

**Ezra Pound, James Strachey Barnes ('The Italian Lord Haw-Haw') and
Italian Fascism**

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This article sheds new light on Ezra Pound's activities in wartime Italy through the lens of his friendship and collaboration with James Strachey Barnes. Barnes emerged in the mid-1920s as one of the most fervent British apologists of Fascism and he wrote many articles and a number of books in support of Mussolini. Resident in Italy during the Second World War, Barnes also undertook extensive broadcast propaganda work for the Fascist regime and it was during this period that he became a close friend and devotee of Pound. Although Barnes has only received passing notice in the biographical literature on Pound (if he has received any attention at all) and continues to be a surprisingly marginal figure in both critical accounts of Pound's politics and the historiography of the British inter-war radical right, this article, drawing on previously unexplored sources, reveals the extent of the co-operation between the two men as Fascist propagandists and the role played by Barnes during the period of Pound's life (1943-45) that has been described as 'the least documented of his adult years.' Despite his post-war attempts to downplay the extent of his work for the Fascist cause, these new materials provide fresh evidence that Pound, like Barnes, contributed to the propaganda efforts of both Italian Fascism and the Republic of Salò consistently, substantially and enthusiastically.¹

James Strachey Barnes (1890-1955) makes the occasional appearance in inter-war letters and life writing and more frequently commands some attention in studies of the right-wing radical politics of the period, but his complete absence from the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* is notable.² The brother of Mary Hutchinson³ and a cousin of Lytton Strachey, Barnes was at one time or another closely connected with the Bloomsbury set, the Modernist avant-garde and the socio-political intelligentsia (in both Britain and continental Europe). Virginia Woolf met him in Florence in 1909,⁴ and Barnes (accompanied by Edward Marsh, whom he clearly knew well and through whom he met many of the more prominent writers and artists of his day)⁵ visited D.H. Lawrence in Italy a few years later:⁶ the minor character named 'Barnes' in *Women in Love* is almost certainly based on him.⁷ He became a friend of T.S. Eliot

in the late 1920s, and in the late 1930s, Wyndham Lewis, assessing the spirit of his age, linked Barnes with an influential group of Catholic ‘inkslinging clubmen’. ‘They often state a dubious case with a laudable lack of humbug’, Lewis observed.⁸ Barnes was drawn by Beerbohm,⁹ and painted by Augustus John in 1929,¹⁰ who recalled him as ‘a young man of great ambitions...never in doubt of the brilliance of the future which lay before him: only the choice of a career awaited decision.’¹¹ John makes this comment in his autobiography, *Chiaroscuro* (1952), and in the National Library of Wales there is an unpublished letter from Barnes to John in which he praises the book and tells John he agrees with his assessment of him as an ‘ambitious’ man who has never quite ‘found [his] way’. Significantly, Barnes also tells John that he and Ezra Pound are the ‘only two men in the world for whom I have a really profound regard.’¹² The unpublished papers of Barnes and the various documents in the National Archives on which this article will draw not only reveal how this ‘regard’ developed during the Second World War, but also enable us to forge a more detailed understanding of Pound’s activities as a propagandist during that period. At present, Barnes is either an absent or only shadowy figure in Pound studies,¹³ so in the first part of this essay we provide a brief overview of his life tilted towards the growth of his vehement commitment to Fascism, while in the second section we concentrate on several unpublished documents that reveal the close relationship between Barnes and Pound in the 1940-45 period. Our dual aim is both to supplement and to enrich the biographical literature on Pound and, in particular, to shed new light on his role as a propagandist for both the Fascist state and its short-lived successor, the Republic of Salò.

A Paladin in the Making

James Strachey Barnes, the son of Sir Hugh Shakespear Barnes and Winifred Strachey, was born in Simla, the summer capital of British India, in 1890.¹⁴ After the death of his mother in 1892, he was raised in Italy by his maternal grandparents, a formative exposure to Italian culture that prepared the ground for his later embrace of Fascism.¹⁵ He entered Eton in 1904 and Sandhurst in 1909, travelled extensively in Europe (especially in the Balkans) between 1910 and 1913, and on returning to England went up to King's College, Cambridge, 'to study Arabic as a candidate for the Egyptian Civil Service. This, however, was not a career of his choosing, and he gave his time instead to philosophy and economics.'¹⁶ Following the outbreak of the First World War, he joined the Household Cavalry and subsequently the Royal Flying Corps, seeing action during the Battle of the Somme, the third Battle of Ypres (where he was wounded), and the Battle of Vittorio Veneto.¹⁷ By this time he had attained the rank of Major, and it was while he was on the Italian Front, acting as a liaison officer between the British and Italian air forces, that his deep affection for the country was rekindled. Italy, it seems, developed a similar esteem for Barnes around this time, the Italian ambassador in London recommending that he be awarded the Cross of Chevalier of the Order of the Crown of Italy.¹⁸

After the war, Barnes gradually established a reputation as an expert on foreign affairs, particularly with reference to the Balkans and Albania. He had lectured on Albania at the Royal Geographical Society in the spring of 1918, and on the strength of this he was included in the Foreign Office delegation, under Harold Nicolson, that attended the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. In the early 1920s Barnes was heavily involved in the development of Albania, particularly its oil and tobacco resources, and, as a result, when Albania joined the League of Nations in 1921, he

was asked to advise on how best to build up the country economically and even, allegedly, to be its king.¹⁹ He returned to Italy in 1924 as a correspondent of the *Financial Times* and it was from around this time that he began to emerge as one of Fascism's most passionate and outspoken champions. On 25 November 1924, *The Times* published an extensive defence of Fascism by Barnes in the form of a letter to the editor,²⁰ while in January 1926 he addressed the Royal Institute of International Affairs on 'The Doctrines of Fascism'.²¹ This paper was later reprinted in the *National Review*,²² with Barnes claiming it had the explicit imprimatur of Mussolini, whom he had met for the first time in 1924.²³

From this point onwards Barnes began to carve out an increasingly influential niche for himself in Mussolini's Italy. In 1925-6 he lived 'as an honorary student in the English College of St. Bede' in Rome, and he 'became a Privy Chamberlain of Cape and Sword of the Pope [Pius XI]'.²⁴ Around the same time he was also made an honorary member of the Italian National Fascist Party, while his name became more synonymous with the Fascist regime with each day that passed. 'If you see Jim', Aldous Huxley, then domiciled near Florence, wrote to Mary Hutchinson on 23 June 1927, 'tell him his adopted country is becoming so bloody as to be practically uninhabitable. We are seriously thinking of moving to France. The fascist efforts to civilize Italy result merely in the creation of an interfering police force which one would call Prussian if it weren't corrupt and inefficient as well as tyrannous.'²⁵ In the same year, Barnes was appointed Secretary-General of the Centre International d'études sur le Fascisme, a Lausanne-based organisation underwritten by Mussolini. The CINEF, in Thomas Linehan's words, was intended to function as 'a sort of elite intellectual "think tank" on fascism. It professed to be an independent body whose object was to study fascism in an "objective" and "scientific" manner, and provide

“for the general public exact information” with regard to this new political creed.²⁶

Despite this claim to objectivity, however, the CINEF was primarily a propaganda vehicle for Mussolini and Italian Fascism.²⁷ As was, in many ways, *The Universal Aspects of Fascism*, published in 1928 and Barnes’ most substantial single work.

Though large portions of the book are devoted to hagiographical celebrations of Mussolini and to promoting his regime, Barnes, who had converted to Catholicism on 8 June 1914, also provides a detailed account of his idiosyncratic notion of ‘spiritual fascism’:

The political ideal or goal of mankind is...one universal national State, owning one supreme authority and integrated by one common national consciousness, however varied and intense might be the local differences and loyalties...It is surely only through the physically binding force of Law and the morally binding force of Religion, that mankind can be brought together into wider unities – and since both of these forces derive their power only from the sanctions provided by authority, progress can only come through sustaining authority, wherever it may be found.²⁸

The Universal Aspects of Fascism carried not only the approval of Mussolini, but a preface by him lauding the book as being ‘from the pen of a clear-minded English thinker who knows Italy and the Italians perfectly, and not less perfectly Fascism.’²⁹

While the CINEF was destined to collapse after only two years (the Depression curtailing the funding that kept it afloat),³⁰ Barnes would continue to advocate Fascism at every turn before the Second World War, issuing further books and articles in support of the Fascist cause and giving numerous lectures about it. In December 1928 T.S. Eliot published a review article in the *Criterion* which surveyed recent literature on Fascism, including *The Universal Aspects of Fascism*,³¹ and Barnes replied to Eliot in the April 1929 number of the journal.³² Two years later, Harold Nicolson invited Barnes to stand as a parliamentary candidate for Mosley’s

New Party (he declined). The following year, on 2 March 1932, Nicolson noted in his diary that he had lunched with Eliot and Barnes and they had:

Discuss[ed] the making of a symposium on modern politics. I say that unless we tell our contributors that the book is New Party or fascist in tendency we are not playing fair. And that if we do tell them this we shall not get good contributors. I thus propose that Jim should write an Introduction, and that on the basis of that Introduction he should invite Keynes, etc. to contribute. Eliot agrees.³³

This book never came to fruition, however, and not least, presumably, because Nicolson broke with the New Party later that year.

On 27 September 1930 Barnes had married Buona Guidotti,³⁴ receiving nuptial congratulations from both the Pope and Mussolini.³⁵ *Fascism* appeared in 1931 as part of 'Home University Library of Modern Knowledge',³⁶ and this was followed by his two volumes of autobiography, *Half a Life* (1933) and *Half a Life Left* (1937). Barnes joined the Reuter's news agency in 1933 as its Indian agent, but in the wake of the Italian invasion of the Ethiopian empire in October 1935 he became Reuter's chief war correspondent with the Italian forces in Abyssinia. He had been specifically recommended for the role by the Italian ambassador in London,³⁷ and his every dispatch would be shrouded in controversy. The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Samuel Hoare, expressed his concerns about Barnes from the beginning, noting that he was 'generally regarded as an ardent Italian propagandist.'³⁸ Reuter's did not retain him after his contract expired in 1937 and in the same year Barnes undertook a series of lectures and debates in the USA that were also given at the behest of the Italian government.³⁹ These events appear to have generated a good deal of press attention in America, much of it hostile.⁴⁰ On 20 February 1938, for example, the *Boston Herald* carried a report of a lecture given by Barnes on foreign policy,⁴¹ and on 26 March he spoke before the Foreign Policy Association in New York in a broadcast debate.⁴²

With the European crisis deepening, Barnes returned to Italy in early 1939. He moved to Rome in 1940, where he was provided with a post in the Ministero della Cultura Popolare, and embraced what would become his most notorious role, as an English-language radio propagandist for the Fascist state, with unbridled zeal.⁴³ Barnes' value to the Italian government lay in the fact that he was 'a very clever propagandist and through his family connections and his knowledge of the British government personalities he was able to produce some very vicious attacks on leading members of the government such as Churchill and Eden', as his brother-in-law later put it.⁴⁴ Several intelligence reports compiled by the Allies from Italian police sources also offer important insights into Barnes' activities during the early 1940s. One such report quotes Barnes' own description of himself as 'radio-cronista at the Ministry of Propaganda, Rome, inciting the English people to revolt against their Government', while another, based on Allied searches in the records of the Italian Ministry of Propaganda in January 1945, reveals that Barnes had compiled over 170 broadcasts between December 1940 and September 1941 and received the substantial sum of over 33,000 lire in payment.⁴⁵ The report goes on to list some of these broadcasts with their dates: 'Gleanings from the British Press' (5 August 1941); 'Thank God for the Blunders of our Enemies' (18 July 1941); 'What are Respectable People Thinking in England' (30 July 1941); 'Pride Cometh before a Fall' (19 July 1941); 'India's Real Masters' (25 July 1941); 'The Saving of European Civilisation' (17 July 1941); 'Gt. Britain's War Aims' (2 April 1941); 'The Logic of Churchill's Inner Thoughts' (10 January 1941); 'The British Plutocracy' (24 January 1941); 'Resist or Die' (31 January 1941); 'On Lies' (2 February 1941), 'The Answer to de Gaulle – Traitor' (5 February 1941); 'Short-lived Lies' (9 February 1941), and 'An Answer to Churchill' (10 February 1941).⁴⁶ These broadcasts were 'in English, and took the form of

dialogues between a group of people, who spoke for the Italian and Fascist cause'.⁴⁷ Unlike Pound – who always claimed that his broadcasts were not treasonous as they did not incite Americans to revolt against their country's war effort – there is little doubting the nature of Barnes' broadcasts, and intelligence officers concluded that 'two signed documents in the...file are sufficiently damning to need safeguarding', unequivocally proving as they did that 'Barnes was an Englishman anti-English and carrying on propaganda against his own country.'⁴⁸ Indeed, Barnes' frequent and ardent broadcasts for Mussolini led him to dub himself the 'Italian Lord Haw Haw'.⁴⁹ Looking back at this time in his autobiography, Compton Mackenzie recalled his own wartime broadcasts for the BBC and an interview with George Barnes (1904-60), then Head of Talks, about future radio work:

As I reached the door of his room I turned.

'How's Jim getting on?' I asked.

My question was a detergent that turned poor George Barnes whiter than white.

Jim Barnes...was an older half-brother of George. He had married an Italian with Fascist sympathies some time before the Second World War and secured Italian nationality. He like Ezra Pound was now playing Haw-Haw on Rome Radio.

'Oh, we don't mention him,' George gulped.

'And I won't either,' I promised, as I closed the door of George's sanctum behind me.

Mackenzie goes on to mention that 'Jim Barnes always claimed that he had been offered the throne of Albania before King Zog, but as a romancer he was in the same class as Axel Munthe and Ford Madox Ford. He was a very attractive personality.'⁵⁰

After the war had ended, Barnes' propaganda activities led to a number of unsuccessful attempts by the British authorities to prosecute him for treason,⁵¹ and after his death (in Rome) in 1955 *The Times* published an obituary under the heading 'Major Strachey Barnes: A Paladin of Fascism'.⁵² It noted, among other things, that

Barnes was an ‘English eccentric of eighteenth, rather than twentieth century cut’, and that he ‘defied all conventions’. It went on to observe that Barnes had made a point of ‘bearding lions including, among many others, Henry James, D.H. Lawrence, J.M. Keynes, and Sir Edward Marsh’ before finding his feet as an expert on Albania:

Yet all this time the land of his early upbringing drew him powerfully and its apparent rebirth with the advent of Fascism was decisive. The close friendship which soon developed between Barnes and Mussolini might perhaps be taken as a modern instance of the old Italian proverb *Inglese italianizzato, Diavols incarnato [sic]*, for it survived even the stresses of the Matteotti murder⁵³ and the invasion of Ethiopia. Indeed, as Reuter’s Correspondent, Barnes wrote of the invasion from the south not so much as an Italophil Englishman as an out-and-out Italian...his brave old world, so lovingly fashioned from medieval materials, collapsed with the fall of Mussolini.⁵⁴

This obituary caught the attention of Ezra Pound, who commented in a letter to Cummings (with perhaps a slight tinge of jealousy): ‘Incidentally the London Times has done right by Jim Barnes, in the nacherl place (i.e. the OBIT). JIM WAS fascist had a preface by Mus/ whom I never managed to see but ONCE.’⁵⁵

Renegades on the Run

There are three principal sources to which this account of the friendship and collaboration of Pound and Barnes will now turn. The first is the Giacomo ‘Jim’ Barnes folder in the Ezra Pound Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, which contains correspondence between Barnes and Pound and between Buona Barnes and Pound after her husband’s death. The second main source are various intelligence records in the National Archives relating to Barnes and Pound, and the third and most important is Barnes’ unpublished diary, ‘Diario dell’anno 1943: Flight from Rome’, compiled over the period 1943-5 and now lodged in the Central State Archives in Rome.⁵⁶ Barnes’ diary presents ‘an extraordinary

source which bears witness to the difficult choices that a Fascist enthusiast, officially British but at heart Italian, had to make when confronted by sudden turning points in history', as Claudia Baldoli puts it in her draft introduction to it. The diary also contains several references to Pound, providing important new information about his movements in Italy during the war and his involvement with the organs of Fascist – and ultimately German National Socialist – propaganda.

It is not entirely clear when Pound and Barnes first met, but they were certainly acquainted by the beginning of 1940. On 23 January, MI5 intercepted a letter from Barnes to the prominent (and soon to be interned) British fascist Robert Gordon-Canning (1888-1967). In this letter, as the MI5 reader put it:

Barnes wrote to Canning trying to arrange a meeting on the Italian Riviera during Canning's proposed visit to Italy. He suggested meeting at Nervi where Ezra Pound lives, and thought that it would amuse Canning to meet Pound who 'is a great fellow, & supporter of Tom's'.⁵⁷

Unlike Barnes, Pound had initially struggled to gain paid employment as a Fascist propagandist, being 'continually put off'⁵⁸ by the Ministry of Popular Culture, and instead he took on a role that has been described as the 'unofficial admonisher of the Italian propaganda service'.⁵⁹ It is evident that in this capacity Pound became a follower of Barnes' broadcasts, and that Barnes, in turn, was one of those influenced by Pound's advice and admonitions. On 2 December 1940 Pound wrote to Luigi Villari of the Ministry of Popular Culture, and informed him that:

By the way, VERY good stuff in english from Germany yesterday/ taking up motif they have used well before. i.e; Housing project. Barnes cd/ get busy on that line. Better FACTS, INFORMATION re/ advantages of german and Italian system than attacks on Winston, which will be discounted OR exceeded by people in eng.⁶⁰

It is also clear that, around this time, Barnes and Pound began to collaborate on ideas for broadcasts. This is evident in a letter Pound wrote to Barnes on 26 January 1941, which shows they had been in correspondence for some time regarding economic issues. In this letter, Pound draws on his inexact Italian to provide Barnes with a detailed explication of his own views, while at the same time reprimanding his friend about what he sees as the flaws in one of his recent broadcasts:

Caro Barnes

Ero rimasto sveglio per due ore preoccupato, non forse dei difetti del vostro argumete, ma dei ragioni perche a me non pareva efficace come radio diffusione.

Voi avete attaccato un Fundamental (o per voi un fondamentale credo che è fundamental[]). Ma avete avvicinate al soggetto per via d un dettaglio [Dear Barnes I was awake for two hours and was worried not about the faults of your argument, but about the reasons why it did not seem effective to me as a radio broadcast. You have attacked a basic principle (or what is a basic principle for you – I believe it is a basic principle). But you have approached the subject by way of a detail.⁶¹].

Banks are USEFUL. They have come into being because they were very useful. Their unshakeable function is to give UBIQUITY to money. See history of crusades etc/

Where you don't have proper banks (vide storia della fondazione del Monte dei Paschi [(see the history of the foundation of the Monte dei Paschi bank)]) you get private lending and all sorts of private usury.

Mussolini ha avuto piu effetto che non Douglas, ma anche Douglas ha conquistato una provincia, Alberta, e fondato un partito, forte nella New Zealandia. Soddy⁶² è rimasto professore senza effetto. [Mussolini has had more effect than Douglas, but Douglas has also conquered a province, Alberta, and established a party, strong in New Zealand. Soddy has remained a professor without effect].

Cure the typhus and leave the mosquito bite. Vedete anche prossimo article mio, che deve uscire sul Meridiano il nove Feb/ (forse il 2. Feb. man non credo prima del 9.) vedete anche articolo passati. <?ma!> [See also my next article, which is due to be published in Meridiano on Feb. 9 (perhaps Feb. 2, but I do not believe before Feb. 9) see also my past articles. <??>].

Distinguish. Theory, that is definition of perfect system.

practicality. which shd/ mean the best and quickest putting theory into practice/ or best approach TO the just system.

The state never needs to borrow. Certainly never needs to pay rent on its own purchasing power (pay PRIVATE individuals for use of its own credit).

BUT under some circumstances even a state may find it OPPORTUNE not to rush too fast, or hurl itself too suddenly against ingrained habits of thought of the majority of the citizens.

However, there is now a vast mass of opinion, plus known tradition of several centuries AGAINST the state paying private usurers.

ON the other hand private loans will continue, openly or secretly as long as fools and men with short view want money. This is a much lesser evil/ at any rate needs enormous police force and bureaucracy to prevent.

also mention of it/ ANY mention of it, may lead to argument, and any DETAILED explanation of a scheme to stop it will scatter yr/ audience and rouse discussion instead of uniting them AGAINST gli usurai internazionali [international money-lenders].

Even issue of national bonds, so long as individuals buy them and (ideally speaking) IF the amount that any individual cd. hold were limited

wd/ be defensible. The income from bonds to individuals wd/ or could rightly be considered as a state dividend (preferential) to those who maintain a certain standard of living (necessary to all the arts and upper layers of mental life, science etc.) who show prudence, carry their own insurance in this way and thereby diminish the NEED of swollen bureaucracy or new bureaus.

The EVIL is the issue of bonds AS BANKING BASIS, thereby taking whole public or state for benefit of a few plouts.

Is this clear?

When the state, cioe quando il sistema economico della stato e ottimo [that is to say, when the state's economic system is excellent], the need of private loans almost disappears. Douglas ha ragione quande vuol fare un sforzo positivo, non negativo [Douglas is right when he wants to make a positive effort, not a negative one.]

[Text unreadable in original]

Doug/ meant to edge out the evils of banking system by good use of state credit. The monte di pieta, e poi Monte dei Paschi furono efficace, vincendo gli usurai nei primi tempi [The Monte di Pietà, and then the Monte dei Paschi⁶³ were effective, defeating the money-lenders in the early stages].

But Jeff. Marx, and all these people who howl against ANY interest whatever and want to regulate etc/ merely stop one productive machine, or try to stop it, before they have set up another.

Banche americani adesso ridotto a SERVIRE il pubblico cercando a fare piccoli servizii [American banks are now reduced to SERVING the public trying to do small jobs], at 15 cents a shot. They will be blacking shoes next...

I'd say/ go for the main evil, and wait till later to worry about interest in small loans to individuals. Affare del tempo ed opportunita [Time's business and opportunity].

Ma bisogna avere banche/ par depositi/ par dare ubiquita alla potenza d acquiste/ par risparmiare folle di 40 persone alle sportelli degli uff/ postali; e perdita di tre ore ai individui/ che cosi perdono meta d un giorno dilavoro e bisogna NON dire nulla che puo spaventare persone che crederanno che voi minaciaste troppo alle loro necessita quotidiano [But we need banks to make deposits, to give ubiquity to buying power, to avoid crowds of 40 people at post offices and to save three hours to individuals, who thus lose half a day's work. And we must NOT say anything which might frighten people who would believe that you are threatening their daily needs].

This is not against what you MEAN, it is caution against what the auditore [audience] will fear you mean.⁶⁴

Barnes replied at length on 27 January, engaging in detailed debate with Pound about his views on banks, lending and interest. This letter also reveals their mutual concern

with how best to render such dry topics into effective propaganda for American and British audiences. Indeed, it could not be more clear that Barnes valued Pound's guidance and saw his own work as following the same lines as Pound's, but Barnes' refusal to shy away from debate with his friend is also manifest:

My dear E.P.

I do not think you need be preoccupied for the reasons you suggest. When you say the fundamental is that the evil is issue of bonds for banking basis, I say the same at the top of my page in a different way. Perhaps what you judge an American will immediately understand, I judge an Englishman won't — et vice versa ...

Later in this letter, Barnes makes it clear that he is as zealous an advocate of social credit as Pound, with the extent of Pound's intellectual and creative influence over him evident in his every word:

I do not attack the existence of banks or their business of lending money to grease the wheels of commerce and industry. I attack their present right to issue it. I call it usurpation of the prerogative of the State — of You, the man in the street... In fact, I should say that what you object to in my radio diffusion is what I thought to avoid: detail and controversy.

But we will further discuss it, when we meet. I think we agree on both the fundamental and the principle to avoid detail and controversy... And perhaps the answer is what is understandable by Americans is different to what is understandable by Englishmen, who are much more ignorant in the ways of banks (the very word credit for them is like saying abracadabra) and slower in the uptake. Maybe I'm wrong.

I am reading the History of Money in the U.S.A. Good. I wish I had a copy. Then I shall read your articles. My work here makes time short — so I shall need a week before I have read all you gave me. No doubt I shall <be?> wiser. Personally I like the way you say things. Perhaps I am more professional and duller. But not always...

By the way, on the night of your last conferenza (which I listened to with gloating pleasure), I made a commentario which would have pleased you — on Mr Rosevelt (I am told I must pronounce him thus) — I may have a copy to give you. It followed the lines you suggested.

Let me know when you can come to dinner on a Saturday evening with or without our friend Por. But please warn me as much in advance as possible.

I prefer poetry and economics to novels. I find them more refreshing when I am tired. I can only read a novel as other people read philosophy — e.g. with a wet towel round the brow. And I am quite capable of talking all night. So we ought to get on.

Salute <?>
Jim Barnes⁶⁵

That Pound became a frequent visitor to Barnes' home and a revered advisor on propaganda issues is borne out in further archival materials. 'I understand that there is a suggestion that you should come and stay for regular periods in Rome – a fortnight a month or more, according to your fancy – so that we may benefit from your advice', Barnes wrote to Pound on 14 February 1941. 'I hope you will agree to this and, if you do, I hope you will make of our flat your pied-a-terre... Your company will be great tonic to us both.'⁶⁶ Similarly, Barnes' diary entry for 31 March 1943 records: 'We had Ezra Pound to dinner this week. He is, as Buona says, really a great poet. He is always stimulating too and we talked our favourite subject: economics'.⁶⁷ An entry for 2 July 1943 gives some indication of the way Pound scheduled the recordings of his propaganda broadcasts during his regular visits to Rome: '...I could do as does Ezra Pound – come one week in 4 and register a dozen talks.'⁶⁸

Barnes' diary is especially significant in that it spans the period between September 1943 and May 1945, the chaotic final years of wartime Italy. In July 1943 Mussolini was sacked by the Fascist Grand Council and the King of Italy set up a government under Badoglio. A range of political parties issued a manifesto which called for the abolition of Fascism and all its instruments, and Mussolini was arrested. The Italian mainland was invaded by the Allies on 3 September 1943, and by 8 September an armistice had been signed between Badoglio and the Allies. In response, the Germans moved eight divisions over the Brenner Pass and occupied Italy north of Naples. Mussolini was freed by German forces and installed as the puppet ruler of the so-called Italian Social Republic, more commonly known as the Republic of Salò. It is this period, 'between the formation of the Republic of Salò on

23 September 1943 and Pound's arrest in early May of 1945 [that] is the least documented of his adult years', with his biographers generally struggling to flesh out their pages with relevant information. Moreover, 'the absence of material for those eighteen months remains a crucial problem for Pound scholarship, crucial because of the importance of this period to a final judgment about Pound's support of Italian fascism'.⁶⁹ In these circumstances, the entries in Barnes' diary regarding Pound provide vital pointers to his attitudes, activities and whereabouts during this period.

Pound was in Rome when the armistice was signed and in a most precarious position. Indicted by the United States for treason on 26 July 1943 and with his American passport invalidated, he could neither flee the country nor be certain that he could avoid being handed over to the Allies by the Badoglio regime. While many Fascist officials fled north to seek protection from the Germans, Pound lingered in Rome, apparently abandoned by Fascist officialdom, before embarking on an epic hike north to his daughter's house in the Italian Tirol region near the northern border.⁷⁰ One of the most interesting facts that emerges from Barnes' diary, however, is that there were concerted attempts by high-level officials not only to smuggle both Barnes and Pound out of Rome but also to try to entice them to Berlin. While at the Ministry on 9 September 1943 Barnes was told 'that an armistice had been concluded and that it would be advisable for us to escape with all speed', with a 'Radio inspector' taking 'charge of our interests'. He was informed that he would be provided with a 'letter signed by the Minister (Galbi) to the chief of Police (Senise)' and it was with such official documents that Barnes would acquire travel papers: 'I was told to go round in the morning, present the letter and obtain passports, without waiting for the formalities to be completed regarding my Italian nationality...'. The diary entry for 11 September makes it abundantly clear that these passports were

bogus: 'Italian passports are actually ready under false names'. Due to extensive bureaucratic delay, however, these false passports were not issued as quickly as planned, and Barnes and Pound were forced to remain in an increasingly tumultuous Rome. Barnes' diary for 11 September records the confusion and fear that were unfolding after the Italian surrender to the Allies. German troops were 'reported to be entering Rome and so all Ministries had to shut'. Evidently fearful of what would happen if he was picked up by pro-Allied forces in Italy, Barnes noted: 'Nothing more could be done and I was told to look out for the Germans, find out where their Headquarters were and get them to look after us. I accordingly bicycled about to various places. But there was no sign of the Germans.' Barnes' diary provides a vivid picture of Pound's unwillingness at this time to wait any longer for either German protection or false papers:

I telephoned to Ezra Pound and suggested we might make the attempt [to reach the Germans] together. At 4 o'clock he turned up, dressed as a hiker with a rucksack on his back. But the battle was raging and it had transpired that to reach the Germans we should have to pass through No-man's land. It was therefore obvious that our project was impracticable for the time being. I advised him to go home and wait. But Ezra had made up his mind to walk out of Rome northwards. I told him he was mad, but he would not hear of it. Ezra is of course in a similar position to myself and happened to be in Rome when the armistice came. I gave him some maps and off he went along the Via Salaria.⁷¹ He has not been heard of since. I trust he got through. It is not impossible; but he may have been taken by the Italians and clapped into a concentration camp. Who knows?

As a matter of fact, about an hour after his departure, news came through of a truce. The Italians had surrendered. The Germans agreed to remain outside the city except that they should occupy the Broadcasting station, the Telephone Exchange and the German Embassy. It is possible therefore that Ezra reached the German lines all right. (Later. Yes, he did – went on unmolested, sleeping in peasants' houses and eventually reached the Brenner after which he returned to Rapallo.)⁷²

Barnes only became aware of this much later and he recorded in his diary on 14 September: 'Went to the German Embassy with Ezra Pound's false passport & asked them to look for him & give it to him.' It is unlikely that the German authorities ever

delivered this spurious passport to Pound, as by the time he was locatable the situation within Italy had stabilised, but the mere fact that such papers were issued is significant, indicating that Fascist and German officials were prepared to offer Pound material support and a false identity in order to ensure his safety at this stage.

For his part, having balked at the prospect of a marathon trek and the ubiquitous danger of Italian partisans, Barnes remained in Rome, still waiting to obtain passports and the necessary visas to exit the country. He finally managed to get these false passports (presumably along with the one he delivered to the Germans for Pound) and papers issued on 12 September. The next day, Barnes recorded his desire ‘to go to Switzerland & to get [out] of all hostilities & further difficulties’, but it was clear that the Germans had other plans for Mussolini’s renegade propagandist (and quite possibly his American friend): ‘The Germans expect me to go to Berlin & broadcast for them; but I prefer not to do this. It would only mean compromising myself up to the hilt, if the Germans are eventually beaten’, Barnes wrote in his diary. Accordingly, he and his family struck out north, making it as far as Venice before establishing contact with ex-officials from the Ministero della Cultura Popolare who invited him to rejoin the equivalent of the ministry at Salò, an invitation Barnes jumped at.

Crucially, it was Barnes who was instrumental in enticing Pound back into propaganda work at Salò. He records in his diary on 4 November 1943 that he has heard the ‘good news’ that ‘Ezra Pound was safe back in Rapallo.’ ‘I must write to him and get in touch’, Barnes notes, and it is clear that he was interested in rather more than just maintaining his friendship with the poet. In fact, Barnes wrote to Pound that very day. As Redman explains:

Barnes told Pound that they [the Republican Fascist Party] were in the process of organizing a new English-language propaganda service with transmissions to be broadcast probably from Milan. He invited Pound to ‘come here for a few days toward the end of the month to help me galvanize the situation,’ adding, no doubt as bait, ‘it is necessary also to persuade people to insert a clause in the new statute that permits only the state to issue money or its equivalent.’ Pound’s interest in economics was no secret to his former colleagues, and they occasionally used it to manipulate him. Barnes mentioned that Nino Sammartano, a friend of Pound, had become the Inspector of Radio.⁷³

The next relevant entry in Barnes’ diary, written in Salò on 13 November 1943, records that he had:

Received a letter from Ezra P. in answer to my p.c.⁷⁴ He is to be invited up here for consultation & so we hope to see him soon. (Here insert P.’s amusing letter). He has been writing to the Duce & I happened to see one of his letters on Sammartano’s desk (Sammartano is our Director of Wireless Propaganda). The letter ran as follows (or almost exactly so; as far as I was able to memorise it).

‘Duce,

Non credo che sia è utile o necessario che la Radio sia il monopolio degli di Londra in lingua inglese. Potrei combattere loro infame propaganda. Non ho bisogno di un Ministero, ma senza un microfono ich Kann nicht senden [I don’t think it is either useful or necessary that the radio remain London’s monopoly in the English language. I could fight their infamous propaganda. I don’t need a ministry, but without a microphone I can’t send].

What a chap is Ezra! Quite priceless & probably more effective than a formal epistle.⁷⁵

‘Banzai!’ Barnes wrote to Pound on the same day. ‘Grazie della lettera. L’invito a Salò è per la strada. Perciò ci vedremo fra poco – e allora avremo delle belle chiacchierate [Hurrah! Thank you for your letter. The invitation to Salò is on its way. We’ll meet in a short while, therefore, and have a good chat].⁷⁶

By 1 December 1943 the Salò Republic had set up a radio propaganda centre in Milan,⁷⁷ and ‘Pound was quickly re-engaged as a broadcaster, not only because of pressure from his colleagues and the necessity of earning a living, but more importantly because it seemed to him that the Republic was taking an important new turn in the direction of progressive economic policy.’⁷⁸ Barnes, now based in Salò,

recorded in his diary on 4 December 1943, that he had seen ‘Sammartano and started establishing my contacts again. We found Ezra Pound here and [Giacchino] Nicoletti, who is starting a new Review to which I am to contribute (Ezra, too, on economic reform): “Volontà Repubblicana”.’ Redman comments that at this time:

Pound, energized, started to press for the founding of a new magazine or a new newspaper for the republic, to be printed weekly in Rapallo. As he wrote to Mezzasoma on 31 January 1944, his idea was to mobilize ‘those who are not suitable for military service’...but who had literary ability so that they could serve the new state...He stressed the need for the intelligentsia to have a central clearinghouse for debate and information, though he clarified to Mezzasoma on 27 February that he did not intend for it to be ‘an organ of the party’... But the presence of the war is felt in these endeavors. Paper and the material means to make it were lacking. On 11 March Mezzasoma wrote to Pound finally giving him a definite ‘no’ to the possibility of a weekly paper in Rapallo ‘due to the absolute necessity of reducing the use of paper to the minimum’...And apparently some kind of review was already in the works, prepared by Giacchino [*sic*] Nicoletti at Salò.⁷⁹

This could well be a reference to the projected ‘Volontà Repubblicana’, and while we have been unable to find any evidence that this journal ever saw the light of day, Pound did spend the next few months writing articles for newspapers and pamphlets such as *L’America, Roosevelt, e le Cause della Guerra Presente*, published in March 1944. He also continued to be involved with radio propaganda but, as Redman notes, details of his activities have hitherto been extremely scarce. One of the few known sources is quoted by Heymann, and this provides further evidence of continued collaboration between Barnes and Pound in the form of a memo that Tamburini, the Director General of Radio Milan, sent ‘to the General Office for Foreign Press and Radio, a branch of the Ministry of Popular Culture, advising them of the station’s decision to offer Pound a paid position’. The content of the note is as follows:

With reference to our recent conversation, I wish to advise you that Radio Division IV in Milan has recently invited the collaborators Ezra Pound and Giacomo Barnes to

join them. They will each send two or three messages per week to Milan; these messages will be of a polemic nature suitable for insertion into news reports in foreign languages.⁸⁰

Besides these ‘two or three messages per week’, other kinds of propaganda were also attempted. By the end of April 1944, for example, Barnes was preparing to work on a new regular radio broadcast, primarily aimed at British troops in Italy, called ‘Jerry’s Front’.⁸¹ It was to consist of a dialogue between two Englishmen, ‘Jolly’ and ‘Fat’ (Barnes), in their rooms in London, and once again Barnes’ diary enables us to clarify and deepen our understanding of Pound’s propaganda activities at this crucial time. Redman notes an ‘[u]nfortunately very cryptic’ mention by Pound (in a 27 October 1944 letter) that he was sending material to Milan radio, and that “‘Jerry’s Front’ continues, but it doesn’t broadcast speeches’,⁸² while Pound’s FBI file also refers to the fact that the FBI were interested in the ‘short news comments’ that Pound submitted to the ‘Jerry’s Front Calling’ program from Fall 1943.⁸³ The diary enables us to make sense of Pound’s ‘cryptic’ remark and the FBI’s equally obscure reference.

A further entry in Barnes’ diary that throws light on Pound’s movements and attitudes was made on 20 April 1944, when Barnes noted that he had met Mezzasoma, who wanted him to ‘prepare a booklet on monetary & banking reform.’ This is probably the pamphlet *Giustizia Sociale: attraverso la riforma monetaria*,⁸⁴ and it is of interest because it covers themes addressed by Pound in his economic writings. Barnes’ summary of his pamphlet in his diary indicates that it covered, among other topics, usury, Gesell scrip, and the issuing of money by states. These were also long-standing interests of Pound,⁸⁵ of course, and he and Barnes had debated them in earlier letters. But Barnes’ pamphlet is a further indication of the ways in which Pound’s views contributed to the production and dissemination of pro-war propaganda materials in the Salò republic.

By mid-1944, with the Allies advancing northwards through Italy, the outlook for the Salò Republic became increasingly bleak. An entry in Barnes' diary for 23 July 1944 records his understandable anxieties about the future and also records Pound's reaction to the unfolding situation: 'Chaos reigns in the South. As Ezra Pound says: "Wherever the British and Americans go, they make the best possible propaganda for Fascism".' This entry – the last concerning Pound in Barnes' diary – shows that Pound and Barnes were still in contact at this time, and this was certainly not the end of the close collaboration between the two men. As Redman records:

In a letter of 22 December [1944] to Sammartano, Pound proposed a bi-monthly or monthly newsletter where 'the hundred, or fifty, of the intelligentsia who work for the republic...could speak of the things that each one believed important'... On the verso of this is a fragment labelled '159/Pound anonymous 2 Dec XXIII [1944] Notes to refer also to Barnes.' Two of these notes, apparently destined for use in radio propaganda, contain some of Pound's most virulent anti-Semitism... These notes, with the exception of one or two words in Italian, were written by Pound in English, apparently anonymously, and for broadcast by Barnes.⁸⁶

A few days before Mussolini was executed by Italian partisans on 28 April 1945, the short-lived Republic of Salò collapsed. On 3 May Pound was taken into American custody. Allied forces also wanted to find Barnes, with high-level British intelligence documents dating from 1943 indicating that the legal difficulties involved in prosecuting such renegades had been debated for some time,⁸⁷ but the Italian Lord Haw-Haw proved to be more elusive than his American counterpart. In July 1945, Barnes made his way to Merano and soon afterwards he moved on again, ostensibly to Florence, but in reality he had gone into hiding and he would remain on the run for the next few years (in August 1945 the Allied Force's Psychological Warfare Branch was even questioned as to whether Barnes had actually been employed by them at some point).⁸⁸ Buona Barnes continued to receive letters from him (couched as if from

a cousin), and she told Allied intelligence officers she believed that her husband had spent some time in Vatican City, and had taken refuge in various monasteries, before going to Orbetello.⁸⁹ Despite their persistent efforts, military intelligence proved unable to locate Barnes, it eventually being believed that he had slipped out of the country using a false name and Italian passport.⁹⁰ As Claudio Mancini has discovered, however, between September 1946 and August 1947 Barnes hid in a convent in Sicily, before moving to convents in Lazio and Piedmont, and then returning to live in Rome at the end of 1949.⁹¹

Barnes resumed his correspondence with Pound in the early 1950s, convinced of both the deep injustice of Pound's incarceration in St. Elizabeths Hospital and the prospects for having him released. In April 1952 he wrote to Pound, beginning 'Truly beloved Ezra. There are not many people I esteem in this world, but you are one of them. Another is Augustus John', and remarking 'I have been thinking how...the opportunity might be exploited to have you over here.' Barnes goes on to ruminate on various implausible strategies by which Pound's release might be achieved, even suggesting that President Eisenhower should be approached. Barnes was still clearly in awe of his old friend: 'I know you are very sensitive about it all. But you needn't be too squeamish. There is such a thing as history; and as far as history is concerned you're safe.'⁹² In June 1953, the year in which he became an Italian citizen,⁹³ Barnes wrote again, providing Pound with details of Italian officials in America who might be asked to intercede on his behalf, and describing how the prominent televangelist Bishop Fulton J. Sheen (1895-1979) might be persuaded to take an interest in the case.⁹⁴ In fact, Barnes never let up in his quest to win Pound's freedom, and not long before his death in 1955 he drafted an appeal to Sir Winston Churchill, then Prime Minister, in which he pleaded with Churchill to help secure the release of Pound from

St. Elizabeths, recalling both Pound's merits as a poet and his political stand against 'Soviet barbarianism' and the 'Jewish revolution'.⁹⁵

After Barnes' death, his wife discovered a draft of this letter to Churchill among her husband's papers and sent it to Pound, but he responded on 9 November 1955 with a letter (addressed to 'Mrs Jim') that bordered on indignation, claiming that the appeal showed 'how much and how little idea [Barnes] had of what I was driving at. He was so full of his own apostolat, that he did not notice the difference of angle / AND now that the Times [in its obituary] has printed an apparently fair statement of his, Jim's position, it might be noticed that No english or american paper has ever done anything like it for mine'. Pound went on to provide 'Mrs Jim' with a draft statement that he wanted her to send to *The Times* in the form of a letter seeking to make it plain (seemingly in her own words) that 'Pound never WAS fascist...Not only was he not fascist, he was ANTI-socialist and against the socialist elements in the fascist program.' Mrs Jim was to continue:

Having seen Italy in 1898 and repeatedly visited the peninsula until finally settling there he was in a position to appreciate the effects of Mussolini's policies, bonifica [reclamation (drainage of land)], increased grain production etc. And approved them for Italy in transition. But never moved from the Jeffersonian belief in minimum of government possible, and favoured Gesell above the Social Credit plans, because the Social Crediters require as much if not more bureaucracy than exists at present, whereas Gesell's idea would diminish bureaucracy...He agreed with my husband on the need of balance in Europe and on keeping russia as far as possible from the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

And he agreed with my husband that it would be better to discuss these things on the air during the war, than to wait until the great damage had been done.

This was perhaps the extent of their friendly agreement, and I should be glad if the Times would do justice to both of them. Combatting in the spirit of English fairness current misapprehensions.⁹⁶

His sense of his distinction from Barnes obviously remained a sore point for Pound, as in another letter from this period, written to Olivia Rossetti Agresti, he grumbled in a similar vein:

The Times obit of Barnes, MIGHT be used to differentiate MY position/ evidently Jim didn't realize the difference as his wife has found draft of an appeal to (yes, yes, guess WHOM... Winston) in Jim's papers, based on error.

Jim for fascism as principle/ E.P recognizing it as the possible IN ITALY, despite its difference from Jefferson's aim/ AND considering VOCATIONAL representation as constitutional for U.S lower house.

Of course I wd/ be DEAD from overwork if I hadn't been juggled, but someone might start serious discussion of what I HAVE thought and written.⁹⁷

This 'serious discussion' has now been ongoing for more than fifty years and shows no sign of reaching a settled consensus, but the new materials on which this article draws make one thing even clearer. While Pound tried to distance himself from Barnes after his death and to emphasise what he saw as their political and economic 'difference of angle', the record of their wartime relationship indicates that they had a great deal in common. Barnes may well have been something of a Fordian 'romancer', as Compton Mackenzie claimed, but there is absolutely no reason to believe that he made up the details of his friendship and co-operation with Pound. The 'Italian Lord Haw-Haw' and the American poet were not just friends and renegade fellow-travellers, it now seems even more clear, but Mussolini's most ardent and persistent Anglophone apostles.

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² The only substantial account of Barnes' career to date is Claudio Maria Mancini's *Le carte del maggiore James Strachey Barnes R.F.C* 3rd ed. (Rome, 2012). Sig. Mancini intends to lodge a copy of this CD, an ongoing project, with the British Library. Dr Claudia Baldoli of Newcastle University is currently at work on the first full-length study in English of Barnes' life and writings and she also intends to edit, with Dr Brendan Fleming, a scholarly edition of his wartime diary, a key source for this article (see below). We are very grateful indeed for the help we have received from Sig. Mancini, Dr Baldoli and Dr Fleming.

³ On Mary Hutchinson, see David Bradshaw, "'Those Extraordinary Parakeets': Part One; Clive Bell and Mary Hutchinson", *Charleston Magazine*, (Autumn/Winter 1997), 5-12; "'Those Extraordinary Parakeets': Part Two; Clive Bell and Mary Hutchinson", *Charleston Magazine*, (Spring/Summer 1998), 5-12.

⁴ *The Diary of Virginia Woolf, Volume III: 1925-1930*, ed. Anne Olivier Bell assisted by Andrew McNeillie (London, 1980), 243.

⁵ For Barnes' friendship with Marsh and his circle, see the many references to Barnes in Christopher Hassall, *A Biography of Edward Marsh* (New York, 1959).

⁶ *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence: Volume II: June 1913-October 1916*, ed. George J. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton (Cambridge, 1981), 136. See also 142, 154, 195 and 91, n. 4.

⁷ For details of this character (whose activities in Italy are discussed by Rupert Birkin and Hermione Roddice at one point in the novel), see D.H. Lawrence, *Women in Love* (Oxford, 1998), ed. David Bradshaw, 308-9 and 509, n.308. For his part, Barnes described Lawrence as a man whose 'genius was warped by the fact that he was a very sick man, and only half-educated', James Strachey Barnes, *Half a Life* (London, 1933), 138. Hereafter *HL*.

⁸ Wyndham Lewis, *Blasting and Bombardiering* (London, 1937), 305.

⁹ This 1933 sketch, captioned 'A kindly though aquiline surveyor', is reproduced as the frontispiece to *HL*.

¹⁰ This portrait is reproduced opposite 204 of *HL*.

¹¹ Augustus John, *Chiaroscuro: Fragments of Autobiography: First Series* (London, 1952), 191.

¹² J.S. Barnes to Augustus John, 6 June 1954, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Augustus John Papers 22779E ff. 50-2.

¹³ He does not feature at all, for example, in Charles Norman, *Ezra Pound* (New York, 1969) or Noel Stock, *The Life of Ezra Pound* (London, 1970) or Benjamin Friedlander, 'Radio Broadcasts', in Ira B. Nagel (ed.), *Ezra Pound in Context* (Cambridge, 2010), 115-24 or, indeed, that volume as a whole. Humphrey Carpenter, in *A Serious Character: The Life of Ezra Pound* (London, 1988) makes only one reference to Barnes (586), while C. David Heymann in *Ezra Pound:*

The Last Rower: A Political Profile (London, 1976) mentions him twice (111, 150). Even Tim Redman, whose *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism* (Cambridge, 1991) remains the most detailed account of the Pound of this period, only discusses Barnes in passing (207, 234-5, 258, 268), and identifies him by his Italianized name of 'Giacomo Barnes'.

¹⁴ For further details of Sir Hugh Barnes, see Frances Bostock, 'Barnes, Sir Hugh Shakespear (1853-1940)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). Available online at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53561>.

¹⁵ One crucial (but not entirely reliable) source for what follows is *HL*. A critically important source is Mancini's *Le carte del maggiore James Strachey Barnes R.F.C.*.

¹⁶ Obituary of Barnes, *King's College, Cambridge Annual Report* (1955), 2. See also *HL*, 148-58.

¹⁷ 'Barnes, Major James Strachey', *The Catholic Who's Who & Year-Book 1930* (London, 1930), 19.

¹⁸ Unsigned letter from the Italian Embassy, London, to the Foreign Office, 15 January 1920, *Index to the Correspondence of the Foreign Office*, Kew, The National Archives (hereafter TNA), FO 372/1554, fol. 6.

¹⁹ This period of his life and the years that followed are recalled in James Strachey Barnes, *Half a Life Left* (London, 1937). Hereafter, *HLL*.

²⁰ J. S. Barnes, 'The Fascist Regime: Aims and Achievements', *The Times* (25 November 1924), 10. Cited in Barbara Storm Farr, *The Development and Impact of Right-Wing Politics in Britain, 1903-1932* (New York and London, 1987), 76.

²¹ See 'Notes of Meetings', *Journal of the British Institute of International Affairs*, 5:1 (1926), 58.

²² J. S. Barnes, 'The Doctrines and Aims of Fascism', *National Review*, 87 (1926), 568-86.

²³ *HLL*, 24.

²⁴ *HLL*, 16.

²⁵ Aldous Huxley, *Selected Letters*, ed. James Sexton (Chicago, 2007), 197. See also 129 and 140.

²⁶ See *A Survey of Fascism and the Year Book of the International Centre of Fascist Studies*, 1, 1928 (London, 1928). Barnes' own contribution to the volume is 'The Reform of the State in Italy', 83-97.

²⁷ Thomas P. Linehan, *British Fascism, 1918-39: Parties, Ideology and Culture* (Manchester, 2000), 128.

²⁸ James Strachey Barnes, *The Universal Aspects of Fascism* (London, 1928), 98-9.

²⁹ 'Preface by His Excellency Benito Mussolini', *Universal Aspects of Fascism*, xvii.

³⁰ As Farr notes, 'The depression undoubtedly cut off funds and the Comitati d'azione per l'universalita di Roma (CAUR) superseded it' (76).

³¹ T.S. Eliot, 'The Literature of Fascism', *Criterion* 8:31 (1928), 280-90.

³² J.S. Barnes, 'Fascism', *Criterion*, 8:32 (1929), 445-59. As Jason Harding has shown, Eliot wished to conduct an investigation into both Italian Fascism and Soviet communism by commissioning articles from Barnes and A.L. Rowse.

See Harding, *The Criterion: Cultural Politics and Periodical Networks in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford, 2002), 181. See also T.S. Eliot, 'Mr Barnes and Mr Rowse', *Criterion*, 8:33 (1929), 682-91.

³³ Harold Nicolson, *Diaries and Letter 1930-1939*, ed. Nigel Nicolson (London, 1966), 11. See also David Bradshaw, 'Politics' in Jason Harding, *T.S. Eliot in Context* (Cambridge, 2011), 265-74.

³⁴ Apart from his diary and one or two other documents that ended up in the hands of Mrs Lena Barnes, and a small number of further items which her sister-in-law, Mrs Guidotti, took away, the extensive archive of J.S. Barnes, occupying 'two rooms', was discarded soon after the death of Buona Barnes on 26 November 1991. 'Buona never allowed anybody, not even her son Adriano, to consult it. When she died her relatives...took a few items...The remainder was given to the garbage man' (information conveyed in an email from Claudio Maria Mancini to David Bradshaw, 21 August 2012). For an extensive 'Inventario' of all the extant Barnes papers and their whereabouts, see Mancini, *Le carte del maggiore James Strachey Barnes*, 57-166.

³⁵ See 'Major James Barnes's Wedding', *Daily Sketch* (29 September 1930), 5.

³⁶ J.S. Barnes, *Fascism* (London, 1931).

³⁷ This information is contained in reports of the post-war interrogation of Barnes' wife. See R. Tattersall, 'Further Interrogation Report on Barnes, Buona', 30 September 1946, TNA, WO 204/12841. Barnes' own account of his controversial assignment in Abyssinia is contained in *HLL*, 131-326.

³⁸ Quoted in Donald Read, *The Power of News: The History of Reuters 1849-1989* (Oxford, 1992), 181.

³⁹ J. Martin, Report on Interview with Emiliano Guidotti (Barnes' brother-in-law), 29 September 1944, TNA, WO 204/12841. Guidotti stated that Barnes was 'sent on a propaganda trip to the USA' in 1938, but it seems likely he misremembered the year, as the *Index of Correspondence of the Foreign Office* (1937), 285, refers to two documents relating to a lecture trip Barnes made to the USA in 1937. He was still in the USA in 1938. These two documents have not been located.

⁴⁰ Letter from the British Library of Information, New York, to the News Department, Foreign Office, 2 February 1938, *Index to the Correspondence of the Foreign Office* (1938), TNA, FO 371/22403, fols. 148-51.

⁴¹ See *Index to the Correspondence of the Foreign Office* (1938), TNA, FO 371/22437, fols. 122-24.

⁴² See 'Anglo-Italian Relations', *Index to the Correspondence of the Foreign Office* (1938), TNA, FO 371/22410, fol. 275.

⁴³ Tattersall, 'Further Interrogation Report on Barnes, Buona'.

⁴⁴ Martin, Report on Interview with Emiliano Guidotti.

⁴⁵ 'British Renegades -- Interim Report/James Strachey Barnes', 26 January 1945, TNA, WO 204/12841.

⁴⁶ 'British Renegades -- Interim Report/James Strachey Barnes'.

⁴⁷ Tattersall, 'Further Interrogation Report on Barnes, Buona'.

⁴⁸ Unsigned Military Intelligence Report on James Strachey Barnes, 27 November 1944, TNA, WO 204/12841.

⁴⁹ James Strachey Barnes, diary (see below) entry for 11 September 1943, where Barnes records that he has informed the German Embassy in Rome that he is ‘the Italian “Lord Haw Haw”’. The original ‘Lord Haw-Haw’ was William Joyce (1906-46), who broadcast on behalf of the Nazis from Germany during the Second World War. See Nigel Farndale, *Haw-Haw: The Tragedy of William and Margaret Joyce* (London, 2005).

⁵⁰ Compton Mackenzie, *My Life and Times: Octave Eight 1939-1946* (London, 1969), 159.

⁵¹ A British War Office file on Barnes, catalogued as ‘Major J S BARNES (alleged British renegade)’, covers the period July 1944 to September 1947 and shows the attempts by Allied military intelligence officials to locate and investigate him in the wake of the advance into Italy. This is available at TNA, WO 204/12841. It is clear from cross-references that Barnes had a substantial MI5 file, but this has not yet been released. There is also an MI5 file on Ezra Pound, located at TNA, KV 2/875-6, but this only contains two documents relevant to his relationship with Barnes.

⁵² ‘Major Strachey Barnes: A Paladin of Fascism’, *The Times* (29 August 1955), 9. It is reprinted in *Pound/Cummings: The Correspondence of Ezra Pound and E.E. Cummings*, ed. Barry Ahearn (Ann Arbor, 1996), 375-76.

⁵³ The Italian anti-Fascist politician Giacomo Matteotti was kidnapped and murdered, almost certainly by Fascist agents, on 10 June 1924.

⁵⁴ ‘Major Strachey Barnes: A Paladin of Fascism’.

⁵⁵ Pound to Cummings, 13 November 1955, in Ahearn ed. *Pound/Cummings*, 374. Underlining and capitals in original. See also Tim Redman, ‘Pound’s politics and economics’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*, ed. Ira B. Nadel (Cambridge, 1999), 249-63, esp. 255-56, for a discussion of the importance to Pound of his single meeting with Mussolini, which occurred on 30 January 1933.

⁵⁶ The diary’s precise location is: Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Archivi di famiglie e persone, James Strachey Barnes, busta 4. There are four Barnes files in total in the Central State Archives.

⁵⁷ Cross reference to interdicted letter from Jim Barnes to R. Gordon-Canning, 23 January 1940. TNA, KV 2/875 serial 25b. The ‘Tom’ in question is Oswald Mosley.

⁵⁸ Redman, *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism*, 206.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁶¹ We are extremely grateful for the help we have received from Dr Massimiliano Demata of the University of Bari in translating Pound’s and Barnes’ sometimes unorthodox Italian into English.

⁶² Frederick Soddy (1877-1956), Nobel Prize-winning chemist and Social Credit enthusiast. See Linda Merricks, *The World Made New: Frederick Soddy, Science, Politics, and Environment* (Oxford, 1996), and David Bradshaw, ‘T.S. Eliot and the Major: Sources of Literary Anti-Semitism in the 1930s’, *TLS*, No.4866 (5 July 1996), 14-16.

⁶³ Two banks.

⁶⁴ Letter from Pound to Barnes, 26 January [1941], New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Ezra Pound Papers, YCAL 43, Box 3, Folder 127. A small portion of this letter was published by Redman in *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism*, 207-8.

⁶⁵ Letter from Barnes to Pound, 27 January [1941], Beinecke.

⁶⁶ Letter from Barnes to Pound, 14 February 1941, Beinecke.

⁶⁷ Diary, 31 March [1943].

⁶⁸ Diary, 2 July [1943].

⁶⁹ Redman, *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism*, 233.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 233-4.

⁷¹ Cf. the beginning of Pound's 'Gold and Work', first published in Rapallo in 1944: 'On the 10th of September last, I walked down the Via Salaria and into the Republic of Utopia, a quiet country lying eighty years east of Fara Sabina.' Rep. in Ezra Pound, *Selected Prose 1909-1965*, ed. William Cookson (London, 1973), 306-21.

⁷² Diary, 11 September [1943]. The broad details of this journey are recounted by several biographers: for example, see Humphrey Carpenter, *A Serious Character*, 626-9.

⁷³ Redman, *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism*, 235. The original of Barnes' 4 November 1943 letter is in the Pound Papers at Yale.

⁷⁴ While the content of Pound's actual letter is not to be found in Barnes' diary, it is more than likely that a copy of it was placed in Pound's FBI file (see below). Translated by the FBI and dated 8 November, the letter is addressed to 'G.B.' (almost certainly the initials of 'Giacomo Barnes', the name by which James Strachey Barnes was commonly known in Italy). Amidst discussing the problems of writing a 'Republican constitution', Pound also mentions that 'you and I are sufficiently loquacious to fill the air waves', and that 'Naturally I am ready to travel when I receive an invitation'. We would like to express our gratitude to Dr Matthew Feldman for drawing our attention to this letter and for sharing with us his ongoing research into Pound's FBI file.

⁷⁵ The Pound Papers at Yale also contain a short letter of 13 November 1943 from Barnes to Pound, thanking him for his response and confirming arrangements.

⁷⁶ Barnes to Pound, 13 November 1943, Beinecke.

⁷⁷ C. David Heymann, *Ezra Pound: The Last Rower*, 149.

⁷⁸ Redman, *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism*, 235.

⁷⁹ Redman, *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism*, 242.

⁸⁰ Quoted in Heymann, *Ezra Pound*, 150.

⁸¹ Details of this can be found in Barnes's diary entry for 31 April 1944.

⁸² Redman, *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism*, 263

⁸³ See Matthew Feldman, 'The "Pound Case" in Historical Perspective: An Archival Overview', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 35:2 (2012), 83-97; our citation is from 95, n.8. Barnes only appears as a peripheral figure in Pound's extensive FBI file, featuring in documents such as the lists of those who had received payments for broadcasting on behalf of the Italian Ministry of Popular Culture.

⁸⁴ Giacomo Barnes, *Giustizia Sociale: attraverso la riforma monetaria* (Venezia: 1944-XXII dal Ministero della Cultura Popolare). An electronic copy of this pamphlet can be accessed at http://www.signoraggio.com/barnes/giustiziasociale_barnes.pdf

⁸⁵ On Pound and Gesell scrip, see Tim Redman, 'The Discovery of Gesell' in *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism*, 122-52, and Redman, 'Pound's politics and economics', in *The Cambridge Companion to Ezra Pound*, ed. Nadel, 257.

⁸⁶ Redman, *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism*, 268.

⁸⁷ Pound's MI5 file contains a copy of a 20 May 1943 minute from the barrister Ashton Roskill to the Deputy Director General of MI5 on the issue of 'disloyal British and Maltese British subjects' and the legal terms for their surrender. The third item on this list specifically states that 'The activities in Italy of such persons as James Strachey Barnes...and Ezra Pound' is a matter 'to be considered'. See TNA, KV 2/875, serial 38a.

⁸⁸ Letter to Personnel Section, Psychological Warfare Branch, 19 August 1945, TNA, WO 204/12841.

⁸⁹ This information on the whereabouts of Barnes is contained in 'Further Interrogation Report on Barnes, Buona'.

⁹⁰ Telegram to GHQ CMF, July 1947, TNA, WO 204/12841.

⁹¹ Mancini, *Le carte del maggiore James Strachey Barnes R.F.C.*, 47.

⁹² Letter from Barnes to Pound, 12 April 1952, Beinecke.

⁹³ Mancini, *Le carte del maggiore James Strachey Barnes*, 42, 55, 59.

⁹⁴ Letter from Barnes to Pound, 24 June 1953, Beinecke.

⁹⁵ Undated letter, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Archivi di famiglie e persone, James Strachey Barnes, busta 2, fasc. B.

⁹⁶ Letter from Pound to 'Mrs Jim', 9 November 1955, Beinecke. Buona Barnes' friendly reply of 9 December 1955, addressed to 'Carissimo Ezra', is also in the Beinecke: 'But my dear man you do not realise, then, what it is to be in one's grave...I feel I could not suddenly emerge out of the blues [*sic*], to plead your case – you see nobody has ever heard of me'.

⁹⁷ Ezra Pound, *'I cease not to yowl': Ezra Pound's Letters to Olivia Rossetti Agresti*, ed. Demetres P. Tryphonopoulos and Leon Surette (Urbana, 1998), 218. See also 214.