

Beyond the Silent Ocean: The Brazilian National Pavilions of 1937

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Abstract:

Since the times of Empire (1822-1889), the Brazilian government used international exhibitions to present an inventory of the nation's economic, social, and cultural resources. National pavilions served as economic postcard whose design mirrored an idealized image of a modern Brazil. During the first decades of the twentieth century, when republican Brazil slowly industrialized, exhibitions consistently resumed the vision of a nation rich in resources and potential. One should expect that in the 1930s, Brazil was to resume its tradition of hiring its best professionals to showcase the nation in its pavilions. However, it did not. There are not references to any Brazilian designer to the 1937 pavilions built during the international exhibition in Paris. "Beyond the Silent Ocean" focuses on the historical context involving two Brazilian pavilions built for this event. This essay examines the role of an intense international professional network (including a very consistent French and U.S. connections) influencing the thinking about urban space and national identity. Broadly speaking, scholarly literature has identified the 1939 Brazilian Pavilion in New York as the great symbol of modernity. By the same token, it has taken as part of this tradition, the role of influential foreign visitor, such as the French architect Le Corbusier on local model-professionals such as Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer. This essay expands on other aspects of this geo-cultural terrain by focusing on the role of other less known but as well "locally" influential architects, designers, professional educators, and writers in the construction of the nation-state and the politics of modernism linked to the 1937 exhibition circuit. It brings to the fore a discussion on the place of cultural visionary conquests and the historical context of the 1930s inhabited by architects such as Attilio Correa Lima (1901-1943), the favorite public work architect up to the Estado Novo, and entrepreneurs related to mixed-capital companies, such as the Franco-Brazilian Coffee company. This essay brings new insights and questions about urban space and national identity during the democratic period (1934-1937) of the Vargas Years.

INTRODUCTION

In my freshman year at the School of Architecture at the University of São Paulo, I was delighted to find the perfect title for my first college paper: "O barroco se amolda à nossa realidade tropical e americana." The title was taken from a statement by architect Sylvio de Vasconcelos, who belonged to a generation nurtured in the 1930s, for whom this transplanted European style had found a unique national expression in the urban landscape of eighteenth-century colonial Minas Gerais. Studying architecture in a building that represented the paulista branch of Brazilian modern architecture, I was proud to agree with him that the mineira city of Ouro Preto was also one of the most genuine Brazilian expressions. I did not ask myself then how two different languages could be synonymous with this same "tropical and American" reality. How could the modern, a language of an international egalitarian movement, become a national symbol? How could Brazil, considered a backward nation "in development," be identified both as baroque and

modern? Today, I find myself struggling to make sense of how concepts of modernity shared by urban professionals from Sylvio de Vasconcelos's generation shaped our perceptions of national identity, which I so unquestionably accepted almost 30 years ago.

Though scholarship considering the overlap between race and nation in Latin America and Brazil has abounded in the last two decades, there is a dearth of materials considering professionals, the city, and the historical space they occupy in the construction of a national identity. My draft book manuscript, *Crafters of Modernity*, is a study about how engineering crafted the space within which an important professional middle class prospered in the city of São Paulo during the early 20th century. At first, foreign “professionals” (e.g., artists, architects, engineers) came to São Paulo both as immigrants seeking new opportunities and/or invited as technical experts. They worked in the process of city beautification and as art educators and instructors of the daughters and sons of the oligarchy. This oligarchy had linkages to other dense socio-cultural networks, divided in terms of income, social mobility, and racial origin. Those networks weaved together industrialists, merchants, technicians (mostly poor immigrants) and a Brazilian-born middle class that had little economic power. Therefore, the heterogeneous urban middle class always shared some degree of both economic and cultural dependence on the regional ruling class, the coffee bourgeoisie.

By disentangling intertwined narratives in the urban space, my manuscript highlights how, in a concerted effort, professionals from private and public agencies contributed to a grammar of identity that interpreted and defined as “modern” both the city of São Paulo and then the nation not only territorially but also within people's minds. The book stresses the unfolding construction of a modern identity in Sao Paulo, which came to define Brazil in the twentieth century.

The goal of this essay is to explore how the socio-economic and political changes brought by the international context of the 1930s affected this network's dynamics. I focus here on the professionals who crafted official architectonic symbols of the 1930s, with a special attention to the 1937 international exhibition in Paris. My goal is to grasp subtleties in this important political moment as well as identify different forces within

Brazilian society, including the public sphere, which struggled to control broader social groups. The international exhibition of 1937 may shed new light on the critical years of 1934-1938, still a less-studied phase of Brazilian history.ⁱ

Urban Space and Architecture

Historians of architecture and urbanism tend to focus on individual and/or singular experiences when organizing connections and associations. Broadly speaking, for the 1930s, this literature has identified significant urban symbols (e.g., the Ministry of Education and Health MES, 1939-1943, and the 1939 Brazilian Pavilion in New York), selected local model-professionals (e.g., Lucio Costa and Oscar Niemeyer) and an influential foreign visitor, the French architect Le Corbusier.

New scholars have presented new geocultural possibilities; some have focused on international networks (e.g., Fraser and Stepan)ⁱⁱ including the North- American exchange (Atique),ⁱⁱⁱ the emigration and immigration of ideas (Lemos),^{iv} “locally” influential architects and designers (Albuquerque, Costa, Pereira),^v professional education (Gitahy),^{vi} and the nation-state and the collapse of the politics of modernism (Leme, Segawa).^{vii} All of them make contributions to thinking about urban space and national identity. Hugo Segawa introduces his *Arquiteturas no Brazil* with two quotes from 1929 launching the new decade: one from Lucio Costa and another from Le Corbusier. Costa’s citation refers to the feeling of becoming aware of who we are as we become aware of our sense of place: “Looking at those houses, those churches ... one becomes content, happy to recall forgotten things, things one had never realized existed but that had always been part of us.” On the other hand, Le Corbusier’s citation is that of a cultural visionary conqueror: “I have tried to conquer America for an implacable reason and an immense tenderness I share for things and people; I have learned from those brothers, separated from us by a silent ocean, the principles, doubts, hesitations, and reasons that motivate the current state of events and I have faith in tomorrow. Under such a light, architecture will be born.”^{viii} As Segawa stresses, his was a generation taught by Le Corbusier’s pupils, who imparted on this cohort a mythical ideal that architects had a social mission. Though Niemeyer and Lucio Costa became better known and the most-quoted urban players in the post-war period, Segawa’s reveals

other influential names in the 1930s such as that of architect Attilio Correa Lima (1901-1943), the favorite public work architect up to the Estado Novo. Segawa's book is a revealing door into insights and questions about urban space and national identity during the critical years.

Coffee: A Baroque Dark Pearl

The coffee boom that began in the 1880s spurred bursts of new domestic business development that transformed Sao Paulo into Brazil's industrial leader. Anne Hanley demonstrates that early development of the institutions that provided business finance was accompanied by highly personal relationships between financier and entrepreneur.^{ix} By the early twentieth century, rapid economic growth and business diversification rendered these personal connections inadequate and hence less important to business finance. Investors and directors concentrated their energies and their money, abandoning the practice of forming broad connections in general and turning to the stock market instead. The 1930 Great Depression paved the way for the installation of the authoritarian-corporatist Estado Novo, but the dictatorship would not be explainable without taking into account the economic and political-institutional changes of the previous decades at both national and regional levels. Intra-oligarchic conflicts exposed the fragility of the first republic's "clientelistic system of interstate compromise"^x and regionalism versus centralism marked the Vargas Era.

As a historian of Brazil, it has always bothered me that São Paulo rebelled against the leader of the 1930 revolution's arbitrary political measures in 1932, but it did not react in the same manner to the Estado Novo coup. What had changed in those 5 years between 1932 and 1937 that permitted such a change? I believe that the study of urban symbols produced in this period might help explain how the Estado Novo was able to handle the paulista elite and satisfy broader urban social groups. In *Crafters of Modernity*, I explore this change, considering the Gold for the Benefit of São Paulo Building (1935), which extolled São Paulo's regional strength in the inauguration of the Pacaembu Stadium (1940), which came to represent the Estado Novo's national force.^{xi} How do historians approach this problematic?

Barbara Weinstein explored the process by which the paulistas constructed a “hegemonic discourse” that represented their state “as the vanguard of progress and civilization, while the rest of the nation served as the other, in a cultural relationship reminiscent of that between colonizer and colonized.”^{xii} For Weinstein, these representations survived the Vargas era and the “paulista’s insistence on hierarchy (rather than diversity) of regional identities ... formed the greatest impediment to a more progressive and democratic national culture in the early 1930s.”^{xiii}

James P. Woodard also explored the crucial relationship between Vargas and paulistas after 1930, stressing that Sao Paulo was part of Vargas’s main agenda in the 1930s. According to Woodward, “Vargas actively manipulated paulista identity and regionalist symbolism from 1929. Even during his dictatorship, also dubbed the “National State,” he was not unattuned to São Paulo’s peculiarities and traditions.”^{xiv} He asserts that “São Paulo’s conservative and racist upper classes increasingly hated Vargas, and the more they did so the more he appealed to the region’s common people.”^{xv} My sense is that the common people of São Paulo, the city’s new middle class, had their projects satisfied and that Getúlio Vargas adapted to it as a result of his political gift, the ability to form new alliances between center and regions at both national and state level. Urban symbols may add to those statements a more nuanced negotiation among this new middle class during the critical years of the Vargas Era (1933-1938), when professionals, technicians, and intellectuals reread, reinterpreted, and reinvented modern projects.

By changing the focus to the *Compagnie Franco-Brésilienne de Cafés* and its relation with the Brazilian government and the paulista planters in this period, I move the subject to the core of this essay. In the late 1920s, the architect commissioned to design the company’s stores in Paris was not Le Corbusier, already an active intellectual in the Franco-Brazilian circuit, but French architect Robert Mallet-Stevens (1886-1945).^{xvi} In 1928, Mallet-Stevens designed the café occupying the ground floor of a corner building at Boulevard Haussmann (Illustration 1),^{xvii} whose theme was the colors of the Brazilian flag;^{xviii} and in 1929, he designed a second store at the Wagram Avenue (Illustration 2).

There are not many references to those works because Mallet-Stevens ordered that his archives be destroyed upon his death, in February 1945, and his works fell into

oblivion until 2005. Sixty years after, the few images we have come from archives from collaborators who worked with or for him. Those sources, even when full of lacunae, nourished contemporary understanding of the 1930s in France and consequently Brazil. The illustration here is from André Salomon, a lighting designer for Mallet-Stevens, whose photographic archives brought out the façade of the store Cafés du Brésil (Illustration 3). Between 1935 and 1939, Mallet-Stevens was the city of Lille's Beaux Arts School director and under this position he participated in the International Exhibition in 1937. His last work was the Press Pavillion for l'Exposition du progrès social de Lille in 1939 (Illustration 4).^{xix}

Following the same avant-garde language of its stores, the company's posters during the 1930s present Brazil's coffee as the national dark baroque pearl. Almost as an illustration to the 1929 quote by Le Corbusier, those posters highlight the immense silent ocean (Illustrations 5 and 6). It is not a coincidence that during the 1937 exhibition, the Franco-Brazilian company had Mallet-Stevens to build its modern pavilion (illustration 9). But how about the official Brazilian pavilion?

THE 1937 BRAZILIAN PAVILION

Since the times of Empire, the Brazilian government used international expositions to present an inventory of the nation's economic, social, and cultural resources. The national pavilion was an economic postcard and its design mirrored an idealized image of a modern Brazil. Even as Brazil slowly industrialized, expositions consistently fashioned a vision of a nation rich in resources and potential.^{xx} It would be expected that in the 1930s, Brazil was to keep the tradition of a national display.

Though there was a continuous traditional policy of employing the best Brazilian architects in any international project of this kind, there are not references to the designers of the 1937 Brazilian Pavilion, would it be the only exception to the rule? According to Zilah Q. Deckker, the design of the Brazilian pavilion was a gift from the French government and the Brazilian government provided its interior.^{xxi} Brazilian painter Emiliano Di Cavalcanti worked in its murals and was awarded a gold medal for them, but I was not yet able to find a source dedicated to the history behind the national pavilion. The magazine *Le Temps* dedicated a special issue on Brazil, where we can see the building, but there is not a mention to its designer (Illustration 5). By the same

token, there are no references to the pavilion Mallet-Stevens built for the French-Brazilian Coffee Company Cafés du Brésil (Illustration 6).^{xxii} As we have seen, he had previously built both the Cafés du Brésil stores at Haussmann Blvd. (Paris 1928) and Wagram Av. (Paris 1929).^{xxiii}

According to the 2005 Centre Pompidou Catalog, “Mallet-Stevens received commissions from industrial and commercial establishments for three [] buildings: the Palais de l’Électricité et de la Lumière, particularly spectacular at night, the pavilion for the Régie des Tabacs, and that of the Cafés du Brésil,” explaining that the last two were “both modest but carefully done productions [] conceived, with the Martel brothers, the Signal des Ciments Français, which prolonged their experiments with reinforced concrete trees from the 1925 Exposition.”^{xxiv}

Consequently, there were two different buildings representing Brazil: One for the Franco-Brazilian Co. Cafés du Brésil Co. designed by Mallet-Stevens and another one for the government, depicted in the magazine *Le Temps*.^{xxv} The building design included the height of the main façade in a simple prism project. To the huge vertical composition of this rectangular box the Brazilian symbols were added to give some dynamic to the ensemble. The pavilion was a modern symbol.

The lack of interest and information about this building and its significance is a metaphor to our lack of knowledge on this period. In my book manuscript I explored the participation of paulista municipal officers in this exhibition and confirmed that influential professionals such as Sergio Milliet were among them, though I was not able to trace any records about his staying in Paris in any of his books. In 1937, the São Paulo presented in this exhibition was depicted as a bird that had left its nest and it was ready to lead (Illustration 7). In fact, the paulista Constitutionalist Party nominee, Armando de Salles Oliveira was the candidate for the never-to-happen 1938 presidential election, and many of his supporters represented the nation during this event. Keeping in mind the incomparable scale, the Estado Novo will erase expectations and will immerse Brazil into a sweeping reorganization at the same moment that World War II erased memories and dreams of a whole generation in Europe. It was a political maelstrom and a reorganization of those who were in and out.

How was Di Cavalcanti chosen to paint the Brazilian pavilion murals? Di Cavalcanti must have had strong ties with the paulista municipal power. Beyond his

important role in the 1922 Week of Modern Art, in the 1930s, Di Cavalcanti had been jailed twice for communist beliefs. During his first incarceration in 1932, Di Cavalcanti met his wife-to-be, painter Noêmia Mourão, who was incarcerated for supporting the 1932 Paulista Revolution. They married in 1933 and were jailed in 1936. In 1937, they sailed to Paris, he painted the murals, prolonged his stay in the city, and fled the nation back to Brazil on the eve of the German Nazi invasion of 1940. The chronology suggests that he must have prolonged his stay in the city because of the 1937 Estado Novo coup in November, at the end of the exhibition. Another important personage in this process was Brazilian ambassador Luis Martins de Sousa Dantas (1876-1954), known as the Brazilian Schindler (Illustration 8).^{xxvi}

Though there is an extensive bibliography on the importance of French architect Le Corbusier's 1936 visit to Brazil, none make explicit reference to the Brazilian political game behind those invitations and the political forces behind those arrangements. Recent scholarship (e.g., Fraser, Mumford, Udovicki-Selb)^{xxvii} explores the ways in which the architectural avant-garde tried to identify and manage its clients and broader social groups. But there is still a long way to go in connecting this avant-grade discourse and its role in an international network involving different groups in different nations.

There are contradictory statements about Le Corbusier's participation in the 1937 exhibition. Eric Mumford explains that it was "in the midst of his plans for the 1937 Paris exhibition" that Le Corbusier visited Brazil, for the second time, in the summer of 1936.^{xxviii} Le Corbusier had made his first trip to the United States in the previous year.^{xxix} According to Damilo Udovicki-Selb, for the 1937 exhibition, Le Corbusier contributed with his Temps Nouveau Pavilion, "erected at the eleventh hour."^{xxx} The latter explains that this episode suggests a new reading of Le Corbusier's design strategies in the larger urban system of Paris, whereas for Mumford, it "reflected his increasing support from the left in Paris."^{xxxi}

The French government had a very explicit social and economic agenda. The exhibition marked the first time that an exposition was "launched in order to provide jobs to the unemployed."^{xxxii} In the domain of ideas, the exposition attempted to reconcile, symbolically, art and industry. From the political vantage point, the fair was a vehicle of nationalistic propaganda.^{xxxiii} Though there was a brute political

confrontation between the Russian and German buildings (Illustration 9), each country did its best to show in their national pavilions the products of their own political and economic system.^{xxxiv} Brazilian representatives, either those who came back or those who could not, lived and experienced the power of the modern propaganda. It was everywhere painted in national colors and though it had not yet acquired connotations of deception, it confronted them with the idea of what modern was.

Though 1937 is mostly remembered in Brazilian political history by the Estado Novo coup, which happened in November, the story told here shows how the events in the urban arena developed a dynamic of their own. This dynamic would shape and would be shaped by the political arena of the coming decades. Those events of the 1930s set the stage for the role São Paulo reclaimed in the nation's economic and socio-political arena.

ⁱ See Robert Levine's *The Vargas Regime: The Critical Years, 1934-1938* (Columbia University Press 1970).

ⁱⁱ See Valerie Fraser. "Cannibalizing Le Corbusier: The MES Gardens of Roberto Burle Marx," *Society of Architectural Historians* (2000). According to Fraser, although Le Corbusier's visits to Brazil in 1929 and 1936 were undoubtedly influential, his ideas were not received uncritically by Brazilians. In 1936, Le Corbusier acted as a consultant to a team of Brazilian architects who built the new Ministry of Education and Health (MES) building in Rio de Janeiro. Playing with Oswald de Andrade's anthropophagic solution, Fraser suggests that Le Corbusier's "Eurocentric" attitude to aspects of South American natural landscape provided Brazilian designer Roberto Burle Marx (1909-1994) with an incentive for incorporating these South American landscape forms his gardens for the MES. By cannibalizing Le Corbusier, Brazilians turned modern architecture of the CIAMs into an original Brazilian interpretation form of art. The box is foreign and the interior is national, though a cannibalized national. See also Fraser's *Building the New World. Studies in the Modern Architecture of Latin America 1930-1960* (Verso 2000b). By the same token, Nancy Stepan's "Tropical Modernism: Designing the Tropical Landscape" *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 21(1):79-91 (2002) goes one step forward and analyzes the historical development of the European concept of "the tropical" as seen in Burle Marx's designs. According to the article's abstract: "Burle Marx's pared down, austere, and abstract designs, which incorporate tropical plants in innovative fashion, yet make no effort to recreate or imitate a jungle experience, can be interpreted as offering a possible solution to the dialectic of nature and culture in a country burdened historically by the designation 'tropical'."

ⁱⁱⁱ See Fernando Atique's "Em busca da profissão nos Estados Unidos: a presença de brasileiros na University of Pennsylvania e a divulgação de paradigmas americanos no Brasil (1876-1945)" presented at LASA September 2007. Atique explores this topic in his PhD dissertation, *Arquitetando a boa vizinhança: a sociedade urbana do Brasil e a recepção do mundo norte-americano, 1976-1945* at the FAUUSP (2007). See also Atique's "Um sotaque disfarçado: A recepção de referências americanas no curso de arquitetura da Escola Nacional de Belas Artes" *DezenoveVinte* at http://www.dezenovevinte.net/arte%20decorativa/ad_atique.htm and Luis Augusto Maia Costa's *O moderno planejamento territorial e urbano em SP: A presença norte americana no debate da formação do pensamento urbanístico paulista 1886-1919*. PhD Dissertation FAUUSP, 2005.

^{iv} See Celina Borges Lemos. "The Modernization of Brazilian Urban Space as a Political Symbol of the Republic," *The Journal of Decorative Arts and Propaganda Arts* 21: 218-237 (1995). Translated

by Elizabeth A. Jackson.

- ^v See Maria Beatriz Portugal Albuquerque's "Luz, arte, e sol na São Paulo Moderna. Alexandre Albuquerque e a Insolação em São Paulo 1916-1934," Master at FAUUSP (2007); Luis Augusto Maia Costa's "O urbanismo do engenheiro Victor da Silva Freire em São Paulo: entre a teoria e a prática (1895-1934)," *LASA* September 2007; and Gustavo Pereira's "Christiano Stockler das Neves e a formação do curso de arquitetura no Mackenzie College: um estudo sobre as Ecole des Beaux-Arts e as Fine Arts Schools norte-americanas," Master Thesis Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie (2005).
- ^{vi} See Maria Lucia Caira Gitahy. "O papel do gabinete de resistencia dos materiais da Escola Politécnica na transferencia da tecnologia do concreto para São Paulo, 1899-1925: um relato preliminar de pesquisa," *Cadernos IG/UNICAMP* 4(2):29-70 (1994) and "Qualificação e Urbanização em São Paulo: A experiencia do Liceu de Artes e Ofícios 1873-1934" in Maria Alice Rosa Ribeiro, editor, *Trabalhadores urbanos e ensino profissional*. (Editora UNICAMP 1986).
- ^{vii} Leme, Maria Cristina da Silva Leme. *Urbanismo no Brasil, 1895-1965*. (Studio Nobel, FAUUSP, FUPAM: 1999) and Hugo Segawa. *Arquiteturas no Brasil 1900-1990* (EDUSP 1998).
- ^{viii} Le Corbusier looks to the new decade, the 1930s, and stresses that "J'ai tenté la conquête de l'Amérique par une raison implacable et par une grande tendresse que j'ai vouée aux choses et aux gens; j'ai compris chez ses frères séparés de nous par le silence d'un ocean, les scrupules, les doutes, les hesitations et les raisons que motivent l'état actuel de leurs manifestations et j'ai fait confiance à demain. Sous une telle lumière, l'architecture naîtra." (Segawa 1999).
- ^{ix} Anne Hanley's "Is It Who You Know? Entrepreneurs and Bankers in São Paulo, Brazil, at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Enterprise & Society* 5(2):187-225 (2004).
- ^x See Jens Hentschke's "The Vargas Era Institutional Development Model Revisited: Themes, Debates, and Lacunas. An Introduction" in his edited volume *Vargas and Brazil. New Perspectives*. (Palgrave MacMillan 2006)
- ^{xi} Both urban symbols exposed the urban network of the period. Arnaldo Dumont Villares was an important player in most projects linking public and either foreign and/or private agencies. See Cristina Mehrtens's "Municipal Employees and the Construction of Social Identity in São Paulo, Brazil, 1930s," *Municipal Services in the Modern City*, edited by Pierre-Yves Saunier at al. (Ashgate, 2003).
- ^{xii} See Barbara Weinstein's "Racializing Regional Differences: São Paulo Versus Brazil, 1932" *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, edited by Nancy P. Appelbaum at al. (Univ. of North Carolina Press 2003).
- ^{xiii} Quoted in Hentschke note 21, page 7.
- ^{xiv} *Idem* page 7.
- ^{xv} *Idem* page 7.
- ^{xvi} In August 2005, a 4-month retrospective exhibition at the Center Pompidou stressed that Robert Mallet-stevens was a "figure emblématique de l'entre-deux-guerres architectural français. De l'architecte, on connaît les réalisations majeures ... Du décorateur, on retient ses devantures de boutiques parisiennes pour Bally ou Le café du Brésil ; de l'amateur du septième art, sa collaboration avec Marcel L'Herbier ; de son engagement dans le Mouvement moderne, son rôle au sein de l'U.A.M. Or l'oeuvre de Robert Mallet-Stevens est abondante et multiple. Les réalisations, situées à Paris, à proximité ou aux quatre coins de France, sont nombreuses." Mallet-Stevens's earliest design features included the graphic style, the smooth white facades, and rigorous geometry of the masses. See <http://www.malletstevens.com/exposition.htm>
- ^{xvii} Robert Mallet-Stevens (1886-1945) was a highly esteemed architect, interior designer, and writer during the interwar period. He studied at the Ecole Spéciale d'Architecture in Paris (1903-6). In 2005, Mallet-Stevens received the recognition he deserved through a superb retrospective organized at the Pompidou Centre in Paris: the first exhibit ever devoted to him in France. (Canetti, Claudine, « Le Corbusier and Robert Mallet-Stevens, » France Diplomatie

http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/france_159/discovering-france_2005/france-from-to-z_1978/culture_1979/architecture-and-sculpture_4414/corbusier-and-robert-mallet-stevens_8386.html.

- ^{xviii} See Jacob, Delphine. “Cafés du Brésil-Haussmann, Paris, 1928,” Centre Pompidou Catalog (2005) p.28. According to Jacob “The facing was made of marble, with a pale color on the upper section and a dark one on the base. Two doors surmounted by bas-reliefs flanked symmetrically the central bay. Neon tubing was used for the luminous signs and the cornice (installation by Paz e Silva). [Who is Paz e Silva?] The store windows, brightly lit from the inside, participated in the nocturnal illumination, and served as advertising. By its sparseness, this café evoked the Bar Américain in the Passage Kärtner in Vienna, created in 1908 by Adolf Loos. Playing a central role in the decoration, is a clever device conceived by André Salomon: eight lamps arranged on a nickel covered shelf or plateau illuminate the corolla-shaped ceiling, edged by a luminous plaster cornice [...] This design showcased the metallic counter where four Eterna percolators held court, as well as the three luminous polished glass top tables at which the clients drank standing up” (10).
- ^{xix} According to this source “ Si le projet pour l’École des beaux-arts était d’un classicisme inhabituel chez Mallet-Stevens, le Pavillon de la presse reflète son style personnel. Pendant la guerre, il se réfugie avec sa femme dans le Sud de la France. Gravement malade, il n’est plus en mesure de mener une quelconque activité. Il mourra à Paris, le 7 février 1945.” Source: <http://www.malletstevens.com/exposition.htm>.
- ^{xx} See Noah C. Elkin, Noah. "Promoting a New Brazil: National Expositions and Images of Modernity, 1861-1922." Ph.D. Dissertation Rutgers University (1999).
- ^{xxi} See Zilah Quezado Deckker’s *Brazil Built* (Taylor & Francis 2001) p.55.
- ^{xxii} In 1937, Mallet-Stevens designed a number of pavilions including those of Electricity (with Pingusson) and National Solidarity, Tobacco, Hygiene (with Coulon). Source: Modern Design Dictionary <http://www.answers.com/topic/paris-exposition-des-arts-et-techniques-dans-la-vie-moderne>.
- ^{xxiii} Source: http://www.lille.archi.fr/ressources/10160/26/publi_chercheurs_lacth.pdf
- ^{xxiv} See “The International Exposition of 1937,” 2005 Centre Pompidou Catalog p.10 [http://www.centrepompidou.fr/Pompidou/Communication.nsf/Docs/IDE3DA188B336A059FC1256FE900530A82/\\$File/DPanglais.pdf](http://www.centrepompidou.fr/Pompidou/Communication.nsf/Docs/IDE3DA188B336A059FC1256FE900530A82/$File/DPanglais.pdf)
- ^{xxv} There is also a reference in the *Arquitetura e Urbanismo* issue that I was not able to locate yet.
- ^{xxvi} See Antonio G. Filho “Fachada retocada. Livro do historiador Fábio Koifman desvenda verdades e mentiras nas denúncias sobre o anti-semitismo do Estado Novo” <http://revistaepoca.globo.com/Revista/Epoca/0,,EDR51985-6011.00.html>
- ^{xxvii} See Fraser (2000b); Eric Paul Mumford *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*. (2000); Danilo Udovicki-Selb, Le Corbusier and the Paris Exhibition of 1937: The Temps Nouveaux Pavilion, *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56(1): 42-63, (March 1997); and Mardges Bacon’s *Le Corbusier in America*.
- ^{xxviii} See Mumford (2000) p.104.
- ^{xxix} See Bacon
- ^{xxx} See Udovicki-Selb (1997).
- ^{xxxi} See Mumford (2000) p.104.
- ^{xxxii} Though the decorative arts would not be the major focus of the new exposition, the exposition planners believed that the arts themselves should take an active part in the "struggle against unemployment." Because of the Great Depression – and the trend among painters and sculptors towards "unpopular" abstract art – the number of buyers to support the arts had declined sharply. To alleviate the widespread and growing poverty among artists – a embarrassment to the city which prided itself as the home and center of fine art – the nation of France and the city of Paris commissioned 718 murals, and employed over 2,000 artists to decorate the pavilions. The

exposition was, in this respect, a kind of equivalent to the WPA program in the United States, where the government funded hundreds of mural projects in an effort to sustain working artists. (Arthur Chandler in <http://charon.sfsu.edu/publications/PARISEXPOSITIONS/1937EXPO.html>). The title of the 1937 exposition breaks down the real meaning inherent in the earlier term "universal" into its component parts: the nationalism inherent in the competition for prestige, the fundamental duality between the arts and technics, and the transforming power of art and science (idem).

^{xxxiii} <http://www.factotum.org.uk/projects/thefair/fair08.html> This site has an interesting article comparing the historical moment and the architecture of the 1937 and 1939 exhibition. Germany did not participate in the 1939 exhibition in New York.

^{xxxiv} Architect Paul Weiner designed the United States pavilion, a towering skyscraper showcasing Roosevelt's New Deal. The Soviet Union mounted the most expensive display of all: a map of mother Russia made entirely of gold studded with rubies, topazes, and other precious stones – a luxurious and luxuriant illustration the country's industrial growth in recent years. As the Spanish Civil War was being waged, the pavilion of the embattled Second Spanish Republic included Pablo Picasso's famous painting "Guernica."