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FRANCES R. GRANT'S PAN AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, 1929-1949

VOLUME I

By

David Mark Carletta

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ABSTRACT

FRANCES R. GRANT'S PAN AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, 1929-1949

By

David Mark Carletta

Frances Ruth Grant (1896-1993), a pioneer in inter-American relations, founded the Pan American Women's Society of the Roerich Museum in New York City in 1931. Four years later, she founded the Pan American Women's Association, which for many years provided an important venue in the United States for leading Latin American and Caribbean cultural and political figures. Grant's fashioning of herself into an unofficial inter-American cultural envoy during the Great Depression and Second World War benefitted U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy. In 1945, Grant's inter-American activities took an overtly political turn, as she began serving as head of the Latin American Committee of the International League for the Rights of Man. Grant was one of the cofounders of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom in Havana, Cuba in 1950. For the next three decades, as secretary general of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, Grant developed into one of the Western Hemisphere's leading twentieth-century human rights activists. This dissertation explains how Grant's cultural activities during the 1930s and 1940s laid the groundwork for her more well-known human rights activism during the Cold War era.

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The summer before my senior year of high school, I participated in Amigos de las Americas, a nonprofit organization based in Houston that gives leadership development opportunities to young people, improves public health, and fosters better cultural understanding among people of the Western Hemisphere. I salute Amigos for laying the foundation of my global worldview by providing me with the first opportunity to experience life outside my home country. Many scholars of Latin America and the Caribbean have taught me over the years. Francisco Vázquez of Sonoma State University took me on my first study abroad trip south of the U.S. border. Thomas Walker and Michael Grow of Ohio University nurtured my interest in U.S. foreign relations.

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INTRODUCTION

Frances Ruth Grant (1896-1993), a pioneer in inter-American relations, was a truly remarkable and civic-minded woman. “Americans are a civic people,” write Gerald Gamm and Robert D. Putnam. “Next to the mass political party, probably no aspect of American democracy has been more celebrated than the long-standing proclivity of Americans to join voluntary organizations.”¹ Grant certainly shared this proclivity with her fellow Americans. She founded the Pan American Women's Association in 1931, began serving as head of the Latin American Committee of the International League for the Rights of Man in 1945, and became the secretary general of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom in 1950. These are but three of the numerous voluntary transnational nongovernmental organizations with which Grant associated in her long lifetime. I first became aware of Grant by way of Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s Pulitzer Prize-winning book on the Kennedy White House, which I was reading for research I was doing on U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War era as a graduate student at Ohio University. In *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*, Schlesinger, a professor of history at Harvard who went on to become a special assistant to U.S. President John F. Kennedy, wrote of his experience as a U.S. delegate to the founding conference of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, held in Havana, Cuba in May of 1950. “The Association,” Schlesinger recalled, “was operated out of New York by a devoted woman, Frances Grant, who for years ministered to Latin American democrats (she was fiercely anti-communist and anti-fascist),

¹ Gerald Gamm and Robert D. Putnam, “The Growth of Voluntary Associations in America, 1840-1940,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29/4 (Spring 1999): 511.

applauded them in power and sustained them in exile (which was most of the time) and did her best to awaken the American liberal community to the existence of the seething continent to the south.”² Reading Grant’s obituary in *The New York Times*, I learned that this exceptional woman had devoted her life to opposing dictatorships and promoting human rights in the Western Hemisphere.³ Curious, I began an investigation into Grant’s life and work that after many years has resulted in the completion of this dissertation at Michigan State University.

The daughter of European Jewish immigrants, Grant was born in Abiquiú, New Mexico. As will be discussed in Chapter One, Grant spent the majority of her childhood in the New York City borough of Manhattan, where she attended college and remained a resident for the rest of her life. In 1920, Grant met the Russian artist Nicholas Roerich. She became enthralled with Roerich and helped establish the Roerich Museum in Manhattan in 1924. Roerich’s eccentric blend of theosophy and internationalism appealed to Grant and encouraged her humanitarianism. Historian Joy Dixon correctly asserts that contemporary historians tend to assume, rather than demonstrate, the analytical priority of the political or the economic over the spiritual. Dixon argues that “we need to complicate our understanding of the historical contexts that shape both political and spiritual allegiances, the formation of political subjectivity, and the relationship between secular and sacred in modern political cultures.”⁴ As this study shows, the spiritual ideas

² Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), 173.

³ See Wolfgang Saxon, “Frances R. Grant, Champion of Rights in Latin America, Dies,” *New York Times*, 23 July 1993, p. A19.

⁴ Joy Dixon, *Divine Feminine: Theosophy and Feminism in England* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 12.

Grant cultivated with Roerich in the first half of the 1930s inspired and sustained her as she engaged in political activism during the Second World War and the Cold War era.

Upon visiting Roerich in India, Grant took up Roerich's suggestion that she travel the Western Hemisphere promoting his paintings and philosophy. In 1929, Grant made a successful preliminary tour of the hemisphere "with the hope of more closely knitting Pan American friendship." After returning to the United States, she became a lecturer on South American art and culture, promoting "the great possibilities of Pan American cultural and human intercourse." In January 1930, Frank C. Munson, president of the Munson Steamship Company, accepted an offer by Grant to serve as chairman of an art exhibition jury at the Roerich Museum, which was "dedicated to the spreading of art appreciation, and to the cementing of international relations through art."⁵ The Munson Line, as well as its Grace Line competitor, provided Grant free passage for a second Pan American excursion in 1930. Chapter Two describes these first of many trips by Grant to Latin America and the Caribbean in 1929 and 1930, showing how U.S. executives at the Munson Steamship Company and W. R. Grace & Company joined U.S. ambassadors in welcoming inter-American initiatives by private citizens like Grant with the will and resources to promote Pan Americanism.

In 1931, Grant founded the Pan American Women's Society of the Roerich Museum. Grant helped the Roerich Museum to become, in her words, "the pioneer center of Inter-American cultural activity in New York."⁶ Through the Pan American Women's

⁵ Grant to W.W. Coyle. 25 January 1930. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 23.

⁶ Frances R. Grant, "Biographical Materials, 1961-1982," p. 5. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 7. Folder 8.

Society, Grant coordinated programs, lectures, and exhibits relating to Latin America and the Caribbean for the Roerich Museum. The Pan American Women's Society provided an important venue in New York City for leading Latin American and Caribbean cultural and political figures. Indeed, the museum functioned as a type of "contact zone" where interaction between participants constructed and disseminated knowledge of the United States, Latin America, and the Caribbean.⁷

Grant's fashioning of herself into a cultural envoy without official capacity or formal experience reveals the informal and open nature of U.S. foreign relations prior to the more professional and bureaucratic developments in the Inter-American System that emerged as a result of the Great Depression and the Second World War.⁸

While on staff at the museum in the first half of the 1930s, Grant campaigned for the Roerich Pact, which was intended to protect and preserve cultural edifices and monuments during wartime. U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace collaborated with Grant to promote the pact. In 1935, Grant and Wallace's efforts on behalf of the pact came to fruition when the United States joined twenty other nations of the Western Hemisphere in endorsing the Roerich Pact. Soon after the signing of the pact, Grant had a falling out with Wallace and Roerich Museum President Louis Horch, revealed in Chapter Four. Grant never reconciled with either men. However, as explained in Chapter

⁷ Mary Louise Pratt uses the term "contact zone" to describe places of colonial encounters through which the colonizers and the colonized, or travelers and locals, are constituted in and by their relations to each other. See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008).

⁸ See Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); Michael Shifter, "The United States, the Organization of American States, and the Origins of the Inter-American System," in Virginia M. Bouvier, ed., *The Globalization of U.S.-Latin American Relations: Democracy, Intervention, and Human Rights* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), 85-104.

Five, she continued her inter-American activities through her Pan American Women's Association (PAWA), an educational and cultural organization completely disassociated with Nicholas Roerich.

Chapter Six explores how the rise of fascism in Europe inspired Grant to participate in the founding of the Council for Pan American Democracy in 1938. The PAWA and the Council for Pan American Democracy emerged in an atmosphere of heightened Pan Americanism, a term first used in 1882 to reflect a belief that the inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere share a unique cultural heritage and history. At the behest of U.S. Secretary of State James G. Blaine, the United States hosted its first Pan American conference in 1889, but the United States' hemispheric neighbors were skeptical towards U.S.-led Pan Americanism during the three decades of U.S. military interventions and occupations in Latin American and Caribbean following the Spanish-American War of 1898.⁹

U.S.-led Pan Americanism revived dramatically in March 1933 with the announcement of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, which was meant to transform the global image of the United States based on the principles of multilateralism, economic partnership, and nonintervention. The U.S. government drew the nations of the Western Hemisphere closer together in a series of inter-American conferences that promoted the concept of unity, cooperation, and common interests.¹⁰

⁹ For information on Pan Americanism, see G. Pope Atkins, *Encyclopedia of the Inter-American System* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 383-394; John Edwin Fagg, *Pan Americanism* (Malabar, FL: R.E. Krieger, 1982); David Sheinin, ed., *Beyond the Ideal: Pan Americanism in Inter-American Affairs* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000).

¹⁰ Sources in English dealing with U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy include David Bushnell, *Eduardo Santos and the Good Neighbor, 1938-1942* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1967); Elizabeth A. Cobbs, *The Rich Neighbor Policy: Rockefeller*

The Roosevelt Administration recruited Latin American and Caribbean nations in an

and Kaiser in Brazil (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Andrew Crawley, *Somoza and Roosevelt: Good Neighbour Diplomacy in Nicaragua, 1933-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Donald Marquand Dozer, *Are We Good Neighbors? Three Decades of Inter-American Relations, 1930-1960* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959); Fred Fejes, *The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA) and the Origins of United States Cultural Diplomacy* (New York: Columbia University-New York University Consortium, 1993); Fred Fejes, *Imperialism, Media, and the Good Neighbor: New Deal Foreign Policy and United States Shortwave Broadcasting to Latin America* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986); Michael J. Francis, *The Limits of Hegemony: United States Relations with Argentina and Chile During World War II* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977); Gary Frank, *The Struggle for Hegemony in South America: Argentina, Brazil, and the United States during the Second World War* (Miami: Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami, 1979); Max Paul Friedman, *Nazis and Good Neighbors: The United States Campaign Against the Germans of Latin America in World War II* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Lloyd C. Gardner, *Economic Aspects of New Deal Diplomacy* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964); Irwin F. Gellman, *Good Neighbor Diplomacy: United States Policies in Latin America, 1933-1945* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979); Irwin F. Gellman, *Roosevelt and Batista: Good Neighbor Diplomacy in Cuba, 1933-1945* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973); David Green, *The Containment of Latin America: A History of the Myths and Realities of the Good Neighbor Policy* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971); Michael Grow, *The Good Neighbor Policy and Authoritarianism in Paraguay* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1981); Edward O. Guerrant, *Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1950); Gerald K. Haines, "Under the Eagle's Wing: The Franklin Roosevelt Administration Forges An American Hemisphere," *Diplomatic History* 1 (Fall 1977): 373-388; Stanley E. Hilton, *Hitler's Secret War in South America, 1939-1945: German Military Espionage and Allied Counterespionage in Brazil* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); Frank D. McCann, *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973); Stephen R. Niblo, "Allied Policy toward Axis Interests in Mexico during World War II," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 17/2 (Summer 2001): 351-373; María Emilia Paz, *Strategy, Security, and Spies: Mexico and the U.S. as Allies in World War II* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); Stephen James Randall, "Colombia, the United States, and Interamerican Aviation Rivalry, 1927-1940," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 14/3 (August 1972): 297-324; Eric Paul Roorda, *The Dictator Next Door: The Good Neighbor Policy and the Trujillo Regime in the Dominican Republic, 1930-1945* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1998); Leslie B. Rout, Jr. and John F. Bratzel, *The Shadow War: German Espionage and United States Counterespionage in Latin America During World War II* (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1986); Donald W. Rowland, *History of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947); Dick Steward, *Trade and Hemisphere: The Good Neighbor Policy and Reciprocal Trade* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1975); Bryce Wood, *The Dismantling of the Good Neighbor Policy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); Bryce Wood, *The United States and Latin America Wars, 1932-1942* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966); Bryce Wood, *The Making of the Good Neighbor Policy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Randall Bennett Woods, *The Roosevelt Foreign-policy Establishment and the "Good Neighbor": The United States and Argentina, 1941-1945* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1979).

effort to counter the Axis Powers and help the Allies win the Second World War through financial and military assistance programs and the creation of new official channels like the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, headed by Nelson A. Rockefeller.¹¹

Nongovernmental actors like Grant aided the U.S. government in promoting inter-American antifascist solidarity at home and abroad. Policymakers and agenda-setters throughout Americas knew that voluntary interest groups could effectively influence public opinion. During the Second World War, explains historian Fredrick B. Pike, “along with official good neighborliness, there developed an unofficial, intellectual private-sector good neighborliness.”¹² Since women of the Western Hemisphere “were deeply involved in the common effort to unite the Americas in the defense of democracy during the war years,” Roosevelt’s Good Neighbor Policy heightened Grant’s importance as a go-between who acted as an intermediary between peoples.¹³ Chapter Seven describes how Grant, a great asset to the Roosevelt Administration as it created and maintained its wartime antifascist coalition in the Western Hemisphere, promoted cooperation with the many cultural institutes previously established by nationals in several Latin American and Caribbean countries. Fundamentally committed to the

¹¹ For information on Latin America and the Caribbean during the Second World War, see R.A. Humphreys, *Latin America and the Second World War*, 2 vols. (London: University of London, Institute of Latin American Studies, 1981-1982); Thomas M. Leonard and John F. Bratzel, eds., *Latin America During World War II* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

¹² Fredrick B. Pike, *FDR's Good Neighbor Policy: Sixty Years of Generally Gentle Chaos* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 120.

¹³ Francesca Miller, “Feminisms and Transnationalism,” in Mrinalini Sinha, Donna Guy and Angela Woollacott, eds., *Feminisms and Internationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 227.

equality of the countries that made up the antifascist alliance in the Western Hemisphere, Grant emphasized the necessity of U.S. citizens to consider the viewpoints of their hemispheric neighbors. Grant's work supported diplomatic overtures the U.S. Department of State. For instance, a visit by Grant to South America in 1941 benefited the department by demonstrating to Latin American elites that U.S. citizens like members of the PAWA genuinely admired and respected their nations and its peoples. Through the PAWA, Grant promoted, in her words "the virtues of other peoples," rather than just those of one's own national, ethnic, or religious group.¹⁴

Grant and the PAWA contributed significantly to various Good Neighbor Policy activities. Grant's efforts, often in conjunction with the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, demonstrate how unofficial actors and voluntary organizations worked side by side with government officials in the struggle against fascism in the Western Hemisphere during the Second World War. In the execution of a U.S. foreign policy that encompassed more than official political diplomacy, foreign relations involved a network of go-betweens like Grant and women's organizations like the PAWA. The constant stream of foreign visitors – artists, business executives, diplomats, educators, exiles, labor leaders, musicians, politicians, students, social workers, and writers – who came in and out of New York City during the 1930s and 1940s helped to make the PAWA a perfect contact zone. Grant enjoyed being an informal intermediary and cultural broker in the 1930s. The PAWA's activities reveal the crucial role women

¹⁴ Frances R. Grant, interview by Muriel Meyers, October 25, 1983, Cassette 3: William E. Wiener Oral History Library of the American Jewish Committee, New York Public Library Dorot Jewish Division, New York, New York, 1983.

and nongovernmental actors played in the cultivation of internationalism and development of Pan Americanism during the twentieth century.

While serving as a liaison and source of information for various cultural, educational, and social service organizations throughout the Americas, the PAWA presented art exhibits, as well as hosted musical, literary, and dance performances by Latin American and Caribbean musicians, writers, and dancers. The PAWA sponsored Spanish language classes, arranged activities for foreign exchange students, and offered New Yorkers public lectures and courses on Latin America and the Caribbean. The PAWA's role in bolstering the Roosevelt Administration's good neighborly agenda is significant because, as Pike notes, leaders in Latin American and the Caribbean "considered themselves men of practical *and* cultural affairs. Often such men operated effectively and successfully both in the realm of business and politics and diplomacy on the one hand and in the world of letters and arts on the other."¹⁵ In addition to promoting appreciation and respect for Latin American and Caribbean cultural productions, the PAWA provided a public venue for cultured male and female Latin American and Caribbean elite intellectuals, diplomats, labor leaders, politicians, teachers, and social workers to address the U.S. public. Thus, through the PAWA, Grant engaged in what historian Catherine Forslund calls "informal diplomacy," which she defines as "any exchange between citizens or groups of citizens from two or more nations outside the

¹⁵ Fredrick B. Pike, *FDR's Good Neighbor Policy: Sixty Years of Generally Gentle Chaos* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 123.

boundaries of the official governmental institutional apparatus” that represent “interests beyond their own and who seek to influence events or attitudes of governments.”¹⁶

In January 1942, Freedom House was opened in Manhattan to serve as a propaganda center for the Allied Powers during the Second World War. Soon after the inauguration of Freedom House, Grant began encouraging inter-American camaraderie over the airwaves through a P.E.N. American Center wartime radio project endorsed by the Radio Division of the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Grant’s involvement with Freedom House and Pan American radio broadcasting is explained in Chapter Eight. Chapter Nine deals with Grant’s Pan American work from 1943 to 1945, emphasizing Pan American Day activities. Observed each April 14, the day’s celebrations commemorated the First International Conference of American States, held in Washington, D.C. in 1889. The conference created the earliest organizational elements of the Inter-American System, out of which the Pan American Union and its successor, the Organization of American States, were created to carry out a variety of political, economic, cultural, and humanitarian activities.

Grant and her Freedom House colleagues called for a postwar international organization to maintain world peace and stability. They promoted the view of the U.S. industrialist and political leader Wendell Willkie, whose “One World” idea had become a symbol of national and international unity during the Allied war effort, as well as a symbol of hope for nonmilitary conflict resolution in the future. Willkie did not live to see the creation of the United Nations Organization in the summer of 1945, but Grant and members of Freedom House continued to promote his vision. Freedom House purchased

¹⁶ Catherine Forslund, *Anna Chennault: Informal Diplomacy and Asian Relations* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002), xiv.

an edifice in Manhattan, the Willkie Memorial Building, which served as the center of operations for Freedom House as it evolved from a wartime antifascist alliance into the nongovernmental human rights center. As she turned her attention from working almost exclusively on cultural relations to unreservedly denouncing abuses of labor rights and human rights, Grant became involved in sustaining a pro-U.S. labor movement in Latin American and the Caribbean.

The Second World War ended in Europe in May 1945 with the unconditional surrender of all German forces to the Allies. That same month, Frances Grant was elected to the board of directors of the International League for the Rights of Man (known after 1976 as the International League for Human Rights), today the oldest international nongovernmental human rights organization in the West.¹⁷ The league had its origins in the La Ligue Française pour la Défense de Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen, founded in France in the late nineteenth century. In 1942, European refugees and Roger Nash Baldwin, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, had reconstituted the group in Manhattan at the New School for Social Research, an institution with which the PAWA often collaborated and which Grant served as a member of the board of trustees. Grant considered the New School to be “a center for the expression of... principles of international understanding.”¹⁸ As secretary and vice president of the league, as well as head of its Latin American Committee, Grant monitored developments in the Western Hemisphere, managed relations with regional affiliates, and did translation work. In

¹⁷ See Makau Mutua, *Human Rights: A Political and Cultural Critique* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 48-49.

¹⁸ Grant to H.E. General Fulgencio Batista. 27 April 1945. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 23.

addition to Latin American and Caribbean nationals, exiled Spanish Republicans and Basque autonomists who had been displaced following Francisco Franco's Nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War also worked with the International League for the Rights of Man. Many of these Spaniards and Basques in exile in New York City wound up working long-term with Baldwin and Grant in support of human rights in the Western Hemisphere.

Chapter Eleven concludes with an explanation of how Juan Domingo Perón, Argentina's most important twentieth-century politician, became the first major target in the Western Hemisphere of the International League for the Right of Man. In 1943, the year after Grant resigned as vice-chairman of the Council for Pan American Democracy, Perón, a former military attaché to Fascist Italy and an admirer of Benito Mussolini, joined a group of officers to help overthrow the Argentine government. Perón then used his new position as head of the labor department to aid labor's organizational and collective bargaining efforts, transforming labor unions into a powerful force loyal to him and facilitating his election as president of Argentina. Since Argentina was reluctant to change its policy of neutrality and only belatedly entered the Second World War on the side of the Allies in March 1945, Grant devoted much energy to Argentina. Grant's anti-Axis efforts in Argentina would lead to her future work during the Cold War on the side of the American Federation of Labor and its U.S. State Department allies, who countered Perón's efforts to keep Argentina free from the U.S.-dominated Confederación Interamericana de Trabajadores (CIT) and the Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (ORIT), and later opposed Perón's Agrupación de Trabajadores Latinoamericanos Sindicalistas (ATLAS), a Pan American labor confederation created

under the auspices of the Argentine Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT), which Perón proudly claimed was neither Communist nor influenced by the United States. As president of Argentina from 1946 to 1955, and again from 1973 until his death the following year, Perón demonstrated the ability to unite workers into a major political force for the first time in his nation's history. While she waged a campaign against Perón from her office in Willkie Memorial Building, which also housed the American Federation of Labor's International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Grant increasingly melded her cultural relations activities with Cold War era political struggles and human rights work.

The use of gender as an analytic category is an exciting aspect of late twentieth century scholarship.¹⁹ "One of the achievements of feminist contributions to international relations," argues Charlotte Hooper, "has been to reveal the extent to which the whole field is gendered."²⁰ In *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender*

¹⁹ See Jeanne Boydston, "Gender as a Question of Historical Analysis," *Gender & History* 20/3 (November 2008): 558-583; Laura Lee Downs, *Writing Gender History* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2004); Emily S. Rosenberg, "Gender," *The Journal of American History* 77/1 (June 1990): 116-124; Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91/5 (December 1986): 1053-1075; "AHR Forum: Revisiting 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,'" *American Historical Review* 113/5 (December 2008): 1344-1429.

²⁰ Charlotte Hooper, *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 1. Arguments that the field of international relations is gendered can be found in Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, Updated ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Rebecca Grant and Kathleen Newland, eds., *Gender and International Relations* (Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press, 1991); V. Spike Peterson and Anne Sisson Runyan, *Global Gender Issues*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999); Jan Jindy Pettman, *Worlding Women: A Feminist International Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Emily S. Rosenberg, "'Foreign Affairs' after World War II: Connecting Sexual and International Politics," *Diplomatic History* 18/1 (Winter 1994): 59-70; Christine Sylvester, *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New

Politics, Hooper explains that “the range of subjects studied, the boundaries of the discipline, its central concerns and motifs, the content of empirical research, the assumptions of theoretical models, and the corresponding lack of female practitioners both in academic and elite political and economic circles all combine and reinforce each other to marginalize and often make invisible women’s roles and women’s concerns in the international arena.” According to Hooper, “Having established that international relations is a male-dominated and masculinist field, feminist contributors have rightly gone on to focus most of their energy on reclaiming women and ‘femininity’ from the margins.”²¹ Bringing to light Frances Grant’s early inter-American career is my contribution to this effort.

Grant’s international career provides a unique opportunity to explore how gender works in organizational relationships and how it gives meaning to the organization and perception of historical knowledge. Scholars must examine women’s experiences “in order to fill out an incomplete record of the past,” as well as provide “new perspectives and knowledge that has involved rethinking what is important in the past.”²² This inquiry looks at women’s contributions to the foreign policy environment and how they affected its course. Very few historians have considered the nature and extent of female foreign policy activism in U.S. politics. Beyond expanding the historical record, this work speaks to a literature that has recently begun to recognize the relevance of gender in the study of

York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Gillian Youngs, “Feminist International Relations: A Contradiction in Terms? Or: Why Women and Gender are Essential to Understanding the World ‘We’ Live In,” *International Affairs* 80/1 (April 2004): 75-87.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Rosemary Foot, “Where are the Women? The Gender Dimension in the Study of International Relations,” *Diplomatic History* 14/4 (Fall 1990): 615-622.

foreign relations.²³ Presented here is an account of international relations which takes into account gender relations. This research looks at the development of U.S. foreign relations

²³ For examples of studies of gender in U.S. foreign relations, see Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993); Jongsuk Chay, ed., *Culture and International Relations* (New York: Praeger, 1990); Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals," *Signs* 12/4 (Summer 1987): 687-718; Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott, *Gendering War Talk* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); Frank Costigliola, "'Unceasing Pressure for Penetration': Gender, Pathology, and Emotion in George Kennan's Formation of the Cold War," *Journal of American History* 83/4 (March 1997): 1309-1339; Frank Costigliola, "The Nuclear Family: Tropes of Gender and Pathology in the Western Alliance," *Diplomatic History* 21/2 (Spring 1997): 163-183; Edward P. Crapol, ed., *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1992); "Culture, Gender, and Foreign Policy: A Symposium," *Diplomatic History* 18/1 (Winter 1994): 47-70; Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Foreign Policy* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Karen Garner, "Global Feminism and Postwar Reconstruction: The World YWCA Visitation to Occupied Japan, 1947," *Journal of World History* 15/2 (June 2004): 191-227; Jessica C.E. Gienow-Hecht and Frank Schumacher, eds., *Culture and International History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003); Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003); Amy Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *Changing Differences: Women and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy, 1917-1994* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995); Mire Koikari, "Rethinking Gender and Power in the US Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952," *Gender & History* 11/2 (July 1999): 313-335; Karen J. Leong, *The China Mystique: Pearl S. Buck, Anna May Wong, Mayling Soong, and the Transformation of American Orientalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 13-56; Ogawa, Manako, "'Hull-House' in Downtown Tokyo: The Transplantation of a Settlement House from the United States into Japan and the North American Missionary Women, 1919-1945," *Journal of World History* 15/3 (September 2004): 359-387; Michelle Mart, "Tough Guys and American Cold War Policy: Images of Israel, 1948-1960," *Diplomatic History* 20/3 (July 1996): 357-380; Alan McPherson, "Rioting for Dignity: Masculinity, National Identity and Anti-US Resistance in Panama," *Gender & History* 19/2 (August 2007): 219-241; Leisa D. Meyer, *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women's Army Corps During World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Katharine H.S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Brenda L. Moore, *To Serve My Country, To Serve My Race: The Story of the Only African American WACs Stationed Overseas during World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Judith Papachristou, "American Women and Foreign Policy, 1989-1905: Exploring Gender in Diplomatic History," *Diplomatic History* 14/4 (Fall 1990): 493-509; Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Emily S. Rosenberg, "Revisiting Dollar Diplomacy: Narratives of Money and Manliness," *Diplomatic History* 22/2 (Spring 1998):

“through the lens of gender difference.”²⁴ The Pan American Women’s Association allowed women to play a role in the male arena of foreign policy. Yet they did so as women concerned with health issues, children’s issues, and the promotion of understanding through educational and cultural exchange programs.

The role of women and the construction of international communities are two neglected issues in studies of relations between the United States and its hemispheric neighbors. As historian Leila J. Rupp has observed, “The process of creating – or, as Benedict Anderson would have it, imagining – national communities has riveted historians, but the construction of international communities has merited scarcely a glance.”²⁵ This analysis of Grant’s Pan American activities during the 1930s and 1940s

177-198; Andrew J. Rotter, “Gender Relations, Foreign Relations: The United States and South Asia, 1947-1964,” *Journal of American History* 81/2 (September 1994), 518-542; Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); David Scott, “Diplomats and Poets: ‘Power and Perceptions’ in American Encounters with Japan, 1860,” *Journal of World History* 17/3 (September 2006) 297-337; Amy Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, “Enfranchising Women of Color: Woman Suffragists as Agents of Imperialism,” in Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri, eds., *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 41-56; Megan Threlkeld, “The Pan American Conference of Women, 1922: Successful Suffragists Turn to International Relations,” *Diplomatic History* 31/5 (November 2007): 801-828; Jean M. Wilkowski, *Abroad For Her Country: Tales of a Pioneer Woman Ambassador in the U.S. Foreign Service* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008); Molly M. Wood, “‘Commanding Beauty’ and ‘Gentle Charm’: American Women and Gender in the Early Twentieth-Century Foreign Service,” 31/3 *Diplomatic History* (June 2007): 505-530; Molly M. Wood, “Diplomatic Wives: The Politics of Domesticity and the ‘Social Game’ in the U.S. Foreign Service, 1905-1941,” *Journal of Women's History* 17/ 2 (Summer 2005): 142-165; Marysia Zalewski and Jane Parpart, eds., *The “Man Question” in International Relations* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998).

²⁴ Emily S. Rosenberg, “Walking the Borders,” in Michael Hogan and Thomas Patterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 24-35.

²⁵ Leila J. Rupp, “Constructing Internationalism: The Case of Transnational Women’s Organizations, 1888-1945,” *American Historical Review* 99/5 (December 1994): 1571-1600.

helps fill this gap in the historiography of inter-American relations through research that improves our historical understanding of the dynamics of twentieth-century international affairs in the Western Hemisphere. Grant's founding of the Pan American Women's Association in 1930 created a forum for women to become more involved in inter-American issues.

In 1977, in the very first volume of *Diplomatic History*, the journal of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, Frank Ninkovich lamented the fact that cultural issues were largely unexplored by diplomatic historians who focused upon the political, economic, and military determinants of foreign policy. Ninkovich wrote, "This traditional preoccupation has continued to dominate the literature even though the increasing complexity of international relations along a broad cultural front – the wholesale proliferation of social, intellectual, and technological connections characteristic of this century – has led foreign offices almost without exception to expand the traditional definition of foreign policy by incorporating a 'cultural' dimension."²⁶ Twenty years later, Historian Gilbert Joseph still noted "the absence of cultural analysis" in the history of U.S.-Latin American relations.²⁷ In this study, Grant's cultural activities in the Western Hemisphere are linked to broader inter-American social, political, economic, and military issues.

²⁶ Frank Ninkovich, "The Currents of Cultural Diplomacy: Art and the State Department, 1938-1947," *Diplomatic History* 1/3 (Summer 1977): 215-237.

²⁷ Gilbert M. Joseph, "Close Encounters: Toward a New Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations," in Gilbert M. Joseph, Catherine C. LeGrand, and Ricardo D. Salvatore, eds., *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 3-46.

Akira Iriye, one of the most distinguished voices in U.S. diplomatic history, has advocated that scholars broaden the study of international relations by devoting to nongovernmental interactions of individuals and private groups as much attention as they give to traditional diplomacy. That is exactly what I have set out to do. Such a wider conception of the field of diplomatic history is important for more than just scholarly accuracy. Iriye hopes new scholarship will advance “a possible solution to the chaos of the world.” The solution is *cultural internationalism*, which he defines as “a variety of activities undertaken to link countries and peoples through the exchange of ideas and persons, though scholarly cooperation, or through efforts at facilitating cross-national understanding.”²⁸ Grant would have agreed wholeheartedly with this effort. Indeed, her work in Latin America and the Caribbean is an example of cultural internationalism par excellence. This examination of Grant’s Pan American pursuits contributes to the body of recent works that explore both the cultural dimension of U.S. foreign relations and the dimension of international relations in cultural politics.²⁹

²⁸ Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 185, 3.

²⁹ For examples of studies of culture in U.S. foreign relations, see Christian G. Appy, ed., *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States Imperialism, 1945-1966* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000); Volker R. Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe: Shepard Stone Between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Peter Coleman, *The Liberal Conspiracy: The Congress for Cultural Freedom and the Struggle for the Mind of Postwar Europe* (New York: Free Press, 1989); Jon Thares Davidann, *A World of Crisis and Progress: The American YMCA in Japan 1890-1930* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 1998); Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992); Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Christopher Endy, *Cold War Holidays: American Tourism in France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); John Fousek, *To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Marc Gallicchio, *The African American encounter with Japan and China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Sayuri Guthrie-

Shimizu, "For Love of the Game: Baseball in Early U.S.-Japanese Encounters and the Rise of a Transnational Sporting Fraternity," *Diplomatic History* 28/5 (November 2004): 637-662; Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-61* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Maria H. Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Gerald Horne, *The End of Empires: African Americans and India* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2008); Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Barbara Keys, "Spreading Peace, Democracy, and Coca-Cola®," *Diplomatic History* 28/2 (April 2004): 165-196; Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Michael L. Krenn, *The Color of Empire: Race and American Foreign Relations* (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2006); Michael L. Krenn, *Fall-out Shelters for the Human Spirit: American Art and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Richard F. Kuisel, *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Scott Lucas, *Freedom's War: The American Crusade Against the Soviet Union* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Julio Moreno, *Yankee Don't Go Home!: Mexican Nationalism, American Business Culture, and the Shaping of Modern Mexico, 1920-1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Kenneth Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006); Richard H. Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture Since World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997); Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality and Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Brenda Gayle Plummer, ed., *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945-1988* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Rising Wind: Black Americans and U.S. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Naima Prevots, *Dance for Export: Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998); Arch Puddington, *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000); Ron Robin, *The Making of the Cold War Enemy: Culture and Politics in the Military-Intellectual Complex* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); Emily S. Rosenberg, *Financial Missionaries to the World: The Politics and Culture of Dollar Diplomacy, 1900-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); Giles Scott-Smith and Hans Krabbendam, eds., *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003); Giles Scott-Smith, *The Politics of Apolitical Culture: The Congress for Cultural Freedom, the CIA, and Post-war American Hegemony* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Frances Stonor Saunders, *Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: New Press, 1999); Alexander Stephan, ed., *The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism After 1945* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006); Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Penny M. Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire: Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); Reinhold Wagnleitner and Elaine Tyler May, eds., "Here, There, and Everywhere": *The Foreign Politics of American Popular Culture* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000); Reinhold Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria After the Second World War*, trans. Diana M. Wolf (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Hugh Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Hugh Wilford, *The CIA, The British Left, and the Cold War: Calling the Tune?* (Portland,

According to Iriye, the United States “has led the way, and the rest of the world has followed, in the development of non-governmental, non-profit organizations.” Iriye argues that the phenomenon of the growth of nongovernmental organizations “provides a plausible framework for linking one of the most impressive developments of twentieth-century world history to the history of the United States.” Iriye laments the fact that standard histories of the century lack references to both domestic and international NGOs because “to ignore them is to misread the history of the twentieth-century.” I will be well pleased if this review of Grant’s Pan American endeavors inspires other scholars attempting to understand the twentieth century to take note of the weighty role of NGOs. Iriye, who predicts the future will bring growing international importance of NGOs, writes that due to “the inspiration behind the organization of NGOs, their commitment to activism derived from a moral conception of the world, their humanitarianism, and their support of human rights – they come close to defining American ‘core values.’”³⁰ This study seeks to make known the values that inspired Grant and the members of the NGOs she dedicated her life to promoting.

Concurring with Iriye, Kenneth Boulding wrote that the rise of international nongovernmental organizations “is perhaps one of the most spectacular developments of the twentieth century, although it has happened so quickly that it is seldom noticed.”³¹ Likewise, Anders Stephanson argues for the importance of investigations into the role of

OR: Frank Cass, 2003); Jonathan Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

³⁰ Akira Iriye, “A Century of NGOs,” *Diplomatic History* 23/3 (Summer 1999): 421-435.

³¹ Kenneth E. Boulding, *Three Faces of Power* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1989), 244.

non-state actors such as NGOs because these have significantly influenced foreign policy due to “the peculiar fluidity between the public and the private in the United States.”³² This inquiry into Grant’s influence in the foreign policy arena adds to the literature that seeks to broaden the study of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy. By revealing Grant’s transnational interactions through organizations like the Pan American Women’s Association and the International League for the Rights of Man, I wish to contribute to bringing a new and vital perspective to the study of inter-American relations. Historian Francesca Miller has lamented that “the history of women’s transnational activities has not been incorporated into an understanding of international relations, far less into an analysis of foreign policy.”³³ This study is presented as a contribution to the creation of a fuller depiction of twentieth-century international relations in the hope of initiating further study regarding women’s roles in U.S. foreign policy.

In the 1950s, diplomatic history was a focused study of intergovernmental relations. Over the second half of the twentieth century, the field has steadily broadened its scope. Diplomatic history, like women’s history and other research fields, today bears the imprint of the cultural turn of the 1980s and 1990s. Historians of U.S. foreign relations now study not only time-honored matters like empire building, treaty making, and the source of wars. They also study gender, interracial and intercultural matters, as well as human rights, an issue dear to Frances Grant’s heart even before she celebrated

³² Anders Stephanson, “Commentary: Diplomatic History in an Expanded Field,” *Diplomatic History* 22/4 (Fall 1998): 595-603.

³³ Francesca Miller, “Feminisms and Transnationalism,” in Mrinalini Sinha, Donna Guy and Angela Woollacott, eds., *Feminisms and Internationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 228.

the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1948. Historians of inter-American relations are increasingly studying the combination of factors that produced U.S. foreign policy. For the past several decades, historians have been arguing for widening the perspective of diplomatic history. While focusing on the efforts of one important female leader, this study highlights a number of important themes and speaks to a variety of debates in the scholarly literature of several academic disciplines. This inquiry goes beyond traditional approaches to international relations in hopes of having a meaningful impact on studies concerned with cultural history, gender analysis, the role of NGOs in foreign relations, the history of development, labor history, and the links between international efforts and the national histories of countries in the Western Hemisphere.

In the 2001 Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations Bernath Lecture, entitled “Just Do It! Globalization from Diplomatic Historians,” Thomas W. Zeiler challenged diplomatic historians to use a “‘globalization framework’ that pays close attention to nongovernmental actors oft ignored by traditionalists,” including the types of philanthropic organizations and labor unions with which Grant worked. Zeiler’s framework seeks “to show how U.S. efforts responded to initiatives of our overseas contacts, and vice versa.” A globalization framework “ultimately makes us address connections and discontinuities over time, pointing us toward an understanding of the meaning of change and of the extent to which the past developments influences succeeding periods.”³⁴ This review of Grant’s career accepts Zeiler’s challenge. Grant’s transnational career is ideal for studying connections and discontinuities in inter-

³⁴ Thomas W. Zeiler, “Just Do It! Globalization for Diplomatic Historians,” *Diplomatic History* 25/4 (Fall 2001): 529-551.

American relations. By explaining Grant's Pan Americanism, this work simultaneously advances the study of several national histories and illuminates the "interactive process" of international affairs.³⁵

Historian Nick Cullather contends that scholars of U.S. foreign relations must grapple with the history of development and the ideas of modernization behind it.³⁶ Grant's career provides the perfect venue for contextualizing the study of the history of United States involvement in the development and modernization of Latin America and the Caribbean. As historian Emily S. Rosenberg argues, "representations of 'modern' women provided powerful tropes within the discourse of 'Americanization' and 'modernization' that many Americans projected overseas."³⁷ This work broadens Rosenberg's assertions and explores how elite Latin American and Caribbean women and men also projected images of themselves in the United States through the NGOs associated with Grant. During the Cold War era, studies of twentieth-century U.S. foreign relations often gave short shrift to Latin American and Caribbean agents. While emphasizing the role of one U.S. citizen, this study examines inter-American relations to reveal how Grant's NGOs reflected both U.S. policy towards Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as Latin American and Caribbean policy towards the United States.

³⁵ Robert J. McMahon, "The Study of American Foreign Relations: National History or International History?," in Michael Hogan and Thomas Patterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 11-23.

³⁶ See Nick Cullather, "Modernization Theory," in Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson, eds., *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge, 2004), 212-220; Nick Cullather, "Development? It's History," *Diplomatic History* 24/4 (Fall 2000): 641-653.

³⁷ Emily S. Rosenberg, "Consuming Women: Images of Americanization in the 'American Century,'" *Diplomatic History* 23/3 (Summer 1999): 479-497.

Robert J. McMahon has argued, “Washington’s fixation with the lessons other nations would draw from its behavior assumed towering significance” after the Second World War.³⁸ This study advances McMahon’s explorations of the psychological dimension of foreign policy to show how the United States’ Latin American and Caribbean allies were also fixated on the perceptions of the U.S. public, even before the Second World War. Richard Immerman has asked American diplomatic historians “to shed our parochial, Washington-centered orientations.”³⁹ This investigation considers interests, objectives, outlooks, postures, and resources in the foreign policy arena from the perspective of governmental and nongovernmental actors, both men and women. Such a project ranks among the new scholarship that has been moving the field of U.S. foreign relations history out of what Thomas Patterson called its “ethnocentrism, parochialism, narrowness, and staleness.”⁴⁰

After its establishment in 1950, the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom became the primary venue for Grant’s human rights activism and tireless efforts to defend democratic ideals against both rightist and leftist authoritarianism in Latin America and the Caribbean. An internationalist humanitarian, Grant became a classic U.S. Cold War liberal in the mold of her fellow Freedom House colleagues. Since most of her work took place outside official channels and in concert with others, Grant has not received the notoriety she deserves from scholars. No complete biography of

³⁸ Robert J. McMahon, “Credibility and World Power: Exploring the Psychological Dimension in Postwar American Diplomacy,” *Diplomatic History* 15/4 (Fall 1991): 455-471.

³⁹ Richard H. Immerman, “The History of U.S. Foreign Policy: A Plea for Pluralism,” *Diplomatic History* 14/4 (Fall 1990): 574-583.

⁴⁰ Thomas G. Patterson, “Defining and Doing the History of American Foreign Relations: A Primer,” *Diplomatic History* 14/4 (Fall 1990): 584-601.

Grant exists. However, thanks to her three decades-long service as secretary general of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, Grant's role in U.S. foreign relations following the Second World War has been somewhat documented. A brief résumé of her political activism during the 1950s was presented in Grant's contribution to the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom's *Report of the Second Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Freedom*.⁴¹ Additionally, various studies recount Grant's collaborations in Latin America and the Caribbean with anticommunist labor leaders and politicians of the democratic left during the Cold War era. Grant's colleague Robert Alexander has written of her work with Rómulo Betancourt, Venezuela's most important twentieth-century politician who headed the revolutionary junta that governed Venezuela from 1945 to 1948 and served as president of Venezuela from 1959 to 1964.⁴² Historian Kyle Longley writes of Grant's work with José Figueres, the Costa Rican statesman who led a governing junta in Costa Rica in 1948-1949 and would later serve as president of Costa Rica from 1953 to 1958 and again from 1970 to 1974.⁴³ Grant and the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom's important early enthusiasm and later opposition to the Cuban Revolution have been explained by historian Van Gosse.⁴⁴ In *The Democratic Left in Exile: The Antidictatorial*

⁴¹ See Frances R. Grant, "Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom: Report of the Secretary General, 1950-1960," in Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, *Report of the Second Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Freedom* (New York: Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, 1961), 44-76.

⁴² See Robert J. Alexander, *Rómulo Betancourt and the Transformation of Venezuela* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1982).

⁴³ See Kyle Longley, *The Sparrow and the Hawk: Costa Rica and the United States during the Rise of José Figueres* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997).

⁴⁴ See Van Gosse, *Where the Boys Are: Cuba, Cold War America and the Making of a New Left* (New York: Verso, 1993).

Struggle in the Caribbean, 1945-1959, historian Charles Ameringer writes broadly of Grant and Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom.⁴⁵ Most recently, Leonard R. Sussman, executive director of Freedom House from 1967 to 1988, presented a chapter on Grant in his memoirs.⁴⁶ In contrast to the above works, this study examines Grant's contributions to inter-American relations in the 1930s and 1940s, ending with the founding of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom in 1950. Grant's work in these two decades provided the foundation for her activism during the Cold War era. Historian Patricia Clavin argues that transnationalism "is best understood not as fostering bounded networks, but as creating honeycombs, a structure that sustains and gives shapes to the identities of nation-states, international and local institutions, and particular social and geographic spaces. A honeycomb binds, but it also contains hollowed-out spaces where organizations, individuals and ideas can wither away to be replaced by new groups, people and innovations."⁴⁷ In this transnational study, I hope I have done justice to Grant and the honeycombs through which she defied the notion that nation-states and business elites are the only legitimate actors in international politics while proving that ordinary people can make extraordinary contributions in the international arena.

⁴⁵ See Charles D. Ameringer, *The Democratic Left in Exile: The Antidictatorial Struggle in the Caribbean, 1945-1959* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1974).

⁴⁶ See Leonard R. Sussman, *A Passion for Freedom: My Encounters with Extraordinary People* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2004), 165-174.

⁴⁷ Patricia Clavin, "Defining Transnationalism," *Contemporary European History* 14/4 (November 2005): 421-439.

CHAPTER 1

FRANCES GRANT AND THE CULT OF NICHOLAS ROERICH

On March 21, 1929, the *New York Sun* reported that Frances Grant, a vice president of the Roerich Museum on Manhattan's Upper West Side, would soon be "following in President Hoover's footsteps" through South America.⁴⁸ The former head of the U.S. Department of Commerce, Herbert Hoover was inaugurated president of the United States earlier that same month. A few weeks after his landslide electoral victory in November 1928, Hoover had undertaken a ten-week, ten-nation goodwill tour of Latin America, during which time he proposed refashioning U.S. foreign policy in order to improve U.S. political and economic relations with the region.⁴⁹ The president-elect began what he called "the friendly visit of one good neighbor to another" in the Central American country of Honduras. To a region long accustomed to U.S. arrogance and U.S.

⁴⁸ "To Follow Hoover Route With Art; Helping Pan-American Friendship," *New York Sun*, 21 March 1929, p, 25.

⁴⁹ For information on Herbert Hoover's Latin American policy, see William O. Walker III, "Crucible for Peace: Herbert Hoover, Modernization, and Economic Growth in Latin America," *Diplomatic History* 30/1 (January 2006): 83-117. Walker argues that Hoover attempted to use the economic relationship between the United States and Latin America in the public and private sphere to promote peace after the First World War. However, he failed for several reasons, including an acceptance of a "natural" division of labor, a highly inflexible trade policy, and the shortsightedness of the U.S. financial community. Hoover tried to export U.S.-style modernization to Latin America, but Hoover-era modernization was an inadequate response to a complex international situation. See also E. R. Curry, *Hoover's Dominican Diplomacy and the Origins of the Good Neighbor Policy* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1979); Alexander DeConde, *Herbert Hoover's Latin-American Policy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1951).

intervention in its internal affairs, Hoover spoke of mutual respect and equality among nations.⁵⁰

For her part, Grant would be “helping Pan-American friendship” by visiting South American museums and cultural institutions in an effort “to establish a closer cultural relationship” between the United States and the region. She planned to invite South American artists to exhibit in Manhattan and she looked forward to bringing back examples of the region’s arts and crafts in order to promote interest in such objects in the United States. As the *Sun* reported, Grant had recently returned from India, where she met with Nicholas Roerich and the Roerich Central Asiatic expedition on its return from Tibet, accompanying some expedition members back to New York City. While Grant was in India visiting with Roerich, the Russian painter and mystic had suggested she tour South America on behalf of the Roerich Museum.

Grant’s wealth, education, family connections, and Spanish language ability made her an ideal cultural intermediary between the United States and its hemispheric neighbors. This chapter explains the life experiences that made Grant, as the *New York Sun* pointed out, “particularly fitted” for a South American mission.⁵¹ In particular, the chapter focuses on Nicolas Roerich, who profoundly influenced Grant’s thinking through his own brand of theosophy and internationalism. Roerich’s ideas about the power of culture to foster unity shaped Grant’s tireless promotion of Pan American solidarity long after she no longer worked in his name.

⁵⁰ See Mark T. Gilderhus, *The Second Century: U.S.-Latin American Relations since 1889* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000), 72.

⁵¹ “To Follow Hoover Route With Art; Helping Pan-American Friendship,” *New York Sun*, 21 March 1929, p, 25.

Grant was born on November 18, 1896 in the small town of Abiquiú, isolated in the Jemez Mountains of Rio Arriba County, about thirty-five miles from Santa Fe in the territory of New Mexico. Her father, Henry Grant, a German-Jewish immigrant, had migrated west from New York City to New Mexico with two brothers in the mid-1870s to make his fortune as a trader.⁵² Henry managed a large ranch and orchard, served as a federal postmaster, and operated a successful general store in Abiquiú. A leader in New Mexico's Democratic Party, he celebrated New Mexico's statehood in 1912. Sara Spiro, Grant's mother, was born in the town of Wloclawek in northwest Poland. Sara's family spent several years in London, England before emigrating to the Murray Hill section of Manhattan. A year after her arrival in the United States, Sara met Henry while he was back in New York visiting his family. In 1892, the couple were married at a service officiated by Sara's father, Rabbi Jacob Spiro. Considerably younger than Henry, Sara left her family in New York City to join Henry as his young bride.⁵³ By the time Sara was twenty-five years old, the couple had four children, two daughters and two sons.⁵⁴ The

⁵² Historian Henry Tobias refers to the years 1860-1880 as the "golden years" of German-Jewish merchants in New Mexico. See Henry J. Tobias, *A History of the Jews in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 51-102. For general information on Jewish life in the American West in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Moses Rischin and John Livingston, eds., *Jews of the American West* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991); Harriet and Fred Rochlin, *Pioneer Jews: A New Life in the Far West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984).

⁵³ Frances R. Grant, interview by Muriel Meyers, September 24, 1983, Cassette 1: William E. Wiener Oral History Library of the American Jewish Committee, Dorot Jewish Division, New York Public Library, New York, New York, 1983. See also Frances R. Grant, *Pilgrimage of the Spirit*, ed. Beata Grant (Beata Grant, 1997), 22-23; Gerald Spiro, "Henry Grant's Trading Post in Abiquiú," *Legacy: Newsletter of the New Mexico Jewish Historical Society* 21/1 (March 2007): 1, 6.

⁵⁴ Joseph B. Grant (1898-1976), Frances Grant's youngest brother, was the only sibling to settle permanently in New Mexico. From 1935 to 1951, he served as president of the Spanish American Normal School (presently Northern New Mexico College) at El Rito in Rio Arriba County, New Mexico. Active in the Democratic Party, he served as state treasurer of New Mexico during the

town of Abiquiú was overwhelmingly made up of Spanish-speaking Roman Catholics.⁵⁵

As a youngster, Frances learned Spanish and participated in Roman Catholic festivals with friends and neighbors, though such activities held no religious meaning for her.⁵⁶

An avid reader who imparted a love of learning in her children, Sara hired private tutors from the Midwest to come to the Grant home in Abiquiú to educate her little ones. Sara shared with Henry a great love of music. Determined to give her children a Jewish upbringing in a metropolis around family, Sarah moved with them to a home in Manhattan's Washington Heights neighborhood in New York City.⁵⁷ Young Frances attended a Reformed temple, where she studied Hebrew with the future renowned Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner.⁵⁸ As she grew up, Frances spent time with her father only during

terms 1955-1956, 1963-1964, and 1965-1966. See Frances R. Grant, interview by Muriel Meyers, September 24, 1983, Cassette 1: William E. Wiener Oral History Library of the American Jewish Committee, Dorot Jewish Division, New York Public Library, New York, New York, 1983; Gerald Spiro, "Henry Grant's Trading Post in Abiquiú," *Legacy: Newsletter of the New Mexico Jewish Historical Society* 21/1 (March 2007): 1, 6.

⁵⁵ For Sara Grant's reflections on being a Jewish woman in Abiquiú, see Sara Grant, "One of the Isolated," *Jewish Tribune*, 4 March 1927, p. 22, 35, 38.

⁵⁶ Frances R. Grant, interview by Muriel Meyers, September 24, 1983, Cassette 1: William E. Wiener Oral History Library of the American Jewish Committee, Dorot Jewish Division, New York Public Library, New York, New York, 1983.

⁵⁷ Ibid. See also Frances R. Grant, *Pilgrimage of the Spirit*, ed. Beata Grant (Beata Grant, 1997), 17-18, 29.

⁵⁸ Barnett Robert Brickner (1892-1958) was born in New York City. After being educated at Columbia University, he was ordained as a rabbi at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1919. That same year, he married Rebecca Ena Aaronson, the first woman professional Jewish educator in the United States. In 1920, Brickner received a Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Social Sciences from the University of Cincinnati. The Brickners then moved to Canada, where Barnett became a rabbi at the Holy Blossom Synagogue in Toronto. In 1925, the Brickners left Toronto for Cleveland, Ohio, where Barnett became rabbi at Congregation Anshe Chesed. That year, at Congregation Anshe Chesed, Rebecca became the first woman in the United States to conduct an entire temple service and read from the Torah in Hebrew. Congregation Anshe Chesed soon grew into the nation's largest Reform congregation. See Samuel M. Silver, *Portrait of a Rabbi: An Affectionate Memoir on the Life of Barnett R. Brickner* (Cleveland, OH: Barnett R. Brickner Memorial Foundation, 1959); Sefton D. Temkin and Michael Berenbaum, "Brickner,

summers in New Mexico or during the months he visited his wife and children back East.⁵⁹

Following elementary school at Public School 186 in Washington Heights, Grant went on to one of New York City's most prestigious high schools, the Hunter College High School for Girls. The school owed its existence and reputation to the Irish immigrant Thomas Hunter, who arrived in Manhattan alone and nearly penniless in 1850. He became a schoolteacher and founded the city's first night school in 1866 in order for students with day jobs to attend classes. Three years later, he co-founded and became the first president of the Female Normal and High School to prepare young women to be teachers. The following year, the school was renamed the Normal College of the City of New York. The college operated a model primary school and added the United States' first tuition-free kindergarten in 1871.

The publicly-funded Normal College was the first school in the city to offer females a free education beyond grammar school. Hunter's mission was "to create an environment where intellect and knowledge could flourish among women regardless of race, creed, or economic status."⁶⁰ His highly selective school offered an outstanding education to intellectually gifted girls like Grant from around the New York area who had

Barnett Robert," in Fred Skolnik, ed., *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 2nd edition, vol. 4 (Farmington Hills, MI: Thomas Gale, 2001), 179.

⁵⁹ Due to illness, Henry Grant spent the last years of his life in New York City. He died in 1928. A year before his death, Grant sold his general store to a German immigrant named Martin Bode, who turned the store into a residence for his family. See Gerald Spiro, "Henry Grant's Trading Post in Abiquiú," *Legacy: Newsletter of the New Mexico Jewish Historical Society* 21/1 (March 2007): 1, 6.

⁶⁰ Betty A. Walker and Marilyn Mehr, *The Courage to Achieve* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 72.

completed their eight-grade courses and passed a special entrance exam in English and arithmetic.⁶¹ Ethnically, the school was mixed, but there were a large numbers of Jewish girls amongst Grant's classmates, virtually all of whom went on to college. Although in New York the state requirement that female schoolteachers be single had ended in 1904, the faculty was all women and almost all were single. "What was most central to the Hunter ethos was being part of a community of self-sufficient, competent, intelligent, and mutually supportive women," writes Elizabeth Stone.⁶²

After finishing at Hunter, Grant spent two years at Barnard College, an undergraduate college for women within Columbia University, the city's oldest and most famous educational institution. As a result of the Columbia trustees' refusal to admit women as undergraduates, Barnard College became the first secular institution in New York City to grant the Bachelor of Arts degree to women.⁶³ Grant ultimately graduated

⁶¹ Thomas Hunter himself resigned as president of the college in 1906. In 1914, around the time Grant graduated, the New York City Board of Education changed the name of Normal College to Hunter College, a division of the City University of New York (CUNY). Grant's high school served as a laboratory school in the Teacher Education Program of Hunter College, which, rather than the New York City Department of Education, administered the school. Hunter College High School had a reputation for sending a very large percentage of students to the Ivy League and other revered colleges and universities. An all girls school for the first 104 years of its existence, the school became co-ed in 1974 as a result of a lawsuit. For information on Hunter College High School, see Elizabeth Stone, *The Hunter College Campus Schools for the Gifted* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1992), 18-25; Betty A. Walker and Marilyn Mehr, *The Courage to Achieve* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992); Cyril William Woolcock, *The Hunter College High School Program for Gifted Students* (New York: Vantage Press, 1962), 20-26. For information on Thomas Hunter, see Ana M. Hunter and Jenny Hunter, eds., *The Autobiography of Dr. Thomas Hunter, Founder and First President of Hunter College, 1870-1906, President Emeritus till October 14, 1915* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1931); Samuel White Patterson, *Hunter College: Eighty-five Years of Service* (New York, Lantern Press, 1955); "Dr. Thomas Hunter Dies in His 84th Year," *New York Times*, 15 October 1915, p. 11.

⁶² Elizabeth Stone, *The Hunter College Campus Schools for the Gifted* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1992), 20.

⁶³ Columbia University admitted women for the first time in 1883. Formed in 1889, the college was named for Frederick A.P. Barnard, the president of Columbia University from 1864 to 1888.

from the world's first school of journalism, the Columbia University School of Journalism, which had been established in 1912 after New York newspaper magnate Joseph Pulitzer bequeathed Columbia \$2 million in his will.⁶⁴ Grant graduated in the class of 1918, a year before restrictions were imposed limiting the number of Jews admitted to Columbia. According to historian Robert A. McCaughey, despite institutional anti-Semitism, Columbia “provided one of the least hostile environments in the upper reaches of the American academy” for ambitious Jewish students of Grant’s time.⁶⁵ Columbia had a higher proportion of Jewish undergraduates and was less adverse to and more accommodating of Jewish students than were the other prestigious eastern universities.⁶⁶

For information on Barnard College, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth Century Beginnings to the 1930's* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1984), 134-142, 237-261; Annie Nathan Meyer, *Barnard Beginnings* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935); Alice Duer Miller and Susan Myers, *Barnard College: The First Fifty Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939); Marian Churchill White, *A History of Barnard College* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954).

⁶⁴ The Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, the only journalism school in the Ivy League, became one of the foremost schools of journalism in the United States. The school began with both undergraduate and graduate curriculums. The undergraduate curriculum was dropped in 1935 and the school adopted an exclusively graduate-level program. For information on the school, see Richard Terrill Baker, *A History of the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954); James Boylan, *Pulitzer's School: Columbia University's School of Journalism, 1903-2003* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

⁶⁵ Robert A. McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia: A History of Columbia University in the City of New York, 1754-2004* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 258. For a history of women at Barnard College and Columbia University, see Rosalind Rosenberg, *Changing the Subject: How the Women of Columbia Shaped the Way We Think about Sex and Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

⁶⁶ There is extensive scholarship on twentieth century U.S. academic anti-Semitism. In *The Qualified Student: A History of Selective College Admission in America* (New York: Wiley, 1977), Harold S. Wechsler explains the ways in which Columbia University between the two world wars actively discriminated against Jewish applicants to both Columbia University and Barnard College. Among Columbia’s peer institutions in the United States, only the University of Chicago had as high a proportion of Jewish undergraduates during the interwar years.

Grant also received a musical education which along with her studies in journalism opened up the door to her first paid job. Grant's musical education included studying with well-know masters, including Albert von Doenhoff, a pianist, composer, and educator at the National Conservatory of Music in America,⁶⁷ and the renowned composer Ernest Bloch.⁶⁸ During Grant's senior year at Columbia, her reviews for the

McCaughey argues that Columbia's limitation on Jewish enrollment was more an effort to keep WASPs from choosing other schools than excluding Jews as such. See Robert A. McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia: A History of Columbia University in the City of New York, 1754-2004* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 257-258.

⁶⁷ Born in Louisville, Kentucky in 1880, Albert von Doenhoff studied at the Cincinnati College of Music. He made his professional debut in New York in 1905, published many pieces for piano, and had a successful career as a concert pianist. From 1889 to 1907, von Doenhoff taught piano at the National Conservatory of Music, founded in New York City in 1885 by Jeannette Thurber, the wife of a wealthy merchant, to encourage an indigenous musical culture. The celebrated Czech composer Antonín Dvořák directed the Conservatory from 1892 to 1895. The industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie acted as the conservatory's president. The conservatory operated solely on private funds and operated until the late twenties. Von Doenhoff was active in the Bohemians, the New York musician's club that established the Musicians Foundation. He also served as secretary-treasurer of the Walter W. Naumburg Foundation and honorary trustee of the New Jersey Chamber Music Society. For information on Albert von Doenhoff, see "Albert Von Doenhoff: Pianist, Composer Was Son of Former Metropolitan Singer," *New York Times*, 4 October 1940, p. 23. For information on the National Conservatory of Music in America, see Andrea Olmstead, *Juilliard: A History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999). For information on Dvořák's relationship with the conservatory, see J.E. Vacha, "Dvořák in America," *American Heritage* 43/5 (September 1992): 78-86; John C. Tibbetts, ed., *Dvořák in America, 1892-1895* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1993).

⁶⁸ Ernest Bloch was born in Geneva, Switzerland to Jewish parents in 1880. After beginning his career in Europe, he moved to the United States in 1916 and became an American citizen eight years later. In 1917, Bloch taught at the David Mannes School of Music in New York City. From 1920 to 1925, he was founding director of the Cleveland Institute of Music. He taught at the San Francisco Conservatory from 1925 to 1930. Bloch then lived and worked mainly in Switzerland until 1939, when he returned to the United States. From 1940 to 1952, he was professor of music at the University of California at Berkeley. Noted for his compositions based on Jewish sacred and folk music, Bloch was awarded the gold medal of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1942, the first musician so honored. He died in 1959 in Portland, Oregon. For information on Bloch, see Suzanne Bloch and Irene Heskes, *Ernest Bloch, Creative Spirit: A Program Source Book* (New York: Jewish Music Council of the National Jewish Welfare Board, 1976); Walter Simmons, *Voices in the Wilderness: Six American Neo-romantic Composers* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004); David Schiller, *Bloch, Schoenberg and Bernstein: Assimilating Jewish Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); David Z. Kushner, *The Ernest Bloch Companion* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002).

then flourishing Russian art movement in New York City brought her an offer to join the staff of the magazine *Musical America* as a music critic and associate editor. *Musical America* was one of the few music magazines established in the 1880s and 1890s that still had a large national circulation when Grant joined the staff.

Grant's life-long devotion to the promotion of music and the arts as vehicles for international unity demonstrates the early influence of her first employer. John C. Freund, *Musical America* founder and editor, held deep-seated views on music's potential to improve the lives of U.S. citizens. Freund's magazine vigorously promoted the idea that music contained a moral power.⁶⁹ As musicologist Mary Dupree writes, "The favorite editorial issues of *Musical America* from 1918 through the early twenties reflected Freund's own optimistic, humanistic view that music could improve people and make them happier, and, by extension, make the entire country more peaceful and democratic."⁷⁰ According to Dupree, *Musical America* consistently emphasized the need

⁶⁹ For information on John C. Freund, see William McClellan, "Freund, John Christian," in H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan, 1986), 169; "John C. Freund. Founder and Editor of Musical America Dies After Long Illness," *New York Times*, 4 June 1924, p. 21. From October 1898 to June 1899, Freund published thirty-six issues of the paper. An interruption of six years soliciting financial support followed. *Musical America* suspended publication until October 1905, after which it was published weekly until 1939, and semimonthly to monthly until 1964. Freund was editor and Milton Weil assistant editor until Freund's death in 1924. Weil edited the magazine from 1924 to 1927. In 1929, John Majeski Sr., a former staff member, bought *Musical America*. In 1959, Majeski sold *Musical America*, which was merged for several years after 1964 with *High Fidelity*. An example of editorial activism was the magazine's contest sponsored by Majeski for the best symphonic work submitted by a U.S. citizen. The award was \$3,000 and a guarantee of performances of the work during the 1927-1928 season in major U.S. cities. The winning composition was "America" by Grant's former teacher Ernest Bloch. See Charles Brotman, "The Winner Loses: Ernest Bloch and His *America*," *American Music* 16/4 (Winter 1998): 417-447; "John Majeski Sr., Publisher, Dead," *New York Times*, 21 November 1971, p. 84.

⁷⁰ Mary DuPree, ed., *Musical Americans: A Biographical Dictionary, 1918-1926* (Berkeley: Fallen Leaf Press, 1997), viii-ix. The biographical sketches of U.S. musicians collected in this volume edited by Dupree were published in *Musical America* between 1918 and 1926. In her introduction, DuPree provides a brief history of the magazine.

for greater moral and financial support for the nation's composers and performers. A member of a pioneering generation of young women, Grant was no doubt attracted to the magazine's stance on women composers. At a time when some male critics "denounced the female composer as an oxymoron," Freund "chivalrously defended those women who wanted to write their own music."⁷¹ Strong-willed and independent Grant suited well to the magazine's passionate advocacy of American music making and music journalism among both men and women.

Not long after joining the staff of *Musical America*, Grant shifted her attention to the art world and began a foray into inter-American relations through her association with the Russian artist and charismatic spiritualist Nicholas Roerich.⁷² In 1921, Roerich traveled to the United States, where he discovered a "fertile soil for art" in the nation's "virile spirit."⁷³ This foray into the U.S. market eventually led to Grant tirelessly promoting Roerich's art and ideas as a staff member of the Roerich Museum in Manhattan. Roerich's worldview provided inspiration for Grant's lifelong dedication to internationalism and the promotion of world unity.

⁷¹ Gavin James Campbell, "Classical Music and the Politics of Gender in America, 1900-1925," *American Music* 21/4 (Winter 2003): 452.

⁷² Historian John McCannon has written extensively on Nicholas Roerich's art and ideas. See John McCannon, "Mother of the World: Eurasian Imagery and Conceptions of Feminine Divinity in the Works of Nikolai Roerich," in Rosalind P. Blakesley and Susan E. Reid, eds., *Russian Art and the West: A Century of Dialogue in Painting, Architecture, and the Decorative Arts* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2007); John McCannon, "Passageways to Wisdom: Nicholas Roerich, the Dramas of Maurice Maeterlink, and the Symbols of Spiritual Enlightenment," *Russian Review* 63/3 (July 2004): 449-478; John McCannon, "Apocalypse and Tranquility: The World War I Paintings of Nicholas Roerich," *Russian History* 30/3 (Fall 2003): 301-321; John McCannon, "Searching for Shambhala: The Mystical Art and Epic Journeys of Nikolai Roerich," *Russian Life* 44/1 (January-February 2001): 48-56.

⁷³ "To Follow Hoover Route With Art; Helping Pan-American Friendship," *New York Sun*, 21 March 1929, p. 25.

Born the son of a wealthy Westernized lawyer in St. Petersburg in 1874, Roerich was one of Russia's outstanding and internationally recognized artists. Director of the School for the Encouraging of Fine Arts in Russia, president of the Museum of Russian Arts, and a leader in the Moscow Art Theatre Diaghilev Ballet, Roerich became active in urging the protection of cultural monuments during the revolutionary upheaval that occurred in his homeland in the early years of the twentieth century. He left Russia and took refuge in Europe with his family in 1917, the year of the overthrow of the Provisional Government that replaced Czar Nicholas II, which led to the establishment of the Soviet Union.

The spiritual beliefs of Nicholas Roerich and his wife enormously influenced Grant, a woman whose spirituality profoundly shaped her life's work. In 1901, Roerich married Helena Ivanova Shaposhnikov and the couple became enthralled by the theosophical writings of the aristocratic Ukrainian-born Russian occultist Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, cofounder of the Theosophical Society in New York City in 1875.⁷⁴ Roerich and his wife joined the Russian branch of the Theosophical Society, founded in 1908. The two became devoted students of theosophy and together translated Blavatsky's major work, *The Secret Doctrine*, into Russian.

Theosophy explained the world and the Divine based on mystical insight, following chiefly Brahmanic and Buddhist theories of pantheistic evolution and

⁷⁴ See Maria Carlson, *"No Religion Higher Than Truth": A History of the Theosophical Movement in Russia, 1875-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). For information on the theosophy in the United States, see Bruce F. Campbell, *Ancient Wisdom Revived: A History of the Theosophical Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). For information on Blavatsky's cofounder at the Theosophical Society, the New York City lawyer and journalist Henry Steel Olcott, see Stephen R. Prothero, *The White Buddhist: The Asian Odyssey of Henry Steel Olcott* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

reincarnation. Accordingly, despite its Greek-inspired name, theosophy drew much of its vocabulary from the Indian subcontinent.⁷⁵ Theosophy taught the existence of a hierarchy whose role it was to guide human history and to instruct humans in spiritual truths. Accordingly, the Theosophical Society claimed to be directed through visions and dreams by mahatmas, or “Masters of Wisdom.”⁷⁶ Blavatsky herself claimed to have received personal instruction from members of this hierarchy.⁷⁷

Theosophists professed knowledge of the nature of God and postulated a fundamentally spiritual nature of the universe. God was the transcendent source of all being and all goodness. Evil existed due to human desire for finite goods and could be overcome by total absorption in the infinite. Sacred writings and doctrines were meant to be interpreted through allegory. Such theories are the basis of much mysticism. However, rather than confining themselves to the soul’s relation to God, theosophists used these theories to formulate an exhaustive philosophy aimed at forming a universal fellowship

⁷⁵ Theosophy derives from “sophia,” the Greek word meaning wisdom.

⁷⁶ From the Sanskrit word meaning “great-souled,” mahatma is an honorific title used by Hindus as a designation of respect for a person renowned for spirituality and high-mindedness.

⁷⁷ Nicholas Roerich’s life course strikingly parallels that of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky. An eccentric globetrotter, Blavatsky traveled extensively in Asia, Europe, and the United States. She promoted the idea of India and Tibet as the major sources of ancient wisdom and believed Hinduism and Buddhism to be channels of primordial truth of all religion. Madame Blavatsky, as she was known, claimed to be in contact with the Asia’s “Masters,” having been initiated into the occult mysteries while spending years in Tibet. In 1878, she left for India and never returned to the United States. In India, she established the world headquarters of the Theosophical Society at Adyar near Madras, devoting herself to theosophical organization and propaganda. A close associate accused Blavatsky of fraud and the society experienced schisms before her death in 1891. For information on Blavatsky, see K. Paul Johnson, *The Masters Revealed: Madam Blavatsky and the Myth of the Great White Lodge* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Marion Meade, *Madame Blavatsky: The Woman Behind the Myth* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1980); Peter Washington, *Madame Blavatsky's Baboon: A History of the Mystics, Mediums, and Misfits Who Brought Spiritualism to America* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995).

of humankind, through studying ancient religions, philosophies, and sciences, as well as investigating the laws of nature and divine powers latent in all human beings.⁷⁸

The pacifism and unity preached by theosophists like Roerich found many sympathizers and converts in the United States and around the world among people such as Grant who were distraught by the senseless destruction of the First World War. By the time Roerich landed in the New York harbor in October of 1920, the year negotiators at the Paris Peace Conference put an end to the Great War, theosophy was an international movement with thousands of members.⁷⁹ In the United States, theosophy would peak in the late 1920s with some 7,000 devotees.⁸⁰ Roerich arrived in the United States as a

⁷⁸ Later, the writings of the Austrian occultist and social philosopher Rudolf Steiner influenced the Roerichs. A founder of the German Theosophic Association, Steiner abandoned theosophy and developed anthroposophy, through which he attempted to explain the world in terms of people's spiritual nature, or thinking independent of the senses. Like Steiner, Nicholas Roerich came to forsake the theosophy of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and subsequently elaborated his own vision. For information on Steiner, see Paul M. Allen, ed., *Rudolf Steiner: An Autobiography*, trans. Rita Stebbing (Blauvelt, NY: Rudolf Steiner Publications, 1977); Robert A. McDermott, ed., *The Essential Steiner: Basic Writings of Rudolf Steiner* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984); P. Bruce Uhrmacher, "Uncommon Schooling: A Historical Look at Rudolf Steiner, Anthroposophy, and Waldorf Education," *Curriculum Inquiry* 25/4 (Winter: 1995): 381-406.

⁷⁹ Nicholas Roerich came to the United States via London, England. Sergei Pavlovich Diaghilev, the Russian ballet impresario whose Ballets Russes revolutionized the world of dance and helped revive ballet as a serious art form, had arranged a British visa for Roerich in the fall of 1919 through a job offer as set designer for a production of the opera *Prince Igor* by the Russian composer Alexander Borodin. Thereafter, an exhibition of Roerich's work was presented to the British public for the first time in May 1920. Roerich was one of Diaghilev's leading designers during the early years of the Ballets Russes. See Kenneth Archer, "Nicholas Roerich and His Theatrical Designs: A Research Survey," *Dance Research Journal* 18/2 (Winter: 1986): 3-6; V. N. Petrov, *Russian Art Nouveau: The World of Art and Diaghilev's Painters* (Bournemouth, England: Parkstone Press, 1997). For information on Diaghilev in London, see Cyril W. Beaumont, *The Diaghilev Ballet in London* (London: Putnam, 1940). For information on Diaghilev and his Ballets Russes, see Richard Buckle, *Diaghilev* (New York: Atheneum, 1979); Lynn Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Lynn Garafola and Nancy Van Norman, eds., *The Ballets Russes and its World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

⁸⁰ See Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 101.

distinguished artist, but he would soon make a real name for himself as a peace-loving mystic. Roerich exhibited his paintings in New York City from December 1920 to January 1921 at the Kingore Gallery and then spent the next year and half touring twenty-eight U.S. cities on behalf of the Chicago Art Institute.⁸¹ In the introduction for the touring exhibition catalog, art critic Christian Brinton praised Roerich's aesthetic outlook, agreeing wholeheartedly with Roerich that "in our day there is a manifest return to savagery on the part of an enormous number of people, and only beauty and wisdom can bring back to humanity the treasures of the spirit it has lost."⁸²

Admirers and loyal supporters of Roerich like Grant never questioned the sincerity of Roerich's Eastern-inspired spirituality.⁸³ Historian Robert C. Williams, however, portrays Roerich as an absolute charlatan in his book *Russian Art and American Money, 1900-1940*. He points to Roerich's effort to sell his mysticism in his paid lectures

⁸¹ Nicholas Roerich was encouraged to travel to the United States at the urging of the U.S. art critic Christian Brinton and the invitation of Brinton's colleague, Robert B. Harshe, whom Roerich had met in London, England. Roerich landed in New York harbor in 1920. That same year, Harshe was appointed assistant director of the Art Institute of Chicago, which arranged a nationwide tour of Roerich's paintings. In 1921, Harshe was promoted, becoming the third director of the institute. Under his guidance, the institute grew to world prominence. One of his first acts as director was to present an exhibition of Roerich's works. Harshe was director of the Art Institute of Chicago from 1920 until his death in 1938. For information on Harshe, see "Robert B. Harshe," *Magazine of Art* 31/2 (February 1938): 107-108; "Robert B. Harshe," *Art Digest* 12/8 (January 15, 1938): 9.

⁸² Nicholas Roerich, as quoted in Christian Brinton, *The Nicolas Roerich Exhibition, With Introduction and Catalogue of the Paintings* (New York: Redfield-Kendrick-Odell Company, Inc., 1920). For information on Christian Brinton, see Peninah R. Y. Petruck, *American Art Criticism, 1910-1939* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1981); Andrew Walker, "World War II and Modern Russia at the Philadelphia Museum of Art: The Christian Brinton Collection, 1941-1945," *Archives of American Art Journal* 41/1 (2001): 34-42; Robert C. Williams, *Russian Art and American Money, 1900-1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 83-110.

⁸³ Until the end of her life, Frances Grant considered Nicholas Roerich to have been "a great man." See Frances R. Grant, interview by Muriel Meyers, October 8, 1983, Cassette 2: William E. Wiener Oral History Library of the American Jewish Committee, Dorot Jewish Division, New York Public Library, New York, New York, 1983.

on garments at Chicago's famous Marshall Field's department store, in which he spoke on spiritual clothing instead of selling dresses.⁸⁴ Williams considers Roerich's wearing of Tibetan clothing, with shaved head and goatee, to have been a cynical ploy to enhance his guru aura.⁸⁵ According to Williams, Roerich moved away from his earlier Russian and Slavic primitivist-inspired work to capitalize on the popularity of mystical Eastern-flared artwork. Once Roerich learned that his mysticism was more lucrative than his painting, he became the "mystical messiah of a curious religious cult" based in New York City.⁸⁶ Williams perhaps exaggerates Roerich's sudden conversion to all things Eastern. Eastern philosophical and artistic expression captivated Roerich long before arriving in the United States.⁸⁷

Roerich found an immediate positive response from people such as Grant in the United States, not only for his art, but also for his idea to foster world unity through art. Grant joined Roerich in turning this idea into practice. Upon the completion of his

⁸⁴ In 1865, the U.S. merchant Marshall Field became a partner in the firm of the company that became Marshall Field & Company in 1881. Field amassed one of the largest private fortunes in the United States and made the first of his major philanthropies as a charter member of the corporation formed in 1878 to found the institution that became the Art Institute of Chicago. For information on Field, see Stephen Becker, *Marshall Field III: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964); John William Tebbel, *The Marshall Fields: A Study in Wealth* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1947); Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan, *Give the Lady What She Wants: The Story of Marshall Field & Company* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1952).

⁸⁵ See Chapter 4, "Mysticism and Money: Nicholas Roerich," in Robert C. Williams, *Russian Art and American Money, 1900-1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 111-146. For a much more sympathetic view of Nicholas Roerich, see Jacqueline Decter, *Nicholas Roerich: The Life and Art of a Russian Master* (Rochester, NY: Park Street Press, 1989); Ruth A. Drayer, *Nicholas and Helena Roerich: The Spiritual Journey of Two Great Artists and Peacemakers* (Wheaton, IL: Quest Books, Theosophical Publication House, 2005).

⁸⁶ Williams, 111.

⁸⁷ See Karl Meyer and Shareen Blair Brysac, *Tournament of Shadows: The Race for Empire in Central Asia and the Great Game* (Washington, DC: Counterpoint, 1999), 450-454.

painting tour, Roerich founded the Master Institute of United Arts in Manhattan in 1921 with married Russian émigré pianists Maurice and Sina Lichtmann.⁸⁸ Grant resigned from *Musical America* and became executive director of the Master Institute, which charged for classes in artistic endeavors like painting, sculpture, music, voice, and drama. The Master Institute boasted a credo reflecting Roerich's lofty inclusive idea of the coming world unity through the international language of artistic expression and appreciation:

“Art will unify all humanity. Art is one – indivisible. Art has many branches, yet all are one. Art is the manifestation of the coming synthesis. Art is for all. Everyone will enjoy true art. The gates of the “sacred source” must be opened wide for everybody, and the light of art will ignite numerous hearts with a new love. At first this feeling will be unconscious, but after all it will purify human consciousness. How many young hearts are searching for something real and beautiful! So give it to them. Bring art to the people – where it belongs. We should not have only museums, theatres, universities, public libraries, railway stations and hospitals, but even prisons decorated and beautiful. Then there will be no more prisons.”⁸⁹

Roerich's international cultural center attracted many members of New York City's Russian émigré community, as well as Americans like Grant and the financial

⁸⁸ For information on the Russian community in New York City at this time, see James E. Hassell, “Russian Refugees in France and the United States between the World Wars,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 81/7 (1991): 1-96.

⁸⁹ Quoted in Jacqueline Decter, *Nicholas Roerich: The Life and Art of a Russian Master* (Rochester, NY: Park Street Press, 1989), 121.

tycoon Louis Horch. Horch, whom Roerich met within the first year of founding the Master Institute, became by far Roerich's most wealthy patron and provided Roerich adherents with hundreds of thousands of U.S. dollars.⁹⁰ A highly successful foreign exchange broker and speculator, Horch was a senior partner in the foreign exchange firm of Horch Rosenthal. Horch's wife Nettie, a schoolgirl friend of Grant, had an enthusiasm for art and an interest in theosophy and Eastern wisdom that attracted her to the Master Institute. Roerich's philosophy drew many elite women like Nettie and Grant into the cultural center where they could socialize with artists and hear lectures about theosophy. In the process, they turned into some of Roerich's most profound adherents. Grant played an important role in helping to bring elite men's wives or wealthy single women into Roerich's circle in the early years of the Master Institute.

In the aftermath of the Great War, theosophists, who had long espoused a vision of global harmony and fellowship, attracted new sympathizers and converts among many peace-loving people to whom pacifism and disarmament seemed like the answer to the devastation of military conflict. Negotiation, peaceful conflict resolution, and arms reduction were in vogue.⁹¹ According to Grant and other Roerich admirers, revived

⁹⁰ For information on Louis Horch, see "Louis L. Horch, 90, Founder of Museum," *New York Times*, 16 April 1979, p. D13.

⁹¹ The Master Institute of United Arts was founded in November 1921. That same month, on Armistice Day, the Conference on the Limitation of Armament opened in Washington, D.C. The Washington Conference, which reflected the postwar fear that the tragedy of the First World War could be repeated, was motivated by the costly naval construction rivalry that existed among Britain, Japan, and the United States. By the closing of the conference in February 1922, three major agreements were made. The Four-Power Treaty committed the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan to respect each other's Pacific island possessions. The Five-Power Treaty set limits on the navies of the world's major naval powers. The Nine-Power Treaty sought to quell antagonism in the China trade by guaranteeing the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China. For information on the Washington Conference, see Thomas H. Buckley, *The United States and the Washington Conference, 1921-1922* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1970); Paul Dukes, *The USA in the Making of the USSR: The Washington Conference, 1921-1922, and*

wisdom from the East could also offer hope for the war-weary West. Roerich published articles promoting his message of redemption through eclectic inspirational art that showed the oneness of world religious vision.

In February 1922, *Art and Archeology*, a monthly journal published by the Archeological Society of Washington, D.C., dedicated an entire issue to Russian culture. Grant and Roerich both contributed articles.⁹² Roerich warned *Art and Archeology* readers to “think now again of applying to real life the beneficent charms of beauty. Otherwise, materialism, in its last spasms, will threaten to choke the enthusiasm and spirituality that are now awakening.” Art, Roerich argued, was “a foundation stone of every genuine culture.” He was pleased that the world was “beginning to understand again” that art was not an “unnecessary luxury,” but rather “a vital factor of daily life.” Roerich declared that “all aspects of life are set in motion only by art, by achievement of perfection in its manifold facets.” His was a call to action and a proclamation of a brilliant future: “The world of Eternity illuminates our dusky existence by its breathings of beauty; we must walk the rising road of grandeur, enthusiasm and achievement with all the powers of our spirit. The new world is coming.”⁹³ Grant fully embraced this idea and felt that Roerich was a visionary leader whose teachings advanced world peace and harmony among the world’s cultures. Roerich admonished the public to “rejoice at the

"Uninvited Russia" (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004); Herbert P. LePore, *The Politics and Failure of Naval Disarmament, 1919-1939: The Phantom Peace* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2003).

⁹² See Frances R. Grant, “The Russian Ballet,” *Art and Archeology* 13/2 (February 1922): 69-77; Nicholas Roerich, “The Joy of Art in Russia I,” *Art and Archeology* 13/2 (February 1922): 51-68.

⁹³ Nicholas Roerich, “The Joy of Art in Russia II-The Stone Age,” *Art and Archeology* 13/3 (March 1922): 123-134.

fact that many women and many of our younger generation are holding the torch of art on high.” Without a doubt, Grant felt she was one such torchbearer.

The Theosophists were happy to have Roerich as an adherent. They applauded his work in their publications, to which he himself submitted writings. But Roerich wanted to be more than just another promoter of a movement whose leadership had already been established. In 1922, Roerich convinced his millionaire financial backer Horch to fund an expedition to Central Asia, where the “Masters” of Shambhala resided with messages for the world to be delivered through people like Blavatsky and Roerich. As Karl Meyer and Shareen Blair Brysac describe in *Tournament of Shadows: The Race for Empire in Central Asia and the Great Game*, Roerich had become “obsessed” with finding Shambhala, a mystical kingdom that Tibetan Buddhist tradition claimed lay hidden somewhere beyond the snowcapped Himalayas. Roerich equated the search for Shambhala with “the Second Coming of Christ” or the “Buddha to Come.”⁹⁴ Roerich also wanted to get to India to visit the Theosophical Society headquarters in Adyar, then being run by the Englishwoman Annie Besant.⁹⁵ In December 1923, the Roerichs arrived in India for the first time. Unbeknownst to his followers in the United States, Roerich would

⁹⁴Karl Meyer and Shareen Blair Brysac, *Tournament of Shadows: The Race for Empire in Central Asia and the Great Game* (Washington, DC: Counterpoint, 1999), 454.

⁹⁵ The information on Annie Besant is extensive. See Rosemary Dinnage, *Annie Besant* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986); Verinder Grover and Ranjana Arora, eds., *Great Women of Modern India*, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1993); Indra Gupta, *India's 50 Most Illustrious Women*, 2nd ed. (New Delhi: Icon Publications, 2003), 57-66; Anne Taylor, *Annie Besant: A Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Catherine Lowman Wessinger, *Annie Besant and Progressive Messianism, 1847-1933* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1988).

seek to help the Soviets create an alliance with the Indians and Tibetans to emancipate the subcontinent from British rule.⁹⁶

Horch promised to buy all the art that Roerich produced while in Asia, thereby providing Roerich with a steady income. The artwork was shipped to New York and hung in the Roerich Museum, which was officially opened to the public in March 1924.⁹⁷ In September 1925, the Roerichs began their Himalayan expedition, leaving Srinagar in the beautiful Kashmir Valley and heading into the mountains of northeast India. The expedition sent a number of “Tibetan treasures,” including one of the Dalai Lama’s tea tables, along with new paintings by Roerich of “countries never before painted by a Western artist,” to be displayed at the Roerich Museum.⁹⁸

In New York, Grant received Roerich’s art works at the newly created Roerich Museum in an apartment building owned by Horch at 310 Riverside Drive on Manhattan’s Upper West Side.⁹⁹ The Riverside Drive site provided a venue to display Roerich’s paintings and present exhibits, lectures, and concerts by distinguished artists, writers, and musicians. Grant also wrote an essay on paintings Roerich made during his Himalayan expedition, published alongside photos of the paintings and four other essays,

⁹⁶ See Williams, 124.

⁹⁷ See “Art Exhibitions of the Week,” 30 March 1924, *New York Times*, page X11.

⁹⁸ “To Display Tibetan Art,” *New York Times*, 17 February 1926, p. 5. The Dalai Lama, or “oceanic teacher,” is the title of the leader of Tibetan Buddhism, who is believed to be the incarnation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara.

⁹⁹ See “Art Exhibitions for the Week,” 2 December 1923, *New York Times*, p. X12.

including one by Roerich himself, in a book entitled *Himalaya: A Monograph* published by Brentano's.¹⁰⁰

Roerich's essay for the Brentano publication exposed his gradual leanings towards communism. In the essay, Roerich united Buddha and Christ, each of whom he labeled a "great communist." He starkly declared, "The empire and the wealthy capitalists killed the Great Communist who carried light to the working and poor ones." He also implicated Moses and Plato in the "communal idea."¹⁰¹ The majority of Russian émigré theosophists were anti-Soviet, and Roerich had come around to a pro-Soviet stance after having earlier decried revolutionaries as destroyers of art. During the mid-1920s, encouraged by the Soviet government, thousands of Russians dispersed abroad made the decision to return to Russia. Roerich, for his part, sought a spiritual "union between America and the future Russia."¹⁰² In June 1926, the Roerichs arrived in Moscow for the first time in almost eight years. Leading Russians hosted them, including Nadezhda Krupskaya, the widow of Russian revolutionary leader Vladimir Lenin who had established the Comintern, or Communist International, to advance world revolution

¹⁰⁰ See Nicholas Roerich, *Himalaya: A Monograph* (New York: Brentano's, 1926). The other essayists, in addition to Grant, were Georgii Grebenshchikov, Ivan Narodny, and Mary Siegrist. As for the publisher, Brentano's was begun in New York City by the Austrian-Jewish immigrant entrepreneur August Brentano, who first set up a newsstand in the hallway of the New York hotel. Brentano eventually moved to Union Square and created a thriving business. He died in 1886 with the company in the hands of his nephews. At the time of the publication of *Himalaya: A Monograph*, Brentano's Fifth Avenue headquarters was New York City's largest bookstore. For information on Brentano's, see "Brentano's: 'Booksellers to the World,'" in Tom Mahoney and Leonard Sloane, *The Great Merchants: America's Foremost Retail Institutions and the People Who Made Them Great*, new and enlarged edition (New York, Harper & Row, 1966), 133-148.

¹⁰¹ Nicholas Roerich, *Himalaya: A Monograph* (New York: Brentano's, 1926), quoted in Williams, 128.

¹⁰² Nicholas Roerich, "Watchtowers of America," *American Magazine of Art* 14/4 (April 1923): 197-200, quoted in Williams, 122.

under communist leadership.¹⁰³ Roerich tried to enlist Soviet political and cultural leaders in his plan of further liberation for Asia through uniting Lenin's ideology with Hindu and Buddhist philosophy. This visit "marked Roerich's shift from theosophy to his own cult of Eastern wisdom friendly to the Soviet Union," but Roerich's dream of the liberation of Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent with Soviet backing was "too vague and religious" to attract much attention from Soviet bureaucrats and political leaders.¹⁰⁴ He received "tacit blessings" to travel in Siberia, but there was worry in Moscow that Roerich had become a U.S. secret agent.¹⁰⁵

Roerich raised suspicions in the United States about his pro-communist stance. Author and critic Henry Irving Brock reviewed *Himalaya: A Monograph* in *The New York Times* with a byline that read "Crushing Adulation and Communist Propaganda Make a Medley of His Monograph."¹⁰⁶ The essays in *Himalaya: A Monograph*, wrote Brock, were composed at "a screaming pitch of admiration" for Roerich. Brock believed there was "a certain prophetic fire, a diving frenzy in his [Roerich's] concentration upon his quest and his perpetual returning to this idea of the oneness of religions and the Coming One who will make the whole world seem so." Yet there was another aspect of Roerich that "may reasonably excite suspicion among those who are always prone to see

¹⁰³ See Meyer and Brysac, 454.

¹⁰⁴ Williams, 126.

¹⁰⁵ Meyer and Brysac, 466, 473.

¹⁰⁶ H.I. Brock, "Roerich Seeks a Composite Messiah in Tibet," *New York Times*, 4 July 1926, p. BR4.

For information on Henry Irving Brock, see "H.I. Brock Dead; Wrote For Times," *New York Times*, 27 April 1961, p. 21.

civilization menaced by the subversive forces that radiate from Red Moscow.”¹⁰⁷ As Brock explained, Roerich was very worrisome to the British, for he and his party were in the heart of Asia where “the lion faces the bear.”¹⁰⁸ Indeed, the British government was highly suspicious of Roerich.¹⁰⁹ Brock concluded that *Himalaya: A Monograph* “should be regarded as a monument to the enthusiasm of overzealous disciples of a man who affects his followers with a sort of idolatry.” In 1926, as the United States celebrated its Independence Day, Brock used his book review as a forum to ask readers of *The New York Times*, “Is it not quite simple to regard this Russian who paints pictures and rhapsodizes about the religious unity of great communists as an agent of Moscow?”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ In his essay for *Himalaya: A Monograph*, Nicholas Roerich claimed the instructive words of Jesus Christ and Gautama Buddha were “leading all nations into one family” and that the texts of “the great lamas” stated government representatives rather than Jews had killed Christ. Nicholas Roerich, *Himalaya: A Monograph* (New York: Brentano's, 1926), quoted in Williams, 128.

¹⁰⁸ H.I. Brock, “Roerich Seeks a Composite Messiah in Tibet,” *New York Times*, 4 July 1926, p. BR4.

¹⁰⁹ Williams, 124-126.

¹¹⁰ H.I. Brock, “Roerich Seeks a Composite Messiah in Tibet,” *New York Times*, 4 July 1926, p. BR4. Six months prior to Brock’s review, in December 1925, the Fourteenth Party Congress of the All-Union Communist Party had convened in Moscow.¹¹⁰ At the congress, Josef Stalin, who had taken advantage of the death of Lenin in January 1924 to consolidate his control at the top of the party structure, urged the promotion of cultural exchanges as a way of propagandizing Soviet achievements and the Soviet system. The All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (Vsesoiuznoe Obshchestvo Kul'turnoi Sviazi s Zagranitse, or VOKS) was thereby formed to establish closer cultural relations between the Soviet Union and foreign countries. The society organized reciprocal cultural and educational exchanges of people, as well as arranging the exchange of information, reports, periodicals, and books issued by societies in the Soviet Union with similar publications in foreign countries. Affiliated cultural friendship societies abroad, like the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations With the Soviet Union, assisted in attempting to craft an image of the Soviet Union in U.S. public opinion based on positive perceptions of Soviet society’s social, political, and cultural achievements. The true nature of this organization that claimed to have been formed to promote international cultural relations was to create, foster, and manipulate relations with foreign artistic, social, and political elites. The VOKS was portrayed as an unofficial, voluntary organization free from governmental and party control. After it was dissolved in 1958, its activities were taken up by the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. For information on the VOKS, see Frederick Charles Barghoorn, *The Soviet Cultural Offensive: The Role of Cultural*

Evidently, it was not simple enough for Grant, who never wavered in her commitment to and admiration for Roerich.¹¹¹ Despite Brock's unfriendly review, Grant and her fellow Roerich admirers created a new organization called the Friends of the Roerich Museum, which produced the journal *Archer* for two years beginning in March 1927. Roerich's vision of the emancipation of Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent with Soviet support did not attract much attention from Soviet bureaucrats and political leaders, but U.S. citizens associated with the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and its U.S. affiliate, the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations With the Soviet Union, began contributing their names to Roerich activities. Among them were Philadelphia Orchestra conductor Leopold Stokowski, a twentieth-century musical maverick whom Grant would aid in presenting works by Latin American composers to U.S. audiences.¹¹² Not surprisingly, art critic Christian Brinton also became

Diplomacy in Soviet Foreign Relations (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1960); Martin Ebon, *The Soviet Propaganda Machine* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1987); Ruth Emily McMurry and Muna Lee, *The Cultural Approach: Another Way in International Relations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947); Ludmila Stern, "The All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and French Intellectuals, 1925-29," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 45/1 (March 1999): 99-109.

¹¹¹ Reflecting back on her life in 1985, Frances Grant wrote that her "professional work" and "completely volunteer activity in the struggle for democracy and freedom in Latin America," continued to "testify to the ideals of Roerich, in their goals of human understanding and the dignity of men." Frances R. Grant, "Miscellaneous Documents, 1985," p. 13. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 74.

¹¹² The London-born conductor Leopold Stokowski earned his bachelor's degree in music from Queens College, Oxford in 1903. He moved to the United States in 1905 after being offered a position as organist and choirmaster at St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church in New York City. But Stokowski longed to conduct. He spent three seasons with the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra before spending the 1912-1913 season conducting the Philadelphia Orchestra, with which he would be associated for the next quarter-century. In 1924, Stokowski assisted in the founding of the Curtis Institute of Music, one of the world's most prestigious conservatories. For information on Stokowski, see Abram Chasins, *Leopold Stokowski: A Profile* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1979); Oliver Daniel, *Stokowski: A Counterpoint of View* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1982); Preben Oppenby, *Leopold Stokowski* (New York: Hippocrene Books,

associated with both the Roerich Museum and the American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations With the Soviet Union. Roerich was one of several Russian artists whom Brinton introduced to the New York art market in the 1920s.¹¹³ An instrumental figure in acquainting the U.S. public with European artists, Brinton became a major promoter of Russian and Soviet art in the United States through his writings in articles, books, and catalogs. Brinton served as an honorary advisor to the Roerich Museum, which Williams argues was undoubtedly linked to the government in Moscow by 1927, albeit without the knowledge of Roerich's main sponsor, Louis Horch.¹¹⁴ While Horch bankrolled Roerich's enterprise in the United States, Grant worked to bring the Spanish and Portuguese speaking peoples of the Americas on board.

The following chapter details Grant's travels in Latin America and the Caribbean in 1929 and 1930 on behalf of the Roerich Museum, an extraordinary undertaking for a young Jewish woman who came of age in 1920s Manhattan. Although her globetrotting

1982); William Ander Smith, *The Mystery of Leopold Stokowski* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1990).

¹¹³ Christian Brinton served as an advisory editor to *Art in America* and was a great collector of art as well. The year before his death in 1942, he donated his complete collection of European art to the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Outstanding in this collection were objects from Russia, including several paintings by Roerich. For works by Christian Brinton, see his "Introduction" in Alexandre Benois and Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *The Russian School of Painting* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1916). Also, see his "Forward" in Osip Beskīn, *The Place of Art in the Soviet Union* (New York: The American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations With the Soviet Union, 1936). Other works by Brinton include Christian Brinton, *Exhibition of Russian Painting and Sculpture* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1923); Christian Brinton, *The Art of Soviet Russia* (Philadelphia: American Russian Institute, 1934), which is a catalogue for an exhibit at the Philadelphia Museum of Art; Christian Brinton, *The Face of Soviet Art: An Aesthetic Synthesis* (Philadelphia: American Russian Institute, 1934); Christian Brinton and Fiske Kimball, *The Brinton Collection* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1941); Christian Brinton, *Russian Culture in America, Pre-revolutionary--Emigré--Soviet: An Informal Study* (Philadelphia: American Russian Institute, 1940).

¹¹⁴ See Williams, 128.

may have distinguished her even from her fellow classmates at Barnard College, Grant was not completely atypical of her female peers. Urban and highly educated, Grant was a perfect representative of the “new woman” of the 1920s who entered growing professional fields like teaching, social work, and nursing, as well as positions, both paid and unpaid, in reform politics. Certainly, as other historians have argued, many U.S. higher educational institutions fostered a strong sense of independence and determination in Grant’s circle of elite young women.¹¹⁵ Historian Carroll Smith-Rosenberg explains that “the more adventurous and determined” of the nation’s college and university educated women “experimented with alternative life styles and institutions” and “lived permanently outside the bourgeois home ... rejecting the patriarchal family and their mother’s domestic lives.”¹¹⁶ Like many of her educated female colleagues, Grant neither married nor bore children.¹¹⁷

Grant also joined other women and men who sought unconventional religiosity as an avenue to pursue their belief that political change needed to be accompanied by moral and ethical transformation. In theosophy, female and male internationalists found confirmation of their belief that intercultural harmony and world peace could be achieved through a focus on art and spirituality. Historian Joy Dixon argues that women in particular considered theosophy as a feminine form of spirituality that opposed

¹¹⁵ See Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 342-343.

¹¹⁶ Carol Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 253, cited in Skocpol, 343.

¹¹⁷ According to Theda Skocpol, from 1879s through 1920s, between 40 and 60 percent of U.S. female college and university graduates did not marry, at a time when only 10 percent of all U.S. women did not. See Skocpol, 342.

distinctions between individual and community, secular and sacred, and public and private.¹¹⁸ Many of the elite women in Grant's expansive female network in Latin America and the Caribbean belonged to theosophy circles.

Based on theosophical ideas that emphasized women's contributions and the feminine, the Roerich's Master Institute of United Arts provided Grant with a place that welcomed her leadership role. Unlike many of her peers who founded and led single-sex organizations, Grant mixed with both powerful men and women. She also stood out in her internationalism. Through her travels in the Western Hemisphere and as an organizer of cultural and social events in New York, Grant honed her skills as a cultural envoy and inter-American intermediary. In the process, she became a key actor in inter-American affairs during the 1930s.

¹¹⁸ See Joy Dixon, *Divine Feminine: Theosophy and Feminism in England* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 12. Dixon's study describes the connection between theosophy and the early twentieth-century British women's movement. Other studies similarly conclude that theosophy was attractive to women because it offered a "feminine" form of spirituality and a celebration of the balance between male and female principles. See also Mary Farrell Bednarowski, "Women in Occult America," in Howard Kerr and Charles L. Crow, eds., *The Occult in America: New Historical Perspectives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 177-195; Diana Burfield, "Theosophy and Feminism: Some Explorations in Nineteenth-Century Biography," in Pat Holden, ed., *Women's Religious Experience: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), 27-56.

CHAPTER 2

SPREADING ROERICH'S CULT IN LATIN AMERICAN AND THE CARIBBEAN

At Nicholas Roerich's encouragement, Frances Grant traveled throughout the Western Hemisphere promoting the idea that art and spirituality could serve as a conduit for hemispheric unity. Grant and her Roerich Museum associates believed "that by a better mutual understanding of our individual spiritual and intellectual outlooks our connections may be more firmly cemented."¹¹⁹ As the United States played a greater international role after 1900, the nation's hemispheric consciousness was also being more firmly cemented. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the United States emerged as a major economic and military power, a position strengthened as result of the First World War and subsequent revolutionary upheavals that weakened Europe. The export of U.S. values accompanied the nation's economic ascendancy. Historian Emily S. Rosenberg uses the term *liberal developmentalism* to describe a prevailing ideology in the United States that embraced faith in private free enterprise and encouraged the free flow of goods, information, and culture in the belief that the U.S. model of development could be replicated elsewhere.¹²⁰ Grant's trips to Latin America and the Caribbean in 1929 and 1930 reflect this larger hemispheric consciousness.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ "To Follow Hoover Route With Art; Helping Pan-American Friendship," *New York Sun*, 21 March 1929, p, 25.

¹²⁰ See Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

¹²¹ Grant told the *New York Sun* that the Roerich Museum directors believed that her mission to establish closer relations with South Americans was "in line" with U.S. President Herbert Hoover's foreign policy. See "To Follow Hoover Route With Art; Helping Pan-American Friendship," *New York Sun*, 21 March 1929, p, 25.

While traveling as a representative of the Roerich Museum, Grant established an extensive network, particularly among elite Latin American and Caribbean women. Arrangements for Grant to meet the region's elites were made through her brother David, an international lawyer dedicated to inter-American issues who also participated in many Roerich activities. David, like his sister Frances, was born in Abiquiú, New Mexico and had a firm grasp of the Spanish language. A graduate of the City College of the City University of New York class of 1913, he served as secretary to the U.S. military attaché in Madrid, Spain from 1917 to 1919. After receiving a law degree from Columbia in 1920, he took work as assistant counsel to the General Sugar Company in Havana, Cuba. He started practicing in New York City in 1925 as a specialist in Latin American law, especially aviation cases. His biggest client at the time was Pan American Airways, a company for whom he would serve many years as foreign counsel in charge of Latin American affairs.¹²²

Pan American Airways was then emerging as a very influential actor in inter-American relations. The aviation company was created by Juan T. Trippe, a New Jersey-born child of privilege.¹²³ The transatlantic flight of Charles A. Lindbergh in May 1927, which provoked a rise in aviation investment on Wall Street, encouraged Trippe to obtain

¹²² For information on David Grant, see "David Grant, 75, Of Law Firm Here," *New York Times*, 12 June 1968, p. 47. Grant became a member of the Inter-American Commercial Arbitration Commission that was created by the American Arbitration Association at the request of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union to establish an Inter-American system of commercial arbitration under the terms of the resolution of the Seventh International Conference of American States held in Montevideo, Uruguay in December 1933. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 59.

¹²³ Juan T. Trippe's father, a member of the New York Stock Exchange, made his fortune as a railroad surveyor and banker. His mother was a real estate speculator. Trippe graduated from Yale in 1921 and went into the airline business two years later with the launching of a small New York City area commuter line named Long Island Airways. Trippe's friends in the renowned Rockefeller, Vanderbilt, and Whitney families provided financing for the project.

a U.S. postal contract to transport mail from Key West, Florida to Havana, Cuba.¹²⁴ He obtained landing rights from the Cuban leader Gerardo Machado and afterward won the postal contract.¹²⁵ The result of Trippe's effort was the establishment of Pan American Airways, the United States' first successful international airline.¹²⁶ Grant arrived in South America just as the U.S.-owned Pan American Airways became dominant in the Latin American international airline rivalry between the United States and Germany and France. Trippe's company worked to secure all U.S. contracts for airmail to Latin America, and most of the Latin American contracts for mail to the United States as well. Aviation historian Wesley Phillips Newton argues that Trippe's opportunism and persuasive skills caused a significant change in the U.S. government policy of neutrality toward U.S. businesses abroad. According to Phillips Newton, Pan American Airways' enormous success in Latin America resulted in great measure from considerable support

¹²⁴ For information on Charles Lindbergh (1902-1974), see A. Scott Berg, *Lindbergh* (New York: G.P. Putnam's, 1998); Von Hardesty, *Lindbergh: Flight's Enigmatic Hero* (New York: Harcourt, 2002); Walter L. Hixson, *Charles A. Lindbergh: Lone Eagle* (New York: Longman, 2002).

¹²⁵ Gerardo Machado, who was reelected to a second presidential term in Cuba in an uncontested 1928 election, assumed dictatorial powers to quell social unrest during the global depression of the early 1930s. In May 1933, the new Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration appointed Assistant Secretary of State Sumner Welles as U.S. ambassador to Cuba. Welles unsuccessfully tried to convince Machado to resign. Fear of a U.S. military intervention led the Cuban army to move against Machado, who fled the country in August 1933. For information on Machado, see Russel H. Fitzgibbon, *Cuba and the United States, 1900-1935* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964); José M. Hernández, *Cuba and the United States: Intervention and Militarism, 1868-1933* (Austin: University of Austin Press, 1993); Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba Under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986).

¹²⁶ For information on Juan T. Trippe and Pan American Airways, see Marylin Bender and Selig Altschul, *The Chosen Instrument: The Rise and Fall of an American Entrepreneur* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982); William E. Brown, Jr., "Pan Am: Miami's Wings to the World," *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 23 (1998): 144-161; Robert Daley, *An American Saga: Juan Trippe and his Pan Am Empire* (New York: Random House, 1980); Matthew Josephson, *Empire of the Air: Juan Trippe and the Struggle for World Airways* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944); P. St. John Turner, *Pictorial History of Pan American World Airways* (London: Allan, 1973).

from Washington, as Pan American Airways became the chosen instrument for stimulating U.S. commercial penetration of Latin America as well as facilitating the protection of the Panama Canal.¹²⁷

David's Pan American Airways connections opened many doors for his sister Frances in Latin America and the Caribbean. In April and May 1929, on the first of her many trips to South America, Grant visited the South American capital cities of Lima, Santiago, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Rio de Janeiro of Peru, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil respectively. Using her brother's social and business connections, Grant investigated the prospects for exchanges of exhibitions and students while visiting South America. While visiting museums, universities, and cultural institutions, she met not only artists, writers, and musicians, but also became acquainted with socialites, scholars, and business and political leaders. After meeting many creative and reform-minded South American elite females, Grant took special interest in the condition of women in the region.

Setting out on the Grace Line's *Santa Teresa*, Grant first visited Peru on her South American tour.¹²⁸ With help from the U.S. embassy, Grant set up a meeting with

¹²⁷ See Wesley Phillips Newton, *The Perilous Sky: U.S. Aviation Diplomacy and Latin America, 1919-1931* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1978).

¹²⁸ The Grace Line, operated by W. R. Grace & Company, was then a major force in shipping in the Americas. The Irish-immigrant William Russell Grace had founded W. R. Grace & Company in Peru in the mid-nineteenth century in order to engage in the guano trade. He prospered while exporting guano as fertilizer to North America and Europe. Following the U.S. Civil War, Grace moved his company's headquarters to New York City. By 1880, Grace had become a leading citizen and was twice elected Mayor of New York. What later became the Grace Line originated in 1882 as a line of vessels between Peru and New York. By the early twentieth century, W.R. Grace & Company was the major commercial actor between North America and South America. A year prior to Grant's trip, Grace and Pan American Airways had jointly formed Pan American-Grace Airways, or Panagra, establishing the first air link between the Americas. Panagra became the leading air carrier throughout the Western Hemisphere during the 1930s. In 1969, the highly diversified W.R. Grace & Company decided to go out of the shipping business and Grace Line

Peruvian President Augusto B. Leguía, whom she happily reported “was enthusiastic and promised me all support.” Writing from Lima to her Roerich Museum associates, she explained, “As this country is more or less a one-man country completely dominated by the figure of the President, any work must have his sympathies.”¹²⁹ The economic modernizer Leguía was on good terms with the U.S. government when Grant arrived in Peru. Educated in an English school in Chile, Leguía amassed a large personal fortune while general manager of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian Life Insurance Company. He had also been employed as Peru’s manager of the British Sugar Company Limited. After being president of the National Bank of Peru, Leguía served twice as Peru’s minister of finance, resigning to run for the presidency in 1908. The following year, revolutionary uprisings caused Leguía to flee to London, England, where he became president of the Latin American Chamber of Commerce. He returned to Peru in 1919 and was again elected president, but fear that his opponents would not permit him to take office led to his installation as president by way of a military coup d’état. Leguía assumed dictatorial powers and had been in office for a decade when he met Grant. His regime, backed by \$90 million U.S. dollars in loans from Wall Street, had increased the Peruvian national budget by almost three hundred percent, more than quadrupling Peru’s national debt. The Great Depression would soon cut off the flow of loans to the financially overextended

was sold. For information on W.R. Grace & Company, see Lawrence A. Clayton, *Grace: W.R. Grace & Co., The Formative Years, 1850-1930* (Ottawa, IL: Jameson Books, 1985); Marquis James, *Merchant Adventurer: The Story of W.R. Grace* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1993).

¹²⁹ Grant to Dearest Ones. 16 April 1929. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 59.

Leguía, ending his rule a year after he met with Grant.¹³⁰ The Peruvian dictator Leguía was the first of many Latin American and Caribbean heads of state who Grant would visit over the course of her lifetime. Yet Grant would eventually stop working to gain the sympathies of dictators and instead become one of the twentieth-century's leading North American voices against dictatorship in the Americas.

Mainly concerned with supporting Nicholas Roerich's cultural and artistic agenda, Grant praised Leguía as a patron of the arts. In an article for the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, Grant acclaimed Leguía as a leader whose "enlightened attitude toward things of culture was "stimulating artist life in his country."¹³¹ However, in a letter to her colleagues at the Roerich Museum, Grant wrote that the museums of Peru reminded her "of some scene from Don Quixote, unrealized possibilities going to seed. People are wealthy, but unused to spending their money in these directions." She concluded, "I hope we may be a force in their development."¹³² Clearly, Grant regarded art as an indicator of a nation's progress and considered the Roerich Museum an important venue to foster the appreciation for art necessary for cultural development.

¹³⁰ For information on Augusto B. Leguía (1863-1932), see Manuel A. Capuñay, *Leguía, vida y obra del constructor del gran Perú* (Lima, 1957); René Hooper López, *Leguía, ensayo biográfico* (Lima: Ediciones Peruanas, 1964); Alfonso W. Quiroz, *Domestic and Foreign Finance in Modern Peru, 1850-1950: Financing Visions of Development* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993); Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Leguía: El dictador* (Lima: Editorial Pachacútec, 1993).

¹³¹ Frances R. Grant, "Some Artistic Tendencies in South America," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 63/10 (October 1929): 975.

¹³² Grant to Dearest Ones. 16 April 1929. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 59.

Grant happily reported home that the Peruvians agreed to hold a future exposition of Roerich paintings.¹³³

Grant made contacts with various Peruvian elite women while visiting the Academy of Music, the Museum of Archeology, and the University of San Marcos, Peru's principle national institution of higher learning.¹³⁴ Even before she created the Pan American Women's Association, Grant demonstrated an interest in her South American counterparts, elite society women engaged in social service work. Her desire to meet with as many elite women's organizations she could during her first tour of South America points to their importance both at a local and international level. Grant lunched at Lima's country club and had tea with prominent women's groups. She lectured at the Women's Club of Lima and visited with officials at the League of Feminists. While Grant avoided discussion of her own status as a woman or her personal experiences with gender inequality, she believed in the power of social change through women at the elite level. Grant met with Mercedes Ayulo de Puente, who had done a good deal of what Grant called "women's welfare work" in Lima.¹³⁵ Puente was the wife of a distinguished lawyer, who represented U.S. interests in the central Peruvian Cerro de Pasco Mines, one of the greatest silver producers the world has ever known. When silver deposits declined late in the nineteenth century, the exploitation of other metals, chiefly copper, again made Cerro de Pasco Peru's leading mining center, producing also bismuth, zinc, lead, and

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ The University of San Marcos in Lima, the oldest university in South America, was established in 1551 by a decree of Emperor Charles V of Spain.

¹³⁵ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 67.

gold. At the time of Grant's visit, the Cerro de Pasco mines were the largest single United States interest in Peru.¹³⁶

U.S. interests throughout Latin America and the Caribbean grew significantly in the early twentieth century as the need for raw materials for U.S. industry multiplied. U.S. businesses saw the countries south of the border as a fertile area for exploitation, and began to compete with the British and other European interests that had long been present there. Grant found herself rubbing shoulders with many U.S. businessmen with commercial interests in the Americas. Minor C. Keith, whom Grant met on board a Grace Line ship bound for Santiago, was one such businessman. Keith's role in railroads, shipping, communications, and bananas had made him a powerful and influential actor in Latin America, especially Costa Rica, for the past five decades. The Brooklyn-born Keith was the son of Emily Meiggs, sister of Henry Meiggs, a railroad builder in Bolivia, Chile, and Peru. He began working in Costa Rica in 1871 after his uncle had acquired the Costa Rican railroad concession. In 1883, Keith married Cristina Castro, daughter of José María Castro, who served twice as Costa Rica's president. Keith was a chief player in the formation of the United Fruit Company, the first big international name in the banana export industry. Renowned for encouraging U.S. financial investment (and government intervention) in Latin America, Keith perhaps influenced Grant's thinking, as expressed in a letter she penned from onboard the ship to her Roerich colleagues in New York soon

¹³⁶ For information on Cerro de Pasco, see Josh DeWind, *Peasants Become Miners: The Evolution of Industrial Mining Systems in Peru, 1902-1974* (New York: Garland, 1987); Alberto Flores Galindo, *Los mineros de la Cerro de Pasco, 1900-1930: Un intento de caracterización social* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Departamento Académico de Ciencias Sociales, Area de Sociología, 1974); Dirk Kruijt and Menno Vellinga, *Labor Relations and Multinational Corporations: The Cerro de Pasco Corporation in Peru, 1902-1974* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1979); Thomas F. O'Brien, *The Revolutionary Mission: American Enterprise in Latin America, 1900-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 109-159.

after meeting him.¹³⁷ “This continent seems to be a veritable battle ground between European and American interests. Our little English cousins show their claws here very often, I am told,” wrote Grant. “One thing which is beyond my comprehension,” she noted, was that “the great American interests here, instead on having American managers here, engage English and Canadians.” Grant simply considered this “an unhealthy condition.”¹³⁸

For some time U.S. manufacturing firms with international ventures had been increasing their branch operations in the Americas and throughout the world. Upon meeting an employee of General Electric Company on board the Santiago-bound ship, Grant reported, “the Company seems to be losing no time in appropriating a very lucrative field.”¹³⁹ As Rosenberg explains, “General Electric’s policy during the 1920s was to buy into every important electrical company in the world in order to stabilize markets, diversify holdings to protect against occasional losses, and increase the export of

¹³⁷ In 1870, the merchant seamen Captain Lorenzo Dow Baker started importing bananas from Jamaica for sale in the United States. He gradually purchased more and larger schooners along with Jamaican banana plantations. In 1885, Baker and fellow Massachusetts entrepreneur Andrew W. Preston established the Boston Fruit Company. Four years later, the United Fruit Company was formed after Minor C. Keith merged his various holdings with the Boston Fruit Company. Keith remained first vice president of United Fruit until 1922. He died in June 1929, a month after meeting Frances Grant. For information on Keith and the United Fruit Company, see Paul J. Dosal, *Doing Business With the Dictators: A Political History of United Fruit in Guatemala, 1899-1944* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1993); Lester D. Langley and Thomas Schoonover, *The Banana Men: American Mercenaries and Entrepreneurs in Central America, 1880-1930* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1995); Thomas P. McCann, *An American Company: The Tragedy of United Fruit* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1976); Watt Stewart, *Keith and Costa Rica: A Biographical Study of Minor Cooper Keith* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1964).

¹³⁸ Grant to Dearest Ones. 1 May 1929. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 59.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

parts from United States plants.”¹⁴⁰ Grant correctly perceived this phenomenon. On board the ship to Santiago, Grant also met people from the Electric Bond and Share Company, who were, in Grant’s words “coming here to buy up electrical properties, by the millions.” She added, “Everyone here speaks of it as the great investment of the future; maybe its stocks would be of interest.” Indeed, the Electric Bond and Share Company was formed by the General Electric Company in 1905 under the guidance of Sidney Zollicoffer Mitchell precisely for the purpose of buying up electrical properties.¹⁴¹ By 1930, the year of Grant’s second trip to Latin America, Rosenberg explains that the behemoth General Electric cartel “controlled or influenced most of the major electrical manufactures in the world.”¹⁴² Grant ended her shipboard letter with her first impression of South America, stating “life here is not easy; so expensive as to be ghastly, and outside of the large cities completely undeveloped.”¹⁴³

In the Chilean capital of Santiago, Grant continued to meet with famous and influential women, as she had done Lima, Peru. She made contact with Inés Echeverría de Larraín, probably the best known woman writer in Chile. From one of Chile’s richest families, Echeverría was a founder of Santiago’s elite Club de Señoras in 1915, which was still active arranging classes, lectures, concerts, and receptions for literary and

¹⁴⁰ Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 124.

¹⁴¹ See Thomas P. Hughes, “The Electrification of America: The System Builder,” *Technology and Culture* 20/1 (January 1979): 124-161; Sidney Alexander Mitchell, *S.Z. Mitchell and the Electrical Industry* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1960), 62-66.

¹⁴² Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 125.

¹⁴³ Grant to Dearest Ones. 1 May 1929. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 59.

political figures.¹⁴⁴ According to women's historian Asunción Lavrin, the club assisted women of lesser means by providing technical instruction such as sewing and cooking lessons. The club also presented "an important message of self-esteem for educated middle-class women," as it "sought to demonstrate that Chilean women were intellectually ready for social and political roles outside the home."¹⁴⁵ Writing under the name Iris, Echeverría, a major voice in the Chilean women's suffrage movement, helped women win the right to vote in her country for the first time, albeit with restrictions, in 1931.¹⁴⁶ Grant also met Elena Oliveira de Castro, president of the National Council of Women of Chile, which sponsored public lectures, offered foreign language classes, ran a boarding house for female students, and provided child care services.¹⁴⁷ Oliveira's

¹⁴⁴ Inés Echeverría de Larraín was among the first women to join the *Círculo de Lectura*, whose founding by Amanda Labarca in 1915 marks the beginning of Chilean middle-class feminism. See Asunción Lavrin, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 286. For further information on Echeverría's role in the Chilean feminism, see Elsa M. Chaney, "Old and New Feminists in Latin America: The Case of Peru and Chile," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35/2 (May 1973): 331-343.

¹⁴⁵ Asunción Lavrin, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 287. See Inés Echeverría's article, "¿Cómo se formó el Club de Señoras?," which first appeared in *La Nación* in April 1917, in Inés E. de Larraín, *Alma femenina y mujer moderna: Antología/ Inés Echeverría (Iris)*, Bernardo Subercaseaux, ed. (Santiago: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2001), 165-174. For more information on the Club de Señoras and its sister organization the *Círculo de Lectura de Señoras*, see Ericka Kim Verba, "The *Círculo de Lectura de Señoras* [Ladies' Reading Circle] and the Club de Señoras [Ladies' Club] of Santiago, Chile: Middle- and Upper-class Feminist Conversations (1915-1920)," *Journal of Women's History* 7/3 (Fall 1995): 6-33.

¹⁴⁶ Chilean women began voting after General Carlos Ibáñez del Campo was forced out of the Chilean presidency in July 1931. Thereafter, Chile experienced several months of political instability and a brief experiment with a socialist republic. Frances Grant's longtime friend Carlos Dávila was one of the three men who led Chile's Socialist Republic for one hundred days in 1932 before being deposed by a military coup d'état and going into exile in the United States.

¹⁴⁷ The National Council of Women of Chile came about following the 1919 division of the *Círculo de Lectura* into two institutions, the council and the *Centro Feminino de Estudios*. The journalist Celinda Arregui de Rodicio founded the council for socially active women who wanted to connect with women's groups in other countries that also sought greater equality for women.

husband was the dean of physicians of Chile and rector of the University of Chile, where Grant was honored to give a lecture.¹⁴⁸ Echeverría and Oliveira, whose work on behalf of Chilean women Grant extolled in the pages of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, would become advocates of Roerich in Chile.¹⁴⁹ During trips to Latin America and the Caribbean, Grant managed to secure the support of elite and influential women. Grant's particular interest in creating a network of women demonstrates her belief in what historian Carol Smith-Rosenberg calls "the traditional world of female love or the concept of the female family."¹⁵⁰ For Grant, within this female circle, women's special attributes would help build peace and greater understanding between North and South.

From Santiago, Grant traveled to Buenos Aires and Montevideo, all the while being interviewed by the local press. Her interview in the Montevideo daily *El Imparcial* serves as a good example of the type of message Grant was relaying. After informing readers that she had come on a mission from the Roerich Museum, which was "founded with the proposition of unifying in one institution all the manifestations of art and culture of the countries of the three Americas," Grant declared that "en los Estados Unidos existe

The National Council of Women of Chile sent representatives to the first Pan American Conference of Women, which took place in Baltimore, Maryland in 1922 under the sponsorship of the U.S. National League of Women Voters and the Pan American International Women's Committee. See Asunción Lavrin, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 287-288; Megan Threlkeld, "The Pan American Conference of Women, 1922: Successful Suffragists Turn to International Relations," *Diplomatic History* 31/5 (November 2007): 801-828.

¹⁴⁸ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 67.

¹⁴⁹ Frances R. Grant, "Some Artistic Tendencies in South America," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 63/10 (October 1929): 977.

¹⁵⁰ Carol Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 253.

el mayor interes por todas las manifestaciones de la vida de estos pueblos, y principalmente por las manifestaciones de su arte y de su literatura, que son fuertemente originales.” Uruguayans were perhaps flattered to read that Grant had discovered from her travels throughout South America that Uruguay was much admired “por la liberalidad y lo adelantado de su democracia y de sus instituciones.”¹⁵¹

Compared with other South American nations, Uruguay was indeed unique in its freedoms and its democratic and institutional progress. The republic had begun a period of social reform in the early years of the twentieth century that made it Latin America’s first welfare state. The considerable political violence and instability present throughout much of Latin America during the nineteenth century was replaced in Uruguay by a representative system of government that gained notoriety as the most democratic in Latin America, with improvements such as pension funds and laws in defense of labor, the separation of church and state, liberal divorce legislation, and the abolition of the death penalty. In 1918, a new constitution had introduced a collegiate executive (*colegiado*), which shared power with the nation’s president. The leader credited as the principle architect of these reforms was the Uruguay’s great early-twentieth-century president, José Batlle y Ordóñez, who died a few months before Grant’s first visit to Uruguay.¹⁵² Batlle’s political machine helped turn Uruguay into the type of nation that liberal reformers in the rest of the Southern Hemisphere sought to model.

¹⁵¹ “Llegó esta mañana la señorita Frances R. Grant,” *El Imparcial*, 24 May 1929, p. 1.

¹⁵² The period from 1900 to 1930 is known in Uruguayan history as the age of José Batlle y Ordóñez, who held the presidency twice, from 1903 to 1907 and again from 1911 to 1915. The *colegiado* lasted until 1933 and was reintroduced in a modified form in 1952 for a period of fifteen years. See Milton I. Vanger, *The Model Country: José Batlle y Ordeñez of Uruguay, 1907-1915* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1980); Göran G. Lindahl,

South American liberal women and men particularly admired Uruguay's progressive attitudes towards women's equality. As historian Christine Ehrick notes, "Batlle and his followers saw an elevation in women's status (within certain circumscribed limits, to be sure) as requisite for national advancement, and the result was a political climate favorable to women's political mobilization in general and to liberal feminist campaigns in particular." Ehrick defines the "liberal feminism" advanced in Uruguay as "oriented toward the acquisition of equal political and civil rights for women within a generally capitalist and secular framework, including but not limited too demands for equal access for education and the professions, equal property and citizenship rights and, of course, the vote."¹⁵³ Grant certainly defined "lo adelantado" of any governmental system, including that of Uruguay, according to its progressive attitudes and legislation regarding women.

In Brazil, as she had done in Peru and Chile, Grant met with prominent female reformers and activists. She made the acquaintance Jeronyma Mesquita, a leading advocate for Brazilian women and founder of the Girl Scout movement in Brazil (*Federação de Bandeirantes do Brasil*), who, like many of the women Grant met, worked within the Brazilian Federation for Feminine Progress (*Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminino*), which in addition to working towards earning the

Uruguay's New Path: A Study in Politics During the First Colegiado, 1919-33, trans. Albert Read (Stockholm: Library and Institute of Ibero-American Studies, 1962).

¹⁵³ Christine Ehrick, "Madrinas and Missionaries: Uruguay and the Pan-American Women's Movement," in Mrinalini Sinha, Donna Guy and Angela Woollacott, eds., *Feminisms and Internationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 63. Ericka Kim Verba makes this similar argument in "The Círculo de Lectura de Señoras [Ladies' Reading Circle] and the Club de Señoras [Ladies' Club] of Santiago, Chile: Middle- and Upper-class Feminist Conversations" (1915-1920)," *Journal of Women's History* 7/3 (Fall 1995): 6-33.

franchise for Brazilian women, advocated for issues such as higher wages, maternity leave, and better educational opportunities for women. Grant also met Bertha Lutz, the leading figure of feminism in Brazil. Born in São Paulo in 1894, Lutz was educated in Europe. Her father was a well-known Swiss physician, epidemiologist, and protozoologist and her mother was an English nurse. After studying natural sciences, biology, and zoology at the Sorbonne in Paris, Lutz returned to Brazil in 1918 to organize a Brazilian feminist movement, which was heavily influenced by European and U.S. feminism. In 1919, Lutz took work as the first female secretary of the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, an astonishing achievement considering the limited access to public jobs for Brazilian women (mainly school teachers) at that time. In 1922, after attending the Pan American Conference of Women, Lutz drew up the constitution for the Brazilian Federation of Feminine Progress, which was largely responsible for Brazilian woman winning the right to vote in 1932.¹⁵⁴

Grant made many female and male Brazilian friends, who in turn aided her in expanding her contact base. For example, she met Presbyterian pastor Erasmo Braga, the

¹⁵⁴ For information on Bertha Lutz, see J.P. Kennedy, "Bertha Lutz, 1894-1976," *Copeia* 1977/1 (March 16, 1977): 208-209. For information on Lutz and the Pan American Conference of Women, see Brita L. Horner, "The Pan-American Conference of Women," *Hispania* 5/5 (November 1922): 286-290; Megan Threlkeld, "The Pan American Conference of Women, 1922: Successful Suffragists Turn to International Relations," *Diplomatic History* 31/5 (November 2007): 801-828. For information on Lutz and the female suffrage movement in Brazil, see Susan K. Besse, *Restructuring Patriarchy: The Modernization of Gender Inequality in Brazil, 1914-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); June E. Hahner, "Feminism, Women's Rights, and the Suffrage Movement in Brazil, 1850-1932," *Latin American Research Review* 15/1 (1980): 65-111. For information on Lutz's father Adolfo, see Nancy Stepan, "Initiation and Survival of Biomedical Research in a Developing Country: The Oswaldo Cruz Institute of Brazil, 1900-20," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 30/4 (October 1975): 303-325.

nation's leading Protestant minister.¹⁵⁵ Wealthy and well-traveled, Braga was the executive secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Brazil, which played a significant role in ecumenical Protestant missionary activities in Brazil. Others, like Gilbert Landsberg, editor of the *Brazilian-American*, a Rio-based English language newspaper founded in 1919, would become a help to Grant, notably by publishing articles about her activities in his paper.¹⁵⁶ But Grant's most important supporter in Brazil turned out to be U.S. Ambassador Edwin Morgan, whom Grant praised in the pages of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* as a great promoter of "cultural contact" between the United States and Brazil.¹⁵⁷

Upon returning to the United States, Grant became a lecturer on South American art and culture, promoting "the great possibilities of Pan American cultural and human intercourse."¹⁵⁸ In January 1930, Frank C. Munson, president of the Munson Steamship Company, accepted an offer by Grant to serve as chairman of an art exhibition jury at the Roerich Museum.¹⁵⁹ The Roerich Museum was "dedicated to the spreading of art

¹⁵⁵ For information on Erasmo Braga, see Júlio Andrade Ferreira, *O Profeta da unidade: Erasmo Braga, uma vida a descoberto* (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 1975); Erasmo Braga and Kenneth G. Grubb, *The Republic of Brazil: A Survey of the Religious Situation* (London: World Dominion Press, 1932); Erasmo Braga, "Following up the Jerusalem Meeting in Brazil," *International Review of Missions* 18/70 (April 1929): 261; Alderi S. Matos, *The Life and Thought of Erasmo Braga: A Brazilian Protestant Leader* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Boston University, 1996).

¹⁵⁶ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 67.

¹⁵⁷ Frances R. Grant, "Some Artistic Tendencies in South America," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 63/10 (October 1929): 982.

¹⁵⁸ Grant to W.W. Coyle. 25 January 1930. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 23.

¹⁵⁹ The Munson Line was begun by Frank C. Munson's father, Walter David Munson, who moved to Havana, Cuba in 1869 after fighting for the North in the U.S. Civil War. Munson began a regular freight service between Havana and New York in 1873. Three years later, his son Frank C. Munson was born in Havana. In 1882, Munson relocated his headquarters to Wall Street in Manhattan. His ships connected New York with ports in Cuba, the U.S. Gulf coast, and Mexico.

appreciation, and to the cementing of international relations through art,” Grant wrote to W.W. Coyle, the line’s assistant passenger traffic manager. She had made her successful 1929 preliminary trip “in pursuance of this aim, and with the hope of more closely knitting Pan American friendship.” Grant was now planning to return south to “crystallize” the Roerich associates’ plans to arrange for student exchanges and present Latin American and Caribbean converts with scholarships to study at the Master Institute. The museum also hoped to arrange exhibitions in order to give the U.S. public “an appreciation of the fruitful creative life of South America.”¹⁶⁰

Grant sought to convince Coyle that her work would “promote greater traveling between the two continents” in part to secure his financial backing through free transportation costs. The Roerich Museum, Grant wrote Coyle, was “impelled by a great disinterested aim to make the South American peoples better appreciated” in the United States, as well as to show the South Americans “the true spirit of the United States.” Since her efforts “could not fail to create new relations between the two continents,” Grant requested free passage from the Munson Steamship Company, “knowing that the Munson Line has been a force in creating such relations in the commercial fields, and that

He incorporated his private venture as the Munson Steamship Company in 1899. By the time of Walter D. Munson’s death in 1908, the Munson Steamship Company, in size and volume of trade, was the largest freighting business in the U.S. costal trade, as well as a powerful actor in Caribbean commerce. Frank C. Munson became president of the company in 1916. Although he expanded somewhat into the South American market and established pleasure cruises to the Bahamas and Bermuda, Munson’s main business was hauling Cuban sugar to the United States. Hit hard by the Great Depression, the company went into bankruptcy in 1934, two years before Munson’s death. The company had its vessels repossessed in 1938, and was dissolved by its shareholders in 1939. For information on Walter David Munson, see Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *The Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. XIII (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1934), 336-337.

¹⁶⁰ Grant to W.W. Coyle. 25 January 1930. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 23.

it is anxious to promote such human and cultural relationships.”¹⁶¹ She was happy to report to Coyle that the Grace Line had already offered free passage for her upcoming trip and hoped for the same response from the Munson Line. Coyle responded that Munson would be pleased to provide free transportation for Grant’s second trip to South America, “out of consideration for the character of the work you are doing which should encourage closer relations between North and South America and therefore eventually increase passenger travel.” Coyle trusted that Grant would “say a good word for the Munson Line passenger service” during her endeavors.¹⁶²

In 1930, Grant took her second trip south of the U.S. border, adding to her agenda the nations of Bolivia, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, and Mexico. She brought with her a traveling exhibition of thirty-nine of Roerich's paintings, as well as other Roerich works to loan to Latin American and Caribbean museums. She presented two prepared lectures for the trip entitled “Art and Philosophy of Nicholas Roerich” and “Artistic Tendencies in the United States” at universities, museums, women's groups, and philosophical societies.¹⁶³ Grant arranged scholarships for students to attend the Master Institute and met with numerous heads of state, including the presidents of Chile, Colombia, and, again, Peru. Her second trip was extensively covered in Latin American and Caribbean newspapers.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² W.W. Coyle to Grant. 3 March 1930. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 23.

¹⁶³ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 64.

¹⁶⁴ Coverage of Grant’s trip appeared in Argentina in *The Buenos Aires Herald*, *Caras y Caretas*, *La Critica*, *El Diario* (Buenos Aires), *Feminil*, *El Hogar*, *La Nación*, *El Nuevo Mundo*, *La Prensa*, and *La Razón*. Coverage in Bolivia appeared in La Paz’s *El Diario*. Coverage in Brazil appeared in Rio de Janeiro in *El Commercio*, *Correio de Manha*, *O Jornal*, *Jornal do Brazil*, and

Roerich paintings for exhibition in tow, Grant first stopped in Rio de Janeiro, where she reacquainted herself with U.S. Ambassador Edwin Morgan. A native of Aurora, New York, Morgan attended the elite Phillips Academy boarding school in Andover, Massachusetts, and then went on to study at Harvard. Remaining at Harvard to complete a master's degree in 1891, Morgan also spent a few years studying at the University of Berlin. After teaching history at Adelbert College, today Case Western Reserve University, in Cleveland, Ohio, Morgan began a career at the U.S. State Department in 1899 as U.S. secretary to the Samoan Commission, through which the United States, England, and Germany settled a civil war in Samoa and then divided the islands between themselves. Morgan was then assigned to various minor posts around the world. Following his first ministerial appointment in 1905, Morgan spent four years in Cuba. Short ministerial appointments thereafter were followed by Morgan's appointment in 1912 as ambassador to Brazil, a position he held until retiring in 1933, the year prior to his death in the Brazilian city of Petrópolis.¹⁶⁵

During his long ambassadorship, Morgan was especially interested in improving cultural ties between the United States and Brazil. In Rio de Janeiro, Morgan helped arrange venues for lectures by Grant that were attended by "art-loving Brazilians" and

in São Paulo in *A Capital*, *Diario da Noite*, *Diario de São Paulo*. Coverage in Colombia appeared in Bogotá in *Mundo al Dia*, *El Espectador*, and *El Tiempo*. Coverage in Cuba appeared in *El Diario de la Marina* and *The Havana Post*. Coverage in Peru appeared in Lima in *La Prensa*, *El Comercio*, *La Crónica*, *El Dia*, *Mundial*, and *Variadades*. See Frances R. Grant Papers. "Bibliography of South American Publicity: April 18th to October 12th, 1930." Box 14. Folder 66.

¹⁶⁵ For information on Edwin Morgan, see Joseph Smith, "Edwin Morgan (1865-1934)," in Cathal J. Nolan, ed., *Notable U.S. Ambassador's Since 1775* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 264-269; "Edwin V. Morgan is Dead in Brazil," *New York Times*, 17 April 1934, p. 21.

various international diplomatic corps envoys.¹⁶⁶ With the ambassador's backing, Grant visited representatives of U.S. Steel and the American Chamber of Commerce (Câmara de Comércio Americana) in order to interest them in expositions of Roerich's work. Morgan was highly pleased with the Brazilian response to Grant. The two became fast friends. Morgan took Grant to the city's famous nineteenth-century Theatro Lyrico to hear the pianist Alexander Brailowsky, a Ukrainian-born French naturalized citizen and foremost interpreter of Chopin's music who was very popular amongst South American audiences.¹⁶⁷ Morgan arranged for a letter from Roerich to Brazil's minister of foreign affairs to be transmitted through the U.S. embassy. He also invited Grant to present a lecture at the U.S. embassy amongst an exhibition of Roerich's paintings. The Women's Club of Rio and a crowd of international diplomats from countries such as China, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Japan attended the lecture, which was given in Spanish since Grant lacked Portuguese.¹⁶⁸

During her stay in Rio de Janeiro, Grant lectured to a wide variety of people. Groups requesting her lectures included the Educational Association of Brazil and the National School of Fine Arts (Escola Nacional de Belas Artes), where Grant made the

¹⁶⁶ Edwin V. Morgan in Embassy in Rio to Secretary of State in Washington; May 27, 1930; Record Group 59; Department of State; Dec. File, 1930-1939; 031.11 R62/69; National Archives at College Park, Maryland.

¹⁶⁷ Edwin Morgan to Grant. 2 June 1930. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 49. For information on Alexander Brailowsky, see "Chopin Marathon," *Time*, 48/24 (9 December 1946): 76-77; "Alexander Brailowsky Is Dead; Pianist Played All of Chopin," *New York Times*, 26 April 1976, p.30.

¹⁶⁸ Edwin V. Morgan in Embassy in Rio to Secretary of State in Washington; May 27, 1930; Record Group 59; Department of State; Dec. File, 1930-1939; 031.11 R62/69; National Archives at College Park, Maryland.

acquaintance of the painter Georgina de Albuquerque.¹⁶⁹ Grant lectured before various school and college groups, academies of fine arts, girl scouts, and even English language newspapermen in Brazil. She lunched at the Automobile Club of Brazil, visited the Geographical Society of Brazil, and met with Brazilian Rotarians. Grant mixed with society women during meals at the Rio de Janeiro country club and spoke to various women's groups, such as the Federação Brasileira pelo Progresso Feminina and the União Universitaria Feminina. Grant's Roerich paintings were exhibited in Rio de Janeiro in the art gallery of the National Academy of Fine Arts (Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes), thanks to a warm response to Roerich's work from the academy's recently appointed chair of urban planning, the Brazilian architect of Italian birth Attilio Corrêa Lima.¹⁷⁰

Before leaving Brazil, Grant helped to organize a Brazilian branch of the Society of Friends of the Roerich Museum. Ambassador Morgan was elected honorary president of the society, some of whose initial meetings were held at the U.S. embassy in Brazil.

¹⁶⁹ Georgina de Albuquerque studied painting at the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes. In 1906, she married the artist Lucílio de Albuquerque and received a scholarship to study at the Académie Julian in Paris, where the couple spent several years. Back in Brazil in 1939, Albuquerque became a professor at the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes. The Museu Histórico Nacional in Rio de Janeiro holds her 1922 painting "Sessão do Conselho de Ministros com a Princesa Leopoldina que decidiu a Independência do Brasil." For an examination of Albuquerque, and particularly this painting, see Ana Paula Cavalcanti Simioni, "Entre convenções e discretas ousadias: Georgina de Albuquerque e a pintura histórica feminina no Brasil," *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 17/50 (October 2002): 143-159.

¹⁷⁰ Attilio Corrêa Lima (1901-1943) graduated as an architect in 1925 from the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes and then studied urban planning at the University of Paris, from which he had recently returned to establish and hold the chair of urban planning at the Escola Nacional de Belas Artes. He then worked as an architect for the Instituto de Aposentadoria e Pensões dos Industriários (IAPI). Corrêa Lima also worked on landscaping projects and won international recognition for his 1938 seaplane station at Rio de Janeiro's Santos Dumont airport. For information on Corrêa Lima, see Yves Bruand, *Arquitetura contemporânea no Brasil* (São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva, 1981); Philip L. Goodwin and G.E. Kidder Smith, *Brazil Builds: Architecture New and Old, 1652-1942* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1943).

Many initial members of the society were theosophists who were likely attracted to Nicholas Roerich's philosophy, which had its roots in theosophy. Grant spoke at the Theosophical Society in Rio de Janeiro on two occasions in May 1930. She was subsequently befriended by Nada L. Glover, the National Secretary of the Ordem Internacional Theosophica do Serviço, Secção Brasileira. Some of the most influential women of Brazil, including well-known theosophists and feminists like Glover and Bertha Lutz, became the first members of the Society of Friends of the Roerich Museum.¹⁷¹ The celebrated modernist artist Tarsila do Amaral promised to organize the society's committee in São Paulo.¹⁷²

After Grant departed from Brazil, Morgan reported to the U.S. State Department that he was delighted that Grant "had stimulated an interest in North American art." The ambassador appreciated "the stimulus to Brazilian and North American cultural relations" that Grant's visit had accomplished.¹⁷³ Morgan then wrote to Grant informing her that through his efforts with Corrêa Lima, the National School of Fine Arts was going to keep

¹⁷¹ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folders 64 and 66.

¹⁷² Tarsila do Amaral (1886-1973) was a Paulista artist whose work helped instigate the Brazilian modernist movement, which was auspiciously inaugurated during the Week of Modern Art (*Semana de Arte Moderna*) in February 1922 at the Municipal Theater in São Paulo. Amaral grew up on the family fazenda in São Paulo before studying art in Paris in the early 1920s. She joined the famous Grupo de Cinco in 1922 and traveled with other avant-garde Brazilians between Brazil and Europe. In 1930, she briefly became diretora-conservadora of the State Painting Museum (Pinoteca do Estado) in São Paulo. For information on Amaral, see Nádia Battella Gotlib, *Tarsila do Amaral: A modernista* (São Paulo: Editora SENAC São Paulo, 1997); Mary Lombardi, *Women in the Modern Art Movement in Brazil: Salon Leaders, Artists, and Musicians, 1917-1930* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of California Los Angeles, 1977). See also "Tarsila do Amaral (1886-1973)," in Holliday T. Day and Hollister Sturges, *Art of the Fantastic: Latin America, 1920-1987* (Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1987), 66-75.

¹⁷³ Edwin V. Morgan in Embassy in Rio to Secretary of State in Washington; May 27, 1930; Record Group 59; Department of State; Dec. File, 1930-1939; 031.11 R62/69; National Archives at College Park, Maryland.

the six Roerich paintings Grant left there on display for an entire year. Morgan also encouraged Grant to follow through on her arrangements for the exhibition in Manhattan of Brazilian artworks.¹⁷⁴

Through her lectures and social engagements, Grant built a large network of supporters for Roerich's art and ideas on world unity. Her ability to gain access to and support from influential people, as well as her ability to serve as a cultural envoy to Latin America and the Caribbean with no official capacity or formal experience, reveals the informal and open nature of international relations of the time. In 1930, the U.S. government was just beginning to move from promoting and coordinating the activities of private citizens abroad to becoming more directly and openly involved in the diffusion of U.S. values throughout the world.¹⁷⁵

In early June 1930, Grant cabled *The New York Times* that she had arrived in Montevideo aboard the Munson Line steamship *American Legion* en route to Buenos Aires.¹⁷⁶ Moving on to Argentina, Grant encountered the Buenos Aires society crowd. Again, she met with prominent elite women such as Salvadora Medina Onrubia de Botana, an anarchist and theosophist whose husband Natalio Félix Botana Millares published the influential paper *La Crítica*.¹⁷⁷ Grant visited with various art collectors,

¹⁷⁴ Edwin Morgan to Grant. 2 June 1930. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 49. See also Box 14. Folder 64.

¹⁷⁵ See Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); Christy Jo Snider, "The Influence of Transnational Peace Groups on U.S. Foreign Policy Decision-Makers during the 1930s: Incorporating NGOs into the UN," *Diplomatic History* 27/3 (June 2003): 377-404.

¹⁷⁶ Frances R. Grant, "On Museum Mission to Argentina," *New York Times*, 3 June 1930, p.16

¹⁷⁷ The journalist Natalio Félix Botana Millares (1888-1941) was born in Montevideo, Uruguay and immigrated to Argentina in 1911. He was the founder and director of the newspaper *La Crítica* from 1913 until his death in 1941. Salvadora Medina Onrubia (1894-1972) married

including Elena Sansinena de Elizalde,¹⁷⁸ the founder of la Asociación Amigos del Arte and the owner of the avant-garde Amigos de Arte gallery, whose support for up-and-coming young artists Grant had applauded in the pages of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*.¹⁷⁹ Two of Grant's most valued contacts in Argentina became the distinguished jurist, humanitarian, and human rights lawyer Alfredo Colmo and the artist, writer, and medical doctor Cupertino del Campo, a longtime director of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes.¹⁸⁰ In an effort to promote English language instruction and student and teacher exchanges between Argentina and the United States, Colmo and del Campo had co-founded the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano in December 1927.¹⁸¹

Natalio Félix Botana Millares in 1915. For information on Salvadora Medina Onrubia de Botana, see Josefina Delgado, *Salvadora, la dueña del Diario Crítica* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 2005); Cristina Guzzo, "Luisa Capetillo y Salvadora Onrubia de Botana: Dos íconos anarquistas, una comparación," *Alpha 20* (December 2004): 165-180.

¹⁷⁸ Elena Sansinena de Elizalde founded the Asociación Amigos del Arte in 1924. She was a longtime friend of the Spanish essayist and philosopher José Ortega y Gasset. For information on Sansinena de Elizalde, see Elena Sansinena de Elizalde, "Mi amistad con Ortega," *Sur* 21 (July-August 1956): 187-191; Elena Sansinena de Elizalde, *C. E. Pellegrini: Su obra, su vida, su tiempo* (Buenos Aires: Amigos del Arte, 1946).

¹⁷⁹ Frances R. Grant, "Some Artistic Tendencies in South America," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 63/10 (October 1929): 978.

¹⁸⁰ Alfredo Colmo began studying law at the Colegio Nacional Central in Buenos Aires in 1895. After graduating, he practiced as a lawyer and taught Spanish and philosophy at the Colegio Nacional Sur. He was also a professor of education at the Escuela Normal de Profesores de Buenos Aires. After serving therein the Juzgado Civil and as a member of the Cámara Primera de Apelaciones in Buenos Aires, Colmo was sent abroad as a consul in Toulouse in 1911-1912 and Liverpool in 1913-1914. He served at first president of the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano until his death in July 1934. For information on Colmo, see Luis María Boffi Boggero, "La Personalidad del Doctor Alfredo Colmo," in Luis María Boffi Boggero, ed., *Homenaje a la memoria del profesor Alfredo Colmo* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Abeledo-Perrot, 1962), 11-30.

¹⁸¹ Cupertino del Campo (1873-1967) was director of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes from 1911 to 1931. Del Campo served for many years as president of the Rotary Club of Buenos Aires and president of the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano. After helping to establish the

While in Argentina, Grant also came into contact with the Peruvian author and translator Manuel Beltroy, who was employed at the Buenos Aires daily *La Nación* when the two first met. They became longtime friends. A year after receiving his doctorate in philosophy, history and letters from the University of San Marcos in Lima in 1925, Beltroy was invited by the Ateneo Estudiantil "Ariel" of Montevideo to give a series of lectures in Uruguay on Peruvian culture. He remained in Uruguay for the next four years, working as a professor at Instituto Técnico de Montevideo and at the Campamentos Estudiantiles del Balneario de Piriápolis. Beltroy had recently moved to Buenos Aires, where he and his family would remain until 1935.¹⁸²

Grant arranged for Beltroy to review the Spanish language edition of Roerich's book *Heart of Asia* in *La Prensa*, *La Nación*, and other Argentine publications. Beltroy in turn arranged for the formation of the Argentine branch of the Society of Friends of the Roerich Museum. He became the distributor of Roerich's writing in Argentina, and among his many translations were Roerich's books *Heart of Asia* (*El Corazón de Asia*) and *Shambhala*.¹⁸³ Beltroy eventually returned to Peru. In 1938, he became a founding member of the Asociación de Escritores, Artistas e Intelectuales del Perú, later called the

Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano, he traveled to Chicago to attend the Rotary International Assembly in 1928. The Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano was supported entirely by membership dues, tuition fees, and gifts. U.S. ambassadors, and local U.S. organizations and residents took a special interest in the institute, which was active in obtaining fellowships for Argentines to study in the United States. For several years, the Munson Steamship Line offered an annual free trip to the United States for three persons chosen by the institute. For information on Cupertino del Campo and the institute, see Elise Brown, "A Center of Argentine-American Friendship," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 73/1 (January 1939): 27-30; J. Warshaw, "The Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano," *Hispania* 21/4 (December 1938): 235-245.

¹⁸² Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 67.

¹⁸³ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 66.

Asociación Nacional de Escritores y Artistas, of which he served at various times as secretary and president. That same year, Beltroy also co-founded the Instituto Cultural Peruano-Norteamericano.¹⁸⁴

On late June 1930, Grant cabled *The New York Times* with news that she had spent a successful month in Argentine getting leading artists, writers, actors, and musicians interested in cementing cultural relations with the United States. She had been guest of honor of “a large group of Argentine society women, who presented a program of Argentine music, folklore, and poetry.” Playwrights and actors had given her a reception. Overall, her lectures “had been well attended.”¹⁸⁵ On the surface, these social events seem little more than elite gatherings. In fact, Grant used them to reinvigorate a large network of people in Latin America and the Caribbean with the Pan American ideal. U.S. ambassadors like Edwin Morgan and U.S. executives like Frank Munson welcomed inter-American initiatives by Grant, a private citizen with the will and resources to promote Pan Americanism.

¹⁸⁴ As a founding member of the Instituto Cultural Peruano Norteamericano in June 1938, Manuel Beltroy developed a series of cultural activities along the lines of the PAWA, including student exchanges between the United States and Peru. During the Second World War, Beltroy became a Peruvian civil servant and headed la Dirección de Educación Artística y Extensión Cultural del Ministerio de Educación Pública. In 1940, he traveled to the United States as a representative of the both the Peruvian government and the University of San Marcos. During the visit, he attended the Octavo Congreso Científico Panamericano in Washington, D.C., at which he presented his thoughts on the "Organización de la Extensión Cultural en el Perú y América." Beltroy cooperated in the organization of the Escuelas de Vacaciones, which facilitated North American student summer study in Peru and Peruvian student summer study in the United States. Later, in September 1944, Beltroy founded the Asociación de Amigos de la Cultura Soviética. He translated Karl Marx's economic doctrines into Spanish in 1947 and served as president of the Asociación Cultural Peruano-Soviética, which was founded in November 1959. Beltroy subsequently traveled to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China as part of a Peruvian cultural delegation from the University of San Marcos. Grant mentions Beltroy in an article she penned for *The New York Times* from Arequipa in 1941. See Frances R. Grant, “The Literary Scene in Peru,” *New York Times*, 10 August 1941, p. BR8.

¹⁸⁵ Frances R. Grant, “Aids Cultural Relations,” *New York Times*, 29 June 1930, p. 15.

In the Chilean capital of Santiago, Grant organized an exhibit at the Academia Nacional de Bellas Artes, which opened in mid-July 1930 with representatives of Chilean society and U.S. Ambassador William S. Culbertson present. Like his colleague Edwin Morgan in Brazil, Culbertson greatly assisted Grant in Chile. For example, Culbertson asked Grant to keep one painting on loan to the U.S. embassy after the exhibit, to which she obliged. Armed with a doctorate in economics from Yale, Culbertson had taken his first federal job in 1916, when he was appointed to the staff of the U.S. Federal Trade Commission to study trade conditions and tariffs in Latin America. A cofounder of the Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in 1919, he served for over a decade on the U.S. Tariff Commission and was chiefly responsible for the nation's embracing of the unconditional favored-nation principle in commercial treaties. Culbertson resigned from the commission in order to accept appointment as U.S. minister to Romania, where he spent three years before becoming U.S. ambassador to Chile in 1928.¹⁸⁶

Accompanied by Culbertson, Grant visited Chilean Minister of Education General Mariano Navarrete Ciris and Chilean President Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, to whom she tendered a letter from Roerich.¹⁸⁷ Ibáñez, a conservative career army officer, had been

¹⁸⁶ For information on William S. Culbertson (1884-1966), see J. Richard Snyder, *William S. Culbertson: In Search of a Rendezvous* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1980). Culbertson, United States ambassador to Chile from 1928 to 1933 and professor of economics in Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Washington, D.C. until 1956, authored many books, including *Reciprocity: A National Policy for Foreign Trade* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937), *International Economic Policies: A Survey of the Economics of Diplomacy* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1925), and *Raw Materials and Foodstuffs in the Commercial Policies of Nations* (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1924).

¹⁸⁷ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 62. For information on Mariano Navarrete Ciris, see Mariano Navarrete Ciris, *Los problemas educacionales: Mi paso por el Ministerio de educación* (Santiago: Ediciones Ercilla, 1934); Iván Núñez Prieto, "El ministerio de educación de Chile (1927-1997): Una mirada analítica," in Cristián Cox, et al., *160 años de educación pública: Historia del Ministerio de Educación* (Santiago: Ministerio de Educación, 1997), 58-100.

ruling Chile with a rubber stamp congress since 1927. Backed by the army, he had exiled or jailed opponents and imposed a rigid discipline on public servants and private labor. Ibáñez increased the pay of the military and provided new armaments and warships, thanks to some \$300 million in loans from New York banks.¹⁸⁸ Grant later complimented both these Chilean statesmen in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* for giving official encouragement to “Chile’s creative life.”¹⁸⁹

Grant also socialized with a host of Chilean artists and writers. She met the artist María Tupper, who studied painting in the Escuela de Bellas Artes of the University of Chile in 1911 and was associated with the Generation of 28.¹⁹⁰ Through Tupper, Grant arranged for the distribution of the Spanish edition of *Heart of Asia* in Chilean bookstores. Grant gave lectures on Roerich’s art at the University of Chile, the National Council of Women of Chile, and numerous colleges and high schools. Many of Grant’s contacts and new friends joined as leading members of the Chilean Friends of the Roerich Museum, which Grant organized before she left. Prominent Chileans became active supporters of the Roerich Museum. Ambassador Culbertson and General Navarrete were

¹⁸⁸ For information on Carlos Ibáñez del Campo (1877-1960), see Donald W. Bray, “Peronism in Chile,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47/1 (February 1967): 38-49; Francisco Domínguez, “Carlos Ibáñez del Campo: A Failed Dictator and Unwitting Architect of Political Democracy in Chile, 1927-31,” in Will Fowler, ed., *Authoritarianism in Latin America Since Independence* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 46-72; Jorge Rojas Flores, *La Dictadura de Ibáñez y los sindicatos* (Santiago: Dirección de Bibliotecas Archivos y Museos, 1993); Frederick M. Nunn, *Chilean Politics, 1920-1931: The Honorable Mission of the Armed Forces* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970).

¹⁸⁹ Frances R. Grant, “Some Artistic Tendencies in South America,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 63/10 (October 1929): 976.

¹⁹⁰ A self-portrait of María Tupper is held in the collection of the Museo de Arte Contemporáneo at the Facultad de Artes at the Universidad de Chile in Santiago. For information on Tupper, see Carlos Bacaflor, *Retratos en la pintura chilena* (Santiago: Instituto Cultural, 1995); Luis Oyarzún and Antonio R. Romera, *Las flores y las frutas en la pintura chilena* (Santiago: Instituto Cultural de Las Condes, 1972).

made honorary presidents of the society. Inés Echeverría de Larraín served as the organization's first president, while María Tupper and Elena Oliveira de Castro served as the first vice presidents. Other members included leading social figures such as Oliveira de Castro's husband, who was the dean of physicians of Chile and rector of the University of Chile, which honored Grant with a request for a lecture. Pablo Vidor, the director of Chile's National Museum, was also a member.¹⁹¹ Vidor, a native of Hungary, began studying painting at the Academy of Fine Arts in Budapest before taking up arms in the First World War. The chaos of the war's aftermath convinced Vidor in 1924 to immigrate to Chile. In 1928, he was employed as a professor at the Escuela de Bellas Artes in Santiago. Two years later he was made director of the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, a position he held until 1933.¹⁹²

Leaving Chile, Grant arrived in Bolivia during a chaotic time in that nation's history. President Hernando Siles Reyes, whose regime had become unpopular due to the economic depression that caused a fall in the price of tin, the closing of mines, and subsequent labor unrest, had been overthrown in late May 1930 in a coup d'état and replaced by a military junta under General Carlos Blanco Galindo.¹⁹³ In Bolivia, Grant

¹⁹¹ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 66.

¹⁹² For information on Pablo Vidor, see Pablo Vidor, *Exposición de pinturas: Pablo Vidor o una vida excepcional* (Santiago: Fundación Nacional de la Cultura, 1987); Pablo Vidor and Ricardo Bindis, *Pablo Vidor* (Santiago: Imprenta Barcelona, 1982); Pablo Vidor, *50 años de pintor (1921-1971): Exposición de pinturas de Pablo Vidor del 4 al 19 de marzo de 1971* (Santiago: Imprenta Departamento de Cultura y Pública del Ministerio de Educación, 1971); Tomás Lago and Pablo Vidor, *El Museo de Bellas Artes, 1880-1930* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, Departamento de Extensión Cultural y Artística, 1930).

¹⁹³ Daniel Salamanca Urey was elected president of Bolivia after the revolt of 1930. He signed a non-aggression pact with Paraguay after he took office in March 1931, but nevertheless led his nation into war. He was overthrown in a *coup d'etat* in November 1934 during the country's disastrous Chaco War (1932-1935) with Paraguay. See Manuel E. Contreras, "Debt, Taxes, and

lectured at the University of Bolivia in La Paz and arranged for Bolivian distribution of *Heart of Asia*. She left La Paz and crossed Lake Titicaca for Arequipa, from where she flew to Lima.¹⁹⁴

Arriving in Peru, Grant arranged for an exhibit of Roerich's paintings under the auspices of the Peruvian Ministry of Education at the centrally located Nation Academy of Music. Grant received permission for the exhibit after visiting with Peruvian Minister of Education Pedro M. Olivera accompanied by U.S. Chargé d'affaires Ferdinand L. Mayer. The exhibition opened in mid-August 1930 and was attended by President Leguía, U.S. Chargé d'affaires Mayer, Rector Oliveira, and numerous foreign diplomats. Grant lectured at the National Academy of Music and the School of Fine Arts, among other locations. Again, *Heart of Asia* distribution was arranged. On August 22, 1930, the day of her departure from Peru, Grant learned that Lieutenant Colonel Luís M. Sánchez Cerro had led a military putsch that ousted Leguía.¹⁹⁵

In 1930, Grant also visited Colombia, Cuba, and Mexico. In Colombia, Gustavo Santos, the brother of Liberal Party leader Eduardo Santos, agreed to be the Roerich Museum's Colombian representative. Gustavo's brother Eduardo, a European-educated lawyer who spoke French like a Parisian, was one of Latin America's most pro-U.S. political figures. He was Columbia's minister of foreign relations before serving as

War: The Political Economy of Bolivia, c. 1920-1935," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 22/2 (May 1990): 265-287.

¹⁹⁴ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 66.

¹⁹⁵ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 66. Augusto B. Leguía was arrested and charged with misappropriating government funds. He died in custody in February 1932. Luís M. Sánchez Cerro ruled Peru until his assassination in 1933 by a member of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre's suppressed Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA).

president of Colombia from 1938 to 1942. The Santos brothers operated the prominent Bogotá newspaper *El Tiempo*, one of South America's most important papers.¹⁹⁶ During Colombia's military regime of the mid-1950s, Grant would become a major figure in the effort to attract world attention to Eduardo's battles to continue publishing *El Tiempo*.

Colombia was one of few countries in the Western Hemisphere that did not undergo a chaotic change in government during the Great Depression. Rather, the Conservative government then in power was defeated in a free election and peacefully handed over power to the new Liberal President Enrique Olaya Herrera, who held the office from 1930 to 1934.¹⁹⁷ The Conservatives had split their votes between two different candidates, causing Olaya, a decidedly moderate pro-U.S. Liberal who had recently been serving a Conservative government as Colombian minister to Washington, to be victorious. Thus, the Liberals in Colombia had returned to power after almost a half a century in the opposition.¹⁹⁸

While Grant was visiting with the Santos brothers in Bogotá, the Roerich Museum was cultivating Colombian connections in New York City. Immediately following his electoral victory, Olaya visited to the United States, where he was feted at

¹⁹⁶ See Antonio Cacia Prada, *Historia del periodismo colombiano* (Fondo Rotatorio Policia Nacional: Bogotá, 1968), 309-319; Eduardo Santos, Enrique Santos, and Gustavo Santos, *Periodismo* (Bogotá: Editorial Minerva, 1936).

¹⁹⁷ According to historian David Bushnell, Enrique Olaya Herrera's presidency from 1930 to 1934 produced the closest political relationship that had ever existed between Colombia and the United States. Olaya, who personally liked the United States, took office as the global economic depression was deepening. He was thoroughly convinced that a policy of conscientiously respecting U.S. interests would assure him desired aid from the United States during the economic crisis. See David Bushnell, *Eduardo Santos and the Good Neighbor, 1938-1942* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1967), 3.

¹⁹⁸ See David Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia: A Nation in Spite of Itself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 181.

the museum.¹⁹⁹ On the final day of May 1930, President-elect Olaya spent the afternoon at the Roerich Museum with Colombian residents in New York before retiring to the luxurious Biltmore Hotel to dine with them as their guest of honor. Presiding at the event was General Alfredo J. de León, president of the Colombian Roerich Association.²⁰⁰ As *The New York Times* reported, Olaya received a medal from the museum in acknowledgment of his “promotion of art in his native country and of his work in promoting cordial relations between Colombia and the United States.” Museum President Louis Horch, who delivered the only speech in English during the event, pronounced Olaya a representative of “the forward-looking movement in Colombia.” Grant’s brother David also spoke in praise of Olaya. The paper reported Olaya’s response that “Colombia took pride in following the same ideals as the United States.” Olaya declared Colombia would aspire “to foster a mutual increase in knowledge, good feeling and cultural communion between the two nations.”²⁰¹ Olaya’s reception at the Roerich Museum is but one illustration of how the museum served as an important political as well as cultural space in New York City for pro-U.S. statesmen from throughout Latin America and Caribbean.

¹⁹⁹ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 53.

²⁰⁰ General Alfredo J. de León, who went on to become Colombian consul general in San Francisco, California, was a strong supporter of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese. See his article, “Discurso,” *Hispania* 23/2 (May 1940): 185-187. Also, see his remembrance of Alfred Coester, the editor of the association’s publication *Hispania* from 1927 to 1941, “Recuerdos de un Amigo y un Centenario,” *Hispania* 25/3 (October 1942): 259-260. For information on the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, see Sturgis E. Leavitt, “The American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese: A History,” *Hispania* 50/4 - Fiftieth Anniversary Number (December 1967): 806-822.

²⁰¹ “Colombians Here Honor Dr. Olaya,” *New York Times*, 1 June 1930, p. 15.

In Mexico and Cuba, Grant made similar connections as she had in Colombia with diplomats, bureaucrats, politicians, writers, and artists. In Mexico, Grant met with Arthur Bliss Lane, consul of the U.S. embassy in Mexico City,²⁰² and with Carlos Trejo y Lerdo de Tejada, Mexico's subsecretary of public education.²⁰³ Most likely, the highlight of Grant's visit to Mexico was meeting the famed Mexican painter Dr. Atl (Gerardo Murillo),²⁰⁴ and the artist and educator Adolfo Best Maugard.²⁰⁵ In Cuba, Grant met the celebrated Cuban artist Antonio Rodríguez Morey, who since 1918 had been the director

²⁰² After leaving Mexico, the career diplomat Arthur Bliss Lane served as U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua from 1933 to 1936. He left Nicaragua a few months before Anastasio Somoza García, with Washington's acquiescence, seized power, thus beginning the long Somoza-family dictatorship that Frances Grant would spend decades opposing. For information on Arthur Bliss Lane (1894-1956), see William Kamman, "Lane, Arthur Bliss," in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography*, vol. 13 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 116-118; Arthur Bliss Lane, *I Saw Poland Betrayed: An American Ambassador Reports to the American People* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1948); Vladimir Petrov, *A Study in Diplomacy: The Story of Arthur Bliss Lane* (Chicago: H. Regnery Company, 1971).

²⁰³ A lawyer by training, Carlos Trejo y Lerdo de Tejada served as Mexico's ambassador to Chile (1922-1924), Argentina (1924-1927), and Cuba (1927-1929) before becoming subsecretary of public education. He then served as governor of Baja California from 1930-1931. For information on Trejo y Lerdo de Tejada, see Roderic A. Camp, *Mexican Political Biographies, 1884-1935* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 214.

²⁰⁴ For information on Dr. Atl (1875-1964), see Charles E. Cumberland, "'Dr. Atl' and Venustiano Carranza," *The Americas* 13/3 (January 1957): 287-296; Jaime Erasto Cortés, ed., *Cuentos bárbaros y de todos colores / Dr. Atl* (México, DF: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1990); Beatriz Espejo, *Dr. Atl: El paisaje como pasión* (México, DF: Fondo Editorial de la Plástica Mexicana, 1994). Robert H. Patterson, "An Art in Revolution: Antecedents of Mexican Mural Painting, 1900-1920," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 6/ 3 (July 1964): 377-387.

²⁰⁵ After José Vasconcelos became Mexico's secretary of public education, he appointed Adolfo Best Maugard director of the Drawing and Handicraft Department. In 1922, the "Best System" was adopted by the state schools of the Federal District. When Best Maugard's book, *Manuales y Tratados: Metodo de dibujo: tradicion, resurgimiento y evolucion del arte mexicano* (Manual of Drawing: Tradition, Renaissance and Evolution of Mexican Art) was published in 1923, two hundred thousand children were given a copy free of charge to be used as a textbook. For information on Best Maugard, see Luis-Martin Lozano, "A New Spirit in Post-revolutionary Art: The Open-air Painting Schools and the Best Maugard Drawing Method, 1920-1930," in Luis-Martin Lozano and Mayo Graham, eds., *Mexican Modern Art, 1900-1950* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1999).

of Cuba's National Museum of Fine Arts.²⁰⁶ She also met the second Conde de Rivero, José I. Rivero y Alonso, publisher of the newspaper *El Diario de la Marina* and honorary advisor to the museum, whose family was part of the old upper-class establishment of Cuba.²⁰⁷ Most importantly, Grant cultivated a friendship with Armando Maribona, who had studied painting for years in Paris and at the Cooper Union in Manhattan. Maribona, a professor at the Centenary Art School in Havana, became Grant's main connection in Cuba during the 1930s. He promoted Nicholas Roerich and the Roerich institutions in New York through various articles he wrote for Cuban publications such as *Perfiles* and *Arte y Decoración*.²⁰⁸ Grant returned to the United States from Cuba inspired to continue her work in Latin America and Caribbean on cultural and artistic planes with a host of connections made amongst the Western Hemisphere's elites.

Grant's two initial trips to Latin America and the Caribbean occurred during a critical shift in U.S. relations with its hemispheric neighbors. President Hoover's ten-week trip to Latin America signaled a change in U.S. foreign policy that now promoted the United States as respectful neighbor in the Americas. The shift had much to do with Hoover's genuine desire to counter anti-U.S. feeling in Latin American and the Caribbean, areas of the world Hoover regarded as valuable sources of raw materials and receptive markets for U.S. investment capital that felt affronted by decades of costly U.S.

²⁰⁶ For information on Antonio Rodríguez Morey, see Oscar Cabrera Ferrer, *Antonio Rodríguez Morey (1872-1967): Momentos de un pintor* (La Habana: Museo Nacional de Cuba, Palacio de Bellas Artes, Ministerio de Cultura, 1987).

²⁰⁷ For information on the Rivero family, see José I. Rivero y Alonso's biography of his father, *Nicolás Rivero: Con la espada y con la pluma* (La Habana: Cultural, 1931).

²⁰⁸ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 67; Armando Maribona to Grant. 11 December 1931. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 55.

military intervention, especially in the Central American-Caribbean region.²⁰⁹ Although interested in art and cultural relations, Grant's respectful dealings with the foremost social, political, and economic leaders of Latin America and the Caribbean helped serve U.S. political and economic interests. At a time when many in the Western Hemisphere viewed the United States as an arrogant, aggressive, and overbearing power, Grant presented her hemispheric neighbors with a different type of American, a Pan American internationalist who valued the cultural traditions of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Grant was what John P. Rousmaniere calls a "cultural hybrid," a woman who retained a Victorian sense of female uniqueness and special moral mission while encouraging mutual commitment among women.²¹⁰ Grant tapped into an elite female culture to create an international network of leading social and political figures of Latin America and the Caribbean. In lectures before numerous organizations for middle- and upper-class female reformers throughout the Western Hemisphere, Grant stressed women's social and political importance at a time when most women in Latin America and the Caribbean could not vote in national elections. Grant also stressed her confidence

²⁰⁹ U.S. President Herbert Hoover's approval of the sentiment presented in the Clark Memorandum exemplified the Hoover administration's new approach to Latin America and the Caribbean. The memorandum was a statement of foreign policy prepared in the U.S. State Department. The Calvin Coolidge administration (1923-1929) authorized Undersecretary of State J. Reuben Clark to prepare the memorandum on the history of U.S. military intervention in the Western Hemisphere. Published in 1930, Clark's *Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine* deemed that a military interventionist policy had been counterproductive to U.S. national interests and had damaged the nation's international image. Hoover implemented the ideas of the memorandum by announcing a phased withdrawal of U.S. marines then stationed in Nicaragua and Haiti. In effect, this marked the beginning of the Good Neighbor Policy announced by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933. For information on the Clark Memorandum, see Gene A. Sessions, "The Clark Memorandum Myth," *The Americas* 34/1 (July 1977): 40-58; Frank W. Fox, *J. Reuben Clark: The Public Years* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), 514-521.

²¹⁰ John P. Rousmaniere, "Cultural Hybrid in the Slums: The College Woman and the Settlement House, 1889-1894," *American Quarterly* 22/1 (Spring 1970): 45-66.

in the special abilities of women to promote intercultural understanding. Latin American and Caribbean female socialites became key supporters of Grant, who in turn wrote articles and produced shortwave radio programs that publicized their social reform efforts and artistic achievements to a largely ignorant U.S. public. Together, they stimulated educational and artistic programs that hoped to bring about greater intercultural respect and understanding in the Americas.

Grant and the work she accomplished, largely carried out through the Roerich Museum, demonstrate the important roles played by private individuals and nongovernmental organizations in the maintenance of inter-American relations during the inter-war period. Historian Frank A. Ninkovich makes clear that U.S. efforts to promote intercultural knowledge and understanding after 1900 were institutionalized with the establishment of privately funded organizations, such as the Carnegie Corporation and the Institute of International Education.²¹¹ Alongside these well-known and frequently studied institutions existed equally important less-familiar private organizations like the Roerich Museum. Nongovernmental organizations, directed by individuals like Grant, were the initiators of the cultural diplomacy later valued by the U.S. government in its attempt to foster inter-American solidarity during the Second World War.

²¹¹ See Frank A. Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 8-23.

CHAPTER 3

BUILDING PAN AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP AT THE ROERICH MUSEUM

Frances Grant returned home from her first journey to South America in 1929 and immediately went on the lecture circuit. At various museums, schools, social clubs, and women's clubs, she delivered numerous lectures on art, Latin America, and Nicholas Roerich to promote inter-American exchange and understanding and to inform what she considered a largely ignorant U.S. public about the United States' hemispheric neighbors.²¹² At the Roerich Museum, Grant organized social events through the Master

²¹² As a lecturer, Frances Grant was represented by the agency of W. Colston Leigh, son of the West Virginia-born artist and writer William Robinson Leigh. In 1906, William Robinson Leigh, then one of the nation's most successful illustrators, had made his first trip to Grant's home state of New Mexico. For the rest of his life, the region of the Southwest and the Native Americans who lived there would inspire his artistic creations. In 1921, Robinson Leigh married the New York fashion designer Ethel Traphagen, whom he helped establish the Traphagen School of Fashion. One of Robinson Leigh's studio models was 'Princess Chinquilla,' a New York woman who claimed to have been separated from her Cheyenne parents at birth. For years, Princess Chinquilla taught "the great out-of-doors" in New York area schools and museums before becoming a co-founder of the city's American Indian Association in 1927. Princess Chinquilla was also a popular lecturer who capitalized on the nation's fascination with Native Americans and other peoples who personified an appealing alternative to the rampant industrialization of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century. Princess Chinquilla suggested that Robinson Leigh's son Colston work for her lecture bureau in Manhattan. Soon, Colston ventured out on his own. In 1929, he founded Leigh's Lecture Bureau, which opened branches in several cities and became the nation's largest lecture bureau. Grant was thus one of the bureau's first clients. For information on William Robinson Leigh (1866-1955), see D. Duane Cummins, *William Robinson Leigh, Western Artist* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980); June DuBois, *W.R. Leigh: The Definitive Illustrated Biography* (Kansas City, MO: Lowell Press, 1977); David C. Hunt, *W.R. Leigh: Portfolio of an American Artist* (Tulsa, OK: Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, 1966). Robinson Leigh's wife Ethel Traphagen (1882-1963), the daughter of a New York State senator, taught fashion design at Cooper Union from 1912 to 1932 and is credited with introducing shorts and slacks into American women's fashion. In 1941, she organized the first Pan-American Fashion Show at the Hotel Astor in New York City. The Traphagen School of Fashion closed its doors in the early 1990s. For information on Traphagen, see "Ethel Traphagen Leigh Is Dead; Founded Fashion School in '23," *New York Times*, 30 April 1963, p. 34; "Died," *Newsweek* 61/19 (May 13, 1963): 70; "Traphagen, Ethel," in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 54 (New York: James T. White & Company, 1973), 131-132. For a discussion of the life of Princess Chinquilla, see Cari Carpenter, "Detecting Indianness: Gertrude Bonnin's Investigation of Native American Identity," *Wicazo Sa Review*

Institute, creating both an important place for dialogue and debate among politicians and intellectuals and an artistic forum for some of the Western Hemisphere's most-acclaimed artists. While turning the institute into an effective resource for New Yorkers wanting to learn about cultures south of the border, Grant also organized Spanish language classes for U.S. students. Convinced of the importance of women's roles in inter-hemispheric affairs, Grant gave an organizational structure to the network of elite women she had assembled through the creation of the Pan American Women's Association (PAWA), which was supported by some of the hemisphere's most distinguished women and men. Through these various efforts, Grant became a key promoter of a cultural movement that looked to the supposedly deeper appreciation of national art, indigenous culture, racial diversity, and spirituality in Latin America and the Caribbean as positive attributes for the United States to emulate.

By 1929, the growing number of organizations and activities associated with the Roerich Museum and the Master Institute needed a larger space. In March, on the fifth anniversary of the museum's founding, a cornerstone laying ceremony opened the Master Building, soon to be billed as the world's first skyscraper museum. The foreign exchange broker and Roerich enthusiast Louis Horch funded the construction of the building. According to *The New York Times*, about five hundred people attended the ceremony held on site in the future Hall of All Nations, which was decorated with flags of all the countries of the world.²¹³ Besides Grant, speakers at the ceremony included James

20/1 (Spring 2005): 139-159; "New York Indian Colony Now Has Its Own Club," *New York Times*, 6 February 1927, p. X15. For information on Grant's agent, W. Colston Leigh, see Bruce Lambert, "W. Colston Leigh, 90, Organizer of Biggest Lecture Agency in U.S.," *New York Times*, 20 July 1992, p. D8.

²¹³ "Roerich Museum Lays Cornerstone," *New York Times*, 25 March 1929, p. 31.

Sullivan, New York State's assistant commissioner for higher education, who combined his rousing condemnation of U.S. arrogance with a wholehearted praise for Roerich's message of international respect and consideration. "We apotheosize our own moral code and are blissfully ignorant of the fact that other peoples are just as proud of theirs. We condemn Buddha and Confucius without knowing who they were or what they thought," complained Sullivan about his fellow U.S. citizens. He then chastised those whose exported the West while holding the rest at bay, saying "We set up our missionary houses in other lands to entice little children under the guise of athletics and boy scout movements so we may pour our particular brand of culture into them, and we run out of town those of other nations who would like a reciprocal right in this country." Sullivan had no patience with people who wished to "force the whole world" to convert to one way of being, doing, or worshiping. On the political front, he protested that the U.S. protective tariffs were ruining the industries of other nations and causing poverty overseas. For these reasons, U.S. citizens were objects of antipathy abroad despite their charitable efforts. "Our only hope," Sullivan claimed, "is that more men like Nicholas Roerich will come here to teach us a sweet reasonableness and convert us to the point of view of respect for the customs, manners, art and literature of all the peoples of the world."²¹⁴

²¹⁴ "Roerich Museum Lays Cornerstone," *New York Times*, 25 March 1929, p. 31. James Sullivan (1873-1931) received a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1898 and a LL.D. from Syracuse University in 1927. A very worldly scholar, he studied for years in various European academies, including the University of Berlin and the Ecole des Chartres in Paris. He was principal of the Boys High School of Brooklyn from 1907 until resigning in 1916 to move to Albany to become the New York state historian and director of the state archives. Sullivan served as New York's assistant commissioner for higher education from 1923 until his retirement in May 1931. For information on Sullivan, see "Dr. Sullivan Quits Education Post," *New York Times*, 25 May 1931, p. 6; "Dr. James Sullivan Dies Of A Stroke," *New York Times*, 9 October 1931, p. 20.

Speaking that day from South America were General Luis E. Feliú Hurtado, the counsel general of Chile in New York, and Grant's friend Alfredo Colmo, the president and co-founder of the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano in Buenos Aires.²¹⁵ Colmo, a justice of the Argentine Court of Appeals, was spending a few months in New York as visiting professor of law at Columbia University under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Grant must have been pleased to hear Colmo declare her beloved Roerich to be one of the world's great historic spiritual leaders.²¹⁶

After several years in Asia and Russia, Nicolas Roerich returned to New York in June 1929. A welcoming reception was held for Roerich at City Hall, where Mayor Jimmy Walker congratulated the Central Asian explorer for his "contribution to science and history."²¹⁷ During the reception, a photograph was taken of the mayor and his

²¹⁵ At Luis E. Feliú Hurtado's initiative, a free course in Spanish began being offered by Columbia University in 1929. Taught by Chilean professors, the course was meant as a contribution to Chilean-American friendship. See "Offers Free Course in Spanish," *New York Times*, 1 November 1929, p. 7. Feliú spent five years in New York as consul general before returning home to work in the Chilean department of foreign relations. He later served as Chilean consul general in Buenos Aires and Ministro Plenipotenciario in Portugal. See "Chilean Consul to Quit," *New York Times*, 22 February 1933, p. 25.

²¹⁶ See "Roerich Museum Lays Cornerstone," *New York Times*, 25 March 1929, p. 31. For information on Alfredo Colmo's efforts to improve Argentine-U.S. relations during his stay in New York in 1929, see "Argentineans Seek Closer Cultural Relations With Us," *New York Times*, 6 January 1929, p. 123; "Argentine Plans An Institute Here," *New York Times*, 24 March 1929, p. 35; Cupertino del Campo to Grant, 2 May 1936. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 43. In May 1929, Colmo and his wife visited Leo S. Rowe, director general of the Pan American Union, in Washington, D.C. and posed for a photograph printed in the union's bulletin. See "The Director General's Office," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 63/6 (June 1929): 593-596.

²¹⁷ "Mayor Welcomes Roerich," *New York Times*, 21 June 1929, p. 12. Jimmy Walker's father, an Irish immigrant, was a leader in the corrupt Tammany Hall Democratic organization. After earning a degree from New York Law School in 1904, Walker wrote Tin Pan Alley songs, lived lavishly, and enjoyed New York's nightlife. In 1914, he was elected to the New York State Senate, where he served until 1925. Walker won a second four-year term as New York's mayor in

reception committee with Grant and the Roerich associates on the steps of City Hall. Among the associates was Roerich's son George, a Harvard-educated Orientalist who would later recount his years with his parents on their Central Asian expedition in his book *Trails of Inmost Asia*.²¹⁸ Charles R. Crane, a Russian cultural enthusiast and former U.S. minister to China, also stood on the steps the Roerich associates.²¹⁹ The former president of the Crane Company of Chicago, the nation's largest manufacturer of plumbing fixtures, Crane was an eccentric millionaire who helped fund Roerich activities in New York.²²⁰

1929, but he resigned in September 1932 amidst evidence that he accepted large sums of money from businessmen seeking municipal contracts. For information on Walker, see Gerald Leinwand, "Jimmy Walker: America's Third Worst Mayor," in his *Mackerels in the Moonlight: Four Corrupt American Mayors* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2004); George Welsh, *Gentleman Jimmy Walker: Mayor of the Jazz Age* (New York: Praeger, 1974).

²¹⁸ See George Roerich, *Trails to Inmost Asia: Five Years of Exploration With the Roerich Central Asian Expedition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1931). According to this account, starting from Darjeeling in 1925, the expedition passed through Kashmir, Ladakh, Hotan, and Kashi, exploring Turkistan, Dzungaria, and Mongolia, before crossing the Gobi Desert through Tibet to return to Darjeeling in May 1930. Roerich conveniently left out the time spent in Moscow during these years. Roerich later prepared a Tibetan-English dictionary at his father's Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute. In 1957, he was invited back to Moscow, where he taught at the Oriental Institute until his death in 1960. For information on George Roerich, see Robert A. Rupen, "Mongolia, Tibet and Buddhism, Or, A Tale of Two Roerichs," *Canada-Mongolia Review* 5/1 (April 1979): 1-36; "Dr. George Roerich, Explorer, Writer," *New York Times*, 23 May 1960, p. 29.

²¹⁹ See Frances R. Grant, "Miscellaneous Documents, 1985," p. 13. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 74.

²²⁰ Charles R. Crane's father, Richard Teller Crane, founded the Crane Company of Chicago. By 1894, Crane was vice president of the company. He served as president of the company for two years after inheriting it from his father in 1912. He then sold his share in the company for several million U.S. dollars to his younger brother. Crane, who may have been the model for the Daddy Warbucks character in the Little Orphan Annie comic strip, served as vice chairman of the Democratic Finance Committee and significantly contributed to Woodrow Wilson's U.S. presidential campaign. President Wilson sent Crane to Russia as a member of the 1917 Root Commission, a group of emissaries under the leadership of former Secretary of State Elihu Root that failed to encourage Russia to stay in the First World War. Wilson also sent Crane to Palestine with Oberlin College president Henry Churchill King in 1919. The King-Crane Commission's report on the Middle East recommended restricting Zionist ambitions in Palestine. Crane was

The opening ceremony of the new Roerich Museum took place on October 17, 1929, presenting to New Yorkers more than one thousand of Roerich's paintings, half of them created during his Central Asian expedition. The Master Building also housed various other Roerich institutions, a Tibetan shrine, and the Master Apartments. The ceremony was held in Roerich Hall, the space where Grant held her Pan American Woman's Association-sponsored concerts and lectures. Harvey Wiley Corbett, the proud architect of this twenty-nine story Art Deco skyscraper, presided at the ceremony.²²¹ A well-know figure in New York and London architectural circles where he promoted the skyscraper as the symbol of cities of the future, Corbett was soon working on the designs for Rockefeller Center.²²²

named by Wilson to be U.S. minister to China from May 1920 to June 1921, during which time Crane worked with the International Famine Relief Committee. After returning from his diplomatic post, Crane settled in New York with his wife Cornelia W. Smith Crane, who served for a time as vice president of the women's committee of the Pan American Union. The Institute for Current World Affairs was incorporated in New York State in 1925 thanks to Crane's endowment. Fascinated by Russian culture, Crane made some twenty-five trips to Russia in his lifetime, the first in the early 1890s and the last in 1937, two years before his death. For information on Crane and the Roerich Museum, see Williams, 120-121. For general information on Crane, see Leo J. Bocage, *The Public Career of Charles R. Crane* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Fordham University, 1962); David Hapgood, *Charles R. Crane: The Man Who Bet On People* (Philadelphia: Xlibris Corporation, 2000); Albert Parry, "Charles R. Crane, Friend of Russia," *Russian Review* 6/2 (Spring 1947): 20-36; Norman E. Saul, *War and Revolution: The United States and Russia, 1914-1921* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001); "Mrs. C.R. Crane, 79, Widow of Diplomat," *New York Times*, 18 November 1941, p. 25; "Charles R. Crane, Ex-Envoy, 80, Dies" *New York Times*, 16 February 1939, p. 27.

²²¹ "Roerich Museum Formally Opened," *New York Times*, 18 October 1929, p. 23.

²²² In 1927, Harvey Wiley Corbett designed Bush House in London, headquarters of the BBC World Service after 1940. In addition to working on the team for the Rockefeller Center, Corbett also headed the planning committees for the 1939 New York World's Fair and the United Nations Headquarters in Manhattan. Illustrations of Corbett's urban visions appear in Hugh Ferriss, *The Metropolis of Tomorrow* (New York: I. Washburn, 1929). For information on the Master Building, see Christopher Gray, "A Restoration for the Home of a Russian Philosopher," *New York Times*, 29 January, 1995, p. R7. For information on Corbett, see Betsy H. Bradley, *New Heights in American Architecture: The Urban Design and Aesthetic Theories of Harvey Wiley Corbett* (M.S. Thesis: Columbia University, 1990); William H. Jordy, *American Buildings and Their Architects: The Impact of European Modernism in the Mid-twentieth Century* (Garden City,

The inauguration of the new Roerich Museum in October 1929 coincided with the publication of an article penned by Grant in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* about the importance of inter-American unity. Entitled "Some Artistic Tendencies in South America," the article featured a photograph of Grant in the city of Santiago with members of the Ateneo, a prestigious Chilean literary organization that was celebrating its thirtieth anniversary.²²³ Grant explained how the Roerich Museum trustees had sent her to South America "believing that the relations of North and South America must be interwoven with mutual cultural appreciation and that the lasting friendship of the two continents can be cemented by artistic intercourse." Grant, who began her first trip to South America "fortified by a sufficient knowledge of the language and by a decided sympathy with and appreciation of Hispanic-American culture," returned home "thoroughly convinced of the united cultural destiny of the two Americas." Grant's witness to the modern artistic expression in South America reinforced her conviction that one could not "completely" separate North and South. In the realm of the arts, she believed, there was "truly only a Pan America." Furthermore, Grant explained, in South America, as in the United States, "the superb experiment of the mixing of peoples" was "yielding new dynamic racial elements," especially in Brazil, a country of "interesting racial admixtures." The receptive response she received from elite South American society had convinced her of "the infallibility of art as a bridge of international

NY: Doubleday, 1972); Carol Herselle Krinsky, *Rockefeller Center* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Paul D. Stoller, *The Architecture of Harvey Wiley Corbett* (M.A. Thesis: University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1995); "Harvey Corbett, Architect, Dead," *New York Times*, 22 April 1954, p. 29.

²²³ For information on the Ateneo de Santiago de Chile, see Fernando Sánchez Durán, *El Ateneo de Santiago: Tradición y excelencia, 1888-1991* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ateneo, 1992); George E. Smith, "The Chilean Literary Scene: 1900," *Hispania* 43/4 (December 1960): 552-558.

friendships.” While singing the praises of her spiritual teacher Nicholas Roerich in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, Grant simultaneously sang the praises of the many artists, scholars, socialites, and political leaders that she met on her first trip to South America.²²⁴

Grant’s article celebrating contemporary art in Latin America and the Caribbean formed part of a larger cultural discussion around the assertions of commonality of experience and identity in the Western Hemisphere as represented through artistic expression. Intellectuals and artists in the United States who wanted to distinguish their nation from Europe voiced the importance of cultural nationalism and looked to Latin America and the Caribbean as leading the way in this regard with art. Many looked at the hemisphere’s cultural and racial mixture no longer as a mark of inferiority, but instead as a symbol of regeneration.²²⁵ Some artists, like the Brazilians Grant would bring to New York, turned to “primitive” cultures, in which they saw an answer to the dehumanization and materialism of modern society.²²⁶

When Grant returned to New York from her second stay in South America, she collaborated with the Brazilian Society of Friends of the Roerich Museum to put together an exhibit of one hundred paintings by contemporary Brazilian artists. During the later

²²⁴ Frances R. Grant, “Some Artistic Tendencies in South America,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 63/10 (October 1929): 972-983.

²²⁵ In her book on cultural relations between the United States and Mexico, historian Helen Delpar discusses the role that Mexican art and artists played in aiding the construction of a U.S. national identity in the 1920s and first half of the 1930s. See Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992).

²²⁶ See Frederick B. Pike, “Latin America and the Inversion of United States Stereotypes in the 1920s and 1930s,” *The Americas* 42/2 (October 1985): 131-162.

half of October 1930, the Roerich Museum exhibited the first representative collection of paintings by Brazilian artists ever displayed in the United States. The exhibition was presented on the one-year anniversary of the opening of the Master Building under the patronage of two honorary presidents of the Brazilian Society of the Friends of Roerich Museum, U.S. Ambassador Edwin Morgan and Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs Octavio Mangabeira.²²⁷

The exhibit presented works by several Brazilian artists, including Grant's new acquaintances Georgina de Albuquerque and Tarsila do Amaral. Of the many contemporary Brazilian painters on exhibit, Grant had a certain affinity with Tarsila do Amaral and the modernists, a group whose first public manifestation was the *Semana de Arte Moderna* (Modern Art Week), a festival of painting, sculpture, music, poetry, literary readings, and lectures held at the Municipal Theater in São Paulo in February 1922.²²⁸ Emiliano di Cavalcanti, the Rio de Janeiro painter who was one of the co-organizers of the *Semana de Arte Moderna*, was one of the many artists presented in the exhibition. Like Grant, these Brazilian modernists were elite and privileged people, living

²²⁷ Octavio Mangabeira's political career took an unfortunate sudden turn in 1930, when Getúlio Vargas ousted Brazil's President Washington Luiz and his cabinet, including Mangabeira. For the next four years, Mangabeira lived in Europe. He returned to Brazil, but soon went into exile again. He spent the Second World War living with his wife and two grown children in New York City, where he worked as a translator for *Reader's Digest*. When the Brazilian army ousted Vargas in 1945, Mangabeira went back to Brazil, helped write a new national constitution, and was elected governor of Brazilian state of Bahia. For information on Mangabeira, see "Man of the Hour," *Time* 50/21 (November 24, 1947): 45.

²²⁸ For information on Brazilian modernism and the Modern Art Week, see Richard M. Morse, *From Community to Metropolis* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958). See also Dawn Ades, *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 124-149; Mário de Andrade, *O Modernismo no Museu de Arte Brasileira: Pintura* (São Paulo: Fundação Armando Alvares Penteado, 1933); Jacqueline Barnitz, *Twentieth-century Art of Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 42-74.

cosmopolitan lives and traveling around the world as they sought to explore and define their identities.

Moreover, like Grant, the disaster of the First World War caused these modernists to question the meaning and value of technological progress. In response, they turned to more primitive cultures as the salvation to the increasingly mechanized world around them. Proponents of primitivism in Latin America believed the more primeval beings around them possessed an innocence and vitality that modern humans had lost. For the avant-garde modernists, adulation of the primitive accompanied the glorification of instinct and exploration of the unconscious. Grant herself supported the turn to indigenous themes in art. In the schools of art she visited in Chile, Grant was happy to see “excellent work with a distinct tendency to use indigenous art as its foundation.”²²⁹ Of this phenomenon, Jean Franco writes, “For the first time the Latin American artist found that he had on his doorstep something that fascinated Europe: the Indian, the Negro, and the Land.”²³⁰ Interest in the primitive also drew attention in the United States to Latin America, especially its pre-Columbian civilizations, which Grant spent many years lecturing about in the New York area.

Attraction to the primitive led Latin American modernists to reappraise and appreciate their homelands. The nativist themes and subjects in paintings presented by Latin Americans became a source of national pride for them as they attempted to assert their national cultures abroad on an equal basis with Western Europe and the United States. Exhibits abroad and subsequent international critical acclaim aided in the

²²⁹ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 62.

²³⁰ Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America: Society and the Artist* (Hammondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1970), 116.

construction of national identities in Latin America. Thus, the cultural constructions of Latin American national identities were forged in a transnational context. Through events like the Roerich Museum's contemporary Brazilian art exhibition of 1930, the PAWA served as a catalyst for Latin American national cultural expression. At the same time, the PAWA and the Roerich Museum fostered Pan Americanism, which, like modernism, emphasized the Western Hemisphere's separate identity from Europe.

The art critic and Roerich-promoter Christian Brinton, who wrote the introduction for the contemporary Brazilian art exhibition catalog, praised the Roerich Museum as "a leader in the world cultural movement" and congratulated it for being the first in the nation to bring such art to U.S. public attention. Moreover, he, like Grant, considered the national pride as well as regional and racial diversity represented in the work of the Brazilian artists as a truly exemplary trend for the United States to follow. In particular, Brinton expressed appreciation to the Brazilian artists for their "gallant efforts" in nurturing a form of art that "had all the characteristics of 'el arte nacional.'"²³¹ He happily noted that Brazilian culture since the turn of the century had "revealed astonishing vitality and the stamp of salutary nationalism." Briton also applauded the Brazilian artists for emphasizing the "regional motif" by dividing the exhibit between the artists of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Lastly, he noted that Brazil's ethnic diversity, particularly in terms of its indigenous population differentiated it from the United. Offering a historical explanation, Brinton postulated that "the so-called 'arianization' of their country" had not been "too drastic." He concluded, "The pioneer settlers of North

²³¹ Note the incorrect use of the Spanish article "el," rather than the correct Portuguese article "o."

America began by exterminating the native population. Our neighbors to the South adopted the wiser and human policy of gradual assimilation.”²³²

Grant echoed Briton’s appraisal of Brazil and its artists and similarly believed that the United States could learn from their southern neighbor. Grant praised Brazilian female artists for their contribution to the great progress she saw in Brazil, commending in particular Tarsila d’Amaral who she praised for having “outdistanced every man in Brazil” in the “ultra-modernity” of her paintings. Similarly to Briton, Grant applauded Brazilians’ acceptance of racial integration. “Brazil has been the first perhaps to learn the lesson of racial tolerance,” she wrote. “Miscegenation is rapidly performing its task of assimilating the strains into one. Hence, everywhere in Brazil, one is impressed by the beauty, the verve of Brazilian women.”²³³

Claiming that a new interest in Brazilian cultural life had now been awakened, Grant authored an article about the exhibit in the January 1931 issue of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*.²³⁴ Thanks to the exhibit, Americans were provided the opportunity “to come closer to the spirit of Brazil, a spirit tolerant and generous.” Grant gave the impression that physical geography endowed Brazil with an especially fertile cultural life. “Where nature’s resources are so bounteous, where one is constantly regaled by beauty and a benevolent environment, the artist has naturally been first to feast on this

²³² Christian Brinton, “Brazilian Art Comes to America,” in *Exhibition of the First Representative Collection of Paintings by Contemporary Brazilian Artists, October 11th to 30th, 1930*. International Art Center of Roerich Museum in Cooperation With the Brazilian Society of Friends of Roerich Museum. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 52.

²³³ Frances R. Grant, “Companions Rather Than Competitors,” *The Eagle Magazine for Women*, 4 September 1932, p. 10-11.

²³⁴ See Frances R. Grant, “Brazilian Art,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 65/1 (January 1931): 1-14.

loveliness,” she concluded.²³⁵ After the exhibition closed at the Roerich Museum, the paintings were put on display throughout the United States. Subsequently, these Brazilian contemporary works were seen around the country at venues such as the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Grand Rapids Art Gallery, the Kansas City Art Institute, the Milwaukee Art Institute, the Brooks Memorial Art Gallery in Memphis, and the City Art Museum in St. Louis.²³⁶

Following on the success of the Brazilian art show, the Roerich Museum would exhibit scores of Latin American and Caribbean artists in the coming years. In May 1931, the museum presented the first exhibition of paintings in New York by Hermina Arrate de Dávila,²³⁷ the wife of Carlos Dávila, the Chilean ambassador to the United States who

²³⁵ Frances R. Grant, “Brazilian Art,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 65/1 (January 1931): 1.

²³⁶ The itinerary for the contemporary Brazilian art works following their debut at the Roerich Museum in New York City was as follows: November 1930, Grand Rapids Art Gallery, Grand Rapids, Michigan; December 1930, Kalamazoo Institute of Arts, Kalamazoo, Michigan; January 1931, Milwaukee Art Institute, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; January-February 1931, Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland; February 1931, Akron Art Institute, Akron, Ohio; March 1931, Kansas City Art Institute, Kansas City, Missouri; April 1931, The Arts Club, Washington, D.C.; May 1931, Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis, Tennessee; June 1931, Dayton Art Institute, Dayton, Ohio; July 1931, City Art Museum, St. Louis, Missouri.

²³⁷ Hermina Arrate de Dávila had studied art for years with the Chilean artist Pablo Burchard, who became director of the Escuela de Bellas Artes at the University of Chile from 1932 to 1935. The Roerich Museum presented about twenty five of Arrate de Dávila’s still life paintings and a number of her portraits and figures. The Dávilas traveled to New York from Washington, D.C. for the opening of the exhibit, which was on display in May 1931. In late 1940, Arrate de Dávila fell ill and on the advice of her doctors decided to return to Chile. But she could not withstand a long sea voyage or a slow air flight. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, a friend of Carlos Dávila, made a good-neighborly gesture. By executive decree, he set aside the U.S. Army’s rule that women could not fly in army planes. In December 1940, the Dávilas were flown back to Chile in a U. S. Army bomber free of charge. Hermina Arrate de Dávila died in her native land surrounded by her family in March 1941. See “Mrs. Davila’s Art Show,” *New York Times*, 3 May 1931, p. 29.; “Roosevelt Orders Fortress To Fly Ill Wife of Ex-Chilean Envoy Home,” *New York Times*, 5 December 1940, p. 30; “Good-Neighborly Gesture,” *Time* 36/25 (December 16, 1940): 19.

became a lifelong associate of Grant.²³⁸ The committee under whose auspices the exhibition was brought to New York for viewing at the Roerich Museum included Spruille Braden, a mining engineer, industrialist, and financial advisor to South American governments,²³⁹ and Karl A. Bickel, the president of United Press.²⁴⁰ Others who attended the opening included the Democratic U.S. senator from New York Royal S. Copeland,²⁴¹ the Austrian stage director of the Metropolitan Opera Company Ernst

²³⁸ The Chilean diplomat Carlos Dávila studied law at the University of Chile, but opted for a career in journalism. He began working for *El Mercurio* in Santiago in 1914. Three years later, he established *La Nación* in Santiago, which he left to serve as Chile's ambassador to the United States from 1927 to 1932. With the goal of heightening awareness of Chile in the United States, he traveled extensively throughout the nation while ambassador. For information on Carlos Dávila, see "Carlos Davila, '68, Diplomat, Is Dead," *New York Times*, 20 October 1955, p. 35; Fredrick B. Pike, *Chile and the United States, 1880-1962: The Emergence of Chile's Social Crisis and the Challenge to United States Diplomacy* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963), 210-211; Frederick M. Nunn, *Chilean Politics, 1920-1931: The Honorable Mission of the Armed Forces* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), 171-173.

²³⁹ Spruille Braden was born the son of a mining engineer in Elkhorn, Montana in 1894. His father, William Braden, founded the Braden Copper Company in 1904 to mine the Rancagua copper mine in north central Chile. Braden moved to Chile in 1914 after graduating from Yale with a degree in mining engineering. He worked for various mining ventures and bond negotiations in Chile and married the daughter of a well-to-do Chilean physician. In 1920, Braden returned to the United States. During the 1920s, he worked as a financial advisor to several South American governments and served as an official in numerous large corporations. See Spruille Braden, *Diplomats and Demagogues: The Memoirs of Spruille Braden* (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1971); John C. Kesler, *Spruille Braden as a Good Neighbor: The Latin American Policy of the United States, 1930-1947* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Kent State University, 1985).

²⁴⁰ Karl A. Bickel joined United Press in San Francisco the year it was founded in 1907. After heading United Press from 1923 to 1935, he became chairman of Scripps-Howard Radio, Inc. In the 1940s, he served as chairman of the press section of the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. See Florence Gillmore, *Karl August Bickel, 1882-1972: An Exhibition to Honor His Many Contributions to the Ringling Museums and the State of Florida, October 25-November 25, 1973* (Sarasota, FL: John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 1973); "Karl A. Bickel, 90, Led News Service," *New York Times*, 12 December 1972, p. 52.

²⁴¹ Royal S. Copeland served as a Democratic U.S. senator from New York from 1923 until his death in Washington, D.C. in 1938. He was responsible for the inclusion of homeopathic remedies in the U.S. Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938. For information on Copeland, see Raymond J. Potter, *Royal Samuel Copeland, 1868-1938: A Physician in Politics* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Case Western Reserve University, 1967); Natalie S. Robins, *Copeland's*

Lert,²⁴² and the social reformer and philanthropist J.G. Phelps Stokes, a real estate magnate and president of the Nevada Central Railroad who contributed generously to Roerich Museum activities.²⁴³ The long and distinguished list of committee members of the Roerich Museum reveals its importance as a major center for inter-American affairs where both art and politics rubbed shoulders under the lofty goal of building Pan American unity.²⁴⁴

For Grant, women had an important role to play in promoting inter-American understanding and in educating the U.S. public about Latin American and the Caribbean. In order to formally organize her large network of prominent women in the United States, Latin America, and the Caribbean, Grant formed the Pan American Women's

Cure: Homeopathy and the War Between Conventional and Alternative Medicine (New York: Knopf, 2005); "Copeland's Rise Typifies America," *New York Times*, 18 June 1938, p. 3.

²⁴² The Viennese Ernst Lert worked in Milan, Italy as stage director for German operas at La Scala from 1923 to 1929 before moving to the United States to be stage director of the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York from 1929 to 1931. At the time of his death in 1955, he had been operatic director of the Peabody Conservatory of Music in Baltimore, Maryland for more than fifteen years. See "Ernst J.M. Lert," *Musical America* 55/3 (February 15, 1955): 296; "Dr. Ernst J.M. Lert, Operatic Director," *New York Times*, 1 February 1955, p. 29.

²⁴³ Known as a young man as a "millionaire Socialist," J.G. Phelps Stokes was active for many years on the governing boards of numerous educational, philanthropic, and social welfare associations. A founder of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, Stokes served as the society's president from 1907 to 1917. Stokes was president of the Nevada Central Railroad from 1898 to 1938. He became a member of the board of directors of the Phelps-Dodge Company in 1927. That same year, Stokes founded the New York City real estate concern of Phelps Stokes Corporation, which he directed until 1959. See Patrick Renshaw, "Rose of the World: The Pastor-Stokes Marriage and the American Left, 1905-1925," *New York History* 62 (October 1981): 428-437; Robert Dwight Reynolds, *The Millionaire Socialists: J.G. Phelps Stokes and His Circle of Friends* (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of South Carolina, 1974); Christine Brendel Scriabine, "Stokes, James Grant Phelps," in Walter I. Trattner, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Social Welfare in America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), 693-695; "Stokes, J.G. Phelps," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 50 (New York: James T. White & Company, 1968), 25-26; "J.G. Phelps Stokes Dies at 88; Former 'Millionaire Socialist,'" *New York Times*, 9 April 1960, p. 23.

²⁴⁴ Frances R. Grant, "Miscellaneous Documents, 1985," p. 14. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 74.

Association. Soon after the close of the Arrate de Dávila exhibition, the first general meeting of the PAWA was held on May 27, 1931 at the Roerich Museum with Grant presiding. The meeting was opened with an address by Grant outlining the aims of the PAWA: "To strengthen the social, cultural and spiritual bonds of the Americas; To diffuse greater knowledge of the cultures of Pan American countries; To widen the interest in and understanding of Pan American creative work; To act as a center for welcoming leaders of culture and women of the Americas visiting this country; To pursue all aims which will lead to uniting the women of Pan America in the cause of greater human brotherhood and spiritual evolution."²⁴⁵ The organization immediately had a very distinguished membership when a motion passed that the all wives of the Latin American and Caribbean consuls general to the United States residing in New York would be elected members of the honorary advisory counsel of the association. In addition, the group invited Leo S. Rowe, Director of the Pan American Union in Washington, D.C., to be an honorary member.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ "Minutes of the Meeting held May 27th, 1931." PAWA. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 16. Folder 31.

²⁴⁶ Leo S. Rowe, a longtime professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania, served as the director general of the Pan American Union from 1920 until his death in 1946. The Pan American Union, an international agency of Western Hemisphere nations headquartered in Washington, D.C., was founded in 1890 as the International Bureau of American Republics and renamed the Pan American Union in 1910. Initially formed to collect and distribute commercial information, it sought to encourage inter-American cooperation. See Clifford B. Casey, "The Creation and Development of the Pan American Union," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 13/4 (November 1933): 437-456; David Barton Castle, "Leo Stanton Rowe and the Meaning of Pan Americanism," in David Sheinin, ed., *Beyond the Ideal: Pan Americanism in Inter-American Affairs* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 33-44; Gabriela Mistral, "Memories of Leo S. Rowe," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 81/4 (April 1947): 205-210; Leo S. Rowe, *The Pan American Union and the Pan American Conferences* (Washington, DC: Pan American Union, 1940); Sumner Welles, "Leo Stanton Rowe," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 81/4 (April 1947): 226-231.

In its monthly meetings, the PAWA became an educational and cultural organization that united people of the hemisphere for common endeavors. The association emerged in the atmosphere of the Pan American movement that spread the belief that the inhabitants of the Americas were linked by a common cultural heritage and shared interests.²⁴⁷ Providing a forum for Latin American and Caribbean voices to reach the U.S. public, from politicians and academics to musicians and artists, the PAWA strove to cement “the social, cultural and spiritual ties of the women of the Americas” while promoting “greater unity between the two continents by diffusing Pan American culture.”²⁴⁸ Under Grant’s leadership as the association’s president, the first executive committee included the wives of the consul generals of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Cuba. The U.S. members included Grant’s friend and fellow Roerich Museum associate Sina Lichtmann, and family members including Grant’s sister Hylde and her brother David, an international lawyer who worked on inter-American issues and partook in many Roerich-related activities.²⁴⁹ Roerich served as honorary president. Although the PAWA was primarily a women’s organization, there was an auxiliary membership for men as well. Sources of income included nominal membership dues (two dollars per year), donations, and Grant’s personal resources.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ See Mark T. Gilderhus, *Pan American Visions: Woodrow Wilson in the Western Hemisphere, 1913-1921* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), x-xi.

²⁴⁸ “Pan American Women’s Assoc. of RM.” 1930. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 16. Folder 31.

²⁴⁹ Frances Grant’s sister Hylde lived in New York City with her husband, Max M. Zimmerman, a successful merchandizing counsel whom she married in 1921.

²⁵⁰ “Minutes of the Second Meeting.” PAWA. 9 June 1931. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 16. Folder 31.

The purpose of the association was to serve as a clearinghouse for educational, cultural, and social interchange, as well as to sponsor activities contributive to better relations between the peoples of the Americas. The PAWA sponsored Latin American and Caribbean art exhibits, concerts, lectures, and courses, while serving as a liaison and source of information concerning various cultural, educational, and social service organizations throughout the Americas. Some of the presentations by Latin American and Caribbean associates of the Roerich Museum were broadcast over WNYC, which produced a series of Museum Extension Lectures in cooperation with the Board of Education of the City of New York.²⁵¹ The association also assisted people from Latin America and the Caribbean who were visiting, studying, or residing in the United States. The PAWA was organized into various standing committees that reflected its various services and activities. Committees included those responsible for conversation groups, education, finance, hospitality, legislation, literature, membership, music, nursing education, programs, and publicity.²⁵² Members and friends throughout the hemisphere received news of the PAWA through a monthly bulletin, edited by Grant. On June 9, 1931, the second meeting of the PAWA opened with a celebratory reading of a *La Prensa* editorial in which this New York area Spanish-language newspaper with the largest daily circulation in the United States welcomed the establishment of the association as a contributor towards building Pan American unity.²⁵³

²⁵¹ Christie R. Bohnsack, Director of WNYC, to Grant. 18 October 1930. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 2.

²⁵² Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 16. Folder 34.

²⁵³ For information on *La Prensa*, the New York-area daily newspaper begun by Rafael Viera and José María Vargas Vila that was published in Spanish from 1913 to 1963, see Wallin S.

High profile Latin American and Caribbean personalities supported the PAWA from the very beginning. The celebrated Venezuelan author Rómulo Gallegos, then in self-imposed exile, spoke at the PAWA's first open meeting at the Roerich Museum on November 6, 1931. Upon being invited to publicly inaugurate the association, Grant informed Gallegos that the PAWA had been created as "an outlet of the significant work" done by the Roerich Museum in its endeavor to achieve Roerich's "ideals of world peace through culture." The purpose of the PAWA was to unite the Americas in "a close cultural bond."²⁵⁴

Gallegos was the type of elite whom Grant desired to have associated with the PAWA and the Roerich Museum. She felt an immediate affinity to Gallegos, and the relationship she subsequently formed with him begat a lifelong commitment by her to assist like-minded Venezuelans of liberal persuasion. After attending the Seminario Metropolitano in Caracas with the intention of joining the Roman Catholic clergy, Gallegos had become a freethinker and turned his attention to more worldly preoccupations. In 1899, when he was a teenager, a short civil war brought his nation under military control. Gallegos and a group of associates founded a venue to criticize Venezuelan society, the magazine *La alborada* (The First Dawn), in 1909. That same year marked the beginning of the long rule of the capitalist caudillo Juan Vicente Gómez, which lasted until the dictator's death in 1935. The Gómez era is characterized by rising foreign investment and modernization of the economy through oil wealth, accompanied

McCardell, *Socialization Factors in El Diario-La Prensa: The Spanish-language Newspaper With the Largest Daily Circulation in the United States* (Ph.D. Thesis: University of Iowa, 1976).

²⁵⁴ Grant to Rómulo Gallegos. 4 November 1931. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 23.

by political repression, including a lack on freedom of expression. Following the production of less than a dozen issues, *La alborada* was shut down by the Gómez administration.²⁵⁵

In 1920, Gallegos published his first novel, *El último solar* (The Last Manor), which depicts a nation of corrupt politicians, disillusioned artists, and incompetent and irrational revolutionaries. In the novel, Gallegos the social critic “reveals his insight into what he considers a defect of Spanish and Latin American character, the inability to submerge one’s own personal views into a desire for the good of the whole, the refusal to accept the will of the majority, the prevalence of *yoísmo*.”²⁵⁶ Such social critique through the medium of the novel became commonplace in twentieth-century Latin America and the Caribbean, where press censorship and fear of authorities curbed direct criticism. After 1922, Gallegos began teaching philosophy in Caracas at the Liceo Andrés Bello, in a capacity whereby he instructed many of Venezuela’s future civilian political leaders. In Europe in 1929, he finished his novel *Doña Bárbara*, in which he criticized the abuse of power that led to tyranny. Published in Barcelona, it was soon to become one of the most widely read novels in the Western Hemisphere. The dictator Gómez responded by attempting to stifle Gallegos through offering him a seat in the Venezuelan Senate. Gallegos accepted, used ill health as an excuse to avoid attending sessions, and went to

²⁵⁵ For information on Juan Vicente Gómez (1857-1935), see B.S. McBeth, *Juan Vicente Gómez and the Oil Companies in Venezuela, 1908-1935* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Tomás Polanco Alcántara, *Juan Vicente Gómez: Aproximación a una biografía* (Caracas: Grijalbo, 1990); Thomas Rourke, *Gómez: Tyrant of the Andes* (New York, Greenwood Press, 1969); Yolanda Segnini, *La consolidación del régimen de Juan Vicente Gómez* (Caracas: Academia Nacional de la Historia, 1982).

²⁵⁶ Louise Welch, “The Emergence of Rómulo Gallegos as a Novelist and Social Critic,” *Hispania* 40/4 (December 1957): 447.

the United States, from where he resigned his post in 1931. That same year, the English language translation of *Doña Bárbara* was published in New York City, and Gallegos inaugurated the first public meeting of the PAWA at the Roerich Museum. The following year, he went into self-imposed exile in the Second Spanish Republic. Writing from Spain, Gallegos thanked Grant for his appointment as an honorary member of the Grupo Interamericano de la Sociedad Roerich.²⁵⁷

Gallegos' intellectual development was rooted in the Latin American tradition of defending artistic and spiritual values first given voice at the beginning of the twentieth century in José Enrique Rodó's celebrated 1900 essay *Ariel*.²⁵⁸ Rodó depicted the Americas in *Ariel* as divided between a utilitarian, materialistic United States and an idealistic, esthetically-oriented Latin America.²⁵⁹ With the Machine Age at its peak, mechanized industry had become a symbol of the United States, and Gallegos shared with Grant the not too uncommon fear that the human spirit was in jeopardy. His personal critique of the United States was in opposition to the pragmatic materialism upon which he saw U.S. culture based, rather than a political response to hemispheric expansion and economic power. In lecture after lecture delivered in the United States, Gallegos fervently

²⁵⁷ Rómulo Gallegos to Grant. 8 May 1932. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 48. Folder 26.

²⁵⁸ See José Enrique Rodó, *Ariel*, trans. Margaret Sayers Peden (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988).

²⁵⁹ For information on José Enrique Rodó's work, see John T. Reid, "The Rise and Decline of the Ariel-Caliban Antithesis in Spanish America," *The Americas* 34/3 (January 1978): 345-55; Emir Rodríguez Monegal, "The Metamorphoses of Caliban," *Diacritics* 7/3 (Autumn 1977): 78-83.

promoted the cause of a humanistic culture not formulated on a quantitative or technical core.²⁶⁰

For Grant, the Roerich Museum and the PAWA were key institutions in this endeavor to cultivate in the U.S. public an appreciation of art and learning modeled in Latin America and the Caribbean. Along with lectures and art exhibits, educational scholarships and student exchanges formed part of Grant's efforts. As a member of the student committee of the Institute for International Education, Grant promoted exchanges between the United States and its hemispheric neighbors.²⁶¹ Stephen P. Duggan established the Institute for International Education in 1919 at the behest of Nicholas Murray Butler, the director of the Division of Intercourse and Education at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The institute began by helping students displaced by the Russian Revolution and grew into the world's most active nongovernmental

²⁶⁰ For information on Rómulo Gallegos (1884-1969), see Carlos J. Alonso, *The Spanish American Regional Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 109-135; José Castro Urioste, "Utopia Y transgresión: El emaginario nacional en la obra de Rómulo Gallegos," *Hispanic journal* 17/2 (Fall 1996): 329-344; Jorge Ruffinelli, "Rómulo Gallegos," in Carlos A. Solé, ed., *Latin American Writers*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989), 603-610; Hugo Rodríguez Alcalá, *Nine Essays on Rómulo Gallegos* (Riverside: University of California Press, 1979); José Vázquez Amaral, "Rómulo Gallegos and the Drama of Civilization on the South American Plains: Doña Bárbara," in his *The Contemporary Latin American Narrative* (New York: Las Americas, 1970); Kurt L. Levy, "Doña Bárbara: The Human Dimension," *International Fiction Review* 7 (1980): 118-122; Doris Sommer, "Love of Country: Populism's Revised Romance in *La vorágine* and *Doña Bárbara*," in her *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); "Rómulo Gallegos Dies," *Hemispherica* 18/4 (April 1969): 1.

²⁶¹ In January 1932, Frances Grant also joined the U.S. Committee of the International Student Service Committee, a refugee aid society that assisted students and professionals fleeing Nazi Germany. The committee's international office was in Geneva, but the national office was in New York City. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 70. The writer and political activist Joseph P. Lash (1909-1987) headed the American Student Union from 1935 until communists took control of the organization in 1940. Lash then served as general secretary of the International Student Service Committee from 1940 to 1942. He was helped by his friend First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt to expand the committee from a refugee aid society into a liberal activist organization. See Robert Cohen, "Lash, Joseph P.," in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography*, vol. 13 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 217-220.

organization facilitating student exchange scholarships and teaching fellowships. Among its many activities, the institute helped relocate scholars persecuted by fascists in Europe and promoted a broad program of cultural exchange between the United States and other nations of the Western Hemisphere. With financial support from the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation, the institute thrived under the leadership of Duggan, a former professor of international law and education at The City College of New York.²⁶² Duggan's son Lawrence worked as a staff member at his father's institute before joining the Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration as an expert on Latin American affairs. Lawrence Duggan would encourage the PAWA by speaking before the association on a number of occasions as he rose to become chief of the Division of American Republics at the U.S. State Department.²⁶³

Grant worked on the student committee of the Institute for International Education under Edward R. Murrow, the institute's assistant director. Murrow had been at the institute since graduating from college in 1929. The institute provided him the opportunity to take his first trip to Europe to organize summer student seminars. Murrow

²⁶² Stephen P. Duggan (1870-1950) was director of the Institute for International Education from 1919 to 1946. He received his doctoral degree from Columbia University in 1902 and taught international law and the history of education at The City College of New York, the oldest of The City University of New York's colleges, until 1928. Duggan edited the *News Bulletin of the Institute of International Education*, which was published from 1925 to 1961. He traveled to Latin America in 1931 and began helping diffuse U.S. culture in the region, principally through assisting in English language instruction. Among his many contributions to international relations, Duggan was a founder and director of the Foreign Policy Association and a director of the Council on Foreign Relations. He authored several books, including an autobiography entitled *A Professor at Large* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943). For information on Duggan and the Institute for International Education, see "Duggan, Stephan Pierce," in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 38 (New York: James T. White & Company, 1953), 308-309; Stephen M. Halpern, *The Institute for International Education: A History* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Columbia University, 1969).

²⁶³ Grant to Mrs. Lawrence Duggan. 23 December 1948. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 45.

joined the Columbia Broadcasting System in 1935 and was appointed head of the CBS European Bureau two years later, but this most famous U.S. journalist of his generation worked closely with Grant prior to his successful career in broadcasting.²⁶⁴

Headquartered in New York City, the Institute for International Education had foreign offices all over the world, including one in Buenos Aires housed in the Instituto Cultural Argentino Norte-Americano, an organization with which Grant had much affiliation over the years.²⁶⁵

Grant's work on behalf of educational exchanges was furthered through the formation of the Pan American Student League of New York at the Roerich Museum in 1931. At the league's second meeting held at the museum in May 1932,²⁶⁶ in which Grant gave the opening address, Murrow spoke on Pan Americanism in international education. Murrow's speech was followed by words from Sebastião Sampaio Osório, the Brazilian consul general in New York.²⁶⁷ The Pan American student movement manifested itself

²⁶⁴ Edward R. Murrow (1908-1965) was a dedicated defender of civil liberties who strongly opposed U.S. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's anti-communist crusade in the first half of the 1950s. McCarthy countered Murrow's criticisms by publicly denouncing the Institute for International Education with which Murrow had worked in his youth as a communist front organization. Unbeknownst to Murrow, Lawrence Duggan served as an agent of the Soviet Union while working at the U.S. State Department from 1933 to 1944. For information on Murrow, see Bob Edwards, *Edward R. Murrow and the Birth of Broadcast Journalism* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2004); Joseph E. Persico, *Edward R. Murrow: An American Original* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988); A.M. Sperber, *Murrow: His Life and Times* (New York: Freundlich Books, 1986).

²⁶⁵ Frances Grant's colleague Cupertino del Campo became president of the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano following the death of Alfredo Colmo, the institute's first president. Del Campo was awarded an honorary doctorate of laws from Columbia University in 1940. See "Honorary Degrees Conferred by Columbia University," *Science* 91/2372 (June 1940): 567.

²⁶⁶ "Pan American Student League of New York." May 21, 1934. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 70.

²⁶⁷ In October 1927, at a luncheon at the Lawyers Club in New York City, Sebastião Sampaio Osório had announced the formation of the American Brazilian Association, of which Munson Steamship Company President Frank C. Munson was the first director. In March 1934, Sampaio

throughout the United States in the form of school clubs like the Pan American Student League of New York. Soon, many chapters of the Pan American Student League were to be found in the city's high schools.²⁶⁸

While serving in the Institute for International Education and heading the Pan American Woman's Association, Grant also promoted her Latin American and Caribbean female counterparts through lectures and writings. In 1932, Grant authored a series of articles for *The Eagle Magazine for Women*, a free supplement to the Sunday edition of *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*.²⁶⁹ Her first article for the magazine, entitled "Companions Rather Than Competitors," was full of admiration for Brazilian women.²⁷⁰ Grant related the story of how the U.S. ambassador Edwin Morgan introduced her to the Brazilian women's advocate Jeronyma Mesquita during her first visit to Brazil in 1929. Soon after Grant arrived in Rio de Janeiro, Morgan took her to the luxurious Hotel Palace on the

was transferred to the Foreign Office in Rio de Janeiro to become director of foreign commerce in the Economical and Commercial Department. Later, he served as Brazil's ambassador first to Mexico and then to Sweden. See "Brazilians Here to Organize," *New York Times*, 27 October 1927, p. 12; "Brazilian Day Celebrated," *New York Times*, 16 November 1927, p. 9; "Sampaio Gets Home Post," *New York Times*, 5 March 1934, p. 11.

²⁶⁸ According to Hochstein and Schwartz, forty-three Pan American clubs had joined the league by October 1934. See Joshua Hochstein and Milton Schwartz, "Pan American Clubs," *Hispania* 17/3 (October 1934): 313-318.

²⁶⁹ Floyd Barger, Sunday Editor, to Grant. 19 August 1932. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 2. Founded in 1841 by Isaac Van Anden and Henry Cruse Murphy, *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* was published as a daily newspaper for 114 consecutive years. The paper ran continuously until 1955. The paper's demise occurred after a prolonged strike called by the New York Newspaper Guild. See Raymond Augustine Schroth, *The Brooklyn Eagle, 1841-1955: A Community Newspaper* (Ph.D. Dissertation: George Washington University, 1971).

²⁷⁰ In her *Eagle Magazine for Women* article about Brazil, Grant did not miss the opportunity to praise U.S. Ambassador to Brazil Edwin Morgan, an ardent supporter of her Pan American work. Grant began the article by informing readers that there was "no better authority on Brazilian life, nor no greater friend of Brazilian-American understanding" than Morgan. See Frances R. Grant "Companions Rather Than Competitors," *The Eagle Magazine for Women*, 4 September 1932, p. 10-11.

city's celebrated Avenida Rio Branco to meet Mesquita, "a gentile-featured, truly feminine woman," who was directing a group of men and woman making parade posters that read "Swat the Mosquito" in effort to rid the city of yellow fever. Mesquita, whom Grant described as "one of the unquestioned leaders of Brazilian womanhood" and "a pioneer of feminine life," was selflessly attending to her country's needs. "Born into one of Brazil's most aristocratic and wealthiest families," Mesquita was admired by Grant for devoting herself "to proving an ideal: that women of Brazil can follow the dictates of their conscience, unsubjected by old-world prejudices and customs." As an example of the independent feminine spirit that she admired in Mesquita, Grant chose to highlight Mesquita's divorce. While still a teenager, Mesquita had been married to a distant relative. Grant explained that the marriage "lacked companionship and mutual respect." With her family "terrified" because divorce in Brazil was "taboo," Mesquita traveled to nearby Uruguay, "that South American utopia of social legislation," to obtain a divorce. Grant praised Mesquita as a woman who had "devoted herself completely to the problems of her native land, to the problems of its womanhood." Concerning Mesquita, Grant concluded, "Never feministic, but always feminine," she was "in the vanguard, whether it be developing the Girl Scouts or the Brazilian Council of Woman, or any other immediate need, such as the offensive against... the mosquito."²⁷¹

Jeronyma Mesquita was indeed one of the foremost female socialite reformers in Brazil. She was born on her aristocratic family's coffee plantation in Minas Gerais. Her father was the Baron of Bonfim, great-grandson of the Marquis of Bonfim, a rich coffee plantation proprietor, diamond miner, trader, and member of the nobility created by

²⁷¹ Frances R. Grant, "Companions Rather Than Competitors," *The Eagle Magazine for Women*, 4 September 1932, p. 10-11.

Pedro II, the emperor of Brazil from 1831 to 1889. Mesquita studied at the Colégio Progresso do Rio de Janeiro, a private school for girls founded in 1878 by the U.S. expatriate Eleanor Leslie Hentz.²⁷² At the age of nineteen, Mesquita married and divorced, and then went to live in Europe for fifteen years with her young son, who eventually studied at the Dean Academy in Franklin, Massachusetts before going on to attend Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire. While in Europe, Mesquita became an admirer of Robert S.S. Baden-Powell, the British soldier who in 1908 founded the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements. Returning to Brazil, Mesquita engaged in various benevolent activities, including starting the Girl Scout movement in Brazil. She was very active in the National Crusade Against Tuberculosis and used her family wealth to found a preventorium, a building for isolating patients infected with tuberculosis, in the city of Petrópolis. She was also an ardent supporter of Bertha Lutz's Brazilian Federation for Feminine Progress and a founder and longtime treasurer of Pro-Matre, a maternity house in Rio de Janeiro. As a prominent board member at the Brazil-United States Institute, Mesquita frequently invited Ambassador Morgan to the Mesquita family mansion and moved in diplomatic circles that promoted the Pan American ideal.²⁷³

Grant was drawn to the "never feministic, always feminine" maternalist feminism of female reformers like Mesquita and women's groups like the Brazilian Federation for

²⁷² For information on Eleanor Leslie Hentz, see Karl M. Lorenz and Aricle Vechia, "Primeiras experiências com o Manual "Lições de Coisas" no século XIX no Brasil: Origens da pedagogia progressiva na escola elementa," *Revista Diálogo Educacional* [Curitiba] 5/14 (January-April 2005): 125-134.

²⁷³ For information on Jeronyma Mesquita see, Evelyn N. Freeman, "The Bandeirantes' Silver Jubilee," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 78/12 (December 1944): 671-673; Ingeez Barreto Correia d'Araujo, "American Figures Past and Present: III. Dona Jeronyma Mesquita, of Brazil," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 79/4 (April 1945): 195-199.

Feminine Progress.²⁷⁴ Mesquita represented the type of woman Grant praised, one who worked tirelessly as a social reformer, but never lost her “feminine spirit.” Like most of the women Grant cultivated friendships with in Latin America and the Caribbean, Mesquita shared with Grant a similar class position and strong desire for social reform. For Grant, elite women’s reform work was not intended to undermine their class position or what she perceived as their special female qualities.

In her article about Peru for *The Eagle Magazine for Women*, Grant similarly introduced readers to women whom she considered models of art patronage, social reform, and professionalism. After congratulating Peruvian women for conducting social service work under the auspices of women’s organizations like Bien del Hogar and the Legion Feminina Pro-Cultura, Grant noted that “despite occasional frowns” by Peruvian men, the nation’s women were “beginning to indicate that they wish to assert themselves in fields of new conquest, and they are gathering their forces.”²⁷⁵ Grant remarked favorably upon the work of socialite clubwoman Mercedes Gallagher de Parks. During visits to Peru, Parks had helped Grant make the acquaintance of elite Peruvians, including Peruvian President Augusto B. Leguía. Parks, whose father was an Irish immigrant to Peru, was a citizen of the United States by marriage to the engineer Henry W. Parks.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ For information on maternalist feminism, see Donna J. Guy, “The Politics of Pan-American Cooperation: Maternalist Feminism and the Child Rights Movement, 1913-1960,” *Gender & History* 10/3 (November 1998): 449-469; Francesca Miller, *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991), 68-109.

²⁷⁵ Frances R. Grant, “A War Liberated Peruvian Women,” *The Eagle Magazine for Women*, 11 September 1932, p. 10-11.

²⁷⁶ In 1935, Mercedes Gallagher de Parks authored *Shadows on the Road* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1935), a ramble around Europe to see the places in which the author’s favorite writers, artists, and composers lived. Other works by Gallagher de Parks include *La realidad y el arte: Studio de estética moderna* (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1937) and *Mentira Azul* (Lima: Taller Gráfica de la Editorial Lumen, 1948). Gallagher de Parks served as an advisor to the

Grant wrote that “a veritable passion for culture” combined with “years of travel in Europe” had given Parks “an artistic judgment that is most impeccable.” Readers learned that Parks was “one of the foremost art patrons and citizens of her land, who has greatly encouraged the contemporary artists of Peru.”²⁷⁷

Grant also extolled archeological development in Peru, especially the contribution of Rebecca Carrión Cachot, a Peruvian archeologist with whom she had become acquainted. In 1931, Carrión received her doctorate from the University of San Marcos in Lima under the advising of Julio César Tello, whom Grant admired as the father of modern archaeology in Peru.²⁷⁸ When Grant visited Peru, Carrión greeted her as the curator of the Museo de Arqueología Peruana. Referring to the difficulties of excavation, Grant reported that Carrión “had the courage to enter a field of work which would be difficult for men.” Grant was satisfied that it was not just “the romance of Spain” which

Peruvian delegation during the Eight International Conference of American States, held in Lima in December 1938. See Elisabeth S. Enochs, “Women at Lima Won Solidarity,” *New York Times*, 8 January 1939, p. 50. In 1944, the Parks’ British-educated son Hugo married Rosa Prado, the Paris-born only daughter of Peru’s President Manuel Prado y Urigarteche. See “Milestones,” *Time* 44/11 (September 11, 1944): 62.

²⁷⁷ Frances R. Grant, “A War Liberated Peruvian Women,” *The Eagle Magazine for Women*, 11 September 1932, p. 10-11.

²⁷⁸ On her trip to Peru in 1929, Frances Grant had become acquainted with Julio César Tello, who graciously took her on an excursion to observe “Indian dances” in Tinaja, a village near Lima. A native Quechua speaker from the highlands east of Lima, Tello played a leading role in instigating the scientific study of Andean prehistory and establishing institutional support for protecting and preserving the Peruvian archeological patrimony. After studying in Peru, Tello received Peruvian government support to attend Harvard, where he completed a master’s degree in anthropology. He then studied at the University of London before returning home as Peru’s first professional archeologist. He became director of archeology at the Museo Histórico Nacional and initiated a series of expeditions that gave him world renown. By 1924, the year he founded the Museo de Arqueología Peruana, making him director of both archeological museums in Lima, Tello had established the teaching of archeology and anthropology in Peruvian universities. For information on Tello, see S.K. Lothrop, “Julio C. Tello, 1880-1947,” *American Antiquity* 14 (July 1948): 50-56; “Dr. J.C. Tello Dies; Archeologist, 67,” *New York Times*, 5 June 1947, p. 26. Grant’s friend Blair Niles included Tello in her book *Journeys in Time* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1946), 351-364.

“fascinated” Peruvian women. The nation’s “glorious prehistoric background, which rivals and perhaps outshines Egypt’s magic” had also motivated “contemporary” Peruvian women like Carrión to “unearth its age-old mysteries.”²⁷⁹

Curiously, Grant regarded this archeological past as holding the secret to a Peruvian future of gender equality. She exclaimed that “for the future women in Peru a beautiful symbol will be that ancient Princess of the Great Inca, who shared with man the responsibilities, the labor and the spiritual victories of life, as a comrade and a fellow-worker.” Yet, she concluded, “That day is still ahead for Peruvian womanhood.”²⁸⁰ The article was illustrated with paintings by José Sabogal, who was happy Grant agreed to display his work in the halls of the Roerich Museum during the hard economic times of the early 1930s.²⁸¹ Peru’s most famous indigenist painter, Sabogal had been teaching in his homeland at the National School of Fine Arts since 1920.²⁸² Indigenismo, which

²⁷⁹ Frances R. Grant, “A War Liberated Peruvian Women,” *The Eagle Magazine for Women*, 11 September 1932, p. 10-11.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ José Sabogal asked Frances Grant to display over two dozen large paintings in the Roerich Museum. He was pleased she agreed in the winter of 1932. He explained his government was not in a position to help him due to the wildly fluctuating currency in Peru at that time. José Sabogal to Grant. 21 March 1932. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 23; José Sabogal to Grant. 31 March 1932. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 23.

²⁸² One of the first artists to do murals in modern Peru, José Sabogal (1888-1956) depicted Indians in their daily activities and festivals. In 1932, he was appointed director of the National School of Fine Arts in Peru. A school of indigenist painting flowered in Peru under his direction. Sabogal was active in support of the Second Spanish Republic during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). In 1938, he became a founding member of the Asociación de Escritores, Artistas e Intelectuales del Peru. He resigned as director of the National School of Fine Arts in 1943 in protest to government interference. For information on Sabogal, see Dawn Ades, *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 194-213; Jacqueline Barnitz, *Twentieth-century Art of Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 75-102; Thomas M. Davies, Jr., “Indian Integration in Peru, 1820-1948: An Overview,” *The Americas* 30/2 (October 1973): 184-208.

gained momentum during the 1920s in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution, was marked by the rediscovery and revaluation of pre-Columbian cultures and traditions, as well as of Indian themes, in literature, music, and the visual arts. Grant's harking back to Peru's indigenous past as the key to Peruvian women's future echoed a broader discussion around indigenismo and the celebration of the primitive. Artists and intellectuals like Grant extolled indigenous communities as an alternative to the evils of the machine-driven and spirituality-void modern society.

Although indigenismo had as broad a following in Mexico as it did in Peru, Grant did not focus on indigenismo in the article on Mexico presented as her final work for the *Eagle Magazine for Women* series in September 1932. In this article illustrated with paintings by the great twentieth-century Mexican painters Diego Rivera and Rufino Tamayo, Grant wrote that "of all American nations, Mexico is the greatest paradox." Mexico was "on one hand, the most liberal and forward moving of the countries—on the other, one which has still failed to learn how to grant liberty to its women."²⁸³ Women had been voting nationally in the United States since the 1920 passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, but Mexican women were still not voting in 1932.²⁸⁴ In her synopsis of women's activism in Mexico, Grant began with the life of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz

²⁸³ Frances R. Grant, "Mexico of Paradoxes!," *The Eagle Magazine for Women*, 18 September 1932, p. 10-11.

²⁸⁴ During the 1930s, Mexican women mounted an impressive mass campaign for the right to vote and hold office. Women in Mexico finally won the right to vote, first on the municipal level in 1946 and then on the national level in 1953. See Berta Hidalgo, *El movimiento femenino en México* (México, DF: EDAMEX, 1980); Anna Macías, *Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in Mexico to 1940* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982); Ward M. Morton, *Woman Suffrage in Mexico* (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1962); Enriqueta Tuñón, *Por fin – ya podemos elegir y ser electas!: El sufragio femenino en México, 1935-1953* (México, DF: Plaza y Valdés, CONACULTA INAH, 2002).

(1651-1695), a Hieronymite nun whose work was celebrated throughout the Spanish Empire even in her own lifetime, of whom Grant believed history offered “no finer flower of the valorous spirit of womanhood.”²⁸⁵ Grant reckoned that a great step forward for womanhood had been taken by Elena Torres, a cofounder in 1919 of the Consejo Nacional de Mujeres (Nacional Council of Women), an organization that produced the newspaper *La Mujer* (The Woman), whose program included the economic emancipation of women via equal pay and equal work and the political emancipation of women via the right to vote and hold elected office.²⁸⁶ Grant praised Mexican governmental efforts to support women. According to Grant, “one of Mexico’s beautiful gestures to women” occurred while José Vasconcelos was serving as Mexico’s secretary of public education in the early 1920s.²⁸⁷ Vasconcelos, a distinguished Mexican intellectual, invited the

²⁸⁵ Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz remains the most highly regarded poet of Mexico’s colonial period (1521-1821). The literature on her in Spanish is extensive. For information in English, see Juana Inés de la Cruz, *Poems, Protest, and a Dream: Selected Writings*, trans. Margaret Sayers Peden (New York: Penguin Books, 1997); Frederick Luciani, *Literary Self-fashioning in Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Presses, 2004); Stephanie Merrim, ed., *Feminist Perspectives on Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University, 1991); Constance M. Montross, *Virtue or Vice?: Sor Juana's Use of Thomistic Thought* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981); George H. Tavard, *Juana Inés de la Cruz and the Theology of Beauty: The First Mexican Theology* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991).

²⁸⁶ For information on Elena Torres, see Francesca Miller, “The Suffrage Movement in Latin America,” in Gertrude M. Yeager, ed., *Confronting Change, Challenging Tradition: Women in Latin American History* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1994), 157-176; Francesca Miller, “The International Relations of Women of the Americas, 1890-1928,” *The Americas* 43/2 (October 1986): 171-182.

²⁸⁷ Frances R. Grant, “Mexico of Paradoxes!,” *The Eagle Magazine for Women*, 18 September 1932, p. 10-11.

celebrated Chilean writer and educational reformer Gabriela Mistral to visit Mexico and help in the reorganization of its educational system.²⁸⁸

A month following the conclusion of her *Eagle Magazine for Women* series, Grant's own social work with New York City's Puerto Rican women was recognized in a highly complimentary piece in *Puerto Rico Ilustrado*.²⁸⁹ Grant had yet to visit Puerto Rico, but she had worked with many Puerto Ricans in the PAWA.²⁹⁰ The piece, which included a very flattering photograph of Grant, was written by Grant's friend Pedro Juan Labarthe, a Puerto Rican writer who served as the secretary treasurer of the Grupo Interamericano de la Sociedad Roerich.²⁹¹ Labarthe had recently published *The Son of*

²⁸⁸ The Mexican philosopher, lawyer, and politician José Vasconcelos (1882-1959) served as Mexico's secretary of public education from October 1921 to June 1924. His writing on the "cosmic race" in 1925, which asserted that the mestizo race combined the best of European and indigenous characteristics, was a landmark contribution to Spanish-American intellectual life. For information on Vasconcelos in English, see Gabriella de Beer, *José Vasconcelos and His World* (New York: Las Américas Publishing Company, 1966); John H. Haddox, *Vasconcelos of Mexico, Philosopher and Prophet* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967); Luis A. Marentes, *José Vasconcelos and the Writing of the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 2000); Sylvia Molloy, *At Face Value: Autobiographical Writing in Spanish America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 186-208; José Vasconcelos, *The Cosmic Race: A Bilingual Edition*, trans. Didier T. Jaén (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); José Vasconcelos, *A Mexican Ulysses: An Autobiography*, trans. W. Rex Crawford (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1963).

²⁸⁹ See Pedro Juan Labarthe, "Frances R. Grant y las mujeres portorriqueñas," *Puerto Rico Ilustrado* (October 1932): 11-12, 20-23.

²⁹⁰ Puerto Ricans in the PAWA included Remedios Cruz de Román and María Benítez Flores.

²⁹¹ In 1931, the Chilean writer Gabriela Mistral was invited to give a course on Spanish American poetry at Columbia University. She was especially loved at Columbia, where Federico de Onís was promoting her work. Pedro Juan Labarthe met Mistral through that course and became Mistral's lifelong friend after volunteering to serve as her personal secretary while she was at Columbia. Labarthe represented the Grupo Interamericano de la Sociedad Roerich at the second international conference to push for the worldwide adoption of the Roerich Pact and the Banner of Peace, which was held in Bruges, Belgium in August 1932. Before returning to Puerto Rico in 1935, Labarthe taught at various U.S. colleges and universities, including the Valley Forge Military Academy in Wayne, Pennsylvania, where he founded the academy's Pan American Society. In 1945, he was awarded a scholarship from el Departamento de Instrucción Pública de Puerto Rico to obtain a doctorate in literature at la Universidad Autónoma de México. He then

Two Nations: The Private Life of a Columbia Student, an autobiographical narrative written in English soon after obtaining a master's degree from Columbia, where he was presently teaching romance languages.²⁹² Throughout his creative and professional life as a writer and professor, Labarthe shared many of the same ideas about U.S.-Latin American relations as Grant. Labarthe believed, "For the Anglo-Saxon the only things that count are the wharves, the banks, raw materials. Friendship and neighborliness with Latin Americans cannot be bought merely by traffic in nitrate, rubber, petroleum, or by signing commercial treaties, or treaties of continental security. Only spiritually can the Latin be conquered."²⁹³ Labarthe also shared Grant's internationalist faith in the power of artists to bring harmony and unity to the humankind. "The politicians have ruined the world," wrote Labarthe. "Only the men of the pen can bring peace the world; men without a country, but who belong to all the countries should sign the Magna Carta of a world-family."²⁹⁴ Labarthe's lifework was to promote Puerto Rico through what he called spiritual bonds rather than merely political unions. He was pleased that his friend Grant had taken "an almost religious interest in Latin American issues." According to Labarthe,

taught various schools in the United States from 1946 to 1965, including Illinois Wesleyan University in Bloomington, Illinois and the Pennsylvania College for Women in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, where he was president of el Club de Escritores de Pittsburgh. While residing in the United States, he served as a correspondent for San Juan's *El Mundo* newspaper. He died in Río Piedras in 1966. Marshall E. Nunn provides a biographical sketch of Labarthe in his introduction to Labarthe's *Reclinatorio, Acetre y corazón* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1944), 9-17. For information on Labarthe's relationship with Mistral, see his book *Gabriela Mistral cómo la conocí yo y cinco poemas* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Editorial Campos, 1963).

²⁹² See Pedro Juan Labarthe, *The Son of Two Nations: The Private Life of a Columbia Student* (New York: Carranza & Company, 1931).

²⁹³ Pedro Juan Labarthe, "Forward," *Antología de poetas contemporáneos de Puerto Rico* (Ciudad de México: Editorial Clásica, 1946), 14.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

Grant had “un fondo hogareño español colonial y aunque no teniendo nada de la raza hispanica, tiene sin embargo el sentimiento, la comprehension y... ha comprendido a los latinoamericanos.”²⁹⁵ Labarthe’s words reveal how Grant’s supposedly Latin American qualities like sentiment and spirituality made her an ideal cultural broker between the United States and its hemispheric neighbors.

Grant’s work as a cultural negotiator existed in a context of internationalism in which other individuals informally and formally worked. One such woman was Pearl S. Buck. Grant invited Buck to be a guest of honor at one of the Roerich Museum’s Literary Luncheon programs.²⁹⁶ In November 1932, Grant informed Buck that the museum, committed as it was to “the greater cultural appreciation between peoples,” had “aimed to spread wider understanding between East and West.” Grant welcomed Buck back to the United States, which through Buck’s “creative inspiration” had “gained a new insight into the soul of China.” Buck learned that her “great services to this cause” were “vastly valued” amongst those associated with the Roerich Museum.²⁹⁷ Grant and Buck’s internationalism had much in common. The luncheon for Buck at the museum initiated a longtime collaboration between the two internationalists.

²⁹⁵ Pedro Juan Labarthe, “Frances R. Grant y las mujeres portorriqueñas,” *Puerto Rico Ilustrado* (October 1932): 11-12, 20-23.

²⁹⁶ In addition to these Literary Luncheons, the Pan American Women’s Association gave many a so-called “informal luncheon” at the Roerich Museum devoted to inter-American topics and discussion. The PAWA announced in mailings to prospective attendants that the association felt that these informal luncheons were “serving to bring together those who share the deep interest in closer cultural relationships between the Americas.” See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 24.

²⁹⁷ Grant to Pearl S. Buck. 4 August 1932. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 2.

Born in 1892 in Hillsboro, West Virginia to parents who were Presbyterian missionaries, Buck spent her childhood in China before returning to the United States to attend the Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Virginia. Upon graduation, she returned to China, where she married an agricultural expert employed by the Presbyterian Mission Board and taught English at Chinese colleges. Seeking treatment for their mentally retarded daughter, the couple returned to the United States, where Buck became devoted to the cause of helping mentally retarded children. Buck received a master's degree in English from Cornell University in 1926. In 1931, a year prior to beginning her lifelong association with Grant, Buck published *The Good Earth*, a Pulitzer Prize-winning international bestseller about a Chinese peasant family. She continued to write prolifically while engaging in a variety of altruistic activities.²⁹⁸

Given Buck's lifelong commitment to cooperation and understanding among the world's peoples, it is hardly surprising that she and Grant worked together on many projects.²⁹⁹ In February 1942, Buck founded the East and West Association, an organization similar to Grant's Pan American Women's Association, but with a focus on U.S. relations with China and India rather than with other nations of the Western Hemisphere. Like the PAWA, the East and West Association worked toward aiding the

²⁹⁸ For information on Pearl S. Buck, see Peter Conn, *Pearl S. Buck: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Paul A. Doyle, *Pearl S. Buck* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1965); Theodore F. Harris, *Pearl S. Buck: A Biography*, 2 vols. (New York: John Day Company, 1969-71); Karen J. Leong, *The China Mystique: Pearl S. Buck, Anna May Wong, Mayling Soong, and the Transformation of American Orientalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 12-56; Nora Stirling, *Pearl Buck: A Woman in Conflict* (Piscataway, NJ: New Century Publishers, 1983); Mari Yoshihara, *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 149-170.

²⁹⁹ For example, Grant's Pan American Women's Association and Buck's East and West Association presented an international festival at the New School for Social Research in January 1947. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 39.

Allied war effort during the Second World War.³⁰⁰ At Buck's invitation, Grant joined the women's committee of the East and West Association, which frequently shared mailing lists with the PAWA.³⁰¹

Grant's PAWA work included language as a crucial component to spreading the ideas of internationalism and peace. In March 1933, the Roerich Museum held a conference on the state of the nation's Spanish language instruction as part of the PAWA's cherished project to promote Spanish in the United States. Leo S. Rowe, the director general of the Pan American Union, sent a message to the conference-goers in which he stated that "peace and friendship between the United States and other nations of the Western Hemisphere are largely dependent on a better understanding of those countries on the part of our citizens." Rowe believed that "knowledge of Spanish is an almost indispensable instrument to this end."³⁰² He expressed his pleasure that the PAWA and the Roerich Museum were encouraging Spanish language study among the nation's students.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ For information on the East and West Association, see Robert Shaffer, "Pearl S. Buck and the East and West Association: The Trajectory and Fate of 'Critical Internationalism,' 1940-1950," *Peace & Change* 28/1 (January 2003): 1- 36.

³⁰¹ In 1942, Pearl S. Buck invited Grant to become a member of the women's committee of the East and West Association. See Pearl S. Buck to Grant. 9 May 1942. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 27.

³⁰² Leo S. Rowe to Grant. 23 March 1933. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 24. See also Grant to Leo S. Rowe. 28 March 1933. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 24.

³⁰³ Historian Helen Delpar cites the large growth in enrollment in Spanish language courses in secondary schools and the expansion of college and university level Spanish language instruction as evidence of a new interest in Latin America in the United States between 1920 and 1935. See Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992), 8.

Others pleased with the PAWA's promotion of Spanish language instruction included the directors of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, who initially approached Grant to call the Roerich Museum's conference. Lawrence A. Wilkins and Hymen Alpern, two men deeply committed to that organization, gave addresses at the conference. The Iowa-born Wilkins was a cofounder and former first president of the association, which had been established in New York City in 1915. Currently serving as director of modern languages in New York City high schools, Wilkins spoke about promoting further language study in the nation's schools.³⁰⁴ Alpern, the then vice president of the association, spoke on the status of Spanish in public high schools.³⁰⁵ A strong supporter of the many chapters of the Pan-American Student League in the city's high schools, Alpern soon became president of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish.³⁰⁶ He also became principal of one of the city's largest schools, Evander Childs High School in the Bronx.³⁰⁷ At the school, Alpern presided over ceremonies during

³⁰⁴ The first meeting of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish was held at City College in December 1917. The association changed its name to the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese in 1944. For information on Lawrence A. Wilkins, see Hymen Alpern, "Our Lost Leader: Lawrence Augustus Wilkins (1878-1945)," *Hispania* 29/2 (May 1946): 164-168; Hymen Alpern, "The Written Legacy of Lawrence A. Wilkins," *Hispania* 29/2 (May 1946): 178-180.

³⁰⁵ A graduate of City College, Hymen Alpern earned a master's degree from Columbia, a doctoral degree from New York University, and a diploma from the Centro de Estudios Históricos in Madrid. He authored several books on Spanish literature and theater, as well as many textbooks. Alpern taught Spanish at Hunter College, City College, and New York University. For information on Alpern, see "Bronx Principle Recalls the '30's," *New York Times*, 24 November 1963, p. 16

³⁰⁶ See, "Pan American Students Meet," *New York Times*, 16 December 1934, p. N3.

³⁰⁷ Hymen Alpern served as principal of Evander Childs High School for thirty years until his retirement in 1963. During the Second World War, Alpern's leadership in Pan Americanism was recognized and encouraged by local and national government agencies. In the late 1930s, with a belief that secondary school offered an opportunity to inculcate the Good Neighbor Policy in young Americans, Alpern instructed the heads of departments at Evander Childs to add Latin

which he gave out an annual Pan American Award for outstanding contributions to inter-American solidarity and the cause of democracy in the Western Hemisphere. Recipients included many of Grant's friends and colleagues.³⁰⁸

Alpern and his fellow teachers of Spanish shared with Grant an enthusiasm for the newly created Pan American Day, which began to be celebrated each April 14 after 1930 and became a significant event throughout the Western Hemisphere during the 1930s. The day commemorated the First International Conference of American States in Washington, D.C. in 1889, whereby the International Union of American Republics and the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics were formed, creating the earliest organizational elements of the Inter-American System, out of which the Pan American Union had been established in 1910 to facilitate a variety of inter-American political, economic, cultural, and humanitarian activities.³⁰⁹

In April 1933, a Pan American Day celebration was held at the Roerich Museum. A program of speeches and music was presented under the auspices of the PAWA with

American culture, history, language, and music to the school's curriculum. As a result, the U.S. Office of Education designated Evander Childs High School one of the city's Inter-American Demonstration Centers for inter-American education, which was meant to foster better inter-American relations, an issue very dear to Grant. See "Courses Offered on Latin America," *New York Times*, 8 February 1942, p. 27; "Three Schools Here Become Centers of Inter-American Relations Teaching," *New York Times*, 1 March 1942, p. D6.

³⁰⁸ Recipients of Evander Childs High School's Pan American Award included U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden, Colombian President Alberto Lleras Camargo, Chilean President Carlos Dávila, New York Times correspondent Herbert L. Matthews, New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, and U.S. Vice President Henry A. Wallace. See "Braden Honored By School Here," *New York Times*, 11 April 1946, p. 16; "School Cites Times on Americas News," *New York Times*, 17 April 1958, p. 34; "Rockefeller Urges Hemispheric Bloc," *New York Times*, 1 June 1960, p. 5.

³⁰⁹ For information on Pan American Day, see Hilah Paulmier and Robert Haven Schauffler, eds., *Pan-American Day: An Anthology of the Best Prose and Verse on Pan Americanism and the Good Neighbor Policy* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1943).

Grant presiding. The atmosphere must have been festive, as the previous month the new Democratic president of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had delivered his inaugural speech dedicating the nation to his foreign policy of the “good neighbor.”³¹⁰ Roosevelt was on his way to becoming a much-loved figure in Latin America and the Caribbean due to his commitment to sign the United States onto inter-American treaties endorsing the principle of nonintervention by one nation into the affairs of another. However, at the Roerich Museum’s 1933 Pan American Day celebration, the highly enthusiastic Brazilian Consul General Sampaio did not have inter-American cooperation on his mind. For Sampaio, the day represented a celebration of Latin America’s progress and increasing importance on the world stage. *The New York Times* reported that Sampaio “visioned the Latin America of the near future as taking her place with North America in the service of civilization and as offering a veritable paradise for the creative energies of the surplus population of the Old World, just as the United States did in the last century.” Sampaio told those U.S. citizens in the audience, “The last century belonged to you. The next century belongs to us.”³¹¹ Roerich Museum President Louis Horch addressed the audience, as well as Grant’s brother David. Speaking for North American women was Elizabeth Blanche Moore of Buffalo, president of the New York State Federation of Women’s Clubs.³¹² A message was read from Roerich, who was off

³¹⁰ See Davis W. Houck, *FDR and Fear Itself: The First Inaugural Address* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002).

³¹¹ “Roosevelt Urges Peace in Americas,” *New York Times*, 13 April 1933, p. 4.

³¹² Elizabeth Blanche Moore was the wife of the manufacturer Charles G. Moore (1876-1951), who founded the Buffalo Corrugated Container Company with his father-in-law Harley N. Sickler in 1910. See “Moore, Charles Gillingham,” *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Company, 1955), 318-319.

in the Himalayas.³¹³ In attendance were the consul generals in New York of Argentina, Chile, Cuba, Haiti, and Mexico.³¹⁴

The Pan American Day celebration at the Roerich Museum in April 1933 expressed the hope and idealism of Pan Americanism. This same hope and idealism was echoed in February 1934 in a new series of PAWA-sponsored luncheons during which problems and interests of the Western Hemisphere were discussed. Appropriately, the first honored guest in the series was engineer and industrialist Spruille Braden, who began his diplomatic career in December 1933 as one of the five U.S. delegates to the Seventh International Conference of American States in Montevideo, Uruguay, where the United States formally accepted the nonintervention principle. A future U.S. ambassador to Colombia, Cuba, and Argentina, and later U.S. assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs, Braden would find in Grant a lifelong advocate.³¹⁵ Hopeful that the results of the conference prefigured a brighter new era in inter-American relations, Braden ascribed credit for the conferences' success to "the character and leadership of President Roosevelt, and his 'New Deal' and 'good neighbor' policies as interpreted through the remarkable personality of Secretary Hull," Roosevelt's secretary of state who headed the delegation and voted for the Convention on the Rights and Duties of States

³¹³ "Roosevelt Urges Peace in Americas," *New York Times*, 13 April 1933, p. 4.

³¹⁴ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 24.

³¹⁵ In November 1938, the Pan American Women's Association held a reception in honor of Spruille Braden at the Women's City Club in the International Building of Rockefeller Center. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had recently promoted the U.S. legation in Bogotá to embassy rank. Therefore, Braden was elevated from his position as U.S. minister to Colombia to become the first U.S. ambassador to Colombia. Braden served as U.S. ambassador to Colombia from 1938 to 1942. See "Events Today," *New York Times*, 19 November 1938, p. 15.

treaty affirming that no nation had the right to intervene in the affairs of another.³¹⁶

Braden told the luncheon guests that the U.S. delegation was able “to persuade our colleagues at the conference of the truth that we do not regard ourselves as in any way superior, nor as we falsely have been charged, the guardians of mankind and the particular guardians of our Latin-American neighbors. On the contrary, it clearly appeared that we looked forward to the mutual friendship, respect, and cooperation between the equally sovereign States of the Western World.”³¹⁷

The Good Neighbor Policy had won the United States praise throughout the Western Hemisphere, which was reflected in the upbeat mood of the PAWA luncheon by all in attendance, including Sixto E. Durán Ballén, the Ecuadorian consul general in New York whose nephew would one day become Ecuador’s president.³¹⁸ While Durán commended Roosevelt’s Latin American policy at the luncheon, Columbia University

³¹⁶ Cordell Hull (1871-1955), a Tennessee attorney, served in the U.S. House of Representatives for twenty-two years (1907-1921, 1923-1931) and in the U.S. Senate (1931-33) before being appointed U.S. secretary of state by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Hull’s initiation of a reciprocal trade program to lower tariffs significantly expanded world trade in the second half of the twentieth century. He did much to improve U.S. relations in the Western Hemisphere by implementing the Good Neighbor Policy. Due to ill health, Hull resigned as U.S. secretary of state in 1944. The following year, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. For information on Hull, see Michael A. Butler, *Cautious Visionary: Cordell Hull and Trade Reform, 1933-1937* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1998); Irwin F. Gellman, *Secret Affairs: Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Sumner Welles* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Cordell Hull, *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1948).

³¹⁷ “Latin-American Policy of Roosevelt Hailed,” *New York Times*, 25 February 1934, p. 31.

³¹⁸ Sixto Durán Ballén served as president of Ecuador from 1992 to 1996. He was born in Boston, Massachusetts, where his father was conducting business. He attended U.S. schools and graduated from Columbia University with a degree in architecture. In 1951, he became Ecuador’s minister of public works. He worked for the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington, D.C. in the 1960s, and served as mayor of Quito in the 1970s. For information on Durán Ballén, see James Brooke, “U.S.-Trained Conservative is Elected Ecuador President,” *New York Times*, 6 July 1992, p. A4; Sixto Durán-Ballén, *A Mi Manera... Los años de Carondelet* (Quito: Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, Editorial Abya Yala; Guayaquil: Universidad Espíritu Santo, 2005); Anita Isaacs, *Military Rule and Transition in Ecuador, 1972-1992* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993).

professor of history William Shepherd declared that cultural relations between the Americas should come before political and economic ones.³¹⁹ Shepherd had been considered an expert on Latin America since 1908, the year he served as a delegate to the first Pan American Scientific Congress at Santiago, Chile. After being asked the following year to serve as secretary of the U.S. delegation to the Fourth International Conference of American States at Buenos Aires, Argentina, Shepherd participated in numerous Pan American conferences. His recurrent criticism of U.S. imperialism in relations with Latin America and the Caribbean influenced many of the Western Hemisphere's most active promoters of inter-American unity in the early part of the twentieth century.³²⁰

In many ways Grant straddled both the cultural and the political as she worked towards inter-American unity through PAWA-sponsored Roerich Museum events that often combined art, commerce, and politics in a seamless network. For example, in May 1934, the PAWA hosted one of its informal luncheons devoted to inter-American exchange. On this particular afternoon, the guests of honor were the Argentine composer and conductor Juan José Castro and his wife. Castro had become internationally known after his award-winning 1930 *Allegro Lento e Vivace* was performed at the International Society of Contemporary Music Festival. A year prior to being honored at the Roerich

³¹⁹ "Latin-American Policy of Roosevelt Hailed," *New York Times*, 25 February 1934, p. 31.

³²⁰ In 1896, William Robert Shepherd (1871-1934) earned a doctoral degree from Columbia University, where he was as a professor of history for many years until his death in 1934. He was a contributing editor to the Baha'i publication *World Unity* and served as advisory editor of *The Hispanic-American Review*. For information on Shepherd, see Frank Monaghan, "Shepherd, William Robert," in Harris E. Starr, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 21, supplement 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944), 655-656; "Dr. W. R. Shepherd Dies in Berlin, 62," *New York Times*, 7 June 1934, p. 23.

Museum, Castro had been named director of the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires, the largest and most prestigious opera house in South America.³²¹ Other guests that afternoon included the Cubans Pablo Suárez and Natalia Arostegui de Suárez. A banker with commercial ties to the United States who was heartened by the Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration's neighborly abrogation of the Platt Amendment that had made Cuba a U.S. protectorate since the 1898 Spanish-American War, Suárez had just recently become the new consul general of Cuba in New York.³²² His wife Natalia would soon become an

³²¹ The Teatro Colón opened in 1908, succeeding an 1857 opera house of the same name. After studying music in Argentina, Juan José Castro won the Europa Grand Prize and went to study in Paris with Vincent D'Indy at the Schola Cantorum. Castro was appointed conductor of the Teatro Colón in 1930. His opera *Proserina y el extranjero*, first performed at Milan's La Scala, won the first International Verdi Prize in 1951. Pablo Casals appointed Castro dean of the National Conservatory in San Juan, Puerto Rico, where he served from 1959 to 1964. For information on the Teatro Colón, see Roberto Caamaño, *La historia del Teatro Colón, 1908-1968* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Cinetea, 1979). For information on Juan José Castro (1895-1968), see Rodolfo Arizaga, *Juan José Castro* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Culturales Argentinas, Ministerio de Educación y Justicia, Dirección General de Cultura, 1963); Gerard Béhague, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1979); *Compositores de América: Datos biográficos y catálogos de sus obras*, vol. 4 (Washington, DC: Sección de Música, Departamento de Asuntos Culturales, Unión Panamericana, 1958).

³²² The Platt Amendment legally validated three decades of U.S. paternalistic supervision over the former Spanish colony of Cuba, which became independent in May 1902, but only after a special U.S.-Cuban relationship was created whereby Cuba became a U.S. protectorate. The administration of U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt approved Cuban independence, but maintained control over Cubans, whom it considered unsuitable for self-government, through an amendment to the U.S. Army appropriations bill for fiscal year 1902 known as the Platt Amendment. Drafted by U.S. Secretary of War Elihu Root and named after its sponsor, Republican Senator Orville H. Platt of Connecticut, the amendment severely limited Cuba's autonomy. U.S. troops left the island following the Spanish-American War only after Cuba's Constituent Assembly included the amendment's provisions as a codicil to the new Cuban Constitution of 1901. The amendment granted the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs to maintain "a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty." Reflecting U.S. fear of European interventions and occupations in the Western Hemisphere to collect on defaulted debts, the amendment stated that the Cuban government would not assume any extraordinary public debt. Incorporated into the U.S.-Cuban Permanent Treaty of 1903, the amendment made Cuban independence a farce. Cuba experienced a surge of nationalist sentiment in the 1920s. The Treaty of Relations with Cuba finally abrogated the amendment in May 1934, in accord with U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor efforts. With the bilateral repeal of the Platt Amendment, the United States no longer had a constitutionally legitimated right to intervene at its own discretion in Cuba's domestic and

active PAWA member.³²³ The Christian missionary and educator Samuel Guy Inman, another former critic of the Platt Amendment, and indeed of all forms of imperialism, also attended the luncheon that afternoon.³²⁴

international affairs. See Russell H. Fitzgibbon, *Cuba and the United States, 1900-1935* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964); José M. Hernández, *Cuba and the United States: Intervention and Militarism, 1868-1933* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993); Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba Under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934* (Pittsburg, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986).

³²³ Pablo Suárez was Cuban consul general in New York from April 1934 to December 1945, thereafter serving his country as consul general inspector until 1951 when he resigned to become a commercial attaché. He represented the Trust Company of Cuba in New York City, where died in March 1952. See "New Cuban Consul Begins Duties Here," *New York Times*, 3 April 1934, p. 19; "Pablo Suarez," *New York Times*, 29 March 1952, p. 15.

³²⁴ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 24. Samuel Guy Inman (1877-1965) had been teaching at Columbia University since 1919. Inman received his doctoral degree from Columbia in 1904. A Texan, he returned to New York City after many years as a missionary in Mexico with the Disciples of Christ. From 1915 to 1939, Inman served as executive secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, which had been formed in 1913. The committee played an important role in ecumenical Protestant missionary activities in Latin America. As founder and editor of *La Nueva Democracia*, the committee's Spanish language journal, Inman had attended the International Conferences of American States as an observer since 1923. He served as editor of *La Nueva Democracia* from 1920 to 1939. He left Columbia in 1934 and taught at the University of Pennsylvania from 1937 to 1942. A prolific author, much of his work was published by the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America. For works by Inman, see his *Christian Cooperation in Latin America* (New York: Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, 1917); *Problems in Pan Americanism* (New York: George H. Doran, 1921); "Pan-American Conferences and Their Results," *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* 4 (1923/1924): 238-266; *Latin America: Its Place in World Life* (New York: Willet, Clark & Company, 1937); "Refugee Settlement in Latin America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 203 (May 1939): 183-193; "Lima Conference and the Totalitarian Issue," *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science* 204 (July 1939): 9-16; "Cultural Relations with Latin America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 211 (September 1940): 180-185; Harold Eugene Davis, ed., *Inter-American Conferences, 1826-1954: History and Problems* (Washington, DC: University Press, 1965). For information on Inman, see Carlos F. Cardoza-Orlandi, *From Christian Continent to Mission Field: The Missional Discourse of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America and Protestant Latin Americans Concerning the Missional Needs of Latin America, 1910-1938* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1999); William J. Castleman, *On this Foundation: A Historical Literary Biography of the Early Life of Samuel Guy Inman* (St. Louis, MO: Bethany Press, 1966); Kenneth Flint Woods, *Samuel Guy Inman: His Role in the Evolution of Inter-American Cooperation* (Ph.D. Dissertation: American University, 1962); "Samuel G. Inman, Educator, 77, Dies," *New York Times*, 21 February 1965, p. 77.

Through a variety of events, the Roerich Museum continually promoted the importance of education in its efforts to foster Pan Americanism. In September 1934, Grant announced the formation of the Inter-American Institute at the museum with the purpose of stimulating interest in Latin American and Caribbean studies in the New York City area. As its first activity, the institute sponsored a course entitled "Elements of Latin American Civilization" that began in October 1934. The course was taught by Philip Leonard Green, an advocate of the Pan American student movement who later took employment at the U.S. Department of the Interior.³²⁵ The course fomented inter-American relations by giving students the opportunity to meet representatives of the countries they were studying through Latin American and Caribbean guest lecturers, as well as giving them the opportunity to attend the many activities related to Latin America and the Caribbean organized by the PAWA at the Roerich Museum. Grant arranged the course in response to "a long-felt need for an interesting, non-academic course that will serve as an introduction to the fascinating study of Latin America."³²⁶

Through student exchanges, courses, and lectures, Grant and the PAWA helped increase appreciation and understanding of Latin America and the Caribbean in the United States. In December 1934, the New York chapter of the Women's National Republican Club invited Grant to address their membership. In her talk, entitled 'Cultural Understanding—The Key to Pan American Relations,' Grant stressed that "North

³²⁵ For information on Philip Leonard Green's involvement in the Pan American student movement, see his article "Spanish as a Key to Inter-American Understanding," *Hispania* 19/1 (February 1936): 41-44. Green authored two books on inter-American relations, *Our Latin American Neighbors* (New York: Hastings House, 1941) and *Pan American Progress* (New York: Hastings House, 1942).

³²⁶ "Museum Opens Inter-American Institute." Press Release. 17 September 1934. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 57.

Americans have in great measure failed to understand and appreciate the South and Central American peoples.” She claimed that North Americans made “the great error of massing all South and Central American people together, totally regardless of the fact that each country of South and Central America is a psychological and spiritual entity—and that each has a distinct and individual contribution to make to the sum total of pan-American culture.” Arguing against a homogenous vision of the Americas, Grant informed her audience that the term Latin America was “as much of a misnomer as it would be to continually style us Anglo-Americans.” Combining her oft-repeated themes of world unity, racial harmony, and the intrinsic spirituality of Latin America, Grant asserted, “If it is true that we can teach our Southern neighbors much in the economic and industrial factors of life—it is also true that from them we have much to learn in creative and cultural values, factors which will play so large a role in the coming readjustment of national and international life. North, Central and South America must work out a common destiny—but it can only fulfill its true purpose when every country of the Americas, beginning at home, realizes that greed, self-aggrandizement, and contempt for other races and nations are destructive—and that common respect, trust and—above all—cultural understanding and mutual appreciation must be the links of that true inter-American brotherhood that is to be.”³²⁷

Grant’s work promoting greater inter-American cooperation contributed to similar numerous and varied efforts by her Latin American and Caribbean colleagues. In March 1935, the PAWA organized a reception at the Roerich Museum for one such woman, Amanda Labarca, who had made a distinct and individual contribution to national life in

³²⁷ Frances R. Grant, “Synopsis of Talk on South America.” Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 67. See also “What Is Going On This Week,” *New York Times*, 9 December 1934, p. 42.

Chile and international life in the Americas in 1924 by becoming the first female professor at the University of Chile.³²⁸ In a press release for the event, Grant boasted that Labarca, then head of the Chilean Department of Secondary Education, was “one of Chile’s great educators and outstanding women.”³²⁹ Labarca was a pioneer of the female suffrage movement in Chile as well as of inter-American relations. She participated in the First Pan American Scientific Congress, held in Santiago in December 1908. During the Second Pan American Scientific Congress in Washington, D.C. in 1915, Labarca had helped create the First Pan American Women’s Auxiliary Conference, which voted to found the Pan American Union of Women. As president of the Consejo Nacional de Mujeres (National Council of Women), later named the Pan American International Women’s Committee, Labarca continually encouraged inter-American endeavors over the years.³³⁰

³²⁸ See “Chilean Educator To Speak,” *New York Times*, 24 March 1935, p. N3. Amanda Labarca was in New York at the time as the only female member of a Chilean government educational commission then visiting the United States. Grant had praised Labarca in an article she penned following her first trip to South America in 1929. See Frances R. Grant, “Some Artistic Tendencies in South America,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 63/10 (October 1929): 977.

³²⁹ Pan American Woman’s Association, “To Honor Chilean Woman Educator,” March 24, 1935. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 67. Amanda Labarca worked in the field of education all her adult life. In 1916, she became director of an innovative high school for girls in Santiago, Chile. Thanks to her efforts, the public liceo became acceptable and respectable for middle and upper-middle class Chilean girls. See Elsa M. Chaney, “Old and New Feminists in Latin America: The Case of Peru and Chile,” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35/2 (May 1973): 331-343.

³³⁰ See Francesca Miller, “The International Relations of Women of the Americas 1890-1928,” *The Americas* 43/2 (October 1986): 174-177. After the Second World War, Amanda Labarca served as a Chilean representative to the General Assembly of the United Nations and a member of the Inter-American Commission of Women. For information on Labarca, see Catharine Manny Paul, *Amanda Labarca H.: Educator to the Women of Chile; The Work and Writings of Amanda Labarca H. in the Field of Education in Chile* (Cuernavaca, México: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1969); Sandra M. Boschetto-Sandoval, *The Imaginary in the Writing of Latin American Author Amanda Labarca Hubertson (1886-1975): Supplements to a Feminist Critique* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 2004).

Grant's Pan American Women's Association provided an important venue for people of the Western Hemisphere to meet and foster inter-American understanding. The PAWA's activities reveal the crucial role women and nongovernmental organizations played in the cultivation of internationalism and development of Pan Americanism during the twentieth century. As historian Lynn Stoner argues for other Pan American women's organizations, Grant's association offered Latin American and Caribbean women an opening "to argue for their mission before a hemispheric audience and within the spirit of cooperation."³³¹ In league with Grant, these women believed they held the qualities needed to fight the loss of humanism that supposedly accompanied increased technological advancement. Claiming attributes tied to organic and spiritual values that served as the basis of moral superiority, Grant and her elite female contemporaries capitalized on this female stereotype to take a leadership role in promoting spirituality and art as the basis for inter-American harmony. Perhaps, for this reason, Grant specifically extolled female reformers who maintained "feminine" qualities.

Grant joined other more well-known individuals who served as cultural brokers between the peoples of the United States and Latin America and the Caribbean. Like the celebrated U.S. academic Frank Tannenbaum, who political scientist Jesus Velasco argues functioned as an intermediary between Mexico and the United States, Grant also arranged interviews between important functionaries, organized bilateral groups, and

³³¹ K. Lynn Stoner, "In Four Languages But with One Voice: Division and Solidarity within Pan American Feminism, 1923-1933," in David Sheinin, ed., *Beyond the Ideal: Pan Americanism in Inter-American Affairs* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000), 81.

published about the Americas in various periodicals.³³² To her Latin American and Caribbean colleagues throughout the Western Hemisphere, Grant was special in that she had the “sentiment” necessary to understand them, as her Puerto Rican friend Pedro Juan Labarthe explained. Moreover, Latin American and Caribbean social, political, and economic elites were attracted to Grant’s endorsement of their humanistic traditions and validation of their cultural pride. When not praising them herself, Grant gave these elites a forum to aggrandize themselves in front of a U.S. audience.

Regrettably for Grant, the Roerich Museum soon ceased as a place where influential individuals cultivated inter-American connections. For all her talk of mutual understanding and harmonious relations, Grant and her colleagues at the Roerich Museum were experiencing irreconcilable internal discord. By the end of 1935, the skyscraper at 310 Riverside Drive in Manhattan was no longer called the Master Building

³³² See Jesus Velasco, “Reading Mexico, Understanding the United States: American Transnational Intellectuals in the 1920s and 1990s,” *Journal of American History* 86/2 (September 1999), 641-667. Born in Austria in 1893, Frank Tannenbaum immigrated to the United States in 1905. He received his bachelor’s degree from Columbia University in 1921 and became a fellow at the New School for Social Research the following year. In 1927, Tannenbaum received a doctoral degree from the Brookings Institute. His book *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1929) was a groundbreaking study of land reform policies that resulted from Mexican Revolution. Tannenbaum spent most of his career at Columbia University, where began teaching courses on Latin American history in 1935. One of the few U.S. leftist academics to criticize the Fidel Castro government in the early years of the Cuban Revolution, Tannenbaum was among the U.S. delegates to the Second Inter-American Congress for Democracy and Freedom, held in Maracay, Venezuela in April 1960. After retiring from teaching in 1961, he worked with Frances Grant as a member of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom’s U.S. committee. He also served as director of the University Seminar Program at Columbia until his death in 1969. For information on Tannenbaum, see Carter B. Horsley, “Dr. Frank Tannenbaum, 76, Dies; Organized Columbia Seminars,” *New York Times*, 2 June 1969, p. 45; Stanley R. Ross, “Frank Tannenbaum (1893-1969),” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 50/2 (May 1970): 345-348. A collection of essays by Tannenbaum, *The Future of Democracy in Latin America* (New York: Knopf, 1974) contains a biographical sketch by the book’s editors, Joseph Maier and Richard Weatherhead. For information on Tannenbaum’s early career, see Helen Delpar, “Frank Tannenbaum: The Making of a Mexicanist, 1914-1933,” *The Americas* 45/2 (October 1988): 153-171; Charles Hale, “Frank Tannenbaum and the Mexican Revolution,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 75/2 (May 1995): 215-246. For Tannenbaum’s early critique of Fidel Castro, see Frank Tannenbaum, *Ten Keys to Latin America* (New York: Knopf, 1962), 201-237.

and Grant's relationship with Roerich Museum president and financial benefactor Louis Horch had come to a bitter end.

CHAPTER 4

FROM ROERICH PACT SOLIDARITY TO ROERICH MUSEUM DISCORD

By 1935, the relationship between Frances Grant and Roerich Museum president Louis Horch had deteriorated, although not before several crowning achievements of which Grant was proud, most notably the signing of the Roerich Pact. Representing the perfect example of the type of inter-American cooperation for peace that the Pan American Women's Association espoused, the pact was the concrete result of Grant's tireless promotion over many years of networking and alliance building throughout the Western Hemisphere. Grant and the PAWA's successful campaign on behalf of the Roerich Pact illustrates the political impact informal actors and nongovernmental organizations have made in twentieth-century international diplomacy. However, following the euphoria Grant felt over the inter-American approval of the Roerich Pact, the greater political aims of her guru Nicholas Roerich alarmed government officials in Washington, D.C., who eventually retracted their political and financial support for Roerich's international projects.

The story of the falling out between Grant and Horch begins with Henry A. Wallace, the Iowa politician who served as U.S. secretary of agriculture from 1930 until becoming vice president of the United States in 1941.³³³ Grant first met Wallace when he

³³³ The literature on Henry A. Wallace is extensive. See Norman D. Markowitz, *The Rise and Fall of the People's Century: Henry A. Wallace and American Liberalism, 1941-1948* (New York: Free Press, 1973); Edward L. and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, *Prophet in Politics: Henry A. Wallace and the War Years, 1940-1965* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1971); Karl M. Schmidt, *Henry A. Wallace: Quixotic Crusade, 1948* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1960); J. Samuel Walker, *Henry A. Wallace and American Foreign Policy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976); Richard J. Walton, *Henry Wallace, Harry Truman, and the Cold War*

visited the Roerich Museum for the first time in 1929. The two began corresponding soon afterwards. Wallace's engagement with Grant and her fellow Roerich devotees revolved around two issues, the Banner of Peace movement and the ability of the U.S. secretary of agriculture to allocate research funds.

The Banner of Peace was a project long in the making by Nicholas Roerich. In March 1930, *The New York Times* printed a letter from Roerich lamenting the destruction of art in times of war. Roerich suggested that an international symbol, a flag of three red rings on a white background, should fly over museums, monuments, cathedrals, and universities to protect them as neutral spaces.³³⁴ The idea was simple and Grant embraced it with a passion, becoming both its most successful advocate and the key spokesperson for the project in the Western Hemisphere, where nations would sign onto the Roerich Pact and raise the Banner of Peace. In lecture after lecture, before groups at the Roerich Museum, as well as throughout the New York area in art galleries, women's clubs, and schools, Grant lost no opportunity to promote the Banner of Peace movement.

In an article in the Baha'i magazine *World Unity*, Grant championed her Roerich-inspired holistic vision of the world. Grant praised Roerich for using the Master Institute of United Arts "to dissolve the arbitrary barriers set up between the arts." At his Himalayan Research Institute in the Kulu Valley of Himachal Pradesh, Roerich promoted "the essential unity" of the arts and sciences. And, through his Asiatic expeditions, he discovered "the unities of human origins." Grant was thrilled at the revelations Roerich was making concerning "the interweaving of all nations and racial life." Grant admired

(New York: Viking, 1976); Graham White and John Maze, *Henry A. Wallace: His Search for A New World Order* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

³³⁴ Nicholas K. Roerich, "Special Flag is Suggested to Protect Art Treasures," *New York Times*, 16 March 1930, p. E5.

Roerich as a spiritual leader for, as she put it, “his repeated emphasis and concern to find the threads which connect human traditions, whether they be of East or West, because in this way he is able to link the foundations and to indicate how arbitrary, in truth, are the barriers erected by prejudice and intolerance.”³³⁵ Roerich’s ideas of “Peace through Culture” and the establishment of a global “Legion of Culture” were spread in branches of the Roerich Society in twenty different countries. Grant herself established eleven of these branches in Latin America and the Caribbean. She could also boast in having had a hand in winning the endorsement of the Roerich Peace Pact and Banner of Peace by the General Federation of Women’s Clubs of America.³³⁶

The connections Grant made with Latin American and Caribbean elites through her work with the Roerich institutions facilitated her promotion of the Roerich Pact throughout the Western Hemisphere. Grant’s success with the Roerich Pact came just before her great disappointment over the failure of the Roerich institutions to hold together under the leadership and financial support of Louis Horch. By 1931 the effects of the Great Depression had begun taking their toll on the Roerich institutions, whose financial situation would increasingly worsen.³³⁷ Despite financial difficulties, Grant pressed on with her work. Expositions and events, including those pertaining to Latin

³³⁵ Frances R. Grant, “Nicholas Roerich’s Plan for World Peace,” *World Unity* 9/5 (February 1932): 307-313.

³³⁶ See Frances R. Grant, “Nicholas Roerich’s Plan for World Peace,” *World Unity* 9/5 (February 1932): 307-313.

³³⁷ For information on the financial troubles at the Master Building, see “Roerich Building in Receiver’s Hands,” *New York Times*, 7 April 1932, p. 25; “Court Orders Audit on Roerich Property,” *New York Times*, 20 April 1932, p. 14; “Asks Court to Oust Roerich Receiver,” *New York Times*, 30 April 1932, p. 18; “Building Manager, Ousted, Ends Life,” *New York Times*, 6 July 1932, p. 22; “Named Roerich Receiver,” *New York Times*, 13 August 1932, p. 26; “Roerich Museum Wins in Court of Appeals,” *New York Times*, 13 October 1932, p. 38.

America and the Caribbean, continued in the Master Building. For example, in February 1932, *The Soul of Mexico*, a film produced and financed by Juliet Barrett Rublee, had its debut at the Roerich Museum.³³⁸ A modern dancer and longtime champion of female equality who had begun her activism in the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage in the 1910s, Rublee went on to become a close friend Margaret Sanger as well as a financial supporter of Sanger's birth control movement. Rublee had spent nearly three years making the film, with the Hollywood director David Kirkland heading the technical production staff. Rublee obtained the cooperation of Mexican President Emilio Portes Gil to shoot her screenplay on location in Mexico showing the struggle of the peasants during the Mexican Revolution.³³⁹ She was the wife of George Rublee, former legal counsel to Dwight W. Morrow, the recently deceased U.S. ambassador to Mexico, whose widow Elizabeth attended the event.³⁴⁰ Elizabeth, like her husband Dwight, played a significant

³³⁸ See "'The Soul of Mexico,' A Film, Is Shown Here," *New York Times*, 5 February 1932, p. 25. For information on the film, see "American Woman's Motion Picture of Mexico," *New York Times*, 7 February 1932, p. X4.

³³⁹ For information on Juliet Barrett Rublee (1875-1966) and her husband George Rublee (1868-1957), see Marc Eric McClure, *Earnest Endeavors: The Life and Public Work of George Rublee* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003).

³⁴⁰ The investment banker Dwight W. Morrow (1873-1931) served as U.S. ambassador to Mexico from 1927 to 1930. After Morrow invited Charles A. Lindbergh on a goodwill tour of Mexico in 1927, the famed aviator married Morrow's daughter Anne. Morrow, a Republican, was elected by New Jersey voters to the U.S. Senate, where he served from December 1930 until his death in October 1931. For information on Morrow, see Richard Meltzer, "The Ambassador *Simpático*: Dwight Morrow in Mexico 1927-1930," in C. Neale Ronning and Albert P. Vannucci, eds., *Ambassadors in Foreign Policy: The Influence of Individuals on U.S.-Latin American Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1987); Robert Freeman Smith, "The Morrow Mission and the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico: The Interaction of Finance Diplomacy and the New Mexican Elite," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 1/2 (November 1969): 149-166; Stanley R. Ross, "Dwight W. Morrow, Ambassador to Mexico," *The Americas* 14/3 (January 1958): 273-289; Stanley Robert Ross, "Dwight Morrow and the Mexican Revolution," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 38/4 (November 1958): 506-528.

role in encouraging cultural relations between the United States and Mexico.³⁴¹ She would later become a major benefactor of the Willkie Memorial Building of Freedom House, where Grant maintained an office in Manhattan.³⁴² Also in attendance was José Manuel Puig Casauranc, Mexico's ambassador to the United States who had served for four years as his country's minister of education in the mid-1920s.³⁴³

Grant also helped Latin American and Caribbean peoples in the New York area who were experiencing their own Depression Era financial difficulties. For instance, a Latin American Country Festival was held at the Roerich Hall in April 1932 by the Grupo Inter-Americano of the Roerich Society. Proceeds benefited unemployed Latin American musicians, who performed while various dancers from Latin America and the Caribbean presented the Argentine malambo, the Chilean cueca, the Cuban rumba, the Brazilian maxixe, the Mexican jarabe, the Peruvian marinera, and the Puerto Rican

³⁴¹ For information on the writer and philanthropist Elizabeth Reeve Cutter Morrow (1873-1955), who served as the first female president of Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts in 1939-1940, see "Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow Is Dead; Educator Was Widow of Diplomat," *New York Times*, 24 January 1955, p. 23; Elizabeth Morrow, *The Mexican Years: Leaves from the Diary of Elizabeth Morrow* (New York: Spiral Press, 1953); Elizabeth Morrow, *Casa Mañana* (Croton Falls, NY: Spiral Press, 1932); Elizabeth Morrow, "Our Street in Cuernavaca," *American Mercury* 23 (August 1931): 411-418. See also Constance Morrow Morgan's *A Distant Moment* (Northampton, MA: Smith College, 1978), a biography about Morrow written by her daughter, a 1935 Smith College graduate and a Smith trustee from 1964 to 1971.

³⁴² See "\$188,910 Contributed To Willkie Memorial," *New York Times*, 23 May 1945, p. 15.

³⁴³ Born in 1888, José Manuel Puig Casauranc practiced medicine in Albuquerque, New Mexico and worked as a physician for U.S. oil companies in Tampico, Tamaulipas. Puig took up journalism before serving as a senator for his native state of Campeche. He was campaign manager for Plutarco Elías Calles, who served as Mexico's president from 1924 to 1928. Calles then named Puig to the post of minister of education. Puig headed the Mexican delegation to the Seventh International Conference of American States, held at Montevideo, Uruguay in December 1933. After serving as ambassador to the United States, Puig became Mexico's minister of foreign affairs. For information on Puig, see "Dr. Puig-Casauranc New Mexican Envoy," *New York Times*, 3 October 1931, p. 7; "J. Puig Casauranc, Mexican Diplomat," *New York Times*, 10 May 1939, p. 23.

danza.³⁴⁴ The festival was under the direction of the Armando Zegri, a Chilean journalist and novelist who served as president of the Grupo Inter-Americano of the Roerich Society.³⁴⁵ As owner and operator of the Café Latino in Greenwich Village, Zegri promoted the career of a young Argentine bandoneón player named Astor Piazzolla, who, after spending most of his childhood on Manhattan's Lower East Side, went on to become the world's foremost composer of tango music.³⁴⁶

During the Roerich Museum's financial troubles, one of the nation's leading clubwomen, Grant's friend and colleague Constance Amberg Sporborg, offered the aid of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, of which she was president in the

³⁴⁴ For information on the Latin American Country Festival, see John Martin, "The Dance: An American Art," *New York Times*, 3 April 1932, p. X11.

³⁴⁵ The Greenwich Village café owner Armando Zegri was the author of the novel *El ultimo decadente* (Paris: Le Livre Libre, 1926). His book on the social life and customs of the United States, *La mujer antiséptica* (Santiago: Ediciones Ercilla, 1942), contains a prologue by Frances Grant's friend Luis Alberto Sánchez, a Peruvian politician, scholar, and founding member of the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American Popular Revolutionary Alliance). Zegri's *La gran experiencia del Pacífico: De Manila a Tokio con MacArthur* (Santiago: Zig-zag, 1947) is a collection of personal accounts during the Second World War, when he worked as a correspondent for the National Broadcasting Company. After the war, Zegri opened the New York art gallery and bookstore Galería Sudamericana. See María Susana Azzi and Simon Collier, *Le Grand Tango: The Life and Music of Astor Piazzolla* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 14.

³⁴⁶ Born in Mar del Plata to first-generation Argentines of Italian descent, Astor Piazzolla (1921-1992) spent the years 1924 to 1937 in New York City, where he became passionately fond of both jazz and classical music, while also learning to play the bandoneón, a classic tango instrument and member of the accordion family. At the age of sixteen, he returned to Argentina and studied with the renowned Argentine composer Alberto Ginastera. In the mid-1950s, Piazzolla went to Paris to study with the outstanding music educator Nadia Boulanger, who encouraged him to develop his own modern tango style. For information on Piazzolla, see María Susana Azzi and Simon Collier, *Le Grand Tango: The Life and Music of Astor Piazzolla* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Natalio Gorin, *Astor Piazzolla: A Memoir*, trans. Fernando Gonzalez (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 2001); Gabriela Mauriño, "Raíces tangueras de la obra de Astor Piazzolla," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 22/2 (Autumn-Winter 2001): 240-254.

early 1930s.³⁴⁷ Grant had worked closely with Sporborg in the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, as well as in the of the National Council of Jewish Women's headquarters in New York.³⁴⁸ Grant's affiliation with the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs, a branch of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, served her well as she engaged in Roerich Museum activities. The General Federation of Women's Clubs was a consortium of the type of associations offering social, recreational, and cultural activities for adult females that became a significant part of U.S. life in the latter part of the nineteenth century and continued in their heyday through the late

³⁴⁷ Constance Amberg Sporborg (1879-1961) was a civic leader active in social work for many years on the national and international levels. She graduated from the University of Cincinnati in 1900 and moved with her family to New York City the following year. In 1902, she married an attorney, W. Dick Sporborg, who died in 1933 after the couple had two children. From 1901 to 1904, Sporborg headed the first junior auxiliary of the New York section of the National Council of Jewish Women. From 1916 to 1921, she was president of the New York section of the National Council of Jewish Women, an organization with which she remained active throughout her life. She rose from the presidency of the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs (1925-1927) to head the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs from 1930 to 1932. Sporborg accompanied U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull to the 1938 Inter-American Conference at Lima, Peru as head of the delegates from the various U.S. women's organizations. In 1943, she became an executive of the U.S. liaison committee to the Inter-American Commission on Women, an official body set up at the Sixth Pan American Conference in 1928. Sporborg was an official consultant to the U.S. delegation at the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, California in April 1945. For information on Sporborg, see "Sporborg, Mrs. William Dick," *Current Biography: Who's News and Why, 1947*, Anna Rothe, ed. (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1948), 599-601; "Mrs. William Sporborg, 81, Dies; Leading Clubwoman 30 Years," *New York Times*, 3 January 1961, p. 29; "Mrs. Sporborg's Rites," *New York Times*, 5 January, 1961, p. 31.

³⁴⁸ Jewish women formed the National Council of Jewish Women at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 to unite Reformed Jews engaged in religious, educational, and philanthropic work. The council encouraged Jewish women to put aside their home responsibilities for a few hours a week in order to raise their self-esteem by participating in club programs. See Barbara Hargrove, Jean Miller Schmidt, and Sheila Greeve Davaney, "Religion and the Changing Role of Women," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 480 (July 1985): 117-131; Norma Fain Pratt, "Transitions in Judaism: The Jewish American Woman Through the 1930s," *American Quarterly* 30 (Winter 1978): 681-702.

1920s.³⁴⁹ Grant was active in Sorosis, a women's club formed in New York City in 1868 that became highly influential and inspired many women to undertake social, intellectual, and civic activities in their own clubs throughout the nation. Members were usually middle-class white women who had time for meetings and committee work. In 1890, Sorosis called a convention and invited sixty-three delegates from women's clubs in seventeen states to form an alliance for mutual aid, which became known as the General Federation of Women's Clubs.³⁵⁰ The federation, which eventually united many U.S. and overseas women's clubs in national and international projects of social reform, had a large membership comprised of a wide variety of organizations, such as garden clubs, social clubs, and literary and music study clubs. The federation's philanthropic and educational activities included creating libraries, parks, and playgrounds, establishing scholarship funds for women, and lobbying for legislation regarding child labor laws, woman suffrage, and sanitary and safety standards in factories and marketplaces.³⁵¹ Members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs collectively mobilized for political activity that did not depend primarily on voting. In what sociologist Theda Skocpol calls a "women's mode of politics," members participated in civic engagement

³⁴⁹ For information on the General Federation of Women's Clubs, see Mary Jean Houde, *Reaching Out: A Story of the General Federation of Women's Clubs* (Chicago: Mobium Press, 1989); Mildred White Wells, *Unity in Diversity: The History of the General Federation of Women's Clubs* (Washington, DC: General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1953).

³⁵⁰ See Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980), 15-38.

³⁵¹ There were 16,500 clubs affiliated with the General Federation of Women's Clubs by 1942. See Laurine Elkins-Marlow, "'Music at Every Meeting': Music in the National League of American Pen Women and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1920-1940," in Ronald Dotterer and Susan Bowers, eds., *Politics, Gender, and the Arts: Women, the Arts, and Society* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1992), 186.

through public education and lobbying while pressuring legislatures to pass bills along nonpartisan lines.³⁵²

Throughout her life, Grant served on many committees of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at both the city and state level.³⁵³ By the 1920s, the General Federation consisted of diverse social and special interest clubs organized into a powerful national network of local chapters or branches. In 1932 and 1933, the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs, which Grant served as chair of art, presented a four-part Musical Adventures series. Musicologist Laurine Elkins-Marlow argues that the role the General Federation played in the history of music in the United States "has been largely overlooked." The various chapters of the General Federation "placed an emphasis on music at local and national levels, such that concerts became a regular part of meetings and conventions." The General Federation's "commitment to artistic enrichment was further demonstrated by the regular inclusion of concerts, lectures, and art exhibits at conventions."³⁵⁴ Time and time again, Grant demonstrated her commitment to the same type of artistic enrichments, which she equated with world peace and spiritual uplift, by

³⁵² Theda Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 319.

³⁵³ In 1930, the year of the founding of the Pan American Women's Association, Frances Grant was appointed chair of Bible literature of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs. Anita Brown to Grant. 16 December 1930. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 8. Folder 50.

³⁵⁴ Laurine Elkins-Marlow, "'Music at Every Meeting': Music in the National League of American Pen Women and the General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1920-1940," in Ronald Dotterer and Susan Bowers, eds., *Politics, Gender, and the Arts: Women, the Arts, and Society* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 1992), 185-199. On the importance of female patrons of the musical avant-garde in New York in the 1920s, see Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 201-227.

making music, dance, and literature a major part of PAWA and PAWA-sponsored activities.³⁵⁵

Grant presented the fourth event of the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs' Musical Adventures series at the Roerich Museum on January 10, 1933. Grant's lecture that evening, entitled Music in the Worship of the East, was illustrated by "singers and dancers presenting authentic ceremonies of the East and Far East." Members of the New York area Russian, Chinese, and Indian communities all participated. A Russian choir sang, Hindu worship songs were presented with sitar accompaniment, and Buddhist temple chants from China were heard.³⁵⁶ Thanks to Grant, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, as well as the New York Federation of Women's Clubs, went on record at their conventions endorsing the policies and principles of the Roerich Museum.³⁵⁷

Grant continued to gain important allies for the Roerich Museum and its various projects like the Banner of Peace through the early 1930s. In March 1932, Grant introduced New York State Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt's wife Eleanor to a large crowd gathered at the Roerich Museum to hear her make an address as part of the museum's Institute for Advanced Education lecture series.³⁵⁸ Not long after, Roosevelt informed Roerich Museum president Horch that he was "distressed" to learn of the

³⁵⁵ Musicologist Carol J. Oja explores another interesting New York-based effort to bring Latin American music to U.S. audiences, the Pan American Association of Composers (1928-1934), whose first president was the innovative French-American composer Edgard Varèse. See Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 193-197.

³⁵⁶ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 63.

³⁵⁷ See "Offer Aid to Museum," *New York Times*, 21 May 1932, p. 17.

³⁵⁸ See "Sees Education Changing," *New York Times*, 9 March 1932, p. 15.

museum's financial troubles.³⁵⁹ In July, the Democratic Party chose Roosevelt as its U.S. presidential candidate to run against the Republican incumbent, Herbert Hoover. In November, Roosevelt was overwhelmingly elected president of the United States. For a time anyway, the new Roosevelt Administration in Washington enhanced the Roerich institutions' prestige, thanks largely to Henry A. Wallace, whom Roosevelt appointed U.S. secretary of agriculture. Formally an Episcopalian, albeit with mystical taste for the occult, horoscopes and theosophy, Wallace, like Grant, became enamored with Nicholas Roerich. His support for the social justice aspect of Roosevelt's New Deal was more than a material commitment, but a spiritual one as well. Wallace's international concerns included a devotion to international peace and Pan Americanism, affinities he shared with Grant and the Roerich devotees. Wallace eventually became the Banner of Peace movement's most crucial ally in the U.S. government.³⁶⁰

Wallace's relationship with the Roerich institutions developed in earnest as a result of Grant's many trips to Washington, D.C. in search of financial support from the federal government for Roerich to undertake another Central Asian expedition.³⁶¹ Grant submitted to Wallace a proposal that Roerich would procure samples of medicinal plants

³⁵⁹ See "Voids Receivership of Roerich Museum," *New York Times*, 2 July 1932, p. 16.

³⁶⁰ A detailed account of Henry A. Wallace's involvement with Nicholas Roerich, Louis Horch, and Frances Grant is provided in Richard Dean Burns and Charyl L. Smith, "Nicholas Roerich, Henry A. Wallace and the 'Peace Banner': A Study in Idealism, Egocentrism, and Anguish," *Peace and Change* 1 (Spring 1973): 40-49.

³⁶¹ Nicholas Roerich resided safely in India, where the Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum of Indian Art in Benares (present-day Varanasi), the holiest city of Hinduism, was dedicating a special gallery named in Roerich's honor to house twelve of his paintings. Located on the Ganges River in the state of Uttar Pradesh, the museum is today known as the Bharat Kala Bhavan Art and Archeological Museum at Banaras Hindu University, which was established by Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1916. See "Benares Museum Dedicates Room to 12 Roerich Paintings," *New York Times*, 8 August 1932, p. 4.

under the sponsorship of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Interested in combating drought in the Dust Bowl, Wallace also arranged for the department to fund an expedition led by Roerich to obtain drought resistant grasses in Asia, which could be transplanted to the U.S. Great Plains. Unknown to the public, however, was that Wallace was seeking finances to support The Plan, a project secretly devised by the Heart Trust, as Grant, the Roerichs, and the Lichtmanns called themselves. The Plan involved using U.S. taxpayer money to set up a cooperative settlement somewhere in northern Asia under the leadership of the Panchen Lama, the second-highest figure in Tibetan Buddhism. Wallace put up thousands of dollars of his own money toward The Plan and tried without success to enlist additional funding from U.S. millionaires with whom he was friendly.³⁶²

Wallace's positive response to the Roerich message, reflected his idealistic and spiritual sensibilities regarding notions of international unity and world peace. By the summer of 1933, Wallace was helping Grant promote the Roerich Peace Pact. In June, Wallace wrote to Roerich care of the Roerich Museum stating that he had for years been interested in Roerich's efforts "to create a community of feeling among all of the nations concerning those things which have to do with the arts and sciences." Wallace lamented that "in the economic world, the nations in recent years have been taking steps against each other in the form of higher tariffs, import quotas, currency exchanges quotas, and a multitude of other intensely nationalistic devices." While he accepted that some of those measures might have been warranted in the short term, Wallace deemed "it should also be recognized by the enlightened spirits in even the most nationalistic of nations that however great the temporary barriers of trade, there must be no barriers to the

³⁶² See Meyer and Brysac, 481.

fundamentally worthwhile things which transcend national boundaries having to do with the arts and sciences.” Wallace ended the letter by stating that he believed “so profoundly in the things for which the Banner of Peace stands” that he was “only too happy to offer you all cooperation in my personal capacity to help make your efforts along this line successful.”³⁶³

Wallace advocated for the Roerich Pact before Roosevelt and U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull. In September 1933, Wallace wrote Roosevelt informing him of the “wide advocacy” of the Roerich Pact “among the women of the world, expressed in the unanimous endorsement of the General Federation of Women’s Clubs.” He reminded the president of support of the pact by his wife Eleanor, who stated, “I think that the ideals of the Roerich Pact cannot help but appeal to all those who hope that the best in the past may be preserved to guide and help future generations.” Wallace himself believed that though the pact was known for its goal of protecting cultural spaces and works in wartime, “its constructive aspects as a prophylactic against war” seemed “far more important.” He considered the pact as “a plan especially in keeping with the new point of approach in world affairs—a ‘New Deal’ in international relations.” Wallace concluded that the pact promoted “mutual respect and vigilance for the cultural achievements of all nations, as the patrimony of the human race,” which was the path “for a happy movement towards the peace of the nations.”³⁶⁴ Soon after writing this letter to Roosevelt, Wallace

³⁶³ Henry A. Wallace to Nicholas Roerich. 17 June 1933. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 15. Folder 16.

³⁶⁴ Henry A. Wallace to Franklin D. Roosevelt. 18 September 1933. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 15. Folder 18.

presented Horch and Grant to Secretary Hull, and the three advocated for the Roerich Pact before the U.S. secretary of state.

The third international conference on the Roerich Pact was held with official delegates from thirty-five nations at the Hotel Mayflower in Washington, D.C. on November 17 and 18, 1933.³⁶⁵ This coincided with the United States formal recognition of the USSR, an issue which the VOKS had been working on in the United States through organs such the Roerich institutions in New York City.³⁶⁶ A day prior to the opening of the conference, a group of Roerich followers, including Wallace, Horch, and Esteban Gil Borges visited with Secretary Hull about the Roerich Pact.³⁶⁷ Gil Borges, the Venezuelan writer, diplomat, and international lawyer who served as assistant director of the Pan American Union for fifteen years, had, like his many Latin American and Caribbean colleagues, been brought on to the project by Grant.³⁶⁸ Hull authorized

³⁶⁵ The first international conference to push for the worldwide adoption of the Roerich Pact and the Banner of Peace was held in September 1931 in Bruges, Belgium. The second international conference was held in Bruges in August 1932.

³⁶⁶ In cabinet meetings, Henry A. Wallace disagreed with U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's decision to recognize the Soviet Union, one reason being Soviet hostility to religion. John C. Culver and John Hyde, *American Dreamer: The Life and Times of Henry A. Wallace* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000), 136.

³⁶⁷ See Marvin H. McIntyre, Assistant Secretary to the President, to Henry A. Wallace. 13 November 1933. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 15. Folder 18.

³⁶⁸ As Venezuela's minister of foreign affairs in 1921, Esteban Gil Borges (1879-1942) led the Venezuelan delegation at the dedication in Central Park in Manhattan of the statue of the South American independence leader Simón Bolívar, the founder and first president of the Republic of Colombia. The government of Venezuela presented the statue to the United States in an elaborate ceremony attended by U.S. President Warren Harding. Gil Borges avoided praising the Venezuelan caudillo leader Juan Vicente Gómez and was subsequently forced to resign after he returned home. He then moved to Washington, D.C. and took up practicing international law with Breckinridge Long, who had recently served as U.S. assistant secretary of state under U.S. President Woodrow Wilson. In February 1936, Gil Borges was again appointed Venezuela's minister of foreign affairs. See "Bolívar Unveiling Plans Announced," *New York Times*, 4 April 1921, p. 7; "Ready to Fight for Monroe Doctrine, Plans to Invite World Disarmament, Says

Wallace to read an endorsement on his behalf to the conference, stating that he had “learned with great interest and personal satisfaction of the efforts now being made for the protection and preservation of the educational, artistic, and scientific works in every country during any period of hostilities in which they might be subject to destruction or injury.”³⁶⁹

With Wallace’s help, the Roerich supporters convinced Roosevelt and Hull to have the United States sign on to the Roerich Pact protecting cultural objects during wartime. Twenty-one American republics made Roerich’s idea inter-American law in a Pan American Day signing ceremony at the Pan American Union Building on April 15, 1935.³⁷⁰ Grant had championed the Roerich Pact for many years and had personally secured the pact’s Latin American and Caribbean support. She proudly considered the signing a major life achievement. Indeed, this was the first unanimous treaty signed by all twenty-one republics in the Western Hemisphere. The ceremony was broadcast over radios throughout the Americas. Grant and Horch read statements of celebration, as did Panamanian Minister to the United States Ricardo J. Alfaro, the renowned international lawyer who was then in the midst of successfully negotiating the Hull-Alfaro Treaty,

Harding at Bolivar Unveiling,” *New York Times*, 20 April 1921, p. 1; “Dr. Gil Borges, 63, Noted Diplomat,” *New York Times*, 4 August 1942, p. 19.

³⁶⁹ Cordell Hull to Henry A. Wallace. 18 October 1933. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 15. Folder 16.

³⁷⁰ Pan American Day, April 14, fell on a Sunday in the year 1935. Therefore, the signing took place on Monday, April 15, 1935. Authorization for the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to prepare the pact was granted at the Seventh International Conference of American States, held in Montevideo, Uruguay in December 1933. For the statement on the pact issued by Henry A. Wallace following the Pan American Conference at Montevideo, see “The American Treaty of the Roerich Pact,” *Science* 80/2078 (October 26, 1934): 375-376. For the articles of the pact and the names of the signatories, see “The Roerich Pact,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 69/5 (May 1935): 359-369.

which removed some of the aspects of the 1903 Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty that greatly offended Panamanian nationalists, including the U.S. right to expropriate land for canal use without restriction and the right of unilateral U.S. intervention.³⁷¹ This renegotiated second Panama Canal Treaty also gave Panama improved economic terms, increasing the annual annuity the United States paid Panama. Appreciative of the new era of the Good Neighbor Policy, Alfaro would emerge as one of Latin America's most articulate supporters of the Allied Powers during the Second World War.³⁷²

Wallace told those gathered for the ceremony that the historic document would "take its place beside the Red Cross treaties as a symbol of those forces which bind the nations together." According to Wallace, the pact would "serve as the germinal essence"

³⁷¹ For the text of Ricardo J. Alfaro's statement, see "The Roerich Pact," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 69/5 (May 1935): 359-369.

³⁷² Ricardo J. Alfaro, who served as Panama's provisional president from January 1931 to September 1932 following the 1931 revolution, was a strong advocate of peace through arbitration and international law. He received his LL.D. at the National Faculty of Law in Panama and began a career in the diplomatic service in 1905 as undersecretary for foreign affairs. From 1915 to 1918, Alfaro was judge of a joint commission between Panama and the United States for settling claims relating to expropriations for the construction of the Panama Canal. He was Panama's minister to the United States from 1922 to 1930, and again from 1933 to 1936, during which time he negotiated the Hull-Alfaro Treaty. The U.S. Senate withheld approval of the treaty until the Panamanian government confirmed the United States government's freedom to act without consultation during defense emergencies. Alfaro was Panama's delegate to the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco and chairman of the special committee that drafted the Spanish text of the United Nations Charter of 1945. Appointed Panama's minister of foreign relations in 1945, he resigned in protest two years later when his nation's president yielded to U.S. pressure and signed a treaty extending the use of thirteen wartime military bases for twenty years. Panama's National Assembly then rejected the pact and the United States evacuated all the defense sites in 1948. As president of the Juridical Committee of the Assembly of the United Nations in 1948, he was coauthor of the Convention on Genocide. From 1959 to 1964, Alfaro was a judge in the International Court of Justice in The Hague, serving his last three years as vice president. Alfaro was a founder of the American Institute of International Law and served for years as the institute's general secretary. For information on Alfaro, see "Ricardo Alfaro of Panama Dies," *New York Times*, 24 February 1971, p. 44; Ricardo J. Alfaro, *Esbozos biográficos* (Panamá: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1974); Carlos Manuel Gasteazoro, *El pensamiento de Ricardo J. Alfaro* (Panamá: Presidencia de la República, 1981); Alberto Ulloa, "The American Institute of International Law," *American Journal of International Law* 51/1 (January 1957): 98-100.

among nations of a “spiritual New Deal which places that which is fine in humanity above that which is low and sordid and mean and hateful and grabbing.”³⁷³ Clearly, the secretary of agriculture shared Grant’s belief that the creation of cultural and spiritual bonds, rather than diplomatic and military ones on paper, was the key to the world peace in the future. Stated Wallace:

“No one knows today how far it is possible for the different nations of the world to go in forming international currency pacts, the lowering of trade barriers or disarmament agreements. Methods of this sort tend too often to be sophisticated and futile. While undoubtedly efforts in these directions should continue, it would seem desirable also to hold up before the world, in times like these, the ideal of the unity of the human heart regardless of nation in the worship of beauty, of culture, of religion, of science and of education. There are thousands of people in each of the nations of the world animated by these finer, broader human aspirations, and many of them will welcome the mechanism of the Roerich Pact as a means of making more manifest on earth those intangible forces which they have long recognized as the true guides of international good feeling.”³⁷⁴

The following month, a photograph of Grant at the signing ceremony in the White House standing behind President Roosevelt and Secretary Wallace amongst the group of plenipotentiaries who signed the pact for their nations appeared in the *Bulletin of the Pan*

³⁷³ “The Roerich Pact,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* LXIX/5 (May 1935): 359-369.

³⁷⁴ For a copy of Henry A. Wallace’s statement, see “The Roerich Pact,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 69/5 (May 1935): 359-369.

American Union.³⁷⁵ Pan American Day of the year 1935, asserted the bulletin, would “long be remembered as the day when the nations of America led the world in declaring that the tangible evidences of the accumulated culture of mankind must be protected against destruction or mutilation in time of war as well as peace.”³⁷⁶

While the signing of the Roerich Pact signaled for Grant an historic event in the protection of art, she also continued to sponsor cultural production and intercultural events. Later that year, Grant supplied Philadelphia Orchestra conductor Leopold Stokowski with a new work for the 1935-1936 season.³⁷⁷ Stokowski, a patron of the Roerich Museum and a member of the American Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, received from Grant the score of “Argentine Dance” by the Argentine composer Juan A. Garcia Estrada, who graciously offered the royalties from all performances and

³⁷⁵ See “Signing the Roerich Pact at the White House, April 15, 1935,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 69/5 (May 1935): 358.

³⁷⁶ “The Roerich Pact,” *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 69/5 (May 1935): 359-369.

³⁷⁷ In 1932, Leopold Stokowski conducted the U.S. premier of Mexican composer Carlos Chavez’s ballet-symphony *H.P.*, with costumes and sets by Diego Rivera. Stokowski resigned as musical director of the Philadelphia Orchestra in 1936, although he continued to guest conduct the orchestra for years. He conducted for several Hollywood films, and made his acting debut in 1937 in *100 Men and a Girl*, a movie about a young singer who attempts to convince maestro Stokowski to conduct an orchestra of unemployed musicians. The Philadelphia Orchestra recorded the music for the Walt Disney motion picture *Fantasia* under Stokowski’s baton in 1940. That same year, Stokowski formed the All American Youth Orchestra. With financial backing from Columbia Records and the U.S. State Department, the orchestra toured twenty-six Latin American cities. In 1958, Stokowski toured the Soviet Union, the first American conductor to do so since the onset of the Cold War. In his *Music For All of Us* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943), Stokowski gave an account of what he considered most important in music and music making. For information on Leopold Stokowski (1882-1987), see Joseph Horowitz, “The Stokowski Era,” in John Ardoin, ed., *The Philadelphia Orchestra: A Century of Music* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1999), 36-53; William Ander Smith, *The Mystery of Leopold Stokowski* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1990).

recordings of the piece to the Roerich Museum.³⁷⁸ Roerich's influence on culture through his institutions extended beyond New York City to one of the nation's most significant symbols, the United States dollar bill. Wallace, at the suggestion of Roerich, convinced U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr. to place the Great Pyramid on the dollar bill. Associated with Freemasonry, the symbol comes from the Great Seal of the United States designed by Charles Thompson in 1782. However, Morgenthau did not know that for Roerich the eye on top of the pyramid represented the gaze of mahatmas.³⁷⁹

Unfortunately for Grant, the signing of the Roerich Pact was the climax of her Roerich-related activities. Internal strife ultimately ripped apart the Roerich institutions. Horch grew weary of supporting Roerich and worriedly informed Wallace that Roerich had begun offering U.S. support to an anticommunist movement in Mongolia. Wallace was convinced of the truth of this after seeing an alarming telegram from the U.S. ambassador in Moscow warning of Roerich and his White Russian and discontented Mongolian recruits.³⁸⁰ In fact, Roerich had grown dissatisfied with Soviet Communism. Since the Soviets had become increasingly intolerant of Buddhism in Outer Mongolia, Roerich decided to attempt to cultivate friendly relations with Soviet Russia's adversaries to the east. Japan had invaded China in 1931 and installed the deposed Chinese Emperor Aisin-Gioro Pu Yi as their puppet in Manchuria, which was home to tens of thousands of

³⁷⁸ See "Stokowski To Give New Native Works," *New York Times*, 20 September 1935, p. 16; Juan A. Garcia Estrada to Grant. 2 October 1935. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 48; Grant to Juan A. Garcia Estrada. 24 August 1936. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 44.

³⁷⁹ See Meyer and Brysac, 480-481.

³⁸⁰ See Meyer and Brysac, 488.

White Russians.³⁸¹ The fact that the United States did not recognize the government of Pu Yi did not prevent Roerich from paying him honor while in his territory. Japanese friendship was thought to be necessary for The Plan, the cooperative settlement under the leadership of a high-ranking Tibetan Buddhist secretly planned by Roerich and his close cohort. The Japanese assumed Roerich was stirring up a White Russian rebellion against Japanese rule, while the Soviets assumed Roerich was planning to unite Buddhists against Soviet rule in Outer Mongolia. The prospect of being implicated in a war against the Soviets by a phony U.S.-funded scientific expedition finally brought Wallace around to supporting Hull's worries about Roerich.

Suspicious of Roerich's activities in Asia negatively affected the financial sponsorship of his institutions in New York. In July 1935, after reading press reports that U.S. Department of Agriculture funding for Roerich would be cut off, Grant made another of her many trips to Washington, D.C. to meet with Wallace. He surprised her by

³⁸¹ Aisin-Gioro Pu Yi of the Qing dynasty established by the Manchus began serving as the last emperor of China in 1908. The Republican Revolution of 1911 ended imperial power in China and forced Pu Yi to abdicate the following year. After Pu Yi's abdication, the Republic of China's new government granted him a pension and allowed him to live in the Imperial Palace in Beijing until 1924. Pu Yi then moved to the Japanese concession in Tianjin. The Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931 and founded Manchukuo in 1932. Pu Yi became the emperor of the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo, ostensibly an independent Manchu state, which received diplomatic recognition from Japan, Italy, and Germany. In 1945, after the Japanese defeat in the Second World War, Soviet military forces captured Pu Yi. The following year, Pu Yi testified at the Tokyo war crimes trial that he had been an unwilling agent of Japanese militarists. In 1950, Pu Yi was handed over by the Russians to the Chinese Communists, who kept him imprisoned until 1959. For information on Pu Yi (1906-1967), see Jerome Ch'en, "The Last Emperor of China," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 28/2 (1965): 336-355; Reginald F. Johnston, *Twilight in the Forbidden City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Henry McAleavy, *A Dream of Tartary: The Origins and Misfortunes of Henry Pu Yi* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1963); Aisin-Gioro Pu Yi, *From Emperor to Citizen: The Autobiography of Aisin-Gioro Pu Yi*, trans. W. J. F. Jenner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

treating her rudely for the first time.³⁸² Wallace finally withdrew department funding for Roerich in September 1935. By this time, the Roerichs had been living off the department's funds for more than a year and Horch's contributions to the Roerich enterprise amounted to over one million U.S. dollars.³⁸³ Realizing he had been hoodwinked and fearful of bad publicity, Wallace ended all communication with the Roerichs and turned against them with wrath. At his suggestion, the Internal Revenue Service began an audit of the Roerichs.

The Internal Revenue Service found that Roerich neglected to file a tax return for two years in the mid-1920s. He reported no income in 1934, despite the fact that he was collected a government salary that year from the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Bitter law suits and appeals followed. Roerich claimed he had donated the paintings to the Roerich Museum rather than sold them to Horch. Therefore, he did not owe the thousands of dollars in back taxes that the Internal Revenue Service desired.³⁸⁴ The courts sided with Horch and the Internal Revenue Service, but Roerich lived out the rest of his life in India far away from his U.S. financial troubles.³⁸⁵ Two months before the signing of the

³⁸² Frances R. Grant, "Miscellaneous Documents, 1985," p. 13. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 74.

³⁸³ See Robert C. Williams, *Russian Art and American Money, 1900-1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 118.

³⁸⁴ The controversy surrounded a letter written by Louis Horch to Nicholas Roerich that Grant delivered to Roerich during a 1928 trip to India. The letter stated that many paintings Roerich had made since 1924 belonged to Horch. Rather than donations to the museum, the letter stated that the paintings were sold to Horch. In 1928, Grant traveled to India to meet with Roerich and his wife Helena, who had used money from Horch to settle north of New Delhi in the small town of Naggar, nestled in the beautiful Kulu Valley of Himachal Pradesh in the western Himalayas. In Naggar, the Roerichs bought the former Hall Estate from the maharajah of Mandi and created their Himalayan Research Center. Grant spent much of 1928 and 1929 helping the Roerichs work with Indian lawyers to obtain title to the property. See Williams, 130.

³⁸⁵ See Williams, 140-143.

Roerich Pact, in February 1935, Horch, perhaps aware of the impending difficulties with Roerich and the Roerich Museum, transferred shares in museum from the Roerichs, the Lichtmanns, and Grant to his wife Nettie. Horch ultimately closed the Master Institute and Roerich Museum. After expelling Roerich's devotees from 310 Riverside Drive, Horch used the site to open his newly-named Riverside Museum, which became noted for its collection of Tibetan art objects that had been collected by Nicholas Roerich.³⁸⁶

Grant and her friend Sina Lichtmann, who had been director of the Master Institute since 1925, maintained their devotion to Roerich. Grant and Lichtmann filed suit against Horch, but the court decided in Horch's favor after protracted litigation. A bitter Grant believed that Wallace used his political clout to help Horch during the legal proceedings.³⁸⁷ Those remaining dedicated to Roerich were left in possession of only a very few Roerich paintings. Grant squabbled with Lichtmann during the litigation, and as a result her affiliation with Roerich activities came to an end. Short of funds, Lichtmann created a new institution, the Roerich Academy of the Arts, which was housed in various locations throughout New York City for many years.

Less than a year after the signing ceremony, the U.S. State Department depersonalized the Roerich Pact at Wallace's request. Thereafter, the U.S. government

³⁸⁶ The Riverside Museum remained in operation until 1971. The museum's collection of Tibetan art objects was then donated by the Horchs to the Rose Art Museum at Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts. In September 2002, Brandeis donated the collection to Tibet House, a cultural center associated with Columbia University. Brandeis president Jehuda Reinharz presented the collection to the Dalai Lama in New York City during one of the Tibetan spiritual leader's visits to the United States. See "Brandeis Donates Tibetan Art to Gallery," *Boston Globe*, 10 September, 2003, p. B2

³⁸⁷ Frances R. Grant, "Miscellaneous Documents, 1985," p. 8, 14. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 74.

officially referred to the pact as the Treaty for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments.³⁸⁸ Wallace also made efforts at the Pan American Union to remove Roerich's name from the pact. According to Wallace biographers John C. Culver and John Hyde, Wallace sent many letters to his associates and friends, including every Latin American and Caribbean diplomat who had signed the Roerich Pact, declaring his falling-out with Roerich. To New York's Governor Herbert Lehman, Wallace wrote that he was "not a friend of those who continue fanatically in their policy of aggrandizing a name rather than an ideal." People like Grant, Wallace believed, "were worshipping Professor Roerich as a superman and were determined to stop at nothing in helping him work out some extraordinary phantasy [sp] of Asiatic power."³⁸⁹ Grant was angered to learn of Wallace's behavior from her friend Enrique Sánchez de Lozada, the first secretary of the Bolivian legation in Washington, D.C., who had taught Wallace Spanish at Grant's suggestion.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁸ See Burns and Smith, 48.

³⁸⁹ Henry A. Wallace to H.H. Lehman. 18 January 1936. Henry A. Wallace Papers, Special Collections, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa. Quoted in Culver and Hyde, 145.

³⁹⁰ Frances R. Grant, "Miscellaneous Documents, 1985," p. 13-14. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 74. Bolivian political parties became more class based and a number of progressive leftist parties emerged during the political excitement in the aftermath of the Chaco War (1932-1935). With his wife Carmen Bustamante de Sánchez de Lozada, Enrique Sánchez de Lozada became a militant of the Marxist Partido Izquierda Revolucionario (PIR). He went to the United States in 1931 as the first secretary of the Bolivian legation in Washington, D.C. A former lecturer on international law at La Paz, he became a professor of political science at Williams College in 1939. He then became a consultant at the Office of the U.S. Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, which was established within the Office for Emergency Management by executive order in July 1941 and functioned until December 1943. After the Second World War, Sánchez de Lozada became a member of the United Nations Secretariat staff. He joined the more moderate and middle-class Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR) in the 1950s, during which time he worked as the Andean regional director for United Nations technical assistance projects in Lima, Peru. A seasoned diplomat, Sánchez de Lozada served at various times as a Bolivian envoy in the United States into the 1960s. For information on Lozada, see "Course Is

As for Roerich, his loyalties turned again. He supported the Soviets during the Second World War by initiating the founding of the American-Russian Cultural Association by Russian émigrés in the United States.³⁹¹ His devotees finally obtained a permanent space for a new Nicholas Roerich Museum in 1949 at 107th Street and Riverside Drive in Manhattan. Sina Lichtmann, later Fosdick, was a key figure at the museum until her death in 1983.³⁹²

Grant's experience with Horch and Wallace was, in her words, "profoundly agonizing."³⁹³ She denounced Horch as a businessman who was never interested in anything but money. Horch went on to work for the U.S. Department of Agriculture as an administrator of foreign-exchange transactions in connection with exports. He was then made senior district supervisor of the department for New York State, Connecticut, and New Jersey. Shortly thereafter, Roosevelt chose Wallace as his vice-presidential running mate for his third administration. Though Grant never spoke to Wallace again after 1935, she profoundly influenced how future generations would view him.

Offered On Latin America," *New York Times*, 19 November 1939, p. D6; "U.N. Project Aids Indians In Andes," *New York Times*, 21 February 1955, p. 3.

³⁹¹ An extraordinary growth in Roerich societies in Russia began in the second half of the 1908s. At the behest of Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union's last leader, a collection of Roerich's paintings were taken from India to Moscow, where they were hung in the city's International Roerich Center. For information on the late-twentieth-century resurgence of interest in Roerich, see Anita Stasulane, *Theosophy and Culture: Nicholas Roerich* (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2005).

³⁹² Sina Lichtmann married Dudley Fosdick, another follower of Nicholas Roerich. After graduating from Columbia University in 1928, Fosdick played in many popular dance bands. For thirteen years, he was a member of Guy Lombardo's Orchestra. See "Dudley Fosdick," *New York Times*, 19 June 1957, p. 35.

³⁹³ Frances R. Grant, "Miscellaneous Documents, 1985," p. 15. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 74.

Grant maintained in her possession the letters that Wallace wrote to Nicholas Roerich in 1933 and 1934. Embittered, she sold the letters to Paul Block, the Republican publisher of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*.³⁹⁴ The Republicans hoped to print news of the letters in the Block, Hearst, and Scripps-Howard newspapers in order to damage the Roosevelt-Wallace ticket during the campaign. Unfortunately for the Republicans, their presidential candidate Wendell Willkie had a mistress, Irita Van Doren, an editor at the *New York Herald Tribune*. The Democrats threatened to make Willkie's affair with Van Doren a campaign issue, so the letters were not used. Wallace was sworn in as U.S. vice president in 1941. Roosevelt soon gave him the task of running the Board of Economic Warfare. Horch continued to work for the U.S. Department of Agriculture until February 1942, when he was transferred to the position of assistant chief in the New York bureau of the Board of Economic Warfare.

In the end, however, Wallace was not spared the public embarrassment of having shown reverence for Nicholas Roerich. The letters he had written to Roerich and Grant did eventually come before the public eye. Excerpts from the letters, which came to be known as the Guru Letters due to the fact that some of them began with the words "Dear Guru," first came to the public's attention after being mentioned in *The Ghost Talks*, a 1944 autobiographical work by the journalist and Democratic political publicist Charles Michelson.³⁹⁵ Wallace's idealistic liberal internationalism and Guru Letters and were too

³⁹⁴ According to Wallace biographers John C. Culver and John Hyde, the rumor in Washington, D.C. was that Paul Block paid Grant \$5,000 for the letters. See Culver and Hyde, 240, 482.

³⁹⁵ See Charles Michelson, *The Ghost Talks* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1944), 196-197. The Democrats had suffered a decade of electoral defeats culminating in the victory of Hubert Hoover in the U.S. presidential election of 1928. The following year, Michelson left his job as chief Washington correspondent at the *New York World* after being named the first director of publicity for the Democratic National Committee, a post he held for the next thirteen years.

much for Roosevelt, who chose to replace him with the more conservative and less divisive Harry S. Truman as his running mate for a fourth presidential term in 1944. Remaining with the administration in Washington, D.C., Wallace became the U.S. secretary of commerce. In the fall of 1946, shortly before President Truman fired him for criticizing the Truman administration's tough new anti-Soviet policy, Wallace made Horch the U.S. Department of Commerce's regional director for the New York region.³⁹⁶

Wallace remained in the national spotlight. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in July 1948, he was nominated as the U.S. presidential candidate of Progressive Party, a new third party organized to challenge the Democrats that was endorsed by the Communist Party USA and the American Labor Party. A naïve idealist in foreign affairs, Wallace disregarded arguments that Soviet policy was not attuned to international morality. He accused the Truman administration of thwarting cooperation with the Soviet Union and advancing the Cold War through economic and military aid to Turkey and Greece. During the campaign, Wallace had to contend with more than simply being labeled a communist sympathizer. The hugely popular nationally syndicated columnist Westbrook Pegler portrayed him as a spiritual whacko as well.³⁹⁷ Pegler, a Pulitzer-Prize

Following his success at whipping up anti-Hoover publicity, Michelson went on to help New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt win the U.S. presidency in 1933. In 1940, he successfully promoted the historic third term for President Roosevelt. For information on Michelson, see Thomas Barclay, "The Publicity Division of the Democratic Party, 1929-1930," *American Political Science Review* 25/1 (February 1931): 68-72; Alva Johnston, "Hundred-Tongued Charley, the Great Silent Orator," *Saturday Evening Post*, 30 May 1936, p. 5-7, 32, 37; Frank R. Kent, "Charley Michelson," *Scribner's Magazine* 88 (September 1930): 290-296; "C. Michelson Dies; Aide To Roosevelt," *New York Times*, 9 January 1948, p. 21.

³⁹⁶ See "Louis L. Horch, 90, Founder of Museum," *New York Times*, 16 April 1979, p. D13.

³⁹⁷ For information on the Guru Letters and Frances Grant's relationship with Henry A. Wallace, see Charles J. Errico and J. Samuel Walker, "The New Deal and the Guru," *American Heritage* 40/2 (1989): 92-99; Bruce M. Swain, "Henry A. Wallace and the 'Guru Letters': A Cast of Successful Stonewalling," *Mid-America* 69/1 (January 1987): 5-20.

winning rightist, had gotten his hands on the Guru Letters, which he wrote about incessantly during the 1948 presidential campaign to the detriment of the reputations of both Wallace and Horch.³⁹⁸ Wallace's political life came to an end due to his activity in this short-lived Progressive Party, a fringe movement scorned by Grant and her liberal associates whom Wallace had once inspired.³⁹⁹ During his last campaign, and for the rest

³⁹⁸ Westbrook Pegler (1894-1969) was one of the most popular U.S. journalists of the 1940s. In 1933, he became a daily columnist for *New York World-Telegram*. Subsequently, he was a syndicated columnist from 1933 to 1944 in the Scripps-Howard Syndicate. Pegler was an outspoken critic of the New Deal's foreign and domestic policies, especially its accommodating attitude towards organized labor. In 1941, he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for writing exposes of union racketeers. From 1944 to 1962, Pegler was a columnist with Hearst's King Features Syndicate. In the 1950s, he was a staunch advocate of Senator Joseph McCarthy's anticommunist crusade. He then became a strong voice against the John F. Kennedy administration. After Pegler and Hearst mutually broke their contract in 1962, Pegler became a regular contributor to *American Opinion*, the magazine of the arch-conservative John Birch Society. But the society broke its contract with him that same year because his monotonous articles focused on his hatred of the Roosevelts, the Kennedys, and Jews. For information on Pegler, see Finis Farr, *Fair Enough: The Life of Westbrook Pegler* (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House Publishers, 1975); Oliver Ramsay Pilat, *Pegler: Angry Man of the Press* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963); David Witwer, "Westbrook Pegler and the Anti-union Movement" *Journal of American History* 92/2 (September 2005): 527-552.

³⁹⁹ Frances Grant and several of her close colleagues were active in Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), which opposed Henry A. Wallace and the Progressive Party. Internationalist in its orientation, the ADA was founded as a bulwark of liberalism by a group of some four hundred leading U.S. anticommunist academics, civic leaders, labor officials, and politicians in January 1947. The founders included prominent New Dealers. The ADA's founding reflected the debate amongst the U.S. left over how best to save the Roosevelt Administration's domestic programs from future rightist backlash. The ADA was created to find and support a liberal leader superior to U.S. President Harry S. Truman and to combat the pro-Soviet tendency of liberals in the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA), which supported Wallace's 1948 U.S. presidential campaign. The PCA and the ADA disagreed about how to respond to Soviet activities in Europe and about whether communists should be included in the U.S. liberal political coalition. The ADA did not believe it was possible to achieve liberal objectives in an alliance with communists. According to the ADA, the Soviets deserved blame for the emergent Cold War. Thus, Truman's tough foreign policy was appropriate. United by admiration for Russia as a wartime ally and for Russian social policies, the PCA believed that Soviet actions in Eastern Europe at the end of the Second World War reflected legitimate security needs and did not present a threat to U.S. interests. They welcomed communist political support and opposed an aggressive U.S. military policy. The ADA and the PCA competed for the support of progressives who were disenchanted with Truman. Seeking to use the former first lady's stature to counter Wallace's popularity amongst liberals, the organizers of the ADA sought backing from Eleanor Roosevelt, who was for many years the ADA's honorary chair. In its founding statement, the ADA rejected association

of his life, Wallace avoided talking about Roerich. He went to his grave without ever publicly discussing the embarrassing truth about his relationship with Roerich. Grant, on the other hand, did continue to talk about Roerich. She boasted that she continued to hold onto Roerich's ideal of world unity. But in the decades of writing she did up until the time of her death in 1993, one finds not a word about the Heart Trust or The Plan.

The pact and banner promoted by Roerich and embraced by Grant and her colleagues exemplify the widespread idealism of the interwar period, when individuals viewed such mechanisms as insurance against growing threats of totalitarianism and war. This idealism enabled Grant to enjoy the financial and political resources of Horch, a powerful businessman in New York, and Wallace, a powerful political leader in Washington, D.C. Grant's ability to work through the Roerich Museum to bring together a heterogeneous group of individuals who then exerted influence on U.S. foreign policy reveals the informal nature of international relations of the interwar period. The successful support and promotion of the Roerich Pact and Banner of Peace by women's groups also demonstrates the impact women made on inter-American affairs at a time when most women in the Western Hemisphere could neither vote nor hold elected or appointed public offices.

with communists or communist sympathizers. Ironically, after aiding the demise of popular front liberalism in the United States by providing a progressive alternative to the PCA, the ADA was accused of being communist sympathizers by U.S. rightists. Grant served as delegate to several of the ADA's national conventions. For information on the ADA, see Clifton Brock, *Americans for Democratic Action, Its Role in National Politics* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1962); Steven M. Gillon, *Politics and Vision: The ADA and American Liberalism, 1947-1985* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). For information concerning the complicated relations between Truman and the ADA, see Alonzo L. Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973). For a leftist critique of the ADA, see Mary Sperling McAuliffe, *Crisis on the Left: Cold War Politics and American Liberals, 1947-1954* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1978).

In addition to traditional diplomatic endeavors, Grant and her female colleagues argued that artistic and spiritual bonds were essential for achieving real unity in the Americas. But the signing of the Roerich Pact signaled the last hurrah for this kind of idealism that Grant helped disseminate as a staff member of the Roerich Museum. Henry A. Wallace had once praised the Roerich Pact as “a plan especially in keeping with the new point of approach in world affairs—a ‘New Deal’ in international relations,” but he cut all funding to Roerich by September 1935. Worse, Grant also lost the security provided by Louis Horch’s wealth. Nevertheless, in a period of heightened U.S. government attention to the importance of Pan Americanism for the struggle against the spread of fascism, Grant continued her inter-American work through the Pan American Women’s Association.

CHAPTER 5

FRANCES GRANT'S PAN AMERICANISM WITHOUT NICHOLAS ROERICH

With U.S. government funding cut by Henry A. Wallace and the Master Building on Riverside Drive taken over by Louis Horch, Frances Grant kept active while slowly disengaging from Roerich-related activities. The Horch-funded Roerich institutions in New York disintegrated, but U.S. government-officiated Pan Americanism blossomed under U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighborhood Policy. In response to growing totalitarian threats abroad, the U.S. Department of State created its first division of cultural affairs and sponsored international shortwave radio programs. Such state-sponsored activities imitated the work that Grant and her Roerich colleagues had helped initiate earlier in the decade. Pleased to see the government jumping on board, Grant used the Pan American Women's Association to strengthen her role as intermediary between the United States and its hemispheric neighbors. Grant kept her highly personalistic PAWA alive through monthly meetings. Society women of the Western Hemisphere continued to maintain their engagement with the PAWA despite that fact that the organization would never again be associated the Roerich Museum. For instance, Puerto Rican-American board member Josephina Silva de Cintrón, director of the New York-based Spanish language magazine *Artes y Letras*, in whose pages Grant had composed articles promoting Roerich, continued to endorse the PAWA and to publish glowing articles about Grant.⁴⁰⁰

⁴⁰⁰ See, for example, Frances R. Grant, "Nicholas Roerich y su obra," *Artes y Letras* 3 (Septiembre 1935): 10-11; "Pan American Women's Association," *Artes y Letras* 7 (June 1939): 5. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 24. The magazine *Artes y Letras* was published monthly in New York City from 1933 to 1939.

Grant also continued to focus her energy on women's issues through her support of nursing programs. Grant was the commencement speaker at the Hackensack Hospital School of Nursing, as well as the guest speaker at the New Jersey State League of Nursing Education and the New Jersey State Nurses Association joint banquet with the New Jersey State Organization for Public Nursing. Educators from New Jersey aided the PAWA in collaborating with nursing education programs in various Latin American and Caribbean countries.⁴⁰¹ Grant later began a program that granted nursing fellowships in U.S. hospitals to Latin American and Caribbean nursing students and graduates. The first fellowship, made possible through the cooperation of the Hackensack Hospital, was awarded to a Chilean chosen by the Association of University Nurses of Chile.⁴⁰²

During these years, Grant earned money doing editing work for her brother-in-law, Max Zimmerman, whose wife Hylda, Grant's sister, was a member of the PAWA. Zimmerman had established himself as an economic journalist and merchandising counsel since graduating from Yale Law School in 1911. He became the leading scholar of retail distribution and advertisement, and, in November 1936, founded the trade magazine *Super Market Merchandising*, on which Grant worked as an editor.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ The commencement at the Hackensack Hospital School of Nursing took place on May 6, 1937. Grant was the guest speaker at the New Jersey State League of Nursing Education and the New Jersey State Nurses Association joint banquet with the New Jersey State Organization for Public Nursing on May 19, 1938 at the Chalfonte-Haddon Hall in Atlantic City. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 63.

⁴⁰² For information on the nursing fellowships program, which began in March 1942, see "Nursing Awards Planned: Latin-American Students to Get Fellowships Here." Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 53.

⁴⁰³ After receiving his LL.B. degree from Yale Law School in 1911, Max M. Zimmerman worked as a freelance writer, export manager, and manufacturer's representative before establishing himself as a merchandising counsel. As a contributing editor to the advertising trade magazine *Printers' Ink*, Zimmerman published the first comprehensive study of chain store distribution in

No longer associated with Roerich, Grant involved herself with religious organizations that promoted similar ideals of cultural and racial harmony. One such organization was a Baha'i group called the New History Society.⁴⁰⁴ The doctrine of the Baha'i faith asserts that the founders of all the world's great religions were divine messengers of God. Its followers believe that the nineteenth-century Persian religious leader Mirza Husayn Ali Baha'u'llah was the most recent prophet in a line stretching back to include Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Buddha, and Muhammad. Baha'u'llah taught that humankind was one race, and that the age for the unification of this race had arrived. The religion promotes equality of the sexes, the abolition of prejudice, and the need for the establishment of a democratic world government.⁴⁰⁵ Considering the Baha'i vision of world unity, it is not surprising that Grant would gravitate to Baha'i activities.

1914. His first book was *The Challenge of Chain Store Distribution* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1931). Zimmerman organized the Super Market Institute, an influential trade association, and became its first executive secretary in May 1937. With Zimmerman, Grant coauthored an influential article that appeared in *Nation's Business* in March 1937. Zimmerman's book *The Supermarket: A Revolution in Distribution* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955) was regarded as the standard history of the supermarket industry and was used in many university marketing courses. The magazine *Super Market Merchandising* was published by Zimmerman from 1936 until 1965. For information on Zimmerman, see "Zimmerman, M(ax) M(andel)," in Marjorie Dent Candee, ed., *Current Biography Yearbook 1957* (New York: H.W. Wilson Company, 1958), 606-608; "Max M. Zimmerman, an Expert of Supermarkets, Is Dead at 82," *New York Times*, 17 May 1972, p. 50. See also M.M. Zimmerman and F.R. Grant, "Warning: Here Comes the Super-Market!," *Nation's Business* 25/3 (March 1937): 20-27.

⁴⁰⁴ On May 26, 1934, Frances Grant was invited by The Caravan, the youth section of the New History Society, to address their spring season speakers and artists series at the Hotel Imperial in Manhattan. Grant presented "A Night in Latin America" with moving pictures. Frances R. Grant Papers, Box 9, Folder 63.

⁴⁰⁵ In 1863, Mirza Husayn Ali Baha'u'llah (1817-1892) took the risk of being persecuted for blasphemy by declaring himself the messenger of God predicted in the messianic claims of the Shi'ite Muslim Mirza Ali Muhammad (1819-1850). Baha'u'llah subsequently spent the years from 1868 until the end of his life under house arrest by the Ottoman Turkish authorities in a penal colony in present-day Israel, where he produced the essential Baha'i scriptures. Baha'u'llah was succeeded by his son Abbas Effendi (1844-1921). Abbas Effendi spent several months in 1912 in North America on a mission tour, during which time he laid the cornerstone of the Baha'i House of Worship in Wilmette, Illinois, the Baha'i headquarters in the United States. Abbas

The New History Society had been formed in New York in 1929 by the recently-converted Baha'i Julie Olin Chanler⁴⁰⁶ and her husband Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, a former lieutenant governor of New York.⁴⁰⁷ With organizational help from the Persian Baha'i Mirza Ahmad Sohrab, the Chanlers financed this ecumenical, international, interracial, and pacifist organization that was eventually expelled by the Baha'i hierarchy.⁴⁰⁸ The New History Society presented a series of fourteen public

Effendi was succeeded by his grandson Shoghi Effendi (1897-1957), who reorganized the U.S. Baha'i community. After Shoghi Effendi's death, leadership of the Baha'i faith passed to the Universal House of Justice, an international body headquartered in Haifa, Israel. See Juan R.I. Cole, *Modernity and the Millennium: The Genesis of the Baha'i Faith in the Nineteenth-Century Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Peter Smith, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions: From Messianic Shiism to a World Religion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

⁴⁰⁶ Three years before founding the New History Society in 1929, Julie Olin Chanler visited Haifa, Israel, the site of Baha'u'llah's tomb and the international Baha'i headquarters. She wrote for the movement's publication *The Caravan*, to which Frances Grant also contributed. In June 1955, Olin Chanler, in collaboration with the International League for the Rights of Man, held a public meeting at Caravan Hall to protest the banning of the Baha'i faith in Iran. Roger Baldwin, head of the International League for the Rights of Man, was the event's headline speaker. At the time, Grant was serving as secretary and vice president of the league, as well as heading its Latin American Committee. For information on Olin Chanler, see "Mrs. Lewis S. Chanler, 78, Dies; Headed Reform Bahai Movement," *New York Times*, 12 March 1961, p. 86. For information on the June 1955 protest, see Julie Olin Chanler's autobiography *From Gaslight to Dawn* (New York: New History Foundation, 1956), 387.

⁴⁰⁷ Julie Olin Chanler married Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, a member of the wealthy and influential Astor family, in Paris in 1921. A great-grandson of John Jacob Astor, Stuyvesant Chanler received his LL.B. in 1891 from Columbia University. He served as lieutenant governor of New York from 1906 to 1908 and as a member of the New York State Assembly from Dutchess County's Second District from 1910 to 1912. The couple bought a home on East 65th Street that became Caravan Hall, the headquarters of the New History Society, which later morphed into an organization known as the Caravan of East and West. See "City Officials Attend Lewis Chanler Rites," *New York Times*, 4 March 1942, p. 19.

⁴⁰⁸ Mirza Ahmad Sohrab was born in Iran and educated at the Imperial University of Tehran and at Harvard University. Sohrab worked for years in Palestine with the Baha'i leader Abbas Effendi. When Abbas Effendi visited North America in 1912, Sohrab served as his interpreter and secretary. Abbas Effendi was succeeded by Shoghi Effendi, who, while reorganizing the Baha'i community, took legal action against the New History Society in an effort to get the organization to cease using the word "Baha'i." See "Mirza Ahmad Sohrab Dies Here at 65; Leader of the Reform Baha'i Movement," *New York Times*, 22 April 1958, p. 33.

lectures in 1936 and 1937 at the Chanler's residence, called Caravan Hall, on East 59th Street in Manhattan. Grant was invited to open the series, which presented lectures by people like the socialist leader Harry Laidler and the African-American civil rights activist Walter White. After launching this series, Grant spoke again on several occasions at Caravan Hall over the years.⁴⁰⁹

As her interest spiritual traditions of the East continued to grow during the 1930s, Grant involved herself in a variety of Buddhist and Hindu religious groups. Grant belonged to the U.S. chapter of the Maha Bodhi Society, a Buddhist organization founded by Anagarika Dharmapala, the first Buddhist missionary to the United States.⁴¹⁰ Dharmapala had been a delegate to the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions, convened as part of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, where he preached religious tolerance, speaking on the similarities between Buddhism and Christianity years before his becoming an activist leader in the movement for Buddhist revival and Sinhalese nationalism in his homeland of Sri Lanka.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁹ Frances Grant was invited to open a series of fourteen public lectures at Caravan Hall on November 1, 1936. From 1910 to 1921, Harry Wellington Laidler (1884-1970) served as secretary of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, of which he had been a cofounder in 1905. From 1921 to 1957, he was executive director of its successor organization, the League for Industrial Democracy. Laidler spoke on social security at Caravan Hall on January 10, 1937. Walter Francis White (1893-1955) was secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from 1931 until his death. He spoke on 'The Negro in the New Social Order' at Caravan Hall on December 6, 1936. Grant spoke on 'The Reawakening of Asia' at Caravan Hall on April 18, 1937. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 63. On December 17, 1941, Grant spoke on 'Changing Scenes in Latin America' for the Caravan Contemporary Forum at Caravan Hall. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 17. On December 20, 1942, Grant spoke on 'Literary Men and Women of Latin America' as part of the New History Society's Civilization at its Turning Point lecture series. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 45.

⁴¹⁰ See Elaine H. Williams, Secretary, to Grant. 6 January 1930. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 28.

⁴¹¹ Anagarika Dharmapala (1864-1933) was born David Hewavitane to middle-class Sinhalese Buddhist parents living under British colonial rule in Colombo, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). He took

Grant was also involved in the Vedanta Society, the first major Hindu association in the United States. Members of the Vedanta Society strove to remove the *maya* (illusion) that upheld the separateness of the divine and the human, thereby realizing that all humans are in essence divine.⁴¹² Established in New York City in 1894, the Vedanta Society was founded by the Indian-born leaders Sri Ramakrishna (1836-1886) and Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902). Ramakrishna was a priest at the Dakshineswar Temple outside Calcutta and Vivekananda, Ramakrishna's most famous disciple, was a Hindu representative to the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions. There, he argued that all gods and religions were different manifestations of one divine universal truth.

the name Anagarika Dharmapala, which means "homeless defender of the Buddhist doctrine." Educated in a Christian school, he joined the Theosophists after being impressed by the anti-Christian, pro-Buddhist lectures delivered during an 1880 tour of Ceylon by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and Henry Steel Olcott, cofounders of the Theosophical Society in New York City. Dharmapala worked with Olcott to promote Buddhism in Ceylon and beyond. In 1891, he traveled to the place of Buddha's enlightenment, Bodhi Gaya, India, and formed the Maha Bodhi Society in an effort to raise funds to restore the Mahabodhi temple site. Two years later, he traveled to the United States and served as a delegate to the World's Parliament of Religions. Dharmapala conducted the ceremony in which the first Westerner converted to Buddhism on U.S. soil, and also presided over the first celebration of Wesak, the celebration of Buddha's birthday, in the United States. Dharmapala's religious tolerance faded as he championed the superiority of Buddhism over other religions as well as ethnic bigotry. For information on Dharmapala, See Neil DeVotta, *Blowback: Linguistic Nationalism, Institutional Decay, and Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004); Ananda Guruge, ed., *Return to Righteousness: A Collection of Speeches, Essays, and Letters of the Anagarika Dharmapala* (Colombo, Ceylon: Anagarika Dharmapala Birth Centenary Committee, Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, Government Press, 1965); Michael Roberts, "For humanity. For the Sinhalese. Dharmapala as Crusading Bosat," *Journal of Asian Studies* 56/4 (November 1997): 1006-1032.

⁴¹² The Vedanta Society proclaimed that the ultimately indescribable Brahman (God) was the same as the Atman (soul) of the individual human, with the objective to realize that one's Atman is indistinguishable from Brahman. In other words, a person's spiritual essence is one with Ultimate Reality. For information on the Vedanta Society in the United States, see Joseph Damrell, *Seeking Spiritual Meaning: The World of Vedanta* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1977); Carl T. Jackson, *Vedanta for the West: The Ramakrishna Movement in the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Christopher Isherwood, *Ramakrishna and His Disciples* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965).

On several occasions Grant lectured at the Vedanta center in Boston at the invitation of its directors.⁴¹³ The center had been established by Swami Paramananda (1884-1940) in 1910, who preached the unity of the world's religions and the essential divinity of human beings.⁴¹⁴ Paramananda was one of the most popular and influential Hindu leaders ever to appear in the United States. In 1912, he began publishing the Vedanta journal *The Message of the East*, which published articles by both Grant and Roerich that promoted the Roerich institutions in New York.⁴¹⁵ Paramananda lectured widely in the United States and Grant attended many a lecture by him. Practically all the early associates of the Vedanta Society in the United States were Euro-Americans, and the overwhelming majority were women. Hinduism, like theosophy, attracted a large number of women like Grant who were concerned with world peace and cultural unity. In the United States, Eastern-inspired religious movements professed Grant's high ideals, achievable through following teachings that emphasized the divine essence of all humans within one universal truth.

⁴¹³ See Grant to Sister Devamata, Ananda-Ashrama, La Crescenta, California. 26 June 1937. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 7. Folder 21.

⁴¹⁴ Born Suresh Chandra Guha Thakurta in what is now Bangladesh, Swami Paramananda left home as a teenager to join Ramakrishna's monastic order. In 1906, Paramananda traveled to the United States for the first time in order to work at New York City's Vedanta Society. Three years later, he established the Vedanta Centre in Boston.

⁴¹⁵ The publication of the Vedanta Centre in Boston, *The Message of the East*, was published from 1912-1964. Frances Grant delivered an address at the Dedication Exercises of the Vedanta Centre on Beacon Street in Boston on January 24, 1937. See Frances R. Grant, "The Alchemy of the Spirit," *Message of the East* 26 (1937): 41-44 ; Grant to Swami Paramananda. 18 September 1935. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 8.

Grant turned her knowledge of the East into a book on Eastern philosophy, which was published by the Dial Press in 1936.⁴¹⁶ The promotional material distributed by the press for Grant's book, entitled *Oriental Philosophy: The Story of the Teachers of the East*, claimed the author was "one of the foremost authorities in America on Oriental Philosophy." Grant "revealed the entire enchantment of Asia" through a writing style "with all the interest and color of a novelist." Asia was presented as not only "the Cradle of all Mankind," but also "the Cradle of all Philosophies." In the book, Grant described the "spiritual quests" of China, Japan, India, and Iran, examining the "Heroic Company" of such figures as Buddha, Confucius, Lao Tzu, and Zoroaster, among others. Grant presented the book "in the spirit of the great Vedic formula—'Truth is one; men call it by different names.'"⁴¹⁷ While she maintained "tremendous pride and feeling in the basic Jewish religion" of her upbringing, Grant believed that "the truth has universal and cosmic roots."⁴¹⁸

Grant considered herself to be "a religious person by nature." Despite her deep-seated Jewish identity and steady attendance at various Manhattan synagogues, she was "terribly interested in seeing the uniformity of religious worship in the world."⁴¹⁹ Despite

⁴¹⁶ See Francis R. Grant, *Oriental Philosophy: The Story of the Teachers of the East* (New York: Dial Press, 1936).

⁴¹⁷ Catalog description of Frances Grant's *Oriental Philosophy: The Story of the Teachers of the East* in *Publications, Autumn 1935* (New York: Dial Press, 1935). See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 53.

⁴¹⁸ Frances R. Grant, interview by Muriel Meyers, October 8, 1983, Cassette 2: William E. Wiener Oral History Library of the American Jewish Committee, Dorot Jewish Division, New York Public Library, New York, New York, 1983.

⁴¹⁹ Frances R. Grant, interview by Muriel Meyers, September 24, 1983, Cassette 1: William E. Wiener Oral History Library of the American Jewish Committee, Dorot Jewish Division, New York Public Library, New York, New York, 1983.

her enthusiasm for the East, she was not diverted from championing Pan Americanism. Grant persistently promoted all things Latin American and Caribbean in the United States. For example, the West Side YMCA in Manhattan invited Grant to speak at a nine-meeting series that occurred in 1936 and 1937. The series was intended to spark interest throughout the New York area and beyond in the culture and life of Latin America and the Caribbean. The meetings preceded the Columbia Broadcasting System's 'Brave New World' broadcasts, which were sponsored by the U.S. Department of the Interior. Grant's colleague Samuel Guy Inman of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America was the technical advisor to the series. Her friend Carlos Dávila, formerly Chile's ambassador to the United States, also participated in the project. The YMCA program audience would meet to hear the speakers and then have a discussion before listening together to the CBS broadcast. The program's coordinator explained to Grant, "It is our hope and belief that these meetings will not only render a service to the cause of a general understanding of Latin America, but will also serve as a focus of interest to which the Committee on Cooperation with Latin America may point in suggesting the formation of similar groups in other parts of the country."⁴²⁰

As the PAWA became an integral part of the larger effort of the Pan American movement, like the Committee on Cooperation with Latin America, it also took advantage of the Columbia Broadcasting System for its own development. Pondering the early development of the PAWA, Grant wrote in 1938 that the association was "born of a realization of the unhappy cleavages" that existed between the United States and its

⁴²⁰ Carl V. Herron to Grant. 23 October 1936. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 14. Folder 12. Frances Grant spoke during the series at the West Side YMCA in Manhattan on February 14, 1937.

hemispheric neighbors. Such cleavages were “singularly apparent” to Grant on her first trip to South America in 1929. According to Grant, by the time of her first trip, “a dim realization of the need for new approaches to our southern neighbors was bestirring our State Department, which had been so busy previously acting as lackeys to the European powers, that they were entirely indifferent to these closer possibilities of friendship.” Such a situation, Grant believed, was “entirely satisfactory to the European powers” and had provided them “ample time to operate and prepare ‘cells’ of cultural penetration” throughout South America. She remembered them “doing this with special astuteness,” as “their commercial approaches were entirely interbound with cultural efforts of integration.”⁴²¹ Indeed, the United States had surrendered South America to Western Europeans. Grant concluded:

“The Germans, fortified with a knowledge of Spanish (which we generally didn’t bother to acquire), were sending to these countries men who could speak on literature, music, art, philosophy and set up community of cultural interests before they ever began to talk shop. Moreover the powers in Berlin were setting up Hispanic-German institutes in Berlin, publishing numerous works in Spanish – and above all, holding on to their South American immigrant colonies by constant inter-relation with the Motherland. So, too, with Italy, which was especially fortunate because of the strong blood-ties with some of the countries; and also with Britain and other foreign powers. Very definite anti-U.S. propaganda was being carried on by these countries in this future arena.”⁴²²

⁴²¹ “Pan American Women (History).” 1938. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 57.

⁴²² Ibid.

Through the auspices of the PAWA, Grant turned to the medium of radio to counter anti-U.S. propaganda and enliven the ideal of Pan Americanism. In the later half of the 1930s, Grant organized PAWA shortwave radio broadcasts produced in CBS's Studio One on Madison Avenue. She also used her Spanish-language skills to host CBS shortwave radio shows broadcast to South America for the Committee on Human Relations of the National Council of Women of the United States.⁴²³ In this way, Grant actively participated in the Roosevelt Administration's important foreign policy tool of shortwave broadcasting, which had become a vehicle for the U.S. penetration and dominance of Latin American and Caribbean mass communication systems.⁴²⁴

By the time Grant became involved in shortwave broadcasting, the development of radio broadcasting in the Western Hemisphere had come a long way since the first commercial radio station in the United States, Pittsburgh's KDKA, emerged in 1920. Within five years, there were 571 stations and over 2.75 million receivers throughout the

⁴²³ The prominent reformer and organizer for woman suffrage Susan B. Anthony put together the International Council of Women, one of the first international women's organizations, and its affiliate, the National Council of Women of the United States, in 1888. The second international conference of the National Woman Suffrage Association, called by Anthony and other suffragists, created the councils. Francis Willard, president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union from 1879 until her death in 1898, served as the first president of the National Council of Women of the United States. By 1938, thirty-six councils were affiliated with the International Council of Women, which had become one of the best known and most consulted women's international organizations. For information about the International Council of Women, see Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

⁴²⁴ For an historical account of the expansion of U.S. interests in Latin American communications in the first half of the twentieth century, see Fred Fejes, *Imperialism, Media, and the Good Neighbor: New Deal Foreign Policy and United States Shortwave Broadcasting to Latin America* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1986).

United States, the estimated population of which was then 122 million.⁴²⁵ And the U.S. radio industry had made great strides in expanding into Latin America and the Caribbean. The role of the radio industry in the economic expansion of the United States into other nations of the Western Hemisphere had begun in the early 1900s when the United Fruit Company successfully installed wireless radio operations abroad in order to expand its commercial empire. Later, during the First World War, the U.S. government became interested in dominating radio. With the development of shortwave broadcasting as a U.S. foreign policy tool, there arose the need to restructure relations between the broadcasting industry and government. United States communication interests attempted to dominate world radio policy in the aftermath of the First World War through a series of international communication conferences from 1919 to 1939. In *The American Radio Industry and Its Latin American Activities, 1900-1939*, James Schwoch explains this “growing relationship between radio and the maturation of the United States as a global power of the highest magnitude in politics, economics, and culture.” Schwoch argues that “radio as a means of international communication became a key element in the global expansion of American political and economic influence in the first two decades of the twentieth century.”⁴²⁶

The 1920s mark the creation of a global radio communication system through close cooperation between government and private business interests. As the U.S. radio industry, in conjunction with the U.S. government, successfully promoted its global

⁴²⁵ Carol J. Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 61.

⁴²⁶ James Schwoch, *The American Radio Industry and Its Latin American Activities, 1900-1939* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 2.

interests, private U.S. shortwave broadcasters set up satellite stations throughout the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, whose leaders turned to the United States and Western Europe for desired radio technology. By January 1924, the Radio Corporation of America had inaugurated the first shortwave communications circuit between New York and Buenos Aires. Latin American and Caribbean reception of U.S. broadcasts increased markedly into the 1930s. By the late 1930s, people in Latin America and the Caribbean were able to listen to several U.S. shortwave programs in addition to their own programs and those of Western European programmers.

The propaganda wars on shortwave frequencies during the Second World War greatly enhanced the U.S. radio industry's activities in the Western Hemisphere. Indeed, the 1930s ended with U.S. dominance over the entire international system of electronic communications.⁴²⁷ While the United States was increasingly dominating global radio, Grant was opening every PAWA radio broadcast with a greeting to listeners in the name of the association, followed usually by an invited Latin American or Caribbean diplomat or ex-diplomat, minister or ex-minister, who would read of a message of hemispheric solidarity. The monthly broadcasts featured lectures and interviews by artists and intellectuals on Pan American themes. All broadcasts included musical performances, mostly given by Latin American and Caribbean musicians temporarily residing in or

⁴²⁷ Among the principle license holders in international broadcasting from the United States during the U.S. rise to dominance in the industry were Crosley, Columbia Broadcasting System, General Electric, National Broadcasting Company of the Radio Corporation of America, Westinghouse, and World Wide Broadcasting Foundation. For further information on the United States radio industry in Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1930s, see James Rowland Angell, "International Relations in Broadcasting," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 73/2 (February 1939): 70-73; E. Roderick Diehl, "South of the Border: The NBC and CBS Networks and the Latin American Venture, 1930-1942," *Communication Quarterly* 25 (Fall 1977): 2-12; James G. Harbord, "Radio and the Americas," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 74/9 (September 1940): 626-634.

visiting the New York City area.⁴²⁸ For example, Grant's longtime friend Esperanza Pulido Silva, a Mexican pianist who frequently resided in New York, closed a number of PAWA broadcasts with her piano playing. Pulido, who established *Heterofonía*, Mexico's longest running musicological journal, served as secretary of the PAWA in the 1930s and 1940s.⁴²⁹

The PAWA broadcasts often revolved around honoring inspirational Latin American and Caribbean figures. For example, Grant dedicated one show in the late 1930s to the life and work of the influential Argentine writer Alfonsina Storni. A woman whose life was a paradigm of proto-feminist rebellion, Storni supported herself through teaching and writing while raising a son alone.⁴³⁰ Discussing Storni with Grant as a guest on the show was Cuban author and journalist Jorge Mañach, who had been teaching

⁴²⁸ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 16. Folder 33.

⁴²⁹ For information on Esperanza Pulido Silva, see Robert M. Stevenson, "Esperanza Pulido Silva (1901-1991)," *Inter-American Music Review* 12/1 (Fall/Winter 1991): 139. For works by Pulido, who edited *Heterofonía* until her death in 1991, see Esperanza Pulido, "Mexican Women in Music," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 4/1 (Spring-Summer 1983): 120-131; Esperanza Pulido, *La mujer mexicana en la música, hasta la tercera década del siglo XX* (México, DF: Ediciones de la Revista Bellas Artes, 1958).

⁴³⁰ Born in Switzerland in 1892, Alfonsina Storni grew up in Argentina. Best known as a poet, she also wrote for newspapers and the theater. Her first publication, *La inquietud del rosal*, appeared in 1916. Her last publication, *Mascarilla y trebol*, appeared in 1938, the year in which an incurable illness caused her to commit suicide. For information on Storni, see Marjorie Agosin, "Alfonsina Storni," in Carlos A. Solé, ed., *Latin American Writers*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989), 739-744; Graciela Gliemmo, "Alfonsina Storni," in *Mujeres argentinas: El lado femenino de nuestra historia*, Graciela Batticuore, et al (Buenos Aires: Alfaguara, 1998); Sonia Jones, *Alfonsina Storni* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979); Gwen Kirkpatrick, "The Journalism of Alfonsina Storni: A New Approach to Women's History in Argentina," in *Women, Culture, and Politics in Latin America*, Emilie Bergmann, et al (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Marta Morello-Frosch, "Alfonsina Storni: The Tradition of the Feminine Subject," in *Women, Culture, and Politics in Latin America /Seminar on Feminism and Culture in Latin America*, Emilie Bergmann, et al (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Rachel Phillips, *Alfonsina Storni: From Poetess to Poet* (London: Tamesis Books, 1975); Florence Williams Talamantes, ed., *Alfonsina Storni: Argentina's Feminist Poet* (Los Cerrillos, NM: San Marcos Press, 1975).

Spanish at Columbia University since 1935. A 1920 Harvard graduate who also studied in Cuba, France, and Spain, Mañach was one of the Caribbean's great twentieth-century intellectuals. He served his nation on the Supreme Court and as minister of education before taking the position as professor at Columbia. Soon after his appearance on Grant's radio show, Mañach returned to Cuba to serve as a senator during the war years.⁴³¹ For the musical portion of the show, Philippine soprano Jovita Fuentes sang, accompanied by the Argentine pianist Elsita Vidal.⁴³² Fuentes was a member of the New York Grand Opera Company.⁴³³ Firsthand experience of Nazi terror while performing in Germany earlier in the decade made Fuentes a likely candidate to help Grant keep the Americas out of the hands of European fascists.⁴³⁴ The Cuban soprano Natalia Aróstegui de Suárez, a founder of the Cuban Sociedad Pro-Arte, read Storni's poetry on the program. Aróstegui

⁴³¹ Jorge Mañach served in the Cuban Senate from 1940 to 1944. He was Cuba's minister of state in 1944. Mañach died in Puerto Rico in 1961, shortly after going into exile from Fidel Castro's government. For information on Mañach, see Nicolás Emilio Alvarez, *La obra literaria de Jorge Mañach* (Potomac, MD: J. Porrúa Turanzas, North American Division, 1979); Duanel Díaz Infante, *Mañach o la República* (La Habana: Letras Cubanas, 2003); Jorge L. Martí, *El periodismo literario de Jorge Mañach* (Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1977); Amalia V. de la Torre, *Jorge Mañach, maestro del ensayo* (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1978); Andrés Alberto Valdespino, *Jorge Mañach y su generación en las letras cubanas* (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1971).

⁴³² For information on Jovita Fuentes and Elsita Vidal's work together see, "Jovita Fuentes in Recital," *New York Times*, 23 January, 1939, p. 8. For a photograph of Fuentes, see Herbert F. Peysera, "Tribute to Ravel in Paris," *New York Times*, 22 January 1939, p. 122.

⁴³³ Jovita Fuentes was a member of the New York Grand Opera Company under the direction of Amedeo Passeri. In October 1939, she also performed with the Opera Company of New York under the direction of Giorgio D'Andria at the Teatro Nacional in Havana as well as in San Juan, Puerto Rico. See F. Bonavia, "Opera Season in Boston," *New York Times*, 10 September 1939, p. X6; "Notes Here and Afield," *New York Times*, 8 October 1939, p. 142.

⁴³⁴ In 1933, the year Adolf Hitler became chancellor of Germany, Jovita Fuentes witnessed what German authorities called "a nation-wide campaign against foreign artists" when the premiere of the Strauss Opera's *Salome* in the Ruhr district of Germany, of which she was the star performer, was delayed by tear gas released from capsules thrown by an attendee of the performance. See "Tear Gas Halts German Opera in Drive on Foreign Artists," *New York Times*, 23 October 1932, p. 3.

had made her United States debut at the Museum of Natural History with the New York Civic Opera in 1934.⁴³⁵ That year her husband Pablo Suárez Roig became Cuban consul general in New York, a position he would retain throughout the war years.⁴³⁶ As was customary, the show was closed with Esperanza Pulido's piano playing.⁴³⁷

Other PAWA broadcasts responded directly to current events. For example, the PAWA broadcast of February 24, 1939 was sympathetically dedicated to Chile and the PAWA's "Chilean sisters." Given its location between the Andes mountain chain to the west and some of the world's deepest sea trenches to the east, Chile is one of the most earthquake-prone countries in the world. Exactly one month prior to the broadcast, a tremendous earthquake in Chile had claimed 30,000 lives and devastated roughly 40,000 square miles.⁴³⁸ While private U.S. citizens sent aid through organizations like the

⁴³⁵ Natalia Aróstegui de Suárez was the daughter of Dr. Gonzalo Aróstegui, a noted Cuban physician who served as Cuba's secretary of education during the Mario García Menocal administration (1913-1921). See "Dr. Gonzalo Arostegui," *New York Times*, 19 November 1940, p. 23. For Aróstegui's United States debut at the Museum of Natural History with the New York Civic Opera under Eugene Plotnikoff, see "Activities of Musicians," *New York Times*, 2 September 1934, p. X5.

⁴³⁶ Pablo Suárez Roig was Cuban consul general in New York from April 1934 to December 1945. Before his appointment, Suárez had been a banker in touch with the U.S. market through commercial contacts. Upon assuming his duties in 1934, Suárez told *The New York Times* that his country had "been cheered by President Roosevelt's attitude toward its problems." See "New Cuban Consul Begins Duties Here," *New York Times*, 3 April 1934, p. 19. Suárez died in New York City in March 1952. See "Pablo Suarez," *New York Times*, 29 March 1952, p. 15.

⁴³⁷ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 16. Folder 33.

⁴³⁸ The January 24, 1939 earthquake in Chile demolished the area around the cities of Chillán and Concepción, creating immense property damage. The Chilean Development Corporation (Corporación de Fomento de la Producción-CORFO), the first South American general development and economic planning authority, was established following the earthquake. With subsidies and direct investments, CORFO encouraged a bold new program of the type of import substitution industrialization that became popular in several South America nations. See Markos Mamalakis, "An Analysis of the Financial and Investment Activities of the Chilean Development Corporation, 1939-1974," *Journal of Development Studies* 5/2 (January 1969): 118-137; Patricio Silva, "State, Public Technocracy and Politics in Chile, 1927-1941," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 13/3 (September 1994): 281-297.

American Red Cross and the Grace Line, President Roosevelt authorized the U.S. army and navy to aid the earthquake survivors.⁴³⁹ Abelardo Silva Davidson, the Chilean consul in New York appeared on the broadcast and the Chilean baritone Leopoldo Gutiérrez sang. Gutiérrez and Grant had been acquaintances for sometime, as earlier he had performed at the Roerich Museum.⁴⁴⁰ A thankful Socialist Deputy Manuel Eduardo Hübner, who was also a member of Chile's Defense Commission, ended the PAWA broadcast by reading a message of solidarity.⁴⁴¹

In addition to the PAWA broadcasts, Grant also hosted a radio series in 1939 and 1940 for the Committee on Human Relations of the National Council of Women of the United States. The programs, broadcast twice a week to Latin America and the Caribbean by the Columbia Broadcasting System, focused on building mutual respect and understanding amongst women of the Western Hemisphere. Through these U.S.-based programs, Grant told her Latin American and Caribbean audience that the committee hoped to give them "something of the spirit of our women." Grant trusted that her "talks and news of the day" would foster "a more intimate relation" between U.S. women and

⁴³⁹ See Charles Griffin, "Quake Ruins 20 Chile Towns," *New York Times*, 26 January 1939, p. 1; "U.S. Aid is Rushed to Chile's Victims," *New York Times*, 27 January 1939, p. 6; Charles Griffin, "Quake Survivors Lashed by Storm," *New York Times*, 29 January 1939, p. 1; "Roosevelt Pleads for Help for Chile," *New York Times*, 2 February 1939, p. 4, "U.S. Planes Take Out Survivors in Chile," *New York Times*, 3 February 1939, p. 5; "Gifts on Ship Aid Relief," *New York Times*, 5 February 1939, p. 37; "'Mercy Plane' Pilot to Get Flying Award," *New York Times*, 12 February 1939, p. 41.

⁴⁴⁰ Leopoldo Gutiérrez performed songs from Latin America at the Roerich Museum in April 1933. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 24; "Music Notes," *New York Times*, 25 April 1933, p. 15.

⁴⁴¹ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 25; Box 18. Folder 48. A journalist and essayist, Manuel Eduardo Hübner authored a history of Mexico entitled *México en marcha* (Santiago: Empresa Editorial Zig-zag, 1936). In 1945, the Chilean Government sent Hübner to Australia as charge d'affaires and consul general.

their hemispheric counterparts.⁴⁴² The radio programs also aimed to present the United States in a positive light for its Latin American and Caribbean audience. One broadcast, for example, celebrated the kindness and generosity of both President Roosevelt and the U.S. public. Grant described the celebration of Roosevelt's fifty-seventh birthday in January 1939 as "the thrilling nation-wide tribute to a great man" that inspired U.S. citizens to raise money for charity. Listeners learned that in addition to the proceeds collected for the National Foundation of Infantile Paralysis from the Birthday Balls held throughout the country in honor of the President, the U.S. public also sent dimes to the White House in support of the March of Dimes campaign.⁴⁴³

The National Council of Women broadcasts gave Grant the opportunity to continue a decade of work dedicated to building links and better relations between women of the Western Hemisphere. Grant proudly informed her listeners that the Committee on Human Relations presented the programs "with the aim of strengthening

⁴⁴² National Council of Women of the United States. Committee on Human Relations. South American Broadcast. February 2, 1939. Station W2XE. Columbia Broadcasting System. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 21.

⁴⁴³ National Council of Women of the United States. Committee on Human Relations. South American Broadcast. February 2, 1939. Station W2XE. Columbia Broadcasting System. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 21. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who contracted polio at the age of 39 in 1921, purchased the Warm Springs facility in Georgia and created a therapeutic center for patients suffering from polio. He used his birthday to raise money for polio research and treatment. The Birthday Balls became an annual fundraising success. In 1938, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis was created by Roosevelt as a national organization to help victims of polio. That same year, radio personality Eddie Cantor urged the public to send "a march of dimes," that is to say loose change, to Roosevelt, in reference to a popular newsreel feature of the time called "The March of Time." The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis took the name of this popular campaign to become the March of Dimes. The funds raised by the Birthday Balls and the March of Dimes supported the invention of a polio vaccine by Jonas Salk in 1955, ten years after the Birthday Balls ended with Roosevelt's death in 1945. See Jean Gould, *A Good Fight: The Story of F. D. R's Conquest of Polio* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1960); Jane S. Smith, *Patenting the Sun: Polio and the Salk Vaccine* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1990).

the bonds of friendship between the women of this country and those of the other Americas.” Grant’s programs echoed her earlier beliefs on women’s traditional feminine qualities and concerns. Grant hoped the radio would straddle the long distances to create an intimate, domestic-like atmosphere in which women throughout the Western Hemisphere learned about each other. Describing the radio programs, Grant made it clear that “we try to bring you the news of the day in the fields of feminine interest, with our own commentaries; we believe that through these news talks we can give you a more intimate idea of our thoughts and the atmosphere of our home life.”⁴⁴⁴ In presenting such ideas and atmosphere, Grant offered both somewhat light-hearted social issues as well as more serious ones. A broadcast from March 1940 illustrates this well. Listeners learned how New York City Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia “was being assailed with all kinds of protests” for criticizing women’s styles in one of his many speeches. “The consensus feminine opinion,” according to Grant, was that the mayor was “an expert in the political field,” but that “he had better keep to his own field and let the women choose their own hats!” Grant told of one modiste’s response that the hats were possibly a bit outrageous that year, but it was “preferable for a woman to be criticized for her clothes than not to be noticed at all!” Grant also informed her listeners of the response to the controversy by Lily Daché, the French-born hat designer who had immigrated to the United States in 1924 to rise to wealth and fame at a time when hats carried more weight in the fashion world than clothing.⁴⁴⁵ Daché had designed the outrageous turbans of birds and fruit for

⁴⁴⁴ National Council of Women of the United States. Committee on Human Relations. South American Broadcast. March 28, 1940. Station W2XE. Columbia Broadcasting System. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 21.

⁴⁴⁵ By the early 1940s, Lily Daché was the United States’ premier hat designer, with wealthy American patrons from New York to Hollywood wearing her unique and flamboyant designs. For

the Portuguese-born Brazilian singer and entertainer Carmen Miranda, who had recently been signed the previous year by producer Lee Shubert to star in the hit Broadway show *Streets of Paris*.⁴⁴⁶ Grant told listeners of Daché's response that busy men like the mayor, unlike Miranda, simply did not know anything about hats. Grant concluded the news piece: "And thus the Mayor has aroused the feminine cohorts who immediately resist any invasion of their own province."⁴⁴⁷ Male politicians, Grant always maintained, should stay out of the women's sphere.

The radio programs allowed Grant to publicize the good work of her female counterparts who walked the line between reform and feminine interests. On one program, Grant spoke flatteringly of the work of the renowned suffragist leader and peace activist Carrie Chapman Catt, founder of the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. A participant in the landmark National American Woman Suffrage Association convention in 1890, Catt had helped organize women throughout the world for universal

information on Daché, see her rags to riches self-promotional autobiography, *Talking Through My Hats* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1946). See also Lilly Daché, *Lilly Daché's Glamour Book* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1956); Colin McDowell, *Hats: Status, Style and Glamour* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992); Barbra Walz and Bernadine Morris, *The Fashion Makers* (New York: Random House, 1978). For an amusing profile of Daché, see Margaret Case Harriman, "Hats Will Be Worn," *New Yorker* 4 April 1942, p. 20-24. On Daché's retirement, see Bernadine Morris, "The Everlasting Lilly Daché," *New York Times*, 14 October 1967, p. FS16.

⁴⁴⁶ Carmen Miranda (1909-1955) became a film star in the United States after 20th Century Fox Studios released her first English language film, *Down Argentine Way*, in 1940. For information on Miranda, see Martha Gil-Montero, *Brazilian Bombshell: The Biography of Carmen Miranda* (New York: D.I. Fine, 1989); Brian O'Neil, "Carmen Miranda: The High Price of Fame and Bananas," in Vicki Ruiz and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, eds., *Latina Legacies: Identity, Biography, and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 193-208.

⁴⁴⁷ National Council of Women of the United States. Committee on Human Relations. South American Broadcast. March 28, 1940. Station W2XE. Columbia Broadcasting System. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 21.

adult suffrage.⁴⁴⁸ After women won the right to vote on a national level in the United States in 1920, Catt devoted more attention to peace work. In 1925, under her leadership, nine women's organization's came together for the first annual Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, which created the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. For years, the committee lobbied and agitated for international solutions to conflict. Full of admiration, Grant told her audience how Catt, now eighty-one years old, rallied those assembled at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in Manhattan for the Women's Centennial Congress Preview to work towards "ending forever the vicious institution of war itself," which she believed would take another century to achieve.⁴⁴⁹

Interestingly, Grant's flattering program did not address Catt's earlier work with Latin American and Caribbean feminists. Unlike Grant, who ceaselessly spoke in high regard for Latin American and Caribbean women, the ethnocentrism of Catt and many of her international feminist liberal colleagues in leadership roles from the North Atlantic

⁴⁴⁸ Carrie Chapman Catt (1859-1947) served as president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association from 1900 to 1904, the year she instigated the founding of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, which helped sponsor the first suffrage conference of Pan American women in Baltimore, Maryland in 1922. From its founding in 1925 until its demise in 1939, the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War lobbied for the World Court, the League of Nations, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and other international solutions to conflict. For information of Catt, see Robert Booth Fowler, *Carrie Catt: Feminist Politician* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986); Norman K. Risjord, *Populists and Progressives* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 195- 216; Jacqueline Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life* (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1987).

⁴⁴⁹ The Women's Centennial Congress Preview was held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on March 22, 1940. The Women's Centennial Congress was held at the Hotel Commodore in New York City in November 1940. See "Mrs. Catt Deplores War As Institution," *New York Times*, 23 March 1940, p. 6. Listeners learned of organizing efforts by Catt and Constance Amberg Sporborg for the Women's Centennial Congress to commemorate the 100-year anniversary of the first women's rights convention in the United States held in July 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York. See National Council of Women of the United States. Committee on Human Relations. South American Broadcast. March 28, 1940. Station W2XE. Columbia Broadcasting System. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 21.

countries angered Latin American and Caribbean feminists and hindered efforts at unity. In 1922, Catt traveled throughout South America as leader of a Pan American Women's Association that had been founded that same year at the first Pan-American Conference of Women in Baltimore, Maryland.⁴⁵⁰ According to historian Christine Ehrick, Catt showed on this trip that she did not consider women of South America to be her equal, but rather considered Pan Americanism as a tool to "civilize" Latin Americans and boost the image of the United States in the Western Hemisphere.⁴⁵¹ Grant never addressed these types of attitudes and tensions in her radio broadcasts, but presumably such issues formed part of why Grant believed in the need for such broadcasting.

In addition to the radio, social gatherings and dinners aimed to develop better understanding between the inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere. On June 1, 1939, the PAWA with Grant presiding held an Inter-American Friendship Dinner at the Café Loyale in New York City.⁴⁵² As the Colombian government's Bureau of Information reported in its magazine *Colombia*, more than 150 guests attended, including many "intellectual and artistic stars" from throughout the hemisphere. "English, Spanish and Portuguese were spoken, as if the one feeling of friendship – common to all – was symbolized in a three color form of expression."⁴⁵³ The guest list demonstrated the extent

⁴⁵⁰ See Megan Threlkeld, "The Pan American Conference of Women, 1922: Successful Suffragists Turn to International Relations," *Diplomatic History* 31/5 (November 2007): 801-828.

⁴⁵¹ See Christine Ehrick, "Madrinas and Missionaries: Uruguay and the Pan-American Women's Movement," *Gender & History* 10/3 (November 1998): 406-424.

⁴⁵² See "For 'Friendship Dinner,'" *New York Times*, 28 May 1939, p. D5

⁴⁵³ "Banquet Given by the Pan American Women's Association," *Colombia* 18 (June 1939): 7.

of hemispheric friendship with elites of all three cultures in attendance.⁴⁵⁴ Speakers included three U.S. women: The pioneering physical education innovator and women's advocate Mabel Lee,⁴⁵⁵ the travel writer and novelist Blair Niles,⁴⁵⁶ and Constance

⁴⁵⁴ The directors of shortwave programming and Latin American programming for the Columbia Broadcasting System, a representative from the National Broadcasting System, Julie Olin Chanler and Mirza Ahmad Sohrab of the New History Society, and Mexico's outstanding composer of popular music María Grever were among those in attendance. For a list of some of those who attended the banquet, see "Banquete de la Amistad Inter-Americana ofrecido por la Pan American Women's Association," *Colombia* 18 (June 1939): 21. Also attending the event was the world renowned cancer surgeon George T. Pack. After earning a medical degree from Yale in 1922, Pack became a surgeon at Memorial Hospital's Cancer Center in Manhattan and a founder of the Pack Medical Group. Grant and Pack published an article together: George T. Pack and Frances R. Grant, "The Influence of Disease on History," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 24/8 (August 1948): 523-540. In 1951, Argentine leader Juan Perón secretly flew Pack to Buenos Aires, where he performed operations on Eva Perón without the Argentine first lady ever knowing she had cervical cancer, from which she died at age 31 in 1952. For information on Pack, see "George T. Pack, Surgeon, 70, Dead," *New York Times*, 24 January 1969, p. 47; Irving M. Ariel, M.D., "George T. Pack, M.D., 1898-1969, A Tribute," *American Journal of Roentgenology* 107/2 (Oct 1969): 443-446; Lawrence K. Altman, M.D., "From the Life of Evita, a New Chapter on Medical Secrecy," *New York Times*, 6 June 2000, p. F7; B.H. Lerner, "The Illness and Death of Eva Perón: Cancer, Politics, and Secrecy," *Lancet* 355/9219 (June 3, 2000): 1988-1991.

⁴⁵⁵ Born in Clearfield, Iowa, Mabel Lee (1886-1985) graduated from Coe College in Cedar Rapids. In pursuit of her career, Lee rejected the idea of marriage and went on to attend the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics, which became part of Wellesley College. Lee then returned to Iowa to accept a teaching position in physical education at Coe College, where she instituted female health and hygiene courses and comprehensive physical examinations for female students. Lee not only sought to open up sports to women, but she also strove to open up physical education programs to everyone, rather than just a talented few. Lee worked at the Oregon Agricultural College in Corvallis, now Oregon State University, and at Beloit College in Beloit, Wisconsin, before taking work in 1924 at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln. In 1931, Lee became the first woman president of the American Physical Education Association. Her book *The Conduct of Physical Education* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1937) was used in colleges and universities across the United States. In 1942, Lee became the first woman president of the American Academy of Physical Education. After retiring from the University of Nebraska in 1952, Lee served as the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education and Recreation's first archivist throughout the 1960s. For information on Lee, see Robert E. Knoll, *Prairie University: A History of the University of Nebraska* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Mabel Lee, *Memories of a Bloomer Girl, 1894-1924* (Washington, DC: American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1977); *Mabel Lee, Memories Beyond Bloomers, 1924-1954* (Washington: American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1978).

⁴⁵⁶ Born in Virginia in 1880, Blair Niles was exposed to African American tenants on her father's plantation. Subsequently, she became interested in other cultures. After attending the Pratt

Amberg Sporborg, the chair of the Pan American Committee of the National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War.⁴⁵⁷ Latin American speakers included Venezuela's Director of Culture and Fine Arts Mariano Picón Salas,⁴⁵⁸ Chilean Socialist Deputy

Institute, Niles traveled the world on scientific expeditions with her first husband, who worked for the New York Zoological Society. Her first publications were articles drawn from their travels in Asia and Latin America. Her second husband, the photographer Robert Niles, accompanied her on explorations and provided photographs that enhanced her books. Her most significant work grew out of their 1927 trip to the Devil's Island penal colony in French Guiana. Niles was the first foreigner woman to visit the colony and her husband made the island's earliest photographs. Niles was the author of many books, her best known being *Condemned to Devil's Island: The Biography of an Unknown Convict* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1928), which was made into the Hollywood motion picture in 1929. Niles was awarded the gold medal of the Society of Women Geographers in 1944. For information on Niles, see Margo McLoone, *Women Explorers in North and South America* (Mankato, MN: Capstone Press, 1997).

⁴⁵⁷ Through work in the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Constance Amberg Sporborg became associated with Carrie Chapman Catt, a leader in the campaign for women's suffrage and the world peace movement. From 1929 to 1935, Sporborg was recording secretary for the Catt's National Committee of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War. From 1935 to 1939, Sporborg headed the Pan American Committee of the National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War. For information on Sporborg, see "Sporborg, Mrs. William Dick," *Current Biography: Who's News and Why, 1947*, Anna Rothe, ed. (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1948), 599-601; "Mrs. William Sporborg, 81, Dies; Leading Clubwoman 30 Years," *New York Times*, 3 January 1961, p. 29; "Mrs. Sporborg's Rites," *New York Times*, 5 January, 1961, p. 31.

⁴⁵⁸ A descendent of an elite Venezuelan family who received his nation's Premio Nacional de Literatura in 1954, Mariano Picón Salas was an admirer and friend of Rómulo Betancourt. Picón Salas obtained a degree in history in 1923 from the Universidad de Chile in Santiago while living as an exile from the Venezuelan dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gómez. The author of many books and essays on Latin American history, Picón Salas earned a doctoral degree from the Universidad de Chile in 1928. He remained in Chile teaching until 1936. He returned to Venezuela soon after Gómez's death and for a short while served as superintendent in Venezuela's Ministry of Education. In 1936-1937, Picón Salas was Venezuelan chargé de affaires in Czechoslovakia. While serving as Venezuela's Director of Culture and Fine Arts from 1938 to 1940, Picón Salas founded the *Revista nacional de cultura*. In the early 1940s, he toured and lectured as a visiting professor at several U.S. colleges and universities, including Columbia. In 1947-1948, he served as Venezuela's ambassador to Colombia. From 1950 to 1958, Picón Salas taught humanities at the Universidad Central in Caracas. His novels from the 1950s and 1960s reflect his criticism of technological materialistic progress and the replacement of Venezuela's "traditional values" with foreign ones. In 1958-1959, Picón Salas served as Venezuela's ambassador to Brazil. From 1959-1962, he served as a delegate to UNESCO. In 1962, he served as Venezuela's ambassador to Mexico. At the time of his death, Picón Salas was back in Caracas serving as president of the Instituto Nacional de Cultura y Bellas Artes. For information on Picón Salas (1901-1965), see Thomas D. Morin, *Mariano Picón Salas* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979); Alexis Márquez Rodríguez, *Mariano Picón Salas: El arte y la costumbre de pensar* (Caracas: Vadell Hermanos Editores, 2002); Guillermo Sucre, "Mariano Picón Salas," in Carlos A. Solé, ed., *Latin American*

Manuel Eduardo Hübner, and José Gálvez, the Peruvian poet and journalist who had recently formed the Peruvian Asociación Nacional de Escritores y Artistas and would become twice president of the Peruvian Senate.⁴⁵⁹ Poems were read by Eusebia Cosme, a successful Cuban reciter of Afro-Antillean verse,⁴⁶⁰ as well as by the Argentine writer

Writers, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989), 903-908; Gregory Zambrano, *Mariano Picón-Salas y el arte de narrar* (Mérida, Venezuela: Universidad de los Andes, Vicerrectorado Académico, 2003); Gregory Zambrano, "Mariano Picón-Salas: El narrador, el ensayista y los caminos de la Historia," *Cuadernos Americanos* 88 (July-August 2001): 96-110. See also Picón-Salas's autobiographical novel *Viaje al amanecer* (México, DF: Ediciones Mensaje, 1943).

⁴⁵⁹ Born into a prominent Peruvian family in 1885, José Gálvez Barrenechea received his LL.D. at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos in Lima in 1915. Gálvez then edited several Lima newspapers and taught at the University of San Marcos, where he would later serve as dean of the faculty of philosophy and letters. After serving as Peruvian consul in Barcelona, Spain for a year, Gálvez was elected mayor of the city of Tarma, his birthplace, in 1921. Gálvez was the founder of the PEN Club of Peru. He was president of the Comité Peruana pro-Palestina in the summer of 1945, when that organization perhaps issued the first public *pronunciamento* by a Latin American pro-Zionist committee. He served as president of the Peruvian Senate from 1945 to 1948 and again from 1956 until his death the following year. See Antonio Oliver Belmás, *José Gálvez y el modernismo* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1974); Cámara de Senadores (Peru), *Homenaje póstumo al ex Presidente del Senado don José Gálvez Barrenechea* (Lima: Industrialgráfica, 1967); José Gálvez, *Obras completas*, 4 vols. (Lima: Okura Editores, 1985); Edward B. Glick, "Zionist and Israeli Efforts to Influence Latin America: A Case Study in Diplomatic Persuasion," *Western Political Quarterly* 9/2 (June 1956): 329-343; "Jose Galvez, Head of Peruvian Senate," *New York Times*, 9 February 1957, p. 19.

⁴⁶⁰ Eusebia Adriana Cosme y Almanza was born in Santiago de Cuba in 1911. Her parents died when she was young and she was befriended by an elite Santiago family who took her to Havana, where she studied at the Escuela Municipal de Música and at the Academia de Declamación of the Conservatorio Municipal. Cosme's career as an interpreter of Afro-Antillean verse began in the early 1930s at the Teatro Payret in Havana. Her recitals, interpretive performances with background scenery and costumes that she designed herself, featured dramatic readings of Latin American and Caribbean writers who produced black-themed "poesias negras." Among her favorite poets were the Cubans Nicolas Guillen and Felix B. Caignet, the Puerto Rican Luis Pales Matos, and the Venezuelan Andres Eloy Blanco. They and others wrote works specifically for her. Cosme left Cuba in 1937 to begin an international career. She appeared the Caribbean, Europe, South America, and the United States. Settling in New York City in the 1940s, Cosme had her own radio program, "The Eusebia Cosme Show," on the Columbia Broadcasting System's *Las Cadenas de las Americas*. In 1955, Cosme began an acting career with a Mexican acting company. Her movie acting career began with her 1964 appearance in Sidney Lumet's *The Pawnbroker*. Cosme made five movies in Mexico and received the Onix award from the Instituto Cinematografico de la Universidad Ibero-Mexicana. Cosme died in Miami, Florida in the late 1970s. Her papers are held at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York City.

and PAWA member María Rosa Oliver.⁴⁶¹ Natalia Aróstegui de Suárez, PAWA member and wife of the Cuban consul general in New York sang as PAWA enthusiast Esperanza Pulido played piano.⁴⁶²

Grant continually asserted the leadership role of women, particularly through the PAWA, in building Pan Americanism. Others, however, represented the female members of the PAWA as the emotional and spiritual supporters of male leaders. The keynote address that evening by Abraham Martínez reveals his understanding of the different roles of men and women united in a common cause. Martínez was the secretary of the Colombian-American Chamber of Commerce and editor of *Colombia* magazine, in whose pages Pan Americanism and friendly U.S.-Colombian relations were consistently promoted.⁴⁶³ Martínez described the PAWA as a “charming group of ladies who give a

⁴⁶¹ The Argentine essayist, short story writer, literary critic, and translator María Rosa Oliver (1898-1977) was on the staff of the Buenos Aires newspaper *La Nación* and the magazine *Sur*, a literary review devoted to international exchange published in Buenos Aires. In the 1920s and 1930s, Oliver was among the writers and artists active in the association Amigos del Arte, founded by Elena Sansinena de Elizalde in Buenos Aires in 1924. A friend and colleague of the Argentine feminist Victoria Ocampo, the founder and publisher of *Sur*, Oliver was a member of *Sur*'s editorial board (Comité de Colaboración) from the magazine's beginning in 1931 and throughout the years when Buenos Aires was home to writers and intellectuals fleeing fascism in Europe. At the invitation of the Roosevelt Administration, Oliver worked in Washington, D.C. as special coordinator in the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs from 1942 to 1946. Oliver's memoirs are *Mundo, mi casa: Recuerdos de infancia* (Buenos Aires: Falbo Librero Editor, 1965), *La vida cotidiana* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1969), and *Mi fe es el hombre* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Carlos Lohlé, 1981).

⁴⁶² “Banquet Given by the Pan American Women’s Association,” *Colombia* 18 (June 1939): 7.

⁴⁶³ Abraham Martínez had been a Liberal Party leader in Colombia before arriving in New York City in 1923 to become commercial attaché for his nation. He served as secretary of the Colombian-American Chamber of Commerce and editor of the chamber’s monthly *Colombia*, which first appeared in 1930 and ceased publication a year after Martínez’s death in 1941. Martínez was also director of the Colombia Government Bureau of Information. A strong advocate of Inter-American solidarity against European fascism, he began the effort to remove German pilots from the Colombian airline during the Second World War. See “Pan American Legion For Defense Urged,” *New York Times*, 21 July 1940, p. 16; “Abraham Martinez: Official

touch of spiritual grace to the Pan American army of soldiers of peace that is marching triumphantly to the shrine of civilization." He thanked the women for spreading "seeds of culture" throughout the New York area. The PAWA, he asserted, cultivated "with untiring care and watchful love the beautiful garden of inter-American friendship." Martínez's remarks repeated traditional conceptions of women's moral and spiritual superiority that blessed men going off to war. Moreover, he placed women's efforts within the domestic sphere, where female love cultivated a garden of friendship while men fought civilization's battles. Martínez believed that "no aspiration represents a higher ideal or a more practical purpose than the union of the American continent" because "the future and the present, the dreams of a better world and the daily efforts to improve our condition, are linked closely in this Pan American movement." According to Martínez, "every follower of the Pan American movement is a social worker, who is working to preserve in the Americas the freedom, the opportunities and the happiness which can only be attained under a democratic form of government; furthermore, he or she is working to bring unto the world of tomorrow the dawn of universal tolerance, justice and liberty."⁴⁶⁴ Martínez's choice of words stressing freedom, opportunity, and democracy reflected a growing concern about the spread of fascism in the Western Hemisphere.

The speech by Martínez highlighted a shift in inter-American relations by the late 1930s. The need for unity to fight impending fascist threats began to replace the idealistic sentiments about mutual respect and harmony between peoples of the Americas. Martínez

of Colombian-American Chamber of Commerce Was 57," *New York Times*, 2 January 1941, p. 23.

⁴⁶⁴ Abraham Martínez, "The Alaska-Patagonia Axis," *Colombia* 18 (June 1939): 8.

warned those assembled that “in this dark hour of backward ideologies, if we are to preserve the blessings of peace and civilization, we must be strong—with the brutal strength of guns, bayonets and cannons. We must be prepared to fight in order to be respected by those who yield to no other control than the force of arms in their plundering of nations. We, the peoples of North, Central and South America, are unconquerable by just forming and keeping a united continent, impregnable to the degrading totalitarian ideologies.” Martínez closed with a proposal that the Americas form what he termed “the Alaska-Patagonia axis,” and claimed with hyperbole that around the Alaska-Patagonia axis there were “twenty-two counties with common aspirations of peace and progress, with equal principles of tolerance and justice, and equal ideals of political liberty.”⁴⁶⁵ In his description of an axis of the Americas, Martínez brought Latin America and the Caribbean to the table of international affairs as an equal to the United States and Canada.

The growing threat of Nazism in Europe and the concern about the spread of fascist ideologies in the Western Hemisphere drove the United States government to create special departments devoted to building stronger ties with the rest of the world, particularly with its neighbors in Latin America and the Caribbean. In May 1938, the U.S. government created the Committee of Executive Departments and Independent Agencies to Consider the Question of Cooperation with the American Republics, which would facilitate coordination amongst inter-American educational and scientific institutions, public health administrators, surveyors of strategic raw materials, and translators of U.S. government publications into Spanish and Portuguese for distribution

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

in Latin America and the Caribbean.⁴⁶⁶ The committee specifically supported the efforts of private enterprises and private initiatives. The Roosevelt Administration considered private U.S. businesses, which had long history dealing with Latin America and the Caribbean, key to its renewed interest in the strategic importance of the Western Hemisphere.

U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull wrote Grant to inform her that the U.S. State Department wished "to extend the good offices of the Government to the numerous private agencies and organizations which have long been active in efforts to develop better understanding between our people and those of other countries." Hull hoped that the U.S. State Department could assist private organizations "in making their activities more effective by serving as a clearing house of information and as a center for coordination." Eager to promote cultural relations in the region, the U.S. State Department was also inspired to create the Division of Cultural Relations in July 1938. Hull informed Grant of the "increasing importance of cultural interchange between the United States and the other nations of the world," a notion not new to Grant. "Although

⁴⁶⁶ The Committee of Executive Departments and Independent Agencies to Consider the Question of Cooperation with the American Republics was established with responsibility for administering scientific and cultural exchanges with Latin America and the Caribbean in May 1938. The committee's name was shortened by October 1938 to the Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics and by November 1938 it was changed to the Interdepartmental Committee on Cooperation with the American Republics. In 1946, it was renamed the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation. With responsibility for the Point Four Program of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries, it was renamed the Interdepartmental Advisory Committee on Technical Assistance in 1948. Serving as a forum for Point Four Program policy discussions, it was designated the Interdepartmental Advisory Council on Technological Cooperation in 1950. The committee was ultimately disbanded in 1953. See Gerald K. Haines, "Under the Eagle's Wing: The Franklin Roosevelt Administration Forges An American Hemisphere," *Diplomatic History* 1/4 (October 1977): 373-388; Graham H. Stuart, "The New Office of American Republic Affairs in the Department of State," *American Political Science Review* 39/3 (June 1945): 481-490; Charles A. Thomson, "The Cultural-Relations Program of the Department of State," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 16/3 (November 1942): 135-138.

the program of this Division embraces nations in all parts of the world," stated Hull, "it is devoting particular attention to the development of more effective relations with the other American republics."⁴⁶⁷ The new division's cultural objectives to some extent mirrored those that Grant had been organizing since founding the PAWA in 1930 as a staff member of the Roerich Museum.

In an effort to encourage artistic and intellectual bonds, the U.S. State Department's Division of Cultural Relations coordinated various activities, especially with Latin America and the Caribbean, including managing a travel grant program for student-teacher exchanges, and assisting in the exchange of music, art, and literature. The division encouraged the distribution and translation of U.S. works for libraries abroad, participated in international expositions, and cooperated in international radio broadcasts in order to disseminate and popularize a positive image overseas of the United States.⁴⁶⁸ The creation of the division followed by just over one year the U.S. ratification of the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, the first official hemispheric-wide step toward improved inter-American cultural relations. Back in December 1936, a special conference known as the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace had been convened in Buenos Aires between the holding of the

⁴⁶⁷ Cordell Hull to Grant. 19 September 1939. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 19. Folder 10.

⁴⁶⁸ During the long leadership of Cordell Hull, from 1933 to 1944, a variety of changes occurred at the U.S. Department of State. In 1938, the Division of Cultural Relations was created. That same year, the Division of International Communication was started to standardize worldwide telecommunications. The Division of Cultural Relations was reorganized in 1961 within the U.S. Department of State as the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. It functioned as a part of the U.S. Department of State until 1978, when it merged with the United States Information Agency. On the early work of the division, see "Cultural Division to be Link Abroad," *New York Times*, 28 July 1938, p. 10; Ben M. Cherrington, "The Division of Cultural Relations," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 3/1 (January 1939): 136-138; Charles A. Thomson, "The Cultural-Relations Program of the Department of State," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 16/3 (November 1942):135-138.

Seventh and Eight International Conferences of American States. The special conference resulted in a series of accords that included the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations. The United States, Brazil, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, and Haiti were the first nations to ratify the convention, signed in Buenos Aires, which emphasized scientific cooperation and educational exchanges, including providing for the annual exchange by each of the ratifying nations of two students and one professor.⁴⁶⁹ Prior to this, practically all inter-American cultural activities were voluntary and nongovernmental, sponsored by individuals, universities, foundations, and other private organizations like the Roerich Museum and the PAWA. But nations of the Western Hemisphere decided to strengthen inter-American cultural relations, along with political and economic bonds, in response to the Second World War and the propaganda spread in Latin America and the Caribbean by European fascist governments. Riding on this momentum, in December 1938, during the Eight International Conference of American States in Lima, Peru, several resolutions were passed that called for increased cooperation in cultural, educational, economic, and technical undertakings.⁴⁷⁰

The beginning of the Second World War had brought a sense of urgency to the Good Neighbor Pan Americanism of the Roosevelt Administration, which hurriedly sought to bolster existing U.S. ties with Latin America and the Caribbean within both the

⁴⁶⁹ By the end of 1942, fifteen of the twenty-one American republics had ratified the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations. See Ben M. Cherrington, "The Division of Cultural Relations," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 3/1 (January 1939): 136-138.

⁴⁷⁰ See J. Manuel Espinosa, *Inter-American Beginnings of U.S. Cultural Diplomacy, 1936-1948* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976); James Brown Scott, ed., *The International Conferences of American States: First Supplement, 1933-1940* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1940).

public and private realms. In September 1939, the same month Britain and France declared war on Germany, U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull invited Grant to attend the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Art held in October at the U.S. State Department in the nation's capitol.⁴⁷¹ The conference was called in order for the U.S. State Department to become aware of the "judgment and suggestions" of "distinguished individuals" like Grant regarding "artistic expression." Hull was sure that Grant would agree that "the development of firm and friendly understanding" between the nations of the Western Hemisphere had never been more important.⁴⁷² The new Division of Cultural Relations must have viewed Grant with interest due to her involvement in Latin American and Caribbean elite circles and her connections with various cultural and educational institutions throughout the Western Hemisphere. Grant was happy that ten years after she had begun her Pan American work, the U.S. State Department was finally beginning to emphasize the importance of cultural diplomacy. Grant responded enthusiastically to Hull. She found the creation of the division to be "an enheartening inspiration" to people like her who were working on "the cause of Inter-American friendship." She was pleased to accept Hull's invitation to the conference.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷¹ The Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Art was held in Washington, D.C. on October 11-12, 1939. In 1939, the U.S. Department of State also sponsored a Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Music (October 18-19) and a Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Education (November 9-10).

⁴⁷² Cordell Hull to Grant. 19 September 1939. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 19. Folder 10.

⁴⁷³ Grant to Cordell Hull. 25 September 1939. National Archives, Record Group 59, Department of State, Dec. File, 1930-1939, 811.42710 Washington-Art/45.

Attending the conference were U.S. State Department officials, academics, and directors and curators from such institutions as the Brooklyn Museum, the Detroit Institute of Arts, the Library of Congress, and the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Speaking at the conference in addition to Hull and Grant was U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Adolf A. Berle, Jr., who would for many years to come work closely with Grant on inter-American issues.⁴⁷⁴ Berle told those assembled that “the chief end of government is to permit men to realize the best of their possibilities, economically, artistically and spiritually.”⁴⁷⁵ The first chief of the Division of Cultural Relations, Ben M. Cherrington, presided over the conference. Prior to his new post, Cherrington had directed the Foundation for the Advancement of Social Sciences at the University of Denver for twelve years.⁴⁷⁶ In addition to discussing concrete ways to develop exhibitions of U.S. art

⁴⁷⁴ Adolf Berle, Jr. (1895-1971) was U.S. assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs during the Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration. Berle was active in the execution of the Good Neighbor Policy, which benefited from Frances Grant’s cultural and educational activities in the Pan American Women’s Association. Berle was out of government from 1946 to 1960, when U.S. President-elect John F. Kennedy asked him to head a task force to study Latin American problems. His task force recommended support for social reform, trade privileges, and loans, much of which was incorporated into the Alliance for Progress. Grant promoted policies in line with the Alliance for Progress through her role as secretary general of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, of which Berle was an active supporter. Berle received the IADF’s annual Medal and Citation for Services to Inter-American Democracy at a ceremony held at the Carnegie International Center in New York City in June 1958. For information on Berle’s inter-American work with Grant, see Charles D. Ameringer, *The Democratic Left in Exile: The Antidictatorial Struggle in the Caribbean, 1945-1959* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1974), 222-234; Steven Schwartzberg, *Democracy and U.S. Policy in Latin America during the Truman Years* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 17-44; Jordan A. Schwarz, *Liberal: Adolf A. Berle and the Vision of an American Era* (New York: Free Press, 1987); “ADF Honors Adolf Berle, Jr.,” *Hemispherica* 7/4 (June-July 1958): 1-2.

⁴⁷⁵ Edward Alden Jewell, “Exchange of Arts in Americas Urged,” *New York Times*, 12 October 1939, p. 36.

⁴⁷⁶ Ben M. Cherrington was the national secretary of the YMCA from 1919 to 1926. In 1934, he earned a doctoral degree from Columbia University. He was a professor of international relations and director of the Foundation for the Advancement of Social Sciences at the University of Denver from 1926 until his retirement in 1951. In 1945, Cherrington was an advisor to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, California. He also helped the U.S.

for display throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, attendees stressed the importance of traveling expositions, student fellowships, and teacher exchanges.

Thanks to the need for inter-American cooperation after the United States entered the Second World War, U.S. cultural relations with Latin America and the Caribbean would reach a high point in the coming years. Grant would be very busy. Time and time again, Grant and the PAWA would be called upon by the U.S. State Department to host groups of Latin American and Caribbean students and to fete Latin American and Caribbean intellectuals and diplomats as they came through New York City. The new interest in Pan Americanism confirmed to Grant the significance of her work. She considered herself a pioneer of U.S. cultural diplomacy, whose importance the U.S. government had been slow to realize. Indeed, Grant's activities through the Roerich Museum and the PAWA were early precursors to the U.S. State Department's activities through the Division of Cultural Relations.

By the late 1930s, Grant's actions as a cultural go-between and the work of nongovernmental organizations like the PAWA became vital to the Pan American movement. Shortwave radio programs spread the once limited PAWA-sponsored musical performances and lectures delivered at elite luncheons and dinner parties in New York to a broad audience throughout the Western Hemisphere. Indeed, the radio became a crucial

State Department organize U.S. participation in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). From 1951 to 1969, Cherrington was the director of the Denver office of the Institute of International Education. For information on Cherrington, see "Dr. Ben M. Cherrington, 94, Dies; Denver University Ex-Chancellor," *New York Times*, 6 May 1980, p. C12. For Cherrington's views on international cultural relations while director of the Division of Cultural Relations at the U.S. State Department, see his address, "The Role of Education in International Cultural Relations," in B. M. Cherrington and Charles Alexander Thomson, *Inter-American Cultural Relations* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of State, Publication 1369, Inter-American Series 17, Government Printing Office, 1939).

tool to spread the message of the Good Neighbor Policy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt presidency. The Roosevelt Administration's worries about the attraction of fascism in the Western Hemisphere, echoed by Grant's warning of European "'cells' of cultural penetration," signaled a shift in international relations whereby Latin America and the Caribbean were bestowed more attention from U.S. foreign policymakers and those who influenced them. Latin America and the Caribbean were accorded a high degree of political importance in U.S. government circles. Over the years, Grant would become more politicized and her work would become more overtly political.

CHAPTER 6

COMBATING FASCISM

WITH THE COUNCIL FOR PAN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Frances Grant never had plans for her work in Latin America and the Caribbean to become especially political. However, political turmoil in the Americas and fascist threats in Europe soon made her work take a serious turn in the late 1930s. Grant took part in the effort to promote democracy in the Western Hemisphere by joining the Council for Pan American Democracy, a nongovernmental organization headed by New York intellectuals. Grant's Spanish-language skills and years of experience with inter-American affairs made her a key asset to the council. However, as the field of international relations work became increasingly polarized around the issue of communism, Grant faced disappointment as worries of communist infiltration caused organizations like the Council for Pan American Democracy to fall into discredit.

After her second trip to Latin America and the Caribbean in 1930 on behalf of the Roerich Museum, Grant believed she would continue her work in the Western Hemisphere mostly on cultural and artistic planes. But the coming of the Great Depression had made 1930 a year of turbulence and upheaval in the hemisphere. Bolivia was in the midst of political turmoil while Grant was visiting that nation. Peruvian President Augusto B. Leguía was deposed even before Grant's departure from his nation. Some two months after Grant left Argentina, conservative General José Félix Uriburu led a military coup that toppled President Hipólito Yrigoyen.⁴⁷⁷ In the Dominican Republic,

⁴⁷⁷ Hipólito Yrigoyen served as president of Argentina from 1916 to 1922, and again from 1928 to 1930. He had become the leader of the bourgeois reform Radical Party in 1896. The Roque

President Horacio Vásquez was overthrown and exiled by insurgents led by army chief Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina.⁴⁷⁸ In Chile, despite the help of U.S. capital, President Carlos Ibáñez failed to save the deteriorating nitrate industry. As the economy collapsed, discontent with Ibáñez's authoritarianism mounted, causing him to flee the country in 1931.⁴⁷⁹ Grant became strikingly aware of the precarious situation of some of the Western Hemisphere's great leaders, many of whom had now become her friends. Some

Sáenz Peña electoral reforms allowed the Radicals to defeat the landowning oligarchy and to elect Yrigoyen as president. In 1922, Yrigoyen was succeeded by Marcelo T. de Alvear, another Radical. Yrigoyen returned to the presidency in 1928. However, in the midst of economic depression, he was overthrown and the oligarchy, now with fascist proclivities, was reinstated. José Félix Uriburu led the coup that toppled Yrigoyen in September 1930, inaugurating what is known as the Infamous Decade. Uriburu attempted to establish a quasi-fascistic regime, censored the press, and imprisoned or exiled his opponents. The Radicals won the elections of April 1931. Determined that the armed forces sponsor a conservative restoration, Uriburu increased repression. He remained in power until 1932, supervising new elections and the transition to the coalition government of Agustín P. Justo (1932-1938). See María Dolores Béjar, *Uriburu y Justo: El auge conservador, 1930-1935* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1983); Federico Finchelstein, *Fascismo, liturgia e imaginario: El mito del General Uriburu y la Argentina nacionalista* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002); Robert A. Potash, *The Army & Politics in Argentina* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1969).

⁴⁷⁸ Horacio Vásquez (1860-1936) was president of the Dominican Republic on three occasions (1899-1903, 1903-1907, 1924-1930). Vásquez dominated Dominican politics in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The United States occupied the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924. Trained by U.S. marines during the U.S. occupation, Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina was army chief during the last Vásquez presidency. Trujillo became a dictator, retaining power until his death even when not holding the office of the presidency. See Frank Moya Pons, *The Dominican Republic: A National History* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998), 341-356; Eric Paul Roorda, *The Dictator Next Door: The Good Neighbor Policy and the Trujillo Regime in the Dominican Republic, 1930-1945* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); Bernardo Vega, ed., *Los Estados Unidos y Trujillo, 1930*, 2 vols. (Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1986).

⁴⁷⁹ Carlos Ibáñez del Campo (1877-1960) was president of Chile from 1927 to 1931, and again from 1952 to 1958. After attempting to return to power with the support of Chilean fascists, he won the 1952 presidential election with the support of depressed workers and governed as a democratic leader. See Francisco Domínguez, "Carlos Ibáñez del Campo: A Failed Dictator and Unwitting Architect of Political Democracy in Chile, 1927-31," in Will Fowler, ed., *Authoritarianism in Latin America Since Independence* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 46-72.

of them would soon be in exile or feeling pressures against their freedom, and Grant would lend them her assistance.

Following the termination of her relationship with the Roerich Museum and the rise of fascism in Europe, Grant's increasingly political hemispheric activities lead her to participate in the founding of the Council for Pan American Democracy.⁴⁸⁰ According to Grant's recollection, one day while reading the daily paper she came across a small item announcing that a group of people in New York had created a committee "to explore Nazi penetration in Latin America." The committee was planning a conference in Washington, D.C. to call attention to this threat to the Western Hemisphere. Grant phoned the committee office and was invited to attend a meeting. She was "eagerly welcomed," since few of those at the committee meeting besides her had experience in Latin America and the Caribbean.⁴⁸¹ An invitation to plan and take part in what was titled the Conference on Pan-American Democracy was extended to Grant by conference director Donald McConnell, who organized the event with the assistance of an Argentine named David Efrón.⁴⁸² Active in antifascist movements, McConnell was a professor of economics at New York University, where he specialized in Latin American and Caribbean economies.⁴⁸³ Efrón was a professor of Spanish and Latin American culture at

⁴⁸⁰ The Council for Pan American Democracy published *The Americas*, a monthly review of Latin American and Caribbean news, from 1941 to 1948.

⁴⁸¹ Frances R. Grant, "Autobiography – Latin American Work." Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 51.

⁴⁸² See Donald McConnell to Grant. 12 November 1938. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 36; Frances R. Grant to Donald McConnell. 16 November 1938. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 36.

⁴⁸³ For information on Donald W. McConnell (1901-1941), see "D.W. M'Connell, N.Y.U. Professor," *New York Times*, 5 February 1941, p. 19; Donald McConnell, *Economic Trends and the New Deal in the Caribbean* (New York: Council for Pan American Democracy, 1940).

Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville. The conference, held at the Hotel Washington in the nation's capitol in December 1938, was called because the "widespread offensive of Fascism" was "menacing democracy" in the Americas. "Through economic, social and political penetration the Italian, German and Japanese powers are plotting the domination of Latin American nations," warned the pamphlet announcing the conference, whose organizers believed "the Good Neighbor policy must be so applied and extended as to form an instrument of mutual aid against attacks from any source upon democratic principles and institutions." The conference organizers wanted United States citizens to "understand the problems now existent in Latin American countries, the threats to freedom there, and the means of combating those threats."⁴⁸⁴ Conference speakers warned against the dangers of German, Italian, Japanese, and Spanish activities in Latin America and the Caribbean, whose full significance they believed the U.S. public had yet to recognize.

A day prior to the opening of the Conference on Pan-American Democracy in Washington, D.C., representatives of all twenty-one of the Pan American Union's member states opened the Eight International Conference of American States in Lima, Peru. If the U.S. public did not recognize the fascist threat in the Americas, certainly the U.S. delegation in Lima did. The meeting reflected efforts to maintain peace and solidarity in the hemisphere amidst the troubling world circumstances of the time. Despite the U.S. delegates' disappointment with the outcome, it represented a significant step in the development of inter-American cooperation. The conference produced the

⁴⁸⁴ Pamphlet: "Call to a Conference on Pan-American Democracy at the Hotel Washington in Washington, D.C., to be held on December 10th and 11th, 1938." Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 36.

Declaration of Lima, which stated that the American republics affirmed their intention to help one another in case of foreign attack. Argentina led the group of South Americans that challenged the U.S. delegation's sense of urgency over German and Italian activity in the Americas. Argentina argued that no special pact was necessary and promoted the idea of hemispheric solidarity amidst individual national policies. Resistance from Argentina made for the adoption of a simple declaration rather than the formal mutual defense pact that the United States delegation favored. Nevertheless, the pledge of commitment, while not legally binding, gave momentum to future hemispheric mutual security cooperation.⁴⁸⁵

Meanwhile, back in Washington, Grant headed a panel on cultural cooperation in the Americas at the Conference on Pan-American Democracy. Her brother David also headed a panel at the conference, which was attended by two hundred delegates from thirty-seven different organizations that believed in the need for concerted hemispheric action to counter fascism.⁴⁸⁶ The conference was opened by the economist George Soule, editor of the *New Republic*, through the pages of which he struggled for greater social equality and national economic planning.⁴⁸⁷ Donald McConnell's father, Methodist

⁴⁸⁵ The Eight International Conference of American States was held in Lima, Peru from December 9-27, 1938. For information on the conference and the Declaration of the Principles of the Solidarity of the Americas, known as the Declaration of Lima, see Samuel Guy Inman, *Inter-American Conferences, 1826-1954: History and Problems*, ed. Harold Eugene Davis (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1965); J. Lloyd Mecham, *The United States and Inter-American Security, 1889-1960* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961); James Brown Scott, ed., *The International Conferences of American States: First Supplement, 1933-1940* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1940).

⁴⁸⁶ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 39.

⁴⁸⁷ George H. Soule, Jr. (1887-1970) earned a bachelors degree at Yale University and joined the staff at the *New Republic* soon after its founding in 1914. The labor economist and author was editor of the *New Republic* from 1924 to 1947. For information on Soule, Jr., see David W. Levy, *Herbert Croly of the New Republic: The Life and Thought of an American Progressive*

Episcopal Church Bishop Francis J. McConnell, a nationally prominent outspoken proponent of social reform, gave an address on "The Common Destiny of the American Republics."⁴⁸⁸ Conference organizer David Efrón told those assembled that since the Western European democracies' failed policy of attempting to appease Adolf Hitler and avoid war via the 1938 Munich Pact, "the problem on penetration of the western world by the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis, has occupied considerable attention in the United States. But nothing approaching a real appreciation of the extent of this penetration, and the menace it holds for all of us has been achieved here." Efrón warned that fascism could spread to Latin America and the Caribbean via Spain, where with help from both Hitler and Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini, General Francisco Franco was winning a civil war against Spain's elected popular front government of liberals, socialists, and communists. "Victory for Franco in Spain would be, for Hitler and Mussolini, but a stepping-stone in a carefully laid plan of imperial conquest of the Spanish-speaking countries of the world," said Efrón. A primary purpose of the conference was to begin publicizing the fascists' "program of conquest" in the Americas. "Documentary evidence is now available sufficient to keep me here all afternoon in merely cataloguing it,"

(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); David Seideman, *The New Republic: A Voice of Modern Liberalism* (New York: Praeger, 1986); "George H. Soule Jr. Dies at 82; Ex-Editor of the New Republic," *New York Times*, 15 April 1970, p. 43.

⁴⁸⁸ Francis J. McConnell (1871-1953) was president of DePauw University in Greencastle, Indiana from 1909 to 1912, the year he was elected as bishop. A champion of civil liberties and racial tolerance, McConnell was a leader in the Methodist Federation for Social Action. As president of the American Association for Social Security, he spent years promoting old age pensions and employee disability benefits. For several years, he was in charge of Methodist missions in Mexico. He retired in 1944 and was the author of many books, including *By the Way: An Autobiography* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1952). For information on McConnell, see Walter William Benjamin, *The Christian Ethical Theory of Bishop Francis J. McConnell* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Duke University, 1957); "Bishop M'Connell Dies at Age of 82," *New York Times*, 19 August 1953, p. 29.

claimed Efrón.⁴⁸⁹ He then proceeded to give examples of evidence of fascist activity in the hemisphere. In addition to the Spanish-speaking countries, Efrón was also worried about Brazil and warned that German agents were conducting espionage and spreading anti-Semitic propaganda with the help of the Brazilian fascist movement of Integralistas, whose leader Plínio Salgado had been exiled to Portugal earlier that year after members of his group had participated in a failed attack on the Presidential Palace.⁴⁹⁰ Shortly after the conference, attendees sent a good will message to the Pan-American Conference in Lima, claiming that Germans, Italians, and Japanese planned to seize control of Latin America and partition it amongst themselves.⁴⁹¹

One of the direct outcomes of the conference was the founding of the Council for Pan American Democracy, with headquarters in Manhattan. Franz Boas, the father of

⁴⁸⁹ "Excerpts from the Address of Dr. David Efrón Before the Conference on Pan-American Democracy," Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 36. For Efrón's view of fascism in Latin America, see David Efrón, "Latin America and the Fascist 'Holy Alliance,'" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 204 (July 1939): 17-25.

⁴⁹⁰ Formed by Plínio Salgado in 1932, the Ação Integralista Brasileira was modeled on European fascist movements and known for its promotion of Roman Catholicism, anti-Semitism, and intense nationalism. Under the motto "God, Country, and Family," the Integralistas hoped to form an "integral" state under one supreme leader. Integralistas sought to attract Brazil's middle class, financially hurt by the Great Depression and fearful of the political left's liberals, socialists, and communists. Salgado was one of three candidates in Brazil's presidential election of 1937. In November of that year, Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas cancelled the election, dissolved the congress, and announced his Estado Novo dictatorship, in which the Integralistas falsely hoped to find real favor. While several important Integralistas did participate in the Estado Novo government, all political parties, including the AIB, were made illegal. In May 1938, a group of anti-Vargas military men and Integralistas unsuccessfully attacked the Presidential Palace, causing the movement's influence to wane after its leaders were arrested and Salgado was sent to Portugal, where he lived in exile until the end of the Second World War. For information on Integralismo, see Rosa Maria Feiteiro Cavallari, *Integralismo: Ideologia e organização de um partido de massa no Brasil, 1932-1937* (Bauru, SP: Editora da Universidade do Sagrado Coração, 1999); Stanley E. Hilton, *Hitler's Secret War in South America, 1939-1945: German Military Espionage and Allied Counterespionage in Brazil* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981); Robert M. Levine, *The Vargas Regime: The Critical Years, 1934-1938* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).

⁴⁹¹ See "D.W. M'Connell, N.Y.U. Professor," *New York Times*, 5 February 1941, p. 19.

modern anthropology who had been teaching at Columbia for almost four decades, became the council's honorary chairman. Boas was known for promoting the concept that culture rather than racial heredity accounted for differences among human communities. This confidence in the inherent equality of all people was a benchmark of Boasian anthropology. In *Threatening Anthropology: McCarthyism and the FBI's Surveillance of Activist Anthropologists*, anthropologist David H. Price explains how in the early part of the twentieth century Boas's academic critique of 'race' and its negative social consequences had "launched American anthropology on a course of political activism."⁴⁹² By championing the notion of the non-biological existence of race from his position at Columbia, Boas threatened the power relations of U.S. inequality. In 1939, he founded the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, which was made up of leading scientists and educators committed to defending and extending intellectual freedom and to combating propaganda that promoted racial and religious discrimination. Boas and dozens of other activist anthropologists who questioned conventional ideas about gender, class, or race came to be seen by the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation as dangerous subversives challenging traditional social hierarchies. Boas and some of his colleagues may have been members of the Communist Party of the United States, but Price argues that it was their social activism, especially for racial justice, rather than their connection to Moscow that eventually led to their being scrutinized by the FBI and blacklisted by U.S. congressional committees.⁴⁹³

⁴⁹² David H. Price, *Threatening Anthropology: McCarthyism and the FBI's Surveillance of Activist Anthropologists* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 34.

⁴⁹³ Born in Minden, Westphalia, Germany in 1858, Franz Boas received his doctorate in physics at the University of Kiel in 1881. Ten years later, he became a U.S. citizen. Boas was a critical cultural relativist who fought theories of ethnic and racial hierarchy. His highly influential book

Many activists served with Boas on board of the Council for Pan American Democracy. David Efrón served as the council's executive secretary. The council's first chairman was the liberal journalist and social activist Gardner Jackson, who had worked to improve conditions for sharecroppers and tenant farmers while at the Agricultural Adjustment Administration under U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace in the mid-1930s.⁴⁹⁴ Working with Grant on the council's executive committee were many

The Mind of Primitive Man (1911) argued against genetic racial purity and for the equal capabilities of all cultures. Boas served on the faculty at Columbia University from 1896 to 1936 and edited the *Journal of American Folklore* from 1908 to 1925. His American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was characterized in 1942 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a communist front which defended communist teachers, and in 1943 it was characterized as subversive and un-American by a special subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations. For information on Boas' work in the Council for Pan American Democracy, see "Tribute to Boas, 81, Led by President," *New York Times*, 10 July 1939, p. 14. For general information, see Douglas Cole, *Franz Boas: The Early Years, 1859-1906* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999); Marshall Hyatt, *Franz Boas, Social Activist: The Dynamics of Ethnicity* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990); Peter J. Kuznick, *Beyond the Laboratory: Scientists as Political Activists in 1930s America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Vernon J. Williams, Jr., *Rethinking Race: Franz Boaz and His Contemporaries* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996).

⁴⁹⁴ Gardiner Jackson (1897-1965) was chairman of the Council for Pan American Democracy from 1938 to 1940. He was born in Colorado Springs, Colorado, the son of William S. Jackson, a wealthy banker and railroad magnate who at one time was the largest landowner in Colorado and New Mexico. After graduating from Amherst College, Jackson joined the army during the First World War. He was executive secretary of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, which toiled unsuccessfully to keep the Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti from being executed for murder in Massachusetts in 1927. Jackson worked for the Agricultural Adjustment Administration from 1933 to 1935. He then supported the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, which had been organized in Arkansas in 1934. During the Spanish Civil War, Jackson was active on behalf of the Spanish Republican government and helped hundreds of refugee children from the Basque provinces find safe refuge in the United States. He returned briefly to the U.S. Department of Agriculture in 1943, but resigned after advocating for expansion of the Farm Security Administration. As a reporter, Jackson worked for *The Boston Globe*, *The Montreal Star*, and *PM*. In 1947, he was one of the founders of the anticommunist liberal organization Americans for Democratic Action. During the U.S. presidency of John F. Kennedy, Jackson served as a consultant for George McGovern, the director of the Food for Peace program. For information on Jackson, see Murray Kempton, *Part of Our Time: Some Ruins and Monuments of the Thirties* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955); Joseph P. Lash, *Dealers and Dreamers: A New Look at the New Deal* (New York: Doubleday, 1988); Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "Gardner Jackson 1897-1965," *New Republic* (May 1, 1965): 17; "Gardner Jackson, Led 'Lost' Causes," *New York Times*, 18 April 1965, p. 80.

prominent academics and intellectuals, including Soule and his labor activist wife Isobel W. Soule, who worked as a contributing editor for the League of Women Shoppers, a left-wing national consumer and labor reform advocacy organization formed in New York City in 1935. She also served as first vice president of the Union of the United Office and Professional Workers of America.⁴⁹⁵

Officers in the council included the socialist novelist Upton Sinclair,⁴⁹⁶ the anthropologist Ruth Benedict,⁴⁹⁷ and the African American activist and intellectual Max

⁴⁹⁵ The League of Women Shoppers investigated working conditions in stores and factories, and organized consumers to support union organizing and protect and improve U.S. living standards. The league worked to increase women's consumer consciousness through focusing on the effect of women's purchasing power on local labor and consumer issues. The left-wing activist organization backed boycotts of companies with displeasing labor-management practices. See "Mrs. Isobel Walker Soule, 74, Author and Labor Leader, Dies," *New York Times*, 2 August 1972, p. 40; "League of Women Shoppers," William J. Klingaman, *Encyclopedia of the McCarthy Era* (New York: Facts on File, 1996), 236.

⁴⁹⁶ The prolific novelist and ardent socialist Upton Beall Sinclair (1878–1968) was born in Baltimore, Maryland and educated at The College of the City of New York and Columbia University. In 1905, Sinclair was among a group of notable U.S. socialists who founded the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, the earliest collegiate leftist movement in the United States. A commitment to social and industrial reform motivated much of his writing. Sinclair became well-known in 1906 following the publication of his novel *The Jungle*, which depicted the unsanitary and dismal working conditions in the stockyards of Chicago, Illinois. The novel stimulated much public indignation and led to reform of federal food inspection laws. Sinclair was unsuccessful on several occasions as a candidate for political office, but his spirited criticism U.S. economic and social life inspired a number of governmental reforms. In 1943, he won the Pulitzer Prize for his novel *Dragon's Teeth*, which dealt with the Nazi takeover of Germany during the 1930s. For information on Sinclair, see Anthony Arthur, *Radical Innocent: Upton Sinclair* (New York: Random House, 2006); William A. Bloodworth, Jr., *Upton Sinclair* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977); Kevin Mattson, *Upton Sinclair and the Other American Century* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2006); Upton Sinclair, *The Autobiography of Upton Sinclair* (NY: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962).

⁴⁹⁷ Ruth Benedict (1887–1948) did graduate work at Columbia University under Franz Boas and received her doctoral degree in 1923. Through Boas' efforts, she was appointed assistant professor of anthropology at Columbia in 1931. From 1925 to 1940, she was editor of the *Journal of American Folklore*. In 1934, Benedict published her hugely influential book *Patterns of Culture*, which popularized the anthropological ideas of culture and cultural relativity in the United States. She fought racist ideas coming from Nazi Germany under the pretext of science and worked for the U.S. Office of War Information during the Second World War producing works on ways to understand and influence enemy cultures and explaining Allied cultures to U.S.

Yergan.⁴⁹⁸ The council also contained a trade union committee under the chairmanship of Clifford T. McAvoy, an instructor at City College and legislative representative of the recently-formed College Teachers Union, which was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.⁴⁹⁹ Grant was very active in council, to which she gave generous financial support. She regularly attended meetings, some of which were held in her home at the Beaux Arts Apartments on East 44th Street in Manhattan.⁵⁰⁰ Grant also often spoke at council events held in various New York hotels.

soldiers. For information on Benedict, see Margaret M. Caffrey, *Ruth Benedict: Stranger in This Land* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989); Margaret Mead, *An Anthropologist at Work: Writings of Ruth Benedict* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959); Virginia Heyer Young, *Ruth Benedict: Beyond Relativity, Beyond Pattern* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

⁴⁹⁸ A progressive black leader from 1936-1948, Max Yergan is known for his work as executive director of the Council on African Affairs and as president of the National Negro Congress. Born in Raleigh, North Carolina, Yergan graduated in 1914 from Shaw University and soon began working with the Young Men's Christian Association. After the First World War, Yergan was appointed senior secretary of the international committee of the YMCA and was subsequently stationed in South Africa for the next 18 years. By the mid-1930s, his experience of British colonial rule in South Africa had moved him away from mainstream Christian liberalism and put him under the influence of Marxism and the Communist Party. Yergan returned to the United States in 1936 and was appointed to the chair in Negro history at City College. Together with Paul Robeson, W. E. B. Du Bois, and others, he soon founded the International Committee on African affairs, later the renowned Council on African Affairs. Yergan's belief in socialist solidarity and anti-imperialism led him to support anti-colonial struggles around the world. In 1948, Yergan resigned from the National Negro Congress after fighting for control over the farther left-wing faction of the organization led by the actor and singer Paul Robeson, who championed Henry A. Wallace and the Communist-backed Progressive Party. Cold War hysteria and intimidation pushed Yergan toward conservatism. He even became a supporter of apartheid in South Africa. For information on Yergan, see David Henry Anthony III, *Max Yergan: Race Man, Internationalist, Cold Warrior* (New York: New York University Press, 2006); "Dr. Max Yergan Is Dead at 82; Black Leader and an Educator," *New York Times*, 13 April 1975, p. 61.

⁴⁹⁹ A 1926 Columbia University graduate, Clifford T. McAvoy was the son of Justice John V. McAvoy. His grandfather, Thomas F. McAvoy, had been an influential Tammany Hall leader.

⁵⁰⁰ For information on the Beaux Arts Apartments, see Christopher Gray, "A Matched Pair of 1930 Monuments to Art Deco," *New York Times*, 2 November 1997, p. RE5. Grant spent the final years of her life in an apartment building at 310 West End Avenue on Manhattan's Upper West Side. Erected in 1925, the building was designed by the Hungarian-born Emery Roth, New York City's premier residential architect. For information on Roth, see Steven Rutenbaum, *Mansions in the Cloud: The Skyscraper Palazzi of Emery Roth* (New York: Balsam Press, 1986).

The Council for Pan American Democracy helped to organize the ten-day Continental Congress of American Democracies held in March 1939 in Montevideo, Uruguay. The congress proceeded despite the diplomatic pressure put on the Uruguayan government by several Latin American and Caribbean dictatorial regimes to suppress the event. The congress met in the famous forum founded in 1877 by intellectuals in Uruguay, the Palacio del Ateneo de Montevideo, which had initially called the event.⁵⁰¹ In addition to sending its own delegation, the Council for Pan American Democracy also secured the attendance of delegates from other U.S. organizations and published the congress' resolutions in the United States.⁵⁰² The governments of Brazil and Peru derided the congress since delegations from both these countries included political exiles. Several Brazilian delegates had left Brazil in opposition to the Estado Novo, the corporative state that had been established by Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas in 1937. Most Peruvian delegates were exiles belonging to the outlawed Partido Aprista, Peru's first truly mass political party, which had been founded in 1924 in Mexico by exiled Peruvian intellectuals under the leadership of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Peru's most influential twentieth-century political leader.⁵⁰³ At the request of Aprista representatives in the

⁵⁰¹ For information on the founding of the Ateneo de Montevideo, which provided schooling for Uruguay's liberal democratic elite, see Leopoldo Zea, *The Latin-American Mind*, trans. James H. Abbott and Lowell Dunham (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

⁵⁰² See John W. White, "Uruguay Resists Fight on Parley," *New York Times*, 20 March 1939, p. 6.

⁵⁰³ The Partido Aprista, or the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana, called for political and economic solidarity in Latin America and the Caribbean and railed against U.S. imperialism. The Apristas supported the nationalization of land and industry and the internationalization of the Panama Canal. Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre returned to Peru in 1931, but the Apristas were outlawed from 1931 to 1945. For information on Haya de la Torre (1895-1979) and the Aprista Party, see Robert J. Alexander, *Aprismo: The Ideas and Doctrines of Victor Raúl Haya de la Torre* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1973); Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez, *Una vida agónica, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre* (Lima: Fondo Editorial del Congreso del Perú, 2007);

United States, the council was among those who joined in appeals of amnesty for political prisoners in Peru, and from this time on Grant would enjoy extensive collaboration with the Apristas.⁵⁰⁴

The Continental Congress of American Democracies had been designed to unite democratic political parties throughout the Americas to work towards the preservation of democratic government in the Western Hemisphere. Attendees of the congress believed “it is a waste of time to try to preserve democracy in the Western Hemisphere by means of Pan-American conferences or other assemblies of delegates of countries that themselves are not democratic.”⁵⁰⁵ They hoped to organize the hemisphere’s truly democratic political parties on an international basis. The Uruguayan delegation, which was the largest and best organized, put forth a proposition of democratic solidarity designed to supersede the Declaration of Lima. For members of the Council for Pan American Democracy, international threats shifted the approach taken by nongovernmental organizations towards Pan Americanism. The belief that cultural and educational exchange programs could achieve inter-American harmony was superseded

Thomas M. Davies, Jr., “The Indigenismo of the Peruvian Aprista Party: A Reinterpretation,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 51/4 (November 1971): 626-645; María Luz Díaz, *Las mujeres de Haya: Ocho historias de pasión y rebeldía* (Lima, Perú: Planeta, 2007); Lisa North, “Review Essay: The Peruvian Aprista Party and Haya de la Torre: Myths and Realities,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 17/2 (May 1975): 245-253; David Nugent, “Haya de la Torre and APRA,” in Samuel Brunk and Ben Fallaw, eds., *Heroes & Hero Cults in Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 202-228; Fredrick B. Pike, *The Politics of the Miraculous in Peru: Haya de la Torre and the Spiritualist Tradition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986); Richard V. Salisbury, “The Middle American Exile of Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre,” *The Americas* 40/1 (July 1983): 1-17.

⁵⁰⁴ Council for Pan American Democracy. Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting. 11 January 1940. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 37.

⁵⁰⁵ See John W. White, “Uruguay Resists Fight on Parley,” *New York Times*, 20 March 1939, p. 6.

by a more political tactic, one that established a democratic alliance boldly critical of totalitarian leaders in the region.

Grant did not attend the congress in Montevideo, but her support was reflected in one of the PAWA's regular monthly half-hour Spanish-language shortwave radio broadcasts transmitted from CBS's Studio One on Madison Avenue. Opening a PAWA broadcast that took place while the 1939 congress was in session, Grant began with a dedication to the event and then invited Efrón and Boas to read messages of encouragement. Catherine Reiner, a native of Budapest, Hungary, sang for the attendees. Reiner, who had worked with the Budapest Opera before immigrating to the United States, understood the threat of fascism.⁵⁰⁶ Grant ended the program with a hemispheric appeal "for the principles of liberty and tolerance which have been the heritage of the New World."⁵⁰⁷

Ever anxious to halt the rise of fascism, the Council for Pan American Democracy broadened its work in the United States and abroad. In May 1939, at the invitation of Senator Key Pittman, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the council presented testimony in the U.S. Senate on fascist activity in Latin America and the Caribbean.⁵⁰⁸ In its testimony, the council spoke in support of repealing of the

⁵⁰⁶ Under the direction of Leopold Stokowski, the vocalist Catherine Reiner had introduced Alban Berg's "Wozzeck" in concert form with the Philadelphia Orchestra in 1930.

⁵⁰⁷ The International Congress of American Democracies was held from March 20-30, 1939. The PAWA broadcast was made on March 24, 1939. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 16. Folder 33.

⁵⁰⁸ Key Pittman of Nevada served in the U.S. Senate from 1913 until his death in 1940. He was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1933 to 1940. See Betty Glad, *Key Pittman: The Tragedy of a Senate Insider* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986); Fred Israel, *Nevada's Key Pittman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963).

Neutrality Acts, which were serving to keep the United States out of war in Europe.⁵⁰⁹

Later that year, in August, the council sent a delegation on a good will trip to Mexico.⁵¹⁰

In March of the previous year, the populist leftist President Lázaro Cárdenas had expropriated his nation's foreign-owned oil holdings.⁵¹¹ As *The New York Times* reported, the council was urging U.S.-Mexican friendliness and calling upon all "progressive" U.S. citizens to oppose any attempts by their federal government to interfere in Mexico's internal affairs over the issue.⁵¹² After leading a campaign in opposition to the "antagonistic" U.S. press and exposing the U.S. oil companies'

⁵⁰⁹ Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 39. The Council for Pan American Democracy's testimony on fascist activity in Latin America and the Caribbean appears in the Senate Report, Hearings on Peace and Neutrality, proceedings of May 2, 1939, No. 16. The legislation known as the Neutrality Acts, passed by Congress and signed by President Roosevelt in 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1939, were key elements of U.S. foreign policy in the later half of the 1930s. Roosevelt signed the first Neutrality Act in August 1935. The act was meant to keep the United States out of a possible European war by barring shipment of war materiel to belligerents at the president's discretion and by prohibiting U.S. citizens from traveling on belligerent vessels except at their own risk. The act was amended in February 1936 to forbid the granting of loans to belligerents. In January and May of 1937, neutrality was broadened to cover civil wars, an action motivated by the Spanish Civil War. But in November 1939, the act was revised in favor of supplying nations at war on the "cash-and-carry" basis. U.S. vessels were still prohibited from combat zones, and U.S. citizens were barred from traveling on belligerent vessels. U.S. neutrality officially came to an end in November 1941 when the Lend-Lease Act gave Roosevelt the power to sell, transfer, lend, or lease war materials. See Wayne S. Cole, *Roosevelt and the Isolationists, 1932-45* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); Robert A. Divine, *The Illusion of Neutrality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962); Manfred Jonas, *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966).

⁵¹⁰ See "Group to Study Mexico," *New York Times*, 31 July 1939, p. 11.

⁵¹¹ Lázaro Cárdenas, President of Mexico from 1934 to 1940, is noted for his efforts to carry out the social and economic goals of the Mexican Revolution. His administration distributed a record amount of land and made loans available to Mexico's rural population, organized worker and peasant confederations, and nationalized the oil and railroad industries. For information on Lázaro Cárdenas (1895-1970), see Luis González, *Los días del presidente Cárdenas* (México, DF: Colegio de México, 1981); Alan Knight, "The Rise and Fall of Cardenismo, c. 1930- c. 1946," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Mexico Since Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Enrique Krauze, *Lázaro Cárdenas, general misionero* (México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987).

⁵¹² See "'Interference' Scored Here," *New York Times*, 6 May 1940, p. 13.

“concerted” business boycott of Mexico, the council decided to send a group of “responsible observers” to Mexico, who would return with reports that could be counted on for their “fairness.”⁵¹³ Under the leadership of Abraham J. Isserman, chairman of the council’s subcommittee on Mexico, the Council for Pan American Democracy arranged with the Mexico’s ministry of education to organize the visit by U.S. citizens in order to investigate the oil dispute.

Grant traveled to Mexico with the council’s delegation of U.S. citizens, which included Utah Supreme Court Justice James H. Wolfe⁵¹⁴ and Maury Maverick, the progressive mayor of the city of San Antonio, Texas.⁵¹⁵ Joseph Cadden,⁵¹⁶ executive

⁵¹³ Promotional Pamphlet. Council for Pan American Democracy. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 41.

⁵¹⁴ James H. Wolf spent twenty years in the Utah Supreme Court, six of those as chief justice. During the Depression Era, he was also a member of the Governor's Central Committee on Emergency Relief for Utah, created by Governor George H. Dern in August 1932 as the state's first emergency relief agency to obtain and administer federal emergency relief funds for impoverished Utah residents. Prior to 1932, when federal loans to states for emergency relief first became available, Utah's relief needs were met by county and municipal governments along with religious and charitable organizations. See Wayne K. Hinton, "The Economics of Ambivalence: Utah's Depression Experience," *Utah Historical Quarterly* (Summer 1986): 269-285; “James H. Wolfe, 73, Ex-Justice in Utah,” *New York Times*, 29 March 1958, p. 17.

⁵¹⁵ While a lawyer in San Antonio, Texas in the 1920s, Maury Maverick was a vocal opponent of the Ku Klux Klan and advocated for minority rights, especially for the city’s Spanish-speaking population. An enthusiastic supporter of the New Deal, Maverick won a seat to the U.S. House of Representative in 1934 with much of his support coming from Mexican Americans. He was a fervent supporter on civil rights and endorsed anti-lynching legislation. In 1938, Maverick was elected mayor of San Antonio on a fusion ticket with strong support from African Americans, Mexican Americans, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Opponents blocked his reelection in 1941 after he allowed an avowed communist to speak in the San Antonio Municipal Auditorium. From 1941 to 1946, Maverick held various posts in the U.S. federal government bureaucracy, after which time he practiced law in San Antonio. See Richard B. Henderson, *Maury Maverick: A Political Biography* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970); Maury Maverick, Jr. and Allan O. Kownslar, *Texas Iconoclast* (Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press, 1997); Stuart L. Wise, “Maury Maverick and the Liberal Bloc,” *Journal of American History* 57/4 (March 1971): 880-895.

⁵¹⁶ After graduating from Brown University in 1931, Joseph Cadden became secretary of the National Student Federation of America and editor of the federation’s *National Student Mirror*.

secretary of the United States' first youth lobby, the American Youth Congress, was also a delegate,⁵¹⁷ as were the muckraking journalist George Seldes⁵¹⁸ and the political

At the same time, he served as executive secretary of the International Student Service, which assisted students and professionals fleeing Nazi Germany. Cadden helped found the American Youth Congress in 1934, and soon after traveled to the first World Youth Congress in Geneva, Switzerland. From Geneva, he went to Spain. After fighting briefly for the Spanish Republican Army in the Spanish Civil War, Cadden returned to the United States, where he recruited for the International Brigade and joined the Young Communist League. In 1940 and 1941, Cadden served as administrative assistant to Manhattan's Democratic Representative Vito Marcantonio. He served in the U.S. Army's Air Transport Command in Europe and Asia during the Second World War. After the war, Cadden was active in the American Labor Party and in Henry A. Wallace's 1948 presidential campaign. When he died in June 1980, Cadden was president of the Day Care Council of New York and the Hamilton-Madison Settlement House. See Joan Cook, "J.E. Cadden Dies; Fought in Spain," *New York Times*, 17 June 1980, p. B10.

⁵¹⁷ Dominated by young socialists and communists, the American Youth Congress came together in 1934. The activism of the congress attracted the attention of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who actively supported the group. The formation of the congress was a precursor to the establishment of the National Youth Administration, the New Deal's principal youth relief organization. The congress was originally critical of the Roosevelt Administration for not having provided enough Depression Era relief to impoverished young Americans, but it was advocating for an expanded National Youth Administration by 1938. The alliance with the New Deal occurred thanks the efforts of Eleanor Roosevelt, the fear that Republicans were going to cut the National Youth Administration, and the new Comintern policy of liberal-radical alliances to oppose fascism. Eleanor Roosevelt defended the congress against its right-wing foes, including the House Committee on Un-American Activities, but the congress became bitterly divided after the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany in 1939. Communists within the organization's leadership, members of the Young Communist League, engineered the official support of the nonaggression pact, alienating large numbers of supporters. Criticism of the Roosevelt Administration's foreign policy and refusal to criticize Soviet policy quickly destroyed the American Youth Congress. See Robert Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young: Student Radicals and America's First Mass Student Movement, 1929-1941* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Hal Draper, "The Student Movement of the Thirties: A Political History," in Rita James Simon, ed., *As We Saw the Thirties: Essays on Social and Political Movements of a Decade* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967).

⁵¹⁸ Born in Alliance, New Jersey in 1890, George Seldes took his first job with the *Pittsburg Leader*. In 1916, he became the managing editor of *Pulitzer's Review* in New York City. When the United States entered the First World War the following year, Seldes was in Europe, where he worked as a member of the American Expeditionary Force's press section. After the war ended, Seldes remained in Europe for ten years as a correspondent for the *Chicago Tribune*. Returning to the United States, Seldes contributed antifascist articles to various publications and wrote about big business efforts at press manipulation. Seldes was in Spain as a war correspondent for the *New York Post* from December 1936 to March 1937. In 1940, he founded a weekly muckraking newsletter *In Fact*, which lasted a decade. See William Dicke, "George Seldes Is Dead at 104; An Early, Fervent Press Critic," *New York Times*, 3 July 1995, p. 46; George Seldes, *Witness to a Century: Encounters with the Noted, the Notorious, and the Three SOBs* (New York: Ballantine

scientist Herman Clarence Nixon,⁵¹⁹ who was serving as executive secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an interracial coalition of Southern progressives founded the previous year in Birmingham, Alabama.⁵²⁰ Grant's inclusion in the delegation of highly distinguished and influential individuals demonstrates her importance in the Council for Pan American Democracy and the Pan American movement more generally.

Books, 1987). See also the documentary film by Rick Goldsmith, *Tell the Truth and Run: George Seldes and the American Press* (Harriman, NY: New Day Films, 1996).

⁵¹⁹ Herman Clarence Nixon was born in Merrellton, Alabama in 1886. From 1925 to 1928, he taught history at Vanderbilt University. From 1928 to 1938, Nixon taught political science at Tulane University, where he served as chair of the department of history and political science from 1931 to 1938. After being a visiting professor of history at the University of Missouri for the next two years, Nixon returned to Vanderbilt, where he taught political science from 1940 until his retirement in 1955. Suspicions that Nixon sympathized with communists as well as integrationists prevented him from gaining tenure as a professor of history during the 1940s and 1950s. Nixon was a member of the Agrarians, a group of social critics centered at Vanderbilt in the 1930s who drew their name from their resistance to industrial capitalism and their promotion of southern rural and small-town culture. In 1930, Nixon and the Agrarians produced the collection of essays *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition*, a sort of anti-capitalist manifesto. More liberal than most of the other Agrarians, Nixon was a lifelong supporter of progressive initiatives to relieve poverty and promote social justice. See Sarah Newman Shouse, *Hillbilly Realist: Herman Clarence Nixon of Possum Trot* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1986); Twelve Southerners, *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition*. Introduction by Louis D. Rubin, Jr. with biographical essays by Virginia Rock (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977).

⁵²⁰ Founded in 1938 at an organizing convention of nearly 2,000 delegates in Birmingham, Alabama, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare became the leading liberal political organization in the U.S. South during the 1940s. The conference sought to unite Southerners and their various organizations to improve civil rights and economic and social conditions in the South. The conference's first chairman was Frank Porter Graham, president of the University of North Carolina. The conference published the journal *The Southern Patriot*, but grew slowly for lack of funds. Its state committees did not become viable until the mid 1940s, and some of these were terminated by their members due to accusations of communist domination of the conference and investigations by the House Un-American Activities Committee. Weakened by internal conflict, the conference was discontinued in 1948 and succeeded by the Southern Conference Educational Fund. See Clark Foreman, "The Decade of Hope," *Phylon* 12 / 2 (1951): 137-150; Thomas A. Krueger, *And Promises to Keep: The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1938-1948* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967); Linda Reed, *Simple Decency & Common Sense: The Southern Conference Movement, 1938-1963* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

Not surprisingly, Grant and her fellow travelers to Mexico came away with a highly favorable view of the Mexican oil expropriation, as well as a positive impression of the Mexican government's revolutionary social and educational projects. Upon returning home, the council published a sympathetic report for U.S. media distribution and Grant chaired a council-sponsored public forum on Mexico at a New York hotel.⁵²¹ In addition to Grant, Isserman gave assessments, as did Goodwin Watson, a progressive educator and social psychologist from Columbia University Teachers College who had also traveled with the delegation to Mexico.⁵²² The guest of honor and principle speaker was Rafael de la Colina, Mexican consul general at New York.⁵²³ In response, Mexico's

⁵²¹ The report was prepared by Goodwin Watson. See Goodwin Barbour Watson, *Education and Social Welfare in Mexico* (New York: Council for Pan American Democracy, 1940). The Council for Pan American Democracy's public forum on Mexico was held at the Commodore Hotel on November 8, 1940. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 40.

⁵²² The educator and social psychologist Goodwin Balbour Watson was raised in Wisconsin by devoutly Methodist parents who exemplified the Social Gospel. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin and then moved to New York City in 1921 to become religious education director at St. James Methodist Church. After receiving his doctorate in 1925 from the Teachers College of Columbia University, Watson taught in the Teachers College Department of Psychology as a faculty member until 1963. Throughout his life, he collaborated with progressives, including working with Grant's colleagues the Socialist leader Norman Thomas and the American Civil Liberties Union founder Roger Baldwin. Watson was also a supporter of the University in Exile at the New School for Social Research. He is best known for bringing together the caucus of socialist psychologists in 1936 that became the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. During the Depression Era, Watson and many of his SPSSI colleagues urged psychologists to abandon value neutrality and political disinterestedness in favor of social democratic goals and left-wing political alliances. See Peter B. Flint, "Dr. Goodwin Watson; Taught at Columbia," *New York Times*, 5 January 1977, p. 38; Ian Nicholson, "The Politics of Scientific Social Reform, 1936-1960: Goodwin Watson and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 33/1 (Winter 1997): 39-60. See also the articles in the special issue "Fifty Years of the Psychology of Social Issues," *Journal of Social Issues* 42/1 (1986).

⁵²³ Rafael de la Colina was Mexican consul at New York from 1936 to 1943. Born in 1898 in the state of Hidalgo, he was educated at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. He began his foreign service career as a member of the Mexican consulate in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1918. De la Colina was Mexican consul at Los Angeles from 1930 to 1932 when the Los Angeles authorities, with the encouragement of the federal governments of Mexico and the United States, repatriated thousands of Mexicans. De la Colina argued against those who opposed the

President-elect General Manuel Ávila Camacho sent a letter to the council offering “las gracias por sus amables conceptos y trabajos desarrollados en bien de Mexico.”⁵²⁴

The Council for Pan American Democracy also supported the Caribbean colonies in their struggle for self-determination. More than seventy U.S. organizations, including thirty trades unions, participated in a council-sponsored conference at the Hotel Sheraton that Grant chaired in June 1940 on the world situation in relation to the Western Hemisphere. Grant opened the conference by reminding those in attendance that “men in high places” had “derided” the Council for Pan American Democracy for “believing that the Latin American countries faced the serious danger of Nazi and fascist penetration” at the time of the council’s founding conference in 1938. Grant was gladdened that previously skeptical leaders had come to realize that a threat really did exist. She believed that much time had been lost, yet was hopeful that inter-American connections amongst nongovernmental organizations like the council could have a positive influence on inter-hemispheric relations. “We emphasize the peoples of the American republics rather than the governments,” stated Grant, “because often in these countries there is a wide chasm of interest between the governments and the peoples. Therefore, eschewing the paths of bureaucracy and of opportunism, we must find a pattern of inter-American cooperation in

repatriation campaign and raised money to help pay for transportation for the *repatriados*, while at the same time protesting their mistreatment by officials. To aid Mexicans who did not repatriate, he organized a community self-help association called the Comité de Beneficia Mutua. De la Colina served as Mexico’s ambassador to the United States from 1949 to 1952, Mexico’s ambassador to the United Nations from 1952 to 1958, and Mexico’s ambassador to the Organization of American States from 1965 to 1985. See Francisco E. Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza: The Los Angeles Mexican Consulate and the Mexican Community, 1929 to 1936* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982).

⁵²⁴ Copy of letter from General Manuel Ávila Camacho to David Efrón. 26 September 1940. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 40.

the friendship and the common respect and the mutual well-being of the peoples of the Americas.”⁵²⁵ Grant emphasized the importance of nongovernmental organizations in the struggle against fascism and in developing inter-American cooperation. She had long championed organizations like the PAWA in promoting cultural relations. Now, she stressed the need for such organizations like the Council for Pan American Democracy to play a role in international politics.

In addition to Grant, speakers at the event included council members Boas, Isserman, and McAvoy, who by this time had been obliged to withdraw from the College Teachers Union after being appointed deputy commission of the New York Department of Public Welfare in January 1939 by Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia. Also speaking was Charles Obermeyer, staff member of the recently-founded left-leaning newspaper *PM*.⁵²⁶ Council member Yergan and West Indian activist Hope R. Stevens argued forcefully for democracy in the Caribbean. Raised on the island of Nevis in the Leeward Islands of the West Indies, Stevens had moved to New York in his late teens. After graduating from Brooklyn Law School in 1936, he worked as a lawyer representing British West Indian colonies and became a key figure in the British West Indian independence movements.

⁵²⁵ “Proceedings.” Emergency Conference on the Present World Situation and the Western Hemisphere, Resume. 27 June 1940. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 42.

⁵²⁶ Ralph Ingersoll, a former editor at the *New Yorker* (1925-30), *Fortune* (1930-35), and *Time* (1936-39), founded *PM* in June 1940 as an alternative to the largely conservative New York newspapers. *PM* pioneered the use of photographs to convey information and accepted no advertising during its first six and a half years. *PM* was adamantly antifascist and a steadfast supporter of the Roosevelt Administration. Attracting some of the best left-leaning photojournalists, writers, and artists, *PM* made a lasting impact on U.S. journalism with its campaign against anti-Semitism, big business, and racism. After eight years of underwriting the unprofitable paper, Marshall Field III sold *PM* in May 1948. The last issue of *PM* appeared the following month. See Roy Hoopes, *Ralph Ingersoll: A Biography* (New York: Atheneum, 1985); David Margolick, “*PM*’s Impossible Dream” *Vanity Fair* 461 (January 1999): 116-132; Paul Milkman, *PM: A New Deal in Journalism, 1940-1948* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997).

He worked with Yergan in the National Negro Congress and was also active in the American Labor Party.⁵²⁷ The conference unanimously approved a declaration introduced by Yergan urging the right of self-determination for West Indian peoples and opposing the “transfer or purchase of their territories or resources in disregard of their own will democratically expressed.” As a condition for “the progressive development of inter-American relations,” the declaration also called for “the rights of the Negro and Indian peoples of all the Americas” to be “not only protected but progressively extended to full economic and political equality.” In addition, the declaration advocated the right of asylum in the nations of the Western Hemisphere to all antifascist refugees from Europe.⁵²⁸

In September 1940, the United States obtained Caribbean military bases in British territories as a result of the destroyers-for-bases deal between the United States and Great Britain. In return for the transfer of fifty over-aged destroyers, the United States acquired 99-year leases for bases in Antigua, the Bahamas, Bermuda, Jamaica, St. Lucia, and Trinidad.⁵²⁹ The Council for Pan American Democracy responded by calling

⁵²⁷ Hope R. Stevens was the American Labor Party candidate for New York State Assembly from New York County (19th District) in 1940 and the American Labor Party candidate for New York State Senate (19th District) in 1942. He later became a co-creator of the United Mutual Life Insurance Company in Harlem and the Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association. From 1960 to 1977, Stevens served as president of the Uptown Chamber of Commerce. His papers are held at the Dominican Archives of the CUNY Dominican Studies Institute at The City College of New York. See Ronald Smothers, “Hope Stevens, 77, Harlem Leader, Lawyer and Businessman, Is Dead,” *New York Times*, 25 June 1982, p. D13.

⁵²⁸ “Declaration.” Emergency Conference on the Present World Situation and the Western Hemisphere, Resume. 27 June 1940. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 42.

⁵²⁹ Later, the United States was granted base rights on the islands of Curaçao and Aruba from the Netherlands, as well as permission from Queen Wilhelmina to put U.S. troops in Dutch Guiana (Surinam) to protect bauxite mines. See Harvey Neptune, *Caliban and the Yankees: Trinidad and the United States Occupation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Robert

on U.S. citizens to insist their government support democratization in the Caribbean. For example, in December 1940, Columbia University anthropologist Ruth Benedict chaired a council luncheon on the issue of Caribbean self-determination.⁵³⁰ Council members agreed with Stevens and the National Negro Congress that concern for the cause of democracy should lead U.S. citizens to request their government announce a policy that was in accord with the desires for self-determination of inhabitants of all Caribbean colonies. Herman P. Osborne, secretary of the recently formed West Indies National Council, complained that no voice had been allowed from the Caribbean peoples whose lives were affected by the destroyers-for-bases deal.⁵³¹

In addition to Caribbean democracy advocates, the Council for Pan American Democracy also feted and aided Latin American and Caribbean labor leaders. For example, the council held a banquet in late December 1939 in honor of the official

Freeman Smith, *The Caribbean World and the United States: Mixing Rum and Coca-Cola* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994), 23.

⁵³⁰ David H. Price has found that Ruth Benedict's FBI file (WFO77-28923) lists her as being affiliated with many groups that appeared on the U.S. Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. Price has no doubt Benedict would have eventually been brought before U.S. congressional committees to answer questions about these affiliations had she lived beyond the year 1948. See David H. Price, *Threatening Anthropology: McCarthyism and the FBI's Surveillance of Activist Anthropologists* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 370.

⁵³¹ See "Sympathetic Policy in Caribbean Urged," *New York Times*, 22 December 1940, p. 27. In early 1940, activists from nine West Indian possessions resident in New York created the West Indies National Council and drew up the Declaration of Rights of the Caribbean Peoples to Self-Determination and Self-Government for presentation at the Havana Conference of Foreign Ministers. The conference met under the chairmanship of U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who pronounced his support for the creation, if necessary, of a Pan-American trusteeship or mandate over the European colonies in the Western Hemisphere. However, this took place before the United States and Great Britain announced the destroyers-for-bases deal. For information on Osborne and the West Indies National Council, see Tony Martin, "Eric Williams and the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission: Trinidad's Future Nationalist Leader as Aspiring Imperial Bureaucrat, 1942-1944," *Journal of African American History* 88/3 (Summer 2003): 274-290; Ira De A. Reid, "The Negro in the British West Indies," *Journal of Negro Education* 10/3 (July 1941): 524-535.

delegation of Chile to the Second Regional Conference of American States of the International Labor Organization (ILO) held the previous month in Havana, Cuba.⁵³² A product of the Treaty of Versailles, the International Labor Organization had been founded in 1919 as an agency of the League of Nations. U.S. citizens such as American Federation of Labor President Samuel Gompers participated in developing the ILO, which held its first annual conference in Washington, D.C. without official U.S. representation due to the U.S. Senate's failure to ratify the ILO treaty. Headquartered in Geneva, the ILO held international conventions recommending standards on issues like work hours, minimum wages, occupational safety, freedom of association, and social security, thereby often considered by U.S. businesses as a tool of international socialism. Roosevelt's New Deal reinvigorated U.S. interest in the ILO. U.S. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, the first woman appointed to the U.S. cabinet, convinced Roosevelt that the United States should finally join the ILO. Congressional approval soon followed. Roosevelt accepted membership for the United States in August 1934. As a member nation, the United States was hereafter to be represented by four ILO delegates, two from government and one each from employers and labor. Due to the initial hostility towards the ILO from U.S. employers, the Roosevelt Administration chose employer representatives to the ILO from a small group of liberal businessmen who shared the New

⁵³² The Second Regional Labor Conference, under the International Labor Organization, opened at Havana, Cuba on November 21, 1939 with 131 delegates from sixteen countries in the Western Hemisphere and thirty representatives from the organization's headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland.

Deal's perspective on labor issues.⁵³³ The Roosevelt Administration gave the American Federation of Labor the right to represent U.S. labor.⁵³⁴

The Council for Pan American Democracy found a close ally in Bernardo Ibañez Aguila, the Chilean labor delegation's Socialist head. In 1936, Ibañez had organized the Confederación de Trabajadores de Chile (CTCh), which he soon made one of the most powerful unions in the Western Hemisphere.⁵³⁵ The formation of the CTCh represented a major gain in Chile's strife-ridden labor movement. After chronic divisions, Chilean unionists finally united under the banner of the confederation, with the Socialists winning its leadership. A unified Chilean union movement was in part due to the change in the Communist Party's policy after the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow decided in mid-1935 to renounce extremism and violent revolution and collaborate with liberals and socialists in the face of the threat to the

⁵³³ In 1939, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt chose John G. Winant, a former liberal Republican governor of New Hampshire, to represent the United States at the ILO, and later, in Geneva, Winant was elected the first U.S. citizen to serve as the organization's director. Winant had served in the New Hampshire House of Representatives from many years before becoming three-time governor of New Hampshire (1925-1926, 1931-1932, 1933-1934). Roosevelt appointed him the first chairman of the Social Security Board in 1935. Winant was director of the International Labor Organization from 1939 to 1941. He served as U.S. ambassador to Great Britain from 1941 to 1946. Personal depression caused him to commit suicide in 1947, the year of the publication of his book *Letter from Grosvenor Square: An Account of a Stewardship* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947). See Bernard Bellush, *He Walked Alone: A Biography of John Gilbert Winant* (The Hague: Mouton & Company, 1968); John Gilbert Winant, *Our Greatest Harvest: Selected Speeches, 1941-1946* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1950).

⁵³⁴ For information on the International Labor Organization during this period, see American Federation of Labor, *The New World of Labor: A Panorama of the International Labor Office* (Washington, DC: American Federation of Labor, 1938); Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *International Labor Organization: What It Is, How It Began, How It Works, What It Has Done, In the Americas, In War and Peace* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1940); Walter Galenson, *The International Labor Organization: An American View* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), 3-22.

⁵³⁵ As a schoolteacher in Chile, Bernardo Ibañez Aguila had organized his nation's first teachers union before heading off to Spain to fight on the side of the Republicans against Francisco Franco's Nationalist forces in the Spanish Civil War.

Soviet Union posed by Hitler and Mussolini's fascist regimes.⁵³⁶ In the 1930s, both Socialists and Communists also united within Chile's Popular Front government, which only lasted about three years.⁵³⁷ There remained extreme rivalry between the Communists and Socialists who competed for government jobs and influence as they battled for leadership of local unions and congressional seats. The Council for Pan American Democracy aided Ibañez and the Socialists by putting the Chilean labor delegation in touch with trade union leaders, sympathetic organizations, and public opinion makers in the United States.⁵³⁸ Ibañez later became a key player in the U.S.-led effort to rid Latin

⁵³⁶ In the 1920s, the world's communist parties had attacked socialists and claimed all other leftist parties were complicit with imperialism, fascism, and reactionary capitalism. Now, the Chilean Communist Party's revolutionary rhetoric was replaced by a more practical coalitionist strategy of fighting for higher wages and better working conditions while supporting the cause of economic nationalism. In the United States, the Communist Party USA ended its extreme condemnation of the New Deal and announced its solidarity with progressive liberal reformers. The popular front strategy was meant to combat fascism, but when the Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin consented to a nonaggression policy with Adolf Hitler in August 1939, the party found itself trying to defend U.S. isolationism as Germany invaded Poland a month later. After Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, the party did another reversal and again declared solidarity with liberal democrats.

⁵³⁷ Building on South America's most robust Socialist and Communist parties, Chile had become the only South American country with a popular front government in the 1930s, which only lasted about three years. After the Confederación de Trabajadores de Chile (CTCh) was formed through a merger of several smaller unions, the new labor central joined the nation's Popular Front coalition. Ibañez and the Socialists convinced the CTCh to leave the Popular Front government and the Communists agreed in order to prevent a split in the labor central. The Popular Front government's coalition disbanded and was succeeded by the Alianza Democrática, which won the 1942 election. By mid-1943, Ibañez and the Socialists had solidly aligned with the American Federation of Labor. The CTCh was finally split in 1946 into Communist and Socialist branches. In 1946, Ibañez ran for the president of Chile on the Socialist Party ticket. He won only 12,000 votes against Gabriel González Videla, who had support from the Communists. Two years later, González Videla secured the support of the Liberal Party and outlawed the Communists. For information on Ibañez and the CTCh from its founding through the Second World War, see Jon V. Kofas, *The Struggle for Legitimacy: Latin American Labor and the United States, 1930-1960* (Tempe: Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, 1992), 71-87. Victor Alba, *Politics and the Labor Movement in Latin America* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968), 86-98.

⁵³⁸ Council for Pan American Democracy. Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting. 11 January 1940. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 37.

American and Caribbean unions of communists. He successfully collaborated with Grant and her colleagues in the U.S. labor movement as they helped the U.S. State Department fight communism during the Cold War years.

Grant displayed great sympathy with the trade union movement as she continually expanded her contact base among Latin American and Caribbean labor leaders, politicians, government ministers, and academics. As a member of the Council for Pan American Democracy, Grant assisted the Latin American and Caribbean delegates to the ten-day conference of the ILO held at Columbia University in late October and early November 1941. The ILO was convening for the first time since the outbreak of the Second World War. Delegates from thirty-three nations came together under the chairmanship of Secretary Perkins, who, as head of the U.S. delegation, spoke of U.S. support for reconstruction and the need to build a new international democratic political order after the war.⁵³⁹ The conference contained the most official government labor representatives since such meetings began following the ILO's founding in 1919. The Latin American and Caribbean nations were represented in the greatest number in the organization's history. Delegates attended from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Uruguay,

⁵³⁹ See "Post-War Order Outlined to I.L.O." *New York Times*, 28 October 1941, p. 1; "U.S. Aid Pledged Post-War World," *New York Times*, 5 November 1941, p. 46. Besides U.S. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, the only two women who had official status at the conference were the Chilean Graciela Mandujano of Chilean Department of Agriculture and the Australian Muriel Heagney of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions. Both women served as technical advisors to their countries' delegations. See "Two Women Here For I.L.O. Parley," *New York Times*, 26 October 1941, p. 35.

and Venezuela.⁵⁴⁰ The main issue of the conference being how best to bolster resistance to the Axis powers, delegates sought “improvement and strengthening of defense measures in so far as they relate to close and more effective cooperation of government, industry and labor.”⁵⁴¹ A month later, the United States entered the Second World War and the Council for Pan American Democracy pledged its support.⁵⁴²

The ILO continued as an independent agency during the war despite the breakdown of the League of Nations, and in February 1942 David Efrón became an official in charge of labor relations with Latin America at the U.S. ILO office in Washington, D.C.⁵⁴³ The following month, Grant helped the Council for Pan American Democracy conduct activities in connection with the visit to the United States of the Mexican Marxist labor leader Vicente Lombardo Toledano, who headed the Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina (CTAL), a labor organization that had been formed with Mexican government financial support by union delegates from twelve

⁵⁴⁰ For a list of the delegates to the conference of the International Labor Organization held at Columbia University in 1941, see “Delegates and Advisers to World Labor Conference Here,” *New York Times*, 26 October 1941, p. 34.

⁵⁴¹ “World Parley On For Labor Today,” *New York Times*, 27 October 1941, p. 7. Germany, Italy, Japan, and Spain were not members of the ILO and were therefore not represented at the conference. Russia was not represented due to being expelled the previous year from the League of Nations following its invasion of Finland. See also “Unity Declared Vital To Victory,” *New York Times*, 29 October 1941, p. 12; “Support Of War Urged By I.L.O.,” *New York Times*, 6 November 1941, p. 11.

⁵⁴² See, “More Groups Give All-Out Support,” *New York Times*, 13 December 1941, p. 14.

⁵⁴³ For David Efrón’s views of Latin American labor, see David Efrón, “Latin American Labor Comes of Age,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 240 (July 1945): 116-130. Efrón also coauthored a book explaining the effect the Second World had on the economic and social conditions in Latin America. See George Soule, David Efrón, and Norman T. Hess, *Latin America in the Future World* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1945). After the war, the International Labor Organization signed an agreement with the newly-established United Nations and thus became the oldest of the UN’s specialized intergovernmental agencies.

Latin American nations in Mexico City in 1938.⁵⁴⁴ Under Lombardo Toledano, president of the Confederación de Trabajadores de México, the CTAL attempted to promote throughout Latin America the type of populist leftist revolutionary nationalism exemplified by former Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas. For members of the CTAL, Cardenismo had the ability to unite the region's labor movement. The Council for Pan American Democracy valued the Cardenista program of anti-imperialism, rapid industrialization, and agrarian reform. They also appreciated the CTAL's ability to build a network of progressive labor organizations in Latin America. Joining the popular front movement against transatlantic fascism, the CTAL had brought together national labor organizations with communist, socialist, and middle-class orientations.⁵⁴⁵ The council cooperated with Lombardo Toledano on his mission of forwarding inter-American labor solidarity, held a reception in his honor in New York City, and published pamphlets of his work in English for U.S. distribution.⁵⁴⁶ After being feted in New York, Lombardo

⁵⁴⁴ In 1936, Vicente Lombardo Toledano helped found Mexico's most powerful labor union, the Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM). He became its first secretary. Lombardo Toledano had been a chief architect of Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas' leftist-nationalist project, but during the more conservative administration of Manuel Ávila Camacho (1940-1946) that followed, he was losing power in Mexico's government co-opted labor movement to the long-lasting labor strongman Fidel Velázquez Sánchez. Disenchanted, Lombardo Toledano left the CTM in 1948 and founded the Partido Popular (after 1960, the Partido Popular Socialista), which he headed until his death in 1968. For information on Lombardo Toledano, see Joe C. Ashby, *Organized Labor and the Mexican Revolution under Lázaro Cárdenas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967); Barry Carr, *Marxism & Communism in Twentieth-century Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); Francie R. Chassen-López, *Lombardo Toledano y el movimiento obrero Mexicano, 1917-1940* (México: Extemporáneos, 1977); Robert P. Millon, *Vicente Lombardo Toledano: Mexican Marxist* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966).

⁵⁴⁵ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 39.

⁵⁴⁶ The Council for Pan American Democracy published Vicente Lombardo Toledano's *The United States and Mexico: Two Nations – One Ideal*, in which the antifascist crusader traced the history of "common ground" that united the peoples of Mexico and the United States around the issue of democracy and the struggle for freedom through the Revolution, the Civil War, the New

Toledano headed to Washington, D.C., where the Mexican Embassy arranged for him to talk with American Federation of Labor President William Green about “greater efforts to rouse the workers of Latin America to war against the Axis.”⁵⁴⁷ At this time, Grant did not know that in the postwar years she would help the American Federation of Labor and the United States government successfully crush Lombardo Toldado and the CTAL through the U.S.-created and led Confederación Inter-Americana de Trabajadores (CIT), and its later incarnation the Organización Regional Inter-Americana de Trabajadores (ORIT), for both of which Bernardo Ibáñez would serve as president.⁵⁴⁸

Deal, and the Second World War. The council also published the pamphlet *Fifth Column in Mexico*, a translation of a speech delivered by Lombardo Toledano in October 1941 in the Arena México in Mexico City. In this speech, Lombardo Toledano attacked the Partido Acción Nacional, founded by Mexican conservatives and Roman Catholics in 1939 following the failed Cristero Rebellion waged against the Mexican government from 1926 to 1929 in response to state-led hostility against Roman Catholicism. Accusing the Partido Acción Nacional and the Roman Catholic counterrevolutionary Unión Nacional Sinarchista, which had been founded in 1937, of being agents of European fascism, Lombardo Toledano called on Mexico and the United States to ally against those who, by serving the “hispanismo” of Francisco Franco, sought to turn his country over to the Spanish Roman Catholic Church. See Vicente Lombardo Toledano, *The United States and Mexico: Two Nations – One Ideal* (New York: Council for Pan American Democracy, 1942); Vicente Lombardo Toledano, *Fifth Column in Mexico* (New York: Council for Pan American Democracy, 1942).

⁵⁴⁷ W.H. Lawrence, “Britons Urge A.F.L. To End Russian Ban,” *New York Times*, 16 March 1942, p. 3.

⁵⁴⁸ The efforts of the Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM) to unify the Latin American labor movement led to the founding of the Confederación de Trabajadores de América Latina (CTAL) in September 1938. The CTAL fought exploitation of the working class and sought to obtain political and economic autonomy for Latin America. The CTAL joined the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) in 1945. The CTAL came undone with the onset of the Cold War and the U.S.-led program to create a Western Hemispheric labor union. The hemisphere’s noncommunist labor organizations left CTAL and joined the Confederación Inter-Americana de Trabajadores (CIT), established in 1948 with support from the American Federation of Labor. Throughout the 1950s, Frances Grant and her affiliated organizations fought the CTAL, which steadily lost influence until officially dissolving in 1963. For information on CTAL, see Victor Alba, *Politics and the Labor Movement in Latin America* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968); Robert J. Alexander, *Organized Labor in Latin America* (New York: Free Press, 1965), 246-248; Hobart A. Spalding, *Organized Labor in Latin America: Historical Case Studies of Workers in Dependent Societies* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 255-256.

The personnel of the Council for Pan American Democracy gradually changed and turned farther to the left politically in the aftermath of David Efrón's departure.⁵⁴⁹ New members to the council included Frederick Vanderbilt Field, a truly unusual millionaire who supported various Communist Party-affiliated organizations. As a great-great-grandson of the shipping and railroad magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt and a descendant of several other prominent families, Field graduated from Harvard in 1927 and finished a postgraduate year at the London School of Economics, where he came under the influence of the socialist political scientist Harold Laski. During the U.S. presidential campaign of 1928, Field supported Norman Thomas and the Socialist Party, prompting his Uncle Fred to cut his namesake out of his will. Yet Field just moved farther left. Soon after the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression treaty of August 1939, Earl Browder, secretary general of the Communist Party USA, asked Field to organize the American Peace Mobilization to try to keep the United States from going to war against Germany. As executive secretary of the American Peace Mobilization, Field argued that the war in Europe was between rival imperialists of the British Empire and the Third Reich. But after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union ended the Hitler-Stalin pact in June 1941, Field and the American Peace Mobilization called off their picketing of the White House. The organization soon disintegrated. Field, the secret Communist, was following party policy.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁹ Frances R. Grant, "Autobiography – Latin American Work." Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 51.

⁵⁵⁰ Frederick Vanderbilt Field was the son of William Osgood Field, a descendant of Samuel Osgood, the first postmaster general under the U.S. Constitution, and Cyrus Field, the U.S. financier responsible for the success of the first transatlantic cable. His grandmother was married to William Douglas Sloane, son of the founders of W. & J. Sloane, the Fifth Avenue furniture

In addition to Field, the labor lawyer Abraham J. Isserman, a member of the Communist Party USA, also became an officer in the Council for Pan American Democracy.⁵⁵¹ In September 1942, Grant sent a letter to Clifford McAvoy at the Congress of Industrial Organizations resigning as vice-chairman of the council. McAvoy had been forced to resign his post in the Department of Welfare back in June 1941 due to his connection with Communist-dominated organizations.⁵⁵² He then became legislative

store. His mother Lila Vanderbilt Sloane, was a descendant of the shipping and railroad magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt. During the 1930s, Field was employed at the Institute of Pacific Relations, a research and educational organization' funded by Rockefeller and Carnegie foundation money and U.S. corporations that sought to improve relations with Asia. He also wrote articles for *The New Masses* and *The Daily Worker*. Field remained with the Institute of Pacific Relations until 1940 and was on its board until 1947, but the institute did not survive years of congressional investigators searching for Communists during the 1950s and was dissolved in 1960. In 1951, while secretary of the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress, an organization designated a communist front by the U.S. attorney general, Field was convicted of contempt of court and served two months in jail. In 1953, Field moved to Mexico and took up archeology and playing the recorder. His fourth wife, Nieves Orozco, whom he married in Mexico in 1958, had been a model of Diego Rivera. Field returned to the United States in 1982 and took up residence in Minneapolis, Minnesota, where he spent the rest of his life. In his *From Right to Left: An Autobiography* (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill & Company, 1983), Field discusses his life as a secret communist. See also Steven Kaplan, "The Blueblood Red," *Minnesota Law and Politics* (August 1997): 104-106; Enid Nemy, "Frederick Vanderbilt Field, Wealthy Leftist, Dies at 94," *New York Times*, 7 February 2000, p. B9.

⁵⁵¹ For information on Abraham J. Isserman's ties to the Communist Party, see Robert C. Cottrell, *Roger Nash Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), 270. During the Cold War conspiracy trial of the leaders of the Communist Party USA, Isserman became a member of the defense team. In 1949, eleven members of the party's national board were convicted in New York City to conspiring to advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. After a nine-month trial, Isserman and the four other defense attorneys were found in contempt of court. As a result, Isserman spent four months in jail in 1952 and was disbarred from practicing law in New Jersey. He engaged in the real estate business and wrote briefs for other lawyers until 1961, when the New Jersey Supreme Court reversed the disbarment. See "Jersey Voids Isserman Disbarment," *New York Times*, 1 July 1961, p. 5; "A.J. Isserman, a Labor Lawyer, Dies at 88," *New York Times*, 25 April 1988, p. D12.

⁵⁵² The total union membership in the United States had grown to 10 million by 1941. Disappointed with the subservient conservatism of the American Federation of Labor, United Mine Worker president John L. Lewis had broken with the AFL and founded the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1935. Lewis accepted the assistance of tough, dedicated, and experienced communist labor organizers in battling management at a time when the international Communist movement, or Comintern, was establishing popular fronts with liberals to counter

representative of the Greater New York Congress of Industrial Organizations Council, before going to work for the CIO in Washington, D.C.⁵⁵³ Grant informed McAvoy in a letter that she regretted the decision to resign. She claimed “the pressing demands made on my time by my own professional work and the extended program on the PAWA makes this imperative,” but it seems she had grown leery of the council’s leftward drift.⁵⁵⁴

Grant believed the Council for Pan American Democracy had begun with excellent possibilities and had been very significant for the prewar United States, but she

Europe’s growing fascist movements The CIO revived the U.S. labor movement with help from the Communists, but anti-Communist liberals in the CIO began to break with their Communist allies after the Nazi-Soviet Pact in August 1939. The anti-Communist Philip Murray displaced Lewis as president of the CIO in 1940. The 1948 U.S. presidential election finally produced the decisive confrontation between the CIO’s moderates and Communists. Murray supported Vice President Harry Truman, the Democratic Party’s nominee. The CIO’s far-left supported former Vice President Henry A. Wallace, the Progressive Party candidate. Murray’s job of convincing the CIO to support Truman was less problematic since the pro-Soviet Communist Party USA had ended its policy of collaborating with conventional U.S. liberals after 1945. The CIO’s expulsion of eleven Communist-controlled unions in 1949, as well as the government’s harassment of Communist labor officials, destroyed the power of Communists in the U.S. labor movement. The AFL and the CIO merged in 1955. For information on the CIO, see Nelson Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO* (New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1964); Steven Rosswurm, ed., *The CIO's Left-Led Unions* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), Robert H. Zieger, *The CIO, 1935-1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

⁵⁵³ Clifford T. McAvoy went on to work for Henry A. Wallace’s presidential campaign on the Progressive Party ticket after the Congress of Industrial Organizations broke with Wallace in 1948. Active in the leftist American Labor Party, McAvoy ran for mayor of New York as the party’s candidate in 1953. His defeat led to the demise of the party, which was frequently charged with being dominated by communists. For information on McAvoy, see “Quits Teachers Union,” *New York Times*, 8 January 1939, p. 2; “Red Links Denied by City Relief Aid,” *New York Times*, 6 March 1941, p. 21; “Hudson Aid Quits Under Pressure,” *New York Times*, 18 June 1941, p. 23; “McAvoy Gets C.I.O. Post,” *New York Times*, 29 September 1941, p. 19; “C.T. McAvoy Dead; Labor Politician,” *New York Times*, 11 August 1957, p. 80.

⁵⁵⁴ Grant to Clifford McAvoy. 21 September 1942. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 39; Frances R. Grant, “Autobiography – Latin American Work.” Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 51.

was disappointed that due to the conflicting ideologies of the time, the council became discredited. Grant had dedicated countless hours of service to the council since its founding in 1938. She had worked on campaigns for political prisoners, helped organize conferences on Latin American and Caribbean issues, hosted innumerable receptions and dinners for distinguished Latin American and Caribbean visitors to the United States, promoted the council's agenda through radio broadcasts, and functioned generally as a liaison between U.S. and Latin American and Caribbean trade unionists. To Grant's displeasure, the last executive secretary of the council was Marion Bachrach, a communist who worked as columnist for *PM* as well as *The Daily Worker*, the Communist Party USA's paper published in New York City. Bachrach, who later became public relations director and secretary of the Communist Party's public defense commission, acknowledged being a party writer. But she refused to admit whether she was a Communist Party member before the House Committee of Un-American Activities in December 1948.⁵⁵⁵ The Council for Pan American Democracy was ultimately

⁵⁵⁵ In 1937 and 1938, Marion Bachrach was the personal secretary to Representative John Toussaint Bernard of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party. Bernard strongly supported the popular front alliance with the Communist Party. In 1948, *The Daily Worker* was one of only two U.S. newspapers to endorse Henry A. Wallace's presidential bid on the Progressive Party ticket. Bachrach wrote several pro-communist tracts, including *The Federal Grand Jury is Stacked Against You* (New York: Communist Party Defense Committee, 1949) and *Amnesty! Proposal of an amnesty program to release the members of the Communist Party imprisoned under the provisions of the Smith Act* (New York: New Century Publishers, 1952). For information on Bachrach, see "Four Groups Oppose Latin Military Help," *New York Times*, 23 July 1946, p. 16; "Notorious Figures In Communist List," *New York Times*, 21 June 1951, p. 16; John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999); Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, and Fridrikh Igorevich Firsov, *The Secret World of American Communism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 317-321; Barbara Stuhler, "The One Man Who Voted 'Nay': The Story of John T. Bernard's Quarrel with American Foreign Policy, 1937-1939," *Minnesota History* 43/3 (Fall 1972): 82-92. Bachrach's brother, John J. Abt, was the longtime chief counsel to the Communist Party USA. See John J. Abt with Michael Myerson, *Advocate and Activist: Memoirs of an American Communist Lawyer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

dissolved that same year after being declared a subversive organization by U.S. Attorney General Tom C. Clark.⁵⁵⁶

Internal divisions and growing suspicion of communists in the United States brought an end to the Council for Pan American Democracy, an organization that had marked Grant's increased concern about the spread of fascism in the Americas and her engagement in more explicitly political work. No longer exclusively dedicated to the realm cultural exchange and women's issues, Grant's work increased her network of colleagues in the Western Hemisphere, particularly among male labor leaders. Grant's involvement with the International Labor Organization and her interaction with labor leaders became crucial to her postwar work of helping to root out communists from the trade union movement. Although Grant would come to work more closely with the U.S. government, she maintained her belief in the importance of the contributions of private citizens and nongovernmental organizations for the Pan American movement. Instead of following "paths of bureaucracy and of opportunism," Grant continued to emphasize the value of friendship and common respect through non-official channels among the peoples of the Americas.⁵⁵⁷ Grant's Pan American Women's Association remained for her a key venue to foster inter-American unity.

⁵⁵⁶ Lewis Wood, "Subversion Laid to 32 More Groups in a Supplemental List by Clark," *New York Times*, 29 May 1948, p. 1. See also "Appendix IX: U.S. Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations, 1950 (excerpt)," in William J. Klingaman, *Encyclopedia of the McCarthy Era* (New York: Facts on File, 1996), 443-445.

⁵⁵⁷ "Proceedings." Emergency Conference on the Present World Situation and the Western Hemisphere, Resume. 27 June 1940. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 42.

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THE PAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION
 FRANCES R. GRANT'S PAN AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, 1929-1949
 BUILDING WARTIME SOLIDARITY

VOLUME II

By

David Mark Carletta

A DISSERTATION

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History

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THE PAN AMERICAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONBUILDS WARTIME SOLIDARITY

Throughout the Second World War, Frances Grant continued to foster in inter-American solidarity largely through her Pan American Women's Association. As global fascist threats led the U.S. government to expand its methods for conducting foreign relations with Latin America and the Caribbean, voluntary organizations like the Pan American Women's Association were greatly reinforced in their hemispheric endeavors by the Roosevelt Administration. Although Grant never received an official government post, the Roosevelt Administration's new approach to foreign affairs validated the ideas and activities she had promoted since founding the PAWA under the auspices of the Roerich Museum in 1930. For the first time, the U.S. government created an Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, charged with the promotion of a friendly U.S. image abroad. The U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs did not push out private actors like the PAWA. Instead, in their zeal for starting new Pan American programs, they wisely welcomed the continued work of nongovernmental organizations and unofficial promoters like Grant, whose activities during the war years in New York City with Latin American and European exiles, and in Latin America and the Caribbean with liberal elites and labor leaders, set the stage for her work in the Cold War era. The extensive contacts Grant made and strengthened during this period later proved crucial to securing Latin American and Caribbean allies for the United States in its Cold War fight against communism.

As head of the PAWA, Grant welcomed and paid tribute to scores of Latin American and Caribbean scholars, politicians, labor leaders, musicians, and artists at PAWA meetings and events held in the early 1940s at various locations around Manhattan.⁵⁵⁸ PAWA events were also held at the Women's City Club in the International Building of the Rockefeller Center, the same structure which secretly housed the primary offices of both U.S. and British intelligence services during the war.⁵⁵⁹ Many distinguished guests were feted by the PAWA, including José Sabogal, the

indigenist painter and director of the National School of Fine Arts in Peru who had displayed his work in the 1930s at the Roerich Museum, and the Chilean poet, political

⁵⁵⁸ The Pan American Women's Association held meetings at the Henry Hudson Hotel, the Hotel Sheraton, the Town Hall Club, and the Lotos Club Building. The Lotos Club was formed in 1870 to promote social interaction among professional journalists, artists, musicians, and actors with amateurs and admirers in literature, science, and the fine arts. The Lotus Club Building on West 57th Street in Manhattan was erected by the Lotos Club in 1907 and sold in 1946. The PAWA only spent a few years at the club's building, as the club no longer had sufficient space for the association. See Lee E. Cooper, "Lotos Club Home On West 57th St. Sold To Investor," *New York Times*, 17 June 1945, p. R1; Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 27.

⁵⁵⁹ In June 1940, the International Building of the Rockefeller Center became the U.S. headquarters of the British Security Coordination, a cover organization of the Secret Intelligence Service, the United Kingdom's external intelligence agency commonly known as MI6. Established for both intelligence and propaganda services, the office was headed by the Canadian businessman William Stephenson. In July 1941, Roosevelt named William Joseph Donovan as his Coordinator of Information, thus making Donovan the first chief of the U.S. Intelligence community. Donovan set up a New York office in Room 3603 of the International Building and brought in the lawyer Allen Dulles to head the operation. The Office of the Coordinator of Information was superseded by the establishment of the Office of Strategic Services in June 1942. Responsible for espionage and sabotage in Europe and in parts in Asia, the Office of Strategic Services became the precursor of the Central Intelligence Agency, which was established under the National Security Act of 1947. Allen Dulles went on to serve as director of the Central Intelligence Agency from 1953 to 1961. See Nicholas John Cull, *Selling War: The British Propaganda Against American "Neutrality" in World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Paul Kramer, "Nelson Rockefeller and British Security Coordination," *Journal of Contemporary History* 16/1 (January 1981): 73-88; Thomas E. Mahl, *Desperate Deception: British Covert Operations in the United States, 1939-1944* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, 1998); Thomas F. Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid: Donovan, Stephenson, and the Origin of CIA* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996).

activist, and diplomat Pablo Neruda,⁵⁶⁰ who was perhaps the only speaker who received a fee for being honored by the association.⁵⁶¹ In March 1940, the PAWA held a luncheon for the Colombian diplomat Eduardo Zuleta Ángel, who was then serving as Colombia's ambassador to Peru as well as president of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Organization.⁵⁶² Attending the event were Abel Cruz Santos, consul general of Colombia in New York, and Abraham Martínez of the Colombian-American Chamber of Commerce. The luncheon, like many other PAWA events, was held in the New School

⁵⁶⁰ Pablo Neruda (1904-1973), whose real name was Neftalí Ricardo Reyes Basoalto, won worldwide acclaim for his poetry and wielded great influence in Latin American and Caribbean intellectual circles. Between 1927 and 1935, he was a member of the Chilean consular service in Argentina, East Asia, Europe, and Mexico. The Spanish Civil War inspired him to join the Republican movement, first in Spain, and then in France. In 1943, Neruda returned to Chile. Two years later, he joined the Communist Party of Chile and was elected a member of the Chilean Senate. Due to his opposition to President González Videla's repression of striking miners in 1947, Neruda lived underground in Chile for two years before going into exile in Europe in 1949. He returned home in 1952 and was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1971. For an examination of Neruda's literary work in relation to the political issues of class domination, fascism, and imperialism, see Roland Bleiker, "Pablo Neruda and the Struggle for Political Memory," *Third World Quarterly* 20/6 (December 1999): 1129-1142. For criticism and interpretation of Neruda's work, see, Enrico Mario Santi, *Pablo Neruda: The Poetics of Prophecy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982). For a general overview of Neruda's life, see Adam Feinstein, *Pablo Neruda: A Passion for Life* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2004); George D. Schade, "Pablo Neruda," in Carlos A. Solé, ed., *Latin American Writers*, vol. 3 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989), 1001-1018.

⁵⁶¹ The PAWA not only assumed full expenses for honoring Neruda at the Lotos Club in February 1943, but the total receipts from the event, \$204, were given to Neruda as well. See Grant to Pablo Neruda, 28 February 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 18.

⁵⁶² Eduardo Zuleta Ángel was a career diplomat who at various times headed the education, justice, and war ministries of Colombia. He was Colombia's ambassador to Peru and to Italy, and twice to the United States. Zuleta Ángel served as dean of the law faculty of the Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Bogotá and as a judge on the Colombian Supreme Court. He represented Colombia at the San Francisco Conference that created the charter of the United Nations. In January 1946, in London's Central Hall, Zuleta Ángel gave the opening speech of the first meeting of the United Nations as an organization. For information on Zuleta Ángel, see Alvaro Tirado Mejía and Carlos Holguín Holguín, *Colombia en la ONU, 1945-1995* (Bogotá: Comité Nacional para la Celebración del Cincuentenario de Naciones Unidas, 1995); Eduardo Zuleta Ángel, "How Latin America Shaped the U.N.: The Memoirs of a Colombian Statesman," *Américas* 34/5 (September/October 1982): 9-13; "Eduardo Zuleta Ángel Is Dead; Leader of First U.N. Assembly," *New York Times*, 28 September 1973, p. 36.

for Social Research, through which Grant did extensive social and political work before eventually joining its board of directors.⁵⁶³

Academics and social activists associated with the New School would support Grant's work in Latin America and the Caribbean for decades to come.⁵⁶⁴ Alvin Johnson, who became the school's first president in 1923, created what he called the University in Exile at the New School in 1933 and began to bring educators to the United States from Germany, Italy, and Spain.⁵⁶⁵ His concern for European scholars resulted from trips to Europe, where he witnessed the growth of fascism and became concerned about the Jewish and liberal scholars who were losing their positions in German and Italian universities.⁵⁶⁶ The University in Exile was an expression of Johnson's humanitarianism

⁵⁶³ See Frances R. Grant to Eduardo Zuleta Ángel, 26 February 1940. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 19.

⁵⁶⁴ Located in Manhattan's Greenwich Village neighborhood, the New School for Social Research was founded in 1919 by a group of academics, some of whom were pacifists teaching at Columbia University during the First World War. Taking a public stand against the war, they were censured by Columbia's president Nicholas Murray Butler. They subsequently resigned from Columbia and opened up their center for adult education that became known for its progressive politics and programs in social science and public policy. Alvin Johnson, a charter member of the school's board of directors, had taught economics at several top U.S. universities before being invited to work at *The New Republic* by Herbert Croly, the liberal magazine's founder and editor. While writing on economics and politics for *The New Republic*, Johnson worked with Croly and others to help found the New School. For information on the New School, see Peter M. Rutkoff and William B. Scott, *New School: A History of the New School for Social Research* (New York: Free Press, 1986).

⁵⁶⁵ Alvin Johnson grew up the son of Danish immigrants in Nebraska. He received a bachelor's degree in 1897 and a master's degree the following year from the University of Nebraska. In 1935, he made the University in Exile a regular part of the New School under a new name, the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science. He retired from the New School in 1945 and wrote *Pioneer's Progress: An Autobiography* (New York: Viking Press, 1952). Max Lerner describes Johnson's influential life in an admiring book review of Johnson's *Dominant Themes in Microcosm in American Scholar* 22 (1952-1953): 120-125. For the public reaction to Johnson's work saving European intellectuals from fascism, see "Refugee Scholars," *Time*, 19 August 1940, p. 40.

⁵⁶⁶ As co-editor of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* during the 1920s, Alvin Johnson collaborated with European colleagues. The University in Exile was opened with financial

and commitment to maintaining a transatlantic community of intellectuals, several of whom worked with Grant on her Latin American and Caribbean endeavors. The connections between European war exiles and artists from the Western Hemisphere who taught at the New School during the 1940s deserves scholarly attention.⁵⁶⁷ In the postwar era, Jewish and Spanish intellectuals in exile would continue to work with Grant against totalitarianism in the International League for the Rights of Man (ILRM) and the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom (IADF).

Other associates of the New School, also in attendance at the Zuleta Ángel luncheon, worked with Grant on issues related to Latin America and the Caribbean. Bryn Hovde, Johnson's successor as president of the New School in 1945 and chief of the Division of Cultural Cooperation in the U.S. Department of State's Office of Public Affairs from 1944 to 1946, supported international exchange programs, which he himself had participated in as a young man. Using Grant and the PAWA as a resource, Hovde promoted exchanges between the United States and its hemispheric neighbors by assisting in bringing Latin American and Caribbean men to tour U.S. factories. He brought Latin American and Caribbean technicians and engineers to the United States to promote both U.S. products and U.S. methods of production.⁵⁶⁸ In May 1950, Hovde

support from the Rockefeller Foundation and philanthropists like businessman and inventor Hiram Halle, who was part owner of the Gulf Oil Company. For information on the University in Exile, see Claus-Dieter Krohn, *Intellectuals in Exile: Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research*, trans. Rita and Robert Kimber (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993).

⁵⁶⁷ See Jacqueline Barnitz, *Twentieth-century Art of Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 325-326.

⁵⁶⁸ Since the early 1950s, Frances Grant had collaborated with Lawrence Sanders and Arthur Schlesinger. Bryn Hovde became the New School's president after Alvin Johnson retired in December 1945. Born in Jersey City, New Jersey in 1896, Hovde grew up in the Midwest where his father was a clergyman in the Norwegian Lutheran Synod. After earning his doctoral degree in 1924 from the University of Iowa, Hovde was associate professor of history at the University of

would fly to Cuba and join Grant in Havana, where he would serve as U.S. delegate to the Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Liberty. At the conference, Hovde and other delegates from the United States, Latin America, and the Caribbean created the IADF, which Grant spearheaded from her office in New York for over three decades.

Also in attendance at the PAWA luncheon in honor of Zuleta Ángel were other high-ranking U.S. Department of State officials. One such official was Lawrence Duggan, chief of the department's Latin American Division. Duggan was one of many department officials who valued Grant's labors over the years to strengthen inter-American relations. But Duggan also represented the extent of Communist infiltration in the U.S. government, of which Grant was unaware.⁵⁶⁹ Distressed that Adolf Hitler's Nazis had taken over Germany, Duggan willingly undertook clandestine work to help the Soviet Union, which was then claiming leadership in the fight against European fascism. Bored with his bureaucratic responsibilities and wanting to do something more concrete for the antifascist cause, Duggan was subsequently recruited as a spy for the Soviet

Pittsburg for a decade. He was administrator of the Pittsburg Housing Authority from 1938 to 1944. In 1945, Hovde served as a technical expert for the U.S. delegation to the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco, and as a secretary to the delegation when it later went to London for the founding of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). One of the issues UNESCO considered was the exchange of students among members of the United Nations. At the press conference during which Johnson introduced the New School's new president-elect, Hovde urged the speedy establishment of UNESCO, whose coordination of educational and cultural exchanges would greatly augment the number of foreign students in the United States. On Hovde's succession to Johnson as president of the New School, see "Farm Boy No.2," *Time* 46:25 (December 17, 1945): 68.

⁵⁶⁹ Since the early 1930s, Frances Grant had collaborated with Lawrence Duggan's father Stephen at the Institute of International Education. Duggan worked for his father for a time at the institute before going to Washington, D.C. in his twenties with thousands of other New Deal-inspired liberals to work for the Roosevelt Administration in 1933.

Union.⁵⁷⁰ Without payment, he delivered photographed U.S. Department of State documents to the Soviet Union's NKVD⁵⁷¹ intelligence service until July 1944, when pressure from department security officials caused him to resign his post.⁵⁷²

Regarding the U.S. Department of State, Grant had been pleased with the department's creation of the Division of Cultural Relations back in July 1938. She was

⁵⁷⁰ The Soviet Union was engaged in a vigorous espionage effort in the United States in the 1930s and 1940s. Before the Second World War was over, Soviet espionage had been assisted by hundreds of U.S. citizens, including dozens of mid-level government officials as well as some in higher-level posts. Many Communist Party USA officials also actively assisted Soviet espionage. See John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999); Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, and Kyrill M. Anderson, *The Soviet World of American Communism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev, *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America—The Stalin Era* (New York: Random House, 1999).

⁵⁷¹ A governmental department of the Soviet Union, the NKVD (*Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del*), or People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, handled various state affairs, including administration of Joseph Stalin's foreign intelligence service and special operations overseas. Abroad, the NKVD recruited spies and gathered intelligence, assassinated political enemies, weakened foreign governments, and imposed Stalinist policy on Communist Party organizations. For information on the NKVD, see Robert Conquest, *Inside Stalin's Secret Police: NKVD Politics, 1936-1939* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 1985); Leonid D. Grenkevich, *The Soviet Partisan Movement, 1941-1944: A Critical Historiographical Analysis*, ed. David M. Glantz (Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 1999); John Mendelsohn, ed., *Covert Warfare, 8. The OSS-NKVD Relationship, 1943-1945* (New York: Garland, 1989).

⁵⁷² Up until the time he left the U.S. Department of State, Lawrence Duggan delivered materials such as U.S. diplomatic dispatches from European embassies and reports by the department on the Spanish Civil War to the Soviet Union via the Soviet operative Itzhak Akhmerov. After resigning from the U.S. Department of State, Duggan became an advisor at the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. In 1946, he returned to his father's Institute for International of Education. As director of the institute, he supported student exchanges with all countries, including the Soviet Union. In December 1948, soon after the Federal Bureau of Investigation interviewed him in connection with the prosecution of his fellow spy Alger Hiss, Duggan fell or jumped to his death from his New York office building. Upon learning of Duggan's death, Grant wrote a sympathetic letter to Duggan's wife, Helen Boyd, who most likely knew of her husband's espionage activities. "For us, he remains the ideal public servant, deeply conscious of his loyalties and responsibilities to his country, yet not unmindful of the dignity and human rights of all peoples," wrote Grant. Grant to Mrs. Lawrence Duggan, 23 December 1948. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 45. For information on Duggan, see John Earl Haynes, "The Cold War Debate Continues: A Traditionalist View of Historical Writing on Domestic Communism and Anti-Communism," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 2/1 (2000): 76-115; Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev, *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America—The Stalin Era* (New York: Random House, 1999), 3-21.

happy to travel to Washington, D.C. at the invitation of U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull to attend the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Art in October of the following year. But she was disappointed at not being asked to work for the department after the Roosevelt Administration created the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in August 1940, which mirrored many of her ideas about building inter-American cooperation.⁵⁷³ As historian Gerald K. Haines explains, the office reflected the Roosevelt Administration's conviction that "intellectual and cultural understanding" would lead to political and economic collaboration in the face of the fascist threat. The office was thereby set up to promote "a sympathetic understanding of tradition, history, literature, and the arts."⁵⁷⁴ Roosevelt's choice to head the new wartime office was Nelson A. Rockefeller, grandson of two illustrious Americans, John D. Rockefeller, the United States' wealthiest citizen, and Nelson W. Aldrich, a Republican U.S. senator from Rhode Island.⁵⁷⁵ Rockefeller had been interested in Latin America since his 1935 appointment to the board of directors of the Creole Petroleum Corporation, the Venezuelan subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company his grandfather John had founded.

⁵⁷³ For information on the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, see Fred Fejes, *The Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCLAA) and the Origins of United States Cultural Diplomacy* (New York: Columbia University-New York University Consortium, 1993); Donald W. Rowland, *History of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947).

⁵⁷⁴ Gerald K. Haines, "Under the Eagle's Wing: The Franklin Roosevelt Administration Forges an American Hemisphere," *Diplomatic History* 1 (Fall 1977): 378-379.

⁵⁷⁵ After graduating from Dartmouth College in 1930, Nelson Rockefeller joined the family business, becoming president of the Rockefeller Center in 1938. Rockefeller was also a modern art enthusiast. He became the president of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City a year prior to joining the U.S. Department of State in 1940.

Under Rockefeller's leadership, the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs helped disseminate a favorable impression of the United States through the distribution of vast amounts of material to Latin American and Caribbean press, radio, and film concerns. However, unlike Grant, who believed in the need to mutually educate U.S. citizens and their hemispheric neighbors about each other, the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs focused on a one-way approach toward Latin America and the Caribbean.⁵⁷⁶ The office established exchange scholarships, set up goodwill tours and concerts, and organized loans of artwork. Rockefeller energetically countered fascist influence in Latin America and the Caribbean while promoting U.S. cooperation with the region. He strengthened the hemisphere's economic ties by eliminating German control of airlines, obtaining U.S. markets for products once sold to Europe, and blacklisting pro-Axis businessmen from U.S. commercial activity.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷⁶ According to historian Frank A. Ninkovich, under Nelson Rockefeller's leadership, the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs rejected the idea of "reciprocal benefits in the cultural program" and decided that "the greatest emphasis should be placed on interpreting the United States to Latin America rather than vice-versa." See Frank A. Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 36.

⁵⁷⁷ The U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs had its origins in a Rockefeller initiative. Nelson Rockefeller's perception of harsh anti-U.S. sentiment in Latin America caused him to create an advisory group in 1939 to investigate U.S. relations with its hemispheric neighbors. The group recommended that the U.S. government put someone in charge of improving relations with Latin America. In 1940, the same year he went to work at the U.S. Department of State as director of the Office of Inter-American Affairs, Rockefeller created the *Compañía de Fomento Venezolano* as a philanthropic development enterprise in Venezuela. In 1944, after successfully recommending the upgrading of Latin America in the U.S. Department of State, Rockefeller was made assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs, a job which he resigned from the following year. He later served as governor of New York from 1959 to 1973 and as U.S. vice president from 1974 to 1977. For information on Rockefeller's work at the U.S. Department of State, see Joseph E. Persico, *The Imperial Rockefeller: A Biography of Nelson A. Rockefeller* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 32-34; Cary Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller: Worlds to Conquer, 1908-1958* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 265-373.

The creation of the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs strengthened the purely private and voluntary-based approach to cultural relations practiced by U.S. citizens.⁵⁷⁸ Rockefeller integrated the work of his office with the work of other governmental agencies, as well as with a plethora of business interests and nongovernmental philanthropic groups. For example, he cooperated with various U.S. governmental agencies and U.S. broadcasting companies to produce radio programs for audiences in Latin America and the Caribbean. Rockefeller also successfully worked with voluntary organizations such as the PAWA. Under the auspices of the PAWA, Grant hosted a myriad of speakers brought to the United States by Rockefeller's office and organized for them to address PAWA-sponsored luncheons. Moreover, she worked as liaison between the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and other Pan American groups in the New York area.

Despite her continued work with Rockefeller's office, Grant believed she should have been awarded a position in the new division of the U.S. Department of State. Never modest, Grant knew no one had neither more appreciation of Latin America and the Caribbean's cultural and artistic life, nor a more extensive contact base in the region, than herself. Indeed, she was one of the United States' foremost promoters of improved relations with Latin America and the Caribbean. But Grant believed she was not asked to join the Rockefeller-led effort in an official capacity due to her previous affiliation with the Council for Pan American Democracy. She considered herself one of the "innocent

⁵⁷⁸ Frank A. Ninkovich argues that the volatile climate of the 1930s, when countries began to aggressively promote cultural nationalism and cultural policies for political gain, forced the U.S. government to reconsider the "voluntarist approach" that had permitted the state's foreign affairs bureaucracy to stay out of cultural relations. See Frank A. Ninkovich, *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 23.

participants" in the council, which she came to believe was one of the many organizations founded "to create a focus of Communist activity" in the United States during that time "when there was a sentimental wedding between communism and the allies." Grant regretted remaining in the council until September 1942 and not seeing the evidence of this below the surface sooner.⁵⁷⁹

Though frustrated at not being invited into government service, Grant nevertheless was a great asset to the U.S. Department of State in its successful maintenance of antifascist solidarity in the Western Hemisphere. Grant promoted cooperation with the many cultural institutes previously established by nationals in several Latin American and Caribbean countries. Grant's work supported the U.S. Department of State and the new direction of the Roosevelt Administration's foreign policy also gave her long-standing role as a go-between greater publicity and official importance. The U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs supported individuals and institutes in the Western Hemisphere with which Grant had a history of association. Strengthened by financial assistance from the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, many institutes with which Grant was affiliated sponsored concerts, English classes, exhibits, film screenings, lectures, radio programs, and libraries of U.S. reading materials. As newly-appointed cultural relations officers worked through their newly-created diplomatic posts in Latin America and the Caribbean, the value of cultural relations in "cementing solidarity among the nations of the Americas" was continually emphasized at home through such activities as regular PAWA monthly

⁵⁷⁹ Frances R. Grant, "Autobiography - Latin American Work," p. 2. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 51.

luncheons, like the one held at the Women's City Club in February 1941.⁵⁸⁰ Guests at this particular event included the Chilean composer Domingo Santa Cruz Wilson,⁵⁸¹ a professor at the National Conservatory in Santiago, the Chilean historian and musicologist Eugenio Pereira Salas,⁵⁸² a professor of history in the Instituto Pedagógico at the University of Chile and secretary of the Chile-American Cultural Institute, and Carlos Humeres Solar, the director of the School of Fine Arts of the University of Chile. These prominent Chilean educators had arrived in New York via the Grace Line S.S.

Santa Elena in response to invitations extended by the U.S. Department of State.⁵⁸³ of (1942). This bilingual exhibition catalog contains "The Historical Development of Art in Chile" by Eugenio Pereira Salas and "The Contemporary Art of Chile" by Carlos Humeres Solar.

⁵⁸⁰ "Ties of Americas Stressed," *New York Times*, 16 February 1941, p. 25.

⁵⁸¹ Domingo Santa Cruz Wilson (1899-1987), one of Chile's most important twentieth-century composers, mentored generations of Chilean musicians. In 1921, he earned a law degree from the University of Chile in Santiago. He then worked in the Chilean diplomatic service for some years while continuing to study music. Santa Cruz was a professor at the National Conservatory in Santiago from 1933 to 1951, the year he won the Premio Nacional de Artes in the category of music. From 1962 to 1968, he served as dean of the faculty of musical arts and sciences at the University of Chile. For his reflections after attending the 1942 Music Educators National Conference in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, whose slogan that year was "American Unity Through Music," see Domingo Santa Cruz, "On Hemispherical Unity," *Music Educators Journal* 28/6 (May-June 1942): 13-14. Santa Cruz wrote the prologue to his friend Eugenio Pereira Salas' book *Los orígenes del arte musical en Chile* (Santiago: Imprenta Universitaria, 1941).

⁵⁸² Eugenio Pereira Salas (1904-1979) studied at the University of Chile in Santiago. In 1926, he traveled to Europe, where he took courses at the Sorbonne in Paris and at the University of Berlin. He spent the years 1933 and 1934 on a Guggenheim fellowship studying Chilean-U.S. relations at the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley and at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. In 1938, he organized the department of Chilean folklore at the University of Chile. Pereira Salas published a number of books, mostly on Chilean music, and won Chile's Premio Nacional de Historia in 1974. Among his publications is *Los primeros contactos entre Chile y los Estados Unidos, 1778-1809* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1971).

⁵⁸³ See "Visitors From Hispanic America," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 21/2 (May 1941): 352-353. The Chilean visitors were on their way to Ohio, where the Toledo Museum of Art was collaborating with the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs to present an exhibition sponsored by the Ministry of Education of Chile and the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Chile. Curated by Carlos Humeres Solar, the exhibition featured Chilean contemporary artists like María Tupper, who, as a vice president of the Chilean Friends of the Roerich Museum, had worked with Frances Grant in the 1930s, and Pablo Vidor, another former member of the Chilean Friends of the Roerich Museum. See Molly Ohl Godwin, *Chilean Contemporary Art: An Exhibition Sponsored by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of*

After over a decade of working with Latin Americans in New York, Grant returned to South America for four months in the summer of 1941. She used her "well-earned wages as managing editor of several trade publications" to finance the trip.⁵⁸⁴ Grant visited Brazil and every Spanish-speaking South American country except Venezuela, which she refused to visit due to her opposition to the rule of military strongman José Eleazar López Contreras.⁵⁸⁵ Grant promoted the PAWA while lecturing

Chile and the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Chile (Toledo, OH: Toledo Museum of Art, 1942). This bilingual exhibition catalog contains "The Historical Development of Art in Chile" by Eugenio Pereira Salas and "The Contemporary Art of Chile" by Carlos Humeres Solar. Godwin, the dean of the Toledo Museum of Art School of Design, wrote the introduction to the catalog. The Chilean musician Claudio Arrau, one of the great pianists of the twentieth century, attended the PAWA luncheon, as did Eugenio Florit, the Cuban consul in New York. Arrau, the husband of the German-Jewish mezzo-soprano Ruth Schneider, had recently left his job at the Stern Conservatory in Berlin, where he had been teaching since 1924. After fleeing Nazi Germany, Arrau settled his family in Queens and founded the Claudio Arrau Academy in New York. Arrau married Ruth Schneider in 1937 and they fled Nazi Germany three years later. In 1941, Arrau and his family moved to Douglaston, Queens, where Arrau lived until 1990. In 1943, Arrau and Rafael de Silva founded the Claudio Arrau Academy in New York. Arrau would later boycott performances in his homeland for seventeen years, first as a protest against the socialist government of Salvador Allende (1970-1973), and later against the rightist authoritarian rule of General Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990). Grant's reactions to both administrations in Chile echoed those of Arrau. For information on Arrau, see Deborah Andrews, ed., *The Annual Obituary, 1991* (Detroit: St. James Press, 1992), 318-320; David Dubal, *Reflections From the Keyboard: The World of the Concert Pianist* (New York: Summit Books, 1984), 16-33; Bernard Holland, "Claudio Arrau at 80 -- The Years Have Deepened His Art," *New York Times*, 20 February 1983, p. H1; Joseph Horowitz, *Conversations with Arrau* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982); Roger Kahn, "Fragile Genius of a Virtuoso," *Life* 73/8 (August 25, 1972): 49-56; Joachim Kaiser, *Great Pianists of Our Time*, trans. David Wooldridge and George Unwin (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), 86-94; Allan Kozinn, "Claudio Arrau, Pianist is Dead at 88," *New York Times*, 10 June 1991, p. B11.

⁵⁸⁴ Grant to Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. 4 August 1982. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 33. Folder 5.

⁵⁸⁵ José Eleazar López Contreras, a career military man, had loyally served Venezuela's longtime dictator Juan Vicente Gómez, using military force against students, workers, dissident military officers, and others opposed to the Gómez dictatorship. López Contreras rose through the ranks to become minister of war and the marine from 1931 until Gómez's death in December 1935. He then became president of Venezuela, serving from 1935 until stepping down in 1941 and giving office over to his handpicked successor General Isaías Medina Angarita. See Winfield J. Burggraaff, *The Venezuelan Armed Forces in Politics, 1935-1959* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1972), 26-48.

on inter-American relations and the role of women in inter-American understanding at various cultural institutes, libraries, and universities, many of which were receiving U.S. financial assistance from the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. In spite of her purely voluntary capacity and her never being funded personally by the U.S. Department of State, Grant served as an effective representative for the Roosevelt Administration's Good Neighborhood Policy.

In Buenos Aires, Grant addressed the Argentine National Council of Women and spoke at the Museo Colonial e Histórico and the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano, the later being under the leadership of her friend Cupertino del Campo.⁵⁸⁶ While in Peru, Grant addressed the University of San Andrés in La Paz and the Instituto Cultural Peruano-Norteamericano in Lima, which, in coordination with the Institute for International Education, had hoped to make an effective contribution to inter-American understanding and goodwill by beginning to welcome exchange students from the United States in the summer of 1940.⁵⁸⁷ In Rio de Janeiro, Grant addressed the

⁵⁸⁶ On September 5, 1941, Frances Grant presented a lecture entitled "Bases de un verdadero entendimiento interamericano" at the Biblioteca del Consejo de Mujeres de la República Argentina in Buenos Aires. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 9. Grant spoke at the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano in Buenos Aires on August 28, 1941. The title of her talk was "Bases de un mejor entendimiento americano." See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 17. Though in the main self-supporting through income from English language classes, the Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano also received money from donors such as the Division of Interchange and Education of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace. See J. Warshaw, "The Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano," *Hispania* 21/4 (December 1938): 235-245.

⁵⁸⁷ Through the efforts of the University of San Marcos, the Catholic University in Lima, the Instituto Cultural Peruano-Norteamericano, the Institute for International Education, the Grace Steamship Company, and the Touring Club of Peru, the first group of fifty-one U.S. students left New York City in June 1940. The Grace Line offered very-low round-trip rates in first-class quarters to the project's participants. Victor Andrés Belaúnde of the Catholic University in Lima was the director of the summer school. He later served as president of the Peruvian delegation that supported the founding of the United Nations Organization in 1945. Faculty was drawn from the Catholic University and the University of San Marcos. Julio César Tello taught at the school

Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos, which had been founded in 1937 at the initiative of Hedy Grant's colleague Stephen Duggan of the Institute for International Education. Hedy Grant made contact in Chile with the U.S. ambassador who would later work with her in the struggle against Francisco Franco's dictatorship in Spain. After Grant's arrival in Chile, she addressed the Chilean National Council of Women and spoke at the Universidad de Santiago de Chile, the U.S. ambassador Claude G. Bowers invited her to dinner.⁵⁸⁸ Bowers, a prominent Democratic Party advisor and speechwriter, was a Roosevelt administration political appointee who had served as U.S. ambassador to Spain from 1933 to 1939 before taking up his post in Chile, where he initiated a plan to promote Pan Americanism through journalism that resulted in the employment of seven Chilean journalists as "guest employees" of seven major U.S. newspapers. The U.S. ambassador's main struggle was to thwart Chile's relations with the fascist European powers while increasing copper exports to North America and promoting cultural, economic, and political cooperation between Chile and the United States.⁵⁸⁹

and gave a series of weekly archeology trips. See Frances M. Burlingame (Dean of Elmira College), "Summer School at the University of San Marcos," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 75/11 (November 1941): 617-622; Wilson Leon Godshall, "South America's Oldest University Initiates a Summer School in Peru," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 75/1 (January 1941): 39-41.

⁵⁸⁸ Grant to Hilda Grant. 19 August 1941. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 1.

⁵⁸⁹ The author, diplomat, historian, and newspaperman Claude G. Bowers was born in Westfield, Indiana in 1878. He began his newspaper career writing editorials for the *Sentinel*, a Democratic daily in Indianapolis. Bowers worked in Washington, D.C. from 1911 to 1917 as secretary to John W. Kern, a U.S. senator from Indiana. Bowers served as editor of the *Journal-Gazette* in Fort Wayne from 1917 until moving in 1923 to New York City, where he came to national prominence writing speeches for Democratic politicians and editorials for the *Evening World* and the *Evening Journal*. In 1932, Bowers worked on the U.S. presidential campaign of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Appointed U.S. ambassador to Spain in 1933, Bowers raised money for Spanish children during the Spanish Civil War and facilitated prisoner exchanges. Upon the United States' recognition of Francisco Franco's government in 1939, Bowers resigned his post. He was then appointed U.S. ambassador to Chile, where he served until his retirement in 1953. In January

After the Second World War, Bowers and Grant worked together to aid Spanish Republican exiles in the Americas and Europe. Bowers had been an outspoken supporter of the Spanish Republic in its failed attempt to defeat Franco's Nationalist forces during the Spanish Civil War. With the coming of the Eisenhower Administration in 1953, Bowers left his post in Chile and moved to New York City, where he continued his political advising and activism. In New York, he served as a member of the U.S. Committee of Grant's IADF as well as a member of the advisory board of *Ibérica*, the anti-Franco magazine that Grant helped establish in New York.⁵⁹⁰ Grant considered Bowers a key figure in the global fight against totalitarianism. In the pages of *Ibérica*, she reviewed Bowers' memoir *Chile through Embassy Windows, 1939-1953*, which appeared a month after the former ambassador's death in January 1958. Grant wrote that Bowers had arrived in Chile in 1939 to play a part in the same "world-battle between democracy and totalitarianism" that he had experienced in Spain. Agents from Berlin, Rome, and the nearby government of Juan Domingo Perón in Buenos Aires "were doing

1956, Bowers began serving with Frances Grant as a member of the advisory board of *Ibérica* magazine. Unlike Grant, Bowers never learned conversational Spanish and was a lifelong opponent of racial equality in the United States. He wrote about his diplomatic life in *My Mission to Spain: Watching the Rehearsal for World War II* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954) and *Chile through Embassy Windows, 1939-1953* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1958). He died in New York City in January 1958, having almost completed his autobiography *My Life: The Memoirs of Claude Bowers* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962). For information on Bowers, see Michael J. Francis, "The United States and Chile during the Second World War: The Diplomacy of Misunderstanding," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 9/1 (May 1977): 91-113; Sabine Jessner and Peter J. Sehlinger, "Claude G. Bowers: A Partisan Hoosier," *Indiana Magazine of History* 83/3 (September 1987): 217-243; Douglas Little, "Claude Bowers and His Mission to Spain: The Diplomacy of a Jeffersonian Democrat," in Kenneth Paul Jones, ed., *U.S. Diplomats in Europe, 1919-1941* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1981), 129-146; Peter J. Sehlinger and Holman Hamilton, *Spokesman for Democracy: Claude G. Bowers, 1878-1958* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 2000).

⁵⁹⁰ Frances Grant produced the magazine *Ibérica* under the auspices of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom before turning the operation over to the Spanish Republican exile Victoria Kent and her U.S. financial backer Louise Crane. For information on *Ibérica*, see Chapter Ten.

everything possible to arouse distrust of the United States and to disrupt American influence." Thanks to Bowers, Grant claimed, "Chile was completely won over to the Allied cause and became one of the strongest advocates for the Allies in the community of American nations."⁵⁹¹ In Colombia, Grant lectured at the National Library in Bogotá and met with Colombia's pro-U.S. President Eduardo Santos. An important leader in Colombia's Liberal Party, Santos would from this time on continue to work closely with Grant on human rights and anticommunism in the Americas right up until the time of his death in 1974.⁵⁹² Thanks to help from her brother David, Grant was also able to strengthen connections with Peruvian elites during her travels in the summer of 1941. A successful lawyer who lectured on Latin American law at New York University and served as foreign counsel in charge of Latin American affairs for Pan American Airways, David put Frances in contact with his acquaintances at W.R. Grace & Company, a major commercial actor between North America and South America.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹¹ Frances R. Grant returned to the United States on October 6, 1941. For a summary of her 1941 travels to Chile, see Frances R. Grant to David, Box 9, Folder 1, *Frances R. Grant Papers*.
⁵⁹¹ Frances R. Grant, "New Books: Mr. Bowers in Chile," *Ibérica*, 6/3 (March 15, 1958): 10-11. To achieve such success, Bowers had consistently annoyed U.S. Department of State career professionals with his long dispatches vigorously representing Chilean interests. Many criticized him for being excessively pro-Chilean. See Peter J. Sehlinger and Holman Hamilton, *Spokesman for Democracy: Claude G. Bowers, 1878-1958* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 2000), 226.

⁵⁹² See Frances R. Grant, "Eduardo Santos: A Tribute," *Hemispherica* 23/4 (April 1974): 2-3.

⁵⁹³ See David Grant to Grant, 2 July 1941. Frances R. Grant Papers, Box 9, Folder 1. The Irish-immigrant William Russell Grace founded W. R. Grace & Company in Peru in the mid-nineteenth century in order to engage in the guano trade. He prospered while exporting guano as fertilizer to North America and Europe. Following the U.S. Civil War, Grace moved his company's headquarters to New York City. By 1880, Grace had become a leading citizen and was twice elected Mayor of New York. By the early twentieth century, W.R. Grace & Company was a major commercial actor between North America and South America. For information on W.R. Grace & Company, see Lawrence A. Clayton, *Grace: W.R. Grace & Co., The Formative Years, 1850-1930* (Ottawa, IL: Jameson Books, 1985); Marquis James, *Merchant Adventurer: The Story of W.R. Grace* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1993).

In Paraguay's capital of Asunción, Grant met General Higinio Morínigo, the military strongman who ruled Paraguay with an iron hand under a slogan of "discipline, hierarchy, and order."⁵⁹⁴ Despite the fact that Morínigo was overseeing a repressive police state, Grant welcomed the opportunity when invited to speak with the dictator on the inaugural program of Paraguay's state radio station. Morínigo did not declare war on Germany until February 1945 and would continue to permit the Nazis to operate a spy network on Paraguayan territory throughout the war.⁵⁹⁵ Although anti-U.S. and pro-Axis like many of his nationalistic military colleagues, Morínigo would be coaxed into cooperation with the United States through the granting of the economic and military aid he desired to develop his nation's economy and maintain his authoritarian rule. After the war, Morínigo would begin liberalizing his dictatorship under pressure from both the United States and reformist officers in the Paraguayan military.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁴ Frances Grant returned to the United States on October 6, 1941. For a summary of her 1941 trip to South America, see Frances R. Grant to Eleanor Roosevelt, 20 December 1941, Frances R. Grant Papers, Box 18, Folder 53.

⁵⁹⁵ Paraguay contained the first community in South America to subscribe to Nazism. In the late 1930s, the 26,000 Paraguayan Germans were the largest group of non-Iberian Europeans in Paraguay's population of roughly one million people. Higinio Morínigo was a career military man who rose in rank during the Chaco War (1932-1935). He was the minister of war under his predecessor, José Félix Estigarribia, who dissolved the nation's Congress. The Paraguayan Cabinet declared Morínigo president of the republic after Estigarribia was killed in an airplane crash in September 1940. As political opponents went into exile, Morínigo quickly surrounded himself with loyal military colleagues. For information on Morínigo and his relations with the Axis and Allied powers, see Michael Grow, *The Good Neighbor Policy and Authoritarianism in Paraguay* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1981); Alfredo M. Seiferheld, *Nazismo y fascismo en el Paraguay: Los años de la guerra: Gobiernos de José Félix Estigarribia e Higinio Morínigo, 1939-1945* (Asunción: Editorial Histórica, 1986).

⁵⁹⁶ A civil war ensued in Paraguay in 1947. Finally removed from office in a coup d'état in June 1948, Higinio Morínigo went into permanent exile in Buenos Aires, home of his Argentine supporter Juan Domingo Perón. Efforts to help the Axis, the United States, and other nations' missions to Paraguay. Argent went on to become president of the United Nations.

In the ensuing years, Grant reversed her attitude toward Paraguay's leadership and severely criticized the country's authoritarian government. In August 1954, Alfredo Stroessner, one of Morínigo's formerly loyal military colleagues who participated in a coup to overthrow the general, became one of the Western Hemisphere's most notorious twentieth-century dictators.⁵⁹⁷ Through the Pan American Women's Association, the International League for the Rights of Man, and the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, Grant denounced the human rights record of the Stroessner Administration before the United Nations, the Organization of American States, and various U.S. federal government departments and agencies.⁵⁹⁸ During his nearly thirty-

⁵⁹⁷ Alfredo Stroessner was born in 1912 in Paraguay's southern port city of Encarnación, where his father, a Bavarian immigrant, had married into a prosperous family of local farmers. Stroessner began his military career at the age of seventeen when he entered the Military Academy in the Paraguayan capital of Asunción. As president of Paraguay, commander in chief of the armed forces, and head of the Colorado Party, Stroessner controlled an immense organization of devoted followers. For information on his long rule, see Rogelio García Lupo, *Paraguay de Stroessner* (Buenos Aires: Grupo Zeta, 1989); Paul H. Lewis, *Paraguay Under Stroessner* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Carlos R. Miranda, *The Stroessner Era: Authoritarian Rule in Paraguay* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990); Riordan Roett and Richard Scott Sacks, *Paraguay: The Personalist Legacy* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991), 54-59.

⁵⁹⁸ In the 1970s, Grant worked to help the Aché maintain their lives and ancestral hunting lands in the forests of eastern Paraguay under Alfredo Stroessner's government. Grant's main partner in this endeavor was Richard Arens, a human rights lawyer and law professor. Arens, who worked as counsel before the United Nations for the International League for the Rights of Man and the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, taught a course on human rights in the Americas at Temple University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. His students at Temple helped him collect materials for complaints to be filed on behalf of the Aché by the IILRM and IADF before the United Nations, the U.S. Congress, the U.S. Department of State, and the Organization of American States. Arens spoke about the Aché at a meeting of the Pan American Women's Association in 1975. The following year, he edited *Genocide in Paraguay*, a book condemning the Stroessner regime's policies toward the Aché that contained an epilog by the renowned human rights advocate and Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel. At the time of the book's publication, Grant was a vice president of the IILRM and Arens was serving on the IILRM's board of directors. Grant authored a chapter in the book describing her anti-Stroessner activism and she visited Temple Law School on the occasion of the book's publication. The royalties from *Genocide in Paraguay* were passed on to the IILRM and used to support the human rights of indigenous peoples in South America. In its effort to help the Aché, the IILRM sent many fact finding missions to Paraguay. Arens went on to become president of the U.S. branch of Survival

five-year rule, Stroessner produced scores of political exiles who were grateful for Grant's help in making their plight known throughout the Western Hemisphere.⁵⁹⁹

The visit by Grant to South America in 1941 benefited the U.S. Department of State by demonstrating to Latin American elites that U.S. citizens like members of the PAWA genuinely admired and respected their nations. Her experience and large network of contacts made her an ideal unofficial representative of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy. Obviously, the U.S. Department of State considered private organizations like the PAWA to be crucial components of its Pan American program. Grant's trip also benefited the many Latin American elites whose praises the president of the PAWA continuously sang in the United States. For instance, Grant sent a piece to *The New York*

International, a nongovernmental organization founded to advance human rights of indigenous peoples around the globe. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 71; Box 25. Folder 25; Box 28. Folders 30 and 31; Box 30. Folder 43; Box 45. Folder 54; Box 46. Folders 1, 2, 8 - 11. For information on Grant and Arens' campaign on behalf of the Aché, see Richard Arens, "Paraguayan Indian Hunt," *The Nation* (September 24, 1973): 266-268; Richard Arens, "Death Camps in Paraguay," *Inquiry* 1/4 (January 2, 1978): 7-15. Frances R. Grant, "Paraguayan Realities," in Richard Arens, ed., *Genocide in Paraguay* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1976), 69-84; David M. Helfeld and William Louis Wipfler, *Mbareté, The Higher Law of Paraguay: Report on the Denial of Human Rights in Paraguay* (New York: International League for Human Rights, 1980). For information on the Aché, see Kim Hill and A. Magdalena Hurtado, *Aché Life History: The Ecology and Demography of a Foraging People* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1996).

⁵⁹⁹ Grant worked with the Febrerista Party, which governed Paraguay from February 1936 to August 1937. In coalition with the Colorado Party, the Febreristas returned to power in June 1946. But the dissolution of that coalition in January 1947 led the Febreristas to fight on the losing side of a civil war against the Colorados. Defeated in August 1947, Febrerista leaders went into exile. In 1967, in order to claim his nation was a democracy, Stroessner legalized the Febrerista Party and allotted the Febreristas a minority of seats in the Paraguayan Congress. Throughout the Western Hemisphere, Febrerista leaders made known their appreciation of Frances Grant's work. For example, in 1976 the former Febrerista Party vice president and syndicated columnist Elpidio Yegros wrote a laudatory piece about Grant that associated her work for the liberation of hemisphere from dictatorships with the celebration of the U.S. Bicentennial, the 200th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. See Elpidio Yegros' article entitled "Comentario sobre una mujer admirable" in the September 20, 1976 issue of the Spanish-language version of the *Miami Herald*. For information on the Febreristas, see Paul H. Lewis, *The Politics of Exile: Paraguay's Febrerista Party* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

Times from the city of Arequipa praising the literary scene in Peru and applauding the writing of Peruvians like her friend Manuel Beltroy, a former translator of works by Grant's ex-spiritual leader Nicholas Roerich.⁶⁰⁰ In Grant, Latin American and Caribbean elites found a loyal advocate and a sympathetic voice for their nations' achievements and democratic allegiance in an international atmosphere imbued with fear and suspicion.

Newspaper articles provided Grant with the ability to reach a vast audience and promote individuals she would later recruit to participate in her international human rights work. In the same *New York Times* article in which she praised Peru's literary scene, Grant also extolled the writing of Ciro Alegria, the Peruvian indigenist writer who had helped Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre and other Peruvian intellectuals establish the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana, while in exile in Mexico City in 1924.⁶⁰¹ Grant was a strong supporter of the Apristas, whose leftist nationalist program advocated an alliance between intellectuals, urban workers, and rural peasants to carry out social and economic reforms to improve the lot of Peru's marginalized indigenous majority.⁶⁰² Grant's trip to Peru in 1941 coincided with Alegria's move to New York City and the publication of his masterpiece *El mundo es ancho y ajeno*, which launched Alegria's international career and turned him into one of South America's most celebrated

⁶⁰⁰ See Frances R. Grant, "The Literary Scene in Peru," *New York Times*, 10 August 1941, p. BR8, BR18.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰² Outlawed in Peru since 1931, the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana, or Partido Aprista, would be banned from the country at various times for many years during its twentieth-century history. The Partido Aprista would not be legalized again until 1945. Ciro Alegria had been living in exile outside Peru since 1934.

twentieth-century writers.⁶⁰³ Alegría's novel represents one of the best examples of popular 1930s and 1940s indigenist literature and indigenismo. A portrayal of the destruction of an indigenous Peruvian community by the expansion of the latifundia system, the novel took a somewhat anthropological approach in its depiction of indigenous villagers struggling to survive in the Peruvian highlands under threat from an avaricious rancher. Alegría portrayed an idealized harmonious relationship between the land and the indigenous Peruvians who were not only oppressed by covetous landowners, but also by bad government. According to Alegría, Peru's European-descended elite and minority landowners were the source of Peruvian economic backwardness. After moving to New York in 1941, Alegría spent the next several years teaching at various universities and producing literary works that focused on the conditions of exploited peoples, which reflected the political program of Apristas, who saw the situation of Peru's indigenous communities as similar to that of its urban proletariat.

Alegría became one of the South Americans who assisted Grant in her work at the International League for the Rights of Man. After Grant was elected to the board of directors of the league in 1945, she set about recruiting several of her Latin American and Caribbean colleagues to join the league in its international human rights work. While

Grant served as secretary and vice president of the league, and head of its Latin American

⁶⁰³ Ciro Alegría's novel *El mundo es ancho y ajeno* won the first Latin American Prize Novel Contest sponsored by Farrar & Rinehart and *Redbook* magazine with assistance of the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Pan American Union. The novel was translated by Harriet de Onís and published in the United States under the title *Broad and Alien Is the World* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941).

During this time, the PAWA became particularly active in health-related programs. PAWA-affiliated women were traversing their national borders in order to help each other advance nursing standards in the hemisphere. The PAWA assisted in the creation of texts and curricula for this endeavor. Grant was delighted that through her efforts, Marie Wooders, president of the New Jersey chapter of the National League of Nursing Education, was preparing material to be utilized in nursing schools in Latin America.⁶⁰⁶ PAWA materials would also be used to assist groups working to reduce infant mortality in Bogotá, Colombia and São Paulo, Brazil. With perhaps no small amount of self-promotion, Grant told *The New York Times* that it was necessary to “enlist in our efforts for mutual understanding those who by virtue of long acquaintance and study of Latin-American countries are equipped to affect a much-needed and far-from-achieved solidarity.”⁶⁰⁷

To assist in the PAWA's undertakings, Grant herself enlisted Susan Huntington Vernon, a woman with a long acquaintance with both Latin America and Spain, to serve as the PAWA's vice president.⁶⁰⁸ The daughter of James Monroe Huntington, a

⁶⁰⁶ The American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses was established in 1893 and renamed the National League of Nursing Education in 1912. A resident of Hackensack, New Jersey, Marie Wooders was the co-author of a nursing book on first aid in illness and injury. See Marie A. Wooders, R.N. and Donald Austyn Curtis, M.D., *Emergency Care* (Philadelphia: F.A. Davis Company, 1942); René Jackson, “Nursing Education,” in Kristine Krapp, ed., *Gale Encyclopedia of Nursing & Allied Health* (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale Group, 2002), 1725-1728.

⁶⁰⁷ “Pan-American Women Add To Exchange of Information,” *New York Times*, 26 October 1941, p. D5.

⁶⁰⁸ At the First Annual Meeting of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish held in December 1917 at the College of the City of New York under the leadership of the organization's president Lawrence A. Wilkins, Huntington, as director of the International Institute for Girls in Spain, presented a lecture on “The International Institute and the Intellectual Life in Madrid Today.” See Richard B. Klein, “The American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese: The First 75 Years,” *Hispania* 75/4 (October 1992): 1036-1079.

prosperous merchant from Norwich, Connecticut, Huntington graduated from Wellesley College before moving to Europe in 1910 to follow in the footsteps of the Boston Congregational missionary Alice Gordon Gulick⁶⁰⁹ and direct the International Institute for Girls, a pioneer institution for encouraging female education in Spain with backing from Spanish middle and upper-class liberals that greatly influenced the Spanish educational system's process of modernization.⁶¹⁰ After spending several years in Spain,

American cooperation.

⁶⁰⁹ Alice Winfield Gordon Gulick (1847-1903) graduated from Mount Holyoke Seminary. Her missionary career began when she, along with her husband the Reverend William Hooker Gulick (1835-1922) and his brother and sister-in-law, sailed for Europe in December 1871 as the first missionaries sent to Spain by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. After opening a boarding school for Spanish girls and recruiting teachers from the United States, in 1877 Gulick created the Colegio Norte Americano, a nondenominational institute for female higher education modeled on the U.S. colleges of Mount Holyoke and Wellesley. At the time, a few schools for training women teachers had opened in Spain and Spanish girls had begun to enter secondary schools and universities. In 1892, a corporation was chartered by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to establish the International Institute for Girls in Spain, the colegio's new name. Gulick chose female assistants from Mount Holyoke, Wellesley, and other U.S. colleges. For information on Gulick, who died of tuberculosis and was buried in Madrid, see Mary Stedman Sweeney, "Gulick, Alice Winfield Gordon," in Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 102-104; Samuel Escobar, "Gulick, Alice (Gordon)," in Gerald H. Anderson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 1998), 269.

⁶¹⁰ The International Institute for Girls in Spain was positively received by liberal statesman and intellectuals at the University of Madrid and negatively received by many Roman Catholic clergy. Support for the institute came from liberals excited about the project of female education, like the grand old man of Spanish republicanism Nicolás Salmerón y Alonso (1838-1908), the professor of law and republican enthusiast Gumersindo de Azcárate (1840-1917), and the educator Francisco Giner de los Ríos (1839-1915), founder of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza. With the educational thrust in early twentieth-century Spain, the institute changed from that of a pioneer in encouraging female education to that of a collaborator with official Spanish institutions. After the Second World War, the institute was maintained for Spanish female graduate students as well as visiting international female students. See Carol Scally Grigas, *Mission to Spain: Alice Gordon Gulick and a Transatlantic Project to Educate Spanish Women, 1872-1903* (Ph. D. Dissertation: Washington State University, 2004); Carmen de Zulueta, *Misioneras, feministas, educadoras: Historia del Instituto Internacional* (Zurbaro: Editorial Castalia, 1984).

Huntington worked for a short time as dean of women of the University of Puerto Rico⁶¹¹ before moving to New York City and marrying Howard W. Vernon in 1919.⁶¹² She served as the longtime corresponding secretary of the International Institute for Girls in Spain, while at the same time working with Grant in the PAWA.⁶¹³ Grant's importance increased with her ability to recruit individuals like Huntington Vernon to work under the

auspices of nongovernmental organizations such as the PAWA towards the goal of inter-

⁶¹¹ Born in New York City in 1884, Susan Hunter Brownlee was active in social causes before American cooperation.

⁶¹² Howard Wills Vernon was son of the successful businessman Paul E. Vernon, an English paper merchant who immigrated to the United States and sent his son Howard to study at Yale.

⁶¹³ The Normal School in Río Piedras became the University of Puerto Rico in 1903. The head of the university's governing board was Puerto Rico's colonial governor and the chancellor was the U.S.-appointed commissioner of education when Huntington Vernon worked at this oldest and largest university in Puerto Rico. See Winifred Albizu Meléndez, *The Universities of Puerto Rico* (New York: Gordon Press, 1978). On Huntington's work in Puerto Rico, see Susan D. Huntington, Felipe Janer y Soler, and Paul Gerard Miller, *Syllabus of Work for the Porto Rico Teachers' Institutes, 1904-1905* (San Juan: Department of Education of Porto Rico, Bureau of Printing and Supplies, 1904); Susan D. Huntington, *The Course of Study in Moral and Civic Training for the Public Schools of Porto Rico, Grades I-VIII* (San Juan: Department of Education of Porto Rico, Bureau of Supplies, Printing and Transportation, 1917).

⁶¹² Howard Wills Vernon was son of the successful businessman Paul E. Vernon, an English paper merchant who immigrated to the United States and sent his son Howard to study at Yale. Howard graduated from Yale with a bachelor's degree in 1889. He directed the paper merchant firm Paul E. Vernon & Company from 1902 until his retirement in 1936. He was co-owner of the H.W. & P.E. Vernon real estate firm from 1903 until his death in 1942. Paul and Howard's success in paper and real estate firms provided the Vernon's with a comfortable life in Brooklyn. As director of the Champerico and Northern Transportation Company in Guatemala, Howard also pursued profits in the railroad industry. See "Vernon, Howard Wills," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 31 (New York: James T. White & Company 1944), 411; "Howard W. Vernon," *New York Times*, 4 November 1942, p. 23. For information on the Champerico and Northern Transportation Company, see J. Fred Rippy, "Relations of the United States and Guatemala during the Epoch of Justo Rufino Barrios," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 22/4 (November 1942): 595-605.

⁶¹³ Susan Huntington Vernon was corresponding secretary of the International Institute for Girls in Spain from 1917 to 1944. She established the Susan Huntington Vernon Fund in the Department of Spanish at Columbia University in the early 1940s. The Susan Huntington Vernon Prize was subsequently awarded to a Columbia University senior who demonstrated excellence in the study of Spanish and Latin American literature and culture. See "Columbia Gets Gifts For Science Studies," *New York Times*, 7 June 1943, p. 9. On Huntington Vernon's work in Spain, see Susan Huntington Vernon, "The International Institute at Madrid," *Hispania* 12/3 (May 1929): 279-286.

In the fall following her 1941 trip to South America, Grant received recognition of the PAWA's work from First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, one of the most influential women in the Western Hemisphere.⁶¹⁴ Pioneer public health educator Sally Lucas Jean, who was at the time chair of the public health education section of the American Public Health Association, put Grant in contact with the First Lady of the United States.⁶¹⁵ After

⁶¹⁴ Born in New York City in 1884, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt was active in social causes before she married Franklin Delano Roosevelt, her fifth cousin once removed, in 1905. After marriage, she maintained an active public career while raising five children. As wife of the governor of New York and then as wife of the U.S. president, Roosevelt played a leading role in many civic associations and charitable organizations. In 1933, she held the first press conference in history by a U.S. president's wife. As First Lady of the United States, Roosevelt spoke out on a variety of social and political issues. She held regular press conferences, wrote a newspaper column, and represented her husband and the nation on foreign and domestic tours. In 1941-1942, Roosevelt served as assistant director of the U.S. Office of Civilian Defense. During the Second World War, she visited Europe, the South Pacific, and the Caribbean. From 1945 to 1953, and again in 1961, Roosevelt was a U.S. delegate to the United Nations. In 1946, she became chair of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. She was a key figure in the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. In the 1950s, Roosevelt was a leading liberal in the Democratic Party. A year before her death in 1962, she published *The Autobiography of Eleanor Roosevelt* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961). See Allida M. Black, ed., *Courage in a Dangerous World: The Political Writings of Eleanor Roosevelt* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Blanche Wiesen Cook, "Eleanor Roosevelt and Human Rights: The Battle for Peace and Planetary Decency," in Edward P. Crapol, ed., *Women and American Foreign Policy: Lobbyists, Critics, and Insiders* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1992), 91-119; Mary Ann Glendon, *A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (New York: Random House, 2001); Johannes Morsink, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Origins and Intent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

⁶¹⁵ The health educator and nurse Sally Lucas Jean was born in Towson, Maryland in 1878. She graduated from the Maryland Homeopathic Training School for Nurses in 1898 and took a job as an army nurse during the Spanish-American War. Jean worked as a school nurse within the Baltimore Department of Health before the State of Maryland made her director of its Social Health Service in 1914. Three years later, Jean moved to New York City to work for the People's Institute, a Progressive Movement organization that had been founded in 1897 by Charles Sprague Smith to teach the theory and practice of government and social philosophy to the city's workers and recent immigrants. In 1918, Jean became the first director of the Child Health Organization, which later merged with the American Child Hygiene Association to form the American Child Health Association. In the 1920s, Jean started a lucrative career as a health consultant to corporations and governments. She was an advisor for health education programs in Panama, the Panama Canal Zone, and the U.S. Virgin Islands, among other places around the world. From 1937 to 1940, Jean served as president of the Association of Women in Public Health. She was chair of the public health education section of the American Public Health Association in 1941 and 1942. Jean began working for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis in 1943. She was director of education service at that foundation when she retired in

their meeting at the Roosevelt's Manhattan home, Eleanor asked Grant to prepare a memorandum on Latin America. The request recognized Grant's experience working in the region and her efforts to promote inter-cultural understanding in the Americas. The memorandum allowed Grant to boast the accomplishments of the PAWA. She wrote that the PAWA was "rendering a real contribution to mutual service and inter-relationships" between U.S. and Latin American women, as well as among Latin American women themselves. Grant let the First Lady know that she and her association stood "ready to serve this country in effecting a greater unity among the American peoples and in forming an inter-American bulwark for the cause of democracy."⁶¹⁶ The PAWA president endorsed a long range program for Latin America of economic and agricultural cooperation, including social service projects such as nursing education, daycare center creation, rural school development, and public health education. She also stressed student exchanges and scholarships, suggesting that Latin American students were often "a factor in the formation of public opinion" and had been at the forefront of "wide social and political movements" in their respective nations. "In general," wrote Grant, "the Latin American student is a more intense person than the North American student and both could profit by closer relationships."⁶¹⁷ Grant's emphasis on the mutual benefits generated by inter-American exchange reveals that her beliefs cultivated during the years

1951. For information on Jean, see Shari Rudavsky, "Jean, Sally Lucas," in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography*, vol. 11. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 895-896; Marguerite Vollmer, *Sally Lucas Jean, 1878-1971: Health Education Pioneer* (Geneva: International Journal of Health Education, 1973); "Sally Lucas Jean Is Dead At 93; Long Active As Health Educator," *New York Times*, 7 July 1971, p. 40.

⁶¹⁶ Frances R. Grant to Eleanor Roosevelt. 20 December 1941. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 53.

⁶¹⁷ Frances R. Grant to Eleanor Roosevelt. 20 December 1941. "Memorandum." Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 53.

working with the Roerich Museum remained, namely that the U.S. could learn from Latin American superiority in matters of culture and spirituality.

In closing the memorandum, Grant stressed to the First Lady the need for a “serious Inter-American Center” for Latin American residents and guests in New York City. Grant explained that the city’s Latin Americans experienced “professional and employment problems” and sought medical, legal, and educational advice. “That these are not being served by the present instruments is apparent to all those who are working with the Latin Americans and who still find themselves called upon to expend their own resources in helping the Latin Americans,” complained Grant, who would spend the rest

of her life expending her own resources to help aid Latin American and Caribbean people at home and abroad.⁶¹⁸

Despite the absence of an inter-American center in New York, Grant continued to hold PAWA meetings and advance Pan Americanism at various locations throughout the city. One of the many places Grant promoted Pan Americanism was at the prestigious Park Avenue Synagogue, a leading Conservative congregation under the direction of Rabbi Milton Steinberg.⁶¹⁹ During the years 1942 and 1943, Mrs. Benjamin Sack, who along with her husband was an important figure in the life of the synagogue, enlisted Grant's help in cooperating with the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs to present a series of lectures on the Good Neighbor Policy for the synagogue's sisterhood, which believed that "a sympathetic knowledge" of the other nations of the Western Hemisphere was "essential for the furtherance of the war effort now, and later, toward the building of a lasting peace." The women of the Park Avenue Synagogue were motivated to "help in creating this permanent understanding among people of varied cultures and backgrounds, but with the common ideal of freedom and democracy."⁶²⁰

Grant opened the series with a talk on the Good Neighbor Policy. Guest speakers spoke on such topics as racial problems in the Western Hemisphere and Jewish life in South America. The lecture series closed with a fiesta led by the language-learning book author

⁶¹⁸ Mrs. Benjamin Sack to Melvin A. Hollibaugh, Director, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Washington, D.C., May 1943, Frances R. Grant Papers, Box 9, Folder 28.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid. Folder 28. Rabbi Milton Steinberg served the Park Avenue Synagogue from 1927 until his death in 1950. A graduate of New York University, he was a prominent figure in the Jewish community.

⁶²⁰ Frances Grant was a very active member of the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations of Greater New York. She was invited to lecture before the federation in May and November 1941. See Frances R. Grant Papers, Box 9, Folder 1.

⁶²⁰ Brochure: "The Sisterhood of the Park Avenue Synagogue Presents a Series of Seven Lectures on the Good Neighbor Policy." Frances R. Grant Papers, Box 8, Folder 9. Frances Grant opened the series with a lecture on the Good Neighbor Policy on October 27, 1942. See Mrs. Benjamin Sack to Grant, 13 October 1942. Frances R. Grant Papers, Box 8, Folder 9.

Margarita Madrigal, a Costa Rican-born Spanish teacher in New York. At the conclusion of the series, Sack reported to an official at the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs that an attendance of sixty at the synagogue's regular sisterhood meetings was considered a success. But the Good Neighbor Policy series never brought in less than one hundred and seventy-five women per lecture! As evidence of the congregation's interest in Pan Americanism, Sack cited the recent organization of a Spanish language class under Madrigal's direction at the synagogue.⁶²¹

For her part, Grant continued to play an important role as hostess to many of the United States' hemispheric neighbors while working alongside various likeminded organizations, such as the Manhattan-based Colombian American Cultural Institute. For example, in the summer of 1942, Grant received a letter from Daniel H. Ecker, secretary of this institute which Grant's brother David was then serving as treasurer. Ecker wrote to Grant with news of Guillermo Hernández de Alba's upcoming visit to New York as a guest of the U.S. Department of State. He sought Grant's assistance in publicizing Hernández de Alba's visit in the New York area.⁶²² Hernández de Alba, one of Colombia's most distinguished historians, was at the time the official historian of the city

⁶²¹ Mrs. Benjamin Sack to Melvin A. Hollinshead, Director, Major Key Groups Section, Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1 May 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 28. Rabbi Milton Steinberg served the Park Avenue Synagogue from 1933 until his death in 1950. A graduate of New York University, Benjamin Sack was a senior partner in the public accounting firm of Sack, O'Connor & Sack. He served as a chairman of the Park Avenue Synagogue and an overseer of the Jewish Theological Seminary. Margarita Madrigal wrote or co-authored more than twenty books on learning the French, Spanish, German, and Russian languages. See Simon Noveck, *Milton Steinberg: Portrait of a Rabbi* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1978); "Benjamin Sack," *New York Times*, 13 February 1966, p. 84.

⁶²² See Daniel H. Ecker to Grant. 12 June 1942. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 17; PAWA press release. 27 June 1941. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 19.

of Bogotá.⁶²³ The PAWA cooperated with the Colombian American Cultural Institute in sponsoring Hernández de Alba's lecture on the influence of the colonial period on Colombia's democratic history in Roosevelt Memorial Hall at the American Museum of Natural History.⁶²⁴ Ecker thanked Grant for her help hosting groups "from the best of Colombia's culture." The secretary of Colombian American Cultural Institute believed that friendly receptions for such Colombians from women like Grant and organizations like the PAWA did in fact "carry much weight" in U.S.-Colombian relations. "During these days when clouds hang over our nation," concluded Ecker, "I know of no work more important than the fostering of friendly relations with that country lying so close to our vital Panama Canal."⁶²⁵

Early the following year, a PAWA luncheon meeting spotlighted Gustavo Santos, a former associate of Grant's at the Roerich Museum who was now the mayor of Bogotá.⁶²⁶ Gustavo Santos' brother Eduardo, whom Grant had met with on her trip to

⁶²³ Since the early 1930s, Guillermo Hernández de Alba, like many Colombian intellectuals, had held a variety of official posts. He was at various times dean of the Academia Colombiana de Historia, head of the Archivo Histórico Nacional, and director of the oldest national library in the Western Hemisphere, the Biblioteca Nacional in Bogotá. For information on Hernández de Alba, see J. Leon Helguera, "Guillermo Hernández de Alba (1906-1988)," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 69/4 (November 1989): 747-749.

⁶²⁴ See Frances R. Grant to Guillermo Hernandez de Alba, 30 June 1942. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 19. While in the United States, Guillermo Hernández de Alba consulted archives in Virginia and Massachusetts, where he was especially interested in studying the colonial origins of the democratic system of government in the United States.

⁶²⁵ Daniel H. Ecker to Grant. 29 December 1942. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 17.

⁶²⁶ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 28. Another individual highlighted at the luncheon was Francis Henry Taylor, the director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. From 1940 to 1955, Taylor turned the Metropolitan Museum of Art into an institution of dynamic public service, rather than merely a repository for art. See Francis Henry Taylor, "Museums in a Changing World," *Atlantic Monthly* 164 (December 1939): 785-792; Francis Henry Taylor, *Fifty Centuries of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1954). For information on Taylor, see Roland L. Redmond, "Francis Henry Taylor," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 16/5 (January

South America in the summer of 1941, was the pro-U.S. president of Colombia, a nation which under the leadership of the Santos brothers' Liberal Party during the war years exemplifies the success of the Roosevelt Administration's Good Neighbor Policy wartime solidarity work. Since the early years of the twentieth century, Colombians had had good reason to dislike and distrust the United States. The road to cordial relations between the two countries began in 1922 with the U.S. payment of a \$25 million indemnity to Colombia for Panama, site of the U.S.-controlled isthmian canal through Central America. The compensation helped ease Colombians' resentment over the U.S.-sponsored Panama Revolution of 1903, during which Panama, then a province of Colombia, had declared independence. Following the U.S. payment, Colombia finally recognized Panama as an independent nation.⁶²⁷

In *Eduardo Santos and the Good Neighbor Policy, 1938-1942*, historian David Bushnell recounts how the Roosevelt Administration aptly eased the tension between Colombia and the United States, effectively establishing wartime cooperation between the two countries and facilitating Colombia's economic dependence on the U.S. market.

1958):145-146. For insight into Gustavo Santos' Pan American agenda, see "New World Urged To Widen Culture," *New York Times*, 17 November 1940, p. 37. Santos and Taylor spoke together at the PAWA luncheon meeting at the Lotos Club in January 1943. See "Events Today," *New York Times*, 16 January 1943, p. 9.

⁶²⁷ Theodore Roosevelt, who became president of the United States in 1901, was eager to promote U.S. power and prestige throughout the globe. Expanding the U.S. Navy and building an isthmian canal through Central America occupied much of Roosevelt's attention during his years in office. To Washington's pleasure, Panamanians, who had a history of insurrection against the government in Bogotá, formed an alliance with the Roosevelt Administration. Panamanian Dr. Manuel Amador Guerrero planned the Panamanian revolution for independence from Colombia in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel in New York City. With a U.S. warship off the coast for protection, the Panamanian revolution was a quick success. Roosevelt considered the building of the canal his most important action in foreign affairs. For information on Roosevelt and the creation of the Panama Canal, see Richard H. Collin, *Theodore Roosevelt's Caribbean: The Panama Canal, The Monroe Doctrine, and the Latin American Context* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990); David McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977).

Under the Santos Administration, Colombia, the first Latin American nation to break relations with Nazi Germany, sold its entire output of critical war materials like platinum and rubber to the United States, while permitting U.S. airplanes and ships to enter Colombian territorial waters in pursuit of Axis submarines. Colombia also nationalized the German-financed Sociedad Colombo-Alemana de Transportes Aéreos (SCADTA), South America's first lasting airline, thereby eliminating German-born aviators and airline personnel from its national territory. Colombia became a shining example of the U.S. Department of State's successful de-Germanization of aviation in the Western Hemisphere.⁶²⁸ Trade with the United States became increasingly important to Colombia's economic well-being as warfare cut off European markets and supplies and the U.S. government blacklisted foreign and domestic companies doing business with Germany or German companies. Colombia's exports to the United States rose from 58

⁶²⁸ Beginning in 1910, aviators from throughout the Western Hemisphere and Europe began pioneering airplane flights in the Americas. German nationals helped create several airlines in South America. The Sociedad Colombo-Alemana de Transportes Aéreos (SCADTA), one of the world's first successful airlines, was created in Colombia by Austrian, German, and Colombian businessmen in December 1919. Pan American Airways, launched in 1927 with extraordinary U.S. government aid, monopolized the U.S. international airline industry until the Second World War. The Depression-weakened Austrian industrialist and air ace Peter Paul von Bauer secretly sold his controlling interest in SCADTA to Juan Terry Trippe of Pan American Airways in 1931. The wave of airline nationalizations in the Americas during the Second World War quashed German airline activity in the Western Hemisphere. All German SCADTA employees were fired in June 1940, when SCADTA merged with the Servicio Aéreo Colombiano (SACO) to form the new Colombian national airline Aerovías Nacionales de Colombia S.A., or Avianca, which acquired U. S. pilots and instructors through Pan American Airways. For information on Peter Paul von Bauer and SCADTA, see R.E.G. Davies, *Airlines of Latin America since 1919* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984); Kenneth Gaulin, "The Flying Boats: Pioneering Days to South America," *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 15 (Winter-Spring 1990): 78-95; Wesley Phillips Newton, "International Aviation Rivalry in Latin America, 1919-1927," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 7/3 (July 1965): 345-356; Stephen James Randall, "Colombia, the United States, and Interamerican Aviation Rivalry, 1927-1940," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 14/3 (August 1972): 297-324.

percent of total Colombian exports in 1938 to 92 percent in 1942, including 99 percent of coffee, Colombia's major export.⁶²⁹

After the Second World War, the friendships Grant fostered with Colombians like the Santos brothers helped the U.S. government secure supporters of its Cold War policies. For example, Eduardo used his *El Tiempo* newspaper in Bogotá to help Grant's colleague Serafino Romualdi of the American Federation of Labor's Free Trade Union Committee to combat communists in the Colombian labor movement.⁶³⁰ Santos also worked on various other projects that involved Grant. Santos accepted Grant's invitation to join her in working on human rights with the International League for the Rights of Man, which Santos eventually served as a vice president.⁶³¹ Later, in 1950, Santos became a founder and leading figure in Grant's IADF.⁶³²

In return, Grant worked tirelessly to attract world attention to Santos' struggle to continue publishing his *El Tiempo* newspaper in Bogotá during the military dictatorship

⁶²⁹ See David Bushnell, *Eduardo Santos and the Good Neighbor, 1938-1942* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1967), 82-102. For further information on relations between Colombia and the United States during the Second World War, see Max Paul Friedman, "Specter of a Nazi Threat: United States-Colombian Relations, 1939-1945," *The Americas* 56/4 (April 2000): 563-589.

⁶³⁰ See Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967), 66-68.

⁶³¹ See Grant to Eduardo Santos, 6 January 1949, Frances R. Grant Papers, Box 40, Folder 67.

⁶³² During the Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Liberty held in Havana, Cuba in May 1950, Eduardo Santos, along with Rómulo Betancourt and José Figueres, was elected as an advisor to the newly-created Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom. Santos, Betancourt, and Figueres were named members of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom board of directors for life at the Second Inter-American Congress for Democracy and Freedom held in Maracay, Venezuela in April 1960. See Robert J. Alexander, "The Inter-American Conference on Freedom," *New Leader* 43/21 (May 23, 1960): 8-9; "Terminó Ayer el Congreso Pro Democracia y Libertad," *El Tiempo* [Bogotá, Colombia], 28 April 1960, p. 1, 12; "Se Inauguró el II Congreso Pro Democracia y Libertad," *El Nacional* [Caracas, Venezuela], 23 April 1960, p. 1; "Second Inter-American Conference," *Hemispherica* 9/3 (Summer 1960): 1, 8.

of General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, who had seized power in a coup d'état in 1953. In May 1957, when Rojas Pinilla was overthrown, Grant invited Santos and his wife to pass through New York on their return to Colombia from self-imposed exile in France.⁶³³ During a dinner ceremony at the Columbia University Club, the IADF presented Santos with its annual award for the making of the year's greatest contribution to Inter-American democracy.⁶³⁴ When the *El Tiempo* office in Bogotá was reopened the following month amidst great fanfare, Grant was invited to gather with thousands of Colombians to watch Santos push the button to start his presses anew.⁶³⁵ During the celebrations, Grant wrote to her family in the United States that she was "overwhelmed with attention" (and

⁶³³ In June 1953, the Colombian army overthrew Conservative president Laureano Gómez and put General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla in power. Gómez, an admirer of the Spanish Falange, went into exile in Francisco Franco's Spain. Rojas Pinilla oversaw a reformist dictatorship. He increased taxes on wealthy landowners and businessmen to fund social welfare programs, public works projects, and credit for small businesses. After Rojas Pinilla nationalized the oil and airline industries, Colombia's Liberal and Conservative elite leaders met in July 1956 in the Valencian coastal town of Benidorm, Spain to form a National Front alliance against him. They agreed that after Rojas Pinilla was ousted they would rotate the presidency between the two parties while equally dividing all legislative positions, cabinet posts, and seats on the Supreme Court. This pact between the Liberals and Conservatives created the National Front, which ended the ten years of violent civil conflict known as *La Violencia*. The pact lasted for sixteen years until 1974, the year of Eduardo Santos' death. For information on Rojas Pinilla, see David Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia: A Nation in Spite of Itself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 215-222; Tad Szulc, *Twilight of the Tyrants* (New York: Holt, 1959). See also Antonio Montaña's *Los días de miedo* (México, DF: Cal y Arena, 2000), a novel of a massacre perpetuated by Rojas Pinilla to avenge insults to his daughter.

⁶³⁴ See Eduardo Santos to Grant, 21 July 1956, Frances R. Grant Papers, Box 54, Folder 40; "Publisher on Way Home," *New York Times*, 27 May 1957, p. 3; "Events Today," *New York Times*, 28 May 1957, p. 27.

⁶³⁵ The leading newspaper of Colombia, Eduardo Santos' Liberal *El Tiempo*, was forced to suspend publication by the military dictatorship of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla in August 1955. Some months later, using the name *Intermedio*, the paper was permitted to resume publishing again under heavy censorship. After a twenty-two month absence, *El Tiempo* returned to publication on June 8, 1957. See David Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia: A Nation in Spite of Itself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 217; "El Tiempo of Bogota," *New York Times*, 8 June 1957, p. 18. "El Tiempo Acclaimed," *New York Times*, 10 June 1957, p. 8.

bouquets of flowers!) from Colombian Liberals who wanted to express their appreciation for her having shared in their struggles.⁶³⁶

Grant marched at the front of a parade with her close friend and colleague Germán Arciniegas, one of Colombia's most prolific writers and distinguished intellectuals.⁶³⁷ Arciniegas became a public critic of dictatorships and the military in the Western Hemisphere with *El estudiante de la mesa redonda*, a study of student involvement in politics written in London and published in 1932. The following year, Arciniegas was named editor of Santos' *El Tiempo* newspaper. In hundreds of articles and books, many of which were translated into English for U.S. audiences, Arciniegas glorified the Western Hemisphere's democratic spirit and promoted his vision of the Americas as an integrated world region free from the fanaticism of Europe.⁶³⁸ With

Conservative governments in power in Colombia following the Second World War, Arciniegas took exile in the United States. Beginning in 1942, he held a series of

⁶³⁶ Grant to Family, 10 June 1957, Frances R. Grant Papers, Box 9, Folder 21.

⁶³⁷ Germán Arciniegas began his teaching career as a sociologist at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Bogotá in 1924. Writing for several newspapers and reviews throughout the 1920s and 1930s, he moved in Latin America's leading intellectual circles and served the Colombian government as a vice-consul in London from 1930 to 1932. A prominent member of the Liberal Party, Arciniegas was appointed in 1939 to serve as Colombian chargé d' affaires in Buenos Aires, where he befriended the Spanish Republican exile community in Argentina. Recalled to Colombia to serve as minister of education in 1941-1942, he held that same position a second time in 1945-1946.

⁶³⁸ The many books by Germán Arciniegas translated into English include *America in Europe: A History of the New World in Reverse*, trans. Gabriela Arciniegas and R. Victoria Arana (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986); *Latin America: A Cultural History*, trans. Joan MacLean (New York: Knopf, 1966); *Américo and the New World: The Life & Times of Américo Vesputi*, trans. Harriet de Onís (New York: Knopf, 1955); *The State of Latin America*, trans. Harriet de Onís (New York: Knopf, 1952); *Germans in the Conquest of America: A Sixteenth Century Venture*, trans. Angel Flores (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943); *The Knight of El Dorado: The Tale of Don Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada and His Conquest of New Granada, Now called Colombia*, trans. Mildred Adams (New York: Viking Press, 1942).

professorships in the United States and in 1948 began teaching Spanish-American literature at Colombia University. Surrounded by other leading Latin American exiled intellectuals and ex-presidents in New York, Arciniegas continued to write books and essays meant to stimulate international outrage over the lack of democracy and human rights in Latin America under the rule of oligarchs and military generals. Arciniegas began serving with Grant on the International League for the Rights of Man before becoming a founding member of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom in Havana in 1950. He returned to Colombia following Rojas Pinilla's downfall in 1957, but remained an active member of Grant's IADF throughout the life of the organization.⁶³⁹ Grant's friendship with Arciniegas was one of many she established with

from american reform leadership in Colombian history.⁶⁴⁰ As president from 1958 to 1962,

⁶³⁹ Born in Bogotá from a Cuban mother and Colombian father of Basque descent, Germán Arciniegas (1900-1999) received an LL.D. degree from the Universidad Nacional de Colombia in 1920. He continued writing for Bogotá's *El Tiempo* newspaper after he became a member of the sociology faculty at the Universidad Nacional the following year. In 1933, he was elected a member of the House of Representatives of Colombia. He was reelected in 1934 and again in 1938. Meanwhile, from 1933 to 1939, Arciniegas was editor of *El Tiempo*. Arciniegas served as Colombia's minister of education from 1941 to 1942 and again from 1945 to 1946. Columbia University invited him to New York to lecture on Spanish-American literature in 1943. That same year, he was elected vice-president of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. Arciniegas then became a key figure in the monthly *Revista de América*, published by *El Tiempo* from 1945 to 1958. His professorships in the United States included the University of Chicago (1942, 1944), the University of California at Berkeley (1945), and Columbia University (1943, 1948-1957). His book *The State of Latin America* (New York: Knopf, 1952) went through ten editions, each updated with fresh vitriol against authoritarianism in Latin America. Arciniegas resumed his diplomatic career in 1959, when he was named ambassador to Italy. The following year, he was transferred to Israel. Arciniegas became ambassador to Venezuela in 1967 and in the 1970s acted as Colombia's emissary to the Vatican. For information on Arciniegas, see Steven Ambrus, "Germán Arciniegas: Guardian of Our Distinct History," *Américas* 49/3 (May/June 1997): 41-45; Germán Arciniegas and Antonio Cacia Prada, *Germán Arciniegas: Su vida contada por el mismo* (Bogotá: Publicaciones Universidad Central, 1990); Hugo Leonardo Pabón Pérez, *Bibliografía de y sobre Germán Arciniegas* (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 2001); Larry Rohter, "Germán Arciniegas, 98, Critic of Latin American Dictators," *New York Times*, 5 December 1999, p. 62; J. David Suarez-Torres, "Germán Arciniegas," in Carlos A. Solé, ed., *Latin American Writers*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1989), 897-901; Martalucía Tamayo Fernández, *Germán Arciniegas, el hombre que nació con el siglo: Una autobiografía escrita por otro* (Bogotá: Fundación Universidad Central, 1998); Consuelo Triviño, *Germán Arciniegas* (Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 1999); Consuelo Triviño, "Germán Arciniegas: América es otra cosa," in J. Raúl Navarro García, ed.,

exiled intellectuals, writers, and artists in New York. When many of them moved back to their respective countries after the fall of dictatorships, they served as important advocates of Pan Americanism and influential members of the IADF.

Other individuals Grant met at the Santos home following the parade represented the politicians she and the U.S. government supported throughout the Cold War in the 1950s and 1960s. Grant took a seat next to the prominent Liberal and IADF member Alberto Lleras Camargo, Colombia's former president who had succeeded Leo S. Rowe as director of the Pan American Union before serving as the first secretary general of the Organization of American States from 1948 to 1954.⁶⁴⁰ A year following the reception, Lleras Camargo would become president of Colombia for a second time and oversee the first agrarian reform legislation in Colombian history.⁶⁴¹ As president from 1958 to 1962, Lleras Camargo founded the Instituto Colombiano de Reforma Agraria (INCORA) and other agencies designed to alleviate poverty and social inequality while countering the appeal in the Western Hemisphere of the type revolutionary changes being adopted by Fidel Castro in Cuba.⁶⁴² Such reform programs in Colombia were in accord with the

Literatura y pensamiento en América Latina (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999).

⁶⁴⁰ Grant to Hylda, And All. 8 June 1957. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9, Folder 19. Soon after becoming the first secretary general of the Organization of American States, Alberto Lleras Camargo was invited to address the Pan American Women's Association at the New School for Social Research. For a copy of Lleras Camargo's speech before the PAWA delivered at the New School on November 8, 1947, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 19, Folder 2.

⁶⁴¹ See David Bushnell, *The Making of Modern Colombia: A Nation in Spite of Itself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 230-232.

⁶⁴² Alberto Lleras Camargo (1906-1990) was born into a middle-class family in Bogotá and became involved in Liberal politics while a university student. First elected to the Colombian Congress in 1930, he became the youngest interior minister in Colombian history in the mid-1930s. In July 1944, Colombian President Alfonso López Pumarejo was taken prisoner during an abortive coup attempt. The discouraged López eventually resigned and Lleras Camargo

U.S.-sponsored Alliance for Progress policies which Grant and her IADF heartily endorsed. Another key Cold War ally of the United States that Grant met during her time in Colombia was IADF member and future president of Colombia Carlos Lleras Restrepo, a prominent Liberal and distant cousin of Alberto Lleras Camargo who had served as Colombia's finance minister in the Santos Administration. Lleras Restrepo had been named president of the Liberal Party once in 1941 and again in 1948 to replace Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, whose assassination instigated the ten years of violent civil conflict between supporters of the Liberal and Conservative parties known as *La Violencia*, which claimed the lives of an estimated 200,000 Colombians. During the Second Inter-American Congress for Democracy and Freedom in 1960, Lleras Restrepo would be in

At the Second Inter-American Congress for Democracy and Freedom held in Mexico.

completed López's term, serving as president of Colombia from 1945 to 1946. After Leo S. Rowe was struck dead by an automobile while walking to attend a reception at the Bolivian Embassy in Washington, D.C. in December 1946, Lleras Camargo served as director of the Pan American Union. He then became the first secretary general of the Organization of American States, which had been set up at the Ninth Inter-American Conference in Bogotá in 1948. Lleras Camargo's successor at the OAS was Carlos Dávila. Grant's good friend from Chile who served as secretary general of the OAS from 1954 to 1955. Following his return to Colombia in 1954, Lleras Camargo became the rector of the Universidad de los Andes in Bogotá. He served as president of Colombia from 1958 to 1962. After leaving office, Lleras Camargo edited the magazine *Visión*. He retired from public life in 1978. For information on Lleras Camargo, see "Alberto Lleras, Director General of the Pan American Union," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 81 (May 1947): 298-302; "Installation of Dr. Alberto Lleras as Director General of the Pan American Union," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 81 (July 1947): 347-350; Deborah Andrews, ed., *The Annual Obituary, 1990* (Chicago: St. James Press, 1991), 49-51; Jonathan Hartlyn, *The Politics of Coalition Rule in Colombia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 75-102; Alberto Lleras, *Mi gente: Memorias* (Bogotá: División de Publicaciones, Subdirección de Comunicaciones, Instituto Colombiano de Cultura, 1981); John D. Martz, *Colombia: A Contemporary Political Survey* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 271-336; Robert K. Shellaby, "Referee of Peace: Alberto Lleras Sits at Helm of Inter-American Ship of State," *Christian Science Monitor Magazine* (August 7, 1948): 6, 12; "Alberto Lleras, Twice President In Colombia, 83," *New York Times*, 5 January 1990, p. B4.

elected the IADF's vice president.⁶⁴³ In 1961, he became president of the Liberal Party once again. Five years later, when he became president of Colombia, Lleras Restrepo sponsored the creation of the Asociación Nacional de Usuarios Campesinos (ANUC) and carried through with the implementation of South America's most extensive land reform program.⁶⁴⁴ Both Alberto and Carlos Lleras Camargo served as members of Grant's IADF and were applauded by Grant and the U.S. government as reform-minded politicians who stayed clear from large-scale revolutionary change advocated by Fidel Castro. Grant's affiliation with prominent Colombians enhanced her importance as a go-between in the Western Hemisphere in a postwar international context ever more polarized after the Cuban Revolution.

As 1942 was coming to a close, the PAWA continued its Pan American work in New York City. At the nineteenth annual Women's Exposition of Arts and Industries held

⁶⁴³ At the Second Inter-American Congress for Democracy and Freedom held in Maracay, Venezuela in April 1960, the distinguished Venezuelan author Rómulo Gallegos was named president of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom and Carlos Lleras Restrepo was named vice president. Grant, the main force behind the association, continued in her role as secretary general. See *Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, Report of the Second Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Freedom* (New York: Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, 1961).

⁶⁴⁴ Carlos Lleras Restrepo (1908-1994), the son of a renowned Colombian scientist, received a law degree from the Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Bogotá in 1930. From 1933 to 1941, he served as comptroller and finance minister of Colombia. He was forced into exile in 1952 during the repressive presidency of the Conservative Laureano Gómez, an admirer of Francisco Franco who ruled Colombia from 1950 to 1953. Upon returning to Colombia in 1954, Lleras Restrepo founded la Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País. As president of Colombia from 1966 to 1970, Lleras Restrepo reestablished his nation's diplomatic relations with the former Soviet Union and its allied nations in Eastern Europe. In 1974, Lleras Restrepo founded the magazine *Nueva Frontera*, in the pages of which he denounced clientelism and political corruption in Colombia. For information on Lleras Restrepo, see Carlos Lleras Restrepo, *De la república a la dictadura: Testimonio sobre la política colombiana* (Bogotá, Editorial Argra, 1955); Carlos Lleras Restrepo, *Me encontré en la vida con...* (Bogotá: Nueva Frontera: El Áncora Editores, 1990); Carlos Lleras Restrepo, *Crónica de mi propia vida*, 4 vols. (Bogotá: Stamato Editores, 1983); "Carlos Lleras Restrepo, 86; Pressed Latin American Unity," *New York Times*, 28 September 1994, p. B9.

in Madison Square Garden under the auspices of the General Federation of Women's Clubs,⁶⁴⁵ the PAWA sponsored a display of pre-Columbian, colonial, and modern art from Latin America as "a tribute to the magnificent cultural heritage of our Sister Republics." The association hoped that the exhibit displaying the "great creative beauty of Latin America" would "serve as a token of its admiration, and of its belief in the spiritual and cultural inter-dependence of the American peoples."⁶⁴⁶ Artists, galleries, and museums lent works to the PAWA exhibit, which presented major Latin American contemporary artists, including the Brazilian social realist painter Cândido Portinari, who had been commissioned the previous year to produce four murals entitled *Discovery of the New World* for the Hispanic Foundation at the U.S. Library of Congress.⁶⁴⁷ Ecuador's pioneering indigenist painter Camilo Egas also displayed his work. Egas, who had introduced the Indian as a subject into Ecuadorian art in the 1920s, had been directing the New School for Social Research's painting department since 1935.⁶⁴⁸ Some of the artists

⁶⁴⁵ Participation by international groups the previous year had led the Women's National Exposition of Arts and Industries to change its name to the Women's International Exposition of Arts and Industries in 1941. An enlistment ceremony for Women's Army Auxiliary Corps recruits attended by WAAC director Oveta Culp Hobby was a highlight of the Women's International Exposition of Arts and Industries held November 19-24, 1942. See "War Widens Scope of Women's Show," *New York Times*, 15 November 1942, p. 60.

⁶⁴⁶ Publications: Women in Latin America, 1942-1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 43.

⁶⁴⁷ For information on Cândido Portinari's work in the United States, see Mário Pedrosa, "Portinari – From Brodowski to the Library of Congress, Part One," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 76/4 (April 1942): 199-211; Mário Pedrosa, "Portinari – From Brodowski to the Library of Congress, Part Two," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 76/5 (May 1942): 258-266; Robert C. Smith, *Murals by Cândido Portinari in the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943); Robert C. Smith, "Brazilian Painting in New York," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 73/9 (September 1939): 500-506.

⁶⁴⁸ Camilo Egas (1889-1962) was responsible for decorating and painting the mural for the Ecuadorian Pavilion at the 1939 New York World's Fair. A teacher of painting at the New School for Social Research since 1929, Egas was director of the school's painting department from 1935

whose works were on view were members of the PAWA, including Julia Codesido and Marina Nuñez del Prado. The Peruvian artist Julia Codesido, like other indigenist painters inspired by José Sabogal, had helped create a Peruvian school of painting based on Andean customs, scenes, and themes.⁶⁴⁹ The Bolivian sculptor Marina Nuñez del Prado had been living and working in the New York since receiving a scholarship from the North American Association of University Women in 1940.⁶⁵⁰ Also included in the exposition were works by such luminaries as the Mexican painters Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and Rufino Tamayo, as well the Colombian painter Enrique Grau, the Cuban painter Antonio Gattorno, and the Peruvian painter José Sabogal.

until his death in 1962. For information on Egas, see Dawn Ades, *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 211; Jacqueline Barnitz, *Twentieth-century Art of Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 88; Kay Painter Fulling, *The Cradle of American Art, Ecuador: Its Contemporary Artists* (New York: North River Press, 1948), 31-33; María Trinidad Pérez, *The Indian in the 1920's Painting of the Ecuadorian Painter Camilo Egas* (M.A. Thesis: University of Texas at Austin, 1987).

⁶⁴⁹ Julia Codesido was one of the first generation of Peruvian students to attend the School of Fine Arts (Escuela de Bellas Artes), which had been founded in Lima in 1919. There, Codesido became an indigenist painter under the influence of her painting teacher José Sabogal. Codesido worked as an instructor at the school. She participated in the First Congress of American Artists held in New York City in 1936. Codesido resigned in 1943 in solidarity with Sabogal, the school's outgoing director. She and other indigenists then went to work promoting and collecting artisan work and popular art at the National Museum of Peruvian Culture. Her estate became the Casa Museo Julia Codesido in Lima. For information on Codesido, see Jorge Falcón, *Julia Codesido* (Lima: Instituto Sabogal de Arte, 1987); Eduardo Moll, *Julia Codesido, 1883-1979* (Lima: Editorial Navarrete, 1990); Luis Eduardo Wuffarden, *Julia Codesido (1883-1979): Muestra antológica* (Lima: Centro Cultural, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú: Banco Interamericano de Finanzas, 2004).

⁶⁵⁰ The Bolivian sculptor Marina Nuñez del Prado (1910-1995) studied art from 1927 to 1929 at the Academia de Bellas Artes in La Paz, where she then taught from 1930 to 1938. Nuñez del Prado resided in New York City in the 1940s. She received a doctoral degree in arts from Russell Sage College of Troy, New York in 1946 and returned to Bolivia two years later. Much of her sculpture graced the Jardín de Escultura de Marina Nuñez del Prado in Lima. See Geraldine P. Biller, *Latin American Women Artists, 1915-1995* (Milwaukee, WI: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1995), 134-135; Bélgica Rodríguez, *Sculpture of the Americas Into the Nineties* (Washington, DC: Museum of Modern Art of Latin America, Organization of American States, 1990), 55; Steve Shipp, *Latin American and Caribbean Artists of the Modern Era* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2003), 479.

The PAWA's continued working relationship with the Women's Exposition of Arts and Industries in subsequent years makes clear that the two shared the same ideas about the importance of culture, education, and women in the effort to build understanding and friendship among U.S. allies.⁶⁵¹ For the Women's National Institute, which coordinated the annual co-operative exhibitions from its headquarters on Park Avenue, the expositions "strengthened friendship" among nations and demonstrated "how to work together for a common end," while at the same time showing "every type of American woman how she can serve the cause of victory; whether at home, in industry, in the armed services, civilian defense, war services, [or] home front work."⁶⁵² According to the institute, the expositions effectively dramatized for U.S. women the meaning of the culture and civilization for which the Allies were fighting, inspired women of all the Allied countries with the knowledge that women in the United States were working beside them, paid tribute to U.S. women workers in war industries, and through appeals and exhibits urged thousands of women to join the fight on the factory front.⁶⁵³ Similarly, Grant and the PAWA had emphasized since the early 1930s the

⁶⁵¹ Frances Grant was invited to serve as chair of the Pan American committee of the Women's International Exposition of Arts and Industries throughout the Second World War.

⁶⁵² Women's National Institute, Report on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Women's International Exposition of Arts and Industries, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 19. Folder 15.

⁶⁵³ Groups that participated in the Women's International Exposition of Arts and Industries raised thousands of dollars for their treasuries through the sale of tickets and merchandise. The expositions attracted thousands of U.S. women to the work of rehabilitation of injured soldiers and sailors, while emphasizing the importance of a spirit of interdependence among capital, labor, and the purchasing consumer. See Women's National Institute, *Report on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Women's International Exposition of Arts and Industries*, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 19. Folder 15.

important role women played in fostering understanding among the United States' southern neighbors, who were now sought-after as wartime allies.⁶⁵⁴

Grant and the PAWA contributed significantly to various Good Neighbor Policy activities. Grant's efforts, often in conjunction with the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, demonstrate how unofficial actors and voluntary organizations worked side by side with government officials in the struggle against fascism in the Western Hemisphere during the Second World War. As Colombian American Cultural Institute Secretary Daniel Ecker pointed out, the work of Grant and the PAWA "carried much weight" in inter-American relations. In the execution of a foreign policy that encompassed more than official political diplomacy, foreign relations involved a network of go-betweens like Grant and women's organizations like the PAWA. The network Grant helped create through her various trips to Latin America and the Caribbean, through her support for U.S. government-sponsored visits of Latin American and Caribbean elites to the United States, and through her association with Latin American and Caribbean men and women living in New York, facilitated a transnational flow of information and ideas amongst social, cultural, political, and economic leaders of the Western Hemisphere. Grant's wartime radio programs and collaboration with other inter-American activists at the Freedom House, discussed in the next chapter, further cemented personal connections crucial to her work in the postwar period.

⁶⁵⁴ Through the Women's International Exposition of Arts and Industries, the PAWA found a new and much larger audience. From 1940 to 1945, over 100,000 people per year attended the annual expositions while audiences in Europe and Asia with pro-U.S. governments heard broadcasts about the exposition activities thanks to the cooperation of the Radio Division of the U.S. Office of War Information.

CHAPTER 8

PAN AMERICAN WARTIME RADIO AND THE CREATION OF FREEDOM HOUSE

The Second War World heightened the sense of importance and urgency in the United States for spreading the message of inter-American unity. Frances Grant found herself working within a lively new atmosphere of individuals and organizations that had joined the war effort. Grant continued to encourage cooperation amongst peoples of the Western Hemisphere in an undertaking now amplified through the mass media of radio and aimed at securing U.S. wartime allies in the Americas. U.S. writers working under the auspices of the P.E.N. and the Writer's War Board aided Grant in her wartime endeavors. Through her inter-American work and the connections she made with members of the Writer's War Board, Grant was able to acquire an office in the newly opened Freedom House, an umbrella organization for various individuals and antifascist groups involved in the war effort. At Freedom House, Grant engaged with a community of like-minded individuals, including Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas and his supporters, who shared Grant's progressive social and political agenda. Grant's involvement with organizations such as the P.E.N., the Writers' War Board, and Freedom House, and with individuals like Thomas, had a lasting influence on her work beyond the Second World War and into the Cold War era.

Grant promoted inter-American solidarity during the Second World War over the airwaves through a P.E.N. American Center wartime radio project endorsed by the Radio

Division of the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.⁶⁵⁵ The International P.E.N., an acronym for poets, playwrights, essayists, editors, and novelists first opened its American Center in 1922 with the U.S. writer Booth Tarkington as its first president.⁶⁵⁶ The first formal statement of the International P.E.N. listed three goals: 1) Literature knows no borders and should be common currency between nations despite political upheavals; 2) In all circumstances, and particularly in times of war, works of art should be protected from national or political passions; and 3) P.E.N. members should use their influence to promote understanding and respect between nations.⁶⁵⁷ Grant's personal beliefs exemplified during her activism as executive director of the Roerich Museum coincided with the P.E.N. organization's objectives, resulting in her lifelong affiliation with the P.E.N. American Center.

⁶⁵⁵ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 48. For information on radio broadcasting in the United States during the Second World War, see Howard Blue, *Words at War: World War II Era Radio Drama and the Postwar Broadcasting Industry Blacklist* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002); Gerd Horten, *Radio Goes to War: The Cultural Politics of Propaganda During World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Barbara Dianne Savage, *Broadcasting Freedom: Radio, War, and the Politics of Race, 1938-1948* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

⁶⁵⁶ The most characteristic and popular works by Booth Tarkington (1869-1946) were good-natured novels of life in small Midwestern towns. In 1902, the Indianapolis-born Tarkington ran for and won a seat as a Republican in the Indiana State House of Representatives, where he served for one term. This position provided background for his book *In the Arena: Stories of Political Life* (New York: McClure, Phillips & Company, 1905). Tarkington won a Pulitzer Prize in 1918 for his novel *The Magnificent Ambersons*. He won a second Pulitzer Prize for his novel *Alice Adams* in 1922. For information on the Tarkington, see Keith J. Fennimore, *Booth Tarkington* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974); James Woodress, *Booth Tarkington, Gentleman from Indiana: A Biography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969).

⁶⁵⁷ Machette Chute, *P.E.N. American Center: A History of the First Fifty Years* (New York: P.E.N. American Center, 1972), 12.

By the twentieth anniversary of the P.E.N. American Center, the organization was being used to promote U.S. interests in the Second World War.⁶⁵⁸ The P.E.N. wartime programs were carried to audiences in Latin America and the Caribbean via transmitters of the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation, which had been founded by the New York inventor and radio pioneer Walter S. Lemmon.⁶⁵⁹ In 1931, Lemmon started his own international shortwave broadcasting system in order “to carry good-will programs to foreign listeners and also to pave the way for greater acceptance of American products abroad.”⁶⁶⁰ Lemmon used the wealth he accumulated as a successful electrical engineer

⁶⁵⁸ The Cornish poet and novelist Catherine Amy Dawson Scott had sowed the first seed of the International P.E.N. in 1921 in London. In the aftermath of the First World War, Scott decided that if writers around the world would stand together in peace, their nations might follow. She convinced John Galsworthy, future winner of the 1932 Nobel Prize in Literature, to chair a new organization known as P.E.N. For information on C. A. Dawson Scott (1865-1934), see Marjorie Watts, *Mrs. Sappho: The Life of C.A. Dawson Scott, Mother of International P.E.N.* (London: Duckworth, 1987). For information on John Galsworthy (1867-1933), see Catherine Dupré, *John Galsworthy: A Biography* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1976); Alec Fréchet, *John Galsworthy: A Reassessment*, trans. Denis Mahaffey (London: Macmillan, 1982). For information on the founding of the international P.E.N. movement, see Marjorie Watts, *P.E.N.: The Early Years, 1921-1926* (London: Archive Press, 1971).

⁶⁵⁹ The electrical engineer Walter S. Lemmon invented the single dial tuning control that became standard in radio receivers. Lemmon’s interest in shortwave radio was sparked by his colleague Guglielmo Marconi. Following his graduation from Columbia University in 1917, Lemmon developed radio-telephone communications as a lieutenant in the U.S. Naval Reserve. Lemmon’s radio-telephone system was used by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, whom Lemmon accompanied to Europe to attend the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. Lemmon sold the patent to the Radio Corporation of America in 1930. The following year, he demonstrated the first working radiotype machine, an electric typewriter coupled with a radio transmitting and receiving apparatus. In 1943, the Pan American Union honored Lemmon for fostering inter-American understanding through shortwave educational broadcasts. Lemmon’s WRUL station was sold in 1960 to the Metropolitan Broadcasting Corporation. See “Walter Lemmon,” *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 53 (New York: James T. White & Co., 1972), 235; “Walter Lemmon, Inventor, Is Dead,” *New York Times*, 21 March 1967, p. 46.

⁶⁶⁰ “Plans World Radio As Aid To Good-Will,” *New York Times*, 15 June 1931, p. 24. The radiotype machine was manufactured by International Business Machines Corporation, where Walter S. Lemmon became an executive staff member in 1933. Lemmon was a general manager of the radiotype division of International Business Machines Corporation for twelve years. For information on Lemmon and IBM, see Emerson W. Pugh, *Building IBM: Shaping an Industry and its Technology* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 95-118.

to establish the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation in 1934 in order “to foster, cultivate and encourage the spirit of international understanding and to promote the enlightenment of individuals throughout the world.”⁶⁶¹ Known internationally as “Radio Boston,” WRUL’s call numbers stood for World Radio University Listeners. Lemmon broadcasted English language instruction radio courses, news in several foreign languages, and lectures from professors at Boston University, Harvard, Radcliffe, Tufts, and other nearby centers of higher education.⁶⁶² With the cooperation of Leo S. Rowe, the director general of the Pan American Union, Lemmon’s educational broadcasts were soon being transmitted to Latin American and Caribbean radio stations connected with their local universities, colleges, and educational institutions. As part of the educational work Lemmon conducted with major funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, transcripts of the programs were furnished without charge to broadcasters in Latin America and the Caribbean.⁶⁶³

⁶⁶¹ T.R. Kennedy Jr., “Friendship ‘Bridge’,” *New York Times*, 19 January 1941, p. X12. The first WRUL broadcast occurred in December 1934.

⁶⁶² Walter S. Lemmon was a prominent Christian Scientist and his foundation was closely associated with the Boston-based Christian Science Church founded by Mary Baker Eddy in the late nineteenth century. Lemmon’s New York-based foundation soon relocated, setting up its nonprofit shortwave radio station, WRUL, with studios in Boston at the Harvard Club on Commonwealth Avenue and aerial towers located nearby on the concrete gun emplacements of the former artillery grounds at Hatherly Beach in the seacoast town of Scituate, Massachusetts.

⁶⁶³ By January 1941, the Rockefeller Foundation had given nearly \$200,000 to WRUL. In addition to philanthropic organizations, individuals gave money to the station by enrolling in the WRUL World Wide Listener League. See “Two Beams To Be Used: Boston Station Plans Series of Broadcasts to Latin America,” *New York Times*, 15 August 1937, p. 14; T.R. Kennedy Jr., “Friendship ‘Bridge’,” *New York Times*, 19 January 1941, p. X12. The Rockefeller Foundation’s support for educational radio began in the 1920s. Broadcasts were supposed to uplift cultures and introduce modern ideas and practices. Educational radio was also intended as a means of social control by modifying popular culture in order to help listeners adapt to changing economic conditions. The Rockefeller Foundation’s backing for experimental radio in the 1930s helped advance the new field of communication studies in the 1940s. See Theresa R. Richardson and

During the war years, private individuals and governments increasingly understood the value of new radio technology to strengthen transnational ties. In February 1938, *The New York Times* announced the “radio as a means of strengthening further the spirit of solidarity and harmony among nations of the Western Hemisphere” in a report on the first broadcast over one of the shortwave channels newly assigned to the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation by the Federal Communications Commission specifically “for cultural purposes between the Americas.” The shortwave channels used by Lemmon were of the group known as the Pan American channels that had been set aside for U.S. government purposes back in 1927, the year Lemmon received his first FCC license. Messages of inter-American friendship from U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, among others, were read before microphones at the IBM Building on Madison Avenue in Manhattan and relayed to Lemmon’s transmitters in Massachusetts. Hull’s message, read by IBM’s first president Thomas J. Watson, Sr., who was also president of the International Chamber of Commerce and a trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, stressed that “radio can be one of the strongest moral and spiritual bonds between peoples.”⁶⁶⁴ In addition to Lemmon and Watson, consuls general in New York from several Latin American and Caribbean countries were present at this inaugural broadcast.

By the time the Second World War began in 1939, Lemmon found himself the owner of the largest non-commercial radio station in the United States. During the months before the United States entry into the Second World War, the World Wide

Erwin V. Johanningmeier, “Educational Radio, Childhood, and Philanthropy: A New Role for the Humanities in Popular Culture, 1924–1941,” *Journal of Radio Studies* 13/1 (2006): 1-18.

⁶⁶⁴ “New Airwave Used To Bind Americas,” *New York Times*, 16 February 1938, p. 11.

Broadcasting Foundation's programs were already going out twelve to twenty hours a day from eleven U.S. shortwave channels.⁶⁶⁵ In January 1942, Lemmon announced his foundation was putting together a New York advisory board and opening a newsroom and program department on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan.⁶⁶⁶ Later that year, in April, Grant and the P.E.N. inaugurated a series of wartime "literary broadcasts" in Spanish and Portuguese carried to listeners in Latin America and the Caribbean via WRUL and the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation. Under the direction of the American Center of the International P.E.N., the series of broadcasts were created "to demonstrate North America's interest in the literature of all the other nations of the Americas." Serving with Grant on the committee in charge of programming for her WRUL broadcasts were several of her "well-known writer friends of Latin America," including Thornton Wilder, Blair Niles, Rita Halle Kleeman, and Quincy Howe.⁶⁶⁷ A scion of New England liberalism, Howe was a radio news commentator as well as an author. From 1932 to 1940, he was director of the American Civil Liberties Union, an organization with which

⁶⁶⁵ As war raged across the Atlantic Ocean, Walter S. Lemmon told *Time* magazine that WRUL had become increasingly concerned about "morale relief" for Occupied Europe. With the modern-language department at Harvard serving as WRUL auxiliary staff, Lemmon's programming for Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean was greatly expanding in the second half of 1941. Then, on December 7, 1941, two hours after Japanese planes pummeled the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, the Japanese government declared war on the United States. Four days later, Germany and Italy honored the Tripartite Pact with Japan and declared war on the United States, resolving the dilemma in Washington, D.C. over whether to declare war on Japan's Axis partners. See "The U.S. Short Wave," *Time* 38/18 (November 3, 1941): 54-56.

⁶⁶⁶ Walter S. Lemmon made his announcement at a meeting in the Rainbow Room of the RCA Building in Rockefeller Center. At the same time, the outstanding astronomer Harlow Shapley, director of the Harvard Observatory from 1921 until 1952 and a trustee of the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation, announced a \$25,000 grant to Lemmon's foundation by the Council of the American Philosophical Society. See "Short-Wave Group To Open Unit Here," *New York Times*, 30 January 1942, p. 11.

⁶⁶⁷ See "World Wide Broadcasting Foundation Press Release, April 3, 1942." Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 50.

Grant had a keen affiliation, thus facilitating the two activists' professional relationship. Howe had first taken up broadcasting in 1939 as a news commentator at New York City's WQXR. Since 1935, he had been employed as chief book editor at Simon & Schuster. As a member of the leftist American League Against War and Fascism, Howe strongly opposed U.S. involvement in the Second World War. However, after the fall of France in mid-1940, he gave full support to the Allied cause.⁶⁶⁸

Grant's WRUL wartime programming committee colleague Rita Halle Kleeman, like Susan Huntington Vernon a graduate of Wellesley College, was both a P.E.N. and PAWA member. She was also a family friend of the Roosevelts, especially First Lady Eleanor, herself a P.E.N. member. In 1935, Roosevelt family members aided Kleeman in preparing a flattering biography of President Roosevelt's mother, and shortly after the President's death ten years later, Kleeman authored a biography of Franklin Delano Roosevelt for children.⁶⁶⁹ During the war years, Kleeman acted as a liaison between the P.E.N. American Center and Washington, D.C., serving as chair of the center's Defense Committee, which collaborated with the Writers' War Board that been established in January 1942. A clearing house between U.S. writers and the federal government, the

⁶⁶⁸ In 1942, the year the American Center of the International P.E.N. inaugurated its Spanish and Portuguese literary broadcasts, Quincy Howe left Simon & Schuster to join CBS as a news commentator. Howe, like Frances Grant, went on to become a leading figure in Americans for Democratic Action. For information on Howe, see John L. Hess, "Quincy Howe, Newscaster, Dies; Long a Defender of Civil Liberties," *New York Times*, 18 February 1977, p. 21. On Howe's isolationism prior to the fall of France, see Quincy Howe, *England Expects Every American to Do His Duty* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1937).

⁶⁶⁹ See Rita Halle Kleeman, *Gracious Lady: The Life of Sara Delano Roosevelt* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935); Rita Halle Kleeman, *Young Franklin Roosevelt* (New York: J. Messner, 1946). Kleeman went on to become an executive board member of P.E.N., as did Grant's friend Pearl S. Buck. For information on Kleeman, who died in May 1971, see Rita Halle Kleeman, "Writing is Such Nice Work," *The Writer* 60/3 (March 1947): 74; Rita Halle Kleeman, "The College Girl Goes To War," *Independent Woman* 22/1 (January 1943): 18-19.

board oversaw a significant portion of the P.E.N. American Center's work. Indeed, for a time, the P.E.N. American Center in essence merged with the Writers' War Board, with Kleeman being the board's P.E.N. representative.⁶⁷⁰

In addition to being P.E.N. supporters, Grant's colleagues on the WRUL wartime programming committee also participated in the Writers' War Board, which had connections and influence over a range of media. Though never a government agency, the Writers' War Board was first proposed by Henry Morgenthau, Jr., U.S. secretary of the treasury during the Roosevelt Administration. A few days after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt agreed to this initiative to seek civilian writers to help promote the U.S. war effort. After getting the initial push from the government, the Writers' War Board continued to expand and evolve. The board was partially funded by the federal government with subsidies that came from the U.S. Office of War Information. Although never directly paid by the government, federal agencies requested most of the board projects worked on by the writers. Moreover, the Office of War Information provided the board with a nine-employee liaison office as well as office rental and stenographic support. Since it was not censored by the government, the board had freedom in the topics and organizations it wanted to promote. But the board never wavered from supporting the Roosevelt Administration's views and actions regarding the war. The mass distribution of the board's columns and stories would have been frowned upon if coming from the U.S. government. Instead, they did not face much opposition.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁷⁰ Machette Chute, *P.E.N. American Center: A History of the First Fifty Years* (New York: P.E.N. American Center, 1972), 34.

⁶⁷¹ Originally called the Writers' War Committee, the Writers' War Board worked closely with the U.S. Office of War Information and the U.S. Office of Civilian Defense during the Second World War. For information on the Writer's War Board, the Office of War Information, and the

Headed by a group of twenty authors mainly from New York City, the Writers' War Board enlisted thousands of writers from around the country to help the U.S. government by writing anything from novels to songs that would promote the war effort. The chairman of the board was the mystery writer Rex Stout, who also served as master of ceremonies for the radio program *Speaking of Liberty*. In addition, Stout wrote propaganda as a volunteer for the Fight for Freedom, Inc., an organization strongly supported by Herbert Agar, a writer and newspaper editor who came to play a very important role in cementing the Anglo-American alliance during the war.⁶⁷²

A prolific writer on the United States' democratic tradition and a zealous advocate of Great Britain as a stronghold of democratic culture, Herbert Agar recognized the perils of isolationism and advocated cooperation among democratic nations. An early supporter

Office of Civilian Defense, see Robert L. Bishop, *Mysterious Silence, Lyrical Scream: Government Information in World War II* (Lexington, KY: Association for Education in Journalism, 1971); Daria Frezza, "Psychological Warfare and the Building of National Morale during World War II: The Role of Non-Government Agencies," in David K. Adams and Cornelis A. van Minnen, eds., *Aspects of War in American History* (Keele, Staffordshire, England: Keele University Press, 1997); Philip J. Funigiello, *The Challenge to Urban Liberalism: Federal-City Relations During World War II* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), 39-79; Robert Howell, *The Writers' War Board and World War II* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Louisiana State University, 1971); Thomas Howell, "The Writers' War Board: U.S. Domestic Propaganda in World War II," *The Historian* 59 (1997): 795-813; George H. Roeder, *The Censored War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); Julia M. Siebel, "Soldiers on the Home Front: Protecting the Four Freedoms Through the Office of Civilian Defense," in Thomas C. Howard and William D. Pederson, eds., *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Formation of the Modern World* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), 169-187; Allan M. Winkler, *The Politics of Propaganda: The Office of War Information, 1942-1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978).

⁶⁷² After the Second World War, Rex Stout (1886-1975) became the head of the Writers' War Board's successor organization, the Society for the Prevention of World War III, which concerned itself with postwar Germany. In 1959, Stout won the Mystery Writers of America's Grand Master Award. Stout, like Grant, remained associated with Freedom House until the end of his life. For information on Stout's relationship with the Writers' War Board and Freedom House, see David R. Anderson, *Rex Stout* (New York: F. Ungar, 1984), 9-13; Steve Casey, "The Campaign to Sell a Harsh Peace for Germany to the American Public, 1944-1948," *History* 90/297 (January 2005): 62-92; John McAleer, *Rex Stout: A Biography* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977), 275-349.

of U.S. entry into the war, Agar explained his stance in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, which he edited from 1940 to 1942. He emphasized the importance of strong ties with Britain and devoted himself to the cause of U.S. involvement in the growing European conflict.⁶⁷³

Agar's efforts at U.S. participation in the war led to his becoming a cofounder and first president of Freedom House, an organization that became profoundly important for Grant in carrying out her future work in the Western Hemisphere.⁶⁷⁴ Agar and his colleagues created Freedom House during a discussion about how to coordinate the activities of the various U.S. groups advocating for an end to U.S. isolationism. The activists decided to merge the groups into one organization and house them in one building. Thus, the Fight for Freedom was dissolved into Freedom House, as was the Ring of Freedom, a group founded by Dorothy Thompson, the most syndicated female journalist in the United States. Thompson represented the type of individuals Agar hoped to attract. Her negative reporting on Nazism while a foreign correspondent for the *New*

⁶⁷³ After earning a doctoral degree from Princeton, Herbert Agar (1897-1980) worked from 1929 to 1934 as a London correspondent for the *Louisville Courier-Journal* before becoming a syndicated columnist. Agar won the Pulitzer Prize in History in 1933 for his book, *The People's Choice*, a study of the U.S. presidency. For information on Agar's work with the Fight for Freedom, Inc., see Mark Lincoln Chadwick, *The Hawks of World War II* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1968). For information on Agar, see William E. Leverette, Jr. and Daniel E. Shi, "Herbert Agar and *Free America*: A Jeffersonian Alternative to the New Deal," *Journal of American Studies* [Great Britain] 16/2 (1982): 189-206; Edward S. Shapiro, "American Conservative Intellectuals, the 1930s, and the Crisis of Ideology," *Modern Age* 23/4 (1979): 370-380; Ronald Turner, ed., *The Annual Obituary, 1980* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 720-722; Walter F. Waggoner, "Herbert Agar Dies; Author and Editor," *New York Times*, 25 November 1980, p. D23.

⁶⁷⁴ For information on Freedom House, see Mark Lincoln Chadwin, *The Hawks of World War II: The International Movement in the United States Prior to Pearl Harbor* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1968); Aaron Levenstein, *Freedom's Advocate: A Twenty-five Year Chronicle* (New York: Viking Press, 1965); Leonard R. Sussman, *Democracy's Advocate: The Story of Freedom House* (New York: Freedom House, 2002).

York Post and the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* had led to her being expelled from Germany in 1934. Agar announced in October 1941 that Freedom House would “serve as an international center for all groups, exiled governments and individuals concerned with the defeat of Nazism and the re-establishment of world democracy.”⁶⁷⁵ One of the leading U.S. opponents of Hitler when she, Agar, and Stout joined forces, Thompson served as president of Freedom House throughout the war years.⁶⁷⁶

In January 1942, as Lemmon and the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation were busy putting together their New York team, Agar formally opened Freedom House in Manhattan. Officially incorporated in New York State as a non-partisan democratic

⁶⁷⁵ “‘Freedom House’ Planned,” *New York Times*, 31 October 1941, p. 26. On October 5, 1941, prior to planning Freedom House, the Fight for Freedom held a rally at Madison Square Garden. Mayor Fiorello La Guardia and Wendell Willkie pleaded for maximum aid to the United Kingdom, while Herbert Agar appealed for the United States to enter the war. See Aaron Levenstein, *Freedom’s Advocate: A Twenty-five Year Chronicle* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), 13; “Freedom Rally Thrills 17,000,” *New York Times*, 6 October 1941, p. 1.

⁶⁷⁶ Born in Lancaster, New York in 1893, Dorothy Thompson, the daughter of an English-born Methodist minister, graduated from Syracuse University in 1914. She worked for the women’s suffrage movement before moving to New York City in 1917 to begin a career in journalism. In 1920, Thompson moved to Europe and established herself as a foreign correspondent. She was head of the Berlin bureau of the *New York Post* and the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* by 1925. In 1928, Thompson married to Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist Sinclair Lewis, whom she divorced in 1942. After being expelled from Germany in 1934, Thompson returned to the United States and began writing a column that was syndicated in more than 150 newspapers. She also wrote a monthly column for *Ladies Home Journal* and worked as an NBC radio commentator. A photo of Thompson in front of an NBC microphone was featured on cover of *Time* magazine on June 12, 1939. Thompson resigned as president of Freedom House in January 1945 over disagreement with the organization’s board of directors. She had sought to establish an international library in memory of Wendell Willkie instead of the Willkie Memorial Building, which the board inaugurated in October 1945. See Aaron Levenstein, *Freedom’s Advocate: A Twenty-five Year Chronicle* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), 81. For information on Thompson, who died in Lisbon, Portugal in 1961, see Lynn D. Gordon, “Why Dorothy Thompson Lost Her Job: Political Columnists and the Press Wars of the 1930s and 1940s,” *History of Education Quarterly* 34/3 (Autumn 1994): 281-303; Morrell Heald, *Transatlantic Vistas: American Journalists in Europe, 1900-1940* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1988), 47-49, 168-169; Peter Kurth, *American Cassandra: The Life of Dorothy Thompson* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1990); Marion K. Sanders, *Dorothy Thompson: A Legend in Her Time* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973).

challenge to the Braunhaus, Hitler's propaganda center in Munich, Freedom House served as a "rallying point for all the forces fighting for freedom and as a symbol of the fellowship of all who cherish it."⁶⁷⁷ The principle speakers at the Freedom House inaugural were Agar and Wendell Willkie. A former public supporter of the Fight for Freedom, Willkie was the president of the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation, the United States' largest utility holding company, which the Roosevelt Administration had helped weaken through anti-monopoly legislation.⁶⁷⁸ Importantly for the founders of Freedom House, Willkie endorsed Roosevelt's non-isolationist foreign policy despite running as the Republican Party's candidate for the U.S. presidency in 1940.⁶⁷⁹ Great Britain and several continental European governments sent representatives to join Willkie

⁶⁷⁷ "Freedom House To Open," *New York Times*, 11 January 1942, p. 29.

⁶⁷⁸ Wendell L. Willkie (1892-1944) completed a law degree in his home state of Indiana at Indiana University in Bloomington in 1916. In 1929, he moved to New York City. In May 1929, the merger of three large holding companies into the Commonwealth & Southern Corporation created the largest utility holding company in the United States. Holding companies were umbrella organizations that linked together small electric companies into large and powerful organizations that used monopolistic power to set high electricity rates. In early 1934, Willkie became president of Commonwealth & Southern, which controlled 165 utility companies in ten U.S. states. Commonwealth & Southern was significantly weakened by the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935. As chief spokesman for the electric utility industry, Willkie became a leading critic of the Roosevelt Administration's domestic New Deal legislation, which enabled him to win the 1940 Republican Party presidential nomination. For information on the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, a principle New Deal statute, see William H. Anderson, "Public Utility Holding Companies: The Death Sentence and the Future," *Journal of Land & Public Utility Economics* 23/3 (August 1947): 244-254; Ralph F. De Bedts, *The New Deal's SEC: The Formative Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 112-143; E. D. Ostrander, "The Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935," *Journal of Land & Public Utility Economics* 12/1 (February 1936): 49-59.

⁶⁷⁹ Although first a Democrat, Wendell Willkie had become a leading spokesman for the business interests that opposed the Roosevelt Administration's domestic New Deal policies. After becoming the Republican Party's U.S. presidential candidate in 1940, Willkie continued to attack Roosevelt's New Deal. Roosevelt received 27 million votes and defeated Willkie. Although beaten in the election, Willkie's popularity as an industrialist and political advocate was proven by his winning more than 22 million votes, the largest popular vote received by a defeated U.S. presidential candidate up to that time.

and Agar in celebrating the Freedom House inaugural. Representatives from nations of Western Hemisphere who attended included officials from Canada, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua.⁶⁸⁰ George Field also celebrated the founding of Freedom House.⁶⁸¹ Field had been a cofounder and director of the New York-based National Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, one of the groups that merged with Freedom House.⁶⁸² Field had also been the program director of WEVD, a New York radio station begun in 1927 by the Socialist Party with call letters to honor Eugene V. Debs, the party's recently deceased leader.⁶⁸³ Debs' successor as leader of the Socialist Party was Norman Thomas, who would become a close colleague of Grant.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸⁰ See Aaron Levenstein, *Freedom's Advocate: A Twenty-five Year Chronicle* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), 25.

⁶⁸¹ The human rights activist George Field was born in Manhattan in 1904. As a young man, his hero was the Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs. Field dropped out of the High School of Commerce and worked as program director for the radio station WEVD, whose call letters were Debs' initials. He also worked on Fiorello LaGuardia's successful campaign for mayor of New York in 1934. The National Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies was co-founded by Field in New York in April 1940. See Robert D. McFadden, "George Field, Defender of Human Rights, Is Dead at 101," *New York Times*, 30 May 1996, p. C11.

⁶⁸² Under George Field's leadership, the National Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies had called a Freedom Rally in May 1941 at Madison Square Garden, where some 23,000 New Yorkers crowded to hear Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia present Wendell Willkie, the keynote speaker who advocated U.S. aid to Britain in the face of Nazi aggression. See Aaron Levenstein, *Freedom's Advocate: A Twenty-five Year Chronicle* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), 12.

⁶⁸³ In December 1926, the Socialist Party's National Executive Committee decided to start a broadcasting station to honor Eugene V. Debs. The committee established the Debs Memorial Radio Fund's Board of Trustees, which represented a variety of leftist organizations. Money for creating the station came from the Socialist Party and its affiliated associations, as well as from the garment trades unions, especially the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The Fund purchased a station in Long Island in August 1927 and obtained a broadcasting license. Due to legal and financial troubles in 1931, the Fund relinquished control of WEVD to Baruch Charney Vladeck, the general manager of the *Jewish Daily Forward* from 1918 to 1938. Most of the programming in the station's early years was in Yiddish and conveyed militant labor advocacy. The station broadcast the show *The Forward Hour*. For over forty years, the Yiddish theatre couple Miriam Kressyn and Seymour Rexite broadcast their famous *Memories of the Yiddish Theatre* program on WEVD. In the 1930s, the station also broadcast programs in Italian and Polish. In 1933, the Pan American Association of Composers sponsored a series of weekly

Grant worked with many of the organizations and individuals connected with Freedom House, including high-profile socialists like Thomas. Grant and Thomas quickly collaborated together as both were international activists with a progressive social and political agenda that had evolved from spiritual convictions held during early adulthood. Born into a family of Presbyterian clergymen in Marion, Ohio in 1884, Thomas worked as a social worker for two impressionable years in the overcrowded slums of Manhattan's Lower West Side.⁶⁸⁵ After a generous uncle provided him the opportunity to tour Asia

concerts broadcast over WEVD. After broadcasting for several years on the AM band, WEVD also obtained an FM license, which it let go in 1987. Nathan Godfried has explored WEVD's origin and early years and investigated the collaboration between the managers of WEVD and local trade union officials in producing labor programming at the station in the 1930s. See Nathan Godfried, "Struggling over Politics and Culture: Organized Labor and Radio Station WEVD during the 1930s," *Labor History* 42/4 (2001): 347-369; Nathan Godfried, "Legitimizing the Mass Media Structure: The Socialists and American Broadcasting, 1926-1932," in Ronald C. Kent, Sara Markham, David R. Roediger, and Herbert Shapiro, eds., *Culture, Gender, Race, and U.S. Labor History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 123-149. See also Paul F. Gullifor and Brady Carlson, "Defining the Public Interest: Socialist Radio and the Case of WEVD," *Journal of Radio Studies* 4 (1997): 203-217; Deane L. Root, "The Pan American Association of Composers (1928-1934)," *Anuario Interamericano de Investigación Musical* 8 (1972): 49-70; Richard F. Shepard and Vicki Gold Levi, *Live & Be Well: A Celebration of Yiddish Culture in America from the First Immigrants to the Second World War* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 176.

⁶⁸⁴ The labor organizer Eugene V. Debs (1855-1926) was the Socialist Party candidate for U.S. president five times between 1900 and 1920. Debs became a railroad fireman in his hometown of Terre Haute, Indiana in 1871. He organized a local of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen in 1875. Five years later, he became national secretary and treasurer of that brotherhood. Debs was elected to the Indiana legislature in 1884. In 1893, he launched the American Railway Union, an industrial union for all railroad workers. Participation in the famous 1894 Pullman Strike led to Debs serving a six-month jail term. The Socialist Party opposed U.S. involvement in the First World War and Debs became one of the nation's leading pacifists. Sentenced to a 10-year prison term for denouncing the federal government's prosecution of persons charged with sedition under the Espionage Act of 1917, Debs was released from imprisonment in Leavenworth, Kansas in 1921 by order of U.S. President Warren G. Harding. For information on Debs, see Eugene V. Debs, *Gentle Rebel: Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, ed. Robert Constantine (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995); Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982); Marguerite Young, *Harp Song for a Radical: The Life and Times of Eugene Victor Debs*, ed. Charles Ruas (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999).

⁶⁸⁵ Norman Thomas was fortunate to have had an uncle willing to provide the money for him to study for a bachelor's degree at Princeton University, from which he graduated with honors in

and North Africa with his settlement house staff friends, Thomas returned to New York City and enrolled in Union Theological Seminary.⁶⁸⁶ A center of Social Gospel learning, the seminary taught that the correct practice of Christianity would lead to a just and equitable social order.⁶⁸⁷ In 1910, Thomas married a social worker whose wealthy family did not approve of the marriage. Nevertheless, with his wife's inherited wealth providing financial security, Thomas had the means to spend his life in dedication to social causes.⁶⁸⁸

politics and history as valedictorian of his class in 1905. Upon graduation, Thomas took employment as a social worker at the Spring Street Presbyterian Church and Neighborhood Center in Manhattan's Lower West Side.

⁶⁸⁶ Chartered as a Presbyterian seminary in 1839, Union Theological Seminary has been free of denominational control since the early 1890s. See Henry Sloan Coffin, *A Half Century of Union Theological Seminary, 1896-1945: An Informal History* (New York: Scribner, 1954); Robert T. Handy, *A History of Union Theological Seminary in New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

⁶⁸⁷ Originating during the latter half of the nineteenth century under the leadership of the clergymen Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch, the Social Gospel movement within U.S. Protestantism sought to remedy economic injustice through the application of Christian principles to industrial working-class social problems. In 1908, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America reflected the movement's views by advocating a six-day work week, the abolition of child labor, better working conditions for women, and the right of all workers to a living wage. Following the rise of the organized labor movement in the early twentieth century, many of the Social Gospel movement's goals were realized in the Roosevelt Administration's New Deal legislation of the 1930s. For information on the Social Gospel movement, see Jacob Henry Dorn, *Washington Gladden: Prophet of the Social Gospel* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1967); Christopher H. Evans, *The Kingdom Is Always But Coming: A Life of Walter Rauschenbusch* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004); Donald K. Gorrell, *The Age of Social Responsibility: The Social Gospel in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988); Robert T. Handy, ed., *The Social Gospel in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966); Donovan E. Smucker, *The Origins of Walter Rauschenbusch's Social Ethics* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

⁶⁸⁸ A year after Norman Thomas was married, Union Theological Seminary conferred upon him the bachelor of divinity degree. As an ordained Presbyterian minister, Thomas became pastor of the East Harlem Presbyterian Church. For information on Thomas see, Charles Chatfield, "Norman Thomas: Harmony in Word and Deed," in Charles DeBenedetti, ed., *Peace Heroes in Twentieth-Century America* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1986), 85-121; Bernard K. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress: Norman Thomas and the Decline of American Socialism*

Influenced by the Social Gospel movement and his personal ministry experience in the slums, Thomas fully embraced Christian socialism and pacifism. When the First World War started raging in Europe, Thomas spoke out against a U.S. commitment of troops. The war galvanized into action his idealistic social conscience and religious pacifism. He joined the U.S. branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a group of religious pacifists and social reformers, and founded *The World Tomorrow*, the fellowship's official magazine in the United States.⁶⁸⁹ Thomas helped Roger Nash Baldwin establish the National Civil Liberties Bureau in 1917.⁶⁹⁰ The bureau's founding

(Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970); Murray Benjamin Seidler, *Norman Thomas: Respectable Rebel* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1961); W. A. Swanberg, *Norman Thomas: The Last Idealist* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976).

⁶⁸⁹ In 1914, Christians seeking to prevent the outbreak of war in Europe held an ecumenical conference in Switzerland. But the conference ended early due to the outbreak of the First World War. At a railroad station in Germany, two of the participants, Henry Hodgkin, an English Quaker, and Friedrich Sigmund-Schultze, a German Lutheran, vowed to work for peace even though their countries were at war. Christians then gathered in Cambridge, England in December 1914 to found the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The following year, the U.S. branch of the fellowship was founded. The U.S branch of the fellowship supported conscientious objectors during the First World War and helped organize the National Civil Liberties Bureau in 1917. See Paul R. Dekar, *Creating the Beloved Community: A Journey with the Fellowship of Reconciliation* (Telford, PA: Cascadia Publishing House, 2005); Walter Wink, *Peace is the Way: Writings on Nonviolence From the Fellowship of Reconciliation* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000).

⁶⁹⁰ In 1920, the civil libertarian Roger Nash Baldwin (1884-1981) helped found the American Civil Liberties Union, which he served as director until 1950 and adviser on international affairs thereafter. Born in Wellesley, Massachusetts, Baldwin graduated from Harvard University in 1904. From 1906 to 1909, he was an instructor in sociology at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri. Baldwin served as chief probation officer for the Juvenile Court of St. Louis from 1907 to 1910 and secretary of the National Probation Association from 1908 to 1910. After serving as secretary of the St. Louis Civic League from 1910 to 1917, Baldwin moved to New York City to become director of the American Union Against Militarism, which became the American Civil Liberties Union three years later. In 1918, Baldwin was sentenced to one year in prison for being a conscientious objector. In 1921, he began serving on the first executive committee of the League for Industrial Democracy. He organized the American Fund for Public Service in 1922. In 1925, he became chairman for the International Committee for Political Prisoners. Baldwin taught at the New School for Social Research from 1938 to 1942. The following year, he was named chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man, a position he held for the next twenty years before stepping down and becoming the league's

had its inspiration in fighting against the wartime suppression of civil liberties and supporting the rights of conscientious objectors. In 1920, the bureau became the American Civil Liberties Union.

Thomas came to know and work with Grant after a loss of faith in the ability of Christian churches to improve the state of the world, combined with the ease with which religious leaders supported the war effort, caused him to break with religion and join the Socialist Party. Following the death of Eugene V. Debs in 1926, Thomas assumed Socialist Party leadership. Three years earlier, he had become co-director of the Socialist Party's League for Industrial Democracy, an educational and lobbying organization which promoted the U.S. labor movement and sought a social order based on production for use rather than for profit.⁶⁹¹ Grant was a member of the Executive Committee of the

honorary president. A close friend of Puerto Rican statesman Luis Muñoz Marín, Baldwin taught as an unpaid visiting professor at the University of Puerto Rico from 1966 to 1974. He wrote numerous articles, pamphlets, and books on civil liberties. U.S. President Jimmy Carter presented Baldwin with the Presidential Medal of Freedom in January 1981. For information on Baldwin, see Robert C. Cottrell, *Roger Nash Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000); Robert C. Cottrell, "Roger Nash Baldwin, the National Civil Liberties Bureau and Military Intelligence during World War I," *The Historian* 60/1 (Fall 1997): 87-107; Peggy Lamson, *Roger Baldwin, Founder of the American Civil Liberties Union: A Portrait* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976); Paul L. Murphy, *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979); Samuel Walker, *In Defense of American Liberties: A History of the ACLU*, 2nd ed. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999).

⁶⁹¹ The League for Industrial Democracy, a Socialist Party offshoot, was for many years U.S. socialism's premier educational apparatus. The league's predecessor was the earliest collegiate leftist movement in the United States, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, founded in 1905 by a group of notable American socialists, including Jack London and Upton Sinclair. From 1910 to 1921, Harry Wellington Laidler (1884-1970) served as secretary of the society, which assumed its new name in 1921. Roger Baldwin and Norman Thomas served on the first executive committee of the newly-named League for Industrial Democracy. From 1921 to 1933, the league published the leftist monthly *Labor Age*. From 1921 to 1957, Laidler was executive director of the league. Thomas was co-director of the league from 1923 to 1937. Like its predecessor organization, the league represented a loose alliance of liberals, progressives, socialists, and trade unionists, who endorsed the work of leftist intellectual muckrakers while addressing societal problems like child labor, factory working conditions, inadequate housing, monopoly expansion, and poverty. During the 1930s, the league published pamphlets, conducted radio broadcasts, and held conferences

New York branch of the league.⁶⁹² Many of her activist colleagues were key members of the league, including Robert J. Alexander, a professor of economics and political science at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey, who served under Grant as a longtime chairman of the board of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom.⁶⁹³

Thomas, like Grant, remained a committed socialist despite his repeated failed presidential campaigns. On the Socialist Party ticket, Thomas ran six failed campaigns, every four years from 1928 through 1948, for the presidency of the United States.⁶⁹⁴

discussing the programs of the New Deal. The league survived after the Second World War by remaining on U.S. campuses and engaging mainly in research. See William E. Bohn, "Fifty Years Of the LID," *New Leader* 39/2 (January 9, 1956): 14; Max Horn, *The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 1905-1921: Origins of the Modern American Student Movement* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979); Bernard K. Johnpoll and Mark R. Yerburch, eds., *The League for Industrial Democracy: A Documentary History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980); Carmela Ascolese Karnoutsos, *Harry W. Laidler and the Intercollegiate Socialist Society* (Ph.D. dissertation: New York University, 1974); Mark Starr, "Half-Century of Service Celebrated by the LID," *New Leader* 38/17 (April 25, 1955): 12-13.

⁶⁹² In 1956, Frances Grant resigned from the Executive Committee of the New York branch of the League for Industrial Democracy due to time constraints. After resigning, she continued to attend league meetings and participate in league events. See Grant to Harry Laidler. Frances R. Grant Papers. 13 April 1956. Box 57. Folder 10.

⁶⁹³ Robert J. Alexander served on the League of Industrial Democracy's national council for many years. Politicized during the Depression Era, Alexander joined the Young People's Socialist League in 1934. In the summer of 1936, he traveled to Europe and visited Spain, which was then in the beginning phase of civil war. Alexander maintained a lifelong interest in Spain and worked to oppose the dictatorship of Francisco Franco. His first book, *The Perón Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), took a hostile attitude toward Juan Perón, the Argentine leader who was an early major target of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom. Alexander taught at Rutgers University for fifty-five years before retiring in 1989. He wrote a column entitled "The Labor Front" for Frances Grant's *Hemispherica* magazine and served with Grant as one of the original members of *Ibérica* magazine's advisory board. For information on Alexander, see Chapter Ten.

⁶⁹⁴ When Norman Thomas first became acquainted with socialism, the Socialist Party in New York derived most of its support and leadership from the city's Jewish immigrants. Many were hopeful that a man of Thomas' Midwestern, Protestant, middle-class background could better present the Socialist Party's case to the nation's suspicious and apprehensive middle-class voters.

More influenced by Christian ethics than Karl Marx's writings, Thomas sought socialism by gradualism. Rejecting the Marxist emphasis upon changing the inequitable social order through force, he tried to convert the largely unreceptive U.S. public to embrace public ownership and democratic management of the means of production. During the Depression Era, which mildly enhanced the Socialist Party, Thomas advocated such reforms as minimum wage laws, old age pensions, public works projects, and unemployment insurance. As the Socialist Party hopelessly tried to become an alternative to the Democratic and Republican domination of U.S. political life, Thomas struggled to hold the organization together amidst constant internal quarrels. But the factionalism of the socialists, combined with the belief that the Roosevelt Administration's New Deal carried out significant aspects of their agenda, caused many socialist and labor leaders in the United States to give allegiance to the Democratic Party.⁶⁹⁵ Further dwindling of support for the Socialist Party resulted from the policy of nonintervention during the Second World War advocated by Thomas, who eventually gave what he called "critical support" for the U.S. war effort while denouncing Soviet totalitarianism at a time when the United States regarded the Soviet Union as a needed ally against fascism.⁶⁹⁶ Grant, however, like her friend Thomas, would maintain her commitment to socialism to the

In 1955, Thomas resigned his official posts in the Socialist Party, but he remained its chief spokesman until shortly before his death in 1968.

⁶⁹⁵ For Norman Thomas' early assessment of the New Deal, see Norman Thomas, *A Socialist Looks at the New Deal* (New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1933).

⁶⁹⁶ Norman Thomas' empathy for the Second Spanish Republic during the Spanish Civil War caused him to modify his belief in absolute pacifism, but he nevertheless became a leader of the Keep American Out of the War Committee due to his conviction that the United States entry into the Second World War would bring fascism home rather than defeating fascism abroad. Thomas supported U.S. neutrality legislation during the 1930s, but his belief that nonviolent methods could not defeat Francisco Franco's Nationalist forces caused him to oppose any arms embargo to Spain.

extent of spending the last years of her public life collaborating with Social Democrats U.S.A., a group with political roots in the Socialist Party. With many of its members associated with Freedom House and the League for Industrial Democracy, Social Democrats U.S.A. played a significant role in the International Affairs Department of the AFL-CIO, which supported hawkish U.S. anti-communist foreign policy.⁶⁹⁷

Following the Second World War, Grant joined Thomas to express hope for peace and international cooperation by calling for a strong United Nations Organization.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁷ After the Second World War, the League for Industrial Democracy, a small research center guided by Harry Laidler, maintained a presence on U.S. colleges and universities as the Student League for Industrial Democracy, the campus connection of the Socialist Party since the 1930s. During the Cold War era, pro-labor activities led to the league's involvement with the Central Intelligence Agency in efforts to combat global communism, and the Student League for Industrial Democracy was an associate member of the CIA-financed International Union of Socialist Youth, an anticommunist Vienna-based federation of social democratic youth movements in Europe. The student league received funds to foster international contacts from the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs, a CIA funding conduit. In 1959, the Student League for Industrial Democracy changed its name to the Students for a Democratic Society, which ended its affiliation with the League for Industrial Democracy in 1965. Directors of the League for Industrial Democracy had supplied the resources for its student affiliation's conversion into Students for a Democratic Society, a move which helped create an opening for the New Left that in the 1960s denounced labor leaders who were supportive of a militaristic U.S. foreign policy. Students for a Democratic Society became the main channel of U.S. campus radicalism in the 1960s and the most significant radical student organization in U.S. history. Closely linked to the upper echelons of the U.S. labor movement, the most conservative faction of the Socialist Party broke away in 1972 to form the stridently anticommunist Social Democrats U.S.A., whose supporters held leadership positions at Freedom House and the hard-line anticommunist National Endowment for Democracy. Although progressive by U.S. standards, Social Democrats U.S.A. was among the most conservative social democratic organizations in the world. On the far right of the spectrum of social democracy, Social Democrats U.S.A. endorsed the hawkish AFL-CIO leadership of George Meany and Lane Kirkland. Frances Grant and Robert J. Alexander, her closest colleague in the Inter-American Association for Democracy, ceased working with Social Democrats U.S.A. in 1980. See Philip G. Altbach, "The International Student Movement," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5/1 (1970): 156-174; G. Louis Heath, *Vandals in the Bomb Factory: The History of Students for a Democratic Society* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1976); Jim Miller, *Democracy in the Streets: From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994); Harvey Malcolm Rosen, *The Quest for a New Social Order: Harry W. Laidler and the League for Industrial Democracy* (Ph.D. dissertation: New York University, 1975).

⁶⁹⁸ For Norman Thomas' early assessment of the United Nations, see Norman Thomas, *A Socialist Looks at the United Nations* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1946).

Through the Post-War World Council, which he had founded in 1942, Thomas supported domestic and international activities that promoted human rights and the rights of organized labor and sought to reduce global communist influence. After his retirement from politics following the 1948 U.S. presidential election, Thomas worked with Grant on a variety of projects in the Cold War era, centered on their mutually strong leftist political agenda and shared opposition to communism and Soviet expansion.⁶⁹⁹ As a founder and highly active lifetime member of the board of directors of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, Thomas collaborated extensively with Grant in her Latin American and Caribbean endeavors.⁷⁰⁰ In the pages of his internationally syndicated newspaper column, Thomas promoted Grant's work in both the International League for the Rights of Man and the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom.⁷⁰¹ In addition, Thomas was one of the initiating directors of

⁶⁹⁹ In 1948, Norman Thomas conducted his final U.S. presidential campaign, in which he received less than 100,000 votes. On the campaign trail, Thomas attributed the danger of future war mainly to the policies and actions of the Soviet Union. He particularly criticized communist domination of the Progressive Party and its candidate, former U.S. Vice President Henry A. Wallace, who had been a close associate of Frances Grant in the 1930s prior to Wallace becoming disillusioned with their once-mutual spiritual leader Nicholas Roerich.

⁷⁰⁰ In December 1967, ill health caused Norman Thomas to sorrowfully resign from the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom a year prior to his death. He believed Frances Grant was doing fine work, but he did not wish to belong to groups in which he could not be active. Norman Thomas to Grant. 7 December 1967. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 30. Folder 27.

⁷⁰¹ After Norman Thomas covered the Democratic and Republican national conventions in 1948 for the *Denver Post*, the paper gave him an editorial column that was also carried by several Western newspapers. From 1952 to 1958, the Mirror Enterprises Syndicate sold the column nationally and internationally. The *Denver Post* continued to carry the column until Thomas resigned due to illness in 1967. Thomas also promoted Grant's work in his Post-War World Council newsletter. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 30. Folders 27 and 28.

Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc.⁷⁰² He subsequently contributed many articles and served as an honorary chairman for the New York-based anti-Franco magazine *Ibérica*, which Grant produced under the auspices of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom before turning the operation over to the Spanish Republican exile Victoria Kent.⁷⁰³

Many of Grant's colleagues who were associated with the Socialist Party and the U.S. labor movement also collaborated with radio station WEVD. The oldest and largest Jewish fraternal organization in the United States, the Workmen's Circle (*Arbeter Ring* in Yiddish), which supported the Socialist Party, purchased the radio station in 1932.⁷⁰⁴ The

⁷⁰² With the help of friends like Norman Thomas and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Nancy Macdonald, an anarchist from a prominent New England family who managed her husband Dwight Macdonald's magazine *Politics* in the 1940s, founded Spanish Refugee Aid in 1953 in order to help the thousands of noncommunist exiles from Francisco Franco's Spain. Until retiring in 1983, Macdonald ran the organization, which was heavily promoted in the pages of Louise Crane and Victoria Kent's *Ibérica* magazine. Spanish Refugee Aid board meetings were held in the Louise Crane's home on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan's Upper East Side. Crane was the daughter of Winthrop Murray Crane, a politician and businessman who served as a lieutenant governor and governor of Massachusetts before becoming a U.S. senator from Massachusetts. The Crane's wealth came from the family-owned Crane & Company, Inc., a papermaker known for its high quality stationery and for making currency paper for the U.S. Treasury. For information on Spanish Refugee Aid, see "Aid For Spanish Refugees in France," *Ibérica* 1/5 (May 1953); Nancy Macdonald, *Homage to the Spanish Exiles: Voices from the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Insight Books, 1987); Robert McG. Tomas Jr., "Nancy Macdonald Dies at 86; Aided Spain's Loyalist Exiles," *New York Times*, 16 December 1996, p. B13. For Norman Thomas' role in the creation of Spanish Refugee Aid, see Nancy Macdonald to Norman Thomas, January 30, 1954; Norman Thomas Papers; Alexandria, VA: Chadwick-Healey, 1983; Series I. General Correspondence, 1905-1967; Reel 26.

⁷⁰³ See Frances R. Grant, "Greetings to *Ibérica*," *Ibérica* 2/1 (January 15, 1954): 10; "Presentation," *Ibérica* 1/1 (January 1953): 1.

⁷⁰⁴ Originally founded as a mutual aid society in 1892, the Workmen's Circle was reorganized into a national multi-branched fraternal order in 1900. The organization evolved from Yiddish-speaking laborers' efforts to form unions and self-help associations. The Workmen's Circle provided members with medical insurance and material assistance, while engaging in labor activism, undertaking cultural projects, opening schools, and offering courses in socialism, Jewish history, and Yiddish language. When the Workman's Circle began establishing soup kitchens and clothing depots for striking workers, William Green, American Federation of Labor

secular Jewish and socialist Workmen's Circle published the *Jewish Daily Forward*, the leading Yiddish-language newspaper in New York area, home to the nation's largest Jewish population.⁷⁰⁵ Programming came to reflect the fraternal labor organization's

president from 1924 to 1952, labeled the organization "the Red Cross of the Labor Movement." By the end of the First World War, the Workmen's Circle claimed 25,000 members in the New York area. The organization maintained a sanitarium in Liberty, New York for tuberculosis victims in the 1920s and 1930s. Membership reached a peak of close to 85,000 in 1925. In 1930, communists and their allies left the Workmen's Circle to form the International Workers' Order. The Workmen's Circle was closely aligned with the Socialist Party until giving its support to Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal coalition in the 1930s. In May 1933, the Workmen's Circle held New York's first large public demonstration against Nazism in Union Square. The organization supported the anti-Nazi boycott movement and helped create the Jewish Labor Committee to aid and rescue labor victims of European fascism. After the Second World War, the Workmen's Circle continued its involvement in anti-totalitarian and human rights struggles. Many prominent Jewish labor leaders are buried in the Workmen's Circle section of the Mount Carmel Cemetery in Glendale, New York. For information on the Workmen's Circle, see Joseph Berger, "Less Socialist, But Still Social," *New York Times*, 31 October 2002, p. B1; Michael N. Dobkowski, ed., *Jewish American Voluntary Organizations* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 489-494; Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976); Nora Levin, *While Messiah Tarried: Jewish Socialist Movements, 1871-1917* (New York : Schocken Books, 1977), 167-171; Moses Rischin, *The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870-1914* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962); Judah J. Shapiro, *The Friendly Society: A History of the Workmen's Circle* (New York: Media Judaica, 1970); Richard F. Shepard and Vicki Gold Levi, *Live & Be Well: A Celebration of Yiddish Culture in America from the First Immigrants to the Second World War* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 179-180; Daniel Soyer, *Jewish Immigrant Associations and American Identity in New York, 1880-1939* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 67-70.

⁷⁰⁵ The most important Yiddish newspaper in the United States, the *Jewish Daily Forward*, was founded by Abraham Cahan, a socialist labor spokesman and writer born to Orthodox Jewish parents in Podberezy, Russia in 1860. Involvement in revolutionary, underground anti-czarist activities forced Cahan to flee his homeland at the age of twenty-one. In 1882, a penniless Cahan arrived in New York and gave what is thought to be the first socialist lecture in Yiddish in the United States. He became the editor of the weekly paper of the United Hebrew Trades in 1890. During a meeting of labor leaders, many of whom were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, Cahan helped launch the *Jewish Daily Forward* on the Lower East Side of Manhattan in 1897 in order to advocate for better living and working condition for Jewish immigrants in the New York area. The *Jewish Daily Forward* became a powerful political force in New York. In 1917, Cahan published his *The Rise of David Levinsky*, a highly-regarded novel of the immigrant Jewish experience in the United States. In the 1930s, Cahan was burned in effigy by communists in the United States for publishing a series of articles critical the Soviet Union's autocratic government. Cahan was expelled from the Socialist Party due to his support for Franklin D. Roosevelt for president of the United States in 1933. He served as editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward* from 1903 until suffering a stroke in 1946. For information on Cahan and the *Jewish Daily Forward*, see Abraham Cahan, *The Rise of David Levinsky*, intro. Jules Chametzky (New York: Penguin Classics, 1993); Abraham Cahan, *Grandma Never Lived in America: The New*

support for democratic socialism and promotion of American Federation of Labor-affiliated trade unionism, both of which Grant strongly advocated. The station brought educational and cultural programming to the public, presenting lectures by community leaders and forums on art, science, and politics in its *University of the Air* series, in which Grant herself participated. George Field's predecessor at WEVD was Morris Novik, a Russian-born Yiddish speaker who had grown up in the Lower East Side. Novik had attended the New School for Social Research and served as chair of the Young People's Socialist League, which promoted the Socialist Party among public school students. He was among the many working-class intellectuals with whom Grant found political and ideological affinity. After the Second World War, Novik owned and operated several radio stations in the New York area. He worked as a consultant on broadcasting to George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO from 1955 to 1979, and his successor, Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO until 1995. Continuing his social activism in the Cold War era, Novik served for many years on the national council of the League for Industrial Democracy while at the same time working with Grant as a longtime committee member of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom.⁷⁰⁶

Journalism of Abraham Cahan, ed. Moses Rischin (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); Melech Epstein, *Profiles of Eleven* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1965), 51-109; Irving Howe, "The 'Forward' Fades," *New Republic* 188/7 (February 21, 1983): 10-11; Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976); Jules Chametzky, *From the Ghetto: The Fiction of Abraham Cahan* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977); Sanford E. Marovitz, *Abraham Cahan* (New York: Twayne, 1996); Moses Rischin, *The Promised City: New York's Jews, 1870-1914* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962); Ronald Sanders, *The Downtown Jews: Portraits of an Immigrant Generation* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 148-180, 246-276; Gus Tyler, "Looking Back to the 'Forward,'" *New Leader* 70 (April 20, 1987): 9-10; "Abraham Cahan, Editor, 91, Is Dead," *New York Times*, 1 September 1949, p. 11.

⁷⁰⁶ Morris S. Novik (1903-1996) was born in Nevel in northwestern Russia. He immigrated to the United States at the age of eleven and grew up in Manhattan's Lower East Side, where he graduated from a yeshiva. With only and elementary public school education, Novik attended

After Freedom House's founder Herbert Agar moved to Europe as part of his war duties, George Field and Harry D. Gideonse took over as key figures in the operation of the organization.⁷⁰⁷ Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College and future chancellor of the New School for Social Research, had been chairman of the Brooklyn chapter of Field's National Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.⁷⁰⁸

courses at the New School of Social Research and worked for various socialist and labor organizations. In the early 1920s, he was employed as the entertainment director of Unity House, a vacation resort in the Pocono Mountains operated by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. In the mid-1920s, Novik was chairman of the Young People's Socialist League. Novik was working as secretary to the New York County Committee of the American Labor Party in 1938 when Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia asked him to become his director of communications, a job which also involved directing WNYC, the city-sponsored municipal radio station founded in 1924. Novik held his post as director of WNYC from 1938 until he resigned at the end of LaGuardia's third term in 1945, after which Novik and his brother bought and operated a number of radio stations. Novik was a longtime member of the U.S. Committee of Frances Grant's IADF and served as a U.S. delegate to the Second Inter-American Congress for Democracy and Freedom held in Maracay, Venezuela in April 1960. In 1968, Novik helped establish LaGuardia Community College in Long Island, Queens, New York. For information on Novik, see Lawrence Van Gelder, "Morris K. Novik, 93, Early Director of WNYC," *New York Times*, 12 November 1996, p. B6. For information on Novik's career at WNYC see "Novik and LaGuardia," *The New Yorker*, 28 August 1989, p. 24-26. Richard J. Meyer, "M.S. Novik: Radio's Conscience," *National Association of Educational Broadcasters Journal* (March-April 1966), 8-12.

⁷⁰⁷ As a commander in the U.S. Navy from 1943 to 1946, Herbert Agar directed the British division of the U.S. Office of War Information, spending most of his time as special assistant to John G. Winant, the wartime U.S. ambassador to Great Britain. In this capacity, Agar traveled widely delivering inspirational speeches to British and U.S. audiences on the need for wartime cooperation.

⁷⁰⁸ Born in Rotterdam, the Netherlands in 1901, Harry D. Gideonse came to the United States in 1904. He graduated from Columbia University in 1923 and received a master's degree the following year from that same institution. He pursued graduate studies at the University of Geneva, where he earned a Diplôme des Hautes Etudes Internationales in 1928. Gideonse was president of Brooklyn College from 1939 to 1966. After leaving Brooklyn College, he became chancellor of the New School for Social Research, where he served until 1975. Gideonse authored several books on economics, education, international relations, and public policy. Two years before his death in 1985, Brooklyn College named its library the Harry D. Gideonse Library. For information on Gideonse, see Alexander S. Preminger, Antoinette Ciolli, and Lillian Lester, *Urban Educator: Harry D. Gideonse, Brooklyn College and the City University of New York: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970); Harry D. Gideonse, *Against the Tide: Selected Essays on Education and the Free Society*, ed. Alexander S. Preminger (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967); Walter H. Waggoner, "Dr. Harry D. Gideonse Dead; Ex-Head of Brooklyn College," *New York Times*, 14 March 1985, p. D27.

Gideonse took over as chairman of the board of directors of Freedom House, which he served for many years as a principle policy designer.⁷⁰⁹ Field, the “guiding spirit behind Freedom House” for the next three decades, became Freedom House’s executive director.⁷¹⁰

Field convinced scores of academics, business leaders, writers, journalists, trade unionists, and public officials to take an active role in Freedom House during the war years. He persuaded Wendell Willkie to join the Freedom House board of directors and made First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt honorary chair of the board. Willkie had become a Roosevelt Administration ally after losing the 1940 U.S. presidential race. In 1941 and 1942, Willkie visited England, the Middle East, the Soviet Union, and China as President Roosevelt’s personal representative. He returned home to lead a fight to liberalize the Republican Party, expressing his visionary and humanistic vision in *One World*, one of the nation’s most popular books of 1943. A bestseller which did more than recount a trip around the world and appeal for greater national support for Roosevelt’s liberal interventionist foreign policy, *One World* was the type of book internationalists like Grant could admire. As the notion of a permanent United Nations organization was

⁷⁰⁹ Aaron Levenstein, *Freedom’s Advocate: A Twenty-five Year Chronicle* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), 55.

⁷¹⁰ After World War II, Freedom House turned its focus to Soviet and Chinese communism, anti-Semitism, and the suppression of human rights in Eastern Europe and Asia. Freedom House released statements supporting U.S. involvement in Vietnam during the latter half of the 1960s, but its board was deeply divided. George Field retired as executive director of Freedom House in 1967, but served as secretary to the board of trustees until 1970. Field retired as executive director and was replaced by Leonard Sussman. Field had selected Sussman as his successor, but the two had different approaches to managing the organization. Sussman’s administrative changes altered the dynamics of the organization. Field continued to serve on the board after his retirement, but disagreements with Sussman led him to completely remove himself from Freedom House in 1970. See Robert D. McFadden, “George Field, Defender of Human Rights, Is Dead at 101,” *New York Times*, 30 May 2006, p. C11.

gaining favor, Willkie pleaded in *One World* for an international body to be the peacekeeper of a postwar world. He staunchly renounced U.S. isolationism and urged his fellow citizens to learn about other cultures and focus on what unites humanity rather than what divides it. Willkie called on the U.S. public to engage in world affairs as their politicians and government officials would be called upon to lead a new world order of international cooperation.⁷¹¹

Three months after the opening of Freedom House and the establishment of a WRUL team in New York, Grant, with assistance from Rex Stout and Blair Niles, presented the series premier of the P.E.N. wartime broadcasts to Latin America and the Caribbean. The opening program took the form of a conversation between Grant and the Chilean writer Ernesto Montenegro about literature of the Americas.⁷¹² Montenegro, like Grant, had spent years presenting Latin America to U.S. audiences and the United States to Latin American ones. From 1926 to 1933, he had co-edited *Chile Pan Am*, a New York-based monthly Latin American news magazine. In addition, Montenegro translated

⁷¹¹ Wendell Willkie's travels heightened his sense of racial inequality. Arguing against the continuation of European imperialism, Willkie's *One World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943) was not only staunchly anti-communist, but anti-colonial as well. Willkie called for the British to end the colonial system by liberating their colonies abroad. The United States, he argued, should liberate her black citizens at home by ending racial segregation. The popularity of Willkie's book angered the racist Republican old guard. Far too liberal and progressive for the Republicans, Willkie failed to win the Republican Party's presidential nomination in 1944, but he was known as one of the most passionate white civil rights activists in the United States when he suddenly died of a heart attack in October 1944. For information on Willkie, see Ellsworth Bernard, *Wendell Willkie: Fighter for Freedom* (Marquette: Northern Michigan University Press, 1966); Donald Bruce Johnson, *The Republican Party and Wendell Willkie* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960); James H. Madison, ed., *Wendell Willkie: Hoosier Internationalist* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); Steve Neal, *Dark Horse: A Biography of Wendell Willkie* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984).

⁷¹² See "World Wide Broadcasting Foundation Press Release, 3 April 1942." Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 50.

into Spanish many works by U.S. authors.⁷¹³ P.E.N. American Center president Robert Nathan, a New York writer and member of the advisory council of the Writers' War Board, was also included as a guest speaker on the opening program.⁷¹⁴

Future P.E.N. American Center wartime broadcasts included such highlights as Thornton Wilder reading from *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*, his Pulitzer Prize-winning 1927 novel set in eighteenth-century Peru which became a classic in that country.⁷¹⁵ On another program, Blair Niles discussed Latin American archeology as a background for literature and read an excerpt on "Unwrapping a Mummy" from her 1937 travel book *Peruvian Pageant: A Journey in Time*, for which she had been awarded a gold medal by the city of Lima in 1938.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹³ See Ernesto Montenegro, *El hombre que corrompió a Hadleyburgo y otros cuentos norteamericanos* (Santiago: Nascimento, 1933); Pearl S. Buck, *La buena tierra*, trans. Ernesto Montenegro (Santiago: Empresa Editora Zig-Zag, 1941); Ernesto Montenegro, *Puritania: Fantasías y crónicas norteamericanas* (Santiago: Nascimento, 1943); Arthur Preston Whitaker, *Las Américas y un mundo en crisis*, trans. Ernesto Montenegro (Lancaster, PA: Lancaster Press, 1946).

⁷¹⁴ A native New Yorker from a prominent family, the novelist and poet Robert Nathan (1894-1985) was president of the P.E.N. American Center from 1940 to 1943. During the Second World War, Nathan held an appointment to the Advisory Council of the Writers' War Board and received a silver medal from the U.S. Department of the Treasury. For information on Nathan, see Dan H. Laurence, *Robert Nathan: A Bibliography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Library, 1960); Clarence K. Sandelin, *Robert Nathan* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1968).

⁷¹⁵ Thornton Wilder (1897-1975) won the 1928 Pulitzer Prize for fiction for *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* (New York: Gosset & Dunlap, 1927). The novel was made into a motion picture and became one of his most popular works. Wilder traveled extensively for the U.S. government and worked in military intelligence during the Second World War. For information on Wilder, see David Castronovo, *Thornton Wilder* (New York: Ungar, 1986); Malcolm Goldstein, *The Art of Thornton Wilder* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965); Richard Henry Goldstone, *Thornton Wilder: An Intimate Portrait* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1975); Gilbert A. Harrison, *The Enthusiast: A Life of Thornton Wilder* (New Haven, CT: Ticknor & Fields, 1983); Linda Simon, *Thornton Wilder: His World* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979).

⁷¹⁶ See Blair Niles, *Peruvian Pageant: A Journey in Time* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1937).

A forerunner to the Voice of America, the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation that presented Grant's P.E.N. programs became an important tool for combating Axis propaganda in the Western Hemisphere and around the world. In November 1942, shortwave stations based in the United States were turned over to the U.S. government under a lease agreement stipulating that the government would supply all programming, which paid for the stations' time and operating expenses.⁷¹⁷ Thus, WRUL was requisitioned and leased to the U.S. State Department as an Office of War Information and then Voice of America broadcast facility station.⁷¹⁸ Consequently, many of the program scripts Grant presented either originated from the Office of War Information in New York City or were sent by the P.E.N. American Center to the Radio Division of the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in Washington, D.C. for approval before they were aired. Grant worked on several shows for the P.E.N. under the Spanish title *Radiodifusiones Latino-Americanas del P.E.N. Club*.⁷¹⁹ Broadcasts included

⁷¹⁷ See Robert J. Clements, "Foreign Language Broadcasting of 'Radio Boston,'" *Modern Language Journal* 27/3 (March 1943): 175-179.

⁷¹⁸ The first Voice of America broadcast originated from New York City in February 1942, just seventy-nine days after the United States entered the Second World War. Formed in response to Nazi propaganda to present a view of U.S. culture and report on U.S. policy to foreign listeners, the U.S. international radio broadcast service that became known as the Voice of America was made a branch of the U.S. Information Agency. For information on the Voice of America, see David F. Krugler, *The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945-1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000); Robert William Pirsein, *The Voice of America: An History of the International Broadcasting Activities of the United States Government, 1940-1962* (New York: Arno Press, 1979); Holly Cowan Schulman, *The Voice of America: Propaganda and Democracy, 1941-1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

⁷¹⁹ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 48. After the war, Walter S. Lemmon won limited return of his radio station from the U.S. government. In February 1947, the government allowed WRUL and other shortwave broadcasters to again program their stations, but only at twenty-five percent time, the rest being reserved for Voice of American broadcasts. Lemmon and the Harvard astronomer Harlow Shapley, then head of WRUL's board of trustees, presided over a rededication ceremony of WRUL that was attended by faculty members from such institutions such as Brown, Columbia, Harvard, MIT, Princeton, and Yale, who aided in preparing daily

discussions of current prize-winning books from Latin America and the Caribbean. There was a special program on Latin American and Caribbean “poet-patriots.” One show considered exploration and travel in Latin America and the Caribbean in the English language literature of Charles Darwin, Maria Graham, W. H. Hudson, and Alexander von Humboldt. On another show, Grant held a discussion with the Cuban poet and translator Eugenio Florit.⁷²⁰ Born in Spain, Florit had moved as a teenager to Cuba with his family in 1918. He earned a law degree at the University of Havana before moving in 1940 to New York City to work as an attaché in the Cuban consulate during the Second World War.⁷²¹

While conducting her radio work, Grant kept up her dedication and service to the cause of inter-American wartime solidarity by using the PAWA, one of several organizations in New York wholly devoted to inter-American affairs during the war years, to host Latin American and Caribbean elites visiting the United States at the

programming in several languages. The government lease with WRUL ended in 1954 and the station resumed one hundred percent independent programming. Lemmon sold the station in 1960. See “Radio Boston Is Back On World Broadcast,” *New York Times*, 28 February 1947, p. 11.

⁷²⁰ See Radiodifusiones Latino-Americanas del P.E.N. Club, No. 5. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 50.

⁷²¹ In addition to his P.E.N. Club radio appearance with Frances Grant, Eugenio Florit was also a guest at a PAWA luncheon in February 1941 in which the importance of cultural relations for cementing inter-American solidarity was emphasized. See “Ties of Americas Stressed,” *New York Times*, 16 February 1941, p. 25. After the Second World War, Florit became a director of the Columbia University literary magazine *Revista Hispánica Moderna* and joined the faculty at Barnard College, where he taught courses on literature until his retirement in 1969. He published many volumes of poetry before his death in 1999. See Mirella D'Ambrosio Servodidio, *The Quest for Harmony: The Dialectics of Communication in the Poetry of Eugenio Florit* (Lincoln, NE: Society of Spanish and Spanish-American Studies, 1979); Alice M. Pollin, ed., *Concordancias de la obra poética de Eugenio Florit* (New York: New York University Press, 1967); Roger D. Tinnell, “Conversation with Eugenio Florit,” *Modern Language Studies* 8/3 (Autumn 1978): 77-85; “Eugenio Florit, Poet and Critic, 95,” *New York Times*, 6 July 1999, p. A15.

invitation of the U.S. Department of State, as in December 1941 when the PAWA gave a tea for thirty Colombian students who were attending special December break classes at the University of Pennsylvania.⁷²² A hundred people, most of them PAWA members, attended the event, which was held at the American Museum of Natural History in order to give the students a chance to take in some of the exhibits.⁷²³ The PAWA also held numerous welcoming and closing receptions for Latin American and Caribbean students who were in the New York area taking special short courses under the sponsorship of the Institute for International Education.⁷²⁴ In conjunction with the institute, the PAWA hosted many visiting Latin American and Caribbean students in the city. For example, students from South America studying at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill came to the city in March 1942. The PAWA put up the students in dormitories at Columbia University and gave them a two-week tour of the city. They toured the Bronx Zoo, Hunter College, the RCA Building at Rockefeller Center, and various museums. Before leaving the city, the students were brought to Freedom House and presented on shortwave wartime solidarity broadcasts to Latin America and the Caribbean.⁷²⁵

In addition to the P.E.N. wartime broadcasts, Grant participated in many social activities broadcast to the Latin American and Caribbean public via radio station WRUL.

⁷²² In addition to the chambers of commerce of various Western Hemispheric nations and the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, organizations in New York during the war years dedicated to inter-American affairs included the American Economic Foundation, the Bolivarian Society, the Good Neighbor Center of New York, the Inter-American Cultural Association, the International League of Bolivarian Action, the New York Chapter of the Pan American Medical Association, the Pan American Press Club, the Pan American Society, and the Union de Mujeres Americanas, among others. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 59.

⁷²³ See "Visiting Students Feted," *New York Times*, 29 December 1941, p. 18.

⁷²⁴ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 19. Folder 15.

⁷²⁵ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 45.

For instance, Grant was invited in December 1941 to address the Bolivarian Society of the United States. On this occasion, Grant chose as her topics Simón Bolívar, the foremost leader of South American independence from Spain, and the first Pan-American Congress, which had been held in Panama in 1826. Grant's brother David was an influential member of the society, at one point serving as its vice president. This was merely one of many events sponsored by the Bolivarian Society that were transmitted from the United States to Latin American and Caribbean audiences.⁷²⁶

In January 1942, Grant and the PAWA facilitated a special live Good Neighbor shortwave broadcast over WRUL to South America from the fifth floor of Gimbel Brothers, one of the largest department stores in the world, located in Manhattan on Sixth Avenue and Thirty-third Street. The live broadcast marked the opening of Gimbel Brothers centennial anniversary exhibit and sale of art and artifacts from South America. Latin American guitar music provided by members of the Associated Musicians of Greater New York, as well as "native Cuzco Indian" dancing and music, entertained attendees at Gimbel Brothers and radio listeners in Latin America and the Caribbean. The pre-Columbian jewelry and Spanish colonial era exhibit and sale included 5,000 objects valued by Gimbels at two million U.S. dollars.⁷²⁷ Included in the sale were many pieces

⁷²⁶ See Daniel A. del Rio to Grant. 18 December 1941. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 27. Daniel A. del Rio, assistant vice president of the Central Hanover Bank and Trust Company and soon to be president of the Bolivarian Society of the United States, invited Grant to speak at the society on December 26, 1941. A colleague of David Grant, Del Rio was vice-chairman of the Inter-American Commercial Arbitration Commission, which had been created by the American Arbitration Association at the request of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union to establish an inter-American system of commercial arbitration under the terms of the resolution of the Seventh International Conference of American States held in Montevideo, Uruguay in December 1933. For information on Del Rio, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 59; "Heads Bolivarian Society Here," *New York Times*, 12 December 1941, p. 32.

⁷²⁷ The Salazar collection, which had recently been shown at Tulane University's museum in New Orleans, Louisiana was in the exposition, as was the Pizarro collection from the Brooklyn

collected by Maria Engracia Critcher Freyer, a debutante and socialite from San Francisco, California who was married to U.S. Navy Captain Frank Barrows Freyer. In the 1920s, the Freyers had spent three years in Peru, where, as chief of staff of the Peruvian Navy, Frank helped the United States organize Peruvian naval forces while his wife collected art.⁷²⁸ The Gorgas collection, offered for sale by Marie Gorgas, daughter of the late Dr. William C. Gorgas, the chief sanitarian on the successful Panama Canal construction project, was also on exhibit.⁷²⁹

Meant to foster better understanding between the United States and South America, the exhibit and sale purposefully opened on the same day as a meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. As political scientist Michael J. Francis explains, this 1942 meeting in Brazil was “both the end of the series of meetings called in order to formulate an ‘American attitude’ toward the events in Europe and also the formalization of the war-time co-operation which

Museum. See “Show Stresses Art of South America,” *New York Times*, 14 January 1942, p. 16; “Pre-Incan Crafts on Display Here,” *New York Times*, 16 January 1942, p. 17.

⁷²⁸ In the late 1930s, Frank Barrows Freyer and Maria Engracia Critcher Freyer settled in Denver, Colorado. Before she died in 1969, Maria Engracia Critcher Freyer donated her Peruvian art collection to the Denver Museum of Art, where it was put on permanent display as the Frank Barrows Freyer Collection. See Denver Art Museum, *Denver Art Museum: Highlights from the Collection* (Denver: Denver Art Museum in association with Scala Publishers, 2006); Neil Harris, *The First Hundred Years: The Denver Art Museum* (Denver, CO: Denver Art Museum, 1996); Stephanie Innes, “Christmas-stamp Art Has Ties To Tucson,” *Arizona Daily Star*, 4 December 2006, p. B1.

⁷²⁹ William C. Gorgas made a great contribution to the construction of the Panama Canal. The Cuban physician Carlos Finlay discovered that the Aedes mosquito carried yellow fever in 1881. This led Ronald Ross, an English doctor working in India, to identify the Anopheles mosquito as a carrier for malaria. Having previously worked with Finlay in Havana, Cuba, Gorgas arrived in Panama in 1904 as chief sanitarian for the Panama Canal construction project. In the Panama Canal Zone, Gorgas eliminated malaria and yellow fever, chiefly by draining and treating standing water. For information on Gorgas, see Jeremy Sherman Snapp, *Destiny By Design: The Construction of the Panama Canal* (Lopez Island, WA: Pacific Heritage Press, 2000), 40.

followed.”⁷³⁰ As the ministers opened their meeting in Rio de Janeiro, Grant opened the luncheon event at Gimbel Brothers in New York. Several consuls general in New York attended as well as various diplomats representing the countries of Bolivia, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, and Peru. Also in attendance were Juliana Force, the first director of the Whitney Museum of American Art, and John Evans Abbott, the first director of the film library at the Museum of Modern Art. To further tie the two events together, the organizers read a message of greeting to the ministers in Brazil from Leo S. Rowe, director general of the Pan American Union.

The Gimbel Brothers department store event appropriately promoted cooperation in the Americas with an emphasis on business concerns. Various private businessmen spoke in support of better inter-hemispheric trade relations as a means to support wartime solidarity. Speakers included Frederic A. Gimbel, the managing director and co-owner of Gimbel Brothers who became noted for his efforts to popularize art and literature through his store exhibits⁷³¹ and Continental Bank & Trust Company Chairman Frederick E. Hasler, who was at the time president of both the Pan American Society of the United States as well as of the New York State Chamber of Commerce.⁷³² Also speaking that

⁷³⁰ Michael J. Francis, “The United States at Rio, 1942: the Strains of Pan-Americanism,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 6/1 (May 1974): 77.

⁷³¹ In addition to the store in New York, the Gimbel Brothers, Bernard and Frederick, had stores in the cities of Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and Milwaukee. They also owned and operated the Saks stores in Beverly Hills, Chicago, Detroit, Miami Beach, New York, and Palm Beach. After he retired in 1947, Frederic A. Gimbel established residence in Mexico. He lived in Acapulco, Cuernavaca, and Mexico City, from 1950 until his return to the United States in 1957. See “Department Store Celebrates Its 100th Birthday,” *New York Times*, 31 December 1941, p. 15; “Frederic A. Gimbel Dies In California,” *New York Times*, 11 June 1966, p. 1, 31.

⁷³² The idea for a Pan American Society of the United States began in 1910 with John Barrett, director general of the Pan American Union, who felt the need for a national society to host Latin American and Caribbean businessmen and political leaders when they visited the United States. The society helped prominent men from New York make contacts with their hemispheric

day was Rita Hall Kleeman's husband Arthur S. Kleeman, an investment banker and chairman of the Committee to Establish the Avenue of the Americas. A specialist in banking for foreign trade, Kleeman was a founder of this committee formed to change the name of Sixth Avenue into the Avenue of the Americas in the hope of turning the major Manhattan avenue into a hub of inter-American commerce and diplomacy.⁷³³ As chair of the committee, Kleeman encouraged private U.S. companies to join in the federal government's efforts to further hemispheric solidarity by developing bilateral trade relations with countries in the Western Hemisphere. He strove to convince his fellow countrymen that if they expected their hemispheric neighbors to buy U.S. exports, then the United States must buy goods from Canada, the Caribbean, and Latin America in return.⁷³⁴ Success came to Kleeman and his committee in 1945 when, with the New York

counterparts. Born in England, Frederick E. Hasler moved to New York in 1901 and found work as a ship broker in the New York-Havana trade. From 1909 to 1923, he was a senior partner of Hasler Brothers, a firm he founded of ship operators, coal exporters, and merchant bankers that also owned cattle ranches and sugar plantations in Cuba. Hasler was president of the Pan American Society of the United States from 1940 to 1946 and president of the New York State Chamber of Commerce from 1942 to 1944. See "A Pan-American Society," *New York Times*, 12 November 1910, p. 9; "Pan-American Society Here," *New York Times*, 17 February 1912, p. 5; "Frederick Hasler, Banker, Dies; Headed Pan American Society," *New York Times*, 14 March 1973, p. 46.

⁷³³ Born in Shelbyville, Illinois, Arthur S. Kleeman (1889-1965) attended the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign before moving to New York City to pursue a career in banking. After serving as a vice president and director of the Manufacturers Trust Company from 1922 to 1929, Kleeman conducted his own investment banking firm. He married Rita S. Halle in September 1934 and the two had a home on Park Avenue in Manhattan. Kleeman was president of the Colonial Trust Company of New York from 1939 to 1957. In May 1946, Kleeman was elected president of the Ecuadorian-American Association and remained in that post until February 1952. In February 1956, he was appointed chairman of the inter-American affairs committee of the Avenue of the Americas Association. Kleeman was a leading figure in the Bolivarian Society of the United States and the Ecuadorian-American Association. See "Heads Latin-American Group," *New York Times*, 7 May 1946, p. 38; "Ecuadorians Get Praise," *New York Times*, 28 February 1952, p. 9; "Heads Inter-American Unit," *New York Times*, 22 February 1956, p. 21; "Arthur Kleeman, Banker, 75, Dead," *New York Times*, 3 May 1965, p. 33.

⁷³⁴ For information on Arthur Kleeman and the Committee to Establish the Avenue of the Americas, see "Sixth Ave. To Help Hemisphere Trade," *New York Times*, 12 June 1941, p. 19.

City Council's approval, Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia officially changed the name of Sixth Avenue to the Avenue of the Americas, which *The New York Times* reported to be a move symbolizing "a bond of social union" that would be welcomed by the city's "many Pan-American visitors."⁷³⁵

Grant's opening remarks at Gimbel Brothers reflected her high regard for Latin American culture and applauded the U.S. government and private enterprise for promoting inter-American cultural understanding. Speaking before the luncheon, Grant extolled Latin American cultural production and denoted "two of the most noble and sensitive expressions of Latin American cultural expression: The sophisticate lofty art of the pre-Columbian civilization and the dramatic colonial art of Latin America, which fused the creative subtlety of the indigenous American and the brilliant imaginative utterance of Spain."⁷³⁶ For Grant, the event at Gimbel Brothers, and the Good Neighbor Policy more generally, endorsed the type of cultural diplomacy she had long advocated and performed. "Fellow Americans," Grant exclaimed, "in the last few years, the people of the United States have sincerely awakened to the realization that the salvation of our western hemisphere, lies not only in economic collaboration but also in spiritual, intellectual, and cultural understanding." According to Grant, the exhibition gave "renewed courage" to those working "for inter-American cultural understanding." D. Aníbal Jara Letelier, Chile's consul general in New York who would later become the

⁷³⁵ "Avenue of the Americas," *New York Times*, 22 October 1945, p. 16. For more information on Sixth Avenue's name change, see "Name of 6th Ave. to Be Changed To the Avenue of the Americas," *New York Times*, 21 September 1945, p. 23; "6th Avenue's Name Gone With The Wind," *New York Times*, 3 October 1945, p. 21.

⁷³⁶ Frances R. Grant, "Gimbels," 1942. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 52.

Chilean ambassador to the United States, echoed Grant's words.⁷³⁷ "It is no paradox to affirm that recently North America has begun to discover her sister, South America," said Jara. "To be just, we must also add that we, the South Americans, have only just recently begun to esteem and interest ourselves in this immense America of the North. It may be said that America is only now penetrating into the profundities of her origin and begins to explore the heart of her own history."⁷³⁸

The Second World War inspired many U.S. citizens to learn about their hemispheric neighbors and to seek friendly cultural relations with Latin America and the Caribbean. The war provided Grant, long a champion of Pan Americanism, with further

⁷³⁷ D. Aníbal Jara Letelier was the Chilean consul general in New York from 1939 to 1943. Before entering the diplomatic service, Jara was a journalist. In 1935, he had co-founded and become director of *La Hora*, a Santiago daily organ of the Partido Radical. Appointed to his post in 1939, Jara also served as Chilean commissioner to the New York World's Fair that same year. While serving as Chile's consul general in New York, Jara began publishing of the *Chilean Gazette*, a Chilean government monthly dedicated to Chilean economic news and intended to keep the U.S. business community informed about Chilean-U.S. economic relations. Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, president of Chile from 1927 to 1931, returned to the presidency from 1952 to 1958. After attempting to return to power with the support of Chilean fascists, Ibáñez won the 1952 presidential election with the support of depressed workers and governed as a democratic leader. Ibáñez named Jara, who had served as his campaign manager, to be Chile's ambassador to the United States, a position Jara held from November 1952 until resigning his post in February 1955.

⁷³⁸ "Pre-Incan Crafts on Display Here, *New York Times*, 16 January 1942, p. 17. Despite D. Aníbal Jara Letelier's rhetoric about esteem and interest, the consul general would wind up spending his future time in New York defending his government's failure to sever relations with the Axis Powers during in the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics with which the Gimbel Brothers event coincided. This decision left Chile with Argentina as the only countries remaining neutral in the aftermath of the January 1942 Rio summit, which the United States hoped would result in the Americas forming a totally united front in the face of global war. Immediately following the U.S. entry into the Second World War in December 1941, nine Central American and Caribbean republics had declared war on Japan, and later on Germany and Italy, while Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico had severed relations with the Axis Powers. Following the Rio summit, twenty nations of the Western Hemisphere had broken relations with the Axis Powers. Though Chile and Argentina chose to remain neutral at this time, the Roosevelt Administration was successfully achieving multilateral cooperation in the war effort from the vast majority of governments in the Western Hemisphere. See Mark T. Gilderhus, *The Second Century: U.S.-Latin American Relations since 1889* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2000), 96-97.

opportunities to work through governmental and nongovernmental channels to promote her dream of inter-American unity. Grant's extensive experience working with Latin American and Caribbean elites made her a crucial participant in the U.S.-led Allied war effort in the Western Hemisphere. With remarkable dedication and extraordinary energy, Grant organized numerous PAWA events that provided Latin American and Caribbean elites with a venue to have their voices heard and their cultural achievements appreciated in the United States. Grant herself tirelessly promoted a positive image of Latin America and the Caribbean in the United States. However, Grant experienced frustration and disappointment with Pan American work as she confronted the social reality of the Western Hemisphere. As Jara insightfully remarked, through Pan American efforts the people of the Americas learned not only more about each other, but also more about themselves. Indeed, as the next chapter details, class and race prejudice throughout the hemisphere hindered inter-American efforts at unity and dampened the hopes of internationalists like Grant.

CHAPTER 9

FRANCES GRANT'S PAN AMERICAN WORK, 1943-1945

Frances Grant's Pan American work continued throughout the Second World War, as did her assertions about the special traits of women and the need to end racial inequality in order to achieve hemispheric solidarity. Her long-held belief that "feminine qualities" were especially suited to fostering, maintaining, and strengthening intercultural harmony was now echoed in U.S. wartime propaganda that portrayed women of the Western Hemisphere as crucial contributors to the Allied war effort. Yet, frustrated by what she considered a superficial commitment to Pan Americanism by elite women, Grant gently rebuked her female compatriots for their apathy. On the issue of race, however, Grant was pleased to find fellow transnational activists who shared her deeply-seated progressive views on racial equality. Like Grant, they spoke of the need to create a truly unified hemisphere. Grant's organizational efforts and numerous speeches reveal that she never lost her idealism. She maintained her belief that art, music, and literature could transcend national, class, and racial barriers to help create the type of cultural understanding needed to unite the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

On Pan American Day, April 14, 1943, the Pan American Women's Association, along with *The New York Times* and the National Council of Women, sponsored 'How the Women of the Americas Can Keep Their Countries United,' an inter-hemispheric conference at the New York Times Hall, which held a capacity of just under five hundred persons.⁷³⁹ PAWA member Rita Halle Kleeman, chairman of the Western Hemisphere

⁷³⁹ See "Women of Americas To Weigh Peace Aims," *New York Times*, 25 March 1943, p. 25; "A Woman's War, Too," *New York Times*, 11 April 1943, p. X11. For a photo of Frances Grant and

Solidarity Committee of the National Council of Women, served as the event's chair. Kleeman opened by stating that the conference was proof of the increased interest that women of the Americas now had for creating and perpetuating friendship between their countries. Kleeman noted that the Second World War had inspired hemispheric governments to make greater efforts to work together. However, she believed "governments can never build firm and lasting relationships unless the people of their countries know and understand each other." And knowing and understanding on a personal level were female traits. Women, according to Kleeman, were "the people in whose hands neighborliness in its truest sense has always been. Men may be what they call 'business acquaintances,' even friends, but it is only when their wives and daughters get to know and like each other that there comes that warm interchange between homes that constitutes real neighborliness, real friendship."⁷⁴⁰ Kleeman echoed many of the same ideas that Grant and others had expressed during the 1920s and 1930s about the unique responsibility of women in Pan American work. Although based on gender stereotypes such as women's innate relationship to the domestic sphere and intrinsic traits such as friendliness and neighborliness, these assumptions afforded to women a particular role in international affairs.

In a welcoming statement, Carlos Dávila echoed these sentiments about women's special capacity to help build hemispheric unity. Dávila, a friend of Grant, was the Chilean former ambassador to the United States who later served as secretary general of

others who addressed the conference, see "Women Seen Aiding Hemispheric Unity," *New York Times*, 15 April 1943, p. 12. Located on West 44th Street in midtown Manhattan, the New York Times Hall was renamed for the award-winning actress Helen Hayes in 1983.

⁷⁴⁰ Rita Halle Kleeman, "New York Times Pan American Day Conference," April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21.

the Organization of American States.⁷⁴¹ Dávila extolled the political and judicial work of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy, but stressed that "unity in the Americas could not be considered solidly cemented until it reached the home firesides." According to Dávila, "only women" could write the Pan American idea in the "family album." After praising the work of the PAWA, Dávila challenged women of the Americas "to make American unity a constant subject of their conversation in their social and familiar circles." For Dávila, Pan Americanism would only succeed once it reached beyond political and economic agreements and took hold at the level of the private sphere. The people of the Americas needed help imagining themselves as part of a larger Pan American family. This imaging was suited for women associated with the home, the family, and motherhood. Dávila predicted that if women imagined as he wished, then "in the course of one generation this will become such a deeply-rooted concept in the mind and in the heart of peoples as deeply-rooted is today the concept of American unity within the borders of the United States."⁷⁴²

⁷⁴¹ After serving as Chile's ambassador to the United States from 1927 to 1932, Carlos Dávila returned to Chile and founded *Hoy*, a news magazine through which he expressed political opinions that brought him into politics. Dávila was one of the three men who led Chile's Socialist Republic for one hundred days. He took sole control as president of the republic for a short while before being deposed by a military coup d'état. Under threat of assassination, Dávila went into exile in the United States. He moved to Manhattan and became a visiting professor of international law at Columbia University through the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation. Through his Editors Press Service, he sang the praises of the Roosevelt Administration's Good Neighbor Policy throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. In 1942, Columbia University's School of Journalism awarded him the prestigious Maria Moors Cabot Prize for distinguished service in inter-American journalism. In 1954, Dávila returned to Chile to work as editor of the government newspaper *La Nación*, but he remained there only for six months. He served as secretary general of the Organization of American States from June 1954 until his death in Washington, D.C. in October 1955. For information on Carlos Dávila, see "Carlos Davila, '68, Diplomat, Is Dead," *New York Times*, 20 October 1955, p. 35.

⁷⁴² Carlos Dávila, "New York Times Pan American Day Conference," April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21.

Mary Winslow, speaking after Dávila, happily reported that during the previous year organizations with a total membership of twenty million women had engaged in Pan American programs throughout the United States.⁷⁴³ Winslow, a social worker with a long history of leadership in the struggle to improve industrial working conditions for women, had much experience with Pan American issues. Winslow had worked at the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor for many years before resigning to become an advisor and legislative representative for the National Women's Trade Union League. In 1939, President Roosevelt appointed her a U.S. delegate on the Inter-American Commission of Women, which had been set up at the 1928 Pan American Conference as the first regional body to advance the rights of women. Winslow also served in 1939 as a U.S. delegate to the Pan-American Conference of the International Labor Organization in Havana, Cuba. Winslow was currently working with Nelson Rockefeller as director of civic projects in the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, while at the same time assisting in initiating a program of civilian defense for Latin America at the Office of Civilian Defense, which Roosevelt had established by executive order in May 1941.⁷⁴⁴

⁷⁴³ Mary N. Winslow, "New York Times Pan American Day Conference," April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21. For information on Winslow's work on the Inter-American Commission of Women and in the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, see "Inter-American Body Gets Plea for Training In Defense Jobs for Women of 21 States," *New York Times*, 8 November 1941, p. 9; "Hints on Child Care, Nutrition, Dietetics, Housing, Canteen Work Being Translated to Spanish by Senora Correa de Aya," *New York Times*, 12 January 1924, p. 19; "'Passive' Efforts In War Criticized," *New York Times*, 1 March 1942, p. 37.

⁷⁴⁴ Mary Nelson Winslow was born the daughter of U.S. Naval Lieutenant Francis Winslow in Asheville, North Carolina in 1887. After studying at the New York School of Social Work, she took a job at the New York Department of Public Charities. Following the First World War, Winslow joined the U.S. Department of Labor, where she served for ten years as a technician of industrial activities in the Women's Bureau before becoming an economic analyst and director of special studies at the department. Shortly before she died in 1952, Winslow completed *Women at*

Other speakers stressed the need for economic justice in order to achieve hemispheric solidarity. Carmen Bustamante de Sánchez de Lozada opened her address with a quote from U.S. Vice President Henry A. Wallace, who had taken Spanish lessons with her husband: "Men and women cannot be really free until they have plenty to eat, and time and ability to read and think and talk things over."⁷⁴⁵ The Bolivia delegate on the Inter-American Commission for Women, Carmen Bustamante de Sánchez de Lozada, was the wife of Grant's friend Enrique Sánchez de Lozada, a consultant at the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs who had sought Grant's advice on projects in Latin America and would be honored at a PAWA luncheon in the future.⁷⁴⁶ Their son, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada Bustamante, would one day become president of Bolivia.⁷⁴⁷

Work (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951), a biography of Mary Anderson, the first director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. For information on Winslow, see "Miss Mary Winslow, A Federal Advisor," *New York Times*, 3 May 1952, p. 21; "Obituaries," *Wilson Library Bulletin* 27/1 (September 1952): 22.

⁷⁴⁵ The quote is from Henry A. Wallace's most famous speech, "The Century of the Common Man," delivered before the Free World Association in New York City on May 8, 1942.

⁷⁴⁶ A PAWA luncheon in honor of Enrique Sánchez de Lozada was held on March 14, 1945. See Enrique S. de Lozada to Grant. 19 March 1945. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 6; Frances R. Grant to Enrique S. de Lozada. 2 April 1945. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 6.

⁷⁴⁷ During the political excitement in the aftermath of the Chaco War (1932-1935), Bolivian political parties became more class-based and a number of progressive leftist parties emerged. Carmen Bustamante de Sánchez de Lozada and her husband Enrique Sánchez de Lozada became militants of the Marxist Partido Izquierda Revolucionario (PIR). In 1939, her husband, a former lecturer on international law in La Paz and first secretary of the Bolivian legation in Washington, D.C., became a professor of political science at Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts. He then became a consultant at the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. After the Second World War, he joined the United Nations Secretariat staff and she taught at Pendle Hill, a Quaker school established in 1930 in Wallingford, Pennsylvania. Their son, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada Bustamante, was president of Bolivia from 1993 to 1997 and again from August 2002 until popular protests forced his resignation in October 2003. See "Women's Unity Urged For Political Aims," *New York Times*, 20 January 1946, p. 35; Enrique S. de Lozada to Grant. 19 March 1945. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 6; Grant to Enrique S. de Lozada. 2 April 1945. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 6.

In expressing the need for economic equality, Bustamante de Sánchez de Lozada limited her remarks to her own country and specifically to the experience of her father. In charge of organizing public instruction in Bolivia three decades back, he had traveled for four years in the United States and Europe researching educational models before contracting prestigious Belgian pedagogues to cooperate in modernizing the Bolivian educational system. However, the education system in Bolivia did not progress. Bustamante de Sánchez de Lozada stressed that the institutional life of Bolivia “had suffered a set-back through the concentration of wealth.” She concluded by turning to the U.S. citizens in the audience and telling them that it was “idle to speculate” if their “goodwill” in sending education or sanitation experts to Latin America and the Caribbean would be of benefit. Rather, she urged the United States to “produce better results by influencing the other American Republics in the fundamentals of democracy.”⁷⁴⁸ In other words, for Bustamante de Sánchez de Lozada, Pan American enthusiasts should be more concerned with the creation of democratic institutions rather than with the carrying out of social welfare projects.

Other speakers that day called for greater understanding between North and South. The U.S. explorer and novelist Blair Niles stressed the need for the Americas to “discover each other.”⁷⁴⁹ Minerva Bernardino hoped women in Latin America and the Caribbean would begin “a Good Will campaign” towards the United States. Bernardino, a pioneering Dominican feminist and civil servant, was serving at the time as the delegate of the Inter-American Commission for Women from the Dominican Republic. Born in

⁷⁴⁸ Carmen B. de Lozada, “New York Times Pan American Day Conference,” April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21.

⁷⁴⁹ Blair Niles, “New York Times Pan American Day Conference,” April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21.

the Dominican province of El Seibo to a wealthy family that was uncommonly liberal in regards to women's equality, Bernardino was the granddaughter of the provincial governor and one of seven children. Orphaned at the age of fifteen, Bernardino was fortunate that her family's acceptance of women working outside the home led her to study for a bachelor's degree and pursue a lifelong career in the civil service.

Bernardino noted that Latin America was "in fashion" in the United States, but while many U.S. citizens and organizations had "shown great interest in knowing Latin America better," curiosity in Latin America for the United States was "not correspondingly strong."⁷⁵⁰ This would have been disappointing news for Nelson Rockefeller and the U.S. Office of the Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs, which had been disseminating vast amounts of material to the press, radio stations, and movie houses of the hemisphere in an effort to promote a favorable image of the United States. The U.S. government's wartime cultural exchange program needed help from women like Bernardino to get more Latin American and Caribbean people involved in learning about the United States.

Bernardino also complained that the lack of gender equality stymied attempts at hemispheric cooperation. Since the late 1920s, Bernardino had been active in her nation's women's rights movement. As a leader in *Acción Feminista Dominicana*, she successfully fought for expanded rights in the republic's 1942 constitution. Bernardino, who would go on to become "one of the most influential women at the United Nations,"⁷⁵¹ complained

⁷⁵⁰ Minerva Bernardino, "New York Times Pan American Day Conference," April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21.

⁷⁵¹ John P. Humphrey, "The Memoirs of John P. Humphrey, the First Director of the United Nations Division of Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly* 5/4 (November 1983): 405. Of the delegates from fifty countries who signed the Charter of the United Nations in San Francisco in

at the conference of the “unjustifiable inequality on the basis of sex” in civil and political rights in the Americas. Of the twenty-one countries that composed the Pan American Union, women could vote in just seven and could not get divorced in five. Only in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Uruguay did women hold national congressional seats. Perhaps the lack of equality between men and women in Latin America and the Caribbean, Bernardino suggested, “handicapped them in their desire to cooperate” in inter-American solidarity programs. She concluded that democracy could not be “justified” unless Latin American and Caribbean women could “trust that in the reconstruction of tomorrow they will share on equal terms with the men the responsibilities which citizenship entails in the solution of all problems.”⁷⁵²

Grant and Bernardino would work together on Pan American issues during the war years, when the leader of Bernardino’s nation, the Dominican strongman Rafael Leónidas Trujillo, pompously portrayed himself as a defender of freedom and democracy in the Western Hemisphere. Wartime cooperation from the hemisphere’s rightist authoritarians like Trujillo guaranteed their nations would receive military and economic

June 1945, four were women: Bertha Lutz of Brazil, Minerva Bernardino of the Dominican Republic, Yi-Fang Wu of China, and Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve of the United States. In 1948, the United Nations approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Bernardino was among only four women signers of that document. Bernardino became a major force behind the creation of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, which she chaired from 1953 through 1955. For information on Bernardino’s work at the United Nations, see Arvonne S. Fraser, “Becoming Human: The Origins and Development of Women’s Human Rights,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 21/4 (November 1999): 853-906; Margaret E. Galey, “Forerunners in Women’s Quest for Partnership,” in Anne Winslow, ed., *Women, Politics, and the United Nations* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 11-12; Mary Ann Glendon, “The Forgotten Crucible: The Latin American Influence on the Universal Human Rights Idea,” *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 16 (Spring 2003): 27-39.

⁷⁵² Minerva Bernardino, “New York Times Pan American Day Conference,” April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21.

aid from the United States. Rather than breaking with Trujillo after the war, Bernardino went on to work for his dictatorship and thus fell out of favor with Grant.⁷⁵³ Historian April J. Mayes argues that Acción Feminista Dominicana's mostly white or light-skinned elite female activists allied themselves with the Trujillo because his narrow and paternalistic social reform agenda and his vision of elite women's role in cultivating national progress complemented their sense of racial superiority, social power, and class interests.⁷⁵⁴ Grant and Bernardino developed a bitter rivalry.⁷⁵⁵ Bernardino became a renowned supporter of the Trujillo regime and her brother Félix W. Bernardino terrorized the émigré anti-Trujillo opposition while serving as consul general of the Dominican Republic in New York.⁷⁵⁶ Meanwhile, Grant helped conduct international protests against the Trujillo dictatorship while assisting Dominican exiles who lived in New York, like

⁷⁵³ Minerva Bernardino was vice chair and then chair of the Inter-American Commission on Women from 1944 to 1949. She received many honors for humanitarian service and women's rights advocacy. For information on Bernardino, see Barbara Crossette, "Minerva Bernardino, 91, Dominican Feminist," *New York Times*, 4 September 1998, p. A20.

⁷⁵⁴ April J. Mayes, "Why Dominican Feminism Moved to the Right: Class, Colour and Women's Activism in the Dominican Republic, 1880s–1940s," *Gender & History* 20/2 (August 2008): 349–371.

⁷⁵⁵ As chair of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, Minerva Bernardino was invited to speak before the Women's City Club of New York at a luncheon at United Nations Headquarters held on October 10, 1955. Frances Grant was an active member of the Women's City Club of New York. Angry over the invitation to Bernardino, Grant wrote a letter of protest to club president Juliet Bartlett. See Grant to Juliet M. Bartlett. 3 October 1955. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 43. Folder 26.

⁷⁵⁶ Pro-Trujillo groups in the United States, including the Dominican Ateneo, the Sociedad Cultural Dominicana, and the Pan American Anti-Communist Association, challenged Frances Grant and her colleagues Rómulo Betancourt, José Figueres, Luis Muñoz Marín, and Norman Thomas, who aided and sheltered Dominican exiles. Grant sent information to U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation director J. Edgar Hoover regarding Rafael Leónidas Trujillo's agents in the United States and violations of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended. See Grant to J. Edgar Hoover. 18 November 1958. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 54. Folder 58.

Juan M. Díaz and José Antonio Bonilla Atilas of the Asociación Reivindicadora

Dominicana del Exilio⁷⁵⁷ and Germán Ornes of *El Caribe* newspaper.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁷ Juan M. Díaz, the owner of a small New York grocery store, was the chairman the Asociación Reivindicadora Dominicana del Exilio (ARDE). The lawyer José Antonio Bonilla Atilas was the association secretary and editor of the ARDE newsletter, which chronicled the outrages in the Dominican Republic that occurred under Rafael Leónidas Trujillo. After reading Roger Baldwin's denunciation of the Argentine strongman Juan Perón in the New York Spanish-language daily *La Prensa*, Díaz contacted Baldwin in January 1947 to seek help from the International League for the Rights of Man against the Trujillo dictatorship. Díaz became grateful that shortly after Frances Grant joined the ILRM board of directors, she initiated the formation of an ILRM committee of Latin American refugees. Among the first to join Grant's committee was ARDE president Augusto J. Alfonseca. Grant quickly developed a close association with many Trujillo-era Dominican exiles. One of the first events Grant organized at Freedom House was a protest meeting against Trujillo held on February 27, 1947 by Dominican exiles for the occasion of the Dominican Republic's Independence Day. The Dominicans and their supporters met at Freedom House under the sponsorship of the Latin American section of the ILRM. Bonilla Atilas, the event's principle speaker, had been vice-rector of the University of Santo Domingo before becoming a refugee in the United States. Soon after he arrived in New York, Grant and Baldwin met with him and began to seriously plan their aggressive opposition to the Trujillo dictatorship, which did not cease until Trujillo's assassination in 1961. Alfonseca died in 1950 after never totally recovering from being struck by a car when returning one evening from an ILRM committee meeting, which Grant believed to have been a calculated attack by Trujillo agents in the United States. As a New York delegate of the Vanguardia Revolucionaria Dominicana, Bonilla Atilas arranged for scholarships for VRD-affiliated students to take courses at the Institute for Political Education in San José, Costa Rica, which prepared political and labor exiles for leadership in the post-Trujillo Dominican Republic. See "Call Trujillo 'Dictator'," *New York Times*, 28 February 1947, p. 11; Frances R. Grant, "Autobiography – Latin American Work," p. 4, undated. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 51; Juan M. Díaz to Roger N. Baldwin. 7 January 1947. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 43. Folder 26; Juan M. Díaz to Grant. 7 March 1947. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 43. Folder 26; Grant to José Antonio Bonilla Atilas. 15 February 1962. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 43. Folder 20; Grant to José Antonio Bonilla Atilas. 30 November 1962. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 43. Folder 20. For information on Díaz and Bonilla Atilas, see "Man of Discernment," *Time*, June 10, 1946; Charles D. Ameringer, *The Democratic Left in Exile: The Antidictatorial Struggle in the Caribbean, 1945-1959* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1974), 92-93, 194-197.

⁷⁵⁸ Germán Emilio Ornes Coiscu received a law degree from the University of Santo Domingo in 1944. A member of Juventud Revolucionaria as a young man, Ornes was jailed for participating in antigovernment activities. In 1948, the Dominican dictator Rafael Leónidas Trujillo was convinced that his international prestige would benefit by allowing the U.S. promoter Stanley Ross to establish the independent newspaper *El Caribe* in the Dominican Republic. Ross resigned as editor of the newspaper after one year and was replaced by Ornes. Under Ornes' leadership, *El Caribe* became the Dominican Republic's largest and most influential newspaper. Amidst numerous articles in *El Caribe* glorifying the dictator's rule, Ornes cautiously criticized Trujillo. Ornes purchased *El Caribe* in 1954. After falling out of grace with Trujillo due to a typographical error in the newspaper, Ornes renounced collaboration with the Dominican dictator in late 1955 and sought asylum in New York City, where he joined the anti-Trujillo opposition movement.

Grant aided numerous Dominican exiles who took refuge in countries throughout the Western Hemisphere, including the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano founders Juan Bosch⁷⁵⁹ and Angel Miolán.⁷⁶⁰ Minerva Bernardino's later support of the Trujillo

The Trujillo Administration subsequently seized his newspaper. Ornes flew to Havana, Cuba in October 1956 to protest Trujillo's press censorship before the Inter American Press Association, which supported Ornes' anti-Trujillo activism. While in Cuba, Ornes coauthored "Trujillo: Little Caesar on Our Own Front Porch," an article for the December 1956 issue of *Harper's* magazine. Frances Grant and her colleagues protested the U.S. State Department's delay in granting Ornes a visa to return to the United States from Cuba. Ornes married Diane Godwin, a U.S. citizen, and the couple lived with their children in Connecticut, from where Ornes wrote articles for U.S. magazines, including Sol Levitas' *New Leader*. Ornes returned to the Caribbean to work as editor at Puerto Rico's largest daily newspaper *El Mundo*, in the pages of which he often praised the work of Grant and the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom. Ornes, whose brother Horacio Julio was head of the Vanguardia Revolucionaria Dominicana exile group, authored the anti-Trujillo biography *Trujillo: Little Caesar of the Caribbean* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1958). A longtime spokesman for the Inter-American Press Association, Ornes served as president of the association's committee on freedom of the press. In letter after letter to Grant during the 1970s, Ornes expressed his appreciation for the assistance Grant had given him during his years of exile. Grant, in turn, became appreciative of Ornes' financial contributions to the IADF. For the correspondence between Ornes and Grant, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 43. Folder 23. For information on Ornes, see Murray Illson, "Editor Says He Seeks Asylum Because Error Vexed Dictator," *New York Times*, 30 December 1955, p. 10; "Latin Publisher Upheld," *New York Times*, 27 October 1956, p. 2; "Groups Query U.S. On Editor's Visa," *New York Times*, 4 December 1956, p. 30; Dominican Editor Here," *New York Times*, 12 February 1957, p. 55; Jan Lundius and Mats Lundahl, *Peasants and Religion: A Socioeconomic Study of Dios Olivario and the Palma Sola Movement in the Dominican Republic* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 207-211; Germán E. Ornes and Enriquillo Sánchez, *Germán E. Ornes: Una vida para la libertad* (Santo Domingo: E. León Jimenes, 1999); Germán E. Ornes, "Ugly American Ambassadors," *Colorado Quarterly* 9/2 (Autumn 1960): 101-123; Eric Pace, "Germán Ornes, 78, Publisher and Advocate of Free Press," *New York Times*, 17 April 1998, p. D21.

⁷⁵⁹ Juan Bosch was born to a Catalan father and Puerto Rican mother in 1909 in the city of La Vega in the Dominican Republic. Bosch published his first collection of short stories in 1933. One year later, the Dominican dictator Rafael Leónidas Trujillo arrested Bosch for conspiracy against his government. Released in 1935, Bosch became a literary editor for *Listín Diario*, the Dominican Republic's most prestigious newspaper. Unable to live under the Trujillo dictatorship, Bosch fled the Dominican Republic in 1937. During his next twenty-four years in exile, Bosch resided in Bolivia, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, and Venezuela. Bosch and Angel Miolán founded the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano in Havana, Cuba in 1939. In 1947, with the complicity of Cuban President Ramón Grau San Martín, Bosch helped assemble approximately 1,200 Cuban and Dominican men at Cayo Confites to launch an overthrow of Trujillo from Cuba. Pressure from the U.S. government and Cuban opposition politicians caused the Cayo Confites plan to be aborted on orders from the Cuban government. Bosch then served as secretary to Carlos Prío Socarrás, the president of Cuba from 1948 to 1952. After Fulgencio Batista seized power in Cuba in March 1952, Bosch left Havana to teach at the Institute for Political Education in San José, Costa Rica. He returned to the Dominican Republic following Trujillo's assassination in May

dictatorship undermined the day's idealistic hope that women's inherent qualities of understanding and compassion generated neighborliness and familial Pan American unity. Moreover, the case of Grant and Bernardino provides a good example of how wartime efforts united many individuals whose friendship later soured in the Cold War context. Their rivalry makes clear the limits of internationalism and of an idealism built on the belief in the distinctiveness of the female gender, whereby women rejecting the long history of male politicking naturally created bonds of love that countered repression and authoritarianism.

One speaker at the Pan American Day event chose to focus on racial issues in the Americas. María Rose Oliver, an Argentine PAWA member and founder of the Unión

1961. For information on Bosch, see Juan Bosch and Avelino Stanley, *Juan Bosch: Antología personal* (San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1998); Margarite Fernández Olmos, "Juan Bosch," in William Luis and Ann González, eds., *Modern Latin-American Fiction Writers*, second series (Detroit: Gale Research, 1994), 66-72; Quisqueya Lora, "Bosch historiador," *Estudios Sociales* 36/133 (July-Sept 2003), 57-76; Otto Morales Benítez, "Un caribeño creador: Juan Bosch por diferentes meridianos de la cultura y de la política," *Repertorio Americano* 15-16 (January-December 2003), 175-182; Doris Sommer, *One Master for Another: Populism as Patriarchal Rhetoric in Dominican Novels* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983), 93-124. For information on the Cayo Confites forces, see Charles D. Ameringer, *The Democratic Left in Exile: The Antidictatorial Struggle in the Caribbean, 1945-1959* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1974), 64-72.

⁷⁶⁰ Angel Miolán and Juan Bosch founded the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano in Havana, Cuba in 1939. In affiliation with the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), Miolán established the Comité Obrero Democrático Dominicano en Exilio in Havana in 1952. The ORIT remained the constant enemy of the Dominican dictator Rafael Leónidas Trujillo until his assassination in 1961. The Partido Revolucionario Dominicano maintained its headquarters in Havana until 1958, when it moved to Caracas following the ouster of the dictator Marcos Pérez Jiménez and the return of Rómulo Betancourt to Venezuela. In April 1960, Miolán was a Dominican delegate to the Second Inter-American Congress for Democracy and Freedom held in Maracay, Venezuela. Miolán served as longtime director of *Quisqueya Libre*, the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano's newspaper. For correspondence between Miolán and Frances Grant, see Frances R. Papers. Box 43. Folder 17. For a history of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano, see Angel Miolán, *El Perredé desde mi ángulo* (Santo Domingo: Editorial Letras de Quisqueya, 1984). See also Angel Miolán, *Paginas dispersas* (Santo Domingo: Editorial Librería Dominicana, 1970); Angel Miolán, *Memorias: Testimonios de un octogenario sobre su vida y la política de su país* (Santo Domingo: Editorial Letras de Quisqueya, 1995).

Argentina de Mujeres, was at the time working in Washington, D.C. as special coordinator in the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.⁷⁶¹ Oliver spoke out against the racism that she believed threatened the future stability of the region.⁷⁶² After denouncing “the small semi-feudal white oligarchy” in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia for exploiting the labor of the Andean indigenous majority, Oliver praised Mexico, a nation which “through many years of revolution” had “achieved the government of the people, for the people and by the people.” Oliver claimed that before the rise of fascism, Germans and Italians in Latin America had been “good citizens” because unlike Anglo-Saxons they did not have a concept of racial superiority. However, Oliver asserted that the German colony in Argentina now constituted “a dangerous national minority.” Concerning the war effort, Oliver warned that “if the victory of

⁷⁶¹ María Rose Oliver worked in Washington, D.C. as special coordinator in the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs from 1942 to 1946. She traveled widely as part of her work for the World Peace Council (Consejo Mundial de la Paz) from 1948 to 1962. In 1957, she received the International Lenin Prize for Strengthening Peace Among Peoples, the highest honor a foreigner could receive from the Soviet Union. For information on Oliver’s wartime work with the Pan American Women’s Association, see “Women Seen Aiding Hemispheric Unity,” *New York Times*, 15 April 1943, p. 12.

⁷⁶² Confined to a wheelchair since childhood, María Rose Oliver spent her youth immersed in books and became an essayist, short story writer, literary critic, and translator on the staff of the Buenos Aires newspaper *La Nación* and the magazine *Sur*, a Buenos Aires-based literary review devoted to international exchange. In the 1920s and 1930s, Oliver was among the writers and artists active in the association Amigos del Arte, founded by Elena Sansinena de Elizalde in Buenos Aires in 1924. A friend and colleague of the Argentine feminist Victoria Ocampo (1890-1979), the founder and publisher of *Sur*, Oliver was a member of *Sur*’s editorial board from the magazine’s beginning in 1931 and throughout the years when Buenos Aires was home to writers and intellectuals fleeing fascism in Europe. At the invitation of the Roosevelt Administration, Oliver moved to Washington, D.C. and worked in the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. For information on Ocampo and *Sur*, see María Luisa Bastos, “Victoria Ocampo,” in Carlos A. Solé, ed., *Latin American Writers*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1989), 705-710; John King, *Sur: A Study of the Argentine Literary Journal and Its Role in the Development of a Culture, 1931-1970* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Doris Meyer, *Victoria Ocampo: Against the Wind and the Tide* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); Patricia Owen Steiner, ed., *Victoria Ocampo: Writer, Feminist, Woman of the World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).

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democracy is not going to erase once and for all the notion of racial superiority, then we will have the frightful prospect that the next war will be fought along racial lines.” She then followed Carmen Bustamante de Sánchez de Lozada’s lead and praised U.S. Vice President Wallace, whose work toward strengthening the idea of the equality of races she admired. Oliver commended Wallace for promoting “genetic democracy,” which she hoped would be attained following an Allied victory.⁷⁶³ Grant and others would express similar ideas about the need for racial equality to achieve Pan American unity.

Heloisa Rocha, a technical assistant with the Brazilian Government Trade Bureau in New York, took to the podium after Oliver. Her words shifted the focus of the day’s speeches to trade. Rocha pointed out that inter-American commerce had significantly increased over the last few years. She looked forward to future trade expansion. The larger Latin American republics like Brazil had undergone significant economic change since the 1930s, when the Great Depression triggered a loss of markets for Latin America’s primary products. The Second World War in Europe had caused even more harm to the economies of Latin America by cutting off continental European markets and

⁷⁶³ María Rose Oliver, “Minorities,” New York Times Pan American Day Conference, April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21. Henry A. Wallace favored a “genetic democracy,” a term he had been using for years. For example, see his speech “Racial Theories and the Genetic Basis of Democracy,” delivered at a public meeting of scientists sponsored by the Lincoln’s Birthday Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom held in the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on February 12, 1939. After paying tribute to Franz Boas, founder of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, Wallace attacked the genetic basis of Nazi Germany’s theories of a master race and argued that “no one can claim with scientific certainty superiority for any race or nation so far as its inborn genetic characteristics are concerned.” Wallace concluded, “No scientist can say today with any certainty that many of the so-called backward races and nations do not have inborn genetic capacity which might flower unusually in the sciences, the arts or philosophy, provided only economic conditions and social institutions permitted.” For a copy of this speech, see Henry A. Wallace, “Racial Theories and the Genetic Basis for Democracy,” *Science* 89/2303 (Feb. 17, 1939): 140-143.

reducing British demands for goods. In contrast, Latin American countries benefited from U.S. trade policies. For example, the Inter-American Development Commission had been established in 1940 to promote trade and encourage industrialization. The Inter-American Coffee Convention of 1941 established quotas, higher prices, and guaranteed market access for the hemisphere's coffee producers in the face of the loss of European markets.⁷⁶⁴ Rocha thanked the United States for "playing a great part in helping the sister Americas."⁷⁶⁵

In order to secure the commodities and strategic raw materials of the Western Hemisphere for the United States, the Roosevelt Administration greatly expanded inter-American economic cooperation following the U.S. entry into the Second World War. The U.S. federal government provided official loans to increasingly interventionist Latin American states through various channels like the Export-Import Bank and the Lend-Lease program. Latin America became the beneficiary of the Roosevelt Administration's Metals Reserve Company and the Rubber Reserve Company, which stockpiled essential war materials as the Japanese took increasing control of Asia's raw materials-producing regions. U.S. private investment in the Western Hemisphere also soared during the war years, especially in strategic raw materials.⁷⁶⁶ As Rocha pointed out, the United States'

⁷⁶⁴ Meanwhile, the state in the larger republics sought capital to make direct investments in commodities and infrastructure in support of national industrialization policies. The traditional export-led approach to economic prosperity gave way to increasing state intervention in the larger Latin American republics' economies.

⁷⁶⁵ Heloisa Rocha, "New York Times Pan American Day Conference," April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21.

⁷⁶⁶ Originally created in 1934 to extend government credit to U.S. businesses in foreign countries where commercial banks had closed or reduced their services, the Export-Import Bank later extended credit to foreign countries. Lend-Lease became law in March 1941 following a heated debate in the U.S. Congress. It passed by a vote of 60 to 31 in the Senate and 317 to 71 in the House of Representatives. The Lend-Lease program allowed the United States to provide

southern neighbors were being relied upon to supply war materials. "In the economic field we are valuable allies," said Rocha, "supplying foods and raw materials to the United Nations, and exporting many minerals for war production, such as saltpeter and copper from Chile, silver from Mexico, copper and tin from Bolivia, manganese, industrial diamonds, quartz crystals, bauxite, mica, and rubber, vegetable oils, various kinds of fibers, etc., from Brazil." Rocha was pleased that the wartime period's many inter-American commercial and financial agreements had expanded "inter-American cooperation." Proud that Brazil had broken relations with the Axis Powers in January 1942 and declared war on the Axis Powers later that August, Rocha was satisfied that the Americas were "effectively and truly mutually helping each other, and their allies abroad."⁷⁶⁷

In addition, Rocha boasted that Brazil was "a real partner" that offered naval and aerial bases to the Allied Powers.⁷⁶⁸ Since the then largely defenseless region of northeastern Brazil was a short distance from Africa, the Roosevelt Administration believed its partnership with Brazil to be of great geopolitical significance. Fearing a

information and commodities to any nation whose defense the U.S. president deemed vital to the defense of the United States. By the end of the Second World War, Congress had approved \$50 billion in Lend-Lease funds. Britain received \$31.6 billion of that total. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. headed the Lend-Lease Administration from August 1941 until becoming U.S. Undersecretary of State in September 1943 and then U.S. Secretary of State in November 1944. See Frederick C. Adams, *Economic Diplomacy: The Export-Import Bank and American Foreign Policy, 1934-1939* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976); Michael R. Adamson, "Must We Overlook All Impairment of Our Interests?" Debating the Foreign Aid Role of the Export-Import Bank, 1934-41," *Diplomatic History* 29/4 (September 2005): 589-623; William H. Becker and William M. McClenahan, Jr., *The Market, The State, and the Export-Import Bank of the United States, 1934-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Warren F. Kimball, *The Most Unsordid Act: Lend-Lease, 1939-1941* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969); Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., *Lend-Lease: Weapon for Victory* (New York: Macmillan, 1944).

⁷⁶⁷ Heloisa Rocha, "New York Times Pan American Day Conference," April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid.

potential German invasion of the area, the United States constructed air bases in Brazil and cemented military cooperation with the Estado Novo, or “New State,” the corporatist dictatorship loosely modeled on Iberian and Italian fascism that Getúlio Vargas established in Brazil in 1937 when he overthrew his own government with the help of the nation’s military. Vargas, who initially favored Mussolini, eventually yielded to U.S. urging to send an expeditionary force to fight in Europe. Highly dependent on the U.S. forces for training, equipment, and provisions, the Brazilian Expeditionary Force (Força Expedicionária Brasileira), explains historian Frank McCann, “went beyond the standard idea of coalition warfare because of its total integration into the U.S. army.”⁷⁶⁹ Indeed, the force represented a division from an independent nation’s army voluntarily placed under U.S. command.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁹ Frank D. McCann, “Brazil and World War II: The Forgotten Ally. What Did You Do In The War, Zé Carioca?” *Estudios interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 6/2 (July-December 1995). After two years of preparation, the Força Expedicionária Brasileira, a U.S.-sponsored effort of more than 25,000 formed by the Brazilian navy, army, and air force fought with the Allied forces during the concluding months of the Italian campaign. The first Brazilians left for Europe aboard the *USS General W.A. Mann* in July 1944 and disembarked in Naples. The first Brazilian units entered the front line in mid-September 1944, when the Allied victory was already certain. The force fought under General Mark W. Clark. As part of the U.S. 5th Army, the Brazilians won several engagements but lost over 400 men during eight months of combat. For information on the Força Expedicionária Brasileira, see Manoel Thomaz Castello Branco, *O Brasil na II Grande Guerra* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército, 1960); Mark W. Clark, *Calculated Risk* (New York: Harper, 1950); João Baptista Mascarenhas de Moraes, *A F.E.B. pelo seu comandante* (São Paulo: Instituto Progreso Editorial, 1947); Frank D. McCann, “The Força Expedicionária Brasileira in the Italian Campaign, 1944-1945,” *Army History* 26 (Spring 1993): 1-11; Frank D. McCann, *The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937-1945* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973); Shawn C. Smallman, “The Official Story: The Violent Censorship of Brazilian Veterans, 1945-1954,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 78/2 (May 1998): 229-259.

⁷⁷⁰ Great Britain’s Prime Minister Winston Churchill opposed expending the resources to equip, transport, and sustain the Brazilian force. In contrast, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt saw the postwar writing on the wall as he oversaw the rise of U.S. influence in South America following the erosion of British and European engagement and interest there. In exchange for supporting the Allied war effort, the Getúlio Vargas Administration in Brazil received U.S. military aid through Lend-Lease and U.S. loans for industrialization and military modernization

Rocha also highlighted the role of women in Pan American unity. She commended her colleagues for being “strong adherents of Pan Americanism” and “trying to tighten the knots among all the women of the Americas.” She felt certain that their work “contributed a great deal to the friendship and rapprochement” of the people of the Western Hemisphere. Rocha was pleased that “under the organization of well-trained North American women,” Brazilian women were “learning modern processes to help win the war.” Courses in civilian defense had been created, and female teachers were instilling in Brazilian children “the spirit” that all nations of the Western Hemisphere needed during wartime. Rocha praised First Lady Darcy Vargas for organizing the Brazilian Assistance Legion to supply funds, clothing, and foodstuffs to needy families, including those of Brazilian soldiers.⁷⁷¹ Wives of cabinet ministers served as the legion’s directors and the wife of the governor led the subcommittees in each state. Headed by the First Lady, the Brazilian Assistance Legion reinforced the paternal authority of the Brazilian state.⁷⁷² Before leaving the podium, Rocha surely pleased Grant with her boast

efforts. Brazil received seventy percent of all U.S. Lend-Lease military equipment sent to Latin America and the U.S. financial support for wartime air bases in Brazil greatly stimulated the Brazilian aerospace industry.

⁷⁷¹ The Vargas family experienced the tragic loss of a son in his twenties who had been named after his father. The Brazilian First Lady’s grief was channeled into the charitable works to which she devoted increasing amounts of time. For a highly laudatory piece of reporting on Darcy Vargas and the Brazil Assistance Legion, see Frank Garcia, “Brazil’s Women Enroll for War,” *New York Times*, 6 September 1942, p. D4.

⁷⁷² Darcy de Lima Sarmanho was orphaned at the age of fourteen. One of her father’s best friends had been the father of Getúlio Vargas. In 1911, at the age of fifteen, she married Getúlio, who was thirteen years her elder. Darcy Vargas remained very much in the background of her husband’s political life over the course of their forty-seven year marriage. But when her husband was Brazil’s head of state, she devoted herself to charitable work. Founded in 1942 by Darcy Vargas, the Brazilian Assistance Legion extended its activities throughout Brazil over the years. The Darcy Vargas Foundation also opened the Casa do Pequeno Jornaleiro (Home of the Paperboy), a kind of Boystown for the Rio de Janeiro street children who had sold papers on street corners while living under the awnings of newspaper buildings near the Praça Mauá

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that Brazilian women, in addition to being factory workers, machinists, and electricians, were driving ambulances, spotting planes, and learning first aid and Morse code for the war effort.⁷⁷³

Rocha, a member of Bertha Lutz's Brazilian Federation of Feminine Progress, had begun her address with inflated praise for the gender equality that distinguished North American culture. "In almost all American countries woman are far from having the privileged position of our fellows in North America, who are economically independent and have a loyal companion in the American man, who gives them a distinguished place," said Rocha. "The South and Central American women belong to a race whose man is dominant," she continued. "However, they are very courageous and are progressing and working hard to open the way to equality, trying to work side by side with the man, without competition, but with the firm intention of being his real companion."⁷⁷⁴ Thus, while Brazil assisted the Allies in terms of raw materials and manpower, Pan Americanism would hopefully spread the gender equality exemplified in U.S. and Canadian culture.⁷⁷⁵

shipyards. For information on Darcy Vargas, see Richard Bourne, *Getulio Vargas of Brazil, 1883-1954: Sphinx of the Pampas* (London: Charles Knight & Company, 1974), 114; Robert M. Levine, *Father of the Poor?: Vargas and His Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 16. For info on the Darcy Vargas Foundation during the Second World War, see Chermont de Britto, *Vida luminosa de Dona Darcy Vargas* (Rio de Janeiro: Coordenadoria de Comunicação Social, LBA, Seção de Editoração, 1984); Jerry Dávila, "Under the Long Shadow of Getúlio Vargas: A Research Chronicle," *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 12/1 (January-June 2001).

⁷⁷³ Heloisa Rocha, "New York Times Pan American Day Conference," April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21.

⁷⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁵ Despite not being part of the Pan American Union, Canada was represented that day by Mrs. Frederick B. Cutter, the president of the Canadian Women's Club of New York and representative of the National Council of Women of Canada. Cutter brought "greetings and

The writer and feminist activist Muna Lee closed the program. Like Grant, Lee was a committed Pan Americanist who had spent her life trying to promote an appreciation for what she believed were the common histories of the nations of the

expressions of friendship" to the conference from the women in "Canada's war program." Cutter praised Canadian women for helping to make Canada the fourth largest producer of war supplies among the Allied Powers. She was proud that tens of thousands of Canadian women had joined the women's divisions of the armed forces and hundreds of thousands had stepped into jobs in wartime industries. "At no time in history," Cutter concluded, "has friendliness and neighborliness been so vital." Before leaving the podium, she admonished the women of the Western Hemisphere to work towards cooperation "with a deep spiritual motivation." Mrs. F. B. Cutter, "New York Times Pan American Day Conference," April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21. For information on Cutter, see Anne Petersen, "New Presidents Take Up Office In City's Clubs," *New York Times*, 31 May 1942, p. D4; "Canadian To Speak At Women's Rally," *New York Times*, 12 April 1943, p. 18. Since its founding in 1920 by a small group of Canadian women who went to New York to further their education or professional careers, the Canadian Women's Club of New York City had been promoting various social and cultural gatherings between Canada and the United States. For information on the activities of the Canadian Women's Club of New York during the Second World War, see William R. Willoughby, "Canadian-American Defense Co-Operation," *Journal of Politics* 13/4 (November 1951): 675-696.

The National Council of Women of Canada was founded to bring together with a united voice the charitable societies, garden clubs, music and literary associations, and missionary groups seeking social reform, better education, and women's suffrage. The International Council of Women had been founded a few years earlier, in 1888, at a meeting in Washington, D.C. The idea of a Canadian council arose with a group of women from the Dominion of Canada who attended the I.C.W. World's Congress of Representative Women, which met in Chicago in May 1893. The National Council of Women of Canada came into formal existence in October 1893 at a public meeting attended by 1,500 women in the Horticultural Pavilion in Toronto, Ontario. For information on the council, see N. E. S. Griffiths, *The Splendid Vision: Centennial History of the National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1993* (Ottawa, OT: Carleton University Press, 1993); Veronica Jane Strong-Boag, *The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929* (Ottawa, OT: National Museums of Canada, 1976). There is an abundance of literature on Canadian women during the Second World War, see Jean Bruce, *Back the Attack!: Canadian Women During the Second World War, At Home and Abroad* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1985); Barbara Dundas, *A History of Women in the Canadian Military* (Montréal: Art global, 2000); Diane G. Forestell, "The Necessity of Sacrifice for the Nation at War: Women's Labour Force Participation, 1939-1946," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 22 (November 1989): 333-347; Carolyn Gossage, *Greatcoats and Glamour Boots: Canadian Women at War, 1939-1945* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991); Ruth Roach Pierson, *Canadian Women and the Second World War* (Ottawa, OT: Canadian Historical Association, 1983); Ruth Roach Pierson, *'They're Still Women After All': The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986); Mary Ziegler, *We Serve That Men May Fly: The Story of the Women's Division, Royal Canadian Air Force* (Hamilton, OT: Royal Canadian Air Force, Women's Division Association, 1973).

Western Hemisphere.⁷⁷⁶ Both Lee and Grant's lives exemplify their shared conviction that through education and personal friendships the world's peoples could create and maintain harmonious international relations amidst their cultural differences. In 1928, Lee and other members of the National Women's Party of the United States had lobbied their way into the sixth Pan-American Conference in Havana and insisted upon international recognition for women.⁷⁷⁷ The Inter-American Committee of Women was formed as a result of combined efforts and Lee was proud of her personal contribution toward highlighting the struggle for equality between the sexes within the Pan American movement. International decisions concerning the Western Hemisphere's women were henceforth written in consultation with women themselves. Lee also endeavored to bring the hemisphere closer together through her educational work at the University of Puerto Rico, through her various published articles introducing English-speakers to Caribbean and Latin American historical figures that she portrayed as heroes in the hemisphere's struggle toward democracy, and through her many translations of works by Spanish American authors for English-speaking audiences.

⁷⁷⁶ Born in Raymond, Mississippi in 1895, Muna Lee had earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Mississippi in 1913. After teaching herself Spanish with the goal of acquiring government translation work, Lee moved to New York and enjoyed life among the city's literary circles. In 1919, she married the Puerto Rican poet and journalist Luis Muñoz Marín, a fellow member of the New York literary scene. In 1926, Lee and Muñoz Marín moved with their children to San Juan, where Muñoz Marín started down the road to becoming twentieth-century Puerto Rico's most prominent politician and Lee took a job as director of international relations at the University of Puerto Rico. For information on Lee, see Jonathan Cohen, ed., *A Pan-American Life: Selected Poetry and Prose of Muna Lee* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004); Jane Creighton, "Lee, Muna," in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography*, vol. 13 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 386-387.

⁷⁷⁷ For information on the National Women's Party, see Christine A. Lunardini, *From Equal Suffrage to Equal Rights: Alice Paul and the National Woman's Party, 1910-1928* (New York: New York University Press, 1986).

Grant quickly began working with Lee and her husband, the Puerto Rican poet and journalist Luis Muñoz Marín, on issues related to Puerto Rico. In 1938, Muñoz Marín founded the Partido Popular Democrático, which soon dominated Puerto Rican politics by putting aside the issue of Puerto Rico's status vis-à-vis independence or statehood and focusing instead on economic and social issues.⁷⁷⁸ Under the party motto of "Bread, Land, and Liberty," Muñoz Marín energetically campaigned in the November 1940 election, promoting land reform, improved working conditions, and public works projects. The Partido Popular Democrático had an impressive turnout. Subsequently, Muñoz Marín became president of the Puerto Rican Senate. Concurrently, Grant was helping Heloise Brainerd at the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to spread the word that Washington needed to take greater consideration for the needs of Puerto Rico, which was suffering import shortages due to the reduction in shipping caused by the war.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷⁸ In 1932, Luis Muñoz Marín was elected to the Puerto Rican Senate as a member of the Liberal Party. An enthusiastic supporter of the Roosevelt Administration's New Deal legislative program for rescuing the United States from the Great Depression through government intervention in the economy, Muñoz Marín gained political prestige by securing for Puerto Rico millions of dollars in U.S. aid for government-financed programs to improve transportation, communication, education, health facilities, and energy production infrastructure. For information on Muñoz Marín, see Surendra Bhana, *The United States and the Development of the Puerto Rican Status Question, 1936-1968* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1975); A.W. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín: Puerto Rico's Democratic Revolution* (San Juan: Editorial Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2006); Gabriel Villaronga, *Toward a Discourse of Consent: Mass Mobilization and Colonial Politics in Puerto Rico, 1932-1948* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004).

⁷⁷⁹ See Grant to Heloise Brainerd. 11 December 1942. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 27. Heloise Brainerd (1881-1969) played an important role in U.S. ties with Latin America and the Caribbean during the twentieth century. Born in Wallingford, Vermont, she graduated from Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts in 1904. After graduation, she worked from 1905 to 1909 as a bilingual secretary in a law firm in Mexico City. From 1909 to 1935, Brainerd was connected with the Pan American Union in Washington, D.C., first as private secretary to the assistant director. After being promoted to chief of the Division of Education, which was expanded into the Division of Intellectual Cooperation, Brainerd worked to foster artistic, cultural, educational, literary, and scientific interchange in the Western Hemisphere. In 1935, she

In the year following her husband's election to the presidency of the Puerto Rican Senate, Lee went to Washington, D.C. with her children to work as a regional specialist for the Division of Cultural Relations at the U.S. Department of State, where she was currently employed to promote international cultural exchange. Soon after Lee had taken the position at the Division of Cultural Relations, Grant visited her in Washington, D.C. to let her know she was sure that her presence there would contribute greatly to the cause of "inter-American understanding" that they both held so dear.⁷⁸⁰ Lee in turn praised Grant for carrying out "richly fruitful" work through the PAWA that was "really building toward the solidarity that is not only our best hope but the world's."⁷⁸¹ Although Lee and Muñoz Marín eventually divorced,⁷⁸² Grant and Muñoz Marín developed a very close

resigned from the Pan American Union and became the chair of the Committee on the Americas and chair of the Division of Inter-American Work for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Brainerd's goal was to draw women from Latin America and the Caribbean into the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the first international organization of women devoted to efforts to establish permanent peace. The U.S. section of the league originated as the Woman's Peace Party, which had been created at a conference in Washington, D.C. called by Jane Addams and Carrie Chapman Catt in January 1915. The U.S. section had 13,000 members and over one hundred branches by 1940, but membership dropped significantly following the U.S. entry into the Second World War. For information on Heloise Brainerd, see "Heloise Brainerd," in *The General Catalogue of Middlebury College, Bicentennial Edition* (Middlebury, VT: Middlebury College Press, 2000), 87. For information on the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, see Harriet Hyman Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue: A History of the U.S. Movement for World Peace and Women's Rights* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993); Joyce Blackwell, *No Peace without Freedom: Race and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1975* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004); Carrie A. Foster, *The Women and the Warriors: The U.S. Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1946* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995); Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Linda K. Schott, *Reconstructing Women's Thoughts: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom before World War II* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).

⁷⁸⁰ Grant to Muna Lee. 20 January 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 10.

⁷⁸¹ Muna Lee to Grant. 29 April 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 10.

⁷⁸² Luis Muñoz Marín divorced Muna Lee in 1946 and married Inéz María Mendoza de Palacios, a teacher and political activist with whom he had previously fathered two children. In 1951, Lee

friendship while working together on inter-American issues during his governorship of Puerto Rico from 1949 to 1964.⁷⁸³ Other leading Puerto Rican political figures of the Cold War era that were close to Muñoz Marín also joined Grant in her efforts on behalf of Western Hemisphere's democratic left. Teodoro Moscoso, whom U.S. President John F. Kennedy chose as first director of the Alliance for Progress, became a financial backer of Grant's Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom.⁷⁸⁴ Arturo Morales

was promoted to cultural coordinator in the Office of Public Affairs. She continued to work for the U.S. Department of State until 1965, the year of her death. Ruth Emily McMurry and Lee detail international efforts to promote cultural and intellectual exchange in their book, *The Cultural Approach: Another Way in International Relations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947).

⁷⁸³ During her first trip to Latin America following the founding of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, Grant visited Puerto Rico in 1951 and sung the praises of Luis Muñoz Marín's governorship. In 1952, Luis Muñoz Marín inaugurated the Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico (Associated Free State of Puerto Rico), a commonwealth in free association with the United States. In July 1954, Grant and her friend Norman Thomas traveled to Puerto Rico at Muñoz Marín's request to celebrate the three-day holiday marking the second anniversary of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. During the festivities, Grant presented Muñoz Marín with the IADF's annual award for the making the year's greatest contribution to Inter-American democracy. The IADF then released a laudatory report on Puerto Rico under Muñoz Marín leadership, published by the *New Leader*. See "Puerto Rico, Fact vs. Fiction: A Report by the IADF," *New Leader* 38/4, Section Two (January 24, 1955); Juan Martínez Chapel, "Señora Frances Grant Dice Isla Es un Laboratorio de Libertad," *El Mundo* (San Juan, Puerto Rico), 22 October 1951, p. 13; Grant to Luis Muñoz Marín. 11 May 1954. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 54. Folder 39; Frances R. Grant, Commonwealth Day Press Release. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 54. Folder 39; Peter Kihss, "Puerto Rico Gets Dock Seizure Law," *New York Times*, 26 July 1954, p. 35.

⁷⁸⁴ Born in Barcelona, Spain, Teodoro Moscoso (1910-1992) moved with his family to Puerto Rico when he was a child. He received a bachelor's degree from the University of Michigan in 1932 and spent the 1930s working in his family's pharmacy chain stores in Puerto Rico. Moscoso was the architect of Operation Bootstrap, Luis Muñoz Marín's program of externally-financed industrialization. The program attracted U.S. capital investment by offering new industries tax exemptions, assistance with labor problems, and support for plant construction. Private investment boomed, transforming Puerto Rico into a modern, urban, industrialized society. Regrettably, Puerto Rico's high rate of economic growth accompanied correspondingly high levels of unemployment and emigration. From 1950 to 1961, Moscoso was the first administrator of Fomento, Puerto Rico's Economic Development Administration that carried out Operation Bootstrap policies. Moscoso worked in the John F. Kennedy Administration first as U.S. ambassador to Venezuela, then as assistant administrator for Latin America at the U.S. Agency for International Development, and finally as the first U.S. coordinator of the Alliance for

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Carrión, Kennedy's deputy assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, served as a Puerto Rican delegate to the IADF's Second Inter-American Congress for Democracy and Freedom and became and a "steady and faithful reader" of the *Hemispherica* bulletin of the IADF.⁷⁸⁵

Lee began her address, entitled "The Contribution of Caribbean Women to Solidarity," with the claim that Caribbean women were "among the most progressive" in

Progress. After he left the Kennedy Administration, Moscoso served as a vice president of the Commonwealth Oil Refining Corporation (CORCO). In 1973, he again took charge of Fomento, where he remained until retiring in 1977. Moscoso and the Commonwealth Oil Refining Corporation donated funds to the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom in the 1970s. See Grant to Teodoro Moscoso. 12 November 1971. Box 47 Folder 13; Grant to Teodoro Moscoso. 11 January 1973. Box 47. Folder 13. For information on Moscoso and Operation Bootstrap, see James L. Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico: Institutional Change and Capitalist Development* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 182-239; A.W. Maldonado, *Teodoro Moscoso and Puerto Rico's Operation Bootstrap* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1997).

⁷⁸⁵ Arturo Morales Carrión to Grant. Frances R. Grant Papers. 11 September 1970. Box 47. Folder 16. The Puerto Rican historian and diplomat Arturo Morales Carrión (1913-1989) was born in Havana, Cuba, but his family moved to Puerto Rico when he was a child. Morales Carrión studied political science and Latin American history at the University of Puerto Rico and the University of Texas at Austin before earning a doctoral degree from Columbia University in 1950. He taught in Puerto Rico and the United States and worked in the state departments of both governments. In the 1950s, during the governorship of Luis Muñoz Marín, Morales Carrión served as Puerto Rico's undersecretary of state. In April 1960, he acted as a Puerto Rican delegate to the Second Inter-American Congress for Democracy and Freedom held in Maracay, Venezuela. Morales Carrión was a member of the task force U.S. President-elect John F. Kennedy asked former U.S. assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs Adolf Berle, Jr. to form to study Latin American problems. From 1961 to 1963, Morales Carrión served the Kennedy Administration as deputy assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs. He was chairman of the International Colloquium of Democratic Development in Latin America, held in Dorado, Puerto Rico in August-September 1964. Frances Grant attended the colloquium with other IADF members, including José Figueres, the former president of Costa Rica who was then a visiting professor of Latin American affairs at Harvard University, José A. Mora, the Uruguayan diplomat and secretary general of the Organization of American States, and Ramón Villeda Morales, the former Liberal president of Honduras who was living in exile in Costa Rica due to Colonel Osvaldo López Arellano's coup d'état against his government ten days prior to the 1963 Honduran presidential election in which the Liberal Party seemed likely to win. For information on Morales Carrión, see María de los Ángeles Castro, "Arturo Morales Carrión (1913-1989)," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 71/4 (November 1991): 861-862; Eric Pace, "Dr. Arturo Morales Carrión, 75, Top Aide in Kennedy State Dept.," *New York Times*, 30 June 1989, p. A14. For information on the 1964 International Colloquium of Democratic Development in Latin America, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 47. Folder 11.

the Western Hemisphere. As proof of Caribbean women's progress, Lee sighted the fact that women were fully enfranchised voters in all elections in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. Furthermore, three large Caribbean universities – the University of Havana, the University of Santo Domingo, and the University of Puerto Rico – were fully coeducational. Lee then moved on to describe how Caribbean women were making a contribution to the Allied war effort. In Cuba, she reported, some 50,000 women from the ages of eighteen to sixty had organized for volunteer service as airplane spotters, first aid workers, and childcare providers for war workers. In Puerto Rico, women prepared surgical dressings and supplies, registered and recruited volunteers, and trained as nursing aides. In regards to the Caribbean woman, Lee concluded, "A citizen of the hemisphere, she knows that what is basic in our lands is not the seas or the rivers or the mountains that seem to separate us, but the conviction of equality and will to freedom, our common democratic faith and heritage, that hold us together."⁷⁸⁶

Grant provided the closing words of the conference with a speech entitled 'The True Pan-Americanism,' a highly critical analysis of the state of Pan Americanism that highlighted the problems of apathy, superficiality, and resistance to change. In contrast to the exclusively positive presentations given by her colleagues, Grant complained of apathy towards inter-American relations amongst the majority of the hemisphere's women. "It has been my privilege for the past fifteen years to have traveled throughout the Latin American republics in the cause of Inter-American understanding," boasted Grant. Regardless of the present historical moment's unprecedented cooperation amongst the hemisphere's leaders for the Pan American ideal, Grant admonished the audience to

⁷⁸⁶ Muna Lee, "The Contribution of Caribbean Women to Solidarity," New York Times Pan American Day Conference, April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21.

“admit that the great mass of women in the Americas have long remained indifferent to its urgency.” According to Grant, her fellow U.S. citizens shared a heavier burden of the blame for this apathy due to the fact that their wealth had provided them with more prospects “to reach out to the other Americas.”⁷⁸⁷ Grant became somewhat critical of women’s efforts during the later years of the Second World War. Perhaps Grant’s comments reflected frustration at the difficulty of promoting idealism and internationalism in the face of political divisions, insecurity, and fear generated by war and fascism.

Speaking as one who professed familiarity with practically every major organized effort for inter-American solidarity then being carried out, Grant criticized the shallowness of most Pan American efforts by women. She complained that the vast majority of women’s inter-American activities were “of the most superficial character” and revealed her colleagues “in the role of an intellectual philanderer, flitting from fiesta to fiesta.” She then attacked the partisanship and lack of organization among women’s groups. Despite the gracious way the Latin American and Caribbean speakers at the conference had lauded the “highly organized character of North American womanhood,” Grant asked the North American women to “truly confess” that “women’s organizations – except those of professional and specialized interests – have almost invariably divided along the same partisan, sectional, caste or opportunistic lines as their men folk.” She hoped those gathered could “rise above” such personal interests and embrace a “more universal concept of the common welfare.” For Grant, her colleagues were not representing those qualities unique to women that allowed them to surpass the divisive

⁷⁸⁷ Frances R. Grant, “The True Pan-Americanism,” Pan-American Day Address Pamphlet, April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 13.

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politics and self-interest of men. Despite her almost exclusive work with members of elite circles, Grant also disapproved of economically comfortable women who failed to take a more radical stance in their activism and truly attempt to create a more equitable social order. Grant's final criticism of women of the Americas engaged in social welfare work was in regards to their "resistance to change."⁷⁸⁸ Women's interest in their families and concern for their home lives made them unable to see the greater needs of society and work towards greater hemispheric unity. In a carefully worded manner, Grant asked them to transcend their own class interests for the broader interest of world peace:

"Due to an excess of one of their most superb qualities – loyalty for their dear ones and fear of their security – women have often, in these Americas, resisted change even when such change was for the common good. It is no secret between us that in every one of our Americas, there remain social and political malignancies, such as substandard living conditions, pauperism, interracial injustices, religious bigotries, feudalistic taboos, that have no place in a modern, social, economic and political order. Yet, fearful that changes might threaten the security of their loved ones, women in these Americas have often preferred to remain ignorant of these conditions; they have, in some cases, even resisted changes which would have leavened the economic and social forces. To affect the unity which we are aiming for among the Americas, we women must sublimate this quality of loyalty to our dear ones for loyalty to the whole of mankind. We must be willing to probe the social, economic and political danger spots in our own countries, lest they threaten the health of the entire hemisphere."⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁹ Ibid.

Grant asserted that women had an enormous advantage over men in that they were a sort of clean slate without an unhappy historical legacy. Having never done anything “as women” to destroy the Pan American ideal, women of the Western Hemisphere were free to form new friendships that lacked past “scars of injustices, exploitation, and misunderstanding.” Men could make no such a claim. According to Grant, “Until the Good Neighbor policy and the realization of the inter-dependence our countries, men had done everything short of war to outrage those principles of Inter-American unity.” Grant was happy that those women now working in the Pan American movement had “no unsavory past but only a clean present, and a future full of luminous possibility.”⁷⁹⁰

Grant explained that women of the Western Hemisphere needed to unite “by our own realization that the threat to us all today is not alone to the rights of women, but to men and women alike – to the freedom of all humanity.” Reconciling a heartfelt desire for peaceful international relations with the need she felt to militarily oppose fascism, Grant told those assembled to “substitute the motto, ‘Peace in our time’ for the device, ‘War, if necessary, in our time; but Peace for posterity.’” She proposed that after the Allied Powers proved victorious in their fight against “slavery and tyranny,” women should insist that the freedom for which they fought become “the common inheritance” of the hemisphere’s peoples. “This means that not only the smallest nation among us, but the smallest minority, shall be freely permitted to contribute its worthiest labor and talents to the community of American peoples,” Grant clarified. “It means that no sector

⁷⁹⁰ Ibid.

of our peoples – be they Black, Indian, White, Jew, Protestant, or Catholic – shall be deprived of the solace of Democracy, which it is our hemispheric mission to preserve for the world.” Finally, Grant called on women to mobilize to prepare themselves to play a part in future postwar peace conference.⁷⁹¹

Grant astutely understood that racial and class tensions contributed to a lack of unity within the Pan American movement. Her condemnation of women who resisted breaking down barriers of class, race, and religion expressed her frustration, and exposed the difficulties and limits of the ideals of internationalism. Gender solidarity alone could not eliminate prejudices of class, race, and religion to unite women around the common goal of building a Pan American family.

New anthropological views on race nevertheless provided Grant and others a basis from which to argue for a better understanding of racial groups within the Western Hemisphere. Grant found an audience for her convictions on racial equality in May of 1943, when she addressed a PAWA Inter-Racial Committee-sponsored conference entitled ‘Inter-racial Understanding—A Key to Inter-American Unity’ at the American Museum of Natural History.⁷⁹² The conference was timed to coincide with the release of the museum’s seventy-fourth annual report, which highlighted biological and anthropological studies demonstrating that the world’s races should be classified as neither superior nor inferior, but, rather, simply different from each other. The report, published under the leadership of museum president Perry Osborn, attacked the non-

⁷⁹¹ Ibid.

⁷⁹² See “Events Today,” *New York Times*, 3 May 1943, p. 13.

scientific basis of assertions of racial inferiorities and superiorities.⁷⁹³ Osborn understood misinformation and ignorance in this matter to be at the core of the current world crisis. Furthermore, he believed museums would play an important role in postwar education by fighting dangerous racialism while teaching the public to respect the diverse cultural attributes of the world's peoples.⁷⁹⁴

Grant served as chair of the conference, which she opened by telling those assembled that inter-American unity and global peace needed to be grounded in inter-racial harmony. In very similar terms to her colleague María Rose Oliver's remarks at the Pan American Day conference a month earlier, Grant emphasized her conviction that for the war to come to a truly successful conclusion, concrete contributions needed to be made towards lessening the world's racial inequalities and injustices. This particular conference, anticipated Grant, would serve to remind the community of the need for uniformity in U.S. domestic and foreign policy. "Good-neighborliness is not a garment which we can don immediately upon leaving our borders," Grant declared. Rather, it was "a state of mind" that needed to be developed at home. Pointing her remarks to the U.S. citizens at the conference, Grant stated, "We of all the Americas must first learn to be Good Neighbors to the minority groups within our national orbits. Only then can we

⁷⁹³ Born in Garrison, New York in 1884, A. Perry Osborn graduated from Harvard Law School in 1909 and began a career as a lawyer, banker, and broker. He was prominent in New York state and a national Republican Party affairs. From 1941 to 1946, Osborn served as president of the American Museum of Natural History, which his father Henry Fairfield Osborn, a world-renowned vertebrate paleontologist, had headed from 1908 to 1933. For information on Osborne, see "A Perry Osborne, Lawyer, 67, Dies," *New York Times*, 8 March 1951, p. 29. For information on the museum, see Margaret Cooper, *American Museum of Natural History: The First 125 Years* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1994); Lyle Rexer and Rachel Klein, *American Museum of Natural History: 125 Years of Expedition and Discovery* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1995).

⁷⁹⁴ See "Museum To Depict Nature On The Job," *New York Times*, 4 May 1943, p. 20.

make so bold as to offer a formula of friendship and harmony to a hemisphere or to a world.” Grant then turned from the larger policy issue to a decidedly personal question. “Who, after all, is our Good Neighbor?,” she asked. “He is every American on this hemisphere – be he white, black, Indian, Jew, Catholic or Protestant – and he must be allowed the freedom to bring his worthiest talents to the evolution of the Inter-American ideal.”⁷⁹⁵ Grant understood that superficial Pan Americanism which lacked a basis in true equity of class, race, and religion would not provide lasting solidarity.

Grant hoped that conferences such as this, by discussing racial problems and making tributes “to the contributions of each race in our hemispheric destiny,” would help to bring “all racial groups, all minorities within the orbit of true freedom, self-determination and democracy, which it is our common hemispheric destiny to preserve for the world.” The PAWA president confidently proclaimed that millions in the hemisphere had now seen the “calamitous results of racial antagonisms and prejudice” realized by Nazi Germany. These millions were committed to create “a concept of Inter-American unity based on true inter-racial understanding and respect.”⁷⁹⁶ For Grant, like many speakers that day at the American Museum of Natural History, democracy entailed the hope of an end to class-based, race-based, and religious-based inequality and the resulting assurance of true hemispheric unity.

Following Grant’s opening remarks, a panel of speakers addressed the conference. Ruediger Bilden, a scholar of Brazilian and U.S. slavery who had studied at Columbia

⁷⁹⁵ Frances R. Grant, “Inter-racial Understanding—A Key to Inter-American Unity,” American Museum of Natural History, New York, May 3, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 26.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

University with Franz Boas addressed the gathering, as did Franklin Frazier, a professor of sociology at Howard University in Washington, D.C., the nation's leading historically black university.⁷⁹⁷ Frazier had spent 1941 in Brazil on a Guggenheim Fellowship studying family life.⁷⁹⁸ Harry Shapiro, a curator at the American Museum of Natural History,⁷⁹⁹ and Herbert Spinden, a curator at the Brooklyn Museum who specialized in

⁷⁹⁷ While studying under Franz Boas at Columbia University, Rüdiger Bilden took an interest in Brazil and established a friendship with his Brazilian classmate Gilberto Freyre. Bilden and Freyre traveled together through the U.S. South in the early 1930s, at which time Freyre was developing ideas for his famous 1933 study of the development of Brazilian civilization entitled *Casa-grande & senzala* (The Masters and the Slaves). Bilden was also friends with Melville Herskovits, the anthropologist who in 1948 at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois founded the first major interdisciplinary U.S. program in African studies, which was a milestone in the establishment of African and African American studies in U.S. universities. Herskovits was introduced to the anthropology of Brazil via Bilden, who endorsed the Brazilian nationalist ideology of "racial democracy." See Rüdiger Bilden, "Brazil, a Laboratory of Civilization," *The Nation* 128/3315 (1929): 71-74; Jeffrey D. Needell, "Identity, Race, Gender, and Modernity in the Origins of Gilberto Freyre's Oeuvre," *American Historical Review* 100/1 (February 1995): 63-64; Kevin A. Yelvington, "Melville J. Herskovits e a Institucionalização de Estudos Afro-Americanos," paper presented to the Colóquio Internacional, O Projecto UNESCO no Brasil: Uma volta crítica ao campo 50 anos depois, Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais, Universidade Federal da Bahia, Memorial da Escola de Medicina, Salvador, Bahia, Brazil, January 12-14, 2004.

⁷⁹⁸ E. Franklin Frazier was born in Baltimore, Maryland in 1894. After graduating from Howard University in 1916, Frazier attended Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, where he earned a master's degree in 1920. During the 1920s, Frazier was employed at Atlanta University, where he served as the director of the Atlanta School of Social Work. In the June 1927 issue of *Forum*, Frazier published an article entitled "The Pathology of Race Prejudice," which argued that racial prejudice was analogous to insanity. The article caused such a heated reaction among Atlanta residents that Frazier was removed from his position. Frazier moved from Atlanta to Chicago, where he received a scholarship from the Rockefeller Foundation to study in the University of Chicago's sociology department, from which he earned a doctoral degree in 1931. In 1934, he returned to Howard University to head the department of sociology, where he spent the rest of his career. In 1942-1943, he was the first African American to be honored as Resident Fellow at the Library of Congress. In 1948, he was the first African American to serve as president of the American Sociological Society. For information on Frazier, see Arthur P. Davis, "E. Franklin Frazier (1894-1962): A Profile," *Journal of Negro Education* 31/4 (Autumn, 1962): 429-435; Anthony M. Platt, "The Rebellious Teaching Career of E. Franklin Frazier," *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 13 (Autumn 1996): 86-90; Clovis E. Semmes, "The Sociological Tradition of E. Franklin Frazier: Implications for Black Studies," *Journal of Negro Education* 55/4 (Autumn 1986): 484-494.

⁷⁹⁹ Harry Lionel Shapiro, a leading authority on physical anthropology, was born in Boston, Massachusetts in 1902 to Polish Jewish immigrants. He earned a doctoral degree in physical

Latin America, made presentations as well.⁸⁰⁰ Latin American speakers included Grant's Argentine friend and fellow PAWA member María Rose Oliver, as well as the Brazilian international law scholar and diplomat Francisco Cavalcanti Pontes de Miranda, whom Grant had known from his time spent in the United States as a delegate to the conference of the International Labor Organization at Columbia University in 1941.⁸⁰¹

anthropology from Harvard University in 1926, the year he moved to New York City to join the staff at the American Museum of Natural History, where he spent his entire career as a curator until retiring in 1970. Shapiro was also employed as an adjunct professor of anthropology at Columbia University from 1943 to 1973. A founding member of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists in 1930, Shapiro became a key figure in the emerging field of forensic anthropology after the Second World War. For information on Shapiro, see Eric Pace, "Dr. Harry L. Shapiro, Anthropologist, Dies at 87," *New York Times*, 9 January 1990, 22; Deborah Andrews, ed., *The Annual Obituary, 1990* (Chicago: St. James Press, 1991), 70-72.

⁸⁰⁰ Herbert J. Spinden was born in Heron, South Dakota in 1879. He attended Harvard University, where he received a doctoral degree in anthropology specializing in Mayan art. Spinden worked at the American Museum of Natural History from 1909 to 1921 and at the Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology at Harvard from 1921 until 1929, the year he began working at the Brooklyn Museum, where he focused on building the museum's collection of pre-Columbian art. Also interested in the post-Conquest relationship between pre-Columbian and European cultures, Spinden placed the Brooklyn Museum in the forefront of collecting, studying, and exhibiting Spanish Colonial art in the United States. During his career, Spinden conducted field work and lectured at many museums and educational institutions throughout the Western Hemisphere. For information on Spinden, see "H.J. Spinden Retires," *Museum News* 28/3 (January 15, 1951): 3; "Dr. Spinden Dead, Indian Authority," *New York Times*, 24 October 1967, p. 44.

⁸⁰¹ The Brazilian lawyer, professor, and diplomat Francisco Cavalcanti Pontes de Miranda was born in Maceió, Alagoas in 1892. He studied law in the Faculdade do Recife and taught jurisprudence at several Brazilian universities and institutions while serving his country on numerous diplomatic missions. Cavalcanti Pontes de Miranda was working as the Appeals Court Judge of the Court of Justice of the Federal District (Desembargador do Tribunal de Justiça do Distrito Federal) in 1939, when he was named Brazil's ambassador to Colombia. Cavalcanti Pontes de Miranda was a Brazilian delegate to the ten-day conference of the International Labor Organization held at Columbia University in October-November 1941. Cavalcanti Pontes de Miranda's most important work was his *Tratado de Direito Privado*, in sixty volumes, completed in 1970. For information on Cavalcanti Pontes de Miranda, see Guillermo Francovich, *Filósofos brasileiros* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1943); Josef L. Kunz, "Contemporary Latin-American Philosophy of Law: A Survey," *American Journal of Comparative Law* 3/2 (Spring, 1954): 212-232; Sílvio de Macedo, *Pontes de Miranda e a universalidade de sua mensagem cultural: Novas interpretações* (Rio de Janeiro: Forense, 1982); Djacir Menezes, *Pontes de Miranda*, trans. Tomás Muñoz Molina (México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1946); Justino Adriano Farias da Silva, *Pequeno opúsculo sobre a vida e obra de Pontes de Miranda* (Porto Alegre, RS: Escola Superior de Teologia São Lourenço de Brindes, 1981).

During the rest of 1943 and 1944, Grant busily continued her wartime solidarity work. She organized PAWA luncheons that gave men and women from Latin America and the Caribbean a podium from which to educate U.S. audiences about their respective countries while asserting their opinions about Pan Americanism. In March 1944, a PAWA monthly luncheon held at the Town Hall Club applauded keynote speaker André Dreyfus, the dean of the school of philosophy, science and letters at the University of São Paulo, Brazil's premier teaching and research institution. Dreyfus told the luncheon attendees that in the past Brazilian students had gone abroad to study in Europe, but increasing numbers of Brazilian students were now "vitaly interested in their Northern neighbor" and "anxious to visit the United States to study and live among its people."⁸⁰² Grant, as well as officials at the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, which considered the development of close educational relations among the nations of the Western Hemisphere as an integral part of its work to counteract the influence of the Axis Powers in the Americas, would have appreciated Dreyfus' claim. In order to develop collaborative educational programs with ministries of education throughout the hemisphere, the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs established the Inter-American Educational Foundation, which sponsored U.S. educators to work abroad and distributed thousands of textbooks, films, and educational materials to schools in the Americas.⁸⁰³ Hoping, like Grant, to bring Brazil and the United States even closer together, Dreyfus called for "more frequent exchange of both post-graduate students and

⁸⁰² "Predicts Brazilians Will Study In The U.S.," *New York Times*, 19 March 1944, p. 12.

⁸⁰³ The U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs established the Inter-American Educational Foundation, Inc. in October 1943. See Kenneth Holland, "Cooperative Educational Program of the Office of Inter-American Affairs," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 79/8 (August 1945): 434-400.

visiting professors.” Participants in such educational exchange programs, he suggested, would be the future holders of important government posts in both countries.⁸⁰⁴

Other Latin Americans and U.S. citizens working to promote Pan Americanism also spoke that day. They included two visiting Brazilian women researchers who worked with the Brazilian First Lady doing social service work for the Darcy Vargas Foundation, a member of the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs’ public health education program in Colombia, and the novelist and historian Edward Laroque Tinker, a New Yorker who had recently returned from Mexico City, where he had been sent by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to give a course at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), Latin America’s largest university. Because he had “always felt that Latin Americans heard too much about the material aspects of the United States,” Tinker had chosen to lecture in Mexico on the “idealistic literature” of the United States as expressed in the writings of U.S. intellectuals like Benjamin Franklin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry David Thoreau.⁸⁰⁵ Tinker, a philanthropist and notable collector of Latin American art, artifacts, and books, would later promote study and interest in Latin America through his donations to U.S. institutions and the establishment of his important foundation dedicated to furthering inter-American understanding and supporting research in Latin America and

⁸⁰⁴ “Predicts Brazilians Will Study In The U.S.,” *New York Times*, 19 March 1944, p. 12.

⁸⁰⁵ V. Tejera, “A Word With Edward Laroque Tinker,” *Américas* 9/2 (February 1957): 20-21. For more information on Latin American perceptions of the United States, see Frederick Pike, “Latin America and the Inversion of United States Stereotypes in the 1920s and 1930s,” *The Americas* 42 (October 1985): 131-162.

the Iberian Peninsula.⁸⁰⁶ Luncheons like these contributed to a transnational flow of information between the United States, Latin America, and the Caribbean and significantly aided in constructing a Pan American community.

On Pan Americanism's busiest day of 1944, Grant found herself celebrating in Florida. From April 4 through 14, she attended the numerous Pan American Day celebrations hosted by the city of Miami. Over the ten days, in cooperation with the Pan American Division of the Miami Chamber of Commerce, various merchants dedicated their store windows to a Latin American or Caribbean country. Plus, the city's civic clubs devoted their weekly luncheons to themes and speakers on Pan Americanism. Activities began on April 4 with a Pan American luncheon held at the Miami Woman's Club, where speeches were made by assorted U.S. military leaders and officials from the U.S. Department of State.

⁸⁰⁶ Edward Laroque Tinker was born in New York City in 1881. He first took an interest in Latin America at the age of eleven when his parents gave him a *charro* outfit after returning from a trip to Mexico. He received a bachelor's degree from Columbia University in 1902, and three years later obtained a law degree from New York University. He served as assistant district attorney of New York from 1908 to 1911, but he resigned and soon went to live in El Paso, Texas, where he spent five years in the railroad industry. He traveled in Mexico during the early years of the Mexican Revolution and met Francisco "Pancho" Villa and Álvaro Obregón. In 1916, Tinker married Frances McKee of New Orleans and began studying and writing about the Creole culture of Louisiana. He earned a doctoral degree from the University of Paris in 1932. Beginning in 1936, Tinker worked for *The New York Times Book Review*, for which he contributed a weekly page for many years. Under the auspices of the U.S. State Department, Tinker was an exchange lecturer in 1945 in Uruguay and Argentina, where he spoke of the common heritage of horsemanship throughout the Western Hemisphere, a subject on which he later published. A member of many clubs and organizations that promoted Pan Americanism, Tinker established his Tinker Foundation in 1959. The University of Texas at Austin obtained his large collection of art, artifacts, and books from Latin America. See Edward Laroque Tinker, *New Yorker Unlimited: The Memoirs of Edward Laroque Tinker* (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1970); "Dr. Edward Laroque Tinker, Writer and Historian, Dies at 86," *New York Times*, 7 July 1968, p. 53; "Tinker, Edward," in Martin Seymour-Smith and Andrew Kimmens, eds., *World Authors, 1900-1950* (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1996): 2655-2657.

On April 13, the youth of Miami saluted their Latin American and Caribbean neighbors with a program from the Miami Edison Senior High School band and chorus. The following afternoon, on Pan American Day, a Solemn High Mass was presided over by the Most Reverend Joseph P. Hurley, the Roman Catholic bishop of St. Augustine. Hurley had served at the Vatican for six years as a member of the Papal Secretariat of State prior to being named a bishop in 1940.⁸⁰⁷ Before meeting Hurley in Miami, Grant had been familiar with this most outspoken interventionist in the U.S. Roman Catholic Church hierarchy before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Back in June 1941, when Germany broke the 1939 Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact by invading the Soviet Union, Hurley had become a strong voice for rallying U.S. Catholic support to help the Soviet Union defeat Nazi Germany. The U.S. Department of State supported the efforts of Catholic internationalists like Hurley, who received help in June 1941 from U.S. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles in composing a speech that denounced U.S. Catholic isolationists.⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰⁷ The son of Irish immigrants, Joseph Patrick Hurley, was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in Cleveland, Ohio in 1919. Serving as an attaché to the Papal Secretariat of State in charge of affairs relating to the United States, Hurley lived in Vatican City from 1934 until being appointed bishop of the diocese of St. Augustine, Florida in 1940. Recalled to the Vatican diplomatic corps in 1945, Hurley became the first U.S. citizen to be appointed a Papal Nuncio, which led to his becoming a vehement anticommunist while serving the papacy in Josep Broz Tito's Yugoslavia. After returning to Florida in 1950, Hurley recruited diocesan missionaries from Spain and encouraged priests in his diocese to learn Spanish. For information on Hurley, see "Archbishop Joseph P. Hurley, Former Vatican Envoy, Dead," *New York Times*, 31 October 1967, p. 45; Charles R. Gallagher, *Patriot Bishop: The Diplomatic and Episcopal Career of Archbishop Joseph P. Hurley, 1937-1967* (Ph.D. Thesis: Marquette University, 1998); Michael J. McNally, *Catholicism in South Florida, 1868-1968* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1982), 69-98.

⁸⁰⁸ See George Q. Flynn, *Roosevelt and Romanism: Catholics and American Diplomacy, 1937-1945* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), 86.

Soon after the invasion that ended the Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact, fifteen prominent U.S. Roman Catholic clergy and laymen declared in a public letter that they knew communism to be “the foe of all religion,” but they agreed with Hurley’s declarations that “the first enemy of our humanity, killer of our priests, despoiler of our temples, the foe of all we love both as Americans and Catholics is the Nazi.” The letter’s signers sought to insure that Adolf Hitler’s attack on the Soviet Union did not endanger the priority of defeating Nazism. Hitler must be conquered “even if that means that we and the Soviet Union are temporarily on the same side in the effort to resist a common enemy,” stated the letter issued through the Fight for Freedom, an organization run by Grant’s colleague Herbert Agar, a foremost advocate of U.S. involvement in the European conflict who worked fervently to counter U.S. Roman Catholic isolationism.⁸⁰⁹ When the Roosevelt Administration announced the inclusion of the Soviets in the Lend-Lease program, Hurley, using material provided by Welles, broadcast a radio address in July 1941 from Washington, D.C. After stating that lending arms to the Soviet Union was not in conflict with Papal pronouncements on collaboration with communists, Hurley asserted that Nazism was more dangerous than communism.⁸¹⁰ Like Grant, Hurley helped both Agar and the U.S. Department of State to counter the views expressed by U.S. Roman Catholic isolationists, whom Hurley accused of trying to portray Hitler’s attack on Joseph Stalin as a “holy crusade against communism.”⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁹ “Catholic Groups Divided On Russia,” *New York Times*, 29 June 1941, p. 10.

⁸¹⁰ See Gerald P. Fogarty, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982), 272.

⁸¹¹ “Wants War Action Left To President,” *New York Times*, 7 July 1941, p. 16. For more information on the relationship between Joseph P. Hurley and Herbert Agar’s Fight for Freedom organization, see George Q. Flynn, *Roosevelt and Romanism: Catholics and American*

The day's parade was followed by a dinner sponsored by the Pan American League, attended by Bishop Hurley, plus members of the consular corps of Miami and various government and military officials. Grant was invited to the speak at the dinner by Edith Clark Stearns, the founder and president of the league, which was concluding its three-day forum on the theme of 'Pan American Cooperation in the United Nations to Win the War, Win the Peace.'⁸¹² In her address, Grant began by telling those assembled that they were gathered once again this Pan American Day in order to reiterate their "faith" in hemispheric "amity" and "solidarity." She believed that due to the "new realization of the essential unity" of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere that had arisen since the Good Neighbor Policy, the Americas were now finally in the throes of

Diplomacy, 1937-1945 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), 81; "Supports Bishop Hurley," *New York Times*, 15 July 1941, p. 6. For Hurley's July 6, 1941 broadcast in support of Roosevelt's policy extending Lend-Lease to the Soviet Union, see Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J., "Roosevelt and the American Catholic Hierarchy," in David B. Woolner and Richard G. Kurial, eds., *FDR, the Vatican, and the Roman Catholic Church in America, 1933-1945* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 27.

⁸¹² See "Souvenir Program, Pan American Day Celebrations at Miami, Florida. April 4-14, 1944: An Official Publication of the City of Miami, Florida." Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 37. Edith Clark Stearns was the wife of Clark D. Stearns, a career naval officer who had served as acting commandant at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay in Cuba and for a time as governor of American Samoa. Stearns' Pan American League was supported by Florida notables such as the eminent conservationist and writer Marjorie Stoneman Douglass. With the simple goal of promoting peace and understanding among the nations of the Western Hemisphere, the league aided in organizing Pan American student clubs in many U.S. high schools. The league's chapters throughout the United States presented school assembly programs, sponsored plays by Hispanic authors, invited Latin American and Caribbean speakers, attended movies in Spanish, visited Mexican restaurants, and corresponded with students in Latin America and the Caribbean. In Miami, the league held luncheons and round table discussions, supported a speaker's bureau and artistic program, and significantly contributed to supporting foreign students visiting or studying in Florida. For information on Stearns and the Pan American League, see Francis Sicius, "The Miami-Havana Connection: The First Seventy-Five Years," *Tequesta* LVIII (1998): 5-45; A. Curtis Wilgas, "The Teaching of Latin-American History in Secondary Schools," *Hispania* 23/1 (February 1940): 65-66.

“fulfilling a vision which was first pronounced by the great founders and liberators of the American republics.”⁸¹³

As she had on numerous occasions over the years, Grant once again restated the Good Neighbor Policy era’s characteristic rhetoric that the Western Hemisphere shared a common history of great democratic achievement. According to Grant, the British North American independence leaders George Washington and Thomas Jefferson shared a common perception with the Spanish South American independence leaders Simón Bolívar and José de San Martín that the Western Hemisphere was “an indivisible whole” and “a community of nations” to be “dedicated to the principle of freedom and the newly conceived dignity of the human spirit.” Grant suggested that the cynics who rejected the idea of Pan American solidarity should investigate the early years of the newly-created American republics. In order to forge and maintain a united future, she invited skeptics to look to a supposedly united past. “Vain was the vigilance of the Inquisition and the zeal of the Spanish Office of the Indies to keep away from the Hispanic colonies of this hemisphere the news of this new credo of democracy which was being born,” Grant declared, before reminding her listeners that the desire for greater liberty which arose in Philadelphia had inspired the South American independence fighters.⁸¹⁴

⁸¹³ Frances Grant’s colleague Rita Halle Kleeman made a similar pronouncement at the 1943 New York Times Pan American Day Conference held at the New York Times Hall. Kleeman likewise stressed a supposed commonality between peoples of the Western Hemisphere, since all were the descendents of pioneers who sought “to escape the limitations of the old world.” She concluded that the opportunities in the New World, “the blessings of a free people,” would be retained only if all maintained them together and focused on their similarities rather than on their differences. See Rita Halle Kleeman, “New York Times Pan American Day Conference,” April 14, 1943. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 21.

⁸¹⁴ Frances R. Grant, “Pan American Unity-The Basis of Solidarity,” Miami Institute, April 14, 1944. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 13. The South American independence fighters were struggling against the Spanish Catholic monarchy, which despite having aided rebellious North Americans in their independence struggle from Britain, remained an object of U.S. hatred

Like so many others working for inter-hemispheric wartime solidarity, Grant exaggerated the degree to which the leaders of the young United States had sought to export their republican ideas and institutions to their southern neighbors.⁸¹⁵ “Never before or since has unity of spirit been such a reality as at that momentous dawn in our republics; at that moment all insular hopes, all parochial ambitions were sublimated to the great continental cause of hemispheric liberty,” argued Grant, who believed the unity that

and contempt. Spain helped British North American colonies succeed in becoming the independent United States through providing supplies and money. Soldiers recruited from Spain and the Spanish Empire in the Western Hemisphere fought British soldiers and their allies in Europe, North America, Central America, and the Caribbean. For information on the role of Spain in the U.S. independence struggle, see Eric Beerman, *España y la independencia de Estados Unidos* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992); Thomas E. Chávez, *Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002).

⁸¹⁵ In fact, the truth concerning the Western Hemisphere’s united spirit at the birth of American republicanism might not have offered such gleaming inspiration for the future. Great Britain had formally acknowledged the independence of the United States in the Treaty of Paris in September 1783. Surrounded by the New World empires of Britain, France, and Spain, the United States was concerned about its weakness and isolation. The second successful independence movement in the Western Hemisphere occurred in the French Caribbean colony of Saint Domingue on the island of Hispaniola. A cursory investigation into that anti-colonial struggle proves a more complex inter-hemispheric dynamic than Frances Grant was willing to acknowledge. The French colonists appealed for help and received, in addition to volunteer soldiers, U.S. federal and state government aid in the form of loans, provisions, and weaponry. But despite U.S. assistance, the French were unable to suppress the slave revolt that devastated Saint Domingue and led to the creation of the sovereign nation of Haiti in 1804. Due to its origins in a slave rebellion, Haiti, the Black Republic, was subsequently denied U.S. diplomatic recognition until 1862. For information on the U.S. reaction to Haitian independence see, Gordon S. Brown, *Toussaint's Clause: The Founding Fathers and the Haitian Revolution* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005); Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.) Tim Matthewson, *A Proslavery Foreign Policy: Haitian-American Relations During the Early Republic* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003); Simon P. Newman, “American Political Culture and the French and Haitian Revolutions,” in David P. Geggus, ed., *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), 72-89; Leon D. Pamphile, *Haitians and African Americans: A Heritage of Tragedy and Hope* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), 8-33; Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Haiti and the United States: The Psychological Moment* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992); Arthur L. Stinchcombe, “Class Conflict and Diplomacy: Haitian Isolation in the 19th-Century World System,” *Sociological Perspectives* 37/1 (Spring 1994): 1-23.

the Western Hemisphere's rebellious colonists displayed during the independence struggles provided "the key to inter-American understanding – the key of universality of ideals which we must find again and again if the cause of Pan American unity is to become not merely a word but a reality!"⁸¹⁶ Grant was just one of many inter-American solidarity promoters who retold a highly embellished story during the Second World War of the solidarity between the British North American rebels and the Spanish South American rebels as they threw off European monarchy.⁸¹⁷ The United States was often credited for beginning an independence movement that inspired its hemispheric neighbors, just as it hoped to inspire them now to unite in the fight against fascism.⁸¹⁸

⁸¹⁶ Frances R. Grant, "Pan American Unity-The Basis of Solidarity," Miami Institute, April 14, 1944. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 13.

⁸¹⁷ To be fair to Frances Grant, it is true that U.S. leaders who believed the extension of republicanism would insure their government's stability and survival did seek to attract white colonial subjects of Europe's monarchies in the Western Hemisphere to republican ideas. The American Revolution inspired the Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda, one of the earliest advocates of Spanish-American independence. Miranda believed that the rebellion that created the United States was a prelude to independence in the entire hemisphere. With the assistance of private U.S. citizens, Miranda outfitted a ship in 1806 and launched the first expedition against royalists in South America. Miranda's attempt proved unsuccessful, but when the Spanish-American wars of independence began in earnest in 1810, there was sympathy in the United States for the colonial rebels. For information on Miranda, see Tomás Polanco Alcántara, *Francisco de Miranda: Ulises, Don Juan o Don Quijote?* (Caracas: Editorial Ex Libris, 1997); Karen Racine, *Francisco de Miranda: A Transatlantic Life in the Age of Revolution* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003).

⁸¹⁸ U.S. leaders relished the prospect of the loss of European influence and hoped for increased trade in the Western Hemisphere. In July 1815, U.S. President James Madison announced that rebel ships would be treated on the same basis as other foreign ships in U.S. ports, thereby granting the Spanish-American rebels belligerent rights. The following year, Venezuelan patriots bought gunpowder from the administration on credit, but this was the only time the U.S. government proffered a loan or grant to the insurgents. As the wars of independence progressed, the noncommittal attitudes and policies of the U.S. government frustrated Spanish-American independence leaders like Simón Bolívar, who complained of U.S. indifference toward what he believed to be the just conflict for Spanish-American independence. Bolívar later came to view U.S. power as a threat to Spanish-American sovereignty. As speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Henry Clay argued that the liberation of Latin America from European colonial rule was an ongoing aspect of the American Revolution and urged an active policy of support for the wars of independence. But most U.S. leaders wanted the United States to remain uninvolved.

In her effort to create and maintain friendships in the Americas, Grant displayed an exceedingly appreciative demeanor toward Latin American and Caribbean artistic productions. The PAWA president constantly sang the praises of Latin American and

In a test vote in the House of Representatives in 1818 on the possible recognition of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, the Clay faction lost by a vote of 115 to 45. Many U.S. leaders doubted that the principles of the American Revolution were applicable to Latin Americans, who were deemed ill-prepared for republicanism. U.S. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams did not believe in a community of interests between North and South America. Like many of his contemporaries, Adams inherited negative attitudes toward Catholic Spaniards from his Protestant English forbearers. Adams and former U.S. President Thomas Jefferson doubted Latin Americans had the right religion, laws, manners, customs, and habits for good independent republican governance. The Spanish Americans were also of dubious whiteness and considered racial inferiors by their British North American neighbors. Those who were white were considered to come from degraded Spanish stock mixed with Indian and African blood. Many U.S. observers were uneasy over the presence of men of African descent in the Spanish-American liberation armies. Another issue for concern was the rebel privateers in Caribbean and South American waters who sought loot under the pretext of independence, thereby hurting U.S. shipping. But when Spanish-American rebels sought privateers to attack Spanish shipping, U.S. ship owners and sailors, enticed by economic gain, contributed to the cause of Spanish-American independence. Volunteers from the United States served in the rebel government navies. U.S. merchants were also eager to profit. When they were able to pay, the Spanish-American rebels received military and other supplies that were of great importance to their struggle. Official U.S. opinion changed in response to the successes of the Spanish-American wars of independence after 1820. As president of the United States, Adams now optimistically asserted that Latin American independence spelled the end of the European mercantilist system of commercial restrictions on U.S. trade. The United States recognized the independence of Spanish-American nations in 1822, three years before any European government. In December 1823, U.S. president James Monroe boldly asserted that the Western Hemisphere was henceforth closed to both Europe's political system and future European colonization. The Monroe Doctrine declared any European threat to the new nations of Latin America would be viewed as a threat to the United States. For information on the United States attitude toward the Spanish-American independence movements, see Piero Gleijeses, "The Limits of Sympathy: The United States and the Independence of Spanish America," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24/3 (October 1992): 481-505; John J. Johnson, *A Hemisphere Apart: The Foundations of United States Policy toward Latin America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); Lester D. Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1850* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 31-52; James E. Lewis, Jr., *The American Union and the Problem of Neighborhood: The United States and the Collapse of the Spanish Empire, 1783-1829* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). For information on the Monroe Doctrine, see Harry Ammon, *James Monroe: The Quest for National Identity* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), 476-492; Noble E. Cunningham, Jr., *The Presidency of James Monroe* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); David W. Dent, *The Legacy of the Monroe Doctrine: A Reference Guide to U.S. involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 1-18; Ernest R. May, *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975).

Caribbean creative output, which could only please Latin American and Caribbean elites. At the same time, Grant used cultural production as the reason her fellow U.S. citizens should take an interest in their less prosperous hemispheric neighbors whose nations had fallen economically behind the United States since achieving independence from France, Spain, and Portugal. Grant consistently reiterated her conviction that while the United States' southern neighbors lacked economic power, they had attained laudable cultural achievements. "Whatever the handicaps economically have been," Grant stated, "the strides of Latin America in cultural fields have been more deeply sensitive, more truly meditative than our own." Such rhetoric no doubt endeared Grant to the many Latin American and Caribbean artists and musicians that she counted amongst her friends and associates, as well as to the Latin American and Caribbean literary figures and scholars who often held political and diplomatic posts in their national governments. Turning to her U.S. colleagues, Grant suggested, "if we of North America can learn to share with our Latin American neighbors those gifts of administration, economic enterprise and industrial vision which have raised our standard of life to the highest yet known, we should be ready to accept from Latin America also their great talents in art, in music, in literature, which, in many facets of life, go far deeper than ours." Thus, there was compatibility and mutual need amongst the peoples of the hemisphere. "We are peoples strangely complimentary and designed by destiny to be real partners in a collaboration of peers," Grant reassured her Miami audience.⁸¹⁹

Stating that the current "crisis of world civilization" caused by the Second World War had provided the people of the Western Hemisphere with a unique opportunity for

⁸¹⁹ Frances R. Grant, "Pan American Unity-The Basis of Solidarity," Miami Institute, April 14, 1944. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 13..

solidarity, Grant closed her address by invoking a type of universalism that harkened back to her years as vice president of the now long defunct Roerich Museum, through which her former guru Nicholas Roerich had won her over with his lofty idea of the coming world unity. “This will be a test of our real unity as nations, for this is the day of a universal civilization, when we shall have to answer the challenge of all struggling peoples.” As a supporter of decolonization in the Caribbean and racial equality at home and abroad, Grant invited the peoples of the hemisphere to “demand that the freedom for which we fought shall be the common inheritance of all men and women of this hemisphere,” whether living in “the smallest nation” or being a part of “the smallest minority” in the Americas. “As young peoples, born of an ideal for democracy, we may raise our united voice for greater justice and freedom in our hemisphere as well as in the world about us,” Grant claimed. In the future, she hoped, “no sector of our peoples—be they black, Indian, white, Jew, Protestant, or Catholic—shall be deprived of the solace of democracy which it is our hemispheric destiny to preserve for the world.”⁸²⁰

Grant hoped that through education the people of the United States would develop and appreciation for other nations of the Western Hemisphere. Accordingly, the PAWA, in coordination with the New York City Board of Education, held a forum at the American Museum of Natural History to educate teachers about Latin America and provide them with source material on the region.⁸²¹ Attended by two-hundred and fifty of the city’s elementary and secondary school teachers, the day included speeches by Grant’s colleague Samuel Guy Inman. The former head of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America and an authority on inter-American relations, Inman was now retired

⁸²⁰ Ibid.

⁸²¹ See “Roosevelt Scored On Argentine Row,” *New York Times*, 15 October 1944, p. 23.

from teaching at the University of Pennsylvania. To address the New York City teachers, Grant also recruited the musicologist Gilbert Chase, a foremost promoter of Latin American music in the United States, and the Ecuadorian journalist, historian, and diplomat José Gabriel Navarro, who had served as Ecuador's minister of foreign relations for a short time in the 1930s and who represented his country at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held in Buenos Aires, Argentina in December 1936.⁸²² Navarro was an authority on Ecuadorian art whose translated writings reached

⁸²² Gilbert Chase was a leading figure in the study of musicology and ethnomusicology in the United States. Along with his colleague Robert Stevenson, who worked closely with the Mexican pianist and PAWA member Esperanza Pulido, Chase was one of the first U.S. scholars to devote attention to the cultural study of music of the Americas. Chase was born in Havana, Cuba in 1906. His father, a U.S. naval officer, had taken part in the Spanish American War of 1898, the result of which put Cuba under U.S. tutelage. His mother was the daughter of the Danish consul in Havana. Chase studied piano in New York City, where he was raised and educated. Giving up his studies at Columbia University in 1928, Chase moved to Paris thanks to help from his cousin the writer Anaïs Nin and her husband Hugh Parker Guiler, a banker who used the name Ian Hugo when he engaged in art and filmmaking. Chase obtained work through several publications as a music critic and became the Paris correspondent for *Musical America*, the New York-based publication for which Frances Grant had herself worked as a music critic and associate editor in her first job following her graduation from Columbia's school of journalism. Before returning to New York in 1935 to work as an editor of the *International Cyclopedia of Music* and *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, Chase made friends with many leading Spanish composers, which led to his eventual interest in Latin American music. From 1940 to 1943, Chase was employed as the Latin American music specialist at the Library of Congress and the music editor of *The Handbook of Latin American Studies*. He was currently lecturing in music at Columbia while working as educational supervisor at NBC, where among his many accomplishments would be the presentation of a series entitled *Music of the New World* for the broadcasting company's University of the Air. Chase's *The Music of Spain* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1941) with Albert L. Luper, his *Guide to the Music of Latin America* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, Music Division, 1943), and his *America's Music: From the Pilgrim's to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955) laid much of the foundation for what would become the socio-cultural study of the music of the Americas. In 1951, Chase was selected to be a U.S. cultural affairs officer. He worked at the U.S. embassies in Lima, Peru from 1951 to 1953, in Buenos Aires, Argentina from 1953 to 1955, and in Brussels, Belgium from 1958 to 1960. Chase held several academic positions during his lifetime. From 1961 to 1966, he was a professor of American musical history and Latin American studies at Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana. During his time at Tulane, he founded and directed the Inter-American Institute for Musical Research, and edited its *Yearbook for Inter-American Musical Research*, which first came out in 1965 and was published from 1970 to 1976 by the University of Texas at Austin, where Chase was a visiting professor from 1975 to 1979. For information on Chase, see

U.S. audiences.⁸²³ Always eager to include music in her PAWA programs, Grant asked PAWA member Frances Sebel to sing at the forum. Sebel, a soprano from Cincinnati, Ohio who began singing in New York at one of the popular free summer concerts in Central Park directed by Edwin Franko Goldman, had been an admired singer in the city since the 1920s.⁸²⁴ Two pianists from Latin America accompanied Sebel: Jascha Zayde, an Argentine-born pianist, composer, and conductor, and Rafael de Silva, a Chilean living in New York and working at the musical academy of his fellow Chilean pianist Claudio Arrau.⁸²⁵

Gerard Béhague, "Special Issue Honoring Gilbert Chase," *Latin American Music Review/Revista de Música Latinoamericana* 7/2 (Autumn-Winter, 1986): 135-136; Gilbert Chase, "Radio Broadcasting and the Music Library," *Music Library Association Notes* 2/2 (March 1945): 91-94; Allan Kozinn, "Gilbert Chase, 85, Critic and Author of Music Studies," *New York Times*, 27 February 1992, p. B6.

⁸²³ Born in Quito in 1881, José Gabriel Navarro was the editor of the daily *El Comercio de Quito* from its founding in 1906. Navarro was the Ecuadorian consul in Madrid, Spain in 1929 and 1930. He served for a short while as Ecuador's minister of foreign relations from October 1933 to August 1934. From 1949 to 1950, Navarro was Ecuador's ambassador to Chile. He died in 1965. For works on Ecuadorian art by Navarro that reached U.S. readers, see José Gabriel Navarro, *Religious Architecture in Quito*, trans. James Francis Shearer (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1945); José Gabriel Navarro, *Summary of Ten Lectures on Ecuadorian Art* (Panamá: Centro de Estudios Pedagógicos e Hispanoamericanos de Panamá, Star & Herald Company Printers, 1935); José Gabriel Navarro, "Art in Ecuador," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 59/8 (August 1925): 800-817.

⁸²⁴ Frances Sebel sang in Central Park with the Goldman Band in June 1924. The prominent bandmaster and composer Edwin Franko Goldman gave free concerts in New York City from 1918 to 1955. Thousands of New Yorkers would flock to the summer concerts, which were supported after 1924 by the Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. For information on Sebel, see Jim McPherson, "Before the Met: The Pioneer Days of Radio Opera – Part 2, The NBC National Grand Opera Company," *Opera Quarterly* 16/2 (Spring 2000): 204-223. For information on Goldman, see Douglas Frederic Stotter, *The Goldman Band Programs, 1919-1955* (D.M.A. Thesis: University of Iowa, 1993); Kirby Reid Jolly, *Edwin Franko Goldman and the Goldman Band* (Ph.D. Dissertation: New York University, 1971); "Edwin Franco Goldman Dies; Bandmaster and Composer," *New York Times*, 22 February 1956, p. 27.

⁸²⁵ Jascha Zayde was the first staff musician hired by WQXR, the classical music radio station in New York City owned by *The New York Times*, for which he had been working since 1936. Zayde was born to Russian-Jewish parents in Mercedes, Argentina in 1911. His family moved to the United States when he was six months old. Zayde began studying the piano by the age of

Music kicked off PAWA activities in January 1945 in a reception for Bidú Sayão, Brazil's most famous opera singer.⁸²⁶ Since her first U.S. performance at a Town Hall recital in December 1935, Sayão had been a star soprano, singing in many roles at the Metropolitan Opera. Grant and the PAWA honored Sayão as the woman who had "promoted, through her art, the most cultural understanding among the republics of the Americas" in 1944.⁸²⁷ Indeed, the U.S. government decorated Sayão for her many performances in army camps and hospitals during the Second World War.⁸²⁸ The

three and won a fellowship to study at the Juilliard School. He began at WQXR as the host of a weekly radio program entitled "The Development of Piano Music." Later, the station hired a second pianist, Clifford Herzer, and the duo of Herzer and Zayde became one of the station's most popular features. After Herzer joined the U.S. Navy, Zayde was teamed with the pianist Leonid Hambro. Beginning in 1954, Zayde was also the staff keyboard player of the New York City Ballet. The International Piano Archives at the University of Maryland, College Park contains a collection documenting Zayde's career. For information on Zayde, see Allan Kozinn, "Jascha Zayde, 87, Pianist on New York Radio," *New York Times*, 6 September 1999, p. B7.

⁸²⁶ The PAWA reception for Bidú Sayão in January 1945 was held at the Henry Hudson Hotel, formerly the American Woman's Association Clubhouse. Under the leadership of Anne Morgan, the daughter of financier J. Pierpont Morgan, the American Woman's Association Clubhouse built a 24-story building on West 57th Street in Manhattan in 1929 to serve as a club for professional women seeking to network their way into successful business careers. The American Woman's Association Clubhouse did not survive the Great Depression era. The building became the Henry Hudson Hotel in 1941. See Christopher Gray, "From Women's Clubhouse to WNET to \$75 a Night," *New York Times*, 4 January 1998, p. RE5.

⁸²⁷ "Bidú Sayão Honored As Good-Will Envoy," *New York Times*, 21 January 1945, p. 41.

⁸²⁸ Born in the Rio de Janeiro neighborhood of Botafogo in 1902, Balduína de Oliveira Sayão premiered in the Teatro Municipal do Rio de Janeiro at the age of eighteen. From the late 1930s through the 1940s, Sayão sang in more than two hundred performances of twelve different roles as one of the most popular stars of the New York Metropolitan Opera. In 1936, Sayão sang a work by the French composer Claude Debussy at Carnegie Hall under the Italian conductor Arturo Toscanini, who became her great supporter. Sayão gave her last performance at the Metropolitan Opera in 1952. Her last presentation on any stage was in 1954. She retired four years later after recording Heitor Villa-Lobos' *Floresta Amazônica*. Sayão became a U.S. citizen in 1959 and resided in Lincolnville, Maine with her second husband, the Italian baritone Giuseppe Danise. She returned to Brazil for the last time in 1995 to attend a tribute to her by the Escola de Samba Beija-Flor during the Carnival parade in Rio de Janeiro. For information on Sayão, see Gladys Bourdain, "Bidú Sayão, 94, Star Soprano of the 30's and 40's, Dies," *New York Times*, 13 March 1999, p. A13; Ann T. Kenne, "Sayão, Bidú," in Paul Betz and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography*, supplement 1 (New York: Oxford University Press,

Argentine concert pianist Raul Spivak⁸²⁹ performed at the reception and two pieces by the Brazilian nationalist composer Heitor Villa-Lobos, who attended the event, were included in the program.⁸³⁰ Through the power of the radio, the reception for Sayão was presented to listeners in Brazil. Sayão told her fellow Brazilians, “In this broadcast we see the great triumph of science, in crossing borders and transcending space. But the triumph of art and spirit is still greater, because it carries the message of fraternity and unity wherever it reaches.” Sayão then took the opportunity to not only praise the people of the United States, whose “hospitality and friendship” toward her had “indicated also

2002), 543-544; Lanfranco Rasponi, *The Last Prima Donnas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 505-511.

⁸²⁹ A native of Buenos Aires, Spivak taught music in that city in the late 1930s to a young Astor Piazzolla. He made his U.S debut in New York at Town Hall in December 1944. Spivak was one of the founders of Young Audiences, Inc., a U.S. national organization formed in 1950 to introduce children to classical music. He later taught on the music faculty first at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte and then at Florida Atlantic University. See “Raul Spivak Heard in American Debut,” *New York Times*, 28 December 1944, p. 24; Howard Taubman, “National Group Formed to Provide Good Music for School Children,” *New York Times*, 15 February 1952, p. 27.

⁸³⁰ The modernist nationalist composer Heitor Villa-Lobos (1887-1959) incorporated Brazilian popular tastes into many of his compositions. Without doubt South America’s most famous composer, Villa-Lobos had been Brazil’s national director of musical education since 1932 and had been known in the United States ever since his music was played at the 1939 New York World’s Fair. He spent a good portion of the 1920s in Paris before returning to Brazil to create music that reflected a new nationalistic consciousness. Villa-Lobos spent 1944 and 1945 in the United States conducting various orchestras in the performances of his work. Bidú Sayão was his favorite singer, and her most successful musical recording was her 1945 performance of his *Bachianas Brasileiras No. 5*. For information on Villa-Lobos, see David Appleby, *Heitor Villa-Lobos: A Life, 1887-1959* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002); Gerard Béhague, *Heitor Villa-Lobos: The Search for Brazil's Musical Soul* (Austin : Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1994); David E. Vassberg, “Villa-Lobos: Music as a Tool of Nationalism,” *Luso-Brazilian Review* 6/2 (1969): 55-65; Simon Wright, *Villa-Lobos* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

their interest and sense of friendship” for Brazil, but also to praise Villa-Lobos for creating works that “carried the message of our country to all the world.”⁸³¹

Grant celebrated the last wartime Pan American Day in April 1945 at a dinner at the New School for Social Research. Grant opened the dinner by telling those assembled that the most important issue facing the Western Hemisphere was to maintain “an inter-American order,” which she hoped would “set the pattern for a larger world organization.” Grant wanted the “Pan American Community of Nations” to serve as “the prototype of the world order.”⁸³² Grant’s brother David also spoke that day, echoing his sister’s thoughts about the need to overcome racial prejudice to achieve true Pan Americanism. He cited racial intolerance in the United States toward Latin Americans, born from a “mixture of races,” as a major threat to future postwar hemispheric solidarity. The cessation of the U.S. Lend-Lease program to other nations of the hemisphere constituted the other menace because, as he put it, “Santa Claus is never popular when he packs his bag to go home.”⁸³³

The evening’s keynote speaker, General Fulgencio Batista, the former president of Cuba, represented Latin America’s “race mixture” that sparked David’s comment. Batista’s friends called him *el indio*, his enemies referred to him as *el negro*. As an army sergeant, Batista had taken part in the overthrow of President Gerardo Machado in the Revolution of 1933. Through an agreement arranged by the overbearing U.S. ambassador Sumner Welles, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes became Cuba’s provisional president in

⁸³¹ Bidú Sayão, “Pan American Women’s Association Reception,” Henry Hudson Hotel, New York, January 20, 1945. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 15.

⁸³² Frances R. Grant, New School for Social Research, April 22, 1945. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 50.

⁸³³ “Batista Proposes Economic Charter,” *New York Times*, 23 April 1945, p. 26.

August 1933, but Batista headed a precarious alliance of military and student leaders which ousted Céspedes and installed Ramón Grau San Marín as provisional president the following month. Grau was removed from office by Batista four months later. Grau's removal in January 1934 inaugurated a period whereby Batista dominated Cuban political life through puppet presidents. In 1939, Batista resigned as army chief of staff to run for the presidency.⁸³⁴

Batista oversaw Cuba's transition from a military dictatorship in 1934 to a constitutional democracy in 1940. Batista served as president of Cuba from 1940 to 1944 and under his leadership Cuba strongly backed the United States during the Second World War.⁸³⁵ Prevented from seeking a second consecutive term in office by the Cuban constitution, the strongman stepped down from the presidency. Leaving office, he toured the Western Hemisphere calling for increased inter-American economic and political solidarity while being feted as an illustrious democratic leader. "Usurpers who mock their peoples cannot be perpetuated into the future on the excuse that we must preserve the peace won by the democratic fervor in open combat," Batista told the New School audience.⁸³⁶ In 1945, Grant wrote to Batista expressing her belief that his democratic message would "reecho throughout the Hemisphere and add to the hope of the peoples of the Americas."⁸³⁷

⁸³⁴ See Robert Whitney, "The Architect of the Cuban State: Fulgencio Batista and Populism in Cuba, 1937-1940," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32/2 (May 2000): 435-459.

⁸³⁵ See Irwin F. Gellman, *Roosevelt and Batista: Good Neighbor Diplomacy in Cuba, 1933-1945* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973).

⁸³⁶ "Batista Proposes Economic Charter," *New York Times*, 23 April 1945, p. 26.

⁸³⁷ Frances R. Grant to H.E. General Fulgencio Batista. 27 April 1945. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 23.

Ironically, Batista eventually became the type of dictator that Grant's Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom condemned during the Cold War era. After living several years in Daytona Beach, Florida, Batista returned home, where he was elected to the Cuban Senate in 1948. Fearing a loss in the 1952 presidential election, Batista plotted a military coup d'état and deposed Cuba's democratically elected president. Even more ironically, the leader deposed by Batista was Carlos Prío Socarrás, who in May 1950 had hosted the Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Liberty in Havana that created the IADF. Batista then presided over a repressive and corrupt dictatorship, against which the IADF vigorously campaigned.⁸³⁸

On the other hand, other Latin American and Caribbean men supported by Grant during the 1930s and 1940s became key figures of the democratic left who worked with the IADF. One such leader was Juan Bosch, who Grant had supported during his many years of exile from the Trujillo regime in the Dominican Republic. Bosch served as a Dominican delegate at the inaugural conference that created the IADF in Havana in May 1950. José Antonio Bonilla Atilés, appointed the Dominican Republic's minister of foreign affairs following the assassination of Trujillo in 1961, would later invite Grant to visit the Dominican Republic for the first time in her life.⁸³⁹ She returned with several

⁸³⁸ The Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom protested several times against the Batista dictatorship directly to Fulgencio Batista as well as before the United Nations and the U.S. State Department. On March 28, 1958, Frances Grant, along with Roger Baldwin, Louise Crane, and Norman Thomas, sent a letter to U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to request a stop to military shipments to Cuba sent by the United States under the Mutual Defense Act. Grant was proud to think that her protests contributed to the eventual arms embargo of Batista's government by the U.S. State Department. See "U.S. Urged to Halt Arms," *New York Times*, 29 March 1958, p. 4; Grant to Norman Thomas. 26 June 1958. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 30. Folder 27.

⁸³⁹ Germán Ornes returned to the Dominican Republic in November 1961 and regained control of his *El Caribe* newspaper. At Ornes request, José Antonio Bonilla Atilés invited Grant to visit the

colleagues as an election observer in December 1962, when Bosch was elected president of the Dominican Republic, and again in February 1963 to attend Bosch's presidential inauguration, during which time Grant presented Bosch, one of many political exiles supported by Grant who went on to achieve political prominence in the respective Latin American and Caribbean countries, with a citation of honor from the IADF.⁸⁴⁰

Dominican Republic for the first time from November 18-28, 1962. Ornes provided Grant with a car and chauffeur. Grant met with Newell Williams, the director of the U.S. Agency for International Development mission to the Dominican Republic. She also met with women of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano and the Asociación Pátriotica Feminina. She made television and radio appearances and participated in a broadcast of a roundtable discussion with the Dominican Asociación pro-Derechos Humanos. Grant had lunch with Juan Bosch at his home before she returned to New York. See Frances R. Grant, "Dominicans Face Elections," *Hemispherica* 11/8 (December 1962): 1-4; Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 43. Folder 16.

⁸⁴⁰ In December 1962, thanks to U.S. government support, the Dominican Republic succeeded in holding its first real elections since 1924. With sixty percent of the popular vote, Juan Bosch won an astounding presidential victory. Bosch's Partido Revolucionario Dominicano also won firm control of both houses in the legislature. Fidel Castro called Bosch a Yankee puppet and confiscated the property of the family of his Cuban wife. With U.S. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and Frances Grant in attendance, Bosch was inaugurated president of the Dominican Republic in February 1963. Bosch introduced sweeping social and economic reforms, but was ousted after seven months by Dominican military leaders who viewed him as a leftist extremist. The military coup against Bosch was backed by elements of the military, the landowning and business elites, the Roman Catholic Church, and U.S. military attachés. Therefore, the John F. Kennedy Administration allowed Bosch's government to be toppled. The unpopular regime installed in September 1963 was a triumvirate composed of corporate executives and lawyers whose cabinet was made up of Dominican business community members. Bosch recounted his experience as president of the Dominican Republic in his book *Crisis de la democracia de América en la República Dominicana* (México, DF: Centro de Estudios y Documentacion Sociales, A.C., 1964). On April 24, 1965, forces calling themselves Constitutionals began an armed insurrection to restore power to Bosch, their constitutional president who was in exile in Puerto Rico. Johnson, now the U.S. president, dispatched five hundred U.S. Marines to Santo Domingo on April 28 in order to prevent a victory by the Constitutionals, whom he feared could easily become dominated by the few communists in their ranks. The Marines who went to port in the Dominican Republic that April were the first combat-ready U.S. forces to enter a country in the Western Hemisphere in almost forty years. A civil war claimed nearly two thousand Dominican lives. By May, twenty-three thousand U.S. military personnel were in the Dominican Republic. Bosch returned to the Dominican Republic from exile to participate in the presidential election of 1966. Meanwhile, Grant and several of her IADF and Freedom House colleagues were serving on the Committee on Free Elections in the Dominican Republic. At the invitation of José A. Mora, the secretary general of the Organization of American States, Grant served as an election observer. The OAS paid Grant a \$500 USD honorarium for her services. Bosch lost the presidential election in 1966 to Joaquín Balaguer, the candidate preferred by the Johnson Administration. After a voluntary exile in Europe, Bosch returned to the Dominican

Meanwhile, as Fidel Castro's forces had overthrown Batista in January 1959 and established the most anti-U.S. government in the Western Hemisphere, Grant was aiding Cuban exiles in the United States, as well as hemispheric governments threatened by pro-Castro guerrillas.⁸⁴¹ She joined the chorus of voices claiming Castro had betrayed the Cuban people after they won their freedom from the Batista dictatorship.⁸⁴²

Republic in 1970 and joined the opposition to Balaguer. In 1973, he broke with the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano and founded the Partido de la Liberación Dominicana, which he led until 1994. See Grant to Juan Bosch. 30 November 1962. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 60. Folder 35; Grant to Juan Bosch. 14 November 1962. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 60. Folder 35; "Summary Report of the Findings and Recommendations of the Observers for the Committee on Free Elections in the Dominican Republic," April 24, 1966. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 54. Folder 45. For interviews with Grant regarding her Dominican work, see Ramonita Castillo, "Frances Grant Dice Mujer Debe Integrarse Política," *Listín Diario*, 28 March 1980, p. A12; Giovanni Ferrúa Ll., "Estima Necesario Inculcar a Jóvenes Precio Libertad RD," *El Caribe*, 28 March 1980, p. 1, 9.

⁸⁴¹ Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar fled Cuba in the middle of the night on January 1, 1959 and died in exile in Francisco Franco's Spain in 1973. The Fidel Castro government's antagonist relationship with Frances Grant stemmed initially from Grant's collaboration with the AFL-CIO, which was affiliated with Eusebio Mujal, the discredited secretary general of the Confederación de Trabajadores de Cuba (CTC). Mujal was one of Cuba's most influential politicians before the Cuban Revolution. In 1947, he helped the Auténticos (Partido Revolucionario Cubano), the political party of President Ramón Grau San Martín, wrestle control of the CTC away from Cuban communists. Mujal served in the Cuban Senate as a member of the Auténtico Party and was elected secretary general of the CTC at its Sixth Congress in April 1949. The coup d'état of Fulgencio Batista in March 1952 that overthrew the Auténtico government of President Carlos Prío Socarrás presented a problem for Mujal and other CTC leaders, whose effort to organize a general strike against the coup was unsuccessful. They agreed to call off the strike in return for Batista's promise not to interfere with organized labor. Allegedly afraid that Batista would destroy the labor movement, Mujal became increasingly pro-Batista. In return, the Batista regime supported Mujal and his colleagues, who established a virtual dictatorship within the CTC. To limit labor opposition to Batista, Mujal centralized the CTC and removed many anti-Batista trade union leaders from office. Opposition to the Batista dictatorship increased as Mujal became more committed to Batista. With the overthrow of Batista on January 1, 1959, supporters of Castro's 26th of July Movement took control of the CTC. In March 1959, Serafino Romualdi wrote Grant to tell her he was extremely grateful that she would soon be stopping in Cuba on her way to visit José Figueres in Costa Rica. Romualdi urged Grant to visit Cuban labor leaders to explain that despite the seeming friendship with Mujal the AFL-CIO had defended the anti-Batista movement. Within a few years, the Cuban labor movement would be firmly under the control of the Castro government. Mujal escaped Cuba and lived the rest of his life in the United States. See Serafino Romualdi to Grant. 13 March 1959. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 30. Folder 10. For information on Batista, see Frank Argote-Freyre, *Fulgencio Batista: From Revolutionary to Strongman* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006). For information on Eusebio Mujal (1915-1985), see Robert J. Alexander, *A History of Organized Labor in Cuba* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002);

Grant persisted throughout the Second World War in the Pan American work she had first begun in 1929. Over the years, she remained committed to demonstrating the ability of elite women and the power of the arts to transcend national boundaries and create a broader Pan American community. At the Roerich Museum in the 1930s, Grant had begun to use art exhibits, concerts, dance performances, luncheons, and dinner parties to promote a transnational kinship of elites. Then, as the Second World War drew near, worries over inter-American solidarity led U.S. policymakers and leading U.S. citizens involved in foreign relations to calculatedly embrace Grant's internationalist belief that Pan Americanism and antifascism needed to reach into the homes of elites and non-elites alike in Latin America and the Caribbean. Thus, women's traditional place within the domestic sphere became crucial to the U.S.-led Allied struggle in the Western

Marifeli Pérez-Stable, *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 36-60; Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967), 180-201; Harold D. Sims, "Cuban Labor and the Communist Party, 1937-1958: An Interpretation," *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos* 15:1 (Winter 1985): 43-58.

⁸⁴² For example, Frances Grant became a charter member of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, an anti-Castro organization initiated through Freedom House in March 1963 which contained several IADF members and AFL-CIO leaders. In its founding statement, the committee argued that Fidel Castro's "military-police state" had betrayed the Cuban people. The committee urged the isolation of Cuba and expressed concern that Castro-sponsored infiltration and subversion of Latin American and Caribbean governments could produce other communist countries in the Western Hemisphere. The committee fretted over the demoralization of the hemisphere's democratic forces and worried about the resurgence in the hemisphere of "dictatorial military elements intent on taking power in reaction to the Communist threat." From 1963 to 1965, the committee published *Free Cuba News*, which was edited by Daniel James, a syndicated columnist for Hearst Newspapers from 1955 to 1967. A staunch anticommunist who first traveled to Latin America in 1953, James authored *Red Design for the Americas: Guatemala Prelude* (New York: Day, 1954). Prior to becoming executive secretary of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, James had authored *Cuba: The First Soviet Satellite in the Americas* (New York: Avon Book Division, Hearst Corporation, 1961). For information on James, see Albert A. Ortiz, *Daniel James: A Cold War Correspondent in Latin America* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Washington State University, 1988). For information on the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 60. Folder 14; Peter Kihss, "44 in U.S. Establish Committee to Fight Communism in Cuba," *New York Times*, 6 May 1963, p. 1.

Hemisphere. Confident that the proper message of Pan Americanism called upon individuals to transcend racial and class boundaries while struggling against existing social inequalities, Grant criticized her elite female contemporaries for their resistance to change. Grant, like her associate María Rose Oliver, argued that without racial equality, democracy would not flourish and the hope for a truly democratic Western Hemisphere would not be realized. Apathy by elites in regard to social and racial inequality exposed the limits of Grant's internationalism.

The Pan American ideal of a hemispheric community had seen little success before the Second World War, although Grant and her likeminded colleagues in both government and the private sector throughout the Western Hemisphere anxiously looked for evidence to the contrary. Their considerably exaggerated vision of hemispheric camaraderie and cohesion in times past was a bit of convenient mythmaking about the Americas. In truth, real issues like the racial prejudices of many Euro-Americans in the United States and the divergent economic concerns of nations of the hemisphere often hindered inter-American solidarity. Grant held on to the idealism of the Pan American movement and the universalist vision she initially embraced while on the staff of the Roerich Museum in the 1930s. But the end of the Second World War would bring new challenges, as the threat of Soviet communism became imminent. In a new office in Freedom House, opened in 1941, Grant turned her attention to fighting communism in partnership with Jewish and Italian-American labor leaders. The following chapter discusses these leaders and the fight they waged against communism in Western Europe through methods they would replicate, with the help of Grant and the IADF, to root out communists from the Latin American and Caribbean labor movement.

CHAPTER 10

FREEDOM HOUSE AND POSTWAR ANTICOMMUNIST LABOR ACTIVITY

Following the end of the Second World War, Frances Grant joined her colleagues at Freedom House in supporting the establishment of a strong United Nations Organization and in fighting Soviet communist expansion. Grant's development echoed that of Freedom House, which opened as a gathering place for groups involved in the pro-Allied war effort in 1941 before shifting its focus to the realm of pro-Western human rights struggles by the end of 1945. Similarly, Grant turned her international attention from working almost exclusively on cultural relations to unreservedly denouncing human rights abuses. In collaboration with Freedom House, whose headquarters in Manhattan was home to numerous nongovernmental organizations, Grant came into contact with the American Federation of Labor's antifascist and anticommunist Italian-American and Jewish labor leaders who helped the U.S. government fight communism in postwar Europe before turning their attention towards Latin America and the Caribbean. Concern about communist activities in the Western Hemisphere motivated labor leaders affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to join Grant in founding and economically sustaining the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom during the Cold War era. They became major financial backers and supporters of Grant in her efforts to strengthen the democratic left throughout the Americas against both communism and rightwing authoritarianism.

The end of the Second World War prompted Grant and her Freedom House colleagues to call for a postwar international organization to ensure future world peace

and stability. They endorsed the view of the U.S. industrialist and political leader Wendell Willkie, whose “One World” plan had become a symbol of national and international unity during the Allied war effort, as well as a symbol of hope for a global future of nonmilitary conflict resolution. Although Willkie did not live to see the creation of the United Nations Organization in the summer of 1945, Grant and members of Freedom House continued to promote his vision. From their new headquarters in a building named in Willkie’s honor, they heartily applauded postwar internationalism.

Soon after Willkie’s untimely death by a heart attack in October 1944, Freedom House executive secretary George Field had set about trying to purchase a building in Manhattan to be called the Willkie Memorial Building, which would serve as the center of operations for Freedom House as it evolved from a wartime antifascist alliance into the nongovernmental human rights organization that Grant would collaborate with during the Cold War era. Sumner Welles was made honorary chairman of the Willkie Memorial Building Fund. Welles had received Freedom House’s annual Freedom Award a month prior to Willkie’s death “for his constructive liberalism and internationalism, and his contribution to the concept of a world organization.”⁸⁴³

A career foreign service officer and longtime friend of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Welles specialized in Latin America. He served as Roosevelt’s undersecretary of state from 1937 until the President unhappily let him go in 1943 for fear that his homosexual activities would bring scandal to the Roosevelt Administration.⁸⁴⁴ Welles

⁸⁴³ “Welles Wins Freedom Award,” *New York Times*, 25 September 1944, p. 15. See also “Memorial Building For Willkie Planned,” *New York Times*, 21 November 1944, p. 25; “Heads Willkie Fund,” *New York Times*, 12 December 1944, p. 21.

⁸⁴⁴ On Sumner Welles’ resignation from the U.S. Department of State, see Benjamin Welles, *Sumner Welles: FDR’s Global Strategist* (New York: St. Martin’s Press), 341-354. See also Irwin

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never worked in government again. Instead, he became a prominent commentator on foreign affairs, working through organizations like Freedom House, which he later served as president.⁸⁴⁵ Presenting the Freedom Award to Welles on behalf of Freedom House, the poet Archibald MacLeish, who President Roosevelt appointed as the U.S. librarian of Congress in 1939, praised Welles as “the principle architect” along with Roosevelt of the “policy of mutual respect and cooperation among the nations of our hemisphere which has so strongly influenced the plans, and so powerfully raised the hopes, for an organization of mutual respect and cooperation among the nations of the world.”⁸⁴⁶

Of the thousands of donations received to establish the Willkie Memorial Building, the Freedom House board of directors felt compelled to refuse just one. On

F. Gellman, *Secret Affairs: Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Sumner Welles* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Christopher D. O'Sullivan, *Sumner Welles, Postwar Planning, and the Quest for a New World Order, 1937-1943* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

⁸⁴⁵ Sumner Welles succeeded Robert P. Patterson as president of Freedom House. In the summer of 1940, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Henry Stimson as U.S. secretary of war. Patterson, Stimson's friend and fellow Republican, was chosen as assistant secretary of war. Patterson was elevated to the newly created post of under secretary of war in December 1940. Following Stimson's resignation in September 1945, Patterson was appointed secretary of war by U.S. President Harry S. Truman. As Patterson supervised the demobilization of wartime forces and the dismantling of war industries, he cautioned the nation against the dissolution of its armed strength in a still unstable world. Patterson's resigned his government post in 1947 and served as president of Freedom House until his death in an aircraft accident in January 1952. Welles served as president of Freedom House from February 1952 until May 1953. See “Succeeds Sumner Welles As Freedom House Head,” *New York Times*, 1 June 1953, p. 18; “Welles Named Head Of Freedom House,” *New York Times*, 20 February 1952, p. 10.

⁸⁴⁶ Aaron Levenstein, *Freedom's Advocate: A Twenty-five Year Chronicle* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), 64. The Pulitzer Prize-winning poet Archibald MacLeish (1892–1982), who served as the U.S. librarian of Congress from 1939 to 1944, was a member of the organizing committee of the Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Liberty in Havana, Cuba in May 1950, which created the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom. For information on MacLeish, see Bernard A. Drabeck and Helen E. Ellis, eds., *Archibald MacLeish: Reflections* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986); William H. MacLeish, *Uphill with Archie: A Son's Journey* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001); R.H. Winnick, ed., *Letters of Archibald MacLeish, 1907 to 1982* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983).

behalf of his Communist Political Association, Earl Browder, who had headed the Communist Party USA since 1934, donated \$5,000 to purchase the building.⁸⁴⁷ After making the donation, Browder issued a press release praising the late Willkie for “undertaking the defense before the Supreme Court of the United States of the right of American Communists to full citizenship.”⁸⁴⁸ Willkie had gone to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1942 to defend William Schneiderman, the California state chairman of the Communist Party USA whose Russian Jewish parents had immigrated to the United States when he was a child. Schneiderman joined the Communist Party USA while in high school and became a naturalized U.S. citizen in his early twenties. By 1939, the

⁸⁴⁷ Earl Browder was one of the most important North American communist leaders from the Great Depression era to the Second World War, a period of time when the Communist Party USA had its greatest influence in the United States. The eighth child in an impoverished family of ten children, Browder was born in Wichita, Kansas in 1891. He quit school as a child in order to help sustain the family. Browder, whose parents supported Populism and socialism, joined the Socialist Party as a teenager in 1906. He spent much of 1918 through 1920 in prison for resisting U.S. participation in the First World War. Upon his release, Browder moved to New York City and became a communist. Browder traveled to Moscow in 1921 and subsequently became the assistant to the communist union activist William Z. Foster, who would later become Browder’s rival for control of the Communist Party USA. In the 1920s, Browder spent two years in China as a Communist International (Comintern) emissary. Browder headed the Communist Party USA from 1934 to 1945 and was the party’s candidate for U.S. president in 1936 and 1940. Led by Browder, the party played an important role in forming and strengthening unions within the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, as the Communist Party USA became part of the leftist coalition that supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal. By the end of the 1930s, the party had grown to nearly 100,000 members. Browder was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine in 1938. Convicted of a passport violation, he spent fourteen months in jail during 1941 and 1942. He was freed when President Roosevelt commuted his sentence. During the Second World War, Browder advocated greater cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States and its allies. In 1944, he disbanded the Communist Party USA and created a broad independent leftist advocacy organization known as the Communist Political Association. Powerful communist leaders abroad denounced the revisionist transformation. The Communist Party USA was soon reconstituted within Marxist orthodoxy and Browder was expelled in February 1946. He left public life in 1951 and died in 1973. For information on Browder, see Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?: The American Communist Party During the Second World War* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982); Harvey Klehr, *The Heyday of American Communism: The Depression Decade* (New York: Basic Books, 1984); James G. Ryan, *Earl Browder: The Failure of American Communism* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997).

⁸⁴⁸ “Communists Give to Willkie Fund,” *New York Times*, 11 March 1945, p. 33.

U.S. government was seeking to deport Schneiderman for having been politically affiliated with the Communist Party USA at the time of his naturalization in 1927.⁸⁴⁹ After the lower courts took away Schneiderman's citizenship, the case of *Schneiderman v. United States* went to the Supreme Court. "Those who rejoice in denying justice to one they hate, pave the way to a denial of justice for someone they love," Willkie argued in defense of his decision to take the case. In what became a landmark civil liberties case, Willkie defended Schneiderman at no fee. In 1943, Willkie won a reversal by the court, which concluded that the U.S. government failed to demonstrate how Schneiderman's conduct violated his oath of allegiance to the United States. Schneiderman had committed no acts of violence against the U.S. government. Mere membership in the Communist Party USA was not sufficient reason to cancel a U.S. citizen's naturalization.⁸⁵⁰ Schneiderman, the court concluded, could not lose his citizenship for believing in "some form of world union of Soviet republics" unless the United States was willing to do the same with regard to those who believed in the ideas of Pan Americanism or in institutions

⁸⁴⁹ William Schneiderman (1905-1985) directed the Communist Party USA's work in California for a quarter-century before stepping down due to illness in 1964. Until he was twelve years old, Schneiderman lived in Chicago, Illinois, where his father was a garment worker. The family then moved to Los Angeles, California. Schneiderman received a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1926 and became a U.S. citizen the following year. He went to Moscow in 1934 and served as a U.S. representative to the Communist International at the Seventh Comintern Congress. In October 1935, he returned to the United States in order to direct the Communist Party USA in California. In 1952, Schneiderman and thirteen other California communists were convicted on Smith Act charges of conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government by force. They were sentenced to five years in prison. In *Yates v. U.S.*, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the convictions in 1957. For information on Schneiderman, see William Schneiderman, *Dissent on Trial: The Story of a Political Life* (Minneapolis, MN: MEP Publications, 1983); "W.V. Schneiderman; Led Coast Communists," *New York Times*, 1 February 1985, p. B5.

⁸⁵⁰ See Jeffrey F. Liss, "The Schneiderman Case: An inside View of the Roosevelt Court," *Michigan Law Review* 74/3 (January 1976): 500-523.

like the League of Nations.⁸⁵¹ Willkie won the case, but lost some political support for having defended a communist. Refusing the communists' donation, Freedom House board of directors reminded the U.S. public that Willkie, an outspoken critic of U.S. communists, had "refused compensation when he protected the civil liberties of one individual in a case in which the Communists were personally interested."⁸⁵² Communists would be categorically barred from Freedom House activities.

George Field and Freedom House president Harry D. Gideonse solicited funds to purchase the Willkie Memorial Building in 1945 from several top U.S. business executives, including Marshall Field III, whose grandfather's department store in Chicago, Illinois had helped launch the career of Grant's former guru Nicholas Roerich back in 1921.⁸⁵³ Born into immense wealth, the once selfish and self-indulgent Field had developed a social conscience in the mid-1930s due to the Great Depression. After undergoing psychoanalysis, the formerly conservative hedonist became a generous liberal humanitarian philanthropist. For years the avid New Dealer underwrote the unprofitable leftist pro-Roosevelt paper *PM*, which campaigned against anti-Semitism, monopoly capitalism, and racism.⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁵¹ "Back in the Fold," *Time* 41/26 (June 28, 1943): 20.

⁸⁵² "Communist Gift To Fund Refused," *New York Times*, 13 March 1945, p. 25. For Earl Browder's reaction to the Freedom House board of directors' decision to refuse money from communists, see "Attempt To 'Appropriate' Willkie Charged By Browder To Freedom House Directors," *New York Times*, 14 March 1945, p. 8.

⁸⁵³ See Aaron Levenstein, *Freedom's Advocate: A Twenty-five Year Chronicle* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), 81-82.

⁸⁵⁴ Marshall Field III (1893-1956), the grandson of the Chicago multimillionaire merchant and real estate developer after whom he was named, was one of the world's wealthiest men during his lifetime. During the Second World War, Field was founder and president of the U.S. Committee for the Care of European Children. While remaining active in banking, real estate, investment, and retail businesses, Field established the Field Foundation, Inc., in 1940 to manage his

Major benefactors of the Willkie Memorial Building also included motion picture industry giants Twentieth-Century Fox, Universal Pictures, and Warner Brothers.⁸⁵⁵ By contributing to the purchase of the building, motion picture producers expressed their gratitude to Willkie, a former chairman of the board of Twentieth-Century Fox. In September 1941, Willkie had represented the motion picture industry before U.S. Senate hearings on what isolationists had declared were too many Hollywood-produced movies advocating U.S. military intervention in the conflict in Europe.⁸⁵⁶

The New York businessman Jacob M. Kaplan, familiarly known as Jack, also provided funds to buy the Willkie Memorial Building. Kaplan, whose first language was Yiddish, was born in Lowell, Massachusetts in 1891 to Russian Jewish immigrant parents. His orthodox rabbi father died when he was nine and his mother died when he was twelve, but Kaplan went on to achieve great financial success. While studying to be a draftsman at the non-tuition Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art in Manhattan, Kaplan helped his brother, who worked for the Western Electric Company, create the first electrical motor to drive a tandem of sugar mill rollers. At the age of twenty, Kaplan began working with his brother at the Sugar Products Company in Cuba,

philanthropic undertakings. That same year, he put up the money for Ralph Ingersoll to establish *PM* as an alternative to the largely conservative New York newspapers. After eight years of underwriting the unprofitable paper, Field sold *PM* in May 1948. The last issue of *PM* appeared the following month. Soon after, Field turned over management of his *Chicago Sun-Times* newspaper to his son. In 1950, Field became president of the Child Welfare League of America. He spent the last years of his life in New York on his Long Island estate. For information on Marshall Field III, see Stephen Becker, *Marshall Field III: A Biography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964); Marshall Field III, *Freedom is More Than a Word* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945); "Marshall Field Dies At Age of 63," *New York Times*, 9 November 1956, p. 29.

⁸⁵⁵ See "\$188,910 Contributed To Willkie Memorial," *New York Times*, 23 May 1945, p. 15.

⁸⁵⁶ See R. Philip Loy, "Soldiers in Stetsons: B-Westerns Go To War," *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 30/4 (Winter 2003): 197-205.

the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. During the First World War, Kaplan served in the U.S. Army under Major General Enoch H. Crowder in Cuba. After the war, he founded the profitable Oldtyme Molasses Company, which in 1924 was merged into the Dunbar Molasses Company with Kaplan as president. Eventually, Kaplan could no longer compete with the powerful Du Pont Company, which paid him a settlement of five million U.S. dollars to leave the molasses business in 1928.

Kaplan became involved in the grape processing business in Upstate New York in the 1930s and purchased the Welch's Grape Juice Company in 1945. Although the origin of Kaplan's fortune derived from his work in the Caribbean, assets from the juice company enabled him in 1947 to establish the J.M. Kaplan Fund, which supported artistic and humanitarian activities. Kaplan became a member of the board of directors at Freedom House. He also served as chairman of the board of the New School for Social Research for twenty years.⁸⁵⁷ During the Cold War era, his tax-exempt philanthropic fund would become a secret conduit for U.S. Central Intelligence Agency money to members

⁸⁵⁷ The U.S. financier and philanthropist Jacob M. Kaplan lived the American dream. Born into a poor family, he contributed to the family income as a child by selling soap on the streets of Boston, Massachusetts. From 1932 to 1936, Kaplan served as president and chairman of James A. Hearn and Company, a New York City department store. Kaplan purchased a small grape processing facility in 1933 in Brocton, New York, and created the National Grape Corporation. He bought the Welch Grape Juice Company in 1945. Serving as the company's president until 1958, Kaplan transformed Welch's into a wholly-owned subsidiary of the National Grape Co-operative Association of Westfield, New York, one of the United States' most successful agricultural cooperatives. In 1977, Kaplan retired from running his philanthropic organization and his daughter Joan took over as J. M. Kaplan Fund president. For information on Kaplan, see Patricia Burgess, ed., *The Annual Obituary, 1987* (Chicago: St. James Press, 1988), 365-366; William Chazanof, *Welch's Grape Juice: From Corporation to Co-operative* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1977), 175-201; Wolfgang Saxon, "Jacob M. Kaplan, Philanthropist, Dies," *New York Times*, 19 July 1987, p. 26.

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of the anticommunist democratic left forces in Latin American and the Caribbean with whom Grant worked.⁸⁵⁸

The Willkie Memorial Building of Freedom House was formally dedicated in Manhattan in October 1945.⁸⁵⁹ In addition to serving as the headquarters of Freedom

⁸⁵⁸ Jacob M. Kaplan became a member of the board of directors of Freedom House in 1952. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency funneled funds through the J.M. Kaplan Fund via Sacha Volman, a Jewish Rumanian refugee and CIA agent who had once resided in Paris, where he worked with underground anticommunist forces in Eastern Europe as head of Free Trade Unions in Exile. Volman's sponsor was Jay Lovestone, who in the 1920s had served as secretary of the Communist Party USA. From 1949 to 1963, Lovestone was executive secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. As head of the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department from 1963 to 1974, Lovestone covertly gathered information on international labor activities for the CIA and channeled funds from the CIA for anticommunist activities abroad. In 1959, Volman and Norman Thomas established the Institute for International Labor Research in New York. Volman served as director of the Institute for Political Education in Costa Rica, which published the journal *Combate* from 1958 to 1963 under the editorship of Luis Alberto Monge, who served as president of Costa Rica from 1982 to 1986. Following the assassination of the Dominican dictator Rafael Leónidas Trujillo in 1961, some of the institute's faculty and staff moved to the newly-created Center for Research in Economic and Social Development in the Dominican Republic. The U.S. Agency for International Development and the Institute for International Labor Research funded the Center for Research in Economic and Social Development in the Dominican Republic until September 1963, when a rightist military junta overthrew Dominican President Juan Bosch, a former faculty member at the Institute for Political Education in Costa Rica. From 1963 to 1965, Volman funded the Centro de Estudios y Documentación Sociales in Mexico City, which published the magazine *Panoramas* under the editorship of Grant's colleague Victor Alba, an anti-Franco Catalan intellectual who escaped from Spain in 1945 after spending several years in a Spanish prison. Residing in Mexico, where he became a leading political scientist and journalist, Alba published several articles in *Ibérica* magazine and worked as a correspondent for the *New Leader*. For information on Volman, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 30. Folders 28 and 30. See also Foster Hailey, "Kaplan Fund, Cited as C.I.A. 'Conduit,' Lists Unexplained \$395,000 Grant," *New York Times*, 3 September 1964, p. 10. The Kaplan Fund gave almost one million U.S. dollars to the Institute of International Labor Research in New York, which focused on CIA projects in Latin America and the Caribbean, including the seed-bed for democratic political leaders known as the Institute for Political Education, which was run by José Figueres in Costa Rica. See Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: New Press, 1999): 354-355. According to Frances Grant, Norman Thomas and Louise Crane came to her office in May 1959 to discuss the institute, which Thomas admitted was receiving funds from the CIA. Thomas wanted Grant to work with Volman, but Grant refused because she saw Volman as a rival impinging on her work. See Frances R. Grant, "Diary Notes, 1938-1977," May 19, 1959. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 6. Folder 8.

⁸⁵⁹ The Willkie Memorial Building of Freedom House was located at 20 West 40th Street. The building was designed by the renowned hotel and apartment building architect Henry J. Hardenbergh. For information on Hardenbergh (1847-1918), see Richard F. Bach, "Henry

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House, the building, which Gideonse described as a “One World Center,” also provided rent-free office space to other nonprofit organizations covering a whole range of humanitarian causes that reflected Wendell Willkie's vision and supported Freedom House’s agenda.⁸⁶⁰ Invited to establish an office in the Willkie Memorial Building, Grant often collaborated with other organizations that used the building, including the New York Metropolitan Council of the International Order of B'nai B'rith (*Sons of the Covenant* in Hebrew). Founded in 1843 by a group of German Jews in New York City as a fraternal order for Jewish men in the United States, B'nai B'rith had grown to become the largest Jewish service organization in the world.⁸⁶¹ In 1913, members of B'nai B'rith organized the Anti-Defamation League, a civil rights organization seeking to stop the defamation of Jews and ultimately end discrimination against all U.S. citizens. By training researchers to monitor domestic hate groups and reveal their agendas, sources of funds, and links to European fascist organizations, the league worked to expose the threat of fascists inside and outside the United States during the 1930s and 1940s. Journalists

Janeway Hardenbergh,” *Architectural Record* 44 (July 1918): 91-93; Mary N. Stone, “Hardenbergh, Henry Janeway,” in John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography*, vol. 10 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 49-51.

⁸⁶⁰ “Willkie Memorial A 9-Story Building,” *New York Times*, 18 February 1945, p. 36.

⁸⁶¹ The national office of B'nai B'rith was relocated to Washington, D.C. B'nai B'rith Women was begun as an auxiliary to the men's lodges. The first women's auxiliary was formed in August 1897 in San Francisco, California. The wife of the San Francisco lodge president Herman Gutstadt was installed as president of the new women’s auxiliary. The Gutstadt’s son Richard was a founder of the Anti-Defamation League. Richard moved to Chicago, Illinois in 1931 after being offered the position of national director of the league. In 1948, he was elected executive vice chairman of the league, which he served until the time of his death in 1954. In 1990, women were admitted to full membership in B'nai B'rith. See Edward E. Grusd, *B'nai B'rith: The Story of a Covenant* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1966); Arthur Liebman, *Jews and the Left* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979); Deborah Dash Moore, *B'nai B'rith and the Challenge of Ethnic Leadership* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981); “R.E. Gutstadt, 66, B'nai B'rith Aide,” *New York Times*, 24 May 1954, p. 27.

throughout the United States used the league as a source of information concerning fascism throughout the war years. The Anti-Defamation League also established its headquarters in the Willkie Memorial Building, from where it vigilantly campaigned against anti-Semitism in public life, conducted programs of public education, and advocated for the establishment of protective legislation against discrimination.⁸⁶²

Along with the New York Metropolitan Council of the International Order of B'nai B'rith and the Anti-Defamation League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was one of the first organizations to

⁸⁶² Led by the attorney Sigmund Livingston, fifteen members of the Chicago area's B'nai B'rith organized the Anti-Defamation League in 1913, the year of the Georgia murder trial of Leo Frank. To help defend Frank, B'nai B'rith created its Anti-Defamation League, which became independent of B'nai B'rith. In the 1920s, the league worked with other U.S. groups threatened by the Klu Klux Klan. Livingston's father had emigrated from Germany and settled in Bloomington, Illinois, where Livingston was born in 1872. After receiving a law degree from Illinois Wesleyan University in 1894, Livingston began practicing law in Bloomington and Chicago. He authored several books, including a scholarly investigation of anti-Semitism entitled *Must Men Hate?* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944). Livingston retained his title of national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League until his death in 1946, but Richard E. Gutstadt oversaw operations of the league during the 1930s and 1940s. When Gutstadt's failing health forced him to retire, longtime staff member Benjamin R. Epstein succeeded him and remained national director of league until 1980. Arnold Forster joined the league staff in 1940. Epstein and Forster co-authored *The Troublemakers: An Anti-Defamation League Report* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1952), which traced the history of bigotry in the United States. Utilizing research on U.S. rightwing extremist groups collected by league staff members, the two also coauthored *Danger on the Right* (New York: Random House, 1964). After serving as general counsel for many of his forty-six years with the league, Foster recounted a lifetime of struggles against discrimination in his *Square One: A Memoir* (New York: Donald I. Fine, 1988). As proponents of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement during the Cold War era, the league supported the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and subsequent civil rights legislation. For information on the Anti-Defamation League, whose headquarters was relocated to the United Nations Plaza, see "Livingston, Sigmund," in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. 35 (New York: James T. White & Company, 1973), 243; Richard C. Brown, "Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith," in Michael N. Dobkowski, ed., *Jewish American Voluntary Organizations* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 71-73; Oscar Cohen and Stanley Wexler, *"Not the Work of a Day": Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Oral Memoirs* (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1987); Gregg Ivers, *To Build A Wall: American Jews and the Separation of Church and State* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995).

announce it would move its headquarters into the Willkie Memorial Building.⁸⁶³ The NAACP helped raise funds for the purchase of the building, including collecting over one thousand U.S. dollars in the Southwest Pacific from African-American Seabees serving in racially segregated units of construction battalions in the U.S. Navy's Civil Engineer Corps.⁸⁶⁴ Walter White, longtime executive secretary of the NAACP, had counted

⁸⁶³ For information on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, see Langston Hughes, *Fight for Freedom: The Story of the NAACP* (New York: Norton, 1962); Gilbert Jonas, *Freedom's Sword: The NAACP and the Struggle Against Racism in America, 1909-1969* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

⁸⁶⁴ The donation by the Twenty-second Special USNCB was forwarded to the Willkie Memorial Building Fund via the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. See "1,122 For Willkie Fund," *New York Times*, 26 March 1945, p. 21. The nickname "Seabees" is a phonetic pun on "CBs," which is shorthand for "construction battalions." President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Ben Moreell as the U.S. Navy's chief of the Civil Engineering Corps and chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Moreell had about 70,000 men without military training engaged in construction projects around the world. After construction workers were captured by the Japanese military and treated as prisoners of war, Moreell created naval construction battalions. Because much of their work was on or near the front lines, construction workers needed to receive some combat training. Moreell's construction workers became naval personnel under direct military command. In October 1942, the U.S. Navy opened the construction battalions to African Americans, who received basic training at Camp Allen and Camp Bradford, near Norfolk, Virginia. To reduce the contact between blacks and whites, African Americans were quartered, fed, and drilled in separate companies. Under white officers, the U.S. Navy established seventeen black Seabee Special Battalions and two regular Construction Battalions. During the war, over 14,000 African Americans served in these segregated units. In total, over 325,000 Seabees served in the Second World War constructing airstrips, bridges, canals, communication and electrical systems, hospitals, housing, roads, warehouses, and wharves. A fictitious portrayal of the creation of the Seabees was presented in *The Fighting Seabees*, a Hollywood motion picture released in 1944 by the Republic Pictures Corporation directed by Edward Ludwig and starring John Wayne and Susan Hayward. Moreell became the first U.S. Navy staff officer to reach the rank of admiral in June 1946. Seabees were later featured in the Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein musical *South Pacific*, which opened on Broadway in April 1949. For information on the Seabees, see Edmund L. Castillo, *The Seabees of World War II* (New York: Random House, 1963); William Bradford Huie, *Can Do!: The Story of the Seabees* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1977); Keith Krawczynski, "African American Navy, Marine Corps, Women's Reserves, and Coast Guard Service During World War II," in Steven D. Smith and James A. Zeidler, eds., *A Historic Context for the African American Military Experience* (Champaign, IL: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Construction Engineering Research Laboratories, 1998); Ben Moreell, "The Seabees in World War II," *Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute* 88 (March 1962): 84-101.

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Willkie amongst his closest allies.⁸⁶⁵ Certainly, Willkie had been one of the most passionate white civil rights activists in the United States. As both special counsel to the NAACP and chairman of the board of Twentieth-Century Fox, Willkie helped White and the NAACP convince Hollywood studio executives in early 1942 that offensive racial stereotypes in motion pictures were a threat to the U.S. war effort.⁸⁶⁶ In mid-1942, Willkie keynoted a NAACP conference in Los Angeles, California calling upon the

⁸⁶⁵ Walter White was born in Atlanta, Georgia in 1893 and educated at Atlanta University. After helping to found the Atlanta branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, White moved into the national spotlight when the writer James Weldon Johnson, the first black executive secretary of the NAACP, hired him as his assistant secretary in the New York office. During the 1920s, White focused his attention on lynchings. A Guggenheim Fellowship enabled him to publish his study of lynching, *Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929). White took over as the NAACP executive secretary in 1931 and remained in that position until his death in 1955. White was instrumental in persuading U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue an executive order in 1941 prohibiting racial discrimination in defense industries and establishing the Fair Employment Practices Commission. During the Second World War, White visited the European and Pacific theatres to investigate discrimination against black soldiers and to promote his opinion that an Allied victory should bring an end to the practices of European colonialism abroad and racial inequality at home. White's journalistic work during the war resulted in his book, *A Rising Wind* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1945), which influenced U.S. President Harry S. Truman's decision to desegregate the armed forces in 1948. Along with Frances Grant and other members of Americans for Democratic Action, White worked to influence Democrats to embrace NAACP positions. He helped persuade Truman to appoint a presidential committee on civil rights. The committee's landmark report, *To Secure These Rights*, became the basis of the Democratic Party's civil rights plank, which led to the Dixiecrats' 1948 abandonment of the Democratic Party. White's efforts at the NAACP culminated in the celebrated passage of the U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1957. For information on White, see Charles F. Cooney, "Walter White and the Harlem Renaissance," *Journal of Negro History* 57/3 (July 1972): 231-240; Kenneth R. Janken, *White: The Biography of Walter White, Mr. NAACP* (New York: New Press, 2003). Kenneth R. Janken, "From Colonial Liberation to Cold War Liberalism: Walter White, the NAACP, and Foreign Affairs, 1941-1955," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21 (November 1998): 1074-1095; Walter White, *A Man Called White* (New York: Viking Press, 1948).

⁸⁶⁶ See Gregory D. Black and Clayton R. Koppes, "Blacks, Loyalty, and Motion-Picture Propaganda in World War II," *Journal of American History* 73/2 (September 1986): 383-406.

Hollywood motion picture industry to abandon its stereotypes of blacks and undertake a “new deal” for African Americans in film roles.⁸⁶⁷

Grant, like Willkie, participated in national efforts to achieve social, political, and economic rights for African Americans. Over the years, she would collaborate often with White and the NAACP, which received large contributions from Jacob M. Kaplan for its Legal Defense and Education Fund. Grant and her fellow members of Americans for Democratic Action, an organization founded as a bulwark of liberalism in January 1947 by a group of some four hundred leading U.S. leftist anticommunist politicians, civic leaders, labor officials, and academics, worked to convince U.S. citizens to embrace NAACP positions.⁸⁶⁸ In May 1950, White, who had served with Grant on the organizing committee of the Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Liberty, flew to Havana, Cuba as a U.S. delegate to this conference which created the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom.⁸⁶⁹

⁸⁶⁷ See Louis Kronenberger and John T. McManus, “Motion Pictures, the Theater, and Race Relations,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 244 (March 1946): 152-158.

⁸⁶⁸ The founders of Americans for Democratic Action included many prominent New Dealers dedicated to preserving the New Deal legacy. Former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was for many years the ADA’s honorary chair. Several future members of the U.S. Committee of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom were active in founding the ADA. Like Frances Grant, they served as delegates to several of the ADA’s national conventions. Thanks to efforts of the ADA and the NAACP, the Democratic Party Platform of 1948 contained the most liberal civil rights agenda written into the party’s platform up to that time. See Clifton Brock, *Americans for Democratic Action: Its Role in National Politics* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1962); Steven M. Gillon, *Politics and Vision: The ADA and American Liberalism, 1947-1985* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

⁸⁶⁹ Although Walter White primarily focused on conditions of African Americans, he recognized both the value of combating international prejudice and the value that having international friends could bring to the African-American struggle for civil rights. White was a delegate to the Second Pan-African Congress in Europe in 1921. He promoted the goal of ending European colonialism and racial inequality as one of the three NAACP consultants to the U.S. delegation to the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945 and again as a consultant to

Field and Gideonse also solicited funds to purchase the Willkie Memorial Building from organized labor, whose leaders would become the most important financial backers of Grant's Latin American and the Caribbean work during the Cold War era. The powerful labor leader David Dubinsky, president of the American Federation of Labor-affiliated International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU),⁸⁷⁰ raised \$25,000 to purchase the building.⁸⁷¹ Formed in 1900 when most of the workers in the U.S. garment industry were Jewish immigrants, the ILGWU became one of the world's leading labor organizations after launching two successful mass strikes in New York City's garment district in 1909 and 1910. After leading the struggle to keep communists from gaining control of the ILGWU during the 1920s, Dubinsky, an immigrant from the Russian Empire, became president of the union in 1932. With his union united and Franklin D.

the U.S. delegation to the United Nations General Assembly session in Paris in 1948. Following White's death in 1955, Frances Grant's main contact at the NAACP was the Reverend Edward J. Odom, Jr. As national church secretary of the NAACP, Odom maintained a liaison contact between the association and U.S. religious groups. Prior to joining the NAACP, Odom had worked as a minister at the Bethel A.M.E. Church in Greenwich, Connecticut, as a faculty member at Wilberforce University in Wilberforce, Ohio, as a chaplain in the U.S. Navy, and as a dean at Morris Brown College in Atlanta, Georgia. In April 1960, Grant invited Odom to be a U.S. delegate to the Second Inter-American Congress for Democracy and Freedom in Maracay, Venezuela. Odom then became a member of the U.S. Committee of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom. Grant fostered a relationship between Odom and Haitian IADF members. In February 1966, Odom made a career move and subsequently resigned from the IADF. For correspondence between Grant and Odom, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 37. Folder 9.

⁸⁷⁰ For information on David Dubinsky (1892-1982), see David Dubinsky and A. H. Raskin, *David Dubinsky: A Life With Labor* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977); J. M. Eisner, "Politics, Legislation, and the ILGWU," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 28/3 (July 1969): 301-314; Robert D. Parmet, *The Master of Seventh Avenue: David Dubinsky and the American Labor Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

⁸⁷¹ David Dubinsky sent a check for \$25,000 U.S. dollars to the Willkie Memorial Building Fund of Freedom House: \$5,000 from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, \$10,000 from the National Coat and Suit Industrial Recovery Board, and \$10,000 from several women's apparel employer organizations. See "25,000 For Memorial," *New York Times*, 29 June 1945, p. 15.

Roosevelt in the White House, Dubinsky led a series of general strikes all over the United States. The union subsequently benefited from the labor policies of the New Deal. Membership rose. By the end of the Second World War, the ILGWU was one of the United States' most powerful unions.⁸⁷²

After the ILGWU put up a significant portion of the money to establish the Willkie Memorial Building of Freedom House, key members of the union joined Grant in her postwar Pan American work. Key members included Shelley Appleton, Dubinsky's son-in-law, and Luigi Antonini, the 1930s most powerful Italian-American garment trades unionist and a key figure in postwar U.S.-Italian relations.⁸⁷³ Antonini served as a U.S. Committee member and financial supporter of Grant's IADF throughout the 1950s

⁸⁷² In 1937, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union briefly joined the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The union then temporarily became independent before finally rejoining the American Federation of Labor in 1940. For information on the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, see Nancy MacLean, *The Culture of Resistance: Female Institution Building in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 1918-1925* (Ann Arbor: Women's Studies Program, University of Michigan, 1982); Gus Tyler, *Look for the Union Label: A History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1995).

⁸⁷³ Shelley Appleton was born in 1919 in Manhattan, where his father was a physician. Appleton penned many articles for the Jewish periodical *The Call*, the official organ of the Workmen's Circle that began publication in 1933. After receiving a bachelor's degree from New York University in 1938, Appleton graduated with an LL.D. degree from New York University Law School in 1941, the same year he became an organizer with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. His union activities were interrupted by the Second World War. Appleton served in the U.S. Air Force in England from 1942 to 1945. Returning home, he worked for the ILGWU Local 99 as a business agent, assistant manager, and manager from 1946 to 1959. He was then employed as manager for Local 23 from 1959 to 1962. Appleton was a member of the U.S. Committee of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom from 1957 until 1962, the year he was named a vice president of the ILGWU. From 1977 until he retired in 1983, Appleton was the ILGWU's secretary-treasurer. For a quarter century, he served as president and chairman of the publication board of the *New Leader*. Appleton had been married to Jean Dubinsky Appleton for fifty-two years when he died in 2005. For information on Appleton, see "Shelley Appleton," *New Leader* 88/4 (July-August 2005): 2; Rosemary Feitelberg, "A Look Back at ILGWU'S Shelley Appleton," *Women's Wear Daily*, 9 August 2005, p. 10; Robert D. Parmet, *The Master of Seventh Avenue: David Dubinsky and the American Labor Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 319-325; Wolfgang Saxon, "Shelley Appleton, Garment Union Official, 86," *New York Times*, 29 July 2005, p. A21.

and 1960s. Born in 1883 in the town of Vallata Irpina in Avellino, Italy, Antonini immigrated to the United States in 1908. After taking a job as a dress presser, he joined the newborn ILGWU and devoted his energy to union organizing amongst Italian-American garment workers. In 1916, he became an organizer for ILGWU Local 25 and editor of its Italian-language magazine *L'Operaia*. Three years later, Antonini was instrumental in the founding of Local 89, the Italian Dressmakers Union that became the largest local of the ILGWU. In 1934, after serving for years as general secretary of Local 89, Antonini was elected first vice-president of the ILGWU. With over forty thousand members by the mid-1930s, New York's Italian dressmakers comprised the largest local union in the United States. An enthusiastic supporter of the pro-labor Roosevelt Administration, Antonini served on a variety of public and private boards during the Second World War, including the Italian-American Labor Council, of which he was elected president in 1941.⁸⁷⁴

⁸⁷⁴ New York City's garment industry greatly expanded between the 1860s and 1890s with a largely Eastern European Jewish workforce. The industry's employers welcomed Italian immigrants, whom they considered to be cheap laborers less attracted to unionism than Jewish employees. The language and cultural barriers between Jewish ILGWU leaders and Italian garment workers presented a challenge as Italian workers became union activists and organizers. By the 1910s, Italian activists perceived Jewish cultural and language dominance in the ILGWU as a hindrance to Italian participation in unionism. With the belief that autonomy within the ILGWU would advance the reputations of Italian unionists amongst the ILGWU membership and amongst New York social and political circles, Luigi Antonini and other Italian union activists sought to create their own locals. Italians won their own locals in 1916 (Local 48, Cloak makers) and 1919 (Local 89, Dressmakers). Most dressmakers were women, but the leadership of Local 89 was largely male. After the Second World War, Italian workers became much less visible as a distinctive group of organized laborers. See Edwin Fenton, *Immigrants and Unions, A Case Study: Italians and American Labor, 1870-1920* (New York: Arno Press, 1975); Jennifer Guglielmo, "Italian Women's Proletarian Feminism in the New York City Garment Trades, 1890s-1940s," in Donna R. Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Women, Gender and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 247-298; Michael Miller Topp, *Those Without a Country: The Political Culture of Italian American Syndicalists* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Making and Un-Making of the Italian American Working Class," in Philip V. Cannistraro and Gerald Meyer, eds., *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism: Politics, Labor, and*

Antonini's position at Local 89 garnered him the financial resources that made him vital to anti-fascist Italian-American groups supporting the Allied war aims. An ardent opponent of Benito Mussolini, Antonini became a founder and vice-chairman of the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America in 1923.⁸⁷⁵ As rightist totalitarian movements in Western Europe arose after the First World War, the large Jewish and Italian membership of the ILGWU instilled the traditionally anticommunist AFL with a staunchly anti-Nazi and antifascist ideology.⁸⁷⁶ The ILGWU and the AFL supported Western European trade unionists and socialist politicians as they battled with, or tried to escape from, European fascism in the years between the fascist takeover of Italy in October 1922 and the end of the Second World War.⁸⁷⁷

Culture (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 51-75; Charles A. Zappia, "From Working-Class Radicalism to Cold War Anti-Communism: The Italian Locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union," in Philip V. Cannistraro and Gerald Meyer, eds., *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism: Politics, Labor, and Culture* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 143-159.

⁸⁷⁵ For information on the Anti-Fascist Alliance of North America, see Michael Miller Topp, "Italian-American Left: Transnationalism and the Quest for Unity," in Paul Buhle and Dan Georgakas, eds., *The Immigrant Left in the United States* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 119-147.

⁸⁷⁶ Italian Americans and Jewish Americans made up a substantial percentage of the population of New York City when the United States entered the Second World War in 1941. For an assessment of the larger relationship between the city's Italian Americans and Jewish Americans in the period leading up the U.S. entry into the war, see Stefano Luconi, "Fascist Antisemitism and Jewish-Italian Relations in the United States," *American Jewish Archives Journal* 56/1&2 (2004): 151-177; Stefano Luconi, "The Response of Italian Americans to Fascist Anti-Semitism," *Patterns of Prejudice* 35/3 (July 2001): 3-23.

⁸⁷⁷ For the U.S. response to Italian fascism, see Gaetano Salvemini, *Italian Fascist Activities in the United States* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1977); Alan Cassels, "Fascism for Export: Italy and the United States in the Twenties," *American Historical Review* 69/3 (April 1964): 707-712; John P. Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972); Donna Gabaccia, *Italy's Many Diasporas* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 144-152; David F. Schmitz, *The United States and Fascist Italy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

Serafino Romualdi, one of the many of Italian socialist activists who escaped Italy after Mussolini came to power, would become one of Grant's primary postwar collaborators.⁸⁷⁸ A shoemaker's son from central Italy's Umbria region, Romualdi arrived in New York in 1923 and immediately joined Antonini in the Anti-Fascist Alliance, which drew much of its support from the ILGWU's Italian locals. Romualdi also joined the editorial staff of the daily antifascist Italian language newspaper *Il Nuovo Mondo*, which was begun that year with seed money from the ILGWU. When the newspaper suspended publication in 1930 due to internal dissention and lack of funds, Romualdi joined the editorial staff of the ILGWU. In April 1940, Romualdi, along with Grant, joined Field and Gideonse as a charter member of the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies.⁸⁷⁹ Romualdi made several tours of Latin America and the Caribbean and became one of the most active U.S. labor leaders helping to root out communism in the Southern Cone of South America.

⁸⁷⁸ For correspondence between Frances Grant and Serafino Romualdi and information on their collaboration, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 18. Folder 13; Box 27. Folder 30; Box 30. Folders 6-13.

⁸⁷⁹ The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies was headed by William Allen White, the renowned liberal Republican newspaperman and novelist from Emporia, Kansas. Known for his crusading editorials, White was the publisher of the *Emporia Gazette* from 1895 to 1943. In his book *The Battle Against Isolation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), Walter Johnson tells the story of White and the committee's struggle to awaken the U.S. public to the dangers of European fascism. For further information on White and the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, see Mark Lincoln Chadwick, *The Hawks of World War II* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1968); William M. Tuttle, Jr., "Aid-to-the-Allies Short-of-War versus American Intervention, 1940: A Reappraisal of William Allen White's Leadership," *Journal of American History* 56/4 (March 1970): 840-858. For information on William Allen White (1868-1944), see Edward Gale Agran, *Too Good a Town: William Allen White, Community, and the Emerging Rhetoric of Middle America* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998); Sally Foreman Griffith, *Home Town News: William Allen White and the Emporia Gazette* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); John DeWitt McKee, *William Allen White: Maverick on Main Street* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975).

Many Italian labor leaders in the United States collaborated with groups supporting the Allied war aims, such as the Mazzini Society. Begun in 1939 by leading Italian antifascist and anticommunist exiles who lacked a base in New York's largely conservative working-class Italian-American community, the Mazzini Society became the most important Italian-American antifascist organization.⁸⁸⁰ The society's first president was Max Ascoli, who during the Cold War era founded *The Reporter* magazine as an "outlet for moderate, tough-minded anti-Communist liberalism."⁸⁸¹ An ethnic Jew and political philosopher, Ascoli wrote articles in Italian antifascist journals before fleeing to the United States with the aid of a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship in 1931. Two years later, Ascoli, along with other refugees from European fascism, was appointed to Alvin Johnson's newly established University in Exile at the New School for Social Research, with which Grant was keenly affiliated. Ascoli became a U.S. citizen in 1939

⁸⁸⁰ Centered in New York City, the refuge of many Italian antifascist exiles, the Mazzini Society was influential in shaping U.S. public opinion about Italy and Italians during the Second World War. Named in honor of Giuseppe Mazzini, the nineteenth-century Italian patriot prominent in the Risorgimento, the society published the newspaper *Nazione Unite* and drew support from leading non-Marxist and non-Stalinist intellectuals of the Italian left in the United States. The society's intellectuals sought a fusion of classical nineteenth-century liberalism's concern with the rights of the individual with twentieth-century democratic socialism's concern with social justice. By the early 1940s, the society contained forty branches with more than a thousand members in the United States. Many U.S. citizens and Italian Americans looked favorably on Benito Mussolini's regime in the 1920s and first half of the 1930s. However, as "Il Duce" forged closer ties with Adolf Hitler, fascist Italy was increasingly discredited in the eyes of U.S. citizens and Italian Americans. When Italian intellectuals began returning to Italy after July 1943, the Mazzini Society became more of an Italian-American organization, less ideologically charged, but also less politically influential. For information on the Mazzini Society, see John P. Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), 344-345, 404-421; Salvatore J. LaGumina, *The Humble and the Heroic: Wartime Italian Americans* (Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press, 2006), 48, 120-122, 213-215; Gaetano Salvemini, *Italian Fascist Activities in the United States* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1977); Morris Schonbach, *Native American Fascism During the 1930s and 1940s: A Study of its Roots, Its Growth, and Its Decline* (New York: Garland, 1985), 70-118.

⁸⁸¹ Alonzo L. Hamby, "The Vital Center, the Fair Deal, and the Quest for a Liberal Political Economy," *American Historical Review* 77/3 (June 1972): 655.

and served as dean of the New School for a few years before becoming a consultant to the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs.⁸⁸² After retiring from the publishing business in 1968, Ascoli remained a major financial supporter of Grant's IADF.⁸⁸³

In an effort to counter fascist sentiments amongst South America's Italian communities, Ascoli and the Mazzini Society sent Romualdi on a tour of Latin America

⁸⁸² Max Ascoli served as dean of the New School for Social Research from 1939 to 1941 and president of the Mazzini Society from 1940 to 1943. In 1940, he married Marion Rosenwald Ascoli, daughter of Julius Rosenwald, the Chicago clothier who was chairman of Sears, Roebuck & Company. Marion was a philanthropist noted for her work with the Citizens Committee for Children of New York. Ascoli credited his experience traveling in Latin America in the early 1940s for the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs as one of his inspirations to devote his life to political journalism. The first issue of *The Reporter* appeared in April 1949. Ascoli was the editor and publisher of *The Reporter* for the magazine's entire nineteen-year history. The magazine published the work of hundreds of prominent politicians, journalists, and academics, including Ascoli's good friend Adolf Berle, Jr. The first national magazine to devote a special issue to the dangers of McCarthyism, *The Reporter* published articles by several of Joseph McCarthy's victims. Ascoli's strong defense of civil liberties and civil rights bolstered his magazine's reputation as a leading U.S. liberal publication. In the early 1960s, Ascoli wrote outspoken editorials opposing Fidel Castro. The circulation of *The Reporter* reached 200,000, but interest in the magazine waned after Ascoli backed the U.S. escalation of Vietnam War. Ascoli found himself increasingly estranged from many former colleagues. Soon after U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson's announcement in March 1968 that he would not seek reelection, Ascoli announced that *The Reporter* would cease publication. The magazine was sold to *Harper's*, which absorbed it. In 1970, Ascoli was baptized in the Roman Catholic Church. Three years later, he wrote the introduction to *Navigating the Rapids*, a selection of the papers of his deceased friend Adolf Berle, Jr., who had often authored articles for *The Reporter*. See Max Ascoli, ed., *Our Times: The Best From the Reporter* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1960); Max Ascoli, ed., *The Reporter Reader* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956); Beatrice Bishop Berle and Travis Beal Jacobs, eds., *Navigating the Rapids, 1918-1971: From the Papers of Adolf A. Berle* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973); Martin K. Doudna, *Concerned about the Planet: The Reporter Magazine and American Liberalism, 1949-1968* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977); Glenn Fowler, "Marion Rosenwald Ascoli, 88, Longtime Advocate for Children," *New York Times*, 2 October 1990, p. B6; John L. Hess, "Max Ascoli, Publisher of the Reporter, Dies at 79," *New York Times*, 2 January 1978, p. 24; Rosario J. Tosiello, "Max Ascoli: A Lifetime of Rockefeller Connections," in Giuliana Gemelli, ed., *The "Unacceptables": American Foundations and Refugee Scholars Between the Two Wars and After* (New York: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2000), 107-140; Elke van Cassel, "In Search of a Clear and Overarching American Policy: The Reporter magazine (1949-1968) and The Cold War," in Helen Laville and Hugh Wilford, eds., *The US Government, Citizen Groups and the Cold War: The State-Private Network* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 116-140.

⁸⁸³ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 28. Folder 33; Box 35. Folder 77.

in early 1941. Over the course of six months in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, Romualdi worked with the South American counterparts to the Mazzini Society. In the meantime, Ascoli, in addition to serving as Mazzini Society president, became a consultant to the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. The reports Romualdi sent to Ascoli on Nazi and fascist activities were distributed to U.S. government agencies in Washington, D.C. by the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Latin American Research.⁸⁸⁴ When Romualdi returned from South America, the National Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies merged with Freedom House, which facilitated Grant and Romualdi's lifelong affiliation.

Following the United States entry into the Second World War, Romualdi returned to South America as an official agent of the Bureau of Latin American Research. While in South America, Romualdi collected intelligence on the Southern Cone's large Italian and German communities and undertook organizing and propaganda work.⁸⁸⁵ Romualdi worked for the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in the Labor

⁸⁸⁴ The writer Niccolò Tucci (1908-1999) was the head of the Bureau of Latin American Research at the U.S. Department of State. Born in Switzerland to a Russian mother and an Italian father, Tucci enjoyed a privileged upbringing. After the Bolshevik Revolution destroyed his family's financial situation, Tucci moved to a small town in Tuscany, where his father practiced medicine. In 1938, Tucci resigned from Benito Mussolini's press ministry, immigrated to New York City, and began writing antifascist propaganda. Tucci resigned as head of the Bureau of Latin American Research, frustrated by his perception that U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs Nelson Rockefeller was patronizing rightist political forces in Latin America following the 1945 Conference on Inter-American Problems of War and Peace in Mexico City, often referred to as the Chapultepec Conference after the castle in which the conference met. See Peter Collier and David Horowitz, *The Rockefellers: An American Dynasty* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), 236. For information on Tucci, see his novel *Before My Time* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962), based on his family history. For information on the Bureau of Latin American Research and its network of Italian antifascists, see Ronald C. Newton, "The United States, the German-Argentines, and the Myth of the Fourth Reich, 1943-47," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64/1 (February 1984): 81-103.

⁸⁸⁵ See Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967), 17.

Relations Division, which was directed by the labor activist John Herling. Another member of Herling's staff at the Labor Relations Division, a young Columbia University graduate named Robert J. Alexander, developed into the most renowned U.S. scholar of the labor movement in Latin America and Caribbean. During the Cold War era, Alexander would become the most active officer in the IADF after Grant. He contributed the column 'On the Labor Front' to the IADF's *Hemispherica* periodical.⁸⁸⁶ Herling, who

⁸⁸⁶ Born in Canton, Ohio in 1918, Robert Jackson Alexander grew up in Leonia, New Jersey. His father Ralph S. Alexander taught in Columbia University's School of Business for thirty-nine years. Alexander joined the Young People's Socialist League in 1934. He became interested in Latin America while a student of Frank Tannenbaum at Columbia. Alexander received a bachelor's degree from Columbia in 1940. He then completed a master's degree from Columbia under Tannenbaum's supervision. Drafted into the U.S. Air Force in April 1942, he was hired upon demobilization in 1945 as an economist by the Labor Division of the U.S. Office of Inter American Affairs. In 1946, he received a grant from the Office of International Exchange of Persons of the U.S. Department of State, which allowed him to spend a year in South America collecting material for his doctoral dissertation on labor relations in Chile. Alexander was awarded a doctorate in economics from Columbia in 1950, the same year he helped Frances Grant, Serafino Romualdi, and Rómulo Betancourt found the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom in Havana, Cuba. Alexander spent his entire career teaching at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. A prolific author on Latin American and Caribbean labor and politics, his first book was *The Peron Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951). He served on the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party from 1957 to 1966. Alexander remained a member of its successor, Social Democrats, U.S.A., until 1980, when he left due to its increasing conservatism. He served on the League of Industrial Democracy's National Council for many years and was active in Americans for Democratic Action as a delegate to several of its national conventions. From 1952 to 1959, Alexander traveled throughout the Western Hemisphere studying labor conditions under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor and the AFL-CIO. From 1958 to 1966, he served on the board of directors of Norman Thomas' Institute for International Labor Research. In 1961, he was named by U.S. president-elect John F. Kennedy to the Task Force on Latin America, which recommended the establishment of the Alliance for Progress. A good friend of Betancourt and the most active member of the U.S. Committee of the IADF throughout the organization's entire thirty-five year history, Alexander published *Rómulo Betancourt and the Transformation of Venezuela* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1982) shortly before Betancourt's death. Later, he published *Venezuela's Voice for Democracy: Conversations and Correspondence with Rómulo Betancourt* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990). For information on Alexander, see John D. French, "The Robert J. Alexander Interview Collection," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 84/2 (May 2004): 315-326; John D. French, *Robert Alexander: The Complete Bibliography of a Pioneering Latin Americanist* (Miami: Center for Labor Research and Studies, Latin American Labor Studies Publications, Florida International University, 1991).

went on to become a well-know Washington, D.C.-based labor journalist, served with Alexander for many years on IADF's U.S. Committee.⁸⁸⁷

Romualdi was in South America when Mussolini fell from power in July 1943. Desiring to return to Italy to help rid the Italian labor movement of communists, Romualdi submitted a memorandum on the state of Italian labor to U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs Adolf A. Berle, Jr. Subsequently, Romualdi, while still affiliated with the ILGWU, was sent to Italy from July 1944 to April 1945 as an agent of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency.⁸⁸⁸ While Antonini lead a drive among U.S. labor unions to collect clothing, food, medicine, and money for Italian relief, Romualdi was responsible

⁸⁸⁷ John Herling was the son of Morris Herling, a New York City garment worker. After graduating from Harvard University in 1928, Herling worked as a special assistant to Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas in the early 1930s. He served as publicity director for Thomas's presidential campaigns in 1928, 1932, and 1936. In addition to authoring books on labor and industry, Herling was a syndicated columnist specializing in labor issues. He published the *John Herling Labor Letter* in Washington, D.C. from 1950 to 1990. Herling's first book was *The Great Price Conspiracy: The Story of the Antitrust Violations in the Electrical Industry* (Washington, DC: R.B. Luce, 1962). His *The Right to Challenge: People and Power in the Steelworkers Union* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972) told the story of one of the nation's most powerful unions. See "Morris Herling," *New York Times*, 2 March 1960, p. 37; "John Herling Dies; Newsletter Founder and Writer was 88," *New York Times*, 10 February 1994, p. B10.

⁸⁸⁸ At the urging of Colonel William J. Donovan, a lawyer and former U.S. assistant attorney general who served in the U.S. Army during the First World War, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the U.S. Office of Strategic Services in June 1942. Donovan convinced Roosevelt that the United States needed a centralized civilian-run intelligence agency that would report directly to the President. Thus, in July 1941, before the United States entered the war, Roosevelt established the U.S. Office of Coordinator of Information, which was headed by Donovan. A few months after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Office of Coordinator of Information became the Office of Strategic Services, which reported directly to the newly created Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Office of Strategic Services was disbanded on October 1, 1945. See Barry M. Katz, *Foreign Intelligence: Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services, 1935-1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); R. Harris Smith, *OSS: The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

for directing financial contributions from U.S. labor groups to noncommunist political and labor organizations in Italy.⁸⁸⁹

Following the Second World War, Western Europe embarked upon reconstruction and the Western European labor movement developed into a key Cold War site of contestation. With limited experience of organized labor and scant knowledge of European socialism, U.S. foreign policymakers were unprepared and slow to comprehend the extent of the labor movement's importance in Western Europe. As historian Ronald L. Filippelli explains, "Into this vacuum stepped the American labor movement – particularly the American Federation of Labor – which had since the mid-1920s a well-articulated foreign policy drawn from the pro-capitalist, voluntaristic ideology of traditional craft unions, and from the experiences of battles with the Communists for control of several affiliates, in particular the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU)."⁸⁹⁰ Indeed, with Dubinsky's support, Antonini and other Italian Americans in the ILGWU had been assisting antifascists in Europe and the United States since the early 1920s. Now, Antonini worked with Romualdi to link U.S. trade unions with the task of rebuilding Italy in the wake of totalitarianism, serving on the AFL

⁸⁸⁹ Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967), 20-21. Romualdi served as an agent of the U.S. Office of Strategic Services in Italy from July 1944 to April 1945. For information on the O.S.S. in Italy at this time, see Max Corvo, *The O.S.S. in Italy, 1942-1945: A Personal Memoir* (New York: Praeger, 1990).

⁸⁹⁰ R.L. Filippelli, "Luigi Antonini, the Italian-American Labor Council, and Cold-War Politics in Italy, 1943-1949," *Labor History* 33 (Winter 1992): 102.

delegation appointed to investigate the rebuilding of the Italian labor movement along noncommunist lines and to reestablish U.S.-Italian labor relations.⁸⁹¹

Returning from Italy, Antonini continued to strongly urge his AFL colleagues to support democratic labor groups threatened around the world with communist domination.⁸⁹² In the fall of 1944, Antonini, Dubinsky, and other AFL leaders won approval to establish the AFL Free Trade Union Committee (FTUC) as the federation's anticommunist organ abroad.⁸⁹³ The FTUC cooperated with the U.S. Office of Strategic

⁸⁹¹ For information on the U.S. role in the reconstruction of Italy following the Second World War, see Alessandro Brogi, *A Question of Self-Esteem: The United States and the Cold War Choices in France and Italy, 1944-1958* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002); Mario Del Pero, "The United States and 'Psychological Warfare' in Italy, 1948-1955," *Journal of American History* 87/4 (March 2001): 1304-1334; John Lamberton Harper, *America and the Reconstruction of Italy, 1945-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); James Edward Miller, *The United States and Italy, 1940-1950: The Politics and Diplomacy of Stabilization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Leo J. Wollemborg, *Stars, Stripes, and Italian Tricolor: The United States and Italy, 1946-1989* (New York: Praeger, 1990).

⁸⁹² After serving as general secretary of Local 89, Luigi Antonini became first vice-president of the ILGWU, a position he held from his initial election in 1934 until his retirement in 1967. From 1936 to 1942, Antonini was New York state chairman of the American Labor Party. After the American Labor Party was captured by communists, Antonini became one of the founders of the Liberal Party of New York in 1944. Antonini was an AFL delegate to the World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions held in Milan, Italy in 1951. Antonini was a U.S. Committee member of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom until retiring from union activities in 1968, the year of his death. For information on Antonini, Philip V. Cannistraro, "Luigi Antonini and the Italian Anti-Fascist Movement in the United States, 1940-1943," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 5/1 (Fall 1985): 21-40; John Stuart Crawford, *Luigi Antonini: His Influence on Italian American Relations* (New York: Educational Department, Italian Dressmakers Union, Local 89, I.L.G.W.U., 1950); John P. Diggins, "The Italo-American Anti-Fascist Opposition," *Journal of American History* 54/3 (December 1967): 579-598; Salvatore J. LaGumina, *The Humble and the Heroic: Wartime Italian Americans* (Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press, 2006); "Luigi Antonini Is Dead at 85, Leader in Union and Politics," *New York Times*, 30 December 1968, p. 31.

⁸⁹³ At the sixty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in New Orleans, Louisiana in November 1944, the AFL passed a resolution drafted by Jay Lovestone to create the Free Trade Union Committee. The committee, originally established to aid European unionists, was reorganized as the AFL's anticommunist organ abroad. See Robert D. Parmet, *The Master of Seventh Avenue: David Dubinsky and the American Labor Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 202-204; Ted Morgan, *A Covert Life. Jay Lovestone: Communist, Anti-Communist, and Spymaster* (New York: Random House, 1999), 144.

Services, forming the basis for continued cooperation in the Cold War era between organized labor, the U.S. Department of State, and the U.S. Office of Strategic Services' successor, the Central Intelligence Agency.⁸⁹⁴ In fact, as the 1940s progressed, the FTUC became increasingly dependent on the CIA's covert financial aid, which covered more than half its budget by the end of that decade.⁸⁹⁵ Jay Lovestone, a former Communist Party USA leader who had been purged from the party by Joseph Stalin in 1929, became the FTUC's first executive secretary.⁸⁹⁶ Seeing himself as "the mastermind of a worldwide organization assisting free labor and checking Soviet expansion," Lovestone

⁸⁹⁴ See Anthony Carew, "The Politics of Productivity and the Politics of Anti-communism: American and European Labour in the Cold War," in Giles Scott-Smith and Hans Krabbendam, eds., *The Cultural Cold War in Western Europe, 1945-1960* (Portland, OR: F. Cass, 2003), 73-91; Anthony Carew, "The American Labor Movement in Fizzland: The Free Trade Union Committee and the CIA," *Labor History* 39/1 (February 1998): 22-42.

⁸⁹⁵ The Free Trade Union Committee was financed by several AFL affiliates, but by the end of 1950, the Central Intelligence Agency supplied the bulk of the FTUC's funds. See Ted Morgan, *A Covert Life. Jay Lovestone: Communist, Anti-Communist, and Spymaster* (New York: Random House, 1999), 198, 215.

⁸⁹⁶ Jay Lovestone (1897-1990), born Jacob Liebshtein, emigrated from Lithuania with his Jewish parents to the Lower East Side of Manhattan at the age of ten. A student activist at City College of New York, Lovestone became a member of the Communist Party USA from its inception in 1919. In the 1920s, he served as secretary of the Communist Party USA. In 1929, Lovestone was purged from the party for supporting Nikolai Bukharin, the Russian communist leader of the so-called right opposition, which advocated slow agricultural collectivization and industrialization. Bukharin was tried for treason and executed by Stalinists in the Soviet Union in 1938. The Free Trade Union Committee was created in November 1944 with Lovestone as its executive secretary. From 1949 to 1963, Lovestone served as executive secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. As head of the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department from 1963 to 1974, Lovestone covertly gathered information on domestic and international labor activities for the Central Intelligence Agency as he channeled funds for the CIA's anticommunist activities. For information on Lovestone, see Robert J. Alexander, *The Right Opposition: The Lovestoneites and the International Communist Opposition of the 1930's* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981); Anthony Carew, "The American Labor Movement in Fizzland: The Free Trade Union Committee and the CIA," *Labor History* 39/1 (February 1998): 22-42; Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, and Fridrikh Igorevich Firsov, *The Secret World of American Communism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); Ted Morgan, *A Covert Life. Jay Lovestone: Communist, Anti-Communist, and Spymaster* (New York: Random House, 1999).

established the FTUC office in the New York City headquarters of the ILGWU.⁸⁹⁷

Romualdi began working as the Latin American director of the FTUC under Lovestone in 1945. In Latin America and the Caribbean, with help from Grant and Alexander, Romualdi would continue the AFL policy of support for U.S.-style noncommunist labor unions overseas.

From their offices in the Willkie Memorial Building in Manhattan, Grant and her Freedom House associates campaigned against authoritarianism in Latin America and the Caribbean. The U.S. labor leaders who had aided the U.S. Department of State's anticommunist struggles in Europe worked closely with Grant and the IADF in Latin America and the Caribbean as the United States became ever more worried about the spread of communism in the Western Hemisphere during the Cold War era. Through association with labor leaders like Serafino Romualdi and academics like Robert Alexander, Grant became deeply involved in the labor movement in Latin America and the Caribbean. Romualdi and Alexander and their American Federation of Labor colleagues would work with Grant to try to create a hemisphere made up of democratic governments that were pro-U.S. and unions that were pro-AFL. Indeed, Romualdi and his labor associates became significant financial backers of the IADF.⁸⁹⁸ As seen in next chapter, Argentina's president Juan Domingo Perón became an early target of Grant and her colleagues. The campaign they waged against Perón illustrates how Grant

⁸⁹⁷Ted Morgan, *A Covert Life. Jay Lovestone: Communist, Anti-Communist, and Spymaster* (New York: Random House, 1999), 198.

⁸⁹⁸ See Grant to Serafino Romualdi, December 23, 1959; Record Group 18, RG18-009: International Affairs Department; Staff Files: Serafino Romualdi Files, 1945-1961; Box 3. Folder 61; George Meany Memorial Archives, George Meany Center for Labor Studies, Silver Spring, Maryland.

increasingly melded her cultural relations activities with political struggles and human rights work.

CHAPTER 11

PERONISM AND THE EMERGENCE OF FRANCES GRANT

AS A COLD WAR ERA HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST

As authoritarian governments took hold in many Latin American and Caribbean countries in the years directly following the Second World War, human rights issues increasingly defined Frances Grant's postwar career. Through various organizations, including the Pan American Women's Association, the International League for the Rights of Man, and the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, Grant denounced dictators and supported human rights activists. Argentina's president Juan Domingo Perón became the target of Grant's first campaign against the tyrants she considered a threat to democracy and human rights in the Western Hemisphere. Grant collaborated in this undertaking with anti-Perón activists and labor leaders, like Raúl Migone, Serafino Romualdi, and members of the Romualdi's labor organization, the Confederación Interamericana de Trabajadores (CIT). After its establishment in 1950, the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom (IADF) became the primary venue for Grant's human rights activism and tireless efforts to fight both rightist and leftist dictatorships in Latin America and the Caribbean.

In the same month as Germany's unconditional surrender to the Allies, May of 1945, Grant was elected to the board of directors of the International League for the Rights of Man (ILRM), a nongovernmental organization dedicated to protecting human rights worldwide.⁸⁹⁹ The league had its origins in the La Ligue Française pour la Défense

⁸⁹⁹ Frances Grant was elected to the board of directors of the International League for the Rights of Man on May 14, 1945. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 23. Folder 4. For information on

de Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen, founded in France in the late nineteenth century.⁹⁰⁰

A group of European refugees came together at the New School for Social Research in Manhattan to found La Ligue Internationale de Droits de l'Homme in November 1941.⁹⁰¹

The league's president was the exiled Gaullist Henri Laugier, a future United Nations assistant secretary general for social affairs. After losing his professorship of physiology at the Sorbonne following the Nazi occupation of France in June 1940, Laugier was recruited by the Rockefeller Foundation to help organize the departure from Nazi-occupied France of scientists desiring to join the Allies. Laugier then became instrumental in establishing the École Libre des Hautes Études at the New School, where the league's minutes were kept in French for the first two years of its existence. Laugier left North America in 1943 after General Charles de Gaulle and the French Committee of National Liberation at Algiers named him chancellor of the University of Algiers.⁹⁰²

Grant's subsequent activities in the ILRM, see International League for Human Rights Records ca. 1948-1990, Container 6, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Humanities and Social Sciences Library, New York Public Library, New York, New York.

⁹⁰⁰ For information on the International League for the Rights of Man, see William Korey, *NGOs and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: A Curious Grapevine* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 139-158; Harry M. Scoble and Laurie S. Wiseberg, "The International League for Human Rights: The Strategy of a Human Rights NGO," *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 7 (Summer 1977): 295-297, 310-311; Peter Steinfels, *French Left-wing Intellectuals and Foreign Policy: The Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, 1933-1939* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Columbia University, 1976)

⁹⁰¹ The first meeting of La Ligue Internationale de Droits de l'Homme took place on November 12, 1941 at the New School for Social Research. The International League for the Rights of Man was incorporated under the laws of New York on May 7, 1942. See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 23. Folder 3.

⁹⁰² Born in the village of Mane in Basses-Alpes (now Alpes-de-Haute-Provence) in 1888, Henri Laugier attended the Université de Paris before serving in the First World War as an auxiliary doctor in northern France and the Middle East. He held various government posts and taught at the Sorbonne, where he was made a full professor of general physiology in 1937. The previous year, he had been named director of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Laugier was on a government mission to London when France fell to the Nazis in June 1940. Two months

Subsequently, American Civil Liberties Union founder Roger Nash Baldwin took over leadership of the league.⁹⁰³

Grant became involved in the ILRM after being asked to attend a meeting by one of the league's principle officers. She believed she was invited due to her extensive work with Alvin Johnson at the New School and the University in Exile. Johnson was a member of the ILRM's board of directors. In addition, Baldwin wanted to expand the ILRM's scope to include Latin America and the Caribbean, which made Grant a valuable asset to the league. Grant was "impressed" by the "distinguished group of men" active in

later, he was asked by the Rockefeller Foundation to help French scientists join the Allies. He then went to Canada, where he was a professor of physiology at the Université de Montréal. During this time, he also taught at the New School for Social Research in New York City. While in North America, Laugier served as vice-president of France Forever, a pro-Gaullist organization headquartered in Manhattan. After the Second World War, Laugier became director of cultural relations in the French Foreign Ministry. Laugier relinquished his government post in March 1946 after being named United Nations assistant secretary general for social affairs. The following month, Former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was elected chair of the Commission on Human Rights of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations at its first meeting on U.S. soil, which was opened by Laugier in Gillet Hall of Hunter College in New York City. In 1951, Laugier left the United Nations to return to his chair of physiology at the Sorbonne, where he remained for the next seven years. See "De Gaulle Gets Pledge," *New York Times*, 4 June 1942, p. 9; Denis Plimmer, "Yeomen of the Peace," *New Republic* 114/17 (April 29, 1946): 606; C. Brooks Peters, "U.N. Group Headed By Mrs. Roosevelt," *New York Times*, 30 April 1946, p. 9; "Laugier Bids U.N. Get Bill of Rights," *New York Times*, 1 May 1946, p. 8; "Secretariat – Social Affairs," *United Nations Weekly Bulletin* 1/19 (October 14, 1946): 19; "Henri Laugier, Ex-U.N. Official For Social Affairs, Is Dead at 84," *New York Times*, 21 January 1973, p. 60.

⁹⁰³ Roger Nash Baldwin was named chairman of the board of directors of the International League for the Rights of Man in March 1943. According to Robert Cottrell, Baldwin lost interest in the daily operations of the American Civil Liberties Union by the late 1940s. As he took increasing interest in international rather than national affairs, Baldwin was relieved of his executive responsibilities at the ACLU on January 1, 1950. He was subsequently given the title of ACLU national chairman, which he kept until 1955. See Robert C. Cottrell, *Roger Nash Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), 325-326; Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 23. Folder 3.

the ILRM under Baldwin's chairmanship.⁹⁰⁴ She considered Baldwin "an extraordinary spokesman for freedom."⁹⁰⁵

The presence of many exiled Spanish Republicans and Basque autonomists displaced following Francisco Franco's Nationalist victory in the Spanish Civil War became an asset to expanding the ILRM's work into Latin America and the Caribbean. Many of these Spaniards and Basques in exile in New York City wound up working longterm with Grant in support of human rights in the Western Hemisphere.⁹⁰⁶ They published their views on arts and politics in the anti-Franco magazine *Ibérica*, which Grant produced under IADF auspices before turning the operation over to the Spanish Republican exile Victoria Kent⁹⁰⁷ and her U.S. financial backer Louise Crane.⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁴ Frances R. Grant, "Autobiography – Latin American Work," undated, p. 3. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 51.

⁹⁰⁵ Frances R. Grant, interview by Muriel Meyers, October 8, 1983, Cassette 2: William E. Wiener Oral History Library of the American Jewish Committee, Dorot Jewish Division, New York Public Library, New York, New York, 1983.

⁹⁰⁶ Frances Grant was a longtime member of the advisory board of *Ibérica* magazine. In late 1952, Grant's colleague Louise Crane decided to start funding the publication of a new monthly magazine dedicated to the struggle against Francisco Franco. Crane's friend Victoria Kent, one of the major female political exiles of the Spanish Civil War, was the editor of the magazine, which was published in both English and Spanish language versions. Seeking assistance, Crane and Kent went to Grant, who had experience publishing the IADF's *Hemispherica*. In January 1953, the first issue of *Ibérica* was produced. The inaugural issue announced that the IADF was pleased to present *Ibérica*, described as a news bulletin and companion piece to *Hemispherica*. In 1954, Kent took over as editor of *Ibérica*, work she continued throughout the history of the magazine, which came out monthly until 1974. Under Kent's editorship, *Ibérica* was transformed from a news bulletin into a magazine of art, politics, and culture of the Spanish exile community. See "Presentation," *Ibérica* 1/1 (January 1953): 1; Frances R. Grant, "Greetings to *Ibérica*," *Ibérica* 2/1 (January 15, 1954): 10; Nancy Macdonald, *Homage to the Spanish Exiles: Voices from the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Insight Books, 1987).

⁹⁰⁷ Victoria Kent (1892-1987) was born in Málaga, Spain. Her father, of British ancestry, was a fairly successful commercial real estate broker who provided his five children with a middle-class and liberal upbringing. After earning a degree in education in 1916, Kent left home to study at Madrid's Universidad Central, where she became the first student to live in la Residencia de Señoritas, a women's institution created by la Junta de Ampliación de Estudios, directed by the famous feminist pedagogue María de Maeztu. Kent's dedication to feminism led her to join la

Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Españolas (ANME), founded in 1918 by María Espinosa de los Monteros to promote women's education and legal equality. The association fostered the creation of la Juventud Universitaria Femenina (JUF) two years later. In 1921, Kent traveled to Prague to represent la Juventud Universitaria Femenina at the International Congress of the International Federation of University Women. Three years later, she completed her doctorate in law from the Universidad Complutense of Madrid.

In April 1925, Kent became Spain's first female lawyer. Her judicial career having begun under the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), Kent's first work as a lawyer was undertaken on behalf of the Sindicato Nacional Ferroviario (National Railway Union). In 1928, in collaboration with other feminists, Kent helped found Instituto Internacional de Uniones Intelectuales. A year later, she began serving in the Partido Republicano Radical Socialista. A disciple of Luis Jiménez de Asúa, Kent gained fame after successfully defending participants of the 1930 Republican Jaca revolt against the Spanish monarchy. Thanks to Kent, the first woman to argue before the Spanish Royal Tribunal of Law, the politician Álvaro de Albornoz, who had been accused of participating in Republican rebellion of December 1930, was absolved. After the overthrow of the Spanish monarchy and the declaration of the Second Republic in April 1931, President Niceto Alcalá Zamora appointed Kent to be General Deputy of Prisons, in which capacity she sought to humanize the prison system. Kent was one of many Spanish intellectual women who looked to the Republic with hope and optimism and saw its creation as a not only an opportunity to better the position of women, but to reform Spanish society in general. Kent's reforming zeal was especially manifest in her work as prison director. Some of the reforms she instituted included abolishing the use of shackles and chains, permitting freedom of the press for prisoners, and ending the requirement of inmates to attend Catholic mass. In June 1931, in an election in which Spanish women could run for office but not vote, Kent was elected to a seat in Parliament as a member of the Radical Socialist Party. Kent won a second Parliamentary seat in February 1936, but her life as a politician was shattered by a military revolt, initiated in July of that same year against the government of the Republic, that soon degenerated, after its initial failure, into the Spanish Civil War.

In 1937, Kent fled to Paris, where she initially worked as secretary of the Spanish embassy, receiving Spaniards who had left war-torn Spain to seek protection in France's refugee camps. With her name on the black list given by the pro-Franco police to the collaborationist Vichy government, Kent eventually had to go underground to avoid persecution by the Gestapo. When the Nazis occupied Paris in 1940, the Red Cross helped Kent escape into the Mexican embassy, where she took refuge for nearly a year as Franco unsuccessfully attempted to have her extradited. Living under the name Madam Duval, Kent wrote an autobiographical novel, *Cuatro años en París*, which recounts her time of exile and persecution by the Franco regime in Nazi-occupied Paris.

With other exiles, Kent founded the Unión de Intelectuales Españoles in 1944. She remained in Paris after the city's liberation and the end of the Second World War, attending the Congreso Internacional Femenino in 1945. In 1948, Kent moved to Mexico, where she took work as a professor of penal law and collaborated with the Mexican government in the creation of la Escuela de Capacitación para Funcionarios de Prisiones. Two years later, she moved to New York City to spend a year at the United Nations as a member of its social defense section working on prison reform. In 1951, Kent was nominated as a ministra delegada in New York of the republican government-in-exile. After decades of organizing public opinion against Franco, Kent returned to Spain in 1977 for a visit. Ten years later, she died in New York City.

For information on Kent see, Pilar Domínguez Prats, *Voces del Exilio. Mujeres españolas en México, 1939-1950* (Madrid: Dirección General de la Mujer, 1994); Ofelia Ferrán, "Cuatro años en París, de Victoria Kent: la 'doble voz' en la escritura femenina del exilio," in Alicia Altied Vigil and Manuel Aznar Soler, eds., *Literatura y cultura del exilio español de 1939 en Francia*

The same month Grant was invited to join the ILRM's board of directors, Julio Álvarez del Vayo, the Spanish Republican wartime foreign minister who after the fall of the Second Republic spent the rest of his life in exile in New York, was promoted to vice president of the league.⁹⁰⁹ José Antonio de Aguirre, the president of the Basque

(Salamanca: AEMIC-GEXEL, 1998) 485-96; María Teresa González Calbet, "Victoria Kent: vida y obra," in María Dolores Ramos Paloma, ed., *Homenaje a Victoria Kent* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1989), 17-29; Zenaida Gutiérrez-Vega, *Victoria Kent, una vida al servicio del humanismo liberal* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2001); María D. Ramos Palomo, *Victoria Kent, 1892-1987* (Madrid: Ediciones del Orto, 1999); Antonina Rodrigo, *Mujeres para la historia: La España silenciada del siglo XX* (Madrid: Compañía Literaria, 1996), 215-239; María Telo Nuñez, *Concepción Arenal y Victoria Kent* (Madrid: Instituto de la Mujer, 1995); "Victoria Kent, 90, Who Led Magazine Opposed to Franco," *New York Times*, 29 September 1987, p. D34.

⁹⁰⁸ The philanthropist Louise Crane (1913-1997) was the daughter of Josephine Porter Boardman and Winthrop Murray Crane, a Republican who served as governor of Massachusetts from 1900 to 1903 and as a U.S. senator from Massachusetts from 1904 to 1913. The Crane family of Dalton, Massachusetts were owners of Crane & Company, Inc., known for its quality stationery and for making currency paper for the U.S. Treasury. Louise Crane was a lover and friend of the poet Elizabeth Bishop, whom she met while studying at Vassar College. Bishop and Crane traveled in Europe together and lived in Key West, Florida during the 1930s and 1940s. Crane had extensive correspondence with the poet Marianne Moore and was a friend and important patron of the composer and music critic Virgil Thompson. Crane financially supported *Ibérica* magazine and held Spanish Refugee Aid board meetings in her home on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan's Upper East Side. For information on Crane, see Gary Fountain and Peter Brazeau, *Remembering Elizabeth Bishop: An Oral Biography* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994); Carolyn W. Johnson, *Winthrop Murray Crane: A Study in Republican Leadership 1892- 1920* (Northampton, MA: Smith College Press, 1967); Kathryn R. Kent, *Making Girls into Women: American Womens Writing and the Rise of Lesbian Identity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 229-232; Nancy Macdonald, *Homage to the Spanish Exiles: Voices from the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Insight Books, 1987); Marianne Moore, *Selected Letters* (New York: Penguin, 1998); Camille Roman, *Elizabeth Bishop's World War II-Cold War View* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Anthony Tommasini, *Virgil Thomson: Composer on the Aisle* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1997). For correspondence between Crane and Frances Grant, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 29. Folder 15.

⁹⁰⁹ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 23. Folder 4. Julio Álvarez del Vayo (1891-1974), one of the principle diplomats of the Second Republic, worked as a leftist journalist before rising in politics as a member of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español, the largest political association in Spain prior to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. In September 1936, Francisco Largo Caballero became Spain's prime minister and appointed Álvarez del Vayo as minister of foreign affairs. Álvarez del Vayo remained minister of foreign affairs until May 1937, coming back into that position from April 1938 until the end of the war. The proto-Communist Álvarez del Vayo spent a great deal of his time as minister arguing the Second Republic's foreign policy before the League of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland. He worked to convince foreign governments to

Government-in-Exile, was also made a member of the ILRM's advisory committee in the same month Grant joined the league's board of directors.⁹¹⁰ Following the defeat of the Spanish Republicans in 1939, Aguirre escaped into France, which he fled the following year due to Nazi occupation. While traveling through Europe in search of safety during the Second World War, Aguirre had for a time taken refuge in the Chilean legation in Brussels, Belgium. He was in Montevideo, Uruguay in 1941 when Columbia University president Nicholas Murray Butler invited him to New York, where he spent the next two years lecturing on Spanish history and law.⁹¹¹

provide military aid to the Republicans and to deny international support for Francisco Franco's Nationalist rebels. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin was persuaded to give military aid to the Second Republic. In February 1939, Álvarez del Vayo petitioned Neville Chamberlain to mediate a negotiated settlement of the war, but the British prime minister recognized the Franco regime. After the war, Álvarez del Vayo went into exile in New York City, where he spent the rest of his life. See Julio Álvarez del Vayo, *Give Me Combat: The Memoirs of Julio Álvarez del Vayo*, trans. Donald D. Walsh (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973); Burnett Bolloten, *The Spanish Revolution: The Left and the Struggle for Power During the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979); Dante Anthony Puzzo, *Spain and the Great Powers, 1936-1941* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962).

⁹¹⁰ See Frances R. Grant Papers. International League for Human Rights. Minutes, 1941-1945. Box 23. Folder 4.

⁹¹¹ José Antonio de Aguirre y Lecube (1904-1960) trained as a lawyer before becoming a Basque politician. Aguirre formed the first government of the Republic of Euzkadi in October 1936. He supported the Second Republic in return for local home rule. Basque soldiers were incorporated into the Ejército Popular de la República, but during the Spanish Civil War the invading Nationalist rebels seized increasing amounts of the Republic of Euzkadi. In addition, the relationship between Aguirre and the Republican government became strained. Aguirre feared that Republican leaders in Valencia wanted more control over Basque affairs. At the same time, Juan Negrín, the last prime minister during the Second Republic, suspected the Republic of Euzkadi, the only Republican-controlled territory that kept its Roman Catholic churches open during the war, would try to negotiate a separate peace with the Nationalists. In June 1937, the Nationalists assaulted Bilbao, where Aguirre made his last stand. The following month, Aguirre's Republic of Euzkadi came to an end when Bilbao fell to the Nationalists. Forced to flee Bilbao, Aguirre remained president of the Basque Government-in-Exile until his death in 1960. See José Antonio Aguirre y Lecube, *Escape Via Berlin: Eluding Franco in Hitler's Europe* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), a translation of *De Guernica a Nueva York pasando por Berlín*, originally published by Macmillan in New York in 1944; George Esenwein and Adrian Shubert, *Spain at War: The Spanish Civil War in Context, 1931-1939* (New York: Longman, 1995); Stanley G. Payne, *Basque Nationalism* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1975); "Jose

After attending that first meeting of the league, Grant's work in Latin America and the Caribbean became increasingly political. Of course, the relationships Grant cultivated over the years since her first visit to South America in 1929 were useful for her work in the ILRM. A good many intellectuals with whom she initially collaborated later became key figures in the political lives of their countries. Within a year of Grant joining the board of directors of the ILRM, several of her Latin American colleagues were also on the ILRM board of directors or served the league in an advisory capacity, such as the Argentine economist Adolfo Dorfman⁹¹² and the Argentine historian Sergio Bagú.⁹¹³ The

Antonio de Aguirre Dies; Basque Leader Opposed Franco," *New York Times*, 23 March 1960, p. 37.

⁹¹² Born to Jewish parents in the Ukrainian city of Odessa in 1907, Adolfo Dorfman became a prominent economist and engineer in Argentina. He married Fanny Zelicovich, whose roots were Romanian-Moldavian. Dorfman published many works, including his classic study of Argentine industrial growth, *Historia de la industria argentina* (Buenos Aires: Escuela de estudios argentinos, 1942) and *Cincuenta años de industrialización en la Argentina, 1930-1980: Desarrollo y perspectivas* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Solar, 1983). After the military persecuted Dorfman in Argentina, he took his wife and two-year-old son Ariel to the United States. In 1954, when Ariel was twelve years old, the Dorfman family moved to Chile. Ariel attended and was later a professor at the Universidad de Chile in Santiago. He became a Chilean citizen in 1967. Ariel was part of the administration of president Salvador Allende from 1970 to 1973. He was forced into exile following the military coup d'état in which General Augusto Pinochet came to power. One of Chile's most prominent twentieth-century writers, Ariel told his father's story in *Heading South, Looking North: A Bilingual Journey* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1998). See also Salvador Oropesa, *La obra de Ariel Dorfman: FIFflyn y Ffítica* (Madrid: Editorial Pliegos, 1992).

⁹¹³ Sergio Bagú (1911-2002) was a scholar of the relationship of advanced capitalist nations to colonial areas. Bagú taught for a number of years at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, the largest university in Argentina. During the mid-1940s, he lectured at several U.S. universities. He first came to prominence with *Economía de la sociedad colonial: Ensayo de historia comparada de América Latina* (Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1949), an important work which argued that capitalism was established early during the colonial period in Latin America and that the European metropolis promoted colonial economic dependency. Dependency theorists of the 1960s came to consider Bagú's work a precursor to their ideas. Affiliated with the Partido Socialista in Argentina, Bagú spent many years in exile in Mexico City, where he taught at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. He was also a visiting professor in Chile, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Bagú died in Mexico City. See "Sergio Bagú," *Desarrollo Económico* 43/169 (April-June 2003), 165; Sergio Bagú, "The Colonial Economy," in Michael Löwy, ed., *Marxism in Latin America from 1909 to the Present: An Anthology*, trans. Michael Pearlman

Bolivian diplomat Enrique Sánchez de Lozada⁹¹⁴ and the Chilean diplomat Carlos Dávila⁹¹⁵ joined Grant at the ILRM, as did Andrés Iduarte, a Mexican professor of Spanish-American literature at Columbia University.⁹¹⁶

Juan Domingo Perón, twentieth-century Argentina's most important political leader, was the first major target of the ILRM in the Western Hemisphere. As head of the Latin American Section of the ILRM, Grant became a key figure in the struggle against Perón. She condemned Perón through PAWA and ILRM press releases and letters to U.S. officials and foreign governments. She organized protest meetings at Freedom House and sponsored lectures by anti-Peronist Argentines visiting or in exile in the United States. Furthermore, she facilitated the documentation of hundreds of cases of human rights violations in Argentina, which the PAWA and the ILRM presented in petitions before the United Nations and the Organization of American States.⁹¹⁷ A detailed look at Perón and

(Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1992), 137-140; Sergio Bagú y Humberto Gussoni, *El desarrollo cultural en la liberación de América Latina* (Montevideo: Fundación de Cultura Universitaria, 1967); Ronald H. Chilcote, "Sergio Bagú," in Robert A. Gorman, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Marxism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), 39.

⁹¹⁴ For information on Enrique Sánchez de Lozada, see Chapter Four.

⁹¹⁵ For information on Carlos Dávila, see Chapter Three and Chapter Nine.

⁹¹⁶ Andrés Iduarte was a graduate student at Columbia University, where he joined the faculty as a lecturer in Spanish after receiving a doctoral degree. While on leave from Columbia from 1952 to 1955, he served as director of the National Institute of Fine Arts in Mexico City. He became a full professor at Columbia in 1961. Iduarte died in April 1984 in Mexico City, where he had lived since his retirement in 1975. See "Andrés Iduarte," *New York Times*, 24 April 1984, p. B6; Jaime Alazraki, Roland Grass, and Russell O. Salmon, eds., *Homenaje a Andrés Iduarte ofrecido por sus amigos y discípulos* (Clear Creek, IN: American Hispanist, 1976); Roland Grass, ed., *Andrés Iduarte, un homenaje al escritor y maestro ofrecido por sus amigos y discípulos: Ensayos, testimonios, poemas con un album de fotografías* (Macomb: Western Illinois University, 1975).

⁹¹⁷ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Argentina: Dictatorship Protests, 1941-1956. Box 38. Folders 8-10; Frances R. Grant Papers. Argentina: International League for the Rights of Man – Special Cases, 1945-1975. Box 38. Folder 13; Frances R. Grant, "Remarks of Frances R. Grant at Meeting in the Willkie Memorial Building, October 16, 1953, Devoted to the Subject 'Is Peron's

Grant's opposition to him provides a means of understanding how Grant evolved into a highly regarded human rights activist.

After spending his childhood on his father's sheep ranch in Patagonia, Perón graduated from Argentina's national military academy and rose through the ranks of the Argentine army. From 1939 to 1941, he was a military attaché to Fascist Italy, where he became an admirer of Benito Mussolini. Upon returning to South America, Perón joined the officers group that overthrew the Argentine government in June 1943 in order to establish what Grant and her Roosevelt Administration associates considered to be a very pro-Nazi regime.⁹¹⁸ Perón used his new position as head of his nation's labor department to aid labor's organizational and collective bargaining efforts. While transforming Argentine labor unions into a powerful force loyal to him, Perón also acquired the positions of minister of war and vice president under President Edelmiro Farrell.⁹¹⁹

Friendship Worth Buying?," Sponsored by the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom and the International League for the Rights of Man." Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 67.

⁹¹⁸ The group of junior Argentine military officers who engineered the Argentine coup d'état of 1943 was known as the Grupo Organizador y Unificador, later the Grupo Obra de Unificación. The group ousted the civilian government of Ramón Castillo and instituted the military dictatorship that paved Colonel Juan Domingo Perón's way to power. See Robert A. Potash, ed., *Perón y el G.O.U.: Los documentos de una logia secreta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1984). Historian Ronald C. Newton argues that the U.S. response to Nazism and fascism in Argentina was out of proportion to any threat. In his study of German activity in Argentina during the Second War and the reactions of the governments of Argentina, Britain, and the United States, Newton makes a convincing case that German activity posed no threat to the Allies and that the fear of a fascist Argentina was a myth, produced to a great extent by British intelligence for its own purposes. See Ronald C. Newton, *The 'Nazi Menace' in Argentina, 1931-1947* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992); Ronald C. Newton, "Disorderly Succession: Great Britain, the United States and the 'Nazi Menace' in Argentina, 1938-1947," in Guido Di Tella and D. Cameron Watt, eds., *Argentina between the Great Powers, 1939-46* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1989), 111-134.

⁹¹⁹ For information on Juan Domingo Perón's rise to power in Argentina, see Jeremy Adelman, "Reflections on Argentine Labour and the Rise of Perón," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 11/3 (September 1992): 243-259; Joel Horowitz, *Argentine Unions, the State & the Rise of Perón*,

As Perón strengthened his political position in Argentina, the Roosevelt Administration worked to convince the Argentine government to reverse its foreign policy of neutrality and assume a pro-Allied posture.⁹²⁰ Under U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull's direction, the Roosevelt Administration "granted Lend-Lease arms to Argentina's rivals in South America, waged an extensive propaganda war against various Buenos Aires governments, intervened in Argentine financial affairs, embargoed United States-Argentine trade, froze Argentine assets in the United States, and severed diplomatic relations with the Farrell-Perón government."⁹²¹ For her part, Grant made connections in Argentina with anti- Perón human rights groups such as the Comité Contra el Racismo y Antisemitismo en la Argentina (Committee Against Racism and Antisemitism in Argentina)⁹²² and the Comisión Investigadora de Actividades Anti-

1930-1945 (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1990); David Tamarin, *The Argentine Labor Movement, 1930-1945: A Study of the Origins of Peronism* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985).

⁹²⁰ For information on U.S.-Argentine relations during the Second World War, see Michael J. Francis, *The Limits of Hegemony: United States Relations with Argentina and Chile During World War II* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977); David Sheinin, "Argentina: The Closet Ally," in Thomas M. Leonard and John F. Bratzel, eds., *Latin America During World War II* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 183 -204; Randall Bennett Woods, *The Roosevelt Foreign-policy Establishment and the "Good Neighbor": The United States and Argentina, 1941-1945* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1979).

⁹²¹ Randall B. Woods, "Conflict or Community?: The United States and Argentina's Admission to The United Nations," *Pacific Historical Review* 46/3 (August 1977): 368. For further information on U.S. policy towards Argentina during this period, see Carlos Escudé, "US Political Destabilization and Economic Boycott of Argentina during the 1940s," in Guido Di Tella and D. Cameron Watt, eds., *Argentina between the Great Powers, 1939-46* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1989), 56-76.

⁹²² The Committee Against Racism and Antisemitism in Argentina was established in July 1937 by leading members of the Communist, Socialist, and Radical parties, as well as conservative Argentine statesmen. These politicians and activists of varied affiliations and ideological persuasions came together in their opposition to Nazism and Italian fascism. They recognized that anti-Semitism was being used by Nazis and fascists to win public and political support in Argentina. The committee worked with the Delegación de Asociaciones Israelitas Argentinas (DAIA), Argentina's premier Jewish self-defense organization. Twenty-eight organizations,

Argentinas (Investigatory Commission on Anti-Argentine Activities),⁹²³ both of which investigated and vigorously protested pro-Axis activities in Argentina and the pro-Axis policies of the Argentine government.⁹²⁴

including every significant Jewish group except those with communist and anarchist affiliation, joined the DAIA when it was founded in 1936. The DAIA countered Nazi charges, met with government officials, and organized efforts comparable to those of the Jewish Defense League in the United States. For information on the Committee Against Racism and Antisemitism in Argentina, see Haim Avni, *Argentina & the Jews: A History of Jewish Immigration*, trans. Gila Brand (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991), 145. For information on the DAIA's relationship with Juan Perón, see Avni, 170, 182-191; Raanan Rein, *Argentina, Israel, and the Jews: Perón, The Eichmann Capture and After*, trans. Martha Grenzeback (Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 2003), 66-67, 138-140; Robert Weisbrot, *The Jews of Argentina: From the Inquisition to Perón* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), 67-69.

⁹²³ Raúl Damonte Taborda was the Radical chairman of the Investigatory Commission on Anti-Argentine Activities, which was made up of Radical and Socialist deputies in the Argentine Camara de Diputados (Chamber of Deputies) who investigated anti-Argentine activities in Argentina in the summer of 1941. Taborda gained notoriety for his antifascist writing in *Crítica*, a periodical owned by his father-in-law Natalio Botana. The pressure of public opinion and antifascist articles printed in the Buenos Aires daily *La Prensa* prompted the formation of Taborda's committee. Heinrich Jürges, a freelance rogue forger and anti-Hitler Nazi employed by the British and U.S. governments, produced much of the committee's report. Sax Bradford, an editor at *Time* magazine who went to South America to investigate fascism there during the Second World War used material from Taborda to write his book *The Battle for Buenos Aires* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943). In June 1942, Taborda resigned from the commission and was succeeded as chairman by Juan Antonio Solari, who worked extensively with Frances Grant on anti-Perón activities. The U.S. government had subsidized Taborda's original antifascist crusade. However, Taborda, a political chameleon, was hated at the U.S. embassy by the end of the war. He became the editor of the sensationalist anti-U.S. weekly *Resistencia Popular*. For Grant's correspondence with Solari, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 39. Folders 8 and 9. For information on Taborda, see Karl Loewenstein, "Legislation against Subversive Activities in Argentina," *Harvard Law Review* 56/8 (July 1943): 1261-1306; Ronald C. Newton, *The 'Nazi Menace' in Argentina, 1931-1947* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), 232-236; Ronald C. Newton, "Indifferent Sanctuary: German-Speaking Refugees and Exiles in Argentina, 1933-1945," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 24/4 (November 1982): 395-420; Mario Rapoport, "Foreign and Domestic Policy in Argentina during the Second World War: The Traditional Political Parties and the Military Regime, 1943-1945," in Guido Di Tella and D. Cameron Watt, eds., *Argentina between the Great Powers, 1939-46* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1989), 56-76; Olga Elaine Rojer, *Exile in Argentina, 1933-1945: A Historical And Literary Introduction* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 64; Ewart Edmund Turner, "German Influence in South Brazil," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 6/1 (Spring 1942): 57-69.

⁹²⁴ See Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 17. Folder 39; Frances R. Grant Papers. Argentina: Anti-Semitism, 1943-1972. Box 38. Folder 1. For information on the Jewish response to anti-Semitism in Argentina during the Second World War, see Graciela Ben-Dror, "The Catholic Church in

Grant and her anti-Perón associates became dismayed in late 1944 when U.S. policy toward Argentina began to reverse. Forced to resign due to ill health, Hull was succeeded as U.S. secretary of state by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., who, with Nelson Rockefeller, now promoted to assistant secretary for Latin American affairs, began seeking to end the United States government's aggressive stance towards Argentina.⁹²⁵ At the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace in Mexico City in February 1945, the Roosevelt Administration initiated a rapprochement between the two countries, leading Argentina to finally declare war on the Axis and Washington to reestablish diplomatic ties with the Farrell-Perón government. When the United Nations Conference on International Organization opened in May 1945 in San Francisco, the United States, along with other hemispheric nations that had followed its lead in reestablishing diplomatic ties with Argentina, successfully sponsored Argentina for membership in the United Nations.⁹²⁶

As foreign policy tensions eased, Perón continued his domestic objective to force all of Argentina's labor unions into a single national confederation, the Confederación

Argentina and the Confirmed Reports of the Extermination of European Jews (1942-1943)," in Aharon Weiss, ed., *Yad Vashem Studies* 25 (Jerusalem: Daf Noy Press, 1996), 197-228; Daniel Feierstein and Miguel Galante, "Argentina and the Holocaust: The Conceptions and Policies of Argentine Diplomacy, 1933-1945," in David Silberklang, ed., *Yad Vashem Studies* 27 (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing, 1999), 157-201; Judith Laikin Elkin, "Antisemitism in Argentina: The Jewish Response," in Jehuda Reinharz, ed., *Living with Antisemitism: Modern Jewish Responses* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1987), 333-348.

⁹²⁵ In 1940, Nelson Rockefeller went to work at the U.S. Department of State as director of the Office of Inter-American Affairs. In 1944, after successfully recommending the upgrading of Latin America in the State Department, Rockefeller was made assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs, a job which he resigned from the following year. For information on Rockefeller as assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs, see Cary Reich, *The Life of Nelson A. Rockefeller: Worlds to Conquer, 1908-1958* (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 265-373.

⁹²⁶ See Randall B. Woods, "Conflict or Community? The United States and Argentina's Admission to The United Nations," *Pacific Historical Review* 46/3 (August 1977): 361-386.

General de Trabajo (General Confederation of Labor). Through President Farrell, Perón established the Law of Professional Associations of 1945, which was similar to Mussolini's labor code. According to the law, government recognition was necessary for a union to legally exist and the government would recognize only one union per economic field. Without government recognition, no union in Argentina could enter into collective bargaining, appeal to a labor court, or go on strike.⁹²⁷ Perón was the real power behind President Farrell and some of Perón's fellow military men feared the mass base of support he was skillfully acquiring. In October 1945, a group of worried military leaders ordered Farrell to remove Perón from office and place him under arrest. However, in the Buenos Aires Plaza de Mayo central square, Perón's supporters promptly held a massive rally, which convinced the government to release him.⁹²⁸

In protest against Perón's release, Raúl Migone resigned his post as consul general of Argentina in Montréal, Québec. Migone, who since the 1943 military coup d'état had been amongst those Argentine groups working towards a return to constitutional normalcy, also thereby resigned his positions as Argentina's permanent delegate to the International Labor Office and Argentina's representative on the Inter-

⁹²⁷ For information on the Law of Professional Associations of 1945, see David Butler, "Charisma, Migration, and Elite Coalescence: An Interpretation of Peronism," *Comparative Politics* 1/3 (April 1969): 423-439; Edward C. Epstein, "Control and Co-Optation of the Argentine Labor Movement," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 27/3 (April 1979): 445-465; Edward C. Epstein, "Politicization and Income Redistribution in Argentina: The Case of the Peronist Worker," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 23/4 (July 1975): 615-631; Paul H. Lewis, *The Crisis of Argentine Capitalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 144-176; Alberto Spektorowski, "The Ideological Origins of Right and Left Nationalism in Argentina, 1930-1945," *Journal of Contemporary History* 29/1 (January 1994): 155-184.

⁹²⁸ See Daniel James, "October 17th and 18th, 1945: Mass Protest, Peronism and the Argentine Working Class," *Journal of Social History* 21/3 (Spring 1988): 441-461; Marysa Navarro, "Evita and the Crisis of 17 October 1945: A Case Study of Peronist and Anti-Peronist Mythology," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 12/1 (May 1980): 127-138.

American Economic and Social Council.⁹²⁹ Sorry to cease working on behalf of his country at the Pan American Union and the International Labor Organization, Migone stated in his public resignation letter to his government, "It is an insult to the capacity of the Argentine people for political and trade union activity, and it is intolerable for the triumphant democracies, bound to each other by solemn continental and world covenants, that these people should wish, in 1945 and in the Argentine, to repeat the Nazi-Fascist farce of pretending to improve conditions for the workers by enslaving them politically and imbuing them with a spirit of aggression towards their fellow-citizens and towards foreign countries."⁹³⁰

In a premonition of her postwar work, Grant ended 1945 with a December PAWA luncheon-forum at the Hotel Sheraton in midtown Manhattan with Migone as the keynote speaker. Soon after his resignation, Migone became one of Grant's main Argentine collaborators in her long campaign against Perón. Despite Migone's protest and the best efforts of Grant's old acquaintance U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Spruille Braden to link Perón with the Axis in late 1945 and early 1946 in order to prevent Perón's assuming the presidency, elections in Argentina in February 1946 resulted in an overwhelming

⁹²⁹ Raúl C. Migone (1898-1978), a former law student at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, founded the Argentine office of the Organización Internacional del Trabajo in Buenos Aires in 1932. He also helped found the Inter-American Statistical Institute, which was created in 1940 in Washington, D.C during the Eight American Scientific Congress. Migone was the first head of the Inter-American Statistical Institute's Committee on the Inter-American Statistical Yearbook. Through an agreement with the Organization of American States, the statistical staff of the Inter-American Statistical Institute became the statistical staff of the OAS on July 1, 1950. For information on Migone and the Inter-American Statistical Institute, see "Second Inter-American Statistical Congress," *American Statistician* 4/2 (April - May 1950): 17; Stuart A. Rice, "The Inter-American Statistical Institute: Four Years Old," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 39/226 (June 1944): 135-143.

⁹³⁰ "Resignation of Dr. Raúl C. Migone, Consul General of Argentina in Canada." Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 19. Folder 1.

presidential victory for Perón, who advocated social justice, industrialization, and economic nationalism.⁹³¹ Argentina, which accrued extensive foreign credits by exporting foodstuffs during the Second World War, was in a strong financial position when Perón took office. Consequently, Perón's government was able to purchase the country's foreign-owned railroads, shipping industries, and utility companies. Combining cooptation and intimidation of rivals with support for laws that provided workers with a guaranteed minimum wage, a forty-hour week, paid vacations, sick leave, and retirement pensions, Perón scorned Argentina's wealthy landowning oligarchy while trying to build

⁹³¹ Spruille Braden (1894-1978) began his diplomatic career after being appointed U.S. delegate to the Seventh International Conference of American States held in Montevideo, Uruguay in December 1933. From 1938 to 1942, Braden was U.S. ambassador to Colombia. He was U.S. ambassador to Cuba from 1942 until U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him to be U.S. ambassador to Argentina, where for four months in that post he overtly supported anti-Perón activists. In August 1945, Braden was nominated to succeed Nelson Rockefeller as U.S. assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs, but he was not confirmed by the U.S. Senate until October. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee opposed Braden as an interventionist who had heightened tensions between the United States and Argentina. As U.S. assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs, Braden unsuccessfully attempted to thwart Perón's campaign to become Argentina's president. In the weeks leading up to the Argentine presidential election of February 1946, Braden ordered the release of the infamous Blue Book, a record of German documents and U.S. State Department observations that claimed to prove Peronist collusion with Nazism. Perón reacted by announcing that Argentines were faced with a simple electoral choice of "Braden or Perón." See Glenn J. Dorn, "'Bradenism' and Beyond: Argentine Anti-Americanism, 1943-1953," in Alan McPherson, ed., *Anti-Americanism in Latin America and the Caribbean* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 61-83; Glenn J. Dorn, "Perón's Gambit: The United States and the Argentine Challenge to the Inter-American Order, 1946-1948," *Diplomatic History* 26/1 (Winter 2002): 1-20; Gary Frank, *Juan Perón vs. Spruille Braden: The Story Behind the Blue Book* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1980); Laura Ruiz Jimenez, "Peronism and Anti-Imperialism in the Argentine Press: 'Braden or Peron' Was Also 'Peron Is Roosevelt,'" *Journal of Latin American Studies* 30/3 (October 1998): 551-571; C. A. MacDonald, "The Politics of Intervention: The United States and Argentina, 1941-1946," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 12/2 (November 1980): 365-396; Roger R. Trask, "Spruille Braden versus George Messersmith: World War II, the Cold War, and Argentine Policy, 1945-1947," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 26/1 (February 1984): 69-95.

a corporate state like Mussolini's based on the military, organized labor, and nascent industrialists.⁹³²

Attempting to rouse men and women of the Western Hemisphere to combat fascism, Grant and the PAWA had collaborated during the Second World War with various Latin American and Caribbean antifascist and antiracist organizations. In the postwar era, Grant and her PAWA and ILRM associates continued to struggle against Perón and other leaders of the Western Hemisphere whom they considered totalitarians. As diplomatic historian Steven Schwartzberg points out, Grant was one of the "prodemocratic American activists" working in the field of inter-American relations who admired U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Braden for his pursuit of a hard-line U.S. policy against postwar dictatorships in the Western Hemisphere.⁹³³ Braden was a strong advocate of greater economic assistance rather than greater military assistance to Latin America and the Caribbean. He opposed continued large U.S. military aid programs to Latin American and Caribbean nations, arguing that military aid wasted U.S. taxpayer money while encouraging an arms race and military adventurism amongst governments of the Western Hemisphere. When his policy advice was rejected by the Harry S. Truman Administration, Braden resigned from the State Department in June 1947 and settled in New York City, where he worked as a lecturer and consultant to a number of large corporations with operations in Latin America and the Caribbean, including the American & Foreign Power Company, the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, the Lone Star

⁹³² See Joel Horowitz, "Industrialists and the Rise of Perón, 1943-1946: Some Implications for the Conceptualization of Populism," *The Americas* 47/2 (October 1990): 199-217.

⁹³³ Steven Schwartzberg, *Democracy and U.S. policy in Latin America during the Truman Years* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 90.

Cement Corporation, and the United Fruit Company. Grant sent a letter to Braden upon learning of his resignation from the State Department.⁹³⁴ “Those of us who have been working of behalf of human rights,” she wrote, “have felt strengthened by your presence in our government. Despite the constant evidence of civil and political violations in various parts of the Hemisphere, we have been convinced that your leadership guaranteed a vigilant and uncompromising stand against these abrogations of human liberty.”⁹³⁵

In January 1948, Grant’s colleague Serafino Romualdi organized an inter-American labor conference in Lima, Peru.⁹³⁶ The CGT of Argentina was not invited to the conference, which established the Confederación Interamericana de Trabajadores (CIT).⁹³⁷ Conference attendees named Romualdi the confederation’s secretary of

⁹³⁴ Spruille Braden became a vigorous anticommunist during the Cold War era. Braden believed U.S. private investments in Latin America and the Caribbean were good for the region and argued that the U.S. government should intervene in other nations to protect U.S. business and contain communism. He criticized the Dwight D. Eisenhower Administration’s foreign aid program as a giveaway. Braden recounted his experiences in Latin America and the Caribbean in his book *Diplomats and Demagogues: The Memoirs of Spruille Braden* (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1971). See Murray Illson, “Spruille Braden, Former Official of State Department, Is Dead at 83,” *New York Times*, 11 January 1978, p. B2; Steven Schwartzberg, *Democracy and U.S. policy in Latin America during the Truman Years* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 45-90; “Braden, Spuille,” in Eleanor W. Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Truman Years* (New York: Facts on File, 1978), 49-50; “Braden, Spuille,” in Eleanor W. Schoenebaum, ed., *Political Profiles: The Eisenhower Years* (New York: Facts on File, 1977), 58-60.

⁹³⁵ Frances R. Grant to Spruille Braden, 6 June 1947, “Resignation” file, Spruille Braden Papers, as quoted in Steven Schwartzberg, *Democracy and U.S. policy in Latin America during the Truman Years* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 90.

⁹³⁶ See Milton Bracker, “Lima Labor Issues Split Hemisphere,” *New York Times*, 4 January 1948, p. 15; Milton Bracker, “Lima Police Maul Pro-AFL Throngs,” *New York Times*, 10 January 1948, p. 8; Milton Bracker, “Hemisphere Labor To Form New Unit,” *New York Times*, 12 January 1948, p. 7; Milton Bracker, “Latin Distrust Of US Shown At Labor Parley,” *New York Times*, 18 January 1948, p. E7; “Mexican Labor Head Hailed in Argentina,” *New York Times*, 26 January 1948, p. 8.

⁹³⁷ For information on the Confederación Interamericana de Trabajadores, see Jon V. Kofas, *Struggle for Legitimacy: Latin American Labor & the US, 1930-1960* (Tempe: Arizona State University Center for Latin American Studies, 1992), 308-323; Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents*

international relations. Many of the CIT leaders would soon become associated with Grant and the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom after serving as delegates from their respective countries to the IADF's founding conference in Havana, Cuba in May 1950.⁹³⁸ Romualdi had called the 1948 labor conference in order to entice Latin American and Caribbean unionists away from the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), which had been founded in Paris in October 1945 to bring trade unions around the world together into a single postwar organization, forming a type of United Nations Organization for unionists.⁹³⁹ At war's end, before the Cold War era dampened the hope of cooperation between communist and noncommunist countries, labor unions from fifty-six nations set up the WFTU. The organization included Soviet Russia's state-run unions, as well as Italian unions that the AFL was working to rid of communists. Refusing to work within the WFTU due the fact that its membership included communists from Central and Eastern European countries, the AFL joined forces with the U.S. State Department to create the rival International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in December 1949, after which time the WFTU became dominated by

and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967), 81-95.

⁹³⁸ Former Confederación Interamericana de Trabajadores leaders who served as delegates from their respective countries to the Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Liberty held in Havana, Cuba in May 1950 included CIT president Bernardo Ibañez from Chile and Francisco Aguirre and Eusebio Mujal from Cuba.

⁹³⁹ Reporting on the International Labor Organization conference of American states held in Montevideo, Uruguay in mid-1949, *Time* magazine praised Serafino Romualdi for his success in purging communists from the Latin American labor movement. See "Under New Management," *Time* 53/19 (May 9, 1949): 42.

unionists allied to the Soviet Union.⁹⁴⁰ For many years, the ICFTU would be headquartered in Freedom House in Manhattan.⁹⁴¹

Perón was still in power in May 1950 when Grant, Romualdi, Colombian intellectual statesman Germán Arciniegas, and former (and future) president of Venezuela Rómulo Betancourt⁹⁴² organized the Inter-American Conference for

⁹⁴⁰ As a result of disputes over the Marshall Plan, a number of trade unions left the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1949 and formed the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Thereafter, the WFTU primarily consisted of state-run unions from countries allied with the Soviet Union. For information on the role of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in the creation and operation of the WFTU, and later of the ICFTU, see Jon V. Kofas, "U.S. Foreign Policy and the World Federation of Trade Unions, 1944-1948," *Diplomatic History* 26/1 (Winter 2002): 21-60; John P. Windmuller *American Labor and the International Labor Movement, 1940 to 1953* (Ithaca, NY: Institute of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1954).

⁹⁴¹ The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions moved out of Freedom House after a number of years in order to relocate closer to United Nations Headquarters in Manhattan. See Aaron Levenstein, *Freedom's Advocate: A Twenty-five Year Chronicle* (New York: Viking Press, 1965), 85.

⁹⁴² Rómulo Betancourt **Error! Main Document Only.**(1908-1981) was Venezuela's most important twentieth-century politician. He headed the revolutionary junta that governed Venezuela from 1945 to 1948 and served as president of Venezuela from 1959 to 1964. Born into a modest family in Guatire, Miranda, Betancourt became involved in politics while attending the University of Caracas, where he led student protests against the dictatorship of Juan Vicente Gómez. Arrested in 1928 and released after a few weeks, Betancourt was exiled from Venezuela until Gómez's death in 1935. A founder of the Costa Rican Communist Party, Betancourt became an admirer of the New Deal policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt after pragmatism and nationalism led him to renounce dogmatic, Moscow-directed communism. In September 1941, Betancourt helped formally establish Acción Democrática, a leftwing anticommunist party that came to power in Venezuela's October Revolution in 1945. Appointed provisional president, Betancourt established a new constitution and initiated a program of moderate social reform. He handed power over to a democratically elected president in 1948, but a coup a few months later led by General Marcos Pérez Jiménez forced Betancourt into exile again. He spent the next ten years abroad directing the outlawed Acción Democrática party. After Jiménez was overthrown in 1958, Betancourt returned to Venezuela and was elected president. His reformist administration passed an agrarian reform law to expropriate large estates, initiated public works programs, and fostered industrial development to reduce dependence on petroleum reserves. He exercised greater control over foreign-dominated petroleum companies, increased government tax revenue from petroleum, and supported the formation of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Betancourt adopted a foreign policy of non-recognition of undemocratic governments. He praised John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress and supported U.S. efforts to isolate Fidel Castro's Cuba. Beleaguered by forces of both the left and the right, Betancourt suppressed armed insurgency by leftist admirers of the Cuban Revolution, countered rightist military uprisings, and

Democracy and Liberty in Havana, Cuba, which, with heavy ICFTU representation, created the IADF, thereafter Grant's primary venue for supporting human rights and countering authoritarianism in the Western Hemisphere.⁹⁴³ The organizers of the Havana conference were joined by the Uruguayan Junta Americana de Defensa de la Democracia (American Council for the Defense of Democracy).⁹⁴⁴ Conference attendees elected Grant as the IADF's secretary general.⁹⁴⁵ Emilio Frugoni, the Socialist Party leader of Uruguay, was elected as the first president of the IADF, which was initially headquartered in Montevideo before being moved to New York City. In the 1930s, as a member of the Cámara de Diputados (Chamber of Deputies), the lower house of the

survived an assassination attempt planned by Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo. After his presidential term ended in 1964, Betancourt became the first Venezuelan in history to hold the presidency by a legitimate popular election and relinquish the office to a popularly elected successor. He then lived for eight years in Switzerland, returning to Venezuela in 1972. Betancourt died of a stroke while visiting New York City in September 1981. For information in English on Betancourt, see Robert J. Alexander, *Rómulo Betancourt and the Transformation of Venezuela* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1982); Luis Ricardo Dávila, "Rómulo Betancourt and the Development of Venezuelan Nationalism, 1930-1945," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 12/1 (January 1993): 49-63; Stephen G. Rabe, *The Road to OPEC: United States Relations with Venezuela, 1919-1976* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1982); Steven Schwartzberg, "Rómulo Betancourt: From a Communist Anti-Imperialist to a Social Democrat with U.S. Support," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29/3 (October 1997): 613-665.

⁹⁴³ For information on the Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Liberty held in Havana, Cuba in May 1950, see "Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Freedom, Office of Intelligence Research Report No. 5263, August 7, 1950," in Paul Kesaris, ed., *O.S.S./State Department Intelligence and Research Reports: XIV Latin America, 1941-1961* (Washington, DC: University Publications of America, 1979), Reel 2, Frames 920-946.

⁹⁴⁴ Leaders of the Junta Americana de Defensa de la Democracia who attended the Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Liberty included Emilio Frugoni, Américo Ghioldi, Eduardo Rodríguez Larreta, Simón Gómez Malaret, and Raúl Migone.

⁹⁴⁵ See "Our Principles and Objectives," *Hemispherica* 1/1 (January 1951): 1; Serafino Romualdi, "Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom is Launched at Successful Havana Meeting," *Inter-American Labor News* 3/8 (June 1950); Serafino Romualdi, "For Freedom and Democracy in the Americas," *American Federalist* 57/6 (June 1950): 24-26; R. Hart Phillips, "Aid For Democracy Set Up In Havana," *New York Times*, 15 May 1950, p. 8; "U.S. Latin Policy Scored in Parley," *New York Times*, 14 May 1950, p. 33; Robert M. Hallett, "Talks to Spur Democracy Called for Latin America," *Christian Science Monitor*, 17 April 1950.

General Assembly of Uruguay, Frugoni had been vigilant in denouncing fascists within Uruguay's German and Italian communities.⁹⁴⁶ He served as Uruguay's ambassador to the Soviet Union in the 1940s. While in Moscow, Frugoni wrote *La esfinge roja* (The Red Sphinx), in which he applauded aspects of the Soviet Union's social transformation while criticizing the creation of an all-powerful state that disregarded individual rights.⁹⁴⁷ Upon returning to Uruguay, Frugoni became cofounder and vice president of the Junta Americana de Defensa de la Democracia, an organization established in Montevideo in December 1948 by "liberal, non-Communist" Uruguayan politicians, joined by exiled

⁹⁴⁶ See David Efrón, "Latin America and the Fascist 'Holy Alliance,'" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 204 (July 1939): 17-25.

⁹⁴⁷ The Uruguayan politician, lawyer, and writer Emilio Frugoni (1880-1969) promoted Marxist and socialist ideas in his many essays and books. Frugoni was a supporter of José Batlle y Ordóñez, Uruguay's progressive early-twentieth-century politician who held the presidency twice, from 1903 to 1907 and again from 1911 to 1915. Frugoni helped found the Partido Socialista (PS) of Uruguay in 1910 and served as its first general secretary. Wanting to implement socialism through parliamentary reforms, he encouraged the elimination of class differences and the support of class struggle. At the same time, he discouraged class war and violence. The PS was revolutionary in its goals, but not destabilizing in its means. Opposed to anarchism, the PS would peacefully combat the bourgeois social order, whose economic and juridical laws were based on the class inequalities they consecrated. In 1921, the PS voted to join the Communist International (Comintern) and turned itself into the Communist Party of Uruguay (PCU). Subsequently, Frugoni reestablished the PS as a noncommunist party. Frugoni was the PS's first representative elected to Uruguay's Chamber of Deputies. The dean of Uruguay's only law school from 1932 to 1934, he was imprisoned and then exiled due to his opposition to Gabriel Terra, Uruguay's authoritarian president from 1931 to 1938. In 1942, President Juan José de Amézaga named him Uruguay's ambassador to the Soviet Union. Frugoni resigned his position in 1946 and returned to Montevideo. In *La esfinge roja: Memorial de un aprendiz de diplomático en la Unión Soviética* (Buenos Aires, Editorial Claridad, 1948), Frugoni criticized the Soviet Union's collectivist fanaticism that focused on the masses while discounting the rights of the individual. In January 1963, Frugoni left the PS over internal disagreements and created Movimiento Socialista. In addition to his political writings, he published many volumes of lyrical poetry. For information on Frugoni, see Tomás G. Brena, et al., *Emilio Frugoni: Presencia vital de su poesía* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Fundación Juan B. Justo, 1982); Ricardo Durán Cano, *Testimonio de una conducta: Emilio Frugoni, semblanza – bibliografía* (Montevideo, Editorial Afirmación, 1970); Emilio Frugoni, "Socialism is More than Marxism," in Luis E. Aguilar, ed., *Marxism in Latin America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), 83-85; Gerardo Giudice, *Frugoni* (Montevideo: Proyección, 1995); Sheldon B. Liss, *Marxist Thought in Latin America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 190-195.

Argentine and Venezuelan political leaders.⁹⁴⁸ The Junta, whose purpose was “to promote democracy aggressively,” excluded “totalitarians of the right or left” from membership.”⁹⁴⁹ In mid-1949, Raúl Migone and other anti-Perón Argentines from various political parties formed an Argentine affiliate of the Junta. The Peronists treated them “with a mixture of scorn and heavy humor, terming them oligarchs, allies of Wall Street, and actors in the ‘Braden circus.’”⁹⁵⁰

The following year, Grant was incensed when the Inter-American Commission of Women met in assembly in Buenos Aires. The PAWA adopted a resolution condemning the commission’s willingness to meet in Argentina “as an indignity to the newly awakened recognition of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights” and as a “disservice to the cause of democracy.” The commission, the PAWA claimed, not only for failed to condemn human rights violations in Juan and Eva Perón’s

⁹⁴⁸ James E. Brown, Jr., First Secretary of Embassy, to the Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., January 13, 1949; Central File of the Department of State, Record Group 59; Decimal File, 810.00/1-1349; National Archives II, College Park, Maryland. Eduardo Rodríguez Larreta, cofounder and director of the Montevideo newspaper *El País*, was one of the founders of the Junta Americana de la Defensa de la Democracia. Larreta also served in the Uruguayan Senate and as Uruguay’s minister of foreign affairs. He received a Maria Moors Cabot prize from Columbia University in 1949. For his newspaper’s coverage of the founding of the Junta Americana de la Defensa de la Democracia, see “Se Dirige a los Pueblos de América el Comité Pro Defensa de la Democracia,” *El País*, 27 December 1948, p. 1. For information on Eduardo Rodríguez Larreta, see Steven Schwartzberg, *Democracy and U.S. policy in Latin America during the Truman Years* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 66-71.

⁹⁴⁹ James E. Brown, Jr., First Secretary of Embassy, to the Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., September 20, 1949; Central File of the Department of State, Record Group 59; Decimal File, 810.00/9-2049; National Archives II, College Park, Maryland.

⁹⁵⁰ John C. Schillock, Jr., Second Secretary of Embassy to the Secretary of State; Buenos Aires, Argentina; June 15, 1949; Record Group 59; Department of State; National Archives at College Park, Maryland; 810.00/6-1549. For reporting on the creation of the Argentine affiliate of the Junta Americana de la Defensa de la Democracia, see “Contituyóse la Junta Argentina de Defensa de la Democracia,” *La Prensa* [Buenos Aires, Argentina], 13 June 1949, p. 1.

Argentina, but gave “fulsome praise to its dictator host and hostess.”⁹⁵¹ The PAWA’s resolution of protest was sent to the Organization of American States, as well as to women’s organizations, governmental leaders, and press services throughout the Western Hemisphere.

In addition, Grant’s Latin American Section of the ILRM released a document of protest before U.N. Secretary General Trygve Lie on the treatment of political prisoners in Argentina. The exiled Argentine labor leader Walter Beveraggi Allende compiled the document describing human rights abuses under the Perón Administration that the ILRM presented to the United Nations. Beveraggi was a member of the Partido Laborista, whose leaders had helped create the rally in October 1945 that demanded the release of Perón from prison.⁹⁵² However, following his election to the presidency, Perón dissolved the Partido Laborista.⁹⁵³ Beveraggi, one of the many Partido Laborista leaders who were thrown into prison and tortured following Perón’s break with their party, fled to New

⁹⁵¹ Resolution: Adopted by the Pan American Women’s Association, March 18, 1950. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 16. Folder 36.

⁹⁵² The Argentine political economist Walter Manuel Beveraggi Allende received a doctoral degree from Harvard University in 1952 after completing a dissertation on Argentine foreign trade. In his book *El Partido laborista, el fracaso de Peron y el problema argentino* (Montevideo: Talleres Graficos “33,” 1954) Beveraggi described the history of labor conditions in Argentina from 1930 to the break between Juan Perón and Cipriano Reyes’s Partido Laborista in 1946. In 1971, while a professor of political economics at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, Beveraggi began fueling Argentine anti-Semitism with allegations that an international Zionist conspiracy was under way to establish a Jewish state in Argentina’s Patagonia region. For information on Beveraggi, see Edy Kaufman, “Jewish Victims of Repression in Argentina Under Military Rule (1976-1983),” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 4/4 (1989): 479-499; Walter Little, “Party and State in Peronist Argentina, 1945-1955,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 53/4 (November 1973): 644-662; Allan Metz, “Gustavo Juan Franceschi and the Jews: The Overcoming of Prejudice by an Argentine Prelate,” *Church History* 62/2 (June 1993): 207-220.

⁹⁵³ For information on Argentina’s Partido Laborista, see Cipriano Reyes, *Yo hice el 17 de octubre: Memorias* (Buenos Aires: GS Editorial, 1973); Elena Susana Pont, *Partido Socialista: Estado y sindicatos* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1984).

York and began working with Grant, who was pleased that Beveraggi's document of protest was circulated at the United Nations and given "excellent publicity" by the international press.⁹⁵⁴

Beveraggi's fellow exiled anti-Perón labor leaders later gathered at an ICFTU conference in Mexico in January 1951. The conference, which Romualdi helped organize and served as a delegate, was officially opened to great fanfare by Mexican President Miguel Alemán in the Palacio de Bellas Artes in downtown Mexico City. AFL Secretary Treasurer George Meany addressed the opening session on behalf of the U.S. delegation.⁹⁵⁵ While the meeting was taking place in Mexico City, Grant was in New York putting together the first issue of the IADF's monthly periodical, *Hemispherica*, on the front page of which she expressed her "high confidence" for the conference's success.⁹⁵⁶ Called specifically for the purpose of creating an ICFTU affiliate organization for the Western Hemisphere, the conference created the CIT's successor organization, the Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (ORIT), originally headquartered in Havana, Cuba. Romualdi was appointed assistant secretary of the ORIT, as well as editor of the organization's *Inter-American Labor Bulletin*. The CIT president, the

⁹⁵⁴ International League for the Rights of Man, "ILRM February 1950 Bulletin," p. 3. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 26. Folder 11.

⁹⁵⁵ The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions conference was held in Mexico City on January 8-12, 1951. There were fifty-five delegates in attendance representing twenty-nine organizations from twenty-one countries. The United States was represented by the AFL and CIO, both of which were charter members of the ICFTU. See Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967), 112-113.

⁹⁵⁶ "ICFTU Conference," *Hemispherica* 1/1 (January 1951): 1.

Chilean labor leader Bernardo Ibañez, became the new ORIT president.⁹⁵⁷ Reacting to the formation of the ORIT, Perón created an international labor confederation under the auspices of the Argentine CGT at a meeting held in Mexico City in December 1952. The goal of Perón's ATLAS (Agrupación de Trabajadores Latinoamericanos Sindicatistas) confederation was to provide a third labor alternative, neither communist nor influenced by the United States. ATLAS was meant to serve as a propaganda vehicle for Peronism throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.⁹⁵⁸

In the pages of *Hemispherica*, Grant released her vitriol against Perón, whom she considered "the fuehrer of the Western Hemisphere."⁹⁵⁹ In October 1951, the IADF headquarters in Montevideo was closed down. The IADF claimed this was due to Perón's harassment of Argentine exiles in Montevideo.⁹⁶⁰ Yet this harassment was combined with

⁹⁵⁷ See Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967), 119. Many labor leaders associated with the Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores worked with Frances Grant in the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, including Bernardo Ibañez of Chile and Eusebio Mujal of the Cuba, who were both members of ORIT's first executive committee. For information on Ibañez, see Chapter Six.

⁹⁵⁸ See Claudio Panella, *Perón y ATLAS: Historia de una central latinoamericana de trabajadores inspirada en los ideales del justicialismo* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Vinciguerra, 1996); Mario Rapoport and Claudio Spiguel, *Estados Unidos y el peronismo: La política norteamericana en la Argentina, 1949-1955* (Buenos Aires: Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, 1994).

⁹⁵⁹ "The Twilight Curtain," *Hemispherica* 1/2 (February 1951): 1. For Frances Grant's analysis of the Perón presidency in the 1950s, see "Whom the Gods Destroy?," *Hemispherica* 1/3 (March 1951): 1; "Peron Becomes More Violent," *Hemispherica* 1/5 (May-June 1951): 2; "Thunder Over Argentina," *Hemispherica* 1/6 (July-August 1951): 2-3; "Argentina Came of Age," *Hemispherica* 1/7 (September-December 1951): 5; "Peron Woos Washington," *Hemispherica* 2/2 (February 1953): 2; "Peron Outstays His Welcome," *Hemispherica* 2/3 (March-April 1953): 1; "Technique for Treason," *Hemispherica* 2/5 (August-October 1953): 1-2; "Peron – Super-Menace," *Hemispherica* 3/2 (March-May 1954): 1,4.

⁹⁶⁰ See Charles D. Ameringer, *The Democratic Left in Exile: The Antidictatorial Struggle in the Caribbean, 1945-1959* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1974), 225.

unfavorable political conditions in Uruguay.⁹⁶¹ More importantly, the hope at the Havana conference had been that every nation in the Western Hemisphere would have an IADF committee. However, since the IADF members of other nations failed to raise the money to have committees, the U.S. Committee took over the association. Thereafter, Grant's office in New York served as the headquarters of the IADF.

Grant's colleague and financial-backer Romualdi, who worked vigorously to counter ATLAS, assisted Grant in her anti-Perón activism. In addition to writing for various labor publications, Romualdi lambasted Perón and the CGT in issues of the *New Leader*, a CIA-financed liberal weekly run by Sol Levitas, a member of the IADF's U.S. Committee.⁹⁶² The Ukraine-born Levitas, who had once been a member of the Russian intelligentsia, came to the United States as a young man and studied in Chicago. When the Russian Revolution began in 1917, he returned home and was elected vice mayor of

⁹⁶¹ In addition to harassment by Juan Perón against Argentine exiles in Montevideo, the Junta Americana de la Defensa de Democracia had to contend with a transitional period in Uruguayan politics. By approval of constitutional changes in December 1951, Uruguay, inspired by the Swiss multiple-executive system of government, became the first nation in the Western Hemisphere to implement a full collegiate executive form of government. One of the leading advocates of the reform was Uruguayan President Andrés Martínez Trueba, who helped legislate himself out of office through the constitutional abolition of his position. The adoption of the *colegiado* (collegiate executive) after an intense political campaign in 1951 was the resumption of a system that had been tried in partial form in Uruguay from 1919 to 1933 thanks to the efforts of José Batlle y Ordóñez, whose concern that the nation would fall prey to dictatorial caudillos led him to advocate for the creation of an executive governing council. The single executive was replaced by a plural executive, consisting of a nine-man council with a president, chosen from the majority party, acting as titular head of state. A new constitution abolished the plural executive in Uruguay in 1967. See Russell H. Fitzgibbon, "Adoption of a Collegiate Executive in Uruguay," *Journal of Politics* 14/4 (November 1952): 616-642; Martin Weinstein, *Uruguay: The Politics of Failure* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975), 50-84.

⁹⁶² Serafino Romualdi authored several pieces in the *New Leader* over the years. For Romualdi's analysis of the Perón presidency in the 1950s, see, see Serafino Romualdi, "Washington and Latin American Reaction," *New Leader* 36/44 (November 2, 1953): 14-15; Serafino Romualdi, "Perón's Anti-American Network," *New Leader* 36/15 (April 13, 1953): 6-7; Serafino Romualdi, "Anti-Americanism in the Americas," *New Leader* 35/9 (September 29, 1952): 6-8.

Vladivostok. As a Menshevik, or moderate socialist, Levitas was jailed several times by the Bolsheviks. He finally fled his homeland in the days leading up to the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. Returning to the United States in 1923, he lectured and served on the editorial board of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, the leading Yiddish-language newspaper in the New York area. In 1930, Levitas joined the *New Leader* and soon became its executive editor. The *New Leader* was originally the official organ of the Socialist Party, but the magazine ended its party affiliation in 1936 due to fear that a portion of the party was moving in an antidemocratic direction and engaging in a united front flirtation with communists.⁹⁶³ After joining the U.S. delegates in Havana for the IADF's founding conference, Levitas thanked Grant for introducing him to anticommunist democratic left politicians and labor leaders in Latin America and the Caribbean.⁹⁶⁴ From that time on, Grant served as a liaison between Levitas and the Latin Americans and Spanish Republican exiles who published articles in his magazine.⁹⁶⁵

⁹⁶³ Sol Levitas was the executive editor of the *New Leader* from 1930 until his death in 1961. Levitas and his staff, who denounced Francisco Franco's Spain and Juan Perón's Argentina as loudly as communism, were involved with numerous anticommunist organizations. The *New Leader* often linked its anticommunist stance abroad with its advocacy of liberal causes at home in the United States. The magazine's great appeal to authors was its allowing extensive freedom of expression. Prominent authors, excluding only advocates of communism and fascism, wrote without editorial restrictions. In need of funds for his magazine, Levitas actively solicited money from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, which distributed the *New Leader* in Europe as part of its effort to win over foreign intellectuals during the Cold War era. In April 1960, a year before his death, Levitas served as a U.S. delegate to the Second Inter-American Congress for Democracy and Freedom held in Maracay, Venezuela. For information on Levitas and the *New Leader*, see Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 2000), 162-163; Hugh Wilford, "Playing the CIA's Tune? The *New Leader* and the Cultural Cold War," *Diplomatic History* 27/1 (January 2003): 15-34; "S.M. Levitas, 1894-1961," *New Leader* 44 (January 9, 1961): 2-3; "Samuel Levitas, Editor, 66, Dies," *New York Times*, 4 January 1961, p. 33.

⁹⁶⁴ See Sol Levitas to Grant. 18 May 1950. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 35. Folder 36.

⁹⁶⁵ Frances Grant's Latin American colleagues who published in the *New Leader* included Germán Arciniegas, Rómulo Betancourt, Nuflo Chávez, Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, José

Grant's IADF colleague Robert Alexander, a regular contributor on Latin American and Caribbean labor issues for the *New Leader*, published many articles against Perón based on research and travel carried out in the Western Hemisphere under the auspices of the AFL. In 1952, Alexander spent two months traveling in fifteen countries in the service of the AFL. He interviewed Peronists, communists, and the IADF-affiliated U.S.-friendly labor leaders throughout the hemisphere. During his trip, Alexander sent AFL and ORIT policy suggestions, along with lists of suspected and known communists, to Jay Lovestone at his office in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union headquarters in New York City.⁹⁶⁶ Lovestone had by this time been recruited as a CIA agent.⁹⁶⁷

In September 1955, Perón was overthrown in a military coup d'état, which led to ATLAS losing monetary support and backing from the CGT. That same year, the AFL

Figueres, Américo Ghioldi, Carlos Lacerda, Luis Alberto Monge, Fernando Serpa, Juan Antonio Solari, and Germán Zea. Spanish Republican exiles who published in the *New Leader* included Victor Alba, Jesús de Galindez, Salvador de Madariaga, and Ramón J. Sender. For correspondence between Sol Levitas and Grant, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 35. Folder 36.

⁹⁶⁶ See Robert Alexander to Jay Lovestone, "Final Report on Latin American Trip," 1952; Record Group 18, RG18-003: International Affairs Department; Jay Lovestone Files, 1939-1974; Box 2. Folder 20; George Meany Memorial Archives, George Meany Center for Labor Studies, Silver Spring, Maryland; Robert Alexander, "Arturo Sabroso, Secretary General of Confederación de Trabajadores del Peru and President ORIT," August 18, 1952; Record Group 18, RG18-003: International Affairs Department; Jay Lovestone Files, 1939-1974; Box 2. Folder 19; George Meany Memorial Archives, George Meany Center for Labor Studies, Silver Spring, Maryland; Robert Alexander, "Report from Santiago, Chile on Argentina," August 10, 1952; Record Group 18, RG18-003: International Affairs Department; Jay Lovestone Files, 1939-1974; Box 2. Folder 20; George Meany Memorial Archives, George Meany Center for Labor Studies, Silver Spring, Maryland.

⁹⁶⁷ Jay Lovestone received his first payment from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in January 1949. He was discontinued as a CIA consultant at the age of eighty-eight in September 1986. See Ted Morgan, *A Covert Life. Jay Lovestone: Communist, Anti-Communist, and Spymaster* (New York: Random House, 1999), 198, 366.

merged with the Congress of Industrial Organizations to form the AFL-CIO.⁹⁶⁸

Romualdi, along with Lovestone, now worked for the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department. While Lovestone shaped much of the department's policies in Europe, Romualdi ran operations in Latin America and the Caribbean. The department, which Lovestone eventually rose to direct from 1963 until being fired by AFL-CIO President George Meany in 1974, took advantage of the many labor jobs created in the U.S. State Department under the U.S. embassy labor attaché program, first launched in 1943.⁹⁶⁹

In the year following the overthrow of Perón, Grant and the IADF supported Romualdi's attempt to reorganize the Argentine labor movement through Raúl

⁹⁶⁸ Frustrated over the American Federation of Labor's reluctance to organize unskilled and semiskilled factory workers, union leaders, under the guidance of John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America, founded the Committee for Industrial Organizations within the AFL in November 1935. The committee formally broke with the AFL during its first convention in 1938, when it renamed itself the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In December 1955, the CIO merged with the AFL to form the AFL-CIO. For information on the CIO see, Andrew E. Kersten, *Labor's Home Front: The American Federation of Labor during World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 139-165; Harvey A. Levenstein, *Communism, Anticommunism, and the CIO* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981); C.K. McFarland, *Roosevelt, Lewis, and the New Deal, 1933-1940* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1970); Joel Seidman, "Efforts Towards Merger, 1935-1955," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 9/3 (April 1956): 353-370; Robert H. Zieger, *The CIO, 1935-1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995). For information on the competition between the AFL and CIO in Latin America and the Caribbean before the AFL-CIO merger, see John W. Roberts, *Putting Foreign Policy to Work: The Role of Organized Labor in American Foreign Relations, 1932-1941* (New York: Garland, 1995), 125-134.

⁹⁶⁹ Jay Lovestone was close to George Meany, the AFL-CIO's president from 1955 to 1979. For decades, while serving as the editor of *Free Trade Union News*, Lovestone authored Meany's foreign policy papers. Lovestone facilitated the entanglement of the AFL-CIO leadership with the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), which was founded through the combined efforts of U.S. labor, business, and government in 1962. In his last full-time position in the area of inter-American labor activity before his retirement in 1965, Serafino Romualdi served as the AIFLD's first executive director. In 1974, Meany finally fired Lovestone after discovering that Lovestone had continued working for James Angelton, chief of counterintelligence at the CIA from 1954 through 1974, seven years after being ordered by Meany to terminate the relationship. See Ted Morgan, *A Covert Life. Jay Lovestone: Communist, Anti-Communist, and Spymaster* (New York: Random House, 1999), 144-145, 347-352.

Migone.⁹⁷⁰ Under a military junta led by Provisional President Major General Pedro Eugenio Aramburu, Migone served as Argentina's minister of labor from November 1955 until September 1956.⁹⁷¹ In the summer of 1957, Grant returned to Argentina for the first time since Perón's ouster. She found a reporter from *La Prensa*, Argentina's oldest and most prestigious newspaper, waiting to interview her when she arrived at her hotel in Buenos Aires. Alberto Gainza Paz, the paper's editor, had fled to his mother's home in Colonia del Sacramento, Uruguay in March 1951 after years of internationally-monitored conflict between *La Prensa* and Argentina's Peronists. After his paper was expropriated by the Argentine government and turned into a Peronist trade union tabloid, Gainza Paz spent several years in exile in Uruguay and the United States, where Grant helped to publicize his plight.⁹⁷²

⁹⁷⁰ For Serafino Romualdi's work in Argentina between the fall of Juan Perón in September 1955 and the deposing of President Arturo Illia by the military coup d'état led by General Juan Carlos Onganía in June 1966, see Serafino Romualdi, *Presidents and Peons: Recollections of a Labor Ambassador in Latin America* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967), 154-171.

⁹⁷¹ Raúl Migone promised labor a fair deal if unions remained "unpolitical." He charged that the Confederación General de Trabajo had served to tyrannize more than the six million workers it represented. See Edward A. Morrow, "Argentina Seized Rule Over Unions," *New York Times*, 17 November 1955, p. 1. Labor unrest caused by Peronists resulted in Migone's ouster as minister of labor in September 1956. See Edward A. Morrow, "Argentina Confronts Gravest Labor Unrest," *New York Times*, 23 September 1956, p. 190.

⁹⁷² Alberto Gainza Paz (1899-1977) was a member of the conservative aristocratic Paz family that founded the newspaper *La Prensa* in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 1869. The paper was taken over by the government during the first presidency of Juan Perón. In December 1955, Gainza Paz's mother Zelmira Anochorena de Gainza Paz was returned ownership of *La Prensa*. Alberto Gainza Paz resumed the paper's publication amidst great fanfare. Soon after, Frances Grant presented him the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom's annual award for distinguished service to democracy and human rights in the hemisphere. For information on Gainza Paz and the reaction in the United States to Perón's conflict with the *La Prensa*, see Mary Breasted, "Alberto Gainza Paz, 78, Is Dead; Editor Ran Argentina's La Prensa," *New York Times*, 27 December 1977, p. 38; "Homecoming for an Exiled Editor," *Life* 39 (December 19, 1955): 41-45; "Return of La Prensa," *Time* 66/24 (December 12, 1955): 82; Harvey Breit, "Talk With Gainza Paz," *New York Times*, 13 July 1952, p. BR15. Dorothy Penn, "La Prensa - Argentina's Spokesman for Freedom," *Hispania* 29/4 (November 1946): 559-560; For information on Grant's involvement with Gainza Paz, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 38. Folder 28.

As part of Grant's mission to alert, enlighten, and influence U.S. public opinion and key governmental figures about Latin American and Caribbean issues, the IADF organized many dinners, luncheons, public meetings, round table discussions, and seminars. Many Argentines, including Gainza Paz, appeared in the United States under IADF auspices. In September 1951, Gainza Paz flew to New York to attend a Freedom House dinner as Grant's guest of honor and to hold a press conference in the Willkie Memorial Building.⁹⁷³ The following month, Gainza Paz dined at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel with Former U.S. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, Former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, and Former U.S. Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson, who served as president of Freedom House until being succeeded by Sumner Welles following his death in January 1952. The occasion for the dinner was Freedom House's tenth anniversary, during which Grant arranged for Gainza Paz to receive a special award for "his courageous fight to maintain the principles of a free press."⁹⁷⁴ With Grant's promotional help, *La Prensa* had become a symbol of freedom of the press and Gainza Paz a symbol of democracy standing up to dictatorship.

With Perón in exile and *La Prensa* back in the hands of its rightful owner, Gainza Paz now venerated Grant with a press conference of her own in Buenos Aires. While in Argentina, Grant met with dozens of groups and organizations. "Since practically all the leaders of the opposition, regardless of party affiliation, were in contact with me," Grant wrote a friend in Chile, "they are now particularly happy to be able to see and greet me

⁹⁷³ See "Gainza Paz Is Here To Accept Awards," *New York Times*, 3 September 1951, p. 11; "Opposition," *New Yorker* 27/32 (September 22, 1951): 23-24.

⁹⁷⁴ "Hoffman To Get Award," *New York Times*, 1 October 1951, p. 10.

openly.”⁹⁷⁵ Members of the Basque community in Buenos Aires invited Porteños to a lecture by Grant, followed by a dinner in her honor. “What a fighting spirit these Basques have!,” Grant wrote home to her family, “We talked until 1:30 a.m.”⁹⁷⁶

For seventeen straight years, Perón was in exile, the guest of Latin American rightwing authoritarian presidents whom Grant struggled against, first in Paraguay, then in Panama, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic. He finally settled in 1960 in Francisco Franco’s Spain, from where he led his movement in exile.⁹⁷⁷ Through the 1960s, Grant continued to work with Migone, who went on to serve as Argentina’s ambassador to the United Nations in New York and Argentina’s ambassador to the International Labor Organization in Geneva.⁹⁷⁸ In 1972, much to Grant’s dismay, the Argentine military allowed Perón to return to his country.⁹⁷⁹ Elections in September 1973 made Perón president of Argentina once again, but he died ten months later. Grant,

⁹⁷⁵ Grant to María Llona. 3 July 1957. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 30. Folder 9.

⁹⁷⁶ Grant to Family. Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 9. Folder 20.

⁹⁷⁷ Historian Raanan Rein argues that the first Perón Administration (1946-1955) was a buttress of the Francisco Franco regime in Spain. Perón provided diplomatic support for Franco’s Spain, which endured a United Nations diplomatic boycott until 1950. Argentina also exported needed foodstuffs to Spain, which benefited Franco by quelling social unrest. See Raanan Rein, *The Franco-Perón Alliance: Relations Between Spain and Argentina, 1946-1955*, trans. Martha Grenzeback (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993).

⁹⁷⁸ In December 1956, Raúl Migone was appointed Argentina’s ambassador to the United Nations as well as Argentina’s ambassador to the International Labor Organization in Geneva. See “Argentina Appoints Acting Envoy To U.N.,” *New York Times*, 8 December 1956, p. 4. For correspondence between Frances Grant and Raúl Migone, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 38. Folder 35.

⁹⁷⁹ For Frances Grant’s analysis of Argentine during the first half of the 1970s, see “Peron Now Offers ‘Dialogue,’” *Hemispherica* 21/8 (October 1972): 1; “Peron Returns To Argentina,” *Hemispherica* 21/9 (November 1972): 1; “Argentina Turns Back History,” *Hemispherica* 22/7 (August-September 1973): 1-2; “Argentina Faces Uncertain Future,” *Hemispherica* 23/7 (August-September 1974): 1-2.

however, from her Willkie Memorial Building office, would continue working as secretary general of the IADF until the association came to an end after the building was sold by Freedom House for financial reasons in July 1984.⁹⁸⁰

⁹⁸⁰ For the story of the demise of the nine-story Willkie Memorial Building at 20 West 40th Street in Manhattan, see Michael Oreskes, "On 20th Anniversary, Landmarks Panel Is Strong but Controversial Force in City," *New York Times*, 24 April 1985, p. B1.

CONCLUSION

As the Second World War drew to a close in 1945, Frances Grant was elected to the board of directors of the International League for the Rights of Man and subsequently drawn into postwar human rights struggles. In her quest to forge a democratic and united Western Hemisphere, Grant formed close working relationships with Serafino Romualdi and labor leaders from throughout the Western Hemisphere who opposed Juan Domingo Perón and his national and international labor organizations. Participation in the postwar anti-Perón movement represented a new phase in Grant's involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, first stimulated by her initial trip to South America under the auspices of the Roerich Museum in 1929. The inter-American cultural relations work done by Grant in the 1930s and 1940s laid the foundation for her more well-known human rights work and political activism with the leading Latin American and Caribbean democratic left forces during the Cold War era. Grant's efforts in promoting Pan Americanism gave her valuable experience and honed her diplomatic skills, while enabling her to build an extensive network of supporters and political contacts. Together with the Western Hemisphere's democratic left politicians and labor leaders, Grant became a key organizer of the founding conference of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom in 1950. As the tirelessly dedicated secretary general of the IADF during the Cold War era, Grant matured into one of the Western Hemisphere's greatest twentieth-century human rights activists.

Grant died in 1993 after a long and distinguished career in the field of inter-American relations.⁹⁸¹ Several studies have recounted Grant's collaboration with democratic left politicians and anticommunist labor leaders during her years of service as secretary general of the IADF.⁹⁸² In contrast, this dissertation began in 1929 and followed Grant's contributions to Pan Americanism in the 1930s and 1940s, ending with the founding of the IADF in 1950. Grant's work in these decades provided the foundation for her postwar career. The internationalist perspective and convictions that guided Grant's lifework has been traced back to the influence of Nicolas Roerich and the years Grant spent establishing the Roerich Museum. As president and founder of the Pan American Women's Association, Grant made contacts among artists and intellectuals and within women's groups and diplomatic circles in Latin America and the Caribbean. Organizing PAWA activities, Grant made lifelong friends and colleagues throughout the Western Hemisphere and gained experience and skills invaluable for her more politically-charged work during the Cold War era. In the 1930s and 1940s, Grant acted upon a dedication and loyalty to Pan Americanism that won the respect of many influential people involved in inter-American affairs, resulting in her becoming one of the most notable U.S. figures supporting the democratic left in Latin America and the Caribbean in the aftermath of the Second World War.

⁹⁸¹ See Roger Kaplan, "Frances Grant: An American Original," *Freedom Review* 24/5 (September-October 1993): 31, 48.

⁹⁸² See Robert J. Alexander, *Rómulo Betancourt and the Transformation of Venezuela* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1982); Charles D. Ameringer, *The Democratic Left in Exile: The Antidictatorial Struggle in the Caribbean, 1945-1959* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1974); Van Gosse, *Where the Boys Are: Cuba, Cold War America and the Making of a New Left* (New York: Verso, 1993); Kyle Longley, *The Sparrow and the Hawk: Costa Rica and the United States during the Rise of José Figueres* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997).

Grant's Pan American activities during the Great Depression and Second World War should not be thought of as merely a backdrop to her later role of as an activist for democracy and human rights in the Western Hemisphere. Her earlier career deserves recognition and attention by scholars. This study has placed Grant's work in the 1930s and 1940s in the growing literature on U.S. foreign relations that takes into account cultural history, gender analysis, the role of NGOs, the history of development, labor history, and the links between international efforts and national histories. The study has asserted the important role women played in inter-American relations through their involvement in nongovernmental voluntary organizations. The study has also made clear that women's participation must be placed within a context in which esoteric religions as well as cultural and artistic movements inspired and seemingly validated their transnational activism.

In her book *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945*, Emily Rosenberg asked if studies of women and gender issues "represent merely peripheral add-ons" to the field of foreign relations.⁹⁸³ This dissertation has shown that women involved in the Pan American movement believed they played a special unique role in fostering inter-American understanding. They claimed that feminine qualities gave them the ability to transcend national barriers and build Pan American solidarity. Women thought themselves to be the best informal messengers to bring the Pan American ideal into the home, where it would take root and spread. Tapping into a specific female elite culture made up of women throughout the Western Hemisphere, Grant used a traditionally-restrictive gender ideology to assert a greater

⁹⁸³ Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 118.

public role for women. Grant's belief in the supposedly inherent feminine qualities of admiration for beauty, art, and spirituality – a belief largely shared by Latin American and Caribbean feminists – empowered women to act and contribute to the Pan American movement. As Rosenberg has argued and this study has confirmed, recognizing women's important contributions, even within a fairly restricted female sphere, expands the possibilities for integrating women into the history of foreign affairs.

Furthermore, this dissertation has shown how esoteric religion buttressed Western women's activism in the first half of the twentieth century. Theosophy and Nicholas Roerich's theosophical-tinged eclectic spirituality strongly influenced the beliefs and actions of Grant, as well as many of her female colleagues. Yet most of the literature on Pan Americanism and women's organizations in this period neglects the role of religion and spirituality. For example, Helen Delpar's *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* makes no mention to how religious and mystical beliefs influenced many of the men and women involved in U.S.-Mexico cultural relations.⁹⁸⁴ For Grant and the many other women in this study, the honoring of the "feminine divine" and traditional female qualities found in theosophy validated their involvement in social reform and international affairs.

Grant belonged to a generation of women who were devoted to civic engagement and building community beyond the bourgeois family, a legacy of the Progressive Era. As explained in this dissertation, voluntary organizations like the Pan American Women's Association and the International League for the Rights of Man provided a vehicle through which Grant and her colleagues could participate in civil society at the

⁹⁸⁴ See Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992).

local, national, and international levels. Nongovernmental organizations offered Caribbean, Latin American, and U.S. women a role in inter-American affairs. The study has made clear the importance of nongovernmental groups in promoting the Pan American movement and bolstering U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy. Roosevelt Administration officials valued these unofficial channels for their ability to reach women's groups, classrooms, and even homes via shortwave radio programs. Various U.S. government agencies cooperated in the PAWA's activities, including the U.S. State Department's Division of Cultural Relations, the U.S. Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, and the U.S. Office of War Information.

Grant and the PAWA contributed to the Pan American movement through the presentation of numerous educational and artistic events. The organizations with which Grant was involved promoted interaction between participants who constructed and disseminated knowledge of the variety of national cultures in the Western Hemisphere. In the United States, PAWA events provided artists, dancers, musicians, and writers from Latin America and the Caribbean with a venue for gaining recognition abroad that helped construct a national cultural identity at home. This flow of people and ideas significantly contributed to the building of a real transnational network and an imagined Pan American community. Grant's radio programs, which reached into homes from Mexico City to Montevideo, allowed listeners to imagine themselves as part of a Pan American community that included their English-speaking northern neighbors in the hemisphere.

Grant found a niche for herself as an prominent Pan American go-between. She functioned as an intermediary figure amid the United States and Latin America and the Caribbean, making important connections with Latin American and Caribbean political

and cultural elites in the 1930s that carried over into the Second World War and the Cold War era. With high regard and endorsement of Latin American and Caribbean cultural productions, Grant dispelled the notion of U.S. white racial superiority and exceptionalism. Through Grant's efforts, the U.S. public learned more about social reform efforts in neighboring countries of the Western Hemisphere. Thanks to Grant, the U.S. public viewed more of the hemisphere's art, enjoyed more of its music, and listened to lectures by more of its intellectuals. Grant was an internationalist who advocated U.S. involvement in the world. She saw such involvement as the key to transforming both the dynamics of international relations and of U.S. society itself. Underlying Grant's work was a continuous push for racial equality, as she labored to dispel the prejudice against Latin American and Caribbean "racial mixture" held by many in the United States. Grant's dream of a great Pan American family would be ideally realized only through mutual respect and an end to race and class prejudice at home and abroad.

Many scholars argue that the activism of internationalist nongovernmental actors like Grant and her associates between the First World War and the Second World War helped bring about the tremendous rise of internationalism that followed, most notably in the formation of the United Nations Organization and the incorporation of NGOs into the United Nations System.⁹⁸⁵ Grant's role in the international arena was heightened in 1947,

⁹⁸⁵ See Charles Chatfield, "International and Nongovernmental Associations to 1945," in Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco, eds., *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), 19-41; Bruce Cummings, "The American Century and the Third World," *Diplomatic History* 23/2 (Spring 1999): 355-370; Dorothy B. Robbins, *Experiment in Democracy: The Story of U.S. Citizen Organizations in Forging the Charter of the United Nations* (New York: Parkside Press, 1971); Robert Shaffer, "Pearl S. Buck and the East and West Association: The Trajectory and Fate of 'Critical Internationalism,' 1940-1950," *Peace & Change* 28/1 (January 2003): 1-36; Bill Seary, "The Early History: From the Congress of Vienna to the San Francisco Conference," in Peter Willetts, ed., *The Conscience of the World: The Influence of Non-Governmental*

when the International League for the Rights of Man was granted consultative status at the United Nations Economic and Social Council, which gave it the right to testify before that body about human rights abuses. By granting consultative status to private interest groups, the United Nations officially recognized the importance of NGOs like the ILRM. For their part, Latin Americans associated with Grant were influential in obtaining a place for human rights in the United Nations Charter.⁹⁸⁶ Maintaining the values of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights became the directive of the ILRM. Grant frequently testified about conditions in Latin America and the Caribbean before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, as subsidiary body of the Economic and Social Council. As authoritarian governments took hold in many Latin American and Caribbean countries in the later half of the 1940s, human rights issues further defined Grant's inter-American activities. Through the PAWA and the ILRM, Grant denounced dictators and supported human rights activists. Argentina's president Juan Domingo Perón became the target of Grant's first campaign against the tyrants she considered a threat to democracy and human rights in the Western Hemisphere. Grant collaborated with anti-Perón activists aligned with Serafino Romualdi, who was appointed the first inter-American representative of the American Federation of Labor in

Organizations in the UN System (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1996), 15-30; Christy Jo Snider, "The Influence of Transnational Peace Groups on U.S. Foreign Policy Decision-Makers during the 1930s: Incorporating NGOs into the UN," *Diplomatic History* 27/3 (June 2003): 377-404.

⁹⁸⁶ See Mary Ann Glendon, "The Forgotten Crucible: The Latin American Influence on the Universal Human Rights Idea," *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 16 (Spring 2003): 27-40; Eduardo Zuleta Ángel, "How Latin America Shaped the U.N.: The Memoirs of a Colombian Statesman," *Américas* 34/5 (September/October 1982): 9-13.

1948 and continued in that position after the unification of the AFL and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1955.

In 1948, Grant began a struggle to obtain safe conduct for the American People's Revolutionary Alliance founder and leader Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Peru's most influential twentieth-century political leader, who took refuge in the Colombian embassy in Lima for five years while his party was outlawed in Peru.⁹⁸⁷ That same year, a military coup forced into exile Venezuelan President Rómulo Gallegos, an old friend of Grant's from her Roerich Museum days, and former Venezuelan President Rómulo Betancourt, a Latin American Committee member of the ILRM. By the late 1940s, dictators ruled in several Latin American and Caribbean countries. Through the PAWA and the ILRM, Grant responded by arranging U.S. speaking tours for Gallegos and Betancourt, as well as for many other Latin American and Caribbean leaders of the democratic left.

Thanks to financial support from Nelson Rockefeller, members of the Latin American Committee of the ILRM and the Uruguayan Junta Americana de Defensa de la Democracia (American Council for the Defense of Democracy) inaugurated the first Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Liberty in Havana in 1950. By this time, Romualdi had established contacts with leading Latin American and Caribbean unionists, who joined the AFL in building the Confederación Inter-Americana de Trabajadores (Inter-American Confederation of Workers) to counteract Peronist and communist unionism. Upon the founding of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in

⁹⁸⁷ For information on Haya de la Torre's involvement with the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, see Eugenio Chang-Rodriguez, "Victor Raul Haya de la Torre (1895-1979)," *Hemispherica* 28/7 (August-September 1979): 1-3; "Memorial Honors Haya De La Torre," *Hemispherica* 28/8 (October 1979): 1-3; "To Free Haya de la Torre," *New York Times*, 15 December 1953, p. 38; Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 46. Folders 28-37.

1949, the CIT was transformed into the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers and Romualdi was appointed assistant secretary of the new organization. Grant, Betancourt, and Germán Arciniegas, Columbia's former minister of education who was in New York teaching at Columbia University, assisted Romualdi in organizing the Havana conference. Twenty countries were represented at the conference by hundreds of the Western Hemisphere's major democratic figures, many of whom had been members of the Caribbean Legion, groups of political exiles that had kept the Caribbean in turmoil during the second half of the 1940s through organizing a series of armed invasions.⁹⁸⁸

With significant representation from members of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Havana conference created the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom, headquartered in Montevideo, Uruguay. Grant was elected the association's secretary general. The IADF would unreservedly collaborate with Romualdi to shore up organized labor's role in U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War era. In addition to Betancourt, two other important leaders of the Western Hemisphere's democratic left were named advisors to the IADF. They were Eduardo Santos, the prominent Bogotá newspaper man and Liberal Party leader who served as president of Colombia from 1938 to 1942, and José Figueres, the moderate socialist Costa Rican statesman who led a governing junta in 1948-1949 and would later serve as president of

⁹⁸⁸ For information on the Caribbean Legion, see Richard E. Clinton, Jr., *The United States and the Caribbean Legion: Democracy, Dictatorship, and the origins of the Cold War in Latin America, 1945-1950* (Ph.D. Dissertation: Ohio University, 2001); Charles D. Ameringer, *The Caribbean Legion: Patriots, Politicians, Soldiers of Fortune, 1946-1950* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).

Costa Rica from 1953 to 1958 and from 1970 to 1974. Figueres considered Grant to be “the greatest fighter for democracy and human rights in the hemisphere.”⁹⁸⁹

After its establishment in the spring of 1950, the IADF became the primary venue for Grant’s human rights activism and tireless efforts to fight both rightist and leftist authoritarianism in Latin America and the Caribbean. In the autumn of 1951, Grant and Romualdi traveled to Montevideo for the annual meeting of the Coordinating Council of the IADF. Visiting with Edward G. Trueblood, counselor of the U.S. embassy in Uruguay, Grant “expressed considerable disgust with the inability of the Uruguayan members... to translate words into action.” She considered Montevideo “a poor place” for the IADF “to center its activities in view of this chronic inability to get anything done.” Romualdi also met with Trueblood, who reported back to Washington that Grant and Romualdi “appeared to consider the meeting a success in view of the fact that they had been successful in shifting control from Montevideo toward New York, without, at the same time, wounding Latin American sensibilities.”⁹⁹⁰ Thereafter, Grant’s office in the Willkie Memorial Building of Freedom House in Manhattan became the headquarters of the IADF.

Grant remained the principle figure of the IADF for its entire three decades-long history. Robert Alexander became Grant’s main U.S. collaborator in the association. In the same year he served as a delegate to the Havana conference, Alexander was awarded a doctorate in economics from Columbia University. Alexander became into the most

⁹⁸⁹ Wolfgang Saxon, “Frances R. Grant, Champion of Rights in Latin America, Dies,” *New York Times*, 23 July 1993, p. A19.

⁹⁹⁰ Edward G. Trueblood, Counselor of Embassy, to the Department of State, Washington, D.C., October 8, 1951; Central File of the Department of State, Record Group 59; 032 Grant, Frances R./ 10-851; National Archives II, College Park, Maryland.

renowned U.S. scholar of the labor movement in Latin America and Caribbean, spending his entire academic career at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

The IADF was dedicated to the defense of democratic ideals and to the fight against totalitarianism in the Western Hemisphere. Connection to the association was a great asset for Latin American and Caribbean leaders, providing an opportunity to work out common strategies and publicly display unity, as well as to maintain an international profile when in exile. IADF members influenced public opinion, sponsored transnational political and social projects, lobbied and advised policymakers, and acted as intermediaries between national governments. The U.S. labor leaders who had aided the U.S. Department of State's anticommunist struggles in Europe following the Second World War worked closely with Grant and her associates in Latin America and the Caribbean, as the United States became ever more worried about the spread of communism in the Western Hemisphere during the Cold War era. Through her involvement with AFL-CIO labor leaders like Romualdi and academics like Alexander, Grant became ever more involved in the labor movement in Latin America and the Caribbean. The IADF and its AFL-CIO partners worked to create a hemisphere made up of democratic governments that were pro-U.S. and of unions that were pro-AFL-CIO.

Grant and Alexander had a special affinity for Venezuela because of Betancourt's support of the association, which acted as a base for him during his exile and enabled him to maintain contacts with other governments. The IADF conducted a major campaign against Venezuelan dictator Marcos Pérez Jiménez, who had come to power in a military coup in 1948. The Venezuelan government helped support the IADF financially after Pérez Jiménez was overthrown and Betancourt became president of Venezuela for the

second time. The principles of the IADF, formulated at the Havana conference in 1950, were embodied in the Betancourt Doctrine, which Betancourt introduced in his inaugural address in February 1959. The doctrine called on democratic governments in the Western Hemisphere to join together to exclude regimes that did not respect human rights from Organization of American States membership and to impose diplomatic sanctions upon them.

While the PAWA had clearly seen its goal the during the Second World War as helping the Roosevelt Administration in the war effort and fostering attitudes of unity with its allies in the Western Hemisphere, the IADF developed a critique of U.S. support for rightwing dictatorship and encouraged a critical perspective toward some of the authoritarian governments in the hemisphere that were most friendly to the United States during the Cold War era. In celebration of Betancourt's victory, the IADF held the Second Inter-American Congress for Democracy and Freedom in Maracay, Venezuela in April 1960, at which time Betancourt, Santos, and Figueres were named members of the association's board of directors for life.

In 1961, the British attorney Peter Benenson founded the world's most influential human rights organization, Amnesty International, a London-based NGO that advocates for the release of prisoners of conscience, the prevention of torture, and the abolition of capital punishment. Five years later, Grant assisted Roger Nash Baldwin, a close friend of Benenson, in incorporating the U.S. section of Amnesty International, which grew into the largest in the organization while playing a significant role in strengthening global human rights awareness and international law.⁹⁹¹

⁹⁹¹ For Frances Grant's work with Amnesty International of the USA, see Frances R. Grant Papers. Box 36. Folders 10-29; Box 53. Folders 57-60; Box 54. Folder 1-4.

Grant's activism wound down when she transferred her private papers and the archives of the IADF to the Rutgers University library in 1982. Rutgers President Edward J. Bloustein presented Grant with the university's Presidential Citation. Prominent guests who attended the transfer and subsequent festivities in Grant's honor included former President of Venezuela Carlos Andrés Pérez and former Kennedy presidential assistant Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Also in attendance was George Lister, the U.S. Department of State's first human rights officer in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs.⁹⁹²

Later that same month, on behalf of the Trustees of Columbia University, Columbia University President Michael Sovern awarded Grant the Maria Moors Cabot certificate. Founded in 1938, the Maria Moors Cabot Prizes, the oldest international prizes in journalism, are administered by the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, Grant's alma mater. Grant was recognized for the publication of *Hemispherica*, the monthly news bulletin of the IADF which she edited for three decades that helped keep people of the Western Hemisphere informed about conditions in dictator-dominated nations. Grant was proudly honored for her journalistic achievements and extraordinary efforts on behalf of inter-American understanding.⁹⁹³

⁹⁹² See Germán Arciniegas, "Miss Grant, democracia, libertad," *La Prensa* [Buenos Aires], 11 October 1982; Lisa Bradbury, "Memorial archive honors S. American rights activist," *Daily Targum*, 4 October 1982, p. 3; "Grant to be feted for archives," *Rutgers Newsletter*, 24 September 1982, p. 1.

⁹⁹³ See "Indomitable Frances R. Grant Honored By Rutgers and Columbia," *Greenpoint Gazette*, 23 November 1982, p. 5.

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