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COME, LET US CHANGE CHIEFS

The Conspiracy Behind the Post Office Murals Controversy

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ROCKWELL KENT'S long public life was marked by controversy, starting with his exile from Newfoundland as a supposed German spy in 1915, through his fight for a passport in the 1950s, and culminating in his being awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1969. Kent loved a good fight and would go out of his way to find one, or pick one. At first blush, the 1937 controversy over the Post Office murals would appear to be the same as the others. But this one involved Kent's art, not just his politics. Yes, politics were involved, but here he used his art as the means to an end.

The Commission

The Post Office Mural controversy began innocuously enough. In 1934, construction of a new headquarters for the U.S. Post Office Department was completed. The Department of the Treasury, at that time in charge of public buildings, had created a Section of Paintings and Sculpture (later Section of Fine Arts) in their Procurement Division. The purpose of the Section was to beautify federal public buildings. For the Post Office headquarters, ten artists, some well known and others obscure, were solicited to provide art of "romantic subject matter in the history of the post."¹

In August 1935, Rockwell Kent was commissioned to paint two murals depicting mail service in the Arctic and tropical territories of the United States. They would be installed on gently curved panels measuring 13' 6" long by 7' high in an oval elevator lobby on the second floor of the seven-story building.² Contract price, \$3,000 (about \$50,000 today). He was allowed ninety days to deliver preliminary sketches and 240 days to complete the murals,³ but would constantly ask for extensions, arguing that he needed more time to do the best work possible or was delayed by the press of other commitments.⁴

Early on, Kent decided that he should go to Alaska to see sledge-dog mail carriers at work. Through Vihjalmur Stefansson,⁵ the well-known Arctic explorer who was then employed by Pan American Airways, Kent was able to hitch a ride on a Pan Am clipper airplane.⁶ He had made weather observations for the airline during his final trip to Greenland and, with some justification, believed Pan Am owed him a favor. In an October 25, 1935, letter to Stefansson he wrote:

I have to thank you for a very pleasant and, in view of my

object, very successful trip. I flew through to Nome and spent practically all of my time there, for Nome, as you know, is what still remains of dog-sledge mail carriers. The decoration that I have in mind doing will show, as Mr. Van Dusen⁷ suggested, the transfer of mail from a plane to a dog sledge. The plane can, of course, be no other than one of the beautiful silver Electras that Pan-American Airways are now using.

There was no snow at Nome when I was there, but I got a dog driver to harness up a large team. The dogs had been chained for months, and as soon as the sledge was released they tore away over the tundra entirely out of control of the driver, finally winding up in a snarl against a half-buried piece of machinery. I got every kind of information as to details and equipment and if, when I finish my picture, there is a single rivet in the dog harness out of place, it won't be my fault.⁸

In a letter to Stefansson in July 1936, Kent enclosed photocopies of his studies:

I must ask you not to judge the picture as a literal representation of a scene at any particular mail port in Alaska, at most it merely shows a possible scene; that is, the plane having landed on such an elevated field as Tin City, Cape Prince of Wales, is shown leaving simultaneously with a dog team to which the mail for another settlement has been transferred.

The Puerto Rican mural was more problematic, and Kent went on to request another favor from Pan Am:

The Porto Rican scene,⁹ as I represent it, must have some features in common with the Alaskan one. It must have mountains and a glimpse of the sea. I want to show the local mail carrier on horseback, for I understand that to be the means of Porto Rican rural delivery, or at least to have been until quite recently. I should also like to show a Pan American airship.

I have been trying hard to fake the Porto Rican scene, but with so little success that there seems to be nothing left for me but a trip to Porto Rico... Believe me, I feel driven to beg for it, as it were, at the very last minute.¹⁰



Kent's 1935 commission to paint two murals for the U.S. Post Office headquarters in Washington, D.C., followed the success of his *Cape Cinema Mural* five years earlier. His studies for *Mail Service in the Arctic* document the prolonged process of arriving at the final design (*bottom*). The initial sketch (*top*) presented a distant landscape typical of his Alaska and Greenland paintings, with an airplane taking off in the middle ground. The plane was a tribute to Pan American Airways, which had flown Kent to Nome, Alaska, for research. In the foreground, Eskimos hand off a stamped envelope. Failing to meet the approval of the Commission of Fine Arts, Kent reworked the design at a larger scale (*center*)

Pan Am agreed and flew Kent to the island later that month. He stayed for a week, and the seeds of controversy—and conspiracy—were then planted.

Kent submitted his preliminary sketches shortly after his return from Puerto Rico. However, on September 11, during an interview with Edward Rowan, Superintendent, Section of Paintings and Sculpture, he indicated his own dissatisfaction with his work, claiming they had been rushed to completion. Rowan, speaking for the Section, agreed.¹¹

For eight months, Kent worked fitfully on redesigning the murals, all the time being politely, but insistently, badgered by the Section to send them something, anything.¹² He delivered the new designs in May 1937, and the Section's response to them was decidedly lukewarm. A handwritten internal memorandum, from Ned (probably Edward Bruce, the "consulting expert" on the project) to Ed (probably Edward Rowan) is scathing: "I don't think they are even 10th rate Rockwell Kent's. They will certainly have to be redesigned. The dog team shows more promise. After living 20 years in the Tropics I can testify that the design has no relation to the Tropics. I think the Tropical one is completely hopeless & ought to be gone all over again."¹³ In his May 12 letter to Kent, Rowan wrote:

While we find much to interest us in these new designs and think that by increasing the scale of the figures the sketches have achieved more of what is customarily regarded as a mural quality, we feel that a sense of space and the interest of your landscape painting has been lost in this new approach. Nonetheless, we believe that in the final analysis, you are the one to determine from which approach to tackle your mural problem.¹⁴

Kent responded, explaining that he had "abandoned all attempt at realism in the background," concluding: "To me, they [the revisions] are right, and if your committee will permit me to carry out the work in accordance with these last sketches, I shall feel very happy doing

the murals, and confident they will look swell when they get on your walls."¹⁵

Kent's studies of the Puerto Rico mural demonstrate the difference. In the first two, the paramount element is the plane; in the final color sketch (shown on the cover), it is the mailman on his horse. Finally, on May 27, the revised designs were approved "gladly" by the Commission of Fine Arts.¹⁶ Kent completed the two canvases in late August and shipped them to Washington for their installation during the first week of September.

The Conspiracy

While painting the Puerto Rico mural, Kent wrote a three-page letter to someone named Edith. Only the third page postscript of the undated, typewritten letter survives:

Please, Edith, do me the great favor of getting the following translation into Eskimo for me. I want it in good Eskimo, consequently it cannot be a literal translation. The Eskimo idiom will be different. Please rush the translation to me and send it with a literal translation into English. Here is the text: "To the people of Puerto Rico, greetings! On with the revolution that will bring us equality and freedom." (signed) RK

Below are handwritten additions to the page in two different hands, neither of which is Kent's.

*Puerto-Ricomiuman ilaptienum!
Ke ha chimmeulakut angayocascut,
Amna kitchimmi attunim chuli waptictun itticleoraatigut.¹⁷*

People of Puerto Rico, our friends! Come, let us change chiefs. Only that can make us equal and free.

I consulted Father La Fortune¹⁸ regarding this translation. He obtained from an Eskimo this English translation. The Eskimo has no written language. They receive their knowledge of the language only by mouth. Hence the language of the Nome Eskimo differs from the St. Laurence and etc. They cannot understand all words spoken in different tribes and locations. Drawn pictures are used in many instances. Father La Fortune has spent a great deal of his time on King Island. He claims that many Eskimo words resemble the Latin. If I can assist you any further will be very happy



Two studies for *Mail Service in the Tropics*. In Kent's final study for the mural (shown on the cover) a letter carrier on horseback dominates the composition. This would seem to be the most significant change, but an added detail – the letter just received from Alaska – will make the mural newsworthy.



to do so. Sincerely Edith¹⁹

And who was Edith? In a letter to Kent from Edith Weaver of Nome, Alaska, dated Sept. 15, 1937, she wrote to Kent, "Your letter of August 26th arrived a few days ago. We were very happy to hear from you. I am glad that the native translation arrived at the needed time."²⁰

The trouble began with these dozen words, in an allegedly obscure dialect of Alaskan Eskimo, which Kent added to an opened letter painted on the Puerto Rican panel. Fairly innocuous words, or so one might think. Kent would later write about the inscription, its translation and the ensuing controversy in the leftist magazine *New Masses*,²¹ in his memoir *This is My Own*²² and in his autobiography *It's Me O Lord*.²³ Nowhere, however, did he reveal the conspiracy behind it, a more involved tale than has been told before.²⁴ In fact, those sentences were crafted, placed and heavily publicized to create a controversy in support of Puerto Rican independence.

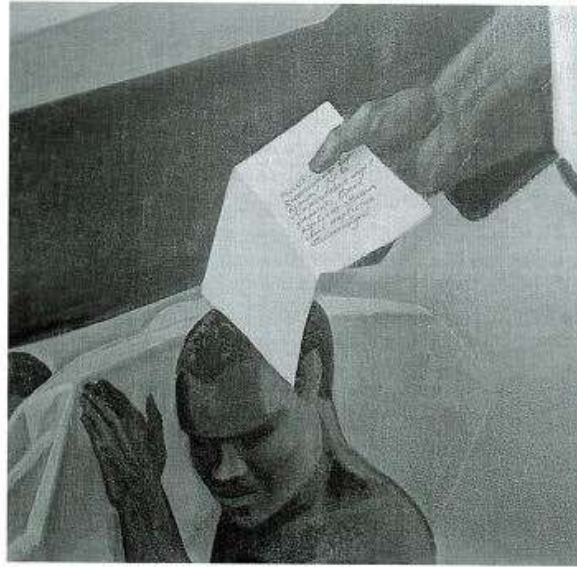
Based on my analysis of the evidence, Kent was encouraged and assisted by four like-minded individuals, the major players—Earl Parker Hanson, Ruby A. Black, A. Washington



Pezet and the aforementioned Vilhjalmar Stefansson—with his wife Frances playing an important role. While not criminal, the group went out of their way to conceal the fact that they were working together. Knowing Kent's penchant for pranks, the conspiracy could be viewed as a huge practical joke at the literal expense of the Government, but one with a serious effect.

Earl Hanson²⁵ was a planning consultant to the Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration, a New Deal agency concerned with stabilizing the island's economy. Prompted by Stefansson, Hanson had served as Kent's host when he visited the island to photograph the people and terrain for the mural. Hanson was a strong advocate for Puerto Rico's independence, and Kent undoubtedly got an earful about that cause and the recent Albizu Campos trial²⁶ during the visit. By letter, Hanson introduced Ruby Black to Kent as "the unofficial mother, in Washington, of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement."²⁷ She was a well-known Washington reporter. A good friend of Eleanor Roosevelt, she ran her own small news syndicate affiliated with United Press International (UPI). Washington Pezet, the son of a former Peruvian ambassador to the United States, worked for the American Artist Group, which produced and sold prints and cards featuring Kent's art. All four were politically of the left.

At the time the murals were installed and the stories began circulating, Kent was said to be "away from home and out of touch."²⁸ Accordingly, his wife Frances would communicate his orders to the other parties and lead the press by the nose, so to speak. Kent could then claim that he was not involved in planting the translation.



The two murals are identical in size and similar in scale and content. The airplane dominating the background of both serves as a unifying element. In *Mail Service to the Tropics*, Kent strengthened the connection between the two panels with a letter received from Alaska. No inscription appeared on the page as painted in the approved color sketch (shown on the cover).

The Controversy

Hanson, apparently unaware of the inscription or the status of the murals, wrote to Kent on Aug. 31 that he was in New York City, staying at the Explorers Club.²⁹ With the long Labor Day weekend coming up, he was thinking of driving up to Asgaard for a visit.³⁰ Kent, who was to travel to Washington for the installation of the murals on Saturday, Sept. 4,³¹ immediately replied, "I am arriving in New York Thursday morning [Sept. 2]. How about dinner with me Thursday night..."³² Hanson would later confide, "...Rockwell told me about the letter in Eskimo and what it said. Being a friend of PR I begged him to let me spill the story."³³

On Sept. 3, Pezet wrote to Kent: "I am getting in touch with Stefansson today and feel quite sure that he will be glad to cooperate in our little publicity stunt. So let me know just as soon as possible the exact date of the unveiling."³⁴ To which Kent responded on Sept. 7: "The decorations are installed in Washington and publicity on them is due any time now. People who came into the corridor while the pictures were being mounted were immediately attracted to the letter and made their speculations as to what the language was and what it said."³⁵

Pezet wrote Stefansson that same day:

While in New York last week I tried several times to reach you by telephone to ask you if you would be willing to cooperate in a publicity stunt for Rockwell Kent.

Here is the idea: He has painted some murals for the



Ruby A. Black

new Post Office Building in Washington, D.C. There are two panels which depict the delivery of mail to the Arctic and Tropics. The tropics scene shows a group of women in Puerto Rico, one of whom has opened a letter which the others are clamoring to see. She holds it away from them but towards the spectator. Every word that is written is clearly visible. But to the vast majority who will see it, it will be meaningless—for it is written in a strange language.

Some one will discover that the letter is written in Eskimo. A clever reporter prompted by one Pezet will appeal to Stefansson, an authority on the Eskimo language, and he will translate it somewhat as follows: "To the people of Puerto Rico, our friends! Go ahead, let us change our chiefs; that only will make us equal and free."

As Kent expresses it, "the Eskimo having heard of the nationalist movement in Puerto Rico send greetings and best wishes to the nationalists."

I think a good story can be pulled off, don't you? Let me know if you are with us, and I shall take the necessary steps to engineer the coup. Kent is now on his way to Washington with the murals. The unveiling takes place within two weeks.³⁶

Once the murals were in place, things began happening quickly. Kent, or rather Frances, received two telegrams dated six minutes apart on Sept. 9. The first, from Earl Hanson, reads, "Story breaking urge you send Stef immediately photostat copy translation Puerto Rican letter." The second, from UPI, requests Kent to urgently provide a translation of his letter since, "nobody at Washington able decipher it."³⁷

A page of notes in Kent's hand indicates how closely he was tracking the controversy from Asgaard:

United Press, New York (Collect) Rockwell absent from home words undoubtedly Eskimo myself unable to translate suggest get Stefansson

Earl Hanson Explorers Club Mailed original and translation to Stef yesterday—Undoubtedly already received

Stef—Mailed you an Eskimo text and translation yesterday United Press will approach you translate text. Don't reveal having received communication from me.³⁸

Kent also wrote Ruby Black on Sept. 9 to give her the translation, as well as the original incendiary phrase he had asked Edith Weaver to translate, "To the people of Puerto Rico, greetings! On with the revolution that will bring us all equality and freedom." He ended the letter with "Please do not mention me as having furnished this information."³⁹



Vihjalmur Stefansson

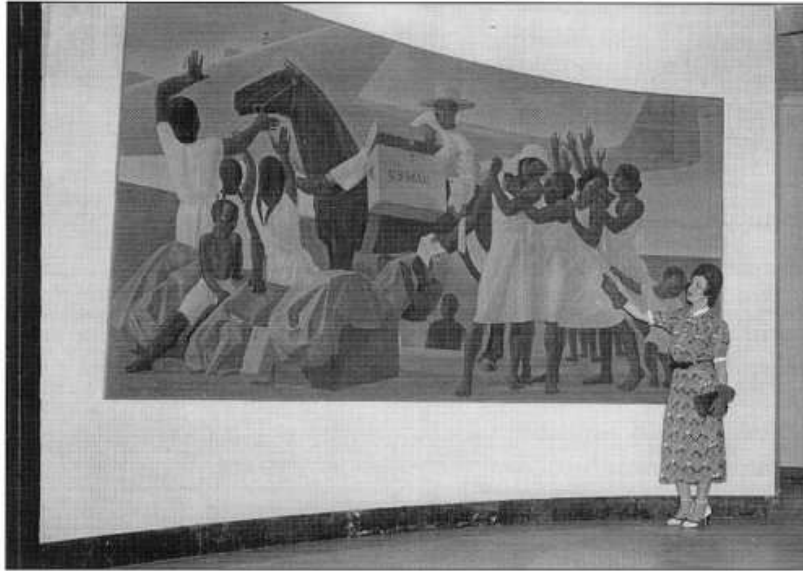
Ruby Black wrote Hanson that same day to discuss her travails in various offices and with various "experts" attempting to have the note translated. Her rather humorous article for UPI was later quoted extensively by Kent in both *This Is My Own* and *It's Me O Lord*, without attribution, though he did identify her as the reporter who broke the story in the latter.⁴⁰ What is also important in this letter is that Stefansson told her he couldn't read the phrase, but would see Washington Pezet who, according to Stefansson, knew the dialects. Here we can see the conspiracy at work, as Stefansson first received the translation from Pezet, not Kent.⁴¹

Ruby Black interviewed Stefansson on Sept. 10. Stefansson, stating he had contacted "northern friends," finally provided the official translation as well as his interpretation: "Perhaps instead of the word 'chiefs' you might use some such word as 'guides.' The Eskimos never had chiefs. They had no government other than public opinion. They did those things that their neighbors approved." He also emphasized that, in his opinion, the Eskimos were not fomenting violence, since such action was foreign to their ideas.⁴²

The Section of Paintings & Sculpture finally roused itself on Sept. 10. In a one-sentence letter, Forbes Watson, wrote Kent: "Dear Rockwell: Will you please send me a translation of the lettering in the Puerto Rican panel at your earliest convenience?"⁴³

Finally, there is an undated letter from Hanson to Black:

If they press you [Black] too hard on who tipped you off on the mural story, it is all right with me if you tell them. The fact is that Rockwell told me about the letter in Eskimo and what it said. Being a friend of PR I begged him to let me spill the story. He was reluctant, finally let me, but asked me not to write you what the letter said. When I found you were having trouble getting a translation, with me very anxious to have the full story come out, and not to die still born, I gave you another tip, to go to my friend Stef. After all, he is an old friend of mine, and knows more about Eskimo than any other man in this country. Why not he? When I mentioned it to Stef, he told me that Kent had told him nothing about the matter.⁴⁴



The newly installed mural *Mail Service to the Tropics*, September 1937.

On Sept. 11, articles about the dispute appeared in the *New York Times*⁴⁵ and *Washington Post*.⁴⁶ The *Times* article begins: "Rockwell Kent, often called America's fightingest artist, refused to get excited over the possibility of his becoming an American Diego Rivera.... But if anyone should attempt to delete the message of his murals, he is prepared to fight."

What is interesting about the *Times* quote is found in a letter from Earl Hanson to Kent. He informs Kent that "UP offices all over the country report that that story has made the front page in local papers." Hanson then tells Kent to feel free to tell the press that Hanson was the original source of the story, continuing, "Ruby wanted me, if possible, to wire her this AM the name of some red-baiter in Washington, who may demand that the letter be painted out. I know of nobody. If you have any idea, send it right away to me, or direct to Ruby."⁴⁷

Black also wrote Kent on Sept. 11:

Results, besides some attention to Puerto Rican independence in the Press: the press relations men at the Post Office Department tell me they will cut my throat the next time they see me, because I made them work so hard; the Treasury press relations men and those at the Interior department insidiously suggest that I made up the translation myself, and that they are sharpening their knives, too; the United Press is tickled silly over the nation-wide front-page-appearance of the story; my colleagues here say enviously, 'Well, you got the only story produced in Washington since Congress adjourned.' In response to the universal curiosity as to how I got onto it, I say that the words 'Puerto Rico' always attract my attention, and that when I found them in this mysterious writing, I simply had to know what the writing meant.

She closed the letter, "I wish to thank you for all your cooperation and for your letter of September 9—particularly your cooperation in being unreachable until Mr. Stefansson and his northern friends had furnished the translation."⁴⁸

The Conclusion

With the conspiracy having attained its primary goal of publicizing the provocative words, the first of this story's three parts concludes. Kent, Black and Hanson would continue to interact for the duration of the conflict. None of the principal parties ever revealed the existence of the plot—or "coup," as they called it—and certainly not Kent. In *It's Me O Lord*, he details Ruby Black's involvement as the reporter breaking the story and gives all the credit to Stefansson for the translation.⁴⁹ Kent's correspondence with Edith

Weaver ended in November, without a word of reference to the controversy that followed the translation she had supplied.

Kent's plot was successful to a point, but for the effort involved, its ultimate impact was small to negligible. In the end he got the attention he craved, and Black and Hanson received a lot of publicity for the cause of Puerto Rican independence. And the murals? They remain on display in what is now the William Jefferson Clinton Federal Building.

NOTES

In 1993, I began gathering records from the National Archives and Records Administration of the Treasury Department for this article. The story of Kent's Post Office murals would continue into 1938, and this is the first in a proposed series of three articles. I am very grateful for the help of Bob Rightmire, Richard West and my wife, Joanne.

Items from the Rockwell Kent Collection in the Archives of American Art of the Smithsonian Institution are cited as RKP.

1. Karal Ann Marling, *Wall-to-Wall America*, Minneapolis, Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1982.

2. RKP, "General Description of Post Office Department Building," undated, reel 5224, frame 189.

3. RKP, Rockwell Kent to Olin Dows, 29 Aug. 1934, reel 5223, frame 1468.

4. Record Group 121, Entry 133, National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the Public Buildings Service, Case Files Concerning Embellishment of Federal Buildings, 1934-1943. See for example Rockwell Kent to Olin Dows, Chief, Treasury Relief Art Project, 29 August 1935; Dows to Kent, 6 Sept. 1935.

5. Kent's friendship with Stefansson began in 1933 with his offer of meteorological information that would benefit Pan Am's developing a

trans-Greenland air route.

6. RKP, Vilhjalmur Stefansson to Kent, 29 Aug. 1935, reel 5237, frame 946.

7. William Van Dusen was public relations director for Pan Am.

8. RKP, Kent to Stefansson, 25 Oct. 1935, reel 5237, frame 952.

9. Kent's spelling of Puerto Rico as *Porto Rico* is not a misspelling. Before 1932, this was the Americanized version of the name. (Shauna L. Lawrence, "Rockwell Kent: American Artist and New Deal Reformer, 1907-1943," Master's thesis, University of Maryland Baltimore County, 1995, p. 45.)

10. RKP, Kent to Stefansson, 6 July 1936, reel 5237, frame 965.

11. Record Group 121/133, Edward Rowan, Superintendent, Section of Paintings and Sculpture, to Kent, 12 Sept. 1936.

12. Record Group 121/133, Rowan to Kent, 6 Aug. 1936 and 27 April 1937. On Oct. 1, 1936, Kent wrote Rowan asking for another extension, admitting he was not yet satisfied with the sketches he had done and stating that he had traveled to Alaska and Puerto Rico "largely at my own expense." In fact, Pan Am had flown him to both locations, where he was a guest in private homes.

13. Record Group 121/133, Ned to Ed, no subject, undated (possibly 13 or 14 May 1937).

14. RKP, Rowan to Kent, 12 May 1937, reel 5223, frame 1549.

15. RKP, Kent to Rowan, 15 May 1937, reel 5223, frame 1550.

16. RKP, Charles Moore to Kent, 15 May 1937, reel 5223, frame 1554.

17. Transcribed from a close-up photo of the inscription.

18. Father La Fortune was a Canadian Jesuit, who arrived in Nome in 1904 to evangelize the Eskimos along the Behring coast. (Rev. Joseph Bernard, S.J., "The North Pole Parish," *Catholic Missions, A Magazine Devoted to Home & Foreign Missions*, Vol. 2, No. 5, Sept. 1908, p. 134.)

19. RKP, Kent to Edith Weaver, undated, reel 5224, frames 174-5.

20. RKP, Weaver to Kent, 15 Sept. 1937, reel 5245, frames 247-48.

I was at a loss to identify "Edith" when just by luck my wife and I had lunch in Seattle with my friend the distinguished Kent scholar Richard West and his wife. In discussing this article, we began talking about Kent's trip to Nome for research and how it was there that Kent learned of the Eskimo artist George Ahgupuk, whom he later mentored. After a search through the Kent Papers, where there is no file for George Ahgupuk alone, I found it: "Weaver, Edith and George Ahgupuk."

21. Rockwell Kent, "The Artist Tells the Whole Story," *New Masses*, Nov. 16, 1937, pp. 6-11.

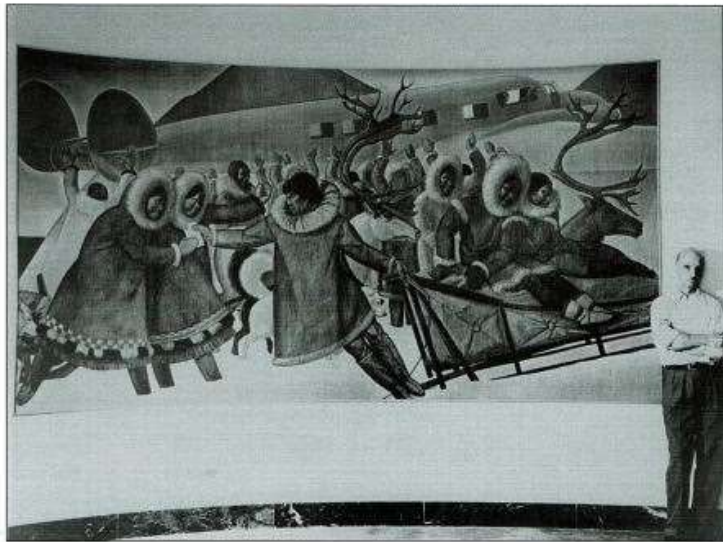
22. Rockwell Kent, *This Is My Own*, New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1940, pp. 303-312.

23. Rockwell Kent, *It's Me O Lord*, New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1955, pp. 501-508.

24. Several writers have discussed the controversy: Shauna L. Lawrence (see note 9); David Traxel (*An American Saga: The Life and Time of Rockwell Kent*, New York, Harper & Row, 1980, pp. 182, 233); and Maurine H. Beasley (*Ruby A. Black: Eleanor Roosevelt, Puerto Rico, and Political Journalism in Washington*, Lanham, Maryland, Lexington Books, 2017, pp. 155-156). However, none of these writings offers a full account.

25. Earl Parker Hanson was an engineer, an acknowledged expert on both the Arctic and the tropics, and author of numerous books and articles on Puerto Rico. He authored *Stefansson: Prophet of the North*, published in 1941.

26. Albizu Campos was the Harvard-educated president of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party. In 1936 he had been charged with attempting to overthrow the Government of the United States, unfairly tried, convicted



Rockwell Kent and the newly installed mural *Mail Service to the Arctic*, September 1937.

and sentenced to eleven years in a Federal prison.

27. RKP, Hanson to Kent, Friday, reel 5224, frame 176.

28. RKP, Kent to Forbes Watson, 14 Sept. 1937, reel 5224, frame 55.

29. The Explorers Club was founded in New York City in 1904 as a gathering place for men active in exploration. Hanson had served as executive secretary in 1931; Stefansson was the current club president. Kent had only recently become a member.

30. RKP, Hanson to Kent, 31 Aug. 1937, reel 5188, frame 1064.

31. Kent, *It's Me O Lord*, p. 501.

32. RKP, Kent to Hanson, 31 Aug. 1937, reel 5188, frame 1065.

33. RKP, Hanson to Black, Friday, reel 5224, frame 183.

34. RKP, Washington Pezet to Kent, 3 Sept. 1937, reel 5154, frame 786.

35. RKP, Kent to Pezet, 7 Sept. 1937, reel 5154, frame 787.

36. From the photocopied letter in the author's collection.

37. RKP, Western Union telegrams, 9 Sept. 1937, reel 5224, frame 30.

38. RKP, undated, reel 5224, frame 181.

39. RKP, Kent to Ruby Black, 9 Sept. 1937, reel 5224, frame 38.

40. RKP, Ruby A. Black, untitled draft of news story, 9 Sept. 1937, reel 5224, frames 31-35.

41. RKP, Ruby Black to Hanson, 9 Sept. 1937, reel 5224, frame 36.

42. RKP, Ruby A. Black, untitled draft of news story, 10 Sept. 1937, reel 5224, frames 39-42. See also RKP, Kent to Stefansson, 14 Sept. 1937, reel 5237, frame 974.

43. Record Group 121/133, Forbes Watson to Kent, 10 Sept. 1937.

44. RKP, Hanson to Black, Friday, reel 5224, frame 183.

45. "Revolt Seen In Kent's Murals," *New York Times*, 11 Sept. 1937, p. 19.

46. "Kent's Murals Preach Liberty to Puerto Rico," *Washington Post* 11 Sept. 1937, p. 3.

47. RKP, Hanson to Kent, Saturday, reel 5188, frame 1067.

48. RKP, Black to Kent, 11 Sept. 1937, reel 5224, frame 44.

49. Kent, *It's Me O Lord*, p. 505.

