

Good Neighbor Cultural Diplomacy in World War II:

The Art of Making Friends

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In August 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt named Nelson A. Rockefeller to head the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA), a new federal agency whose main objective was to strengthen cultural and commercial relations between the U.S and Latin America, in particular Brazil, in order to route Axis influence and secure hemispheric solidarity.

On November 7, 1940, just months after the CIAA's inception, Robert G. Caldwell and Wallace K. Harrison, Chairman and Director, respectively, of the agency's Cultural Relations Division, received written approval for twenty-six special projects at a cost of nearly one-half million dollars.ⁱ The most expensive, at \$150,000, was an Inter-American exhibit of art and culture under the direction of the MoMA, to be held simultaneously with parallel exhibits in capital cities throughout the Americas.ⁱⁱ Two hundred fifty-five U.S. paintings were curated by the MoMA in conjunction with other major museums, and in April 1941, these were previewed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Portions of the large exhibit then toured eight South American republics, Mexico and Cuba for close to a year, beginning with an exposition at Mexico City's Palacio de Bellas Artes in June.ⁱⁱⁱ The emphasis was on modern art and included paintings by Georgia O'Keefe, Thomas Hart Benton, Edward Hopper, Stuart Davis, Loren MacIver, Eugene Speicher, Peter Hurd and Robert Henri, among others. A file in the MoMA archive has valuations of all the paintings at the time, the highest valued being George Bellows's Dempsey and Firpo and Georgia O'Keefe's The White Flower at \$25,000 each. Edward

Hopper's watercolor Box Factory, Gloucester was valued at \$400 and Arthur Dove's Electric Peach Orchard at \$250.^{iv}

U.S. specialists accompanied the various tours: MoMA's Stanton Caitlin went to Mexico City, Quito, Lima and Santiago; New Orleans artist Caroline Durieux, who had lived in Mexico and worked with Rivera and other muralists there, oversaw exhibits in Buenos Aires, Rio and Montevideo; and Lewis A. Riley, who had studied art and archaeology and lived in Central America for nearly a decade, traveled to Havana, Caracas and Bogotá. The ambitious project was successful in introducing a little-known aspect of U.S. culture to the other American republics. Durieux was enthusiastic about the South American reception, stating in a newspaper interview that over 60,000 people had attended the three capital city exhibits. In Good Neighbor fashion, she also emphasized fundamental similarities between the Americas that should outweigh any differences, but she seemed to put emphasis on race: "There is a definite kinship between North and South Americans who, after all, have sprung from the same European stock, and there is no reason why misunderstandings should exist between them." She was particularly pleased that Latin Americans "were learning that there is more to the United States than business"—a recurring slogan in cultural relations.^v

The CIAA project included the publication and distribution of 35,000 tri-lingual exhibit catalogs titled Contemporary Painting in the U.S. with a preface by novelist Waldo Frank, who was a major proponent of Latin American literature and culture in the U.S. A donation of ten sets of fifty-three U.S. art books each went to major institutions in the ten exhibiting capital cities. Total attendance for the exhibitions abroad was 218,089.^{vi} Press reaction was positive and widespread, and included reviews in the November 12, 1941 issue of A Manhã (The Morning) by two of Brazil's most celebrated authors, novelist José Lins do Rego and poet Manuel

Bandeira.^{vii} Meanwhile, an amusing anecdote about the exhibit appeared in U.S. newspapers. Among the paintings on display was Eugene Speicher's portrait of Broadway star Katharine Cornell in the role of Bernard Shaw's *Candida*--a painting that Cornell had donated to the MoMA. According to Leonard Lyons's syndicated column, "Broadway Medley," Cornell suddenly began receiving fan mail from South Americans who had seen the exhibit and praised her extraordinary beauty. Intrigued by this outpouring, she obtained a catalogue of the show and discovered that two of the artwork titles had been switched: "Cornell as *Candida*" had been transposed to one of Speicher's voluptuous nudes.^{viii}

The second part of the Inter-American art project involved an exhibition of Latin American works to be loaned by various U.S. art museums, private companies and institutions, including the MoMA, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Pan American Union, IBM, the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Taylor Museum in Colorado Springs.^{ix} The San Francisco Museum of Art was one of the most heavily invested, with a contribution of contemporary Latin American paintings, drawings and photographs valued at \$10,000. Among the artists selected by San Francisco Museum director Grace McCann Morley were Mexicans Rufino Tamayo, Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, David Alfaro Siqueiros and Fermín Revueltas; Brazilian Cândido Portinari; Colombian Luis Alberto Acuña; Peruvian Julia Codesido; and Cubans Wilfredo Lam and Amelia Pelaez. In addition to items from San Francisco's permanent collection, the tour package included works on special loan by artists whom Morley had met during a three-month Latin American tour in 1941 for the CIAA initiative.^x

An April 20, 1942 document from the San Francisco Museum to the MoMA includes a list of titles and artists as well as photographs of their artwork loaned for the exhibition. The photographic record gives an idea of the museum's Latin American collection as well as subjects

that appealed to Morley during her tour of the region. Overall there is stylistic variety, but there are also recurring images and motifs. Unlike the parallel exhibit of U.S. modern art, the overwhelming focus of the Latin exhibit is on representations of indigenous peasant culture, with images of women and children as primary subjects. Most of the women appear as wives, mothers or statuesque models, as in Antonio Sotomayor's Chola, which depicts a Bolivian "mestiza" dressed in traditional high-rounded hat and colorful garb. Religious motifs appear in several works, including Ecuadorean Eduardo Kingman's Procession and Acuña's woodcut-style drawing titled The Annunciation as Visualized by the American Indian, in which a fleshy, barefooted Indian woman sits cross-legged in a desert landscape. Like The Annunciation, Acuña's Wild Boy harks back to a tradition of colonial woodcuts that display indigenous subjects for a white European gaze. In this case, a lush tropical setting serves as backdrop for a naked boy with a bow in his hand and an anteater at his feet.

Most landscapes in the exhibit were rural images depicting mountainous terrains; the Argentine Onofio Pacenza's Marine is the only painting of seashore. Tamayo's surrealistic The Window is perhaps the most artistically daring and unusual of the canvases: a serene moonlit setting is framed by an open window on the ledge of which lies a large, menacing revolver. An unidentified Argentine painting of factory workers and smoke stacks is one of the few to depict the urban working class or to evoke social-realist aesthetics. In fact, the San Francisco Museum selections did very little to suggest to North American viewers that Latin America was modern except in regard to certain stylistic approaches. The CIAA was preoccupied with this phenomenon and therefore included modernistic poster art in the exhibit. It also contracted art photographers to produce images of urban architecture, city centers and the Latin middle class;

among these were selections from filmmaker Julien Bryan's photographic series, "People of Pan America."^{xi}

One of the dividends from the Inter-American art project was an exhibit at the Toledo Museum of Art in March 1942, which was publicized as the first major show of Chilean art in North America. The exhibit was a goodwill gesture arranged by the Chilean government in appreciation for the U.S. show and the visit by Toledo Museum of Art's Blake-More Godwin, who was sent by the CIAA to report on the status of contemporary Chilean art. It featured artists such as Camilo Mori, Samuel Roman, Totila Albert and Héctor Cáceres. A news story dated April 16, 1942 reported that over 12,000 people had seen the more than 150 artworks displayed during the first two weeks and that the exhibit would tour the U.S. with a final stop at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.^{xii} (The tour continued into Canada, under the auspices of the Canadian government.) The story made much of the fact that with the Americas cut off from Europe by the war, the twenty-one Republics were now in the process of discovering one another through art museum exhibitions. In a letter to MoMA film library director John Abbott, Stanton Caitlin mentioned that the Chileans were eager to sell as well as to show their works in the U.S.^{xiii}

Museums were not the only venue for Good Neighbor art. Several different South American countries loaned artworks to Macy's department store in New York, which were later displayed in other stores in the U.S. The size of the Macy's exhibit was impressive, with a loan of forty-three paintings and thirteen sculptures from Colombia alone.^{xiv} Railroad stations, libraries and city halls also were used for "informational exhibits," such as The Americas Cooperate, a large photographic display in which vital wartime materials from Latin America, including copper, manganese and mercury, were artfully displayed.^{xv}

As a result of CIAA initiatives, certain Latin American artists quickly came to the attention of critics, and markets for their works grew in the U.S. Already in late 1940, Cândido Portinari was on the rise in art circles as a result of his larger-than-life, modernist murals of Northeastern jangadeiros (fishermen on rough-hewn rafts with sails), baianas and gauchos, which were displayed in Lúcio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer's acclaimed Brazilian Pavilion at New York's 1939 World's Fair.^{xvi} During his stay for U.S. the exposition, Portinari was commissioned to paint portraits of Florence Horn (who wrote the catalogue description for his 1940 one-man MoMA show), and Brazilian poet Adalgisa Nery (wife of Brazilian Department of Press and Propaganda head Lourival Fontes), as well as a self-portrait for Nelson Rockefeller. He also painted four portraits of Arthur Rubenstein family members. In November 1940, poet and Library of Congress director Archibald MacLeish invited Portinari to paint a set of murals for the Library of Congress's Hispanic Reading Room.^{xvii} As a Good Neighbor gesture, the Brazilian government paid for Portinari's return to the U.S., and the CIAA matched Brazil's funds to support the artist's work. Once sketches were completed, Portinari began painting the murals in October 1941 and finished two months later.^{xviii}

Like other muralists at the time, Portinari was drawn to the rural poor and urban working class as inspiration for his work. His World's Fair murals also depicted Brazil's three races through modernist-style figures of men and women. While the Vargas Brazilian government, under dictator Getúlio Vargas, wanted to promote the country's modernity and put limits on images of Brazil as poor, black or mixed-race, Portinari continued to celebrate the nation's racial heritage in his floor-to-ceiling paintings for the Library of Congress. His murals depict four important moments in sixteenth-century Brazilian history involving the encounter of the three races: the founding of the land, the exploration of the interior, the conversion of the Indian and

the discovery of gold and diamonds in Minas Gerais. The murals focus on the most humble social types: Portuguese sailors on a ship bound for Brazil; mixed-race São Paulo frontiersmen or bandeirantes pushing into the interior to seize land for the Crown and capture fugitive Indian slaves; Portuguese Jesuits converting Indian women and children; and African slaves being transported during the eighteenth-century gold rush to the Minas Gerais interior. In each of the murals the adult human body is large and misshapen, with oversized muscular arms and feet. Cultural historian Daryle Williams describes in detail some of the negative critical reaction in Brazil to Portinari's "ugly" human forms, which, for many, were considered deplorable because of his emphasis on poor and largely dark-skinned figures.^{xix} The Library of Congress murals were nevertheless well-received at the official opening on January 12, 1942, where a specially-produced publication, The Portinari Murals, celebrated the artwork as a step forward in U.S.-Brazil cultural relations.

In spring 1942, Brazil's Minister for Education Gustavo Capanema reciprocated the MacLeish/CIAA commission to Portinari by inviting U.S. artist George Biddle to teach a course at the newly-created Escola Técnica in Rio. Biddle had been heavily influenced by Diego Rivera and the Mexican muralist tradition and was a central proponent of the Federal Arts Project under FDR, his first mural having appeared in the 1933 Chicago's World Fair. Brother of Francis Biddle, Attorney General under FDR, he later chaired the U.S. War Department's Art Advisory Committee (1942-1944) and wrote Artist at War (1944), about his experiences as art war correspondent for Life in North Africa and Sicily.^{xx} Capanema also invited Biddle and his sculptor-wife Hélène Sardeau to create two murals in fresco and bas-relief for the capital's Biblioteca Nacional.^{xxi} Biddle wrote enthusiastically to Henry Allen Moe, who chaired the CIAA's Educational Activities section of the Division: "I feel very happy now the way things

have turned out. The two large murals are in as fine a building as any in Rio, on the main avenue of the City; and the themes which I intend to use have, I believe, great significance: (1) Not hatred, Destruction and Death over America, but (2) Intelligence and Humanity Shall Rule Our World. As far I know, it is the first time that two artists from the States have been invited by a South American Government to execute an important mural commission.^{xxii}

The completed artwork has a dramatic, somewhat gothic quality. The first mural's central figure, presumably representing hatred and death, is a skeleton head atop a body of white, emaciated flesh, riding an equally white and emaciated horse that breathes fire and flies over a tranquil landscape, bringing destruction to an Edenic group of men, women and one child who appear at the bottom of the painting, their eyes closed or cast down in despair. Carrying a fiery torch in one hand and a bloodied knife in the other, the skeleton is made all the more frightening by virtue of a cavernous grin and pointy, blood-red toenails. The Edenic figures appear again at the bottom of the second mural, looking up toward a fleshy woman with fire-red hair and large breasts who reaches out to them from the sky as if to catch them up in an embrace. The themes of knowledge and science are allegorically conveyed by two other figures, a woman reading a book to a child and a nude man holding a microscope in his lap. There is an anachronistic quality to the male figure, who is shown covering his genitals with a scientific instrument that looks rather like a metallic phallus. Sardeau's bas-relief for the murals reconciles Biddle's opposing images of destruction and humanity by giving humanity, in the form of the woman, a greater emphasis.^{xxiii} It contains three figures--two males, one of whom is dying and cradled by the other in the image of the Pietà. The female figure offers comfort, holding on to the dying man's outstretched arm.

Two years later, at Diego Riviera's urging, the Mexican government invited Biddle and Sardeau to Mexico City, where they painted murals and bas-relief for the library entryway in the Supreme Court Building. In the central panel, titled "The Cannibalism of War," Biddle reproduces the skeletal horse and rider figures, which are surrounded by monstrous winged creatures, most of which are shown consuming one another like cannibals. In the painting's lower left hand corner, a giant sci-fi-style lizard attempts to devour a dog that is being held in the horse's mouth; in the lower right hand corner a hippopotamus, jaws opened wide, looks up as if anticipating a meal of the ravenous winged prey. Meanwhile Sardeau's bas-relief shows naked figures, two of them hanging upside down, that seem Dantesque in their suffering and tortured poses.

Biddle's social activism and horror of war, wedded with his various experiences as a teacher and artist in Brazil, led him to draft a document (dated December 23, 1942) advising the CIAA to convene a congress of Latin American and U.S. artists and writers in the U.S. He compared Western Europe's longstanding program of cultural relations with Latin America with the U.S.'s historic and lamentable indifference to cultural exchange:

Over and over again in a year's stay in Brazil I saw tragic evidence of the lack of such a program. Commenting on this situation a Brazilian publisher and editor said to me: "You are thirty years late at the start. But for these next few months you are without competition. For God's sake do something NOW. After the war it may be too late. At any rate you will no longer be in a position where you can shape an intelligent cultural program for an eager and friendly audience of 120,000,000." ^{xxiv}

Having resided in Brazil for over a year, Biddle was possibly unaware of CIAA efforts to promote art exhibits and literary translations—areas he specifically targets in his proposal. On

July 22, 1942, Rockefeller wrote to Biddle: “If you ask [Minster of Foreign Affairs] Dr. Aranha to recommend the ten books he feels are most appropriate, we will make a special effort to have them published under this project.”^{xxv} Later, on February 19, 1943, Rockefeller authorized the CIAA’s Brazilian Division to negotiate, at \$500 each, Portuguese translations of U.S. publications that Biddle had recommended.^{xxvi} These included Charles A. and Mary Beard’s The Rise of American Civilization (1927), Van Wyck Brooks’s The Flowering of New England (1936), and Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steel Commager’s The Growth of the American Republics (1930). Biddle also recommended broader, more comprehensive actions, such as discussions over copyright laws to protect artists and writers, federal programs to support the arts literature and theater, laws to preserve historical monuments and art objects, and ways to address common educational problems and goals. His most detailed recommendation involved CIAA sponsorship of a U.S. visit by fifty Latin American artists and writers at an estimated cost of \$70,000—a figure that he deemed a bargain in terms of goodwill and intellectual dividends, and a scant amount compared to the New York Times (December 10, 1942) report of forty-six billion dollars that had been spent to date on the war effort. Written shortly before his departure from Rio, Biddle’s proposal had the support of U.S. Ambassador to Brazil Jefferson Caffery and top level officials in the Brazilian government. Ultimately no congress of this kind was convened, but the CIEE did invite numerous Latin American writers and artists to the States and, as will be discussed later, the agency worked to augment pedagogical assistance and exchange.

There were disappointments and difficulties to address in the arts venture. Just weeks before Biddle’s proposal was written, San Francisco Museum’s Director Grace McCann Morley wrote worriedly to MoMA director René d’Harnoncourt about CIAA exhibition delays, lack of

coordination between the agency and museums locally and abroad, and her anxieties about an exhibit planned for visiting Argentine artist, Emilio Pettoruti:

Pettoruti will be terribly disappointed if no exhibition is forthcoming. He is restive now at not hearing sooner. . . . You have no idea what a bad name the cultural side of the Coordinator's office is beginning to get in this country. I hear it—the gossip and innuendo—from all sides when it isn't definite complaint. I am sorry; I had such faith in there being some sort of coordinated and continuous a program here and abroad. I only hope that the field I hear most about, which seems to be the art and education one, is simply suffering most and is not an indication of what is happening elsewhere. If it were I should feel completely disillusioned.^{xxvii}

Ultimately her trooper-like demeanor seems to win out over her concerns: “We shall keep on planning as many Latin American exhibitions as possible and building around them interests of different kinds.” She ends the missive on a high note and comments on the success of the current exhibit of Argentine Florencio Molina Campos's popular gaucho caricatures—a few of which (along with the artist himself) had recently debuted in Disney's Saludos amigos.

As if anticipating Morley's appraisal and concerns, CIAA researcher Tommy Cotter wrote Francis Alstock (Head, CIAA Motion Picture Division) in March 1942 for information on the scope of the CIAA's cultural exchanges. The tone and content of his letter convey his urgency to curb or counter displeasure and complaints about the agency's performance in the cultural relations area: “The general over-all facts and figures we need will be on Art, Music, Science, Medicine, Jurisprudence, Literature, Education, etc.; how many people have been brought here from Latin America, let us say in the last two years – and why? And during the same period, how many people have we sent down there—and why?^{xxviii} Cotter asked for

specific details on exchanges involving celebrities, scholarship students, doctors, writers and educators; and he requests film footage that might be used for a documentary on the subject. He also asks for information on exchanges “gone sour”: “Have we brought somebody up here, only to have him go back and give us a black eye? There must have been more than one case—out of which we can take a lesson from our own mishandling of the job.”^{xxxix}

In the meantime, the Cultural Relations Division was receiving numerous queries from individuals and institutions here and abroad about financial support, exhibition loans, and publication projects. Brazilian filmmaker Mário Peixoto cabled about possible CIAA interest in buying for \$2500 a copy of his now classic avant-garde film, Limite (1930).^{xxx} The National University of Colombia proposed a Spanish-English catalogue on the collection housed in the newly-constructed Museum of Colonial Art in Bogotá.^{xxxi} A grant was provided to cover the costs of a U.S. edition of the Revista de arte, a quarterly publication of the Universidade de Chile.^{xxxii} Other projects funded by the CIAA included a twenty-eight week Latin America tour by the American Ballet Caravan under the direction of Lincoln Kirstein, co-founder of the American Ballet; ten archeological expeditions to Mexico and countries in Central and South America; the preparation of bibliographies on Latin American music; and a South American tour by the Yale University Glee Club.

Along with the Latin American and U.S. art exhibits, the CIAA sponsored a South American tour by sculptor Jo Davidson, who was commissioned in the spring of 1941 to create bronze busts of ten Latin American presidents.^{xxxiii} Davidson received especially long and favorable newspaper coverage while he was working in Montevideo (El día, August 3, 1941) and Caracas (Crítica, May 14, 1941). In June 1942, the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. hosted an exhibition of his works accompanied by a catalogue, Presidents of the South American

Republics. The CIAA's Good Neighbor agenda was forefront in the museum's mind when it placed Davidson's earlier busts of Roosevelt and Wallace among those of the Latin American leaders. No expense seems to have been spared: the CIAA gave the busts to the Latin American presidents and their families and dispatched hundreds of catalogues in Spanish and Portuguese for distribution through U.S. embassies in South America.^{xxxiv} But Davidson's war efforts did not end there. He sculpted bronzes of other key leaders, including Charles de Gaulle and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek; arguably his most renowned bust was of a young British soldier who briefly appeared in David MacDonald's much-admired film, Desert Victory (1943), a British Ministry of Information documentary about the Allied battle for North Africa. The bust became a symbol of the Eighth Army that fought in Africa and it accompanied the film's exhibition throughout England.

Davidson is just one example of an artist whose life was radically changed by his war-time assignments. Writing to U.S. Ambassador to Chile, Claude Bowers, in August 1944, he reminisced about his South American tour and referred excitedly to his chairmanship of the high-profile Committee of Artists, Writers, and Scientists for the Re-election of FDR: "This is the very first time in my life where I have taken any active part in a political campaign—but I feel it so, that I simply had to do it."^{xxxv} That sentiment was echoed by hundreds of CIAA-contracted artists, filmmakers and writers who, perhaps for the first time, felt that culture was a recognizable and integral part of U.S. foreign diplomacy. Unfortunately the Cold War brought an end to the CIAA, an agency that achieved what no other agency then or now had in terms of U.S.-Latin American relations. As the U.S. works toward better cultural relations abroad, it might look back to the CIAA as a model and primer for the art of making friends.

ⁱ RAC, NAR III 40, CIAA, box 5, folder 1.

ⁱⁱ MoMA's John Abbott was a member of the CIAA Art Committee.

ⁱⁱⁱ John Abbott of MoMA chaired the committee and Graced McCann Morley, San Francisco Museum of Art Director, was a special consultant on Latin America. The CIAA covered the costs of putting the collection together, including insurance and travel expenses. The collection was split into three smaller exhibits which circulated throughout Latin America.

^{iv} .EMH, II.21a. MoMA Archives, NY.

^v "New Orleans Painter Tells of Exhibit in South America," Times-Picayune (Dec. 27, 1941).

^{vi} EMH, II. 11. MoMA Archives, NY. Apparently there was some tension between Durieux and U.S. Ambassador to Brazil Jefferson Caffery which stemmed from a show of some of her own works in Rio. In a letter dated November 10, 1941, Caffery wrote to congratulate her on the exhibit but also added: "I am sure that you will not take tragically what I said about not liking some of your pictures—I don't, but I will keep it to myself." However, his opinion wasn't kept to himself and his letter was sent to MoMA's René d'Harnoncourt with an anonymous handwritten note attached: "This is from your Ambassador [sic] Caffery. [I]t will amuse you—please tear it up afterwards." RdH, II.7. MoMA Archives, NY.

^{vii} NARAI, RG229, Science and Educational Arts, box 365.

^{viii} The column appeared in newspapers throughout the U.S., including the Chicago Times, the Miami News and the Bridgeport, Connecticut Post (8-10 April 1942).

^{ix} The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art often mentioned the fact that MoMA had been exhibiting and collecting Latin American art prior to the war. Examples used were "Orozoco 'Explains'," (no. 4, vol 7 [August 1940]) and "Portinari of Brazil" (no. 6, vol 7 [October 1940]). Florence Horn's lead article on Portinari in the Bulletin commented that he was mostly known as a portrait painter in Rio and that "[h]e paints negroes and mulattoes" (8).

^x Some of Morley's correspondence on this tour can be found in EMH, II.26. MoMA Archives, NY.

^{xi} A September 9, 1942 letter from Charles W. Collier, Special Assistant to the Ambassador at the U.S. Embassy in La Paz, Bolivia, to MoMA's René d'Harnoncourt, who was Acting Director of the CIAA Art Section, noted that "most people are ashamed of the fact that all the buildings in Bolivia are not 'modernistic'." But he was also concerned about photographs of the "most atrocious types of 'modernistic' German-derived buildings" there and encouraged instead shots and exhibits of "modern adaptations of indigenous and colonial architecture." RdH, II.I. MoMA Archives NY.

^{xii} RdH, II.8. MoMA Archives, NY. The tour included the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Pasadena Art Institute, San Francisco Museum of Art, the National Gallery, Carnegie Institute, and the Worcester Art Museum. A catalogue accompanied the exhibit.

^{xiii} Letter dated April 10, 1942. RdH, II. 1. MoMA Archives, NY.

^{xiv} April 10, 1942 letter from Staton Caitlin to John Abbott. RdH, II.1. MoMA Archives, NY

^{xv} EMH, II.11. MoMA Archives, NY. A photo reproduction of this exhibit can be found in the Laves mss. at the Lilly Library.

^{xvi} For a discussion of Cândido's artwork of this period, see Daryle Williams, Culture Wars in Brazil: The First Vargas Regime, 1930-1945.

^{xvii} Lydenberg left the NYPL directorship in 1941 to serve as Director of the Biblioteca Benjamín Franklin in Mexico City until 1943.

^{xviii} See Robert C. Smith's commentary in Murals by Cândido Portinari in the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress. Washington: U.S. Government Print Office, 1943.

^{xix} Williams, pp. 225-226.

^{xx} Biddle had convinced the government to allow a select group of artists to accompany U.S. troops to Italy to make a pictorial record of the war. His correspondence with John Steinbeck on this subject shows the latter's desire for writers to be included in that group. Library of Congress, Papers of the General Manuscript Division, George Biddle Correspondence.

^{xxi} According to a letter dated April 30, 1942 from Rio and addressed to Moe Thompson of the MoMA, Biddle was given a choice of painting the murals in the Escola de Belas Artes, the Escola de Medicina or the Biblioteca Nacional. Biddle's letter made clear that his work was being subsidized by the U.S. RdH, II.4. MoMA Archives, NY.

^{xxii} Ibid.

^{xxiii} I am greatly indebted to colleagues David and Elizabeth Jackson, who photographed the Biddle and Sardeau works for me while they were in Rio.

^{xxiv} RdH, II. 1. MoMA Archives, NY.

^{xxv} LOC, Papers of the General Manuscript Division, George Biddle, container 15. This container also contains a January 20, 1943 letter from Rockefeller to Brigadier General Frederick Osborn, which mentions that Biddle had painted a portrait of Aranha's mother.

^{xxvi} Ibid.

^{xxvii} RdH, II. 3. MoMA Archives, NY. Agnes Morgan, director of the Fogg Museum of Art at Harvard, was also struggling. Her March 21, 1942 letter to Caitlin pleads for funds to help defray hospitality costs for the many visiting artists to come through Cambridge, among them, Pettoruti. RdH, II. 1. The CIEE Inter-American Centers would assume some of the hospitality costs and responsibilities.

^{xxviii} EMH, II. 11. MoMA Archives, NY.

^{xxix} Ibid.

^{xxx} RdH, II. 7. MoMA Archives, NY.

^{xxxi} RdH, II. 9.

^{xxxii} RAC, NARA III, 40, CIAA, box 5 folder 1.

^{xxxiii} The countries represented were Venezuela, Uruguay, Argentina, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, Argentina and Brazil. Examples of newspaper coverage of Davidson's work appeared in Montevideo's El día (3 Aug. 1941) and Caracas's Crítica (14 May 1941).

^{xxxiv} See Sumner Welles's November 3, 1942 letter to U.S. Ambassador to Chile Claude Bowers on the bust and catalogues sent to Santiago. LL, Bowers mss. II, folder 6.

^{xxxv} Lilly Library, Bowers mss. II, folder 6.