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## GENEVIEVE NAYLOR, A GOOD NEIGHBOR PHOTOGRAPHER IN BRAZIL (1941-42)

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**Abstract:** *This article analyses historically the photographs taken by Genevieve Naylor, an American photographer commissioned by US State Department during the Second World War, when she travelled throughout Brazil, as a good neighbour photographer. In this sense, it is considered the elements of the form of expression and the content of the photographic message, emphasizing the three aspects of visual cultural strategies: firstly, the way in which the human subjects are depicted, understanding the representations of the body as support for social relationships. The body represented in Naylor's photographs is the sign through which social relationships are revealed; secondly, how the places where Naylor travelled were depicted in the creation of a sensitive geography seeking to overcome the official protocols to show a multiple Brazil; followed by an evaluation of how her images were publicized throughout cross country exhibitions.*

**Keywords:** *Photography. Good neighbour policy. Visual culture. Second World War.*

In 1940, the photographer Genevieve Naylor and her companion Misha Reznikoff, an artist, were sent to South America by Nelson Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (OIAA), the wartime agency organized to cultivate Latin American support for the allies. Brazil was their destination and her mission was to create an image of Brazil for a North American audience.

Her photos depict Brazil during those years in considerable detail, building on the official purpose of her visit by a truly concerned approach to the reality of Brazil. On her return from Brazil, Naylor had a successful one-woman show at New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1943.

This article discusses the narrative created by Genevieve Naylor's photos during her travels throughout Brazil through a historical approach to her photographs (MAUAD, 2008). In this sense, I shall consider the elements of the form of expression and the content of the photographic message, emphasizing the two most striking aspects of the visual narrative and evaluate how her images were publicized throughout cross country exhibitions:

Firstly, the way in which the human subjects are depicted, understanding the representations of the body as support for social relationships. The body represented in Naylor's photographs is the sign through which social relationships are revealed; secondly, how the places where Naylor travelled were depicted in the creation of a sensitive geography seeking to overcome the official protocols to show a multiple Brazil.

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Naylor more than shaping an image of the Other through ethnographic protocols of alterity, defines this Other, in her images, by its human condition. She invests much more in the possibilities of establishing common connections rather than creating impenetrable differences (or ones accessible only through a scientific discourse of ethnography). The way in which she composes her photographs reveals the dialogue which the photographer established with the visual references of her time, in particular, those associated with the artistic production of the 1930s where the individual was valued according to the role performed in social relationships.

The result of the conjunction of these references was the creation of a plural alterity of the Brazilian people: young adults, children and the elderly, which could be understood by the ordinary people of the United States, the target public for her photographs, exhibited in a cross country exhibition launched in 1943 at MOMA-NY and afterwards travelled to different cities in US.

### SOME NOTES ON THE POLITICAL AND VISUAL CULTURE AT WARTIME

The American Historian Frederick Pike recalling the motivations that made him a specialist in Latin American History gave us a fuller rendition of Good Neighbour context:

Born in 1926, I began in the early to mid-1930s to become a bit aware of a few things going on in the world, in part listening to the radio [...]. My favorite radio entertainment came from western music programs of Stuart Hamblen, the broadcast description of Joe Louis fights and above all else FDR's Fireside Chats [...] Vaguely in the 1930s I became aware that FDR had an interest in certain neighbors to the south called Latin Americans, and that he had initiated a Good Neighbor program through which he hoped to establish better relations between them and us...that sounded like a decent enough idea. At the time a lot of Latin songs were in vogue.... The Latin's had begun to intrigue me about as much as cowboys. By the end of 1930s, moreover, the Latin's took on an appeal the cowboys couldn't match. They were very sexy. Dolores del Rio and Carmen Miranda provided all the proof that one needed. Obviously FDR was right in waiting Americans to get closer to Latin Americans (PIKE, 1996, p. xv)

Pike's good-humored account reveals two fundamental ingredients for the creation of an imaginary for Latin America: politics and propaganda. President Roosevelt, in person, took the responsibility to broadcast Latin Americans as good neighbors. The key vector of the Good Neighbour policy implemented by the North American President, F. D. Roosevelt, was the *Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs* (OCIAA), or, as it became known in Brazil, *Birô Interamericano*. This organ, given powers by the Secretary of State, invested in the visual elaboration of a political culture that translated into images the words spoken in diverse languages and accents could not give meaning to. To this end, it relied upon an efficient structure which included among other departments, the *Communication Department*, responsible for producing, distributing and controlling the images produced by different public and private agencies. In addition to this department, Nelson Rockefeller himself, the director in charge of the OCIAA, led the cultural initiatives, such as artistic and intellectual missions. Thus, the creations of the Good Neighbour policy included artistic images, associated with the traditional circuits of galleries and art museums as well as the broad set of technical images associated with popular mass culture and its evolution in the "culture industry"

In the technical images produced by the culture industry in its commitment to supporting the war, three classes can be established: moving images (feature films, documentaries and cartoons); publicity images; photographic images

Three photographers came to Brazil on assignment for the Office, each with distinct objectives: G.E. Kidder Smith, a specialist in photographing architecture and the person responsible for the photographs in the book by the architect Philip L Goodwin, *Brazil Builds*, (the title which was also given to the photographer's exhibition at MOMA); Alan Fisher, a member of the Public Health and Hygiene division of the OCIAA, who concentrated on medical conditions and military installations in the Amazon region; and Genevieve Naylor, responsible for producing an inventory of people, places and customs to represent the Good Neighbor Brazil to the American public.

### LIVING AND PHOTOGRAPHING, GENEVIEVE NAYLOR IN BRAZIL

Genevieve Hay Naylor was born on the 2nd of February 1915, in Springfield, Massachusetts. Her parents, Emmett Hay Naylor, a promising lawyer from Boston, and Ruth Houston Cadwell, a member of the local social elite, separated when she was only ten years old, in 1925.

Raised according to the standards of the eastern upper classes, from early on she tried to break with the established codes, studying drawing and painting at a local school, where she fell in love with her teacher, Misha Reznikoff. In 1933 she moved to New York following her love and her artistic instinct. There she continued her studies in painting until 1934 when, after seeing a photographic exhibition which included the work of names like Berenice Abbott, Eugene Atget and Henri Cartier-Bresson, she changed her focus of interest, dedicating herself to photography. Her destination was a *New School for Social Research*, where no less a person than Berenice Abbott was teaching. There began a friendship which would only be interrupted by Naylor's death in 1989.

In 1937, when she was only 22 years old, she was recommended by the professional league of photographers to join the *Work Progress Administration*, a governmental institution created during the time of the Great Depression to shelter the work of artists, among other professionals without work because of the great depression. In the WPA, Naylor photographed different North-American cities focusing on themes of a social nature; from that point, photojournalism was just a question of time. In 1939, Naylor had already joined *Associated Press* as the first North-American photographer to take a position at a news agency. Her photos began to circulate in important international magazines, among them: LIFE, TIME and FORTUNE.

Genevieve Naylor arrived in Brazil, in October 1940, as a photographer contracted by the *Office of Inter-American Affairs*, at the height of the New State, a regime of a strongly nationalistic slant marked by strict censorship and by the ideology of valorising ideas of industrialization and modernization (MAUAD, 2008).

Oriented to let herself be guided by these principles, Genevieve Naylor was obliged to follow an agenda of themes, which portrayed the official image of Brazil, for "Americans to see". However, the photographer managed to evade the censorship and the

official protocols, constructing an image of Brazil, which is much more than just the coastline, and the residents of Rio de Janeiro's fashionable south zone. Naylor, together with her companion, the artist Misha Reznikoff, experienced Brazil by diving into the daily life of Rio de Janeiro.

During the wartime to carry out her work, she needed a safe conduct pass signed by the Director General of the Department of Press and Advertising, the DIP, the censoring body, responsible for controlling cultural activities in Brazil. The sluggishness of the bureaucracy meant that the pass required was only issued in 1942, as registered on the document which bears her photograph: "Miss Genevieve Naylor, a North-American national, working for the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, is authorized by this department to take photographs of the tourist aspects of our country. Rio de Janeiro, 7th June, 1942". (Cit. LEVINE, 1998, p. 34)

Taking into consideration that Naylor's photographs in Brazil dated from 1941 and 1942 and that the photographer returned to the United States in August 1942, a major part of her work was carried out without this pass. However, this was not the only difficulty she encountered. In the letters she sent to her sister, she complained of the resistance on the part of the Brazilian and North-American authorities in registering what she wanted, as well as the lack of film because of the war. In one of these letters she noted this scarcity: "Film is being rationed to everyone", she wrote to her sister. "I don't have the luxury of shooting anything I want. I have to be damn careful, and choose my images with great care and hope my exposures are correct" (Cit., LEVINE, 1998, p.35).

As soon as she arrived in Rio, Naylor received clear instructions from the DIP about what she should photograph. The document indicated that the photographer should emphasize particular subjects, including: modern architecture (mainly government buildings); houses in the best neighborhoods, such as Lagoa, Gávea and Ipanema; the interiors of important and elegant houses in the Flamengo district, sunny Sundays on Copacabana and Ipanema beaches; horse racing at the Jockey Club, sailing boats and yachts in Guanabara bay, the exclusive shopping in Rua Ouvidor and the charity work of the First Lady, D. Darcy Vargas<sup>1</sup>

Once in Rio de Janeiro, the couple, Naylor and Reznikoff, went to live in Leme, a neighborhood next to the sea, close to Copacabana, where Naylor registered good images of the daily life on the beach, in a much more intimate climate, of one who, mixing with the local population, ended up losing herself among their own images.

Due to the close contact they established with Rio's intellectuals, the couple came to serve as a bridge for the other "goodwill ambassadors" who visited Brazil. Among these was Orson Welles himself, who, as well as being photographed by Naylor enjoying the carioca nightlife, received useful tips from Misha and Genevieve about where to go in the city of Rio de Janeiro to film his documentary on the carnival. In her correspondence with her sister, Genevieve boasted of her knowledge of 'things' carioca: "Welles knew Avenida Rio Branco and Avenida Beira Mar were the two major carnival parade routes, but he didn't know that in Praça Onze a separate and almost exclusively black carnival was staged" (Cit., LEVINE, 1998, p. 36).

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<sup>1</sup> DIP, Tourism Division, "Subjects which should be photographed in Rio de Janeiro", c. 1941 courtesy of Peter Reznikoff.

From their base in Rio, the couple undertook various trips into the interior of the country and to other Brazilian state capitals including São Paulo, Belo Horizonte, Recife, Maceió, Aracaju and Salvador. On one longer trip, begun in February 1942, they left Rio directly for Belém do Pará, traveling down the north-east and starting a journey via the Rio São Francisco, where they concentrated on photographing the small and anonymous cities of the arid interior. On another opportunity they travelled to the baroque cities of Minas and Pirapora retaking the São Francisco by boat.

During the journey, the couple faced a series of difficulties owing to the interference of the local authorities during the New State. In some places they were charged taxes and in others required safe conduct passes to carry out their photographic work. The photographer had her equipment confiscated on several occasions despite the pass granted by Lourival Fontes, the DIP chief.

The images of Rio and the journeys she took around Brazil composed Naylor's mosaic in movement. A Brazil whose affective cartography reveals a mixture, a polyphony of voices which speak through Naylor's images in an intertextuality which values the power of the image in its multiple dimensions: poetry, publicity, cinema and photography.

The visual poetry of Naylor tuned into the aesthetic references of cultural pluralism, coming from the intellectual and artistic environment of New York in the 1930s. However, it also dialogued with the pedagogy of the vision of the policy implemented by the CIAA.

### A MOSAIC IN MOVEMENT: THE BRAZILIAN PHOTOGRAPHS OF GENEVIEVE NAYLOR

Naylor did not have many technical resources at her disposal: only a Rolleiflex and a Speed Graphic, always using natural light, without fast films. Nevertheless, she could count on something to which she gave great importance: the goodwill of the Brazilians. In one of her letters she mentioned: "What helps is the absolute cooperation of the Brazilians. They are so natural in their demeanor, so giving and warm, that my camera just loves them"<sup>2</sup>

Naylor's travels through Brazil followed the same route as other travellers eager to register new, uncommon and very often bizarre things. Brazil's scenery, since the opening of its doors in 1808 by Dom João VI, had been recorded by sketchers who accompanied the scientific expeditions, and then drawn by the landscape photographers and, later, during the 20th century, by others who sought the "ethnographic summary" of the country, to appropriate Aníbal Machado's expression. Along these trails passed Gotherot, Verger and even Lévi-Strauss, each with their own different interpositions feeding their visions, but each of whom seeking, in their own way, an original synthesis of the country. Genevieve Naylor, also tried to recreate what she had seen: the movement of people through a country in crisis, the affluence of the mass consumption market, the textures of the fashion world, the faces and places with which she composed her photographic language.

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<sup>2</sup> Cit. Levine, op.cit p.36

The camera's presence was a fundamental condition for the construction of the memory, the register or evidence. The nature of the visual production varied according to its objective, but the brand of Naylor's originality was inscribed in her own way of looking, as demonstrated in a letter to her sister: "My first striking visual sight was not the bustling energy of the Copacabana beach or the boulevards and slums, but a solitary young negro girl sitting cross-legged in the centre of a street, intensely focused on constructing a wooden flute. If there ever was a moment to have my camera! Unfortunately, the Brazilian authorities have confiscated my equipment while they scrutinize my background to make sure I'm not some fifth-columnist subversive!"<sup>3</sup>

According to the Brazilian specialist Robert Levine, in his book published in 1998, more than 1350 photographs survive from this time. From this collection, the author published 101 images in the book organized with the collaboration of Peter Reznikoff, Naylor's son. For this article, I united the photographs found in the United States library of congress, the photographs published in Robert Levine's book and some others found in the catalogue of the exhibition, "Faces and Places in Brazil (Rostos e Lugares no Brasil)", held at the Pinacoteca do Estado de São Paulo, in November 1994, curated by Naylor's son, Peter Reznikoff, making a total of 264 photographs which I then analysed (MAUAD, 2008)

The key to reading the photographic message created by the photographer in her Brazilian production is demonstrated in the title of her exhibition at MOMA, in 1943, "Faces and Places in Brazil". The choice to give precedence to the people and places where she traveled means that all other technical and aesthetic options would be thus conditioned. We shall see how the frames of visual meaning are organized in the message composed by the photographic work.

The great majority of the photographs are large (maximum 24x20 cm and minimum 15x16), rectangular, vertical and snapshots. The pattern fitting the type of technical apparatus that the photographer used, a Rolleiflex and a 4x5 Speed Graphic, as well as being in line with the guidelines of spontaneity and movement.

The visualization of the images follow the characteristic standard of illustrated magazines, where the reading is processed from right to left (44%) and on a plane parallel to the ground (50%). However, the incidence of images taken from above to below (25.5%) and from below to above (24.5%), indicates the dialogue between Naylor's photographs and the cinema, principally with the camera angles in Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane*. In various images, faces covered with a sheen of sweat from the heat of the samba, or the bodies tuned to the rhythm of the *frevo* dance, give movement to the events being registered, in spite of them being fixed images.

The distribution of planes is essential in evaluating the relationships between the frame and outside the frame, or even, between the set of possible choices and those effectively realized. In this way, the greater the depth of field, defined by the opening of the diaphragm, the greater the capacity of putting planes in focus, increasing the possibility of adding a significant set of information to the image. In the case of the collection analyzed, the arrangement of the planes was as follows: 30% with a single plane; 46% with two planes; 22% with three planes and 2% with four planes.

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<sup>3</sup> Letter from Genevieve Naylor to Cynthia Gillispie, RJ, n.d., in the care of Peter Reznikoff, cit. Levine. Op.cit. p.36

Firstly, it can be assessed that the photographer opted for a smaller depth of field (76% of the photographs with one or two planes), in spite of the tropical luminosity permitting her to close the diaphragm more to achieve a greater number of planes in focus. Her choice to value the relationship between the people and places predominated, as shown by her choice of the majority of photographs with two planes.

However, in this distribution, in 62% of the photographs the scenery together with people was the central subject, valuing the scene. This tendency is reinforced when we ally the option of planes to those of light, contrast and distribution of the elements in the photograph. In this sense, the incidence of 68% of the photographs (the sum of photographs in 2, 3 or 4 planes), associated with a predominant option by striking contrasts, well defined by straight lines; balance between highlights and shadow, as well as between the bottom half of the frame and the top, seeks to construct a composition where the whole is valued, in harmony with its parts, in the style of a mosaic. It is interesting to see how the photographer manages her technical and aesthetic choices in producing a sense of Brazil. She photographs faces without isolating them from their locations.

There are no photographs of scenery without people and the photographs of people only make up 33% of the total photographs and are generally taken in one plane. This shows that the aim of the photographer was to create a contextualized image: people in their social space. Although she gives emphasis to representations of the body, because of the high number of portraits.

In general terms, in writing on portraits, what really defines the portrait in photography is the sense of individuality and difference that the image expresses. It is not enough to frame a face, or a person, it is necessary to distinguish them from the others, from the multitude, to attribute to them a value, which at the same time differentiates them as a human being and identifies them as a social subject. The difference between showing and revealing, or between making a photograph and taking a photograph, has an influence on the negotiation between photographer and the one photographed, of the value attributed to the pose, involving a confrontation of visions, the construction of a different social relationship which is established between the denouncing-photograph and the authorized portrait.

I chose my approach according to these considerations, in the sense of defining the social geography delineated by Naylor's photographs, emphasizing the role of the photographic portrait in the construction of a social alterity which seeks to dialogue with the human condition of the subjects photographed.

The portrait can be of the face only or of the whole body, the more parts of the body exposed, the greater the possibility of historicizing it. All the attributes related to the body are, however, defined historically through concrete cultural and social practices: style of clothing, hygiene, eating habits, etc. Genevieve Naylor's photographs produced in Brazil translate the dialogue of the photographer with the social agenda of the time, as it orients them in terms of class, race and generations. These considerations are confirmed in the evaluation of the topics related to the spaces of the people, geography and the experiences depicted.

The places photographed reveal the two guidelines which oriented the photographer's work, whether as an employee of the CIAA, or as a sensitive professional committed to the social demands. Around 41% of the photographs are of Rio de Janeiro, with only 15% of this group depicting the suburbs of the city and 3.5% the rural zone of the state. From other states, adhering to the agenda defined by the New State, there is a series of 15 photographs taken at schools in Belo Horizonte, with an aesthetic which is close to the photographs produced by Vargas's Ministry of Education and Health. In them, the children appear doing exercise, formed into rows, studying, eating; a veneration of the formation of the Brazilian citizen.

The remainder of the images show the paths taken by the photographer in her journeys and the signs which she defined as important to configure the particular nature of Brazil. In this set, 12% are photographs of countryside towns without specific identification of the location, 11.5% are of the historical towns of Minas Gerais – Ouro Preto and Congonhas do Campo, during the Holy Week festivities, and 15% are images of towns along the banks of the São Francisco river, in which she sought to show the spontaneity of a precarious daily existence.

The attributes of the scenery are objects which qualify the conditions of life of each space. In this sense, the urban space of the great centers is associated with consumption and the agitated life of the metropolis: billboards, buildings, refuse, posts, pavements, fences, wires, shop windows, awnings, statues, streetcars, cars, trains, etc. The rural zone receives its own attributes, such as: houses with mud walls, canoes, rough vegetation, clothes hung out in the sun, nets, straw utensils, in an economy which reinforces the sense of precariousness and the opposition of the interior and the coast, or even, between urban-industrial Brazil which would have conditions to integrate into the order of civilized nations and agrarian and landowning Brazil, prisoner to its colonial past still to be overcome.

In the space where people are represented, there was a higher incidence of collective space than individual, masculine more than feminine, adult in relation to child. Even so, the significant presence of children, whether accompanied by adults, alone or in groups (34%), points to a growing concern with the condition of children, already seen in the agenda of the Farm Security Administration (FSA) project, and still present today in the social documentation of Sebastião Salgado, for example.

Other data to be taken into consideration includes the question of race. The photographer's interest in the situation of the black population in Brazil is evident, so much so that her photographs were not well received by the authorities based in the city of Rio de Janeiro. "There is much more in Brazil than the jiving of blacks, blacks in the carnival, religious institutions and bric-a-brac", said the principal leader of the Rio de Janeiro committee of the CIAA on refusing to exhibit the photographic work of the North-American<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Memorandum of the Brazilian Division of the CIAA by Francis Alstock, Rio de Janeiro, 11.8.1942, CIAA Archives, National Archives, Washington, cited in MENDONÇA, 1999, p.89



It is interesting to note that, at this time, the racial debate in Brazil tinged its eugenic profile with the valuation of national, popular culture and together with it black culture, principally the carnival. This topic would certainly have entered the conversations Genevieve Naylor had with Brazilian intellectuals. Speaking with Vinícius de Moraes, for example, he might have argued : “Our black population has excellent value and great expression. There is no need to hide them, creating the impression that we have prejudice which doesn’t fit the nature of our American people” (*A Manhã*, 30/4/1942).

People, their faces and bodies, are present in practically all Naylor’s photographs. As their principle is spontaneity, hence the large number of snapshots, the *mise-en-scène* of the pose completely defined by the importance of movement. In 18% of the photographs, people pose for the photographer, in the others she showed them dancing, walking, working, playing instruments, having fun, in processions, exercising, playing football, swimming in the sea; their daily lives.

The construction of this daily life also marks a variety of the thematic agenda, which associated the options of framing mentioned above, allowing the construction of a picture of Brazil, which sought to include as many aspects as possible of its diverse and contradictory nature. From the set of photographs, the subjects vary from portraits of Vargas, in shop Windows and on the walls of popular bars (three photos), to images of daily life in a small town leaning over the river São Francisco (47 photos), passing through the Princesinha do Mar (district of Copacabana) and its many twists and turns, sunrise with the fishermen to sunset with the chic girls in front of Copacabana (19 photos), through exclusive clubs, culminating in the apotheosis of carnival (32 photos). Without forgetting to show work (20 photos) and education (the series produced in a school in Belo Horizonte with 16 photos) as the necessary response to the official demand for images.

The visual protocols defined by the CIAA were supposed to be shared by the representatives making up its group in their travels around ‘the other American Republics’. Soon after returning from his Good Neighbor tour, Walt Disney produced *ALÔ AMIGOS* (1943), a pleasant cartoon, in which he related, in many colors and strong tones, the passage of the cartoonists in their search for the ideal image of Latin America. They sought to find an equivalent, a similarity for each country, to give meaning to this imagined community which they tried to forge from among the Americas. In each country, the alterity was also defined by the aesthetic of the picturesque. Disney’s images followed the pattern of dichotomy which differentiates- Us from the Others.

Comparing the photographs produced by Genevieve Naylor according to this pattern, some similarities can be evidenced, in relation to the guideline imposed, but on the other hand, what is discovered is a set of images which point to a certain porosity of the hegemonic processes. Where there might be the homogeneity of the typical, Naylor brings the diversity which belongs to each place.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> As a result of these research cf. “O Brasil de Genevieve Naylor pelas lentes da Boa Vizinhança” and “Concerned America, photographs from Genevieve Naylor (1941-42) and Sebastião Salgado (1980-96) at <http://www.labhoi.uff.br/videos>.

## THE TRAJECTORY OF THE IMAGES: “FACES AND PLACES IN BRAZIL” AT MOMA-NY AND AROUND US

Genevieve Naylor returned to the United States in August 1942. During January and February 1943, 50 of her photographs of Brazil were shown in the exhibition called: *Faces and Places in Brazil*. The North-American press announced it as complementary to the exhibition *Brazil Builds*, put together with the photographs of Kidder Smith, and both traveled around the United States, in the context of the approximation between the two countries. Naylor participated in setting up the exhibition with 50 photographs that were distributed in seven sections, described in the following way by the curators:

- a) School Children. Various types and races are shown taking their First Communion, marching in Youth organizations, eating free school lunches.
- b) The São Francisco River. This great river is the most important passageway through the deep interior. After the railway ends, river boats are the only means of going north except by airplane, and many places along the river cannot be reached even by plane. Today because of the dangers to ocean transport by submarine, river transportation is more important than ever.

The São Francisco was explored by pioneers in search of pasture; later it carried crops and food to sugar plantations. Even today life along this river is primitive, resembling that of the Nile. Infant mortality is high, yet Brazilians say that survivors become the strongest and brave soldiers of the country.

Fishing boats, which also carry small cargo, serve as dwellings throughout the year. Many of the boats have carved wooden figureheads to frighten away the mermaids who live in the river. River mermaids, it seems, are not of the destructive Lorelei type. Playing beautiful music, they lure fishermen away to eternal bliss on an enchanted island. Another colourful but thoroughly real inhabitant of this region is the Baia cowboy or Vaceiro, probably descended from the early pioneers who went up-river. The Vaceiros are clothed entirely in leather.

- a) Religious Festivals. Some of the photographs in this section show sculpture by Aleijadinho, whose best work is in the town of Congonhas de Campo, Minas Gerais. He lived toward the end of the 18th century and is believed to have suffered from leprosy, working with a hammer strapped to the stump of his arm. Other photographs show religious festivals and the carved and painted wooden figures used in them; Easter processions, mass confirmation of children. In one picture, a priest speaking at an outdoor festival warns against women wearing pants, probably because the photographers, busily taking pictures in and of his audience, was attired in slacks.
- b) Interior Types. The people in this section are not from the deep interior but from nearer the Coast and large cities. Some are shown in a mayor's outer office, the walls of which are ornamented by portraits of past mayors, waiting for hours to achieve the inner office. In other pictures are typical farmers in their best attire, the men invariably wearing hats, and the women in stockings (in the large cities, particularly Rio, men seldom wear hats). Gold miners, Indians and various types are shown, including a train conductor famous for his resplendent moustache.

- c) Rio de Janeiro. The life of a busy city is shown in this section. Boys who are walking delivery vans carry unwrapped goods on their heads or hung over their shoulders. One photograph shows a boy delivering funeral wreaths: the largest spreads wide over his head and hangs down across his shoulders.
- d) Copacabana. This is the famous resort and play beach of Rio where, instead of the North American boardwalk, light and dark stones are laid in alternating strips in a conventionalized wave pattern stretching for miles. Along it Brazilians of all types promenade; the girls in groups of two or three (for no nice girls walks alone); an ice-cream vendor walks past carrying his wares in a small refrigerator on his head; boys in striped sweaters play football; and other typical Brazilians enjoy the beautiful wide beach. The mountains that encircle Rio and in places rise almost sheer from the ocean from a backdrop.
- e) Carnival. This gay section shows the high point of the Brazilian year, the famous Carnival (of Rio) in which the entire nation participates. From the Samba schools situated in the mountains where the very poor live come groups of children who for months have practiced Samba songs for the Carnival, where prizes are awarded. The photographs show Samba musicians in the elaborate silk and satin costumes they have designed for themselves; boys and girls in ordinary street clothes twirling small paper parasols as they dance the Samba; women of all sizes and shapes and colors loaded with ornaments and flowers; and even store windows through which smile wooden manikins carved and painted realistically and dressed in Carnival costumes.

Naylor's exhibition was inaugurated on 27th January, 1943 and continued to the 28th February, when it started on a successful tour to various other locations in the United States. An interesting point is that the critics at the time highlighted aspects in common in the daily lives of Brazilians and the inhabitants of the cities of the United States, placing great value on the documentary aspects of the show, without considering the aesthetic dimension of Naylor's work.

The Museum of Modern Art supplementing its big architectural exhibition, "Brazil Builds", has installed in a narrow corridor gallery on the ground floor a show of about fifty photographs by Genevieve Naylor, entitled "Faces and Places in Brazil".

The camera work is clear, simple, direct and it reveals that Brazil has games and overcrowded trolleys, beautiful girls and puppet shows, festivals and free school lunches and that river vessels play an important part in the life of the interior. There are, furthermore, a number of interesting photographs of façades of buildings along streets conveying more than an impression of Spanish architectural tradition.

Miss Naylor worked in South America for the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs from the Autumn of 1940 until last August.

The exhibition will continue simultaneously with "Brazil builds" until Feb. 28 – not March 7 as previously announced. Both shows will extensively circulate thereafter. (Edward Alden Jewell, New York, *NY Times* 1/27/43)

In this way, the commentaries on Naylor's photographers pointed to the way the images were received by the North-American public, also demonstrating the propaganda content of the images published. From among the 50 images exhibited, the one which was reproduced in various newspapers showed the packed streetcar of São Januário, a Rio de Janeiro suburb, reinforcing the imagined community between Brazilian and North-American cities:

Fares, Please – So you think Pittsburgh street cars and buses are crowded? Here is a street car during the rush hour in Rio, Brazil, another country in which President Roosevelt stopped on his return from Casablanca. The picture is among an exhibit of 50 photographs on Brazil currently in the New York Museum of Modern Art. (*Sun Telegraph*, Pittsburgh, PA, 1/29/1943)

Think you are crowded? If you are one of the people complaining about the overcrowding of street cars and buses, look at this photo of a street car in Rio de Janeiro. Aptly titled: "Rush Hour", it is included in an exhibition of 50 photos by Genevieve Naylor in life and scenes in Brazil at NY MOMA (*Time & News*, 2/3/1943)

Rush Hour: a cozy ride on a streetcar going places in the Brazilian Capital.

Passengers jam-jacked into an open trolley in Rio de Janeiro, where they don't seem to mind crowding as much as our DSR riders do. This picture is one of 50 photographs by Genevieve Naylor on exhibit at the NY MOMA (Hopkinsville, KY, *New Era*, 2/5/1943).

Between 1943 and 1944 Naylor's photographs travelled through the United States: Boston, Rochester, Colorado Springs, and San Francisco and through all of the West Coast, tracing a course where the reception possibilities were oriented by commentaries such as those above. The idea of a line of identification between the two countries is contained in the basis of the doctrine of good neighbours. In spite of the differences shown in the images, both form part of the same western culture and if the North-Americans survived the Great Depression, the Brazilians would also be able to modernize and become a member of the liberal, democratic community.

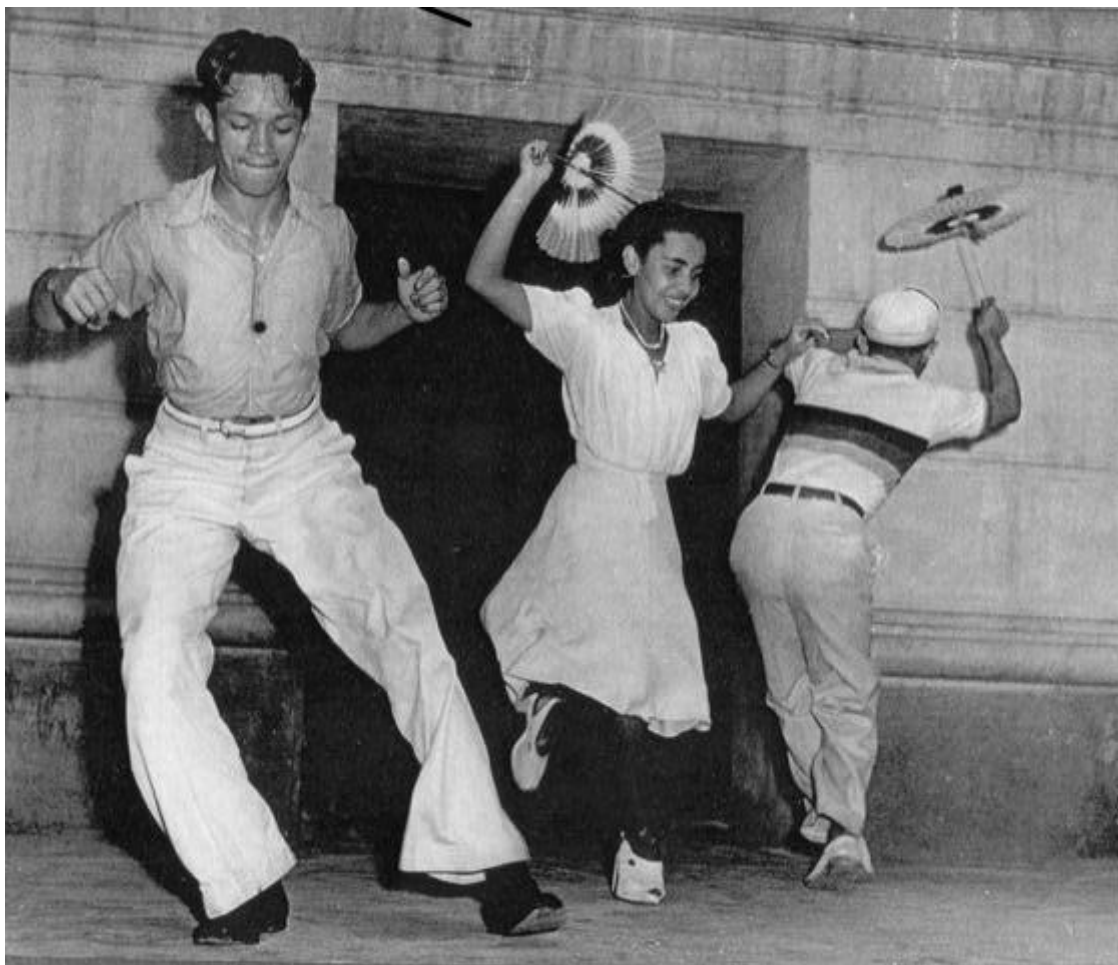
At the same time as Naylor's exhibition was traveling around the United States, the CIAA was drawing up its report on activities in 1943. As the images made their way through the country, in harmony with the guidelines laid down for divulgation of the images of 'the other American republics' as defined by this organ, the report made an in-depth examination of a country whose potential could not pass unnoticed by the United States government. Reading the report, the contradictory presence of the two Brazils presented by Naylor can be seen: the urban growth and the potential of the natural resources in contrast with the outdated and obsolete agrarian structure, allied to the total lack of infrastructure for industrial development.

After her exhibition at MoMA in New York, Naylor's photographs served to illustrate articles on inter-American relations in the period. One of them was published in the 'Sunday Mirror Magazine Section', of the *New York Sunday Mirror*, on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1943, entitled: "The Brotherhood of the Americas". In this report, Naylor's photograph, a view of the promenade along Copacabana Beach, towards the Leme neighbourhood, shows a priest in his cassock walking in the foreground and just behind him a young

woman pushing a pram, the beach curves away in the background with the Leme mountain as the backdrop. The photograph values the scene with its characters, ordinary people walking in Copacabana on an ordinary sunny day.

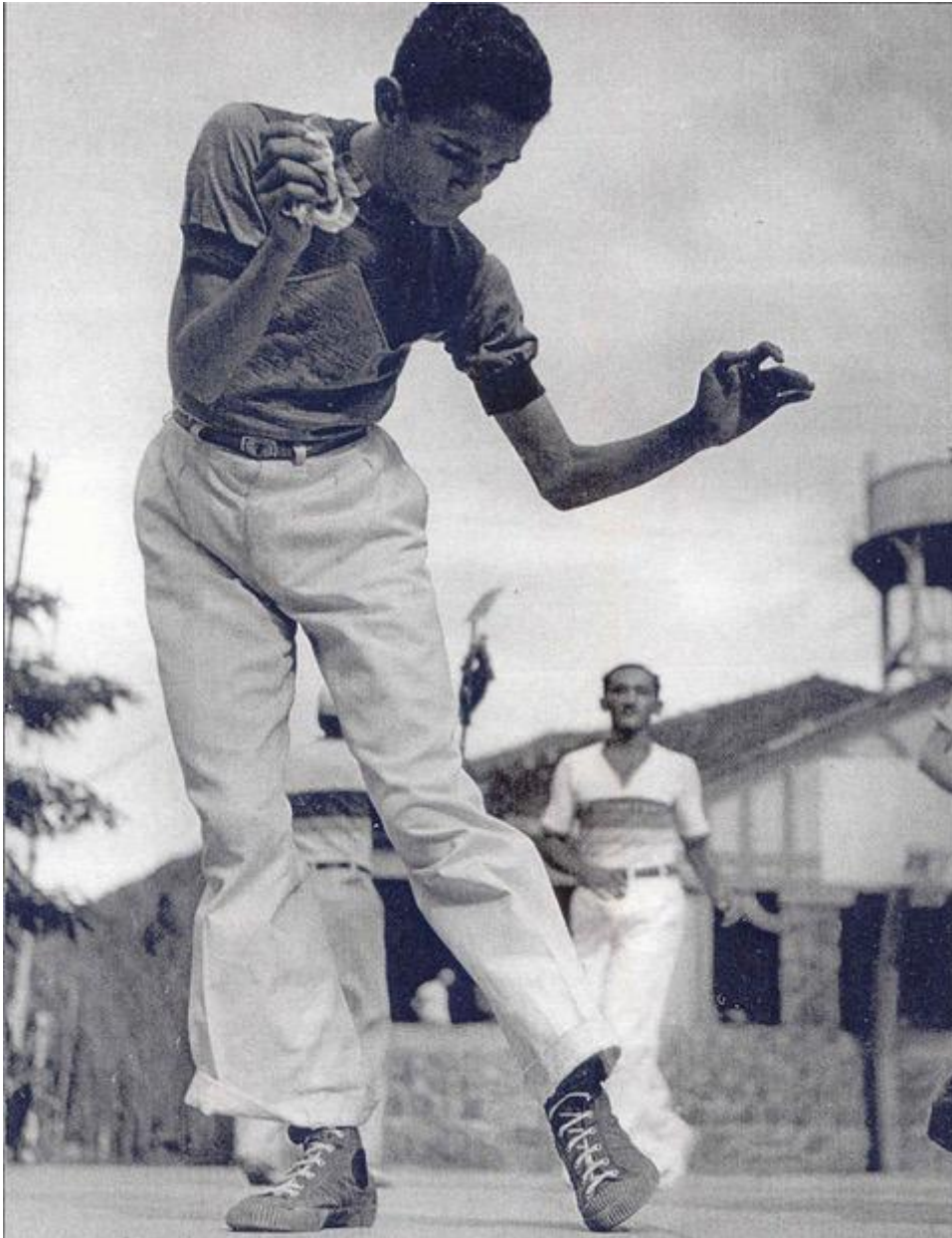
The photograph caption explains the section editor's choice: "On Pan American Day we pay honor to the oldest and most successful of sovereign governments on earth' – from FDR's message, April 14, 1942. That success is reflected in the beauty and dignity of Rio's majestic vista (above). – Photo by Genevieve Naylor, by permission of Museum of Modern Art". At the beginning of the report, signed by Nelson Rockefeller, identified as the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, in brackets, the hemisphere's entry into the second decade of the Good Neighbor Policy is celebrated. This is defined as tangible proof that free and sovereign nations can work together towards the same cause, the protection of the liberty, the dignity and the welfare of their people, promoting peace with justice and decency. Rockefeller's words gained substance through the photograph chosen: The choices of light, definition of light and shadow, focus and the distribution of the elements in the photograph, give importance to the whole of the scene, permitting a clear and direct reading of the image. At the same time, the options for the vertical and the direction of the lines of composition from right to left, suggest stability and balance giving value to the scene as a whole. These ideas are reinforced by the figures representing religion and the family, bastions of decency. The different uses of Naylor's photographs reveal the polyphonic capacity of the photographic image, as well as the strict relationship between image and the media in which it is being shown, in the definition of the meaning attributed to the images.

In spite of having worked all her life as a photographer, it was only in the 1990s, thanks to the efforts of her son, that the Brazilian images of Genevieve Naylor, who had died in 1989, aged 74, gained proper recognition, giving us access to a more sensitive, complex and sophisticated eye on the political environment of good will. Naylor was capable of seeing beyond the stereotypes and pasteurized images of her time.



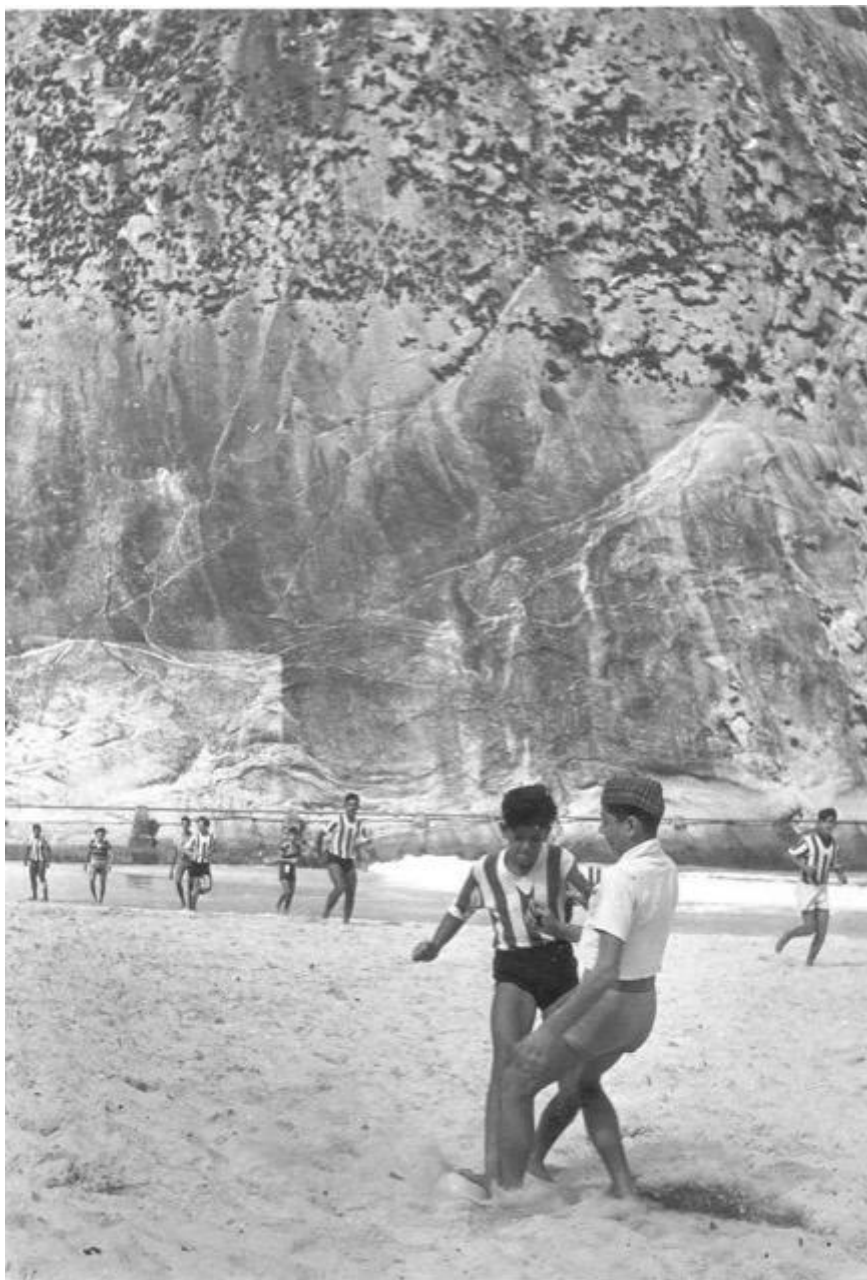
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Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, 1942  
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Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, 1942  
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Congonhas do Campo, Minas Gerais, 1942

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Rio de Janeiro, 1941

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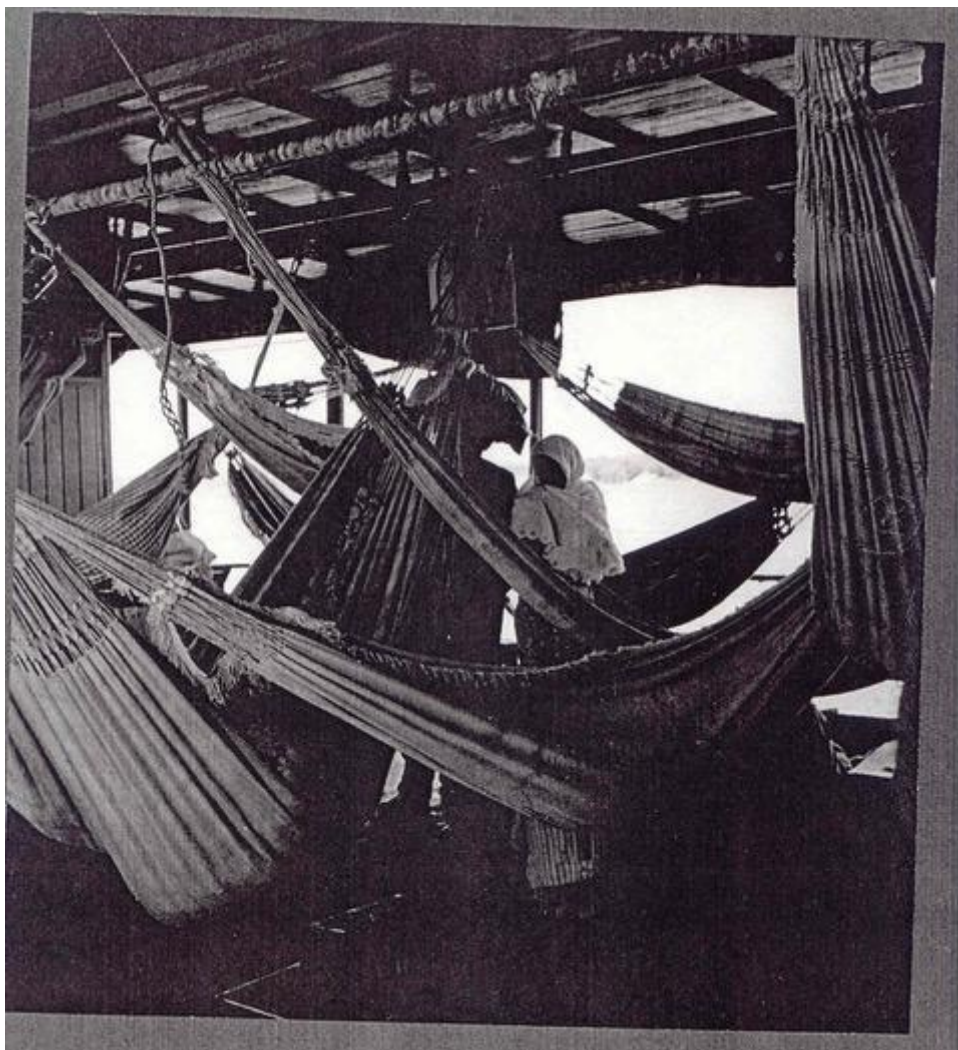
Rio de Janeiro, 1941  
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Rio São Francisco, 1942

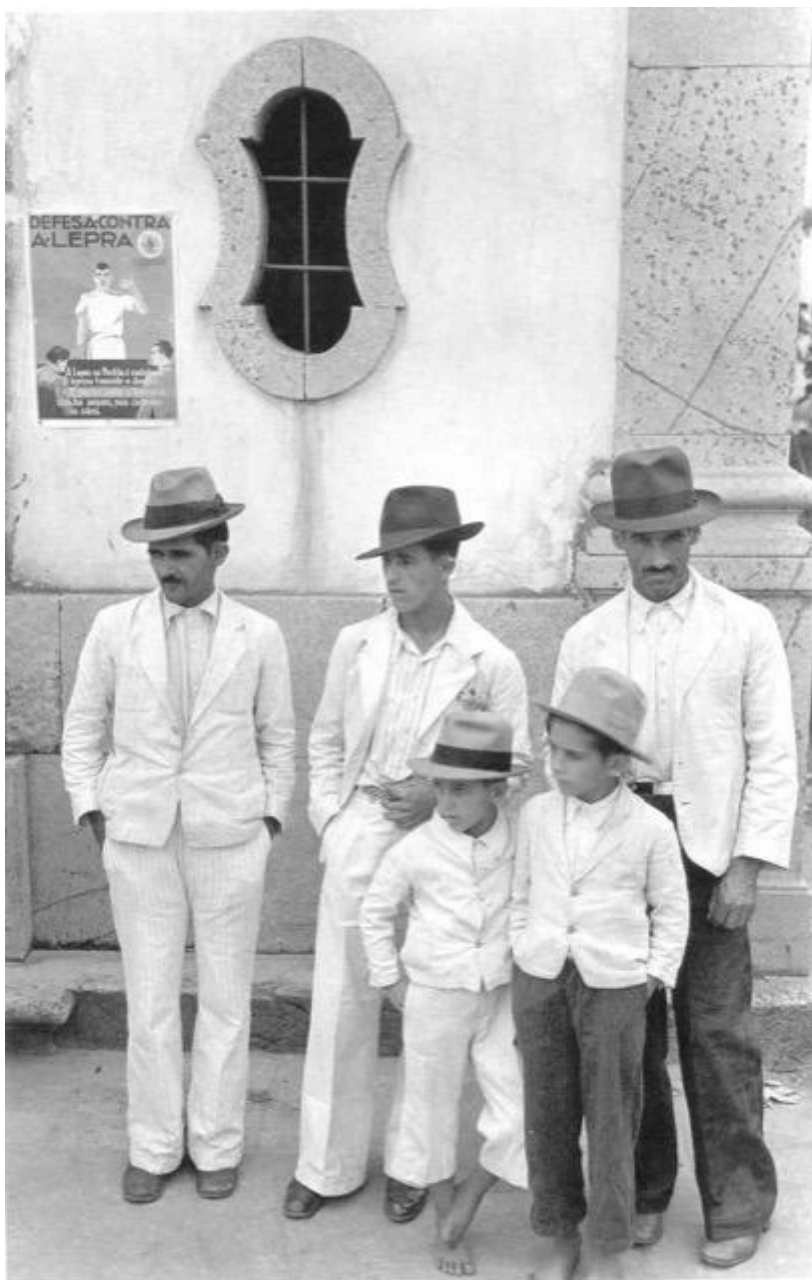
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Rio São Francisco, 1942

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Minas Gerais, 1942

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**Título:** *Genevieve Naylor, uma fotógrafa da boa vizinhança no Brasil (1941-42)*

**Resumo:** *O artigo analisa historicamente as fotografias produzidas por Genevieve Naylor, fotógrafa estadunidense, comissionada pelo Departamento de Estado dos Estados Unidos, durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial, em sua viagem pelo Brasil como a fotógrafa da Boa Vizinhança. Nesse sentido, considera-se os elementos da forma da expressão e do conteúdo da mensagem fotográfica, enfatizando-se três aspectos das estratégias de cultura visual: primeiramente, a forma como os sujeitos são fotografados, compreendendo as representações do corpo, como suportes de relações sociais; em segundo lugar, como os lugares por onde Naylor passou foram figurados para criar uma geografia sensível que visava superar os protocolos oficiais e mostrar um Brasil múltiplo; seguida de uma avaliação de como as imagens foram divulgadas através de exposições pelos Estados Unidos.*

**Palavras-chave:** *Fotografia. Política da Boa Vizinhança. Cultura visual. Segunda Guerra Mundial.*



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