

## TEXTBOOK DIPLOMACY: THE NEW WORLD NEIGHBORS SERIES AND INTER-AMERICAN EDUCATION DURING WORLD WAR II

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Between 1941 and 1944 the publishing firm D.C. Heath and Company produced a line of twenty social studies textbooks. The stated purpose of these volumes, titled The New World Neighbors series, was to introduce the “history and spirit” of Latin American cultures to United States schoolchildren.<sup>1</sup> Brief introductions provide a basic overview of the geography, climate, natural resources, industries, and indigenous populations of each country, while one or more short stories, based loosely on historical fact and local custom, aim to familiarize and endear young readers to their Latin American counterparts.

For example, *Along the Inca Highway* sent United States schoolchildren on a virtual journey to South America. Published in 1941 as one of the first eight volumes in The New World Neighbors series, the textbook contains three short stories drawn from Peruvian history. To aid readers in their imaginary travels through time and space, author Alida Malkus frames these stories with an airplane trip from Panama. Students learn about the flourishing precontact Inca Empire, the Spanish conquest led by the “ruthless conquistador” Francisco Pizarro, and the “deeds of the great Liberator” Simón Bolívar. Similar in tone and format to other books in the series, *Along the Inca Highway* celebrates indigenous cultural achievements, underscores the injustices of Spanish colonialism, and highlights Latin Americans’ revolutionary actions and modern republican spirit. In so doing, the book assimilates Latin Americans to a United States ideal of American-ness and fosters a sense of unity across the American continents.

Richard Pattee, Assistant Chief in the Division of Cultural Relations at the U.S. Department of State, contributed the preface to *Along the Inca Highway*. “There has perhaps never been a time when it was more important for us in the United States to understand the background, history, and present state of the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking peoples to the south of us,” he wrote solemnly. Pattee no doubt intended students to heed the urgency of his words and to dedicate themselves to diligent and rigorous

study of Latin American history and culture. This striking collaboration and others like it in *The New World Neighbors* series reflects the important role that government and private institutions assigned to books in the years leading up to and during the Second World War. Mobilized as containers of inter-American political thought, *The New Neighbors* series sought to overturn negative stereotypes and establish hemispheric solidarity as a bulwark against European fascism. However, these textbooks replicate the conceptual limitations of these diplomatic efforts as well. Careful analysis of Latin American representations in the storylines and illustrations of these educational readers reveals both the professed pan-Americanism and latent racialism undergirding U.S. inter-American diplomacy under the Good Neighbor Policy.

### **BOOKS ARE WEAPONS**

When D.C. Heath and Company launched the series in early 1941, the United States was a nation on the brink of war. For strategic planners and political leaders in the United States, Latin American nations appeared particularly vulnerable to Axis invasion by Germany, Italy and Japan. According to *Fortune* magazine, by August 1941 only a small fraction of the American public—fewer than 7 percent—believed that Hitler had no political designs on either North or South America. More than 72 percent, by contrast, were convinced that “Hitler won’t be satisfied until he has tried to conquer everything including the Americas.”<sup>2</sup> The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, brought concerns over foreign invasion into sharper relief.

Pan-American solidarity formed a major component of the U.S. government’s plan for national security during World War II. In his inaugural address of March 4, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt introduced the Good Neighbor Policy, under which the U.S. government would conduct itself as a nation “who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others.”<sup>3</sup> The president had initially intended his foreign policy to apply to the entire world, but he soon reframed his concept of the “good neighbor” to apply specifically to Latin America. The following month Roosevelt appeared before the Pan-American Union and pledged his commitment to cooperation and open trade with the other American republics, stating:

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The essential qualities of a true Pan-Americanism must be the same as those which constitute a good neighbor, namely, mutual understanding, and...a sympathetic appreciation of the other's point of view. It is only in this manner that we can hope to build a system of which confidence, friendship, and good-will are the cornerstones.

The U.S government sought through the Good Neighbor Policy to repair relations with Latin American nations, many of whom viewed the United States as an imperialist aggressor, and to secure their cooperation in building a hemispheric defense.<sup>4</sup>

To accomplish these goals, the Roosevelt administration set out to convince Americans at home and abroad of two related theses: first, that the American continents form a single geographical unit; and second, that the Western hemisphere stands politically and ideologically distinct from Europe. As part of these efforts, the government sponsored cultural activities ranging from fine arts exhibitions to Disney-animated films to advocate an interdependent confederacy of American nations. Between 1940 and 1945 the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA) distributed films, news, radio programs, and advertisements in Latin America and the United States to offset anti-American propaganda from member nations of the Axis alliance. Additional federal support funded archaeological expeditions in Central and South America, artistic and educational exchanges, and exhibitions of pre-Columbian, colonial, and modern art from throughout the hemisphere. Government officials, scholars, and museum professionals heralded these activities for their educational value, believing that inter-American cultural programs would not only encourage domestic audiences to adopt a more sympathetic attitude toward neighboring nations, but would also reassure Latin Americans "as to the sincerity and reliability of our Pan American protestations during this world crisis."<sup>5</sup>

The New World Neighbors series worked in tandem with OIAA and non-government inter-American cultural programs to foster hemispheric unity; however, the status of these publications as *books* and their deployment in American classrooms endowed them with special significance in the psychological battle against European fascism. On May 10, 1933, German national student associations in Berlin staged an elaborate book burning

ceremony to destroy the volumes they held responsible for their nation's economic and martial decline after World War I. This event incited international condemnation, especially in the United States where the book fires emerged as a cultural symbol denoting Nazi totalitarianism.<sup>6</sup> Many Americans perceived Nazi censorship and education as having an especially tragic effect upon schoolchildren.

In 1943, the Disney Studio released the educational short film *Education for Death*, an adaptation of Gregor Ziemer's bestselling novel of the same title. The animated film dramatizes the effects of Nazi indoctrination upon German youth by showing the harrowing transformation of a single boy, Hans, from innocent child to brainwashed Nazi soldier. Stephen Vincent Benét also warned of the potentially dire consequence of Nazi reeducation in his popular radio play *They Burned the Books* (1942). The plot follows the ideological struggle of Joe Barnes, a U.S. student, whose Nazi instruction subverts the fundamental tenets of democracy. The play thus imbued the foreign threat with immediacy and relevance by transplanting Nazism to American soil. For American audiences, many of which included school-age children, the stories in *Education for Death* and *They Burned the Books* made plain the formative influence that educators and textbooks had on young minds.

Many U.S. cultural leaders called for adjustments to American educational curricula in response. Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish, who contributed a preface for *The New World Neighbors* series, was an outspoken critic of the German book fires and demanded that his fellow American scholars and authors respond with "words as weapons" against this threat.<sup>7</sup> U.S. Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker also advocated using books to counter Axis propaganda: "When people are burning books in other parts of the world, we ought to be distributing them with greater vigor; for books are among our best allies in the fight to make democracy work."<sup>8</sup> Among the books Studebaker promoted were texts on Latin American affairs, since he believed that intercultural understanding would strengthen hemispheric defense. Under his leadership, the U.S. Department of Education, the Division of Cultural Relations, and the OIAA collaborated in a nationwide effort to translate Roosevelt's foreign policy initiatives into a pattern of popular attitude and conduct regarding inter-American relations.<sup>9</sup>

Domestic racism and discrimination posed a serious challenge to implementing the Good Neighbor Policy within the United States. Joshua Hochstein, the former chairman of the NEA Committee on Inter-American Relations, observed that “there are many who, born in this country, are technically Americans in our sense of the term. Factually, they are rarely so regarded.”<sup>10</sup> He prescribed inter-American curricula for elementary and secondary public schools as a means of domestic social reform. This specialized focus on school-age youth reflects his belief that “beyond high-school age, people are too set in their ways to change.”<sup>11</sup> A scarcity of unbiased writings on Latin American subjects made classroom instruction difficult, however. Textbooks and children’s literature, like other forms of cultural production, inculcated United States readers with an Anglocentric sensibility of moral and intellectual superiority over Latin Americans, both ancient and modern. Latin Americans stereotypically embodied the worst traits of the Spanish and the Indian “races” and appeared in United States art and literature as primitive, lazy, exotic, brutal, and superstitious.<sup>12</sup>

The *New World Neighbors* series represents a concerted effort on behalf of D.C. Heath and Company to answer the government call for better quality textbooks dealing with the subject of Latin America.<sup>13</sup> During World War II, company president Dudley R. Cowles also served as president of the American Textbook Publishers Institute. Formed in 1942 and consisting of thirty-two textbook publishers, this organization collaborated with the American Council on Education in its evaluation of the inter-American textbook materials being taught in U.S. schools. Despite the limitations imposed on publishers by wartime rationing, D.C. Heath and Company expanded production of *The New World Neighbors* series from eight to twenty volumes and retained amenities such as colorful endpapers and illustrations. This expenditure reflects the profound influence the publisher believed textbooks could wield:

More than all the newspapers, more than all the other books, more than the moving pictures and the radio, the text book is a constant and formative influence on the growing mind of youth from the kindergarten to the university...The ideals which control the publisher...are the ideals indelibly impressed on the public mind.<sup>14</sup>

In April of 1943, Cowles composed a letter to Victor Borella, the director of the Division of Inter-American Activities in the United States, expressing satisfaction at seeing D.C. Heath and Company listed in the OIAA pamphlet *Guide to the Inter-American Cultural Program of Non-Governmental Agencies in the United States*.<sup>15</sup>

#### GOOD NEIGHBOR IDEOLOGY

Published in support of Roosevelt's foreign policy, The New World Neighbors series ostensibly imparts an antiracist ideology regarding Latin American populations. These textbooks allege authority and cultural authenticity through the extratextual circumstances of their publication. Supplementary information, including the educational focus of D.C. Heath and Company and the professional qualifications of individual authors, effectively assures readers that the educational content is reliable. In advertisements, D.C. Heath and Company publicized the fact that "educators, explorers, and specialists in inter-American relations" had authored the books.<sup>16</sup>

The linguistic discourse of the series further aligns its educational content with the political aims of the Good Neighbor Policy. An urgent desire to foster goodwill toward Latin America pervades the textual language of The New World Neighbors series, but it can most clearly be seen in the preface to each volume. The discursive language of these brief introductions describes Latin American countries as being "neighbors" and "friends" to the United States. Written by distinguished politicians or educators whose affiliation with the Pan-American Union, Department of State, or similar institution imbues the text with authority, the preface explicitly advocates inter-American unity as a desirable position for readers to adopt.<sup>17</sup>

Malbone Graham's preface to *Children of Mexico* is perhaps the most overtly partisan text in this regard. A professor of political science at the University of California, Graham avers: "It is important for us these days to understand better all our Latin American neighbors, and doubly important to come to know Mexico, right next door, so different in some ways and so like us in others." Expanding upon this claim, he continues:

Through the stories in this little book we visit a friendly, Good Neighbor country and get acquainted with the children at their work and play. . . . Speaking of our neighbors many years ago,

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a great President of the United States, President Wilson, said: 'Comprehension must be the soil in which shall grow all the fruits of friendship'. . . The years since President Wilson spoke have shown that his words were wise and true. This little book about CHILDREN OF MEXICO opens a gate into your garden of friendship.

Graham's strategic use of the words "friend" and "neighbor" evokes common social relationships that argue for applying local behaviors to inter-American encounters as well.<sup>18</sup>

The storytelling, or narrative discourse, of *The New World Neighbors* series adopts a more covert strategy for conveying antiracist ideology. The message of pan-Americanism usually remains embedded in stories where the primary focus is on characters and events. The Latin American protagonists rarely address the issue of race directly. Instead, the reader must develop positive associations with characters through the plot. The authors of *The New World Neighbors* series attempt to accomplish this feat by basing their stories on a shared understanding of American identity, which then frames the tale of a specific Latin American boy or girl. At strategic points in the narrative, the text evokes core values like inventiveness and independence to demonstrate that Latin Americans possess these same traits, thereby revising the ideological schema of American-ness to include citizens of Central and South America as well. Abundant illustrations seek to strengthen this reconfiguration of Latin American populations. Ranging from marginalia to full-page illustrations, images appear on nearly every double-page spread in *The New World Neighbors* series. The careful attention to detail in these portrayals reflects a growing appreciation for visual aids in teaching during this period.<sup>19</sup> The placement of pictures corresponds to events in the text, and the layout of the pages often reinforces the interrelationship of word and image. Two half-page illustrations, sometimes oriented diagonally, cross the gutter to create a continuous image spanning both pages. In other instances, illustrations disrupt or distort the shape of a paragraph to propel the story forward. Ann Eshner's illustrations for *Around the Caribbean* bleed into the margins and jut into the text of Nora Burglon's short story about a budding Cuban entrepreneur named Diego. Positioned at opposite corners of the two-page spread, Eshner's images juxtapose two crucial moments in the plot. In the left scene, the reader sees a discouraged Diego leaving

the market because no one wants to buy his clay pots. On his way home, he meets Franco, who tells him that “every difficulty has two doors,” one that leads in and another that leads out. This exchange encourages Diego to consider a novel approach to selling his wares. At the lower right, Eshner depicts a triumphant Diego, smiling brightly as he displays merchandise for a customer. By converting his vessels into planting pots pre-filled with local flora like pineapple, Diego capitalizes on the tourist trade and sells all of his goods in less than half an hour. Eshner’s before-and-after sequence neatly summarizes the narrative lesson, which teaches readers the importance of resilience and ingenuity and also argues for extending American identity to include the Cuban Diego for his possession of these desirable traits.

Pan-Americanism in *The New World Neighbors* series strove to supplant stereotypical portrayals in children’s books such as *The Dark Star of Itza: The Story of a Pagan Princess* (1931). Artist Lowell Houser’s illustrations for this juvenile novel underscore the uncivilized nature of indigenous Mexican characters by imitating the elaborate costumes, squat figural proportions and curvilinear style of ancient Mayan mural painting (Figure 1).<sup>20</sup> His contrived naïve style harkens to the modern primitivism adopted by European avant-garde artists like Pablo Picasso and Paul Gauguin, who borrowed non-European or prehistoric visual forms in their paintings for aesthetic and expressive effect. Working within the pictorial constraints of a monochromatic woodblock print, Houser depicts the chaotic siege on Chichén Itzá as a tightly composed tangle of contrast line drawings. Crisp geometric forms delineate the monumental temple at the center of the composition, orienting the viewer’s perspective and providing a stark juxtaposition to the heavy plumes of smoke, roaring flames, and mass of enemy soldiers swarming its exterior. Chichén Itzá warriors, portrayed as white forms in black outline, attempt to defend their temple and their loved ones, but they are far outnumbered by the advancing Toltecs, whose black forms in white outline dominate the scene. Houser signals difference only through this use of color; the indigenous figures uniformly exhibit disproportionately large heads, hook noses, and exaggerated facial expressions. Flattened spatial perspective amplifies the pictorial distortion and contributes to an overall impression of native Mexicans belonging to an earlier, savage state.

FIGURE 1. Lowell Houser, Illustration for *The Dark Star of Itza: The Story of a Pagan Princess* by Alida Sims Malkus, 1930, reproduced by permission of Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company.



Nevertheless, both text and image in *The New World Neighbors* series reveal lingering American prejudices. While the textbooks demonstrate an overt desire to portray Latin American populations as possessing shared “American” values and personality traits, they also preserve a subordinate tier for Latin Americans as citizens of the *other* American republics. This discursive ambivalence derived from prevailing theories of racialism, which drew a correlation between inherited racial traits and cultural advancement. In this anthropological paradigm, northern European and Anglo-American societies ranked at the top of the racial hierarchy for their perceived physical and intellectual superiority over Latin Americans and other non-white races.<sup>21</sup>

For example, Delia Goetz’s *Letters from Guatemala* follows the adventures of Dick, an American schoolboy whose family is living in Guatemala for one year. Dick describes his international sojourn in a set of letters to his friend Billy in the United States. By using an epistolary format, Goetz mediates audience response to Latin American culture by putting forward Dick and his Guatemalan friends as models of desirable behavior and interpersonal relationships. Like other books in the series, *Letters from Guatemala* underscores the economic viability and natural resources of the region, celebrates indigenous cultural achievements, and highlights Latin Americans’ revolutionary struggle and modern independence. Dick visits banana and coffee plantations and participates in special celebrations

including his friend Arturo's birthday party. He also calls attention to the parallel past and present conditions of Guatemala and the United States when he observes that the Independence Day fireworks display in Guatemala looks "very much like those we have at home for the Fourth of July." At the end of the book, he reflects on all he has learned about Latin American boys and girls. "I am glad they are neighbors," he concludes, "because they are my friends."

Katherine Sturges Knight, a successful illustrator for ladies' fashion magazines and children's books, depicts Dick and his Latin American friend on equal terms in the cover illustration for *Letters from Guatemala* (Figure 2). By rendering indigenous and Latin American figures in the familiar pictorial language of commercial illustrations common to weekly magazines like *The Saturday Evening Post*, Knight and other illustrators of The New World Neighbors series help to normalize foreign subjects for American readers. Naturalistic line drawings in a restrained color palette avoid grotesque exaggerations common to visual expressions of stereotype. Instead, the illustrators rely on costume and skin tone to stand for a character's ethnicity and cultural affiliation. The boys mirror one another in posture and appearance. Although one is blonde and the other brunette, both wear formal dress clothes, knee-high socks, and a tie. In addition, both boys stand with straight backs, their legs symmetrically posed as they shake hands on the dock's descending stairs. Neither has an advantage over the other in climbing the steps; their left feet rest side-by-side, sharing the same stone tread. This egalitarian model of friendship captures the overarching lesson of Goetz's text; however, Knight does not maintain this level of cultural parity throughout the image. Tellingly, the background romantically pictures a tropical landscape and preindustrial, indigenous culture that separates Guatemala from the purportedly more advanced United States. Native Mayans in brightly colored indigenous garments populate a lush verdant landscape of flowering bushes. Their diminutive scale and exotic appearance distinguish them from the boys in the foreground. Foliage, reduced to a decorative, flattened description of interlocking forms and colors, partially obscures a stone house and thereby further aligns the distant figures more closely with nature than civilization. A woman in a multicolored dress and red-and-yellow striped *rebozo* or shawl balances a large ceramic water jug atop her head. On the opposite side of the composition a barefoot woman carries a swaddled infant on her back.

The repeated red-and-yellow textile pattern of these garments creates visual balance and calls attention to Guatemalan handicraft, which American museums and fashion designers celebrated as a native folk art at this time. At the center of the composition, a kneeling woman, whose only visible physical attribute is her characteristically Mayan braided coiffure, works a loom surrounded by baskets of ripe fruit. Her bold blue dress guides the viewer's gaze back toward Dick and his Guatemalan friend, whose American-style clothing includes a cravat and dress shoes. The juxtaposition in this image of nature versus culture and exotic versus assimilated, typifies the ambivalent attitude that the United States maintained toward Latin America under the Good Neighbor Policy.

FIGURE 2. Katherine Sturges Knight,  
Cover Design for Delia Goetz's book  
*Letters of Guatemala*, 1941.



#### DISCURSIVE DUALITY

The twinned egalitarian and racial ideology of The New World Neighbors series mirrors the diplomatic stance of the U.S. government, which maintained a paternalistic attitude toward Latin American nations even while proclaiming the values of pan-Americanism. Although the authors and illustrators of these texts vary, the series maintains a remarkable consistency

in both authorial tone and visual appearance. Following the rhetorical strategies of the U.S. government, the storylines featured in *The New World Neighbors* series typically celebrate pre-Columbian civilization as the basis of a modern, pan-hemispheric culture and represent contemporary Latin Americans as virtuous, hard-working people whose capitalist endeavors and republican spirit reveal them to be true “Americans”—that is, just like citizens in the United States. Henry E. Hein, Director of the Student League of Americas, adhered to this interpretation when he promised readers of *Riches of South America* that “[y]ou will like these neighbors more and more when you get to know them. They are really very much like you.” Yet a careful reading of these volumes indicates that U.S. diplomatic promises of equality and altruism under the Good Neighbor Policy were never more than an illusory ideal.

**ARGUMENT #1: ECONOMIC SECURITY**

Nora Burglon’s story about Diego in *Around the Caribbean* exemplifies a common narrative strategy of *The New World Neighbors* series. These textbooks routinely portray Latin American protagonists as desirable trade partners. This characterization corresponds to Good Neighbor Policy economic initiatives. The United States government hoped to enhance inter-American cooperation and trust through trade, as well as cultivate a self-sustaining hemisphere that would insulate the Americas from foreign instability and aggression. Investment and reciprocal trade agreements with Latin America were not philanthropic endeavors, however. The U.S. government and private corporations expected to reap substantial economic gains from Latin American trade. By substituting transatlantic trade with inter-American commerce, the United States hoped to facilitate its economic recovery from the Great Depression and consolidate its economic influence in the region.<sup>22</sup> Since the United States government had agreed to a policy of military nonintervention in Latin American countries under the Good Neighbor Policy, economic investment presented an alternative, yet equally persuasive means to exercise political influence in the affairs of the other American republics.

Public discourse frequently linked U.S.-Latin American trade to pan-Americanism and transnational security during this period. For example, the OIAA-sponsored Walt Disney Studio documentary *The Grain that Built a Hemisphere* (1943) instructs viewers on the importance of corn to the war

effort. The narrator explains that “Corn is the symbol of a spirit that links the Americas in a common bond of union and solidarity.”<sup>23</sup> This native crop held important meaning for the current world conflict in Europe, since it offered tangible evidence of a pan-hemispheric cultural base. The animated film promotes hemispheric unity by tracing the evolution of corn from the ancient Maya, Aztec, and Inca civilizations to the modern United States. Bound not only by proximity but by a shared culture of corn, the United States and Latin America formed natural allies in defeating the Axis threat. Moreover, the viewer learns in the final sequence of the film that corn, more than a mere foodstuff, has practical application in the manufacture of explosives, parachute fabrics, tanks and other essential war materials.

The *New World Neighbors* series likewise foregrounds the abundant natural resources in Latin America, whose trade will strengthen inter-American relations, enhance hemispheric self-sufficiency, and supply materials for ammunition and military equipment. Dick, the American boy living abroad in *Letters from Guatemala*, tours a coffee plantation, a shipping dock loading bananas, and a Guatemalan marketplace selling leather goods, baskets, blankets, and exotic plants. He stresses the importance of Latin American trade to daily life in the United States, when he asks his friend Billy (and by extension the reader): “Did you eat a banana on your cereal this morning? If it was a Guatemalan banana, maybe I saw it off on the boat.” This rhetorical question not only highlights the immediate benefit of inter-American trade to the United States, but also outlines the uneven dynamic of hemispheric economic exchange. The dominant social structures and narrative conclusions grounding *Letters of Guatemala* and other stories in the series reveal an underlying ideology linking racial attributes to societal advancement. Latin American nations in *The New World Neighbors* series excel in preindustrial pursuits like agriculture, mineral extraction, and handicraft. Less developed than the United States, these countries primarily export raw materials to the United States, where American corporations manufacture finished commodities for commercial distribution.<sup>24</sup>

The *New World Neighbors* series justified the existing paradigm of U.S. economic dominance in the hemisphere by promoting an imagined ideal of benevolent U.S. American oversight and development in Latin American industry. Author Victor Wolfgang von Hagen dispenses economic advice, presumably for the benefit of Latin American nations,

yet his recommendations uniformly advance United States economic and political aims. While perhaps more explicit than most of the volumes in The New World Neighbors series, *Riches of Central America* and *Riches of South America* nevertheless foreground the persuasive diplomatic aim common to all of these books. The importance of Latin American trade to U.S. national security is especially evident. Acknowledging that the United States “consumes more than half of the world’s output of tin,” von Hagen expresses a desire to remove Great Britain from the equation and to “make this continent self-sufficient.” He proposes that the capacity of Bolivian mines be expanded “to meet both our industrial and military needs” and doles out additional instructions for South American chocolate, coffee, and balsa wood according to North American demands.

Illustrator Paul Kinnear’s portrayal of cheerful, smiling Latin American laborers and author Victor Wolfgang von Hagen’s narrative accounts have a strong resemblance to travel posters and advertisements, which represented Latin America as a tropical paradise populated with content workers. In his idealized depictions of U.S.-Latin American trade relations, von Hagen underlines his characters’ behavior and aspirations, which instill in them a strong work ethic and a desire to fulfill United States’ economic needs. The Venezuelan girl Elvia, for example, dislikes the bitter smell of cacao beans, but when told of the chocolate sweets enjoyed in the United States, she wonders if she might one day visit the “North” and sets to work “faster than ever.” In the quarter-page banner illustration leading von Hagen’s story on coffee, Kinnear uses a garland of coffee leaves and berries to frame an idyllic landscape of plowed fields and snow-capped mountains. An attractive Brazilian couple in the foreground flanks the pastoral scenery. They carry large baskets brimming with red coffee berries and smile radiantly at the viewer. Von Hagen’s and Kinnear’s portrayals of Latin Americans as loyal and happy laborers align with plantation stereotypes that had long been instrumental in maintaining racial inequality in economic affairs. Since Latin Americans presumably possessed a more limited intellectual capacity than Anglo-Americans, their racial constitution suited them to a life of physical labor in service to United States market desires and needs.

The narrative discourse of these volumes further advances the claim for Americans’ superior insight into the local industries of Latin American countries. For instance, it is the United States businessman, not the venerable

Don Juan, who possesses the knowledge, the money, and the motivation to establish a Costa Rican rubber trade in *Riches of Central America*. Attitudes of cultural paternalism emerge most overtly in Patricia Crew Fleming's book *Rico the Young Rancher*. This textbook follows the social maturation of Rico, a polite young man from Santiago who learns how to be the *patrón* or master of the family ranch. Underscoring the heavy responsibility of this role, Rico's uncle explains to him that the Native workers are "like children" and that he "must learn to look after [his] people." This message, while pertinent to the particularities of the plot, carries important diplomatic ramifications. Just as a racial-social hierarchy exists in Chilean culture between Latin Americans of European and Native descent, so too are inter-American relations structured on a scale of social dominance with the United States needing to guide its occasionally wayward neighbors to the south.

#### ARGUMENT #2: PAN-AMERICAN PATRIMONY

The New World Neighbors series often went beyond promoting bonds of inter-American friendship and economic prosperity to suggest a shared cultural lineage as well. Under the Good Neighbor Policy, the U.S. government celebrated pre-Columbian civilization as evidence of a great hemispheric heritage belonging also to United States citizens. For instance, the ambitious but never-realized OIAA exhibition *Our Common Culture* would have formed a curatorial complement to The New World Neighbors series. John Abbott, chairman of the OIAA Advisory Committee on Art, envisioned the project as a series of exhibitions running concurrently in each of the capital cities of the Western hemisphere, as well as in cities with populations of over five hundred thousand citizens. Various titles *Our Common Culture*, *The Art of the Western Hemisphere*, *The Art of Our Hemisphere*, and *The Culture of Our Hemisphere*, the shows would have promoted the notion of a singular pan-American identity by detailing parallel developments in art and culture throughout the hemisphere.<sup>25</sup>

Several factors contributed to this reassessment of Latin American culture. Growing immigrant populations and renewed attention to the plight of North American Indians foregrounded the plurality of race and ethnicity among U.S. citizens, while the stock market crash and Great Depression ruptured American confidence in commerce and industry as markers of civilization. New Deal projects including the Index of American Design, the Federal Writer's Project, and the Indian Arts and Crafts Board searched

for “authentic” expressions of American identity rooted in the New World. These programs introduced the notion of a unique and potentially unifying “folk art” that prepared American audiences for the extended application of this idea under the Good Neighbor Policy. In addition, archaeological discoveries, museum exhibitions, and the international success of Mexico’s modern muralists inundated the American public with ample evidence regarding the rich artistic traditions of Latin America. Consequently, Latin American cultural production, along with U.S. regional folk art and Native North American arts and crafts, entered the United States national imaginary as genuine expressions of American identity.<sup>26</sup>

The portrayal of Latin American art and culture in *The New World Neighbors* series reflects this reconfiguration of American patrimony. Like contemporary museum exhibitions on pre-Columbian art that omitted objects related to ritual human sacrifice, *The New World Neighbors* textbooks avoid pejorative characterizations of Native populations.<sup>27</sup> Despite previous associations with violent acts, such as the Jivaro tradition of head-hunting in Ecuador, the textbooks represent Native communities as being cooperative, peaceful, and generous.<sup>28</sup> *Exploring the Jungle* author JoBesse McElveen Waldeck, who accompanied her husband on an expedition to British Guiana, tells readers that Arawak children gave her many gifts, including a handmade bow-and-arrow set and a talking parrot.

In addition to sanitizing gruesome aspects of pre-Columbian culture, *The New World Neighbors* series elides American-enacted atrocities against Native peoples. Spain was not immune to such aspersions, however. As Brooklyn Museum curator Herbert Spinden argued, the history of the Spanish conquest was critical to the educational development of contemporary American students, since “the partition of Africa in our own times is an indication that the European nations have not changed their basic idea that the world is their oyster.”<sup>29</sup> Such condemnations of European colonialism conveniently neglected the historical record of the United States regarding African slavery, Native American genocide, and territorial expansion. Certainly, one of the primary advantages of turning to Latin American history in this diplomatic context was its geographic and temporal distance from the modern United States. Columbia University professor James T. Shotwell concurred with Spinden’s assessment, cautioning that current trends toward pacifism did not guarantee that American students

would reject Nazism, “already at our shores.” School teachers could help by building up the nation’s “intellectual defenses.”<sup>30</sup> The *New World Neighbors* series offered a prescient warning to American schoolchildren about the dangers of foreign imperialism, since its stories perpetuate the “Black Legend” in order to condemn Spanish colonialism and to distinguish the New World from the Old.<sup>31</sup> *Along the Inca Highway*, for example, dramatizes the decisive confrontation of the Spaniard Francisco Pizarro and the Incas. Told from the perspective of Felipe, a young boy serving as an attendant to the Spanish leader, this story exposes “how two hundred Spaniards cruelly slaughtered the Inca’s people.”

Another discursive strategy authors espoused was to show that indigenous Latin Americans continue to uphold pre-contact beliefs and practices despite colonial oppression. By building narratives around traditional Native craft and farming techniques, the series effectively argues for indigenous strength of character and preservation of tradition. Ruth Cady Adams, author of the volume *Sky High in Bolivia*, relates the charming tale of Malku, a Native Bolivian who learns that the traditional manner of hunting *vicuña*—shearing the animals and releasing them afterwards—far exceeds the benefit of modern rifles. The inclusion of Tiwanaku stone carvings in the illustrations for this book enhances the notion of a seamless cultural heritage linking modern populations to their pre-Hispanic past. Pre-Columbian monuments and architectural sites appear in the books *Letters from Guatemala* and *Along the Inca Highway* as well. Next to labeled depictions of Machu Picchu and the Tiwanaku Gateway of the Sun, students learned that “although Leif Ericson or Columbus had not yet ‘discovered’ the Western Hemisphere, other people had...By the year 600 A.D., the Incas ruled great and wealthy cities...[of which] we can still see gigantic stones, beautifully carved, the ruins of ancient temples.” Such statements signaled to readers the existence of New World accomplishments that rivaled the intellectual and cultural marvels of Europe. By providing a local, non-European tradition of which to be proud, pre-Columbian civilization helped to bind all Americans to a transnational community based on a singular, pan-American cultural base.

Notably, this emphasis on gentle disposition and continuing adherence to tradition also effectively traps pre-Columbian civilizations in a romanticized, timeless past. Both unchanging and unchangeable, Native populations remain frozen in a premodern state of societal development. Whether

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Arawak, Inca, Jivaro, Maya or Aymara, indigenous Latin Americans possess a strong work ethic, a deeply-felt spirituality, and handicraft skills. They exhibit an intimate knowledge of the jungles and the earth, and they possess no significant history outside the Spanish conquest. Such characterizations reinforce the stereotypical archetype of Native populations as “noble savages.”

Author Alice Desmond identifies anti-industrialism and anti-colonialism as two defining characteristics of indigenous Latin Americans in *Boys of the Andes*. Her narrative introduces students to Huascar, a Native Peruvian whose father stubbornly refuses to accept new land or modern agricultural technologies. When Huascar challenges this traditional way of thinking by bringing home seeds, fertilizer, and a plow from the city, his father angrily exclaims: “I’ll have none of these new ways of the white men. The tools of our ancestors, on the land they worked, will do for me. Nor will I plant the wheat that our enemies, the Spaniards, introduced into Peru!” The elder man explains that the Spaniards conquered the Incas, took all of the valley land, and left them with “only the rocky hillside.” Huascar defiantly cultivates the wheat on the mountainside and, due to his hard work, produces a perfect specimen of wheat that wins a competition. Through this success the young boy comes to share his father’s pride in maintaining Inca tradition. When offered a plot of land in the valley, Huascar firmly declines, stating that “the land that was good enough for our ancestors is good enough for us.”

Frank Dobias delineated a naturalistic and respectful image of Huascar to accompany Desmond’s story (Figure 3). Although Dobias had previously created racially stereotyped depictions for a foreign edition of *Little Black Sambo*, he adhered to a more conservative illustrating style for *Boys of the Andes*. One half-page color image depicts the slender young man leaning forward to turn the soil with a simple farming implement. Scrub grass and steep mountain peaks fill the lower half of the composition, while two abstract, scribbled clouds frame the boy’s torso and head. Huascar wears fitted knee-length trousers, a red striped top, and a yellow tunic slung over one shoulder, presumably to facilitate his agricultural pursuit. A wide-brimmed hat sits neatly atop his head, accentuating his straight posture and chiseled, stoic visage.

FIGURE 3. Frank Dobias, Illustration of Huascar for Alice Desmond's book *Boys of the Andes*, 1941.



Yet both text and image of *Boys of the Andes* reinforce the romanticized stereotype of the “good Indian,” fixed permanently in a preindustrial, pastoral state. Not only does Huascar reject modern farming methods at the conclusion of Desmond’s story, but he also appears barefoot and blends harmoniously with his natural surroundings in Dobias’ illustration. Katherine G. Pollock imparts an analogous lesson about Latin American character in *The Gaucho’s Daughter*. Charqui, the daughter of a former Argentine cowboy, watches her father struggle to adapt to an urban lifestyle and secures a job for him as a ranch hand. Although Charqui exhibits social flexibility and entrepreneurial spirit that equip her for upward mobility, Pollock delimits the reader’s overall impression of Latin Americans by basing her plot on the unwavering assumption that Charqui’s father is ill-suited to modernity in the city. The narrative resolution underscores this point, since the old cowboy is unable to change and so must return to nature.

### ARGUMENT #3: LOVE FOR LIBERTY

The scathing words of Huascar’s father against the Spanish conquest not only seeks to rehabilitate racist views of indigenous Latin Americans but also sets the stage for the revolutionary struggle common to all Americans. Because the U.S. government justified American entry into the Second World War as a fight for democracy, the American Revolution appeared in propaganda posters and other materials supporting the war. Bernard Perlan’s poster *1778-1943. Americans Will Always Fight for Liberty*, created under the auspices of the U.S. Office of War Information, juxtaposes soldiers from the American Revolutionary War and World War II to assert a continuity of democratic ideology from this colonial struggle to the present

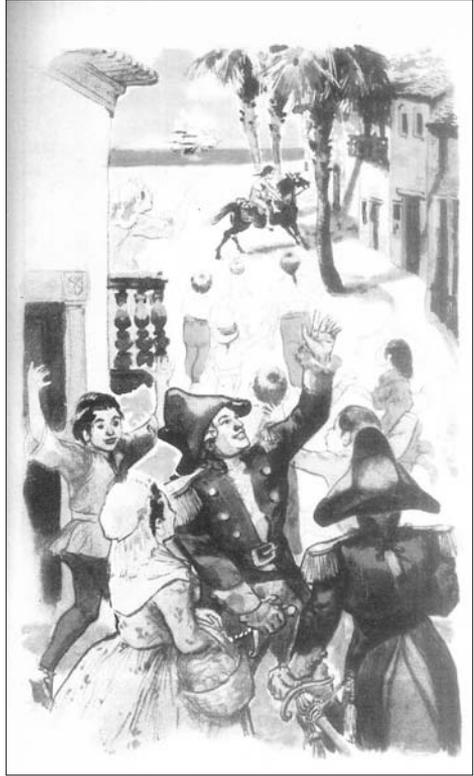
conflict. Similar ideals applied to Latin Americans, since they too had fought European tyranny to obtain their national independence.

Leon Helguera's 1943 poster *Americans All*, exemplifies the diplomatic aims of this discourse. The picture shows two arms, one holding Uncle Sam's top hat and one holding a traditional Mexican sombrero, extended side-by-side in a friendly salute. The red, white, and blue suit jacket and top hat of Uncle Sam form a sharp contrast to the earthy brown leather coat and hat of the Mexican cowboy, yet remarkably, the poster proclaims both to be legitimate examples of American-ness for their shared love of freedom. The bilingual inscription in English and Spanish reads: "Americans All! Let's Fight for Victory!" The New World Neighbors series employed parallel rhetorical devices to endear Latin Americans to U.S. citizens. Dramatic storylines in the series retell Latin American revolutionary struggles to remind readers that threats against liberty, democracy, and free trade historically came from sources outside the hemisphere and that Americans, both north and south, share a commitment to preserving these ideals.

Muna Lee's book *Pioneers of Puerto Rico* recounts a dramatic encounter during the American Revolution to demonstrate the inherent patriotism of Latin Americans in this future U.S. territory. When an American vessel under British threat arrives in San Juan, the Puerto Rican colonists respond enthusiastically to the American rebels' request for refuge. The clever colonial governor of Puerto Rico, which at that time was the possession of Spain, sends a local boy named Paquito to fetch a Spanish flag. Paquito heroically rides away in Paul Revere-fashion to retrieve the flag, which is then installed on the American boat. This act saves the American privateer from the British fleet. When the English arrive in port and order the governor to surrender the boat, he firmly denies their request. He explains that, so long as the boat flies the Spanish flag, his colonial government will interpret any aggression as an act of war against Spain, not the nascent United States.

Katharine Sturges Knight's busy composition corresponds nicely to the excitement and adventure of this story (Figure 4). Occupying a full page, the two-tone illustration features two uniformed American soldiers amid a cheering crowd of sympathetic Puerto Rican colonists. The central figure tilts his face upward and raises his arm in a salutary gesture; a hint of a smile suggests a kind demeanor that subdues his martial appearance. The

FIGURE 4. Katharine Sturges Knight, Illustration for Muna Lee's *Pioneers of Puerto Rico*, 1944.



second soldier, seen from behind, directs the viewer's gaze to a distant figure on horseback. Dressed in a simple white tunic and sporting the ponytail typical of colonial coiffures, Paquito rides confidently on his small steed whose extended hooves and whipping tail suggest the great speed at which he travels. Only palm trees and a sliver of coastline reveal that this bustling urban scene takes place in a tropical climate, far from the continental United States.

The *New World Neighbors* series proclaims the natural alliance between the United States and Latin American countries by calling attention to parallel colonial histories and modern political beliefs; yet the storylines consistently underscore the benefits of U.S. leadership. While Lee's narrative proposes an essential Creole sensibility that unites Latin Americans and United States citizens in political ideology, it also provides justification for the American invasion and acquisition of Puerto Rico from Spain in 1898. Another story

in *Pioneers of Puerto Rico* strengthens this pro-American interpretation, since Lee reports an improved standard of living in Puerto Rico under the United States government. She even makes explicit reference to President Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" speech and the famous Norman Rockwell illustrations on that theme, when she relates the widowed Ana's delighted response to land redistribution under the U.S. government's 1941 Land Law: "Don't you see, that is what we have now, all those four freedoms on this little plot of ground that is our very own forever!"<sup>32</sup> In this and similar stories, The New World Neighbors series replicates the strategies of United States war propaganda distributed abroad. Historian Monica Rankin has shown in her analysis of OIAA Mexican propaganda that the federal agency advocated hemispheric cooperation abroad not by portraying American and Mexican soldiers on equal terms, but rather by showcasing U.S. modernity and military strength to convince them to join "the winning side."<sup>33</sup> By flexing United States military and economic muscle, The New World Neighbors series likewise makes an appeal for hemispheric solidarity within an existing paradigm of American hegemony. This implicit denial of Latin American military strength undermines the fundamental premise of hemispheric defense under the Good Neighbor Policy. If the United States believed that Latin American nations possessed the conviction and the capacity to ward off European fascism, an inter-American alliance would be unnecessary for preserving hemispheric security.

#### A LESSON TO TAKE AWAY

The authors and illustrators of The New World Neighbors series consciously attempted to transform discriminatory attitudes regarding Latin Americans; however, their efforts remained grounded in contemporary ethnocentric assumptions about race and society. While narrative depictions of Latin Americans as childlike or innately natural may seem relatively obvious and offensive to the modern eye, the implicit ideology of these volumes was entirely unremarkable to period readers, who instead focused on their explicit claim of pan-American unity and solidarity. For their professed adherence to the Good Neighbor Policy, The New World Neighbors series provided a salient teaching aid to United States educators seeking to improve students' "intellectual defenses" through greater awareness and understanding of Latin American cultures. State Department official J. Manuel Espinosa heralded Muna Lee's *Pioneers of Puerto Rico* as "a model of its kind." He praised the author's attention to historical accuracy and "true understanding" of Puerto Rican culture, as well as her decision to highlight

“experiences common to the whole hemisphere.” “These are truly American stories,” he proclaimed.<sup>34</sup>

Such critical oversight suggests the implicit ideology of *The New World Neighbors* series corresponded to prevailing American attitudes and beliefs about Latin Americans. When narratives and images reproduce values that the author and the reader both share, these ideas function as accepted truths. As scholars Robyn McCallum and John Stephens have perceptively noted in their analysis of children’s books:

Ideologies can...function most powerfully in books which reproduce beliefs and assumptions of which authors and readers are largely unaware. Such texts render ideology invisible and hence invest implicit ideological positions with legitimacy by naturalizing them.<sup>35</sup>

Although these textbook portrayals of Latin Americans strove to produce social change by adopting the discursive strategies of the Good Neighbor Policy, *The New World Neighbors* series unconsciously reinforced prevailing American prejudices of U.S. racial superiority and social dominance as well. These conflicting intercultural visions necessarily restricted the transformative social effect these volumes could engender. As current political debates again raise questions about the accuracy, relevancy, and ideological weight of Latin American studies in U.S. classrooms, it is important for us to consider the historical example of *The New World Neighbors* series. Only by undertaking an equally thorough analysis of modern textbooks, films, exhibitions, and other visual media can we gain better intercultural insight into our existing ideals, aspirations, and biases, both implicitly and explicitly defined.

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### NOTES:

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<sup>1</sup>The twenty titles in this series include: Nora Burglon, Thelma Glazer, and E. Mark Phillips, *Around the Caribbean* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1941); Alice Desmond, Alida Malkus, and Ednah Wood, *Boys of the Andes* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1941); Delia Goetz, *Letters from Guatemala* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1941); Alida Malkus, *Along the Inca Highway* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1941); Katherine G. Pollock, *The Gaucho's Daughter* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1941); V. Wolfgang Von Hagen, *Riches of South America* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1941); JoBesse McElveen Waldeck, *Exploring the Jungle* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1941); Henry Lionel Williams, *Kimbi: Indian of the Jungle* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1941); Ruth Cady Adams, *Sky High in Bolivia* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1942); Helen Dickson, *Up Canada Way* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1942); Patricia Crew Fleming, *Rico the Young Rancher* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1942); Dorothy Childs Hogner, *Children of Mexico* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1942); Vera Kelsey, *Six Great Men of Brazil* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1942); Marie Ahnighito Peary, *Ootah and His Puppy* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1942); V. Wolfgang Von Hagen, *Riches of Central America* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1942); Elizabeth Yates, *Around the Year in Iceland* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1942); Arsenio B. Acacio, Ricardo C. Galang, Alvaro L. Martinez, A.B. Makiling, and Bienvenido N. Santos, *Work and Play in the Philippines* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1944); Muna Lee, *Pioneers of Puerto Rico* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1944); Li Ling-Ai, *Children of the Sun in Hawaii* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1944); Alma Savage, *Holiday in Alaska* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1944). Unless otherwise noted, all quotations come from these volumes.

<sup>2</sup>"The Fortune Survey: XXXIX," *Fortune Magazine*, August 1941, 75-76.

<sup>3</sup>Samuel I. Rosenman, ed., *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (New York: Random House, 1938), 14.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>5</sup>Hochstein stated: "Knowing the power of our public schools in shaping our people's ideology and sentiment, Latin Americans will definitely be reassured as to the sincerity and reliability of our Pan American protestations during this world crisis only if they see public education in this country enlisted and dedicated to the cause of hemispheric solidarity." Joshua Hochstein, "Educational Implementation of the Good Neighbor Policy," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 16, no. 3, Inter-American Relationships in Education (November 1942): 176. For more on the activities of the OIAA, see Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch,

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"Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940-1946) and Record Group 229," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 86, no. 4 (November 2006): 785-808.

<sup>6</sup>Book burning came to be mobilized as a political tool in American wartime propaganda. Matthew Fishburn provides an excellent analysis of the American use of books in wartime propaganda in his essay "Books Are Weapons: Wartime Responses to the Nazi Bookfires of 1933," *Book History* 10 (2007): 223-251.

<sup>7</sup>Archibald MacLeish wrote several essays and speeches on this subject. See Archibald MacLeish, *The Irresponsibles* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1940); Archibald MacLeish, "A Free Man's Books," in *Britain Needs Books*, ed. John Brody (London: National Book Council, November 1942), 67; and Archibald MacLeish, "The Power of the Book," in *A Time to Act: Selected Addresses* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), 146-55.

<sup>8</sup>Fishburn, "Books Are Weapons," 234. Fishburn notes that this quotation followed every editorial in *Library Journal* between October 1940 and June 1942.

<sup>9</sup>The U.S. government sponsored curriculum workshops, university professor and student exchange programs, and meetings for county superintendents to discuss inter-American affairs and the implementation of the Good Neighbor Policy in public school curriculum. These educational initiatives gained a greater sense of urgency after the United States entered World War II. John C. Patterson, "Activities of the United States Office of Education in the Inter-American Field," *Journal of Educational Sociology* 16, no. 3 (November 1942): 131-134.

<sup>10</sup>Hochstein, "Educational Implementation," 183.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>Fredrick B. Pike, *The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Nature* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1992).

<sup>13</sup>As early as 1936, U.S. delegates to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace pledged to eliminate negative portrayals of neighboring American republics from school textbooks. Row, Peterson & Company issued a competing line of elementary social studies textbooks called the Good Neighbor series in 1942. High school textbooks included James E. Downes, Nathaniel H. Singer, and Donald Baker, *Latin America and Hemisphere Solidarity* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1943); Harriet McCune Brown and Helen M. Bailey, *Our Latin American Neighbors* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944); Prudence Cutright, W.W. Charters, and George I. Sanchez, *Latin America: Twenty Friendly Nations* (New York: Macmillian Company, 1944), to name a few.

<sup>14</sup>The Boston-based firm offered textbooks covering a range of subject matter and grade levels, from kindergarten to university. By 1925, the company had opened offices in Chicago, New York, San Francisco, Atlanta, Dallas, and London and could claim that "of the more than one hundred million persons in the United States above six years of age, one-half of those born in this country have used schoolbooks with the name of D.C. Heath and Company on the title-page." William Edmond Pulsifer, ed., *Forty Years of Service, Published in Commemoration of the Fortieth Anniversary of D.C. Heath and Company* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1925), 13, 60.

<sup>15</sup>Dudley R. Cowles to Victor Borella, letter dated April 26, 1943. Record Group 229, Entry 156, Box 1718, National Archives, College Park, MD.

<sup>16</sup>*The Southwest Historical Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (October 1941). Writers included Muna Lee, the Puerto Rican founder of the Inter-American Commission of Woman and inter-American cultural affairs specialist for the U.S. State Department; Victor Wolfgang Von

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Hagen, an American explorer; and JoBesse Waldeck, the wife of anthropologist Theodore Waldeck, among others.

<sup>17</sup>Such collaborations in The New World Neighbors series reflect U.S. scholars' and government officials' belief that textbooks could build popular consensus for Roosevelt's foreign policy. Contributors came from a variety of institutions and organizations, including the Institute of Inter-American Affairs; National Institute of Educational Studies, Brazil; Pan American Union; University of California; Students League of the Americas; Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America; Library of Congress; Foreign Policy Association; Department of Education, Puerto Rico; Department of State; American Geographical Society; Brooklyn Public Library; and public schools.

<sup>18</sup>Franklin D. Roosevelt also quoted the former president's speech in order to frame his goals for U.S.-Latin American relations. Edgar B. Nixon, ed., *Franklin Roosevelt and Foreign Affairs*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1969), 560.

<sup>19</sup>Virgil E. Herrick, "Educational News and Editorial Comment," *The Elementary School Journal* 44, no. 3 (November 1943): 134-135; Paul Witty, "Children's Interest in Reading Comic Books," *The Journal of Experimental Education* 10, no. 2, Child Development (December 1941): 100-104.

<sup>20</sup>This novel, written by Alida Malkus, relates the harrowing tale of a seventeen-year-old Mayan girl, who volunteers to be the human sacrifice that will save Chichén Itzá after the city has fallen to the Toltecs.

<sup>21</sup>Influential American proponents of racialism during the Interwar Period included eugenicists Charles Benedict Davenport, Harry H. Laughlin, Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard, and Carleton S. Coon.

<sup>22</sup>Strong trade relationships with Germany and sizeable German immigrant populations in Latin American countries seemed to pose a very real danger of Nazism infiltrating the New World. Max Paul Friedman, *Nazis and Good Neighbors: The United States Campaign against the Germans of Latin America in World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 4.

<sup>23</sup>Steven Watts, *The Magic Kingdom: Walt Disney and the American Way of Life* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri, 1997), 230.

<sup>24</sup>Contemporary museum exhibitions approached native and Latin American culture with similar ideological ambivalence. In her analysis of the Museum of Modern Art's 1940 exhibition "Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art," art historian Holly Barnet-Sanchez argues that curatorial decisions undercut the avowed diplomatic aim of this show by accentuating rather than ameliorating "essential" cultural differences. Holly Barnet-Sanchez, "The Necessity of Pre-Columbian Art: U.S. Museums and the Role of Foreign Policy in the Appropriation and Transformation of Mexican Heritage, 1933-1944" (PhD diss., University of California, 1993), 110-146.

<sup>25</sup>Barnet-Sanchez, "Necessity of Pre-Columbian Art," 34, 162-163. Delays, logistical complications and budgetary concerns ultimately caused the project's cancellation.

<sup>26</sup>This was not the only or even the first time that the United States had interpreted pre-Columbian artifacts as part of a national patrimony. See Angela George, "The Old New World: Unearthing Mesoamerican Antiquity in the Art and Culture of the United States, 1839-1893" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2011); Jennifer McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933-1943* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009); and R. Tripp Evans, *Romancing the Maya: Mexican Antiquity in the American*

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*Imagination, 1820-1915* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).

<sup>27</sup>Barnet-Sanchez, "Necessity of Pre-Columbian Art," 168-173. The OIAA developed a program of small traveling exhibitions of pre-Columbian, colonial and modern Latin American art demonstrative of a shared pan-American past. Curator Natalie Zimmern deliberately selected benign artworks to avoid perpetuating negative stereotypes related to Aztec ritual human sacrifice.

<sup>28</sup>For example, the popular scientific magazine *National Geographic* published an article reporting that "Ecuador Jivaro are Head-Hunting Indians" and that "to the average Ecuadorean the word Jivaro is synonymous with violent death and all manner of disagreeable things." H.E. Anthony, "Over Trail and Through Jungle in Ecuador," *National Geographic* (October 1921): 328-333.

<sup>29</sup>*New York Times*, "Study of Indians Urged on Teachers," April 29, 1934.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup>The "Black Legend" refers to the unfavorable image of Spanish colonial rule prevalent in historical accounts published between the sixteenth- and twentieth-centuries. Many non-Spanish and Protestant historians demonized the Spanish Empire by exaggerating the cruelty and religious intolerance leveled against indigenous American populations. Recent scholarship has adopted a more neutral stance that acknowledges the atrocities of colonialism without indicting the Spanish Empire as being worse than other colonial powers in the treatment of its subjects.

<sup>32</sup>In his State of the Union address on January 6, 1941, President Roosevelt articulated the necessity of war in order to secure the American ideal of individual liberties for people throughout the world. He identified four essential human freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. Illustrator Norman Rockwell's paintings celebrating these abstract ideals circulated widely in *The Saturday Evening Post* and later as promotional imagery for a U.S. war bond drive.

<sup>33</sup>Monica Rankin, *¡México, la patria!: Propaganda and Production during World War II* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 159-206.

<sup>34</sup>J. Manuel Espinosa, "Review," *The Americas* 1, no. 4 (April 1945): 518-520.

<sup>35</sup>Robyn McCallum and John Stephens, "Ideology and Children's Books," in *Handbook of Research on Children's and Young Adult Literature*, ed. Shelby A. Wolf, Karen Coats, Patricia Enciso, and Christine A. Jenkins (New York: Routledge, 2011), 360.