

**Urban Renewal North and South:
The Case of São Paulo and New York During and After WWII**

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Research Report

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When Nelson Rockefeller arrived at the São Paulo airport on June 18, 1969, as the head of Richard Nixon's Presidential Mission to Latin America, he delivered a statement that must have thrilled his *paulistano* hosts – especially those who looked to New York as a model city.¹ In addition to calling São Paulo Latin America's most modern industrial center and the world's fastest growing city, among other superlatives associated with the city at the time, Rockefeller went on to say that the usual comparisons between São Paulo and Chicago were now “out-of-date.” For Rockefeller, the more accurate parallel was between São Paulo and his own New York. Though unusual, the fact that Nelson Rockefeller emphasized the similarities between São Paulo and New York should come as no surprise given that he, and a group of influential politicians, engineers, city planners, architects, and museum directors from both New York and São Paulo, had been working in concert to improve US–Brazil relations and bring the two cities closer together since the early 1940s.

My dissertation explores the efforts to transform São Paulo into a modern and cultured city in the years following World War II through a transnational investigation of urban planning,² architecture, and cultural production. This research report will focus on the urban planning

portion of my project. I will briefly analyze a set of documents from the Rockefeller Archive Center and the New York Public Library pertaining to two urban renewal projects. First, the Program of Public Improvements for São Paulo which Robert Moses directed in 1950 under the auspices of IBEC, an American company owned by Nelson Rockefeller that had been active in São Paulo since 1947. Second, I will explore one of New York's lesser known—and only partially realized—urban renewal projects of the postwar period: the revitalization and renaming of the Avenue of the Americas. By approaching these urban renewal projects from a transnational perspective, my research seeks to illustrate how the modern and cultured city promoted by a group of *paulistanos* was inspired by and created in dialogue with individuals and institutions involved in New York's own rise to prominence. Also important to my research is to explore how transformations underway in São Paulo shaped developments in New York. By focusing on the networks of exchange between São Paulo and New York, and taking seriously the multidirectional flows of influence, my project seeks to illustrate how North-South elites worked together to create a shared (though not identical) vision of the modern and cultured city in the postwar period, a city characterized by uneven development and spatial segregation.

I. The Program of Public Improvement for São Paulo

When Robert Moses visited São Paulo for the first time in October 1949 he was impressed with what he saw. “Talk about Dallas and Houston,” Moses wrote, “São Paulo has them licked when it comes to energy and effort.” “It may be,” he added, “that the frontiers have moved to South America.”³ Such was his admiration that Moses would come to refer to São Paulo as one of the world's great industrial cities and, more importantly, New York's greatest rival.⁴ Moses also believed that all the energy and effort he witnessed in São Paulo needed to be controlled and channeled to ensure the city's “orderly progress into the future.”⁵

When Moses came to São Paulo in late 1949 he was under contract to conduct a study on the reclaimed lands adjacent to the Pinheiros River Canal located on what was then the northwestern edge of the city. According to Moses, when completed, the dredging and straightening of the Pinheiros River would yield upwards of 16 miles of reclaimed lands, or a total of 20 thousand acres of prime real estate that was ripe for development. In his study, Moses noted that the area was large enough to be divided into three districts or zones—Industrial, recreational, and residential. He envisioned a large industrial center similar to the one built in Jaragua outside São Paulo, a system of parks, playgrounds, a Jockey Club (one of the few structures that existed in the area at the time) as well as sports clubs and associations of workers and civil servants.⁶ As for the residential zone, documents at the Rockefeller Archive Center suggest that *Companhia City*, São Paulo’s leading real estate developer, was keen on purchasing large swaths of the reclaimed lands. For IBEC, that the company responsible for some of São Paulo’s most well-to-do neighborhoods was anxious to invest and develop the area was a sign of success.⁷ The involvement of *Companhia City* was also a sign that the area was being groomed for upscale housing designed to attract São Paulo’s wealthiest residents.

However, Moses’ most significant and controversial recommendation was a legal one. The central issue around the reclaimed lands was ownership. According to an existing contract between the city of São Paulo and *Light & Power*, the company responsible for dredging and straightening the Pinheiros River, the majority of the reclaimed lands were designated as public property. For Moses this represented a serious problem. As he put it, state ownership of these lands would “damage the orderly growth of the city by inviting unwholesome land speculation and haphazard real estate subdivision in no way integrated in other urban change, and would in the long run subject the company [*Light & Power*] to legitimate criticism and loss of public support.”⁸ For Moses, the only possible solution was to for *Light & Power* to break its

agreement with the city of São Paulo and negotiate a new one in which the company (not the state) would enjoy majority control over the reclaimed Lands. Needless to say, *Light & Power* stood to make a significant profit from such a deal especially considering that *Companhia City* was a potential buyer.

That Moses sided with a private real estate developer and not São Paulo's municipal government should not be a surprise. After all, it was *Light & Power*, the Canadian Company which had dominated the energy and transportation sectors in São Paulo since 1900, that hired IBEC and Robert Moses to conduct the study in the first place. What is surprising is that soon after Moses submitted his study on the reclamation of the lands adjacent to the Pinheiros Canal to *Light & Power*, he was approached by Lineu Prestes, then Prefect of São Paulo, to produce a general plan for the city of São Paulo. It wasn't long before Moses put together a team of ten experts—all U.S. citizens who had in one way or another contributed to the planning and execution of numerous private and public works in the New York area—and began working on the "Program of Public Improvement for São Paulo."

Published in November of 1950, the "Program of Public Improvement for São Paulo" is in many ways a continuation and an expansion of the study Moses had conducted for *Light & Power* earlier that year. A close analysis of the Program reveals four distinct, yet interrelated features of Moses' idea of urban renewal: 1) technology, or the need to update the city's old and outmoded infrastructure, including transportation; 2) the need for regulations, restrictions and other forms of government controls—especially zoning—to halt uncontrolled growth; 3) decentralization; and 4) the need to foster a new way of life, particularly in relation to leisure time. A firm believer in the promise of New York style urban renewal, Moses noted that it would enable São Paulo to overcome what he called the "improper" or "inadequate" solutions

São Paulo-based planners had come up with and, more importantly, to ensure São Paulo's transition from an "unruly," "outmoded," and "unsanitary" city into a "modern" metropolis.⁹

Technological advancement was part and parcel with the idea of urban renewal. For Moses, technology offered solutions to the many difficult challenges facing São Paulo, especially in the areas of mass transportation. According to Moses, this was a problem that needed to be "attacked vigorously and promptly" with the purchase of 500 brand-new "extra-large modern buses" made in the United States.¹⁰ As Moses pointed out, these new buses were intended to replace the "old and obsolete trolleys."¹¹ Technology also played a crucial role in Moses' conception of planning and mapping. For Moses, the most "conspicuous and basic neglect in São Paulo is that of an official City Map on which all streets and other public improvements, present and future, are recorded by formal action of the authorities."¹² Without this "photogrammetric air map," Moses argued that all planning in São Paulo—whether it was highway construction, street patterns, building heights, drainage, sewage system or zoning regulations—was "handicapped."¹³ Moses also noted that such a map would enable the city to grow according to a plan and not, as he put it, "in the present uncoordinated way." Moses' enthusiasm for aerial maps was based on his impression that they were not only more modern, but also more accurate than traditional ground surveys. Writing at the height of the modernist period, it is not surprising that Moses believed that order and progress could be achieved through planning, so long as city planners acted rationally and deployed the right technology.

Zoning and other forms of government control were central to Moses' brand of urban renewal. In fact, his vision of the modern city was largely dependent on "proper" zoning laws.¹⁴ In addition to setting standards for building heights, setbacks, and street widths, "modern" or "proper" zoning laws also promoted the separation of the city's functions into three unique zones: industrial, commercial and residential. For Moses, "outmoded" or "inadequate" zoning

regulations, including the zoning laws he found in São Paulo at the time (namely the Código de obras Arthur Saboya), failed to properly isolate these three functions.¹⁵ The result was intermixture or, as Moses put it, “the conglomeration of uses of property with residence next to factory and towering apartments besides one family dwellings.”¹⁶ Moses also claimed that tight zoning and clear building restrictions—both of which had to be enforced with “the reasonable application of government power”—would prevent the spread of favelas, or slums.¹⁷

In addition to technology and zoning, Moses believed decentralization was central to the modern city. Decentralization took on a few different forms in Moses’ “Program” for São Paulo. It included a recommendation for an “arterial system” of roads going from the center to the outskirts of the city, a “ring or a belt” around the city to make up for the lack of interconnections among outlying districts, and the construction of several major expressways going into and out of the city.¹⁸ Moses also believed that the beaches in Santos (about 1 hour away from São Paulo) could become an attractive destination for those *Paulitanos* eager to get away from the city in much the same way that Jones Beach (created during Robert Moses’ administration as President of the Long Island State Park Commission) was a destination for many New Yorkers during the summer.¹⁹ However, the centerpiece in Moses’ efforts to decentralize São Paulo was none other than the 16 mile long reclaimed lands around the Pinheiros River Valley. For Moses, the development of the new lands around the Pinheiros Valley represented a break from the city’s historic pattern of development which focused primarily in and around the downtown area. Not surprisingly, this section of the Program taken directly from Moses’ previous study for *Light & Power*—including the controversial recommendation to grant a private company the rights to develop and exploit land that was essentially public. The fact that Moses incorporated his study for *Light & Power* into the Program for São Paulo highlights a deep tension in Moses’ idea of urban renewal, one which we will see again in the next section regarding the renaming and

revitalization of the Avenue of the Americas. That is, a tension between public improvements and private interest.

Moses' call for decentralization, zoning, and the transfer of technology not only signaled a different kind of relationship with the built environment but a new, more disciplined way of life. This call for a more disciplined life style was evident in Moses' attitude toward leisure time. According to Moses, parks in São Paulo were inadequate for an industrial city because, as he pointed out, the city had historically treated them only as a means to beautify the urban landscape. This approach to parks clashed with what Moses believed were their "primary function"—to promote physical health. Moses urged that, in addition to picnic tables, São Paulo's parks provide jungle gyms, slides, swings, swimming pools as well as spaces for basketball, handball, and football. In short, Moses encouraged *paulistanos* to transition from a passive or contemplative understanding of leisure to one that valued exercise and discipline.

Finally, it is important to note that in addition to offering São Paulo's municipal authorities a particular vision of the modern, industrial city—parts of which were actually implemented—Robert Moses and Nelson Rockefeller became important brokers or "go-betweens" for Brazilian politicians, city planners, wealthy industrialists and prominent business owners who were seeking to gain greater access in Washington and enhance their contacts with New York's business and cultural elites. So much so that throughout the 1950s, nearly every major São Paulo politician (or their representatives) traveled to New York to meet Robert Moses—including conservatives such as Armando Arruda Pereira and Lucas Nogueira Garcez as well as the more populist Janio Quadros.²⁰ *Paulistanos* placed so much value in their relationship with Moses that in 1954 he was made an honorary citizen of the city of São Paulo by Mayor Janio Quadros, who later became President of Brazil. As we shall see in the next section, Moses' contacts with *paulistanos* (and Brazilians more generally) as well as his growing interest in São Paulo and in

cultivating US - Latin American relations more generally would have an impact on one of New York's urban renewal projects.

II. Avenue of the Americas

Efforts to revitalize Sixth Avenue in Manhattan did not begin in the post-World War II period. Documents at the Rockefeller Archive Center indicate that the Sixth Avenue Association, an organization lead by Col. Clement Jenkins which represented the interests of "men of importance in the business and financial world," had been actively involved in the "progress" of the Avenue since the 1920s.²¹ One of the Association's most notable victories occurred in this early phase. Deemed "unnecessary" and "progress-retarding," the Sixth Avenue Association headed a campaign that would eventually lead to the removal of the Sixth Avenue Elevated Railroad in 1936—five years before the Sixth Avenue subway line was completed. The Sixth Avenue Association was also involved in other efforts to "enhance the beauty of the area," including the movement to block the establishment of a night club on the corner of 53rd Street.²² It is reasonable to assume that the elevated, night clubs, bars and other potentially rowdy places clashed with the Association's plan to transform the Avenue into a reputable commercial zone. As the main property holder on the Avenue, the Rockefeller Family was deeply invested in the revitalization of the area. There are numerous letters at the Rockefeller Archive Center between Jenkins and leading representatives of the Rockefeller Center—including John D. Rockefeller Jr.—who admired Jenkins vision for the Avenue and provided generous amounts of money and social capital to the Association's many initiatives.²³

The second phase of the revitalization of Sixth Avenue began in the 1940s and lasted through the 1960s, if not later. With the consolidation of the Good Neighbor Policy, the U.S.'s growing involvement in World War II and, finally, the Cold War, efforts to revamp the Avenue

took on a distinctly ideological turn—one which sought to associate the “progress” and “beautification” of the Avenue with the idea of Pan-Americanism. The urban renewal plan elaborated by the Association between 1941 and 1950 is indicative of this turn, both symbolically and materially. In addition to changing the name from Sixth Avenue to “Avenue of the Americas,” the Association’s “revolutionary plan” called for the destruction of several “outmoded buildings” on both sides of the Avenue which were considered “ugly” and “unfit” for life in 1940s New York. The project also called for the construction of twenty-one brand-new modern buildings—one for each American republic.²⁴ According to the Association’s plan, these so-called “buildings of the twenty-one American democracies” were intended to house their country’s representatives, consular activities, and the offices associated with commerce and international trade.²⁵ Additionally, these structures would provide exhibition space for consumer products of each country (mostly arts and crafts) and travel agencies. The project also envisioned a large public space across from the Rockefeller Center called “Plaza of the Americas” as well as hotel towers, Chambers of Commerce, department stores, museums, and theaters interspersed among the buildings of the American democracies.²⁶

The Association’s plan to revitalize the Avenue of the Americas is celebrated in several documents at the Rockefeller Archive. Two in particular come to mind. One is a six-page advertisement co-sponsored with USG Corporation, the famous construction company, published on the pages of Architectural Forum Magazine in late 1941. The ad centers around a study by Edward Durell Stone, an architect associated with the Rockefeller Center project who is considered one of the early proponents of modern architecture in the U.S. The study includes several sketches, including a wintery scene of a fully revitalized Avenue of the Americas complete with tree-lined streets, broad sidewalks, elegantly-dressed people strolling about and, of course, the buildings of the American democracies—one of which is flying the Brazilian flag!²⁷

The second is a document from 1942 titled “Preamble to the certificate of incorporation, Avenue of the Americas Association Inc.” which clearly states the dual goal of the Association’s urban renewal project. That is, to enhance the profitability of the Avenue and use this particular urban space to promote closer and better relations between the nations of the Western Hemisphere.²⁸ Or, as Jenkins’ put it, to make the Avenue of the Americas “as famous as Fifth Avenue” and transform it into “a permanent symbol of the unity of all the Americas.”²⁹

It was largely as a result of this particular plan that Jenkins, and the aptly renamed Avenue of the Americas Association, gained two new and very powerful allies. The first was Nelson Rockefeller, who, as head of the Office of Inter-American Affairs and later IBEC was involved in his own efforts to improve commercial and cultural relations in the Americas. In fact, it was Nelson Rockefeller who chose the name “Avenue of the Americas.”³⁰ The second person who joined the efforts of the Association to revamp the Avenue was none other than Robert Moses. It is important to note that Moses’ actions on behalf of the Avenue of the Americas Association coincided with his many trips to São Paulo and growing involvement in U.S. – Latin American relations.

Despite their many efforts, the Association’s “revolutionary plan” to revitalize the Avenue of the Americas remained largely on paper. Having said that, important features of this urban renewal project were indeed realized. For one, Jenkins and the Association succeeded in removing yet another “undesirable type of business activity” from the Avenue. This time it was a number of employment agencies located on the Avenue between 23rd and 49th Streets.³¹ Presumably, these agencies—and working class job seekers who relied on them—compromised the image of the Avenue as a reputable commercial area and posed a threat to local property values. The Association also managed to get Fiorello LaGuardia, then mayor of New York, to endorse and officially change the name Sixth Avenue to Avenue of the Americas in 1945. The occasion

was marked with a dedication ceremony at Bryant Park which brought together business leaders, high level city officials, representatives from Washington and, of course, members of the Latin American diplomatic community.³² Nelson Rockefeller, who was identified in the local press as one of the main backers of the event, referred to the name change as “an event of historic importance” and added that the decision by the city council “symbolizes the friendship which the people of the United States feel for their neighbors of the Southern Republics.”³³

However, not everyone saw it that way. Many New Yorkers vehemently opposed the renaming of the Avenue and did everything they could to reverse the decision of the City Council. There were several newspaper articles condemning the name change and a petition organized by a group of local business owners who opposed the Association’s vision for the Avenue.³⁴ But the main critics of the Association’s “revolutionary plan” to revitalize and transform the Avenue into an upscale commercial area and a symbol of inter-American solidarity were Councilmen Stanley Isaacs and Joseph Starkey, who, from 1946 to 1952, introduced several bills urging their colleagues to reinstitute the name Sixth Avenue. Their lobby was so effective that by the late 1940s the majority of the City Council favored the restoration of the name Sixth Avenue, putting the future of the Association’s plan for the Avenue of the Americas in jeopardy.³⁵

In response to such threats the Association mounted an aggressive counter attack by enlisting the support of some of the most influential political figures of the day, including L.S. Rowe (Director of the Pan American Union); Adolf Berle (former Ambassador to Brazil); Spruille Braden (Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs); Dean Acheson (Secretary of State); and even Harry Truman (President of the United States)—all of whom promised to write letters endorsing the Association’s vision for the Avenue.³⁶ But of all the prominent individuals who supported the Association’s efforts to revitalize and rename the

Avenue of the Americas, none played a more crucial role than Nelson Rockefeller and Robert Moses. Though mostly from behind-the-scenes, Nelson Rockefeller's contributions were decisive and far reaching. For example, he (along with his father and the Rockefeller Center) made numerous donations to the Association, sought to convince local business—including Macy's—to support the Association's plan for the Avenue, and helped to orchestrate a spirited publicity campaign intended to silence those who opposed the name Avenue of the Americas. One particularly interesting feature of this publicity campaign was the compilation of a list of streets and plazas in Latin American countries named to honor cities and prominent citizens of the United States. With a street named for President Cleveland, an avenue for Thomas Edison, and an entire district named Brooklyn, São Paulo featured prominently on this list.³⁷ As for Robert Moses, his contributions, though more targeted, were no less influential. He did much of the behind-the-scenes political wrangling that finally convinced members of the City Council to drop the bill intended to reinstate the name Sixth Avenue.³⁸

There is another important way in which Robert Moses contributed to the Association's plan to transform the Avenue of the Americas into a symbol of inter-American solidarity, by bringing to the Avenue full-size statues of the heroes of Latin America's independence. The first two statues to be placed on the Avenue were of Simon Bolivar and Jose de San Martin, the former on the northeastern corner of Avenue of the Americas and Central Park South and the latter at the northwest corner. These equestrian statues were dedicated to the city of New York in a joint ceremony in 1951. The third statue to be placed along the Avenue of the Americas was that of Jose Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva, the "Patriarch of Brazilian Independence." Unlike the previous two statues, Andrada's was located in Bryant Park, at the corner of Avenue of the Americas and 42nd Street.³⁹ Andrada's statue was officially unveiled in 1955. Robert Moses presided over both unveiling ceremonies.

According to documents at the Rockefeller Archive Center, Moses did a lot more than just preside over these ceremonies. He communicated directly (and often) with representatives from Venezuela, Argentina, and Brazil, and managed to convince these governments to cover most—if not all—of the costs associated with bringing these three statues to New York. When the money was insufficient, he dipped into his own funds as Parks Commissioner to cover the outstanding balance. He was personally involved in determining the exact location for the statues, a decision that had its share of opponents, including Oren Root who was then candidate for Manhattan Borough President. Additionally, he shepherded this initiative through several levels of city government—including the Art Committee—and persuaded mayors William O'Dwyer, Vincent Impellitteri, and Robert Wagner to endorse the statues. Moses also hired the noted architectural firm of Clarke & Rapuano to do the landscape design for these three monuments. In the case of Andrada's statue, Moses' interest and support was indispensable. According to Berent Friele, Nelson Rockefeller's long time business associate, it was Moses who singlehandedly secured a place for the statue on the northwest corner of Bryant Park. Recognizing his crucial role in bringing the Andrada statue to New York, the Brazilian government awarded Robert Moses one of its most distinguished decorations in 1952, the Order of the Southern Cross.⁴⁰

Finally, between 1951 and 1953, the Association's revitalization project for the Avenue of the Americas would go through yet another drastic and even more ambitious evolution. In addition to widening the sidewalks, the project now envisioned the creation of an "arcaded sidewalk" along the Avenue of the Americas. Inspired by Rue de Rivoli in Paris, the Association claimed that such an arcade—extending from 42nd to 59th Streets—was the best way to turn the Avenue into a "really distinctive city thoroughfare."⁴¹ For Moses, who saw this project as "an outgrowth of the recent authorization of the statues and the final determination of the name Avenue of the Americas," the benefits of arcading the Avenue were potentially enormous. "This

method,” he wrote to Nelson Rockefeller, “will produce an entirely new and attractive avenue, entirely apart from the traffic relief, because the facades and indeed the entire architectural treatment of many presently rundown and obsolete structures will inevitably be changed, business will improve and values rise.”⁴² The arcade also promised to “eliminate the gaudy and inappropriate advertising sign, awnings, sidewalk displays.”⁴³ As for William Zeckendorf, one of New York’s most famous real estate developers, the arcade project was a “sorely needed urban redevelopment which might save the city from catastrophe.”⁴⁴

Given that the second phase of the revitalization of the Avenue of the Americas lasted several decades, it is understandable that during that time the Association sponsored several projects—some purely symbolic while others had a more clear material character, or both. Yet, no matter the project—be it the twenty-one buildings of American democracies, the renaming of the Avenue, the statues of Latin American Independence heroes, or the arcade—the vision of the Association for the Avenue remained constant throughout the years. That is, to upgrade the local infrastructure, bring new (and more sophisticated) businesses to the area, and transform the Avenue into a more attractive and pleasant place for middle and upper class shoppers to make the area more profitable for capital investment, on the one hand, and make the Avenue of the Americas the political, commercial, and cultural capital of the Western Hemisphere, on the other. Put another way, in the years during and after World War II the Association’s goal was to transform this central thoroughfare into “*the avenue* of the world’s greatest city.”⁴⁵ Though it is clear that private investors stood to gain from the Association’s many plans to revitalize the Avenue, John D. Rockefeller Jr. insisted on commending the Association for their “splendid public service,” once again highlighting the tension between private interest and public improvements.⁴⁶

As noted above, several prominent individuals endorsed the Association's vision for the Avenue, and none did more to advance that vision than Nelson Rockefeller and Robert Moses. My research thus far suggests that Rockefeller and Moses' interest and support of the Association's renewal project for the Avenue and their growing commitments and involvement in Latin America, especially São Paulo, not only overlapped in time but, more importantly, helped shape one another. It is reasonable to assume that had it not been for Rockefeller and Moses' experiences in São Paulo (and Latin America more generally), they would not have been as partial to the Association's vision for the Avenue. Put another way, without Rockefeller and Moses, the few parts of the Association's plan that were realized—including the renaming of the Avenue and the placement of the statues of Latin America's independence heroes—may not have happened at all. Rather than treating developments in São Paulo and in New York as separate and unrelated, my research suggests that a transnational investigation of IBEC's Program for São Paulo and the Association's revitalization project for the Avenue of the Americas illustrates how North-South elites worked together to create a shared (though not identical) vision of the modern city in the postwar period - a vision of the city that tended to privilege private interests over public improvements.

¹ São Paulo Arrival Statement dated June 18, 1969. Folder 1407, Box 172, RG 4, NAR Personal Documents, Washington D.C. Files, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

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³ Letter from Robert Moses to Archibald Roosevelt, 13 December 1949, Robert Moses Papers, Box 36, New York Public Library, Manuscript and Archives Division.

⁴ Letter from Robert Moses to Neal T. Childs., 28 April 1950, Robert Moses Papers, Box 36, New York Public Library, Manuscript and Archives Division.

⁵ Robert Moses, *Programa de Melhoramentos Públicos para a Cidade de São Paulo / Program of Public Improvements* (International Basic Economy Corporation, IBEC Technical Services Corporation, New York City, November, 1950); and Letter from Robert Moses to Archibald Roosevelt. Robert Moses Papers, 13 December 1949, Box 36, New York Public Library, Manuscript and Archives Division.

⁶ Memorandum by Robert Moses titled "On the reclamation and Development of the lands adjacent to the Pinheiros Canal in São Paulo, Brazil, and Related Matters," January 24, 1950. Folder 40, Box 5, RG 4, NAR Personal Documents, IBEC Technical Services Corp. 1947 - 1953, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

⁷ Letter from Theodoro Quartim Barbosa to Nelson Rockefeller, June 8, 1950. Folder 6, Box 1, RG 4, NAR Personal Documents, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

⁸ Memorandum by Robert Moses titled "On the reclamation and Development of the lands adjacent to the Pinheiros Canal in São Paulo, Brazil, and Related Matters," January 24, 1950. Folder 40, Box 5, RG 4, NAR Personal Documents, IBEC Technical Services Corp. 1947 - 1953, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.

⁹ Robert Moses, *Programa de Melhoramentos Públicos para a Cidade de São Paulo / Program of Public Improvements* (International Basic Economy Corporation, IBEC Technical Services Corporation, New York City, November, 1950); pg. 12

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 12 & 27.

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- ¹² Ibid., 11.
- ¹³ Ibid., 20.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., 9.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., 23.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., 23.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., 33.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., 12.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., 59.
- ²⁰ There are several letters indicating as much at the New York Public library.
- ²¹ Letter from Col. Clement Jenkins to John D. Rockefeller Jr., February 20, 1941. Folder 1005, Box 112, RG III2E, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Cultural Interests, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ²² Letter from illegible to Charles O. Heydt, March 3, 1930. Folder 1005, Box 112, RG III2E, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Cultural Interests, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ²³ Letter from Col. Clement Jenkins to John D. Rockefeller Jr., April 8, 1947. Folder 1005, Box 112, RG III2E, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Cultural Interests, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ²⁴ Architectural Forum Magazine (N. 75, August 1941). Folder 1005, Box 112, RG III2E, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Cultural Interests, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Letter from Col. Clement Jenkins to John D. Rockefeller Jr., March 24, 1942. Folder 1005, Box 112, RG III2E, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Cultural Interests, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ²⁹ Memorandum Avenue of the Americas Association Inc., September. 26, 1945. Folder 1005, Box 112, RG III2E, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Cultural Interests, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ³⁰ Letter from John D. Rockefeller Jr. to Col. Clement Jenkin, February 18, 1941. Folder 130, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ³¹ Letter from Col. Clement Jenkins to Nelson Rockefeller, March 12, 1942. Folder 1005, Box 112, RG III2E, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Cultural Interests, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ³² "New York Creates the 'avenue of the Americas' to promote the ideas of Panamericanism," by Benjamin Morales P., September 28, 1945. Folder 130, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Memo from BPJ, October 11, 1945. Folder 1005, Box 112, RG III2E, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Cultural Interests, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC. "Avenue of the Americas Phooey" newspaper clipping from October 8, 1948. Folder 130, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ³⁵ Letter from Grover Whalen to Nelson Rockefeller, December 16, 1947. Folder 131, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC; and Letter from Theodore Streibert to Nelson Rockefeller, February 9, 1948. Folder 131, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ³⁶ Letter from Col. Clement Jenkins to Nelson Rockefeller, January, 1946. Folder 131, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ³⁷ Letter from Theodore Streibert to Nelson Rockefeller, February 9, 1948. Folder 131, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ³⁸ Letter from Robert Moses to Councilman Stanley Isaacs, October 6, 1952. Folder 130, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC; Letter from James Carson to Robert Moses, October 15, 1952. Folder 130, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ³⁹ The Andrada monument was moved to its current location along Avenue of the Americas as part of the general renovation of Bryant Park completed in 1992. The original base was modified to accommodate its placement within the park's perimeter wall.
- ⁴⁰ Letter from Berent Friele to Nelson Rockefeller, April 18, 1952. Folder 51, Box 4, Berent Friele Papers, RG 17AJ, Rockefeller Family and Associates, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ⁴¹ Preliminary Report on Arcading Avenue of the Americas, by Harvey Corbett, December. 6, 1951. Folder 130, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ⁴² Letter from Robert Moses to Nelson Rockefeller, September 8, 1951. Folder 130, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ⁴³ Preliminary Report on Arcading Avenue of the Americas, by Harvey Corbett, December. 6, 1951. Folder 130, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ⁴⁴ Letter from William Zeckendorf to Nelson Rockefeller, October. 29, 1951. Folder 130, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ⁴⁵ Program of the Avenue of the America Association Inc., July 1, 1948. Folder 131, Box 14, RG III4L, Nelson A. Rockefeller Personal Projects, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.
- ⁴⁶ Letter from John D. Rockefeller Jr. to Col. Clement Jenkins, March 31, 1942. Folder 1005, Box 112, RG III2E, Office of the Messrs Rockefeller, Cultural Interests, Rockefeller Family Archives, RAC.