty millions in the short space of two years and four months. This great increase had occurred since the President had delivered opinions against the bank, and when as a prudent, and law abiding institution, it ought to have been reducing and curtailing its business, or at all events, keeping it stationary. He then showed the annual progress of this increase, to demonstrate that the increase was faster and faster, as the charter drew nearer and nearer to its termination, and the question of its renewal pressed closer and closer upon the people. 159"

(Thirty Years' View, v. I, p. 258.)

Benton then demonstrates that this increase of $30 million of debt is distributed almost entirely among the western states, that the bank intends to use the western debt as a political lever to

159 See annotation: 89/592: 17, pp. 293-294.
elect its own candidates; that in fact the bank has not increased western prosperity by loans but has drained money, both paper and hard currency, from the western states.

"... Mr. B. rapidly summed up with a view of the dangerous power of the bank, and the present audacity of her conduct. She wielded a debt of seventy millions of dollars, with an organization which extended to every part of the Union, and she was sole mistress of the moneyed power of the republic. She had thrown herself into the political arena, to control and govern the presidential election.... The war is now upon Jackson, and if he is defeated, all the rest will fall an easy prey. What individual could stand in the States against the power of the bank, and that bank flushed with a victory over the conqueror of the conquerors of Bonaparte? The whole government would fall into the hands of this moneyed power...." (Thirty Years' View, v. I, p. 263.)

mehercule ventum! (L.): by Hercules' wind! This is Pound's comment on oath.

with bowie knives

pre- not ex-officio.

[89/592: 28-29]

In reply to Benton's speech in support of the President's veto of the bank's recharter, Henry Clay alludes to the feud between Andrew Jackson and Thomas and Jesse Benton which occurred while the Bentons were still living in Tennessee, and which erupted in a vicious brawl involving Jackson and friends and the Bentons, in a Nashville barroom in 1813. Jackson and Benton had been friends before the quarrel, but afterward for some time they were at odds, and John Spencer Bassett, Jackson's biographer, regards this fight as having destroyed Benton's political prospects in Tennessee.160 He soon after emigrated to Missouri.

In his biographical introduction to Thirty Years' View, Benton remarks:

160 Bassett, p. 70. The circumstances of the feud are laughable enough; see Bassett, pp. 67-70.
"While in the early part of life, at Nashville and at St. Louis, duels and affrays were common; and the young Benton had his share of them: a very violent affray between himself and brother on one side, and Genl. Jackson and some friends on the other, in which severe pistol and dagger wounds were given, but fortunately without loss of life; and the only use for which that violent collision now finds a reference is in its total oblivion by the parties, and the cordiality with which they acted together for the public good in their subsequent long and intimate public career...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, v.)

In his speech, Clay alludes to the fracas and feud between Benton and Jackson in a way to discredit the sincerity of Benton's support for the President. He says:

"... The senator [Benton] intimates, that in my remarks on the message of the President, I was deficient in a proper degree of courtesy towards that officer. Whether my deportment here be decorous or not, I should not choose to be decided upon by the gentleman from Missouri.... There are some peculiar reasons why I should not go to that senator for my views of decorum, in regard to my bearing towards the chief magistrate, and why he is not a fit instructor. I never had any personal rencontre with the President of the United States. I never complained of any outrages on my person committed by him. I never published any bulletins respecting his private brawls. The gentleman will understand my allusion. [Mr. B. said: He will understand you, sir, and so will you him.] I never complained, that while a brother of mine was down on the ground, senseless or dead, he received another blow. I have never made any declaration like these relative to the individual who is President. There is also a singular prophecy as to the consequences of the election of this individual, which far surpasses, in evil foreboding, whatever I may have ever said in regard to his election.... I never declared my apprehension and belief, that if he were elected, we should be obliged to legislate with pistols and dirks by our side...."

'Mr. B replied. It is true, sir, that I had an affair with General Jackson, and that I did complain of his conduct. We fought, sir; and we fought, I hope, like men. When the explosion was over, there remained no ill will, on either side. No vituperation or system of petty persecution was kept up between us. Yes, sir, it is true, that I had the personal difficulty, which the senator from Kentucky has had the delicacy to bring before the Senate. But let me tell the senator from Kentucky there is no 'adjourned question of veracity' between me and General Jackson.
All difficulty between us ended with the conflict; and a few months after it, I believe that either party would cheerfully have relieved the other from any peril; and now we shake hands and are friendly when we meet. I repeat, sir, that there is no 'adjourned question of veracity' between me and General Jackson, standing over for settlement. If there had been, a gulf would have separated us as deep as hell.

'Mr. B. then referred to the prediction alleged by Mr. Clay, to have been made by him. I have seen, he said, a placard, first issued in Missouri, and republished lately. It first appeared in 1825, and stated that I had said, in a public address, that if General Jackson should be elected, we must be guarded with pistols and dirks to defend ourselves while legislating here. This went the rounds of the papers at the time.... The same thing has lately been printed here, and, in the night, stuck up in a placard upon the posts and walls of this city. While its author remained concealed, it was impossible for me to hold him to account, nor could I make him responsible, who, in the dark, sticks it to the posts and walls: but since it is in open day introduced into this chamber I am enabled to meet it as it deserves to be met. I see who it is that uses it here, and to his face [pointing to Mr. Clay] I am enabled to pronounce it, as I now do, an atrocious calumny....' (Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 263-264.)

Pound's remark follows Benton's explanation that the quarrel between him and Jackson was between private persons, having nothing to do with public matters, as indeed it hadn't, and that it occurred before either held important national office -- although both Benton and Jackson were active in local politics. Benton's accuser here, Clay, could not say the same for his own conduct -- as Benton's account of the Clay-Randolph duel attests: a quarrel between public officers, over a national question, Clay's right to challenge having been denied by Randolph for this very reason, that the constitution protects the right to criticise the acts of public officers from violence; that officers must uphold the constitution and laws, even in contradiction of their own passions.

Do our cottons sold in Canton & Calcutty need such protection at home?
"The cycle had come round which, periodically, and once in four years, brings up a presidential election and a tariff discussion. The two events seemed to be inseparable; and this being the fourth year from the last presidential election, and being the long session which precedes the election, it was the one in regular course in which the greatest efforts to operate upon public opinion through the measures which they propose, or oppose in Congress....

The two leading measures of this plan of operations [the Clay-Webster coalition's plan] -- the bank and the tariff -- were brought forward simultaneously and quickly -- on the same day, and under the same lead. The memorial for the renewal of the bank charter was presented in the Senate on the 9th day of January [1832]: on the same day, and as soon as it was referred, Mr. Clay submitted a resolution in relation to the tariff, and delivered a speech of three days' duration in support of the American system. The President, in his message, and in view of the approaching extinction of the public debt -- then reduced to an event of certainty within the coming year -- recommended the abolition of duties on numerous articles of necessity or comfort, not produced at home. Mr. Clay proposed to make the reduction in subordination to the preservation of the 'American system:' and this opened the whole question of free trade and protection; and occasioned that field to be trod over again with all the vigor of a fresh exploration....

It so happened, that while the advocates of the American system were calling so earnestly for government protection, to enable them to sustain themselves at home, that the custom-house books were showing that a great many species of our manufactures, and especially the cotton, were going abroad to far distant countries; and sustaining themselves on remote theatres against all competition, and beyond the range of any help from our laws. Mr. Clay, himself, spoke of this exportation, to show the excellence of our fabrics, and that they were worth protection; I used the same fact to show that they were independent of protection; and said:

'And here I would ask, how many and which are the articles that require the present high rate of protection? Certainly not the cotton manufacture; for, the senator from Kentucky [Mr. Clay], who appears on this floor as the leading champion of domestic manufactures, and whose admissions of fact must be conclusive against his arguments of theory! this senator tells you, and dwells upon the disclosure with triumphant exultation, that American cottons are now exported to Asia, and sold at a profit in the cotton markets of Canton and Calcutta! Surely, sir, our tariff laws of 1824 and 1828 are not in force in Bengal and China.
And I appeal to all mankind for the truth of the inference, that, if our cottons can go to these countries, and be sold at a profit without any protection at all, they can stay at home, and be sold to our citizens, without loss, under a less protection than fifty and two hundred and fifty per centum!... The only effect of such duties is to cut off importations -- to create monopoly at home -- to enable our manufacturers to sell their goods higher to their own christian fellow-citizens than to the pagan worshippers of Fo and of Brahma!" (Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 265-266, 271-272.)

And do not tax salt, said Aurelian.

[89/593: 2]

At the climax of his speech against the "American system", Benton pays tribute to the resourcefulness of the people and country of the West as the cause of the West's emergence from economic depression -- in contradiction of Clay's contention that the tariffs of 1824 and 1828 were responsible for the West's renewed prosperity. "Protection" of needed products by tariff is not protection at all, since it taxes their consumers with price increases equivalent to the imposed duties; and higher prices are what the yeoman West, rich in capacity for work and poor in financial resources, can least afford:

"The fine effects of the high tariff upon the prosperity of the West have been celebrated on this floor: with how much reason, let facts respond, and the people judge! I do not think we are indebted to the high tariff for our fertile lands and our navigable rivers; and I am certain we are indebted to these blessings for the prosperity we enjoy. In all that comes from the soil, the people of the West are rich... but, beyond this, they are poor! They have none of the splendid works which imply the presence of the moneyed power!... And why none of those things? Have the people of the west no taste for public improvements, for the useful and the fine arts, and for literature? Certainly they have a very strong taste for them; but they have no money! not enough for private and current uses, not enough to defray our current expenses, and buy necessaries! without thinking of public improvements. We have no money!... They have no adequate supply of money. And why? Have they no exports? Nothing to send abroad? Certainly they have exports. Behold the marching myriads of living animals annually taking their departure from the heart of the West, defiling
through the gorges of the Cumberland, the Alleghany, and the Apa-
lachian mountains, or traversing the plains of the South, diverging
as they march, and spreading themselves all over that vast segment
of our territorial circle which lies between the debouches of the
Mississippi and the estuary of the Potomac! Behold, on the other
hand, the flying steamboats, and the fleets of floating arks, loaded
with the products of the forest, the farm, and the pasture, following
the course of our noble rivers, and bearing their freights to that
great city which revives, upon the banks of the Mississippi, the
name* of the greatest of the emperors that ever reigned upon the
banks of the Tiber, and who eclipsed the glory of his own heroic
exploits by giving an order to his legions never to levy a con-
tribution of salt upon a Roman citizen! Behold this double line
of exports, and observe the refluent currents of gold and silver
which result from them! Large are the supplies -- millions are
the amount which is annually poured into the West from these
double exportations; enough to cover the face of the earth with
magnificent improvements, and to cram every industrious pocket
with gold and silver. But where is the money? for it is not in
the country! Where does it go? for go it does, and scarcely leaves
a vestige of its transit behind! Sir, it goes to the Northeast!
to the seat of the American system! there it goes! and thus it goes!"
[Benton's note is: "**Aurelian, whose name was given to the
military station (presidium) which was afterwards corrupted into
'Orléans.'] (Thirty Years' View, v. I, p. 273.)

(See also annotation: 585: 13, p. 218: "Repeal of the salt tax.")

Benton campaigned against taxes on imported salt from the begin-
ing to the end of his Senate career. The inference of this line
and the two preceding is clear: good government does not inhere in
taxing the goods most necessary to daily productive life; a people
so taxed is an impoverished people. It may be remembered in this
regard that one of the significant acts of resistance to British
rule in India was the collection by thousands of people of salt on
the Indian sea coast: the free collection of salt was in violation
of colonial law, and tens of thousands, including Gandhi and Nehru,
were jailed before the numbers disobeying the law made its enforce-
ment absurd.

Mr Taney.

[89/593: 3]
"[Roger Brooke Taney]: 1777-1864, American jurist; U.S. Attorney General (1831-33), Secretary of the Treasury (1833-34), Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (1836-64)...."

President Jackson appointed Taney, a prominent Baltimore lawyer, then Attorney General of Maryland, to the office of United States Attorney General in 1831, after the dissolution of Jackson's first cabinet. "[Taney] was one of the Federalists who had given a zealous support to General Jackson in 1828. Taney became, along with Van Buren, Jackson's strongest supporter in cabinet. He stood against the United States Bank and was the only cabinet member to advocate removal of the United States deposits from the bank. Taney succeeded Louis McLane and William Duane as Secretary of the Treasury in 1833, both his predecessors having been forced to resign when they refused to comply with Jackson's order to stop Treasury deposits with the bank. Taney's conduct as Secretary of the Treasury aroused the hatred of the pro-bank forces in the Senate. Benton says:

"A presentiment of what was to happen induced the President to delay, until near the end of the session [of 1834], the nomination to the Senate of Mr. Taney for Secretary of the Treasury. He had offended the Bank of the United States too much to expect his confirmation in the present temper of the Senate. He had a right to hold back the nomination to the last day of the session... and he retained it to the last week, not being willing to lose the able and faithful services of that gentleman during the actual session of Congress. At last, on the 23d of June, the nomination was sent in, and immediately rejected by the usual majority in all cases in which the bank was concerned. Mr. Taney, the same day resigned his place...." (Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 470.)

At Canto 37/185, Pound quotes from Van Buren's Autobiography as measure of the banking crisis of 1834 and of the merit of Taney's action to prevent the U.S. revenues from being deposited with the bank "of the United States" (Taney's plan was to deposit the revenues with selected State banks):

"'Had not Mr Taney (of the treasury) prevented that branch (in New York) from then collecting

161 Edwards & Vasse, Annotated Index... p.212.
8 million 700 thousand and armed our city with
9 million to defend us (the whole country)
in this war on its trade and commerce,
Cambreleng, Globe Extra 1834"

Here is Van Buren's account:

"My next extract is from a speech made by Churchill C. Cambreleng, a gentleman who deservedly occupied a high position among the ablest and purest of the representatives whom the great city of New York has, from time to time, sent to the National Legislature.... I have known Mr. Cambreleng long and intimately and I am quite sure that I well understand his character. A North Carolinian by birth and a friend and disciple of Nathaniel Macon he has throughout our intercourse demonstrated himself to my observation as honest as the steelyard and as direct in the pursuit of his purpose as a shot from a culverin.... What he said on the occasion referred to was spoken and published in the vicinity of the bank, by the side of the most important of its branches, and was liable, if untrue, to be exposed and contradicted at the moment, and I know that nothing could have been more mortifying to him... than to have been convicted of inaccuracy upon the subject....

The first step taken by the bank, [he said] was on the 13th August, last year, (1833) -- the second on the 1st of October. The resolutions adopted by the Board ordered that the premium on exchange should be advanced -- that no bills should be purchased, except on the Atlantic cities, Mobile and New Orleans, and at shorter dates -- that loans in the interior should be converted into bills on these cities -- that the branches should discontinue receiving the notes of distant State banks -- that the balances against all such banks should be collected, and the bank immediately commenced a rapid curtailment. These measures calculated to ruin our merchants, break our institutions and disturb our currency and exchanges, were adopted because other banks were about to be employed to collect the public revenue! Such were the preparations made for an explosion on the meeting of Congress.... The resolutions of the 13th August were expressly designed to arm the branches on the Atlantic, and especially the New York branch, with funds in bills at ninety days to create a debt against the local banks. Under the resolutions of both dates some thirty or forty millions in bills were thrown into the Atlantic cities, Mobile and New Orleans, for collection.... Armed with these millions in Western drafts, with branches steadily accumulating, the branch at New York would have drawn from our city banks their last dollar and would have broken every bank in the Union had not the Secretary of the Treasury [Mr. Taney], between the 30th September and the 1st April,
prevented that branch from collecting $8,760,000 -- had he not armed our city institutions with near nine millions to defend the whole Country in this war upon its trade and currency. [Extra-Globe, 1834, page 181.] 164

Burr did his job 20 years late.

I have found no source for this remark; I can only assume that "Burr" is Aaron Burr, 1756-1836, officer in the American Revolutionary army, Senator from New York (1791-97). Burr ran as a Jeffersonian Republican for Vice-President in the Presidential election of 1800, intrigued for votes, received the same number of Presidential electoral votes as Jefferson, refused to cede the election to Jefferson and take the second position; only Alexander Hamilton's influence in Jefferson's favour with Federalist pro-Adams Representatives finally decided the election for Jefferson. Four years later Hamilton again threw his influence against Burr in the New York gubernatorial election; two months later Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel and killed him on July 11, 1804. Perhaps this is the "job" to which Pound refers. (At 62/350 Pound says,

"and as for Hamilton
we may take it (my authority, ego scriptor cantilenae) that he was the Prime snot in ALL American history (11th Jan. 1938, from Rapallo) ..."

Monsieur Webbsair voulait lezarder.

(Fr.) Mr. Webster liked to lounge.

The source for this Francophone line is not clear. Martin Van Buren speaks of a concerted effort by Daniel Webster and Edward Livingston, Jackson's second Secretary of State, to ingratiate Webster

with Jackson and "to bring Mr. Webster into [Jackson's] cabinet or to make him his trusted and confidential adviser..." apparently to gain political leverage over Henry Clay, Livingston's enemy and Webster's chief rival for control of the Federalist (Whig) party. One motive which Van Buren ascribes to both Livingston and Webster for this intrigue is the desire of both for a sinecure:

"... They were both, moreover, somewhat weather-beaten politicians who, whatever may have been their enthusiasm at earlier stages in their careers, were no longer swayed by that ardent devotion to particular political tenets or that absorbing anxiety for success which younger Statesmen -- and many even older than themselves, Gen. Jackson, by way of illustration, -- could not shake off at will, but preferred in an equal degree, the enjoyment of public stations exempted, as far as practicable, from the cares and sacrifices often inseparable from a punctilious discharge of the duties attached to them...."

Ut moveat, ut doceat, ut dilectet

[89/593: 6]

(L.) To move, to instruct, to delight. (Properly, delectet.)
[From Pound, ABC of Reading]:

"Rodolfo Agricola in an edition dating from fifteen hundred and something says one writes: ut doceat, ut moveat ut delectet, to teach, to move or to delight..."

& J.Q.A. objecting to slavery

Roman law 2/3rds hogswoggled by same

[89/593: 7-8]

[From entries in the Diary of John Quincy Adams. Adams wrote these remarks in 1820, when he was Secretary of State under James Monroe]:

166 Pound, ABC of Reading, p. 66. See Pound's commentary on this axiom, p. 67: "A great deal of bad criticism is due to men not seeing which of these three motives underlies a given composition...."
"Feb. 24. -- I had some conversation with [John] Calhoun on the slave question pending in Congress [whether to admit Missouri to the Union as a slave state.] He said he did not think it would produce a dissolution of the Union, but, if it should, the South would be from necessity compelled to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Great Britain....

... [If the dissolution of the Union should result from the slave question, it is as obvious as anything that can be foreseen of futurity, that it must shortly afterwards be followed by the universal emancipation of the slaves.... Slavery is the great and foul stain upon the North American Union, and it is a contemplation worthy of the most exalted soul whether its total abolition is or is not practicable: if practicable, by what it may be effected, and if a choice of means be within the scope of the object, what means would accomplish it at the smallest cost of human suffering. A dissolution, at least temporary, of the Union, as now constituted, would be certainly necessary... The Union might then be reorganized on the fundamental principle of emancipation. This object is vast in its compass, awful in its prospects, sublime and beautiful in its issue....

March 5. -- It was said that in the hottest paroxysms of the Missouri question in the Senate, James Barbour, one of the Virginian Senators, was going round to all the free-State members and proposing to them to call a convention of the States to dissolve the Union, and agree upon the terms of separation and the mode of disposing of the public debt of the lands, and make other necessary arrangements of disunion. Dana said he told him that he was not for calling a convention to separate, but he had no objection to a convention to form a more perfect union. I observed that I thought a convention might, in the course of a few years, be found necessary to remedy the great imperfections of the present system... I added that there were three subjects, each of which might produce a state of things issuing in such a necessity. One was, the regulation of the currency, banks, and paper money: another, the impotence of the National Government to make internal improvements by roads and canals: and the third was slavery....

Nov. 12. -- ... Calhoun spoke to me with great concern at the reappearance of the question upon the admission of Missouri as a State into the Union. After all the difficulty with which it was compromised at the last session of Congress, the Convention which made their [Missouri's] Constitution has raised a new obstacle by an article declaring it to be the duty of the Legislature to pass laws prohibiting negroes and persons of color from coming into the State; which is directly repugnant to the article in the Constitution of the United States which provides that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States....

Nov. 29. -- ... [If I were a member of the Legislature of one
of the free States, I would move for a declaratory act, that so long as the article in the Constitution of Missouri depriving the colored citizens of the State, say of Massachusetts, of their rights as citizens of the United States within the State of Missouri, should subsist, so long the white citizens of the State of Missouri should be held as aliens within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, not entitled to claim or enjoy within the same any right or privilege of a citizen of the United States. And I would go further, and declare that Congress having given sanction to the Missouri Constitution, by admitting that State into the Union without excepting against that article which disfranchised a portion of the citizens of Massachusetts whose rights are violated by the article in the Missouri Constitution should be redintegrated in the full enjoyment and possession of those rights, no clause or article of the Constitution of the United States should, within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, be so construed as to authorize any person whomsoever to claim the property or possession of a human being as a slave. And I would prohibit by law the delivery of any fugitive slave upon the claim of his master. All which I would do, not to violate but to redeem from violation, the Constitution of the United States... If slavery be the destined sword in the hand of the destroying angel which is to sever the ties of this union, the same sword will cut in sunder the bonds of slavery itself. A dissolution of the Union for the cause of slavery would be followed by a servile war in the slave-holding States combined with a war between the two severed portions of the Union. It seems to me that its result must be the extirpation of slavery from this whole continent; and, calamitous and desolating as this course of events in its progress must be, so glorious would be its final issue, that, as God shall judge me, I dare not say that it is not to be desired."

Until the end of his life Adams stood in opposition to the extension of slavery; he was the chief of those Congressmen who introduced petitions by the Society of Friends and other anti-slavery societies praying the abolition of slavery. The reaction of senators and representatives from slave states to these petitions was to request and impose a gag rule against their being introduced. When Adams objected that such a rule was unconstitutional, he was reviled; late in his public career, attempts were made to censure him and drive him from his seat in the House. At Canto 34/170-171, Pound quotes Adams:

The world, the flesh, the devils in hell are
Against any man who now in the North American Union
shall dare to join the standard of Almighty God to
Put down the African slave trade...what can I
Seventy-four years, verge of my birthday, shaking hand
...for the suppression of the African slave trade....

This condenses Adams' diary entry for March 29, 1841:

".... I find impulses of duty upon my own conscience which I
cannot resist, while on the other hand are the magnitude, the
danger, the insurmountable burden of labor to be encountered in
the undertaking to touch upon the slave-trade. No one else will
undertake it; no one but a spirit unconquerable by man, woman or
fiend can undertake it but with the heart of martyrdom. The world,
the flesh, and all the devils in hell are arrayed against any man
who now in this North American Union shall dare to join the stan-
dard of Almighty God to put down the African slave-trade; and
what can I, upon the verge of my seventy-fourth birthday, with
a shaking hand, a darkening eye, a drowsy brain, and with all my
faculties dropping from me one by one, as the teeth are dropping
from my head -- what can I do for the cause of God and man, for
the progress of human emancipation, for the suppression of the
African slave-trade? Yet my conscience presses me on; let me but
die upon the breach."168

Adams laboured against vicious opposition to get the gag-rule
repealed in the House. On Dec. 3, 1845, it was repealed by a majority.
Adams' diary account of the House proceedings for this day ends with
this remark: "The question was then put of the resolution [to rescind
the gag rule]; and it was carried -- 108 to 80. Blessed, forever
blessed, be the name of God!" 169

As for 1. 8, "Roman law 2/3rds hogswoggled..." I have found no
source for it; presumably it is Pound's remark. The Oxford Universal
Dictionary gives "Hornswoggle. v. U.S. slang 1829 [?]: To best,
swindle, humbug, bamboozle." Perhaps "swoggle" is a corruption of
"swaddle," to bind; hence, "hogswoggled": "hogtied" or trussed up.

168 Nevins, Diary of J.Q. Adams, p. 519.
169 Nevins, ibid., p. 573. The editor notes, ".... In the very
next week anti-slavery petitions were received and referred to the
Committee on the District of Columbia."
"Old John" [John Adams, second President of the United States] on funding, from Canto 71/416:

Funds and Banks I never approved I abhorred ever our whole banking system but an attempt to abolish all funding in the present state of the world wd/ be as romantic as any adventure in Oberon or Don Quixote. Every bank of discount is downright corruption taxing the public for private individuals' gain. and if I say this in my will the American people wd/pronounce I died crazy.

[From a letter of John Adams to Benjamin Rush, 28 August 1811]:

"Funds and banks I never approved, or was satisfied with our funding system; it was founded in no consistent principle; it was contrived to enrich particular individuals at the public expense. Our whole banking system I ever abhorred, I continue to abhor, and shall die abhorring.

"But I am not an enemy to funding systems. They are absolutely and indispensably necessary in the present state of the world. An attempt to annihilate or prevent them would be as romantic an adventure as any in Don Quixote or in Oberon. A national bank of deposit I believe to be wise, just, prudent, economical, and necessary. But every bank of discount, every bank by which interest is to be paid or profit of any kind made by the deponent, is downright corruption. It is taxing the public for the benefit and profit of individuals; it is worse than old tenor, continental currency, or any other paper money.

"Now, Sir, if I should talk in this strain, after I am dead, you know the people of America would pronounce that I had died mad."

"Old John" on depreciation, from Canto 71/420:

.... Gold, silver are but commodities

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Pity, says Tracy, they ever were stamped save by weight. They are commodities as is wheat or is lumber.

[From a letter of John Adams to John Taylor of Caroline, 12 March 1819]:

"Silver and gold are but commodities, as much as wheat and lumber; the merchants who study the necessity, and feel out the wants of the community, can always import enough to supply the necessary circulating currency, as they can broadcloth or sugar, the trinkets of Birmingham and Manchester, or the hemp of Siberia.... I beg leave to refer you to a work which Mr. Jefferson has sent me, translated by himself from a French manuscript of the Count Destutt Tracy. His chapter 'of money' contains the sentiments that I have entertained all my lifetime. I will quote only a few lines from the analytical table, page 21. 'It is to be desired, that coins had never borne other names than those of their weight, and that the arbitrary denominations, called moneys of account, as £, s., d., &c., had never been used. But when these denominations are admitted and employed in transactions, to diminish the quantity of metal to which they answer, by an alteration of the real coins, is to steal; and it is a theft which even injures him who commits it. A theft of greater magnitude and still more ruinous, is the making of paper money; it is greater, because in this money there is absolutely no real value; it is more ruinous, because, by its gradual depreciation during all the time of its existence, it produces the effect which would be produced by an infinity of successive deteriorations of the coins. All these iniquities are founded on the false idea, that money is but a sign.'"

For "old John" on being mercantile, see 89/602: 8-9,

'on borrowed capital, very unmercantile,

said John Adams.

See also 62/348:

... borrow for trading very unmercantile

[From a letter of Adams to his wife Abigail, 8 February 1794]:

"... Borrowing of banks for a trading capital is very unmercantile."\[1/72\]

"And if the bills be bottomed..." sd/ Mr Jefferson

loc. cit to Crawford 1816

\[1/72\] Sanders, ibid., p. 95; Adams, Works, I, p. 466.
This line quotes from a letter of Thomas Jefferson to William H. Crawford, 20 June 1816. Crawford became James Monroe's Treasury Secretary in 1817; in 1824 Van Buren supported him for President.

Jefferson speaks of "three great measures necessary to insure us permanent prosperity." The first is the repeal of the draw-back, a tariff refund introduced by Hamilton in Washington's first term. The draw-back was a refund of duties on imported goods used in the manufacture of goods which were then exported. Jefferson says,

"... I returned from Europe after our government had got under way, and had adopted from the British code the law of draw-backs. I early saw its effects in the jealousies and vexations of Britain; and that, retaining it, we must become like her an essentially warring nation, and meet, in the end, the catastrophe impending over her. No one can doubt that this alone produced the orders of council, the depredations which preceded, and the war which followed them. Had we carried but our own produce, and brought back but our own wants, no nation would have troubled us. Our commercial dashers, then, have already cost us so many thousand lives, so many millions of dollars, more than their persons and all their commerce were worth... The earlier the repeal is proposed, the more it will be befriended by all these recollections and considerations. This is one of three great measures necessary to insure us permanent prosperity. This preserves our peace. A second should enable us to meet any war, by adopting the report of the war department, for placing the force of the nation at effectual command; and a third should insure resources of money by the suppression of all paper circulation during peace, and licensing that of the nation alone during war. The metallic medium of which we should be possessed at the commencement of a war, would be a sufficient fund for all the loans we should need through its continuance; and if the national bills issued, be bottomed (as is indispensable) on pledges of specific taxes for their redemption within certain and moderate epochs, and be of proper denominations for circulation, no interest on them would be necessary or just, because they would answer to every one the purposes of the metallic money withdrawn and replaced by them...."173

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From our own mines, metal
1824: 5,000 N. Carolina
1833: 868,000 (six states)
and in '34 presumably will be 2 millyum
and a greater source is our foreign commerce.

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CV., "Revival of the Gold Currency -- Mr. Benton's Speech."

"Mr. Benton said it was now [1834] six years since he had begun to oppose the renewal of the charter of this bank, but he had not, until the present moment, found a suitable occasion for showing the people the kind of currency which they were entitled to possess, and probably would possess, on the dissolution of the Bank of the United States.

1. In the first place, he was one of those who believed that the government of the United States was intended to be a hard money government: that it was the intention, and the declaration of the constitution of the United States, that the federal currency should consist of gold and silver; and that there is no power in Congress to issue, or to authorize any company of individuals to issue, any species of federal paper currency whatsoever....

2. In the next place, Mr. B. believed that the quantity of specie derivable from foreign commerce, added to the quantity of gold derivable from our own mines, were fully sufficient, if not expelled from the country by unwise laws, to furnish the people with an abundant circulation of gold and silver coin, for their common currency, without having recourse to a circulation of small bank notes.

The truth of these propositions, Mr. B. held to be susceptible of complete and ready proof. He spoke first of the domestic supply of native gold, and said that no mines had ever developed more rapidly than these had done, or promised more abundantly than they now do. In the year 1824 the product was $5,000; in the last year the product, in coined gold, was $868,000; in uncoined, as much more; and the product of the present year [1834] computed at two millions; with every prospect of continued and permanent increase.... But the great source of supply, both for gold and silver, Mr. B. said, was in our foreign commerce. It was this foreign commerce which filled the States with hard money immediately after the close of the Revolutionary War, when the domestic mines were unknown; and it is the same foreign commerce which, even now, when federal laws discourage the importation of
foreign coins, and compel their exportation, is bringing in an annual supply of seven or eight millions. With an amendment of the laws which now discourage the importation of foreign coins, and compel their exportation, there could be no delay in the rapid accumulation of a sufficient stock of the precious metals to supply the largest circulation which the common business of the country could require." (Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 436, 438-439.)

From Napoleon Consul "to this day '34" have been specie payments.

[89/593: 19-20]

[From Benton's speech on a gold currency, Ch. CV.]:

".... We have seen an empire in our own day, of almost fabulous grandeur and magnificence, carrying on all its vast undertakings upon a currency of gold and silver, without deigning to recognize paper for money. I speak, said Mr. B., of France -- great and imperial France -- and have my eye upon that first year of the cosulate, when a young and victorious general, just transferred from the camp to a council, announced to his astonished ministers that specie payments should commence in France by a given day! -- in that France which, for so many years, had seen nothing but a miserable currency of depreciated mandats and assignats! The annunciation was heard with the inward contempt, and open distrust, which the whole tribe of hack politicians every where feel for the statesmanship of military men. It was followed by the success which it belongs to genius to inspire and to command. Specie payments commenced in France on the day named; and a hard money currency has been the sole currency of France from that day to this." (Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 439-440.)

Mr Hamilton set 15 to one, 15 silver one gold, when in Spain, Portugal it was sixteen,

[89/593: 21-22]

[From Ch. CV.]:

".... I have already shown, said Mr. B., that the plan for the support of public credit which General Hamilton brought forward, in 1791, was a plan for the establishment of the paper system in our America. We had at that time a gold currency which was circulating freely and fully all over the country.
Gold is the antagonist of paper, and, with fair play, will keep a paper currency within just and proper limits. It will keep down the small notes; for, no man will carry a five, a ten, or a twenty dollar note in his pocket, when he can get guineas, eagles, half eagles, doubloons, and half joes to carry in their place. The notes of the new Bank of the United States, which bank formed the leading feature in the plan for the support of public credit, had already derived one undue advantage over gold, in being put on a level with it in point of legal tender to the federal government, and universal receivability in all payments to that government: they were now to derive another, and a still greater undue advantage over gold, in the law for the establishment of the national mint; an institution which also formed a feature of the plan for the support of public credit. It is to that plan that we trace the origin of the erroneous valuation of gold, which has banished that metal from the country. Mr. Secretary Hamilton, in his proposition for the establishment of a mint, recommended that the relative value of gold to silver should be fixed at fifteen for one; and that recommendation became the law of the land; and has remained so ever since. At the same time, the relative value of these metals in Spain and Portugal, and throughout their vast dominions in the new world, whence our principal supplies of gold were derived, was at the rate of sixteen for one; thus making our standard six per cent. below the standard of the countries which chiefly produced gold. It was also below the English standard, and the French standard, and below the standard which prevailed in these States, before the adoption of the constitution, and which was actually prevailing in the States, at the time that this new proportion of fifteen to one was established...." (Thirty Years' View, v. I, pp. 440-441.)

From Natchez and N'Yoleans: doubloons

[89/593: 27]

[From Ch. CV.]:

".... The proportion of fifteen to one was established. The 11th section of the act of April, 1792, enacted that every fifteen pounds weight of pure silver, should be equal in value, in all payments, with one pound of pure gold; and so in proportion for less quantities of the respective metals. This act was the death warrant to the gold currency. The diminished circulation
of that coin soon began to be observable; but it was not immediately extinguished. Several circumstances delayed, but could not prevent that catastrophe. 1. The Bank of the United States then issued no note of less denomination than ten dollars, and but few of them. 2. There were but three other banks in the United States, and they issued but few small notes; so that a small note currency did not come directly into conflict with gold. 3. The trade to the lower Mississippi continued to bring up from Natchez and New Orleans, for many years, a large supply of doubloons; and long supplied a gold currency to the new States of the West. Thus, the absence of a small note currency, and the constant arrivals of doubloons from the lower Mississippi, deferred the fate of the gold currency; and it was not until the lapse of near twenty years after the adoption of the erroneous standard of 1792, that the circulation of that metal, both foreign and domestic, became completely and totally extinguished in the United States. The extinction is now complete, and must remain so until the laws are altered...." (Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 442.)

and to suppose metal will stay with us when the exporter can gain one buck on every 15 carried out...

[89/593: 24-25]

[From Ch. CV.]:

".... Mr. B. said this was not the time to discuss the relative value of gold and silver, nor to urge the particular proportion which ought to be established between them. That would be the proper work of a committee. At present it might be sufficient, and not irrelevant, to say that this question was one of commerce -- that it was purely and simply a mercantile problem -- as much so as an acquisition of any ordinary merchandise from foreign countries could be. Gold goes where it finds its value, and that value is what the laws of great nations give it. In Mexico and South America -- the countries which produce gold, and from which the United States must derive their chief supply -- the value of gold is 16 to 1 over silver; in the island of Cuba it is 17 to 1; in Spain and Portugal it is 16 to 1; in the West Indies, generally, it is the same. It is not to be supposed that gold will come from these countries to the United States, if the importer is to lose one dollar in every sixteen that he brings; or that our own gold will remain with us, when an exporter can gain a dollar upon every fifteen that he carries out...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 443.)
doubloons, guineas, half-Joes

[89/593: 26]

[From Ch. CV.]:

"... Mr. B. believed that it was the intention and declared meaning of the constitution, that foreign coins should pass currently as money, and at their full value, within the United States... that all the laws of Congress for preventing the circulation of foreign coins, and underrating their value, were so many breaches of the constitution, and so many mischiefs inflicted upon the States; and that it was the bounden duty of Congress to repeal all such laws; and to restore foreign coins to the same free and favored circulation which they possessed when the federal constitution was adopted...

... By a general provision of the act of 1789, the gold coins of all nations, which equalled those of England, France, Spain and Portugal, in fineness, were to be current at 89 cents the pennyweight; and the silver coins of all nations, which equalled the Spanish dollar in fineness, were to be current at 111 cents the ounce. Under these general provisions, a great influx of the precious metals took place; doubloons, guineas, half joes, were the common and familiar currency of farmers and laborers, as well as of merchants and traders. Every substantial citizen then kept in his house a pair of small scales to weigh gold, which are now used by his posterity to weigh physic.... These early statutes, added to historical recollections, could leave no doubt of the true meaning of the constitution, and that foreign coins were intended to be for ever current within the United States...." (Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 444, 445.)

and, to depart from the great senator's most courteous language,

6 suspensions till 1819,

exclusion of foreign coin part of the system:
a currency (foreign coin was) for which they paid tribute to no one."

OU TIS

[89/593: 27-30; 594: 1-3]

[From Ch. CV. This excerpt includes the senator's "most courteous language"]: 
We have already seen that in the proposition for the establishment of the [national] mint, gold was largely undervalued; and that this undervaluation has driven gold from the country and left a vacuum for the circulation of federal bank notes; we are now to see that the same mint establishment was to give further aid to the circulation of these notes, by excluding foreign coins, both gold and silver, from circulation, and thus enlarging the vacuum which was to be filled by bank paper. This is what we are now to see; and to see it, we will look at the plan for the support of public credit, and that feature of the plan which proposes the establishment of a national mint.

Mr. B. would remark, that your points were presented in this plan: 1. The eventual abolition of the currency of foreign coins; 2. The reduction of their value while allowed to circulate; 3. The substitution of domestic coins; and, 4. The substitution of bank notes in place of the undervalued foreign coins. Such were the recommendations of Secretary Hamilton; and legislative enactments quickly followed to convert his recommendations into law. The only power the constitution had given to Congress over foreign coins, was a power to regulate their value, and to protect them from debasement by counterfeiters. It was certainly a most strange construction of that authority, first, to underrate the value of these coins, and next, to prohibit their circulation! Yet both things were done. The mint went into operation in 1794; foreign coins were to cease to be a legal tender in 1797; but, at the end of that time, the contingencies on which the Secretary calculated, to enable the country to do without foreign coins, had not occurred; the substitutes had not appeared; the mint had not supplied the adequate quantity of domestic coin, nor had the circulation of bank notes become sufficiently familiar to the people to supersede gold. The law for the exclusion of foreign coins was found to be impracticable; and a suspension of it for three years was enacted. At the end of this time the evil was found to be as great as ever; and a further suspension of three years was made. This third term of three years also rolled over, the supply of domestic coins was still found to be inadequate, and the people continued to be as averse as ever to the bank note substitute. A fourth suspension of the law became necessary, and in 1806 a further suspension for three years was made; after that a fifth, and finally a sixth suspension, each for the period of three years; which brought the period for the actual and final cessation of the circulation of foreign coins, to the month of November, 1819. From that time there was no further suspension of the prohibitory act....

Having gone through this narrative of facts, and shown the exclusion of foreign coins from circulation to be a part of the paper system, and intended to facilitate the substitution of a
bank note currency, Mr. B. went on to state the injuries resulting from the measure. At the head of these injuries he was bound to place the violation of the constitution of the United States, which clearly intended that foreign coins should circulate among us, and which, in giving Congress authority to regulate their value, and to protect them from counterfeiters, could never have intended to stop their circulation, and to abandon them to debasement. 2. He denounced this exclusion of foreign coins as a fraud, and a fraud of the most injurious nature, upon the people of the States. The States had surrendered their power over the coinage to Congress; they made the surrender in language which clearly implied that their currency of foreign coins was to be continued to them; yet that currency is suppressed; a currency of intrinsic value, for which they paid interest to nobody, is suppressed; and a currency without intrinsic value, a currency of paper subject to every fluctuation, and for the supply of which corporate bodies receive interest, is substituted in its place." (30 Years' View, v.I, pp. 445-446.)

OU TIS: (Gr.): ΟΥΤΙΣ, no one, nobody. "This is the name for himself that Odysseus gives the Cyclops in Odyssey IX, 366." See Canto 74/425:
ΟΥΤΙΣ, ΟΥΤΙΣ. Odysseus
the name of my family.

Odysseus saves himself and his comrades from being devoured by Polyphemus when he gives the monster this false name, for when the other monsters on the island of Cyclopes gather round his cave and ask him why he cries aloud in the night, Polyphemus answers that No One has hurt him, and his friends reply,

"Ah well, if nobody has played you foul there in your lonely bed, we are no use in pain given by great Zeus. Let it be your father, Poseidon Lord, to whom you pray."175

Pound folds the myth together with Benton's statement of fact, that a currency "of intrinsic value" for which the people "paid interest to nobody" has been suppressed in favor of a paper currency from which certain banks, usurious "corporate bodies," have benefit of interest on all that they create "out of nothing." Here the bank makes the lie, a phantom value, and becomes the devourer: "Hic Geryon est. Hic hyperusura."176 And to emphasize this duplicity, Pound makes

174 Edwards & Vasse, Annotated Index, p. 266.
176 Pound folds the myth together with Benton's statement of fact, that a currency "of intrinsic value" for which the people "paid interest to nobody" has been suppressed in favor of a paper currency from which certain banks, usurious "corporate bodies," have benefit of interest on all that they create "out of nothing." Here the bank makes the lie, a phantom value, and becomes the devourer: "Hic Geryon est. Hic hyperusura." And to emphasize this duplicity, Pound makes
the three rhymes: "...no one/OU TIS/Nothing..." 177

Nothing in course of exchanges to carry specie from Atlantic States to the West

[89/594: 4-5]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CV.]:

"... Mr. B. had only been able to get the [custom-house records of] exports and imports [of specie] from 1821; if he could have obtained those of 1820, and the concluding part of 1819, when the prohibitory law [abolishing the free circulation of foreign coins] took effect, the amount [of foreign-coin circulation] would have been about ninety-six millions of dollars; the whole of which was lost to the country by the prohibitory law, while much of it would have been saved, and retained for home circulation, if it had not been for this law. The loss of this great sum in specie was an injury to the whole Union, but especially to the Western States, whose sole resource for coin was from foreign countries; for the coinage of the mint could never flow into that region; there was nothing in the course of trade and exchanges, to carry money from the Atlantic States to the West; and the mint, if it coined thousands of millions, could not supply them. The taking effect of the law in the year 1819, was an aggravation of the injury. It was the most unfortunate and ruinous of all times for driving specie from the country. The Western banks, from their exertions to aid the country during the war [of 1812], had stretched their issues to the utmost limit; their notes had gone into the land offices; the federal government turned them over to the Bank of the United States; and that bank demanded specie. Thus, the necessity for specie was increased at the very moment that the supply was diminished; and the general stoppage of the Western banks, was the inevitable and natural result of these combined circumstances." (Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 446-447.)

Page refs/ to "Thirty Years View"

[89/594: 6]

See Canto 88/582: 25; 88/583: 2-3. Ll. 23-27, 88/582, and 1-6,

177 See also Canto 74/426 § 430; 80/499.
88/583 are concerned with the prohibition of foreign coin circulation in the United States and quote Benton's speech in v.I, 'Ch. CV. of Thirty Years' View; the remarks and page references at 88/582-583 dovetail with those here at 89/593-594, which are taken from the same pages in Benton. (See my annotation: 88/582-583, pp. 171-174.)

and as for the Adamses, Brooks and Henry,

they went back to their grandfather, dratt 'em,

and not back to old John.

[89/594: 7-9]

[From "A Visiting Card"]: "BROOKS ADAMS

This member of the Adams family, son of C.F. Adams, grandson of J.Q. Adams, and great-grandson of J. Adams, Father of the Nation, was, as far as I know, the first to formulate the idea of Kulturmorphologie in America. His cyclic vision of the West shows us a consecutive struggle against four great rackets, namely the exploitation of the fear of the unknown (black magic, etc.), the exploitation of violence, the exploitation or the monopolisation of cultivable land, and the exploitation of money.

But not even Adams himself seems to have realised that he fell for the nineteenth-century metaphysic with regard to this last. He distinguishes between the swindle of the usurers and that of the monopolists, but he slides into the concept, shared by Mill and Marx, of money as an accumulator of energy. Mill defined capital 'as the accumulated stock of human labour'. And Marx, or his Italian translator (U.T.-E.T. edition): 'commodities, in so far as they are values, are materialised labour,' so denying both God and nature.

With the falsification of the word everything else is betrayed.

Commodities (considered as values, surplus values, food, clothes, or whatever) are manufactured raw materials. Only spoken poetry and unwritten music are composed without any material basis, nor do they become 'materialised'.

The usurers, in their obscene and pitch-dark century, created this satanic transubstantiation, their Black Mass of money, and in so doing deceived Brooks Adams himself, who was fighting for the peasant and humanity against the monopolists.

'money alone is capable of being transmuted immediately into

178 Notably in The Law of Civilization and Decay and The New Empire.
any form of activity.*-- This is the idiom of the black myth!

One sees well enough what he was trying to say, as one understands what Mill and Marx were trying to say. But the betrayal of the word begins with the use of words that do not fit the truth, that do not say what the author wants them to say.

Money does not contain energy. The half-lira piece cannot create the platform ticket, the cigarettes, or piece of chocolate that issues from the slot-machine.

But it is by this piece of legerdemain that humanity has been thoroughly trussed up, and it has not yet got free.179

[From "The Adams-Jefferson Letters as a Shrine and a Monument"]:

"... Henry Adams with a familial and inherited, but very very discrete chip on his somewhat feminine shoulder lacked, on his own implicit, but never explicit confession, the one quality needful for judging action. Adams never guessed right. Take him in London during his father's [Charles Francis Adams'] embassy. He never foresaw.

It was not for nothing that Quincy Adams took up astrology, not anthropology. The discrete descendant wanted a science, almost a mathematical science of history -- overlooking, or does he specifically say he didn't overlook, the impossibility of laboratory methods. Take it that he saw the shallowness of historic aimlessness in his time, his first urge is to rectify it by mathematical measurement. And thereby he loses the chance of examining a great many phenomena which were and still are available for any patient man's contemplation.180

Pound's interest in the Adamses is matter of record. His remark here may be illuminated by two further quotations, one from John Quincy Adams, who supported the national bank and sided against Benton in the struggle for recharter; the other from his father, "old John" Adams:

"Philadelphia, Nov. 9. [1831] -- I called upon Nicholas Biddle at the United States Bank, and received two dividends of my bank stock, by an order upon the branch bank at Washington. I left with Mr. Biddle my certificate of stock to be sold, and the proceeds to be remitted according to such directions as I may give. I told him that, as I might be called to take part in public measures concerning the bank, and was favorable to it, I wished to divest myself of all personal interest in it...."181

180 Pound, Selected Prose, p. 149; Impact, p. 169.
"... A national bank of deposit I believe to be wise, just, prudent, economical, and necessary. But every bank of discount, every bank by which interest is to be paid or profit of any kind made by the deponent, is downright corruption...." 182

Under heading DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES EXPORTED $
TWO MILLION oh five eight four seven four

[89/594: 10-11]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CV.]:

"Having shown the great evils resulting to the country from the operation of this law [to prohibit foreign coin circulation], Mr. B. called upon its friends to tell what reason could now be given for not repealing it? He affirmed that, of the two causes to which the law owed its origin, one had failed in toto, and the other had succeeded to a degree to make it the curse and the nuisance of the country. One reason was to induce an adequate supply of foreign coins to be brought to the mint, to be recoined; the other to facilitate the substitution of a bank note currency. The foreign coins did not go to the mint, those excepted which were imported in its own neighborhood; and even these were exported nearly as fast as recoined. The authority of the director of the mint had already been quoted to show that the new coined gold was transferred direct from the national mint to the packet ships, bound to Europe. The custom-house returns showed the large exportation of domestic coins. They would be found under the head of 'Domestic Manufactures Exported;' and made a large figure in the list of these exports. In the year 1832, it amounted to $2,058,474, and in the year 1833, to $1,410,941; and every year it was more or less; so that the national mint had degenerated into a domestic manufactory of gold and silver, for exportation to foreign countries...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 447.)

...the highest and most delicate sovereignty...

[89/594: 12]

[From "Revival of the Gold Currency," Ch. CV.]:

".... Mr. B. took three distinct objections to the Bank of the

182 Sanders, John Adams Speaking, p. 471. See annotation: 89/593: 9-11, p. 313. See infra, Appendix D, for Brooks Adams' comments on the thought of his brother Henry and his grandfather John Quincy.
United States, as a regulator of currency: 1, that this was a power which belonged to the government of the United States; 2, that it could not be delegated; 3, that it ought not be delegated to any bank.

1. The regulation of the currency of a nation, Mr. B. said, was one of the highest and most delicate acts of sovereign power. It was precisely equivalent to the power to create currency; for, a power to make more or less, was, in effect, a power to make much or none. It was the coining power; a power that belonged to the sovereign; and, where a paper currency was tolerated, the coining power was swallowed up and superseded by the manufactory which emitted paper. In the present state of the currency of the United States, the federal bank was the mint for issuing money; the federal mint was a manufactory for preparing gold and silver for exportation...." (Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 449.)

tho charter forbade 'em dealin in coin...

[89/594: 13]

".... Foreign coins were again made a legal tender, their value regulated and their importation encouraged, at the expiration of the charter of the first Bank of the United States [in 1811]. This continued to be the case until after the present Bank of the United States was chartered; as soon as that event happened, and bank policy again became predominant in the halls of Congress, the circulation of foreign coins was again struck at; and, in the second year of the existence of the bank, the old act of 1793, for rendering these coins uncurreint, was carried into final and complete effect. Since that time, the bank has enjoyed all her advantages from this exclusion. The expulsion of these coins has created a vacuum, to be filled up by her small note circulation; the traffic and trade in them has been as large a source of profit to her as of loss to the country. Gold coin she has sold at an advance of five or six per cent.; silver coin at about two or three per cent.; and, her hand being in, she made no difference between selling domestic coin and foreign coin. Although forbid by her charter to deal in coin, she has employed her branches to gather $40,040,000 of coin from the States; a large part of which she admits that she has sold and transported to Europe. For the sale of the foreign coin, she sets up the lawyer-like plea, that it is not coin, but bullion! resting the validity of the plea upon English statute law! while, by the constitution of
the United States, all foreign coins are coin; while, by her own charter, the coins, both gold and silver, of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, and their dominions, are declared to be coin; and, as such, made receivable in payment of the specie proportion of the bank stock -- and, worse yet! while Spanish dollars, by statute, remain the current coin of the United States, the bank admits the sale of 4,450,142 of these identical Spanish milled dollars!" (Thirty Years' View, v. I, pp. 447-448.)

POWER vested not in one, but in 3 parts of government.

[89/594: 14]

[From Ch. CV.]:

".... The States, in the formation of the constitution, gave the coining power to Congress; with that power, they gave authority to regulate the currency of the Union, by regulating the value of gold and silver, and preventing any thing but metallic money from being made a tender in payment of debts. It is by the exercise of these powers that the federal government is to regulate the currency of the Union; and all the departments of the government are required to act their parts in effecting the regulation: the Congress, as the department that passes the law; the President, as the authority that recommends it, approves it, and sees that it is faithfully executed; the judiciary, as standing between the debtor and creditor, and preventing the execution from being discharged by any thing but gold and silver; and that at the rate which the legislative department has fixed. This is the power, and sole power, of regulating currency which the federal constitution contains; this power is vested in the federal government, not in one department of it, but in the joint action of the three departments; and while this power is exercised by the government, the currency of the whole Union will be regulated, and the regulation effected according to the intention of the constitution, by keeping all the local banks up to the point of specie payment; and thereby making the value of their notes equivalent to specie."

(Thirty Years' View, v. I, p. 449.)

Every city protect its own commerce

[89/594: 15]

[From Ch. CV.]:
... The great cities of the Union are not safe, while a company, in any other city, have power over their moneyed system, and are able, by making money scarce or plenty -- by exciting panics and alarms -- to put up, or put down, the price of the staple articles in which they deal. Every commercial city, for its own safety, should have an independent moneyed system -- should be free from the control and regulation of a distant, possibly rival city, in the means of carrying on its own trade. Thus, the safety of the government, the safety of the people, the interest of all owners of property -- of all growing crops -- the holders of all stocks -- the exporters of all staple articles -- require that the regulation of the currency should be kept out of the hands of a great banking company; that it should remain where the constitution placed it -- in the hands of the federal government -- in the hands of their representatives who are elected by them, responsible to them, may be exchanged by them, who can pass no law for regulating currency which will not bear upon themselves as well as upon their constituents. This is what the safety of the community requires; and, for one, he (Mr. B.) would not, if he could, delegate the power of regulating the currency of this great country to any banking company whatsoever. It was a power too tremendous to be trusted to a company....

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 450.)

Gold: pontifex; silver wangled;
Bronze was to certain cities,
vid Mommsen
And sovereignty in the power to issue.

[89/594: 16-19]

[From Chap. II. of Alexander Del Mar's History of Monetary Systems, "The Sacred Character of Gold:"

"The right to coin money has always been and still remains the surest mark and announcement of sovereignty." 183

In his history of the coinage of Rome, Del Mar asserts that civil or state authority always held power over Roman currency, and argues against Theodor Mommsen's belief that coinage came from the

183 Del Mar, History of Monetary Systems, p. 66.
imperium, or military, authority of Rome:

"... The theory is that the Roman coins of the Republic were struck by virtue of the imperium, that is to say, a military rather than a State prerogative. The answer to this theory is that there was and could have been no prerogative of the imperium other than that derived from the State.

What was the imperium? Supreme military command; the right to do whatever was deemed essential to achieve military success. This right sprang from the people. In the most ancient times it was conferred by the Comitia upon the king after they had elected him, and by virtue of his office. When the monarchy was overthrown the people annually elected two supreme coordinate magistrates, into whose hands were committed all the powers of the State, including the imperium. These were acquired and exercised by virtue of their office. For this reason the consuls were sometimes called imperatores. When a general in the field had obtained a notable victory, it was customary for the troops to hail him by this proud title; but it could not be retained after the triumph or the return of the victorious commander to the city. There it fell, of course, to the consuls by virtue of their office.... No doubt many of the Roman commanders, during the period of the Republic, struck coins in the field in order to melt down and divide the spoils or pay the troops, but such coinages were, legally, as completely under control of the State as though they had been made in Rome.... Moreover, at the period alluded to by Mommsen, the State had but recently emerged from the use of a bronze currency system, whose efficiency and value had depended largely upon the limitation of its issues by the State, which was, therefore, not likely to have parted with this supernal prerogative. This system had broken down, not from any inherent defect or impracticability, but owing to the circumstances of a war which took place upon Roman soil and threatened the very existence of the Republic. Finally, if there was a department of the government which, more than any other, enjoyed the prerogative of coining gold, it was the pontificate rather than the imperium, for in the ancient times gold was always held to be a sacred metal, and upon it was stamped, not so much the emblems of war as of religion. But that the Roman coins were struck by pontifical authority does not appear to have been suspected by the learned Prussian [Mommsen].

.... [D]uring the empire the title of imperator, and with it necessarily such prerogatives as belonged to the imperium, were granted by the order, permission, or clemency of the sovereign-pontiffs, and that Tiberius granted it for the last time.184

.... No language is more positive than that of Mommsen and Lenormant in laying down the following institute: that Rome never permitted her vassals to strike gold. Augustus united the imperium to the pontificate in A.U. 740, and from this time forward

184 Del Mar, History of Monetary Systems, pp. 23-25.
the right to strike gold became the exclusive prerogative of the sovereign-pontiff. That it was regarded a sacerdotal prerogative is proved by the continual repetition of religious emblems on the coins....

In this year the Roman coinage system was permanently organized. The coinage prerogative was divided between the sovereign-pontiff and the Senate, the former retaining that of gold and resigning to the latter that of silver and copper. In a short time, through the virtual subjection of the Senate, the silver coinage also fell to the sovereign-pontiff. In accordance with the ordinance of A.U. 740, the coinage of silver was permitted to the proconsuls, and the pieces stamped PERMissu DIVI AVGusti, that is, by permission of the divine Augustus. The coinage of bronze always remained with the Senate. However, this prerogative, like that of silver, was virtually in the hands of Augustus; yet it suited his interest not to meddle with it as he did with the coinage of silver....185

In Chap. XII. of Ancient Britain Revisited, "The Prerogative of Money," Del Mar describes the Roman Republic's consciousness of "sovereignty in the power to issue:"

"... About the period of the Gaulish invasion, B.C. 385, the extension of the Roman domain, the excellence of the Roman roads, the facility of travel and intercommunication throughout all parts of the Republic, and the organization of credit, rendered the Roman coins so efficient an instrument of exchange that to leave their emission and subsequent destruction or exportation any longer subject to the pleasure of private individuals, imperilled the welfare of society and the safety of the State. At all events, laws were evidently enacted at this juncture which worked a most notable change in the monetary system of the Republic....

In effect, the Roman Republic resumed its ancient prerogative of Money; it stopped the fabrication of coins for private account; it retired the outstanding issues, and established an entirely new system of money, consisting of over-valued bronze coins, called nummi, which were struck by the government only for itself. The value of these nummi was preserved by limiting their emission to a fixed sum....

Whatever diverse opinions were held in Rome as to the substance of which the tokens or symbols of money should best be made, whether of gold, silver, or bronze, or of all combined, or whether the issues should be convertible or not, it seems to have been determined by the Comitia Tributa, which at this period was supreme, that the safety of the Republic was imperilled by the control which individuals had previously exercised over the coinage; and that in order to avoid this peril it had become necessary for the State, that is to say the people, as represented in the Comitia,

185 Del Mar, History of Monetary Systems, pp. 34-35.
to take the emissions of money into its own hands.

The Roman system of nummi continued in successful use for nearly a century, during which interval Rome rose from the condition of an obscure state to that of the Mistress of all Italy. But such general prosperity did not satisfy the patrician class. They wanted the prosperity, but they wanted it for themselves alone, and were unwilling to share it with the people at large, because such communism deprived them of the wealth and social distinction they coveted. As the nummular system stood in the way of these aspirations, they condemned, attacked, undermined, and eventually overthrew it; and that, too, with the ignorant acquiescence of the very people at large whose welfare it had so signally advanced and whose liberties it had conserved.

The movement for the overthrow of the nummular system was greatly favored by the Oriental conquests of Alexander the Great and the immense quantities of the precious metals which these conquests yielded to Macedon and the contiguous Greek States and their colonies, including Magna Graecia in Italy. These countries were flooded with the coins of the conqueror, which even to this day are not so rare as are American coins of the last century. From Magna Graecia the coins of Alexander soon made their way to Rome, where their superior convenience over nummi for the payment of large sums must have recommended them to favour. The immense profits which were to be made both before and during this period, by exchanging European silver for Asiatic gold, could scarcely have been without influence in encouraging a return to 'species' payments.

In B.C. 317 was enacted [a] monetary law...which erected a species system of gold, silver and bronze coins.... [T]he Crime was not so much in substituting gold and silver tokens for bronze tokens, as in substituting gold and silver metal for bronze money; in substituting Commodities, which could be coined up and melted down by their individual owners at pleasure and with little or no loss, in the place of Money, which could not thus be treated without great and irreparable loss; in supplementing the bronze nummi, which under State regulation formed a fixed and known proportion of the whole currency, with gold and silver pieces, the latter being amenable to private control and bearing no fixed or known proportion to the Volume of money employed in the exchanges.

So long as the flood of precious metals from the Orient and the Greek states continued to pour into Rome, the evil effects of surrendering the Prerogative of Money were not perceived. The moment when this flood ceased and especially when the flood became a flux, which it did during the first quarter of the third cent-
ury before our aera, then there arose from the people cries of regret, distress and apprehension.... It was an evil day for Rome when the Numerical system was abandoned and Pliny...was right when he regarded the surrender of the Prerogative of Money to private individuals as a Crime against Mankind.

The historians of the Republic have left us little room to doubt that the distress which followed the cessation of the Oriental flood of the precious metals had much to do with forcing Rome into the Punic wars; indeed, in rendering popular any wars that promised to supply the Republic with the needed materials for coinage....

.... Under the Empire the Prerogative of Money was partly reserved by the State; though even this reservation was only effected indirectly. The sovereign-pontiff monopolized the coinage of gold and fixed the weight-ratio of value between gold and silver at 1 to 12; a ratio which remained unaltered for over 1200 years. He shared the coinage of silver with his subject kingdoms and left the coinage of bronze to the Senate and municipalities. .... Under these conditions the Volume of Money fluctuated with the productivity of mines and this with the conquest of populous countries and the supply of slaves. Pliny complained of the vast sums of silver which in his own day were drained away to Asia; Aurelian, at the cost of 7000 troops, defeated the private coiners and resumed the Prerogative of silver, which, however, was lost again in subsequent reigns...." 186

Benton's when? when there was metal.

Benton's why: no interest to be paid.

[89/594: 20-21]

This is Pound's remark; it refers to the preceding line, "And sovereignty in the power to issue:" when was there sovereignty in the national government of the United States? when there was a metal currency, regulated by the national government, in circulation. Why was this currency sovereign, and why was a government which issued and regulated it sovereign? There was no interest to be paid on its issue, as with the bank's paper money; thus no debt to accumulate in the hands of the bank. See 89/594: 1-2 and note, p. 322.

The following two lines, 22 and 23, make a corollary to 11. 20-21:

The Government ceases to be independent when currency is at will of a company.

page 450.1

[89/594: 22-24]

[From Benton's speech, "Revival of the Gold Currency," Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CV.]:

"Mr. B. said that the government ought not to delegate this power [to regulate the national currency], if it could. It was too great a power to be trusted to any banking company whatever, or to any authority but the highest and most responsible which was known to our form of government. The government itself ceased to be independent -- it ceases to be safe -- when the national currency is at the will of a company. The government can undertake no great enterprise, neither of war nor peace, without the consent and co-operation of that company; it cannot count its revenue for six months ahead without referring to the action of that company -- its friendship or its enmity -- its concurrence or its opposition -- to see how far that company will permit money to be plenty, or make it scarce; how far it will let the moneyed system go on regularly, or throw it into disorder; how far it will suit the interests, or policy, of that company to create a tempest, or to suffer a calm, in the moneyed ocean...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 450, col. 1.)

All property is at their mercy.

"I have a friend" said Voltaire.

[89/594: 25-26]

[From Ch. CV.]:

"... The people are not safe when a company has such a power. The temptation is too great -- the opportunity to easy -- to put up and put down prices; to make and break fortunes; to bring the whole community upon its knees to the Neptunes who preside over the flux and reflux of paper. All property is at their mercy. The price of real estate -- of every growing crop -- of every staple article in market -- is at their command. Stocks are their playthings -- their gambling theatre -- on which they gamble daily,
with as little secrecy, and as little morality, and far more mischief to fortunes, than common gamblers carry on their operations. The philosophic Voltaire, a century ago, from his retreat in Ferney, gave a lively description of this operation, by which he was made a winner, without the trouble of playing. I have a friend, said he, who is a director in the Bank of France, who writes to me when they are going to make money plenty, and make stocks rise, and then I give orders to my broker to sell; and he writes to me when they are going to make money scarce, and make stocks fall, and then I write to my broker to buy; and thus, at a hundred leagues from Paris, and without moving from my chair, I make money. This, said Mr. B., is the operation on stocks to the present day; and it cannot be safe to the holders of stock that there should be a moneyed power great enough in this country to raise and depress the prices of their property at pleasure."

(Thirty Years' View, v. I, p. 450.)

Drove out not gods, but the Emperor, Imperator.

[89/594: 27]

This alludes to Alexander Del Mar's thesis concerning the rebellion of peoples subject to Roman imperial rule in Western Europe and Britain during the third and fourth centuries of the present era. Del Mar regards the imposing of temples and a priesthood for the worship of the Roman emperors on these peoples, together with the usurpation of local powers and institutions, as among the chief motives of the great Gothic insurrections:

".... So long as the Romans kept to the ancient policy of religious toleration, the Goths remained on the best of terms with them; and supplied them with wives, workmen, citizens, soldiers, and even a few commanders....

The fiercer tribes of the Goths, the Maesatae, Picts, and Scites, made frequent attacks upon the Roman settlements; but until the third century, although often goaded to the point of revolt, the Goths within the Walls, whom the archaeological remains assure us must have formed the principal portion of the tribes subject to the Romans, remained at peace with their conquerors. The final rupture between them evidently originated in the enforcement of the official religion. The Gothic races, not only in Britain, but also in every other province in which they were established, absolutely refused to submit to hierarchical government. They
were willing to obey the emperor, and might even have been taught to worship him; but to regard him as equally man and god, or both as earthly sovereign and high-priest of Heaven; to surrender not only the greatest but also the smallest of their affairs into his hands, or what was still worse, into the hands of the numerous intermediaries who had sprung up between the veiled Caesar and his subjects; was more than Gothic common sense could grasp, or Gothic patience endure. In the third century, as though by a concerted signal, the entire Gothic race in Europe rose up in arms against a religion which they could not understand, and a government too distant to afford them either protection or redress. 187"

The usurpation of the Roman Republic or Commonwealth and the exaltation of the emperor as god, along with the extension of ecclesiastical authority over nearly every phase of Roman civil and even private life, are frequent themes in Del Mar's study of the break-up of Roman hegemony. He writes:

"Whilst the Roman language and the civil law were the same in all parts of the empire, the Roman imperial religion gave rise to a degree of discontent which was unknown to the polytheistic religions of the Commonwealth. Whilst the language and the civil law were impersonal and the circuit courts carried the administration of the latter into every corner of the Roman world, the imperial canon law was essentially personal and local. It emanated from, and centred in, the city of Rome; it bound the people, not by mutual obligations to each other in all places, but in fealty and service to the sovereign-pontiff at Rome; it permitted the worship of ancient gods and local deities, but only in the manner and with the ritual prescribed at Rome. The Latin language and the civil law were of the highest antiquity, they came from the Commonwealth. The imperial government was a new establishment, and the canon law was greatly altered after the apotheoses of Julius Caesar and Augustus. The former arose from the people, belonged to the people, and kept the people together; the latter arose from the sovereign-pontiff, belonged to the sovereign-pontiff, and kept the people apart. Before the creation of the hierarchical empire, the citizen consulted the laws to ascertain the rights he possessed and the obligations he owed to his fellowmen; after the establishment of the empire he needed only to study those that affected his relations to the long line of suzerains which ascended to and ended with the sovereign-pontiff."

The religion established by Julius Caesar and afterwards by Augustus, was the worship of himself, as the son of God. Temples were erected to it in all parts of the empire; a vast body of priests and other officers were appointed to perpetuate its rites; innumerable benefices of lands were granted to its temples: immense

187 Del Mar, Ancient Britain Revisited, p. 13.
sums of money were devoted to its support; and the lex crimen majestatis was employed to enforce its observances, and punish heretics. Yet in time it all fell so dead and flat beneath the contempt of the intellectual classes and the inveteracy of ancient custom, that only the lowest classes of Rome, the rabble, the pot-lickers, the corn-beggars, the dead-heads of the circus, could be depended upon for constancy to the new and repulsive creed; and even these classes, in the course of a few generations, had to have the nauseous dose sweetened by the worship of Julius Caesar, through Venus, and of Augustus, through Maia, his pretended mother. We find Tacitus, who was a priest of the Sacred College and therefore sworn to the maintenance of the Julian and Augustan worship, holding in fact to the ancient worship of Jupiter; Pliny swearing by Hercules; and Juvenal scoffing at both. The better classes of Rome no more adopted emperor-worship than did the Jews, who would not have it in Palestine, nor the Ieseni under Boadicea, who marched to a certain death, rather than yield support to its hated temples in Britain. We shall find this provincial hostility to emperor-worship of the highest importance in restoring the effaced outlines of early British history....

So long as the Romans held fast to their own ancient religion they need not have had any trouble with the Goths. The latter made good citizens, they recruited the armies and fleets, they filled the offices of state, and some of them even reached the imperial throne. But when the worship of the emperor was added to the polytheistic religion, when the powers of the imperial government were lent to the support of the former, by grants of lands, slaves and benefices, by the erection of temples, and by the employment of priests, all of which support had to be eventually borne by the people, then there was friction between the government and the influential classes of Rome; and resistance on the part of the Gothic and semi-Gothic inhabitants of the provinces. In the course of two or three centuries this resistance burst into organized rebellion, and this rebellion is what has been erroneously styled the Barbarian invasions....

.... Except upon the grounds that christianity was embraced in order to discourage and destroy emperor-worship, it is difficult to understand why sovereigns, who must have been aware how largely the provinces were impregnated with Gothic and other barbarian blood and how readily this fact led their inhabitants to revolt from any measures which tended to excite their religious or political prejudices, should have ventured upon the experiments which distinguished the reigns, not merely of Gratian, but of so many of the emperors of Rome, both before and after his time. In spite of an utter lack of unity among themselves, these most impolitic politicians were perpetually interfering with the religion of their subjects, some demanding worship to themselves, some,
like Elagabalus, to the Sun, some, like Julian, to the ancient Greek gods, and some, as we are assured, like Gratian and Theodosius, to the Lord Jesus Christ. But so it was; local creeds, incapable, from the lack of any such agency as the modern newspaper press, of being either readily diffused or readily discouraged, no doubt had much to do with this religious unrest. As the established (pagan) church owned half the lands and slaves of Europe, avidity may have also had something to do with it. There was always a party at the imperial court anxious for the salvation (and endowments) of their erring brethren in possession. On the other hand, the brethren in possession, unweariedly importuned the emperor for their adversaries' heads. Upon close inspection these agreeable pastimes will be found to fit many of the blanks bequeathed to us by ancient writers of Roman imperial history....

The general conduct and policy of the Goths and dissenting Romans was not to destroy, but rather to conquer and conserve. There was no motive for destruction.... Many cities made no resistance to the insurgents, others surrendered upon terms. The great care which the revolutionists took to keep the communities intact and the privilege which they accorded the Roman portion of them to live under their own laws, affords a sufficient assurance that, generally speaking, the latter were neither tortured nor exterminated. In the course of a graphic picture which he draws of the occupation of Britain by the Saxons, Gibbon, III, 620, says they 'violated without remorse the most sacred objects of the Christian worship.' The numerous archaeological discoveries which have been made since this historian penned his immortal treatise on the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, enable us with some confidence to substitute in this passage the word 'Roman,' for 'Christian.' The temples that fell at Anderida and elsewhere were temples of Augustus, not of Christ; the bishops who discreetly retired with their holy relics into Wales and Armorica were bishops of the pagan, not the Christian church....

The Roman republic was eclectic; its people, its laws, its mythology, came from every quarter of the earth.... It was their religious eclecticism which above all things enabled the Romans to readily amalgamate with other peoples and which rendered practicable the enormous expansion of their empire. When this religious freedom was curtailed (for it was not ended) by the establishment of a State religion, (emperor-worship,) amalgamation became more difficult and territorial expansion ceased. The surrounding nations had been one by one conquered with the sword, but they could not be so readily forced to accept a strange religion. To the reaction against emperor-worship and the revival of that eclecticism which had always distinguished the religion of Rome, the Christian church is largely indebted for its early growth. When, during the eleventh century, the Church felt strong enough to cast aside eclecticism,
it did so, and the result was that the new religion ceased either to grow or to spread. When the fanatic hands of the clergy were removed from its throat and the Reformation reestablished the eclecticism that had contributed so powerfully to its original success, it began to grow and spread again."  

remarked Del Mar:

"ratios in Rome and in the Orient."

[89/594: 28-29]

[From Del Mar's History of Monetary Systems]:

"The conquest of Egypt by Julius Caesar (B.C. 48) threw the whole of the oriental trade into the hands of Rome.... A century or so later Pliny recorded the fact that a hundred million sesterci worth of silver...was annually exported to India and China. The numerical proportions of the gold and silver ratios in Europe and India indicate that this trade was not a new one, and that a similar trade had been conducted by the Ptolemies and by the Babylonians and Assyrians upward to a remote era of the commercial intercourse between the Eastern and Western worlds. During the Ptolemaic period the ratio was 10 for 1 in Europe, and 12 1/2 for 1 in Egypt, whilst it was 6 to 6 1/4 for 1 in the Orient. In other words, a ton weight of gold could be bought in India for about 6 1/4 tons of silver, and coined, in Egypt, into gold pieces worth 12 1/2 tons of silver. The profit was therefore cent per cent, and even after the Romans conquered Egypt, the rate of profit on exchanges of Western silver for Eastern gold was quite or nearly as great. This explains what seems so abstruse a puzzle to the industrious but uncommercial Pliny: he could not understand why his countrymen 'always demanded silver and not gold from conquered races.' One reason was that the Roman government knew where to sell this silver at a usurer's profit. When this profit ceased, as it did when the oriental trade was abandoned, the Roman government entirely altered its policy. During the middle ages it preferred to collect its tributes in gold coin...."  

Government wanted "of deposit, not circulation".

[89/594: 30]

188 Del Mar, Ancient Britain Revisited, pp. 27, 29, 55, 59-60, 69, 77-78; see also p. 35. Pearlman, in Paideuma, Vol. 1 No. 2, 180, cites Del Mar, Ancient Britain, p. 59, as source for this line.

189 Del Mar, History of Monetary Systems, pp. 86-87. See also infra., Appendix E, pp. 567-568.
"... This spirit of hostility to the State banks, Mr. B. said, was of recent origin, and seemed to keep pace with the spirit of attack upon the political rights of the States. When the first federal bank was created, in the year 1791, it was not even made, by its charter, a place of deposit for the public moneys. Mr. Jefferson preferred the State banks at that time; and so declared himself in his cabinet opinion to President Washington. Mr. Gallatin deposited a part of the public moneys in the State banks during the whole of the long period that he was at the head of the treasury. At the dissolution of the first Bank of the United States, he turned over all the public moneys which he held in deposit to these banks, taking their obligation to pay out all the treasury warrants drawn upon them in gold and silver, if desired by the holder. When the present bank was chartered, the State banks stood upon an equal footing with the federal bank, and were placed upon an equality with it as banks of deposit, in the very charter which created the federal bank. Mr. B. was alluding to the 14th fundamental article of the constitution of the bank -- the article which provided for the establishment of branches -- and which presented an argument in justification of the removal of the deposits which the adversaries of that measure most pertinaciously decline to answer. The government wanted banks of deposit, not of circulation; and by that article, the State banks are made just as much banks of deposit for the United States as the Bank of the United States is...." (Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 456-457.)

Benton is here referring to Secretary Taney's action to remove the deposits of the United States government from the second U.S. bank. Opponents of this action questioned the Secretary's legal right to remove the deposits (Benton is explicit that the 14th article of the U.S. Bank's constitution gives Taney that right); they attacked the right of the Treasury to deposit federal revenue in State banks (Benton here gives precedents for such action); they implied a conflict of interest in at least one of Taney's choices of State banks to receive government deposits (Taney refuted the grounds for this charge); and they claimed damage to the federal bank as result of the removal of government funds (the Secretary's order was to cease depositing federal revenue in the U.S. Bank; moneys already held in deposit by the bank were not immediately withdrawn, but were removed gradually, and only as needed). Benton's
reply to these charges is simply that the federal bank has failed to meet the government's one basic requirement of it, that it hold the revenues of the United States in deposit until they are needed. Instead, says Benton, the bank has used federal moneys to fund its own currency, and to finance a system of branch banks which circulates it and collects interest on it:

".... [The federal government] stipulates but for one single branch of the United States Bank, and that to be placed at Washington city. As for all other branches, their establishment was made to depend -- not on the will, or power, of the federal government -- not on any supposed or real necessity on her part to have the use of such branches -- but upon contingencies over which she had no control; contingencies depending, one upon the mere calculation of profit and loss by the bank itself, the other upon the subscriptions of stock within a State, and the application of its legislature.... In neither contingency had the will, the power, or the necessities of the federal government, the least weight, concern, or consideration, in the establishment of the branch. If not established, and so far as the government is concerned, it might not be, then the State banks, selected by the United States Bank, and approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, were to be the banks of deposit for the federal moneys. This was an argument, Mr. B. said, in justification of the removal of the deposits, and in favor of the use of the State banks which gentlemen on the opposite side of the question -- gentlemen who take so much pains to decry State banks -- have been careful not to answer." (Thirty Years' View, v.1, p. 457.)

Without historic black-out they cannot maintain perpetual wars.

[89/595: 1-3]


[From Guide to Kulchur]:

".... We may know that whole beams and ropes of real history have
been shelved, overclouded and buried. As in more recent times
the thought of Van Buren, A. Johnson, A. Jackson and the story
of Tuscany under Pietro Leopoldo, have been buried.

We know that history as it was written the day before yester-
day is unwittingly partial; full of fatal lacunae; and that it
tells next to nothing of causes.

We know that these causes were economic and moral; we know
that at whichever end we begin we will, if clear headed and thor-
ough, work out to the other.

We know that there is one enemy, ever-busy obscuring our terms;
ever muddling and muddying terminologies, ever trotting out minor
issues to obscure the main and the basic, ever prattling of short
range causation for the sake of, or with the result of, obscuring
the vital truth. Captans annonam etc. (that is to-say hogging
the harvest, aiding the hoggers and so forth)....

Shallow minds have been in a measure right in their lust for
'secret history'. I mean they have been dead right to want it,
but shallow in their conception of what it was. Secret history
is at least twofold. One part consists in the secret corruptions,
the personal lusts, avarices etc. that scoundrels keep hidden,
another part is the 'plus', the constructive urges, a secretum
because it passes unnoticed or because no human effort can force
it on public attention....

The history of the United States was ill recorded. It now
begins to emerge in historians already mentioned. Not only our
American history but our literature in the correspondence of J.

We had on the whole something to be proud of, at least as main
effort, up till the Grant administration. Thereafter we mainly
slumped into bog and sewage." 190

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. XXXII., "The North and the
South: Comparative Prosperity: Southern Discontent: its True Cause."]:

"To show the working of the federal government is the design
of this View -- show how things are done under it and their effects;
that the good may be approved and pursued, the evil condemned and
avoided, and the machine of government be made to work equally
for the benefit of the whole Union, according to the wise and
beneficent intent of its founders. It thus becomes necessary to
show its working in the two great Atlantic sections, originally
sole parties to the Union -- the North and the South -- complained
of for many years on one part as unequal and oppressive, and made
so by a course of federal legislation at variance with the objects
of the confederation and contrary to the intent or the words of
the constitution.

The writer of this View sympathized with that complaint; believed

it to be, to much extent, well founded; saw with concern the corroding effect it had on the feelings of patriotic men of the South; and often had to lament that a sense of duty to his own constituents required him to give votes which his judgment disapproved and his feelings condemned. This complaint existed when he came into the Senate; it had, in fact, commenced in the first years of the federal government, at the time of the assumption of the State debts, the incorporation of the first national bank, and the adoption of the funding system; all of which drew capital from the South to the North. It continued to increase....

.... What has been published in the South and adverted to in this View goes to show that an incompatibility of interest between the two sections, though not inherent, has been produced by the working of the government -- not its fair and legitimate, but its perverted and unequal working.

This is the evil which statesmen should see and provide against. Separation is no remedy; exclusion of Northern vessels from Southern ports is no remedy; but is disunion itself -- and upon the very point which caused the Union to be formed. Regulation of commerce between the States, and with foreign nations, was the cause of the formation of the Union. Break that regulation, and the Union is broken; and the broken parts converted into antagonist nations, with causes enough of dissension to engender perpetual wars, and inflame incessant animosities. The remedy lies in the right working of the constitution; in the cessation of unequal legislation in the reduction of the inordinate expenses of the government; in its return to the simple, limited, and economical machine it was intended to be; and in the revival of fraternal feelings, and respect for each other's rights and just complaints; which would return of themselves when the real cause of discontent was removed...." (Thirty Years' View, v.II, pp. 130-131, 132-133.)

Taney ('34) showed an increase in all branches of revenue

[89/595: 4-5]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CVII: "Mr. Taney's Report on the Finances -- Exposure of the Distress Alarms -- End of the Panic."]:

"About the time when the panic [a convulsion on the American exchange market, involving the bank's curtailment of capital loans, the suspension of some local banks, cuts in workers' wages, threatened business failures, all allegedly in reaction to the removal
of the government deposits from the federal bank] was at its height, and Congress most heavily assailed with distress memorials, the Secretary of the Treasury was called upon by a resolve of the Senate for a report upon the finances -- with the full belief that the finances were going to ruin, and that the government would soon be left without adequate revenue, and driven to the mortifying resource of loans. The call on the Secretary was made early in May, and was answered the middle of June; and was an utter disappointment to those who called for it. Far from showing the financial decline which had been expected, it showed an increase in every branch of revenue! and from that authentic test of the national condition, it was authentically shown that the Union was prosperous! and that the distress, of which so much was heard, was confined to the victims of the United States Bank, so far as it was real; and that all beyond that was fictitious and artificial -- the result of the machinery for organizing panic, oppressing debtors, breaking up labor, and alarming the timid. When the report came into the Senate, the reading of it was commenced at the table of the Secretary, and had not proceeded far when Mr. Webster moved to cease the reading, and send it to the Committee on Finance -- that committee in which a report of that kind could not expect to find either an early or favorable notice. We had expected a motion to get rid of it, in some quiet way, and had prepared for whatever might happen. Mr. Taney had sent for me [Benton], the day before it came in; read it over with me; showed me all the tables on which it was founded; and prepared me to sustain and emblazon it: for it was our intention that such a report should go to the country, not in the quiet, subdued tone of a State paper, but with all the emphasis, and all the challenges to public attention, which the amplifications, the animation, and the fire and freedom which the speaking style admitted. The instant, then, that Mr. Webster made his motion to stop the reading, and refer the report to the Finance Committee, Mr. Benton rose, and demanded that the reading be continued: a demand which he had a right to make, as the rules gave it to every member. He had no occasion to hear it read, and probably heard nothing of it; but the form was necessary, as the report was to be the text of his speech. The instant it was done, he rose and delivered his speech, seizing the circumstance of the interrupted reading to furnish the brief exordium, and to give a fresh and impromptu air to what he was going to say. The following is the speech: ...."

(Thirty Years' View, v. I, p. 462.)

Benton b. 1782, d. 1858.

"How often had they been told trade was paralyzed & ships idle?

[89/595: 6-8]
[From Ch. CVII, continued]:

"Mr. Benton rose, and said that this report was of a nature to deserve some attention, before it left the chamber of the Senate, and went to a committee, from which it might not return in time for consideration at this session. It had been called for under circumstances which attracted attention, and disclosed information which deserved to be known. It was called for early in May, in the crisis of the alarm operations, and with confident assertions that the answer to the call would prove the distress and the suffering of the country. It was confidently asserted that the Secretary of the Treasury had over-estimated the revenues of the year; that there would be a great falling off -- a decline -- a bankruptcy; that confidence was destroyed -- enterprise checked -- industry paralyzed -- commerce suspended! that the direful act of one man, in one dire order, had changed the face of the country, from a scene of unparalleled prosperity to a scene of unparalleled desolation! that the canal was a solitude, the lake a desert waste of waters, the ocean without ships, the commercial towns deserted, silent, and sad; orders for goods countermanded; foreign purchases stopped! and that the answer of the Secretary would prove all this, in showing the falsity of his own estimates, and the great decline in the revenue and importations of the country. Such were the assertions and predictions under which the call was made, and to which the public attention was attracted by every device of theatrical declamation from this floor. Well, the answer comes. The Secretary sends in his report, with every statement called for. It is a report to make the patriot's heart rejoice! full of high and gratifying facts; replete with rich information; and pregnant with evidences of national prosperity. How is it received -- how received by those who called for it? With downcast looks, and wordless tongues! A motion is even made to stop the reading! to stop the reading of such a report! ....

Mr. B. said he must be pardoned for repeating his request to the Senate, to recollect how often they had been told that trade was paralyzed; that orders for foreign goods were countermanded; that the importing cities were the pictures of desolation; their ships idle; their wharves deserted; their mariners wandering up and down. Now, said Mr. B., in looking over the detailed statement of the accruing revenue, it was found that there was no decline of commerce, except at places where the policy and power of the United States Bank was predominant! Where that power or policy was predominant, revenue declined; where it was not predominant, or the policy of the bank not exerted, the revenue increased; and increased fast enough to make up the deficiency at the other places.... Where the power of the bank enabled her to depress commerce and sink the revenue, and her policy permitted her to do it, commerce was depressed; and the revenue was sunk, and the prophecies of the distress orators were fulfilled; but
where her power did not predominate, or where her policy required
a different course, commerce increased, and the revenue increased;
and the result of the whole is, that New-York and some other anti-
bank cities have gained what Philadelphia and other anti bank cities
have lost; and the federal treasury is just as well off, as if it
had got its accustomed supply from every place."

(Thirty Years' View, v. I, pp. 462-463, 465.)

"Hid the books but cd/ not hide weekly statements."

[89/595: 9]

[From Thirty Years' View, v. I, Ch. CVII]:

"This view of facts, Mr. B. said, must fasten upon the bank
the odium of having produced all the real commercial distress
which has been felt. But at one point, at New Orleans, there was
further evidence to convict her of wanton and wicked oppression.
It was not in the Secretary's reports, but it was in the weekly
returns of the bank; and showed that, in the beginning of March,
that institution had carried off from her branch in New Orleans,
the sum of about $800,000 in specie, which it had been collecting
all the winter, by a wanton curtailment, under the pretext of
supplying the amount of the deposits taken from her at that place.
These $800,000 dollars were collected from the New Orleans
merchants in the very crisis of the arrival of Western produce. The merchants
were pressed to pay debts, when they ought to have been accommodated
with loans. The price of produce was thereby depressed; the whole
West suffered from the depression; and now it is proved that the
money was not wanted to supply the place of the deposits, but was
sent to Philadelphia, where there was no use for it, the bank
having more than she can use; and that the whole operation was
a wanton and wicked measure to coerce the West to cry out for a
return of the deposits, and a renewal of the charter, by attacking
their commerce in the market of New Orleans. This fact, said Mr. B.,
would have been proved from the books of the bank, if they had
been inspected. Failing in that, the proof was intelligibly found
in the weekly returns...." (Thirty Years' View, v. I, pp. 465-466.)

"In specie and without interest.
Against which such a bank is a nuisance."

[89/595: 10-11]
From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CVII:

"Mr. B. spoke of the circulation of the Bank of the United States, and said that its notes might be withdrawn without being felt or known by the community. It contributed but four millions and a quarter to the circulation at this time. He verified this statement by showing that the bank had twelve millions and a quarter of specie in its vaults, and but sixteen millions and a half of notes in circulation. The difference was four millions and a quarter; and that was the precise amount which that gigantic institution now contributed to the circulation of the country! Only four millions and a quarter. If the gold bill passed, and raised gold sixteen to one, there would be more than that amount of gold in circulation in three months. The foreign coin bill, and the gold bill, would give the country many dollars in specie, without interest, for each paper dollar which the bank issues, and for which the country pays so dearly. The dissolution of the bank would turn out twelve millions and a quarter of specie, to circulate among the people; and the sooner that is done the better it will be for the country.

The Bank is now a nuisance, said Mr. B. With upwards of twelve millions in specie, and less than seventeen millions in circulation, and only fifty-two millions of loans, it pretends that it cannot lend a dollar, not even to business men, to be returned in sixty days; when, two years ago, with only six millions of specie and twenty-two millions of circulation, it ran up its loans to seventy millions. The president of the bank then swore, that all above six millions of specie was a surplus! How is it now, with near double as much specie, and five millions less of notes out, and twelve millions less of debt? The bank needs less specie than any other banking institution, because its notes are receivable, by law, in all federal payments; and from that circumstance alone would be current, at par, although the bank itself might be wholly unable to redeem them. Such a bank is a nuisance. It is the dog in the manger...." 191 (Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 468.)

16 to 1 for above 300 years in the Spanish dominions.

[89/595: 12]

[From Thirty Years' View, Ch. CVIII., "Revival of the Gold Currency."]:

"A measure of relief was now at hand, before which the machinery of distress was to balk, and cease its long and cruel labors: it was the passage of the bill for equalizing the value of gold and silver, and legalizing the tender of foreign coins of both metals.

191 See 88/583: "Geryon's prize pup, Nicholas Biddle"; 89/603: "Mr Biddle pinching the baby," and my notes, pp. 194-195; 529-530.
The bills were brought forward in the House by Mr. Campbell P. White of New-York, and passed after an animated contest, in which the chief question was as to the true relative value of the two metals, varied by some into a preference for national bank paper. Fifteen and five-eighths to one was the ratio of nearly all who seemed best calculated, from their pursuits, to understand the subject. The thick array of speakers was on that side; and the eighteen banks of the city of New-York, with Mr. Gallatin at their head, favored that proportion. The difficulty of adjusting this value, so that neither metal should expel the other, had been the stumbling block for a great many years; and now this difficulty seemed to be as formidable as ever. Refined calculations were gone into: scientific light was sought: history was rummaged back to the times of the Roman empire: and there seemed to be no way of getting to a concord of opinion either from the lights of science, the voice of history, or the result of calculations. The author of this View had (in his speeches on the subject), taken up the question in a practical point of view, regardless of history, and calculations, and the opinions of bank officers; and looking to the actual, and equal, circulation of the two metals in different countries, he saw that this equality and actuality of circulation had existed for above three hundred years in the Spanish dominions of Mexico and South America, where the proportion was 16 to one. Taking his stand upon this single fact, as the practical test which solved the question, all the real friends of the gold currency soon rallied to it. Mr. White gave up the bill which he had first introduced, and adopted the Spanish ratio.... And, eventually the bill was passed by a large majority--145 to 36. In the Senate it had an easy passage.... The good effects of the bill were immediately seen. Gold began to flow into the country through all the channels of commerce...and in a few months, and as if by magic, a currency banished from the country for thirty years, overspread the land, and gave joy and confidence to all the pursuits of industry. But this joy was not universal. A large interest connected with the Bank of the United States, and its subsidiary and subaltern institutions, and the whole paper system, vehemently opposed it; and spared neither pains nor expense to check its circulation, and to bring odium upon its supporters...." (Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 469-470.)

Against Biddle one million and some chicken feed for which no vouchers are found.

[89/595: 13-14]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CXI., "Downfall of the Bank of the United States." ]:
"When the author of the Aeneid had shown the opening grandeur of Rome, he deemed himself justified in departing from the chronological order of events to look ahead, and give a glimpse of the dead Marcellus, hope and heir of the Augustan empire; in the like manner the writer of this View, after having shown the greatness of the United States Bank -- exemplified in her capacity to have Jackson condemned -- the government directors and a secretary of the treasury rejected -- a committee of the House of Representatives repulsed -- the country convulsed and agonized -- and to obtain from the Senate of the United States a committee to proceed to the city of Philadelphia to 'wash out its foul linen;' -- after seeing all this and beholding the greatness of the moneyed power at the culminating point of its domination, I feel justified in looking ahead a few years to see it in its altered phase -- in its ruined and fallen estate. And this shall be done in the simplest form of exhibition; namely: by copying some announcements from the Philadelphia papers of the day. Thus: 1. 'Resolved (by the stockholders), that it is expedient for the Bank of the United States to make a general assignment of the real and personal estate, goods and chattels, rights and credits, whatsoever, and wheresoever, of the said corporation...for the payment or securing of the debts of the same....' 2. 'It is known that measures have been taken to rescue the property of this shattered institution from impending peril, and to recover as much as possible of those enormous bounties which it was conceded had been paid by its late managers to trading politicians and mercenary publishers for corrupt services, rendered to it during its charter-seeking and electioneering campaigns.' 3. 'The amount of the suit instituted by the Bank of the United States against Mr. N. Biddle is $1,018,000, paid out during his administration, for which no vouchers can be found.' 4. 'The United States Bank is a perfect wreck, and is seemingly the prey of the officers and their friends, which are making away with its choicest assets by selling them to each other, and taking pay in the depreciated paper of the South...."" 

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 471-472.)

Levari facias.

[89/595: 15]

Levari facias (L.): (you) cause (or make, give) relief. "A writ of execution which commanded the sheriff to levy a judgment debt on the lands and goods of the debtor by seizing and selling the goods, and seizing and selling the rents and profits of the lands until the debt was satisfied." (Earl Jowett, ed., Dictionary of English Law.)
[From Thirty Years' View, "Downfall of the Bank of the United States."]:

"... 7. 'By virtue of a writ of venditioni exponas, directed to the sheriff of the city and county of Philadelphia, will be exposed to public sale to the highest bidder, on Friday, the 4th day of November next, the marble house and the grounds known as the Bank of the United States, &c.' 8. 'By virtue of a writ of levari facias, to me [the sheriff?] directed, will be exposed to public sale the estate known as "Andalusia," ninety-nine and a half acres, one of the most highly improved places in Philadelphia; the mansion-house, and out-houses and offices, all on the most splendid scale; the green-houses, hot-houses, and conservatories, extensive and useful; taken as the property of Nicholas Biddle.'

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 472.)

Louis Philippe suggested that Jackson stand firm
and not sugar his language.

[89/595: 15-17]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CXV., "Commencement of the Session 1834-'35: President's Message."]:

".... The condition of our affairs with France, was the prominent feature of the message, and presented the relations of the United States with that power under a serious aspect. The indemnity stipulated in the treaty of 1831 had not been paid -- no one of the instalments; -- and the President laid the subject before Congress for its consideration, and action, if deemed necessary.

'I regret to say that the pledges made through the minister of France have not been redeemed. The new Chambers met on the 31st July last, and although the subject of fulfilling treaties was alluded to in the speech from the throne, no attempt was made by the King or his Cabinet to procure an appropriation to carry it into execution. The reasons given for this omission, although they might be considered sufficient in an ordinary case, are not consistent with the expectations founded upon the assurances given here, for there is no constitutional obstacle to entering into legislative business at the
first meeting of the Chambers. This point, however, might have been overlooked, had not the Chambers, instead of being called to meet at so early a day that the result of their deliberations might be communicated to me before the meeting of Congress, been prorogued to the 29th of the present month--a period so late that their decision can scarcely be made known to the present Congress prior to its dissolution.... It is proper to remark, however, that this refusal [to convene earlier for the indemnity question] has been accompanied with the most positive assurances, on the part of the Executive government of France, of their intention to press the appropriation at the ensuing session of the Chambers.

'If it shall be the pleasure of Congress to await the further action of the French Chambers, no further consideration of the subject will, at this session, probably be required at your hands. But if, from the original delay in asking for an appropriation; from the refusal of the Chambers to grant it when asked; from the omission to bring the subject before the Chambers at their last session; from the fact that, including that session, there have been five different occasions when the appropriation might have been made; and from the delay in convoking the Chambers until some weeks after the meeting of Congress, when it was well known that a communication of the whole subject to Congress at the last session was prevented by assurances that it should be disposed of before its present meeting, you should feel yourselves constrained to doubt whether it be the intention of the French government in all its branches to carry the treaty into effect, and think that such measures as the occasion may be deemed to call for should be now adopted, the important question arises, what those measures shall be....

'It is my conviction that the United States ought to insist on a prompt execution of the treaty; and, in case it be refused, or longer delayed, take redress into their own hands. After the delay, on the part of France, of a quarter of a century, in acknowledging these claims by treaty, it is not to be tolerated that another quarter of a century is to be wasted in negotiating about the payment. The laws of nations provide a remedy for such occasions. It is a well-settled principle of the international code, that where one nation owes another a liquidated debt, which it refuses or neglects to pay, the aggrieved party may seize on the property belonging to the other, its citizens or subjects, sufficient to pay the debt, without giving just cause of war. This remedy has been repeatedly resorted to, and recently by France herself towards Portugal, under circumstances less unquestionable....'

(Thirty Years' View, v. I, pp. 477-478.)

So far as I can discover, there is no distinct notice of Louis Philippe's suggestion, as Pound reports it, in either Benton or Van
Buren, although both authors mention the French indemnity question. Benton's report of Jackson's message to Congress on the subject appears a few pages after his chapter, "The Downfall of the Bank of the United States," and Pound has spotted a parallel between the writ of levari facias served on Nicholas Biddle to recover his massive debt, and the President's message recommending a bill to seize French property if France should continue to refuse to pay the indemnity. The parallel is reflected at line 15,

Levari facias. Louis Philippe suggested that...

Apparently the "citizen King" of France, who was friendly to Jackson, had advised the President to use a strong tone in demanding that the French debt be redeemed, but even Louis Philippe was surprised at the warlike vigor of the measures which Jackson called for. James Parton, in the third volume of his biography of Andrew Jackson, gives an account of the occasion for the message, of Louis Philippe's advice to Jackson, and of the fury of events which attended the President's words.

In the chapter titled "The French Imbroglio," Parton recounts how, from 1806 to 1812, British and French orders to blockade each other's ports and seize vessels presumed to be trading with the enemy subjected American merchant ships to spoil by the warships and privateers of both France and Britain.

"Both under the British orders-in-council and under the Napoleonic decrees, spoliations upon the commerce of the United States were committed. It will devolve upon that hapless man, the Future Historian, to whom so many puzzling questions are daily referred, to explain why the spoliations committed under the orders-in-council caused a war between the United States and Great Britain, and why those perpetrated under the decrees of Napoleon did not provoke a war between the United States and France. It concerns us only to know that, while the War of 1812 was supposed to have righted the wrongs committed by Britain, the French spoliations remained unatoned until the second term of General Jackson's presidency....

From the time of the general peace, in 1815, until General Jackson's accession to power, the American government had sought compensation for these outrages in vain. The French government was brought to admit the justice of the claim, but disputed its amount, and exhibited that distaste for the discussion of the subject which
men and governments generally manifest when the object sought of them is the payment of a stale debt. The first message of President Jackson announced his intention to press the affair to a settlement. 'The claims of our citizens,' said the President, 'for deprivations upon their property long since committed, under the authority, and in many instances, by the express direction of the then existing government of France, remain unsatisfied, and must, therefore, continue to furnish a subject of unpleasant discussion, and possible collision, between the two governments.'

It pleased the sapient counselors of Charles X., glad of any pretext to postpone a disagreeable subject, to pretend to regard the words 'possible collision' in the light of a 'menace.' The American ambassador, Mr. Rives, of Virginia, contrived to mollify their feelings, and the negotiations languidly proceeded, till the revolution of 1830 drove Charles X. from his throne and country, and made Louis Philippe king of the French.

Louis Philippe was the cordial friend of the United States and an admirer of General Jackson. He remembered his early wanderings of the American wilderness with a delight that was enhanced by his imprisonment in the forms of a court.... Under him, the negotiation for indemnity made such progress, that, on the 4th of July, 1831, a treaty was concluded in Paris, and signed by Mr. Rives, which bound the French government to pay to the United States the sum of five millions of dollars, in six annual instalments; the first to be paid one year from the ratification of the treaty.

The 2nd of February, 1833, the day on which the first instalment was due at Paris, arrived. The administration designed to employ the services of the United States Bank on this occasion, although even then the removal of the deposits was in agitation at the White House. On the 7th of February, a draft upon the French Minister of Finance, drawn in favor of the cashier of the Bank of the United States, was signed by the Secretary of the Treasury. The American Charge des Affaires notified the French government, in due form, that such a draft was on its way. This draft was purchased by the Bank of the United States, and its proceeds were immediately placed to the credit of the government. The bank sold the draft to parties in England, who, on the 23d of March, presented it to the French Minister of Finance for payment. The Minister informed the bearer of the draft, that no money had been appropriated by the Chamber [of Deputies] for the American indemnity, and it could not be paid. The financial complication resulting from the non-payment of the draft, involving the English holders, the Bank of the United States and the American government, can be readily imagined. I spare the reader recital of the President's new quarrel with the bank which arose when Mr. Biddle attempted to adjust the matter with the Secretary of the Treasury. I will merely say, that the dishonoring of a bill in Paris drawn by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, was an event not calculated to lessen the disgust felt by General Jackson at the neglect of the French government to provide for the fulfillment of the treaty.
It is not difficult to account for that neglect. The treaty of 1831, which was such a feather in the cap of Mr. Rives, which was so complacently announced in the president's message, and so highly extolled in the party newspapers, was not regarded in France as an affair of the first importance. The king was occupied in securing his always shaky throne; the ministry in battling with an active and able opposition; the Chambers in the questions of the hour and the strife for place. The news of the ratification of the treaty reached Paris in April, 1832, five days before the expiration of the session of the Chambers; and neither king, ministry, nor deputies thought of providing money to meet an instalment due in February, 1833. In November, the Chambers were again in session, and sat until April, 1833. But as there was no American minister in Paris to press the claim of the United States, the bill to provide for the first instalment was not introduced till near the close of the session; was not then made a ministerial measure; was not supported by the ministry either with unanimity or with vigor; and was not acted upon by the Chamber of Deputies.

It was a fault in the administration of General Jackson to leave the French mission vacant at such a time; but upon receiving the news that the draft of February, 1833, had been dishonored, the administration hastened to atone for its error in a striking manner. Mr. Edward Livingston, the Secretary of State, resigned his office, accepted the appointment of minister to France, and was despatched to his post in a national vessel. He was accompanied by his son-in-law, Mr. Thomas P. Barton, who was appointed Secretary of Legation. In October, 1833, Mr. Livingston presented his credentials to the king, who received him with particular cordiality. 'The king's answer to my address,' wrote Mr. Livingston, 'was long and earnest. I can not pretend to give you the words of it, but, in substance, it was a warm expression of his good feeling toward the United States, for the hospitality he had received there. As to the convention, he said "assure your government that unavoidable circumstances alone prevented its immediate execution, but it will be faithfully performed. Assure your government of this," he repeated; the necessary laws will be passed at the next meeting of the Chambers. I tell you this not only as king, but as an individual whose promise will be fulfilled.'"

The king was mistaken, and Mr. Livingston was disappointed. At the next session of the Chambers, the bill appropriating the money due to the United States was lost by a majority of five -- the Minister of France himself voting against it! The ministry in general not only would not stake their places upon carrying the measure, but gave it a languid support that invited and justified opposition.

The king, there is every reason to believe, was sincerely desirous to pay the money. He expressed to Mr. Livingston great regret at the failure of the appropriation. He did more than that.
In confidential conversation with the American minister he intimated clearly enough his opinion that the only way left to induce the Chamber to vote the money was for the President of the United States to insert a passage in his next message which should show that the American government was in earnest in the matter, and was resolved to insist upon the prompt payment of the indemnity. Mr. Livingston communicated these conversations to his government, and, accordingly, the message of 1834 contained a strong passage respecting the unpaid indemnity. This message was prepared with unusual care, and was written with great ability. It gave a history, full and exact, of the late proceedings of the French legislature; and concluded the discussion of the subject with five short and quiet paragraphs, which electrified two continents.

The President said it was a principle of international law, that when one nation refused to pay a just debt, the aggrieved nation might 'seize on the property' belonging to the citizens of the defaulting nation. If, therefore, France did not pay the money at the next session of the Chambers, the United States ought to delay no longer to take by force what it could not get by negotiation. Nay, more. 'Since France,' said the President, 'in violation of the pledges given through her minister here, has delayed her final action so long that her decision will not probably be known in time to be communicated to this Congress, I recommend that a law be passed authorizing reprisals upon French property, in case provisions shall not be made for the payment of the debt at the approaching session of the French Chambers. Such a measure ought not to be considered by France as a menace. Her pride and power are too well known to expect any thing from her fears, and preclude the necessity of the declaration that nothing partaking of the character of intimidation is intended by us. She ought to look upon it as the evidence only of an inflexible determination on the part of the United States to insist on their rights.'

Such words as these, I need scarcely say, were not such as the King of the French expected to read in the message. His idea of 'strong language' and a 'high tone' differed from that of General Jackson. When he suggested to Mr. Livingston to advise the President to employ strong language in speaking of the indemnity, he used those words in a European and diplomatic sense. Nothing could be further from his thoughts than such terms as 'reprisals,' 'seizures,' 'acquestration,' and 'taking redress into our own hands.' Members of General Jackson's own cabinet deemed the paragraphs quoted above needlessly irritating and menacing, but the General would not consent to abate a word of them.

'No, gentlemen,' he exclaimed, one day, during a Kitchen Cabinet discussion of the message, 'I know them French. They won't pay unless they're made to.'

The French king, alive to all the importance of the subject, was so anxious to obtain the message at the earliest moment, that
he sent a courier to Havre to await the arrival of the packet, and convey the document to Paris. Louis Philippe, therefore, received the message before it reached the American Ambassador, and was the first man in Paris to read it. I am enabled to state, that the king read the message with much surprise, but more amusement. He thought it a capital joke. He was amused at the interpretation put upon the advice he had given Mr. Livingston. The language of the message, which a Tennessean deemed eminently moderate and dignified, sounded in the cabinet of the Tuileries, like a fiery declaration of war. Upon the whole, however, the king was pleased and satisfied with the message, because he thought it calculated to produce the effect upon the deputies which he desired it should produce."

Parton goes on to show how the French press reacted to Jackson's message by denouncing him as a tyrant, how the Chamber of Deputies passed a resolution refusing to honor the debt until the President should apologize for the insult offered in the message, and extended passports for the return of the American ambassador to France, having recalled the French ambassador from Washington; how Jackson refused to apologize and ordered Livingston and Barton to return to the United States; how Congress, meanwhile, prudently ignored the President's request to authorize reprisals and failed to appropriate moneys for defense fortifications along the U.S. Atlantic coast, defenses urged by Jackson, who warned that at the very moment of the debate a French armed convoy was making sail toward the Atlantic seabord, its intentions unknown. Parton says:

"The French Chargé des Affaires was ordered home, and all intercourse between the two governments ceased. Neither government could yield without destroying itself, and the people of both countries were in the temper that precedes and provokes hostilities. Many members of Congress who had opposed General Jackson's fiscal measures, his tariff policy, his land policy, his Indian policy, his proscriptive policy, gave him the most cordial support in his attempt to compel the payment of the French indemnity. No one did so with so much effect as Mr. John Quincy Adams.

"... Reopen negotiations, sir, with France? Do it, and soon you will find your flag insulted, dishonored, and trodden in the dust by the pigmy States of Asia and Africa -- by the very banditti of the earth.""

193 Ibid., pp. 577-578. Benton gives an account of the indemnity affair, and of the Congressional debate over Jackson's recommended defense appropriations, and of the manner in which they were allowed to expire, in Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 588-601.
At this critical moment, Parton says, Great Britain offered her services to the United States and France in the role of mediator. Jackson announced to Congress on February 8th, 1836, that he had accepted Britain's offer to mediate the indemnity dispute:

"He had, at the same time, notified the mediating power that the apology demanded by France was totally out of the question. He recommended Congress to suspend proceedings upon the non-intercourse act, but to continue those preparations for defense which would become immediately necessary if the mediation failed.... The affair was settled in a very few days. February 22d the President had the pleasure of informing Congress that France had accepted the offer of mediation as soon as it was made, and that there was every reason to hope for a speedy termination of the dispute. On the 10th of May he sent the following communication to the capital: 'Information has been received at the Treasury Department that the four installments under our treaty with France have been paid to the agent of the United States.'"194

Jackson also expressed the hope that a reconciliation between the United States and France would soon be completed. Parton notes that diplomatic relations were resumed, and that "Louis Philippe conceived the highest idea of General Jackson's resolution and ability.... The people of the United States, when the danger of the war was over, and the complete success of General Jackson became apparent, applauded his conduct with nearly as much unanimity as enthusiasm."195

Public debt was extinguished. 1834.

[89/595: 18]

The item following the President's discussion of the French indemnity question, in his message to the commencement of the Congressional session of 1834-'35, is the condition of the public finances. Benton remarks,

"... The condition of the finances was shown to be good -- not only adequate for all the purposes of the government and the complete extinguishment of the remainder of the public debt, but still leaving a balance in the treasury equal to one fourth of the annual income at the end of the year.... The extinction of the public

195 Ibid., p. 579.
debt, constituting a marked event in our financial history, and an era in the state of the treasury, was looked to by the President as the epoch most proper for the settlement of our doubtful points of future policy, and the inauguration of a system of rigorous economy: to which effect the message said:

'Free from public debt, at peace with all the world, and with no complicated interests to consult in our intercourse with foreign powers, the present may be hailed as the epoch in our history the most favorable for the settlement of those principles in our domestic policy, which shall be best calculated to give stability to our republic, and secure the blessings of freedom to our citizens. While we are felicitating ourselves, therefore, upon the extinguishment of the national debt, and the prosperous state of our finances, let us not be tempted to depart from those sound maxims of public policy, which enjoin a just adaptation of the revenue to the expenditures that are consistent with a rigid economy, and an entire abstinence from all topics of legislation that are not clearly within the constitutional powers of the Government, and suggested by the wants of the country. Properly regarded, under such a policy, every diminution of the public burdens arising from taxation, gives to individual enterprise increased power, and furnishes to all the members of our happy confederacy, new motives for patriotic affection and support. But, above all, its most important effect will be found in its influence upon the character of the Government, by confining its action to those objects which will be sure to secure to it the attachment and support of our fellow-citizens.'"

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 479.)

Parton remarks about this occasion,

"The eighth of January, 1835, was the day which General Jackson esteemed the most glorious of his presidency. It was the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, which has now [1860, the time of Parton's writing] been for forty-five years celebrated in the United States as a party festival. In 1835, the occasion was seized by the democratic leaders to celebrate also the payment of the last installment of the national debt. The President had looked forward to the extinguishment of that debt as he would have done to the deliverance of his own estate, if it had been heavily mortgaged, or as a western pioneer anticipates the day when his farm shall be completely his own. Financiers of the Biddle school, some of whom proclaimed the national debt a national blessing, regarded the solicitude of the President on this subject as primitive and puerile. It may be safely predicted that to a policy just as primitive and puerile all financiering will come at last. Out of debt! The honest citizen feels the magic of the words."
Out of debt! The public man of the future will be contented with little less for his country."

Pound has accomplished a compression of remarkable density in these last six lines. Line 18, "Public debt was extinguished," stands latest in a sequence which Pound takes directly from Thirty Years' View; but here it takes a dramatic as well as historical function. The Biddle bankruptcy, the action on the French indemnity proceed from Jackson's unwavering course toward the declared goal: payment of the public debt, simple economy without extravagance or entanglement in the fortunes of private enterprise. So that the extinguishment of the public debt is as much the triumph of Jackson's purpose in governing as it is the last instalment; a real triumph in the struggle against the Bank of the United States, whose intention is government by the creation of debt. Thus the image of Nick Biddle exposed, bankrupt, his house at auction to recoup the million-dollar loss for which he personally is responsible, is another image of Jackson's vindication. The extinction of the public debt is also the death blow to the bank monster.

[89/595: 19-22]

(ho² 2109): Why?
(pi₁⁴-⁵ 5109): Must.
(yueh⁴-⁵ 7694): to speak; to say.
(li⁴ 3867): Profit, gain, advantage, interest on money.

Mencius went to see king Hui of Liang.

2. The king said, 'Venerable sir, since you have not counted it far to come here, a distance of a thousand li, may I presume that you are provided with counsels to profit my kingdom?"

3. Mencius replied, 'Why must your Majesty use that word "profit?" What I am provided with, are counsels to benevolence and righteousness, and these are my only topics.

4. 'If your Majesty say, "What is to be done to profit my kingdom?" the great officers will say, "What is to be done to profit our families?" and the inferior officers and the common people will say, "What is to be done to profit our persons?" Superiors and inferiors will try to snatch this profit the one from the other, and the kingdom will be endangered. In the kingdom of ten thousand chariots, the murderer of his sovereign shall be the chief of a family of a thousand chariots. In a kingdom of a thousand chariots, the murderer of his prince shall be the chief of a family of a hundred chariots. To have a thousand in ten thousand, and a hundred in a thousand, cannot be said not to be a large allotment, but if righteousness be put last, and profit be put first, they will not be satisfied without snatching all.' 197

This quotation is not from Mr Webster.

This is Pound's remark; Mencius' comment on the state and profit stand in contradiction to Webster's intentions for government; Webster's support of the "American system" of protective tariffs, internal improvements, subsidies for speculators, and of the U.S. Bank and the paper money system, is a record of advocacy for the profit-motive in government.

Clay opposed mints in New Orleans and North Carolina.

197 See Grieve, in Paideuma, vol. 4, nos. 2 & 3, pp. 483-484, 490; and his note, p. 491: 'Cf. the last sentence of the Ta Hsio: 'A state does not profit by profits. Honesty is the treasure of states.' (Confucius, pp. 87-89.)
The bill [whose title is this chapter's heading] had been reported upon the proposition of Mr. Waggaman, senator from Louisiana, and was earnestly and perseveringly opposed by Mr. Clay. He moved its indefinite postponement, and contended that the mint at Philadelphia was fully competent to do all the coinage which the country required. He denied the correctness of the argument, that the mint at New Orleans was necessary to prevent the transportation of the bullion to Philadelphia. It would find its way to the great commercial marts of the country whether coined or not. He considered it unwise and injudicious to establish these branches. He supposed it would gratify the pride of the States of North Carolina and Georgia to have them there; but when the objections to the measure were so strong, he could not consent to yield his opposition to it. He moved the indefinite postponement of the bill, and asked the yeas and nays on his motion; which were ordered...."  

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 550.)

The Civil War rooted in tariff.

[89/596: 3]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CXXV.]:

"... Mr. Bedford Brown of North Carolina, said the senator from New Jersey, [sic] asked why we apply to Congress to relieve us from the burden of transporting our bullion to be coined, when the manufacturers of the North did not ask to be paid for transporting their material. He said it was true the manufacturers had not asked for this transportation assistance, but they asked for what was much more valuable, and got it -- protection. The people of the South ask no protection; they rely on their own exertions; they ask but a simple act of justice -- for their rights, under the power granted by the States to Congress to regulate the value of coin, and to make the coin itself. It has the exclusive privilege of Congress, and he wished to see it exercised in the spirit in which it was granted; and which was to make the coinage general for the benefit of all the sections of the Union, and not local to one section...."  (p. 551.)

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. XXXII., "The North and the South: Comparative Prosperity: Southern Discontent: its True Cause."]:

"To show the working of the federal government is the design of this View -- show how things are done under it and their effects; that the good may be approved and pursued, the evil condemned and
avoided, and the machine of government be made to work equally for the benefit of the whole Union, according to the wise and beneficent intent of its founders. It thus becomes necessary to show its working in the two great Atlantic sections, originally sole parties to the Union -- the North and the South -- complained of for many years on one part as unequal and oppressive, and made so by a course of federal legislation at variance with the objects of the confederation and contrary to the intent or the words of the constitution. 198

.... [This complaint] had, in fact, commenced in the first years of the federal government, at the time of the assumption of the State debts, the incorporation of the first national bank, and the adoption of the funding system; all of which drew capital from the South to the North. It continued to increase; and, at the period to which this chapter relates [1838], it had reached the stage of an organized sectional expression in a voluntary convention of the Southern States. It had often been expressed in Congress, and in the State legislatures, and habitually in the discussions of the people; but now it took the more serious form of joint action.... The convention was called commercial, and properly, as the grievance complained of was in its root commercial....

.... The New York imports (since 1821) had more than doubled; the Virginia had fallen off one-half; South Carolina two-thirds. The actual figures stood: New York fifty-seven millions of dollars, Virginia half a million, South Carolina one million and a quarter.

This was a disheartening view, and rendered more grievous by the certainty of its continuation, the prospect of its aggravation, and the conviction that the South (in its great staples) furnished the basis for these imports; of which it received so small a share. To this loss of its import trade, and its transfer to the North, the convention attributed, as a primary cause, the reversed conditions of the two sections -- the great advance of one in wealth and improvements -- the slow progress and even comparative decline of the other; and, with some allowance for the operation of natural or inherent causes, referred the effect to a course of federal legislation unwarranted by the grants of the constitution and the objects of the Union, which substracted capital from one section and accumulated it in the other: -- protective tariff, internal improvements, pensions, national debt, two national banks, the funding system and the paper system; the multiplication of offices, profuse and extravagant expenditure, the conversion of a limited into an almost unlimited government; and the substitution of power and splendor for what was intended to be a simple and economical administration of that part of their affairs which required a general head.

These were the points of complaint -- abuses -- which had led to the collection of an enormous revenue, chiefly levied on the products of one section of the Union and mainly disbursed in

another. So far as northern advantages were the result of fair legislation for the accomplishment of the objects of the Union, all discontent or complaint was disclaimed. All knew that the superior advantages of the North for navigation would give it the advantage in foreign commerce; but it was not expected that these facilities would operate a monopoly on one side and an extinction on the other; nor was that consequence allowed to be the effect of these advantages alone, but was charged to a course of legislation not warranted by the objects of the Union, or the terms of the constitution, which created it. To this course of legislation was attributed the accumulation of capital in the North, which had enabled that section to monopolize the foreign commerce which was founded upon southern exports; to cover one part with wealth while the other was impoverished; and to make the South tributary to the North, and suppliant to it for a small part of the fruits of their own labor.

Unhappily there was some foundation for this view of the case; and in this lies the root of the discontent of the South and its dissatisfaction with the Union, although it may break out upon another point. It is in this belief of an incompatibility of interest, from the perverted working of the federal government, that lies the root of southern discontent, and which constitutes the danger to the Union, and which statesmen should confront and grapple with; and not in any danger to slave property, which has continued to aggrandize in value during the whole period of the cry of danger, and is now of greater price than ever was known before; and such as our ancestors would have deemed fabulous..."*

*(Thirty Years' View, v.II, pp. 130-132.)*

Philadelphia did not diffuse,

France had ten mints, and in Mexico there are 8,

Every citizen now more or less cheated.

Mr B. said he had but two bank-notes

both of them counterfeit.

[89/596: 4-8]

*[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CXXV., "Branch Mints..."*]

"Mr. Benton took the high ground of constitutional right to

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Benton wrote this chapter in 1838. For his assessment of the state of American disunion in 1850, his last year in office, see below, Appendix F, p. 568.
the establishment of these branches, and as many more as the interests of the States required. He referred to the Federalist, No. 44, written by Mr. Madison, that in surrendering the coining power to the federal government, the States did not surrender their right to have local mints.... It was express, and clear in the assertion, that the States were not to be put to the expense and trouble of sending their bullion and foreign coins to a central mint to be recoined; but that, as many local mints would be established under the authority of the general government as should be necessary. Upon this exposition of the meaning of the constitution, Mr. B. said, the States accepted the constitution; and it would be a fraud on them now to deny branches where they were needed....

Mr. B. claimed the right to the establishment of these branches as an act of justice to the people of the South and the West. Philadelphia could coin, but not diffuse the coin among them. Money was attracted to Philadelphia from the South and West, but not returned back again to those regions. Local mints alone could supply them. France had ten branch mints; Mexico had eight; the United States not one. The establishment of branches was indispensable to the diffusion of a hard-money currency, especially gold; and every friend to that currency should promote the establishment of branches.

Mr. B. said, there were six hundred machines at work coining paper money -- he alluded to the six hundred banks in the United States; and only one machine at work coining gold and silver. He believed there ought to be five or six branch mints in the United States; that is, two or three more than provided for in this bill; one at Charleston, South Carolina, one at Norfolk or Richmond, Virginia, and one at New-York or Boston. The United States Bank had twenty-four branches; give the United States Mint five or six branches; and the name of that bank would cease to be urged upon us. Nobody would want her paper when they could get gold.

Mr. B. scouted the idea of expense on such an object as this. The expense was but inconsiderable in itself, and was nothing compared to its object. For the object was to supply the country with a safe currency, -- with a constitutional currency; and currency was a thing which concerned every citizen. It was a point at which the action of government reached every human being, and bore directly upon his property, upon his labor, and upon his daily bread. The States had a good currency when this federal government was formed; it was gold and silver for common use, and large bank notes for large operations. Now the whole land is infested with a vile currency of small paper: and every citizen was more or less cheated. He himself had but two bank notes in the world, and they were both counterfeits, on the United States Bank; with St. Andrew's cross drawn through their faces. He used nothing but gold and silver since the gold bill passed." (pp. 551-552.)
French currency had stood two revolutions, one conquest,

[89/596: 9]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CXXV.]:

"... Mr. B. held the French currency to be the best in the world, where there was no bank note under 500 francs (near $100), and where, in consequence, there was a gold and silver circulation of upwards of five hundred millions of dollars; a currency which had lately stood two revolutions and one conquest, without the least fluctuation in its quantity or value." (pp. 552-553.)

20 millions entered that country,

no interest was paid for its use.

[89/596: 10-11]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CXXIX., Benton's introduction to the financial section of Jackson's message to the 24th Congress, 1835]:

"The effect of the revival of the gold currency was a subject of great congratulation with the President, and its influence was felt in every department of industry. Near twenty millions of dollars had entered the country -- a sum far above the average circulation of the Bank of the United States in its best days, and a currency of a kind to diffuse itself over the country, and remain where there was a demand for it, and for which, different from a bank paper currency, no interest was paid for its use, and no danger incurred of its becoming useless...." (pp. 573-574.)

Land not safe against "issue"

Crops not safe against "issue"

Sovereignty is in the right over coinage.

[89/596: 12*-14]
"...[I]t is pleasing to witness the advantages which have been already derived from the recent laws regulating the value of the gold coinage. These advantages will be more apparent in the course of the next year, when the branch mints authorized to be established in North Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, shall have gone into operation. Aided, as it is hoped they will be, by further reforms in the banking systems of the States, and by judicious regulations on the part of Congress in relation to the custody of the public moneys, it may be confidently anticipated that the use of gold and silver as a circulating medium will become general in the ordinary transactions connected with the labor of the country. The great desideratum, in modern times, is an efficient check upon the power of banks, preventing that excessive issue of paper whence arise those fluctuations in the standard of value which render uncertain the rewards of labor. It was supposed by those who established the Bank of the United States, that, from the credit given to it by the custody of the public moneys, and other privileges, and the precautions taken to guard against the evils which the country had suffered in the bankruptcy of many of the State institutions of that period, we should derive from that institution all the security and benefits of a sound currency, and every good end that was attainable under that provision of the constitution which authorizes Congress alone to coin money and regulate the value thereof. But it is scarcely necessary now to say that these anticipations have not been realized. After the extensive embarrassment and distress recently produced by the Bank of the United States, from which the country is now recovering, aggravated as they were by pretensions to power which defied the public authority, and which, if acquiesced in by the people, would have changed the whole character of our government, every candid and intelligent individual must admit that, for the attainment of the great advantages of a sound currency, we must look to a course of legislation radically different from that which created such an institution."  (Thirty Years' View, v.I, p. 574.)

"All that it (the Bank) creates out of nothing."

[89/596: 15]

See annotation: 88/579: 25, "1694: on what it creates out of nothing..." above, pp. 15-16. See also Canto 46/233,

Said Paterson:  
Hath benefit of interest on all  
the moneys which it, the bank, creates out of nothing.

This is the point which Jackson arraigns in his message, quoted above.
The extent of the bank's power and inclination to create "out of nothing" is marked by the next two lines, which quote from Benton:

600 banks to be broken,
Fictitious woe, and the Senate's organized sorrow.

[89/596: 16-17]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CXLI. Benton is denouncing a Senate resolution of 1834 which condemned Jackson for his order to remove the public deposits from the Bank of the United States. The resolution was got through the Senate by a Clay-Calhoun coalition, and passed by a vote of 26-20 -- a strictly partisan split between the pro- and anti-bank forces.]:

"The condemnation of the President, combining as it did all that illegality and injustice could inflict, had the further misfortune to be co-operative in its effect with the conspiracy of the Bank of the United States to effect the most wicked and universal scheme of mischief which the annals of modern times exhibit. It was a plot against the government, and against the property of the country. The government was to be upset, and property revolutionized. Six hundred banks were to be broken -- the general currency ruined -- myriads bankrupted -- all business stopped -- all property sunk in value -- all confidence destroyed! That out of this wide spread ruin and pervading distress, the vengeful institution might glut its avarice and ambition, trample upon the President, take possession of the government, reclaim its lost deposits, and perpetuate its charter. These crimes, revolting and frightful in themselves, were to be accomplished by the perpetration of a whole system of subordinate and subsidiary crime! the people to be deceived and excited; the President to be calumniated; the effects of the bank's own conduct to be charged upon him; meetings got up; business suspended; distress deputations organized; and the Senate chamber converted into a theatre for the dramatic exhibition of all this fictitious woe...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 645-646.)

"My fellow slave-holder"

sd/ Mr Randolph
(masnatosque liberavit)
"He [Randolph] was one of the large slaveholders of Virginia, but disliked the institution, and, when let alone, opposed its extension...

He was against slavery; and by his will, both manumitted and provided for the hundreds which he held. But he was against foreign interference with his rights, his feelings, or his duties; and never failed to resent and rebuke such interference. Thus, he was one of the most zealous of the opposers of the proposed Missouri restriction; and even voted against the divisional line of 'thirty-six thirty.' In the House, when the term 'slaveholder' would be reproachfully used, he would assume it, and refer to a member, not in the parliamentary phrase of colleague, but in the complimentary title of 'my fellow-slaveholder.' And, in London, when the consignees of his tobacco, and the slave factors of his father, urged him to liberate his slaves, he quieted their intrusive philanthropy, on the spot, by saying, 'Yes: you buy and set free to the amount of the money you have received from my father and his estate for these slaves, and I will set free an equal number.'"

(Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 474-475.)

Masnatosque liberavit: (Mid. Lat.) 'And he freed [his] household slaves.'

"Ef my bull-dog" said Mr Bishop
to a co-detenuuto "had a face like yours, hang'd if I wouldn't shave his arse and make him walk backwards."

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* The abolition of slavery within Missouri's limits as condition to the territory's being admitted to the Union. The restriction was defeated. See Benton, v.I, p. 8.

** 'Mason and Dixon's line': the compromise line, north of which parallel slavery was declared to be abolished in the U.S. territories by a Congressional Act of 1820. See ibid.
during Pound's confinement for 13 years at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington, D.C.

And in the time of Mr Randolph, Mr Benton, Mr Van Buren he, Andy Jackson

POPULUM AEDIFICAVIT

[89/596: 24-26]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CXLI.]:

"... In the midst of all this machinery of alarm and distress, many good citizens lost their reckoning; sensible heads went wrong; stout hearts quailed; old friends gave way; temporizing counsels came in; and the solitary defender of his country was urged to yield! Oh, how much depended upon that one man at that dread and awful point of time! If he had given way, then all was gone! An insolent, rapacious, and revengeful institution would have been installed in sovereign power. The federal and State governments, the Congress, the Presidency, the State legislatures, all would have fallen under the dominion of the bank; and all departments of the government would have been filled and administered by the debtors, pensioners, and attorneys of that institution. He did not yield, and the country was saved. The heroic patriotism of one man prevented all this calamity, and saved the Republic from becoming the appendage and fief of a moneyed corporation. And what has been his reward? So far as the people are concerned, honor, gratitude, blessings, everlasting benedictions; so far as the Senate is concerned, dishonor, denunciation, stigma, infamy. And shall these two verdicts stand? Shall our journal bear the verdict of infamy, while the hearts of the people glow and palpitate with the verdict of honor?

President Jackson has done more for the human race than the whole tribe of politicians put together; and shall he remain stigmatized and condemned for the most glorious action of his life?

... Great are the services which President Jackson has rendered his country. As a General he has extended her frontiers, saved a city [New Orleans], and carried her renown to the highest pitch of glory. His civil administration has rivaled and transcended his warlike exploits. Indemnities procured from the great powers of Europe for spoliations committed on our citizens under former administrations, and which, by former administrations were reclaimed in vain; peace and friendship with the whole world, and, what is
more, the respect of the whole world; the character of our America exalted in Europe; so exalted that the American citizen treading the continent of Europe, and contemplating the sudden and great elevation of the national character, might feel as if he himself was an hundred feet high....

Mr. President, I have some knowledge of history, and some acquaintance with the dangers which nations have encountered, and from which heroes and statesmen have saved them. I have read much of ancient and modern history, and nowhere have I found a parallel to the services rendered by President Jackson in crushing the conspiracy of the Bank, but in the labors of the Roman Consul in crushing the conspiracy of Catiline.... Cicero extinguished the Catilinarean conspiracy, and saved Rome; President Jackson defeated the conspiracy of the Bank, and saved our America. Their heroic service was the same, and their fates have been strangely alike. Cicero was condemned for violating the laws and the constitution; so has been President Jackson.... Cicero, followed by all that was virtuous in Rome, repaired to the temple of the tutelary gods, and swore upon the altar that he had saved his country: President Jackson, in the temple of the living God, might take the same oath, and find its response in the hearts of millions...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 646-648.)

which might end this canto, and rhyme with
Sigismundo.199

[89/596: 27-28]

[From the Annotated Index to the Cantos]:

[Malatesta, Sigismondo]: ... Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, 1417-68, patron of the arts, built the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini; made war against Pope Pius II and was excommunicate (1460); lost all possessions except Rimini (1463). 200

Sigismondo Malatesta was a condottiere, a soldier and leader of soldiers; he was Lord of Rimini and of other cities; he employed Alberti and Duccio, Pisanello and Piero della Francesca to build a temple to the athanatoi and to his beloved, Ixotta. Pound composed four cantos about him, Cantos 8, 9, 10, 11. See Canto 8/32:

199 Like Jackson, Sigismondo was condemned -- by his enemy, Pope Pius II. See Canto 10/43-44 for the writ of excommunication and the list of crimes charged to his name.

200 Edwards and Vasse, Annotated Index to the Cantos of Ezra Pound, p. 136.
With the church against him,
With the Medici bank for itself,
With wattle Sforza against him
Sforza Francesco, wattle-nose,
* Who married him (Sigismundo) his (Francesco's)
  Daughter in September,
Who stole Pesaro in October (as Broglio says "bestialmente"),
Who stood with the Venetians in November,
With the Milanese in December,
Sold Milan in November, stole Milan in December
Or something of that sort,
Commanded the Milanese in the spring,
the Venetians at midsummer,
The Milanese in the autumn,
And was Naples' ally in October,
He, Sigismundo, *templum aedificavit* ...

Commander Rogers observed that the sea was sprinkled with fragments of West India fruit and followed that vestige.

[89/596: 29-30; 89/597: 1]

*From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. XXXIV., "Death of Commodore Rodgers, and Notice of His Life and Character."*;

".... When I first saw Commodore Rodgers, which was after I had reached senatorial age and station...[h]e was to me the complete impersonation of my idea of the perfect naval commander -- person, mind, and manners; with the qualities for command grafted on the groundwork of a good citizen and good father of a family; and all lodged in a frame to bespeak the seaman and the officer.... His skill, enterprise, promptitude and talent for command, were shown in the war of 1812 with Great Britain; in the quasi war of 1799 with the French Republic -- quasi only as it concerned political relations, real as it concerned desperate and brilliant combats at sea; and in the Mediterranean wars with the Barbary States...."  (p. 144.)

During the War of 1812, Commodore Rodgers commanded the American frigate *President*, and was given orders to cruise against the British merchant fleet.

".... [H]e got information of the Jamaica fleet (merchantmen),

201 These are the lines by which Pound means to rhyme two heroes: *he, Andy Jackson / POPULUM AEDIFICAVIT* // *He, Sigismundo, templum*
homeward bound; and crowded all sail in the direction they had
gone, following the Gulf Stream towards the east of Newfoundland.
While on this track, on the 23d, a British frigate [a warship] 
was perceived far to the northeast, and getting further off. It 
was a nobler object than a fleet of merchantmen, and chase was
immediately given her, and she gained upon; but not fast enough
to get alongside before night:

It was four o'clock in the evening, and the enemy in range of
the bow-chasers. Commodore Rodgers determined to cripple her,
and diminish her speed; and so come up with her...." (p. 146.)

Benton tells how four shots were fired at the British ship,
the first by the Commodore himself. The fourth fire bursted the
gun -- killing and wounding sixteen of the men on the President,
"blowing up the Commodore -- who fell with a broken leg upon
the deck.

The pause in working the guns on that side, occasioned by this
accident, enabled the enemy to bring some stern guns to bear, and
to lighten his vessel to increase her speed...he escaped. It
was the Belvidera, 36 guns, Captain Byron. The President would
have taken her with all ease if she had got alongside; and of
that the English captain showed himself duly, and excusably sen-
sible.

The frigate having escaped, the Commodore, regardless of his
broken leg, hauled up to its course in pursuit of the Jamaica fleet,
and soon got information that it consisted of eighty-five sail,
and was under convoy of four men-of-war; one of them a two-decker,
another a frigate; and that he was on its track. Passing New-
foundland and finding the sea well sprinkled with the signs of
West India fruit -- orange peels, cocoanut shells, pine-apple
rinds, &c. -- the Commodore knew himself to be in the wake of the
fleet, and made every exertion to come up with it before it could
reach the chops of the channel: but in vain. When almost in sight
of the English coast, and no glimpse obtained of the fleet, he
was compelled to tack, run south: and, after an extended cruise,
return to the United States.

The Commodore had missed the two great objects of his ambition
--
the fleet and the frigate; but the cruise was not barren either
in material or moral results. Seven British merchantmen were
captured -- one American recaptured -- the English coast had been
approached. With impunity an American frigate -- one of those
insultingly styled 'fir-built, with a bit of striped bunting at
her mast-head,' -- had almost looked into that narrow channel
which is considered the sanctum of a British ship...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 146.)

aedificavit".
Giles talked and listened, more listened, and did not read.

[89/597: 2-3]

[From Thirty Years' View, v. I, Ch. CLI., "Death of William B. Giles, of Virginia.]

"He also died under the presidency of General Jackson. He was one of the eminent public men coming upon the stage of action with the establishment of the new constitution -- with the change from a League to a Union; from the confederation to the unity of the States -- and was one of the most conspicuous in the early annals of our Congress. He had that kind of speaking talent which is most effective in legislative bodies, and which is so different from set-speaking. He was a debater; and was considered by Mr. Randolph to be, in our House of Representatives, what Charles Fox was admitted to be in the British House of Commons: the most accomplished debater which his country had ever seen. But their acquired advantages were very different, and their schools of practice very opposite. Mr. Fox perfected himself in the House, speaking on every subject; Mr. Giles out of the House, talking to every body. Mr. Fox, a ripe scholar, addicted to literature, and imbued with all the learning of all the classics in all time; Mr. Giles neither read nor studied, but talked incessantly with able men, rather debating with them all the while: and drew from this source of information, and from the ready powers of his mind, the ample means of speaking on every subject with the fulness which the occasion required, the quickness which confounds an adversary, and the effect which a lick in time always produces. He had the kind of talent which was necessary to complete the circle of all sorts of ability which sustained the administration of Mr. Jefferson. Macon was wise, Randolph brilliant, Gallatin and Madison able in argument; but Giles was the ready champion, always ripe for the combat -- always furnished with the ready change to meet every bill. He was long a member of the House; then senator, and governor; and died at an advanced age, like Patrick Henry, without doing justice to his genius in the transmission of his labors to posterity; because, like Henry, he had been deficient in education and in reading. He was the intimate friend of all the eminent men of his day, which sufficiently bespeaks him a gentleman of manners and heart, as well as a statesman of head and tongue."  

(Thirty Years' View, v. I, pp. 682-683.)

Pound also refers to Giles at Canto 62/349, and the Annotated Index notes that he "...opposed, the founding of the First Bank of
the United States and brought charges of corruption against Hamilton (1793); the charges were dismissed."

Young Jessie did not forward dispatches so Frémont proceeded toward the North West and we ultimately embraced Califormy

[89/597: 4-6]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. CXXXIV., "Fremont's Second Expedition."]:

"'The government deserves credit for the zeal with which it has pursued geographical discovery.' Such is the remark which a leading paper made upon the discoveries of Frémont, on his return from his second expedition to the Great West; and such is the remark which all writers will make upon all his discoveries who write history from public documents and outside views. With all such writers the expeditions of Frémont will be credited to the zeal of the government for the promotion of science; as if the government under which he acted had conceived and planned these expeditions, as Mr. Jefferson did that of Lewis and Clark, and then selected this young officer to carry into effect the instructions delivered to him. How far such history would be true in relation to the first expedition, which terminated in the Rocky Mountains, has been seen in the account which has been given of the origin of that undertaking, and which leaves the government innocent of its conception; and, therefore, not entitled to the credit of its authorship, but only to the merit of permitting it. In the second, and greater expedition, from which great political as well as scientific results have flowed, their merit is still less; for, while equally innocent of its conception, they were not equally passive to its performance -- countermanding the expedition after it had begun; and lavishing censure upon the adventurous young explorer for his manner of undertaking it. The fact was, that his first expedition barely finished, Mr. Frémont sought and obtained orders for a second one, and was on the frontier of Missouri with his command when orders arrived at St. Louis to stop him, on the ground that he had made a military equipment which the peaceful nature of his geographical pursuit did not require! as if Indians did not kill and rob scientific men as well as others if not in a condition to defend themselves. The particular point of complaint was that he had taken a small mountain howitzer, in addition to his rifles; and which, he was informed,

was charged to him, although it had been furnished upon a regular requisition on the commandant of the Arsenal at St. Louis, approved by the commander of the military department (Colonel, afterwards General Kearney). Mr. Frémont had left St. Louis, and was at the frontier, Mrs. Frémont being requested to examine the letters that came after him, and forward those which he ought to receive. She read the countermanding orders, and detained them! and Frémont knew nothing of their existence until after he had returned from one of the most marvellous and eventful expeditions of modern times -- one to which the United States are indebted (among other things) for the present ownership of California, instead of seeing it a British possession. The writer of this View, who was then in St. Louis, approved of the course which his daughter had taken (for she had stopped the orders before he knew of it); and he wrote a letter to the department condemning the recall, repulsing the reprimand which had been lavished upon Frémont...." 203

(Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 579.)

Mrs. Frémont is "young Jessie," the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Benton. She married Frémont, a young lieutenant in the U.S. army corps of topographical engineers, in October of 1841, having met him in April of that year at her father's home:

"... Coming home from school in an Easter holiday, I found Mr. Frémont part of my father's 'Oregon work.' It was the spring of '41; in October we were married, and in '42 the first expedition was sent out under Mr. Fremont...." 204

Jessie Benton was sixteen when she married Frémont, much to her father's displeasure, but she quickly reconciled Thomas and John Benton, avid for information about the still unsettled territory of Oregon and the Pacific coast of California, became Fremont's stoutest supporter and defender in Washington.

The Collingwood manned 80 guns.

[89/597: 7]

203 Benton worked as a senator for the American acquisition of Oregon territory, till 1848 jointly occupied by American and British traders. His research to that end convinced him of the justice of the 49th parallel as the northern boundary of acquisition. His speeches on the Oregon question are reprinted in vols. I and II of Thirty Years' View.

"In the month of May 1845, Mr. Frémont, then a brevet captain of engineers...set out on his third expedition of geographical and scientific exploration in the Great West. Hostilities had not broken out between the United States and Mexico; but Texas had been incorporated [annexed to the United States by act of Congress]; the preservation of peace was precarious, and Mr. Frémont was determined, by no act of his, to increase the difficulties, or to give any just cause of complaint to the Mexican government. His line of observation would lead him to the Pacific Ocean, through a Mexican province -- through the desert parts first, and the settled part afterwards of the Alta California. Approaching the settled parts of the province at the commencement of winter, he left his equipment of 60 men and 200 horses on the frontier, and proceeded alone to Monterey, to make known to the governor the object of his coming, and his desire to pass the winter (for the refreshment of his men and horses) in the uninhabited parts of the valley of the San Joaquin. The permission was granted; but soon revoked, under the pretext that Mr. Frémont had come into California, not to pursue science, but to excite the American settlers to revolt against the Mexican government...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 688.)

The governor ordered Frémont and his companions to leave California, but Frémont refused, having just made an early winter crossing of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and desiring to camp in the pleasant California valley of the San Joaquin. General Castro brought troops against him and Frémont's expedition retreated to a mountain position, "hoisted the flag of the United States, and determined, with his sixty brave men, to defend himself to the last extremity -- never surrendering; and dying, if need be, to the last man." General Castro, fortunately, was canny enough not to provoke such well-entrenched bravado; after four days of waiting for the attack, Frémont moved out and toward Oregon. And it was in Oregon, on the shore of Tlalmath Lake, that Fremont encountered Destiny -- or, more accurately, Manifest Destiny -- in the person of Archibald H. Gillespie:

"... In the first week of May [1846], [Frémont] was at the north

206 "Turning his back on the Mexican possessions, and looking to Oregon as the field of his future labors, Mr. Frémont determined to explore a new route to the Wah-lah-math settlements and the tide-water region of the Columbia, through the wild and elevated region of the Tlal-math lakes." (Ibid., p. 688.)
end of the Great Tla-math lake.... On the 8th day of that month, a strange sight presented itself -- almost a startling apparition -- two men riding up.... They proved to be two of Mr. Frémont's old voyageurs, and quickly told their story. They were part of a guard of six men conducting a United States officer, who was on Frémont's trail with despatches from Washington, and whom they had left two days back, while they came on to give notice of his approach.... The officer proved to be a lieutenant of the United States marines, who had been despatched from Washington the November previous, to make his way by Vera Cruz, the City of Mexico, and Mazatlán to Monterey, in Upper California, deliver despatches to the United States' consul there; and then find Mr. Fremont, wherever he should be. His despatches for Mr. Frémont were only a letter of introduction from the Secretary of State (Mr. Buchanan), and some letters and slips of newspapers from Senator Benton and his family, and some verbal communications from the Secretary of State. The verbal communications were that Mr. Frémont should watch and counteract any foreign scheme on California, and conciliate the good will of the inhabitants towards the United States. Upon this intimation of the government's wishes, Mr. Frémont turned back from Oregon, in the edge of which he then was, and returned to California....'* (Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 689.)

Later the night of this meeting, the Frémont-Gillespie party was nearly massacred in a surprise attack on it by Tlalath Indians. Three of the party were killed, and on the journey southward Frémont saved his chief scout, Kit Carson, from an arrow.

When Frémont arrived again in California, the news of his return alarmed the Mexican authorities and encouraged American settlers to act. In June, 1846, Americans arrested General Mariano Vallejo at the village of Sonoma and declared an independent California Republic. Frémont organized a battalion of settlers and his own men, and pledged the protection of the United States to the new republic. Benton describes the American apprehensions at the time:

"... Three great operations, fatal to American interests, were then going on, and without remedy, if not arrested at once. These were: 1. The massacre of the Americans, and the destruction of their settlements, in the valley of the Sacramento. 2. The subjection of California to British protection. 3. The transfer of the public domain to British subjects. And all this with a view to anticipate the events of a Mexican war, and to shelter California from the arms of the United States.

The American settlers sent a deputation to the camp of Mr. [Note: The text is cut off at this point, but it appears to be discussing the plans and actions taken by the settlers regarding the British intervention in California.]

* See below, Appendix H, for Fremont's recollection of the decision to bring California into the Sphere of the United States.
Fremont, in the valley of the Sacramento, laid all these dangers before him, and implored him to place himself at their head and save them from destruction. General Castro was then in march upon them: the Indians were incited to attack their families, and burn their wheat fields, and were only waiting for the dry season to apply the torch. Junta were in session to transfer the country to Great Britain: the public domain was passing away in large grants to British subjects: a British fleet was expected on the coast: the British vice-consul, Forbes, and the emissary priest, Macnamara, ruling and conducting every thing: and all their plans so far advanced as to render the least delay fatal. It was then the beginning of June. War had broken out between the United States and Mexico, but that was unknown in California...." 207

(Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 691.)

About the time that Fremont was militarizing the American settlers and securing the northern part of California from Mexican rule, the American-Mexican war having begun in earnest, Commodore Sloat, of the U.S. navy squadron at Mazatlan, received orders from President Polk to proceed to the California port of Monterey. Sloat perhaps knew at that time that Zachary Taylor's American troops had met and defeated a Mexican force at Resaca de la Palma, but that the Mexican and American governments had officially declared war was unknown to him. His orders only stated that he was to seize California ports in the name of the United States if he should receive official confirmation that war existed between the United States and Mexico; he was to anticipate foreign attempts to claim California territory; otherwise, he was to maintain friendly relations with the Californian government. At that moment, "foreign" meant British:

"... The approaching war between Mexico and the United States was the crisis in which [Great Britain] expected to realize the long-deferred wish for [the] acquisition [of California]; and carefully she took her measures accordingly. She sent two squadrons to the Pacific as soon as Texas was incorporated -- well seeing the actual war which was to grow out of that event -- a small one into the mouth of the Columbia, an imposing one to Mazatlan, on the Mexican coast, to watch the United States squadron there, and to anticipate its movements upon California. Com-

207 Bernard de Voto gives little credence to these explanations. He describes Fremont's activities in California, as well as those of the American settlers, as adventurist, regards the Mexican Californians as innocent victims of this adventure (the Californians in the North offered little or no resistance to the Americans). See De Voto, The Year of Decision: 1846, pp. 197-201, 222-229.
Commodore Sloat commanding the squadron at Mazatlán, saw that he was watched, and pursued, by Admiral Seymour, who lay alongside of him, and he determined to deceive him. He stood out to sea, and was followed by the British Admiral. During the day he bore west, across the ocean, as if going to the Sandwich Islands: Admiral Seymour followed. In the night the American commodore tacked, and ran up the coast towards California: the British admiral, not seeing the tack, continued on his course, and went entirely to the Sandwich Islands before he was undeceived. Commodore Sloat arrived before Monterey on the second of July, entering the port amicably, and offering to salute the town, which the authorities declined on the pretext that they had no powder to return it -- in reality because they momentarily expected the British fleet. Commodore Sloat remained five days before the town, and until he heard of Fremont's operations: then believing that Fremont had orders from his government to take California, he having none himself, he determined to act himself. He received the news of Fremont's successes on the 6th day of July: on the 7th he took the town of Monterey, and sent a despatch to Fremont. This latter came to him in all speed, at the head of his mounted force. Going immediately on board the commodore's vessel, an explanation took place. The commodore learnt with astonishment that Fremont had no orders from his government to commence hostilities -- that he had acted entirely on his own responsibility. This left the commodore without authority for having taken Monterey; for still at this time, the commencement of the war with Mexico was unknown. Uneasiness came upon the commodore. He remembered the fate of Captain Jones in making the mistake of seizing the town once before in time of peace. He resolved to return to the United States, which he did -- turning over the command of the squadron to Commodore Stockton, who had arrived on the 15th. The next day (16th) Admiral Seymour arrived; his flagship the Collingwood, of 80 guns, and his squadron the largest British fleet ever seen in the Pacific. To his astonishment he beheld the American flag flying over Monterey, the American squadron in its harbor, and Fremont's mounted riflemen encamped over the town. His mission was at an end. The prize had escaped him. He attempted nothing further, and Fremont and Stockton rapidly pressed the conquest of California to its conclusion...." (Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 692.)

"Those who wish to talk
May leave now" said Rossini,
"Madame Bileau is going to play."
"During the life of my grandfather, Washington was always con-
idered our home, and so when we left Paris, we left it for the
Capitol City, where my father rented a house adjoining that of
my grandfather.

When father was on his long exploration trips, mother made it
a habit to take dinner at her father's home each day, and the two
houses were really the common property of both families.

My mother's young sister Susie, liked to practice on her own
Erad piano, and to play on mother's Viennese Pleyel, its soft
singing tones the particular delight of the young musician.

This arrangement met with my full approval and I liked to take
my lessons away from the study room, and pore over them under the
shadow of the piano, studying as Aunt Susie played. This gifted
aunt played the music of Beethoven exceptionally well, and now in
the twilight of life, a neighbor of mine plays the same beautiful
music. As I sit and listen to the strains wafted into my home by
the friendly breezes, I dream over again the delights of a happy
youth, for that music has a charm all its own for me and ever
carries me back to my school-girl days on the banks of the Potomac.

My Aunt Susie later in life was Madame Boileau, and when she lived in Paris, often played at Rossini's musical Sundays -- the
musical event of the week. I have heard her say that when she
was ready to play, Rossini would send his wife among the guests
with the message:

'Madame Boileau is going to play; those who want to talk may
now leave!'"

How many music lovers in this country sigh for a similar mes-
sage to be sent among the thoughtless audiences of today!" 209

"Trade, trade, trade!"

Sang Lanier.

[89/597: 11-14]

[From "The Symphony," by Sydney Lanier, 1875]:

208 Susan Benton, the youngest of Thomas and Elizabeth Benton's
four daughters, married Gauldrée de Boileau, secretary of the French
Legation, in Washington, June, 1855. For another account of Susan's
talent, see Jessie Benton Fremont, Souvenirs of my Time, pp. 59-60.

209 Recollections of Elizabeth Benton Fremont, pp. 61-62.
'O Trade! O Trade! would thou wert dead!
The Time needs heart -- 'tis tired of head; We're all for love," the violins said, "Of what avail the rigorous tale Of bill for coin and box for bale? Grant thee, O Trade! thine uttermost hope: Level red gold with blue sky-slope, And base it deep as devils-grope: When all's done, what hast thou won Of the only sweet that's under the sun? Ay, canst thou buy a single sigh Of true love's least, least ecstasy?" Then, with a bridegroom's heart-beats trembling, All the mightier strings assembling Ranged them on the violins' side As when the bridegroom leads the bride, And, heart in voice, together cried: "Yea, what avail the endless tale Of gain by cunning and plus by sale? Look up the land, look down the land -- The poor, the poor, the poor, they stand Wedged by the pressing of Trade's hand Against an inward-opening door That pressure tightens evermore: They sigh a monstrous foul-air sigh For the outside leagues of liberty, Where Art, sweet lark, translates the sky Into a heavenly melody. 'Each day, all day!' (these poor folks say), 'In the same old year-long, drear-long way, We weave in the mills and heave in the kilns, We sieve mine-meshes under the hills, And thieve much gold from the Devil's bank tills, To relieve, O God, what manner of ills? -- The beasts, they hunger, and eat, and die; And so do we, and the world's a sty; Hush, fellow-swine: why nuzzle and cry? Swinehood hath no remedy Say many men, and hasten by, Clamping the nose and blinking the eye. But who said once, in the lordly tone, Man shall not live by bread alone But all that cometh from the Throne? Hath God said so? But Trade saith No: And the kilns and the curt-tongued mills say Go: There's plenty that can, if you can't: we know. Move out, if you think you're underpaid. The poor are prolific; we're not afraid; Trade is trade."
The next eighteen lines recall Pound's refrain, *Bellum cano perenne*:

Thereat this passionate protesting
   Meekly changed, and softened till
It sank to sad requesting
   And suggesting sadder still:
"And oh, if men might some time see
How piteous—false the poor decree
That trade no more than trade must be!
Does business mean, Die, you -- live, I?
Then 'Trade is trade' but sings a lie:
'Tis only war grown miserly.
If business is battle, name it so:
War-crimes less will shame it so,
And widows less will blame it so.
Alas: for the poor to have some part
In yon sweet living lands of Art,
Makes problem not for head, but heart.
Vainly might Plato's brain revolve it:
Plainly the heart of a child could solve it." 210

Van Buren already in '37 unsmearing Talleyrand.

[89/597: 15]

[From *The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren*):

"I was present [1831?] at a debate in the House of Lords when
the Marquis of Londonderry made a violent attack upon Talleyrand. He
had no sooner taken his seat than the Duke of Wellington rose
and, with animation and fluency quite unusual with him, said that
the observations of the Marquis, on account of the friendly rela-
tions existing between them and the general accord in their poli-
tical opinions, made it necessary that he should without delay
disavow the slightest participation in the sentiments which had
fallen from his friend. He had, the Duke said, been associated
with the distinguished man, who had been so harshly spoken of,
in transactions of the gravest character, involving the temporal
interests of mankind to as great an extent as any that had ever
been acted upon and he felt no hesitation in saying that he had
never been called to act, in the management of public affairs,
with a man who had discharged the duties imposed upon him with
a more liberal or faithful spirit.... Entertaining a strong con-
fidence in the integrity and candour of the Duke this declaration,
made with a warmth and earnestness by which his hearers were
greatly excited, went far to remove from my own mind unfavorable
impressions in regard to Prince Talleyrand's sincerity and good

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210 See also Canto 77/471: 17.
faith in which I had participated in common with a large portion of the world. I will here, also, take occasion to mention that this improved view was greatly strengthened by a conversation had long after, at my own house, with Marshal Bertrand, who had been Napoleon's close companion and friend, both at Elba and St. Helena, remaining with him till his death and enjoying his fullest confidence to the last. That upright and every way worthy man, notwithstanding the strong distrust in regard to Talleyrand which Napoleon carried to his grave and recorded in his will, entertained opinions favorable to the honesty and sincerity of the former similar to those avowed by the Duke of Wellington, and expressed them frankly and freely. 211

Pound is perhaps referring to another gesture. I have found no other reference to Talleyrand in Van Buren, and none to Van Buren's regard for him in Benton. 212

And the elderly Aida, then a girl of 16, in the '90s, visiting some very stiff friends in New England giggled (and thereby provoked sour expressions) when some children crossed the front lawn with a bottle of water strung on a string between them and chanting:

"Martin
Van Buren, a bottle of urine".

Pound's memory (?) I do not know the source for this story. 213

Sagetrieb, or the oral tradition.

Sagetrieb: (G.) Speech-force. The word apparently is a neologism.

212 See also Canto 95/643: 17.
213 "Aida" may be either Ida or Adah Lee Mapel, old acquaintances of Pound's who were among the first to visit him at St. Elizabeths. See Seelye, ed., Charles Olson & Ezra Pound, p. 120 & passim.
Hugh Kenner glosses it with a question mark:

"A lexicographic puzzle, not in the German dictionaries. 'Saying-force'? In Canto 90 it is paired with 'tradition,' but its etymology suggests paideumatic energies, not passive inheritance. Pound ascribes the word to Frobenius, in whose text it has not to my knowledge so far been found, though Frobenius (Erlebte Erdeiteile, IV) has much to say about the inborn urge to make one's tradition into poetry." 214

Thomas Grieve translates sagetrieb as "Myth-urge," and notes:

"The word does not appear in German dictionaries. I have given an approximate translation derived from the components -- a typically Poundian procedure: die Sage -- legend, myth (the German returns to roots in oral tradition; the noun is derived from the verb sagen -- to speak); and der Trieb -- drive, impulse, urge, and also germinating power, sprout, shoot." 215

Pound's use of the word here (and similarly in other Cantos) is unmistakably to give name to force of speech which draws forward history into the present. By contrast with Van Buren's own elegant auto-history we have a familiar incident which, with a rhyme and a game, gives an image of Van Buren that no action for slander might erase. Speech-from-the mouth articulates a world in which people, as well as things, are spoken. The bottle-on-the-string gives us or speaks us an index of culture nearly complete: children, the utterers, thoughtless; the young girl who feels the force of the metaphor, cannot suppress the giggle; the puritan elders, whose expression of distaste is the very picture and human analogy of the metaphor itself, all that the Van Buren/urine rhyme says about the old ones, the rulers. Sagetrieb, in this sense, is the utterance of the culture, the tale of the tribe, its relations.

(We have a similar contrast at 89/596: 18-23, in which, on the one hand, that courtly man Randolph uses the epithet "slaveholder" as an honorific (and is then himself honored), and on the other, a prisoner tells that banal joke of American street-school-army-


216 Thereby asserting the ideology of a whole class; as well, perhaps, making a claim for its ontological character.
prison life, a joke which is itself an analogy and expression of American male aggression, the urge to mastery over the other, to subject the other to personal slavery:

"Ef my bull-dog.../had a face like yours, hang'd if/I wouldn't shave his arse and make him walk backwards."

-- In which man and animal, face and arse are reversed in the insult's symbolic victimization.)

These are peculiar moments of enlightenment. As against the justice of one man to his fellow, there are the injustice and violence in vulgar speech (vulgar meaning common -- what may be heard out of mouth on the street every day).

Pound's use of the tag, sagetrib, brings an apparently trivial story into relief: he had it from Aida, an elderly lady, who remembered and drew forward an epithet and a scene through decades. (We need only remind ourselves that our word tradition was coined by old Romans, traders themselves, and used to designate what is handed over, from one hand to another (handed over), or from one mouth to another, as well as the act of bringing over, of delivery. Thus a double sense in the refrain, "Trade, trade, trade!" -- meaning not only commercial usury but also an uncorrupted transmission, its cognate being tradition. Pound gets that sense neatly by composing the words down and across the page, in staiestep fashion,

"Trade,
\[\text{trade,}
\text{trade!}\]

Sang Lanier.

So that the phrase becomes a bridge, syntax linking an assertion of music (Rossini's announcement) as against mere talk, with the struggle against infamy (Van Buren unsmeating Talleyrand). It links Lanier, whose poem The Symphony is song against usury, with Pound, whose

\footnote{217 Pretension to mastery of another sort than that (real) claim of the more cultivated Randolph, this comes from a class of slave. Irony manifests. Justice and injustice, as they are used here, are so stood on end, so liable to dizziness that they deserve quotes. We are in the realm of the total contradiction. It is, in terms of the Cantos, another discrimination of hell.}

\footnote{218 The strikeovers serve to denote a transmission which is both corrupt and incorrupt, whose original meaning has been "forgotten" by usage.}
refrain is "Bellum cano perenne." And in the poem, which is Pound's recognition, it links both Pound and Lanier with "Madame Bileau," who is the living relation of music to the voice against usury, the daughter of Senator Benton.

Thus sagetrieb is force of speech (song, chant) and tradition, the handing across, the handing down of history (lived, in exquisite perception). And we have a definition of this canto and of canto 88: spoken history, uttered history, a history by quotation of those who enacted it. Senator Benton refers to the justness of such a criterion when he speaks of the "qualifications" for writing a work of history in the introduction to Thirty Years' View:

"Of these I have one, admitted by all to be considerable, but by no means enough of itself. Mr. Macaulay says of Fox and Mackintosh, speaking of their histories of the last of the Stuarts, and of the Revolution of 1688: 'They had one eminent qualification for writing history; they had spoken history, acted history, lived history. The turns of political fortune, the ebb and flow of popular feeling, the hidden mechanism by which parties are moved, all these things were the subject of their constant thought, and of their most familiar conversation....' -- I can say I have these advantages. I was in the Senate the whole time of which I write -- an active business member, attending and attentive -- in the confidence of half the administrations, and a close observer of the others -- had an inside view of transactions of which the public only saw the outside, and of many of which the two sides were very different -- saw the secret springs and hidden machinery by which men and parties were to be moved, and measures promoted or thwarted -- saw patriotism and ambition at their respective labors, and was generally able to discriminate between them...."219

At another place (already quoted here), and in a similar tone, Benton speaks of his purpose:

"To show the working of the federal government is the design of this View -- show how things are done under it and their effects; that the good may be approved and pursued, the evil condemned and avoided, and the machine of government be made to work equally for the benefit of the whole Union, according to the wise and beneficent intent of its founders...."220

Of the same purpose enacted in the Shoo King, Pound says, at Canto

220 Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 130; quoted here at pp. 175, 342, 361-362.
or the bridge in Pound's poem between the Chinese histories of the Shu King and the American histories of Benton, Van Buren, the Adamses, Jefferson. The poetic double and echo of Benton's prose notes on intention in writing history appears at the head of Canto 89, together with the characters 書經, Shu King, the name of the Chinese Book of Histories:

To know the histories 書經 to know good from evil
And know whom to trust. Ching Hao.

Pound might reasonably have added, "that is Sagetrieb [85/557]"

Because the histories of Cantos 88 and 89 are made out of speech. As the reader knows who has followed this narrative thus far, nearly every line is a quotation, paraphrase or meditation out of actual voice. (Although Benton's history is a written record, the man narrates in a confidential way, speaks directly to the reader, as, "these are events in which I took part, and of which I KNOW something." Much of the book is quotation from actual speeches delivered in Congress. The guiding form of the book is the speech, and if one takes the trouble to follow the narrative with some attention, one discovers that speech is the guiding form of legislative action. (Pound at one place calls Congress the "jaw-house."

Speech is more than the live (and so self-decaying and self-renewing) record of history, the retelling what happened. Law, which affects the daily life of the republic, is made and changed by speech and debate, and sometimes, as Benton does point out, is concealed by it.

The printed form of speech, or utterance, is dominant in Cantos 88 and 89. On the pages under present study, these phrases:

p. 596 Mr B. said... (1. 7)
sd/ Mr Randolph (1. 19)
...said Mr Bishop (1. 21)

221 See also Canto 98/686: "The King's job, vast as the swan-flight: thought built on Sagetrieb..."

Giles talked... (1. 2)  
...said Rossini, (1. 9)  
Sang Lanier. (1. 14)  
...said Ubaldo... (1. 26)  
said Pumpelly. (1. 30)  

said Bonaparte... (1. 1)  
...said Mr Dix. (1. 3)  
he even said: sober. (1. 5)  
Don Jesus broke his parole [his word]. (1. 11)  
said some old crump... (1. 20)  

and so on, both before and after these pages. (I have not bothered to cite simply quoted speech or paraphrase: these have the major part in the pattern of the text, and are obvious at first reading.) The text is a mosaic of speech-force; intaglio-relief display of history-rhythms, each etched clear in relation to others.

"Ten men", said Ubaldo, "who will charge a nest of machine guns for one who will put his name on chit."

[89/597: 26-28]

Ubaldo degli Uberti, a retired admiral of the Italian navy, who admired articles of Pound's on Mussolini and Italy and who translated them for the Italian press. Pound and Uberti became close friends; Pound discovered that Uberti was a descendant of Farinata degli Uberti, a contemporary of Dante who appears in the Inferno. Charles Norman, quoting Francesco Monotti, says that when American citizens were asked to leave Italy by the American government in late 1941, "...Pound and his wife had arranged for a long absence, settling the matter of their apartment in Rapallo, and distributing prized works of art, furniture and books among their friends, one of them being Admiral Ubaldo degli Uberti."

American officials refused the Pounds permission to leave aboard evacuation trains.

See Canto 78/480.
Norman, Ezra Pound, p. 383.
Mary de Rachewiltz says that when the Allies invaded Italy in September of 1943, Pound determined to leave Rome, where he had been speaking over Italian radio, and come north to see his daughter in Gais, in the Tyrolean Alps. She describes their meeting:

"I ran upstairs. A long silent embrace. Finally I managed to speak: How did you get here, where/from? And he pointed to his feet, red, full of blisters, his ankles swollen.

'I walked out of Rome.' And slowly he told me of the confusion at the Radio offices as soon as it became known that the Allies had landed. All the high officials moving out of Rome, some to the south, some to the north. No one thought of him... [He] went to the degli Uberti's. They lent him a pair of walking boots -- which did not fit him as he thought at first, hence the blisters -- a narrow-brimmed, unobtrusive hat and a knapsack..." 226

Pound's daughter also suggests that Ubaldo degli Uberti's remark refers to the chaotic state of Mussolini's government in the months before the Allied invasion and the flight to Salò: that few had economic integrity enough to stand firm in their responsibilities as government officers. 227

"No dog, no goat."

said Pumpelly.

[89/597: 29-30]

"[Raphael Pumpelly], 1837-1923, American geologist; b. Oswego, N.Y., studied abroad. He made official surveys in Japan (1861-63) of Yezo (later Hokkaido) and in the coal fields of China (1864) and made the first extensive geological survey (1865) of the Gobi. Professor of mining at Harvard (1866-75), he was also state geologist of Michigan and of Missouri and served on the U.S. Geological Survey, exploring especially the iron-ore ranges of Michigan, Pumpelly was in charge of the mineral industries survey for the 10th census, and he conducted (1903-4) explorations in Turkistan. He wrote a number of works on his findings. See his Reminiscences (1918)." 228

226 Mary de Rachewiltz, Discretions, p. 185.
227 Discretions, p. 167.
228 The Columbia Encyclopedia.
In 1903 and 1904, Raphael Pumpelly made two expeditions into Turkistan, a Central Asian province of Russia now known as Uzbek. With the permission of the Russian government he excavated the ancient site of Anau, near Ashkabad, in order to test the theory that Aryans had migrated to Europe from the oases of Central Asia. A note on a text of Confucius, shown to Pumpelly by Chinese scholars, pointed him to Anau:

"... It [the commentary on the Confucian text] contained maps showing the rivers of the Empire and their ancient changes of their courses. On a map of the Tarim basin in Chinese Turkestan, at a point apparently north of Kashgar, one note read: 'Here dwell the Usun, a people with red hair and blue eyes.'

Another note told of the burial of more than a hundred cities by sand during one of the dynasties of the early part of our era.

I had read enough of the Aryan problem of that time to know that most of the European languages were sisters to Sanscrit and Zend, and that their cradle was supposed to have rocked on or near the Pamir. So to me the hair and eyes of the Usun seemed to mean Aryan -- a fact that was probably already known.

But what impressed me was the relatively rapid burial under sand of a large number of towns which one might assume to have had a considerable background of existence. Whence could come such a vast volume of 'flying sand'? Mr. S. Wells Williams had lent me the great map of Central Asia compiled by Klaproth, and I think Humboldt, largely from itineraries of native caravan routes, and observations made during Russian campaigns in the vast desert between Siberia and Lake Aral. I was at once impressed by the countless lakes and lakelets that were dotted over the plain between Lake Aral and Siberia. They showed neither tributaries nor outlets. I could account for their continued existence in a region of rapid evaporation only on the supposition that they were the vanishing remnants of a former large body of water. By looking back we might imagine them merging into an inland sea that would include the Aral....

In a vague way I associated this and the buried cities with the Aryan problem. A great inland sea might, I thought, have produced a climate favorable to an extensive population.

Soon after I reached America [from China, 1870] I became interested in some problems connected with the drainage from the melting of the North American ice-cap, and then I thought I saw in the melting of the ice-cap that covered Russia west of the Ural Mountains the source of my inland sea; and, in the disappearance of the Russian ice, the beginning of the shrinking.
These loosely connected facts and speculations coordinated into a dream that appealed to the imagination, not only in me but in Alexander Agassiz and Henry and Brooks Adams, and to some other friends....

Mr. Brooks Adams was much interested in the question. He had just written his 'New Empire' to show that the fluctuation of trade routes had exerted a dominating influence on changes in western civilizations....

My hypothesis, formed in 1870, assumed the former existence of a large inland sea, and that Central Asia was the primitive home of the Aryan stock. It was to be tested by finding shore lines of such a sea and traces of early Aryan civilization."229

Pumpelly had not the financial backing to pursue his hypothesis until 1903, when the Carnegie Institute, with Alexander Agassiz as a trustee, made a grant to him to explore Central Asia. In 1903 the Pumpelly expedition found the two kurgans or burial mounds at Anau:

"A visit to the ruined city of Anau, a few miles east of Askabad, had had an important result. The place had been abandoned since 1840. We went there to see the ruins of a beautiful mosque, but near the city there rose two large kurgans forty and fifty feet above the plain, and one of these had, twenty years before, been trenched through from the top to near the level of the plain by a Russian general hoping to find treasure in the supposed tomb. To my delight the kurgan proved to be formed of the accumulated debris of civilization. It was roughly stratified, the lower two-thirds was full of bones and of fragments of decorated hand-made pottery, while the upper third, sharply defined, abounded in an entirely different kind of earthenware...."230

In 1904 Pumpelly returned to Anau and excavated the kurgans. He discovered that the lowest stratum of debris "belonged in the time of the beginning of domestication of animals." In an appendix to his Reminiscences, he discusses the contents of this lowest stratum -- which he calls Anau I -- as a key to dating a migration of peoples out of Asia:

"Excepting human skeletons, the lower five feet of the North Kurgan culture strata contained bones only of wild animals. Above

230 Ibid., pp. 705-706.
231 Ibid., p. 731.
this the remaining forty feet of culture strata of Anau I contain the record of the progress of domestication successively of the ox, pig, and sheep -- and probably of the horse -- out of the wild forms of the region. This is shown by the increasing porosity of the bones under the changed conditions of life, and by diminishing size of the animals.

First of all, out of the great Bos nomadicus -- the Asiatic form of the Urus (Bos primigenius) -- there was developed a large and stately bovid with long horns, which Duerst says is the same ox that was possessed by the ancient Egyptians. This domesticated, long-horned ox continues through Anau I and II, as do also, though less frequently, bones of the wild form.

At the end of Anau I or beginning of Anau II there appeared a short-horned breed which Dr. Duerst thinks was derived, perhaps through changed climatic conditions, from the long-horned stock, though it may have been brought in by the newcomers of Anau II, along with the goat, dog, and camel, all of which appear to have arrived there as already domesticated animals.

Remains of an already domesticated pig begin in the culture strata of Anau I, from twelve feet above the base, upward....

Anau I belongs clearly in the Stone Age. Aside from this the only basis for further reasoning exists in the results of Professor Duerst's study of the remains of animals domesticated by the people of Anau I. Among these Duerst shows, as stated above, that the long and short-horned cattle, the pig, and the second breed of sheep are identical with those brought from Asia to Europe, during neolithic time, by round-head immigrants who were probably Celts....

As there was no dog in Anau I, the absence of the dog of Anau II until after 1500 B.C. -- in the Bronze Age -- makes it probable that the domestic animals left Turkestan before Anau II.

Who were the people who domesticated these animals? Professor Sergi says they were probably of Mediterranean stock migrated to Asia. The primitive man of the West -- from the Baltic to Cape Good Hope was long-headed. Primitive man of most of Asia was broad-headed. Though we know as yet little about how these races were distributed in Central Asia seven millenniums ago, it is probable that until after the last great glacial advance the lofty Hindu Kush and Tien Shan ranges remained the western limit of the very broad-headed Mongols.

Now on the western slope of this great barrier live the Aryan-speaking Galchas, a moderately broad-headed people of the Celtic Alpine type.... The Bavarian physician, F. von Schwarz, long in Russian service in Turkestan, was impressed by the resemblances between the Galchas and the Alpine peasantry of Bavaria, in racial type, dwellings, and customs. They were agriculturists and raisers of fruits. Are Galchas the result of a crossing of the Mediterranean type of Anau with the primitive Asiatic stock?

.... In Anau I, I think, we have the oldest instance of an
organized agricultural civilization known. Since it was fully developed when the settlement was founded, it must have evolved out of a remote background, and somewhere at some time in that vast background of time and space there was a primitive home from which radiated the civilizations of Anau, Susa, and Chaldea. All of these were oasis cultures and were achieved only through the slow development of cereals and fruits out of the wild forms, and the utilizing of every foot of irrigable land. In this primitive home was thus laid the foundation of Western civilization....

The plains of Central Asia are deserts or semiarid regions. Agriculture is possible only where oases are formed by water from the high mountains, and on them, through the ages, the excess of population over the productive capacity of the limited acreage had either to starve or migrate.

Before the domestication of animals migration was possible only from oasis to oasis. It seems probable that the migration by which, in the Stone Age, the domestic animals were brought to Europe, lay along the edge of the Persian plateau, south of the Caspian, and north of the Caucasus and Black Sea, to ascend the Danube -- a route offering a pasturage for herds and along which agriculture was here and there possible....

The fact that the agricultural and animal-breeding civilization of the long-headed people of Anau I was brought to Europe by the round-headed Celtic stock recalls Sergi's hypothesis that the Aryan language was taken to Asia by a variety of his dolichocephalic Mediterranean race, and was there impressed on a round-headed Asiatic people who in turn brought it to Europe, and imposed it upon the peoples they conquered....

Later migrations came after the possession of domestic milk- and-flesh-yielding animals had made possible the development of nomad life, and its spread over the semiarid plains of Eurasia, and when change toward dryness had restricted the extent of grazing capacity of the plains to below the needs of the swollen population....

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[89/598: 1]

(From R. McNair Wilson, The Mind of Napoleon):

'While [Bonaparte] was still very young he wrote a criticism of Rousseau's philosophy in which the movement of his mind is revealed, and which, evidently, holds the promise of changes to come. It runs:

'Notes upon the Discourse on the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality among Men. By J.J. Rousseau.

'Rousseau says:

"It is in the consciousness of his moral liberty that man shows the spirituality of his soul. Self-preservation is almost his only concern. His most active faculties must be those whose main purpose is attack and defence. The only good things known to him in the entire universe are food, a female and repose. The only misfortunes he fears are pain and hunger."

'I do not believe that.

'Rousseau says:

"Man's imagination depicts nothing to him; his heart asks nothing of him. He has neither foresight nor curiosity. The spectacle of Nature has become indifferent to him by reason of its familiarity. His mind, which nothing can excite, is given up to the single question of a bare existence, without thought of the future. On the other hand, in the primitive state, without house or hut or property of any kind each one took up his lodging by chance and often for one night only; males and females united fortuitously according to chance meeting, to opportunity, to desire. They separated with equal ease; the mother suckled the children at first from her own need, then, habit having made them dear to her, she nourished them afterwards for their own sakes, and since there was hardly any possible means of finding each other when once lost to view they soon came to the situation of not being able to recognize each other."

'I do not believe a word of this.

'Rousseau says:

"Let us assume that, wandering in the forests, without speech, without home, without war and without connexions, without need for the society of his fellows as without desire to hurt them, perhaps even without the power of recognizing any individual among them, savage man with few passions."

'I do not believe a word of that.
'My Own Reflections upon the Natural State.

I think that man has never been a wanderer, isolated, without connexions, without need of his fellows. I believe, on the contrary, that, having emerged from infancy and arrived at the age of adolescence, man felt the need of his fellows, that he became united to a woman and selected a cave which had to be the centre of his movements, his refuge in storms and during the night, his magazine of provisions. This union was strengthened by custom and by the tie of children; but it could be broken at will. I think that, two savages having met in their enterprises, are likely to have recognized one another and displayed friendship at this second meeting, and to have felt the desire to live near one another... Thus a colony was formed naturally.

I think this colony lived happily because it had abundant food, protection from the seasons, necessities of good quality, enjoyment of feeling and of natural religion. I think that the world, during a great number of centuries, was divided in this way into colonies, separated and hostile and few in number. Afterwards the colonies increased in number and were compelled to come into some sort of relation with one another. From that time forward the earth could not support them without cultivation; consequently the idea of property and social relations came into existence.

Exchanges began to be made. Wealth and taste followed. Imagination then emerged from the cave in which it had been a prisoner. Self-love, impetuous domination and pride arose and there were men of ambition with their pale tint who seized upon the direction of affairs and young rascals of florid hue who kissed women and ran after courtesans.

My object is not to expound the series of changes through which man has passed before coming to the social state but only to show that he could never have lived as a solitary wanderer without home, without human contacts, without any other desire than that male and female should unite furtively, according to opportunity, chance or impulse. Why do we assume that man, in a state of Nature, ate food? Because there is no instance of a man who has existed in any other way. I think that, in a state of Nature, man felt and reasoned. He must have made use of these faculties, for there is no example of a man having existed without having made use of them....

To feel is the need of the heart, just as to eat is the need of the body. To feel is to be attached to someone, to love. From love proceed appreciation, veneration, respect.... If it had been otherwise, if it was true to say that in man feeling and reason are not inherent in the individual, but are only products of society, there could be no natural feeling or natural reason, no need of virtue, no happiness in virtue.

233 R. McNair Wilson, The Mind of Napoleon, pp. 24-27. (Napoleon's writings are extensive. I regard this selection, from a work which Pound knew, as cursory and inconclusive: the closest thing I have found to what Pound might have had in mind when he wrote the line.)
220 riflemen and one piece of artillery

[89/598: 2]

[From the Memoirs of John C. Frémont]:

".... The measures which I had taken, ending with the retreat of De la Torre, had freed from all Mexican authority the territory north of the Bay of San Francisco, from the sea to Sutter's Fort.

Leaving a force to protect San Rafael, I returned to Sonoma upon the 4th of July [1846], when the day was celebrated by salutes and a ball in the evening.

During that and the following day the settlers were organized into a battalion consisting of four companies numbering two hundred and twenty-four men. The force with which I had recently been acting was one hundred and sixty men.

It had now become necessary to concentrate the elements of this movement, in order to give it the utmost efficiency of which it was capable. As was reasonably to be expected under the circumstances, the people desired me to take charge of it. Its existence was due to my presence in the valley, and at any time upon my withdrawal it would have collapsed with absolute ruin to the settlers.

Accordingly, the settlers having met together, I addressed them briefly, accepting the position. In doing so I dwelt on the responsibility which I had assumed as an officer of the United States Army, trusting to them to do nothing which would discredit themselves or our country." 234

[From a letter of Frémont to Senator Benton, dated July 25, 1846, at Carmel Mission]:

".... We reached Sonoma again on the evening of July 4th, and in the morning I called the people together, and spoke to them in relation to the position of the country, advising a course of operations which was unanimously adopted. California was declared independent, the country put under martial law, the force organized and officers elected. A pledge, binding themselves to support these measures, and to obey their officers, was signed by those present. The whole was placed under my direction. Several officers from the Portsmouth were present at this meeting.

Leaving Captain Grigsby with fifty men in command of Sonoma, I left that place on the 6th, and reached my encampment on the American Fork in three days. Before we arrived at that place, General Castro had evacuated Santa Clara, which he had been engaged in fortifying, and with a force of about four hundred men, and two pieces of artillery, commenced his retreat upon St. John's, a

234 Frémont, Memoirs, pp. 525-526.
fortified post, having eight pieces of artillery, principally brass. On the evening of the 10th we were electrified by the arrival of an express from Captain Montgomery, with the information that Commodore Sloat had hoisted the flag of the United States at Monterey, and taken possession of the country. Captain Montgomery had hoisted the flag at Yerba Buena, and sent one to Sonoma, to be hoisted at that place. One also was sent to the officer commanding at New Helvetia [Sutter's Fort], requesting that it might be hoisted at his post.

Independence and the flag of the United States are synonymous terms to the foreigners here (the northern, which is the stronger part, particularly), and accordingly I directed the flag to be hoisted with a salute the next morning. The event produced great rejoicing among our people. The next day I received an express from Commodore Sloat, transmitting to me his proclamation, and directing me to proceed with the force under my orders to Monterey. The registered force, actually in arms, under my orders, numbered two hundred and twenty riflemen, with one piece of field artillery, and ten men, in addition to the artillery of the garrison...."235

"To environ us" said Mr Dix.

[89/598: 3]

[From Frémont's Memoirs]:

"... In a speech in the Senate by Senator Dix... he gives clearly the attitude of England towards us at the time immediately preceding the declaration of war against Mexico; and, from a discussion in the House of Lords in 1845, the Earl of Aberdeen defending the Ministry, shows the power England gives her Admirals on foreign stations and the use she makes of the results in cases similar to that of California. Her usage was to leave to them unlimited discretion in great contingencies; reserving it to herself to support or disavow their acts, but always demanding action. Senator Dix makes it forcibly clear that, if the work on land had not been done on which Commodore Sloat based his raising of the American flag, Admiral Seymour would have raised that of England, and California would have been lost to us; for with her vastly superior navy the chances of war were largely against us.

It will be borne in mind that this speech was not made by an incautious or inadequately informed person. General Dix was a member of the Military Committee of the Senate and Senator from New York; his military service and high social position gave him habits of restraint and respect for the courtesies of his position; and he would not have made these assertions in the presence of the English Minister unless facts and the occasion called for and justified them.

235 Frémont, Memoirs, p. 546.
"The objects accomplished by Colonel Frémont, as subsequent events have shown, were far more important than those I have referred to. There is no doubt that his rapid and decisive movements kept California out of the hands of British subjects and perhaps out of the hands of the British Government; and it is in this point of view that I desire to present the subject to the Senate.... The grant to McNamara is so connected with the movements of the public vessels and public agents of Great Britain as to raise a strong presumption that he was secretly countenanced by the British Government.... I have referred to the connection of MacNamara's movements with the public vessels of Great Britain as presumptive evidence of the connection of the British Government with them. I do not inquire whether Admiral Seymour had special instructions or not. From the declaration of Admiral Purvis, in the intervention of La Plata, it is highly probable that British naval officers cruising in distant seas have instructions to protect British interests at all hazards.... From all the circumstances connected with the transactions in California, we are constrained to believe that the British naval commander was fully apprised of MacNamara's objects, as well as the design to place that country under the protection of Great Britain, and that he was there co-operating in the one, and ready to co-operate in the other.... It is impossible that the success of these movements should not have brought us into direct collision with Great Britain. We could not have failed to regard them, considered in connection with her proceedings in Oregon, and more recently in Central America, as part of a deliberate design to environ us with her colonies, and especially to shut us out from the Pacific and its extending commerce. From all the facts, we can hardly doubt either that she would have taken possession of the country in her own name, or, what is perhaps more probable, that she would in the first instance have taken it under her protection.... It is in this point of view that these transactions possess the greatest interest and importance, and that the sagacity, promptitude, and decision of our youthful commander in California at the time the disturbance broke out, have given him the strongest claims on his countrymen. Any faltering on his part -- any hesitancy in acting promptly -- might have lost us millions of dollars and thousands of lives; and it might also have cost us a contest of which the end is not readily foreseen...."

"The irish are devout, moral, industrious"
his even said: sober.

[89/598: 4-5]

* Father MacNamara. See the following annotation: 89/598: 4-5.

236 Frémont, Memoirs, pp. 547-548.
The Very Reverend Father MacNamara was an apostolic missionary who had projected a far-reaching plan to colonize California with emigrants from Ireland. Evidently, in the exercise of his special functions, he had selected California as the field for his labors. Looking back to the work of the early missionaries, it was surely a great field, and a noble ambition to revive on a higher plane the power of the Church as it had existed in the old missions. In this he was strongly supported by the Archbishop of Mexico who earnestly recommended his plan to the authorities. During his stay in the city of Mexico, he lived either in the family of the English consul of the Chargé d'Affaires. Early in January he laid before the President of Mexico his plan 'to colonize California with Irish Catholics.' In application to the President he says that no people of the old continent are better fitted for colonization and better adapted to the religion, character, and temperament of the inhabitants of Mexico; 'that the Irish people are devout Catholics, moral, industrious, sober, and brave.' He says, that in making this proposition he has in view three objects: first, to advance, the cause of Catholicism; secondly, to contribute to the happiness of his countrymen; and in the third place, he wishes to place an impediment to further usurpations on the part of an irreligious and anti-Catholic nation. And for these objects he proposes that an extensive territory upon the sea-coast of Upper California be granted to him. The first colonists were to be established on the Bay of San Francisco; to begin, one thousand families were to be brought, and afterwards a second colony to be established about Monterey, and a third about Santa Barbara. In this way the whole coast, at least that part of it where there was danger to be apprehended, would remain completely assured against the invasions and robberies of foreigners.... 'Your Excellency,' he says, 'knows too well that we are surrounded by a vile and skilful enemy who loses no means, however low they may be, to possess himself of the best lands of that country, and who hates to the death your race and your religion. If,' he continues, 'the means I propose to you are not promptly adopted, your Excellency may rest assured that before a year the Californias will form part of the American Union. I have no personal interest in this affair, save the progress of the Holy Religion of God, and the happiness of my countrymen; as for the loyalty and fidelity of these to the Mexican Government, I answer with my life. And as there can be brought a sufficient number of colonists, at least ten thousand, I am of opinion and can affirm with certainty that this number would be sufficient to repel both the secret intrigues and the open attacks of the American usurpers.'

It is in evidence that his project secured the approbation of the Mexican Government; and that he went to California to perfect his plans under the auspices of the English Government.... On the 4th of July the governor issued a grant conformably to
the application, reciting that the Departmental Assembly had agreed
to grant, for colonization by Irish families, the lands solicited
by the Father Eugenio MacNamara, subject to the approval of the
Supreme National Government and under the usual conditions which
accompanied grants of land in California....

Upon the 7th of July at Los Angeles the Departmental Assembly
transmitted to the governor the report of a special committee,
approved by the Assembly in extra session of that date, upon the
colonization project which he had 'referred to them with the
expression of his great desire that it be given immediate effect.'

But it was too late. On the morning of the day that the Depart-
mental Assembly communicated to the governor their formal approval
of the MacNamara grant the flag of the United States was hoisted
at Monterey, and the Mexican authority ended in California....

Under [Father MacNamara's] direction the three thousand families
would have spread over the whole beautiful valley of San Joaquin.
Farms would have occupied the river lands, and the plains between
would have served as cattle ranges in that climate of wonderful
animal growth; and among the innumerable springs and streams of
the foot-hills, and up to the snow of the Sierra would have been
happy and prosperous homesteads. Under the guidance of an intell-
igent and stable authority the groves of grand old oaks, and the
magnificent pine forests would not have been swept away. With
its advantages of climate and semi and abundant streams the whole
valley would have presented a picture of agricultural beauty
unsurpassed on earth.

The mountain Indians would have been reclaimed and made useful
herdsman and labourers, and the abandoned missions along the coast
would have been restored on a higher level and made centres of
productive labour. The Indians would have been held under the
steady influence of a firm government and educated to the advant-
ages of civilization and not left only to the degrading contact
with its vices. This is not merely an opinion asserted. It had
been a reality proved by the successful work of the missions when
the country was very remote and the resources were only from within
themselves.

I realized fully at the time what I have been here writing,
for it happened that just in those days when the colonization
project failed, I wrote from the quiet of the beautiful ruin of
the old Carmel Mission to Senator Benton, of the events which had
brought me to that date and place. The date of that letter,
'Carmel Mission, July 24, 1846,' carried with it, for me, a marked
significance; it ended my mission as well as that of MacNamara.
After the wreck of his hopes, Father MacNamara left California in
Admiral Seymour's flag-ship, the Collingwood.' 237

Kit Carson sea-sick.

Ciudad de los Angeles.

That g sounded as h.

237 Frémont, Memoirs, pp. 550-554.
... To come briefly to a conclusion, Commodore Sloat has transferred the squadron, with California and its appurtenances, into the hands of Commodore Stockton, who has resolved to make good the possession of California. This officer approves entirely of the course pursued by myself and Mr. Gillespie, who, I repeat, has been hand-in-hand with me in this business. I received this morning from Commodore Stockton a commission of major in the United States Army, retaining command of my battalion, to which a force of eighty marines will be attached. We are under orders to embark to-morrow morning on board the Cyane sloop of war, and disembark at San Diego, immediately in the rear of Castro. He is now at the Puebla de los Angeles, an interior city, with a force of about five hundred men, supposed to be increasing. The design is to attack him with my force at that place. He has there seven or eight pieces of artillery.

Commodore Sloat, who goes home by way of Panama, promises to hand or send you this immediately on his arrival at Washington, to which he goes direct. It is my intention to leave this country, if it is within the bounds of possibility, at the end of August. I could then succeed in crossing without fear on account of the snow; and by that time a territorial government will be in operation here.

Yours very truly,

J.C. Fremont." 238

[From Frémont's Memoirs]:

"On the 25th of July we embarked on the Cyane. My men were all greatly pleased at the novelty of a voyage in a man-of-war, which they anticipated would be very pleasant now when the regular northwest wind belonging to the season was blowing, and there was no prospect of storms. But like many prospective enjoyments, this one proved to be all in the anticipation. By the time we had been a few hours at sea we were all very low in our minds; and there was none of the expected enjoyment in the sparkling waves and the refreshing breeze, and the sail along the mountainous shore as the ship rolled her way down the coast. Carson was among those who were badly worsted by this enemy to landsmen, and many were the vows made to the winds that never again would they put trust in the fair-weather promises of the ocean. But all was forgotten when at the end of three days the ship entered the land-locked bay of San Diego, where the still waters reflected the quiet of the town. Here no enemy was found. On the contrary, we were received on the footing of friends by Don Juan Bandini, the chief citizen of the place, and by Don Santiago Arguello, the Captain of the Port..." 239

238 Frémont, Memoirs, p. 548.
239 Frémont, Memoirs, p. 563.
[From Frémont's Memoirs. Frémont is quoting from a report of the Secretary of the Navy for December, 1846]:

"On the 25th of July, the Cyane -- Captain Mervine -- sailed from Monterey, with Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont and a small volunteer force aboard, for San Diego, to intercept the retreat of the Mexican General Castro. A few days after, Commodore Stockton sailed in the Congress, frigate, for San Pedro, and with a detachment from his squadron of three hundred and sixty men, marched to the enemy's camp. It was found that the camp was broken up, and that the Mexicans, under Governor Pico and General Castro, had retreated so precipitately that Lieutenant-Colonel Frémont was disappointed in intercepting him. On the 13th, the commodore was joined by this gallant officer, and marched a distance of thirty miles from the sea, and entered without opposition the Ciudad de los Angeles, the capital of the Californias; and, on the 22d of August, the flag of the United States was flying at every commanding position, and California was in the undisputed military possession of the United States...."

3 days with no food but rosebuds,

[89/598: 9]

[From Frémont's Memoirs]:

"Many of the men in my command were splendid fighters.... On my way up the coast from Los Angeles in September I left ten men at Santa Barbara. This was done at the request of the citizens of the town, who thought they would feel safer with even a small guard of Americans in the event of some disorder. Theodore Talbot was one of the party and in charge of it. The men with him were Thomas Breckinridge, Eugene Russell (son of Mr. William H. Russell), Charles Scrivener, William Chinook, an Indian lad from the Columbia River, John Stevens, two French creoles, Durand and Moulton, Francis Briggs, and a New Mexican named Manuel. Except Moulton, Durand, and Manuel, they were all about twenty years of age. Shortly after I had left, news of the insurrection reached Santa Barbara, and the little garrison were assured they would be attacked. I tell the story of their escape in their own words.

The ladies of Santa Barbara gave them the first intimation of danger and urged them to escape, and, when they refused, offered to conceal them. In a few days a mounted force of about a hundred

* "Ciudad" is misspelled in the text as "Cindad."

240 Frémont, Memoirs, p. 568.
and fifty appeared, with a written summons from Flores [the Californian commander] to surrender, with promise to spare their lives and let them go on parole; and two hours were allowed for them to decide. It was then near dusk. The American residents in Santa Barbara came in and recommended them to surrender, saying it was impossible to escape. One of them, named Sparks, of St. Louis, said that at the fire of the first gun they might count him one; he afterwards joined me.

They determined not to surrender, but to make their way to the mountains, a spur from which came down to the town. In about half an hour they started -- the moon shining -- and soon approached a small picket-guard. This gave way and let them pass. They then gained the mountains and relied on their rifles to keep off both men and cavalry. On the mountain they stayed eight days, in sight of Santa Barbara, watching for some American vessel to approach the coast. They suffered greatly for want of food, and attempted to take cattle or sheep in the night, but for want of a lasso could only get a lean old white mare, which was led up on the mountain and killed, and all eaten up. Despairing of relief by sea, and certain that they could not reach me in the north by going through the settled country, they undertook to cross the mountains nearly east into the San Joaquin valley, and through the Tulare Indians. Before they left their camp in the mountains the Californians attempted to burn them out by starting fires on the mountain around them, and once sent a foreigner to urge them to surrender. The enemy did not often venture near enough to be fired upon, but would circle round on the heights and abuse them. When they had any chance of hitting they fired, and once saw a horse fall. It took them three days to cross the first ridge of the mountains, during which time they had nothing but rosebuds to eat. The ascent was so steep, rocky, and bushy, that at one time it took them half the night to gain some three hundred yards; after crossing the first mountain they fell in with an old Spanish soldier at a rancho, who gave them two horses and some dried beef and became their guide over the intervening mountains, about eighty miles wide, to the San Joaquin valley. They followed that valley down towards the Monterey settlements, where they joined me; being about thirty-four days from Santa Barbara and having travelled about five hundred miles. When the battalion passed through Santa Barbara their old acquaintances there were glad to see them.... The people of Santa Barbara generally, and the compassionate ladies especially, showed real joy at seeing them alive and treated them hospitably while the battalion halted at the town."241

Che tolgo lo stato.

[89/598: 10]

241 Frémont, Memoirs, pp. 596-597.
Fortune reappears in this line as the one "who taketh away." The Italian means, literally, "That I take away the state (or status, position)." But it appears to be a half-line variation on the second line of Cavalcanti's Canzone, A Song of Fortune:

Sono colei, che tolgo e do stato
I am who giveth and taketh away.242

Fortune's presence in earlier cantos (by the Chen sign in Canto 86; in the wheeling cycle of seasons, signified in the card deck of chance at the suspension-end of Canto 88) came suddenly, unexpectedly; her appearance here, in Canto 89, is sudden, like Aphrodite or a gnomon half-submerged out of a tide-rip of wave-on-wave of inrushing moments, time-fragments (like Kit Carson we are over-drunk on a wave of alliteration, sober/...sea-sick./Ciudad (sea-sick on the way to the city of the Angel-los Anhels; and after "3 days with no food but rosebuds," the apparition of Fortune, "who removeth").

The wheel turns in the phase of deprivation and we have three stories of deprivation and loss: the story of the forced march and hunger of Frémont's soldiers; the story of Don Jesus, the Californian leader who "broke his parole" and, except his wife's supplication and Frémont's intervention, would have paid for the treachery with his life; the larger narrative of the Mexican-American war and its conclusion, the American victory and treaty of peace at Guadalupe Hidalgo, by which Mexico lost California and New Mexico, as well as Texas, to the Americans. (These stories are complemented by the story of Commodore Sloat, who nearly lost the chance to possess California for the United States by his irresolution.)243

This gain to the United States Benton regarded as the effect of the restoration of monetary sovereignty to the federal government. Benton, who argued vehemently against the American annexation of Texas which brought Mexico and the United States into war, nonetheless considered the war to be a test of American sovereignty, of the constitutional currency which had superseded the defunct bank currency. So that

243 See annotation: 89/598: 25.
Fortune's larger phase in the narrative of this Canto -- which may be said to take effect at this moment -- is the restoration of power to the federal government -- which is the effect of the removal of power from the hands of the financiers.244

Don Jesus broke his parole.

[89/598: 11]

[From Fremont's Memoirs]:

".... I received an order from Commodore Stockton to come forth with to San Francisco with as many men and saddles as I could obtain for immediate service in southern California. An insurrection had broken out in the south under Jose Maria Flores, a captain in the Mexican Army, and the Mexican officers generally had broken their parole [their word not to resist the American occupation] and joined him....

The territory had been placed by Commodore Stockton under martial law and in his arrangements at Los Angeles for their government he had acted with little or no knowledge of the Californians, who, without pretence or declarations, had been in fact and in practice essentially a free people, and governed themselves.... Such a people, free to range at pleasure by night as by day, would hardly endure any restraints upon that personal liberty, where any oppression is most quickly felt.... In the forepart of the day of the 14th December I encamped on the mountain near San Luis Obispo.... Saddling up after nightfall, about nine o'clock we surrounded the mission buildings and captured the few people found there. Some took to the roofs of the mission, but none got away. To avoid turning the people out of their houses in the stormy weather, I quartered the battalion in the mission church, putting a regular guard over the altar and church property. We found in the town some frijoles and other vegetables, and crushed wheat, which were bought and distributed among the men by way of luxuries.

Upon information, I sent men around the neighborhood, and in all some thirty men fell into our hands, among them an officer who had been wounded at Encinal, and Don Jesus Pico, who was at the head of the insurrection in that quarter. Don Jesus had broken his parole, and was put before a court-martial and sentenced to be shot.

.... The hour for the execution of Don Jesus Pico had arrived and the battalion was drawn up in the plaza in front of my windows. The rough travelling had put the men in bad humor and they wanted

to vent it upon something. They looked upon Pico as in part cause of their hardships and wanted to see him die. Don Jesus was about to be led out. The door of my room was abruptly opened by Captain Owens, who showed in a lady in black, followed by a group of children. They were the wife and children of Pico. She had prevailed upon Owens, who was kind as well as brave, to bring her to me. On entering, the lady threw herself on her knees, imploring the life of her husband, the children crying and frightened. "He did not know," she said, "that he was committing such a crime. He went with the hijos del pais to defend the country because he was ashamed to stay behind when the others went to fight. He did not know it was so wrong." I raised her from her knees and told her to go home and remain quiet, and I would presently let her know.

I sent Owens to bring me Don Jesus. He came in with the grey face of a man expecting death, but calm and brave, while feeling it so near. He was a handsome man, within a few years of forty, with black eyes and black hair. I pointed through the window to the troops paraded in the square. He knew why they were there. "You were about to die," I said, "but your wife has saved you. Go thank her."

He fell on his knees, made on his fingers the sign of the cross, and said: 'I was to die -- I had lost the life God gave me -- you have given me another life. I devote the new life to you.' And he did it, faithfully.

Don Jesus was a cousin of Don Andres Pico who commanded at San Pasqual, and was married to a lady of the Carrillo family. When the march was resumed he accompanied me and remained with me until I left California, always an agreeable companion and often rendering me valuable service -- perhaps sometimes quite unknown to myself."245

Guadalupe ('48) Hidalgo.

[89/598: 12]

[From Fremont's Memoirs]:

"We entered the Pass of San Bernardo on the morning of the 12th [January, 1847], expecting to find the enemy there in force, but the Californians had fallen back before our advance and the Pass was undisputed. In the afternoon we encamped at the mission of San Fernando, the residence of Don Andres Pico, who was at present in chief command of the Californian troops. Their encampment was within two miles of the mission, and in the evening, Don Jesus, with a message from me, made a visit to Don Andres. The next

245 Fremont, Memoirs, pp. 573-574, 598-599.
morning, accompanied only by Don Jesus, I rode over to the camp of the Californians, and, in a conference with Don Andres, the important features of a treaty of capitulation were agreed upon.

A truce was ordered; commissioners on each side appointed; and the same day a capitulation agreed upon. This was approved by myself as Military Commandant representing the United States, and Don Andres Pico, Commander-in-Chief of the Californians. With this treaty of Couenga hostilities ended, and California left peaceably in our possession; to be finally secured to us by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848."

Out of von Humboldt: Agassiz, Del Mar and Frobenius

[89/598: 13]

[From Fremont's Memoirs]:

"... And as in drawing together the materials for these volumes, I recalled to my mind the men who had been with me in the long journeys, I remembered also the men who had given me the benefit which came from years of study and laborious thought; and I found that I could not be satisfied to omit from the record the results, however small might be their contribution to knowledge. Though they were, in fact, only nurselings which, under the culture of other hands, have taken their full growth, still I am not willing to let pass out of sight and memory the results of years of labor under difficult circumstances, and which afterward had been made useful by the perfected knowledge of such men as Torrey and Hall, whose only reward was in the delight they found in extending the confines of knowledge, and in their feeling of satisfaction at the reciprocated pleasure this contribution would give to their confreres in other parts of the world. For the men of science are the true cosmopolitans.

... And I do not like to call by the name of appendix that which is not an appendage, but the result of foregoing thought and effort; flowing from these and part of them as consequences, not appended to them. And that may certainly be called 'a chapter of results,' which contains as consequences the approbation of Humboldt; the Capitulation of Couenga, which completed the policy of the Government to 'conquer and conciliate;' and the fruits of many days of labor and exposure which had well-nigh worn out, heart and body, the men who were striving to reach them.

I had, later, much satisfaction in learning that my description

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246 Fremont, Memoirs, p. 601. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signified the end of war between the United States and Mexico. For events surrounding the Treaty and details of the Treaty itself, see DeVoto, Year of Decision, pp. 490, 491.
of past volcanic action displayed over this region between the Rocky Mountains and Pacific Ocean, had attracted the interested attention of Humboldt. Because of this, and because of the interest to be found in the general view which, in that connection, he gives of the western part of the continent, I subjoin here from the 'Cosmos' the extract in which he makes these references, and in which also he anticipates the use which already has been made of the 'great Columbia River' as a channel of commerce.

EXTRACT FROM HUMBOLDT'S COSMOS.

'. . . . The great, though gentle, swelling of the soil, whose highest portion we have just surveyed, and which from south to north, from the tropical part to the parallels of 42° and 44°, so increases in extent from east to west that the Great Basin, westward of the great Salt Lake of the Mormons, has a diameter of upward of three hundred and forty geographical miles, with a mean elevation of nearly five thousand eight hundred feet, differing very considerably from the rampart-like mountain chains by which it is surmounted. Our knowledge of this configuration is one of the chief points of Fremont's great hypsometrical investigations in the years 1842 and 1844. This swelling of the soil belongs to a different epoch from that late upheaval which we call mountain chains and systems of varied direction....

.... The long chain of the Rocky Mountains, at a distance from the shores of the South Sea varying from four hundred and eighty to eight hundred geographical miles, without any trace of still existing volcanic action, nevertheless shows, like the eastern chain of Bolivia in the vale of Yucay, on both of its slopes, volcanic rock, extinct craters, and even lavas enclosing obsidian, and beds of scoriae. In the chain of the Rocky Mountains which we have here geographically described in accordance with the admirable observations of Frémont, Emory, Abbot, Wislizenus, Dana, and Jules Marcou, the latter, a distinguished geologist, reckons three groups of old volcanic rock on the two slopes. For the earliest notices of the vulcanicity of this district we are also indebted to the investigations made by Fremont since the years 1842 and 1843.' (Humboldt's Cosmos, vol. VI, pp. 410-415.)'247

Alexander Freiherr von Humboldt, 1769-1859,

'...German naturalist and traveler.... Educated at Gottingen, he studied for his vocation as scientific explorer at Hamburg, Freiburg, and Jena and made several scientific excursions in Europe. In 1792 he was appointed assessor of mines in Berlin. From 1799

247 Frémont, Memoirs, pp. 604-606. Frémont also mentions Humboldt in describing one of the Benton family's circle of friends: "Baron Gerolt, the Prussian Minister, who had been for twenty years Minister to Mexico and who had now his continued confidential relations with chief men in that country, was also our valued friend.... From his outset in life Humboldt had been his friend and watched over his career. He had been chosen by him for the mission to Mexico, and
to 1804 he made his renowned expedition with A.J.A. Bonpland to
Central and South America and Cuba, a journey which in effect laid
the broad foundations for the sciences of physical geography and
meteorology. Humboldt explored the course of the Orinoco and the
sources of the Amazon, establishing the connecting systems of the
two. He ascended peaks in the Peruvian Andes to study the relation
of temperature and altitude, made observations leading to the dis-
covery of the periodicity of meteor showers, and investigated the
fertilizing properties of guano. In 1808 he settled in Paris and
published the findings of his New World expedition in Voyage de
Humboldt et Bonpland (23 vols., 1805-1834). Humboldt established
the use of isotherms; studied the origin and course of tropical
storms, the increase in magnetic intensity from the equator toward
the poles, and volcanology; and made pioneer investigations on
the relationship between geographical environment and plant dis-
tribution...

Louis Agassiz (Jean Louis Rodolphe Agassiz), 1807-83,
"...Swiss-American zoologist and geologist, b. Fribourg, Switzerland. He studied at the universities of Zurich, Erlangen (Ph.D.,
1829), Heidelberg, and Munich (M.D., 1830).... In 1831 he went
to Paris, where he became a close friend of Alexander von Humboldt
and studied fossil fishes under the guidance of Cuvier. In 1832
he became professor of natural history at the University of Neuchatel
Among his publications during this period were Recherches sur les
poissons fossiles... and Etude sur les glaciers (1840), one of the
first expositions of glacial movements and deposits, based on his
own observations and measurements. Agassiz came to the United
States in 1846 and two years later accepted the professorship of
zoology and geology at Harvard.... In the United States he was
primarily a teacher and very popular lecturer. Emphasizing ad-
vanced and original work, he gave major impetus to the study of
science direct from nature and influenced a generation of American
scientists. His extensive research expeditions included one along
the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the Americas from Boston to
California (1871-72). His Contributions to the Natural History
of the United States (4 vols., 1857-62) includes his famous "Essay
on Classification," an extension of the theory of recapitulation
to geologic time. Despite his own evidences for evolution, Agassiz
opposed Darwinism and believed that new species could arise only
through the intervention of God...."

Alexander Del Mar,
"...nineteenth-century American historian.... Born in New York in
1836, Del Mar became a mining and civil engineer and for a short
during his long absence abroad their friendly correspondence had been
maintained." (Memoirs, p. 421.)

248 The Columbia Encyclopedia.
249 Ibid.
time in the 1860s was Director of the US Bureau of Statistics. In 1872 he represented the United States at the International Statistical Congress in Russia and four years later was appointed Mining Commissioner to the US Monetary Commission; he wrote a number of books and articles on the history of money and the precious metals. 250

Christine Brooke-Rose writes about Del Mar,

"... A mining engineer and director of the U.S. Treasury Bureau of Statistics, he discovered that gold and silver were produced, on the average, at a loss, and were circulating through the world at a value in services and commodities far below the current cost of their production. This led him to formulate various tenets on the true nature and function of money, the facts of which, he held, had been obscured, chiefly by the Coinage Act of 1866. So Pound, in a broadcast interview: 'Now as I see it, billions of money are being spent to hide about seventeen historic facts which the copyists in the Middle Ages or recently have been too stupid to cross out.' Or earlier in the same interview:

'And the Usura Cantos would be more comprehensible if people understood the meaning of the term 'Usury'. It is not to be confused with the legitimate interest which is due, Del Mar says, to the increase in domestic animals and plants. The difference between a fixed charge and a share from a proportion of the increase.

Leo Frobenius, 1873-1938,

"German archaeologist and anthropologist. An authority on prehistoric art and culture, especially of Africa, he organized twelve expeditions to Africa between 1904 and 1935. He founded (1922) the Institute for Cultural Morphology, Frankfurt, where he established a noted collection of facsimiles of prehistoric paintings and engravings. He also dealt with living African cultures and their folklore. 252

Frobenius' great work on Kulturnmorphologie, the study of the forms and transformations of cultures, is the seven-volume Erlebte Erdteile (Frankfurt am Main, 1929), which Pound bought and began to study soon after its publication. 253 In Guide to Kulchur Pound places this work on a list titled As Sextant and says of it:

"...Frobenius: Erlebte Erdteile: without which a man cannot place any book or work of art in relation to the rest." Pound advocated its translation into English: "I spend 8 years demanding a proper

250 Stock, Life of Ezra Pound, p. 553. Among Del Mar's writings are the History of Monetary Systems (1896), Barbara Villiers, or A History of Monetary Crimes (1899), and Ancient Britain Revisited (1899), from all of which Pound drew material for his Cantos. See Daniel Pearlman, "Alexander Del Mar in the Cantos," Paideuma, vol. 1 No. 2 (Winter 1972), pp. 161-180.
"The value of Leo Frobenius to civilization is not for the rightness or wrongness of this opinion or that opinion but for the kind of thinking he does....

He has in especial seen and marked out a kind of knowing, the difference between knowledge that has to be acquired by particular effort and knowing that is in people, 'in the air'. He has accentuated the value of such record. His archaeology is not retrospective, it is immediate.

Example: the peasants opposed a railway cutting. A king had driven into the ground at that place. The engineers dug and unearthed the bronze car of Dis, two thousand years buried.

It would be unjust to Frazer to say that his work was merely retrospective. But there is a quite different phase in the work of Frobenius.

'Where we found these rock drawings, there was always water within six feet of the surface.' That kind of research goes not only into past and forgotten life, but points to tomorrow's water supply.

This is not mere utilitarianism, it is a double charge, a sense of two sets of values and their relation."^{254}

Frobenius himself, in a letter to a colleague, described both the state of culture studies as he found it and his method:

"1. The most difficult obstacle to our understanding of culture is our ignorance. We do not know enough. Any trained zoologist, given the leg of a beetle, can tell you the name of the bug it belongs to, and no botanist supposes that roses bloom on oak trees. We are familiar with the characteristics of the chemical elements, know how they are combined, and that in combination they again have different characteristics. We even know what these characteristics are. But what do we know about culture? Nothing. Because we are lazy, phlegmatic, and stupid, because we plume ourselves if we can string together five or ten citations to write a witty, anecdotal paper.

2. What do we need then? Work! And more work! Every fact, object, and belief which can help us to understand the growth of human culture should be recorded and indexed for use. It is a pure question of application, first to get the material together.

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252 The Columbia Encyclopedia.
and then to see how much we can learn alone from the geographic
distribution of certain culture elements.

3. We will find that there are peoples of whom we do not know
enough, and so it will be necessary to send out expeditions to
find and gather the material we lack...."255

Frobenius' avidity to seize detail and particular as bases
for theory, rather than to assimilate particulars to a set of
received idea, moves like Agassiz' method of instruction -- as
witness the story which Pound tells of Agassiz, the post-graduate
student, and the sunfish. (As preface to that story Pound says:

"The proper METHOD for studying poetry and good letters is
the method of contemporary biologists, that is careful first-
hand examination of the matter, and continued COMPARISON of one
'slide' or specimen with another." )256

Pound's own esteem of Humboldt, Agassiz, Del Mar and Frobenius
comes from his perception of a method common to all four men. Writing
of Del Mar he says: "Along with Louis Agassiz and Leo Frobenius, he
buils upon Alexander von Humboldt's 'art of collecting and arranging
a mass of isolated facts, and rising thence, by a process of induction
to general ideas'.257 By placing this genealogy of scientists in
the context of Frémont's Memoirs, Pound adds Frémont's name and
achievement to the roll of makers of "civilization-in-the-mind."

The wrong way about it: despair.
(I think that is in Benton)

[89/598: 14-15]

This possibly alludes to Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch.
CLXXVII., "Frémont's Fourth Expedition, and Great Disaster in the
Snows at the Head of the Rio Grande Del Norte: Subsequent Discovery
of the Pass He Sought." Frémont had been courtmartialed soon after

255 Frobenius to Adolf Bastian, quoted in Guy Davenport, "Pound
and Frobenius," in Motive and Method in The Cantos of Ezra Pound,
pp. 41-42.
256 The story is in ABC of Reading, pp. 17-18.
257 Pound is quoting Karl Bruhn in a leaflet announcing the Square
Dollar Series. See Stock, Life, p.556; and Brooke-Rose, ZBC, p. 112.
returning to Washington from California. He was found guilty of exceeding his orders while in California and sentenced to be dismissed from military service. President Polk disapproved a charge of mutiny laid against Fremont, pardoned him on other charges, and restored him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. But Fremont, maintaining his innocence of all the charges, resigned his commission in the army. "In doing this I take the occasion to say, that my reason for resigning is, that I do not feel conscious of having done any thing to deserve the finding of the court; and, this being the case, I cannot, by accepting the clemency of the President, admit the justice of the decision against me." 258

Here begins the story of Fremont's fourth expedition, as Benton tells it in Ch. CLXXVII:

"No sooner freed from the army, than Fremont set out upon a fourth expedition to the western slope of our continent, now entirely at his own expense, and to be conducted during the winter, and upon a new line of exploration. His views were practical as well as scientific, and tending to the establishment of a railroad to the Pacific, as well as the enlargement of geographical knowledge. He took the winter for his time, as that was the season in which to see all the disadvantages of his route; and the head of the Rio Grande del Norte for his line, as it was the line of the centre, and one not yet explored, and always embraced in his plan of discovery. The mountain men had informed him that there was a good pass at the head of the Del Norte. Besides other dangers and hardships, he had the war ground of the Utahs, Apaches, Navaho's, and other formidable tribes to pass through, then all engaged in hostilities with the United States, and ready to prey upon any party of whites; but 33 of his old companions, 120 picked mules, fine rifles -- experience, vigilance and courage -- were his reliance; and a trusted security against all evil...." 259

Benton says that the party crossed the first pass "wading waist-deep in the vast unbroken snow field" and arrived in the valley of San Luis above the Upper Arkansas River, with the sierra of the southern Rockies (the San Juan Mountains) ahead of them, in early December. On the mistaken advice of a guide, they took the wrong pass and ascended to a snow-covered summit. A snow-storm stopped

them. All 120 pack-mules froze to death during the storm.

".... Leaving all behind, and the men's lives only to be saved, the discomfited and freezing party scrambled back, recrossing the summit, and finding under the lee of the mountain some shelter from the driving storm, and in the wood that was reached the means of making fires.

The men's lives were now saved, but destitute of every thing, only a remnant of provisions, and not even the resource of the dead mules which were on the other side of the summit; and the distance computed at ten days of their travel to the nearest New Mexican settlement. The guide, and three picked men, were despatched thither for some supplies, and twenty days fixed for their return. When they had been gone sixteen days, Frémont, preyed upon by anxiety and misgiving, set off after them, on foot, snow to the waist.... When out six days he came upon the camp of his guide, stationary and apparently without plan or object, and the men haggard, wild and emaciated...."260

Frémont discovered here that his guide had died of exhaustion and that his comrades, wild with hunger, had fed on part of his body.

"Gathering up these three survivors, Frémont resumed his journey, and had not gone far before he fell on signs of Indians...." Benton says that normally the party would have avoided an Indian encampment:

"To avoid their course was his obvious resource: on the contrary, he followed it! for such was the desperation of his situation that even a change of danger had an attraction...."261

On this trail Frémont encountered a young native who remembered him from a visit Frémont had made to his father, a Utah chief, three years before. The young man gave the party four horses and guided them out of the wilderness.

"Frémont's party reached Taos, was sheltered in the house of his old friend Carson -- obtained the supplies needed -- sent them back by the brave Godey, who was in time to save two-thirds of the party, finding the other third dead along the road, scattered at intervals as each had sunk exhausted and frozen, or half burnt in the fire which had been kindled for them to die by. The survivors were brought in by Godey, some crippled with frozen feet. Fremont found himself in a situation which tries the soul -- which makes the issue between despair and heroism -- and leaves no alternative but to sink under fate, or to rise above it. His whole

261 Ibid.
outfit was gone: his valiant mountain men were one-third dead, many crippled: he was penniless, and in a strange place. He resolved to go forward — nulla vestigia retrorsum: to raise another outfit, and turn the mountains by the Gila. In a few days it was all done — men, horses, arms, provisions — all acquired; and the expedition resumed....

Benton then tells how the new party successfully eluded a band of hostile Navajos and made a southern crossing of the mountains.

Then he says:

"... A subsequent winter expedition completed the design of this one, so disastrously frustrated by the mistake of a guide. Fremont went out again upon his own expense — went to the spot where the guide had gone astray — followed the course described by the mountain men — and found safe and easy passes all the way to California, through a good country, and upon the straight line of 38 and 39 degrees. It is the route for the Central Pacific Railroad, which the structure of the country invites, and every national consideration demands."[263]

Randolph of Roanoke: Charlotte Court House, '32,

[89/598: 16]

[From the Autobiography of Martin Van Buren]:

"... The President's Veto of the Bank Bill infused in [John Randolph] a momentary vigor and drew forth expressions of the warmest approbation, but the Proclamation in regard to the South Carolina affairs* brought him once more into the political field to oppose what he regarded as its constitutional heresies in relation to the character and construction of the Federal Government, and to denounce President Jackson with unmeasured violence. He attended large meetings at Charlotte Court House and again at Buckingham, fifty miles from his home, in so weak a condition that he could not stand to speak but was obliged to address them

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262 Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 721.
263 Ibid.

* On 24 November, 1832, the South Carolina legislature adopted an ordinance declaring the federal tariff laws of 1828 and 1832 null and void, and requiring state officers to prevent these laws from being carried out. The ordinance was founded on the theory advanced by John C. Calhoun, South Carolina's U.S. Senator, that the state was a sovereign and voluntary member of a confederacy, and couldnullify United States federal law if the law were deemed adverse to the best interests of the state's citizens. Jackson's proclamation denied this theory and charged South Carolina's legislature and
from his chair.

Without intending to express here any opinion in respect to the principles of construction which they advance, of some of which I mean to say something hereafter, I cannot refrain from inserting the resolutions which he alone prepared and which were adopted at those meetings. I do not believe that it was in the power of any one of our public men then on the stage of action to set forth the principles therein advocated in a manner so precise, lucid, and statesmanlike as distinguished those resolutions, and he was then only four months from his grave, sinking to it with gradual and constant decay. They are a remarkable instance of the exhibitions of the ruling passion strong in death.

On the 4th inst. there was a public meeting at Charlotte court house, within Mr. Randolph's district, at which he attended, apparently in a feeble state of health, against General Jackson's course in relation to South Carolina, and offered the following resolutions, which were adopted with great unanimity.

'.... Resolved, That while we retain a grateful sense of the many great and valuable services rendered by Andrew Jackson, esquire to the United States, we owe it to our country, and to our posterity to make our solemn protest against many of the doctrines of his late proclamation.

Resolved, That Virginia "is, and of right, ought to be, a free, sovereign and independent state," that she became so by her own separate act, which has since been recognized, by all the civilized world, and has never been disavowed, retracted, or in any wise impaired or weakened by any subsequent act of hers.

Resolved, That when, for purposes of common defense and common welfare, Virginia entered into a strict league of amity and alliance with the other twelve colonies of British North America, she parted with no portion of her sovereignty, although from the necessity of the case, the authority to enforce obedience thereto, was, in certain cases, and for certain purposes, delegated to the common agents of the whole confederacy.

Resolved, That Virginia has never parted with the right to recall the authority so delegated, for good and sufficient cause, nor with the right to judge of the insufficiency of such cause, and to secede from the confederacy whenever she shall find the benefit of union exceeded by its evils, union being the means governor with defiance of the federal government's constitutional authority over commerce. He entreated the citizens of South Carolina to uphold their responsibility to the Union, and warned that attempts to prevent U.S. customs officers from carrying out their duties would be met with force. To Congress he recommended measures enabling him to carry out the tariff laws as well as tariff reductions which would ameliorate the feelings of South Carolinians. After much wrangling, South Carolina finally acceded. For a history of the nullification ordinance, Jackson's Proclamation and message, and debates in Congress see Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 297-362.
of securing happiness, and not an end to which they should be sacrificed...  
Resolved, That we have seen with deep regret, that Andrew Jackson, esquire, president of the United States, has been influenced by designing counsellors to subserve the purposes of their own guilty ambition, to disavow the principles to which he owed his elevation to the chief magistracy of the government of the United States, and to transfer his real friends and supporters, bound hand and foot, to his and their bitterest enemies, the ultra federalists -- ultra bank -- ultra tariff -- ultra internal improvement and Hartford convention men -- the habitual scoffers at state rights, and to their instrument, the venal and prostituted press, by which they have endeavored, and but too successfully, to influence and mislead public opinion....

Resolved, That we owe it to justice, while denouncing this portentous combination between general Jackson and the late unhallowed coalition of his and our enemies, to acquit them of any dereliction of principle, and to acknowledge they have but acted in their vocation....

Resolved, That while we utterly reprobate the doctrine of nullification as equally weak and mischievous, we cannot for that reason give our countenance to principles equally unfounded and in the highest degree dangerous to the liberties of the people...."  

Henry's passion: fiddling, dancing and pleasantry
(Patrick Henry)

[89/598: 17-18]

[From the Autobiography of Martin Van Buren]:

"When asked by Mr. Wirt** for some account of Mr. Henry's mind, information and manners in 1759-60, when Mr. Jefferson first became acquainted with him, the latter thus replies:

We met at Nathan Dandridge's in Hanover about the Christmas of that winter, and passed a fortnight together at the revelries of the neighborhood and season. His manners had something of the coarseness of the society he had frequented; his passion was fiddling, dancing, and pleasantry. He excelled in the last and it attached every one to him. The occasion, perhaps, as much as his idle disposition prevented his engaging in any conversation which might give the measure either of his

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** William Wirt, biographer of Patrick Henry.
mind or information. Opportunity was not wanting, because Mr. John Campbell was there, who had married Mrs. Spotswood, the sister of Col. Dandridge. He was a man of science and often introduced conversations on scientific subjects. Mr. Henry had a little before broken up his store, or rather it had broken him up, and within three months after he came to Williamsburg for his license and told me, I think, he had read law not more than six weeks." 265

The sense of pairing a glimpse of Randolph at Charlotte County, Virginia, Court House with Jefferson's memory of his first meeting with Patrick Henry seems to have come to Pound by Van Buren's inspiration. Both scenes are described in Van Buren's Autobiography, and it is a consequence of Randolph's latter life and character that Van Buren takes up the memoir of Henry. Pound has chosen striking moments to emphasize: John Randolph's last public appearance and public labour before his death, and Henry's introduction to Jefferson, before either had really embarked on his public career. What binds John Randolph and Patrick Henry together in Van Buren's memory -- keeping in mind that the two scenes just alluded to occurred 72 years apart -- is that they met each other at Charlotte Court House, on different sides of a public question, when one was at the end of his age and the other was on the threshold of a political life. 266

"Few spots have been rendered more famous in the annals of party warfare than Charlotte Court House.... but on the occasion of which we are now speaking it was made forever memorable as the scene of the last speech of Patrick Henry, in a political discussion between him and John Randolph, a beardless youth eligible only by a few months, under the Constitution, to the seat in Congress for which he was a candidate at that his first appearance on the political stage, -- a discussion which was, as is now known, the consequence of a direct interference by Gen. Washington, then Commander in Chief of the American Army, in party politics...." 267


266 "'My first attempt at public speaking,' says he in a letter to Mrs. Bryan, his niece, 'was in opposition to Patrick Henry at Charlotte March Court, 1799....'" (Van Buren quoting Randolph, Autobiography, p. 436.

267 "In pursuance of Gen. Washington's pressing solicitation...he [Mr. Henry] consented to become a candidate for the General Assembly of Virginia and presented himself at the Charlotte Court House in that character." (Van Buren, Autobiography, pp. 434-435.)
.... He [Patrick Henry] referred to the recent proceedings of
the Legislature of Virginia, declaring the alien and sedition laws
unconstitutional and therefore null and void, and said that the
resolutions of that body had filled him with apprehension and
alarm and had drawn him from his retirement. He insisted that by
their adoption the Legislature had transcended the power that
belonged to the State under the Constitution. The enforcement of
the acts by military power would, he feared, be the consequence
of those proceedings. He painted to the imaginations of his
audience Washington at the head of an army inflicting upon them
military execution and asked where are our resources to meet such
a conflict and where the citizen who will dare to lift his hand
against the father of his Country? A man in the crowd, (described
as being drunk,) throwing up his arm and exclaiming 'I dare!'--
'No!' answered Mr. Henry, rising aloft in all his majesty, 'you
dare not do it; in such a parricidal attempt the steel would drop
from your nerveless arm.'

Proceeding, he asked 'whether the county of Charlotte would
have any authority to dispute an obedience to the laws of Virginia,
and he pronounced Virginia to be to the Union what the county of
Charlotte was to her.' Of the laws in question he said that his
private opinion was that they were good and proper, but whether
acceptable or otherwise the remedy, he insisted, was 'by petition.'
He closed with a warm appeal to the people in behalf of union and
forbearance.'

When he concluded his audience were deeply affected; it is said
that they wept like children so powerfully were they moved:... 268
Randolph rose to reply. For some moments he stood in silence,
his lips quivering, his eyes swimming in tears; at length he began
a modest tho' beautiful apology for rising to address the people
in opposition to the venerable father who had just taken his seat;
it was an honest difference of opinion and he hoped to be pardoned
while he boldly and freely, as it became the occasion, expressed
his sentiments on the great questions that so much divided and
agitated the minds of the people....

Mr. Henry, by his declaration that Virginia was to the Union
what Charlotte county was to her, surrendered every pretense of
sovereignty in the State, a concession which it is only necessary
to state to ensure its condemnation. Randolph spoke at length
of the character and tendency of this extraordinary doctrine; but
in regard to that as well as to everything Henry had said he
treated him with a degree of respect and deference which excited

* See Cochran & Andrews, eds., Concise Dictionary of American
History, p. 30.

268 "As he concluded he literally sunk into the arms of the tumult-
uous throng; at that moment John H. Rice exclaimed, 'the sun has
set in all his glory.'" (Wirt, quoted in Van Buren, Autobiography
p. 437.)
the sympathies of the people. 'I have learned my first lessons in his school,' he said; 'he is the high priest from whom I received the little wisdom my poor abilities were able to carry away from the droppings of the political sanctuary. He was the inspired Statesman who taught me to be jealous of power, to watch its encroachments and to sound the alarm on the first moments of usurpation....

'And what is that other law that so fully meets the approbation of my venerable friend? It is a law that makes it an act of sedition, punishable by fine and imprisonment, to utter or write a sentiment that any prejudiced judge or juror may think proper to construe into disrespect to the President of the United States. Do you understand me? I dare proclaim to the people of Charlotte my opinion to be that John Adams, so called President, is a weak minded man, vain, jealous and vindictive; that influenced by evil passions and prejudices and goaded on by wicked counsel, he has been striving to force the Country into a war with our best friend and ally.* I say that I dare repeat this before the people of Charlotte and avow it as my opinion. But let me write it down and print it as a warning to Countrymen. What then? I subject myself to an indictment for sedition! I make myself liable to be dragged away from my home and friends and to be put on my trial in some distant Federal Court, before a judge who receives his appointment from the man that seeks my condemnation; and to be tried by a prejudiced jury, who have been gathered from remote parts of the Country, strangers to me and any thing but my peers, and have been packed by the minions of power for my destruction. Is the man dreaming! do you exclaim? Is this a fancy picture he has drawn for our amusement? I am no fancy man, people of Charlotte! I speak the truth -- I deal only in stern realities! There is such a law on your Statute Book, in spite of your Constitution -- in open contempt of those solemn guarantees that insure the freedom of speech and of the Press to every American citizen.... Would that I could stop here and say that, tho' it may be found enrolled among the public archives, it is a dead letter. Alas! alas! not only does it exist, but at this hour is most rigidly enforced, not against the ordinary citizen only, but against men in official stations, even those who are clothed by the people with the sacred duties of their representatives.... These are the laws the venerable gentleman would have you believe are not only sanctioned by the Constitution, but demanded by the necessity of the times!'" 269

In an effort to explain the apparent contradiction between

Henry's early and strong stand for American liberty during the

* France.

Revolution, and his anti-democratic support of the sedition laws, Van Buren advances the view that "...Henry was much fascinated with Hamilton's financial policy and...in the latter part of his life the acquisition of wealth became with him a more absorbing passion than politics..." Van Buren also suggests that

"...during the latter years of his life a concern for the good opinion of his old Commander in Chief, as he was in the habit of calling Washington, engrossed his feelings. The strong solicitude he had once cherished for the sovereignty of the States, his dread of consolidation, his 'first principle,' as he termed it, -- 'that from the British we have everything to dread when opportunities for oppressing us shall offer' -- seemed to have given place to his anxiety upon that point. He had been made to believe that Gen. Washington considered him as 'a factious, seditious character,' and that belief was in the estimation of Lee the only hindrance to his joining the friends of the Administration..." But Van Buren's major thesis for "The apparently inexplicable circumstance that a man whose early sympathies in the cause of human rights were so much deeper and stronger than those of most of the leading men of his time should, in after life, have become blind to the tendency of the measures he then approved, or insensible to their effects upon that cause..." is derived from Jefferson's judgment of Henry as a frivolous man: "his passion was fiddling, dancing, and pleasantry." Following Jefferson's lead, Van Buren says:

"Mr. Henry was not a student in any sense and all accounts concur in describing him as a man who, in all probability, read less than any other in his State occupying anything like the same position in society. That with the tastes, habits and proverbial bonhomnie ascribed to him he should devote sufficient time to study and reflection upon the principles of the structure and administration of Governments to lead him to adhere to his opinions with a fidelity proportioned to the strength of his convictions of their truth and wisdom was not to be expected and did not happen. Instead therefore of regulating his movements by a professed political system, for the formation of which he was rendered incompetent by the laws of his nature, he became a man of impulse and suffered his course to be shaped by the feelings of the moment. These were always honest and if the questions that produced them

271 Ibid., p. 434.
272 Ibid., p. 440. I don't, however, believe that either Van Buren or Pound intends the remark about Henry's "passion" as a slight. See n. 273, p. 422 below.
were of an exciting character he executed his resolves with a spirit and power rarely equalled...." 273

If, after all this, Patrick Henry's salient qualities appear to be his great popularity, his transparent, naive honesty, and his congeniality to being manipulated by fellow politicians for their own ends, Van Buren will have done his job.

"We ought not to have turned you out."

said some old crump to Van Buren.

The "old crump" is Chancellor James Kent of New York, an elder judicial acquaintance of Van Buren, his sometime political opponent, and member of the New York State Council of Revision. In his Autobiography Van Buren tells how Kent objected to a series of bills which he introduced in the New York State legislature. The bills were designed to aid recruitment to the American army during the war of 1812. Kent was bested in an exchange of newspaper articles and announced that he would retire from political strife so as to preserve the impartiality of his office; Van Buren published a letter to the New York Argus commending Kent's intention. Van Buren describes his first meeting with Chancellor Kent, when he was a young man studying law and the Chancellor was a judge on the Columbian Circuit. Then he tells about a meeting of much later occurrence, following the election which denied Van Buren a second term as President:

".... Almost, if not quite the last time I had the pleasure of meeting him, was nearly forty years afterwards in New York and in the street, on my way home from Washington, after the expiration of my Presidential Term. He took both my hands, expressed

273 Van Buren, Autobiography, p. 442. In another reminiscence, Jefferson remembers Henry "cracking jokes round a light-wood fire. It was to him that we were indebted for the unanimity that prevailed among us. He would address the assemblages of people at which he was present, in such strains of native eloquence as Homer wrote in." Van Buren, Autobiography, pp. 441-442.
his great satisfaction in having met me, and insisted on my accom-
panying him to his house which was near at hand; and on my con-
senting to do so, he said at once, 'I have to ask your pardon, Sir, for the part I have taken in assisting to turn you out, and putting a man in your place, who is wholly unfit for it. I pledge you my honor, Sir, that I was then wholly ignorant of the fact, but now I know all about it! You made a very good President; I did not approve of all you did -- but you did nothing of which either of us has reason to be ashamed; and we ought not to have turned you out, without placing a more competent man in your place, and in that matter I was sadly deceived, and I have, ever since I understood it, desired an opportunity to say to you what I now say!'

"Great blackguard from Tennessee, by name of Jackson."

[89/598: 21]

[From William Cabell Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke]:

"... Andrew Jackson... had come on to Richmond to be present at the Burr trial, * and had conducted himself in such a spirit of reckless partisanship as to draw down upon his head, before it had terminated, the harsh judgment to which one of his contempor-
aries afterwards referred in these words: 'As I was crossing the Court House Green, I heard a great noise of haranguing at some distance off. Inquiring what it was, I was told it was a great blackguard from Tennessee, one Andrew Jackson, making a speech for Burr and damning Jefferson as a persecutor.'

"No auction of slaves here in the Capital."

[89/598: 22]

[From Bruce, Randolph of Roanoke]:

"... Randolph's speech on the slave traffic in the District of Columbia... did honor to his heart as well as to his intellect.

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* Aaron Burr was tried for treason in the western territories in U.S. Circuit Court at Richmond, Virginia, U.S. Chief Justice John Marshall presiding. John Randolph served as foreman of the grand jury, which returned an acquittal. Marshall among others has been charged with partisanship in the trial's conduct. The year was 1807. See the Concise Dictionary of American History, p. 123.

It is reported as follows:

"He expressed a wish that some other gentleman had undertaken the business; but, as no one had thought proper to awaken the House to a sense of their concern in it, or to point the finger of scorn at it, he would take upon him the office to do it, and to call upon the House to put a stop to proceedings at that moment carried on under their very noses; proceedings that were a crying sin before God and man; a practice which he said was not surpassed for abomination in any part of the earth; for in no part of it, not even excepting the rivers of the coast of Africa, was there so great and so infamous a slave market as in the metropolis; in the very seat of government of this nation which prided itself on freedom. Before he proceeded further, he fenced himself in against all suspicion of unduly interfering in the very delicate subject of the relation between the slave and his owner; and to that end, he reminded the House that where a bill was brought some years before to prevent the prosecution of the African slave trade, he had voted against it, because it professed a principle against which it was the duty of every man of the Southern or slave-holding States to set his face; for it assumed a prerogative to interfere in the right of property between the master and his slave...but it was not necessary...that we should have here in the very streets of our new metropolis a depot for this nefarious traffic, in comparison with which the traffic from Africa to Charleston or Jamaica was mercy; was virtue. Indeed, there could be no comparison rationally instituted between taking those savages from their native wilds and tearing the civilized, informed negro, habituated to cultivated life, from his master, his friend, his wife, his children or his parents." 276

Τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀρχὴν

[89/598: 23]

(Gr): "The beginning of all things."

I have not so far discovered the text of this Greek fragment.

Slave labour is very expensive.

[89/598: 24]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. CXCII., 'Mr. Clay's Plan of Slavery Compromise: Mr. Benton's Speech Against it: Extracts.']:

"... In refusing to extend slavery into these seventy thousand square miles, *I act in conformity not only to my own long-established principles, but also in conformity to the long-established practice of Congress. Five times in four years did Congress refuse the prayer of Indiana for a temporary suspension of the anti-slavery clause of the ordinance of '87. On the 2d of March, 1803, Mr. Randolph, of Roanoke, as chairman of the committee to which the memorial praying the suspension was referred, made a report against it, which was concurred in by the House. This is the report:

'That the rapid population of the State of Ohio, sufficiently evinces, in the opinion of your committee, that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region. That this labor, demonstrably the dearest of any, can only be employed to advantage in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known to that quarter of the United States: that the committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the north-western country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will, at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and of emigration."

(Thirty Years' View, v.II, pp. 759-760.)

* The territories of California, Utah and New Mexico. For the agitation to abolish the Missouri Compromise line and open these territories to slavery, see Benton, v.II, pp. 729-733, 742-768. See also De Voto, Year of Decision, pp. 296-300, 491-496.
But for Price, Sloat might damn well have lost it.

[89/598: 25]

[From John C. Fremont's Memoirs]:

"The story of the night preceding the raising of the flag* is best told in the words of Ex-Governor Rodman Price of New Jersey, who was at that time an officer in the squadron under Commodore Sloat, and who had a deciding part in that event...."

'In July, 1845, the United States sloop of war Cyane, Captain William Mervine, sailed from Norfolk under orders to join the Pacific Squadron. (Mr. Price was purser of the Cyane.) Just before he [Mr. Price] left he saw President Polk, who, in the then disturbed relations between the United States and Mexico, expressed great anxiety in regard to the possible contingency of hostilities occurring between the two countries, and said, "that should it happen, California should be seized by the naval forces in the Pacific and held as indemnification for the expenses of carrying on such a war," and Mr. Price was fully impressed with the policy of the President. The Cyane joined the Pacific Squadron in January, 1846, finding Commodore Sloat then commanding the squadron in the flag-ship frigate Savannah, at Mazatlán, on the west coast of Mexico, where a large naval force was concentrated of American and English ships -- Sir George Seymour, the English admiral, having his flag on the Collingwood, a hundred-gun ship.

At the time of the Cyane's arrival, much excitement existed in both squadrons and on shore in regard to the anticipated rupture between the United States and Mexico. It was understood and believed that the English Government meant to seize or throw protection over California in case of war, as indemnity for debt owing by Mexico to England. Therefore there was great anxiety for news, and much importance placed as to which squadron would first receive intelligence of war, as the fate of California depended upon it.

Soon after the Cyane's arrival, Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie, United States Marine Corps, came to Mazatlán, having crossed Mexico with despatches to Commodore Sloat and Captain Fremont. The latter was then supposed to be in California or Oregon, and Captain Mervine was ordered to land him (Gillespie) at some port where he could best communicate with Frémont....

* At Monterey. See annotation: 89/598: 2, "220 riflemen and one piece of artillery," p. 397.
Gillespie was left at Monterey, and pursued and overtook Fremont, who returned with him to Sutter's Fort. The Cyane returned to Mazatlán in April, and reported these facts to the commodore. The excitement had greatly intensified by the rumor that General Santa Anna had crossed the Rio Grande with a large force, and that General Taylor was in command of the American forces in Texas, and a battle anticipated.

..... About June 1st the Cyane was again ordered to Monterey, Cal. -- the belief then existing, from rumors, that a fight had occurred between the American and Mexican forces, and this belief was largely entertained by our consul, Mr. Parrott, who, about that time, set out for the City of Mexico....

It was also learned that the English frigate Juno was at Santa Barbara, and that Father MacNamara was negotiating with the Civil Governor and authorities for a grant of land in California, intended for European colonization, which was a part of the English design to acquire California, and so understood at the time.

Some days after our arrival [at Monterey], about July 1st, Commodore Sloat arrived, and it was confidently believed by the officers of the squadron that he would land at once, hoist our flag, and take possession of California, and all felt that the Fourth day of July was an appropriate day to do it.

The positive news of the battles through Mr. Parrott, and the feeling to chastise General Castro for his insult to our flag, and the wanton outrage upon Fremont, fully justified and demanded such a course: but to the disappointment and chagrin of all, the commodore sent his flag-lieutenant, Joseph Adams, ashore, and, "as if a friendly port, desired to know when salutes would be exchanged.

In the meantime a very strong feeling had arisen with the native Californians against us, induced by English and French agents and the anticipated war with us... a majority of the people greatly preferred that California should fall to England rather than to the United States....

Captain Montgomery had been requested by Frémont [at San Francisco] to send him supplies and munitions of war....

Sloat immediately replied, instructing Montgomery not to give Frémont any aid whatever, but to obey strictly our treaty stipulations with Mexico....

These circumstances and facts had been learned by Mr. Price immediately from Captain Mervine, who was on board the flagship when the despatches were received from Montgomery, and Sloat had told him the character of his reply and instructions, at which he was greatly disappointed, and thought it a grave mistake of the commodore's.

Mr. Price made the facts known to the ward-room officers,
who discussed them, and all felt that it was a fatal error, that the commodore was not carrying out the policy or wishes of the Government -- jeopardizing its interests and sacrificing its honor.

Mr. Price considered the moment so critical that, as if by inspiration, he said, that if it were possible to get a boat, it then being quite late at night and after the crew had turned in, he felt he would be only doing a duty to go and see the commodore and urge him to reconsider his action. Upon reflection he decided to ask Captain Mervine for a boat, and stated his object for desiring it. Mervine said there was no use of going to see the commodore, that he himself had said everything against his order to Montgomery, but wished him to give all the aid and supplies that Fremont required, but added, "you shall have it if you desire it." The request was repeated, Mr. Price saying that he would like to present to the commodore the views of President Polk, as given to him a few days before the Cyane sailed from Norfolk.

.... Mr. Price was received on board the flag-ship by First-Lieutenant Livingston, who said the commodore had turned in, his cabin lights were out, and it was doubtful whether he would receive him, but would send in an orderly and see; and an answer was returned that he would. The cabin was lighted and the commodore came out of his stateroom in his night-dress....

Feeling as Mr. Price did, that upon the decision of the commodore rested the loss or gain of California to the United States, he urged upon him every view and reason possible to recall the letter and show the evils which would result to himself as well as to his country, if Fremont was not sustained and our flag immediately raised on shore and a military occupation declared.

The evidence of hostilities existing between us and Mexico was dwelt upon -- his delay would certainly give California to England. The English policy and intention was clear -- the English frigate Juno was at Santa Barbara; that Admiral Seymour was following him with the intention of landing and occupying California. Under the circumstances, there was only one course to pursue to meet the expectations of his country. The first and only reply Sloat made was, that he did not want to fall into the same mistake that Commodore Jones made two years before. The great difference of circumstances which existed at that time and the present were pointed out, and that delay would undoubtedly bring about a serious complication with the English, if not a fight; that he could not witness the raising of the English flag over California without remonstrance, active and forcible. After silent reflection, Sloat yielded to the entreaty of Mr. Price, and decided to recall the letter to Captain Montgomery, and not only ordered him to furnish all
the supplies and all the aid to Frémont he required, but also, on the receipt of the order, to raise the flag immediately at San Francisco, informing him the flag would be raised by him the next morning, being July 7, 1846, at Monterey. That he would receive therewith a copy of the proclamation under which California would be occupied by us....

The English admiral arrived a few days afterward, and the first thing he said on receiving the commodore was, "Sloat, if your flag was not flying on shore I should have hoisted mine there." 277

Quam parva sapientia regitur

[89/598: 26]

[From Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke; a speech by Randolph* supporting Jackson's candidacy for President against Adams the incumbent, and repelling the objection of illiteracy against Jackson]:

".... 'But General Jackson is no statesman.' Sir, I deny that there is any instance on record in history of a man, not having military capacity, being at the head of any government with advantage to that government and with credit to himself. There is a great mistake on this subject. It is not those talents which enable a man to write books and make speeches that qualify him to preside over a government. The Wittiest of poets has told us that

'All a Rhetorician's rules
Teach only how to name his tools.'

.... There is a class of men who possess great learning, combined with inveterate professional habits, and who are ipso facto, or perhaps I should say ipsis factis, for I must speak accurately, as I speak before a professor [Edward Everett], disqualified for any but secondary parts anywhere -- even in the cabinet. Cardinal Richelieu was what? A priest. Yes, but what a priest! Oxenstiern was a chancellor. He it was who sent his son abroad to see quam parva sapientia regitur mundus -- with how little wisdom this world is governed. This administration [Quincy Adams'] seemed to have thought that even less than little would do for us...." 278

277 Rodman Price, in Frémont, Memoirs, 538-542.
278 Quoted in Bruce, v.I, pp. 545, 547. The speech is quoted at length on pp. 545-553. See also Bridson, "An Interview with Ezra Pound," New Directions 17, p. 177.
(i^4 2952): Easy. To be at ease. (a) lenient; to treat lightly, (b) to clear the fields. To cultivate. (c) Read \textit{i^4.5}. To change. \textit{The Book of Changes}.

Macauley somewhat extravagant in conclusions,

[From the \textit{Autobiography of Martin Van Buren}]:

"The effects of Sir Robert Peel's oratory were, as it appeared to me, much weakened by the formal and somewhat ostentatious manner in which he threw himself into the debate -- a certain something that seemed to say here am I! Yet I never saw anything, either in his familiar intercourse with the members of the House [of Commons], or in his manners or conversation out of it, to countenance the idea that he was capable of indulging in any such assumption or that he entertained a vain conceit of his own capacities or importance.... Sir Robert impressed his contemporaries with a high opinion of his elocution and he figured in an age of great men. Lord Macaulay, a competent judge, altho' certainly sometimes extravagant if not careless in his conclusions ranks him among the successors of Pitt, the justness of whose reputation as an orator has long ceased to be an open question, and this classification has not been dissented from, nor as far as I know, received with distrust. It may be regarded therefore as having met with general approbation. Nevertheless, with a very good opinion of Sir Robert Peel's capacities as a public speaker, I must say that he at no time appeared to me equal, as a skilful debater, to what Lord Derby was when I knew him as Lord Stanley, or comparable, as an orator, to Daniel Webster; neither in my judgment, did his greatest strength lie in that direction...."279

Palmerston never expressing what he did not believe,

\footnotesize
"was pleased 25 years later to find him
at the head of the government."

[89/598: 29; 89/599: 1-2]

[From Van Buren's *Autobiography*:

'My acquaintance has been more intimate and my official intercourse more extensive and varied with Viscount Palmerston* than
with any other of the public men of England. He became Minister
of Foreign Affairs under the Melbourne Administration whilst I
held the office of Secretary of State, charged with corresponding
duties under that of President Jackson. He occupied the same post
during my residence as the representative of my Country in Eng-
land and until the end of my official term as President of the
United States.

During that time, embracing a period of about eleven years,
there did not arise a single important question between our
respective Governments with the superintendence of which he was
not charged or in which I did not take a direct part, or over the
disposition of which I did not exert a material influence....
Among those questions were that of the North Eastern Boundary
between us and Great Britain, in the worst and most menacing
aspects which that subject ever assumed, and that presented by
the mutually disturbing and irritating occurrences growing out
of the Canadian Rebellion and the unauthorized participation of
our citizens in its prosecution....

I have seen, with regret, that an impression has, to some
extent at least, secured a lodgment in the public mind here that
Lord Palmerston has imbibed prejudices against this Country which
have made him less disposed than other British statesmen to do
us justice. I feel bound to say that with the opportunities I
have had, perhaps as full as those of any other person, I have
seen nothing to justify this notion but much to disprove its
correctness. In the course of the exciting and truly important
discussions in which we have been involved I never had occasion
to suspect him of professing opinions he did not sincerely believe
to be well founded, as a sanction to groundless pretences or as
a cover to resistance of claims the justice of which he could not
honestly controvert -- an artifice unhappily too common in diplo-
macy.... During my recent visit to England, twenty-five years
later than the period of which I am writing, I saw much of him
and was pleased to find him at the head of the Government...."

* See Edwards & Vasse, eds., *Annotated Index*, pp. 166-167. See
also Canto 42/209: 'We ought, I think, to say in civil terms: You
be damned'/(Palmerston to Russell re/ Chas. H. Adams); Canto 52/261:
Begin where you are said Lord Palmerston/began draining swamps in Sligo...

Jury from the vicinage.

[89/599: 3]

[From Van Buren's Autobiography]:

"... Both Great Britain and the United States have inducements of the strongest nature to a faithful observance of the duties which flow from these sound and acknowledged general rules [of government]. A fair comparison of our respective systems, with reference to the securities they provide for the most essential rights of man, will show that we may, in that regard, be said with much truth to be indeed brethren in principle. To name a few of the most prominent which are common to both; liberty of speech and of the press -- to canvass freely the acts of men in power and to express such opinions of them as we may think useful and as truth will justify -- liberty of conscience in matters of religious faith -- securities and safeguards for the enjoyment of personal liberty, such as the writ of habeas corpus, trial by a jury of the vicinage &c -- the right and protection of property: what candid American will claim that there are any very essential differences in these respects between our condition and that of the people of England..."  

And Disraeli sold the brit fools down the river.

[89/599: 4]

See Canto 86/564:

...England not yet sold for the Suez --
That would have been 20 years later,
or was it '74?
At any rate, sold down the river,
passed over Parliament,
"whatever else he believed in,
it was not representative government"
Nor visible responsibilities.

In Vision Fugitive: Ezra Pound and Economics, Earle Davis discusses the role of the international banking house of Rothschild.

in the British purchase of the Suez Canal.

".... This occurred during the period when Disraeli was Prime Minister, and the purchase was considered by Englishmen to be a great boon to English finance and commerce. Pound asks abrassively if anyone knows how much the purchase cost and what was paid to whom. He always looks at Disraeli through jaundiced eyes, since the Jewish Prime Minister was a great friend of Baron Lionel, the son of Nathan Rothschild. Note that in contrast Pound's source, Christopher Hollis,* considers Disraeli to be on the side of the angels. Disraeli was at the Rothschild mansion eating dinner when Lionel, at a psychological moment, received news from his private grapevine to France that the shares controlling the Suez were available in Paris. Why they were available is not usually explained, since the Rothschilds had some dealings with the Egyptian Khedive too. Parliament was not in session, so Disraeli made a deal with the Rothschild international credit service to transfer the necessary 4 million pounds to the Khedive's accounts. Three per cent interest is all that appears on the records for the service. What else the British government paid, or how much the Khedive contributed, can hardly be traced in the history books.

.... In Canto 104/[738-739] [Pound] says Disraeli bitched England and by-passed Parliament. The final reference is repetitive since it (108/[766]) charges Disraeli with 'bitching' Cap. VI of the English Charter, presumably the one against Usury too. The charge is that England had no right to the Suez anyway, and that Disraeli bailed the Rothschilds out of an uncollectable debt owed by the Khedive...."**

It was a Tory not a Liberal who gave up the right of search.

[89/599: 5]

[From Van Buren's Autobiography]:

"A question had been long under discussion between the English government and that of the United States, a very important question which might any day disturb the peace of the two countries, involving the right of search,** recently so satisfactorily disposed of. Lord Palmerston, Minister of foreign affairs in the administration of Lord Melbourne, had claimed that right in his correspondence with Mr. Stevenson. Under a change of Ministry, in both countries, that correspondence was continued, and Lord Aberdeen,

* Author of The Two Nations, a Financial Study of English History. Davis gives no other source than the Cantos cited here for what he says Pound said.

282 Davis, Vision Fugitive pp. 176-177.

** Britain claimed the right to board foreign vessels on the high seas and impress men who were deemed to be British nationals.
occupied the same position under the administration of Sir Robert Peel, 'when,' we are told, 'a great change had occurred in the tone of the English Ministry.' Lord Aberdeen had, in the language of Mr. Everett, 'not only stated the claim of Great Britain relative to the right of detaining suspicious vessels in a far less exceptionable manner than that in which it had been asserted by Lord Palmerston, but expressly declined being responsible for the language used by his predecessor.'..."283

Galileo from Mang

[89/599: 6-7]

\[caliginem vespertinam\]

\(\text{meng}^4 \text{4428): Great, eminent. Senior, eldest, first, chief.}\)
\(\text{Mencius.}\)
\(\text{tzu}^3 \text{6939) A son; a child; posterity. A bride; a wife.}\)
\(\text{To treat as one's own children. Radical 39.}\)
\(\text{* (e) An officer; a gentleman... A philosopher.}\)
\(\text{The philosopher Meng [or Mang], latinized into Mencius. }^{284}\)
\(\text{caliginem vespertinam: (L.) evening fog (or western fog?), in the}\)
\(\text{accusative case. In a metaphorical sense, caliginino may mean mental}\)
\(\text{darkness or dulness.}\)

Galileo appears in the first Chinese Rock-Drill Canto, at 85/543: "Galileo index'd 1616," His affinity with Mang tzu may have been
drawn from a remark in the Li Lau, Book IV. of The Works of Mencius:

'1. Mencius said, 'All who speak about the natures of things,
have in fact only their phenomena to reason from, and the value of
a phenomenon is in its being natural.
2. 'What I dislike in your wise men is their boring out their
conclusions....
3. 'There is heaven so high; there are the stars so distant. If
we have investigated their phenomena, we may, while sitting in our
places, go back to the solstice of a thousand years ago.'"\(^285\)

The British practice of search and impressment on American vessels
was declared to be a provocative cause of the war of 1812.

283 Van Buren, Autobiography, pp. 528-529.
(Gr.): "and the burning (or boiling) of the sea." The source of this fragment remains undiscovered.

"And here are Caleb Johnson and two others as demure" (said T.H.B.) "as three whores at a christening."

That Calhoun called him a quadruped.

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*Resolutions on slavery adopted by the Missouri General Assembly on March 10, 1849. These resolutions denied the extension of the constitutional prohibition of slavery in new territories north of parallel 36°30', declared the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820, which had proposed the 36°30' boundary, not binding, and expressed political solidarity with the slaveholding states "in such measures as may be deemed necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism [i.e. anti-slavery agitation]." Benton, says Meigs, "denounced the resolutions as 'false in their facts, incendiary in their temper, disunion in their object, nullification in their essence, high treason in their remedy, and usurpation in their character.'" He regarded them as copies of Calhoun's Senate resolutions of 1847 and spoke against them in a campaign which was, says one observer, "characterized by a bitterness of invective and popular excitement without parallel in the history of Missouri." (See Meigs, pp. 409-412.)

** Meigs, Life of Thomas Hart Benton, p. 456.
This refers to Martin Van Buren and the enmity between him and John Calhoun rising from Calhoun's (apparently untrue) contention that Van Buren had engineered a split between himself and Andrew Jackson. (See Van Buren's and Benton's accounts of the Seminole War affair.)

Seven years after this disruption of friendly relations between Calhoun and Van Buren, Calhoun reconciled himself to many of Van Buren's policies as President. Both opposed Henry Clay's "American System" as well as what Calhoun called the "National Consolidation school of politics;" Calhoun supported Van Buren's proposal for a national Treasury independent of private banking institutions.

Clay regarded this reconciliation as a cynical collusion arranged only for the advancement politically of both parties. In the course of a debate between himself and Calhoun over the independent treasury-hard money currency bill of 1838, Clay said:

"Who, Mr. President [of the Senate], are the most conspicuous of those who perseveringly pressed this bill upon Congress and the American people? Its drawer is the distinguished gentleman in the white house not far off (Mr. Van Buren); its indorser is the distinguished senator from South Carolina, here present [Calhoun]. What the drawer thinks of the indorser, his cautious reserve and stifled enmity prevent us from knowing. But the frankness of the indorser has not left us in the same ignorance with respect to his opinion of the drawer. He has often expressed it upon the floor of the Senate. On an occasion not very distant, denying him any of the noble qualities of the royal beast of the forest, he attributed to him those which belong to the most crafty, most skulking, and the meanest of the quadruped tribe. Mr. President, it is due to myself to say, that I do not altogether share with the senator from South Carolina in this opinion of the President of the United States. I have always found him, in his manners and deportment, civil, courteous, and gentlemanly; and he dispenses, in the noble mansion which he now occupies, one worthy the residence of the chief magistrate of a great people, a generous and liberal hospitality. An acquaintance with him of more

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than twenty years' duration has inspired me with a respect for the man, although, I regret to be compelled to say, I detest the magistrate...." 288

Firm taste for good company evinced by both Benton and Mr Van Buren,

[89/599: 12-13]

[Frémont, Memoirs Ch. XII, speaking of his work of dictation to his wife, Jessie Benton Frémont, and their collaboration on the report of Fremont’s second expedition]:

".... Mrs. Benton was alarmed by this pull on her daughter, but Mr. Benton was delighted. He used sometimes to turn into our workroom to enjoy the pleasure he had in seeing the work grow. Another refreshing rest of the day came when we all met in the evening at dinner. Mr. Benton held to some observances in the family life which, though formal, were pleasant. He was fond of that degree of social decorum which respect for other's feelings should always exact and is grateful to every one. To him this was habitual. With the dressing for dinner were laid aside any subjects not suited to general harmony. Mr. Benton always relaxed to the enjoyment of the interesting and cheerful dinner-table—himself contributing his large share and example; except when, on rare occasions, he came down from the Senate preoccupied by some interesting debate...." 289

and men even in our time (survivals) as Domvile and degli Uberti

[89/599: 14-15]

Domvile is Admiral Sir Barry Domvile. In The Caged Panther Harry Meacham says that Domvile "served with distinction in World

289 Frémont, Memoirs, pp. 414-415.
War I, was later President of the [British] Royal Naval College and Director of the Naval Intelligence Division."²⁹⁰ Domville corresponded with Pound frequently while Pound was at St. Elizabeths. Eustace Mullins mentions that Domville was a "political prisoner" in England at that time.²⁹¹ Degli Uberti is probably Ubaldo degli Uberti. See annotation: 89/597: 26-28, pp. 388-389, and Mary de Rachewiltz, Discretions, pp. 167, 185.²⁹²

"His agreeable niece, la Duchesse de Dino."

²⁹⁰ Meacham, The Caged Panther, p. 207 n. 6. See also pp. 49, 69, 73.
²⁹¹ Mullins, That Difficult Individual, p. 287.
²⁹² Meacham mentions Riccardo degli Uberti, "son of Ezra's great friend Admiral Ubaldo degli Uberti, [who] was head of the Black Shirts in Germany when war broke." (p. 206, n. 8. See also Meacham, pp. 22, 25.)
His successful operations earned him promotion to general and appointment (1942) as minister of war by the Yugoslav government-in-exile. An ardent royalist and Serbian nationalist, he soon clashed with the partisans of Marshal Tito. Mihajlović's forces gradually dwindled while Tito's increased, and by 1944 he had lost Allied support and was reluctantly dismissed by King Peter II. Mihajlović continued antipartisan warfare with the remnants of his forces, but he was captured by the Tito authorities and tried on charges of collaboration and treason. Evidence indicates that Mihajlović, who considered the Communists a greater threat than the Axis powers, did at times act against the Tito forces in an understanding with the enemy, but his death sentence was based on internal political considerations rather than on his actual guilt."

Henriot seems very likely Philippe Henriot (b.?–1944), as Francis J. Bosha points out in his note, "Pound's 'Henriot'" (Pai-deuma). As against Edwards' and Vasse's suggestion that the "Henriot" of Canto 84 is French novelist and poet Émile Paul Hector Maigrot (1889–1961), whose pseudonym was Émile Henriot, Bosha remarks:

"...I propose that there is more reason to believe the allusion is to Philippe Henriot.... Within the context of Pound's list of wartime politicians, the name of an academician [Maigrot] is out of place. Philippe Henriot, on the other hand, was the Minister of Propaganda for Marshall Petain's Vichy Government, as well as the editor of the pro-German weekly Gringoire. During this time he was also a leading collaborationist radio commentator. Sisley Huddleston knew Henriot well, and after the war wrote: 'Few men have been listened to with such passionate interest for a few months as was Philippe Henriot. He drove his admirers into ecstasy and his antagonists into frenzy.' Twice a day, for a number of months, Henriot broadcast 'a discourse with a punch in every sentence, that...[held] his audiences spellbound.' It was not surprising that Henriot soon became a principal enemy of the Resistance. Accompanied by Vice Premier Pierre Laval, Henriot arrived in Paris three weeks after the Normandy invasion and spent the night at the Vichy Ministry of Information. The next day, 28 June, 1944, he was shot to death by members of the French Resistance....""
"...Italian philosopher and educator. He taught philosophy in several Italian universities and for many years contributed to the magazine of Benedetto Croce. In 1920 he founded the Giornale critico della filosofia italiana. An early supporter of the Fascist movement, he has been called the philosopher of Fascism. In 1922 he was made a senator and until 1924 was minister of public instruction. While in this office he reformed the structure of public education. He also directed the work of the new Encyclopedia italiana. Gentile's philosophy, called actual idealism, is a form of neo-Hegelian idealism and was developed in Teoria generale dello spirito come atto puro (1916, tr. The Theory of Mind as Pure Act, 1922). See studies by H.S. Harris (2d ed. 1966), M.E. Brown (1966), and W.A. Smith (1970)."298

"China, the longest, and with the lowest per cent of burocracy.

"200 years" said the Emperor "and no trouble."
Benton: no trouble, no treaty.

[89/599: 18-21]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. CXXII., "Chinese Mission:
Mr. Cushing's Appointment and Negotiation."]:

"Ten days before the end of the session 1842-3, there was taken up in the House of Representatives a bill reported from the Committee of Foreign Relations, to provide the means of opening future intercourse between the United States and China....

.... Mr. Benton objected to any mission at all, and especially to such a one as the bill provided for. He argued that --

'There was no necessity for a treaty with China, was proved by the fact that our trade with that country had been going on well without one for a century or two, and was now growing and increasing constantly. It was a trade conducted on the simple and elementary principle of "here is one," and "there is the other" -- all ready-money, and hard money, or good products -- no credit system, no paper money. For a long time this trade took nothing but silver dollars. At present it is taking some other articles, and especially a goodly quantity of Missouri lead. This has taken place without a treaty, and without an agent at $40,000 expense. All things are going on well between us and the Chinese. Our relations are purely commercial, conducted on the simplest principles of trade, and unconnected with political views. China has no political connection with us. She is not within the system, or circle, of

298 New Columbia Encyclopedia.
American policy. She can have no designs upon us, or views in relation to us; and we have no need of a minister to watch and observe her conduct. Politically and commercially, the mission is useless. . . . And it will not do to assimilate this mission to the oldest government in the world, to the anomalous and anonymous missions to revolutionary countries. Such an analogy has been attempted in defence of this mission, and South American examples cited; but the cases are not analogous. Informal agencies, with secret objects, are proper to revolutionary governments; but here is to be a public mission, and an imposing one -- the grandest ever sent out from the United States....

Mr. Archer replied that the ignominious prostrations heretofore required of foreign ministers in the Imperial Chinese presence, were all abolished by the treaty with Great Britain, and that the Chinese government had expressed a desire to extend to the United States all the benefits of that treaty, and this mission was to conclude the treaty which she wished to make. Mr. Benton replied, so much the less reason for sending this expensive mission. We now have the benefits of the British treaty, and we have traded for generations with China without a treaty, and without a quarrel, and can continue to do so. She extends to us and to all nations the benefits of the British treaty: the consul at Canton, Dr. Parker, or any respectable merchant there, can have that treaty copied, and sign it for the United States; and deem himself well paid to receive the fortieth part of this appropriation...." 299

Despite the objections of Benton and others, Congress voted to appropriate $40,000 for a diplomatic mission to China. This bill was based on a law of 1790 permitting the President to allocate unspecified amounts to foreign missions. The allocation in this case was 22 thousand dollars higher than to any previous mission. President Tyler appointed Caleb Cushing, an outgoing Congressman from Massachusetts, as the China agent, avoiding a Senate vote to confirm or deny the nomination by despatching him between sessions of Congress. Benton says:

".... It was an original office created during the session, and must be filled at the session, or wait until the next one. The President did neither. There were two constitutional ways open

to him -- he took neither. There was one unconstitutional way -- and he took it. In brief, he made the appointment in the recess; and not only so made it, but sent off the appointee (Mr. Caleb Cushing) also in the recess.... This was palpably to avoid the action of the Senate, where the nomination of Mr. Cushing would have been certain of rejection...." 300

Cushing took the grand tour to China, sailing through the Mediterranean and Indian Oceans on a newly-built navy ship. The prestige of the mission was to be enhanced by the accompaniment of three American men-of-war. Cushing arrived in China at the port of Canton, his voyage having encountered two naval disasters, the second of which finished the ship on which he had embarked, and requested an audience with the Emperor. The Emperor's governor-general, Ching, replied that the Emperor would not give audience to a trade mission, and that it was the custom and law for foreign trade missions to conduct business outside the heavenly empire, at Canton. Cushing pressed his desire to sail up river to Peking and conclude a trade treaty with the Emperor. Benton remarks:

".... With respect to the treaty of friendship and commerce, the governor declares there is no necessity for it -- that China and America have traded together two hundred years in peace and friendship without a treaty -- that all nations now had the benefit of the treaty made with Great Britain, which treaty was necessary to establish relations after a war; and that the United States, having had no war with China, had no need for a treaty....

'.... The honorable plenipotentiary ought certainly to look at and consider that the Great Emperor, in his leniency to men from afar, has issued edicts commanding the merchants and people peacefully to trade, which cannot but be beneficial to the nations. It is useless, with lofty, polished, and empty words, to alter these unlimited advantages.'

In all this alleged extension of the benefits of the British treaty to all nations, Ching was right in what he said...There was really no necessity for a treaty, which as often begets dissensions as prevents them; and if one was desirable, it might have been had through Dr. Parker, long a resident of China, and now a commissioner there, and who was Secretary of Legation and inter-

preter in Mr. Cushing's mission, and the medium of his communications with the Chinese; and actually the man of business who did the business in conducting the negotiations. But Mr. Cushing perseveres in his design to go to Peking, alleging that, "He deems himself bound by the instructions of his government to do so...."

Benton gives the history of Cushing's attempts to force an audience with the Emperor, pretending an insult to the dignity and power of the U.S. and threatening a war with China in the event there is no treaty negotiation. He shows how Cushing deliberately and arrogantly proceeded to flout every Chinese principle of law and custom with regard to trade, how he made himself a nuisance in order to procure self-aggrandizement in the name of the U.S. Benton concludes that were it not for the delay at Cape Horn of the three warships despatched to accompany Cushing, the new U.S. ambassador would probably have sailed up the Yang-Tze to Peking, against the Emperor's edict and contrary to the conduct of nations in trade with China, and would have blundered the United States into a war with China for no other purpose than to satisfy personal vanity. Benton regards Cushing as a particularly venal example of political appointee, whose record in Congress had involved bending to every Presidential veto of measures he had voted for.

"So that, after all, it was only the fear of being whipt and starved that prevented Mr. Cushing from fighting his way to the foot-stool of power in the Tartar half of the Chinese Empire. The delay of the two smaller vessels, the non-arrival of the Pacific squadron, and the want of a steamer, were fortunate accidents for the peace and honor of the United States..."

It does not appear from any published instructions of the administration (then consisting of Mr. Tyler and his new cabinet...), how far Mr. Cushing was warranted in his belligerent designs upon China; but the great naval force which was assigned to him, the frankness with which he communicated all his bellicose intentions, the excuses which he made for not having proceeded to hostilities and the dismemberment of the Empire, and the encomiums with which his treaty was communicated to the Senate -- all bespeak a consciousness of approbation on the part of the administration, and

the existence of an expectation which might experience disappointment in his failing to make war upon the Chinese..." 303

Cushing was forced to negotiate at Canton and ended his mission by drawing a treaty similar to the Sino-British treaty, whose provisions the Chinese minister had guaranteed to the United States without the formality of negotiation.

"The publication of Mr. Cushing's correspondence, which was ordered by the Senate, excited astonishment, and attracted the general reprobation of the country. Their contents were revolting, and would have been incredible except for his own revelations. Narrated by himself they coerced belief, and bespoke an organization void of the moral sense, and without the knowledge that any body else possessed it...." 304

"And mark me," wrote Cambreling,

"if S/ don't default in four years
"I'N swallow the Treasury."

[89/599: 22-24]

President Jackson proposed to appoint Samuel Swartwout, an old political ally, to the post of Customs Collector of New York Harbor. Martin Van Buren, himself recently appointed Secretary of State under Jackson, disagreed with the Swartwout appointment and wrote to Jackson expressing his disagreement and that of his friends in New York government. The President persisted, appointing Swartwout over Van Buren's objections; but he attempted to soothe Van Buren by nominating a friend, James A. Hamilton, to be District Attorney for New York. Van Buren was not altogether soothed, considered resigning his post for want of confidence in Jackson's decision but did not, not wishing to divide a government he still substantially believed in. He says:

304 Ibid.
"... Under these impressions I decided to remain and only asked the consent of the President that I should inform my friends in New York that the appointment of Swartwout had been made against my earnest remonstrance and that of Hamilton without my knowledge or desire. This he promptly gave in a letter which stated the facts exactly and which he advised me to send to my friend Mr. Cambreleng with permission to show it to whom he pleased. Swartwout succeeded in making himself a popular Collector and the President made occasional good-natured allusions to the apprehensions I had exhibited on the occasion of his appointment, speaking of the matter as the greatest of the few mistakes he had known me to make....

That my strong apprehensions were not confined to myself abundantly appears from Mr. Cambreleng's reply to my letter notifying him of Swartwout's appointment, from which I extract the concluding paragraph: --

New York 28 April 1829

My Dear Sir,

.... I congratulate you that the appointments for New York are at an end -- and now mark me -- if our Collector is not a defaulter in four years, I'll swallow the Treasury if it was all coined in coppers.

Most sincerely Yours
C.C. Cambreleng."305

Van Buren concludes that Jackson believed sincerely in Swartwout's honesty. This must have made Swartwout's schemes fairly easy to effect. He established the Seventh Ward Bank in New York, went to Jackson for government deposits and apparently got them. When he left the United States in 1838 it was discovered that Swartwout had defaulted (embezzled public funds) to $1,250,000. 306

Tazewell

wd/ see more fun pitching quoits than standing round the Court of St. James.

[89/599: 25-27]

305 Van Buren, Autobiography, p. 268. The controversy of the Swartwout appointment is told at pp. 262-269. See also Canto 37/185: 4-9, and these notes, p. 307, for another mention of Cambreleng.

306 See Bassett, Life of Andrew Jackson, pp. 451-454.
Another of Jackson's inaugural appointments, Littleton W. Tazewell, Senator from Virginia, friend and colleague of John Randolph, was the President's first choice to be minister to England. Secretary of State Van Buren, when consulted, considered Tazewell too old, his opinions too well known, to successfully negotiate such difficult issues as the West India Trade, American access to which had been barred by British tariffs since the American Revolution. Besides, says Van Buren, Tazewell was temperamentally ill-suited to the pomp and ceremony of the English court:

"Mr. Tazewell, altho' willing to represent his State in the National Legislature, appeared to me to be as free from the love of office as any man with whom I was associated in public life. He came to the seat of Government very soon after my arrival and I think before I wrote to him on the subject of the Mission to England which had been tendered to him by the President. He was he said unwilling to accept it unless he could satisfy himself that by doing so he would have it in his power to render his Country some signal service....

Tazewell, altho' well educated and, in the best sense of the term, a gentleman, would not have been called a literary man, and I am sure he derived more social enjoyment from his games at quoits with Chief Justice Marshall, Gen. Wickham, Dr. Brockenborough and others like them at Richmond, or from dinners of sheeps-head with his unceremonious but well bred friends and associates at Norfolk, than he could promise himself abroad...."

Tazewell declined the appointment and Jackson agreed.

"Of great suavity and gentleness of deportment, Mr Van Buren"

An experiment on his nerves was resolved on,

[89/599: 28-29; 89/600: 1]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. II, "Financial and Monetary Crisis: General Suspension of Specie Payments by the Banks. ]:

"The nascent administration of the new President [Martin Van Buren, 1837] was destined to be saluted by a rude shock, and at the point most critical to governments as well as to individuals --

that of deranged finances and broken-up treasury; and against the dangers of which I had in vain endeavored to warn our friends. A general suspension of the banks, a depreciated currency, and the insolvency of the federal treasury, were at hand. Visible signs, and some confidential information, portended to me this approaching calamity, and my speeches in the Senate were burthened with its vaticination. Two parties, inimical to the administration, were at work to accomplish it -- politicians and banks; and well able to succeed, because the government money was in the hands of the banks, and the federal legislation in the hands of the politicians; and both interested in the overthrow of the party in power; -- and the overthrow of the finances the obvious means to the accomplishment of the object. The public moneys had been withdrawn from the custody of the Bank of the United States: the want of an independent, or national treasury, of necessity, placed them in the custody of the local banks: and the specie order of President Jackson having been rescinded by the Act of Congress, the notes of all these banks, and of all others in the country, amounting to nearly a thousand, became receivable in payment of public dues. The deposit banks became filled up with the notes of these multitudinous institutions, constituting that surplus, the distribution of which had become an engrossing care with Congress, and ended with effecting the object under the guise of a deposit with the States. I recalled the recollection of the times of 1818-19, when the treasury reports of one year showed a superfluity of revenue for which there was no want, and of the next a deficit which required to be relieved by a loan; and argued that we must now have the same result from the bloat in the paper system which we then had...."308

The "bloat" in paper and the surplus then in the federal treasury was the result of Congress' rescinding Jackson's specie order requiring that only gold and silver be accepted in payment of government revenues and for the purchase of government lands. After the rescinding of the specie order, vast tracts of public lands were bought with bank notes, which were themselves only extensions of credit. Land prices were inflated rapidly as the same lands changed hands several times, each successive purchase being made in further extended bank credit. As none of these sales increased the productivity of the lands themselves (for the buyers and sellers were speculators, not farmers or miners), nothing

appeared to redeem the banks' credit. The paper currency of "a thousand banks" began to depreciate. To complicate matters, a bill sponsored by Henry Clay had been passed in Congress near the end of Jackson's second term which voted a deposit of government surplus revenues to State banks. Benton called the Act "in name, a deposit; in form, a loan; in essence and design, a distribution," and said that any federal moneys voted to the States for "deposit" would not be redeemed, as the Act was generally regarded as a scheme to gift the States with moneys from the federal revenue. Forty million dollars were appropriated under this Act, to be deposited with the States in four equal instalments.

The money for these instalments would have to come out of the federal treasury -- the federal surplus. But this surplus was, as has been noted, made up for the most part of the depreciated currency of the local banks. When, in conformity with the surplus deposit Act, the U.S. Treasurer began to call in the notes of the various banks for payment in specie, a panic began. Benton says:

"The condition of our deposit banks was desperate -- wholly inadequate to the slightest pressure on their vaults in the ordinary course of business, much less that of meeting the daily government drafts and the approaching deposit of near forty millions with the States. The necessity of keeping one-third of specie on hand for its immediate liabilities, was enforced from the example and rule of the Bank of England, while many of our deposit banks could show but the one-twentieth, the one-thirtieth, the one-fortieth, and even the one-fiftieth of specie in hand for immediate liabilities in circulation and deposits.... Tested by the rule of the Bank of England, and our deposit banks were in the jaws of destruction; and this so evident to me, that I was amazed that others did not see it -- those of our friends who voted with the opponents of the administration in rescinding the specie order, and in making the deposit with the States. The latter had begun to take effect, at the rate of about ten millions to the quarter, on the first day of January preceding Mr. Van Buren's inauguration.... It was utterly impossible for the banks to stand these drafts...." 310

Faced with a demand to honor overextended credit, many banks

suspended specie payments altogether. The disenfranchised Bank of the United States, now doing business under a special charter from the State of Pennsylvania, was among the first to suspend payments and the very last to reinstate them. Even so, Biddle's bank was still the most powerful banking institution in the country, and Benton charges it both with engineering and with capitalizing on the general bank suspension.

On March 15, 1837, eleven days after Van Buren's inauguration as President, Daniel Webster gave a speech to a large crowd in New York.\footnote{See Benton, v.II, pp. 11-28.} In his speech, which was well-advertised and extensively reported, Webster attacked Jackson's (and by implication Van Buren's) financial policies as root causes of financial ruin in the United States. The removal of government deposits from the Bank of the United States, the veto of the Bank's re-charter, the hard-money policy were all condemned as steps in the destruction of the national currency. Benton says of Webster's performance:

"History deems it essential to present this New York speech of Mr. Webster as part of a great movement, without a knowledge of which the view would be imperfect. It was the first formal public step which was to inaugurate the new distress, and organize the proceedings for shutting up the banks, and with them, the federal treasury, with a view to coerce the government into submission to the Bank of the United States and its confederate politicians. Mr. Van Buren was a man of great suavity and gentleness of deportment, and, to those who associated the idea of violence with firmness, might be supposed deficient in that quality. An experiment upon his nerves was resolved on -- a pressure of public opinion, in the language of Mr. Webster, under which his gentle temperament was expected to yield."\footnote{Benton, v.II, pp. 15-16.}

Van Buren did not yield to the bank pressure -- to public meetings, deputations of prominent citizens, newspaper propaganda or distress speeches in Congress. He called a special Congressional session and recommended an independent national treasury, a retention of the fourth instalment of the deposit with State banks in
order to meet an expected deficit, to pay government debts and salaries; an issue of six million dollars in federal treasury notes as promises to pay State deposit banks; and a bankrupt law to force delinquent banks to resume specie payments. Although the payment of federal revenues to the States was only delayed a year and a half and the bankrupt law was tabled, Congress did get through a bill to provide for an independent treasury, the banks did resume specie payments, and the national currency was somewhat restored to stability -- without the offices of a re-chartered national bank. Because he opposed the distribution of government funds to the States, and because many newspapers laid the blame for the financial ruin of 1837 at the doorstep of the anti-Bank, hard-money party, Van Buren lost popular support. In the election of 1840 he was defeated by the innocuous Harrison, who, his managers confidently believed, would bring the national bank back to power.

Had Crab such crystal, winter were as a day.

[89/600: 2]

The line is Pound's translation of Dante, _Paradiso_ XXV, 11.

101-102:

Si che, se il Cancro avesse un tal cristallo,
L'inverno avrebbe un mese d' un sol di.

In Canto XXIV Dante, guided by Beatrice, comes to the Heaven of the fixed stars, where Saint Peter questions him on faith. In Canto XXV, "Out of that sphere from which there had issued/The foremost of the vicars Christ left behind," Saint Peter is joined by Saint James, whom Beatrice calls "the Nobleman in honor/Of whom, down there, they journey to Galicia!" Saint James questions Dante...
"Since by his grace our Emperor desires
That, before you die, you should come face to face
With his Counts, in his most secret chamber,
So that, having observed the truth of this court,
It may fortify in you the hope that
Enamors you and others of the good --
Tell them what hope is and how your mind blossoms
With it, and tell them whence it comes to you." 315

Dante answers:

"Hope is a confident
Awaiting of that future glory which comes
From divine grace and merit previous to it.
This light reaches me from many stars,
But he distilled it first into my heart
Who was the supreme ruler's supreme singer.
In his song to God he says: Let them hope
In you -- the ones that know your name!
And who that has my faith does not know it?
You then bedewed me with the dew of him,
In your Epistle, so that I am replete;
And I in turn let fall your dew on others." 316

Saint James then asks Dante to "tell what it is hope promises you." 317

Dante:

"Both the new and the old writings
Give the clue, and that clue directs me to it.
Isaiah says of the souls that God has made
His friends, that each of them shall be doubly clad
In its land, and this sweet life is its land.
This revelation has been far more clearly
Expounded by your brother in that passage
Where he discusses the white robes."

And then, just as these words had ended,
There first was heard, above us, "Sperint in te;"
To which the carols all responded.
Such a light then flashed among them that, if
There were a crystal like it in the Crab, 318
Winter would have a month that was all day.

Barbara Reynolds comments on these lines:

316 Ibid., pp. 101-102.
317 Ibid., pp. 101-102.
318 Ibid.
"Dante means if the constellation of Cancer contained a star as bright as the light which now appears, there would be a month's unbroken daylight between 21 December and 21 January, when Cancer dominates the night sky (the sun being then in Capricorn). This seems equivalent to saying that the new light was equal in radiance to the sun itself. It is, of course, the soul of St. John." 319

Canto 89 opens with a quotation from Dante which reads as a keynote to this poem on the society of Benton's time. The business of the Canto, clearly stated, is to "know whom to trust" and "who will increase" the abundance. (The fragment from Swedenborg is there to let us know that the study with which we are concerned is "of societies.") Pound aligns Jefferson with the words from the heaven of lawgivers, signifying the author's esteem for the third President of the United States, who, by cultivating justice, has become one of those who increase the natural productivity of the earth. The esteem of Benton for King, Macon and Taylor may be read in the same way.

At 89/600: 2 the Paradiso is again invoked, this time with reference to the character, action and intelligence of Martin Van Buren. The great light which flows from Saint John of the Revelation in Dante appears in Pound's Canto following the note from Benton's rehearsal of the engineered bank panic, which Benton describes as if it were an experiment in bio-electrical physics. As we have seen, the material of which Van Buren is made turns out to be highly resistant, and produces an incandescence the clarity of which burns in the President's recommendations for the national currency.

You cannot make mariners out of slaves

[89/600: 3]

319 Sayers and Reynolds, trans., Dante, The Divine Comedy: Paradise, p. 281. In Canto XXV, 11. 94-96 ("This revelation has been far more clearly/Expounded by your brother..."), Dante alludes to the Revelation of Saint John.
The conventions of Augusta and Charleston proposed their remedy for the Southern depression, and the comparative decay of which they complained. It was a fair and patriotic remedy -- that of becoming their own exporters, and opening a direct trade in their own staples between Southern and foreign ports. It was recommended -- attempted -- failed. Superior advantages for navigation in the North -- greater aptitude of its people for commerce -- established course of business -- accumulated capital -- continued unequal legislation in Congress; and increasing expenditures of the government, chiefly disbursed in the North, and defect of seamen in the South (for mariners cannot be made of slaves), all combined to retain the foreign trade in the channel which had absorbed it; and to increase it there with the increasing wealth and population of the country, and the still faster increasing extravagance and profusion of the government. And now, at this period (1855), the foreign imports at New York are $195,000,000; at Boston $58,000,000; in Virginia $1,250,000; in South Carolina $1,750,000..."320

I believe Pound in this line is pointing to a tragic condition of the antebellum (and a good deal postbellum) South, to which he, as a poet of seafaring, is attentive. That the South's peculiar institution, an economics based on slavery, aborted that section's maritime development, is perhaps the key to understanding the commercial domination of the South by the North. For while the American empire has been based on conquest, its nourishment and growth has always depended on trade (and if there is any single subject of the Benton and Van Buren histories, it is precisely government as the management of trade). Benton here acknowledges the defeat.

of the South, although he does not say so, and he lays the blame for the gross economic imbalance between the sections to the unequal
working of the national government:

"... What has been published in the South and adverted to in this View goes to show that an incompatibility of interest between the two sections, though not inherent, has been produced by the working of the government -- not its fair and legitimate, but its perverted and unequal working.

This is the evil which statesmen should see and provide against. Separation is no remedy; exclusion of Northern vessels from Southern ports is no remedy; but is disunion itself -- and upon the very point which caused the Union to be formed. Regulation of commerce between the States, and with foreign nations, was the cause of the formation of the Union. Break that regulation, and the Union is broken; and the broken parts converted into antagonist nations, with causes enough of dissension to engender perpetual wars, and inflame incessant animosities. The remedy lies in the right working of the constitution; in the cessation of unequal legislation; in the reduction of the inordinate expenses of the government; in its return to the simple, limited, and economical machine it was intended to be; and in the revival of fraternal feelings, and respect for each other's rights and just complaints; which would return of themselves when the real cause of discontent was removed."

Inside the disinterested ideal which Benton here expounds is its opposite and antagonist, which probably coincides with the historical reality Benton describes. The United States is a commercial nation; Benton admits that its government was instituted to regulate trade. Those who have control of the nation's commercial machinery have also great influence if not hegemony over the nation's legislation. The great movements to reform and democratize government in the United States have arisen primarily in reaction to the domination of government by capitalist commercial interests. It is most ironic that the South, which fostered the continuance of a feudal economy in slavery, should itself be held in vassalage to the wage labour economy of the North. But since the South chose to perpetuate a system which was inimical to the most basic personal freedoms of its labouring classes, it also forfeited the flexibil-

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ity, to deploy and exploit any other than the most primitive and most easily supervised kinds of labour, or to develop an economics on a larger scale than the manorial (or plantation) system. The Southern contempt, suspicion and fear of African slaves, most thoroughly articulated in the "philosophy" of a leader like Calhoun, would not permit what capitalists of the North were able to do with a labour force of free men and women.

There is also implicit in this line a dynamic opposition which is central to the Cantos. Mariners, seafarers are heroes in Pound's epic conception; the periplum is the method of discovery, of "sailing after knowledge." For Pound, voyaging is a mode of freedom; perhaps the primary historical basis for enlightenment.

It is fortunate also that the line follows the quotation from Paradiso, as it recalls that warning of Dante's at the gateway or Dardanelles-opening to the Paradiso to which in the Cantos Pound has much occasion to refer:

O voi che siête in piccioletta barca,
Desiderosi d'ascoltar, seguiti
Retro al mio legno che cantando varca
Tornate a riveder li vostri liti,
Non vi mettete in pelago; ché forse
Perdendo me rimarreste smarriti.
L'acqua ch'io prendo gianmai non si corse:
Minerva spira, e conducemi Apollo,
E nove Muse mi dimostran l'Orse.
Voi altri pochi, che drizzaste il collo
Per tempo al pan degli Angeli, del quale
Vivesi qui, man non sen vien satollo,
Metter potete ben per l'alto sale
Vostro navigio, servando mio solco
Dinanzi all'acqua che ritorna equale.
Quei gloriosi che passaro a Colco,
Non s'ammiraron, come voi farete,
Quando Jason vider fatto bifolco. 322

O ye who in your little skiff, longing to hear, have followed on my keel that singeth on its way, turn to revisit your own shores; commit you not to the open sea;

322 Dante, Paradiso, II, 1-18.
for perchance, losing me, ye would be left astray.
The water which I take was never coursed before; Minerva bloweth,
Apollo guideth me, and the nine Muses point me to the Bears.
Ye other few, who timely have lifted up your necks for bread of
angels whereby life is here sustained but wherefrom none cometh
away sated,
ye may indeed commit your vessel to the deep keeping my furrow,
in advance of the water that is falling back to the level.
The glorious ones who fared to Colchis not so marvelled as shall
ye, when Jason turned ox-ploughman in their sight. 323

and the mud, mud, said Guinicelli

[89/600: 4]

"[Guido Guinicelli]...c. 1230-1276?, a member of the Ghibelline
Principi family, of Bologna.... As a poet, Guido began as an
imitator of the later method of Guittone d'Arezzo, but he soon
outshone his model, and his best works (notably the famous can-
zone Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore, which may be said to mark
an epoch in Italian literature), inspired much of the poetry of
the Florentine school [to which Dante and Cavalcanti belonged]." 324

Dante finds Guido in Purgatory, Canto XXVI, among the hermaph-
rodites ".... Because we did not obey human law/But surrendered to
our appetites like beasts....

I am Guido Guinicelli, now being cleansed
For having repented fully before I died."
I [Dante] felt the way the two sons felt when, once
Again, they saw their mother, during the sorrow
Of Lycurgus, though I did not rise so high
When I heard thus giving his name the father
Of me and of the many more and better
That ever used the sweet and gentle rhymes of love. 325

[From Al cor gentil rempaira sempre amore]:

Fere lo sol lo fango tutto 'l giorno;
Vile reman, ne 'l sol perde calore;
Dis' omo alter: 'Gentil per sciatta torna';
Lui sembro al fango, al sol gentil valore:

323 Pound, The Spirit of Romance, p. 142. See also Canto 7/26: 32; 93/631: 17-18; 109/774: 27 ("You in the dinghy (piccioletta) astern there!")
324 Carlyle & Wicksteed, trans., The Divine Comedy, p. 349 n.1.
Mr Tyler

[i]

jin

[89/600: 5-7]

(i1.5 3016): One.

(jin2 3097): Man.

See Canto 86/563: 2-6, "... It may depend on one man." See also Grieve annot. 99 & 68. Grieve quotes Legge trans., Shoo King V. XXX, 8. p. 630:

"The prosperity and unsettledness of a State may arise from one man. The glory and tranquillity of a State also may perhaps arise from the excellence of one man." 327

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. LXIII., "First Message of Mr. Tyler to Congress, and Mr. Clay's Programme of Business."

326 Wilhelm, Medieval Song, p. 232. There is another fortunate correspondence to this line cluster (89/600: 2-4) at Canto 51/250: 1-6 and 251: 20-21.

327 Grieve, Paideuma 4, 263, p. 492 no. 99; 471 no. 68 & note.
Benton speaks of the extra session of Congress of 1841, controlled by a majority of bank supporters from the Whig party and called by Harrison soon after he gained the Presidency from Van Buren. The extra session was called expressly to take up the prospect of chartering a third Bank of the United States (or to re-charter the second one). Before this Congress convened, however, Harrison died and John Tyler, a former democrat who had migrated to the whigs and had been chosen Harrison's vice-president out of political expediency (a southern anti-bank, anti-tariff democrat with Jeffersonian principles to "balance the ticket" with the northern protectionist pro-bank whig Presidential candidate such were Whig party scruples), inherited the Presidency. Tyler said nothing to counter his predecessor's call for a special Congressional session and in his message to this Congress intimated the necessity for some kind of bank or "fiscal agent" to provide for a "sound national currency." As Benton explains, the democrats in Congress were prepared to see a new bank charter passed by a whig majority and endorsed into law by a whig President:

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. LXXX., 'National Bank: First Bill.']: 

"This was the great measure of the session, and the great object of the whig party, and the one without which all other measures would be deemed to be incomplete, and the victorious election itself little better than a defeat. Though kept out of view as an issue during the [Presidential] canvass, it was known to every member of the party to be the alpha and omega of the contest, and the crowning consummation of ten years labor in favor of a national bank. It was kept in the background for a reason perfectly understood. Both General Harrison and Mr. Tyler had been ultra against a national bank while members of the democratic party.... At the same time the [whig] party was perfectly satisfied with their present sentiments, and wanted no discussion which might scare off anti-bank men without doing any good on their own side. The bank, then, was the great measure of the session -- the great cause of the called session -- and as such taken by Mr.

Clay into his own care from the first day.... [H]e moved for a select committee to report a bill, of which committee he was of course to be chairman: and he moved a call upon the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Ewing) for the plan of a bank. It was furnished accordingly, and studiously contrived so as to avoid the President's objections, and save his consistency -- a point upon which he was exceedingly sensitive. The bill of the select committee was modelled upon it. Even the title was made ridiculous to please the President, though not as much so as he wished. He objected to the name of bank, either in the title or in the body of the charter, and proposed to style it "The Fiscal Institute;" and afterwards the "Fiscal Agent;" and finally the "Fiscal Corporation." Mr. Clay and his friends could not stand these titles; but finding the President tenacious on the title of the bill, and having all the properties of all sorts of banks -- discount -- deposit -- circulation -- exchange -- all in the plan so studiously contrived, they yielded to the word Fiscal -- rejecting each of its proposed addenda -- and substituted bank. The title of the instrument then ran thus: "A bill to incorporate the subscribers to the Fiscal Bank of the United States." Thus entitled, and thus arranged out of doors, it was brought into the Senate, not to be perfected by the collective legislative wisdom of the body, but to be carried through the forms of legislation, without alteration except from its friends, and made into law. The deliberative power of the body had nothing to do with it. Registration of what had been agreed upon was its only office. The democratic members resisted strenuously in order to make the measure odious. Successful resistance was impossible, and a repeal of the act at a subsequent Congress was the only hope -- a veto not being then dreamed of....

The bill was passed through both Houses -- in the Senate by a close vote, 26 to 23 -- in the House by a better majority, 128 to 98. This was the sixth of August. All was considered finished by the democracy, and a future repeal their only alternative. Suddenly light began to dawn upon them. Rumors came that President Tyler would disapprove the act; which, in fact he did....

In his veto message Mr. Tyler fell back upon his early opinions against the constitutionality of a national bank, so often and so publicly expressed; and recurring to these early opinions he now declared that it would be a crime and an infamy in him to sign the bill which had been presented to him. In this sense he thus expressed himself:

'Entertaining the opinions alluded to, and having taken the oath, the Senate and the country will see that I could not give my sanction to a measure of the character described without surrendering all claim to the respect of honorable men -- all confidence on the part of the people -- all self-respect --
all regard for moral and religious obligations; without an observance of which no government can be prosperous, and no people can be happy. It would be to commit a crime which I would not wilfully commit to gain any earthly reward, and which would justly subject me to the ridicule and scorn of all virtuous men. 329

A second bank bill was got up in the Senate, and it was vetoed as well. This veto effectively stopped the whig bid for a national bank. Tyler's action alienated Clay and the whigs from him; all the members of his cabinet but Daniel Webster resigned; as democrats generally held him in studied contempt, his political future was finished. But during the uproarious debates in the Senate on his second veto message, Tyler's friend, Senator Walker of Mississippi, eulogized him thus:

"... This message, Mr. W. [Walker] said, he regarded as the most important which ever emanated from an American President, and under circumstances the most solid and imposing. The President, in perfect and glorious consistency with a long life of usefulness and honor, has placed his veto upon the charter of a National Bank, and Mr. W. said, his heart was too full of gratitude to the Giver of all good for the salvation of the country, and rescue of the Constitution.... Let us proceed to the consideration of the Veto message, which he, Mr. W. had confidently predicted at the very commencement of this session.... Many doubted the correctness of the prediction, but he, Mr. W. whilst he stated at the time that he was not authorized to speak for the President of the United States, based his conviction upon his knowledge of Mr. Tyler as a man and a senator, and upon his long and consistent opposition to the creation of any such bank, as was now proposed to be established." 330

"even if an independent press cd/ be found to attempt it"

[89/600: 8-9]

330 Ibid., pp. 352-353.
I have not thus far discovered the source of this quotation, either in Benton or in Van Buren, or in any of the other sources of quotation in these cantos. Van Buren, Autobiography, pp. 658, 746, alludes to the power of the Bank over the national press.

M. Hottinguer à Paris
Vicountess Barrington. Lady Bloomfield
defended by Thesiger and other eminent counsel
and they got 14 years transportation,

[89/600: 10-13]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. LXXXVII., "Last Notice of the Bank of the United States."]:

"For ten long years the name of this bank had resounded in the two Halls of Congress. For twenty successive sessions it had engrossed the national legislature -- lauded, defended, supported -- treated as a power in the State: and vaunted as the sovereign remedy for all the diseases to which the finances, the currency, and the industry of the country could be heir. Now, for the first time in that long period, a session passed by -- one specially called to make a bank -- in which the name of that institution was not once mentioned: never named by its friends! seldom by its foes. Whence this silence? Whence this avoidance of a name so long, so lately, and so loudly invoked? Alas! the great bank had run its career of audacity, crime, oppression, and corruption. It was in the hands of justice, for its crimes and its debts -- was taken out of the hands of its late insolvent directory -- placed in the custody of assignees -- and passed into a state of insolvent liquidation. Goaded by public reproaches, and left alone in a state of suspension by other banks, she essayed the perilous effort of a resumption. Her credit was gone. It was only for payment that anyone approached her doors. In twenty days she was eviscerated of six millions of solid dollars, accumulated by extraordinary means, to enable her to bid for a re-
cherter at the extra session. This was the last hope, and which had been resolved upon from the moment of General Harrison's election. She was empty. The seventy-six millions of assets, sworn to the month before, were either undiscoverable, or unavailable.... Alarmed at last, the stockholders assembled in general meeting, and verified the condition of their property. It was a wreck! nothing but fragments to be found, and officers of the bank feeding on these crumbs though already gorged with the spoils of the monster.

A report of the affairs of the institution was made by a committee of the stockholders: it was such an exhibition of waste and destruction, and of downright plundering, and criminal misconduct, as was never seen before in the annals of banking.... Vast was her field of destruction -- extending all over the United States -- and reaching to Europe, where four millions sterling of her stock was held, and large loans had been contracted....

From this authentic report it appears that from the year 1830 to 1836 -- the period of its struggles for a re-charter -- the loans and discounts of the bank were about doubled -- its expenses trebled. Near thirty millions of these loans were not of a mercantile character -- neither made to persons in trade or business, nor governed by the rules of safe endorsement and punctual payment which the by-laws of the institution, and the very safety of the bank, required; nor even made by the board of directors, as the charter required; but illegally and clandestinely, by the exchange committee, of which the President of the bank was ex officio a member, and the others as good as nominated by him. It follows then that these, near thirty millions of loans, were virtually made by Mr. Biddle himself; and in violation of the charter, the by-laws and the principles of banking. To whom were they made? To members of Congress, to editors of newspapers, to brawling politicians, to brokers and jobbers, to favorites and connections: and all with a view to purchase a re-charter, or to enrich connections, and exalt himself -- having the puerile vanity to delight in being called the 'Emperor Nicholas.' Of course these loans were, in many instances, not expected to be returned -- in few so secured as to compel return: and, consequently, near all a dead loss to the stockholders, whose money was thus disposed of....

The credit of the bank, and the price of stock was kept up by delusive statements of profits, and fictitious exhibition of assets and false declarations of surpluses.... The creating of suspensions [of specie payments] -- that of 1837, and subsequent -- cost immense sums, and involved the most enormous villainy; and the last of these attempts -- the run upon the New York banks to stop them again before she herself stopped for the last time -- was gigantically criminal, and ruinous to itself. Mr. Joseph
Cowperthwaite (perfectly familiar with the operation) describes it to the life, and with the indifference of a common business transaction. Premising that a second suspension was coming on, it was deemed best (as in the first one of 1837) to make it begin in New York; and the operation for that purpose is thus narrated:

'...another crisis was anticipated, and it was feared that the banks generally would be obliged again to suspend. This was, unhappily, too soon to be realized, for the storm was then ready to burst, but, instead of meeting its full force at once, it was deemed best to make it fall first upon the banks of New York. To effect this purpose, large means were necessary, and to procure these, resort was had to the sale of foreign exchange. The state of the accounts of the bank with its agents abroad did not warrant any large drafts upon them, especially that of the Messrs. Hottinguer in Paris. This difficulty, however, it was thought might be avoided, by shipping the coin to be drawn from the New York banks immediately to meet the bills. Accordingly, large masses of exchange, particularly bills on Paris, which were then in great demand, were sent to New York to be sold without limit. Indeed, the bills were signed in blank, and so sent to New York.... The proceeds of these immense sales of exchange created very heavy balances against the New York banks, which, after all, signally failed in producing the contemplated effect. The bills not being provided for, nor even regularly advised, as had uniformly been the custom of the bank, were dishonoured; and although the agent in London did every thing which skill and judgment could accomplish, the credit of the bank was gone, and from that day to the present its effects upon the institution have been more and more disastrous.'

'Deemed best to make the storm fall first upon the banks of New York;' and for that purpose to draw bills without limit, without funds to meet them, in such rapid succession as to preclude the possibility of giving notice -- relying upon sending the gold which they drew out of the New York banks to Paris, to meet the same bills (all the while laying that exportation of gold to the wickedness of the specie circular), and failing to get the money there as fast as these 'racehorse' bills went -- they returned dishonored -- came rolling back by millions, protested in Paris, to be again protested in Philadelphia. Then the bubble burst. The credit which sustained the monster was gone. Ruin fell upon itself, and upon all who put their trust in it; and certainly this last act, for the criminality of its intent and the audacity of its means, was worthy to cap and crown the career of such an institution.

It was the largest ruin, and the most criminal that has been seen since the South Sea and Mississippi schemes; yet no one was
punished, or made to refund. Bills of indictment were found by
the grand jury of the county of Philadelphia against Nicholas
Biddle, Samuel Jaudon, and John Andrews, for a conspiracy to
defraud the stockholders in the bank; and they were arrested, and
held to bail for trial. But they surrendered themselves into
custody, procured writs of habeas corpus for their release; and
were discharged in vacation by judges before whom they were brought.
... While these delinquencies were going on in the Bank of the
United States, an eminent banker of London -- Mr. Fauntleroy --
was hanged at Tyburn, like a common felon -- for his bank mis-
deeds: and while some plundered stockholders are now (autumn of
1855) assembled in Philadelphia, searching in vain for a shilling
of their stock, three of the greatest bankers in London are
receiving sentence of transportation for fourteen years for off-
ences, neither in money nor morals, the hundredth part of the
ruin and crime perpetrated by our American bank -- bearing the
name of the United States. The case presents too strong a con-
trast, and teaches too great a lesson to criminal justice to be
omitted; and here it is:

'The firm had been in existence for nearly two centuries.
The two elder partners of the firm had been distinguished for
munificent charities, for an advocacy of great moral reforms,
and an active participation in the religious or philanthropic
measures of the day. They had always been liberal givers, had
presided at Exeter Hall meetings, built chapels, and generally
acted the part of liberal and useful members of society; and
one of them, Sir John Dean Paul, was a baronet by descent, and
allied to some of the highest nobility of England. He was
first cousin to the present Lord Ravensworth, the honorable
Augustus and Adolphus Liddell, the rector of St. Paul's,
Knightsbridge, the Countess of Hardwicke, Viscountess Barrington,
Lady Bloomfield; and, above all, the honorable Mrs. Villiers, sister-in-law to the Earl of Clarendon. These connec-
tions, however, in a country where rank and social position
have peculiar influence, did not save them from a criminal
trial and utter disgrace. One of their customers, in obe-
dience to what he believed to be a duty to society, having per-
sonally inquired into the affairs of the firm, proceeded to
lay a criminal information against Messrs. Strahan, Paul, and
Bates, which led to their indictment and subsequent trial
before the criminal court.... The defendants appeared in court,
attended by Sir Frederick Thesiger, Mr. Ballantyne, Sergeant
Byles, and other equally eminent counsel,...

For misappropriating sixty thousand dollars of one of their
customers -- using it without his consent -- these three great
London bankers were sentenced to fourteen years' transportation:
for misappropriating thirty-five millions, and sinking twenty-one millions more in other institutions, the wrong-doers go free in the United States -- giving some countenance among us to the sarcasm of the Scythian philosopher, that laws are cobwebs which catch the weak flies, and let the strong ones break through...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.II, pp. 365-372.)

The sub-treasury was revived.

[89/600: 14]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. LXXXVIII., "End and Results of the Extra Session."]:

"This extraordinary session, called by President Harrison, held under Mr. Tyler, dominated by Mr. Clay, was commenced on the 31st of May and ended the 13th of September [1841]: seventy-five days' session -- and replete with disappointed calculations, and nearly barren of permanent results. The whigs expected from it an easy and victorious course of legislation, and the consolidation of their power by the inauguration of their cherished measures for acting on the people -- national bank -- paper money national currency -- union of bank and state -- distribution of public money -- bankrupt act -- monopoly of office. The democracy saw no means of preventing these measures.... The defection of Mr. Tyler was not foreseen: his veto of a national bank was not counted upon: the establishment of that institution was considered certain: and the only remedy thought of was in the repeal of the law establishing it.... The true service that Mr. Tyler did the democratic party was in rejecting the bank charters.... The legislation of the session was a wreck. The measures passed, had no duration. The bankrupt act, and the distribution act, were repealed by the same Congress that passed them -- under the demand of the people. The new tariff act, called revenue -- was changed within a year. The sub-treasury system, believed to have been put to death, came to life again. Gold and silver, intended to have been ignored as a national currency, had become that currency -- both for the national coffers, and the people's pockets...." (Thirty Years' View, v.II, pp. 372-373)

The sub-treasury system was proposed by Martin Van Buren to the Congressional session of 1837, at the time of the bank suspensions. The proposed Independent Treasury Bill would have set up
sub-treasuries -- branches of a central treasury at Washington -- "at the principal points of collection and disbursement. And these treasuries to be real, not constructive -- strong buildings to hold the public moneys, and special officers to keep the keys.... the government to receive nothing but gold and silver for its revenues, and its own officers to keep it." The Independent Treasury and sub-treasury system, designed to remove government revenues from all bank control and to regulate a hard-money currency, was held over until the Congressional session of 1838, when it was defeated in the House of Representatives by a slim majority. It was not revived until this special session in Tyler's administration, in 1841.

Louis Philippe wd/ not let them cut down their notes to 200.

[89/600: 15]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. XC., "Third Plan for a Fiscal Agent, Called Exchequer Board: Mr. Benton's Speech Against It: Extracts."]:

"Holland and Cuba have the best currencies in the world: it is gold and the commercial bill of exchange, with small silver for change, and not a particle of bank paper. France has the next best: it is gold, with the commercial bill of exchange, much silver, and not a bank note below five hundred francs (say one hundred dollars). And here let me do justice to the wisdom and firmness of the present king of the French. The Bank of France lately resolved to reduce the minimum size of its notes to two hundred francs (say forty dollars). The king gave them notice that if they did it, the government would consider it an injury to the currency, and would take steps to correct the movement. The Bank rescinded its resolution; and Louis Philippe, in that single act (to say nothing of others) showed himself to be a patriot king, worthy of every good man's praise, and of every legislator's imitation...." (Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 391.)

From '34 to '41 our specie rose to 100 million, "ad valorem" involving a horde of appraisers.

[89/600: 16-17]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. XCVII., "Paper Money Payments: Attempted by the Federal Government: Resisted: Mr. Benton's Speech."]:

"The long continued struggle between paper money and gold was now verging to a crisis. The gold bill, rectifying the erroneous valuation of that metal, had passed in 1834: an influx of gold coin followed. In seven years the specie currency had gone up from twenty millions to one hundred. There was five times as much specie in the country as there was in 1832, when the currency was boasted to be solid under the regulation of the Bank of the United States. There was as much as the current business of the country and of the federal government could use: for these 100 millions, if allowed to circulate and to pass from hand to hand, in every ten hands that they passed through, would do the business of one thousand millions. Still the administration was persistent in its attempts to obtain a paper money currency: and the national bank having failed, and all the efforts to get up paper money machines (under the names of fiscal agent, fiscal corporation and exchequer board) having proved abortive, recourse was had to treasury notes, with the quality of re-issuability attached to them. Previous issues had been upon the footing of any other promissory note: when once paid at the treasury, it was extinguished and cancelled. Now they were made re-issuable, like common bank notes; and a limited issue of five millions of dollars became unlimited from its faculty of successive emission...." (p. 406.)

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. XCIX., "Distress of the Treasury: Three Tariff Bills, and Two Vetoes: End of the Compromise Act."]:

"Never were the coffers and the credit of the Treasury -- not even in the last year of the war with Great Britain (1814) -- at a lower ebb, or more pitiable point, than at present (1842). A deficit of fourteen millions in the Treasury -- a total inability to borrow, either at home or abroad, the amount of the loan of twelve millions authorized the year before -- treasury-notes below par -- a million and a half of protested demands [for specie] --
a revenue from imports inadequate and decreasing: such was the condition of the Treasury, and all the result of three measures forced upon the previous administration by the united power of the opposition, and the aid of temporizing friends, too prone to take alarm in transient difficulties, and too ready to join the schemes of the opposition for temporary relief, though more injurious than the evils they were intended to remedy. These three measures were: 1. Compromise act of 1833. 2. The distribution of surplus revenue in 1837. 3. The surrender of the land revenue to the States. The compromise act, by its slow and imperceptible reductions of revenue during its first seven years, created a large surplus: by its abrupt and precipitous falling off the last two, made a deficit. The distribution of this surplus, to the amount of near thirty millions, took away the sum which would have met this deficiency. And the surrender of the land revenue diverted from its course the second largest stream of revenue that came into the Treasury: and the effect of the whole was to leave it without money and without credit: and with a deficit which was ostentatiously styled, 'the debt of the late administration.'" (p. 413.)

The compromise tariff act of 1833 rose out of the struggle between Southern planters and Northern industrial interests over higher tariff protection. The protectionist tariff of 1832 had moved South Carolina to adopt Calhoun's nullification ordinances; Benton regards the compromise of 1833 as an attempt not to reconcile the South by substantially reducing import duties, but to save face on the part of the tariff-happy protectionists as well as of the nullifiers following Jackson's pledge to enforce the law.

"... It was composed of two parts -- one part to last nine years, for the benefit of the manufacturers: the other part to last for ever, for the benefit of the planting and consuming interest. Neither part lived out its allotted time; or, rather, the first part died prematurely, and the second never began to live. It was a felo de se from the beginning, and bound to perish of the diseases in it. To Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun, it was a political necessity -- one to get rid of a stumbling-block (which protective tariff had become); the other to escape a personal peril which his nullifying ordinance had brought upon him: and with both, it was a piece of policy, to enable them to combine against Mr. Van Buren, by postponing their own contention.... The presidential election was over, and General Jackson elected

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332 See annotation: 89/598: 16, pp. 415-416, n. *.

to his second term, pledged to a revenue tariff and incidental protection: 'a majority of both Houses of Congress were under the same pledge: the public debt was rapidly verging to extinction: and both the circumstances of the Treasury, and the temper of the government were in harmony with the wishes of the people for a 'judicious tariff;' limited to the levy of the revenue required for the economical administration of a plain government, and so levied as to extend encouragement to the home production of articles necessary to our independence and comfort. All this was ready to be done, and the country quieted for ever on the subject of the tariff, when the question was taken out of the hands of the government by a coalition between Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun, and a bill concocted, as vicious in principle, as it was selfish and unparliamentary in its conception and execution. The plan was to give the manufacturers their undue protection for nine years, by making annual reductions, so light and trifling during the time, that they would not be felt; and after the nine years, to give the anti-tariff party their millennium, in jumping down, at two leaps, in the two last years, to a uniform ad valorem duty of twenty per centum on all dutied articles. All practical men saw at the time how this concoction would work -- that it would produce more revenue than the government wanted the first seven years, and leave it deficient afterwards -- that the result would be a revulsion of all interests against a system which left the government without revenue -- and that, in this revulsion there must be a re-modelling, and an increase in the tariff: all ending in a complete deception to the anti-tariff party, who would see the protective part of the compromise fully enjoyed by the manufacturing interest, and the relief part for themselves wholly lost. All this was seen at the time: but a cry was got up, by folly and knavery, of danger to the Union: this bill was proclaimed as the only means of saving it: ignorance, credulity, timidity and temporizing temperaments united to believe it. And so the bill was accepted as a God-send: the coming of which had saved the Union -- the loss of which would destroy it: and the two ostensible architects of the measure (each having worked in his own interest, and one greatly over-reaching the other), were saluted as pacificators, who had sacrificed their ambition upon the altar of patriotism for the good of their country....

The introduction of the universal ad valorem system in 1833 was opposed and deprecated by practical men at the time, as one of those refined subtleties which, aiming at an ideal perfection, overlooks the experience of ages, and disregards the warnings of reason. Specific duties had been the rule -- ad valorem the exception -- from the beginning of the collection of custom-house revenue. The specific duty was a question in the exact sciences, depending upon a mathematical solution by weight, count, or mea-

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sure: the ad valorem presented a question to the fallible judgment of men, sure to be different at different places; and subject, in addition to the fallibility of judgment, to the chances of ignorance, indifference, negligence and corruption. All this was urged against the act at the time, but in vain..."

[The method of applying ad valorem duties to imports involved the customs officer in making an estimate of the goods' value. Benton says this method led to discrepancies in the appraised value of goods, to suits by importers against the government to recover duties on over-valued goods, and to a loss of revenue to the government:]

"... Custom-house officers disagreed: comptrollers and treasurers disagreed: attorneys-general disagreed... So that this ad valorem system, besides its great expense, its chance for diversity of opinions among the appraisers, and its openness to corruption, also gave rise to differences among the highest administrative and law officers of the government, with resort to courts of law, in nearly all which the United States was the loser." 335

In Chapter XCIX of his second volume, Benton speaks of the final and admitted failure of the 1833 compromise to provide a revenue tariff for the United States. At the end of the 1842 session, Congress tacitly abrogated the compromise by raising import duties above twenty per cent. of value; this move also suspended the land revenue distribution, since that act had been made on condition that tariffs would not be raised. Both these measures, taken surreptitiously and after two new tariff compromises had been vetoed by President Tyler, relieved the United States of a vacuum of revenue and a growing debt at a time when, as Benton has noted, one hundred million dollars in specie were circulating within its borders.

"... Such were the contrivances, ridiculous inventions, and absurd circumlocutions which Congress had recourse to to get rid of that land distribution which was to gain popularity for its authors; and to get rid of that compromise which was celebrated at the time as having saved the Union, and the breach of which

335 Ibid., p. 190.
was deprecated in numerous legislative resolves as the end of the Union, and which all the while was nothing but an arrogant piece of monstrosity, patched up between two aspiring politicians, to get rid of a stumbling-block in each other's paths for the period of two presidential elections. In other respects one of the worst features of that personal and pestiferous legislation has remained -- the universal ad valorem -- involving its army of appraisers, their diversity of appraisement from all the imperfections to which the human mind is subject -- to say nothing of the chances for ignorance, indifference, negligence, favoritism, bribery and corruption...."

(Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 417.)

Wright spoke to mind not to passions and
he it was brought in Polk.

[89/600: 18-19]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. CLXIX., "Death of Silas Wright, Ex-Senator and Ex-Governor of New York."]:

".... Though dying at the age deemed young in a statesman [52], he had attained all that long life could give -- high office, national fame, fixed character, and universal esteem. He had run the career of honors in the State of New York -- been representative and senator in Congress -- and had refused more offices, and higher, than he ever accepted. He refused cabinet appointments under his fast friend, Mr. Van Buren, and under Mr. Polk, whom he may be said to have elected: he refused a seat on the bench of the federal Supreme Court; he rejected instantly the nomination of 1844 for Vice-President of the United States, when that nomination was the election. He refused to be put in nomination for the presidency. He refused to accept foreign missions. He spent that time in declining office which others did in winning it; and of those he did accept, it might well be said they were 'thrust' upon him. Office, not greatness, was thrust upon him. He was born great, and above office, and unwillingly descended to it; and only took it for its burthens, and to satisfy an importunate public demand. Mind, manners, morals, temper, habits, united in him to form the character that was perfect, both in public and private life, and to give the example of a patriot citizen -- of a farmer statesman -- of which we have read in Cincinnatus and Cato, and seen in Mr. Macon, and some others
of their stamp -- created by nature -- formed in no school: and of which the instances are so rare and long between.

His mind was clear and strong, his judgment solid, his elocution smooth and equable, his speaking always addressed to the understanding, and always enchainng the attention of those who had minds to understand. Grave reasoning was his forte. Argumentation was always the line of his speech. He spoke to the head, not to the passions; and would have been disconcerted to have seen any body laugh, or cry, at any thing he said. His thoughts evolved spontaneously, in natural and proper order, clothed in language of force and clearness; all so naturally and easily conceived that an extemporaneous speech, or the first draught of an intricate report, had all the correctness of a finished composition.... Though taking his full part upon all subjects, yet finance was his particular department, always chairman of that committee, when his party was in power, and by the lucidity of his statements making plain the most intricate moneyled details.... In 1844 he left the Senate, to stand for the governorship of New York; and never did his self-sacrificing temper undergo a stronger trial, or submit to a greater sacrifice. He liked the Senate: he disliked the governorship, even to absolute repugnance. But it was said to him (and truly, as then believed, and afterwards proved) that the State would be lost to Mr. Polk, unless Mr. Wright was associated with him in the canvass: and to this argument he yielded. He stood the canvass for the governorship -- carried it -- and Mr. Polk with him; and saved the presidential election of that year...." (p. 701.)

Quiditas; remarked D. Alighieri.

[89/600: 20]

[From Paradiso, Canto XXIV, 11. 64-66]:

"Fede e sustanza di cose sperate,
   Ed argomento delle non parventi;
   E questa pare a me sua quiditate."

Dante, guided by Beatrice to the eighth Heaven, here makes answer to Saint Peter's question, "What is faith?"

Biancolli's translation:

"...Faith is the substance of the things we hope for
   And an argument for the things unseen.
   This appears to me to be its essence." 336

336 Biancolli trans., Paradiso, p. 96.
James Wilhelm translates these lines:

"Faith is the substance of things hoped for, and the proof of things not apparent, and this I take to be its quiddity." 337

As gloss to l. 66, Sayers & Reynolds have:

"In scholastic philosophy, quiddity is another word for 'substantial form' and both terms signify the distinguishing nature of a thing, that which makes it what it is and not another." 338

In Canto XX, l. 92 of Paradiso Dante also employs the word quiditate:

"Fai come quei che la cosa per nome
Apprende ben; ma la sua quiditate
Veder non puo, se altri non la prome."

"You act like those who comprehend a thing
Quite well by its name, but only see its
Essence when someone else illuminates it." 339

See also Canto 93/631: 9-18,
and as for the trigger-happy mind
amid stars
amid dangers; abysses
going six ways a Sunday,
how shall philologers?
A butcher's block for biographers,
quidity!
Have they heard of it?
"Oh you," as Dante says
"in the dinghy astern there" 340

Under head of "medicine": whiskey, coal, harness,
hay, corn, stoves, beef & mutton.

[89/600: 21-22]

[From Thirty Years’ View, v.II, Ch. CXV., “Navy Pay and

337 See Wilhelm, Dante and Pound: the Epic of Judgment, p. 152.
339 Biancolli trans., Paradiso, p. 80.
340 See also annotation: 89/600: 3, pp. 455-456.
Expenses: Proposed Reduction: Speech of Mr. Meriwether, of Georgia: Extracts."

"Mr. Meriwether said 'that it was from no hostility to the service that he desired to reduce the pay of the navy.... The disorderly conduct of the navy was notorious -- no one could defend it. The country was losing confidence in it daily, and becoming more unwilling to bear the burdens of taxation to foster or sustain it. A few years since, its expenditures did not exceed four millions and a half: they are now up to near eight millions of dollars. Its expense is greater now [1843] than during the late war with England. Notwithstanding the unequivocal declarations of Congress, at the last session, against the increase of the navy, and in favor of its reduction, the Secretary passes all unheeded, and moves on in his bold career of folly and extravagance, without biding for a moment any will but his own. Nothing more can be hoped for, so long as the navy has such a host of backers, urging its increase and extravagance -- from motives of personal interest too often.

By the adoption of the amendment proposed, there will be a permanent and annual saving of about $400,000 in the single item of pay. And from the embarrassed condition of the treasury, so large a sum of money might, with the greatest propriety, be saved....

The honorable member also showed from the report of the chief of the medical department, that, out of the appropriation for medicine there had been purchased in one year 31 blue cloth frock coats with navy buttons and a silver star on them, 31 pairs of blue cassimere pantaloons, and 31 blue cassimere vests with navy buttons -- all for pensioners. He also shows that under the head of medicine there had been purchased out of the same fund, whiskey, coal, clothing, spirits, harness, stationery, hay, corn, oats, stoves, beef, mutton, fish, bread, charcoal, &c., to the amount of some $4,000; and, in general, that purchases of all articles were generally made from particular persons, and double prices paid.'" (Thirty Years' View, v.II, pp. 482-485.)

δ' ἄνθρωπων ἵδειν

[89/600: 23]

d' anthropon iden: (Gr.) of men he saw; from Odyssey I. 3: 
πολίων δ' ἄνθρωπων ἱδεῖτε καὶ νόον ἔγνω... 
... and he saw the cities of many men, and knew their minds.341

See Canto 12/54 (Pound is speaking of Baldy Bacon, who sold pennies in Cuba at a quarter per cent interest advance, did job
printing in New York, sold insurance):

...Employers' liability,
odd sorts of insurance,
Fire on brothels, etc., commission,
Rising from 15 dollars a week,
Pollen d'anthropon iden,
Knew which shipping companies were most careless...

Pound says in Guide to Kulchur:

"Knowledge is to know man. Mr. Alexander Pope rubs it a bit too smooth. If you translate him, the proper study for man is anthropology, you get nearer the source of error. Every word ending in -ology in English implies reading generalities. It implies a shutting off from particulars. It is a thousand miles remove from POLLON D'ANTHROPON IDEN." 343

And again:

"I suppose a man might still learn from Hesiod if he had no other access to agricultural knowledge. The civilized farmer will want to compare today's knowledge with Hesiod's, the civilized merchant will want to compare monetary practice with what Shakespeare and Dante and/or Demosthenes knew. 'Usury as Mahomet forebade.' The evil wrought on the arts by pustulence in the system of money. All these are part of the POLLON D'ANTHROPON IDEN,
of the serious questions whereto civilized men, as distinct from prig, pimp or nitwit, will give serious answers." 344

Frémont, with small arms and one howitzer,

[89/600: 24]

(See annotation: 89/597: 4-6, pp. 374-375.)

[From Frémont's Memoirs]:

".... I had requested Mrs. Frémont to open all my letters, using her discretion in regard to forwarding any of them while I remained on the frontier. But there came an official order from the head of my corps, Colonel Abert, directing me to return to Washington in order to explain why, in addition to ordinary arms...

342 Pound, Canto 12/54: 3-8. See also Edwards & Vasse eds., Annotated Index, p. 267.
343 Pound, Guide to Kulchur, p. 99. See also ibid., p. 18.
344 Ibid., p. 149.
I had taken a howitzer with me: that it was a scientific expedition -- not military -- and not to be armed as such. The flimsiness of this excuse for breaking up the expedition after it had been planned and ordered and in movement, was so apparent to Mrs. Frémont, as also was the true reason for it, that she did not hesitate to suppress the order, and write me the letter which caused me to make an immediate start....

I never knew where the order originated. It came through Colonel Abert. He was a quiet man, not likely to disturb an expedition gotten up, apparently, under his own direction and, so far as he knew, originating with himself. It was not probable that I would have been recalled from the Missouri frontier to Washington, fifteen hundred miles of water and stage-coach travelling, to explain why I had taken an arm that simply served to increase the means of defence for a small party very certain to encounter Indian hostility, and which involved very trifling expense....

I mention it here to show the compliance of the administration with the English situation in Oregon...."345

It seems to me that Pound means to place the war department's absurd countermanding of Frémont's orders next to the equally absurd jobbery, embezzlement and lying which Senator Meriwether exposes in the navy department. It is perhaps not merely coincidental that both incidents occur during Tyler's administration, which, with the exception of the two bank vetoes, appears to be consistently mediocre, ill-managed, without public confidence, on the verge of bankruptcy. By contrast there is Frémont's achievement, implicit in the line: "Frémont, with small arms and one howitzer."

The emblem d'anthropon iden tags Frémont and his achievement as Odyssean; at the same time, as it structurally closes the "medicine" sequence of II. 21-22, its sense is of a knowledge frankly ironic. (Of course, Frémont indicates his equally ironic esteem of his department's judgment.) As it happens, that knowledge is quite similar to Baldy Bacon's savvy. Being "on to the game" or "wise to the dodge" is part of the craft of the pollon d'anthropon iden.

The two three-line clusters, 18-20 and 21-23, show an interesting parallel construction which is given emphasis by the similar

345 Frémont, Memoirs, pp. 167-168. Benton, v.II, pp. 579-580, attributes the origin of the countermanding order to service rivalries, but Frémont's suggestion that it was meant to prevent an "international incident" is probably valid.
arrangement of the lines on the page. There is the word-play of "mind" and "head" in "Wright spoke to mind not to passions" and "Under head of 'medicine'" -- which is given further emphasis by the Greek tag ("he saw the cities of many men, and knew their minds."). That tag could be applied equally as well to Wright as to Frémont, and this similarity is emphasized by the presence of "Quiditas" and d'anthropon iden in similar structural positions. Pound has Dante commenting on the essential justness of Wright's conduct (Benton says that Wright had "the character that was perfect" and there is a certain Bunyanesque justice in Wright's name). At the other dialectical extreme, the d'anthropon iden serves to comment on the peculiar lack of mind in the navy department, in which the mot juste has been thrown out with the medicine to make room for the "whiskey, coal, harness, hay, stoves," &c., the stock inventory of an earlier Milo Minderbinder.

So that after two hours entered der Schwiegersohn, considered the family's low in intelligence:

"Was sagt er?"

Herr Marcher: Der Jud will Geld.

[89/600: 25-28]

In Discretions Mary de Rachewiltz tells of Pound coming to Gais in the Tyrol where she had been brought up as a step-daughter in the Marcher family. Pound had left Rome when the news had come that the Allies were approaching from the South. The Tyroleans were distrustful of Italians; moreover, they could not understand how this American stranger from Italy could be the father of Maria Marcher, whom they all knew. A committee was formed to question Pound, and they came to the Marcher home:

"... The commissioner from Bruneck, Herr Bernardi the butcher,
and Herr Bacher came to our house. They were old friends, but Mannen and Tatte [the Marchers] looked frightened when they entered with rifles over their shoulders. In times like these 'woass man nio' -- one never knows....

- But what to make of a man who was clearly not Italian, not a spy, not a Fascist, not a Jew? Too bad he had spoken over Radio Rome. That was because he believed in the Axis. But Tyroleans did not. Actually, even if they now thought of themselves as Nazis, they admired Americans; they could not even pretend otherwise, especially Herr Bacher, since he had a brother in America and was proud of it.

The investigation was soon over. They started to discuss politics in general. Tatte [Herr Marcher] was an expert in leading any conversation on to politics; he was genuinely curious and Bacher knew it. And der Herr [Pound] was equally expert in leading the conversation from politics to economics. The Wörgl experiment, which no one in the South Tyrol had heard of, seemed very interesting: a Burgermeister's horse sense could be trusted. Very interesting, very, but what connection has this with the war, this is not war propaganda, what did you say in your broadcasts to America? That America should either keep out of European affairs or else help the Axis win the war against Russia. The discussion went on and on.

So that after two hours entered der Schwiegersohn, considered the family's low in intelligence:

'Was sagt er?'

Herr Marcher: Der Jud will Geld.

Herr Marcher -- Tatte -- summed it all up: the Jew wants money, to his brother-in-law (not Schwiegersohn), whose single dangling Thaler on the watch-chain shifted interest from paper money and stamp-scrip to the

Thalers from Maria Theresa...

and they forged those Thalers, in our time,

quest'oggi

Brits did, natcherly Brits did. ..."346

"Neither by force nor by fraud, that there be no coercion, either by force or by fraud,

That is law's purpose, or should be.

[89/601: 1-3]

A variation of this remark appears in Impact, under the general title, "Gists":

**LAW**

The right aim of law is to prevent coercion, either by force or by fraud.\(^\text{347}\)

\(
\text{Αδύναμι} \text{ swung the hung jury}
\)

[89/601: 4]

[See 85/559: 7-8,

Jury trial was in Athens.

Tyrrants resisted...

and 87/571: 3-8, 18-20,

Was not unanimous

'Αδύναμι broke tie,

That is 6 jurors against 6 jurors

needed 'Αδύναμι.

Right, all of it, was under Shang

save what came in Athens.

... Mus. viva voce:

'We ask 'em to settle between 'em.

if they can't, the State intervenes.'

Pound is speaking of the state's presiding role in justice.

He refers to Athena, who is the presiding genius of the city/state, and to her intervention in the judgment of Orestes. Orestes had killed his mother, Clytemnestra, and her lover, Aigisthus, in revenge because they had murdered his father, Agamemnon. Apollo had ordered Orestes to destroy Clytemnestra, threatening him with the wrath of the Furies, the Eumenides, protectors of the Household, in the event he would not. On Clytemnestra's death the Eumenides appeared and pursued Orestes across the earth. He sought refuge in the temple to Apollo at Delphi; there Apollo appeared to him and

\[^{347}\text{Pound, Impact, p. 210; see also Selected Prose, p. 355.}

"Huntington Cairns did an article fifteen years ago in the Michigan Law Review and he said Blackstone was of interest and if you read Blackstone you'd get an idea that the real aim of law is 'to prevent coercion either by force or by fraud.'" (Pound in conversation with D. G. Bridson, in New Directions 17.)
advised him to plead for his life at the temple to Athena, at Athens.

Answering Orestes' prayer, Athena summoned twelve citizens of Athens to judge his case. The Eumenides appeared to accuse him; Apollo took up his defense. When each argument had been heard and before the jurors had cast their votes, Athena said:

"Citizens of Athens! As you now try this first case Of bloodshed, hear the constitution of your court. From this day forward this judicial council shall For Aegaeus' race hear every trial of homicide....

... Here, day and night, Shall Awe, and Fear, Awe's brother, check my citizens From all misdoing, while they keep my laws unchanged.... Guard well and reverence that form of government Which will eschew alike licence and slavery....

My duty is to give the final vote. When yours Are counted, mine goes to uphold Orestes' plea. No mother gave me birth. Therefore the father's claim And male supremacy in all things, save to give Myself in marriage, wins my whole heart's loyalty. Therefore a woman's death, who killed her husband, is, I judge, outweighed in grievousness by his. And so Orestes, if the votes are equal, wins the case...."

Six votes were counted for Orestes' acquittal; six were against. Athena's vote decided the case in favour of Orestes.

[89/601: 5]

(tuan\(^1\) 6541): Principles; doctrines, four corners; the four fundamental principles of Confucianism -- love, duty, propriety, wisdom. 349

[See Canto 85/545:

THE FOUR TUAN\(^1\)

or foundations.


(chen 346): Upright, correct; pure, virtuous, chaste.

ataraxia: (L.) Adaptation from Gr. ἀταραξία. Impassivity. Freedom from disturbance of mind or passion; stoical indifference. (OED) 350

From Charlemagne's grain price, Venice, Hansa,

[89/601: 7]

[From Guide to Kulchur]:

"The fight against unjust monopoly has never let up from the hour of St Ambrose's philipic.... No conception of culture will hold good if you omit the enduring constants in human composition. Charlemagne fights the monopolists; he decrees a commodity denar, or a grain denar, and the significance escapes six hundred and more economists in a sequence of centuries.

A.D. 794, oats, per moggio (modio, peck) 1 denar
barley " 2 denars
rye " 3 "
wheat " 4 

A.D. 808, oats " 2 "
barley " 3 "
rye " 4 "
wheat " 6 "

the latter reading 'frumento parato' and might mean superior wheat, but the rye and barley have moved in like proportion so that it wd. seem to indicate wheat as per 794 or a precaution against inferior grain.

Heréin is a technical lesson in justice, there being no reasonable doubt that justice was aimed at.

Here was a lesson that David Hume had learned, presumably from some other series of observations, when he said prosperity depends not on the amount of money in a country, but on its continually.

350 Grieve, Ibid. See also Canto 85/546-547; 85/550.
increasing.

Gesell and Douglas in our time have both learned the lesson of Charlemagne's list for just prices, without any collusion.\textsuperscript{351}

\[\text{[From Alexander Del Mar, Money and Civilization]}\]

"The history of Venice commences with the reopening of the Suez route to India; it ends with the discovery of that by the Cape. The conquest of Egypt by the Caliph Omar marks the birth of the republic; the memorable voyage of Vasco de Gama proved its deathblow. Not but that there was a Venice both before and after these events, only that before them Venice passed through an uneventful infancy, and after them suffered an uneventful decline.

There was a people called the Veneti, who several years before the Christian era possessed a dominion which comprised thirty-five cities, foremost among them being Aquileia, which Polybius asserts stood in the midst of an auriferous region.... In the Augustan age Venetia and Istria combined to form the tenth region; under Constantine they formed the seventeenth province, of Rome.

In A.D. 452 the Huns, under Attila, entered Venetia, laid waste its territories, and put its inhabitants to the sword. A few hundred of them escaped to the islands which arose out of the lagoons of the Adriatic shore, and there laid the foundations of the future republic of Venice. The chief occupation of these islanders was fishing and the manufacture of salt, with which indispensable commodity they drove an active and profitable trade, at first with the adjacent coasts, and in the process of time even with distant countries. In their earlier history this substance was even used as a sort of money....

It is in this trade between Venice and Alexandria that, for the first time since the classical ages, we hear of ships with sails; and this invention, which a few centuries later was to lead to such extraordinary results, must be regarded as one of the many lost arts whose re-discovery coincides in point of time with the reopening of the isthmus route to the Orient....

One of the consequences that followed from the part which the Venetians took in the Crusades and the success that attended the arms of the allies, was the relinquishment of the former's connection with the Arabian merchants at Alexandria, and the removal of their now extensive Oriental trade to Antioch and Tyre, whence it made its way overland to the Persian Gulf. Venice could now [1204] afford to kick down the ladder by which she had climbed, and during the following centuries her chronicles contain little beyond the epithets of pagan and infidel for that great power through whose establishment she had risen from the obscure role of selling fish and salt to that of dictating terms of existence to the proud empire of Byzantium."\textsuperscript{352}

\textsuperscript{351} Pound, Guide to Kulchur, pp. 47-48.

\textsuperscript{352} Del Mar, Money and Civilization, pp. 25-30.
As causes of Venice's decadence from this eminence, Del Mar gives two: the introduction of a funding system as means of gaining, and regaining capital, and continual wars to the advance of trade. Her crucial control over the Oriental trade was finally circumvented in 1497 when De Gama successfully sailed round Africa to India and showed Europe an alternate route to the East. Venice declined relatively rapidly thereafter, having been gutted by war and finance. 353

[From Alexander Del Mar, History of Monetary Systems]:

"... In B.C. 59, when the [Roman] republic was about to expire ... provisions were made for the re-establishment and increase of corporations by the Senate -- a power, of which, under the hierarchy erected by Julius Caesar, that ambitious body was afterwards entirely deprived. This power was now again, as in the ancient times, vested in the sovereign-pontiff, and it continued to be exercised by that functionary from B.C. 47 to A.D. 1204, when the long line of Roman hierarchs was broken by the fall of Constantinople. Among the numerous commercial corporations whose remains attest the exercise of this power by the sovereign-pontiff of Rome are the Navicularii of Alexandria and the Nautae of Paris, both of them companies of maritime adventure. But far more important than these, or any other corporations of ancient or medieval times, was the Hansa established at a very early epoch by the pagan Goths, chartered -- or more properly licensed -- by the Basileus in the fifth or sixth century, greatly damaged by Charlemagne and his successors during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and finally destroyed by the papal forces and superseded by the Christian Hanseatic League in the twelfth or thirteenth century. As the Christian Hansa was the earliest trade corporation chartered by or under the authority of the Latin Christian pontiffs, and as all the so-called ancient trade-guilds of the present time came into existence soon afterwards and by virtue of the same sacerdotal authority, it is worth while to rescue from the oblivion into which they have fallen the scant chronicles and remains of the once powerful pagan Hansa, upon whose ashes were planted this crop of Christian companies, the progenitors, in turn, of an entire forest of modern commercial corporations. The word 'han' is Mongolian, and means a corporation, guild, company, or association; 'hansa' is the Latin form of it....

The earliest positive information concerning the pagan Hansa is furnished by Werdenhagen, who informs us that, ages before the establishment of the Christian Hansa, there existed a number of

353 See Del Mar, Money and Civilization, pp. 29-37, especially pp. 31-32.
confederated commercial cities on the shores of the Baltic and North Seas, and upon the lower banks of the rivers that empty into them, including the Volkof, Dwina, Memel, Vistula, Oder, Elbe, Aller, Ems, Iessel, Rhine, and Weser: that among these cities were Dantzig (Danes-wic), Julin, Vinet, Bardewic (Bhadrwic), Munster, Dortmund, Nimuguon, Tiel and Deventer, and that the confederacy included such distant places as Novgorod and Cologne; that all these cities practiced freedom of trade; and that they were all destroyed or conquered, and their inhabitants put to the sword, or banished to make room for a Christian Hansa that was substituted in its place. Julin is described by Adam of Bremen, writing about 1080, as the richest city in Europe. Helmoldus says the same. Meursius calls it the capital of the Vandals, and Gibbon says that the Vandals were Goths. Vinet is described by Helmoldus. Bardewic stood about a mile north of Luneburg. Both of these cities were captured and sacked by Charlemagne, and their inhabitants slaughtered or driven away. In the twelfth century these cities were finally destroyed--Vinet in 1127, Bardewic and Luneburg in 1137, Julin in 1140. Within half a century of this time the Christian Hansa, chartered by the pope, slipped into the place of its pagan predecessor, absorbed its trade, and divided its profits....

.... [T]he Hansa, which before the Carlovingian era possessed emporia or staples at every port of northern and western Europe, was restricted to those only which adhered to the pagan religion; for the Christians refused it all accommodation. Thus, in the tenth century the Hanseatic commerce was confined, first, to the Scandinavian states, which being comparatively poor and sparsely populated could take but little of it; second, to some of the French, English, and Irish ports; and third, to Moslem Spain. This last was its chief dependence. In the eleventh century, as Christianity was introduced into the northern Courts...the trade of the pagan Hansa was almost exclusively with Spain. The civil wars in which that country was involved during the minority of Hachem II. greatly injured the trade of the Hansa.... By the middle of the eleventh century the sun of the Omeiads went down, and the prosperous epoch of the Spanish Arabs came to an end. This was the death-blow to the Gothic Hansa. It lost its remaining emporia in the west. It might buy, but it could no longer sell. Except as to the now distracted kingdoms of Cordova and Granada, Christianity had built a commercial wall around the whole of Europe, within which no pagan was permitted to trade. So the great ships of the Norsemen folded their wings and retired to the Baltic, while the pagan league of the Hansa underwent the process of christianization, and fitted itself for a new career. The profits of the Hansa offered to the medieval church a powerful lever of evangelization.... By the middle of the thirteenth century the process of christianization was completed. Kings, people,
shipping, wore a new crown, a new dress, a new flag. One more reform remained to be accomplished. The Jews, who had officiated as go-betweens in the commerce of the old Hansa and the earlier commerce of the new Hansa with Spain, were no longer needed. Accordingly some few thousands of them were slaughtered in the streets of London and Paris, and rest banished to Moslem Spain--or to Hades. When these middlemen were quite disposed of, prices advanced and trade became far more profitable."354

to the forged Donation "of Constantine"

[89/601: 8]

[From the Introductory note to The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine: Text and Translation into English]:

"The Donation of Constantine (Constitutum Constantini), written probably not long after the middle of the eighth century, became widely known through its incorporation in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals (about 847-853). Parts of it were included in most of the medieval collections of canon law; Anselm's, Deusdedit's, and Gratian's great work (the Decretum, or Concordia discordantium canonum). It purports to reproduce a legal document in which the Emperor Constantine the Great, reciting his baptism and the cure of his leprosy at the hands of Sylvester, Bishop of Rome 314-336, confirmed the privilege of that pontiff as head of all the clergy and supreme over the other four patriarchates; conferred upon him extensive imperial property in various parts of the world, especially the imperial Lateran palace, and the imperial diadem and tiara, and other imperial insignia; granted the Roman clergy the rank of the highest Roman orders and their privileges; gave Sylvester and his successors freedom in consecrating men for certain orders of the clergy; it tells how he, Constantine, recognized the superior dignity of the Pope by holding the bridle of his horse; grants Sylvester Rome, all of Italy, and the western provinces, to remain forever under the control of the Roman See; and states his own determination to retire to Byzantium in order that the presence of an earthly emperor may not embarrass ecclesiastical authority. This remarkable document was almost universally accepted as genuine from the ninth to the fifteenth century.

.... For centuries the Papacy was the strongest institution in western Europe. While its control at any one time rested principally on the power it actually possessed and on the ability of

its representatives, legal theories and historical documents played a not inconsiderable part in its rise and decline. Of these documents the Donation of Constantine was perhaps the most spectacular, even though it was not the most important. It was cited by no less than ten Popes of whom we know, to mention no lesser writers, in contentions for the recognition of papal control, and contributed not a little to the prestige of the Papacy. On the other hand, when its spuriousness became known, the reaction against it, as in Luther’s case, contributed powerfully to the revolt from Rome. Its century-long influence entitles it to a respect difficult for any one who now reads it to feel....”

"Perche in ordine?" (vuol metter le sue idee)
said Mussolini.

[89/601: 9-10]

"Perche in ordine?" (vuol metter le sue idee): (It.) "Why in order?"
(do you wish to put your ideas).

[See Canto 87/569: 7-10:
   "Why do you want to
   " -- perche si vuol mettere --
    your ideas in order?"

Date '32

See also Canto 93/626:
   or "Perche" said the Boss
   "vuol mettere le sue idee in ordine?"
   "Pel mio poema."

[From Noel Stock, The Life of Ezra Pound]:

".... Pound went to Rome and on 30 January 1933 had an interview with Mussolini at the Palazzo Venezia. It was for Pound an important day, for the event matched his highest expectations. Not only was he able to present to the head of the Italian government a list of proposals for monetary and economic reform but to

glimpse what appeared to be his greatness of mind. It seems, for example, that Pound either took with him, or had sent along earlier, a copy of A Draft of XXX Cantos. Mussolini glanced at a passage here and there, or perhaps the author pointed out some lines of which he was particularly fond. Appropriately, as a famous statesman having his first meeting with a distinguished American poet, Mussolini remarked that he found the work, or the passage, 'divertente,' meaning entertaining. Pound seems to have taken this as a serious comment indicating that in a flash the statesman had seen through to the heart of the matter.... Another example of what seemed to Pound the high quality of Mussolini's mind was provided when the poet mentioned that he was trying to put all his ideas in order. The Duce asked, 'Why do you wish to put your ideas in order?' Pound replied, 'For my poem,' by which he meant his cantos. This question of Mussolini's, Pound said in Guide to Kulchur written four years later, was a sign of his ability to carry his thought 'unhesitant to the root.'

Thalers from Maria Theresa,
a road still there in Belgium.
The Emperor's furrow,

[89/601: 11-13]

[See 86/565: 20-29.]

'Maria Theresa, 1717-80, Austrian archduchess, queen of Bohemia and Hungary (1740-80), consort of Holy Roman Emperor Francis I and, dowager empress after the accession (1765) of her son, Joseph II."

[From C.L. Morris, Maria Theresa, the Last Conservative):

"The coin which was known as the Maria Theresia thaler...was extensively used in trading outside of Austria. Austria endeavoured to promote the trade in these Maria Theresia talers with every means at its disposal....

Besides furthering trade relations, the advantages of the coin itself were very helpful for its distribution. The weight, the content of precious metal, the shape, form, and equipment, even the number of the year after 1780 always remained the same; the round inscription prevented the clipping of the coin. The picture of the Empress, which was artistically valuable, pandered to the taste of the Oriental who enjoyed beautiful money....

* Until recently, Austria provided parts of Africa with newly

356 Stock, The Life of Ezra Pound, pp. 399-400. The remark in Guide to Kulchur is at p. 105; it is repeated at p. 182. In Jefferson and/or Mussolini, Pound says: 'The secret of the Duce is possibly the capacity to pick out the element of immediate and major importance in any tangle; or, in the case of a man, to go straight to the centre, for the fellow's major interest. 'Why do you want to put your ideas in order?" (p. 66.)

357 New Columbia Encyclopedia.
minted Maria Theresa thalers, and only last year [1935], when it ceded its monopoly to Italy, they were in circulation in Abyssinia upon the Italian occupation. They penetrated into the real plantation districts as far as the interior of Abyssinia. 358

Antoninus: Law rules the sea,

meaning Lex Rhodi,

they mixed in money rent, and insurance,

[89/601: 14-16]

[See Canto 42/209: 7-8,

Lex salica! lex Germanica, Antoninus said law rules at sea

See also 46/234: 21-25,

'I rule the Earth' said Antoninus 'but LAW rules the sea'

meaning, we take it, lex Rhodi, the Law Maritime

de sea lawyers.

usura and sea insurance

wherefrom no State was erected greater than Athens.

Canto 78/479: 34-35, 480: 1-2,

Knowledge lost with Justinian, and with Titus and Antoninus

("law rules the sea" meaning lex Rhodi)

that the state have vantage from private misfortune

No! Or the story of property

and Canto 87/570: 9-13,

"But," said Antoninus,

"Law rules the sea".

"And that the state shd/ have benefit

from private misfortune,

not in my time, not under me."

[From Edwards & Vasse, Annotated Index]:

"...Antoninus Pius, 86-161, Roman Emperor (138-161); administered the empire with ability, kept the peace, and carried out an extensive building program."

358 Morris, Maria Theresa, the Last Conservative, pp. 347-348.
359 See also annotation: 88/580: 24-26, pp. 145-146; 94/639: 10-12.
360 Edwards & Vasse, Annotated Index, p. 9.
[From Guide to Kulchur]:

"... In 138 A.D. Antoninus Pius was considering the difference between Roman Law and the Law of Rhodes, between agrarian usury and maritime usury, he was concerned as to whether the Roman State shd. profit by sailor's misfortune and batten on shipwreck. The lawcourts of Rhodes and of Athens had of course thought about equity and about justice. They had questioned whether the capitalists shd. be allowed to seize ships for debt. All that I am accenting is the foreignness of these practical matters, of these applications of high philosophic or ethical concept to 'study' as Europe has known it.... Building from the one volume of Claudius Salmasius that has come into my possession:

I suggest again for clarity's sake the idea of a usury axis, that is to say: the 30% racket on money rented out and risked in foreign mercantile expeditions was more than the traffic cd. bear if the traffic were to conduce to larger statal and imperial organization. Or you can say that the state of mind producing that racket was predatory rather than statal. It was the grab-at-once state of mind."361

[From "The Individual in his Milieu"]:

"The archaeologist and serendipidist can wander back through Claudius Salmasius and find the known beginnings of usury entangled with those of marine insurance, sea lawyers, the law of Rhodes; the disputed text of Antoninus Pius on the limits of his jurisdiction. Even then the dealers in metal appeared to be privileged over other merchants, and the insurance risk mainly paid by the takers of greater risk. Vast mines of anecdote lie still unexploited.... The Roman Empire may have risen via the substitution of land usury for sea usury. The 'Church' declined and fell on this issue. Historians have left the politics of Luther and Calvin in the blurr of great ignorance."362

This section is labeled: Rock Drill.363

[See Canto 86/564: 24]

361 Pound, Guide to Kulchur, pp. 40, 41. These remarks should be read in the context of the whole of p. 40.

362 Pound, in Selected Prose, pp. 272-273; also in Impact, pp. 240-241. There is another mention of Antoninus at p. 311, Selected Prose.

363 See also 87/574: "But an economic idea will not (Mencken auctor) go into them/in less than a geological epoch."
Donald Gallup says in his Bibliography of Ezra Pound that Pound took the name "Rock Drill" for his Cantos 85-95 from the title of Wyndham Lewis' review in The New Statesman and Nation of Pound's Letters, edited by D.D. Paige. From Wyndham Lewis, "The Rock Drill":

"The Letters of Ezra Pound are a pedagogic volcano. One of the finest poets of his time, his gift was indissolubly linked with the function of prophet and teacher. He could not create without at the same time teaching and he could not teach except as a product of creation. (He writes: 'It's all rubbish to pretend that art isn't didactic. A revelation is always didactic.') He is a double-barrelled genius of simultaneous action. But whereas his teaching is volcanic, his creation is a highly disciplined discharge.

As literary history these Letters are of first-class importance. You see him hammering away, in letter after letter at the reluctant Harriet Monroe, editor of the American magazine Poetry. This was mainly during the years of World War I. It was his object to purge, as far as lay in his power, this important 'little magazine' of what was second-rate and parochial. His rock-drill action is impressive: he blasts away tirelessly, prodding and coaxing its mulish editor. His action, of course, was not confined to 'Poetry.' He directed a fire from his strategic position in London upon all the archaistic slush, as he called it, produced by the song-birds of his native land. I do not say that it was single-handed that he effected a prosodic purgation, but he certainly contributed very largely to an up-to-date standard of verse-writing in that country.

The main character of this renaissance (the term he would use in writing to John Quinn) was an evolution from soft to hard. 'Imagism stands,' he writes, 'for hard light, clear edges.' And Imagism was the official name of his doctrine. In a letter to Harriet Monroe he catalogues what is needed as follows:

Poetry must be as well written as prose...departing in no way from speech save by a heightened intensity...nothing—nothing that you couldn't, in some circumstance, in the stress of some emotion, actually say.

Elsewhere he speaks of the 'hardness bred by reading Dante, or...Aquinas.' Add this indication of the source of his own hardness, at all events, and with the above catalogue you have the core of his teaching....

This greatest living American exile apparently did not realise that politics were a different dimension from literature, and now they have him boxed up in the nation's capital, echt Amerikanisch by habitat perforce: he will hardly regain his freedom, once more to sing and scold by the Latin Sea, alas!"364

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Wd/ have packed Hamburg with grain. Bülow believed him.

[89/601: 18]

[See Canto 86/560: 12-14,

Ballin said: "If I had known, wd/ indeed have stuffed all Hamburg with grain."
Bülow believed him....

See also 86/564: 2,

"Wd/ have filled Hamburg with grain."

Ballin is Albert Ballin, Hamburg shipping magnate, friend of Bernhard von Bülow who was Bismarck's successor as Chancellor of Germany and who retired in 1909. Ballin was intimate with Germany's political rulers but was not consulted when Bethmann, Bülow's successor, directed Germany into war in 1914. From Bülow's memoir:

".... A special class might even be organized to study the mistakes of German statesmanship in July and August, 1914. Bethmann and Jagow should be our classic examples of how it ought never to be done.... In that fatal summer they proved themselves wrong on every point -- wrong in supposing the Sarajevo murder such effective propaganda for Austria as would win her the sympathies of the world.... Even in the West, its moral effects had soon been dissipated by the sudden, arbitrary, and brutal Austrian demands.... Above all, Bethmann and Jagow were wrong about England. To every one -- to William II, the Federal Council, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, to all our representatives abroad, Bethmann kept repeating his assurances that England would most certainly remain neutral, in any case in the first stage of the war. Illusion -- pure illusion. As I have said, the very worst of all the errors of those four or five individuals who led their country to disaster was that of having taken such grave decisions...without once consulting a diplomat of experience, or any intelligent business man informed on international economics.... In the second year of war Albert Ballin said to me with a sigh: 'Had I known the intentions of Bethmann-Hollweg and Jagow in the summer of 1914 -- had I even been given the barest hint of the terms of the proposed ultimatum to Serbia, I could at least have taken an off chance and got food supplies into Germany in time.' The stupidity with which our committee -- of public catastrophe, not safety -- handled the crisis provoked by the ultimatum is inconceivable."365

And to young Windsor we owe three years' peace.

[89/601: 19]

[See also Canto 86/563: 6-11,

It may depend on one man
...as in the case of Edwardus
and von Hoesch on the telephone:
  to good for three years,
or to evil
Eva's pa heard that on the telephone,

[From Hugh Kenner, "Some Notes"]:

* 'Eva's Pa' is Fritz Hesse, who was press attache at the
  German embassy in London in the mid-1930's. His Das Spiel um
  Deutschland (Paul List Verlag, München, 1953) tells this story
  (pp. 60-61):

  Unmittelbar nach Beendigung unserer Pressekonferenz klingelte das Telefon, als ich mich noch bei Hoesch befand.
  Hoesch flüsterte mit zu: 'Der König!' und reichte mir den zweiten Hörer, der sich am Telefon befand, so dass ich das Gespräch mithören konnte. Das Gespräch war kurz. 'Hallo,' rief eine Stimme, 'ist dort Leo? Hier spricht David.' (Der König sprach Hoesch mit seinem vornamen Leopold an, während Eduard von seinen intimen Freunden David genannt wurde.)
  'Wissen Sie, wer hier spricht?' 'Jawohl, selbstverständlich,' erwiderte Hoesch. 'Ich habe meinen Premier empfangen und habe ihm gehörig meine Meinung gesagt. Ich sagte diesem alten... dass ich zurücktreten werde, wenn er Krieg machen sollte. Es hat eine furchtbare Szene gegeben. Sie können beruhigt sein, es gibt keinen Krieg.'

This of course explains 89/601: 636*, 'And to young Windsor we owe three years' peace,' also 95/645: 677*, 'the three years peace we owe Windsor / '36-'39.' The premier who raised the fearful fuss was of course Stanley Baldwin, who later superintended Edward's abdication, and at 106/755: 780* a dark conclusion is drawn: 'three years' peace, they had to get rid of him.'366

* Refer to page numbers in the Faber edition of The Cantos.
"What he meant to us in those days"
said old Image (Selwyn) referring to Ruskin.

[89/601: 20-21]

Noel Stock says that in 1909 Pound met "Selwyn Image, a well-known figure in literary London at the time, who knew Paris, talked to him about stained glass and 'old Verlaine'.... In a letter to his family on 21 February he summed up a busy week: 'I think the Shakespears and Selwyn Image are about the most worth while out of the lot I have come across.'" 367

[From Pound, Hugh Selwyn Mauberley (Life and Contacts)]:

Yeux Glaucques
Gladstone was still respected,
When John Ruskin produced
"Kings' Treasuries"; Swinburne
And Rossetti still abused.

* * *

"Siena Mi Fe'; Disfecemi Maremma"
.... Dowson found harlots cheaper than hotels;
Headlam for uplift; Image impartially imbued
With raptures for Bacchus, Terpsichore and the Church.
So spoke the author of "The Dorian Mood".... 368

The author of In the Dorian Mood, and the original of 'M. Verog' ("Siena Mi Fe'," 1. 18), is Victor Gustave Plarr (1863-1929), another London acquaintance of Pound, member of the Rhymers' Club of the 1890's, friend of Ernest Dowson, Lionel Johnson, and Selwyn Image. John Espey quotes from Plarr's biography of Dowson in his Ezra Pound's Mauberley:

"The sacred house, about which a volume might be written, had, from about the year 1891, been the home of the Hobby Horse writers, and of at least one outsider. My dear friend Professor Selwyn

367 Stock, Life of Ezra Pound, p. 94.
368 Pound, Personae, pp. 192, 193.
Image still lives there, and will he forgive me if I remind him that the house was at one time referred to as 'Fitzroy' and that 'Fitzroy' was a movement, an influence, a glory? There were several Fitzroy institutions -- notably what was known as 'Fitzroy silence' at our austere dinners and lunches...

The original dwellers in 'Fitzroy,' before my time, were Mr. Herbert Horne, who with Professor, then Mr Selwyn Image, edited The Hobby Horse, Mr Galton, editor of Matthew Arnold and Lionel Johnson, Mr Arthur Macmurdo, and Lionel Johnson himself. Professor Image at that time kept a studio there, as did the late Mr Machlachlan the landscapist.... Numbers of other distinguished people visited this artistic colony. The list of them would include Mr Mortimer Menpes, Mr Frank Brangwyn (a constant visitor), Mr Walter Crane, the late Oscar Wilde, Mr Dolmetsch, Mr Ernest Rhys, Mr W.B. Yeats, Mr Will. Rothenstein, Father John Gray, the Rev. Stewart Headlam, and a host more. Ernest Dowson had lunched there in the earliest days and had made me emulous to enter the sacred precincts....

.... Of the close of...a quite other gathering in my own rooms in January, 1892, the same brilliant weaver of fancies [Morley Roberts] declared that all the people present clasped hands and whirled down the stairs like human catherine-wheels, striking sparks as they went on the stone stairs, where to this day hang Professor Image's fine cartoons of Saint Peter and other saints."369

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Tasso, Kidd, Raleigh, all jailed.

[89/601: 22]

Tasso is Torquato Tasso (1544-95), Italian poet:

"...Educated in Naples by Jesuits.... He wrote Jerusalem Delivered (completed 1575), an epic of the exploits of Godfrey of Boulogne during the first Crusade. A victim of his own religious scruples, he submitted the epic to church authorities, whose judgment was unduly severe.... In 1575 he suffered a blow on the head from an irate court attache and for the rest of his life was afflicted with recurring insanity in the form of persecution mania. He was confined, first in a convent, then intermittently in a hospital while controversy concerning his work continued. During his frequent lucid periods he wrote prolifically and revised his own poem beyond all recognition. Fortunately, copies

369 Victor Plarr, Dowson, quoted in John Espey, Ezra Pound's Mauberley, pp. 94-95, 96.
of the earlier version were published without his permission. In his last years he left the asylum to live with the Gonzagas in Mantua, and then wandered restlessly throughout Italy. He died at a convent in Rome, his sanity regained, shortly before he was to have been crowned poet laureate....

"Kidd" is probably Thomas Kyd (1558-94), English dramatist, "author of The Spanish Tragedy (c. 1586). In 1593, Kyd was accused of holding unorthodox religious and moral views; he was arrested and subjected to torture. Although he extricated himself by implicating his friend Christopher Marlowe, his reputation was severely marred, and he died in poverty the following year...

Raleigh is Sir Walter Raleigh (1554?-1618), "English soldier, explorer, courtier, and man of letters.... At Kilcolman Castle, Ireland, he became a close friend of Edmund Spenser, whose Faerie Queene, begun under the aegis of Sir Philip Sidney, was continued under Raleigh's patronage.... He achieved great notoriety for his connection with the poetic group known as the 'school of night.' Led by Thomas Harriot and including Christopher Marlowe and George Chapman, the group's skeptical attitude and critical interpretation of Scripture won them a reputation for atheism...."

[From Brooks Adams, The Law of Civilization and Decay]:

"The [English] aristocracy even made the false position in which they placed their sailors a source of profit, for they forced them to buy pardon for their victories by surrendering the treasure they had won with their blood. Fortescue actually had to interfere to defend Raleigh and Hawkins from Elizabeth's rapacity.... The cargo [of the Spanish carack Madre-de-Dios, captured in 1592] proved worth £141,000, and of this Elizabeth's share, according to the rule of distribution in use, amounted to one-tenth, or £14,000. She demanded £80,000, and allowed Raleigh and Hawkins, who had spent £34,000, only £36,000. Raleigh bitterly contrasted the difference made between himself a soldier, and a peer, or a London speculator. 'I was the cause that all this came to the Queen, and that the King of Spaine spent 300,000 li. the last yere.... I that adventured all my estate, lose of my principall.... I tooke all the care and paines;...they only sate still...for which double is given them, and less than mine owne to me.'

Raleigh was so brave he could not comprehend that his talent was his peril. He fancied his capacity for war would bring him fame and fortune, and it led him to the block. While Elizabeth lived, the admiration of the woman for the hero probably saved him, but he never entered the Privy Council, and of real power he had none. The sovereign the oligarchy chose was James, and James...
imprisoned and then slew him. Nor was Raleigh's fate peculiar."370

My father (General Frémont) said that if anyone shot Napoleon it ought not to be from his (Frémont's) window.

[89/601: 23-24]

[From Recollections of Elizabeth Benton Frémont]:

"... From the balcony of our Paris house we witnessed the triumphant entry of the Prince President, Napoleon III, as the Emperor of the French, on Napoleon's Day, December the Second. [18 The streets were lined four deep with the military, and mounted troops were everywhere in evidence.

I remember the impressive spectacle presented as the Emperor rode alone in that great procession, no one within one hundred and twenty feet of him, in front or in the rear. He held his hat in one hand and the reins in the other. Defenceless, he presented a picture worthy of the great Napoleon.

'No guard shall surround me as I enter Paris,' he had ordered. 'If I die at the hands of an assassin, I die alone!' A tiger skin saddle decorated the horse which the Emperor rode, and following him at a distance of one hundred and twenty feet, as he had prescribed, rode Marshal Lowenstein, a hale old man of eighty, a trusted aide of the great Napoleon and his only surviving Marshal.

He was followed by a remnant of the valiant men who had served their country under the Great Napoleon.

That day was a day of tense excitement at our home. My father had invited a number of guests to witness the entry of the Emperor, and so great was the vigilance of the police that every citizen was obliged to file with them the names of every invited guest. My father had complied with the request in common with the other residents of the city and was astounded at the last moment to note the appearance of the widow of Commodore Stewart, an uninvited acquaintance who had thoughtlessly brought with her two men who were conspicuous among the marked 'reds' of Paris. Instantly, though quietly, my father notified the police, and detectives were sent to guard the unbidden guests, without their knowledge, of course, and thus a delicate situation was safely mastered.

'If there is to be any shooting,' said my father, 'it must not be done from my home.'

Mrs. Stewart also brought with her on that day her young grandson, Charles Stewart Parnell, then a very small boy, later destined to be lionized by the Irish people in his great fight for Home Rule for the struggling island over the sea."371

371 Elizabeth Frémont, Recollections, pp. 54-56.
My grandfather boosted Morse' telegraph.

[89/601: 25]

[From Jessie Benton Frémont, Souvenirs of My Time]:

"... Another unusual and charming family living close by were the Ellsworths, who were 'friends indeed' to Mr. Morse in the hard days when he could not get his idea of the electric telegraph launched. He was laughed at in Congress; his money gave out; his health was going, he was so worn out that his dead-white face and brilliant hollow eyes startled one. His first message, 'See what God hath wrought!' was to the young daughter of these true friends; he might have added, 'And what mountains are moved by the patient tender faith of women!' For these ladies went among their friends whose husbands were in Congress and made them understand, while they in turn brought attention from those who could decide on 'An experimental line to Baltimore.'

Thirty miles -- and now it girdles the earth!"

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. XXXIII., "Professor Morse: His Electro-Magnetic Telegraph."]:

"... It was reserved for our own day, and our own country to make the improvement which annihilates distance, which disregards weather and darkness, and which rivals the tongue and the pen in the precision and infinitude of its messages. Dr. Franklin first broached the idea of using electricity for communicating intelligence: Professor Morse gave practical application to his idea."373

"Pige-moi le type" said old Gustav

qui vous peindra un fauteuil carthaginois.

[89/602: 1-2]

1. 1 (F.): "Just look at the type"; "Look at the character."

1. 2 (F.): who will [? would?] paint you a carthaginian easy chair.

"Gustav" is probably Gustave Flaubert, whose roman de Carthage, Salammbo, early moved Pound to make surprising transpositions of detail. (See Espey, Ezra Pound's Mauberley, p. 39.)

372 Frémont, Souvenirs of My Time, p. 61. Elizabeth Benton Frémont makes no special mention of Morse or of her grandfather Benton's relations with him in her memoir.

Henry J. had Coburn take photographs.

[89/602: 3]

[From Coburn, Alvin Langdon Coburn: Photographer:

"... I embarked upon one of the most interesting experiences of my photographic career, for it was my unique privilege in 1906-1907 to provide the frontispieces for each of the twenty-four volumes of the collected edition of Henry James's works. There are some people you cannot help liking the moment you see them, and Henry James was, for me, such a person.... Henry James met me at the station [Rye, Sussex], and I had a most enjoyable visit, and produced a portrait which evidently satisfied him, for he subsequently suggested that I should make photographs to be used in all the other volumes of the collected edition: and thus began our friendship. His home, Lamb House, Rye, appeared as frontispiece to Volume 9, The Awkward Age, where it was entitled 'Mr. Longdon's'. During my second visit to Rye, to photograph the house, James presented me with a charming little two-volume edition of The American published in 1883, inscribed with my name and his and dated Lamb House, July 4th, 1906. It was really the third of July, and one can see that he started to make a figure three in the date and then changed his mind and, with a chuckle, made it a four instead...."


"Although not literally a photographer, I believe Henry James must have had sensitive plates in his brain on which to record his impressions! He always knew exactly what he wanted, although many of the pictures were but images in his mind and imagination, and what we did was to browse diligently until we found such a subject. It was a great pleasure to collaborate in this way,

374 Coburn, with Helmut & Alison Gernsheim; eds., Alvin Langdon Coburn: Photographer: an Autobiography, p. 52.
and I number the days thus spent among my most precious recollections.

The reason why James decided on photographic illustrations for his novels and tales was because, as he put it, photographs were 'in as different a medium' as possible. He further explained: 'The proposed photographic studies were to seek the way, which they have happily found, I think, not to keep or to pretend to keep, anything like dramatic step with their suggested matter. This would have disqualified them to my rigour: but they were "all right" in the so analytic modern critical phrase, through their discreetly disavowing emulation.'

The triumphant culmination of this adventure, from my point of view, was the commemoration by the author himself in the preface to The Golden Bowl (the final volume in the series) of our search for and ultimate capture of these pictures. H.J. explains that the photographs were not to be competitive with the text, or obvious illustrations, but 'images always confessing themselves mere optical symbols or echoes, expressions of no particular thing in the text, but only of the type or idea of this or that thing. They were to remain at the most small pictures of our "set" stage with the actors left out.'

The only way to do full justice to Henry James's tribute to our vision of Portland Place is to quote his own words:

'It was equally obvious that for the second volume of the same fiction (The Golden Bowl) nothing would so nobly serve as some generalized vision of Portland Place. Both our limit and the very extent of our occasion, however, lay in the fact that unlike wanton designers, we had not to "create" but simply to recognize -- recognize, that is, with the last fineness. The thing was to induce the vision of Portland Place to generalize itself. This is precisely, however, the fashion after which the prodigious city, as I have called it, does on occasion meet halfway those forms of intelligence of it that it recognizes. All of which means that at a given moment the great Philistine vista would itself perform a miracle, would become interesting for a splendid atmospheric hour, as only London knows how, and that our business would be to understand.'

Both James and Coburn were acquainted with Pound while Pound was living in London, and in 1913 Coburn made portraits of Pound, one of which appeared in the first edition of Lustra (1916). Coburn also made kaleidoscope-like photos (some of Pound) with a lens of his own invention, called a vortoscope; thus joined the vorticists.

375 Coburn, with Helmut & Alison Gernsheim, eds., Alvin Langdon Coburn: Photographer, pp. 58-60.
I need add nothing, wrote Van Buren, to the description by Col. Benton.

[89/602: 4-5]

[From Van Buren's Autobiography]:

".... I entered the Senate of the United States in December 1821, at the commencement of Mr. Monroe's second Presidential Term. John Gaillard, of South Carolina, was then, as he had been for many years, President pro tem of that body. I need add nothing to the eloquent description given of his character by Col. Benton, in his Thirty Years' View, except the expression of my full concurrence in what has been so well said." 376

Of John Gaillard, Benton says:

"He was a senator from South Carolina, and had been continuously, from the year 1804. He was five times elected to the Senate -- the first time for an unexpired term -- and died in the course of a term; so that the years for which he had been elected were nearly thirty. He was nine times elected president of the Senate pro-tempore, and presided fourteen years over the deliberations of that body, -- the deaths of two Vice-Presidents during his time (Messrs. Clinton and Gerry), and the much absence of another (Gov. Tompkins), making long continued vacancies in the President's chair, -- which he was called to fill. So many elections, and such long continued service, terminated at last only by death, bespeaks an eminent fitness both for the place of Senator, and that of presiding officer over the Senate. In the language of Mr. Macon, he seemed born for the station. Urbane in manners, amiable in temper, scrupulously impartial, attentive to his duties, exemplary patience, perfect knowledge of the rules, quick and clear discernment, uniting absolute firmness of purpose with the greatest gentleness of manners, setting young Senators right with a delicacy and amenity, which spared the confusion of a mistake -- preserving order, not by authority of rules, but by the graces of deportment: such were the qualifications which commended him to the presidency of the Senate, and which facilitated the transaction of business while preserving the decorum of the body. There was probably not an instance of disorder, or a disagreeable scene in the chamber, during his long continued presidency. He classed democratically in politics, but was as much the favorite of one side of the house as of the other, and that in the high party times of the war with Great Britain, which so much exasperated party spirit...." 377

377 Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 77-78.
Here Pound notices the relation between Benton and Van Buren: first, the urbanity and gentleness of manner and expression which characterizes both men; and then their agreement or complementarity, which is at times so perfect as to provoke that expression which Pound uses of the best of his heroes:

"...and when their wills were compared they were as two halves of a tally stick." 378

"Good-bye Tazewell, good-by Van Buren!"

(that was Randolph)

[89/602: 6-7]

[From Van Buren's Autobiography]:

"Mr. Randolph was in every way a most extraordinary man, and occupied wherever he went a large share of public attention. There was not a session of Congress during his -- years service as a member in which his sayings and doings did not contribute the principal staple of the political gossip at Washington. This was particularly the case at the commencement of Mr. [J.Q.] Adams's administration, when he appeared for the first time in the Senate where his whole course was one of annoyance to his opponents and of not a little uneasiness to his friends. He spoke day in and day out, and sometimes for several successive days, upon matters and things in general having political and personal bearings but not always even directed to the business before the Senate -- an abuse in which others have since been largely participant, but in which perhaps there has never been so great an offender. His speeches attracted great attention from the severity of his invectives, the piquancy of his sarcasms, the piercing intonation of his voice and his peculiarly expressive gesticulation. He could launch imputations by a look, a shake of his long figure, or a shrug of his shoulders, accompanied by a few otherwise commonplace words, which it would require a long harangue to express...." 379

Van Buren relates an altercation between Randolph and John Holmes, senator from Maine, of Randolph's and Van Buren's own party, (89/602: 6-7)

378 See Pound, "Mang Tsze," in Selected Prose, p. 89. Pound may also be alluding to Van Buren's notice of the duel between Randolph and Clay, Autobiography p. 204 in which he refers the reader to Benton's account; but Van Buren uses the formula which Pound quotes only once in his book, at p. 115.

whom Randolph accuses of being too friendly with the Adams administration. The conflict is carried on in the Senate, and when Van Buren remonstrates with Randolph after a session in which Randolph has been most sharply vituperative against Holmes, Randolph replies: "I have not driven him away [from our party's ranks]. He was already a deserter in his heart; if you examine the body you will find that the wound is in the back!" Van Buren continues:

"... Mr. Randolph's speeches became more and more annoying to the Administration and its friends, in and out of the Senate, and yet no one seemed willing to incur the responsibility of calling him to order. I inferred from circumstances a design on the part of the administration Senators to administer a corrective to Mr. Randolph by severally quitting their seats when he was speaking to an extent sufficient to leave the Senate without a quorum.... This unusual proceeding once adopted -- was soon to a considerable extent, converted into a practice, to the great annoyance of Randolph whose vanity was wounded by an apparent indifference to his speeches which he had seldom experienced and was little able to brook. The circumstance sensibly increased the bitterness of his denouncements and finally led to that which caused the duel between himself and Mr. Clay whose impatient spirit could no longer endure the invectives which were incessantly hurled at him by Randolph.

He [Randolph] visited Virginia soon after and whilst there became satisfied that his chance for a re-election was far from favorable. This increased the acerbity of his temper, and he returned to Washington with a determination to leave it for England almost immediately. He sent a message to me, on his arrival, asking me to call upon him at his old quarters.... After the company retired he sat with me 'till long after midnight describing the condition of things in Virginia, and his reasons for apprehending defeat at the Senatorial election. Mr. Tyler, who had till that time always been in the Republican ranks, would, he said, be brought forward as a Candidate or supported by his enemies and his explanation of the causes which would induce a sufficient number of Republican members [of the Virginia legislature] to vote with them, brought into view the hostility which had at different periods of his life existed between himself and Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and others and of which he gave me graphic and very interesting accounts. Having engaged no lodgings, in consequence of a determination, as he declared, never again to 'have any in that corrupt hole' (as he called Washington), I sent my servant out to find a bed for him and afterwards to conduct him to it.

On the following morning he appeared in the Senate, dressed

with unusual care and apparently in excellent spirits, having ordered his carriage to be sent to the Capitol, with his luggage, at noon, to convey him to Baltimore. Mr. Calhoun [at that time President of the Senate] had, at his instance, appointed him a member of the Committee on Rules and his object, in coming to the Senate, was to report one or two very proper amendments to the standing rules of the body.

Mr. Holmes had manifested more sensibility in regard to Randolph's attack upon him than was supposed to belong to his nature, and his inflamed appearance after it, in the Senate excited the apprehensions of his friends in regard to his habits. His excitement on the morning referred to was greater than usual and he carried a huge cane which indicated that he meditated or expected a personal attack. He took the floor immediately after Randolph resumed his seat and read from a paper a series of amendments of the Rules which he proposed. These with scarcely an exception referred to acts with which Randolph had been charged and which it was proposed thereafter to prohibit. Among them was one declaring a violation of order in a Senator to make personal references to gentlemen who had been introduced on the floor of the Senate by other Senators. Mr. [Benjamin] Russell, of Boston, Editor of the Columbian Centinel, a newspaper which had made a reckless opposition to the War of 1812, had been so introduced during the session, and Randolph had attracted the attention of the body to him by a general and seemingly not personal reference to a notorious feature in his political career; it was at that occurrence that the proposed amendment was aimed.

Immediately after Holmes finished the reading of his propositions, Randolph asked Mr. Tazewell, his colleague, to take the clerk's seat, and to write, as he dictated, a series of amendments to them 'in the form of instructions to the Committee,' designed as answers to them by successive recriminations. Mr. Tazewell, one of the best tempered men I ever knew, complied, and when the proposition which I have particularized was reached, under the impression that Russell had been introduced by Holmes, Randolph dictated the declaration, as an amendment, that the 'personal reference' which it was now designed to stigmatize as disorderly was no more than a suitable reproof of the Senator who was so wanting in a sense of what was due to the dignity of the Senate and to his own character as to introduce such a man within the Bar!

At this point the affair received an unexpected complication. Senator Lloyd of Massachusetts, a man of undoubted courage, who felt no insurmountable scruples upon the subject of private combat, and between whom and Randolph there had already occurred some newspaper sparring, sprang to his feet the moment the offensive words were uttered, announced himself as the Senator who
had introduced Russell, repelled with great vehemence every assault upon that gentleman, whom he pronounced to be quite equal in respectability to Randolph himself, and indignantly shaking his closed hand at the latter, declared his readiness to give him satisfaction there or elsewhere! Randolph, entirely taken by surprise, sought an opportunity to explain, and disclaimed all hostile feelings towards Lloyd; but the latter could neither be appeased or silenced and continued his minatory gestures and denunciations with undiminished vehemence. In this condition of things Mr. King, of Alabama, called both the Senators to order, and Mr. Calhoun requested him to reduce the objectionable words to writing, as required by the Rules. Sensible of the difficulty of committing to paper expressions used in such a squabble, which was yet going on, Mr. King declined to do so, and in the excitement of the moment said abruptly, that he would not! Mr. Calhoun, anxious from what had passed, to do his whole duty when a case occurred within the Rules, rose from his seat and, pale with agitation, said 'The Chair orders the Senator from Alabama to reduce the words to writing.' The Senate at this moment presented a striking tableau--Calhoun, King, Lloyd and Randolph on their feet, intensely excited, and every Senator present inclining from political and personal sympathy to take sides in the fray--when the last [Randolph] moved deliberately from his place, which was on the extreme outer range of seats, and passed in front of the Chair to the door, exclaiming as he walked along, 'I will have no more of this! I am off for England! Good bye, Tazewell! Good bye, Van Buren! They are all against me! They are all against me Tazewell, in Virginia too!'--and still uttering these words the doors of the Senate closed behind him. 381

"on borrowed capital, very unmercantile," said John Adams.

[89/602: 8-9]

[See Canto 52/348: 3,

borrow for trading very unmercantile

[From a letter of John Adams to his wife, dated 8 Feb. 1794]:

"... Borrowing of banks for a trading capital is very unmercantile." 382

Judge Marshall, father of war.

[89/602: 10]

[See Canto 33/185: 30, Marshall, said Roane, undermined the U.S. Constitution.

[From Van Buren's Autobiography]:

".... I took a trip to Richmond, Virginia, and visited Spencer Roane whom I had never seen but long known, by reputation, as a hearty and bold Republican of the old School. I found him to my great regret on a bed of sickness, from which, although he lived some time, he never rose.... Mr. Roane referred, with much earnestness, to the course of the Supreme Court, under the lead of Chief Justice Marshall, in undermining some of the most valuable clauses of the Constitution to support the pretensions of the Bank of the United States, and placed in my hands a series of papers upon the subject from the Richmond Enquirer, written by himself over the signature of Algernon Sidney." 383

Agamemnon killed that stag, against hunting rites.

[89/602: 11]


"When the Greek fleet assembled for the second time at Aulis, but was windbound there for many days, Calchas prophesied that they would be unable to sail [for Troy] unless Agamemmon sacrificed the most beautiful of his daughters to Artemis. Why Artemis should have been vexed is disputed. Some say that, on shooting a stag at long range, Agamemnon had boasted: 'Artemis herself could not have done better!'" 384


By contrast, we have Canto 91/612: 22-26,

He asked not
nor wavered, seeing, nor had fear of the wood-queen, Artemis
that is Diana
nor had killed save by the hunting rite, sanctus.

These lines allude to Brutus, the hero-founder of Britain in Layamon's Brut. In exegesis of this passage, Christine Brooke-Rose sees the subject as a fusion of two heroes besides Brutus: Drake, who is the subject of the lines immediately preceding these, and Actaeon, "one of Pound's favourite metamorphoses."

"... By making two different predicates depend on the one pronoun, Pound changes Drake into Actaeon, Drake's vision into Actaeon's vision and the virgin-queen into the virgin-goddess. The word 'EXifM@td destroyed of cities) moreover recalls Helen of Troy and in the Diana-context reminds us that a third identity may be involved, namely Agamemnon, who was linked in C. 89 with Judge Marshall ("Judge Marshall, Father of War/Agamemnon killed that stag, against hunting rites") in an allusion to Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigenia to the winds after his fleet had been windbound because of Diana's anger at him for having killed one of her stags. So Agamemnon, like Actaeon sinning against Diana, was father of war."

[From Vincent Scully, The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods]:

"...[T]he summit of the citadel of Mycenae creates a sensation of physical and spiritual dominance over the landscape.... The rush of brutally triumphant exultation which many observers have noted in themselves there would seem to arise from that sense of double command. The mounded hill of the lower city again plays a role in this, since it affords a barrier between the viewer and movement on the plain but at the same time allows him to see over it as king of the hill, 'monarch of all he surveys.'... For these reasons it can well be imagined that the kings of Mycenae indeed felt themselves to be in the goddess' place, having assumed her natural power for their own.

It may be for these reasons also that Mycenae, from its founding by the hero Perseus until the deaths of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra within its walls, was the chosen setting for the most terrible of myths, all of them having to do with the punishments

sequent upon the human lust for power. So the murdered Aga-
memnon, who had taken his wife by force from her first husband,
slaughtered Artemis' protected animals, sacrificed his daughter
to Artemis in order to advance his own kingly will, and finally
brought down Aphrodite's Troy, is himself later treated by Aes-
chylus as a slaughtered bull, whose death constitutes in part a
reprisal by the goddess for his pride. Thus the site of Mycenae
itself, the hero ancestors who dared it, and the fate which over-
came them at the hands of the Dorians may all have had much to
do with encouraging those peculiarly Hellenic trains of thought
out of which mature classic ideas of justice and balance were to
evolve. More specifically, as the most awesome of horned bull's
heads rising in menace out of the earth and the most challenging
of thrones assumed by a king, Mycenae already seems to suggest
in its own dark way that double theme which was to become central
and luminous in Greek sacred architecture: the theme of what
rightfully belongs to the natural order and what to man, of what
the human act may dare to be in the face of nature's law."

"Leave the Duke, go for gold."

[See Canto 50/248: 23-27,

Pus was in Spain, Wellington was a jew's pimp
and lacked mind to know what he effected.
'Leave the Duke, Go for gold!'
In their souls was usura and in their hearts cowardice
In their minds was stink and corruption

See also Canto 79/486: 26; 80/497: 19.

[From Christopher Hollis, The Two Nations]:

"The end of the 1820's [in Britain] was filled with the con-
troversy of Catholic Emancipation, and with the beginnings of the
1830's and the fall of the Tories came the Reform Act. There
were both in Parliament and throughout the country a handful of
genuine democratic reformers, but it was not they who influenced
the Reform Act. After their victory in the Election the Whigs
were strong enough to be indifferent to radical support, and the
Act that was passed was in no way democratic. It only gave votes

to some one in twenty-two of the population. What it did was to register the transfer of political power from the old rich to the new rich. Even there it rather recognized an altered balance of power than itself altered the balance of power. As the quotations from Cobbett in previous chapters have illustrated, it was the Napoleonic Wars and their debt which in reality snatched the power out of the hands of the old landed classes.*

The story of the passage of the Act was perhaps mainly interesting in the light which it threw upon the true virtue of the double-money system in the eyes of its masters. Its virtue was not that it gave the country a stable monetary system but, on the contrary, that it put it within the power of a few determined men to plunge the country into chaos whenever they wanted to. There was after Grey's first resignation a question of the Duke of Wellington forming a Tory Government. The word went out among the reformers, 'To stop the Duke, go for gold,' and before the threat of a run on the banks the Tory attempt collapsed and the Whigs returned to power....

... It is noteworthy that one of the first acts passed by the reformed Parliament was the renewed Bank Charter Act of 1833, by which the Bank of England was exempted from the restrictions of the Usury Law in its discounting of bills."387

And they forged those thalers, in our time,
quest'oggı.

Brits did, nacherly Brits did.

[89/602: 13-15]

Quest'oggı: (It.) today, this very day. "Brits" are the British. See annotation: 89/600: 25-28, pp. 477-478. See also Mary de Rachewiltz, Discretions, pp. 190-192; and annotation: 89/601: 11-12, pp. 487-488. Line 13 echoes 88/579: 30. See infra, pp. 137-138, for my annotation of "sangue, fatica, in our time." *

"Benton has begun understanding me"

(Randolph)

[89/602: 16-17]

* The system in which bank notes are issued as convertible into gold. Generally notes were issued in excess of gold reserves by a ratio of 10 to 1.
[From Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke]:

"A few days after the duel Randolph opened his heart to Dr. Brockenbrough in these words:

'I cannot write. I tried yesterday to answer your letter, but I could not do it. My pen choked. The hysterica passio of poor old Lear came over me. I left a letter for you in case of the worst. It now lies on my mantel-piece. Perhaps you may, one time or other, see it. I am a fatalist. I am all but friendless.... Benton begins to understand and to love me. Nothing has stood in his way. No lions in his path. Had I suffered it, he would have gone with me, as my friend. In that case, I should not have violated the laws of Virginia. It was not my intention to do so. ... and ... were ardent, honorable, devoted to my cause, but obtuse, wanted tact.'" 388

In Venice the bread price was stable, ship models still there in Danzig.

[89/602: 18-19]

[See Canto 76/455: 21-25,
and there is also the more northern (not nordic) tradition from Memling to Elskamp, extending to the ship models in Danzig...

I have not so far discovered the source or identity of these lines. There seems likely a relationship between 1. 18 and 89/601: 7; but as for the historical period to which it refers, I simply have no idea. At any event, it indicates a period free of the sort of money speculation and state usury which Del Mar describes in his Money and Civilization, and which produced this effect:

"... In 1268, owing to the severity of the taxes occasioned by

* The duel between Randolph and Clay. See annotation: 88/577-579, pp. 112-128.

frequent wars with Genoa, particularly the corn duties, a bread riot occurred in Venice, and though the republic was in great financial distress, the obnoxious imposts were repealed.\footnote{Del Mar, Money and Civilization, p. 32. It should be noted that this riot took place only 64 years after the enrichment of Venice by the plunder of Constantinople. See Del Mar, \textit{Ibid.}}

Alex said: set up the tables,

any soldier's note will be paid.

\footnote{Fuller, \textit{The Generalship of Alexander the Great}, pp. 136, 137.}
Gold was under the Pontifex, 
Caesar usurped that.

[89/602: 22-23]

[See annotation: 89/594: 16-19, pp. 329-333, especially p. 330:

".... if there was a department of the government which, more than any other, enjoyed the prerogative of coining gold, it was the pontificate rather than the imperium, for in the ancient times gold was always held to be a sacred metal, and upon it was stamped, not so much the emblems of war as of religion...."

[From Del Mar, History of Monetary Systems]:

".... The jealous monopoly of gold coinage by the sovereign-pontiff ascends to the Achimenides of Persia, that is to say, to Cyrus and Darius; in fact, it ascends to the Bramins of India. The Greek and Roman Republics broke it down; Caesar set it up again....

With regard to gold coinage the facts are simple and indisputable. Julius Caesar erected the coinage of gold into a sacerdotal prerogative; this prerogative was attached to the sovereign and his successors, not as the emperors, but as the high priests of Rome; it was enjoyed by every Basileus, whether pagan or Christian, of the joint and Eastern empires from the Julian conquest of Alexandria to the papal destruction of Constantinople; the pieces bore the rayed effigies of the deified Caesars, and some of them the legend 'Theos Sebastos.' When emperor-worship was succeeded by Christianity they bore the effigy of Jesus Christ. It would have been sacrilege, punishable by torture, death and anathema for any other prince than the sovereign-pontiff to strike coins of gold...hence no other Christian prince, not even the pope of Rome, nor the sovereign of the Western or Medieval empire, attempted to coin gold while the ancient Empire survived....

The sacerdotal character conferred upon gold, or the coinage of gold, was not a novelty of the Julian constitution; rather was it an ancient myth put to new political use.... Josephus makes many allusions to the sacredness of gold. A similar belief is

391 Del Mar, History of Monetary Systems, pp. 24-25. See also below, Appendix E.
to be noticed among the ancient Greeks, whose coinages, except during the republican era, were conducted in the temples and under the supervision of priests. Upon these issues were stamped the symbolism and religion of the State, and as only the priesthood could correctly illustrate these mysteries of their own creation, the coinage -- at least that of the more precious pieces -- naturally became a prerogative of their order....

.... About B.C. 69, Cicero alluded to the public treasury as the 'sanctius aerarium.' This expression, in connection with the coins struck by Antonius Balbus, from consecrated treasure and the statues erected to Marius Gratidianus, all point to this period as that of the adoption of the sacredness of gold in the Roman law....

It is evident that, by continuing the use of this myth, or by attaching a sacerdotal character to the coinage and coins of gold, which in Italy may hitherto have only been attached to consecrated deposits of gold -- a character which the conqueror, who was also the pontifex maximus of Rome, was quite competent to confer upon it -- he would not only acquire the means to republish upon its coins the mythology and religious symbols of the empire, altered to accord with his own impious pretensions of divine origin, but he would also be enabled to reap profits equal to those which the Ptolemies had derived from the oriental trade. Indeed, in this respect Caesar made another innovation: he increased the Roman ratio from 9 to 12 for 1, and there it remained fixed, in consequence of his ordinance, for thirteen centuries." 392

[From Del Mar, History of Money in Ancient Countries]:

"It has been shown that, according to Suetonius, Caesar sold the gold proceeds of his forays in Gaul for 3,000 sesterces the pound. These are taken to mean silver sesterces, each one-fourth of a denarius, with twenty-five -- instead of twenty, as formerly -- of the latter as the equivalent of the gold aureus and forty aureii to the pound; in short, 4,000 silver sesterces to the pound of coined gold. To receive 3,000 sesterces for the pound of bullion, was to lose one-fourth of its value, either because gold coins were not legal tender, or because the state was not prepared to coin gold bullion with sufficient despatch....

With all his prodigality, Caesar was not the man to put up with losses of this character longer than he could help it. No sooner did he succeed in grasping political power than he got control of the mint; and it may be safely surmised that after this time no gold bullion of his was sold at less than its full value for lack of coinage facilities. Indeed he began to coin it at the ratio of forty-two aureii to the pound, thus making the ratio of weight between his gold and silver coins about one to eleven, instead of one to ten, as formerly." 393

392 Del Mar, History of Monetary Systems, pp. 70, 74-75, 80-81, 84, 89.
393 Del Mar, History of Money in Ancient Countries, pp. 300-301.
Bezants were stable till Dandolo broke into Stamboul, there had been some arab uneasiness.

[89/602: 24-25]

[From Del Mar, The Middle Ages Revisited. Replying to inadequate explanations why gold was not coined by local princes who were Christian tributaries of the Roman Empire during its medieval hegemony, Del Mar asserts]:

"All such futile explanations are effectually answered by the common use of Byzantine gold coins throughout Christendom. In England, for example, the exchequer rolls relating to the medieval ages, collated by Madox, prove that payments in gold bezants were made every day and that gold coins, as compared with silver ones, were as common then as now [1899]. If metal had been wanted for making English gold coins, it was to be had in sufficiency and at once. All that was necessary was to throw the bezants into the English melting-pots. As for the feeble suggestion -- that for five hundred years no Christian princes wished to coin gold so long as the Basileus was willing to coin for them, when the coinage of gold was the universally recognized mark of sovereignty and when also the profit, as we shall presently see, was one hundred per cent -- it is scarcely worth answering....

The true reason why gold money was always used, but never coined, by the princes of the Medieval empire, relates not to any circumstances connected with the production, plentifulness, scarcity, or metallurgical treatment, of gold, but to that Sacred constitution of pagan Rome, which afterwards, with modifications, became the constitution of Christian Rome. Under this constitution and from the epoch of Augustus to that of Alexis, the mining and coinage of gold was a prerogative attached to the office of the sovereign-pontiff; and was therefore an article of the Roman constitution and of the Roman religion....

With regard to gold coinage, the facts are simple and indisputable. Julius Caesar erected the coinage of gold into a sacerdotal prerogative; this prerogative was attached to the sovereign and his successors; not as the emperors, but as the high-priests, of Rome; it was enjoyed by every Basileus, whether pagan or Christian, of the Joint and Eastern empires, from the Julian conquest of Alexandria, to the papal destruction of Constantinople; the pieces bore the rayed effigies of the deified Caesars.... When emperor-worship was succeeded by christianity, they bore the effigy of Jesus Christ. It would have been sacrilege, punishable by torture, death, and anathema, for any other prince than the
sovereign-pontiff to strike coins of gold; it would have been sacrilege to give currency to any others: hence, no other Christian prince, not even the pope of Rome nor the sovereign of the Western or the Medieval 'empire,' attempted to coin gold while the ancient empire survived....

...Justinian II. broke the Peace of 686 with Abd-el-Melek because the latter paid his tribute in pieces of gold which bore not the effigy of the Roman emperor. In vain the Arabian Caliph pleaded that the coins were of full weight and fineness, and that the Arabian merchants would not accept coins of the Roman type. ... The 'new type' [of coin] complained of, probably had as much to do with the matter as the absence of Justinian's effigy. That new type was the effigy of Abd-el-Melik, with a drawn sword in his hand, and the Mahometan religious formula declaring the Unity of God -- a triple offense: an insult, a defiance and a sacrilege."

Del Mar describes the wealth of Constantinople ('Stamboul'), the seat of the Eastern Empire, toward the time of its destruction by crusaders from the West:

"Greatly as the Sacred empire had been contracted by the encroachments of the Moslems, it was still one of the most extensive and opulent in Europe. It embraced the whole of Greece, Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete and the fifty islands of the Aegean Sea; its inhabitants numbered some seven or eight millions; the daily revenues of the crown...amounted to 20,000 besants; a quantity of gold more than equal to that contained in 10,000 British sovereigns; it monopolized through its emperors the lucrative prerogative of coining gold for the circulation of the entire Christian world, which gold it exchanged for western silver at 12 and re-exchanged for Oriental gold at 6 for 1; until the twelfth century, it also monopolized the production and manufacture of silk; it shared with the Arabs the entire trade with the Orient; its capital city was a veritable mine of gold and silver furniture, priceless vestments, and inestimable gems, the stored wealth of an hundred Caesars, derived from endless conquests, exactions, and oppressions...."

A great and vicious rivalry arose between the Western and Eastern Empires. Most of the holy relics of Christendom were housed in Constantinople. "'The inhabitants called themselves Romans, not Greeks; their state was the Roman Empire; and the people in the West, whom they called Latins, were, in their opinion, barbarians,

394 Del Mar, The Middle Ages Revisited, pp. 279, 280-281.
395 Ibid., p. 244.
who had revolted from them. At such little worth did this pious folk regard the "barbarians" that during the reign of Alexis II, led by their priests, they slaughtered and sold into slavery over four thousand Latin Christian inhabitants of the city.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, then, the princes of the West met in council with pope Innocent III of Rome to plan an expedition against Constantinople. The nominal aim of the crusade was to help Alexis IV rescue his father Isaac II, the deposed Emperor of the East, from the dungeon into which he had been thrust by his brother, Alexis Angelus, who had usurped the crown. The real objective was to break the power of the East. The princes appealed to the great trading city of Venice for help.

"... Lying between the Eastern and Western empires, Venice had profited by their separation and thriven upon their quarrels. Though she had never failed to acknowledge her submission to the Basileus, she had more than once profited by his necessities. The price demanded on the present occasion, though something enormous, received the assent of the Sacred court; it was no less than permission to share in that coveted trade of the Orient which the Greeks had hitherto unwillingly divided with the Arabs ...

In preparing for this crusade, the cooperation of Venice was indispensable; its promise of reward was proportionately munificent. The terms were arranged by six commissioners, deputed by the feudal princes who had devoted themselves to the Cross, and who met in Venice to confer with the aged and pious doge, Henry Dandolo...

In his book, The Law of Civilization and Decay, Brooks Adams describes the Venetian leader:

"The doge was then Henry Dandolo, perhaps the most remarkable man Venice ever produced. Though nearly ninety-five, he was as vigorous as in middle life. A materialist and a sceptic, he was the best sailor, the ablest diplomatist, and the keenest speculator in Europe; and while, as a statesman and a commander, he raised his country to the pinnacle of glory, he proved himself the easy superior of Innocent III in intrigue. So eminent were his abilities that, by common consent, he was chosen leader of a force which held some of the foremost captains of the age; and when, by his sagacity, Constantinople had been captured, he
refused the imperial crown.

Ville-Hardouin [the chronicler of this war] always spoke of him with deep respect as 'the good duke, exceeding wise and prudent;' and, indeed, without him the Frankish princes would certainly have fallen victims to the cunning of the Greeks, whom he alone knew how to overreach, and whom he hated because his eyes had been seared by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, when he had been upon a mission at his court....

The Venetians bound themselves to provide shipping for 4500 knights with their horses, 9000 squires, and 20,000 foot, with provisions for nine months, for 85,000 marks of silver; probably about equal to $5,500,000 of our money [1896]. But beside this the city proposed, 'for the love of God,' to add fifty galleys, and divide the conquests equally."

Del Mar comments on these terms, "Nothing was said about the Oriental trade, which was worth more than the rest." He goes on:

"Every preparation having been made, this expedition set sail in the spring of 1203 and in due time it came to anchor in the harbour of Constantinople. Its mere appearance was the signal for the flight of the cowardly usurper, the deliverance of the blinded emperor, and the restoration of himself and the youthful Alexis to their lawful throne.

When the services of the allies in this bloodless war came to be paid for, great difficulties arose. The crusaders and Venetians were importunate, the public treasury of Constantinople contained at the time but a few besants, and the people of the city were filled with holy indignation at the promised submission of the Sacred empire to the pope of Rome. The youthful Alexis began to perceive that he had promised much more than it was possible for his father to perform. During the embarrassment which ensued, the holy tumult into which the city was thrown, enabled a new usurper named Ducas, or Mourzoukle, (Alexis V), to gain access to the palace, murder both Isaac and Alexis, proclaim himself sovereign of the Sacred empire, and address the allies in a tone of lofty superiority. Nothing more was wanted to goad the latter to madness. Whatever respect for the treasures which surrounded them on all sides, whatever sentiments of awe or superstition in the presence of the relics and memories sacred to the name of Roman or Christian, had to this moment stilled their rude passions, were now entirely swept away. The citadel was at once besieged. In 1204 it was carried by assault, set on fire, and sacked."

".... The acknowledgment of papal supremacy was complete.... If anything had been wanting to open the eyes of Europe, surely what had thus occurred should have been enough. The pope and the doge -- the trader in human credulity and the trader of the Adriatic -- had shared the spoils of a crusade meant by religious men for the relief of the Holy Land...."

400 Del Mar, Middle Ages Revisited, pp. 246-247.
The forgery was from ignorance,
Valla found it.

[89/602: 26-27]

[From Coleman, The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on The Donation of Constantine, "Introductory"]: 

"Among the achievements of modern historical criticism Valla's work was a conspicuous pioneer. Its quality and its importance have often been exaggerated, and as often underestimated.... Valla's treatise...in effect established for the world generally the proof of the falsity of the Donation. Moreover, for the first time, he used effectively the method of studying the usage of words in the variations of their meaning and application, and other devices of internal criticism which are the tools of historical criticism to-day....

As to Valla himself the words of Erasms will bear repetition; 'Valla, a man who with so much energy, zeal and labor, refuted the stupidities of the barbarians, saved half-buried letters from extinction, restored Italy to her ancient splendor of eloquence, and forced even the learned to express themselves henceforth with more circumspection.'...

Valla wrote his Discourse on the Forgery of the alleged Donation of Constantine (Declamatio de falso credita et ementita donatione Constantini, also referred to as Libellus, and Oratio) in 1440, when he was secretary to Alfonso, king of Aragon, Sicily, and Naples. It may well be considered as part of the campaign which that king was conducting against Pope Eugenius IV in furtherance of his claims to Italian territories....

.... [T]he language of the Donation seems to point to the papal chancellory as the place of its origin, and the pontificate of Paul I (757-767) as the most probable time....

.... The Papacy was then cutting loose from the Emperor at Constantinople and ignoring his representatives in Italy, as well as developing its own independent policy toward Italian territory, toward the Lombards, and toward the Franks. The aim of the forger seems to have been the characteristically medieval one of supplying documentary warrant for the existence of the situation which had developed through a long-drawn-out revolution, namely, the passage of imperial prerogatives and political control in Italy from the Emperor to the Papacy. Hence, along with general statements of papal primacy, and of gifts of property, detailed and explicit stress is laid upon the granting of imperial honors, the imperial palace, and imperial power to the Pope, and upon the
right of the Roman clergy to the privileges of the highest ranks of Roman society. Legal confirmation was thus given for riding roughshod over the vestiges and memories of the imperial regime in Italy and for looking to the Papacy as the source of all honors and dignities...." 401

[From The Discourse of Lorenzo Valla on the Forgery of the Alleged Donation of Constantine]:

"It is not my aim to inveigh against any one and write so-called Philippics against him -- be that villainy far from me -- but to root out error from men's minds, to free them from vices and crimes by either admonition or reproof.... I know that for a long time now men's ears are waiting to hear the offense with which I charge the Roman pontiffs. It is, indeed, an enormous one, due either to supine ignorance, or to gross avarice which is the slave of idols, or to pride of empire of which cruelty is ever the companion. For during some centuries now, either they have not known that the Donation of Constantine is spurious and forged, or else they themselves forged it, and their successors walking in the same way of deceit as their elders have defended as true what they knew to be false, dishonoring the majesty of the pontificate, dishonoring the memory of ancient pontiffs, dishonoring the Christian religion, confounding everything with murders, disasters and crimes.

.... [A]s I shall show, that Donation whence the supreme pontiffs will have their right derived was unknown equally to Sylvester and to Constantine." 402

12 to one, Roma, and about half that in Karachi.

[89/602: 28]

[See annotation: 89/594: 28-29, "remarked Del Mar: '/'ratios in Rome and in the Orient.'" p. 339]

[From Del Mar, History of Monetary Systems]:

"From the accession of Julius to the fall of Constantinople, the ratio of value between gold and silver within the Roman empire, whether pagan or Christian, was always 1 to 12; whereas, during the same interval, it was 1 to 6 1/2 in India, as well as in the Arabian empires, in Asia, Africa and Spain; and it was

402 Ibid., pp. 25-27 (trans.) See also annotation: 89/601: 8, pp. 485-486; and below, Appendix E.
1 to 8 in Freisland, Scandinavia, and the Baltic provinces. It is inconceivable that one single unvarying ratio of 1 to 12 should have been maintained for centuries by the innumerable and irreconcilable feudal provinces of the Roman empire, if the freedom to coin silver, exercised by the feudal princes, was in like manner extended to gold. 403

And the Portagoose, as we cease not to mention, uprooted spice trees

[89/602: 29-30]

[From a letter of Pound to Denis Goacher,

".... Portagoose as SOON as got into Goa / started uprooting spice trees / 400 year ramp.[age]....", 404

"The Portagoose" are the Portuguese. Under Afonso de Albuquerque, Portuguese adventurers seized Goa and other territories on the west coast of India in 1510. See also Canto 92/622: 10-11.

Orage remarked on the "recession of power"

[89/603: 1]

[From Impact, Noel Stock's Introduction]:

"By 1920 Pound was studying economics and 'current affairs' as an integral part of his work as an epic poet, seeking 'threads' running through, and laws binding, the history of the race. The change from aesthetic young man, a brilliant poet passionately interested in the Arts, to a wiser man groping his way to the organic unity binding the Arts to society generally, occurred during the First World War, by way of A.R. Orage, editor of the New Age.... [T]he New Age traced the recession of power, away from the people into inner rooms inhabited by inner cliques. It was in the New Age office, not in the literary circles of the day, that Pound heard first-hand accounts of important facts that should have been, but were not, in general circulation via

403 Del Mar, History of Monetary Systems, p. 79.
404 Pound, an unpublished letter in Simon Fraser University, Special Collections; catalogue number 552/84. In his History of Monetary Systems, Del Mar describes Albuquerque debasing the coinage of Goa to obtain gold "which he might fail to plunder, and sell it (in Portugal) at cent per cent profit." (See pp. 387-388.)
the education system and book trade."

[From Orage, Political and Economic Writings]:

"Ever since 1694, when by an act of royal folly the Crown surrendered to a private corporation [the Bank of England] the sovereign monopoly of manufacturing money, the House of Commons and the whole machinery of Government have fallen progressively under the control of the Banking monopoly, with the consequence that today, though theoretically the House of Commons has the power of the nation's purse, in practice it would not live a day if it exercised it against the Bank. There is not the smallest sign that the Government or the House of Commons, even if they should realize their responsibility, have the actual as distinct from the constitutional power to exercise it over the heads of the Money Monopoly.

To the degree of his intelligence, every Chancellor of the Exchequer has realized, on taking office, that in fact the Treasury has no power of the purse any more than the House of Commons itself; and to the degree of his courage and public spirit has been revolted by his discovery. It is not so much the case merely that the advice of the penguins of the 'City' has invariably been wrong. From their own point of view, and to judge simply by their present power -- our readers must surely be aware that the Banks are now the beneficiary sleeping partners of a considerable part of the total industry of the country -- their advice, we should say, has, on the contrary, been invariably right -- for themselves. The anomaly of the situation lies in the fact that, right or wrong, a private institution like the Bank of England is empowered not only to offer advice to the Government but to ensure that its advice is taken.

... Since the fatal date of 1694 it is safe to say that not only has no legislation been passed and put into effect in this country without the consent and often at the instigation of the Bank of England, but that no legislation even remotely affecting the interests of the Bank of England has been allowed to be publicly canvassed save within the smallest possible limits and at the maximum disadvantage. It is taken for granted, by an equally astonishing acquiescence in mysterious authority, that the Bank of England is not only beyond public criticism, but under no obligation to define its policy, justify its management of the public credit, or even to publish the names and holdings of its stockholders.... On the visible results of their policy, however, there is material for judgment; and, in respect of these, it is a poor consolation to find that only in comparison with the most unfortunate of nations can the English people, the best and most talented people on earth, be said to be fortunate....

It will surely be a matter for astonishment to future ages, when happily the monetary and economic systems of civilized nations will be in automatic harmony, that during several whole generations a sovereign democratic people should not only submit to incredible sufferings, but to sufferings for which the remedy has always been in their own hands. It is perfectly true that the Bank of England is the sovereign by charter of the economic system of this country and thus as immediately responsible for our national condition as, say, the earlier Viceroy's were for the conditions of India. It is also and naturally the fact that the Bank of England, like most institutions entrusted with sovereign power (with the exception, it seems, of a democratic Parliament!) should employ every possible means of preserving and increasing its tenure of office and all its privileges. But entrenched and fortified as the Bank of England's position is, the actual fact of the matter is that its Charter is subject to a year's notice of revocation by Parliament, depends for its validity upon the continued consent of Parliament and, in the end, upon the action of the nation's paid Treasury, thus leaving Parliament and the Treasury, and not itself, ultimately and eventually responsible for the conduct of the nation's economic affairs. In all the current discussions of the Monetary system in relation to the collapse of national industry, the Treasury, our paid national office of experts, appears to have completely escaped criticism. The Bank of England is criticized and the politicians are criticized; but nobody ever thinks, it seems, of turning the searchlights of inquiry upon the mysterious but actually all-powerful personnel of the National administration of the national Credit. Between the Bank of England and the Ministry they have hitherto been effectually screened. It is time that they were brought to book, if not to bell and candle as well.

It is a hundred years ago almost to the day [1932] when the great Reform Bill was finally passed that placed the responsibility of their economic condition on the people of England themselves. Time has shown that a political democracy without control of its financial system is a democracy only in name. The tiny oligarchy representing the monopoly of Money manufacture has proved itself perfectly capable of effectively governing the country in spite of all the machinery of nominal popular self-government. But what was it that made the country ripe for Reform in 1832, and that presumably would indicate its ripeness today? But is the world to wait until its sufferings become so intolerable that the persons of our statesmen are not safe in the streets? Is there never to be a national reform save after prolonged misery and agitation and then only under duress?  

Uncle George said he knew when he came out (Lodge, Knox) that there wd/ be one hell of a row in the Senate. "offensive, defensive" and there was one.

[89/603: 2-5]

[See 78/481: 18-29,

2 hours of living, knew when they left that there wd/ be one hell of a fight in the senate Lodge, Knox against world entanglement Two with him in the whole house against the constriction of Bacchus

moved to repeal that god-damned amendment Number XVII

Mr Tinkham

Geneva the usurers' dunghill Frogs, brits, with a few dutch pimps as top dressing to preface extortions and the usual filthiness for detail see Odon's* neat little volume ...

Uncle George is George Holden Tinkham, 1870-1956, member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Massachusetts (1915-43). Speaking of Pound in 1935, Noel Stock says:

"... About the only American politician who earned his admiration was George Holden Tinkham, a wealthy Republican congressman from Boston, who years before had fought to keep the United States out of the League of Nations...."407

Lodge is Henry Cabot Lodge, 1850-1924, "American legislator; member of the House of Representatives (1887-93) and of the Senate (1893-1924); when chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the

* Odon Por.
Senate, he was opposed to the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations (1919)."  

Knox is Philander Chase Knox, 1853-1921, "...member of the U.S. Senate (1904-09; 1917-21); one of the opposition to the entry of the U.S. into the League of Nations."  

As for 1.4, "offensive, defensive," see Van Buren's Autobiography:  

"... With Nations who consider that their respective positions make it for their interest to bind themselves to mutual support in specified cases, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, is the usual mode by which that object is accomplished. But experience has greatly weakened the confident reliance of mankind upon such safeguards. When the crisis arrives it has been found that Nations are disposed to be governed by their apparent interests at the moment, and if those have undergone a material change, unfavorable to the performance of their engagements, they will disregard or evade them, whatever may have been the solemnity with which such alliances have been entered into."  

"50 mocking birds, 40 robins," wrote Randolph.  

[89/603: 6]  

[From Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke, "Randolph's District"]:  

"Through the letters of Dr. James Waddell Alexander, we obtain some very interesting glimpses of natural conditions in Charlotte County during the latter years of Randolph's life.... On March 13, 1827, he wrote... 'We are now enjoying spring in all its sweetness. I am sitting with open windows into which all the "Sweet South" is breathing. Our gardens are redolent with vernal fragrance, the time of the singing of birds has come, and no country can boast of more charms in this respect than Virginia.'  

.... The face of nature has changed but little in Charlotte County since Randolph's death. So, for our purpose, there is no reason why we should not also quote in this connection from the Familiar Letters of Dr. Alexander, written after Randolph's death.  

... Dr. Alexander wrote on the 20th of April [1855]:  

'The spring no longer coquets but embraces with Oriental voluptuousness. Yesterday, would have done for Florida. In a north porch, in shade, the glass stood at 95° all the afternoon. This morning it is less burning but still hot. When I arrived in Virginia, the spring was still behind, but, for two days, we have almost seen it growing.... Before breakfast,  

408 Edwards & Vasse, Annotated Index, p. 129.  
409 Ibid., pp. 113-114.  
I counted fourteen species of birds known to me, and two unknown. There are about 50 mocking birds in and about this lawn, and 40 robins were counted on the grass at once.

... All of these species were, doubtless, observed by Randolph at Roanoke. In July, 1818, he wrote to Francis W. Gilmer:

'I wish you could come and listen to my concert; it is far superior to Mrs. French's or Mr. Philipps'; I would show you too the invisible bird (the woodthrush, as a certain philosopher [Jefferson] in his manner calls it.) There are dozens on my lawn besides doves, summer red-birds, cardinals, etc., etc., to say nothing of squirrels and hares. Now and then a red fox; sometimes a gray squirrel; sometimes a white hare. Now and then a white fox; sometimes a gray one is to be seen at the gate, but the wolf never.'

and "construe all our liberties from us"

[89/603: 7]:

[From a speech of Randolph reported by a Dr. Kirkpatrick, and quoted by Bruce in his chapter, "Randolph on the Hustings"]:"

"... So he went on from hour to hour, a 'free lance,' challenging all comers. Public measures were alluded to, but never discussed; public men were named, sometimes denounced in terms of bitterness, sometimes gibbeted with ridicule, but never any of them commended out and out, except Andrew Jackson and Nat Macon, of North Carolina. Alas! on the other occasion when I heard him, one year later, Andrew Jackson was struck from the short roll, and Nat Macon stood there alone....

I must tell you particularly how he disposed of Chief Justice Marshall, the manner of it is so characteristic of the orator and so illustrates the feature of his oratory last mentioned; its fitful zigzagging hither and thither, verging on incoherency. He had, with a continuity in the tenor of his remarks, quite unusual with him that day, exposed and deplored what he was pleased to style the decay of his beloved Virginia.... At the close of the jeremiad, he remarked that it gave him no pleasure, but much pain, to speak thus, nor was it his purpose to give them pain, but to benefit them by pointing out to them their faults and their dangers. 'Just as a surgeon,' he proceeded, 'performs an operation, not to inflict suffering, but to relieve a malady. Dr. Jackson, of Philadelphia, has lately performed a

410 Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke, v.II, pp. 110-111.
critical operation on the honored Chief Justice of the country. You all know it was no part of his wish to inflict a single pang, but that his sole design was to alleviate suffering, and preserve the valuable life of his subject. And I am glad that Dr. Jackson succeeded in the operation, -- that he has restored the Chief Justice to his health, to his friends, to his country, and to his seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States where God knows he ought never to have been put. He is a great man and a good man; no greater or better man has ever lived in our country, and yet, if he should be Chief Justice thirty years longer, he will construe our liberties away from us. 411

Mazzini: Doveri

[89/603: 8]

Doveri: [It.] duties. *

[From Pound, "A Visiting Card"]: "As a Cavourian I long neglected the writings of Mazzini. The economists of the last thirty years did not read Mazzini. Their propaganda has not, therefore, been based on the following passage from the last chapter of the Duties of Man.

The establishment of public storehouses or depots from which, the approximate value of the commodities deposited having been ascertained, the Associations would issue a document or bond, similar to a banknote, capable of circulating and being discounted, so that the Association would be able to continue its work without being thwarted by the need of quick sales, etc.

He speaks, moreover, of a 'fund for the distribution of credit', thus anticipating the theories of the Scotsman, C.H. Douglas, inventor of Social Credit, a monetary system already tried out in Alberta, but hamstrung by the English. "The distribution of this credit", Mazzini continues, 'should not be undertaken by the Government, nor by a National Central Bank; but, with a vigilant eye on the National Power, by local Banks administered by elective Local Councils.' And at this point he enters into questions of administration which do not concern me.

What counts is the direction of the will.' 412

411 Bruce, Randolph of Roanoke, v.II., pp. 194-195.
* In connection with Randolph's remark at 1. 7: Noel Stock says that in 1944 Pound and other writers in Italy issued a manifesto including the declaration: "Liberty is not a right but a duty." (See Stock, Life of Ezra Pound, pp. 520-521.)
412 Pound, Selected Prose, p. 312; Impact, pp. 49-50.
"κατὰ σφαγάς"

[89/603: 9]

(Gr.) "for slaughter"; "to slaughter." I have not so far identified its source.

N'Yoleanz syrop proof 8
West Indies is at 16...
Not that I object to morality.

[89/603: 10-12]

The source for these lines remains unknown to me.

Yes, it was Catron, had already told Jackson.

[89/603: 13]

[From a letter of John Catron to Andrew Jackson, January 3, 1841.
The occasion is the coming inaugural of Harrison and the expected installation of Whig, or Federalist, measures in government]:

"... They [the old Federalists] are for a Bank of some sort, but the plan of one is certainly not fixed. The old Bank, now of Penn., is not thought of -- as the Globe supposes; it is not only flat in Philda., but unpopular with the truly old Bank party, some of whom think it will not be able to resume Specie payments on the 15th inst. and that if it does, it will have a run on it. Its notes I find are received hear in payt. of debts grudgingly, and not in the Banks. My opinion is, that by the 4th of March it will be in disgrace, and badly, with its own peculiar party.... Whether the 4 years of Presdt. Harrison will produce a U.S. Bank, judging from what I see and hear, is very doubtful; if however many of the State Banks go by the board, and all are discredited, still more, the chances are in favour of the measure....

In regard to Internal improvements. The Whigs admit, many of them, that you was perfectly right in your veto of the Maysville road bill. The thing is not thought of....

... [T]hat [Henry Clay] is so silly as to take on his shoulders Mr. Biddle's brokedown Bank; or any of the spawn of men, from Mr. Biddle down, that the concern has thrown on the political waves, is an idle dream. Henry Clay, is a cold shrewd man,
and not likely to embark in a ship from which he saw the grayest rats in philda. (the city proper,) running. The old Bank party is already decayed, and certainly doomed. I speak of the party, and not individual men who belonged to it; and who will make a scape-goat of the present presdt., Dunlap, and probably of Mr. Biddle. Thirty or fifty days will test whether I am right, in regard to the Lazarone who have for nearly twenty years been feeding on the U.S.B. Stock; and which they have eaten out, until like an old cheese, nothing is left but the hull....

Steady and sober prudence, is the only course for Mr. VanBuren's party. Its course is a plain one: To stand firmly, and rigorously, by its principles -- Steady, and in a solid body, if possible...." 414

"Shd/have shot Clay and hung John Calhoun."
A.J's sole repentence.

[89/603: 14-15]

[From Claude Bowers, Party Battles of the Jackson Period.
Bowers speaks of Martin Van Buren's Inauguration Day, which is also Andrew Jackson's last day in the White House, his last day as President]:

"That night Jackson slept as usual in the White House as the guest of President Van Buren, who insisted that he remain in his old quarters until in May or June the trip back to the Hermitage could be made in greater comfort, but the journey held no terrors for the homesick statesman. The following afternoon he walked across the Avenue to the home of Frank Blair for a final visit with the family within whose bosom he had passed many joyous hours during the eight years of storm and stress. A little later, Benton called with William Allen, then Senator from Ohio, and for many years the world knew nothing of the nature of that final conference. Benton himself was mysteriously silent, nor did he furnish any enlightenment in his great history of the "Thirty Years." But long after most of the participants in the politics of that day were moulting in the grave, Blair and Allen told the story to one of the President's biographers. Jackson talked, and the others listened. He told them of his two principal regrets -- that he had never had an opportunity to shoot Clay or to hang Calhoun...." 415

414 Bassett, ed., Correspondence of Andrew Jackson, v.VI, pp. 89-90.
This entry, like that at 88/592, is really only an attempt on my part to anticipate Pound: that is, it is my best guess.
415 Bowers, Party Battles of the Jackson Period, pp. 479-480.
And of Antoninus very little record remains.

[89/603: 16]

[See annotation: 89/601: 14-16.]
[From a letter of Pound to Denis Goacher, dated "27 Lug 54"]:

"Ever met ANYone who knew anything about idees recues in Roma between Vespasian and Caracalla. # Anthony Pie must have been pretty good as they have effaced practically ALL record of his administration and/or thought. In case yu don't recognize brit/ spelling dating I think from Al Pope's time, = Antoninus Pius.

yes yes, they do THAT, and then fuss when I write a bloke's name 'Arry'...."416

semina motuum

[89/603: 17]

semina motuum: (L.) seeds of movement.

(Chi 411) Changes, motions. The origin of; the moving power of -- as of the universe.

The character occurs in Confucius, Ta Hsio, in the commentary of Tseng Tsze. Pound's translation of this passage has:

"One humane family can humanize a whole state; one courteous family can lift a whole state into courtesy; one grasping and perverse man can drive a nation to chaos. Such are the seeds of movement [semina motuum, the inner impulses of the tree]. That is what we mean by: one word will ruin the business, one man can bring the state to an orderly course."417

Deluged the old hawk at Rip Raps,

[89/603: 18]

416 Unpublished, in Simon Fraser University Library, Special Collections, Catalogue no. 552/73. "Arry" is Pound's nickname for Aristotle.

417 Pound, Confucius, pp. 59-60; quoted in Grieve, op. cit., p. 492.
[From a letter of Frank Blair, editor of the Washington Globe, the newspaper sponsored by the Jackson administration, to Martin Van Buren, dated 13 Nov. 1859]:

"... There is a circumstance connected with the Bank panic tending to characterize the principle actors of the time which coming immediately under my notice may be worth mentioning to you. While Kendall was on his mission, beseeching the State Banks to receive deposits, I spent the month of August and part of September with the President at the Rip Raps -- our families occupying the cottages on that pile of rocks in Hampton Roads. Biddle had planned a most insidious mode of reaching him in this isolated spot, to which, for successive years he had retired for repose. The Old Chief had a little hut on the highest point of the Rocks looking out to the Ocean, where we went to open his mails and talk over matters, and it might almost literally be said to be the point at which Biddle levelled a cannonade from every quarter of the Union. He had organized a sort of siege against the General, who had hardly time, like an old Eagle, to fold his wings for repose on his Rock when missiles from every quarter and especially from the cities were poured in upon him in the shape of letters entreating a surrender of the design of removing the Deposits. The peculiarity of this struggle was that all the volleys poured in upon him came under cover of the names of his friends.... In a word no man was ever so overwhelmed with such a deluge of griefs since the time of the forty days deluge. The old man said to me from time to time, as some shocking defection aroused him, 'Mr. Blair, Providence may change me but it is not in the power of man to do it.'"

Mr Biddle pinching the baby,

[89/603: 19]

[See 88/583: 18, "Geryon's prize pup, Nicholas Biddle." See also annotation: 89/595: 10-11, "'In specie and without interest./ Against which such a bank is a nuisance,'" pp. 418

[From Benton's speech, Thirty Years' View, v.1, Ch. CVII., "Mr. Taney's Report on the Finances -- Exposure of the Distress Alarms -- End of the Panic."]:

418 In Van Buren, Autobiography, p. 607.
* Amos Kendall was a confidante and adviser of Jackson, and a member of the innermost White House circle known as the "kitchen cabinet."
"... Such a bank is a nuisance. It is the dog in the manger. It might lend money to business men, at short dates, to the last day of its existence; yet the signs are for a new pressure; a new game of distress for the fall elections in Pennsylvania, New-York, and Ohio. If that game should be attempted, Mr. B. said, it would have to be done without excuse, for the bank was full of money; without pretext, for the deposit farce is over; without the aid of panic speeches, for the Senate will not be in session."419

(This entry is the annotator's best effort at solving or summing up Pound's use of metonymy with respect to a proper (Dantescan) judgment of Biddle. I have found no such epithets as Pound uses employed in either Benton's or Van Buren's texts; but this characterization of the bank as "the dog in the manger" might likely have touched Pound's imagination; it certainly touched mine.)

"You damn sadist!" said Mr. Cummings,
"You try to make people think."

[89/603: 20-21]

As to when and where and in what context e.e. cummings (presumably) made this remark -- and to whom (I have assumed he was addressing the author of the Cantos) -- I have not so far discovered.420 What leads me to believe, however, that cummings was speaking to Pound, is Pound's statement in his ABC of Economics:

"Give a people an almost perfect government, and in two generations they will let it run to rot from sheer laziness (vide the U.S.A. where not one person in ten exercises his rights and not one person in ten thousand has the faintest idea of the aims and ambitions of the country's great founders and lawmakers. Their dung has covered their heads.). It is nevertheless one's duty to try to think out a sane economics, and to try to enforce it by that most violent of all means, the attempting to make people think." 421

420 See annotation: 88/581: 4-9, pp. 151-152.
421 Pound, ABC of Economics, in Selected Prose, pp. 245-246.
"Yes, Mr Van Buren, the Bank IS trying to kill me."

[89/603: 22-23]

[From Van Buren's Autobiography]:

"In the course of my public life I have not met with another man who came up to Gen. Jackson's standard as well in respect to the strength of his belief in the certainty that a public servant honestly laboring for the welfare of his Country would receive the good-will and support of the people as long as they remained confident of his integrity as in his constant readiness to stake his political reputation upon that faith regardless of consequences merely personal to himself. Silas Wright was fully his equal in habitual negation of self in the performance of public duties and in his willingness to stake all he had or was on his faith in the virtue of the people, but, probably from a constitutional difference in their temperaments, he did not always feel as certain that all would go well. That as long as the people were at their ease in respect to the sincerity of their representatives they would be predisposed to think them right and to support them accordingly was among the earliest and most confirmed convictions of the General's mind, and one of the numerous and striking fulfilments of which he frequently spoke to me. On the night of my first appearance at the White House, after my return from England, * he exhibited when stretched on a sick-bed a spectre in physical appearance but as always a hero in spirit -- an impressive illustration of his profound and unspeakable trust in the people. Holding my hand in one of his own and passing the other thro' his long white locks he said, with the clearest indications of a mind composed, and in a tone entirely devoid of passion or bluster -- 'the bank, Mr. Van Buren is trying to kill me, but I will kill it!'" 422

Mr Taney's statement was never refuted. Aug. '33

[89/603: 24]

[From Van Buren's Autobiography]:

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* In 1832, following the Senate's rejection of Van Buren as minister to England. See annotation: 89/592: 3-4.
"...It was...provided by the Charter [of the second Bank of the United States] that 'for the management of the affairs of the said Corporation' there should be 25 directors, five of whom should be annually appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and the residue should be annually elected by the stockholders 'other than the United States,' and it was further provided that 'not less than seven directors shall constitute a board for the transaction of business.' These solemn stipulations, notwithstanding that the latter was one of the fundamental articles of the constitution of the bank and that both together embraced the most material provisions for the management of the affairs of the corporation, upon the integrity of which the security of immense public interests depended, that institution permitted, nay encouraged and assisted its President to set at naught by the appointment and action of the 'Exchange Committee' to which I have referred.

That there be no mistake as to this cardinal step in these proceedings, through which impunity was expected to be secured for most of the lawless acts that followed, I repeat the words in which Chief Justice Taney, then Secretary of the Treasury, officially communicated the matter to both Houses, at the commencement of the panic session, in the face of the able and active friends of the bank on the floors of Congress:

Instead of a board constituted of at least seven directors, according to the charter, at which those appointed by the United States have a right to be present, many of the most important money transactions of the bank have been and still are placed under the control of a committee of which no one of the public directors has been allowed to be a member since the commencement of the present year [1833]. This Committee is not even elected by the board and the public directors have no voice in their appointment. They are chosen by the President of the bank; and the business of the institution, which ought to be decided on by the board of directors, is, in many instances, transacted by this Committee and no one has a right to be present at their proceedings but the President and those whom he shall please to name as members of this Committee. Thus loans are made unknown at the time to a majority of the board and paper discounted which might probably be rejected at a regular meeting of the directors, the most important operations of the bank are sometimes resolved on and executed by this Committee and its measures are, it appears designedly

"...[O]f the steps that were taken to supersede the action of the regular and only board of directors authorized by the charter... the most important were the substitution of what was called the 'Exchange Committee,' composed of only five directors, of whom the President of the bank was one and the other four were selected by him, and the bestowment of all but unlimited power on this Committee, whose doings were confidential and from whose councils the Government directors were invariably excluded..." (Van Buren, p. 641.)
and by regular system, so arranged as to conceal from the officers of the Government transactions in which the public interests are deeply involved.

That the truth of this statement could not be denied was, in various ways, unreservedly admitted as well by the bank as by its supporters in Congress. When Mr. Taney's report of his reasons for removing the deposits, the document in which the statement is contained, was received in the Senate Mr. Clay moved to take it up and to fix a day for its consideration without referring it to a committee. Mr. Benton alluded to the various charges of misconduct against the bank which it contained and upon which the Secretary relied as reasons for the removal [of the government deposits], and submitted whether it was not due to the bank, to the Country and to the Senate to have the truth of these charges enquired into before the Senate proceeded to decide upon the sufficiency of the reasons they furnished for the step which the Secretary had taken. Mr. Clay, without direct reply to the suggestion, persisted in his motion. A day having been appointed for the action of the Senate upon the Secretary's report he offered resolutions declaring the reasons assigned by that officer to be insufficient and highly censuring the conduct of the President in the matter, which were discussed for three months.

Mr. Taney's statement was never refuted either by the bank or by its supporters in Congress, but, on the contrary, not only was a challenge interposed by a hostile Senator to go into the investigation of its truth declined but the investigation itself was virtually refused thro' the action of the friends of the bank, they constituting a majority of the Senate. It would, therefore, be an act of supererogation to add another word here to establish its correctness. Am I wrong in assuming that it would be an equal waste of time to enlarge upon the subject for the purpose of establishing the utterly reckless and wholly inexcusable, not to say criminal character of these proceedings?’

".... The separate and comparatively irresponsible control given to the President by the board of Directors over the funds of the bank, including of course those of the Government, avowedly for electioneering purposes, is the next subject I propose to notice. As is often the case with similar abuses this had its beginning in an inconsiderable and perhaps excusable transaction, but, as usual also, it increased in extent and boldness with the growth of the motive in which it originated and the impunity which was extended to it until the caution and moderation of its earlier stages were openly discarded. An article appeared in the American Quarterly Review highly complimentary to the bank, and,

in November, 1830, the board passed a resolution authorizing the President to take such measures in regard to its circulation at the expense of the bank as he might deem most conducive to the interests of the latter. Not contenting himself with doing what he was authorized to do the President caused to be re-published and circulated other documents having a similar tendency, and, in March, 1831, he suggested to the board the propriety of empowering him to cause 'to be prepared and circulated such documents and papers as might communicate to the people information in regard to the nature and operation of the bank' -- which suggestion was promptly carried out. The expenses thus incurred in the years 1831 and 1832 (those of the Presidential canvass) amounted to eighty thousand dollars, as far as the Government Directors were enabled to obtain an account of them. Finding no vouchers for many of these other than the President's order, and that often too general to shew to whom and for what the money was paid, those directors, alarmed by what they had seen and by discovering similar operations in progress upon an increased scale, offered to the general board a resolution asking a specific account of those expenditures and of the purposes for which they had been paid. This proposition, which seemed to be very proper and reasonable, was promptly voted down.... This took place in August 1833, a few weeks after the bank had despatched its secret agent to England to thwart the Government in its purpose to redeem the three per cent. stock, an act which of itself, and more especially when considered in connection with the virtual sequestration of the Government funds to satisfy a groundless claim for damages...* shows that the bank then regarded itself as engaged in a struggle a l'outrance and deemed every measure allowable that might serve to advance its objects...." 424

"The curtailment [of discounts or loans to businesses] of the bank subsequent to the preparation of this paper [Mr. Taney's report], as derived from its own reports, was as follows: -- between the first of December, which was the day before Congress met and the first of July, 1834, when Congress adjourned, $3,428, 132; between the first of July and the first of September, $3,965, 474; total reduction in thirteen months, including that which took place before the first of December, $17,100,851 upon a discount line of sixty-four millions, at which it stood August 1st 1833, when its curtailment commenced; and all this was done whilst the Government deposits in the bank had only been reduced five millions between the first of August 1833 and the first of August 1834." 425

* The dishonoring of the "French Indemnity" draft, which had been purchased from the U.S. government by the bank and sold to individuals in England. See annotation: 89/595: 15-17, p. 353.
425 Ibid., p. 654.
And as to expunging?

that is perhaps prose,

you can find it in Benton.

[89/603: 25-27]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.1, Ch. XCVIII., "Mistakes of Public Men: -- Great Combination Against General Jackson: -- Commencement of the Panic."

"Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, and Mr. Webster were now all united against General Jackson, with all their friends, and the Bank of the United States. The two former had their private griefs: Mr. Clay in the results of the election [of 1832], and Mr. Calhoun in the quarrel growing out of the discovery of his conduct in Mr. Monroe's cabinet; and it would have been difficult so to have conducted their opposition, and attack, as to have avoided the imputation of a personal motive. But they so conducted it as to authorize and suggest that imputation. Their movements all took a personal and vindictive, instead of a legislative and remedial, nature. Mr. Taney's reasons for removing the deposits were declared to be 'unsatisfactory and insufficient' -- being words of reproach, and no remedy; nor was the remedy of restoration proposed until driven into it. The resolution, in relation to Gen. Jackson, was still more objectionable. The Senate had nothing to do with him personally, yet a resolve was proposed against him entirely personal, charging him with violating the laws and the constitution; and proposing no remedy for this imputed violation, nor for the act of which it was the subject. It was purely and simply a personal censure -- a personal condemnation that was proposed; and, to aggravate the proposition, it came from the suggestion of the bank directors' memorial to Congress."

[From Clay's speech condemning Jackson for the removal of the government deposits]:

"Mr. Clay addressed the Senate as follows: 'We are, said he, in the midst of a revolution, hitherto bloodless, but rapidly tending towards a total change of the pure republican character of the government, and to the concentration of all power in the hands of one man. The powers of Congress are paralyzed, except

426 Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 400-401.
when exerted in conformity with his will, by frequent and an
extraordinary exercise of the executive veto, not anticipated by
the founders of the constitution, and not practised by any of
the predecessors of the present Chief Magistrate....

'And now, Mr. President, what, under all these circumstances,
is it our duty to do? Is there a senator who can hesitate to
affirm, in the language of the resolutions, that the President
has assumed a dangerous power over the treasury of the United
States, not granted to him by the constitution and the laws; and
that the reasons assigned for the act by the Secretary of the
Treasury are insufficient and unsatisfactory?

'The eyes and the hopes of the American people are anxiously
turned to Congress. They feel that they have been deceived and
insulted; their confidence abused; their interests betrayed; and
their liberties in danger. They see a rapid and alarming concen-
tration of all power in one man's hands. They see that, by the
exercise of the positive authority of the Executive, and his neg-
ative power exerted over Congress, the will of one man alone pre-
vails, and governs the republic. The question is no longer what
laws will Congress pass, but what will the Executive not veto?" 427

[From Thirty Years' View, v.I, Ch. CIII., "Senatorial Condem-
nation of President Jackson: His Protest: Notice of the Expunging
Resolution."]:

'Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun were the two leading spirits in the
condemnation of President Jackson. Mr. Webster did not speak in
favor of their resolution, but aided it incidentally in the deliv-
er of his distress speeches. The resolution was theirs, modified
from time to time by themselves, without any vote of the Senate,
and by virtue of the privilege which belongs to the mover of any
motion to change it as he pleases, until the Senate, by some
action upon it, makes it its own. It was altered repeatedly,
and up to the last moment; and after undergoing its final muta-
tion, at the moment when the yeas and nays were about to be called,
it was passed by the same majority that would have voted for it
on the first day of its introduction.... And thus the resolution
was passed, and was nothing but an empty fulmination -- a mere
personal censure -- having no relation to any business or pro-
ceeding in the Senate; and evidently intended for effect on the
people....

When passed, the total irrelevance of the resolution to any
right or duty of the Senate was made manifest by the insignifi-
cance that attended its decision. There was nothing to be done

with it, or upon it, or under it, or in relation to it. It went to no committee, laid the foundation for no action, was not communicable to the other House, or to the President; and remained an intrusive fulmination on the Senate Journal: put there not for any legislative purpose, but purely and simply for popular effect. It was fully believed -- notwithstanding the experience of the Senate, in Mr. Van Buren's case -- that a senatorial condemnation would destroy whomsoever it struck -- even General Jackson. Vain calculation! and equally condemned by the lessons of history, and by the impulses of the human heart. Fair play is the first feeling of the masses; a fair and impartial trial is the law of the heart, as well as of the land; and no condemnation is tolerated of any man by his enemies...."

On receiving news of the Senate's condemnation resolution, Jackson wrote out a formal protest of the proceedings, and had it conveyed to Congress, to be read on the floor of the Senate. Benton describes its reception there:

"No sooner was this Protest read in the Senate than it gave rise to a scene of the greatest excitement. Mr. Poindexter, of Mississippi, immediately assailed it as a breach of the privileges of the Senate, and unfit to be received by the body. He said: 'I will not dignify this paper by considering it in the light of an Executive message: it is no such thing. I regard it simply as a paper, with the signature of Andrew Jackson; and, should the Senate refuse to receive it, it will not be the first paper with the same signature which has been refused a hearing in this body, on the ground of the abusive and vituperative language which it contained. This effort to denounce and overawe the deliberations of the Senate may properly be regarded as capping the climax of that systematic plan of operations which had for several years been in progress, designed to bring this body into disrepute among the people, and thereby remove the only existing barrier to the arbitrary encroachments and usurpations of Executive power: ' -- and he moved that the paper, as he called it, should not be received. Mr. Benton deemed this a proper occasion to give notice of his intention to move a strong measure which he contemplated -- an expunging resolution against the sentence of the Senate: -- a determination to which he had come from his own convictions of right; and which he now announced...accompanied by an earnest invective against the conduct of the Senate; and committed himself irrevocably to the prosecution of the 'expunging resolution' until he should succeed in the effort, or terminate his political life...."

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...[B]ut the debate on the protest went on; and the motion of Mr. Poindexter... after much acrimony on both sides, was adopted by the fixed majority of twenty-seven. In voting that the protest was a breach of the privileges of the Senate, that body virtually affirmed the impeachment character of the condemmatory resolutions, and involved itself in the predicament of voting an impeachable matter without observing a single rule for the conduct of impeachments.\footnote{Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 427-428, 432-433.}

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[From Ch. CXXIII., "The Expunging Resolution."]:

"From the moment of the Senate's condemnation of General Jackson, Mr. Benton gave notice of his intention to move the expunction of the sentence from the journal, periodically and continually until the object should be effected, or his political life come to its end. In conformity to this notice, he made his formal motion at the session '34-'35; and in these words:

'Resolved, That the resolution adopted by the Senate, on the 28th day of March, in the year 1834, in the following words: "Resolved, That the President, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both," be, and the same hereby is, ordered to be expunged\footnote{Rubbed or blotted out.} from the journals of the Senate; because the said resolution is illegal and unjust, of evil example, indefinite and vague, expressing a criminal charge without specification; and was irregularly and unconstitutionally adopted by the Senate, in subversion of the rights of defence which belong to an accused and impeachable officer; and at a time and under circumstances to endanger the political rights, and to injure the pecuniary interests of the people of the United States.'

This proposition was extremely distasteful to the Senate -- to the majority which passed the sentence on General Jackson; and Mr. Southard, senator from New Jersey, spoke their sentiments, and his own, when he thus bitterly characterized it as an indictment which the Senate itself was required to try, and to degrade itself in its own condemnation, -- he said:

'The object of this resolution... is not to obtain an expression from the Senate that their former opinions were erroneous, nor that the Executive acted correctly in relation to the public treasury. It goes further, and denounces the act of the Senate as so unconstitutional, unjustifiable, and offensive, that the evidence of it ought not to be permitted to remain
upon the records of the government. It is an indictment against the Senate. The senator from Missouri calls upon us to sit in judgment upon our own act, and warns us that we can save ourselves from future and lasting denunciation and reproach only by pronouncing our own condemnation by our votes. He assures us that he has no desire or intention to degrade the Senate, but the position in which he would place us is one of deep degradation...which not only acknowledges error, and admits inexcusable misconduct in this legislative branch of the government, but bows it down before the majesty of the Executive and makes us offer incense to his infallibility.

The bitterness of this self trial was aggravated by seeing the course which the public mind was taking. A current, strong and steady, and constantly swelling, was setting in for the President and against the Senate; and resolutions from the legislatures of several States -- Alabama, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Carolina -- had already arrived instructing their senators to vote for the expurgation which Mr. Benton proposed. In the mean time he had not yet made his leading speech in favor of his motion; and he judged this to be the proper time to do so, in order to produce its effects on the elections of the ensuing summer; and accordingly now spoke as follows....

"... Was the intended motion to clear the journal of the resolution right in itself? The convictions of his judgment told him that it was. Was expurgation the proper mode? Yes; he was thoroughly satisfied that that was the proper mode of proceeding in this case. For the criminating resolution which he wished to get rid of combined all the characteristics of a case which required erasure and obliteration: for it was a case, as he believed, of the exercise of power without authority, without even jurisdiction; illegal, irregular, and unjust. Other modes of annulling the resolution, as rescinding, reversing, repealing, could not be proper in such a case; for they would imply rightful jurisdiction, a lawful authority, a legal action, though an erroneous judgment. All that he denied. He denied the authority of the Senate to pass such a resolution at all; and he affirmed that it was unjust, and contrary to the truth, as well as contrary to law. That being his view of the resolution, he held that the true and proper course, the parliamentary course of proceeding in such a case, was to expunge it."

Benton's motion was tabled, but called up again on the last day of that session. A friend of Jackson's, Judge White of Tennessee, moved to strike out Benton's word "expunge" and insert "rescind, replace, or expunge," and the resolution was passed.

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430 Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 528-529. The full text of Benton's speech supporting his expunging resolution may be found at pp. 529-549.
reverse, and make null and void."

"... This motion astonished Mr. Benton.... He expected [Judge White's] aid, and felt the defection. Mr. Benton defended his word as being strictly parliamentary, and the only one which was proper to be used when an unauthorized act is to be condemned...."

Most of the Jackson supporters in the Senate, however, took up White's motion, and Benton was forced to approve it as well:

"... Seeing himself almost deserted, he yielded a mortifying and reluctant assent; and voted with others of his friends to emasculate his own motion -- to reduce it from its high tone of reprobation, to the legal formula which applied to the reversal of a mere error in a legal proceeding. The moment the vote was taken, Mr. Webster rose and exulted in the victory over the hated phrase. He proclaimed the accomplishment of everything that he desired in relation to the expunging resolution: the word was itself expunged; and he went on to triumph in the victory which had been achieved, saying:

'... The Senate has declared, in the most emphatic manner, that its journal shall not be tampered with. I rejoice most heartily, sir, in this decisive result. It is now settled, by authority not likely to be shaken, that our records are sacred.... The attempt to induce the Senate to expunge its journal has failed, signal and effectually failed....'

And then, to secure the victory which he had gained, Mr. Webster immediately moved to lay the amended resolution on the table, with the peremptory declaration that he would not withdraw his motion for friend or foe. The resolve was laid upon the table by a vote of 27 to 20. The exulting speech of Mr. Webster restored me to my courage -- made a man of me again; and the moment the vote was over, I rose and submitted the original resolution over again, with the detested word in it -- with the peremptory declaration that I would never yield it again to the solicitations of friend or foe." 432

Benton offered his resolution at each succeeding session of the Senate, until by the session of 1836-'37 enough votes had been garnered in support of the motion through the election of senators friendly to Jackson. Benton says in Ch. CLIX,

"... The appeal to the people had produced its full effect.... Contrary to all expectation, the public mind was made up in less

432 Ibid., p. 550.
than three years, and before the termination of that second admin-
istration [Jackson's] which was half run when the sentence of
condemnation was passed...: A majority of the States had acted
decisively on the subject -- some superseding their senators at
the end of their terms who had given the obnoxious vote, and
replacing them by those who would expunge it; others sending
legislative instructions to their senators, which carried along
with them, in the democratic States, the obligation of obedience
or resignation; and of which it was known there were enough to
obey to accomplish the desired expurgation. Great was the num-
ber superseded, or forced to resign. The great leaders, Mr. Clay,
Mr. Webster, Mr. Calhoun, easily maintained themselves in their
respective States; but the mortality fell heavily upon their
followers, and left them in a helpless minority. The time had
come for action; and on the second day after the meeting of the
Senate, Mr. Benton gave notice of his intention to bring in at
an early period the unwelcome resolution, and to press it to a
decision..."\textsuperscript{433}

[From Benton's third speech in support of the expunging reso-
lution, delivered \textsuperscript{433} December, 1833]:

"And now, sir, I finish the task which, three years ago, I
imposed on myself. Solitary and alone, and amidst the jeers and
taunts of my opponents, I put this ball in motion. The people
have taken it up, and rolled it forward, and I am no longer any
thing but a unit in the vast mass which now propels it. In the
name of that mass I speak. I demand the execution of the edict
of the people; I demand the expurgation of that sentence which
the voice of a few senators, and the power of their confederate,
the Bank of the United States, has caused to be placed on the
journal of the Senate; and which the voice of millions of free-
men has ordered to be expunged from it."\textsuperscript{434}

[From Ch. CLXI., "Expunging Resolution: Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun,
Mr. Webster: Last Scene: Resolution Passed, and Executed."]:

"Saturday, the 14th of January, the democratic senators agreed
to have a meeting, and to take their final measures for passing
the expunging resolution. They knew they had the numbers; but
they also knew that they had adversaries to grapple with to whom
might be applied the proud motto of Louis the Fourteenth: 'Not
an unequal match for numbers.'... The agreement which was to lead
to victory was then adopted... that there should be no adjournment

\textsuperscript{433} Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.1, pp. 717-718.
\textsuperscript{434} Ibid., p. 727.
of the Senate after the resolution was called until it was passed. Expecting a protracted session, extending through the day and night, and knowing the difficulty of keeping men steady to their work and in good humor, when tired and hungry, the mover of the proceeding took care to provide, as far as possible, against such a state of things; and gave orders that night to have an ample supply of cold hams, turkeys, rounds of beef, pickles, wines and cups of hot coffee, ready in a certain committee room near the Senate chamber.

The motion to take up the subject was made at the appointed time, and immediately a debate of long speeches, chiefly on the other side, opened itself upon the question. It was evident that consumption of time, delay and adjournment, was their plan. The three great leaders did not join in the opening; but their place was well supplied by many of their friends, able speakers -- some effective, some eloquent.... They were only the half in number, but strong in zeal and ability, that commenced the contest three years before, reinforced by Mr. White of Tennessee. As the darkness of approaching night came on, and the great chandelier was lit up, splendidly illuminating the chamber, then crowded with the members of the House, and the lobbies and galleries filled to their utmost capacity by visitors and spectators, the scene became grand and impressive. A few spoke on the side of the resolution...and with an air of ease and satisfaction that bespoke a quiet determination, and a consciousness of victory. The committee room had been resorted to in parties of four and six at a time, always leaving enough on watch: and not resorted to by one side alone. The opposition were invited to a full participation -- an invitation of which those who were able to maintain their good temper readily availed themselves; but the greater part were not in a humor to eat any thing -- especially at such a feast. The night was wearing away: the expungers were in full force -- masters of the chamber -- happy -- and visibly determined to remain. It became evident to the great opposition leaders that the inevitable hour had come: that the damnable deed was to be done that night: and that the dignity of silence was no longer to them a tenable position. The battle was going against them, and they must go into it, without being able to re-establish it. In the beginning, they had not considered the expunging movement a serious proceeding: as it advanced they still expected it to miscarry on some point: now the reality of the thing stood before them, confronting their presence, and refusing to 'down' at any command. They broke silence, and gave vent to language which bespoke the agony of their feelings, and betrayed the revulsion of stomach with which they approached the odious subject. Mr. Calhoun said:

* Benton.
'No one, not blinded by party zeal, can possibly be insensible that the measure proposed is a violation of the constitution. The constitution requires the Senate to keep a journal; this resolution goes to expunge the journal. If you may expunge a part, you may expunge the whole; and if it is expunged, how is it kept? The constitution says the journal shall be kept; this resolution says it shall be destroyed...

But why do I waste my breath? I know it is all utterly vain. The day is gone; night approaches, and night is suitable to the dark deed we meditate. There is a sort of destiny in this thing. The act must be performed; and it is an act which will tell on the political history of this country for ever.' 435

[Henry Clay seems to have taken the cue for his speech from Calhoun's Shakespearean pose. He says in part]:

"'But why should I detain the Senate, or needlessly waste my breath in fruitless exertions. The decree has gone forth. It is one of urgency, too. The deed is to be done -- that foul deed which, like the blood-stained hands of the guilty Macbeth, all ocean's waters will never wash out. Proceed, then, with the noble work which lies before you, and, like other skilful executioners, do it quickly. And when you have perpetrated it, go home to the people, and tell them what glorious honors you have achieved for our common country. Tell them that you have extinguished one of the brightest and purest lights that ever burnt at the altar of civil liberty.... Tell them that, henceforward, no matter what daring or outrageous act any President may perform, you have for ever hermetically sealed the mouth of the Senate.... Tell them, finally, that you have restored the glorious doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. And, if the people do not pour out their indignation and impreca- 436

[Webster's speech, which was the last from the opposition, runs in a similar vein to Clay's and Calhoun's, though it is much more subdued, taking for its text Jackson's alleged influence over several state legislatures in drawing up instructions to senators to vote for the expunging resolution. He says]:

"'... We make up our minds to behold the spectacle which is to ensue. We collect ourselves to look on, in silence, while

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436 Ibid., p. 729.
a scene is exhibited which, if we did not regard it as a ruthless violation of a sacred instrument, would appear to us to be little elevated above the character of a contemptible farce.'

"Midnight was now approaching. The dense masses which filled every inch of room in the lobbies and the galleries, remained immovable. No one went out; no one could get in. The floor of the Senate was crammed with privileged persons, and it seemed that all Congress was there. Expectation, and determination to see the conclusion, was depicted upon every countenance. It was evident there was to be no adjournment until the vote should be taken -- until the deed was done; and this aspect of invincible determination, had its effect upon the ranks of the opposition.... Mr. Webster concluded. No one rose. There was a pause, a dead silence, and an intense feeling. Presently the silence was invaded by the single word 'question' -- the parliamentary call for a vote -- rising from the seats of different senators.... The yeas and nays had been previously ordered, and proceeded to be called....

The passage of the resolution was announced from the chair. Mr. Benton rose, and said that nothing now remained but to execute the order of the Senate; which he moved be done forthwith. It was ordered accordingly. The Secretary thereupon produced the original manuscript journal of the Senate, and opening at the page which contained the condemmatory sentence of March 28th, 1834, proceeded in open Senate to draw a square of broad black lines around the sentence, and to write across its face in strong letters these words: 'Expunged by order of the Senate, this 16th day of March, 1837.' Up to this moment the crowd in the great circular gallery, looking down upon the Senate, though sullen and menacing in their looks, had made no manifestation of feeling.... Doubtless no one intended to excite that crowd, mainly composed, as of usual since the bank question began, of friends of that institution; but its appearance became such that Senator Linn, colleague of Senator Benton, Mr. George W. Jones, since senator from Iowa, and others sent out and brought in arms; other friends gathered about him; among them Mrs. Benton, who, remembering what had happened to General Jackson,* and knowing that, after him, her husband was most obnoxious to the bank party, had her anxiety sufficiently excited to wish to be near him in this concluding scene of a seven years' contest with that great, moneyed power. Things were in this state when the Secretary of the Senate began to perform the expunging process on the manuscript journal. Instantly a storm of hisses, groans, and vociferations arose from the left wing of the circular gallery, over the head of Senator Benton. The presiding officer promptly gave the order, which

* On 30 January, 1835, as Jackson and members of his cabinet were coming out of the Capitol, a man attempted to shoot him from a short distance. Jackson was saved by the pistol's misfire. See Benton, v.1, pp. 521-524.
the rules prescribe in such cases, to clear the gallery. Mr. Benton opposed the order, saying:

'I hope the galleries will not be cleared, as many innocent persons will be excluded, who have been guilty of no violation of order. Let the ruffians who have made the disturbance alone be punished: let them be apprehended.... Let him [the sergeant-at-arms] seize the bank ruffians. I hope that they will not now be suffered to insult the Senate, as they did when it was under the power of the Bank of the United States, when ruffians, with arms upon them, insulted us with impunity....'

Mr. Benton knew that he was the object of this outrage, and that the way to treat these subaltern wretches was to defy and seize them, and have them dragged as criminals to the bar of the Senate.... The ringleader was seized, and brought to the bar. This sudden example intimidated the rest; and the expunging process was performed in quiet.... The gratification of General Jackson was extreme. He gave a grand dinner to the expungers (as they were called) and their wives; and being too weak to sit at the table, he only met the company, placed the 'head-expunger' in his chair, and withdrew to his sick chamber. That expurgation! it was the 'crowning mercy' of his civil, as New Orleans had been of his military, life!" (Thirty Years' View, v.I, pp. 730-731.)

Securing his (A.J's) admiration by the majesty of his (Dante's) in'elect.

[89/603: 28; 604: 1]

"[From Van Buren's Autobiography]:

"The suspicion by which Mr. Clay was led to meet Mr. Webster at Washington as an enemy, and which was confirmed by his accidental conversation with me years afterwards, was that Mr. W. left the seat of Government in the spring of 1833...with two settled purposes -- first, to supplant him in the affection and confidence of their own party and, secondly, to conciliate the good will of President Jackson and as many of his friends as should be found practicable, with the ulterior design of employing one or the other or both of these means, incongruous as they might appear to be, to secure his own elevation to the Presidentia! office at the approaching and certain vacancy...." 437

"[Webster had supported President Jackson's opposition to the

South Carolina nullification measures, had in fact been speaking in Boston against nullification when he heard of Jackson's Proclamation and proposed Force Bill to implement the tariff duties against which the nullification laws were directed.]

"... [Clay's] belief in Mr. Webster's designs upon the General's friendship was, in this instance, the revival of a suspicion which he, in common with almost every body else, had imbibed from the eager and emphatic applauses of the doctrines of the Proclamation with which Faneuil Hall had resounded on the appearance of that document; but his first impressions had been greatly shaken, if not removed, by observation of the conduct of the President's most influential friends, who...had turned the cold shoulder to Webster.... Mr. Webster's course, however, during the recess, not only re-awakened his former suspicions but ripened them into convictions which he ever afterwards deemed well founded. This was, beyond all doubt, the state of his mind in those regards when he met Mr. Webster at the Capitol a few days after the opening of the Panic Session."438

Now, the possibility arising here is that Webster might ingratiate himself with Jackson and become a part of the Administration. Van Buren says that an occasion rose by which Webster had the opportunity of so doing publicly, when Jackson visited Webster's home seat, Boston:

"... President Jackson's purpose to visit the Eastern States was well understood at Washington before Mr. Webster left that city and the expectation was generally entertained that the course he had pursued in regard to the doctrine of nullification would call forth a more general demonstration of respect from the Eastern people than might otherwise have been exhibited. Many, perhaps most persons, would, on a first impression, have taken it for granted that Mr. Webster, if he cherished the desire attributed to him by the supposition we are considering, would have made it a point to be with his people on the President's arrival amongst them, to have participated in their demonstrations of respect, to have mingled in the combined assemblages of the President's political friends and his own, and so to have manoeuvred as, without a seeming effort to that end, to cause, as he did at the Faneuil Hall meeting, the eulogiums bestowed on the Chief Magistrate to be regarded as virtually proceeding from himself. But, in the case supposed, conceding to his position a portion only

of the dignity and influence with which his lavish admirers invested it, he might well have reasoned differently in regard to the steps by which such a coalition as that he desired should be preceded; he might well have preferred a course of proceedings by which to save so great a sacrifice of his personal consequence. His enthusiastic young biographer and friend, March, when, treating of the proposed union, he spoke of Mr. Webster (who was, he says, 'admirably qualified for a great adviser') becoming the great ally of General Jackson, of 'securing his admiration by the majesty of his intellect' and supplying 'the mind to plan what the other would have had the heart to execute,' may have come nearer to Mr. Webster's views of what would have been the character of a union between Gen. Jackson and himself. Which- ever way Mr. W. may have reasoned on the subject his actions certainly were most in harmony with this idea. So far was he from taking pains to be at home when the President arrived in Massachusetts that he selected the entire period of the General's visit to New England for his famous Western tour, which by his biographer is described as having been 'one continual ovation' and by his friends of the National Intelligencer as 'an excursion in the progress of which he wrought little less than a miracle upon party feuds and divisions in the Western country'. By the adoption of this course Mr. Webster was enabled to give more dignity and greater efficacy to such tributes of respect to the public acts of the President as he might desire to pay them. Instead of speaking to that high officer...in the midst of a population a majority of whom the President very well knew would never so far subdue their inveterate prejudices or recant their old and rooted doctrines as to become his sincere supporters, he could say what he might desire to him or at him in the hearing of any portion of the people of the West whom he should have reason to think best adapted to his purposes..." 439

As Van Buren says, "Mr. Webster was then and had always been a party man, certainly among the strictest if not also among the bitterest of his sect." 440 So that, although Webster praised Jackson for his action against the nullifiers, his speeches from the western tour make clear his intention to sell Federalist (Whig) doctrine to the West and to plant his name in the remembrance of his audience for the approaching season of Presidential election. In any case, his partisanship and the bank's influence over him soon divided him for good and all from Jackson's party.

440 Ibid., p. 690.
As for Dante: whether his insertion into line 1, p. 604 is due the play of Pound's fancy or the typesetter's misreading of that Florentine's, for Mr. Webster's familiar, Dan'l, Daniel, or some as yet unknown variation of the same, I know not. I have not, however, so far found any mention of Dante in connection with Andrew in Benton, in Van Buren, in Parton, or in Bassett. Bassett, for one, regards Jackson's literary attainments as minimal:

"... He knew no more Latin than he could pick up in the practice of his profession of lawyer; his spelling and grammar were devoid of regularity and showed the utmost indifference to the rules by which they were determined for other people; and his acquaintance with literature is a negligible quantity in an estimate of his life. Occasionally one finds in his papers some oft-quoted phrase, as, Carthage delenda est, but it is always one which he must have heard on a hundred stumps in Tennessee. Of all his prominent contemporaries his utterances are most barren of allusions which show an acquaintance with poetry, history, or literature; and in comparison with him the grandiose Benton seems a pedant." 441

"No civilization" said Knittl,
"they got no stone". (Hrooshia)

[89/604: 2-3]

I have not been able to identify Knittl or the context of his remark. He is perhaps an acquaintance of Pound's; he does not appear in either Van Buren's Autobiography or Benton's memoir.

441 Bassett, The Life of Andrew Jackson, p. 9.
Make distress on system, in order to use it.

[89/604: 4]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. XXXVIII., "Bank of the United States: Resignation of Mr. Biddle: Final Suspension."]:

"On the 30th of March [1839]...Mr. Biddle resigned his place as president of the Bank, giving as a reason for it that, 'the affairs of the institution were in a state of great prosperity, and no longer needed his services.'

On the same day the board of directors in accepting the resignation, passed a resolve declaring that the President Biddle had left the institution 'prosperous in all its relations, strong in its ability to promote the interest of the community, cordial with other banks, and secure in the esteem and respect of all connected with it at home or abroad.'

On the 9th of October the Bank closed her doors upon her creditors, under the mild name of suspension -- never to open them again....

Still dominating over the moneyed systems of the South and West, this former colossal institution was yet able to carry along with her nearly all the banks of one-half of the Union: and using her irredeemable paper against the solid currency of the New York and other Northern banks, and selling fictitious bills on Europe, she was able to run them hard for specie -- curtail their operations -- and make panic and distress in the money market. At the same time by making an imposing exhibition of her assets, arranging a reciprocal use of their notes with other suspended banks, keeping up an apparent par value for her notes and stocks by fictitious and collusive sales and purchases, and above all, by her political connection with the powerful opposition -- and she was enabled to keep the field as a bank, and as a political power: and as such to act an effective part in the ensuing presidential election...."

[From Ch. XL., "First Session of the Twenty-sixth Congress: President's Message]:

"The President* also exposed the dangerous nature of the whole banking system from its chain of connection and mutual dependence of one upon another, so as to make the misfortune of criminality

442 Thirty Years' View, v.II, pp. 157-158.

* Van Buren.
of one the misfortune of all. Our country banks were connected with those of New York and Philadelphia: they again with the Bank of England. So that a financial crisis commencing in London extends immediately to our great Atlantic cities; and thence throughout the States to the most petty institutions of the most remote villages and counties: so that the lever which raised or sunk our country banks was in New York and Philadelphia, while they themselves were worked by a lever in London; thereby subjecting our system to the vicissitudes of English banking, and especially while we had a national bank, which, by a law of its nature, would connect itself with the Bank of England. All this was well known to the President, and improved into a reason for disconnecting ourselves from a moneyed system, which, in addition to its own inherent vices and fallibilities, was also subject to the vices, fallibilities, and even inimical designs of another, and a foreign system -- belonging to a power, always our competitor in trade and manufactures -- sometimes our enemy in open war."443

[From Ch. LXV, Benton's speech against the repeal in 1841, Tyler's administration, of the Independent Treasury Act, a measure recommended by Van Buren and passed during his administration]:

".... The success of our [democratic] measures was complete. The country was happy and prosperous under it; but the architects of mischief -- the political, gambling, and rotten part of the banks, headed by the Bank of the United States, and aided by a political party -- set to work to make panic and distress, to make suspensions and revulsions, to destroy trade and business, to degrade and poison the currency; to harass the country until it would give them another national bank: and to charge all the mischief they created upon the democratic administration. This has been their conduct; and having succeeded in the last presidential election, they now come forward to seize the spoils of victory in creating another national bank; to devour the substance of the people, and to rule the government of their country. Sir, the suspension of 1837, on the part of the Bank of the United States and its confederate banks and politicians, was a conspiracy and a revolt against the government. The present suspension is a continuation of the same revolt by the same parties. Many good banks are overpowered by them, and forced into suspension; but with the Bank of the United States, its affiliated banks, and its confederate politicians, it is a revolt and a conspiracy against the government."444

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443 Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 162.
* Which was aborted only by Tyler's veto. See annotation: 89/600: 5-7, pp. 458-460.
444 Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 228.
"The angrier, the cooler he (Benton) became."

[89/604: 5]

[From William M. Meigs, The Life of Thomas Hart Benton, Ch. XXIII, "Character and General Tendencies"]: 

"All agree that [Benton] was a terrible man in anger, but, while some say that on such occasions he grew almost beside himself and became the helpless victim of his fury, both Wentworth and Dyer think that the higher his anger the cooler he was and that he never lost his self-possession. The latter says that, when he wanted to torture an opponent, he had a way of elevating his voice into a rasping squeal of sarcasm, which was intolerably exasperating. He had on such occasions a most effective way of repeating a sentence over and over with slight variations, hurling the word 'sir' at his opponent with a frequency which nothing but his powerful utterance and commanding manner prevented from becoming absurd." 445

We have had one "assumption".

[89/604: 6]

[From Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. XLIII., "Assumption of the State Debts"]: 

"About one-half of the States had contracted debts abroad which they were unable to pay when due, and in many instances were unable to pay when due, and in many instances were unable to pay the current annual interest. These debts at this time amounted to one hundred and seventy millions of dollars, and were chiefly due in Great Britain. They had been converted into a stock, and held in shares, and had gone into a great number of hands; and from defaults in payments were greatly depreciated.... [T]here was [a]...class of these bond-holders who...looked...to an assumption in some form, disguised or open, virtual or actual, of these debts by the federal government. These British capitalists, connected with capitalists in the United States, possessed a weight on this point which was felt in the halls of Congress.

* John Wentworth, author of Congressional Reminiscences, and Oliver Dyer, author of Great Senators of the United States. "Dyer says that once, on the occasion of some personal wrangle with a member, the opposing Senator referred to what he called 'quarrel' of Benton's; but the latter replied sternly, 'The Senator is mistaken, sir. I never quarrel, sir; but I sometimes fight, sir; and, whenever I fight, sir, a funeral follows, sir.'" (Meigs, pp. 486-487.)

445 Meigs, p. 487.
The disguised attempts at this assumption, were in the various modes of conveying federal money to the States in the shape of distributing surplus revenue, of dividing the public land money, and of bestowing money on the States under the fallacious title of a deposit. But a more direct provision in their behalf was wanted by these capitalists, and in the course of the year 1839 a movement to that effect was openly made through the columns of their regular organ -- The London Bankers' Circular, emanating from the most respectable and opulent house of the Messrs. Baring, Brothers and Company. At this open procedure on the part of these capitalists, it was deemed expedient to meet the attempt in line by a positive declaration in Congress against the constitutionality, the justice, and the policy of any such measure. With this view Mr. Benton, at the commencement of the first session of Congress after the issuing of the Bankers' Circular, submitted a series of resolutions in the Senate, which, with some modification, and after an earnest debate, were passed in that body....  

[From Benton's speech against assumption of State debts]:

"We have had one assumption in our country, and that in a case which was small in amount, and free from the impediment of a constitutional objection; but which was attended by such evils as should deter posterity from imitating the example. It was in the first year of the federal government; and although the assumed debts were only twenty millions, and were alleged to have been contracted for general purposes, yet the assumption was attended by circumstances of intrigue and corruption, which led to the most violent dissension in Congress, suspended the business of the two Houses, drove some of the States to the verge of secession, and menaced the Union with instant dissolution. Mr. Jefferson, who was a witness of the scene, and who was overpowered by General Hamilton, and by the actual dangers of the country, into its temporary support, thus describes it:

'This game was over (funding the soldiers' certificates), and another was on the carpet at the moment of my arrival; and to this I was most ignorantly and innocently made to hold the candle. This fiscal manoeuvre is well known by the name of the assumption. Independently of the debts of Congress, the States had, during the war, contracted separate and heavy debts.... This money, whether wisely or foolishly spent, was pretended to have been spent for general purposes, and ought therefore to be paid from the general purse. But it was objected, that nobody knew what these debts were, what their amount, or what their proofs. No matter; we will guess them...

446 Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 171.
to be twenty millions. But of these twenty millions, we do not know how much should be reimbursed to one State or how much to another. No matter; we will guess. And so another scramble was set on foot among the several States, and some got much, some little, some nothing... This measure produced the most bitter and angry contests ever known in Congress, before or since the union of the States.... The great and trying question, however, was lost in the House of Representatives. So high were the feuds excited by this subject, that on its rejection business was suspended. Congress met and adjourned, from day to day, without doing any thing, the parties being too much out of temper to do business together. The Eastern members particularly, who, with Smith from South Carolina, were the principal gamblers in these scenes, threatened a secession and dissolution.... But it was finally agreed that whatever importance had been attached to the rejection of this proposition, the preservation of the Union, and of concord among the States, was more important; and that, therefore, it would be better that the vote of rejection should be rescinded; to effect which, some members should change their votes. But it was observed that this pill would be peculiarly bitter to the Southern States, and that some concomitant measure should be adopted to sweeten it a little to them. There had before been propositions to fix the seat of government either at Philadelphia, or at Georgetown, on the Potomac; and it was thought that, by giving it to Philadelphia for ten years, and to Georgetown permanently afterwards, this might, as an anodyne, calm in some degree the ferment which might be excited by the other measure alone. So two of the Potomac members (White and Lee, but White with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive) agreed to change their votes, and Hamilton undertook to carry the other point; and so the assumption was passed, and twenty millions of stock divided among the favored States, and thrown in as a pabulum to the stock-jobbing herd. ... Still the machine was not complete; the effect of the funding system and of the assumption would be temporary; it would be lost with the loss of the individual members whom it had enriched; and some engine of influence more permanent must be contrived while these myrmidons were yet in place to carry it through. This engine was the [First] Bank of the United States.

What a picture is here presented! ..... Such were the evils attending a small assumption of twenty millions of dollars, and that in a case where there was no constitutional impediment to be evaded or surmounted. For in that case the debts assumed had been incurred for the general good -- for the general defence during the revolution: in this case they have been incurred for
the local benefit of particular States. Half the States have incurred none; and are they to be taxed to pay the debts of the rest?

These stocks are now greatly depreciated. Many of the present holders bought them upon speculation, to take the chance of the rise. A diversion of the national domain to their payment would immediately raise them far above par -- would be a present of fifty or sixty cents on the dollar, and of fifty or sixty millions in the gross -- to the foreign holders, and, virtually, a present of so much public land to them. It is in vain for the bill to say that the proceeds of the lands are to be divided among the States. The indebted States will deliver their portion to their creditors; they will send it to Europe, they will be nothing but the receivers-general and the sub-treasurers of the bankers and stockjobbers of London, Paris, and of Amsterdam. The proceeds of the sales of the lands will go to them. The hard money, wrung from the hard hand of the western cultivator, will go to these foreigners; and the whole influence of these foreigners will be immediately directed to the enhancement of the price of our public lands, and to the prevention of the passage of all the laws which go to graduate their price, or to grant pre-emptive rights to the settlers...." (Thirty Years' View, v.II, pp. 173-175.)

English debt could have been paid by the time of George

Second.

they prefer to send it down to posterity.

[89/604: 7-8]

[From Benton's speech against "assumption":]

"What more unwise and more unjust than to contract debts on long time, as some of the States have done, thereby invading the rights and mortgaging the resources of posterity, and loading unborn generations with debts not their own? What more unwise than all this, which several of the States have done, and which the effort now is to make all do? Besides the ultimate burden in the shape of final payment, which is intended to fall upon posterity, the present burden is incessant in the shape of annual interest, and falling upon each generation, equals the principal in every periodical return of ten or a dozen years. Few have calculated the devouring effect of annual interest on public debts, and considered how soon it exceeds the principal. Who supposes that we have paid near three hundred millions of inter-
est on our late national debt, the principal of which never rose higher than one hundred and twenty-seven millions, and remained but a year or two at that? Who supposes this? Yet...near three hundred millions, or near double the maximum amount of the debt itself, must have been paid in interest alone; and this at a moderate interest varying from three to six per cent. and payable at home. The British national debt owes its existence entirely to this policy. It was but a trifle in the beginning of the last century, and might have been easily paid during the reigns of the first and second George; but the policy was to fund it, that is to say, to pay the interest annually, and send down the principal to posterity; and the fruit of that policy is now seen in a debt of four thousand five hundred millions of dollars, two hundred and fifty millions of annual taxes, with some millions of people without bread; while an army, a navy, and a police, sufficient to fight all Europe, is kept under pay, to hold in check and subordination the oppressed and plundered ranks of their own population. And this is the example which the transferrers of the State debt would have us to imitate, and this the end to which they would bring us!" (Thirty Years' View, v.II, p. 175.)

And when "EXPUNGED", A.J. sent back the bullet, which is, I suppose, part of parliamentary history dull or not, as you choose to regard it.

[89/604: 9-11]

[From Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson]:

"It was quite a curious coincidence, that on one of these fine mornings, when Colonel Benton was so fiercely battling for the President in the Senate chamber, the President had to submit to a surgical operation for the extraction of the bullet which he had carried in his left arm ever since the time of the Benton affray, in Nashville, twenty years before. The General laid bare his arm, grasped his well known walking stick, and told the doctor (Dr. Harris, of Philadelphia) to 'go ahead.' The doctor made a bold incision into the flesh, gave the arm a squeeze, and out jumped the ball upon the floor. It was all over and the arm bandaged in one minute. My informant does not state whether the General restored the ball to its rightful owner or his represen-

tative, nor whether Colonel Benton was able to look the President comfortably in the face that evening." 447

To expunge means literally to prick out; Pound's use of the word which Benton insisted be used to remove the censure of Jackson from the Senate record to describe the extraction of the bullet from an old wound in his body is so accurate as to give the word a multivalence which charges the whole field of meaning in this short sequence. And as metaphor it brings back Jackson's remark to Van Buren that "the bank, Mr. Van Buren, is trying to kill me, but I will kill it!"

I want Frémont looking at mountains

[89/604: 12]

[From Thirty Years' View, Ch. CXIII., "Lieutenant Frémont's First Expedition: Speech, and Motion of Senator Linn."

"A communication was received from the War Department, in answer to a call heretofore made for the report of Lieutenant Frémont's expedition to the Rocky Mountains. Mr. Linn* moved that it be printed for the use of the Senate; and that one thousand extra copies be printed....

'Supplied with the best astronomical and barometrical instruments, well qualified to use them, and accompanied by twenty-five voyageurs, enlisted for the purpose at St. Louis, and trained to all the hardships and dangers of the prairies and the mountains, Mr. Frémont left the mouth of the Kansas, on the frontiers of Missouri, on the 10th of June; and, in the almost incredibly short space of four months returned to the same point, without an accident to a man, and with a vast mass of useful observations, and many hundred specimens in botany and geology....

... The object of the expedition was to examine and report upon the rivers and country between the frontiers of Missouri and the base of the Rocky Mountains; and especially to examine the character, and ascertain the latitude and longitude of the

447 Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson, v. III, pp. 415-416. The "rightful owner" of the bullet was Jesse Benton, Thomas' brother; "his representative" was, of course, Thomas himself. See Bassett, The Life of Andrew Jackson, p. 69.

* Louis F. Linn was Benton's colleague in the Senate from Missouri.
South Pass, the great crossing place to these mountains on the way to the Oregon. All the objects of the expedition have been accomplished, and in a way to be beneficial to science, and instructive to the general reader, as well as useful to the government...

In executing his instructions, Mr. Frémont proceeded up the Kansas River far enough to ascertain its character, and then crossed over to the Great Platte, and pursued that river to its source in the mountains, where the Sweet Water (a head branch of the Platte) issues from the neighborhood of the South Pass. He reached the Pass on the 8th of August [1842], and describes it as a wide and low depression of the mountains, where the ascent is as easy as that of the hill on which this Capitol stands, and where a plainly beaten wagon road leads to the Oregon through the valley of Lewis's River, a fork of the Columbia. He went through the Pass, and saw the headwaters of the Colorado, of the Gulf of California; and, leaving the valleys to indulge a laudable curiosity, and to make some useful observations, and attended by four of his men, he climbed the loftiest peak of the Rocky Mountains, until then untrodden by any known human being; and, on the 15th of August, looked down upon ice and snow some thousand feet below, and traced in the distance the valleys of the rivers which, taking their rise in the same elevated ridge, flow in opposite directions to the Pacific Ocean and to the Mississippi. From that ultimate point he returned by the valley of the Great Platte, following the stream in its whole course..."

(Thirty Years' View, v.II, pp. 478-479.)

or, if you like, Reck, at Lake Biwa,

[89/604: 13]

[From Michael Reck, Ezra Pound: A Close-Up]:

"In June 1954, I visited [Ernest] Fenollosa's grave at the Miidera, a temple overlooking Lake Biwa near Kyoto. The poet Fujitomi Yasuo and I found the Miidera after wandering up and through the great cryptomeria forest of the temple preserve -- until we emerged, and saw the temple with its elegantly sloping roofs, like a bird ready to fly. Beneath, an immense vista of Lake Biwa, a great blue surrounded by mountains. Timeless! But not quite. Just under the temple was an American army camp.

Bernard De Voto comments on the impact of Frémont's report on Americans who were just taking up the notion of moving west to "the Oregon." See The Year of Decision, pp. 39-40.

Luckily the mountain on which the Miidera stood was so steep that the camp was invisible.

Fenollosa lies in a clearing among the trees, Biwa gracefully beneath: a stone urn resting on a concrete base...

I described my visit in a letter to Pound, and he recorded it in the last line of his Canto 89..."448

Ernest Fenollosa is the man by whose perceptions Pound came seriously to regard a study of Chinese and Japanese literatures as a reopening of western sensibility. How Pound came to edit Fenollosa's notebooks on Chinese and Japanese literatures (published as The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry and The Classic Noh Theatre of Japan -- also published variously as Certain Noble Plays of Japan and as Noh, or Accomplishment) is well-documented (See Norman's Ezra Pound, Stock's Life of Ezra Pound, or Hugh Kenner's Pound Era). Pound was moved to write translations of the poems and plays he found transliterated in the notebooks; the poems were published as a book titled Cathay; the plays in Certain Noble Plays of Japan. With the Fenollosa notebooks as base, he looked to China through the work of European translators: Maillà's Histoire Generale de la Chine, Lacharme's Confucii Chi-King, Couvreur's Chou King, Legge's Chinese Classics.

So that: from the cages of the "D.T.C., out of "the dust and glare evil" in which the arse-hole of the American army squatted outside Pisa in 1945, Pound looked out across the Pisan plain to China in Italy:

and the nymph of the Hagoromo came to me,

as a corona of angels

one day were clouds banked on Taishan

or in glory of sunset

(Canto 74/430: 11-14)

448 Michael Reck, Ezra Pound: A Close-Up, pp. 174-175. Reck, "a student of Greek and Oriental languages" (Stock, p. 579), became acquainted with Pound at St. Elizabeth's hospital, visited him there often, corresponded with him. He collaborated with Fujitomi Yasuo on a translation into Japanese of Pound's rendering of Sophocles' Women of Trachis; his book reproduces a letter from Pound advising him as to the essences of a proper translation of the work.
Appendix A

[From C.H. Douglas, Economic Democracy]:

"Now, purchasing power is the amount of goods of the description desired which can be bought with the sum of money available, and it is clearly a function of price. It is a widely spread delusion that price is simply a question of supply and demand, whereas, of course, the upper limit of price only is thus governed, the lower limit, which under free competition would be the ruling limit, being fixed by cost plus the minimum profit which will provide a financial inducement to produce. It is important to bear this in mind, because it is frequently assumed that a mere glut of goods will bring down prices quite irrespective of any intrinsic economy involved in large scale production. Unless these goods are all absorbed, the result may be exactly opposite, since deterioration must go into succeeding costs. Cost is the accumulation of past spendings over an indefinite period, whereas cash price requires a purchasing power effective at the moment of purchase.

Where competition is restricted by Trusts, price is cost plus whatever profit the Trust considers it politic to charge.

Looked at from this standpoint it is fairly clear that the kernel of the problem is factory cost, since it is quite possible to conceive of a limited company in which the shares were all held by the employees, either equally or in varying proportions, according to their grade, and the selling costs were internal -- that is to say, all advertising was done by the firm itself, and the cost of its salesmen, etc., was either negligible, or confined to their salaries. We should then have the complete profit-sharing enterprise in its ultimate aspect, and the argument against Capitalism in its usual form would not arise.

Such an undertaking would, let us assume, make a complicated engineering product, requiring expensive plant and machinery, and would absorb considerable quantities of power and light, lubricants, etc., much of which would be wasted; and would inevitably produce a certain amount of scrap the value of which would be less than the material in the form in which it entered the works. The machinery would wear out, and would have to be replaced and maintained, and generally it is clear that for each unit of production there would be three main divisions of factory cost, the 'staple' raw material, the wages and salaries, and a sum representing a proportion of the cost of upkeep on the whole of the plant, which might easily equal 200 per cent. of the wages and salaries. As the plant became more automatic by improvements in process, the ratio which these plant costs bore to the cost of labour and salaries would increase. The factory cost of the total production, therefore, would be the addition of these three items: staple material, labour and salaries, and plant cost, and with the addition of selling charges and profit,
this would be the selling price.

As a result of the operations of the undertaking, the 'wealth' of the world would thus be apparently increased by the difference between the value of all the material entering the factory, and the total sum represented by the selling price of the product.

But it is clear that the total amount distributed in wages, salaries and profit or dividends, during any given period, would be less by a considerable sum (representing purchases on factory account) than the total selling price of the product during the same period, and if this is true in one factory it must be true in all. Consequently, the rate at which money is liberated by manufacturing processes of this nature is clearly less than the rate at which the total selling price of the product increases. This difference is due to the fact that while the final price to the consumer of any manufactured article is steadily growing with the time required for manufacture, during the same time the money distributed by the manufacturing process is being returned to the capitalist through purchases for immediate consumption.

But we know that the total increase in the personal cash accounts in the banks in normal times is under 3 per cent. of the wages, salaries and dividends distributed, consequently it is not to these accounts that we must look for effective demand. There are two sources remaining: loan-credit, that is to say, purchasing power created by the banks on principles which are directed solely to the production of a positive financial result; and foreign or export demand. Now loan-credit is never available to the consumer as such, because consumption as such has no commercial value. In consequence loan-credit has become the great stimulus either to manufacture or to any financial or commercial operation which will result in a profit, that is to say, an inflation of figures.

An additional factor also comes into play at this point. All large scale business is settled on a credit basis. In the case of commodities in general retail demand, the price tends to rise above the cost limit, because the sums distributed in advance of the completion of large works become effective in the retail market, while the large works, when completed, are paid for by an expansion of credit. This process involves a continuous inflation of currency, a rise in prices, and a consequent dilution in purchasing power.

The reason that the decrease in the consumer's purchasing power has not been so great as would be suggested by these considerations is, of course, largely due to intrinsic cheapening of processes which would, if not defeated by this dilution of the consumer's purchasing power, have brought down prices faster than they have risen.

There are thus two processes at work; an intrinsic cheapening of the product by better methods, and an artificial decrease in purchasing power due to what is in effect the charging of the cost of all waste and inefficiency to the consumer."449

Appendix B

[From Brooks Adams, The New Empire, Chapter VI]:

"Modern Japan, like modern America, is the effect of the migration westward of the seat of energy and the centre of mineral production. That movement began with the Mexican War, which preceded the annexation of California and the discovery of gold. According to the official statement of the government of the United States, these two events led to the despatch of Commodore Perry to Asia to establish relations with the Mikado. 'The treaty which closed the war of the United States with Mexico transferred to the former the territory of California.... If the shortest route between eastern Asia and western Europe be (in this age of steam) across our continent, then was it obvious enough that our continent must, in some degree at least, become a highway for the world. And when, soon after our acquisition of California, it was discovered that the harvest there was gold, nothing was more natural than that such discovery should give additional interest to the obvious reflections suggested by our geographical position. Direct trade from our western coast with Asia became, therefore, a familiar thought; the agency of steam was, of course, involved, and fuel for its production was indispensable. Hence arose inquiries for that great mineral agent of civilization, coal. Where was it to be obtained on the long route from California to Asia? Another inquiry presented itself; with what far distant Eastern nations should we trade? China was in some measure opened to us; but there was, beside, a terra incognita in Japan which, while it stimulated curiosity, held out also temptations which invited commercial enterprise.'

Perry sailed from Norfolk on November 24, 1852, and his squadron entered Yeddo Bay on July 8, 1853. Terror reigned on shore. The people of Yeddo prepared for defence. In 1623 the last Englishman withdrew from Hirado, and from that time until Perry's advent the Dutch alone had succeeded in preserving a foothold in Japan. Even the Dutch were limited to sending and receiving a single ship annually, and the notion that Americans would succeed where others had failed roused general derision. Nevertheless, Perry opened communications with the Shogun.

During the Middle Ages the military class had risen to Supreme power in Japan, and their representative, the Shogun, or commander-in-chief, had assumed the executive functions. Therefore, when Perry insisted on obtaining an answer to President Fillmore's letter to the emperor, the responsibility devolved upon the Shogun. Perry did not press the government unduly, but sailed for China, giving notice that he would return in the spring to negotiate a treaty. As soon as he had gone, the Shogun took the advice of the Daimios. The Daimios almost unanimously opposed foreign influence,
but on the other hand, being soldiers, they understood that the country could not resist an attack. Accordingly the Shogun and his party determined to compromise. They would yield enough to keep the peace, and in the time thus gained they would arm. Punctual to his promise, Perry reappeared at Yeddo on February 13, 1854, and on March 31 signed a convention which, though not a complete surrender by Japan, opened the door to all that followed.

Forthwith a powerful fermentation set in, schools of languages were frequented, foundries organized, and an immense activity prevailed at the treaty ports. Yokohama in 1890 numbered 122,000 inhabitants, in 1884 70,000, in 1856 it was a mere hamlet. There was no stemming the impulsion. Nevertheless, the entrance of the empire into the vortex of Western competition caused an economic disturbance, which brought on a revolution. In 1868 the Shogun fell, and three years later the Daimios surrendered their fiefs. Perhaps no community ever assimilated a new civilization so rapidly as did the Japanese during the decades which followed, and from this intellectual flexibility came success. Yet, as usually happens upon a profound disturbance of the social equilibrium, the immediate effect was war. 450

Appendix C

[From Benton, Thirty Years' View, v. I, Chapter LVI.]:

"... At the same time it is incontestable, that the United States have been borrowing these undrawn balances from the bank, and paying an interest upon their own money. I think we can identify one of these loans. Let us try. In May, 1824, Congress authorized a loan of five millions of dollars to pay the awards under the treaty with Spain, commonly called the Florida treaty. The bank of the United States took that loan, and paid the money for the United States in January and March, 1825. In looking over the statement of undrawn balances, it will be seen that they amounted to near four millions at the end of the first, and six millions at the end of the second quarter of that year. The inference is irresistible, and I leave every senator to make it; only adding, that we have paid $1,469,375 in interest upon that loan, either to the bank or its transferees. This is a strong case; but I have a stronger one. It is known to every body, that the United States subscribed seven millions to the capital stock of the bank, for which she gave her stock note, bearing an interest of five per cent. per annum. I have a statement from the Register of the Treasury, from which it appears that, up to the 30th day of June last, the United States had paid four millions seven hundred and

twenty-five thousand dollars in interest upon that note; when it is proved by the statement of balances exhibited, that the United States, for the whole period in which that interest was accruing, had the half, or the whole, and once the double, of these seven millions in the hands of the bank. This is a stronger case than that of the five million loan, but it is not the strongest. The strongest case is this: in the year 1817, when the bank went into operation, the United States owed among other debts, a sum of about fourteen millions and three-quarters, bearing an interest of three per cent. In the same year, the commissioners of the sinking fund were authorized by an act of Congress to purchase that stock at sixty-five per cent., which was then its market price. Under this authority, the amount of about one million and a half was purchased; the remainder, amounting to about thirteen millions and a quarter, has continued unpurchased to this day [1831]; and, after costing the United States about six millions in interest since 1817, the stock has risen about four millions in value; that is to say, from sixty-five to nearly ninety-five. Now, here is a clear loss of ten millions of dollars to the United States. In 1817 she could have paid off thirteen millions and a quarter of debt, with eight millions and a half of dollars: now, after paying six millions of interest, it would require twelve millions and a half to pay off the same debt. By referring to the statement of undrawn balances, it will be seen that the United States had, during the whole year 1817, an average sum of above ten millions of dollars in the hands of the bank, being a million and a half more than enough to have bought in the whole of the three per cent. stock. The question, therefore, naturally comes up, why was it not applied to the redemption of these thirteen millions and a quarter, according to the authority contained in the act of Congress of that year? Certainly the bank needed the money; for it was just getting into operation, and was as hard run to escape bankruptcy about that time, as any bank that ever was saved from the brink of destruction. This is the largest injury which we have sustained, on account of accommodating the bank with the gratuitous use of these vast deposits." 451

Appendix D


"... John Quincy Adams was not only a complex man, who stood at least a generation ahead of his time, but he was a scientist of the first force. The same problems vexed him as he grew old, which have vexed Henry and me now for all our later lives, and it may well be that my attempt to write my grandfather's story may have stimulated Henry to compose these essays.* But whether it did or


not, the same train of thought and manner of thinking is obvious enough in the older and in the younger generation, and what is most remarkable is the persistence of the same caste of intelligence in the grandfather and grandson, the scientific mixed with the political, which made the older man reject with horror a scientific theory forced upon him by circumstances, which the younger man has accepted, if not with approbation, at least with resignation, and at so relatively short an interval of time.

On February 18, 1909, Henry wrote me a very long letter, from which I extract the following paragraph, only because it expresses the view which I wish to accentuate, and because it bears quite as strongly on Henry's then attitude of mind and his subsequent development, as it does on that of J.Q. Adams.

'No one with the intelligence of an average monkey will try to tell a story without leading up to its point. Your tragedy [Brooks' memoir of J.Q. Adams] will be indicated as it is in the lives of us all, by the chief failure, which is, in your case, the Presidency. To me, the old gentleman's Presidency appears always as lurid, -- which is not the impression made on me by his father's [John Adams'] defeat, -- and I see the age of Andrew Jackson and the cotton planters much as I see the age of the Valois or Honorius, -- that is, with profound horror.'

And touching the episode of the Presidency, Henry was, in my opinion, perfectly right. The Presidency was the tragedy of our grandfather's life because it injected into his mind the first doubt as to whether there were a God, and whether this life had a purpose.

That from the moment of his defeat, in 1828, his life took the form of a tragedy was through no fault of his, but because, by the nature of human affairs, he was forced, by bitter experience, to admit that science and education offer no solution to our difficulties, but possibly on the contrary aggravate them. In short, John Quincy Adams, at the opening of his Presidency, fell into the vortex of the movement which is now, apparently, only culminating, and of which the Reformation itself was the prelude. He himself, with the knowledge at hand, could not see the relation of cause and effect as we can. But he was conscious of the movement, and the unconscious thought stimulated thereby, which harassed him, may still be read in his prayers to God for defence against his own mind, as he neared the end....

I am trying, throughout this Introduction, to present the minds of these two powerful and original men, the grandfather and the grandson, in their true relation, as they stood, often unconsciously, first toward each other, and secondly toward that movement of democratic society, during the past century, which imposed on them the task of attempting to fathom the science and meaning of history....

According to [J.Q.] Adams' own repeated and most solemn asseverations made to himself as he came to die, his highest aspiration, his dearest hope, almost from his youth up, had been by his sus-
stained support of applied science to rank as one of the benefactors of mankind. He admitted that he had failed. [Here Brooks quotes from a letter of John Quincy Adams to the Rev. Charles W. Upham, dated 2 Feb., 1837]:

.... My dear Sir:

I fear I have done and can do little good in the world. And my life will end in disappointment of the good which I would have done, had I been permitted. The great effort of my administration was to mature into a permanent and regular system the application of all the superfluous revenue of the Union to internal improvement which at this day would have afforded high wages and constant employment to hundreds of thousands of laborers, and in which every dollar expended would have repaid itself four-fold in the enhanced value of the public lands. With this system in ten years from this day the surface of the whole Union would have been checkered over with railroads and canals. It may still be done half a century later and with the limping gait of State legislature and private adventure. I would have done it in the administration of the affairs of the nation. I laid the foundation of it all by a resolution offered to the Senate of the United States in 1806, and adopted under another's name (the Journals of the Senate are my vouchers.)

When I came to the presidency the principle of internal improvement was swelling the tide of public prosperity, till the Sable Genius of the South saw the signs of his own inevitable downfall in the unparalleled progress of the general welfare of the North, and fell to cursing the tariff, and internal improvement, and raised the standard of free trade, nullification, and state rights. I fell and with me fell, I fear never to rise again, certainly never to rise again in my day, the system of internal improvement by means of national energies. The great object of my life therefore, as applied to the administration of the government of the United States, has failed. The American Union, as a moral person in the family of nations, is to live from hand to mouth, and to cast away instead of using for the improvement of its own condition, the bounties of Providence.

[Brooks then says] "But, after all, was there a Providence? This must serve as my exposition of Mr. Adams' policy of collective administration as a statesman and as a Christian, which he had evolved on the theory that man is a reasoning animal and that there is a God or a conscious ruler of the universe, whom man can intelligently serve and with whom he can covenant. Assuming that there was in existence such a universe and such a benevolent God, Mr. Adams went on to explain as a scientific fact that a volume of energy lay stored within the Union, which as an administrator he could have developed had he been able to work at leisure and had he been supported by his Creator. Also this potential energy
would have raised the people of this country beyond the danger of severe economic competition, practically, forever. Such a consummation had, however, been made impossible by the growth of the planting, or slave interest, permitted by the Almighty, which was an offence to God. This was a catastrophe which he could never understand nor forget -- supposing there to have been a Providence. The substance of this appears in the following extract from a very famous address made by him in 1842, almost at the close of his active political life, and when he appreciated that Civil War was imminent.

'The Southern or Slave party, outnumbered by the free, are cemented together by a common, intense interest of property to the amount of $1,200,000,000 in human beings, the very existence of which is neither allowed nor tolerated in the North.... The total abandonment by President Jackson, of all internal improvement by the authority of Congress, and of all national protection to domestic industry, was a part of the same system, which, in the message of December, 1832, openly recommended to give away gratuitously all the public lands, and renounce forever all idea of raising any revenue from them. This was nullification in its most odious feature. The public lands are the richest inheritance ever bestowed by a bountiful Creator upon any national community. All the mines of gold and silver and precious stones on the face or in the bowels of the globe, are in value compared to them, but the dust of the balance. Ages upon ages of continual progressive improvement, physical, moral, political, in the condition of the whole people of this Union, were stored up in the possession and disposal of these lands....

'I had long entertained and cherished the hope that these public lands were among the chosen instruments of Almighty power, ...of improving the condition of man, by establishing the practical, self-evident truth of the natural equality and brotherhood of all mankind, as the foundation of all human government, and by banishing slavery and war from the earth.... The project first proclaimed by Andrew Jackson,...of giving away the national inheritance to private land jobbers, or to the states in which they lie...was the consummation of the Maysville road veto policy ...to perpetuate the institution of slavery and its dominion over the North American Union....'

Mr. Adams as a scientific man was a precursor of the later Darwinians who have preached the doctrine of human perfectability, a doctrine in which the modern world has believed and still professes to believe. Granting that there is a benign and omnipotent Creator of the world, who watches over the fate of men, Adams' sincere conviction was that such a being thinks according to certain fixed laws, which we call scientific laws; that these laws may be dis-
covered by human intelligence and when discovered may be adapted to human uses. And if so discovered, adapted, and practised they must lead men certainly to an approach to perfection, and more especially to the elimination of war and slavery. The theory was pleasing, and since the time of Mr. Adams it has been generally accepted as the foundation of American education and the cornerstone of democracy. But mark how far it led Mr. Adams astray in 1828, and how at last it broke his heart. Eli Whitney's cotton gin was certainly one of the most famous and successful of the applications of science to a supremely bountiful gift of God, in making American cotton serviceable and cheap to the whole human race. But it propagated slavery, it turned the fair state of Virginia into an enormous slave-breeding farm, whence forty thousand blacks were annually exported to the South, and thus inexorably induced the Civil War; so with the public lands which Mr. Adams would willingly have given his life to save for his contemporaries and their posterity. Railroads and canals raised the price of these lands by making them accessible. And this is what Mr. Adams saw in the House of Representatives in 1838, and this is his comment on the humanizing effect of applied science. It was the triumph of Benton and Jackson, of the very essence of evil, over him. 'The thirst of a tiger for blood is the fittest emblem of the rapacity with which the members of all the new states fly at the public lands. The constituents upon whom they depend are all settlers, or tame and careless spectators of the pillage. They are themselves enormous speculators and land-jobbers. It were a vain attempt to resist them here.' This was written on June 12, 1838, and thus had the bargain of Benton with the planters been consummated by means of applied science. Such bargains were to have been anticipated and would have been taken as a matter of course by an ordinary political huckster, but Mr. Adams, though after his defeat in 1828 he did practically, as he states here, give up the contest, because he had ceased to believe that God supported him, never could nor ever did reconcile himself to the destiny which this betrayal by God entailed on the world."

Appendix E

[From D.G. Bridson, "An Interview with Ezra Pound":]

"Pound:

'The Roman Empire worked on the principle of the light and heavy, gold against silver, twelve to one in Rome and six and a half to seven in Karachi -- tipping that little balance and milking the public. But the Empire stood and it stood by a balance between central power and local good management. Gold was under the Pontifex -- there was not the least need to forge the Donation of Constantine; it was done in ignorance because all the Pope needed

to do was to claim the pontifical right over gold. Caesar usurped it. Gold remained as the basis of Byzantine power. Wherever you get local gold, you have rebellion -- from Rothar to Abd-el-Melik. The Roman Empire maintained stability. Gold was under the Pontifex or the Empire; silver was a wangle farmed out to senators to allow for natural human cupidity, and the bronze, the small coinage, was under certain privileged municipalities. That is to say, enough local control to prevent the local economic order being ruined from the center." 453

Appendix F

[From Benton, Thirty Years' View, v.II, Ch. CXXVIII., "Disunion Movements"]:  

'The observing reader, who may have looked over the two volumes of this View, in noting the progress of the slavery agitation, and its successive alleged causes for disunion, must have been struck with the celerity with which these causes, each in its turn, as soon as removed, has been succeeded by another, of a different kind; until, at last, they terminate in a cause which ignores them all, and find a new reason for disunion in the constitution itself! in that constitution, the protection of which had been invoked as sufficient, during the whole period of the alleged 'aggressions and encroachments.' In 1835, when the first agitation manifesto and call for a Southern convention, and invocation to unity and concert of action, came forth in the Charleston Mercury, entitled 'The Crisis,' the cause of disunion was then in the abolition societies established in some of the free States, and which these States were required to suppress. Then came the abolition petitions presented in Congress; then the mail transmission of incendiary publications; then the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; then the abolition of the slave trade between the States; then the exclusion of slavery from Oregon; then the Wilmot Proviso; then the admission of California with a free constitution. Each of these, in its day, was a cause of disunion, to be effected through the instrumentality of a Southern convention, forming a sub-confederacy, in flagrant violation of the constitution, and effecting the disunion by establishing a commercial non-intercourse with the free States. After twenty years' agitation upon these points, they are all given up. The constitution, and the Union, were found to be a 'mistake' from the beginning -- an error in their origin, and an impossibility in their future existence, and to be amended into another impossibility, or broken up at once.

The regular inauguration of this slavery agitation dates from  

the year 1835; but it had commenced two years before, and in this way: nullification and disunion had commenced in 1830 upon complaint against protective tariff. That being put down in 1833 under President Jackson's proclamation and energetic measures, was immediately substituted by the slavery agitation. Mr. Calhoun, when he went home from Congress in the spring of that year, told his friends, That the South could never be united against the North on the tariff question -- that the sugar interest of Louisiana would keep her out -- and that the basis of Southern union must be shifted to the slave question. Then all the papers in his interest, and especially the one at Washington, published by Mr. Duff Green, dropped tariff agitation, and commenced upon slavery; and, in two years, had the agitation ripe for inauguration on the slavery question. And, in tracing this agitation to its present stage, and to comprehend its rationale, it is not to be forgotten that it is a mere continuation of old tariff disunion; and preferred because more available.... Mr. Calhoun is dead. Peace to his manes. But he has left his disciples who do not admit of peace! who 'rush in' where their master 'feared to tread.' He recoiled from the disturbance of the Missouri compromise: they expunge it. He shuddered at the thought of bloodshed in civil strife: they demand three millions of dollars to prepare arms for civil war."454

Appendix G


"... Coming home from school in an Easter holiday, I found Mr. Frémont part of my father's 'Oregon work.' It was the spring of '41; in October we were married, and in '42 the first expedition was sent out under Mr. Frémont.... This first encouragement to the emigration westward fitted into so large a need that it met instant favor, and a second was ordered to connect with it further surveys to the sea-coast of Oregon. At last my father could feel his idea 'moved.' Of his intense interest and pride and joy in these expeditions I knew best; and when it came in my way to be of use to them and protect his lifetime work, there was no shadow of hesitation. Mr. Frémont was at the frontier getting his camp and animals into complete travelling condition when...there came an order recalling him to Washington; where he was to explain why he had armed his party with a howitzer; that the howitzer had been charged to him; that it was a scientific and not a military expedition, and should not have been so armed; and that he must return at once to Washington and 'explain.' Fortunately I was alone in Saint Louis, my father being out of

town. It was before telegraphs; and nearly a week was required to get letters either to the frontier or to Washington. I was but eighteen, an age at which consequences do not weigh against the present. The important thing was to save the expedition, and gain time for a good start which should put it beyond interference. I hurried off a messenger -- the mails were slow -- to Mr. Frémont, writing that he must start at once and never mind the grass and animals, they could rest and fatten at Bent's Fort; only, go, and leave the rest to my father; that he could not have the reason for haste, but there was reason enough.

To the Colonel of the Topographical Bureau who had given the order of recall I answered more at leisure. I wrote him exactly what I had done and to him I gave the reason. That I had not sent forward the order nor let Mr. Frémont know of it because it was given on insufficient knowledge and to obey it would ruin the expedition; that it would require a fortnight to settle the party, leave it, and get to Washington -- and indefinite delay there -- another fortnight to return, and by that time the early grass would be past its best and the underfed animals would be thrown into the mountains for the winter; that the country of the Black-feet and other fierce tribes had to be crossed, and they knew nothing of the rights of science. When my father came he entirely approved my wrongdoing and wrote to Washington that he would be responsible for my act; and that he would call for a court-martial on the point charged against Mr. Frémont. But there was never further question of the wisdom of arming his party sufficiently -- in fact it was but a pretext. The precious time had been secured and 'they'd have fleet feet who'd follow' where such purpose leads the advance. I had grown up to and into my father's large purpose; and now that my husband could be of such aid to him in its accomplishment, I had no hesitation in risking for him all consequences. We three understood each other and acted together -- then and later -- without question or delay.

That expedition led directly to our acquiring California; which was accomplished during the third, and last, of the expeditions made under the Government. My father was a man grown when our western boundary was the Mississippi. In 1821 he commenced in the Senate his championship of a quarter of a century for our new territory on the Pacific. Now with California added he could say in that Senate:

'We own the country from sea to sea -- from the Atlantic to the Pacific -- and upon a breadth equal to the length of the Mississippi and embracing the whole temperate zone.'

The long contest, the opposition, the indifference, the ignorance, the sneering doubts were in the past. From his own hearth had gone forth the one who carried his hopes to fullest execution; and who now after many perils and anxieties was back in safety -- even
to a seat in the Senate beside him. Who had enabled him to make true his prophetic words carved on the pedestal of his statue in Saint Louis, whose bronze hand points West:

'THERE IS THE EAST;
THERE IS THE ROAD TO INDIA.'

For with our Pacific ports came to us that Asiatic trade which was the underlying cause of all the wars of France and England for a hundred years." 455

Appendix H

[From John C. Frémont, Memoirs]:

"... The mission on which I had been originally sent to the West was a peaceful one, and Mr. Bancroft [Secretary of the Navy] had sent Mr. Gillespie to give me warning of the new state of affairs and the designs of the President [Polk]. Mr. Gillespie had been given charge of despatches from the Secretary of the Navy to Commodore Sloat, and had been purposely made acquainted with their import. Known to Mr. Bancroft as an able and thoroughly trustworthy officer, he had been well instructed in the designs of the Department and with the purposes of the Administration, so far as they related to California.... The information through Gillespie had absolved me from my duty as an explorer, and I was left to my duty as an officer of the American Army with the further authoritative knowledge that the Government intended to take California....

This officer informed me that he had been directed by the Secretary of State to acquaint me with his instructions, which had for their principal objects to ascertain the disposition of the California people, to conciliate their feelings in favor of the United States; and to find out, with a view to counteracting, the designs of the British Government upon that country.

The letter from Senator Benton, while apparently of friendship and family details, contained passages and suggestions which, read by the light of many conversations and discussions with himself and others at Washington, clearly indicated to me that I was required by the Government to find out any foreign schemes in relation to California and, so far as might be in my power, to counteract them.... I sat by the fire in fancied security, going over again the home letters. These threw their own light upon the communications from Mr. Gillespie, and made the expected signal. In substance, their effect was: The time has come. England must not get a foothold. We must be first. Act; discreetly, but positively....

I saw the way opening clear before me. War with Mexico was inevitable; and a grand opportunity now presented itself to realize

in their fullest extent the far-sighted views of Senator Benton, and make the Pacific Ocean the Western boundary of the United States. I resolved to move forward on the opportunity and return forthwith to the Sacramento Valley in order to bring to bear all the influences I could command.

Except myself, then and for nine months afterward, there was no other officer of the army in California. The citizen party under my command was made up of picked men, and although small in number, constituted a formidable nucleus for frontier warfare, and many of its members commanded the confidence of the emigration.

This decision was the first step in the conquest of California. 456

Appendix I

[From Thomas Hart Benton, "Speech in Support of a Bill to Extend the Jurisdiction of the United States over the Territory West of the Rocky Mountains."]:

"... I say to my fellow-citizens: Through the valley of the Columbia, lies the North American road to India. Twenty-eight years ago I wrote something on this head, and published it. A quarter of a century of experience and observation has given me nothing to detract from what I then wrote -- nothing to add, except as derived from the progress of the arts, and especially omnipotent steam.

The trade of the East has always been the richest jewel in the diadem of commerce. All nations, in all ages, have sought it; and those which obtained it, or even a share of it, attained the highest degree of opulence, refinement, and power. The routes through which it flowed fertilized deserts, and built up cities and kingdoms amidst the desolation of rocks and sands. Phenicia, Egypt, Persia were among the ancient thoroughfares of this commerce; Constantinople and Alexandria among its modern channels; and Venice and Genoa in the south, and Bruges and Antwerp in the north, the means of its distribution over Europe. All grew rich and powerful upon it; and with wealth and power came civilization and refinement. The Cape of Good Hope became the recent route, with wealth to its discoverers, the Portuguese, and to all their rivals and followers -- the Dutch, English, French, and others....

The effect of the arrival of the Caucasian, or white race, on the western coast of America, opposite the eastern coast of Asia, remains to be mentioned among the benefits which the settlement of the Columbia will produce; and that a benefit, not local to us, but general and universal to the human race. Since the dispersion of man upon earth, I know of no human event, past or to come, which promises a greater and more beneficent change upon earth than the arrival of the van of the Caucasian race (the Celtic-Anglo-Saxon division) upon the border of the sea which washes the shore of the

eastern Asia. The Mongolian, or yellow race, is there, four hundred millions in number, spreading almost to Europe, a race once the foremost of the human family in the arts of civilization, but torpid and stationary for thousands of years. It is a race far above the Ethiopian, or black -- above the Malay, or brown (if we must admit five races), -- and above the American Indian, or red; it is a race far above all these, but still far below the white; and, like all the rest, must receive an impression from the superior race whenever they come in contact. It would seem that the white race alone received the divine command, to subdue and replenish the earth! for it is the only race that has obeyed it -- the only one that hunts out new and distant lands, and even a New World, to subdue and replenish. Starting from western Asia, taking Europe for their field, and the sun for their guide, and leaving the Mongolians behind, they arrived, after many ages, on the shores of the Atlantic, which they lit up with the lights of science and religion, and adorned with the useful and the elegant arts. Three and a half centuries ago this race, in obedience to the great command, arrived in the New World, and found new lands to subdue and replenish. For a long time it was confined to the border of the new field (I now mean the Celtic-Anglo-Saxon division); and even fourscore years ago the philosophic Burke was considered a rash man because he said the English colonists would top the Alleghanies, and descend into the valley of the Mississippi, and occupy without parchment if the Crown refused to make grants of land. What was considered a rash declaration eighty years ago is old history in our young country, at this day. Thirty years ago I said the same thing of the Rocky Mountains and the Columbia: it was ridiculed then; it is becoming history to-day. The venerable Mr. Macon has often told me that he remembered a line low down in North Carolina, fixed by a royal governor as a boundary between the whites and the Indians; where is that boundary now? The van of the Caucasian race now top the Rocky Mountains, and spread down to the shores of the Pacific. In a few years a great population will grow up there, luminous with the accumulated lights of European and American civilization. Their presence in such a position cannot be without its influence upon eastern Asia. The sun of civilization must shine across the sea: socially and commercially, the van of the Caucasians, and the rear of the Mongolians, must intermix. They must talk together, and trade together, and marry together. Commerce is a great civilizer -- social intercourse as great -- and marriage greater. The white and yellow races can marry together, as well as eat and trade together. Moral and intellectual superiority will do the rest: the white race will take the ascendant, elevating what is susceptible of improvement -- wearing out what is not. The red race has disappeared from the Atlantic coast: the tribes that resisted civilization met extinction. This is a cause of lamentation with
many. For my part, I cannot murmur at what seems to be the effect of divine law. I cannot repine that this Capitol has replaced the wigwam -- this Christian people replaced the savages -- white matrons the red squaws -- and that such men as Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson have taken the place of Powhatan, Opechonecanough, and other red men, however respectable they may have been as savages. Civilization, or extinction, has been the fate of all people who have found themselves in the track of the advancing whites, and civilization, always the preference of the whites, has been pressed as an object, while extinction has followed as a consequence of its resistance. The black and the red races have often felt their ameliorating influence. The yellow race, next to themselves in the scale of mental and moral excellence, and in the beauty of form, once their superiors in the useful and elegant arts, and in learning, and still respectable though stationary; this race cannot fail to receive a new impulse from the approach of the whites, improved so much since so many ages ago they left them on the west, and after having completed the circumnavigation of the globe, must wake up and reanimate the torpid body of old Asia. Our position and policy will commend us to their hospitable reception: political considerations will aid the action of social and commercial influences. Pressed upon by the great powers of Europe -- the same that press upon us -- they must in our approach hail the advent of friends, not of foes -- of benefactors, not of invaders. The moral and intellectual superiority of the white race will do the rest: and thus, the youngest people, and the newest land, will become the reviver and the regenerator of the oldest...." 457

457 From Congressional Debates, 29th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 913-919. Reprinted in Meigs, Life of Thomas Hart Benton, pp. 305-312. Nowhere, either in Canto 88 or in Canto 89, does Pound quote this speech. It does not appear in Thirty Years' View; he may not have noticed it in Meigs, or he may have refrained from using it. But, by way of contrast, see annotation: 88/582: 22 and appendix B, and for images of Benton's most optimistic ideology, see annotations: 89/604: 12-13.
Appendix J

The following table compares page and line numeration in the 1970 New Directions edition of The Cantos with that in the 1964 Faber and Faber edition, for Cantos 88 and 89.

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*In the Faber edition, the Chinese character 14, 亜, appears after the lines, "Without historic black-out / they cannot maintain perpetual wars," instead of next to its alphabetic equivalent, which precedes the two lines, as in the New Directions text.*
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