

Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies
Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies
Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies
Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies
Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies
Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies
Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies
Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies



085-04/2023EN

ISSN 2688-2949 (online)
ISSN 2688-2965 (print)

1

Salvador Dalí in the United States

Carmen García de la Rasilla (Coord.)
University of New Hampshire

How to cite this work:

García de la Rasilla, C. (Coord.) (2023). Salvador Dalí in the United States. *Estudios del Observatorio / Observatorio Studies*, 85, pp. 1-99.

<https://cervantesobservatorio.fas.harvard.edu/en/reports>

Salvador Dalí in the United States

Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies. 085-04/2023EN

ISSN: 2688-2949 (online) 2688-2965 (print) doi: 10.15427/OR085-04/2023EN

© Instituto Cervantes at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University

CONTENTS

Introduction

Carmen García de la Rasilla.....5

1. Was America Ready for Dalí? Culture and the Arts in the United States
during the Great Depression

Fernando González de León.....9

2. Salvador Dalí to the Conquest of America

Carmen García de la Rasilla.....23

3. Dalí in Virginia

Shaina Harkness.....39

4. Dalí in New York

William Jeffett.....53

5. California Dreamin': Dalí on the West Coast

Elliott H. King.....65

Works Cited 93

Introduction

Carmen García de la Rasilla*
University of New Hampshire

“America was the first country, outside my native Catalonia, to recognize me.”
(Salvador Dalí, *The Unspeakable Confessions*, 1976, p. 171)

5

Would Salvador Dalí be the Dalí we know today without the United States? Studying his artistic career, beginning with his first visit to New York in 1934, leads us to the conclusion that neither his work, nor the persona he cultivated, would have evolved in the same way were it not for his important cultural and artistic relationship with North America. Suffice it to note, anecdotally, that even the painter’s iconic pointed mustache—the quintessential Dalinian ideogram—first appeared only after he moved to the U.S. in 1940. This observation alone is sufficient to justify the study we present here, on Dalí in the United States, in which we examine the links between the Spanish Surrealist and American culture—a symbiotic relationship that would prove instrumental to the artist’s success and subsequent recognition as a global cultural figure. In this sense, this report offers an innovative and much broader perspective on the painter from Empordà, who is most often considered within the context of his European cultural ties: Catalan, Spanish, or even French.

* Editor’s note: This text is an English translation, offered by the Observatorio, of the Spanish original submitted by the author (see 085-04/2023SP). Quotations have also been translated except those that the author has taken from published translations (as indicated in the corresponding in-text reference.)

To understand the influence of American culture on Dalí, and the impact of Dalí's work in the U.S., we trace his presence and artistic output across three key geographical areas—Virginia, New York and California—where he created most of his work and passed through successive creative stages: a return to classicism; an integration of science and religion, or “nuclear mysticism”; and finally, an experiment *avant la lettre* with pop-art, two decades before that trend would emerge as an art movement. In Chapter One, Fernando González de León provides context on the United States that Dalí first encountered when he arrived in the continent, which, González demonstrates, was historically and culturally ready to receive him as a kind of artistic prophet, and even as an artist in his own right, despite his absolute foreignness. Dalí's arrival to the U.S. came at a moment when art was becoming more accessible to the masses, and Dalí used this cultural development to his advantage by communicating directly with his new audience through striking, provocative works. It is no surprise, then, that years later, in St. Petersburg, Florida, a museum would be built to house his creations—the only museum in the U.S. entirely dedicated to a foreign artist, and one that continues to welcome every year hundreds of thousands of visitors seeking direct contact with Dalí's work. Chapter Two guides us through Dalí's poetic conception of America as a promised virgin land, ready for cultivation by the gospel of Surrealism. In his autobiography, *The secret life of Salvador Dali* (1942b), the artist positions himself as a new Columbus, discoverer of a continent full of possibilities for his Surrealist message and creations, and at the same time, as a savior, rescuing the art of painting from destruction at the hands of modern art. This chapter also examines the key to Dalí's success: the direct connection that his art and persona had with the American public, constructed not only through his humorous, histrionic and provocative Surrealist techniques and forms, but also through his skillful adoption of the language of U.S. culture, with its deeply puritanical, populist and gothic roots. In his autobiography, for example, Dalí channels the Protestant tradition of public confession, laying bare his “unspeakable self.” He thus reveals his agonizing

transformation into a new man—a man remade through faith, love, and his experience in the U.S., where he manages to make something of himself through hard work and brilliant creativity.

In Chapter Three, Shaina Harkness guides us through Dalí's first years in Virginia, where he and his wife, Gala, sought refuge from a Europe in the throes of the Second World War. At Hampton Manor, an estate owned by the artist's American friend Caresse Crosby, Dalí would write *The Secret Life* while turning the house and its surroundings into a Surrealist Mecca. It was here that Dalí, guided by the ghost of Edgar Allan Poe, would first feel the pulse of North America's deeply gothic cultural roots, masterfully integrating them into his own work. But the artist's high visibility in the United States would ultimately come only during his time in New York City. In Chapter Four, William Jeffett introduces us to the elaborate exhibition of Dalí's work in New York, and his relationships with the city's gallery owners, artists, and museums, which Dalí began to form in 1931, even before his first visit to the city in 1934. In his chronicle of Dalí's presence in New York, Jeffett also reflects on the artist's influence on post-war American painters, with whom he would collaborate on a diversity of collective exhibitions, and on Dalí's disagreements with other Surrealists in exile. The fifth and final chapter brings us to California, where the painter would spend significant periods of time beginning in 1941. For Elliott King, the culture of the cinema and of advertising that Dalí encountered in Hollywood would be a key factor in the artist's promotion of a Surrealism for mass consumption, a position that would come into clear conflict with the attitude of other Surrealist refugees in the country who maintained that art should keep its distance from the public and should even be oriented toward occultism and esotericism. Dalí insisted on the opposite, opening himself up and giving himself over to his U.S. audiences, who responded with admiration, devotion and approval, as Dalí himself recognized: "I was hungry and thirsty for a continent-wide area of edible glory and potable success to sate me. Only America was wealthy enough, had enough fresh intelligence and available energy to fulfill my hypertrophic self and put up with my whims" (Dalí & Parinaud, 1976, p. 176). He was not mistaken: the

United States would bring Dalí the stardom he desired—a land of dreams the artist succeeded in conquering and captivating. In the pages that follow, we explore some of the circumstances, methods and keys to Dalí’s success, and the stages of an evolving body of work that would find perpetual renewal, enrichment and universal appreciation on North American soil.



Image 1. “[New York] you erect pyramids of democracy with the vertical organ-pipes of your skyscrapers all meeting at the point of infinity of liberty” (Dalí, 1942b, pp. 331-32).

1. Was America Ready for Dalí? Culture and the Arts in the United States during the Great Depression

Fernando González de León
Springfield College

Abstract: The cultural circumstances of the United States in the 1930s and early 40s, despite some recent contributions such as the essays in the work edited by José Manuel del Pino, do not get enough attention within the field of Dalí studies though they are essential to grasp the contextual limitations and possibilities that conditioned and prepared his popular and financial success. Understandably, most scholars focus closely on the artist and on the ways and methods by which he achieved popular and professional success and widespread esteem in the United States and more laterally, distantly or not at all, on the state of American culture during the Great Depression. Nonetheless it is difficult to assess Dalí's work and broad appeal in those crucial years without a substantial sense of his specifically American cultural moment. In this essay I attempt to sketch a few of the most prominent and impactful features of this moment in their connection with Salvador Dalí's early American career such as the new mass media, the popularization of art, innovations and change in material culture from the skyscraper to the automobile, and the trend toward emotionalism and escapism.

Keywords: Salvador Dalí, American culture, the Great Depression, the 1930s, American art, American material culture.

9

1.1. Introduction

According to many U.S. historians, the most traumatic and defining experience in 20th century history was the Great Depression (1929-1941) and not World War II, which for Americans lasted about one third of the time (December 1941-August 1945) and was fought exclusively abroad. In its reach and impact on every aspect of life it was probably equivalent to the American Revolution in the 18th century and the Civil War in the 19th. The Great Depression transformed the American homeland not only socially, politically, and economically but also culturally in ways that are still felt today. Thus, Dalí arrived in the United States at a crucial juncture of particular flexibility, vulnerability and openness, when traditional cultural modes and forms seemed as inadequate to the moment as liberal free market economics; when the elites who had run the country into the worse financial crisis of its history seemed to have been debunked; and when both popular and elite American cultures were at a moment of unusual creativity, receptivity and transformation.

Economically though, the situation was dire but once again, experimentation and innovation became the favorite recovery strategy. Unemployment topped 25% of the labor force in 1933, the highest ever in American history, and it was still almost 20% five years later. Even the climate seemed odd and menacing. The 1930s was the warmest decade on record, and it remains so to this day. The agricultural heartland of the country, especially the Southwest, experienced major droughts followed by the so-called Dust Bowl, gigantic and persistent dust storms that eroded the topsoil, greatly damaged food production, and led to a massive exodus of the local farming population. In the Eastern seaboard and across the nation major floods and hurricanes succeeded each other with disturbing regularity and still rank as the most destructive in U.S. history. The country as a whole was in deep and severe crisis on many levels, the most serious and generalized since the Civil War. For instance, famine, never a problem

before, was one now, and 110 people died of starvation in New York City the year Dalí arrived there wearing a symbolic and huge loaf of bread on his head. Newly elected President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1933-1945) responded by tripling government spending and involving the federal agencies in almost every aspect of American life in his so-called New Deal. His measures met with various degrees of failure and success but in the end, only its entry into World War II led the nation out of the Great Depression.¹

1.2. American Culture and Art during the Great Depression

From a social and political perspective, the major cultural current for the 1930s in the United States was the consistent and concerted effort of artists, writers, playwrights, and government officials to bring elite art to the masses. To be sure this was not a universal effort. For instance, the analytical paintings of Charles Sheeler denote the impact of cubism and photography. Though inspired by the bleak 20th century urban and industrial landscape, it was a cerebral and geometric style with little in the way of mass appeal.

Other abstract and Expressionist painters tried to make their art socially relevant by involving themselves in popular causes and in the workers' movement. Others such as David Celentano, Grant Wood, John Steuart Curry, Thomas Hart Benton, and other members of the Regionalist school took everyday life and the common man as their subjects in an effort to connect with the spirit of the times as well as government policy. Yet, despite some successes (such as Wood's American Gothic) and significant critical esteem, they never became household names.

¹ About the impact of the Great Depression in the United States, see Kyvig (2002).

The decade also saw the arrival of many European and Latin American artists and architects in search of safety, work, and fame in the United States. This added a new cosmopolitan flavor to the American art world largely missing in earlier decades. It contributed to late Art Deco and the International Style in skyscraper architecture and so, despite the Great Depression, this became a golden age of American architecture especially in New York City, with stunning new structures such as the Rockefeller Center, the Chrysler and the Empire State, a trend that influenced Dalí's writing, thought and works from his *Secret Life* (1942b) to his paintings. It is interesting to speculate whether these buildings, meant for offices but opening without tenants during a business crisis, did not also reflect the escapist and fantastic tendencies of the era. More on this later.²

Yet, relatively few of the newcomers were as successful as Dalí. The case of the prominent German artist George Grosz offers an interesting parallel. A disillusioned Communist filled with enthusiasm for American culture but in complete opposition to the new National Socialist government in Berlin, Grosz emigrated to America a year before Dalí's arrival in 1934 and became a naturalized citizen as soon as he could. Driven by both conviction and convenience, Grosz (who had anglicized his name from Georg to George) abandoned his caricaturist and overtly political German style and adopted a much more conventional aesthetics, with more traditional and sentimental subjects (landscapes, nudes, etc.) in order to appeal to the American public. Perhaps inspired by Dalí, and in a further bid for acceptance and renown, he wrote an autobiography in 1946, *A Little Yes and a Big No*, issued by the same Dial Press that had published Dalí's *Secret Life* four years earlier. It was all to no avail, as he never received even a modest portion of the popular acclaim of his Spanish counterpart.

² For further information on this topic, see Medina (2018).

In their efforts to become popular, artists had, for the first time in American history, the economic support of the federal government. Roosevelt's New Deal included the first attempt by the Federal government to popularize painting in the form of murals in official buildings. Art for the masses in every form was a goal that FDR personally supported and funded. The Federal Art Project (1935-1943) employed thousands of artists, including foreigners and emigres such as Willem de Kooning, Fritz Eichenberg, Diego Rivera, and Rufino Tamayo, as well as American-born artists. Hundreds of thousands of works of art of varying levels of quality were sponsored and produced, though many have disappeared without a trace. None has achieved the lasting appeal of the work of Dalí, a major artist who never had to ask for government support.

As in the case of Dalí, the most significant success of the conscious efforts to democratize the arts and fuse elite and popular styles was achieved not by government-funded artists but by private virtuosos and composers such as Benny Goodman and, especially, George Gershwin with his 1937 *Piano Concerto in F*, his 1936 'opera' *Porgy and Bess*, and his film scores. Canonic composers such as Aaron Copland integrated jazz and popular music into their compositions, and others such as Ferde Grofé with his *Grand Canyon Suite* achieved mass success. Meanwhile, some classical directors like Leopold Stokowski and especially André Kostalenetz, popularized orchestral arrangements of classical pieces, to be played before live audiences and on radio shows, and built a reputation that, like Dalí's, would last for decades. On what critics might consider the other or opposite side of the musical spectrum, in 1937 big band conductor Tommy Dorsey popularized a jazz arrangement of Rimsky Korsakov's "Song of India" and four years later the arch-popular Glenn Miller (and William Finnegan) turned Beethoven's *Moonlight Sonata* into a fox trot. Both pieces were hits. These artists worked to erode the sharp line that had formerly divided high from middle and even low-brow music. In fact, that line was never as thin and porous as it was in the 1930s, in music as well as in other major forms of art. As in Dalí's case, the popular success of these creators had little to do with official

government funding but nevertheless, the Federal Music Project brought classical music to the masses, in the form of musical education and inexpensive concerts at high-brow venues such as New York's Carnegie Hall. These government efforts likely contributed to the popularity of these composers. But without a doubt, although classical music was becoming more familiar to the public through radio broadcasts and crossover hits like Miller's, jazz, and especially swing ruled the airwaves and the dance floors of the country with 'big bands' led by the likes of Count Basie, Cab Calloway, Benny Goodman, Tommy Dorsey, and Artie Shaw. This was also the golden age of the American song, led by major figures such as Louis Armstrong, Bing Crosby, Ella Fitzgerald, Fred Astaire and early Frank Sinatra as well as composers like Irving Berlin and Cole Porter. American popular music came of age and achieved lasting definition in the 1930s.

In terms of drama, the Federal Theater Project (1935-39) sponsored the experimental productions of John Houseman and Orson Welles, which early on included relatively daring bouts of improvisation and audience participation. They would go on to create the Mercury Theater and the Mercury Theater on the Air with its radio plays based on literary classics. The medium of radio was going through its most innovative era and the new device of live news broadcasts erased the boundaries between audience presence and distance. The dramatic continuum between news and fiction gained notoriety on the eve of Halloween 1938, when an Orson Welles radio play based on H.G. Wells' *War of the Worlds* was taken literally by some as live on-site reports of an ongoing Martian invasion. The ensuing alarm, media-hyped or not, spectacularly demonstrated the power of the new mass media to electrify the common public. This particular radio dramatization also exemplified and unintentionally achieved the goal of integrating the listener with the play and of further blurring the line between popular and elite art.

The ‘panic broadcast’ of 1938 underscored a larger cultural trend, the rise of mass entertainment culture in the United States generated by the democratization of leisure. Economic facts helped to set these currents, from the new eight-hour workday to widespread forced leisure due to high unemployment. The price of radio sets and cameras fell within the reach of the majority, even those relatively poor. Cheap cameras, including the first portable video cameras, made photography (and even film) affordable for the masses for the first time. For example, the 1934 Kodak Baby Brownie cost only \$1.00, the equivalent of less than \$20 today. The same applied to cheap radios and, by the end of the 30’s, despite widespread economic hardships, more than 80% of the population owned one. Radio audiences became accustomed to a cult of personalities, feelings and strong emotional reactions in a new and immensely popular genre, the soap opera. Coupled with another genre often almost indistinguishable from the soap opera, the dramatizations of literary classics, these broadcasts trained the American public to develop a graphic imagination and to cultivate what cultural historians William and Nancy Young call “the confessional,” (2002) a mode of popular expression emphasizing intimate sensations and a dramatized response to everyday life. Unwittingly, American audiences were being groomed for the lurid revelations and individualistic confessional style of Dalí’s *Secret Life*.³

And so were American print readers, as this medium was a full participant in the trend toward emotionalism. The magazine mogul Bernarr Macfadden, publisher of the sensationalist and highly successful *Liberty* magazine, filled the newsstands with pulp periodicals with names such as *True Story*, *True Lovers*, *Modern Marriage*, *True Experiences*, *True Romances*, etc. all detailing real or alleged intimate personal sensations and experiences stressing the subjective, the emotional, the instinctive and even the irrational. These publications would later die out but they represent a dominant trend of the decade when they were at the absolute peak of their popularity

³ On the methods and propaganda tactics used by Dalí, see García de la Rasilla (2018).

with 7 million copies sold in 1935. Others of a more fantastic outlook, such as *Weird Tales*, *Astounding Stories*, *Amazing Stories*, *Horror Stories*, and at least a dozen more with their lurid and often sexualized covers, were also at the apex of their appeal. The 1930s was the decade when the term ‘science fiction’ first became familiar to the general public. Through the contributions of authors who would later become canonic, such as Tennessee Williams, Ray Bradbury, Fritz Leiber, Robert E. Howard and H.P. Lovecraft, and the collaboration of major illustrators like Virgil Finlay, these magazines featured fascinating distortions of cosmic laws, the suspension or abolition of reality and the reactions of humans in the midst of such phenomena. They may have prepared the terrain for the mass acceptance and rudimentary understanding of Surrealism although, of course, they shared in the escapist tendencies of the era. Not surprisingly, in his last letter, written in March 1937, the most prominent writer in this movement, H.P. Lovecraft, comments on the work of “Señor Dali” as central to the culture of the times and in many ways akin to his own, a perception that would later be confirmed by the French surrealists’ introduction of Lovecraft in France in the 1950s.⁴

⁴ The relationship between Surrealists and Lovecraft has been briefly outlined in Rosemont (1979).



Images 2 & 3. Typical pulp magazine covers of the 1930s (Wikimedia Commons Public Domain).

The movies of the time were often escapist too. Despite the efforts of critics and intellectuals, film in the 1930s seldom depicted the economic hardships of the majority and never fulfilled the hopes of social realists. Instead, their keynote and objective became escapism, with prominence given to luxurious clothes, gleaming interiors and high-end automobiles. With the decline in film ticket prices, attendance at the movies rose throughout the decade and was equivalent to the total population. Like magazine readers and soap opera listeners, filmgoers went into the cinema not to be aesthetically challenged but to get away from the Great Depression for a while. The most successful films at the ticket office were *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), *Frankenstein* (1931), *Tom Sawyer* (1938), and *King Kong* (1933). Except for *Shanghai Express* (1932) not

one of the top grossing films dealt directly with the Great Depression or the increasingly dangerous international situation. And none except perhaps Charles Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936) could compare in aesthetic innovation and daring with the European films with which Dalí was familiar. Rebelliousness, populism, and anti-elitism as in *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935), *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938) and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), there certainly were. Social realism, not so much.

The public also favored the kind of high society screwball or absurdist comedies that were the hallmark of the Marx Brothers. Their films (*Horse Feathers* [1932], *A Night at the Opera* [1935], *A Day at the Races* [1937], etc.) normally featured picaresque characters moving through elite social circles, taking advantage of their privileges while outraging and satirizing their conventions. The American public, it would seem, escaped the miseries of the Depression by simultaneously mocking and admiring the upper classes. These comedies and works of a much different genre, such as *Dracula* (1931), *King Kong* (1933), and the *Wolf Man* (1941) often presented a society outraged and disarrayed by the arrival of a threatening, animalistic and often sexualized stranger whose behavior overturns all norms and expectations. The audiences showed their approval by making these movies some of the most popular of the decade. Dalí would certainly observe and absorb this success, especially in his friendship and attempted artistic collaboration with Harpo Marx.

However, perhaps the most pioneering development in the seventh art was the new genre of animated features, developed by Walt Disney. Its use of vivid colors and dream-like fairy tales, another form of escapism, provided an authentic example of 'moving pictures,' in films such as *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), and especially *Fantasia* (1940), a work that substantially relied on the participation of a major popularizing classical director, Leopold Stokowski. The fusion of film and graphic art had thus been achieved but perhaps Dalí, who saw Disney as a kindred spirit, was one of the few major artists to understand it.

A major catalyst for cultural and social change in the 1930s was the automobile, often called the most important invention in American history. It had been an integral part of American everyday life since 1908, when Henry Ford first produced his affordable and popular Model T. However, despite or perhaps due to the Great Depression, automobile manufacturing reached new heights during this decade and became much more affordable, costing on average less than one third of the price of new cars in today's dollars. Gasoline was comparatively cheaper and car travel became a favorite, accessible and inexpensive form of family and personal entertainment. Coupled with its use for a new custom known as 'dating,' the car was well on its way to becoming a symbol of leisure, liberation, and pleasure quite consistent with one of the major themes of 1930s culture: democratic escapism. By 1935 one half of the country's families owned a vehicle (more than those who owned a bathtub or a telephone), the highest rate of car ownership in the world. The design of these vehicles became an American art form in which Dalí reportedly dabbled. In 1934 the DeSoto Airflow with its sleek and dynamic lines revolutionized car design and became a prominent icon of American progress. Car shows became major public events, and major brands such as Cadillac would soon imitate or rather adapt the Airflow's smooth curvy looks. Dalí, whose personal interest in automobiles predated his American arrival, found in this new collective focus on the car an opportunity to turn a universally admired item into a symbol of the dangers of American modernity, as he did in his 1941 painting *Clothed automobiles*, and later in his famous *Rainy taxi* of Figueres.⁵

Nevertheless, despite this canvas' implicit critique of standardized and escapist modernity, Dalí's willingness to use instantly recognizable items of commercial and advertising prominence would raise further suspicions of commercialism (and worse) against him among a significant segment of the cultural elites. An artist like Dalí, who claimed to be apolitical and refused to make declarations of leftist political support or condemnation while engaging in aestheticist pronouncements, would not find an easy

⁵ For Dalí's interest in cars of that period, see: "Salvador Dalí, el automóvil, y la cultura americana en la década de los cuarenta" (Carbonell, 2018).

path to intellectual acceptance among the culture mandarins of the moment. The art and intellectual world tilted strongly toward leftist populism, Marxism, and social and political leftist activism on both a local and global scale. Immensely influential writers such as John Dos Passos and James T. Farrell were overtly contemptuous of capitalism and others such as John Steinbeck penned proletarian novels such as *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), one of the few bestsellers that depicted in vivid terms the plight of the rural lower classes during the Depression. These new social novels were the literary counterpart of the work of graphic artists such as Benton, Celentano, and Curry; yet even more radical perspectives gained ground among intellectuals.

The League of American Writers, openly launched in 1935 by the Communist Party, gathered thousands of writers, including major names such as Ernest Hemingway, Archibald MacLeish, Nathanael West, Lillian Hellman, Langston Hughes, and William Carlos Williams. This organization was as dogmatic as the André Breton Surrealist group in France that put Dalí 'on trial.' For instance, its first president, the Hispanophile Waldo Frank, found himself dismissed for criticizing Stalin's treatment of Leon Trotsky. During the Spanish Civil War, the League advocated fiercely for the Republic and condemned Franco and his supporters in all walks of life. Clearly, although Spain had re-entered the central consciousness of the American cultural establishment, artists and intellectuals who did not stridently and publicly side with the Republic could expect immediate ostracism. However, as Dalí would quickly realize, the masses of the American people did not always follow the dictates of the elite.

The signs of this split were clear and featured in the front pages of every magazine. In literature, the American public was very fond of other kinds of writing with significant complexity and nuance but much less politically engaged than what the establishment was offering. Two major examples might suffice. In 1935, the only novel of the Spanish-American philosopher George Santayana, *The Last Puritan*, though layered with subtle and even abstruse personal, philosophical, cultural, and historical insights, was that year's best-selling novel, and in 1936 a lengthy Civil War historical

novel, Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (winner of the 1937 Pulitzer Prize), was the decade's greatest bestseller and the basis of the classic and ultra-popular 1939 film. Both works function as critical eulogies of the social and cultural past of two crucial American regions, New England and the Old South. Their success suggests that, as in the graphic arts, the American public often did seek to escape from sordid social realism and reportage but by no means always into superficial or light-hearted entertainment. Once again, the elite vs the masses polarity would seem inadequate to explain this phenomenon.

1.3. Conclusion

Historian and journalist Cabell Phillips aptly summarized the culture of the Great Depression:

Summing up, the thirties witnessed a renaissance of sorts in the cultural life of America. The Depression enforced a break with the social postulates and the conventional wisdom that had prevailed since the turn of the century... The people were driven to explore many new and occasionally radical alternatives, from communism to proletarian art and literature. What they chose in the end was a modest compromise between the old modes and the new, but the net effect was a pronounced liberalizing of the whole spectrum of popular conventions and attitudes. The limits of tolerance for what was acceptable were expanded—in politics, in morals, in taste. Along with this change came a dissolving of the old barriers of provincialism—or put another way, a widening sophistication abetted by the radio, motion pictures, and the press... Obviously the cultural image of the nation was not made anew... in the span of a single decade. But in no other decade of this century... has the image been so much altered as in the thirties. (Phillips, 1969, p. 480)

21

Despite a number of obstacles and barriers, not the least of which was the Great Depression itself, America in the 1930s was quite ready for a foreign Surrealist willing to engage the masses with an intriguing brand of art disguised as entertainment and vice-versa. A truly country-wide standardized mass culture favoring escapism had emerged for the first time in the United States. The public had been conditioned to accept intimate personal disclosures, the emotional, the fantastic and the unreal, and seriously to consider artistic forms formerly regarded as alien, esoteric and elitist. The concerted efforts of a large host of major artists and of the federal government had substantially eroded and worn the boundaries between elite and popular art. Before

© Fernando González de León
Salvador Dalí the United States

Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies. 085-04/2023EN

ISSN: 2688-2949 (online) 2688-2965 (print) doi: 10.15427/OR085-04/2023EN

© Instituto Cervantes at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University

Dalí, major foreign-born artists and thinkers (Santayana, Kostalenetz, de Kooning, Eichenberg and others) had already achieved widespread acclaim by linking America with cosmopolitan concerns. Although Dalí would surpass them all, he trod an increasingly crowded path to celebrity status and influence. More perhaps than at any other time earlier or later, American culture was an open field with a general public eager to be entertained, distracted and challenged by novelties rooted in established genres and traditions.

Too often Dalí's bid for mass success is seen from an almost exclusively European rather than an American perspective. This is the case even when the circumstances and events of his stay in this country receive the attention of art historians who, despite significant biographical discoveries, nonetheless continue to locate Dalí within the familiar and narrow European dichotomy of elite versus popular art. Natural enough in a Parisian context, this alleged tension or contradiction might lead to distortions that greater knowledge of the 1930s and early 40s as a specific and unique American cultural moment could help correct. Perhaps more importantly, a historical perspective may allow us to better contextualize the old accusations of commercialism levied against Dalí at that time and down to this day. How much contextual sense does it make to charge Dalí with 'selling out' in the era of Stokowski, Gershwin, Dos Passos, Hart Benton, Disney, Santayana and Orson Welles and of federally funded art? Within the zeitgeist and accepted practices across the major arts, it may seem a strange, perhaps even anachronistic or anachronistic, accusation. If Dalí somehow betrayed the purposes and methods of high art, if he made a pitch for celebrity status and financial success by reaching out to the U.S. masses, he was at least in the right place at the right time and in large and very distinguished company.

2. Salvador Dalí to the Conquest of America

Carmen García de la Rasilla
University of New Hampshire

Abstract*: During his first trips to the United States in the 1930s, Salvador Dalí began contemplating his cultural conquest of America, but it was not until the artist settled permanently in the country that he would develop an elaborate plan of attack. His strategy, which was literary in nature, would center on the creation of a singular and provocative autobiography, *The secret life of Salvador Dali* (1942b), along with several manifestos signaling his divergent aesthetic positions and opposition to the modern art establishment. This chapter examines Dalí's use of these and other texts to present himself to the American public as a great Western artist, and to convey his transformation into Surrealism's New Man to U.S. audiences. It also examines how the painter managed to engage with key American literary and cultural traditions and ideas to communicate with his new audience, and to convey his Surrealist message: from paraphrasing *The Declaration of Independence*, to defending his artistic freedom, to integrating the discourse of American Gothic culture, which he had in part learned from the works of Edgar Allan Poe, into his own personal language.

23

Keywords: Dalí, America, artistic success, Surrealism, Poe, American cultural traditions.

* Editor's note: This text is an English translation, offered by the Observatorio, of the Spanish original submitted by the author (see 085-04/2023SP). Quotations have also been translated except those that the author has taken from published translations (as indicated in the corresponding in-text reference.)

Long before his first trip to North America, Salvador Dalí had taken an interest in the United States and had even begun devising an elaborate artistic, narrative, and publicity strategy to win over the American public. In his biography, Dalí writes: “Each image that came from America I would sniff, so to speak, with the voluptuousness with which one welcomes the first whiffs of the inaugural fragrances of a sensational meal of which one is about to partake” (Dalí, 1942b, p. 327). Having already severed ties with his family and his Catalan homeland, and feeling uncomfortable with the narrow scholasticism and political tensions that were paralyzing the French Surrealist milieu in the mid-thirties, Dalí was ready to embark on a new adventure: the discovery and conquest of America. Encouraged by his friend Caresse Crosby, who became his patron and protector in the United States, and by Alfred Barr, director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, who predicted the artist’s stardom and success (Dalí, 2003, p. 540), Dalí finally decided to set sail for the American continent.

24

In the United States, the Spanish painter would indeed find a promised land to pursue his hopes, ambitions, and artistic projects. His noble plans to bring Surrealism across the Atlantic, and to pose as an artist in search of communion with a new American audience, would at times be overshadowed by his extravagant exhibitions and economic success, which many of his fellow artists resented, as evidenced by Dalí’s anagrammatic nickname, Avida Dollars, coined for him by André Breton. Nevertheless, and in spite of the opposition he encountered from numerous modernist American critics and artists, Dalí’s meticulous Surrealist plan to discover, explore and conquer the country would ultimately have its desired effect, achieving what few foreign artists (perhaps none before him) had managed to achieve: direct communication with the public in tandem with an ability to overcome both negative criticism and attempts at censorship from the era’s artistic establishment. To communicate directly with his audience, Dalí would mold his messaging to fit the language of American culture and would take advantage of mass media, which were eager to disseminate his work and exhibit his eccentricities as an artist. Thus, in *The*

secret life of Salvador Dali (Dalí, 1942b), the painter presents his autobiographical self in the most genuine American Puritan cultural tradition: confession before the community. In the book, Dalí renounces his madness and perversion to prove himself as a new man, transformed, and tasked with the noble mission of saving painting and proclaiming Surrealism. The public thus found connection with an artist who—despite coming from a faraway land and belonging to a hitherto unknown cultural movement—could communicate with an understandable, familiar and appealing language.

Before Dalí, the Surrealists themselves had already detected America's potential value. In his 1924 *Surrealist Manifesto*, André Breton, who extolled madness not only as a form of knowledge, but also as a powerful tool in the service of humanity's greatest works, emphasized his own role in the enterprise of discovering America. While historically untenable, the Surrealist notion of conquering America is in line, from a literary perspective, with some of the more delirious passages from the journals of Christopher Columbus, where the famous explorer confesses his belief that he was chosen by Providence as the messenger of the new heaven and earth prophesied in the *Book of Revelations*. In search of a paradise here and now, Breton and his fellow Surrealists decided to revive the enlightened project of the Genoese sailor, and commissioned Salvador Dalí as the movement's John the Baptist, to preach the "Good News" of Surrealism in North America. Dalí—who considered himself a descendant of a brilliant and allegedly Catalan Columbus,⁶ eager to cross the Atlantic—accepted the mission with unbridled enthusiasm.

Like his friend Federico García Lorca five years earlier, Dalí would experience his first impressions of North America through New York, a city he describes in *The Secret Life* as "Verdigris, pink and creamy-white, [that] looked like an immense Gothic Roquefort cheese" (Dalí, 1942b, p. 331). After confessing that upon this first

⁶ According to a theory advanced by Peruvian historian Luis Ulloa, Christopher Columbus was a Catalan Jew. Ulloa's interest in the subject was inspired by the ideas of a 13th century Majorcan philosopher, Raimundo Lulio, who two hundred years prior to the discovery of the New World had deduced the existence of the American continent by observing the tides on the Atlantic coast.

encounter, he had felt the pride of Christopher Columbus's Catalan blood running through his veins, Dalí imagines the city in mythical terms as an "Atlantis of the subconscious" and an "Egypt turned inside out." "New York, you are an Egypt!" Dalí writes. "But an Egypt turned inside out. For she erected pyramids of slavery to death, and you erect pyramids of democracy with the vertical organ-pipes of your skyscrapers all meeting at the point of infinity of liberty!" (Dalí, 1942b, pp. 331-32). In his poetic description, Dalí celebrates the "lethargic surrealism" of a city he hoped to awaken upon his arrival, regardless of any preventive security measures:

"All the fire-alarms of the city have just been turned on, but it is already too late. Boom! Boom! Boom! I salute you, explosive giraffes of New York, and all you forerunners of the irrational—Mack Sennett, Harry Langdon, and you too, unforgettable Buster Keaton, tragic and delirious like my rotten and mystic donkeys, desert roses of Spain!" (Dalí, 1942b, p. 332)

Dalí's first trip to New York, in November 1934, would confirm his expectations. His immediate and overwhelming success convinced him that "the irrational and poetic tendencies of Surrealism could produce a genuine spiritual revolution here" (Gibson, 1998, p. 397). As Ian Gibson suggests, the warm reception his works received when exhibited at New York's Julien Levy Gallery, and the lucrative sales of his paintings, very likely led Dalí to believe that "[t]he big-hearted, somewhat naïve America was his oyster" (Gibson, 1998, p. 392).

Eager to make an impression on his U.S. audience, Dalí put his trust in the same scandalous and comedic tactics he had successfully employed in Europe. Upon his arrival to New York, for example, Dalí's artistic debut would involve a grotesque and, by that time, familiar use of bread—a performance prop that four years earlier had provoked tremendous uproar at an anarchist gathering in Barcelona. According to Dalí's own account, this successful, carefully planned scandal in Spain had cured him of any lingering shyness, supplying him with the necessary self-confidence to arouse "the passions and frenzy of the public" (Dalí, 1942b, p. 324). It was immediately after this provocative show that Dalí would begin directing his attention toward the naive land of America, where his tactics might have an even greater effect:

© Carmen García de la Rasilla
Salvador Dalí in América

Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies. 085-04/2023EN
ISSN: 2688-2949 (online) 2688-2965 (print) doi: 10.15427/OR085-04/2023EN
© Instituto Cervantes at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University

I had a growing desire to feel myself in contact with a new flesh, with a new country, that had not yet been touched by the decomposition of Post-War Europe. America! I wanted to go over there and see what it was like, to bring my bread, place my bread over there; say to the Americans, "What does that mean, eh?" ... And all that America "did not have" on the spiritual plane I was going to bring her, materialized in the integral and delirious mixture of my paranoiac work, in order that she might thus see and touch everything with the hands of liberty. (Dalí, 1942b, pp. 324-25)

Dalí wanted to offer himself as an artist, and his bread was the Christological and sexual symbol of his desired communion and marriage with the United States. Before arriving in New York, the ship's cook gave Dalí an eight-foot-long loaf of bread, wrapped in cellophane. Elated, Dalí made a plan of symbolic attack:

When the chef, with pomp and circumstance, came and presented me with my bread wrapped in cellophane, I was a changed man. I took it in hand, as one does a cock he is about to masturbate, and stroked it with the purest pleasure. It was slim and hard, slightly flexible and cartilaginous like a real prick, with a well-formed crust. I felt the saliva of desire moistening my throat. I took it solemnly in both hands and waved it overhead ... I then laid it out in the middle of my cabin to await the great day: my marriage to America! I would land, a young bridegroom carrying his conjugal tool outstretched and inviting the whole world to attend our union." (Dalí & Parinaud, 1976, p. 178)

27

His expectations were quickly disappointed, however, when the swarm of journalists who came aboard the Champlain for interviews bombarded him with all kinds of questions, but ignored his loaf of bread. Dalí, however, would turn his defeat into victory:

So, I understood that I had just "cuckolded" them and that these suitors, who wanted to cut me to bits so as to feed me to the swine, had not been able to see through Ulysses' cunning. My bread was the image of my untouched strength, my virile phallus. Throwing crumbs and confetti into their eyes, I had hidden my Truth from them. To them, I was the king of Non-Sequitur, the clown, as they might say, the *tummeler*; not one of them had divined the terrific pressure, the Nietzschean will pent up behind the appearances. I set my erectile bread down on American soil as one plants a tree." (Dalí & Parinaud, 1976, p. 179)

Despite this resounding proclamation, the painter nevertheless realized that the symbolism of his bread, which had been so effective within Spain's Catholic cultural milieu, did not translate well across the Atlantic, where America's innocent middle class was immersed in Protestant culture and did not grasp its meaning. Sensing this cultural difference, shortly after the episode of the disregarded bread, Dalí, unlike

many of his fellow Surrealists, managed to cultivate a new artistic discourse connected to the gothic works of Edgar Allan Poe, and closer to the cultural impulses and foundations of the United States. After all, hadn't Breton himself, in his *First Manifesto*, proclaimed Poe to be Surrealism's progenitor?

Dalí recounts how, while finishing his autobiography at Hampton Manor in Virginia, “[o]n certain nights the specter of Edgar Allan Poe would come from Richmond to see me, in a very pretty convertible car all spattered with ink” (Dalí, 1942b, p. 392). These spectral visits undoubtedly illustrate Dalí's identification with Poe's aesthetic spirit: both artists were fascinated by dreamlike and hallucinatory atmospheres and states, both suffered from neuroses, both cultivated controversial and scandalous personas, and both made their lives, their idiosyncratic personalities, and their mental whims the raw material of their art. We might therefore assume that it was during those nights in Virginia when Poe revealed to Dalí the gothic language of America, and the hidden impulses of terror that beat in the depths of his cultural heart.

28

Although we cannot ignore the importance of Poe's teachings in inspiring Dalí's visionary and successful strategy to win over the American public, the painter's outrageous and provocative *modus operandi*, rooted in his earliest childhood and carefully cultivated and enriched during his avant-garde and Surrealist period, would also prove decisive. Thus, when Dalí began introducing himself to American art circles in the mid-thirties, he continued with a course of action that he had already deployed in Spain and France, and that he would continue in the U.S. with renewed creativity and capacity.

For example, to celebrate the end of their first visit to the United States, Gala and Dalí decided to host a Surrealist party, in typical sensationalist fashion, featuring a “Baile Onírico,” or “Dreamlike Dance,” in which attendees were to dress in costumes reminiscent of their most recurrent dreams. Gala's costume was especially disturbing: on her forehead, she had mounted a doll with a wounded head, a baby's corpse,

evoking the famous and recent murder of Charles Lindbergh's son. Despite Dalí's explanations and excuses, the dead baby costume created a tremendous scandal in the U.S., and even as far away as Europe (Etherington-Smith, 1995, p. 187). The effect was likely unintentional, but the scandal showed Dalí the degree to which the puritanical American public was predisposed to provocation. What is certain is that, from then on, the American media would identify Dalí as the very incarnation of Surrealist iconoclasm, an ironic status given the artist's increasingly antagonistic relationship with the movement and its increasingly dogmatic attitude, promoted by Breton and his acolytes.

Despite his unprecedented popular success in the U.S., Dalí was widely repudiated by critics who were ignorant of the humorous and scandalous texture of his art and of the provocative principles of Surrealism,⁷ and who would condemn and morally reject his most outrageous and histrionic acts, even going as far as to denounce the content of some of his canvases and texts as pornographic. But Dalí, who was confident in the communicative power of his work, continued his conquest of America undeterred, and during his second trip to the U.S., in December 1936, even proposed cutting ties with the Old World entirely. He would later write: "I turned my back on Europe to escape the hateful birdlime that it exuded like snot" (Dalí & Parinaud, 1976, p. 183). Dalí now understood that it was on this side of the Atlantic that glory awaited him. The cover of *Time* in December 1936 featured a photograph of the artist, taken by Man Ray, and inside the magazine was a detailed synopsis of his career to date. Indeed, had it not been for Dalí, it is likely that Surrealism would never have attracted so much attention in the United States (Gibson, 1998, p. 422). The painter, who at the time barely spoke English and was unaware of the magazine's

⁷ Direct testimonies from Surrealist artists and writers confirms their belief in the importance of provocation as a source of creativity, and as a crucial revolutionary instrument capable of revealing the allegedly horrendous secrets of the system they wanted to expose. It is not surprising, in this sense, that André Breton insisted, in his *Second Manifesto*, on the need to confuse an audience to make them exasperated by a system of provocations.

reach, found himself suddenly and unexpectedly famous. People approached him in the street to ask for autographs, and as Dalí himself confessed, the “[g]lory was as intoxicating to me as a spring morning” (Dalí & Parinaud, 1976, 183).

Recounting his return trip to Europe, Dalí, who was thirty-three at the time—the age of Christ at his crucifixion—realized, as he traveled home filled with the triumph of his conquest and reflecting on his personal cosmogony, that America had also conquered him: “The youthfulness of its ever curious, avid, and imaginative minds, its sense of freedom and playfulness, yes, with this America had also conquered me [...] Henceforth I knew it was possible to mobilize a whole city and the press and the finest minds around an artist’s gesture” (Dalí & Parinaud, 1976, p. 189). Dalí would soon discover, however, that freedom had its limits in America too, and that he was the one who would have to defend, with courageous determination, the independence of his own imagination. Perhaps one of the more striking examples of the success of Dalí’s tactics in winning over U.S. audiences, and of the pitfalls he would encounter in pursuing his creative freedom, was the incident of the decoration of the Bonwit-Teller store window on Fifth Avenue in March 1939. Invited to design the display, Dalí created a strange and provocative composition featuring an unmistakably gothic and Surrealist scene:

Frightful wax manikins of the 1900 period with long natural dead women’s hair [...] covered with several years’ dust [...] One of the displays symbolized Day, and the other, Night. In the “Day” display one of these manikins was stepping into a “hairy bathtub” lined with astrakhan. It was filled with water up to the edge, and a pair of beautiful wax arms holding up a mirror evoked the Narcissus myth [...] “Night” was symbolized by a bed whose canopy was composed of the black and sleepy head of a buffalo carrying a bloody pigeon in its mouth; the feet of the bed were made of the four feet of the buffalo [...] Beside the bed was seated the phantom of sleep, conceived in the metaphysical style of Chirico (Dalí, 1942b, p. 372).

Clearly, Dalí’s intention was to fascinate and scandalize spectators. The display, as he put it, was a “manifesto of elementary Surrealist poetry right out in the street [that] would inevitably arrest the anguished attention of passers-by” (Dalí, 1942b, p. 372). But the first to object to Dalí’s poetic intentions were the managers of Bonwit-Teller

themselves, who altered the display without the artist's permission, in an effort to tone down the exhibition and reduce the size of the large crowd that was consistently congregating in front of the store. When the painter discovered that his work had been modified without his consent, and when his protests proved futile, he decided to take matters into his own hands and restore the display to its original design himself. In his frenzy, the bathtub slid off its mount, shattering through the plate-glass window and taking with it Dalí himself, who staggered into the street, where the police immediately arrested him (Dalí, 1981, pp. 403-4). The incident brought Dalí even more public attention, and undoubtedly contributed to the success of his subsequent exhibition at Julien Levy's Gallery.⁸

Despite his triumph, Dalí continued to face obstacles to his creative freedom, finding himself on several occasions confronted "with the tribulations of the artist in the clutches of American commerce" (Dalí & Parinaud, 1976, p. 186). In 1939, when he was commissioned to design a pavilion for the New York World's Fair, which he would title Dream of Venus, Dalí again faced censorship and manipulation on the part of organizers, who refused to uphold their promise to respect his artistic freedom. He soon realized that the event planners were using his name and celebrity status to attract the attention of the public, and that, despite numerous unsuccessful efforts to defend his ideas and projects, ultimately, "the Pavilion turned out to be a lamentable caricature of my ideas" (Dalí, 1942b, p. 377). Dalí responded by writing a manifesto, provocatively titled, *Declaration of the independence of the imagination and the rights of man to his own madness* (1998a), which took the form of a kind of American Surrealist constitution, defending the rights of artists to create without restrictions of any kind. But Dalí's honeymoon with America was not over yet, and in his manifesto,

⁸ "The episode made a dramatic story and the painter was delighted with the vast amount of free press coverage it spawned in both the States and Europe, coverage which included photographs of the broken window and of the arrest. Dalí was also delighted with the few hours he had spent in a genuine New York cell, which must have reminded him of his term of imprisonment in Figueres and Girona in 1924. He exploited the incident to the utmost, and later deemed it 'the most magical and effective action' of his entire life, alleging that he had received hundreds of letters from American artists praising his energetic gesture" (Gibson, 1998, pp. 444-45).

the artist asserted his claim to victory and expressed his love for New York, which, according to Dalí, had finally been rediscovered and conquered in the name of Surrealism (Dalí, 1998a).

One year later, in 1940, New York's Museum of Modern Art would hold a highly successful retrospective exhibition of Dalí's work, featuring forty-three of the artist's paintings. The show would tour the United States for two years, definitively marking the artist's now undeniable conquest of America: "When I traveled, it was like a Roman emperor going up to the Capitol... That constituted consecration" (Dalí & Parinaud, 1976, p. 201). Dalí had left Europe on the eve of the Second World War in 1939, and saw himself as "chosen by God's angels to keep the great tradition intact and bear witness to the genius of a continent" (Dalí & Parinaud, 1976, p. 201). In his increasing defiance of the orthodoxy imposed by André Breton's group, and faced with the intransigence of America's modernist milieu, in 1941, Dalí decides to unleash his "last" great scandal, by converting to classicism (Dalí, 1998b, pp. 336-39). He narrates the metamorphosis in detail in his autobiography, effectively recounting the story of his aesthetic, psychological and spiritual transformation, which concludes in America:

New skin, a new land! And a land of liberty, if that is possible! I chose the geology of a land that was new to me, and that was young, virgin, and without drama, that of America. I traveled in America, but instead of romantically and directly rubbing the snakeskin of my body against the asperities of its terrain, I preferred to peel protected within the armor of the gleaming black crustacean of a Cadillac which I gave Gala as a present. Nevertheless, all the men who admire and the women who are in love with my old skin will easily be able to find its remnants in shredded pieces of various sizes scattered to the winds along the road from New York via Pittsburgh to California. I have peeled with every wind; pieces of my skin have remained caught here and there along my way, scattered though that "promised land" which is America; certain pieces of this skin have remained nagging in the spiny vegetation of the Arizona desert, along the trails where I galloped on horseback, where I got rid of all my former Aristotelian "planetary notions." Other pieces of my skin have remained spread out like tablecloths without food on the summits of the rocky masses by which one reaches the Salt Lake, in which the hard passion of the Mormons saluted in me the European phantom of Apollinaire. Still other pieces have remained suspended along the "antediluvian" bridge of San Francisco, where I saw in passing the ten thousand most beautiful virgins in America, completely naked, standing in line on each side of me as I passed, like two rows of organ-pipes of angelic flesh with cowrie-shell sea vulvas. Other pieces still have remained lost in the folds of that night of the future illuminated by fifteen stars large as closed fists filled with seeds of liberty, and stirred by the patriotic wind which, coming from the fifteen states, makes the erect, fecundating and immobile serenity of the banners even more glorious... (Dalí, 1942b, pp. 393-94)

32

Dalí's "new skin"—that is, his conversion to classicism—would not be met with indifference by America's art critics, who would also repudiate the provocative tone of his autobiography. In the 1940s, Dalí would effectively extend his use of scandal to the literary plane, applying the mechanism of shock to his written texts and essentially attempting to replicate experiences of psychological trauma,⁹ in which a victim is subjected to simultaneous impulses of repulsion, complicity and rejection. In his *Unspeakable Confessions*, the painter reveals how behind these provocations was a desire to make others accept the excesses of his personality as natural, in order to alleviate his own anxieties. Toward this end, Dalí's *Secret Life* would play with readers, transforming them into spectators of his own grotesque comedy and victims of his obscenities and incongruities, thus making them complicit in his obsessions and delusions. Ironically, many critics in the United States inadvertently collaborated with Dalí's game by scandalously rejecting, and thus drawing attention to, works that exhibited the artist's unconfessable psychological obsessions and crudest and most intimate desires. An example of this type of critical reaction can be found in a review by Sol A. Davidson, published in the magazine *The Art Digest*:

Immeasurable ego and sheer insanity are the only two phrases to describe completely the self-announced master of surrealist painting, and now the author of a book, Salvador Dalí [...] This book, which divulges all that occurs behind the closed curtain of life with no holds barred exposes an inconceivable life fit for a mental institution. (Davidson, 1943, p. 21)

Davidson was joined by many others, including Bradford F. Swan, Howard Devree, Paterson Greene, Malcolm Cowley, H. P. Lazarus and even George Orwell,¹⁰ who all repudiated Dalí's autobiography as a moral outrage.¹¹ But in his confrontations with critics, Dalí had a stalwart American mentor, Edgar Allan Poe, who himself had been forced to face a similar degree of hostility. In a revealing passage from *The Secret*

⁹ For an extensive analysis on the role of scandal in Dalí's work, see my study on the subject: "Dalí and the Success of Scandal" (García de la Rasilla, 2003a).

¹⁰ "It is a book that stinks. If it were possible for a book to give a physical stink off its pages, this one would [...] The point is that you have here a direct unmistakable assault on sanity and decency; and even [...] on life itself" (George Orwell, 1960, p. 141).

¹¹ On the success and scandal of Dalí's autobiography in the realm of American public opinion, see the chapter I dedicate to the history of the text in my book on the *The Secret Life* (García de la Rasilla, 2009, pp. 28-36).

Life, Poe pays Dalí a ghostly visit at Hampton Manor, in Virginia—where the painter had retreated to work on cultivating his own myth in the United States—and presents him with a gift:

One black night he made me a present of a black telephone truffled with black pieces of black noses of black dogs, inside which he had fastened with black strings a dead black rat and a black sock, the whole soaked in India ink. It was snowing. I placed the telephone on the snow, and the effect was simply and above all that of black on white. (Dalí, 1942b, p. 392).

Although it is a typically American device, the telephone becomes here a symbolic object filled with Surrealist content, which Dalí receives as a trophy or prize after accomplishing a task that Poe himself considered impossible: the writing of an autobiography that could be at once both cryptic and self-revealing—in short, the elaboration of a text simultaneously secret and public that would “allow itself to be narrated.”¹² The black telephone underscores the highly personal character of the gift, and points directly to Dalí’s close relationship with Poe, and to the American writer’s role as a kind of stand-in for the autobiographical Dalí.¹³ In sum, the presence of Poe in Dalí’s autobiography points to one of the most important goals of Surrealist expression: the achievement of immediate and unmediated aesthetic communication. It seems natural, then, that the figure of Edgar Allan Poe—a writer whose personal background is also a bit of a mystery, and who, despite his ability to connect directly with a wide audience, or rather, precisely because of it, has yet to achieve the

34

¹² The phrase, “it does not allow itself to be read” appears at the beginning and end of Poe’s story “The Man of the Crowd” (1840a) in reference to the inscrutable nature of the human psyche.

¹³ In my study on the relationship between Poe and Dalí (García de la Rasilla, 2003b) in *The Edgar Allan Poe Review*, IV (2), pp. 3-13, I examine the symbolism of the aforementioned gift as it relates to both the problems of autobiographical narrative and to the psychoanalytic analysis of the artist’s personality. In addition to signifying immediate, individualized and direct communication, when understood in context, the “black pieces of black noses of black dogs” symbolize the psychoanalytic critics who victimized Poe—who sniffed him out, as it were—and which Dalí tries to elude in his carefully elaborated text, where confession and secrecy intermix. The rat, on the other hand, which appears in the story “The Pit and the Pendulum,” which is set in Spain, symbolizes the furious, instinctive and indiscriminate desire that emerges from the “id,” or pit, into which the victim is pushed by the Inquisition’s slicing and sinister pendulum, which is an image of the superego. The dead black rat on the telephone is a reference to the Inquisition’s techniques of torture, and is another metaphor for the barrage of criticism to which both Dalí and Poe were subjected, and from which they managed to escape, or at least to use to their own advantage.

academic reputation he deserves—should have played such a central role in the autobiography of Salvador Dalí, an artist whose canonical status remains, perhaps for similar reasons, controversial.

In any case, encouraged by the popular and commercial success of his autobiographical confession, and scornful of his critics, Dalí retired to the idyllic mountains of New Hampshire, to the town of Franconia, to focus on becoming a novelist. After four months of intense work, the painter would publish his first novel, *Hidden Faces* (Dali, 2001 [1944]), which narrates a nostalgic panorama, in the vein of autobiography, of the decadent inter-war period in Europe, and of the world of Parisian high society that Dalí had known in the 1930s. As Haakon Chevalier, the novel's English translator, expertly identifies in the prologue, it was against this backdrop that Dalí returns to one of Poe's favorite themes—love in death—reinterpreting the ancient myth of Tristan and Isolde and thereby expressing a synthesis and sublimation of sadism and masochism, of pleasure and pain, through an identification with the beloved object (Chevalier, 1974, pp. V-VII). In the preface to his novel, Dalí gives this synthesis the name of “Cledalism,” in homage to the female protagonist, Solange de Cléda, a sort of profane Saint Theresa, whose sacrifice enables the normalization of passionate feeling (Dalí, 2004a, p. 14).

After nearly four years in exile, many of the hopes Dalí had harbored for his host country had vanished, and in the process of writing the novel, he became gripped by a deep nostalgia for his Catalan and Spanish roots. It is no surprise, then, that the text would also express a disillusion with America, a land whose “fruit has no flavour, its women have no shame, and its men are without honour” (Dalí, 2001, p. 293). All told, America had provided Dalí the opportunity to develop as a unique artist on his own terms, to gain independence from Breton's Surrealist group, and even to realize his dream of becoming a classical artist, a transformation that he would ultimately declare as “the last scandal of Salvador Dalí” in the text that accompanied the exhibition catalog for his show at the Julien Levy Gallery in April 1941, where he would also

renounce his experiments with modern painting and proclaim his return to an era of morphological art in his effort to conquer irrationality (Dalí, 1994a, p. 338). In the United States, Dalí transformed his literary style, abandoning his intricate system of theoretical ambiguities to communicate directly and simply with his new audience, who were largely unaware of the subtleties of Surrealist discourse. Eventually, he would even go so far as to declare himself the embodiment of Surrealism itself, declaring: “I am Surrealism!” (Dalí in Finkelstein, 1998a, pp. 321-22). New patrons, such as Reynolds Morse and the Marquis de Cuevas, and the summer refuge at the Hotel Del Monte, in Pebble Beach, California, allowed Dalí to continue painting without interference from the Surrealist group, which had relocated to New York, or from other art circles that rejected his aesthetic principles. It was then that Breton coined Dalí’s nickname, “Avida Dollars,” in reference to the artist’s chrematistic obsessions, an anagram that Dalí himself would later incorporate, with humorous edge, into his own work.

36

In the end, Dalí’s American adventure would include—how could it not?—a trip to Hollywood, which, with a small handful of isolated and brief exceptions, had always been strongly averse to the artist’s attempts at filmmaking.¹⁴ The long list of Dalí’s unsuccessful film projects testifies to his persistent interest in cinema, and his dream

¹⁴ In fact, beginning with his first visits to the United States, Dalí tried to resume a film career that began in 1928 with *Un Chien Andalou*. In 1935, for example, Dalí created a screenplay for a film titled *The Surreal Mystery of New York*, which was released in installments in the magazine *The American Weekly*. In the screenplay, his vision of the city evokes the bleak megalopolis of García Lorca’s *Poet in New York*, and as Matthew Gale notes, his portrayal of the violence, sex and crime of the city derives from the *film noir* genre, and specifically, from the silent short-film series *Les Mystères de New York* (1914), while also conveying a sense of anxiety and violence that likely reflected both the painter’s precarious position in the Surrealist movement at the time, as well as his sense of foreboding of the Spanish Civil War (Gale, 2008, p. 138). In any case, his desired but unsuccessful love affair with Hollywood would ultimately result in only two successful collaborations: a dream scene for Alfred Hitchcock’s film *Spellbound*, in 1945, and a short film with Walt Disney, *Destino*, in 1946. Other projects never saw the light of day, due in part to Dalí’s insistence on building outlandish sets and telling bizarre stories, in a Hollywood more interested in satisfying the tastes of the American public than indulging his sophisticated surrealist demands. Dalí’s frustrated projects include a film version of his autobiography; a comedy conceived in collaboration with the Marx Brothers, *Giraffes on Horseback Salad* (1937); and a nightmarish scene for the film *Moontide* (1941), directed by Fritz Lang and produced by Twentieth Century Fox. Dalí’s disagreements with Hollywood centered, in large part, around his subversive attempts to present spectacles of delirious fear and erotic fantasy to an American audience with much less sophisticated tastes (Michael R. Taylor, 2008b, p. 146). As Sara Cochran notes, if Hollywood had a place for Dalí’s creativity, it was a marginal one: the space of fantasy and nightmares (Cochran, 2008, p. 184). Even so, Dalí’s one contribution to Disney’s world of fantasy, *Destino*, was shelved for years and only in 2003 was the film completed and released to the public.

of making it in the mecca of moviemaking. But Dalí would ultimately have to be content with making his painting the setting for the motifs and techniques that he had hoped to bring to the big screen, projecting on his canvases the multiple images, strange atmospheres and destabilizing perspectives typical of cinema, and ultimately treating his pictorial compositions as cinematographic montages.

In his 1939 painting *Shirley Temple, The Youngest, Most Sacred Monster of the Cinema in Her Time*, alternatively titled *The Barcelona Sphinx*, Dalí would ironically express his aesthetic contentions with Hollywood. A feeling of uncertainty, pessimism and tragedy pervades the scene, which nevertheless retains its burlesque character, with a sign at the base of the sphinx that reads: “Shirley!... at last, in technicolor.” As Joan Minguet Batllori compellingly explains, if we consider that all of the films starring the young actress had been produced in black and white, Dalí’s painting was, in a sense, the child actress’s first role in a color production (Minguet, 2003, p. 222).

37

Nevertheless, and despite this frustrated love affair with Hollywood, the Salvador Dalí Museum in Florida continues to bear witness to Dalí’s distinctive ability to communicate effectively with an American audience. The museum’s founders, Eleanor and Reynolds Morse, despite having no critical training in art, or knowledge of Spain or Catalonia, would share with the American public an irrepressible attraction toward his work, eventually becoming its most expert and dedicated connoisseurs and custodians in the United States. With more than two hundred thousand visitors a year, the Dalí Museum is a testament to the persistence of the Spanish painter’s poetic Surrealist achievements in America. We see this expressed pictorially in *The Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus* (1959), a canvas that captures not only Dalí’s apotheosis in the New World, but also the metaphysical mysteries and complex historical and autobiographical dimensions that inspired his work, both during and after his undisputed conquest of America.



Image 4. Landscape of Franconia, where Dalí wrote *Hidden Faces* (Wikimedia Commons Public Domain).

3. Dalí in Virginia

Shaina Harkness

The Dalí Museum in St. Petersburg, Florida

Abstract: This chapter considers Dalí's arrival in America and the important role of his friendship with his patron Caresse Crosby, his time in Virginia and how it shaped his early presence in the American press and art market. Though Dalí arrived in America in August 1940, the scene for his arrival was already set during the 1930s. In 1932 Dalí and Caresse Crosby began a unique and valuable relationship that would last for decades. According to *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí*, the two were introduced in Paris by René Crevel. Crosby became Dalí's patron in the Zodiac group, and also became his bridge between Paris and the United States. In November 1934, she accompanied Dalí and Gala on their first voyage to the United States. Crosby ensured America's recognition of Dalí by introducing him to the New York press and later by organizing a farewell gala, *Bal Onirique*, before their return to France in January 1935. There, Dalí and Gala became regular guests at Crosby's *Moulin du Soleil*, a retreat outside Paris, where Dalí mingled with other artists and writers. Dalí and Caresse's relationship would continue into the next decade, with Dalí and Gala fleeing Europe in 1940 for the United States. They settled at Hampton Manor, Caresse's country manor in Bowling Green, Virginia, where Dalí continued working on his autobiography and prepared for his 1941 solo show at the Julien Levy Gallery. This essay uses primary sources such as correspondence, immigration papers, newspaper clippings, passenger lists and diary entries to document and provide new evidence regarding his patrons, early work in the US, his art and writing, much of which took place in Virginia, his movements, a chronology of his activities and his immigration status as an alien in the United States.

Keywords: Salvador Dalí, Caresse Crosby, *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí*, immigration to the United States in the 1940s, Virginia, arts patron

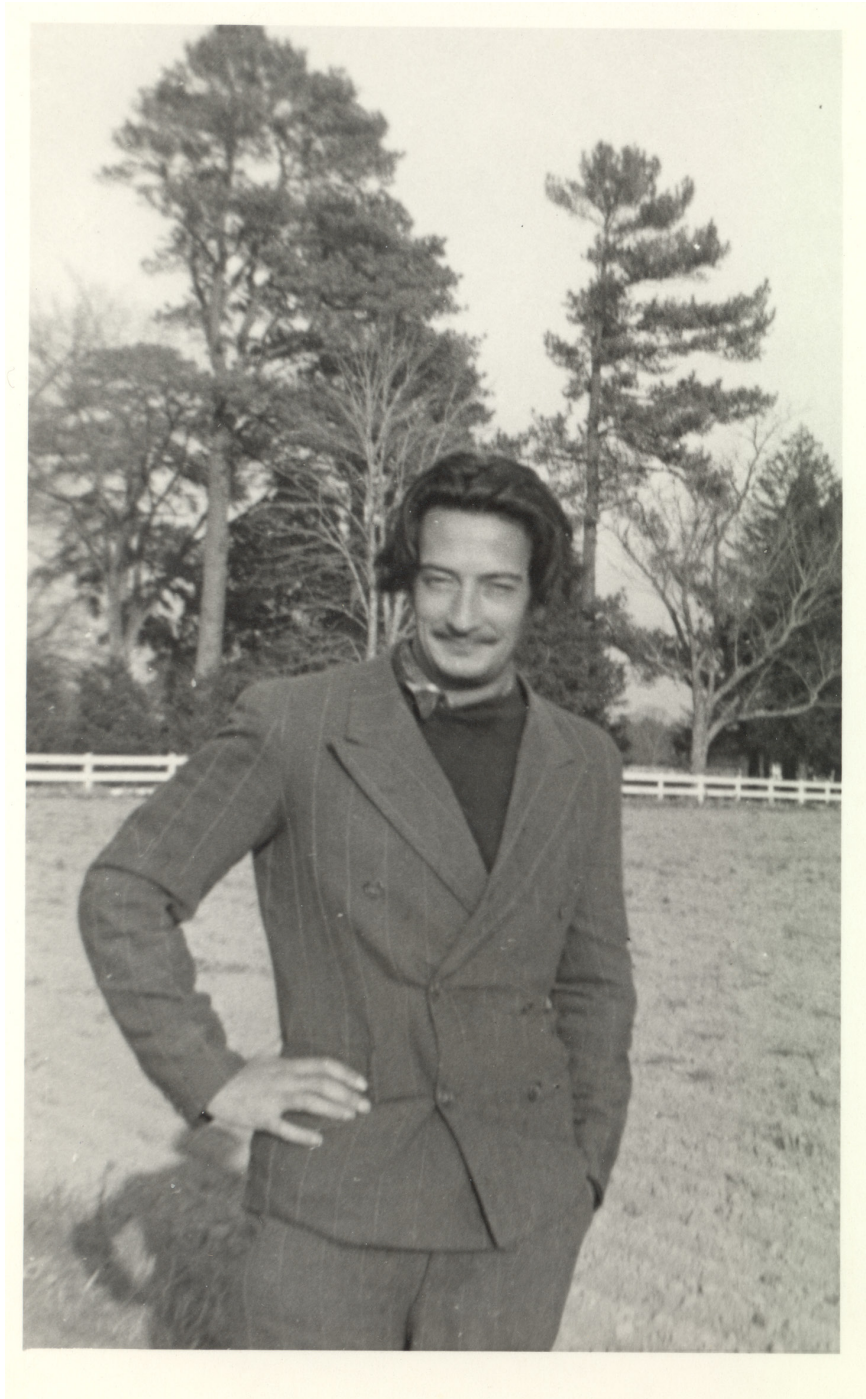


Image 5. Salvador Dalí at Hampton Manor in Bowling Green, 1940.
Courtesy of Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

3.1. Introduction

On August 26, 1940, Salvador and Gala Dalí arrived at Caresse Crosby's country estate, Hampton Manor in Bowling Green, Virginia, thus beginning their 8-year stay in the United States.¹⁵ At first glance it seems an unlikely pairing for the Dalís, but the beauty and stillness of Virginia allowed Dalí a relaxing freedom to write, paint and “enchant” the landscape, as well as to stir up an American media frenzy. In Dalí's own words, “the calm beauty of Virginia was an active inspiration after the turmoil of the Europe we left. Besides, rural Virginia has something of the spirit in its terrain of the France and Spain where I worked” (Around the Galleries, 1941).

In 1932 Dalí and Caresse Crosby began a unique and valuable relationship that would last for many years. According to *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí* (1942b), the two were introduced in Paris by René Crevel. Crosby became one of Dalí's twelve patrons in the Zodiac group, as well as the artist's his bridge between Paris and the U.S. In November 1934, she accompanied Dalí and Gala on their first voyage to the U.S. Crosby ensured America's recognition of the painter by introducing him to the New York press before their return to France in January 1935. There, Dalí and Gala became regular guests at Crosby's Moulin du Soleil where Dalí mingled with other artists and writers. Dalí and Caresse's relationship would continue into the next decade, with the Dalís fleeing Europe in 1940 for America, where Salvador continued working on his autobiography and prepared for his 1941 solo show at the Julien Levy Gallery.

Caresse Crosby was born in New York City on April 20, 1892, as Mary Phelps Jacob, nicknamed “Polly.” She was from a wealthy and elite American family, with ancestors such as the first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, William Bradford, who had come over on the Mayflower and Robert Fulton, the inventor of the

¹⁵ Dalí, S. Telegram to Caresse Crosby in Reno Nevada (personal communication, August 26, 1940), Caresse Crosby Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

steamboat. As a young woman she wrote and published many local journalistic stories and poetry in her local school newspapers. In her twenties she invented and patented the first wireless brassiere. Caresse's first husband was Richard Peabody, who she later divorced, and then married the dapper and oftentimes melancholic wealthy poet Harry Crosby. They founded the Black Sun Press in April 1927 and, longing for a country retreat, in 1928 the Crosbys purchased the Moulin, a dilapidated mill on the property of the Chateau at Ermenonville. The Mill, as it was later called, became a haven for writers, poets and artists. Dalí described it as being "A mixture of Surrealists and society people [that] came there, because they sensed that in the Moulin, *things were happening*" (1942b, p. 327). On December 10, 1929, Harry committed suicide with his young lover, Josephine Bigelow. From 1929 Caresse ran the Black Sun Press alone.

By 1936 Caresse was a widow and now the lover of Bert Young (Selbert Young), who "dreamed of overseeing a large farm that someone else would buy for him" (Crosby, 1953, p. 326). On September 30, 1936 she sold 433 shares of stock to purchase Hampton Manor, which was a huge dilapidated mansion on 500 acres of land, 25 miles south of Fredericksburg, Virginia. It was designed by Thomas Jefferson for his friend Colonel DeJarnette. Caresse and Bert decided it was to be a working farm with live cattle including a prize-winning Hereford bull (Crosby, 1953, p. 332).

42

3.2. *Entrance to the United States*

As Gibson states, though Dalí wrote to Luis Buñuel in the summer of 1939 that "I don't believe there'll be a world war" (1998, p. 448), World War II was officially declared on September 1, 1939, and Europe was in turmoil. Salvador and Gala Dalí certainly began to see the gravity of the situation, along with others and they knew they must flee Europe. Dalí and Gala used their many past patron relationships and influential friends they had made to navigate the cumbersome immigration progress. It was war time, and there had to be a legitimate reason for them to be granted a visa to enter the US.

© Shaina Harkness
Salvador Dalí the United States

Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies. 085-04/2023EN
ISSN: 2688-2949 (online) 2688-2965 (print) doi: 10.15427/OR085-04/2023EN
© Instituto Cervantes at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University

There is evidence to suggest that his former patron Edward James was a catalyst in getting the Dalís to America because he was concerned for their safety. In October 1939, Dalí asked Edward James to send him a “spoof invitation to New York in his capacity of ‘President’ of Dream of Venus. It would make it easier to get a visa. James complied at once” (Gibson, 1998, p. 454). The two biggest supporters, who were instrumental in getting Dalí to America, were Julien Levy and Caresse Crosby. The entire trip was premised on the fact he was planning a big exhibition for the Julien Levy Gallery, and that he was working on his memoirs, which Crosby had promised to publish with Dial Press in New York. Starting in January 1940 Julien Levy writes to Dalí, “If you plan to come here do please let me know enough in advance so that we can well schedule a fine exhibition.”¹⁶ A few months later, the specifics about the show are outlined, including the original opening date of November 19, 1940. Then on May 14, 1940 Crosby sends a letter to Dalí discussing his plans to finish his memoirs, and says, “...it is absolutely necessary that you be here during the summer months to work on this with me.”¹⁷ In order to be granted a visa to the United States during that time, sufficient evidence of need was required. Thus, the letters from Crosby and Levy were just the documentation he needed. On June 28, 1940, the Nazis invade Paris, pressing Dalí and Gala to work quickly. Before the Nazis’ invasion of the French capital, on June 20, 1940, Dalí receives a visa from Sousa to enter Portugal. Aristides de Sousa Mendes had been granting people visas into his country, in order to catch ships sailing to the US. This was just the first step.

Salvador Dalí also had a personal relationship with Juan Cárdenas, the Spanish Ambassador in Washington D.C., who may have contributed to Dalí’s success in being granted a visa during such perilous times. In a letter dated January 12, 1942, to the American Consul General in Montreal, Cárdenas ends with “I have personally known Mrs. And Mr. Dalí for about 10 years” (Cárdenas, 1942)¹⁸. In a telegram sometime in

¹⁶ Levy, J., Letter to S. Dali (personal communication, January 29, 1940), Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, inv. 2069.

¹⁷ Crosby, C., Letter to S. Dali (personal communication, May 14, 1940), Fundació Gala-Salvador, inv. 39230.

¹⁸ Cárdenas, J. (personal communication, 1942). Obtained through the FOIA in 2010.

1940, probably early on, Cárdenas wrote, “For recommending a visa to be of interest to the State Department, specify knowing place, date, person; see to this exposition so that the necessary inquiry may be made.”¹⁹ It seems that the Dalís were asking Cárdenas the best way to obtain a visa. By July 15, 1940, Dalí had been issued his Spanish passport in Madrid (U.S. Dept. of Justice, 1941a), and by July 16, 1940, a visitor visa for the United States had been granted (U.S. Dept. of Justice, 1941b). The next day he flies to Lisbon, Portugal and is there through August 8, 1940 (Gibson, 1998, p.458),²⁰ when he and Gala board the SS Excambion and set sail for America, thanks to their former connections and friendships.

3.3. Dalí as an Alien

The Alien Registration Program was a World War II-era national security measure ordered by the original Alien Registration Act of 1940. That 1940 Act directed the INS to fingerprint and register every alien age 14 and older living or arriving in the United States—and Dalí was no exception. On September 30, 1940 in Bowling Green Virginia, Dalí filled out his alien registration form, and subsequently, in every place Dalí traveled within the US, he had to file an “Address Report Card—Alien Registration.”

It is also known through these cards that Dalí returned to Virginia in the summer of 1941 for June and July, after the spring Levy show. He was at Hampton Manor and in Williamsburg, Virginia. In a postcard to Crosby dated July 5, 1941, from Williamsburg, Dalí indicated progress on *The Secret Life* and said that it was almost complete. In 1942 Dalí and Gala decided to go to Montreal, Canada but, to get an immigration visa for entry, they had to obtain letters from police departments of the cities in the US in which they resided in 1941. One such letter was written by the Sheriff

¹⁹ Cárdenas, J. (personal communication, 1940) Fundació Gala-Salvador Inv. 41014 / 1850; translation by Annette Norwood.

²⁰ Edward James receives word from the American embassy in Spain that Dalí is expected to leave for Lisbon on July 17. Plus, there is a letter from Dalí to Caresse Crosby dated July 20 or 21 on Hotel Metropole paper and two telegrams from Juan F. de Cárdenas sent to Dalí at the Hotel Metropole.

of Caroline County, Virginia stating “Helen and Salvador Dalí spent eight months in Caroline County.... During their stay here, they lived quiet and peaceful lives in this community, causing no one any trouble” (Henshaw, 1942).²¹

3.4. Dalí's Time in Virginia

At this time Crosby had set up Hampton Manor like an artists' residence similar to The Mill. Henry Miller, who was making additions to his famous *Tropic of Capricorn*, Anaïs Nin and John Dudley and his wife were all guests at Hampton Manor as well that August 1940. Though tensions were high between Miller and Dalí, both writers were able to ignore one another to an extent, and furiously worked on their soon-to-be published works.

Numerous articles relate Dalí's rigorous schedule while at the manor. He got up very early, around 7:30 and began painting at 8 am. He would break for lunch and then play a game of chess, after which he went back to painting. After dinner, he worked on his memoirs until around midnight. In her diary Nin made comments that it was very clear from the beginning that Gala's intention was that the household would function “for the well-being of Dalí.... Quietly she assumed we were all there to serve Dalí, the great, indisputable artist” (1969, p. 40).

On September 10²² the manor and all its guests were interrupted by a raging drunk Bert who stormed into the house in the middle of the night and threatened to burn Dalí's paintings. Miller and the Dalís immediately fled Virginia to escape Bert—the Dalís to Washington, D.C. Both Miller and Dalí sent letters to Caresse, who was out in

²¹ Henshaw, T.S. Letter to the U.S. Department of Justice (communication, February 5, 1942).

²² Dalí, S. (personal communication, Sept 10, 1940), Caresse Crosby Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

Nevada visiting her daughter, recounting the event. At least Dalí and Miller could agree on one thing – they would flee Hampton Manor and remove themselves from a volatile situation.

3.5. Paintings

“Dalí painted every day, whistling and singing,” as Nin writes (1992, p. 41).

Through correspondence and countless newspaper articles it is difficult to pinpoint which paintings were brought over from France and which were completed in America in time for the Levy show. In three different accounts, Dalí tells reporters of 14, 15, 16 or 17 paintings that were seized in France by the Germans and were on their way to the United States. On May 23, 1940, Gala filled out a “Declaration in Connection with Paintings, etc. and Sculptures” stating that the paintings, drawings and other works on paper listed on the consul invoice #7268 are original.²³ These paintings indeed arrived in time for the Levy show. Dalí also told reporters in November he had completed 5 paintings since arriving at Hampton Manor on August 26, but this number vacillated in the press too. In total, twenty-two paintings were exhibited at the Levy gallery.

46

With a high degree of certainty, five paintings were done at Hampton Manor: *Disappearing Bust of Voltaire* (1941, The Dalí Museum), *Daddy Longlegs of the Evening – Hope!* (1940, The Dalí Museum), *Piano Descending in Parachute* (c.1941, Unknown), *Portrait of Mrs. Harold McCormick* (c.1941, Unknown) and *Honey is Sweeter than Blood* (also *Blood is Sweeter than Honey*) (1941, The Santa Barbara Museum of Art).

²³ (Personal communication, c.1940s), Julien Levy Gallery records, 1857-1982, Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives. Unfortunately, as of July 2022 the National Archives is missing the 1940 source cards for the State Department, which would have had the consular invoices.

In a newspaper article from November 21, 1940, Dalí tells reporters that he has “...decided upon the titles for three of them. These are ‘Spider in the Evening,’ ‘Piano Descending in Parachute,’ and ‘At the Slave Market’” (Dalley, 1940). Based on French and American canvas sizes plus Lubar’s statement that *Slave Market with the Disappearing Bust of Voltaire* (1940, The Dalí Museum) was completed in Arcachon (Lubar, 2018, p. 174), its companion piece, *Disappearing Bust of Voltaire* is the more likely candidate to have been painted at Hampton Manor.

In addition, it is known from Levy’s May 8 letter and Crosby’s May 14 letter that Dalí would be taking commissions for portraits.²⁴ A telegram from Julien Levy to Dalí staying in Arcachon dated May 31, 1940, urges that Dalí be at the opening of the exhibition and that he be in the United States for two portrait commissions.²⁵ *Portrait of Mrs. Harold McCormick* was premiered at the Levy show. On September 24, 1940, Harold McCormick wrote Dalí a letter commissioning him to paint a portrait of his wife, Mrs. Harold McCormick, and included photographs of her so he could begin working on the project. Over the course of three letters from Mr. McCormick, it can be seen that Dalí did indeed begin work on the portrait as of December 16, 1940, but would complete the portrait once Mrs. McCormick did a physical sitting for Dalí, which was scheduled for the early part of January.²⁶ Though not included in the prior five painting titles, there is circumstantial evidence that leads us to believe that his *His Excellency Don Juan Cárdenas, Spanish Ambassador (Portrait of Juan Cárdenas)* (c.1943, Private Collection) was at least started during Dalí’s time at Hampton Manor. This evidence includes the fact that an incomplete version of the work was exhibited at the Levy show and based on the aforementioned personal communication between the two men in regard to obtaining the visa.

47

²⁴ Levy, J. “Mr. Dali is free to make portraits, paint murals, lecture, make films, write articles, without commission to the Gallery” (personal communication, 1940).

Crosby, C. “I also hear from Julien Levy that he is now arranging for you to paint two portraits in New York this summer” (personal communication, 1940). Though the McCormick portrait would not be painted in New York, it clearly identifies Dalí’s intent of painting portraits while in America.

²⁵ Levy, J. (Personal correspondence, May 31, 1940), Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí inv. 39567 / 380.

²⁶ Dalí, S. (Personal correspondence, December 16, 1940), Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, inv. 41029 / 1865.

In reference to the fifth painting Dalí likely painted at Hampton Manor, A. Reynolds Morse recounts a conversation with Dalí about the process of creating the work *Honey is Sweeter than Blood*:

It was at Hampton Manor that Dalí...also painted the nude *Blood is Sweeter Than Honey* (which is now in the Santa Barbara Museum). Dalí told us that [it] was one of the few pictures for which he had ever used a live model. The young lady who was to pose for him arrived at the mansion full of trepidation because of the stories she had heard about the crazy surrealist...²⁷

So between the canvases he was working on at the Hampton Manor and the other works that were being shipped over from France, Dalí would have a complete show for Levy.

3.6. *Beyond Writing and Painting*

Beyond preparing paintings for his upcoming show and writing his memoirs, Dalí was designing a futuristic chair. “This chair will have life. It will breathe.... You will pour yourself into it, and rest as in a cradle,” quotes Dalí to local journalists (Talley, 1940). The intent was for the chair to be in the Levy exhibit, but apparently it laid in limbo in the formative design phase. He also had time to work on another ballet project. Though the artist was not in Richmond the prior year to see his famed *Bacchanale* performed, he heard it was a success and, while at Hampton Manor, began working on costumes for another ballet that takes place in Spain at the time of Philip II. In fact, he told journalists, “I had to have a model for an angel for the ballet, and I found one right here in Richmond” (Talley, 1940). Now, after *Bacchanale*, Dalí did work in collaboration for several ballets in the 1940s, but these productions do not fit his description above. Perhaps this was an unrealized work, which was common to Dalí due to his endless ideas.

²⁷ Morse, A. R., July and August 1956, manuscript, p. 311, Collection of The Dalí Museum Library & Archives.

Besides writing, painting and designing, according to newspaper articles Dalí did find time to explore a bit of Virginia. Over the Thanksgiving holiday in 1940, he visited the Virginia Museum of Fine arts and supposedly went to “an antique shop to buy a present for his wife” (Talley, 1940). In a newspaper article from March 2, 1941 the writer says that Dalí, his wife and Caresse Crosby occasionally go to Richmond to see a movie. Dalí is quoted as saying, “The technicolor cinema definitely has possibilities as a medium for artistic expression” (Virginia Spider, 1941). In late March 1941, before he went to New York for his show, according to a *Richmond Times-Dispatch* article, he made a trip away from Caroline County to Washington, D.C. to see the Mellon Collection, where he was “captivated by a portrait by Vermeer.” He is also noted as saying that art museums in America are “not subdued by the traditional” (Rouse, 1941). All of these excursions outside of Hampton Manor were brief and were certainly not regularly scheduled outings, since Crosby noted several times that Dalí rarely left the property, but they made an impression on the American public.

49

It was also in Virginia that Dalí set out to design a new line of jewelry, a craft he had been practicing since the 30's. Both Crosby and Dalí invited the Italian jewelry designer Duke Fulco di Verdura down to Hampton Manor to discuss this idea in person. Verdura recounts the story of their meeting in a *Harper's Bazaar* issue in May 1941. Dalí and Crosby decided to play a trick on Verdura and, after several errands in town, Crosby drives up to an old, abandoned house down the road that she had deemed the haunted house in photo archives. When he arrived, Verdura was met with a house of horror—a door swinging on broken hinges, a roof caving in, windows with no glass, mildew all over the walls, no furniture and no carpets. Gala and Dalí rush out to greet him and show him where they will work and collaborate. After a short time, they all fess up and take the Duke to the real Hampton Manor, but Verdura took it all in stride. In the now famous Schaal photograph, Dalí is seen with a magnifying glass working on the various designs in miniature. These designs were successfully exhibited at the Levy show in April.

© Shaina Harkness
Salvador Dalí the United States

Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies. 085-04/2023EN
ISSN: 2688-2949 (online) 2688-2965 (print) doi: 10.15427/OR085-04/2023EN
© Instituto Cervantes at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University

3.7. Enchanting the Property



50

Image 6. "Enchanted Lake" Artwork by Salvador Dalí
Courtesy of Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

In June of 1939, Dalí designed a Surrealist pavilion for the Amusement Area of the New York World's Fair, a commission he had received back in April. It was a true surrealist *objet d'art* complete with his iconic crutches, an aquatic dance show, a swimming pool and even mermaids. "‘Dream of Venus’ was the first wavering version... of this other ‘inhabitable’...artistic objet d’art" (Aguer et al, 1999, p. 7). And like the Dream of Venus, Dalí set out to create a similar *objet d'art* at Hampton Manor just a year later.

© Shaina Harkness
Salvador Dalí the United States

Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies. 085-04/2023EN
ISSN: 2688-2949 (online) 2688-2965 (print) doi: 10.15427/OR085-04/2023EN
© Instituto Cervantes at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University

The Caroline Progress writes, “[h]e will have an enchanted lake and enchanted trees, he says, although he does not explain the process” (Dalley, 1940). Terms like “surrealist paradise,” “surrealist garden” are mentioned in different newspaper articles. One published in *Time* magazine, entitled “Enchanted Garden,” described in detail Dalí’s surrealist paradise right in the middle of Bowling Green. Dalí and Caresse were expecting to charge admission for this surrealist rural pavilion and even applied for a county permit. There was “a grand piano hauled into the middle of the lake,” and Dalí “dunked a manikin near the shore and was trying to ornament her face with a fork” (Enchanted Garden, 1941). And all of it was to be completed with lights and sound to produce the full surrealist effect. Unfortunately, not all of Dalí’s ideas were fully realized and this surrealist *objet d’art* was not completed during the time when he was living at Hampton Manor.

51

Along with the breathing chair, this enchanted garden was certainly the most Dalinian aspect of his stay in Virginia and, as always, he never let the American press down with his endless charm and charisma. To document his time at Hampton Manor, *Life* magazine came to Virginia and published an article in the April 7, 1941 issue, including photographs by Eric Schaal showing the American public a typical day for Dalí in Virginia. The article contained photos of Dalí enchanting the property, Dalí at the drugstore, Dalí painting and, of course, the famous photo of Dalí, Caresse and Gala surrounded by *Secret Life* manuscript pages with a Hereford bull sitting calmly in their presence in the library. The article detailed the upcoming Levy show, the enchanted garden, his paintings and his other activities around the farm. It has become by far one of the most famous articles of Dalí’s time in America.

3.8. Conclusion

Hampton Manor was an ideal situation for Dalí because it gave him the freedom to develop art projects that he was most interested in, and Caresse Crosby certainly encouraged and supported him in everything, just as she had done with the authors, she published in the Black Sun Press. Although getting to the US for such an extended stay as a resident alien was an arduous journey, Dalí proved it was well worth it. His fame and success in the country began in 1934, during his first trip to the US, thanks to Levy and Crosby, but it was his eight months at Hampton Manor that truly prepared him for the next eight years in America. Though the 1941 Levy show and his *Secret Life* had mixed reviews in the press, Dalí still made a lasting impression on the American public, and there is no doubt that his time in Virginia shaped his presence in the US press and art market.

52

Acknowledgements:

Thank you to Bill Moravec and Annette Norwood for their expert editing work on this essay.

4. Dalí in New York

William Jeffett

The Dalí Museum in St. Petersburg, Florida

Abstract: This paper examines the substantial presence of Dalí in New York both in the 1930s and during the Second World War, when he lived in the US from 1940 to 1948. Shortly after arriving in the US in August 1940, he had his first solo exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art (1941); and while in America his activities were highly visible in the US press and his exhibitions at commercial art galleries. As well, this paper examines his repeated visits to New York in the post-war years, at a time when normally he divided his time between Figueres, Paris and New York and when in New York lived in the St. Regis hotel, and frequently exhibited in the city. Further it will consider his awareness of trends in American painting developing simultaneously, his writing about such trends and how American artists based in New York engaged with his work in their own practice. Of special interest will be the avant-garde movements of gestural abstraction (Abstract Expressionism) and then Pop art. Dalí understood the logic of these new positions, themselves so influenced by Surrealism, as gestural abstraction derived from earlier automatism (Masson, Miró) and Pop from the Surrealist poetics of the ordinary so evident in the concept and practice of the Surrealist Object (Dalí). Finally, it will consider how Dalí's simple presence in the city marked many artists in surprising ways. The paper draws on the artist's published writings, and archival materials, early exhibition catalogues, and press cuttings to demonstrate a more complete view of the importance of Dalí understood in the context of American art.

53

Keywords: Abstract Expressionism, Art Market, Ballet, Contemporary Art, Salvador Dalí, New York, Pop Art.

From the mid-1930s, Salvador Dalí's work was a near constant presence in New York City. The visibility of his work was due primarily to a series of art dealers who put his work before the public's eye. Dalí rapidly understood the importance of this visibility, and he soon made his presence in New York a complement to that of his art.

4.1. The 1930s

During most of the 1930s, Julien Levy introduced and promoted Dalí's work in the city. Even prior to his first solo show, Dalí was introduced in group exhibitions. Levy's *Surrealism* (1932) included the already iconic *Persistence of Memory* that had already been seen in Hartford in *Newer Super-realism* (November 1931), organized by Chick Austin with help from Levy. In November-December 1933, Levy organized Dalí's first solo exhibition in the gallery, including *The Persistence of Memory* (1931; cat 7). In November 1934 the Museum of Modern Art included *Illuminated Pleasures* in *Modern Works of Art: 5th Anniversary Exhibition*, and this same year the museum acquired *The Persistence of Memory* by donation. 1934 also saw a second Dalí solo show presented at Levy, which included *Sugar Sphinx* (1933, cat 10), *Paranoiac-Astral Image* (1934, cat. 15), *Javanese Mannequin* (c. 1934, cat 8; The Dalí Museum) and *Archaeological Reminiscence of Millet's Angelus* (c. 1934, cat. 9; The Dalí Museum). The impressive exhibition occasioned Dalí's first trip to New York and marked the beginning of Dalí's presence in the city's press.

This show was followed by another solo show at Levy's gallery in December 1936. The exhibition included some remarkably strong paintings including *El gran paranoico* (cat. 2; Museum Boijmans van Beuningen), *Three Young Surrealist Women Holding in their Arms the Skins of an Orchestra* (cat. 3; The Dalí Museum), *Soft Construction with Boiled Beans* (cat. 5; Philadelphia Museum of Art) and *The Man with the Head of Blue Hortensias* (cat. 7; The Dalí Museum). The impact in the commercial press was notable, and Dalí's photograph appeared on the cover of *Time Magazine* (14

December 1936). His presence in New York fueled interest in his art. Shortly before the Levy show, in November, his works were also included in the Fantastic Art: Dada and Surrealism exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art; simultaneously, he designed a shop window for Bonwit Teller.

Dalí's next trip to New York was in February 1939, and his presence there was even more spectacular. As has already been discussed in an earlier chapter, Bonwit Teller once again invited Dalí to make displays in two of their shop windows; but changes were made to the display by the management, after the artist had already realized this project. An enraged Dalí, having seen the changes, toppled a bathtub through the glass, resulting in his brief arrest by the police and considerable press attention. On 21 March, Levy gave him another solo exhibition with considerable recognition in the press. The show included such impressive paintings as *The Sublime Moment* (cat. 21; Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart) and *Melancholic Eccentricity* (cat. 13; Tate Modern), two of the series of telephone paintings pointing to the Munich crisis that Dalí had painted in 1938 in Coco Chanel's villa La Pausa. Also included was *Mad Tristan* (cat. 9; The Dalí Museum). The latter was related to the set designs Dalí was preparing for the ballet production at the Metropolitan Opera. Though he changed his references to the title, this ballet, based on the opening act of *Tannhäuser*, had its premiere on 9 November 1939, with the title *Bacchanale*, with sets by Dalí, choreography by Léonid Massine and production by the Ballet Russes de Monte Carlo. The project began for Dalí with the idea of *Mad Tristan*, based on Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, and focusing on the death of Tristan and Isolde at the end of the third act, but he transitioned from that opera due to its subject being "too sacred" (Joseph-Lowery & Stuckey, 2013, p. 7); and thus, the *Bacchanale* subject based on *Tannhäuser*, with its dance scene set in Venusberg, was the one selected. (Abadie, 1979-1980, pp. 86-87). But the event of the 1939 season was not so much the opera, despite its success, but Dalí's Dream of Venus Pavilion at the New York World's Fair, including live mermaids. Dalí's intention here was modified too. The artist's reaction to both the Bonwit Teller incident and the problems with the World's Fair was the publication of his tract printed on green paper,

Declaration of the Independence of the Imagination and the Rights of Man to his Own Madness (1 August 1939) (Dalí, 1998a), which vociferously denounced all forms of artistic censorship. Again, he was in the public eye of New Yorkers.

4.2. The War Years



56

Image 7. “Daddy Longlegs of the Evening—Hope!,” 1940, Oil on canvas, Collection of The Dalí Museum, Inc. St. Petersburg, FL. In the USA, ©Salvador Dalí Museum, Inc. St. Petersburg, FL 2022 / Worldwide rights, ©Salvador Dalí. Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí (Artists Rights Society), 2022, fig 1.

Dalí did not immigrate definitely to the United States until August 1940. He brought with him a number of paintings, but soon after arrival, he set to work, both painting and writing the drafts for what would become *The Secret Life*. The first painting executed in the United States probably was *Daddy Longlegs of the Evening—Hope!* (1940; The Dalí Museum). As regards the paintings he brought with him, these most likely included *Slave Market (with Apparition of the Invisible Bust of Voltaire)* (1940; The Dalí Museum), while among the new ones executed in the US was the related canvas *Bust of Voltaire* (1941; The Dalí Museum).

Levy again exhibited Dalí in a monographic show in late April 1941, and the above three paintings (cats. 1, 14 and 11) as well as the unfinished *Sketch for the Portrait of His Excellency Don Juan Cardenas, Spanish Ambassador* (cat. 22; Private Collection) and numerous other works. 1941 also saw Dalí's first important museum exhibition in New York, with a solo show at the Museum of Modern Art, which opened on the 19th of November with a retrospective focus and a strong presentation of major paintings from the 1930s, including many of the already mentioned works, and ranging in time from the *The Persistence of Memory* (cat. 9) to *Triumph of Nautilus* (1941; cat. 49; Private Collection). Joan Miró's solo exhibition was presented alongside Dalí's and the two shows sparked great interest in the New York public. Dalí was rapidly presenting himself as representing, even embodying, Surrealism, and was perhaps the most visible artist of the movement in New York, despite the presence of many Surrealists in New York, like Nicolas Calas, who denounced him in an article titled "Anti-Surrealist Dalí" in *View* magazine (Calas, 1941). The 1941 Levy show would be Dalí's last with the dealer. His next important New York exhibition was with Knoedler Gallery, where he again included new work, this time with the finished portrait of Cárdenas, presented with the title *His Excellency Don Juan Cardenas, Spanish Ambassador Portrait of Juan Cárdenas* (c. 1943; cat. 10a).

André Breton was also present in New York, but Breton did not speak English or engage with the public in the way Dalí did. Consequently, the French writer found Dalí irritating to say the least, and for political motives he despised the Spanish artist's inclusion of the portrait of Cárdenas in the Levy and Knoedler exhibitions, because he considered it an accommodation with Francisco Franco's military regime. This he did write, in French, in the pages of the Surrealist review *VVV* in March 1943, in a text titled "Situation du Surréalisme entre les deux guerres," which was based on the lecture he gave to the students at Yale University on 10 December 1942 (Breton, 1943) (Jeffett, 2010, p. 218). Despite this rhetorical *rififi* with Surrealism, it is also possible that Dalí painted this portrait because Cárdenas had helped him with his immigration documents and not for a malicious political motive (see chapter 3 of this study).

Dalí rapidly understood the need for public provocation. His *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí* (Dalí, 1942b) was presented as a tell-all memoir and characterized by the use of extravagant language. The book concludes with a call to embrace Classicism. In a sense, Dalí was at war with the Surrealists, on the one hand appropriating the role of leader of the movement, and on the other provoking them with a call to the past, especially in the concluding paragraphs of the book, obviously something they would consider as reactionary.

In the Spring of 1943, he sold, through Georges Keller of Bignou Gallery, his *Daddy Longlegs of the Evening - Hope!* to A Reynolds Morse and Eleonor R. Morse, who had seen the traveling version of the 1941 Museum of Modern Art exhibition. The couple met Dalí and Gala, and from there they became both close friends and Dalí's most important American collectors, later founding The Salvador Dalí Museum.

But Dalí simply ignored the Surrealists' criticisms, as he was more interested in the public response. For example, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, responded to his autobiography with the following headline (27 December 1942), "Artist Dalí Screams his Autobiography" (Jeffett, 2010, p. 203). Following *The Secret Life*, Dalí published his

first and only novel, *Hidden Faces* (Dalí, 2001 [1944]); written in a style perhaps evocative of Stendahl, touching on some bizarre sexual themes, and set in a climate of declining French aristocracy, the work also has an offbeat meditation on Hitler. As the War had not yet concluded, this melange of subjects produced perplexed responses from the press. For example, the *Cleveland Press* (13 June 1944) called it an "abortive effort he [Dalí] calls a novel," denouncing the decadence of the characters (Jeffett, 2010, p. 204). In similar terms, the *Columbus Citizen's* article "Salvador Dalí's First Novel is Really Out of this World" (25 June 1944) reported: "The characters are as psychotic a clan of decadent perverts as you could expect to see in a seven-day opium jag" (Jeffett, 2010, p. 205).

Dalí's activities during these years were not limited to writing, and he continued his interest in the theatre. Just before beginning to write *Hidden Faces*, which he did in the home of the Marquis de Cuevas, he produced set designs for the ballet *Café de Chinitas*, based on a poem by Federico García Lorca, with a bullfighting theme from c. 1931, choreography by Massine, danced by "La Argentinita," and presented at the Metropolitan Opera, New York (15-16 May 1943) (Aguer, 2004, p. 501). In 1944, he finally managed to realize his long-term desire to present the set designs for *Mad Tristan* with the long subtitle "The First Paranoiac Ballet Based on the Eternal Myth of Love and Death," which had been his intention in 1939 with the idea of focusing on *Tristan und Isolde*. (Abadie, 1979-1980, p. 113). The production was by the International Ballet and the choreography again by Massine; it opened at The International Theater on 15 December 1944 (Aguer, 2004, p. 502) (Abadie, 1979-1980, p. 113).

4.3. Post-War



Image 8. Will Weissberg, Marcel Duchamp and Salvador Dalí in front of Dalí's "The Enigma of William Tell" in New York [at Carstairs Gallery], 1960. Silver gelatin print 25.3 x 20.5 cm., Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Figueres, ©Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, 2022, fig. 2.

In the post-war years, Dalí worked with the Swiss art dealer Georges Keller, whom he knew from the period around 1931 in Paris. In New York, Keller worked with Bignou Gallery, giving Dalí two solo exhibitions of new work in 1945 and 1947. Thanks to their

long friendship, Dalí trusted Keller. The latter's strategy followed that of Levy, so he operated by introducing Dalí's new work approximately every two years for over a decade. Bignou Gallery would be short-lived, as Étienne Bignou died and the gallery closed. Keller then joined Carrol Carstairs Gallery in 1948, but shortly thereafter Carrol Carstairs also died. Carstairs was a gallery with family connections to Knoedler Gallery. Then Keller, working with Roland Balaÿ, another member of the Knoedler family, reopened the gallery under the simplified name of Carstairs Gallery. Balaÿ stayed with Keller until 1956, when he went to Knoedler to be the Director. Keller's closest associate was Marguerite Sharkey, secretary of the gallery, who would stay with Keller until at least May 1960, when she, too, went to Knoedler.²⁸

From 1950 to 1960 Keller and his associates at Carstairs represented Dalí in New York and organized six solo exhibitions primarily of new works and with catalogues often lavishly printed and designed by Dalí (1950, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960). Of note is the 1950-1951 exhibition *The Madonna of Port Lligat* (in honor of The Philadelphia Museum of Art) and the 1958 exhibition accompanied by the publication of the *Anti-Matter Manifesto*. The exhibition featured the large-format painting *Quasi-Grey Picture which, closely seen, is an abstract one; seen from two meters is the Sistine Madonna of Raphael; and from fifteen meters is the ear of an angel measuring one meter and a half; which is painted with anti-matter; therefore, with pure energy* (cat.1; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Donation of Mrs. Henry J. Heinz II, in honor of Mr. Henry J. Heinz, 1987). This was the famous painting that would be exhibited a year later at the D'Arcy Galleries in the International Surrealist Exhibition under the concept "Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanter's Domain" (29 November 1960-14 January 1961; cat. 32), largely due to Marcel Duchamp's intervention in the organization of the exhibition, and it was a work which provoked a considerable

²⁸ This is the last date of letters from her sent to Reynolds Morse (Dalí Museum Archives). Note: Kuthy (1998, p. 202) states that in 1955, at the time that Roland Balaÿ went to Knoedler Gallery, Sharkey also became associated with Knoedler. The correspondence with Sharkey in the Dalí Museum Archives demonstrates her continued presence at Carstairs until May 1960, working with Keller. What her role at Knoedler was is unclear and difficult to verify as indeed is verifying when she went there.

scandal within Surrealist circles. Also of note was the 1960 exhibition which included Dalí's earlier monumental canvas *The Enigma of William Tell* (1933; cat. 2), with Duchamp being present at the gallery with Dalí, as evidenced by a photograph of the two artists taken in front of the painting at the time of the opening. This work was later sold (in 1967, at which time it was with the artist), through the intervention of Marcel Duchamp, to the Moderna Museet in Stockholm. In the post-war years, Keller thus became the main figure in Dalí's primary market, while Carstairs was the main platform on the public stage, presenting the artist's return to Classicism and the development of what he called "Nuclear Mysticism."

Keller then closed the gallery, as he decided to retire and gradually relocate to Switzerland. But before leaving, he made sure Dalí had a strong New York representative, in the form of Knoedler Gallery. Dalí's first important solo exhibition at Knoedler was in November 1963 and was titled, as stated on the catalogue cover, *Homage to Crick and Watson*, but it had an important second title on the frontispiece: *Georges Keller Presents Dalí*. This would be Keller's farewell to New York, but Dalí would then initiate a new phase of his presentations of new work in the city. Another important exhibition at Knoedler which is worth mentioning is *Dalí Paintings and Drawings 1965-1970*, which opened in February 1970. This was the exhibition that included Dalí's impressive recent large-format paintings, notably *Tuna Fishing* (1966-1967; cat. 2; then already with Fondation Ricard) and *The Hallucinogenic Toreador* (1969-1970; cat. 3; then presented as a "work in progress" and shortly to be acquired by Reynolds Morse; currently in The Dalí Museum). The catalogue featured a text by the New York critic Thomas Hess, "Art History's Debt to Dalí, An Appreciation," in which he laid out how Dalí linked Classicism to Modern Art, for example by proposing the link between Mondrian and Vermeer. Dalí would show with Knoedler in 1972, when he presented Holograms and related works, but the 1970 show would be his last one of great impact with this gallery.

4.4. Contemporary Art in New York

Dalí's shift to large-scale painting from 1958 to the mid-1970s reflected more than a passing awareness of contemporary developments in Abstract Expressionism and Pop Art. Indeed, in many ways he anticipated aspects of both movements. Also, many of these artists were very aware of Dalí's frequent presence in New York and his many exhibitions in the city. He looked to the scale of Abstract Expressionist painting as a means of engulfing the viewer in a larger-than-life visual experience, especially to Pollock and Rothko, and also Willem de Kooning, but he equally anticipated much of Pop, exploring the use of photographic sources and Benday dots deployed in painting before James Rosenquist and Roy Lichtenstein took up these techniques.

Dalí also knew many of the younger generation of artists and he received them for drinks in the bar at the St. Regis Hotel. These included de Kooning, Lichtenstein, James Rosenquist, and Chuck Close. While it is not clear if he met Pollock and Rothko, the former probably viewed his 1941 show at MoMA and Rothko possibly also saw it, as he mentions Dalí in his manuscript *The Artist's Reality* (Rothko, 2004, p. 111). With Warhol he had quite a lot of contact; the pop artist made screen tests of Dalí, and the two were photographed together, with Dalí sometimes wearing a wig in a style similar to Warhol's.

Perhaps more to the point, Dalí exhibited in group exhibitions alongside many contemporary artists from quite early on. In 1964 and at Sidney Janis, he showed alongside de Kooning, Pollock, Rothko, Lichtenstein, Oldenburg, and Rosenquist in an exhibition titled *3 Generations*. Again with Sidney Janis, in 1967 he presented his *Mao-Marilyn* (1967), with similarly themed works by de Kooning, Claes Oldenburg, Rosenquist and Warhol. And in 1972, again at Janis, he was included in *Colossal Scale: The Appeal of the Gigantic Representational Image for Today's Artist*, along with Oldenburg, Chuck Close (Represented by *Bob*, 1970), Lichtenstein, Warhol, Pollock and Rosenquist (Jeffett 2005, pp. 60-61).

Dalí did not stop there and he also wrote about younger artists. Of de Kooning, he said in *Art News* in 1969: “Willem de Kooning is the greatest, most gifted and the most authentic final point of modern painting,” concluding that the younger artist was “the greatest painter of America” (Dalí, 1969) (Finkelstein, 1998, pp. 371-372). Of Lichtenstein, he wrote in *Arts Magazine*, in 1967, that “[t]oday at the most dramatic moment of the latest pre-minimal consequences of the contemporary avant-garde, the works which have the greatest amount of bits of information, as much on the person of the artist himself as on the esthetic and moral reality of today, are certainly the paintings of Roy Lichtenstein, America's foremost Pop artist” (Dalí, 1967). Dalí also wrote about Photo-Realism in his preface for the 1973 exhibition in Paris *Grand Maîtres Hyperréalistes Américains* (Galerie des 4 Mouvements), which included Close's already mentioned canvas *Bob* that had been seen alongside Dalí at Janis. Here Dalí lumped Close in with the Photo-Realists, which perhaps was not the most subtle interpretation of this artist's work.

64

Dalí's large-scale work *Painting of Gala Looking at the Mediterranean Sea which from a distance of 20 meters is transformed into a portrait of Abraham Lincoln (Homage to Rothko)* (c. 1976; The Dalí Museum) was painted on the occasion of the United States Bicentenary celebrations and presented in a special display at the Guggenheim Museum. Fascinated with science, Dalí developed the fragmented imagery in response to an article published by Leon D. Harmon in *Scientific American* in 1973 (Harmon, 1973). Close, who was less fascinated by science, recalled that he had seen that article when it came out, just as he was developing his first dot drawings for his show at Bykert Gallery (Storr, 1998, p. 99). Dalí's and Close's respective productions show more parallelisms than just reflecting the problematic concept of influence, and both artists clearly inhabited the same contemporary art scene of New York.

5. California Dreamin’: Dalí on the West Coast

Elliott H. King
Washington and Lee University

Abstract: While Dalí’s geographical biography is most readily associated with his three main ‘bases’ in New York, Paris, and Portlligat—an annual rotation he maintained for over two decades—, a large part of his time in the United States in the 1940s was spent in California, particularly the area of Monterey. This chapter plumbs into Dalí’s activities and accomplishments in California between 1941 and 1948, a period that saw him ratcheting up the promotion of his particular mode of surrealism for mass consumption through advertising, portrait commissions, and Hollywood set designs. In the shadow of Clement Greenberg’s dichotomy of avant-garde and kitsch, Dalí’s explicit forays into—and positioning within—American mass culture came precisely when key members of the Paris surrealist group (many of whom were also now displaced in the U.S.) furthered the movement’s ‘occultation’ by turning more fully towards magic and esotericism. While this aligned surrealism fruitfully with the burgeoning New York School of painting, it also distanced the movement that much further from public appreciation—this with the exception of Dalí, who increasingly positioned himself in the American press as the only true surrealist.

65

Keywords: Salvador Dalí, San Francisco, Hollywood, Alfred Hitchcock, Harpo Marx, Del Monte, Monterey



Image 9. Dalí sketches a Cypress tree in Monterey, California, as Gala looks on.
(January 1941. Bettman © Getty Images)

5.1. Introduction

In 1941, while visiting San Francisco, California, Salvador Dalí was asked about his impressions of the Bay Area. Addressing bewildered reporters with a boiled lobster on his head, an orchid in one hand, and half a head of cabbage in the other, he answered, “[W]hen I came over the [San Francisco-Oakland Bay] bridge this morning, it is that I am riding across the backbone of some gargantuan, prehistoric, antediluvian monster. This bridge, it is an animal, and I ride its vertebrae and presto. I am in San Francisco” (“Dalí Dishes Up Screwball Array of Cucarachas—No?”, 1941, p. 13). As for the city’s iconic cable cars, these, he added, resembled cockroaches climbing the side of a bathtub. Many studies quote Dalí’s first impression of New York City in 1934 as an “immense Gothic Roquefort cheese” (Dalí, 1942b, p. 331), though it is often glossed over that the artist spent considerable time in California as well—particularly the environs of the Monterey Peninsula, where the rocky cliffs reminded him of the rugged Costa Brava.²⁹ In fact, during his eight years of wartime exile in the United States—a period bookended by his 1940 arrival to New York and 1948 return to Spain—the artist spent nearly as much time in California as he did on the East Coast. Many will remember his designs for Alfred Hitchcock’s film *Spellbound* (1945) and the animated Disney short, *Destino* (1948/2001)—both these projects have generated their own dedicated articles, books, and exhibitions—, but Dalí’s extended visits to the West Coast also saw the beginnings of such well-known paintings as *Visage of War* (1940), *Galarina* (1945), and *Leda Atomica* (1947-49). He enjoyed popular exhibitions in Los Angeles and San Francisco, and dined with Matila Ghyka in Monterey, galvanizing a fervor for mathematical organization in his paintings. Dalí was in California in August 1945, when he learned that the U.S. had dropped the atomic bomb—an event he

²⁹ “Dali says he will ‘always work’ in California, preferably on the Monterey Peninsula, because it reminds him so much of his native Spain and because here people do not disturb him” (*Monterey Peninsula Herald*, 27 Sept. 1944). Quoted by Hotelling, 2017.

described as shaking him “seismically” and inspiring the discontinuity of his subsequent subjects (Dalí & Parinaud, 1976, p. 216). Indeed, many of the most important changes and innovations in his work of the 1940s took root in “The Golden State.”

This chapter chronicles Dalí’s visits to California in the 1940s, beginning with his earliest trip in 1937 and concentrating on the years between 1941 and 1948. In terms of art history, this period has been doubly overlooked: while literary scholarship has fruitfully analyzed the artist’s 1940s writings, including *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí* (1942b) and *Hidden Faces* (Dalí, 2001 [1944]), when attention returns to his painting, scholars have typically passed over the 1940s as a somewhat awkward transition from his esteemed surrealist production of the 1930s to the critically disparaged religious “classicism” that dominated his work by the end of the decade. As for those studies that have looked closely at Dalí’s art and ideas of the 1940s, meanwhile, these have generally focused on his life in New York—a perspective no doubt influenced by Dalí himself, who wrote extensively about his time in New York but about events in California surprisingly rarely.³⁰ As I have sought to piece together this history, my deep dive into primary sources and period press has brought to light some commonly repeated errors in the artist’s biography that I have attempted to amend here. Archival research also raised a number of amusing anecdotes—narratives that have been perhaps too fleeting or inconsequential to figure into scholarship until now but provide a fuller sense of the artist’s personality and activity on the West Coast.

Though this occasion does not allow the opportunity to pursue the comparison fully, it is interesting to note that at the same time that Dalí was spreading his view of surrealism to the American public, many members of the French surrealist group, including its founder, André Breton, were also in exile in the U.S. As émigrés based

³⁰ Dalí devotes several pages in *The Secret Life* to “the poetry of New York,” describing his first impressions of the city, his misadventures with the Bonwit-Teller window display, and the 1939 Dream of Venus pavilion. He does not mention his 1937 trip to Los Angeles except through a caption identifying his photograph with Harpo Marx.

chiefly in New York City, these Paris surrealists influenced the budding Abstract Expressionist movement, though in many ways they remained insular in their publications and exhibitions—deliberately distancing themselves from Dalí’s exploits but also from mainstream American audiences. I fleetingly address Breton’s attitudes towards the American public in my conclusion, as they stand in stark contrast to Dalí’s explicit forays into—and positioning within—U.S. mass culture and further illuminate how Dalí so successfully rose to prominence as the most recognized ambassador of surrealism despite his expulsion from the surrealist group in 1939.

5.2. Dalí and Harpo

Dalí visited California for the first time in February 1937, staying for a few days at the Los Angeles home of one of his comic heroes, Harpo Marx, and Marx’s wife, the actress Susan Fleming. Dalí had met Harpo at a party in Paris the previous year, 1936, and as an avid admirer of the Marx Brothers, sought to ingratiate himself with Harpo by sending him an unusual Christmas present: a harp with barbed-wire strings. Harpo responded enthusiastically by telegram that if Dalí were heading west, he would “be happy to be smeared” by the artist, signing off, “HAPPY NEW YEAR FROM GREAT ADMIRER OF PERSISTENCE OF MEMORY.”³¹ Dalí eagerly jumped on Harpo’s invitation and, upon arrival, set to work sketching Harpo with the barbed-wire instrument, with both artist and sitter hamming it up for press photographers. *The Miami News* reported, “Surrealism has struck Hollywood” (Lee, 1937, p. 4), and certainly, the launch of surrealism in Tinseltown was very much on Dalí’s agenda. The painter sent an enthusiastic postcard to André Breton back in Paris: “I’m in Hollywood, where I’ve made contact with the three American Surrealists, Harpo Marx, Disney and Cecil B. DeMille. I believe I’ve intoxicated them suitably and hope that the possibilities for surrealism here will become a reality.”³² As Harpo began shooting *A Day at the Races* (1937), Dalí worked over his own Marx Brothers script: a comedy he had begun writing

³¹ The telegram is reproduced in Descharnes, 1997, p. 158.

³² Salvador Dalí, postcard to André Breton, February-March 1937 (Fanés, 2007, p. 43).

in 1936 titled *La Femme surréaliste* (and later, *Giraffes on Horseback Salad*) that included among its extravagant scenes a dinner party featuring a 60-foot bed, an image to which I shall return.³³ Despite Harpo's enthusiasm, Groucho rejected the proposal, and the film was never made.

Following the Germans' occupation of Paris in June 1940, Dalí and Gala left Europe for an indeterminate stay in the United States. The couple arrived in New York in August 1940 and installed themselves initially at Caresse Crosby's Hampton Manor estate near Bowling Green, Virginia. According to biographer Meredith Etherington-Smith, the arrangement with Crosby ended abruptly in September, when Crosby's husband, Selbert Young, arrived to Hampton Manor with his girlfriend and, finding the house occupied by writers and artists, demanded that everyone leave immediately. The Dalís hurriedly left for nearby Washington, D.C. Unsure where to turn, they reconnected with Dalí's former patron, Edward James, who was living in Taos, New Mexico as a guest of Mabel Dodge Luhan. Luhan had supported a number of modern American artists and writers including Marsden Hartley, Georgia O'Keefe, and D.H. Lawrence and, anticipating the same level of hospitality towards the Dalís, James offered the couple one of Luhan's cottages for an extended stay. However, Luhan notified James that the Dalís were unwelcome: "I heard that Dalí is someone who breaks windows of big shops," she wrote, referring to the 1939 incident in which Dalí accidentally broke through the window of Bonwit-Teller department store. "...I do not want my windows broken" (Etherington-Smith, 1995, p. 263).

Dalí and Gala travelled on to San Francisco, where they stayed at the luxurious Fairmont Hotel. Dalí continued work on *The Secret Life*, and it was possibly during this visit that he met with Haakon Chevalier, a professor of French literature at the University of California, Berkeley, who would ultimately translate *The Secret Life* into English. The Dalís subsequently travelled to Los Angeles, where they stayed at the tony

³³ Salvador Dalí, "La mujer surrealista," in Dalí, 2004a, p. 1182. See also King, 2007, pp. 60-67; and Heidecker et al., 2019.

Beverly Hills Hotel.³⁴ There, Dalí continued work on a commissioned portrait of Adah Wilson McCormick, the third wife of Harold Fowler McCormick, the board chairman of the International Harvester Company. He also pursued his cinematic aspirations by urging Bette Davis to make a surrealist film with him (Etherington-Smith, 1995, p. 264). Alas, she, like Groucho, turned down his proposal.

5.3. Dalí at Del Monte

Dalí's exhibition at New York's Julien Levy Gallery opened in April 1941, heralding a new, "classic" phase in his painting. His catalogue essay, titled "The Last Scandal of Salvador Dalí," elaborated:

Behold the luck, the grace, and the miracle that in this year of Spiritual Sterility 1941 there can still exist a being such as Dalí, capable of continuing the conquest of the irrational merely by becoming classic and pursuing that research in *Divina Proportione* interrupted since the Renaissance. (Dalí, 1941)

The exhibition received mixed reviews, though it proved extremely popular with the public. After closing in New York, the show travelled to the Arts Club of Chicago and then the Dalzell Hatfield Galleries in Los Angeles. Perhaps anticipating the opening of his L.A. exhibit that September or simply seeking a relaxing change of scene from midtown Manhattan, Gala purchased a new car—a 1941 Cadillac series 62 convertible sedan—, and the couple set off for the Hotel Del Monte in Monterey, California.³⁵ Gala negotiated a special price for the accommodations: two rooms for the price of one, with one serving as Dalí's studio (Cerwin, 1966, p. 157).

³⁴ From Dalí's practically indecipherable manuscript, Gala produced an edited, handwritten copy on notepaper from the Beverly Hills Hotel and Bungalows. See Gibson, 1998, p. 724.

³⁵ According to an FBI report, the Cadillac was purchased under the name Helen Dali, St Regis Hotel, New York, on July 11, 1941. See <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/16591992>.

In publications on Dalí, Hotel Del Monte is very often confused with the Del Monte Lodge (now called the Lodge at Pebble Beach).³⁶ The misunderstanding evidently springs from the hotels' similar names and the fact that both were owned by the Pacific Improvement Company (and later Del Monte Properties Company). Further conflating the two, Dalí and Gala stayed at both properties in the 1940s. The much more lavish of the two, Hotel Del Monte traced its origins to 1880, when it was opened by railroad pioneer Charles Crocker, one of a group of four business tycoons (along with Leland Stanford, Collis Potter Huntington, and Mark Hopkins) who formed the Pacific Improvement Company. The Del Monte Lodge, on the other hand, initially known as Pebble Beach Lodge, was built in 1909 as a one-story log-cabin on the opposite side of the Monterey Peninsula, approximately 6.5 miles away from Hotel Del Monte, near Pescadero Point. When Pebble Beach Lodge burned down in 1917, it was replaced by a larger inn, christened the Del Monte Lodge. In February 1919, Samuel F.B. Morse formed Del Monte Properties Company and purchased both Hotel del Monte and Del Monte Lodge along with about 18,000 acres of land including the newly opened Pebble Beach Golf Links. When a fire destroyed Hotel Del Monte in 1924, the original Victorian structure was rebuilt in Spanish-revival style, designed by architects Lewis Hobart and Clarence Tantau. The Hotel Del Monte's Spanish architecture may have attracted Dalí, though by all accounts the artist was most taken by the dramatic scenery of the "17-mile drive"—a popular scenic route that circles the coastline of Pacific Grove, Pebble Beach, and Carmel.

Dalí painted actively at Hotel Del Monte during the summer of 1941, sketched the gnarly cypress trees on Pescadero Point, and enjoyed daily swims in the hotel's outdoor pool, dubbed "the Roman Plunge." According to Herb Cerwin, longtime publicity director for Del Monte Properties, it was during one of Dalí's swims in the

³⁶ I am grateful for Neal Hotelling's careful research on Dalí's history with Del Monte. Hotel Del Monte is now part of the Navy Postgraduate School with limited public access. According to Hotelling, the archives of the Pebble Beach Company, the successor to Del Monte Properties, closed in 2018 (email from Hotelling to the author, June 8, 2021).

Roman Plunge that the artist had the idea to host a fund-raising party for European artists displaced by World War II.³⁷ Samuel F.B. Morse suggested the event was probably Cerwin's idea:

Herb Cerwin, who would try anything for publicity, approached him [Dalí] on the idea of a party—and let me tell you the outcome was a Beaut! Both Gala and Salvador jumped at the opportunity and as a result we had a party the likes of which I am quite sure has never been equaled. It cost a great deal more money than we could possibly realize on the party itself, but it was written up all over the world and still is talked about and written about.³⁸

Billed as "A Surrealistic Night in an Enchanted Forest," the event was scheduled for September 2, 1941. Inspired by the Bal Onirique masquerade ball that Caresse Crosby and Joella Levy organized for the Dalís in 1935, invitations required guests to come "in costume, preferably in a costume copied after your dream, or in a costume of a primitive animal or of the people of the forest" (Briggs-Anderson, 2012). Admission was \$2.50 or \$4 with dinner, with proceeds benefitting MoMA's fund to support European refugee artists. The dinner quickly became overbooked—normally proof of success for a fundraiser, though Dalí's extravagant decorations immediately threatened to bust the event's budget. Among his requests were "a baby giraffe, three goats, 5,000 gunnysacks, 2,000 pine trees, 4,800 pounds of old newspapers, some melons and a wrecked automobile" ("Long-Haired Man, Surrealist Dalí, to Throw a Party," 1941, p. 3).³⁹ Of the wrecked car, Dalí explained to Cerwin:

In America people are always in automobile accidents. We will have a wrecked automobile that is overturned. In it we will have a nude model who lies there dead. From the automobile there will emerge two dancers—their bodies bandaged—and they will perform a dance of death. [...] When the guests walk in, it will be as if they had entered another world [...] a world of fantasy. (Cerwin, 1966, p. 166)

Dalí further demanded twenty-four female mannequins topped with fake animal heads and the largest bed Cerwin could procure.

³⁷ Etherington-Smith (1995) misidentifies Herb Cerwin as Herb Caen, a bay area humorist. The misidentification is repeated in Kachur, 2001.

³⁸ Unpublished memoirs of S.F.B. Morse. Quoted by Hotelling, 2017.

³⁹ Other sources provide similar lists with slightly varying numbers.

For the giant bed—a call-back to Dalí’s *Giraffes on Horseback Salad* script as well as the beds that decorated the 1938 Exposition internationale du surréalisme in Paris—, Cerwin contacted Jack Warner at Warner Bros. Studios, who offered him the oversized bed Mae Murray had used in *The Merry Widow* (1925). The animal heads came as props from a production of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. The burlap sacks arrived courtesy of the Spreckels Sugar company (Kachur, 2001, p. 162). Herbert Fleishhacker, founder of the San Francisco Zoo,⁴⁰ had been a member of the initial Board of Directors of Del Monte Properties Company and negotiated with the zoo to lend an assortment of live animals for Dalí’s event. Dalí provided a list of twenty animals, including a tiger cub, a porcupine, and a giraffe. The zoo’s director agreed to everything except the giraffe, which was “too valuable and too delicate” (Cerwin, 1966, p. 171) to transport. Per Dalí’s instructions, the ceiling of the Del Monte’s main ball room, the Bali Room, was lined with burlap sacks stuffed with paper à la Marcel Duchamp’s installation, *1200 Coal Bags* (1938), another echo of the Exposition internationale du surréalisme three years earlier.

⁴⁰ The Zoo was originally called The Herbert Fleishhacker Zoo. At Fleishhacker’s suggestion, the Zoo changed its name to the San Francisco Zoological Gardens on February 27, 1941.



Image 10. Guests enjoy Dalí's "Surrealistic Night in an Enchanted Forest" at Hotel Del Monte. September 2, 1941. (Bettman © Getty Images)

The evening of September 2, newsreel cameramen from Paramount, Pathé and Universal were on-hand to record the arrival of celebrity guests, including Clark Gable, Bob Hope, Bing Crosby, Ginger Rogers, Gloria Vanderbilt, and Alfred Hitchcock. Adorned in a unicorn headdress, Gala presided over the party from the red velvet bed.

© Elliott H. King
Salvador Dalí in the United States

Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies. 085-04/2023EN
ISSN: 2688-2949 (online) 2688-2965 (print) doi: 10.15427/OR085-04/2023EN
© Instituto Cervantes at the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of Harvard University

A nude woman was lying motionless inside the wrecked car so as to appear dead. Dinner guests were presented with appetizers of avocado and crabmeat served in high-heeled shoes (obtained from area shoe stores), followed by consommé double with sherry, and a main course of “Monterey Sardine à la Dalí, Spring Chicken Sauté au Risotto or Minute Steak Grille with fresh mushrooms” (Briggs-Anderson, 2012). Dessert was “Coupe Surrealistic.” As the porcupine bristled inside a cage as the main table’s centerpiece, Charlotte Maye and Burt Harger performed the “dance of death” in red-paint-soaked bandages. Over 1,000 people attended—so many that guests were seated in the hallways. When the Hotel Del Monte’s *maître’d*, William Parker, suggested the Bali Room could accommodate more guests if they removed the automobile, Dalí adamantly refused (Cerwin, 1966, p. 174). “I have attended a lot of parties in my life,” recalled Samuel F.B. Morse, “some of them quite fantastic, but this one topped them all. [...] Salvador got as much publicity out of the party as we did.”⁴¹ Even with its extensive guestlist and massive PR push, the party’s expenses far outweighed its revenue, and when MoMA’s director, Alfred Barr, sent a letter requesting the donations, Cerwin forwarded a detailed account of the extravaganza, explaining that there were no funds left for the promised contribution.

Following “A Surrealistic Night in an Enchanted Forest,” Dalí and Gala departed Monterey for Los Angeles, where the Julien Levy exhibition was opening at its third venue, the Dalzell Hatfield Galleries, located in the Ambassador Hotel on Wilshire Boulevard. The Hatfield exhibit was a tremendous success, with Hatfield boasting in a letter to Monroe Wheeler that “we have had the largest crowds attending that we have ever had for any exhibition we have shown.”⁴² Triumphant, Dalí returned to New York to oversee the October premiere of his ballet, *Labyrinth*,⁴³ and his 1941 MoMA

⁴¹ Unpublished memoirs of S.F.B. Morse. Quoted in Briggs-Anderson, 2012.

⁴² Dalzell Hatfield, letter to Monroe Wheeler (Sept. 25, 1941), Curatorial Exhibition Files, Exh. #158, MoMA Archives. Quoted in Zalman, 2015, p. 72.

⁴³ With libretto, sets, and costumes by Dalí, choreography by Léonide Massine, and music by Franz Schubert, *Labyrinth* premiered on Oct. 8, 1941, at the Metropolitan Opera.

retrospective opening that November. Less than four months later, in January 1942, he was back in San Francisco to attend the Ballet Russe's performance of *Labyrinth* at the Memorial Opera House.

A few days before the opening of *Labyrinth* in San Francisco, Dalí announced that he was going to be spending several weeks in the Bay Area painting a portrait of sugar heiress Dorothy Spreckels McCarthy.⁴⁴ McCarthy was the granddaughter of Claus Spreckels, founder of the Spreckels Sugar Company that had lent the sacks for "Surrealistic Night in an Enchanted Forest," and her parents, Alma de Bretteville Spreckels and Adolph Spreckels, had founded the California Palace of the Legion of Honor in Lincoln Park. Of his forthcoming commission, Dalí explained, "It is my first full length portrait. True to my principle, the likeness must be clear and exact. But around the subject I allow my imagination to create whatever atmosphere the subject suggests. Thus I place Mrs. McCarthy on a dolphin, with mythological creatures of the sea about her" (Fried, 1942). When pressed about his choice of a dolphin, the painter added, "Because Mrs. McCarthy is tall, statuesque, a classic personality [...] She reminds me of classic paintings in which sea monsters are incidentally depicted. Besides, she tells me she loves the sea" (Fried, 1942). Oddly, Dalí did not acknowledge that McCarthy had nicknamed her 30-acre French-style estate on the Burlingame Peninsula, "La Dolphine." When the portrait appeared in *The San Francisco Examiner* in April 1942, McCarthy was already in the process of separating from her second husband, Andrew McCarthy, to whom she had been married only eight months,⁴⁵ stirring rumors that Dalí's depiction of "the Sugar Princess" as a long-legged, bejeweled Venus "may have brought the McCarthy's [sic] purported domestic travails to a climax" (Sobol, 1942, p. 75). Speculation aside, Dorothy loved the painting and announced that it would appear in an exhibition devoted to Dalí at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor that May. The exhibit, An Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings by Dalí,

77

⁴⁴ Dalí was photographed with Spreckels at the Hotel Del Monte in August 1941, and it is likely she attended "A Surrealistic Night in an Enchanted Forest."

⁴⁵ Dorothy Spreckels Dupuy married Andrew McCarthy on September 3, 1941.

formed chiefly from MoMA's travelling retrospective, opened May 16 with nearly one-hundred paintings, drawings, and prints, as well as jewels the artist had designed recently in collaboration with Duke Fulco di Verdura (Dalí Exhibit Described as Impressive, 1942, p. 18).⁴⁶

As Dalí's fame amplified on the West Coast, he continued to chase film projects in Hollywood, still with little success. Sometime in 1941, he was approached to design a three-minute nightmare sequence for Fritz Lang's motion picture, *Moontide*, the story of a longshoreman (to be played by Jean Gabin) who fears he may have committed a murder during a drunken binge along the San Francisco Bay (King, 2007, pp. 67-74). Dalí sent a description of his proposed scenario to Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation in November 1941, though by April 1942, when he visited Palm Beach, Florida to paint a portrait of George De Cuevas, it already seemed likely the scenario would be cut from the finished picture (Van Joy Smith, 1942, p. 34).

78

From Palm Beach, the Dalís returned to New York, but when they set off west again in late June, things took an unexpected turn. The Dalís departed New York with a chauffeur, William Holstrunk, headed for Chicago. From there, the trio travelled to the B-4 Ranch in Cooke, Montana, just outside the northeast entrance to Yellowstone. The ranch was leased by the Rockefellers (Cuevas had married Margaret Strong, granddaughter of John D. Rockefeller, in 1927), and the Dalís stayed about three weeks before proceeding to Del Monte with Holstrunk. As they passed through the small town of Winnemucca, Nevada in early July, however, Chief of Police Delbert Moore alerted the Salt Lake City Office of the FBI that three individuals had been spotted riding in a Cadillac sedan who appeared similar to three wanted German saboteurs: Walter Kappe, Joseph Schmidt, and Rheinhold Rudolf Barth. As the Dalís slept at the Hotel Humboldt in Winnemucca, FBI agents searched their car. "Everything had to do with paintings," the FBI reported. "There were paint brushes, paint oils,

⁴⁶ Verdura describes his collaboration in "Massa Dalí in Ole Virginny," 1941, pp. 89-90.

finished canvas oil paintings, etc.”⁴⁷ When FBI agents questioned Dalí, Gala, and Holstrunk the next day, Holstrunk expressed his surprise that the agents had never heard of Dalí given that he was “one of the most famous portrait painters in the world.”⁴⁸ Satisfied, the agents permitted Dalí, Gala, and Holstrunk to continue their journey on to Monterey.

Over the next few months, Dalí and Gala continued traversing the United States between New York and California. In December 1942, Hotel Del Monte was requisitioned by the U.S. Navy as a pre-flight training school, forcing guests to vacate, though the Del Monte Lodge remained open (“Navy Acquires Famous Hotel,” 1942, p. 18). When Dial Press published *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí* in December 1942, Dalí and Gala were still at Hotel Del Monte, though by New Year’s Eve they had relocated to Del Monte Lodge, where they continued to stay regularly over the next few years (Hotelling, 2016, p. 1).

Dalí remained in California until April 1943, when he and Gala returned to the East Coast. During those three months, he painted, among other works, *Poetry of America* (1943), a mysterious depiction of three American football players set in a vast landscape inspired mutually by U.S. deserts and the Catalan Empordà plain. A large clocktower looms in the background with the dripping shape of Africa—an image some have speculated might allude to racial tensions in the United States, though this is probably an ambitious reading.⁴⁹ A Coca-Cola bottle encrusted with a telephone dangles from the nipple of one of the two central players—a surprising “Pop” image predating Warhol’s Coca-Cola bottles by nearly two decades.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/16591992>.

⁴⁸ <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/16591992>.

⁴⁹ The same “soft” Africa dripping a tear appears in *Geopolitus Child Watching the Birth of the New Man* (1943).

⁵⁰ The Coca-Cola bottle had first appeared in Dalí’s work as a sketch for the Christmas edition of *Esquire* magazine in 1942. There, he depicted the Three Kings at the manger in Bethlehem delivering their “American” gifts, including a telephone receiver and a Coca-Cola bottle. See Otte, 2016, p. 235.

Dalí returned to Del Monte Lodge in January 1944 for about nine months. During this time, he worked on several new paintings, including a portrait of Jack Warner's wife, Ann. He also had his car stolen—again, an unusual story: following a theft at the Del Monte Lodge that summer, the perpetrators escaped in the Dalís' Cadillac (Hotelling, 2017). The car, though not the money, was later recovered in San Francisco.

5.3. *Spellbound* (1945)

During the summer of 1944, Dalí received a commission to design the dream sequence for Hitchcock's motion picture, *The House of Dr. Edwardes*—later released under the title, *Spellbound* (1945). Art historian Fèlix Fanés has praised the dream sequence in *Spellbound* as “one of the few real and tangible examples of Dalí's collaboration with Hollywood” (2004, p. 84), though, as is now well known, questions linger over the extent of the artist's involvement in the finished film. Dalí worked directly with Hitchcock on the production, but the dream episode was largely reshot by art director William Cameron Menzies after both Dalí and Hitchcock were off the set. Co-star Ingrid Bergman further fanned speculation that many of Dalí's designs had been scrapped when she said in an interview that the dream sequence originally lasted over twenty minutes (Spoto, 1976, p. 158). The dream sequence was certainly cut back, though as film scholar James Bigwood argues convincingly, probably not by more than a few minutes.⁵¹ A number of scholars, including myself, have combed through the details of Dalí's participation on Hitchcock's film,⁵² and so I will keep my comments here somewhat brief, concentrating mostly on piecing together the commission from producer David O. Selznick.

80

⁵¹ See Bigwood, “Solving a Spellbound puzzle,” (1991) and “A Nightmare Ordered by Telephone” (2002).

⁵² See King (2019), “Still Spellbound by Spellbound”; Cochran (2007/2008), “Spellbound, 1945”; and King (2007), “Dalí, Surrealism, and Cinema.”

While Dalí's dream sequence is now arguably the most renowned part of *Spellbound*, it was not always included in the film. In Angus MacPhail's initial adaptation of the 1927 novel, *The House of Dr. Edwardes*, there was no dream description at all, and when it was first included, it was mentioned only briefly. When Selznick brought Ben Hecht onto the project in March 1944, Hecht elaborated on the dream's description, though still it was only described in the dialogue without any accompanying imagery.⁵³ By June 14, following several rewrites, plans were finally underway to fully illustrate the nightmarish recollections of the film's central character, J.B. (played by Gregory Peck), though Selznick expressed concerns with Hitchcock's fifty-seven-day shooting schedule and proposed \$1.25 million dollar budget (Leff, 2002). Selznick instructed his production manager to estimate the price of the proposed dream sequence, resulting in a \$150,000 figure that came as such a "ghastly shock" to Selznick that he ordered no further work be done until he had personally investigated the matter.⁵⁴

81

On July 18, Selznick wrote to his publicity director, Don King, that he was "thinking about engaging Dali, the famous painter, to design the dream sequence in 'THE HOUSE OF DR. EDWARDES.'"⁵⁵ Although Selznick's angle for involving Dalí had everything to do with marketing, Hitchcock was impressed with the painter's ability to capture "the vividness of dreams:"

[A]ll Dalí's work is very solid and very sharp, with very long perspectives and black shadows. Actually I wanted the dream sequence to be shot on the back lot, not in the studio at all. I wanted them shot in the bright sunshine. So the cameramen would be forced to do what we call stop it out and get a very hard image. This was again the avoidance of the cliché. All dreams in the movies are blurred. It isn't true. Dalí was the best man for me to do the dreams because that is what dreams should be.⁵⁶

⁵³ Ben Hecht, *The House of Dr. Edwardes*, screenplay, drafted 3 April 1944, 80-81. The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin (Austin, Texas).

⁵⁴ Memo from David O. Selznick to Richard Johnston (CC: O'Shea and Scanlon), dated 10 July 1944. The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin (Austin, Texas).

⁵⁵ Memo from David O. Selznick to Don King, dated 18 July 1944. The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin (Austin, Texas).

⁵⁶ Philip Jenkinson, "Film profiles: Alfred Hitchcock," undated interview for BBC TV, cited in Bondil-Poupard, 2000.

Dalí's contract was negotiated through his friend and 'movie agent,' Felix 'Fe-Fe' Ferry:⁵⁷ Dalí would receive a flat sum of \$4,000 for his work, for which he would be responsible for four distinct sequences: "The gambling sequence," "two men on a roof," "the ballroom sequence," and "the down-hill—up-hill sequence." On August 18, only twelve days before the dream sequence was scheduled to begin shooting, Dalí signed his contract.

Again, many sources detail the individual scenes, shooting schedules, and editing made at various stages of *Spellbound*'s completion. To these I would only point out that one of Dalí's proposals for the ballroom sequence included sacks of coal hanging from the ceiling⁵⁸—a recapitulation of the 1938 surrealist exhibit in Paris as well as Dalí's "Surrealistic Night in an Enchanted Forest" décor. The design for the coal sacks was run by the film's "technical psychiatric advisor," Dr. May E. Romm, who determined that the sacks did not contribute to the story but equally did not interfere with it.²⁴ Ultimately, however, the ballroom sequence was discarded entirely from the film.

On September 13, after two weeks of production, Richard Johnston notified the studio that Hitchcock was satisfied with Dalí's efforts, and arrangements should be made to pay the artist's \$4,000 fee. Dalí and Gala departed Hollywood for Pebble Beach, and Hitchcock left Los Angeles for New York. *The House of Dr. Edwardes* was previewed in Pasadena on September 27, and while audiences were generally enthusiastic, several extensive edits were delivered to the production team. Even with these modifications, Selznick was disappointed:

⁵⁷ Born in Bucharest, "Fe-Fe" had organized elaborate night club performance in Paris and London in the 1930s, opening his own Monte Carlo club in New York in 1939. When the Monte Carlo closed in 1942, Fe-Fe turned to representing actors in Hollywood.

⁵⁸ Memo from Eileen Johnston to David O. Selznick, Alfred Hitchcock, Richard Johnston, Salvador Dalí, James Basevi, Barbara Keon (23 August 1944). The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin (Austin, Texas).

It is not Dalí's fault, for his work is much finer and much better for the purposes than I ever thought it would be. It is the photography, set-ups, lighting, etcetera, all of which is completely lacking in imagination and all of which is about what you would expect from Monogram. I think we need a whole new shake on this sequence, and I would like to get Bill Menzies to come over and lay it out and shoot it.¹⁶

By November 27, William Cameron Menzies had laid out a new storyboard that matches virtually shot-for-shot what would become the film's final dream sequence. Selznick forwarded Menzies' new plans with sketches to Dalí and Hitchcock, who were both staying at the St. Regis Hotel, though there is no record in the Selznick Archive of either's immediate reply. Throughout December, Menzies' team re-shot the man cutting the eyeball curtains with the oversized pair of scissors, the card game, and the rooftop scene. Menzies reshot the remainder of the dream sequence the following January. Work continued over the next seven months under James Basevi, who in the end was recognized as Art Director, while the dream sequence was credited as "based upon the designs by Salvador Dalí."

83

5.4. *Destino* (2003)

Fresh from his work on *Spellbound*, Dalí turned to another project that had been percolating for some time: an animated short film with Walt Disney Studios, titled *Destino*. Although it is not clear when Dalí first connected with Walt Disney—possibly as early as 1937⁵⁹—, beginning in February 1945, the artist sent several letters to Disney referring to a collaboration they had discussed. "I think constantly and with enthusiasm of our future collaboration and every day I figure out new ideas," he wrote.⁶⁰ When his exhibition at the Bignou Gallery opened in New York in late November, he announced that he was close to signing a contract with Disney (Dalí, 1945). At the same time, he sent a telegram to the *San Francisco Chronicle*: the film

⁵⁹ In the aforementioned 1937 postcard to Breton, Dalí wrote he had established contact with Disney. Several sources place Dalí's meeting with Disney to a party hosted by Jack Warner in 1945.

⁶⁰ Letter from Dalí to Walt Disney, 1943. Reproduced in Bossert, 2015, p. 36.

would be called *Destino*, he wrote, and it would be the perfect fusion of technicolor and drawing. He would be arriving on January 15, 1946 to begin work.⁶¹

Disney had planned for *Destino* to be a six-minute short in the style of *Fantasia*, which had been released in 1940. When Dalí dutifully arrived at Disney Studios on January 15, he was teamed up with animator John Hench, one of the employees at the studio who spoke some French. Hench recalled: “Walt came in and looked at the work from time to time; he saw the storyboard in progress and decided to let Dalí go ahead and see what would happen. Walt was kind of entranced by the whole thing. They had a rapport from the beginning that was unusual.”⁶² Curiously, although Dalí began work on *Destino* in January, he did not sign a contract with Disney Productions until April 15, which covered his time from January until July, with an option to extend the agreement until April 1948. His contracted salary would be \$17,909.09 (Bossert, 2015, p. 41).

84

Dalí and Hench eventually worked up a fifteen-second sequence that Hench showed to Disney. In the scene, two grotesque heads—one in Dalí’s likeness, the other sporting a Catalan *barretina* hat (a surprising mark of rebellion in the context of Franco’s victory in Spain)—merge to form the shape of a ballerina. When the sequence was ready, Hench drove up to Carmel and tipped the manager of a small theatre to let him show the footage to Dalí: “Dalí and I looked at each other, and we both knew that it was a unique moment in art” (Jones, 2000).

Dalí fulfilled his contract in April 1946 and returned to Monterey. He revisited Burbank in July and August for six weeks to provide additional work on *Destino*, then, according to David Bossert’s review of studio documents, was back again in April 1947, with visits continuing through early 1948 (2015, p. 81). Unfortunately, production of *Destino* halted soon after, as Disney began doubting the market for

⁶¹ Alfred Frankenstein, “Dalí ‘Stops Experimenting’ – But He’s Still Enigmatic,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 November 1945. Quoted in Gibson, 1998, p. 436.

⁶² Jordan R. Young, ‘Dalí and Disney,’ *Los Angeles Times*, May 1989. Quoted in Etherington-Smith, 1995, p. 304.

omnibus films. Dalí and Disney continued to discuss other collaborations, including an animated *Don Quixote* and a live-action film of *El Cid* starring Errol Flynn. None came to pass. Still, Dalí and Disney remained friendly, visiting one another in California and Portlligat. As for *Destino*, the project was shelved until the 1990s, when it was resurrected by Disney Studios. Under the direction of Dominique Monféry, the film was released in 2003, when it was nominated for an Academy Award for Best Animated Short Film.

5.5. *In Search of El Dorado: 1946-48*

Dalí spent nearly all of 1946 and 1947 in California. At some point during this period, he was introduced over a dinner to the Romanian mathematician Matila Ghyka. Educated in France and Belgium, Ghyka was on a two-year visiting position as the Chair of Aesthetics at the University of Southern California, though he had already published his research in aesthetics and natural growth patterns in French in the 1920s and 1930s. Ghyka's scholarship focused particularly on the prevalence in nature of the golden ratio, and given Dalí's "classic" turn in 1941 and allusion in "The Last Scandal of Salvador Dalí" to the "*Divina Proportione*," it would be surprising if he had not been acquainted with Ghyka's ideas prior to their personal introduction.⁶³ A few weeks after their meeting in Hollywood, Ghyka sent Dalí a copy of his latest English book, *The Geometry of Art and Life* (1946), an aesthetics study grounded in Luca Paccioli's *De divina proportione* (1509). Of particular note, Ghyka's book identified mathematical diagrams underlying certain Old Master paintings, including Leonardo's *Leda and the Swan*. Soon after receiving Ghyka's book, Dalí invited Ghyka and his wife, Eileen, to dinner at Del Monte Lodge:⁶⁴

⁶³ Writing of Dalí's exhibition at the Julien Levy Gallery in 1941, Nicolas Calas criticized the artist's use of symmetry as an alleged invocation of the Golden Section: "...Dalí's drawing and painting, 'The Family of the Centaurs,' has far from convinced me that he has understood the problem of the golden section. If he had, and I presume he has read the work of Matila Ghyka, he would have known why the effect of his picture is symmetric and has nothing to do with the divine proportion which is to be found in the pentagone [sic.] and is asymmetric" (Calas, 1941, p. 1).

⁶⁴ Ghyka makes the common misstep of identifying the location of their dinner as Hotel Del Monte. See Ghyka, 1961, p. 302.

The beauty of the scene through the vast bow-window was breath-taking, but the evening was made more memorable by Dalí's conversation. I discovered that far from being the publicity-hunting practical joker whose mask he often borrows, Dalí is a very great artist and deeply and respectfully in love with the painter's craft. He has meditated its secrets and techniques for many years. [...] His drawings delighted me. I had the impression that since Leonardo's, no pencil had expressed so much dynamic beauty through its lines and arabesques. (Ghyka, 1961, p. 303)

Dalí integrated Ghyka's writings into his painting, *Leda Atomica* (1947-49), depicting a nude Gala as the mythical Leda caressing the head of a swan, all inscribed within the implied form of one of Ghyka's golden pentagons.

March 1947 marked Dalí's last full summer of work in California. He took a second studio at the hacienda of Colonel Harold Mack, a wealthy rancher who owned thirty acres on the outskirts of Monterey, and continued his busy work schedule, producing a number of paintings including a commissioned portrait of Mitzi Sigall, heiress to the Stauffer Chemical Company fortune. Just days before Dalí and Gala's departure to New York in November, there was a burglary at their Del Monte Lodge cottage, and several items, including jewelry and the couple's passports, were reported missing ("Value of Dalí jewels reduced," 1947, p. 3). Dalí aggravated investigators when he valued the jewels at around \$31,200—a figure he amended a week later to \$260 when the police realized the missing pieces were actually costume jewels. Dalí had given the original estimate in French francs instead of U.S. dollars ("Salvador Dalí Annoys Sheriff," 1947, p. 3).

86

In 1948, the Dalís stayed at Del Monte Lodge only from mid-February until June. During this time, a wealthy yachtsman, Stuart Haldorn, commissioned a portrait of his wife, Enid Gregg, the daughter of Wellington Gregg, Vice-President of Crocker National Bank and one of the original board members of the Del Monte Properties Company; it would be one of Dalí's last portraits before he returned to Europe that July.

In June, the remaining artworks were boxed up and shipped to New York to be forwarded to Spain. Dalí and Gala set sail for Le Havre, destined for their first return to Spain in eight years.

The year 1948 was not Dalí's last visit to the West Coast, though it concludes what is often labelled his 'American Period'—a transitional phase marked by a more reserved aesthetic when compared to his explicitly Freudian paintings of the 1930s, perhaps, but one that also saw him pushing against institutionalized boundaries between 'museum-worthy art' and mass culture, and redefining the public perception of surrealism. It is with these maneuvers in mind that I would like to conclude with a brief look at Dalí's work in California, in contrast with the surrealist group's official arrival in New York around the same time.

5.6. Conclusion: The Most Subversive Things that can Happen to an Ex-Surrealist

87

Propelled by seemingly limitless energy and avarice, Dalí's embrace of popular culture allowed him to reach a broad audience beyond the rarified realms of galleries and museum spaces, though his commercial activities and publicity-seeking antics were in direct confrontation with the emerging canonization of modernism as articulated by American art critic Clement Greenberg, who argued for an unyielding separation between avant-garde art and popular culture. If New York was the new cosmopolitan center of 'high art' in the 1940s, having taken the mantle from Paris and giving rise to the eponymous "New York School," Hollywood was, in Greenberg's estimation, an explicit purveyor of kitsch—low-brow content packaged for capitalist consumption. Dalí sought to have it both ways; in so doing, he ensured not only his own financial success but also his enduring status as a forerunner to more contemporary perspectives on art and visual culture. At the same time, he positioned himself, once again, on precarious ground in relation to surrealism, the intellectual movement to which his name had become so readily aligned. "I am the most Surrealist of Surrealists and yet between me and the group there was always a deep misunderstanding," Dalí later remarked to

André Parinaud. “[...] Surrealism is not a party or a label; it is a state of mind, unique, to each his own, that can be affected by no party line, taboo, or morality” (Dalí & Parinaud, 1976, pp. 119, 188). Dalí thus acknowledged the enduring acrimony between himself and the Paris surrealist group, though his description of surrealism as an individualistic enterprise disconnected from ideological commitment evinces already a very different interpretation of the movement from what the surrealists themselves had developed over the course of the twentieth century. One could argue that Dalí was speaking to the group’s core principles as outlined in the 1924 “Surrealist Manifesto”—freedom of thought, unhindered by moral or aesthetic preoccupations—, but while Breton came to regret the political ambivalence that initial definition suggested, Dalí made it central to his dissemination of surrealism in America.

Through the 1930s, Dalí effectively became the face of surrealism in the U.S.—literally in 1936, when his photograph was on the cover of *TIME* magazine in tandem with MoMA’s exhibition *Fantastic Art: Dada and Surrealism*. As most Americans were unaware of surrealism’s literary foundations, much less its revolutionary and emancipatory aims, Dalí’s hijinks became the U.S. public’s primary impression of the movement’s objectives. The popularity of Dalí’s images has made it easy to blame Dalí for emptying surrealism of its anti-fascist and anti-colonialist energy and transforming it into a readily digestible product, though the responsibility hardly rests with him alone. As Sandra Zalman discusses in detail (2015), a cadre of American galleries and museums in the 1930s, including the Julien Levy Gallery and The Museum of Modern Art, helped set the stage for Dalí’s ascent by repressing general awareness of surrealism’s Marxist politics and reframing the movement for easy commercial consumption. Julien Levy admitted as much, writing of his 1932 surrealism exhibition in New York:

If Breton had been there at that time, there would no doubt have been a more orthodox representation. Manifesto heavy, it would have collapsed of its own rigidity. I wished to present a paraphrase which would offer Surrealism in the language of the new world rather than a translation in the rhetoric of the old. (Levy, 1977, pp. 79-80)

For lay audiences confounded by the rise of non-figurative modern art, Levy's "paraphrase" of surrealism, embodied most successfully in Dalí's "hand-painted dream photographs," satisfied a public longing for recognizable subject matter and technical mastery while still appearing offbeat enough to classify as 'avant-garde'; even Dalí's most abstruse subjects could be explained in the familiar terms of "dream-imagery."⁶⁵ This gave rise to a brand of de-politicized "surrealism" in U.S. visual and commercial culture. Dalí took full advantage of these circumstances, cultivating his image as a dandy-ish European "madman" and adapting his unique mode of oneiric fantasy to ballet décor, painting high society portraits, creating jewelry, and putting his idiomatic spin on a variety of sundries. "I am a man of the Renaissance," he later stated. "...I would sign a pair of pants if someone commissioned me to. [...] I feel no separation between myself as an artist and the mass of the people. I stand ready to design anything the people want."⁶⁶

89

By a strange twist of fate, at nearly the same time that Dalí first proposed his "Surrealistic Night in an Enchanted Forest" event at Hotel Del Monte, André Breton arrived in New York with his wife, Jacqueline, and daughter, Aube.⁶⁷ Breton, too, was now in exile in the U.S., where he would stay until 1946. Where Dalí's clowning never failed to make headlines, Breton was perceived as stand-offish; most of his writings were still untranslated for anglophone readers, and he refused to learn English—according to Mark Polizzotti, in order not to "'tarnish' his celebrated command of French."⁶⁸ Breton had announced Dalí's expulsion from the surrealist group in 1939, and having now arrived in an America saturated with 'Dalí-esque' imagery, he fervently

⁶⁵ Quoting *Life* magazine in 1936, "Surrealism is no stranger than a normal person's dream" ("Surrealism on Parade," 1936, p. 24).

⁶⁶ Ben Martin, "Dalí Greets the World," *Today's Living, The Herald Tribune Magazine* (New York) 24 January 1960. Quoted in Taylor, 2008a, p. 30.

⁶⁷ The Bretons arrived in June 1941.

⁶⁸ Mark Polizzotti, *Revolution of the Mind: The Life of André Breton* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), 503. Cited in Pine, 2007.

opposed what he had described as Dalí's demotion of surrealism "into entertainment of the nature of *crossword puzzles*" (1939, p. 17). For Breton, "authentic" surrealism had to be distinguished from that which merely courted "public favor or notoriety":

The precautions taken to safeguard integrity within this movement—measures generally regarded as much too severe—nevertheless did not make impossible the false and embittered deposition of [...] the picaresque imposture of that neo-falangist-night-table, Avida Dollars. Even today, Surrealism cannot possibly be held responsible for everything done in its name... (Rosemont, 1978, p. 210)

Central to Breton's strategy for maintaining surrealism's legitimacy in America was distancing the movement from Dalí, though this was more easily said than done: as Ricard Mas observes, Dalí's name or the adjective "Dalí-esque" appeared nearly every day in some North American newspaper throughout the 1940s (2004, p. 359). Most of Breton's interviews, meanwhile, were directed to writers and artists already opposed to Dalí—readers of the journal *View*, for example, launched in 1940 by Charles Henri Ford and Parker Tyler, and the surrealists' own organ, *VVV*. Even Breton's accusations of Dalí's fascist leanings struck a hollow chord: quoting the artist's early biographer, Fleur Cowles, "during the Second World War, his [Dalí's] political viewpoint might have been under some scrutiny, but an avalanche of publicity so covered his movements that it was forgotten" (1959, p. 144).

"Surrealistic Night in an Enchanted Forest" cast a long shadow over the surrealist group's own fundraising exhibition for refugee artists, *First Papers of Surrealism*, which took place from October 15 to November 7, 1942 at the Whitelaw Reid Mansion on Madison Avenue. Organized jointly by Breton and Marcel Duchamp, *First Papers of Surrealism* included approximately 105 works by 41 artists—the "biggest all-surrealist show ever seen in the U.S." according to *Newsweek* (*Agonized Humor*, 1942, p. 76). The most talked-about work in the exhibit was Duchamp's installation, titled *his twine*—a web of string that crisscrossed the gallery, obscuring (without entirely obliterating) many of the artworks on display. Scholars have offered countless interpretations for *his twine*, with Duchamp ever-enigmatically answering that it was simply "the cheapest form of attracting the attention of the public to

Surrealistic surroundings.”⁶⁹ It is not my intention to wade into that discourse but merely to invoke, even superficially, the observation that *his twine* acted as a physical and psychological barrier between the spectator and the other artists’ works on view—what T.J. Demos calls “the maximal obstacle between paintings and viewing space” (2001, p. 94).

This brings me back to Dalí at Del Monte and the very different perspectives on surrealism Dalí and Breton were advancing in 1940s America. For Breton, “Surrealistic Night in an Enchanted Forest” was not “surrealistic” at all. Where First Papers of Surrealism aimed to present an authentic understanding of surrealist activity, “Surrealistic Night in an Enchanted Forest” was basically a “daffy party” (Dalí throws a daffy party, 1941) that Dalí organized for self-promotion under the auspices of charity. The differences did not end there. Surrealism was, from its origins, a collective activity; by contrast, “Surrealistic Night in an Enchanted Forest” was very much about the individual, Dalí, and his singular vision of surrealist visual effects. Dalí’s event featured caged animals; First Papers of Surrealism exalted “the cause of freedom itself” (Breton, 1942), a disparity anticipating the Chicago Surrealist Group’s later critique of zoos in “The Anteater’s Umbrella” (1971). Where Dalí welcomed movie cameras and celebrity guests, First Papers of Surrealism fostered the movement’s “occultation”—indeed, extending Demos’ metaphor, it can be said that Duchamp’s *his twine* kept the audience for “authentic” surrealism (literally) at arm’s length. This recalled Breton’s warning from “The Second Manifesto of Surrealism” (1930) that “[t]he approval of the public is to be avoided like the plague. It is absolutely essential to keep the public from *entering* if one wishes to avoid confusion” (1969, p. 177). With Dalí courting the public from the East Coast to the West, it can be hardly surprising that his bizarre visuals coupled with an oversized personality catapulted him to fame as the embodiment of surrealism in popular consciousness. Three months before the opening of First Papers

⁶⁹ Harriet and Carroll Janis, interview with Marcel Duchamp. Quoted in Kachur, 2001, p. 182.

of Surrealism, *Esquire* asked Dalí to define surrealism; his answer, “I am Surrealism!” (1942a), expressed a common perception in the United States—one the artist continued to successfully cultivate in 1940s America on both ideological (high/low) and geographical (New York/California) fronts.

Acknowledgments: Support for the publication of this chapter was provided by the Class of 1956 Provost's Faculty Development Endowment at Washington and Lee University.

Works Cited

- Abadie, D. (Ed.) (1979-1980). *Salvador Dalí retrospective 1920-1980*. Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou Musée National d'Art Moderne.
- Agonized Humor. (1942). *Newsweek* (October 26).
- Aguer, M., Ruiz, C., & Moner, T. (2004). Chronology. In D. Ades, *Dalí* (pp. 467-540). Venice Palazzo Grasi and Milan: Bompiani.
- Aguer, M., Fanés, F., & Kusunoki, S. (1999). *Dream of Venus*. (pp. 4-7). Figueres: Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí.
- Around the Galleries. (1941). *Chicago Daily News* (May 31).
- Bigwood, J. (1991). Solving a *Spellbound* puzzle. *American Cinematographer* (Vol. 72, issue 6) (June 30), p. 34.
- Bigwood, J. (2002). A Nightmare ordered by telephone. *Spellbound* (1945). Dir. Alfred Hitchcock. Criterion Collection, DVD.
- Bondil-Poupard, N. (2000). Such stuff as dreams are made on: Hitchcock and Dalí, surrealism and oneiricism. In G. Congeval & D. Païni (Eds.). *Hitchcock and Art: Fatal Coincidences* (pp. 155-171). Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.
- Bossert, D. (2015). *Dalí and Disney: Destino*. Los Angeles and New York: Disney Editions.
- Breton, A. (1939). Des tendances les plus récentes de la peinture surréaliste. *Minotaur* (May 12), p. 17.
- Breton, A. (1942). *First Papers of Surrealism*. New York: Coordinating Council of French Relief Societies, Inc.
- Breton, A. (c1969/1972). *Manifestoes of Surrealism*. [R. Seaver & H. Lane, Trans.]. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Breton, A. (1943). Situation du Surréalisme entre les deux guerres. In *VVV* (Almanac March). New York, n° 2-3.
- Briggs-Anderson, B. (2012). *Salvador Dalí's "A Surrealistic Night in an Enchanted Forest."* BookBaby.

- Calas, N. (1941). Anti-Surrealist Dalí. *View*, 1, (6) (June), p. 1-3.
- Carbonell, G. (2018). Salvador Dalí, el automóvil, y la cultura americana en la década de los cuarenta. En J. M. del Pino (Ed.), *El Impacto de la metrópolis. La experiencia americana en Lorca, Dalí y Buñuel* (pp. 203-219). Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert.
- Cerwin, H. (1966). *In Search of Something*. Los Angeles: Sherbourne Press.
- Chevalier, H. (1974). Translator Foreword. In S. Dalí, *Hidden faces* (pp. V-VII). New York: William Morrow & Company.
- Cochran, S. (2007). Spellbound. In M. Gale (Ed.), *Dalí and Film* (pp. 174-185). London: Tate Publishing.
- Cochran, S. (2008). Spellbound. In M. Gale (Ed.) *Dalí and film* (pp. 174-185). New York: The Museum of Modern Art.
- Cowles, F. (1959). *The Case of Salvador Dalí*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Crosby, C. (1953). *The Passionate Years*, (p. 332). New York: The Dial Press.
- Dalí dishes up screwball array of cucarachas – no? (1941). *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* (August 27).
- Dali exhibit described as impressive. (1942). *Oakland Tribune* (May 24).
- Dalí throws a daffy party. (1941). *Look* (November 18).
- Dalí, S. (1941). The Last Scandal of Salvador Dalí. *Salvador Dalí*. New York: Julien Levy Gallery.
- Dalí, S. (1942a). Total camouflage for total war. *Esquire* no. 2. August, pp. 64-66 and 129-30.
- Dalí, S. (1942b). *The secret life of Salvador Dali*. [H. Chevalier, Trans.]. New York: Dial Press.
- Dalí, S. (1945). Walt Disney and Dalí close to signing. *Dalí News* (November 20). New York: Bignou Gallery.
- Dalí, S. (1967). How an Elvis Presley becomes a Roy Lichtenstein. In *Arts Magazine*, 41, (6)28, (April).
- Dalí, S. (1969). De Kooning's 300,000,000th birthday [J. Ashbury, Trans.]. *Art News*, 68, pp. 57, (April), 62-63.

- Dalí, S. (1981). *Vida secreta de Salvador Dalí*. Figueras (Gerona): Dasa Edicions.
- Dalí, S. (1994a). El último escándalo de Salvador Dalí. En *¿Por qué se ataca la Gioconda?* (pp. 219-21). Madrid: Ediciones Siruela.
- Dalí, S. (c1994b) Declaración de la independencia de la imaginación y de los derechos del hombre a su propia locura. En *¿Por qué se ataca la Gioconda?* (pp. 215-18). Madrid: Ediciones Siruela.
- Dalí, S. (1998a). Declaration of the independence of the imagination and the rights of man to his own madness. In H. Finkelstein (Ed.). *The collected writings of Salvador Dalí* (pp. 331-35). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dalí, S. (1998b). The last scandal of Salvador Dalí. In H. Finkelstein (Ed.). *The collected writings of Salvador Dalí* (pp. 336-39). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dalí, S. (2001). *Hidden Faces*. London: Peter Owen.
- Dalí, S. (2003). Confesiones inconfesables. En *Obra completa. Vol. II: Textos autobiográficos 2*. Barcelona: Ediciones Destino.
- Dalí, S. (2004a). *Obra completa, Vol. III: Poesía, prosa, teatro y cine*. Barcelona: Ediciones Destino.
- Dalí, S. (2004b). *Rostros ocultos*. Barcelona: Ediciones Destino.
- Dalí, S., & Parinaud, A. (1976 [1973]). *The Unspeakable Confessions of Salvador Dalí*. [H. Salemson, Trans.]. New York: William Morrow and Company.
- Dalley, D. (1940). Surrealist Salvador Dali Completes Five Pictures Here. *The Caroline Progress* (November 21).
- Davidson, S. A. (1943). *The Art Digest* (February), p. 21.
- Demos, T. (2001). Duchamp's Labyrinth: First Papers of Surrealism, 1942. *October* (Summer), p. 94.
- Descharnes, R. (1997 [1984]). *Dalí, The Work, the Man*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc.
- Enchanted Garden. (1941). *Time* (April 7).
- Etherington-Smith, M. (1995). *The persistence of memory: A biography of Dalí*. New York: Da Capo Press.
- Fanés, F. (2004). *Dalí, Mass Culture*. Valencia: Fundacion "La Caixa."

- Fanés, F. (2007). Film as metaphor. In M. Gale (Ed.). *Dalí & Film* (pp. 32-51). London: Tate Publishing.
- Finkelstein, H. (Ed. & Trans.). (1998). *The collected writings of Salvador Dalí*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fried, A. (1942). Salvador Dalí to witness own ballet here. *San Francisco Examiner* (January 22).
- Gale, M. (Ed.) (2008). *Dalí and film*. Nueva York: The Museum of Modern Art.
- García de la Rasilla, C. (2003a). Dalí and the Success of Scandal. *Catalan Review*, XVII (1) pp. 33-56.
- García de la Rasilla, C. (2003b). Poe Visits Dalí: Doubles in Autobiography, *The Edgar Allan Poe Review*, IV (2) (Fall), pp. 3-13.
- García de la Rasilla, C. (2009). *Salvador Dalí's literary self-portrait: approaches to a surrealist autobiography*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press.
- García de la Rasilla, C. (2018). La aventura surrealista americana de Salvador Dalí. En J. M. del Pino (Ed.), *El Impacto de la metrópolis. La experiencia americana en Lorca, Dalí y Buñuel* (pp. 183-201). Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert.
- Ghyka, M. (1961). *The World Mine Oyster*. London: Heinemann.
- Gibson, I. (1998). *The Shameful Life of Salvador Dalí*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.
- Harmon, L. D. (1973). The recognition of faces. *Scientific American*. 229(5) (November), pp. 71-82.
- Heidecker, T. & Frank, J. (2019). *Giraffes on Horseback Salad: Salvador Dalí, the Marx Brothers, and the Strangest Movie Never Made*. Quirk Books.
- Hotelling, N. (2016). An Uncommon Forest resident. *Forest News: Del Monte Forest Property Owners* (October-December), p. 1.
- Hotelling, N. (2017, February 24). Salvador Dalí on the Monterey Peninsula. *Dalí17 Lecture Series*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yebBPsOh8DU>
- Jeffett, W. (2005). Dalí's brush with New York. In *Pollock to Pop*. St. Petersburg: The Dalí Museum, pp. 40-69.
- Jeffett, W. (2010). *Dalí doubled: From surrealism to the self a new critical view of Dalí*. St. Petersburg: The Dalí Museum.

- Jones, C. (2000). When Disney met Dalí. *The Boston Globe* (January 30).
- Joseph-Lowery, F. & Stuckey, C. (2013). *Salvador Dalí 1804-1989 drawing for "Bacchanale". Ludwig II of Bavaria 1939*. Brussels: Galerie Patrick Derom.
- Kachur, L. (2001). *Displaying the Marvelous: Marcel Duchamp, Salvador Dalí, and Surrealist Exhibition Installations*. Boston: MIT Press.
- King, E. (2007). *Dalí, Surrealism, and Cinema*. Herts: Kamera Books.
- King, E. (2019). Still Spellbound by Spellbound. In J. McManus (Ed.), *The Space Between*.
- Kuthy, S. (1998) *De Matisse à Dalí: Le legs Georges F. Keller au Musée des beaux-arts de Berne*. Bern: Kunstmuseum Bern.
- Kyvig, D. E. (2002). *Daily Life in the United States, 1920-1940. How Americans Lived Through the "Roaring Twenties" and the Great Depression*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee.
- Lee, M. (1937). S-h-h-h-h... Hollywood's on the wire!. *The Miami News* (February 20).
- Leff, L. (2002). Selznick International's *Spellbound*. (September 23). <https://www.criterion.com/current/posts/223-selznick-international-s-spellbound>.
- Levy, J. (1977). *Memoir of an Art Gallery*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.
- Long-Haired man, surrealist Dali, to throw a party. (1941). *The Daily Inter Lake* (Billings, MT) (April 29).
- Lubar, R. (2018). *The Dalí Museum Collection* (p. 174). St. Petersburg: The Dalí Museum.
- Mas, R. (2004). Dalí a life in books: The American adventure (1941-1948). In V. Altaió (Ed.). *Dalí: A Life in Books*. Barcelona: Destino.
- Medina, A. (2018). Moreno Villa y Dalí en Nueva York: emasculación y arquitectura en la ciudad de los cajones. En J. M. del Pino (Ed.), *El Impacto de la metrópolis. La experiencia americana en Lorca, Dalí y Buñuel* (pp. 137-153). Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert.
- Minguet Batllori, J. (2003). *Salvador Dalí, cine y surrealismo(s)*. Barcelona: Parsifal Ediciones.

- Navy Acquires Famous Hotel. (1942). *Los Angeles Times* (December 6).
- Nin, A. (1992). *The Diary of Anaïs Nin*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, p. 41.
- Nin, A. (1969). *The Diary of Anaïs Nin*, volume 3. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, p. 40.
- Orwell, G. (1960). Benefit of clergy: some notes on Salvador Dalí. In *Critical Essays* (pp. 137-48). Londres: Secker and Warburg.
- Otte, T. (2016). *Salvador Dalí & Andy Warhol*. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess.
- Phillips, C. (1969). *From the Crash to the Blitz 1929-1939*. New York: the New York Times Company, p. 480.
- Pine, J. (2007). Anti-Surrealist Cross-Word Puzzles: Breton, Dalí and Print in Wartime America. *Journal of Surrealism and the Americas*, 1.
- Poe, E. A. (1984a). The Man of the Crowd. In *Poetry and Tales* (pp. 388-430). New York: Library of America.
- Poe, E. A. (1984b). The Pit and the Pendulum. In *Poetry and Tales* (pp. 491-504). New York: Library of America.
- Rosemont, F. (Ed.). (1978). *What is Surrealism? Selected Writings*. New York: Monad Press.
- Rosemont, F. (1979). Lovecraft, Surrealism & Revolution. In P. Buhle (Ed.). *Cultural Correspondence*, 10-11, (January), p. 17.
- Rothko, M. (Rothko, C., Ed.) (2004) *The Artist's reality: Philosophies of art*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, p. 111.
- Rouse, Jr. (1941). That's What Fascinates Dali Most About Virginia. *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (April 6).
- Salvador Dalí annoys sheriff. (1947). *The San Francisco Examiner* (November 6).
- Sobol, L. (1942). Fled from his wife back home to his mother-in-law!. *San Francisco Examiner* (April 5).
- Spoto, D. (1976). *The Art of Alfred Hitchcock: Fifty Years of His Motion Pictures*. New York: Brodart Co.
- Storr, R. (1998). Interview with Chuck Close (pp. 94-99). In *Chuck Close*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art.

- “Surrealism on parade.” (1936). *Life*, Vol. 14, (December), p. 24.
- Talley, R. (1940). Salvador Dali is Designing Painting Chair. *Richmond Times Dispatch* (November 24).
- Taylor, M. (2008a). *The Dalí Renaissance: New Perspectives on His Life and Art After 1940*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum Distribution.
- Taylor, M. R. (2008b). Giraffes on Horseback Salad. In M. Gale (Ed.), *Dalí and film* (pp. 140-153). Nueva York: The Museum of Modern Art.
- U.S. Department of Justice. (1941a). Application to Extend Time of Temporary Stay. Passport no. 12441 (June 19).
- U.S. Department of Justice. (1941b). Certificate of Admission of Alien. Visa N.I. #55 (Nonquota Immigration visa) (July 22).
- Value of Dalí jewels reduced. (1947). *Ventura County Star* (November 6).
- Van Joy Smith, H. (1942). Two famous artists arrive in Palm Beach for visit. *The Miami News* (April 26).
- Verdura, F. (1941). Massa Dalí in ole Virginy. *Harper's Bazaar* (May), p. 89-90.
- Virginia Spider in Sunshine Inspires Painting by Dali. (1941). *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (March 2).
- Young, W. & Young N. K. (2002). *The 1930's*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Zalman, S. (2015). *Consuming Surrealism in American Culture: Dissident Modernism*. New York: Routledge.

Números publicados / Published issues

Disponibles en/available at: <http://cervantesobservatorio.fas.harvard.edu/es/informes>

Informes del Observatorio/Observatorio Reports

1. Luis Fernández Cifuentes. *Lengua y literatura en los Estados Unidos: tres momentos estelares / Hispanic Language and Literature in the United States: Three Decisive Moments* (En español: 001-05/2014SP; in English: 001-05/2014EN). Mayo/May 2014.
2. Nancy Rhodes, Ingrid Pufahl. *Panorama de la enseñanza de español en las escuelas de los Estados Unidos. Resultados de la encuesta nacional / An Overview of Spanish Teaching in U.S. Schools: National Survey Results* (En español: 002-06/2014SP; in English: 002-06/2014EN). Junio/June 2014.
3. Andrés Enrique Arias. *El judeoespañol en los Estados Unidos / Judeo-Spanish in the United States*. (En español: 003-09/2014SP; in English: 003-09/2014EN). Septiembre/September 2014.
4. David Fernández-Vitores. *El español en el sistema de Naciones Unidas / Spanish in the United Nations System*. (En español: 004-10/2014SP; in English: 004-10/2014EN). Octubre/October 2014.
5. Carmen Silva-Corvalán. *La adquisición del español en niños de tercera generación / The acquisition of Spanish by third generation children*. (En español: 005-11/2014SP; in English: 005-11/2014EN). Noviembre/November 2014.
6. Susanna Siegel (coord.). *Reflexiones sobre el uso del inglés y el español en filosofía analítica / Reflexions on the use of English and Spanish in analytical philosophy*. (En español: 006-12/2014SP; in English: 006-12/2014EN). Diciembre/December 2014.
7. Erin Boon, Maria Polinsky. *Del silencio a la palabra: El empoderamiento de los hablantes de lenguas de herencia en el siglo XXI / From Silence to Voice: Empowering Heritage Language Speakers in the 21st Century*. (En español: 007-01/2015SP; in English: 007-01/2015EN). Enero/January 2015.
8. Isaac Diego García, Miguel Álvarez-Fernández, Juan Luis Ferrer-Molina. *Panorama de las relaciones entre los Estados Unidos, España e Hispanoamérica en el campo del Arte Sonoro/ Overview of the Relationship among the United States, Spain and Hispanic America in the Field of Sound Art*. (En español: 008-02/2015SP; in English: 008-02/2015EN). Febrero/February 2015.
9. Silvia Betti. *La imagen de los hispanos en la publicidad de los Estados Unidos / The Image of Hispanics in Advertising in the United States* (En español: 009-03/2015SP; in English: 009-03/2015EN). Marzo/March 2015.

100

10. Francisco Moreno Fernández. *La importancia internacional de las lenguas / The International Importance of Languages*. (En español: 010-04/2015SP; in English: 010-04/2015EN). Abril/April 2015.
11. Sara Steinmetz. *Harvard hispano: mapa de la lengua española / Hispanic Harvard: a Map of the Spanish Language* (En español: 011-05/2015SP; in English: 011-05/2015EN). Mayo/May 2015.
12. Damián Vergara Wilson. *Panorama del español tradicional de Nuevo México / A Panorama of Traditional New Mexican Spanish* (En español: 012-06/2015SP; in English: 012-06/2015EN). Junio/June 2015.
13. Glenn A. Martínez. *La lengua española en el sistema de atención sanitaria de los Estados Unidos / Spanish in the U.S. Health Delivery System* (En español: 013-09/2015SP; in English: 013-09/2015EN). Septiembre/September 2015.
14. Sara Steinmetz, Clara González Tosat, Francisco Moreno Fernández. *Mapa hispano de los Estados Unidos - 2015 / Hispanic Map of the United States - 2015*. (En español: 014-10/2015SP; in English: 014-10/2015EN). Octubre/October 2015.
15. Domnita Dumitrescu. *Aspectos pragmáticos y discursivo del español estadounidense / Pragmatic and Discursive Aspects of the U.S. Spanish*. (En español: 015-11/2015SP; in English: 015-11/2015EN). Noviembre/November 2015.
16. Clara González Tosat. *Cibermedios hispanos en los Estados Unidos / Hispanic Digital Newspapers in the United States*. (En español: 016-12/2015SP; in English: 016-12/2015EN). Diciembre/December 2015.
17. Orlando Alba. *El béisbol: deporte norteamericano con sello hispanoamericano / Baseball: a U.S. Sport with a Spanish-American Stamp*. (En español: 017-01/2016SP; in English: 017-01/2016EN). Enero/January 2016.
18. Manel Lacorte, Jesús Suárez-García. *Enseñanza del español en el ámbito universitario estadounidense: presente y futuro / Teaching Spanish at the University Level in the United States*. (En español: 018-02/2016SP; in English: 018-02/2016EN). Febrero/February 2016.
19. Jorge Ignacio Covarrubias. *El periodismo en español en los Estados Unidos / Spanish-language Journalism in the United States*. (En español: 019-03/2016SP; in English: 019-03/2016EN). Marzo/March 2016.
20. Marta Puxan Oliva. *Espacios de fricción en la literatura mundial / Frictions of World Literature*. (En español: 020-04/2016SP; in English: 020-04/2016EN). Abril/April 2016.
21. Gabriel Rei-Doval. *Los estudios gallegos en los Estados Unidos / Galician Studies in the United States* (En español: 021-05/2016SP; in English: 021-05/2016EN). Mayo/May 2016.

22. Paola Uccelli, Emily Phillips Galloway, Gladys Aguilar, Melanie Allen. *Lenguajes académicos y bilingüismo en estudiantes latinos de los Estados Unidos / Academic languages and bilingualism in U.S. Latino Students* (En español: 022-06/2016SP; in English: 022-06/2016EN). Junio/June 2016.
23. María Fernández Moya. *Los Estados Unidos, un mercado prometedor para la edición en español / The United States, a promising market for Spanish-language publishing*. (En español: 023-09/2016SP; in English: 023-09/2016EN). Septiembre/September 2016.
24. Daniel Martínez, Austin Mueller, Rosana Hernández Nieto, Francisco Moreno Fernández (dir.). *Mapa hispano de los Estados Unidos 2016 / Hispanic Map of the United States* (En español: 024-10/2016SP; in English: 024-10/2016EN). Octubre/October 2016.
25. Igone Arteagoitia, Marleny Perdomo, Carolyn Fidelman. *Desarrollo de la lectoescritura en español en alumnos bilingües. / Development of Spanish Literacy Skills among Bilingual Students* (En español: 025-11/2016SP; in English: 025-11/2016EN). Noviembre/November 2016.
26. Winston R. Groman. *El canon literario hispánico en las universidades estadounidenses / The Hispanic Literary Canon in U.S. Universities* (En español: 026-12/2016SP; in English: 026-12/2016EN). Diciembre/December 2016.
27. Clara González Tosat. *La radio en español en los Estados Unidos / Spanish-Language Radio in the United States* (En español: 027-01/2017SP; in English: 027-01/2017EN). Enero/January 2017
28. Tamara Cabrera. *El sector de la traducción y la interpretación en los Estados Unidos / The Translating and Interpreting Industry in the United States* (En español: 028-02/2017SP; in English: 028-02/2017EN). Febrero/February 2017.
29. Rosana Hernández-Nieto, Francisco Moreno-Fernández (eds.). *Reshaping Hispanic Cultures. 2016 Instituto Cervantes Symposium on Recent Scholarship. Vol. I. Literature and Hispanism* (En español: 029-03/2017SP). Marzo 2017.
30. Rosana Hernández-Nieto, Francisco Moreno-Fernández (eds.). *Reshaping Hispanic Cultures. 2016 Instituto Cervantes Symposium on Recent Scholarship. Vol. II. Language Teaching* (En español: 030-04/2017SP). Abril 2017.
31. Francisco Moreno-Fernández. *Varietades del español y evaluación. Opiniones lingüísticas de los anglohablantes / Varieties of Spanish and Assessment. Linguistic Opinions from English-speakers* (En español: 031-05/2017SP; in English: 031-05/2017EN). Mayo/May 2017.
32. María Luisa Parra. *Recursos para la enseñanza de español como lengua heredada / Resources Teaching Spanish as a Heritage Language* (En español: 032-06/2017SP; in English: 032-06/2017EN). Junio/June 2017.
33. Rosana Hernández-Nieto. *La legislación lingüística en los Estados Unidos / Language Legislation in the U.S.* (En español: 033-09/2017SP; in English: 033-09/2017EN). Septiembre/September 2017.

34. Francisco Moreno-Fernández. *Geografía léxica del español estadounidense. A propósito del anglicismo / Lexical Geography of U.S. Spanish. About Anglicism* (En español: 034-10/2017SP; in English: 034-10/2017EN). Octubre/October 2017.
35. Rosana Hernández-Nieto, Marcus C. Guitérrez, Francisco Moreno-Fernández (dir.). *Mapa hispano de los Estados Unidos 2017 / Hispanic Map of the United States* (En español: 035-11/2017SP; in English: 035-11/2017EN). Noviembre/November 2017.
36. Esther Gimeno Ugalde. *El giro ibérico: panorama de los estudios ibéricos en los Estados Unidos / The Iberian Turn: an overview on Iberian Studies in the United States*. (En español: 036-12/2017SP; in English: 036-12/2017EN). Diciembre/December 2017.
37. Francisco Moreno Fernández. *Diccionario de anglicismos del español estadounidense* (En español: 037-01/2018SP). Enero/January 2018..
38. Rosalina Alcalde Campos. *De inmigrantes a profesionales. Las migraciones contemporáneas españolas hacia los Estados Unidos / From Immigrants to Professionals: Contemporary Spanish Migration to the United States*. (En español: 038-02/2018SP; in English: 038-02/2018EN). Febrero/February 2018.
39. Rosana Hernández Nieto, Francisco Moreno-Fernández (dir.). *Reshaping Hispanic Cultures. 2017 Instituto Cervantes Symposium on Recent Scholarship. Vol. I. Literatura e hispanismo* (En español: 039-03/2018SP). Marzo/March 2018.
40. Rosana Hernández Nieto, Francisco Moreno-Fernández (dir.). *Reshaping Hispanic Cultures. 2017 Instituto Cervantes Symposium on Recent Scholarship. Vol. II. Spanish Teaching / Enseñanza de español* (En español: 040-04/2018SP). Abril 2018.
41. Andrés Enrique-Arias, *Evolución de los posgrados de español en las universidades estadounidenses / The Evolution of Graduate Studies in Spanish in American Universities* (En español: 041-05/2018SP; in English: 041-05/2018EN). Mayo/May 2018.
42. Luis Javier Pentón Herrera, *Estudiantes indígenas de América Latina en los Estados Unidos / Indigenous Students from Latin America in the United States* (En español: 042-08/2018SP; in English: 042-08/2018EN). Agosto/August 2018.
43. Francisco Moreno Fernández (ed.). *El español de los Estados Unidos a debate. U.S. Spanish in the Spotlight* (En español: 043-09/2018SP; in English: 043-09/2018EN). Septiembre/September 2018.
44. Rosana Hernández, Francisco Moreno Fernández (dir.). *Mapa hispano de los Estados Unidos 2018 / Hispanic Map of the United States 2018*. (En español: 044-10/2018SP; in English: 044-10/2018EN). Octubre/October 2018.
45. Esther Gimeno Ugalde. *Panorama de los Estudios Catalanes en los Estados Unidos / Catalan Studies in the United Studies* (En español: 045-11/2018SP; in English: 045-11/2018EN). Noviembre/November 2018.

46. Silvia Betti. *Apuntes sobre paisaje lingüístico. Un paseo por algunas ciudades estadounidenses / Notes on Linguistic Landscape: A Look at Several U.S. Cities.* (En español: 046-12/2018SP; in English: 046-12/2018EN). Diciembre/December 2018.
47. Rosana Hernández. *Legislación lingüística en los Estados Unidos. Análisis nacional / Language Legislation in the U.S. A Nationwide Analysis.* (En español: 047-01-2019SP; in English: 047-01/2019EN). Enero/January 2019.
48. Kate Seltzer, Ofelia García. *Mantenimiento del bilingüismo en estudiantes latinos/as de las escuelas de Nueva York. El proyecto CUNY-NYSIEB / Sustaining Latinx Bilingualism in New York's Schools: The CUNY-NYSIEB Project.* (En español: 048-02/2019SP; in English: 048-02/2019EN). Febrero/February 2019.
49. Francisco Moreno Fernández (ed.). *Hacia un corpus del español en los Estados Unidos. Debate para la génesis del proyecto CORPEEU.* (En español: 049-03/2019SP) Marzo/March 2019.
50. Rosana Hernández, Francisco Moreno-Fernández (eds.). *Reshaping Hispanic Cultures. 2018 Instituto Cervantes Symposium on Recent Scholarship. Vol. I. Literature.* (En español: 050-04/2019SP) Abril/April 2019.
51. Rosana Hernández, Francisco Moreno-Fernández (eds.). *Reshaping Hispanic Cultures. 2018 Instituto Cervantes Symposium on Recent Scholarship. Vol. II. Linguistics, Communication and Sociology in the Hispanic World.* (En español: 051-05/2019SP) Mayo/May 2019.
52. Clara González Tosat. *Cibermedios hispanos en los Estados Unidos 2019: evolución, calidad e impacto. / Hispanic Digital Newspapers in the U.S., 2019: evolution, quality, and impact.* (En español: 052-06/2019SP; in English 052-06/2019EN) Junio/June 2019.

Estudios del Observatorio/Observatorio Studies

53. José María Albalad Aiguabella. *Periodismo hispano en los Estados Unidos: análisis de cuatro modelos referentes. / Hispanic journalism in the United States: analysis of four key models.* (En español: 053-09/2019SP; in English: 053-09/2019EN) Septiembre/September 2019.
54. José María Albalad Aiguabella. *La apuesta de The New York Times por el mercado hispanohablante (2016-2019): luces y sombras de un proyecto piloto. / The New York Times' Bet on the Spanish-speaking Market (2016-2019): Highs and Lows of a Pilot Project.* (En español: 054-10/2019SP; in English: 054-10/2019EN) Octubre/October 2019.
55. Marta Mateo, Cristina Lacomba, Natalie Ramírez (eds.). *De España a Estados Unidos: el legado transatlántico de Joaquín Rodrigo. / From Spain to the United States: Joaquín Rodrigo's Transatlantic Legacy.* (En español: 055-11/2019SP; in English: 055-11/2019EN) Noviembre/November 2019.

56. Juan Ignacio Güenechea Rodríguez. *La herencia hispana y el español en la toponimia de los Estados Unidos. / Hispanic Heritage and the Spanish Language in the Toponymy of the United States.* (En español: 056-12/2019SP; in English: 056-12/2019EN) Diciembre/December 2019.
57. Daniel Moreno-Moreno. *Lo híbrido hecho carne. El legado de un pensador hispano-americano: Jorge/George Santayana. / The Hybrid Made Flesh. The Legacy of a Hispanic-American Thinker: Jorge/George Santayana.* (En español: 057-01/2020SP; in English: 057-01/2020EN) Enero/January 2020.
58. Rolena Adorno, José M. del Pino. *George Ticknor (1791-1871), su contribución al hispanismo, y una amistad especial. / George Ticknor (1791-1871), his Contributions to Hispanism, and a Special Friendship.* (En español: 058-02/2020SP; in English: 058-02/2020EN) Febrero/February 2020.
59. Mónica Álvarez Estévez. *Entre dos orillas: la inmigración gallega en Nueva York. Morriña e identidades transnacionales. / Between Two Shores: Galician Immigration to New York. Morriña and transnational identities.* (En español: 059-03/2020SP; in English: 059-03/2020EN) Marzo/March 2020.
60. Marta Mateo, María Bovea, Natalie Ramírez (eds.). *Reshaping Hispanic Cultures: 2019 Instituto Cervantes Symposium on Recent Scholarship. Vol. I. Identity, Language & Teaching.* (060-04/2020SP) Abril 2020.
61. Marta Mateo, María Bovea, Natalie Ramírez (eds.). *Reshaping Hispanic Cultures: 2019 Instituto Cervantes Symposium on Recent Scholarship. Vol. II. Art and Literature.* (061-05/2020SP) Mayo 2020.
62. Godoy Peñas, Juan A. *Are you Black or Latino? Ser afro-latino en los Estados Unidos. / Are You Black or Latino? Being Latino in the United States.* (En español: 062-06/2020SP; in English: 062-06/2020EN) Junio/June 2020.
63. Eduardo Viñuela. *El pop en español en EE.UU.: Un espacio para la articulación de la identidad latina / Pop in Spanish in the U.S.: A Space to Articulate the Latino Identity.* (En español: 063-09/2020SP; in English: 063-09/2020EN) Septiembre/September 2020.
64. Marjorie Agosín, Emma Romeu, Clara Eugenia Ronderos. *Vida en inglés, poesía en español: Escribir desde la ausencia / Living in English, Writing in Spanish: The Poetry of Absence.* (En español: 064-10/2020SP; in English: 064-10/2020EN) Octubre/October 2020.
65. Cristina Lacomba. *Hispanos y/o latinos en Estados Unidos: La construcción social de una identidad / Hispanics and/or Latinos in the United States: The Social Construction of an Identity.* (En español: 065-11/2020SP; in English: 065-11/2020EN) Noviembre/November 2020.
66. Lucía Guerra. *Translaciones literarias. Difusión y procesos de traducción de la obra de María Luisa Bombal en los Estados Unidos / Literary Shifts. María Luisa Bombal: Circulation and Translation Processes in the United States.* (En español: 066-12/2020SP; in English: 066-12/2020EN) Diciembre/December 2020.

67. Leyla Rouhi. *Translaciones literarias. Sobre La Celestina y sus traducciones al inglés / Literary Shifts. On La Celestina and English Translations*. (En español: 067-01/2021SP; in English: 067-01/2021EN) Enero/January 2021.
68. Miriam Perandones Lozano. *La recepción del hispanismo musical en Nueva York en el cambio de siglo XIX-XX y el boom del teatro lírico español a través de Enrique Granados y Quinito Valverde / Reception of Musical Hispanism in New York at the Turn of the 20th Century and the Boom in Spanish Lyric Theatre through the Work of Enrique Granados and Quinito Valverde*. (En español: 068-02/2021SP; in English: 068-02/2021EN) Febrero/February 2021.
69. Raquel Chang-Rodríguez. *Luis Jerónimo de Oré y su Relación (c. 1619): el testimonio de un peruano en La Florida española / Luis Jerónimo de Oré and his Relación (c. 1619): A Peruvian's Account of Spanish Florida*. (En español: 069-03/2021SP; in English: 069-03/2021EN) Marzo/March 2021.
70. Zuzanna Fuchs. *El español como lengua de herencia en los EE. UU.: contribución de las lenguas de herencia a la confirmación de factores que impulsan el desarrollo lingüístico / Heritage Spanish in the US: How Heritage Languages Can Contribute to Disentangling Factors Driving Language Development*. (En español: 070-04/2021SP; in English: 070-04/2021EN) Abril/April 2021.
71. María Luisa Parra Velasco. *Los talleres del español: un proyecto colaborativo de formación docente para profesores de español como lengua de herencia en educación media y superior / Los talleres del español: A Collaborative Training Project for Teachers of Spanish as a Heritage Language in Secondary and Higher Education*. (En español: 071-05/2021SP; in English: 071-05/2021EN) Mayo/May 2021.
72. Marta Mateo, Juan Manuel Arias, María Bovea-Pascual (eds.). *New Perspectives on Hispanic Cultures: Hispanism and Spanish in the U.S. over the Last 30 Years. Observatorio Instituto Cervantes Symposium 2021*. (072-09/2021SP) Septiembre/September 2021.
73. Diego Pascual y Cabo, Gabriela Rivera-Marín. *Entender y confrontar las agresiones lingüísticas en la enseñanza del español como lengua de herencia / Understanding and Addressing Linguistic Aggressions in the Spanish Heritage Language Classroom* (En español: 073-11/2021SP; in English: 073-11/2021EN) Noviembre/November 2021.
74. Javier A. Cancio-Donlebún Ballvé. *Los esclavos del rey de España en San Agustín de La Florida (1580-1618) / The King of Spain's Slaves in St. Augustine, Florida (1580-1618)* (En español: 074-12/2021SP; in English: 074-12/2021EN) Diciembre/December 2021.
75. Francisca González Arias. *Translaciones literarias. Las primeras traducciones al inglés de las obras de Emilia Pardo Bazán en los Estados Unidos / The English Translations of Works by Emilia Pardo Bazán in the United States of the Fin-de-Siècle* (En español: 075-01/2022SP; in English: 075-01/2022EN) Enero/January 2022.

76. Marta Pérez-Carbonell. *Traducciones literarias. Las traducciones al inglés de la obra de Javier Marías y su presencia en los Estados Unidos / Literary Shifts. English Language Translations of the Works of Javier Marías and Their Presence in the United States* (En español: 076-03/2022SP; in English: 076-03/2022sEN) Marzo/March 2022.
77. Ángel López García-Molins. *Reflexiones multidisciplinares sobre el espanglish / Multidisciplinary Reflections on Spanglish* (En español: 077-04/2022SP; in English: 077-04/2022EN) Abril/April 2021.
78. Enrique Martínez García, María Teresa Martínez García. *El valor económico del español en Estados Unidos: Oportunidades y retos para el futuro / The Economic Value of Spanish in the United States: Opportunities and Challenges for the Future* (En español: 078-05/2022SP; in English: 078-05/2022EN) Mayo/May 2022.
79. Félix Fernández de Castro. *Textos fonéticos del español hablado en Estados Unidos (1912 - 2006) / Phonetic Texts of Spanish Spoken in the United States (1912-2006)*. (En español: 079-06/2022SP; in English: 079-06/2022EN) Junio/June 2022.
80. Danny Erker, Lee-Ann Marie Vidal-Covas. *Qué decimos cuando no decimos nada: Claves del cambio lingüístico inducido por contacto en las pausas llenas del español conversacional / What We Say When We Say Nothing at All: Clues to Contact-Induced Language Change in Spanish Conversational Pause-Fillers*. (En español: 080-09/2022SP; in English: 080-09/2022EN) Septiembre/September 2022.
81. José Antonio Mazzotti. *Homenaje a Trilce desde los Estados Unidos en el centenario de su publicación: una revolución que perdura / Tribute to Trilce from the United States on the Centenary of its Publication: A Revolution that Lasts*. (En español: 081-11/2022SP; in English: 081-11/2022EN) Noviembre/November 2022.
82. Macarena García-Avello. *La generación latinx: Anhelos de las voces de la frontera / The Latinx Generation: Longings of Voices from the Border*. (En español: 082-12/2022SP; in English: 082-12/2022EN) Diciembre/December 2022.
83. Nick Basbanes. *La formación de un hispanista de Harvard: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow y George Ticknor, discípulo y mentor / The Grooming of a Harvard Hispanist: George Ticknor's Mentorship of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*. (En español: 083-01/2023SP; in English: 083-01/2023EN) Enero/January 2023.
84. Cristina Lacomba. *Mapa hispano de los Estados Unidos 2022 / Hispanic Map of the United States 2022*. (En español: 084-02/2023SP; in English: 084-02/2023EN) Febrero/February 2023.