



A MADMAN'S DREAM

Arthur Szyk, *A Madman's Dream*, page removed from *The New Order* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941).
Ink on paper, printed. 7.5 x 9.9 in. (19 x 25 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. Gift of Philip R. House

The Cartoon Crusader Comes to America: Arthur Szyk's Battle against the Nazis in the New World

Steven Luckert

The origin of all art is what we call propaganda. The art of Egypt, Greece, Rome, the Renaissance, was the propaganda of religion. I do not say that art is my aim; art is my means.

Arthur Szyk, 1944¹



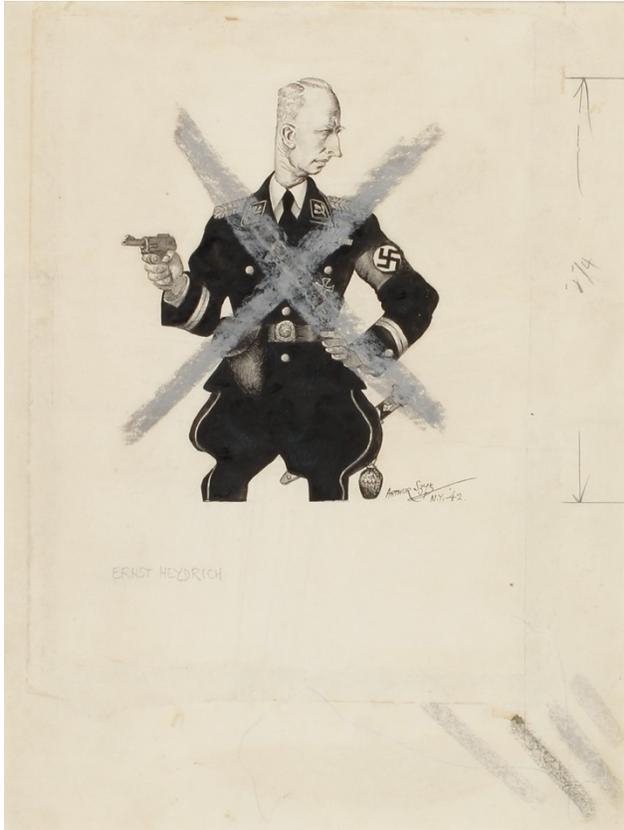
During the Second World War few artists in America skewered the Nazis with greater relish than the Polish-born Arthur Szyk (Łódź, 1894–New Canaan, CT, 1951) [Fig. 1]. In the 1940s, his anti-Axis images graced the covers and inside pages of leading magazines like *Time*, *Colliers*, *Esquire*, *Look*, *The American Mercury*, *Coronet*, and *Liberty*. Szyk’s cartoons appeared regularly in *The New York Post*, *The Chicago Sun*, and *PM* [Fig. 2]. Millions of Americans saw his work, even if they could not pronounce his name. Edward Alden Jewell, the sometimes-acerbic art critic for the *New York Times*, described his wartime caricatures as “vigorous and irradiated with bitterly suave humor—the [their] excoriation because of the barbed refinement of a style that, even here, confesses the sensitive touch of the miniaturist.”²

Fig. 1 Arthur Szyk, cover illustration, 1944, for his book *Ink and Blood* (New York: Heritage Press, 1946). Ink, paint, graphite, colored pencil on paper . 10 x 7.5 in. (25.4 x 19.1 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. Gift of Joseph and Alexandra Braciejowski

Completed before the end of the Second World War, the image shows Szyk finishing off Hitler while the others wait their turn. To the side Szyk placed the French Vichy leaders, Pierre Laval and Marshal Philippe Petain, and Italian Fascist leader, Benito Mussolini, already in the waste bin of history.

In 1943, First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt publicly lauded his efforts, saying he “fights the war against Hitlerism as truly as any of us who cannot actually be on the fighting fronts today.”³ Skilled with words as well as a brush, Szyk sometimes described himself as “FDR’s soldier in art.” Contemporaries, and later students of his art, frequently referred to him as a “one-man army,” a name coined by Eleanor Roosevelt.

But perhaps the most fitting description of Szyk came from Universal Pictures, which dubbed him the “Cartoon Crusader” in a 1946 newsreel. This two-minute featurette showcased his powerful artistic contribution to the Allied war effort, praising his “one-man campaign against the Axis.” “The paintings of Arthur Szyk,” proclaimed celebrated radio broadcaster, Ben Grauer, “carry a political impact as powerful as an atomic bomb.” With its folksy language and jaunty music, the newsreel sounds rather dated today, but it certainly speaks to Szyk’s fame in



the World War II era, when “his caustic cartoons” had “become more popular with young America than pin-up girls.”⁴

As an epithet, Cartoon Crusader successfully works on multiple levels. The term is quintessentially American. It conjures up the popular comic book action heroes of that time, like Superman, Batman, Wonder Woman, and Captain America, who aimed to protect the United States from the evil machinations of Nazis and Axis saboteurs. Like the American Jewish artists and writers who created these figures, Szyk too created heroes on paper, whether in the form of British pilots, American soldiers, or Jewish ghetto fighters.

Fig. 2 Arthur Szyk, caricature of SS General Reinhard Heydrich, for *Look* magazine, New York, 1942. Ink, graphite, crayon, colored pencil on paper. 12 x 9.1 in. (30.5 x 23.2 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. Gift of Joseph and Alexandra Braciejowski

One of the key Nazi architects of the Holocaust, Heydrich died following an assassination attempt in Prague. Following his death, Szyk crossed out the Nazi figure on the already completed drawing.

Second, it well captures Szyk’s activism, perhaps even militancy, in support of the causes he held dear. It is hard to think of a more passionate artistic advocate of Jewish rescue than Szyk. In newspaper advertisements and cartoons on behalf of the Bergson Group, a Revisionist Zionist organization, he employed his pen and paper to demand “Action—Not Pity” to save Europe’s Jews. Third, the epithet conveys the notion of a military expedition to a different land. While the descriptor *crusader* might seem an odd choice for a proud Jewish artist, it aptly describes Szyk’s 1940 voyage to the New World, where he attempted to win support for Great Britain’s lone struggle against the Nazi juggernaut. Last, it matches well with Szyk’s skillful use of Christian iconography, particularly the image of St. George slaying the dragon. The patron saint of England, St. George became a popular symbol during the Crusades and later during the Renaissance.⁵ Szyk, however, updated the iconography showing St. George in various guises, as a British or American soldier in a tin hat, as a seventeenth-century Polish warrior, or even as a Jewish knight. He commonly represented the dragon, traditionally a Christian symbol of Satan, with swastikas on its scales. The struggle against Nazism was thus a holy crusade against evil [Fig. 3].



Fig. 3 Arthur Szyk, Fundraising Poster Stamp for the British American Ambulance Corps, Inc., 1941. Paper, ink, adhesive. Collection of Steven Luckert

The Origins of Szyk's War against the Nazis

Szyk's crusade against Nazism and German militarism was deeply personal. It was indelibly linked to his sense of identity as a proud Jew, a Polish patriot, and later as an American. Szyk had long been an ardent foe of German military ambitions. Even before World War I erupted in 1914, he was skewering *Pickelhaube*-wearing Prussians in the Polish-language press. During the interwar years, when Germany became a republic, Szyk still worried about the resurgence of German expansionism, driven by unrepentant military officers and duplicitous politicians. He saw this as a threat to both European peace and to Poland's independence, for which he had fought with his pen and sword. By the time the Nazi Party had become the largest political representation in the German *Reichstag* in 1932, Szyk was sounding the alarm in his native Poland. The coming to power of Adolf Hitler on January 30, 1933, and with it the persecution of the country's Jews, only increased the artist's fears.

It was not merely the rearming of Germany that worried him, but Nazi propaganda aimed at subverting the will to fight of other nations and spreading anti-Semitism abroad like a contagion. Even his native Poland was not immune to Nazi machinations. As he saw it, after Marshal Józef Piłsudski's death in 1935, the Polish people were infected by an alien hatred that was, as he described it, not "of Polish origin." Nazi Germany had undermined Poland and other lands in eastern and southeastern Europe by exporting notions of government by "strong men" opposed to democratic "anarchy," encouraging "fifth-column" activity by German minorities, and stirring up "a new type of anti-Semitism . . . of the exterminatory brand."⁶

Szyk's answer to Nazism and its threat to Europe's Jews and peace was to use his art as a platform to call attention to the problem and advocate action. In 1934, while on a visit to the United States to promote his series *George Washington and His Times*, he spelled out his mission to Harry Salpeter, an Austrian-born reporter and art critic: "An artist, and especially a Jewish artist, cannot be neutral in these times. He cannot escape to still lifes, abstractions, and experiments. Art that is purely cerebral is dead. Our life is involved in a terrible tragedy, and I am resolved to serve my people with all my art, with all my talent, with all my knowledge."⁷

In keeping with this promise, Szyk chose as his primary artistic weapon against the Nazis, a Jewish religious text, the Haggadah, that is read every Passover to celebrate the Exodus from Egypt and the triumph of the Jewish people over its enemies.⁸ To make his contemporary references to the Nazis clear, he painted swastikas on every Egyptian and planned to dedicate the finished work to the persecuted Jews of Germany. Ultimately, Szyk was pressured into painting over the swastikas by his nervous publishers; consciously or unconsciously, he left one such Nazi emblem in the text. It would not be the last time that Szyk would have to cover up swastikas in his artwork.⁹

Though safely in England with his immediate family, he had left behind his mother and brother, who were forced by German authorities into the Łódź ghetto in 1940. Two years later, his mother, Eugenia, was deported to the Chelmno killing center, where she was murdered along with thousands of children and elderly men and women. The following year his brother, Bernard, perished at Nazi hands. His literary collaborator on the book *Ink & Blood*, Struthers Burt, noted that the Nazis had not only murdered his mother but destroyed the immediate family of his wife, Julia Likierman, as well.¹⁰ In spite of the distance and war that separated him

from his native Poland, Szyk kept one watchful eye on what was happening there and used this knowledge to rouse support for the Allied cause, Poland, and Europe's Jews [Fig. 4].



Fig. 4 Arthur Szyk (right) visits the Poznansky family in Surrey, England, ca. 1939-1940 .
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection.
Courtesy of Gillian Poznansky Raffles



Fig. 5 Arthur Szyk (left) with Vladimir Jabotinsky, n.d .
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.
Courtesy of Eileen Shneiderman

During his war years in London, from 1939–1940, Szyk devoted his artistic energies to publicizing Nazi actions in occupied Poland. A reviewer for the *Times* (London) noted that three main themes stood out in his one-man show, *War and Kultur in Poland*: “The brutality of the Germans—and the more primitive savagery of the Russians, the heroism of the Poles, and the suffering of the Jews. The cumulative effect of the exhibition is immensely powerful because nothing in it appears to be a hasty judgment, but part of the unrelenting pursuit of an evil so firmly grasped that it can be dwelt upon with artistic satisfaction.”¹¹ Szyk’s work of that period often showed Jews and Poles united in their struggle against Nazi Germany and in their collective suffering at the hands of the occupier.

During this time, Szyk shared his concerns about the fate of Polish Jewry with his friend Vladimir Jabotinsky, the leader of the Revisionist Zionist movement [Fig. 5]. Both feared that Nazi brutalities against the Jews would swiftly become a casualty of the war, buried by a conspiracy of silence. Jabotinsky clarified this issue in his final work, *The War and the Jew*:

In this war (so it seems at the time of writing), it is not desired that the Jews should be “on the map”: neither as active allies, nor as fellow sufferers, nor as the subject matter of any special Allied demands or war aims.

Arthur Szyk, the gifted miniaturist who recently exhibited in London his brilliant and terrible drawings of tortured Poles and Jews under the German invader, has also a genius for finding the *mot juste*. To describe the attitude of the majority of the Allied statesmen and the greater part of the Allied press to this “Jewish” aspect of the war, he uses the word pornography.

“They treat us,” he says, “as a pornographical subject. Pornography covers a most important department of life and nature; nobody denies it, but you cannot discuss it in polite society—it is not done.”¹²

Throughout the war years, Szyk fervently tried to put Jews “on the map” in his depictions of Nazi persecution. Even in his early wartime work from 1940 in London, one sees the escalation in the Nazi persecution of the Jews in the German-occupied Poland in his artwork. His drawings depict Polish Jews wearing the blue and white armbands with the Star of David, which all Jews, ten years and older, were required to wear in the *Generalgouvernement* (the German “colony” encompassing much of occupied Poland, including Warsaw—though not Szyk’s hometown of Łódź, which was incorporated in the German Reich). This order, issued on November 23, 1939, went into effect on December 1, 1939.

Szyk would continue to show the world sympathetic portrayals of his fellow Jews suffering at the hands of the Nazi occupiers. Often he showed the most innocent of the victims, Jewish children, women, and the elderly, to convey that the Nazi’s war against the Jews was not directed at military units, but at unarmed civilians. This was a war directed at all Jews, regardless of age or gender. Szyk’s depictions of Polish Jews under Nazi rule aim to solicit sympathy and response. His Jewish victims are presented with dignity; they never whimper or beg for mercy from their vicious overseers.

Arthur Szyk’s Artistic Crusade to the New World

Szyk’s decision to continue his crusade against the Nazis across the Atlantic was no doubt fueled by military events in Europe. In April 1940, German troops invaded Denmark and Norway. A few weeks later, in May, the Low Countries and France came under German military attack. The following month, France surrendered, leaving Nazi Germany in control of much of Europe. England stood alone in the armed struggle against Nazism.

Germany’s rapid military advance surprised and shocked contemporary witnesses. As all this was unfolding, Szyk was making a decision that would change his life. In June 1940, he wrote officials in the Polish Government-in-Exile now based in London, proposing a propaganda plan to win popular support for the Allied cause in the United States. He suggested the creation of a traveling exhibition of his anti-Nazi drawings, the *Statute of Kalisz*, the *Haggadah*, and other works, which would open in Washington, DC, and then move to Hollywood. While in California, he hoped to meet with the studio heads of Paramount, Warner Brothers, and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, as well as with Jewish actors Paul Muni and Eddie Cantor. At the time, Muni and Cantor were active in Jewish causes, including aid to refugees fleeing Nazi Germany. From California, his exhibition would travel to other American cities.

Szyk’s goals seem to have combined to address both the observations he had made to Jabotinsky and his desire to aid Great Britain and the Polish Government-in-Exile. He aimed to win over the general public and American influencers. As the letter indicates, he believed that American Jews, while totally opposed to Hitler and the Nazis, still were not actively backing the Allies. As evidence, Szyk cited the following issues: American Jews’ loyalty to the United States government and its isolationist policies; the Allies’ “absolute silence” toward solving “Jewish problems” after the war; the Polish government’s reticence on this same issue; and Britain’s restrictive policy toward Jews in Palestine.

Szyk further indicated that he had been in contact with Major A. A. Longden, the Secretary of Fine Art for the British Council, who had helped to organize his exhibition *War and Kultur in Poland*. The artist informed the Polish officials that he had the support of England's Ministry of Information (MOI) for his planned travel. As a Polish citizen, however, he required the approval of the Polish government as well as financial funding to cover his travel expenses and the cost of the exhibition. If needed, Great Britain, he understood, would supply the funds for "our propaganda," but that it would not be sent to him personally or officially, but done on a strictly confidential basis. The British, Szyk pointed out, believed that their "propaganda" situation was the weakest in the United States and requested that the initiative come from the Polish Government-in-Exile.¹³

Szyk's letter might be read as something of a bargaining contract in which he offers his services as a "propagandist" for Great Britain and the Polish Government-in-Exile in exchange for their resolution of the above-mentioned "Jewish problems." His hopes in a change of policy by both governments regarding these issues, however, were sadly frustrated. By mid-1943, he had become an open and hostile critic of Britain's White Paper of 1939, which restricted Jewish immigration to Palestine. And, in 1944, he shifted his allegiance from the London-based Polish Government-in-Exile to the Soviet-backed Provisional Government of National Unity.

In 1940, it seems likely that the Polish and British governments aided Szyk's departure from England to Canada and then the United States, though no documents have surfaced that definitively prove this point. The fact that he met with the Prime Minister of the Polish Government-in-Exile, General Władysław Sikorski, prior to his leaving for the New World, suggests that his trip had, at least, tacit official support.

Some tantalizing hints that the Ministry of Information (MOI) may have backed his plans and booked his passage onboard a British liner comes from British author and Nobel Peace Prize winner, Norman Angell. In his autobiography, he recounted his 1940 discussions with an MOI official who suggested that Angell go on a lecture tour of the United States and that such a tour would be welcomed by the British Foreign Office and the Ministry of Information. Following the fall of France in 1940, Szyk made his decision to go to the United States and was told by the MOI to "Get off immediately." And they booked his ticket to Canada. With the exception of securing his passage, he came to the United States, in his own words, as a private person, with no official mission, no government assistance, and no instructions.¹⁴

Angell sailed to Canada onboard the same ship as Arthur Szyk, and several other leading European intellectuals, including André Géraud (Pertinax) and André Maurois.¹⁵ Like Szyk, they all were inveterate foes of the Nazis who wanted to contribute to the Allied war effort and opening the eyes of Americans. Maurois, a respected French Jewish author, had been invited to give lectures on literature in Boston, but upon arrival in the United States changed the topic to the fall of France. While it is unclear if Szyk knew his fellow passengers, they certainly shared many of the same ideas and goals.

Szyk's anti-Nazi crusade in the New World began shortly after he disembarked in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on July 12, 1940. That day he, his wife, Julia, and daughter, Alexandra, arrived along with some 2,000 children who had been evacuated from Great Britain to Canada. The ship, "this giant floating nursery" as Maurois called it, had been escorted across the Atlantic by

a British naval convoy to protect its precious cargo of children, anti-Nazi intellectuals, and Szyk's art.¹⁶ In preparation for his art exhibition in Toronto, he began outlining to the press some of the goals of his New World crusade. "There is no use painting flowers or landscapes anymore. Art must be mobilized—like everything else," he told reporters in late July. Julia, chimed in: "So my husband is doing cartoons now, cartoons for propaganda. He did it before. When Poland was at war against the Bolsheviks, he was chief of the counter-propaganda department when he was not at the front."¹⁷ Citing Goya's work during the Napoleonic Wars, Szyk pointed out the power of art to arouse patriotism. He went further, urging artists to draw lessons from the enemy: "We have a lot to learn from the Germans and Italians, who have used the propaganda of the artist to an immense extent. Just because we know our cause is just, we should not leave things undone."¹⁸

Szyk's concern about Allied preparedness against the Axis powers had deepened as the result of recent events in Europe. It was not merely the military might of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, but enemy subversion that the New World had to worry about. On September 9, 1940, he explained to Canadian journalists how the Nazi *fifth column* had undermined European resistance to German aggression: "France was beaten not by that part of the German war machine comprised of tanks, guns, planes and men, but by newspapers, cartoonists and propagandists. Why should our artists remain neutral in the face of this?"¹⁹

To combat this threat to Canada and the United States, he proposed the creation of "an artists' propaganda department or a war art department." Art could be used to mobilize populations in defense against the enemy. Canadians, Szyk remarked, were a religious and courageous people, like his own, but there was not enough passion in their fight currently. "This is a war to the end," he declared, "the end of faith, of God, of everything, if Germany conquers. It is a fight between God and Satan."²⁰ Not surprisingly, Szyk's wartime art frequently links the Nazis with the Devil, the ultimate representation of evil in the western canon of art.

Szyk's Canadian artworks called public attention to the Nazi threat and paid tribute to the plucky British and Canadian servicemen who were fighting to defend democracy. In *The Painter and the Clipper* [Fig. 6],



Szyk depicts the failed artist, Adolf Hitler, painting all of Europe black, while Great Britain attempts to cut his scaffolding in order to prevent the Nazi leader from spreading death to North America. Canada and the United States are singled out on the map as the next objectives in his plan for world conquest.

Fig. 6 Arthur Szyk, *The Painter and the Clipper*, Ottawa, 1940 . Graphite, colored pencil, ink on paper. 9.8 x 11.5 in. (24.8 x 29.2 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. Gift of Joseph and Alexandra Braciejowski

After spending some six months in Canada, Szyk departed for the United States, where he would spend the remainder of his life. During the war years in America, he worked at a feverish pace, producing cartoons, caricatures, book illustrations, exhibitions, stamps and other fundraising material, and advertisements in support of the Allied war effort and Jewish causes. Within weeks of arriving in New York, he was already producing cartoons for *PM*, a liberal-left leaning newspaper that featured other artists, like Theodor Seuss Geisel (“Dr. Seuss”) and Ad Reinhardt. In July 1941, Putnam published a collection of his wartime caricatures, which received praise in the press and from the American public. By the end of the year, he was producing colorful covers for the very popular *Collier’s* magazine.

In contrast to Marc Chagall and some of the Surrealists who missed the cultural climate and cafés of Paris, Szyk found a home in America. Indeed, he thrived in New York. To some, he symbolized the American success story, an immigrant who crossed the Atlantic to build a new career in the New World. One Jewish writer proudly pointed out that “he has made a fortune in the United States and is living with his family in a comfortable house uptown, west of Broadway, his beautiful studio overlooking the Hudson River and the New Jersey shore.”²¹

Despite his growing success, Szyk never lost sight of his goal in coming to America. In a November 26, 1940, letter to his friend and erstwhile collaborator, the Polish Jewish poet Julian Tuwim, he wrote: I cannot say that I miss any of the old times. I am too preoccupied with our current struggle, the biggest in the history of humanity, our dream come true, our crusade against the Germans. My hatred towards them, as you well know, was, is and always will be my credo.”²² His “crusade against the Germans” in the United States initially involved opening the eyes of Americans to the global threat that Nazism presented, pushing for an interventionist agenda in foreign policy, and aiding Great Britain, Poland, and his fellow Jews.

In contrast to Canada, which had declared war on Nazi Germany in September 1939, the United States was a nonbelligerent in the European conflict. When Szyk arrived in New York, the country was hotly divided on the issue of involvement in World War II. While most of the population was ardently anti-Nazi, this did not translate into eagerness to go to war. In the summer of 1940, for instance, the Gallup polls indicated that 80 percent of those surveyed opposed an American declaration of war against the Axis powers.²³ Nazi officials in the United States, for their part, tried to strengthen the Reich’s hand by printing and disseminating large quantities of isolationist tracts by prominent Americans, as opposed to the less successful, and often heavy-handed, propaganda coming out of Berlin.

In 1941, Szyk took aim at the leading isolationist figures in the America First Committee, Charles Lindbergh and Senator Gerald Nye, both of whom the artist came to see as *fifth columnists* paving the way for Nazi conquest. As the most recognized proponent of American isolationism, Lindbergh was a special target of Szyk’s, particularly after the famed flier accused the British, the Jews, and the Roosevelt administration of pushing the country towards war in his Des Moines speech of September 11, 1941. The artist not only played up Lindbergh’s prior associations with German leaders, like Göring, but portrayed him as a would-be stormtrooper, just waiting to be appointed *Gauleiter* of a Nazi America [Figs. 7, 8].



Fig. 7 Arthur Szyk, *Sein Kampf*, caricature of Charles Lindbergh, New York, 1941 .
Graphite, ink on paper. 11.9 x 8.5 in. (30.2 x 21.6 cm).
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection.
Gift of Joseph and Alexandra Braciejowski



Fig 8 Arthur Szyk, *Good Work, Lindchen*, caricature of Charles Lindbergh, New York, 1941.
Ink, graphite on paper. 9.25 x 5.94 in. (23.5 x 15 cm).
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection.
Gift of Joseph and Alexandra Braciejowski

Along with Lindbergh, Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota was one of the most popular spokesmen for the America First movement. In the 1930s he had earned a reputation for his attacks on the munitions industry and for his strong support of American isolationism. In August 1941, Nye denounced Hollywood for its “war propaganda” in a radio address, “The movies,” he proclaimed,

have ceased to be instruments of entertainment. They have become the most gigantic engines of propaganda in existence to rouse the war fever in America and plunge this Nation to her destruction.

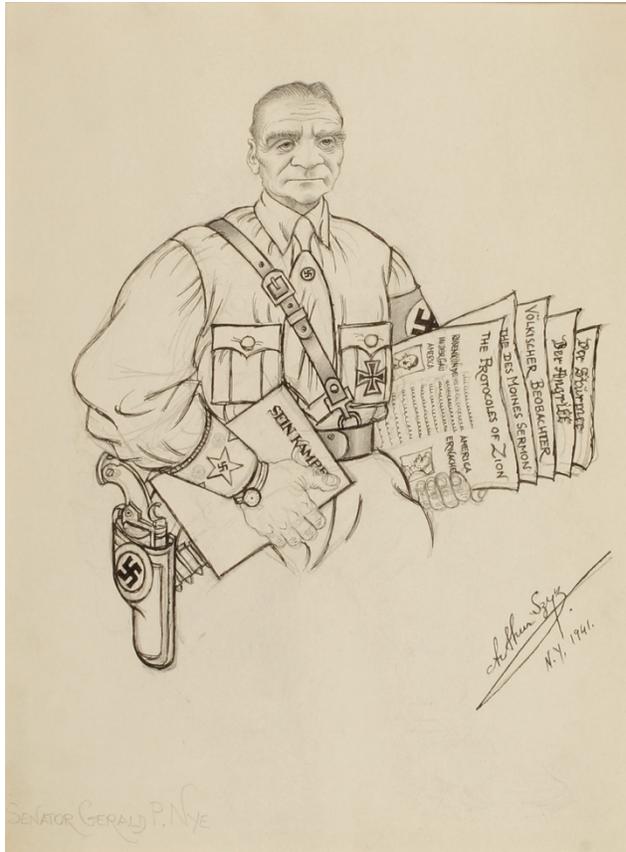
And now, let me ask, Who are the men who are doing this? Why are they trying to make America punch drunk with propaganda to push her into war?

There are eight major film companies. The men who dominate policy in these companies—own or direct them—are well known to you. There is Harry and Jack Cohn, of Columbia Pictures. There is Louis B. Mayer, of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. There is George J. Schaefer, of RKO. There is Barney Balaban and Adolph Zukor, of Paramount. There is Joseph Schenck and Daryl Zanuck, of Twentieth Century Fox, dominated by Chase National Bank. There is Murray Silverstone, of United Artists, and the great Sam

Goldwyn, of Samuel Goldwyn, Inc. There are the three Warner brothers, Arthur Loew, Nicholas Schenck, Sam Katz, and David Bernstein, of Loew's, Inc.

In each of these companies there are a number of production directors, many of whom have come from Russia, Hungary, Germany, and the Balkan countries.²⁴

Nye's singling out the Jewish heads of the film industry and linking them to foreign influence and war propaganda, played on common anti-Semitic tropes, as did his remarks linking Hollywood with immorality.



Nye's vehement criticism of Hollywood helped to spur on a Senate investigation of war propaganda in the film industry. Szyk skewered the congressman by portraying him as a Nazi Stormtrooper peddling anti-Semitic literature, like *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and leading Nazi newspapers [Fig. 9]. Thanks to the public outcry triggered by their speeches—and the work of cartoonists, like Szyk and Theodor Geisel (Dr. Seuss)—both Lindbergh and Nye were widely discredited.

Szyk's warnings about the threat of Nazism to the United States gained greater public exposure following Putnam's publication of a collection of his provocative anti-Nazi cartoons and satires in *The New Order* in summer 1941. In his introduction, Roger W. Straus, Jr. remarked that "as yet, the work of Arthur Szyk may not be widely familiar to the American public, but there are first rate critical minds who think that it should be—and that it will be."²⁵

Fig. 9 Arthur Szyk, caricature of Senator Gerald P. Nye, New York, 1941. Graphite, ink on paper. 11.9 x 8.9 in. (30.2 x 22.5). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. Gift of Joseph and Alexandra Braciejowski

The New Order quickly started to attract public attention and praise in the press. The critic for the *New York Times* compared his work to "weapons of war": "In cartoons he continues with ferocious descriptive skill to be an illustrator, and with sad ruthlessness of veracity he subjects the New Order to the illumination of the X-ray. Here is the terrible bestiality of today's aggression, set forth with polished and relentless art."²⁶

Reviewers throughout the country too lavished praise on Szyk's searing wartime caricatures. A critic for *The Chattanooga Times*, in a joint review of *The New Order* and noted British cartoonist David Low's recent publication, remarked: "I could wish that the cartoons

collected in these books, to be seen at most by but a few thousand people, could be put on posters and placed where they could be seen by millions.”²⁷

Further west, the reviewer for *The Honolulu Star* noted the distinctiveness of Szyk’s caricatures, which differed from the “American mode.” Instead of “mere outline,” they provided “mass background, the last button on uniforms, hair on hands, wrinkle in boots.” The reviewer praised the overall impression of Szyk’s work: “As sardonic caricature, Szyk’s cartoons are probably unsurpassed. The minute care evidenced in their creation is justified in the powerful effect.”²⁸ The reviewer also noted the reasonable price of the book, \$1.25 for color reproductions of “masterly art.”

In contrast to some of his other wartime satires, Szyk’s *The New Order* strikes a serious, rather than a comic, note [Fig. 10]. His Nazis are threatening and vicious and surrounded by their Axis stooges, Imperial Japan, and Fascist Italy. Anti-Soviet images too appear, done after Stalin and Hitler agreed to a nonaggression pact that divided Poland between the two regimes. In contrast, Szyk’s British and Polish soldiers fight heroically and desperately against their brutal foes. He also included images that directly emphasized the Nazi menace to the United States. In *A Madman’s Dream*, Szyk paints a nightmarish image of Hitler’s vision of world conquest [Fig. 11].

Fig. 10 Arthur Szyk, *Poland Greets Her Good Neighbors*, page removed from *The New Order* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1941). Ink on paper, printed. 9.8 x 7.5 in. (24.8 x 19 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. Gift of Philip R. House



The work draws on the New Testament books of John and the Acts of the Apostles, which herald and describe the Christian feast of Pentecost. In the Book of John (14:26), Jesus tells his followers that God the Father will send the Holy Ghost to speak in his name. Acts then details how the Holy Ghost assembled the disciples, giving them the ability to speak in other tongues to reach the entire world:

Fig. 11 Arthur Szyk, *A Madman’s Dream*, page removed from *The New Order* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1941). Ink on paper, printed. 7.5 x 9.9 in. (19 x 25 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. Gift of Philip R. House



“And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams (Acts, 2:1–21).”

In Szyk’s version, Hitler sits on a throne, decorated with the German words, “I am the Holy Ghost,” surrounded by his apostles: Göring, Himmler, a puny Pierre Laval clutching a weak, doll-like Marshal Philippe Pétain, a toady Goebbels, Mussolini fanning the Führer, along with a monocle-wearing German general, and a Japanese militarist. Hitler’s dream of world domination has been accomplished, with a globe showing swastikas dotting Europe, Africa, and the Americas. John Bull and Uncle Sam, symbols of Great Britain and the United States, are enslaved, pleading for mercy. In contrast to the Christian representation of the Holy Ghost as the harbinger of peace, Hitler is the bringer of death, clearly expressed by the crosses marking the graves of the murdered in the background. Likewise, the Acts of the Apostles foretells the Second Coming, when the “sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood,” and those “that call on the name of the Lord shall be saved,” only those who bow to the will of the Nazi overlord will be saved. Under Hitler’s feet lies the body of a Jew, with the German phrase “Perish the Subhuman.” Here Szyk was getting across the point that Nazi anti-Semitism was an “exterminatory” brand.



Szyk included several depictions of Jewish victims of Nazi violence in *The New Order*, including *Enemies of the Third Reich* [Fig. 12]. In this image, Hitler identifies a huddled family of Polish Jews as the Reich’s enemies and threatens their destruction. This was a theme that Szyk returned to throughout the war years in an effort to call attention to the ongoing Nazi persecution and subsequent mass murder of Europe’s Jews. Although the images clearly depicted Jews, reviewers in mainstream newspapers, including the *New York Times*, rarely identified the victims as Jews. Instead, they often were described as “refugees,” which was often coded language for Jews.

Fig. 12 Arthur Szyk, *Enemies of the Third Reich*, page removed from *The New Order* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1941). Ink on paper. 9.8 x 7.5 in. (24.8 x 19.1 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. Gift of Philip R. House

Action—Not Pity

No watchword fits Szyk’s philosophy and identity better than *Action—Not Pity*, a phrase frequently used in his publicity campaigns on behalf of the various committees established by Peter Bergson (Hillel Kook) in the 1940s. The artist’s political goal was not just to call attention to the Nazi persecution and mass murder of Europe’s Jews but to do something about it, whether by joining the Allies in the war against Germany, demanding an official governmental

policy towards rescue, or raising funds to aid the victims. Through his artwork, Szyk tried to put Jews back on the map.

His work with the Bergson Group was wide ranging, from creating images for their provocative full-page advertisements urging the creation of a Jewish army to fight the Nazis, to demands for the creation of an official policy of rescue by the US government, to pressuring Great Britain to open the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration, to having Jewish representation at the newly created United Nations, to fundraising stamps.



Fig. 13 Arthur Szyk, poster stamps created for the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe; designed 1942, issued 1944-1945. Together: 2 x 8.4 in. (5.1 x 21.3 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection

Szyk's fundraising poster stamps seem to reflect this dichotomy. Two stamp series clearly seem to be directed at American Jews. One series for the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe bookends three images of persecuted Polish Jews between *Tears of Rage* with *Modern Moses* [Fig. 13]. Drawn in December 1942, just a few weeks after the US State Department acknowledged that Nazi Germany and its collaborators had killed 2 million Jews in Europe; *Tears of Rage* is an anguished call for help. It shows a Jewish soldier coming to the aid of his persecuted and dying fellow Jews. With his American-made submachine gun held above his head as a symbol of defiance and anger, the figure supports a dying Jew, who clutches firmly to his beloved Torah, the eternal source of strength in Judaism. Below these two central figures is mother tenderly holding her murdered child, a mournful old woman, and a man pleading with outstretched hands [Fig. 14]. Szyk dedicated *Tears of Rage* to "those of my people who fight for the right to die with their boots on—my pride, my love, my devotion." In this one drawing, Szyk conveyed to his audience the idea that Jews, regardless of gender or age were singled out for death by the Nazis and that a Jewish army was necessary to strike back at the hated enemy and avenge the murder of their brethren. *Tears of Rage* repeatedly resurfaced in the Bergson Group's campaigns, not just for a Jewish army, but for the pageant, *We Will Never Die*, and later for Ben Hecht's postwar Zionist play, *A Flag Is Born*.

The other bookend to this poster stamp series, *Modern Moses* (1943), transports the biblical figures of Moses, Aaron, and Hur forward into the 1940s. As he did earlier in his *Haggadah*, Szyk conveys to his fellow Jews the optimistic message that they will triumph over Hitler, the latest incarnation of their hated enemy Amalek. While Moses remains largely unchanged, the other figures bear contemporary trappings. Aaron has been transformed into a

Jewish soldier who wears a *tallit* (prayer shawl) to stress his religiosity and carries a rifle instead of a staff. Hur takes on the appearance of a ghetto fighter [Fig. 15].



Fig. 14 Arthur Szyk, *Tears of Rage*, fundraising print for the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, 1944. Ink on paper. 10 x 8 in. (25.4 x 20.3 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. Gift of Richard Tesler

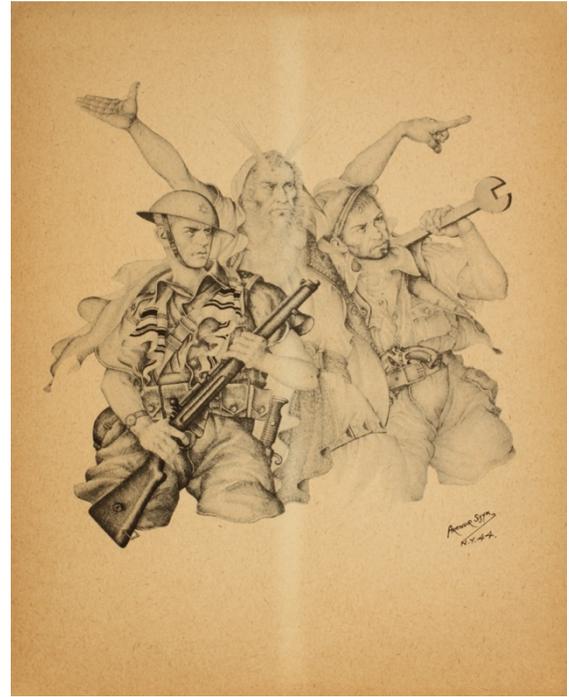


Fig. 15 Arthur Szyk, *Modern Moses*, fundraising print for the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, 1944. Ink on paper. 10 x 8 in. (25.4 x 20.3 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. Gift of Richard Tesler

Another set of wartime poster stamps also alludes to Szyk's *Haggadah*, suggesting that these too were directed at a specifically American Jewish audience. Done in 1945 for another Bergson committee, the American League for a Free Palestine, these depict the Four Sons from the *Seder*. The wise son is shown wearing an US Army helmet, while the wicked son appears to represent the assimilated, and often anti-Zionist, German-Jewish establishment in the United States, who, for Szyk, were alienated from their own people. Moreover, much of the mainstream Jewish leadership fought against the upstart Bergson Group over rescue strategy and politics. *There Were Four Sons* initially appeared as a full-page advertisement for the American League for a Free Palestine in major American newspapers during Passover in 1945.²⁹

To reach a larger non-Jewish audience, Szyk used his 1942 drawings illustrating Roosevelt's Four Freedoms to drum up financial support for the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe [Fig. 16]. They were done in a very different style, closer to his book illustrations than his wartime caricatures, and they displayed no identifiably Jewish figures. Portrayed in medieval garb and a shield derived from the Great Seal of the United States, the Four Freedoms (Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Religion, Freedom from Want, and Freedom from Fear) seem rather anachronistic for the relatively young republic and are certainly a far cry from Norman Rockwell's better-known illustrations. In recycling the images of the Four



Freedoms for the Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe, Szyk intentionally linked Jewish rescue to the foundations of American democracy, to age-old western freedoms, and the unofficial war aims of the United States. Helping to save Jewish lives from destruction at Nazi hands was portrayed thus as a truly American goal. Ironically, Szyk, and his literary collaborator, Ben Hecht, had castigated the United Nations, and with it the Roosevelt administration, for failing to hear the pleas of Europe's dying Jews, who were denied the protection of the Four Freedoms.

Fig. 16 Arthur Szyk, fundraising poster stamps illustrating President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms for the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, ca. 1944. Ink on paper, adhesive. Together: 4.5 x 3 in. (11.4 x 7.6 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection

As a proud Polish Jew, Szyk felt a strong kinship and sense of responsibility to his co-brethren suffering under Nazi rule. When the Second World War broke out, Szyk and his wife, Julia, took on active roles in the Polish Jewish life in Great Britain. He served as president of the Association of Jewish Polish Citizens in Great Britain, while his wife acted as the vice-chairman of the Ladies Committee of the Polish Jewish Refugee Fund. The Association of Jewish Polish Citizens in Great Britain, founded in March 1940, aimed to "represent and defend the rights and interests of Polish Jews." Its constitution called for the rebuilding of a free and democratic Poland, and the Association pledged to work with Polish officials to fulfill this task. As part of his duties, Szyk met with leading representatives of the Polish Government-in-Exile, such as Count Raczynski, the Polish Ambassador to Great Britain, as well as Jan Stanczyk, the Polish Minister for Health and Social Welfare. During these meetings, Szyk pressed for aid for those stateless Polish Jews who had been deprived of their citizenship as a result of discriminatory legislation in 1938.³⁰

In the United States, he continued the affiliation with his fellow Polish Jews. He became active with the American Federation for Polish Jews in New York, which had sponsored his

exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum in 1933. In May 1941, he designed poster stamps for a nation-wide campaign to raise \$500,000 for the relief of Jews in German-occupied Poland.³¹ The stamps bore the imperative phrase, “They Shall Not Die,” and displayed Szyk’s poignant



images of armband-wearing Jews [Fig. 17]. Two years later, Szyk provided a dust jacket image for the American Federation for Polish Jews’ eye-opening documentary volume on the Holocaust in German-occupied Poland, *The Black Book of Polish Jewry* (1943).

Fig. 17 Arthur Szyk, *They Shall Not Die*, fundraising poster stamps for the American Federation for Polish Jews, issued 1941. Ink on paper, adhesive. Each: 2 x 1.5 in. (5.1 x 3.8 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection

On April 19, 1944, Szyk took part in the massive commemoration marking the first anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising on the steps of City Hall in New York City. On that morning, thousands entered the Warsaw Synagogue on the Lower East Side to pray and remember those who lost their lives at Nazi hands and those who fought back. Inside the building were enlarged reproductions of Szyk’s *Palestine Restricted* (1944)—an attack on the British White Paper of 1939, which restricted Jewish immigration to Palestine, and a call to open the gates of the British-mandated territory as a haven for Jews fleeing Nazism and death—and his portrait of Adam Czerniaków, the chairman of the German-appointed *Judenrat* in the Warsaw Ghetto, who committed suicide rather than comply with Nazi orders for the mass deportation of Jews from the ghetto to the Treblinka killing center in summer 1942 [Fig. 18].



Fig. 18 Signs showing Arthur Szyk’s artwork—*Palestine Restricted* (left) and portrait of Adam Czerniaków—at the first anniversary commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising held at the Warsaw Synagogue, New York, April 19, 1944. Photo by Larry Gordon. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research/Territorial Photographic Collection, RG 120 US 277

Following the service, the crowd, including Szyk and Tuwim, marched to City Hall carrying signs showing *Palestine Restricted*. Their placards proclaimed, “We appeal to the conscience of America to help save those Jews in Poland who can yet be saved” and “Three million Polish Jews have been murdered by the Nazis! Help us rescue the survivors.”³² By the time they arrived at City Hall some 30,000 people were in attendance to hear Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, Julian Tuwim, and other prominent speakers. Szyk stood among those on the steps.³³

The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising inspired Szyk, who long had portrayed the heroism and strength of the Jewish people in his art. He created several images of the event, each glorifying the Warsaw fighters, who, though outnumbered and outgunned, valiantly struck back at their Nazi oppressors. His first such exploration of this event, *The Repulsed Attack*, appeared in various Jewish publications in 1944, as part of the commemorations of the uprising.³⁴ The following year, to commemorate the second anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the American Federation of Polish Jews held the ceremony at New York’s Commodore Hotel on April 18, 1945. Above the dais were huge reproductions of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who had passed away just days before, and Szyk’s illustration *The Repulsed Attack*.³⁵

In keeping with the traditional Jewish exhortation to remember, Szyk devoted much of his efforts to ensuring that the victims and heroes would not be forgotten and that the survivors of the carnage, those displaced persons languishing in camps in Germany and elsewhere, would find a home in Palestine. After the war, he sought to establish a permanent memorial to the Holocaust in the United States.

In 1946, when the full extent of the Nazi mass murder of Europe’s Jews had been revealed, Szyk organized a committee, the American Memorial to Six Million Jews of Europe, Inc. As chairman of the group, he hired Jo Davidson, a noted American Jewish sculptor, to design a monument, some twenty-five feet tall, in Riverside Park in New York City. The structure was to be erected over soil brought from the ruins of the Warsaw Ghetto as a way of honoring the “martyrs” who died in the uprising.³⁶ Despite receiving the land and support from the city’s administration and prominent American politicians, the project never fully materialized—only the cornerstone of the memorial was laid.³⁷

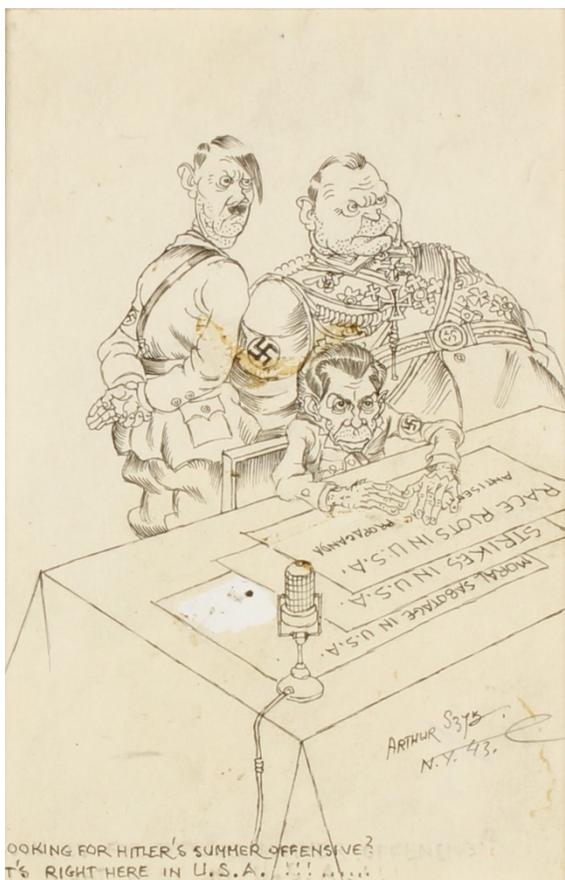


Fig. 19 Arthur Szyk, *Looking for Hitler’s Summer Offensive? It’s Right Here in U.S.A.!!!*, 1943. Ink, graphite, colored pencil on paper . 6 x 4 in. (15.2 x 10.2 cm). United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection. Gift of Joseph and Alexandra Braciejowski

Szyk had come to the United States in December 1940 to lead a crusade against Nazism. He had planned to stay for only six months; in the end, he spent the rest of his life in America. He quickly came to love his new homeland. In a November 1941 letter published in *Collier's*, Szyk wrote: "I am convinced as an individual, as an artist, as an exile, and as a future American that the only hope for the future of the world lies in the Anglo-Saxon democracies."³⁸

For the artist, living in a democracy implied not just rights but responsibilities to defend liberty and address wrongs. First as a Polish and then as an American patriot, Szyk did not shy away from condemning even those in power. He never held a my-country-right-or-wrong attitude. In segregationist wartime America, Szyk promoted a positive image of African Americans, highlighting their contribution to the Allied war effort on the home front and in the field. He condemned the 1943 race riots in Detroit and other American cities, seeing the Nazis as the key beneficiaries of ethnic, racial, and religious divisiveness [Fig. 19]. American propagandists wanted to show a country united against a common enemy and carefully selected images of Blacks and Whites working together for popular circulation.³⁹ Szyk, however, went further than most, bitterly commenting on racism in the United States. In 1942, for instance, he responded to a journalist who asked him about his postwar plans by stating: "Only time will tell what my new mission will be. It may be complete Negro enfranchisement and social equality. Who knows? That is a subject dear to my heart." Szyk came to the United States as a European artist, but ended his life as an American, without abandoning his identity as a Polish Jew or as a social critic.



Szyk presents to First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt signed poster stamps created to raise funds for the British-American Ambulance Corps, 1941
Unknown Photographer, Digital Scan provided by Irvin Unger through the Arthur Szyk Society

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1. Arthur Szik, cited in Mary Bragiotti, "Szyk Makes the Axis Writhe," *New York Post Weekly Picture Magazine*, June 3, 1944.
 2. See his review of Szyk's one-man show at the Knoedler Gallery in New York: Edward Alden Jewell, "Arthur Szyk Art Exhibited Today," *The New York Times*, May 22, 1941, 19.
 3. See her remarks in her syndicated column: Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day," January 8, 1943, *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition* (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1943&_f=md056389.
 4. The Universal Pictures newsreel, which was featured in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's exhibition, *The Art and Politics of Arthur Szyk*, can now be found on YouTube, posted February 6, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9JFmITi6Whc>.
 5. On the symbolism of St. George see George Ferguson, *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 121–122; Peter and Linda Murray, *The Oxford Companion to Christian Art and Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 193–194.
 6. For Szyk's thoughts on this topic, see Letter to the Editor, *Free Europe*, January 26, 1940.
 7. Quoted in Harry Salpeter's column, The Human Touch, *The Jewish Daily Bulletin*, August 18, 1934.
 8. For a detailed discussion and examination of this fascinating work, see Byron L. Sherwin and Irvin Ungar, eds., *Freedom Illuminated: Understanding the Szyk Haggadah* (Burlingame, CA: Historicana, 2008); Joseph P. Ansell, *Arthur Szyk: Artist, Jew, Pole* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 92–100; Steven Luckert, *The Art and Politics of Arthur Szyk* (Washington, DC: The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2002), 23–36.
 9. Szyk's original illustrations for *The Book of Job* showed swastikas on the Sabeans and on the figure of Satan, which can be seen in *Cartoon Crusader*, a Universal Pictures newsreel, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9JFmITi6Whc>. Likewise, in his illustration of *Thomas Jefferson's Oath*, the dragon, which is about to be slain by the US soldier, shows faint traces of swastikas as well as what appears to be the Communist red star of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Here the symbols are associated with ideological systems that are based on the "tyranny over the mind of man." [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arthur_Szyk_\(1894-1951\).Thomas_Jefferson%27s_Oath_\(1951\),_New_Canaan,_CT.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arthur_Szyk_(1894-1951).Thomas_Jefferson%27s_Oath_(1951),_New_Canaan,_CT.jpg).
 10. See Struthers Burt's comments on Szyk published in the advertisement for *Ink & Blood* in the *New York Times*, August 19, 1945, BR9.
 11. See "Polish War Satires: Miniatures by Mr. Szyk," *The Times* (London), January 11, 1940, 9.
 12. Vladimir Jabotinsky, *The War and the Jew*, foreword by Pierre van Paasen and conclusion by Col. John Henry Patterson, DSO (New York: The Dial Press, 1942), p. 31.
 13. See Szyk's letter in "Polish Art Exhibitions," General 1940–1941, Polish Ambassador to Great Britain, 45013, Box 81, file 81–1.
 14. Norman Angell, *After All: The Autobiography of Norman Angell*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1951), 334–336; on the role of British propaganda and the United States, see Nicholas John Cull, *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign Against American "Neutrality" in World War II*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
 15. "British Children Reach Canada," *The Manchester Guardian*, Saturday, July 13, 1940, 9.
 16. Maurois left an interesting description of his discussions with Norman Angell about the fall of France and the role of a *fifth column* in the military defeat of the nation. See André Maurois, *Tragedy in France*, translated from the French by Denver Lindley, (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1940), 158–185.
 17. "Art Must Be Mobilized Declares Great Polish Painter," *The Ottawa Journal*. Wednesday, July 31, 1940, 12.
 18. "Art Must Be Mobilized," 12.
 19. "Canadian Drive for 'Fighting Art' Urged," *The Evening Citizen*, (Ottawa), Tuesday, September 10, 1940, 9.

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20. See note 19.
 21. Alfred Werner, "Arthur Szyk—A Modern 'Sofer,'" *The Brooklyn Jewish Center Review*, March 1946, 8–9, 22.
 22. Arthur Szyk to Julian Tuwim, November 26, 1940, Department of Manuscripts, Muzeum Literaturne im. Adam Mickiewicza w Warszawie; my sincerest thanks to my colleague, Teresa A. Polin, for her translation of this letter from Polish into English.
 23. Susan A. Brewer, *To Win the Peace: British Propaganda in the United States during World War II*, p. 39.
 24. For Nye's remarks on Hollywood, see his August 1, 1941, radio address, "Our Madness Increases as our Emergency Shrinks," <http://www.ibiblio.org/pha/policy/1941/1941-08-01c.html>.
 25. Roger W. Straus, Jr., Introduction, Arthur Szyk, *The New Order* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1941).
 26. "Cartoons by Arthur Szyk Are Like Weapons of War," *The New York Times*, July 20, 1941, BR9.
 27. Gilbert E. Govan, "Low and Szyk Present Two Great Collections of Present Day International Cartoons," *The Chattanooga Times*, Sunday, August 17, 1941, 5.
 28. "Powerful Cartoons By Arthur Szyk," *The Honolulu Star*, Saturday, July 26, 1941, 10.
 29. Luckert, *The Art and Politics of Arthur Szyk*, 115. (See n.8.)
 30. For information on Szyk's activities in this organization, see *The Jewish Chronicle*, March 1, 1940, 12; March 8, 1940, 12, 14; April 12, 1940, 22; April 26, 1940, 12; May 24, 1940, 11.
 31. See "\$9,000,000 For Britain," *The New York Times*, May 17, 1941, 7.
 32. "Thousands Mourn Victims of Ghetto," *The New York Times*, April 20, 1944, 10.
 33. On the commemoration, see Avinoam Patt, *The Jewish Heroes of Warsaw: The Afterlife of the Revolt* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2021), Ch. 4, 169–204.
 34. Patt, 180.
 35. The images can be seen in the March of Time newsreel outtakes, see <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn1003509> (time code on original: 01:15: 41–51). This footage did not appear in the finished newsreel on the *Palestine Problem*.
 36. "Jewish Memorial to Rise on Drive," *The New York Times*, June 19, 1947, 23.
 37. On the effort to create Holocaust memorials after the war, see Harold Marcuse, "Holocaust Memorials: The Emergence of a Genre," *The American Historical Review* 115, no. 1 (February 2010): 53–89, 60–61.
 38. Szyk's letter is displayed in Irvin Ungar, ed., *Arthur Szyk: Soldier in Art* (London: Historicana and The Arthur Szyk Society in association with D Giles Limited, 2017), 126.
 39. See for example the comments and images in George H. Roeder, Jr., *The Censored War: American Visual Experience During World War Two* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).