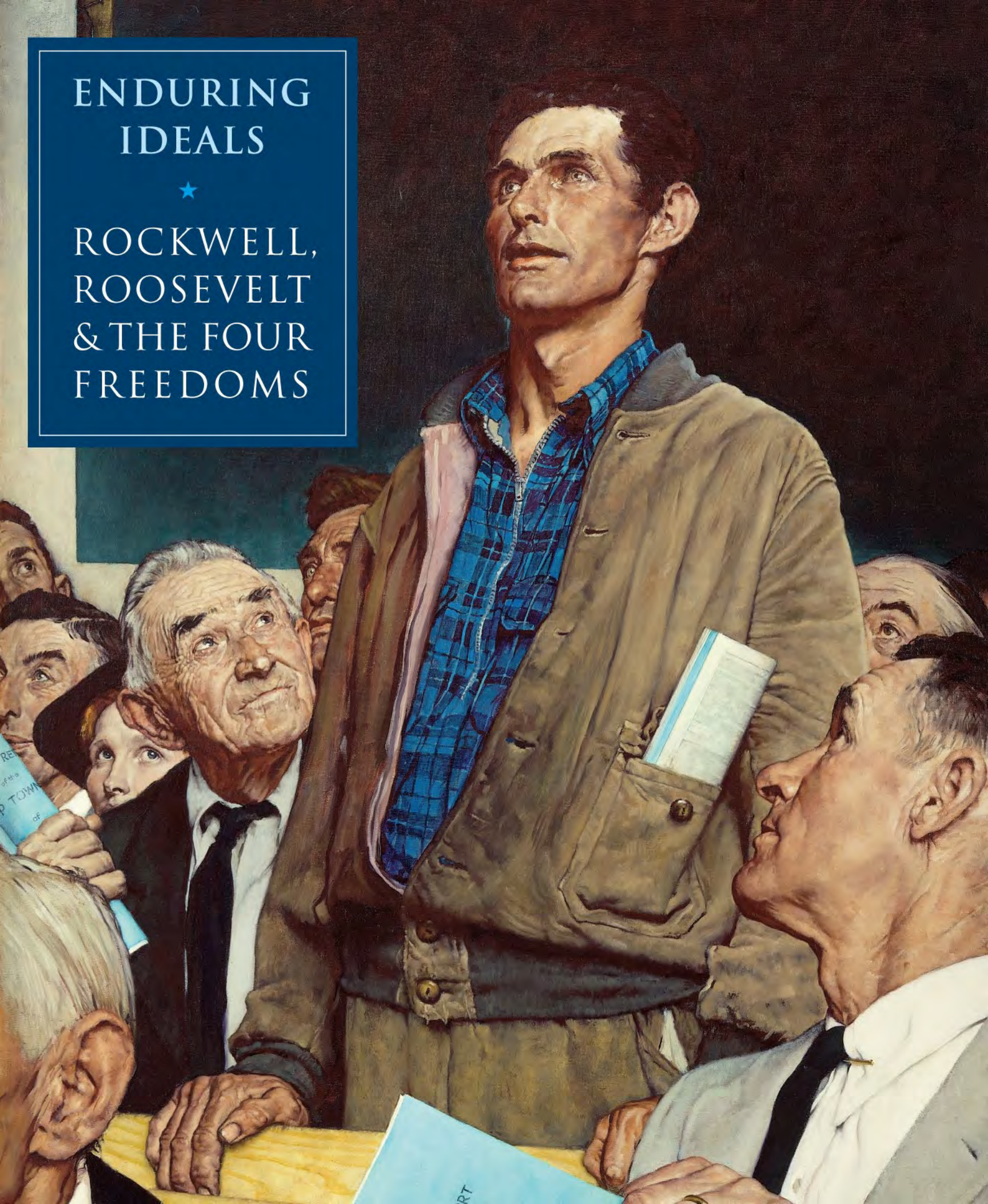
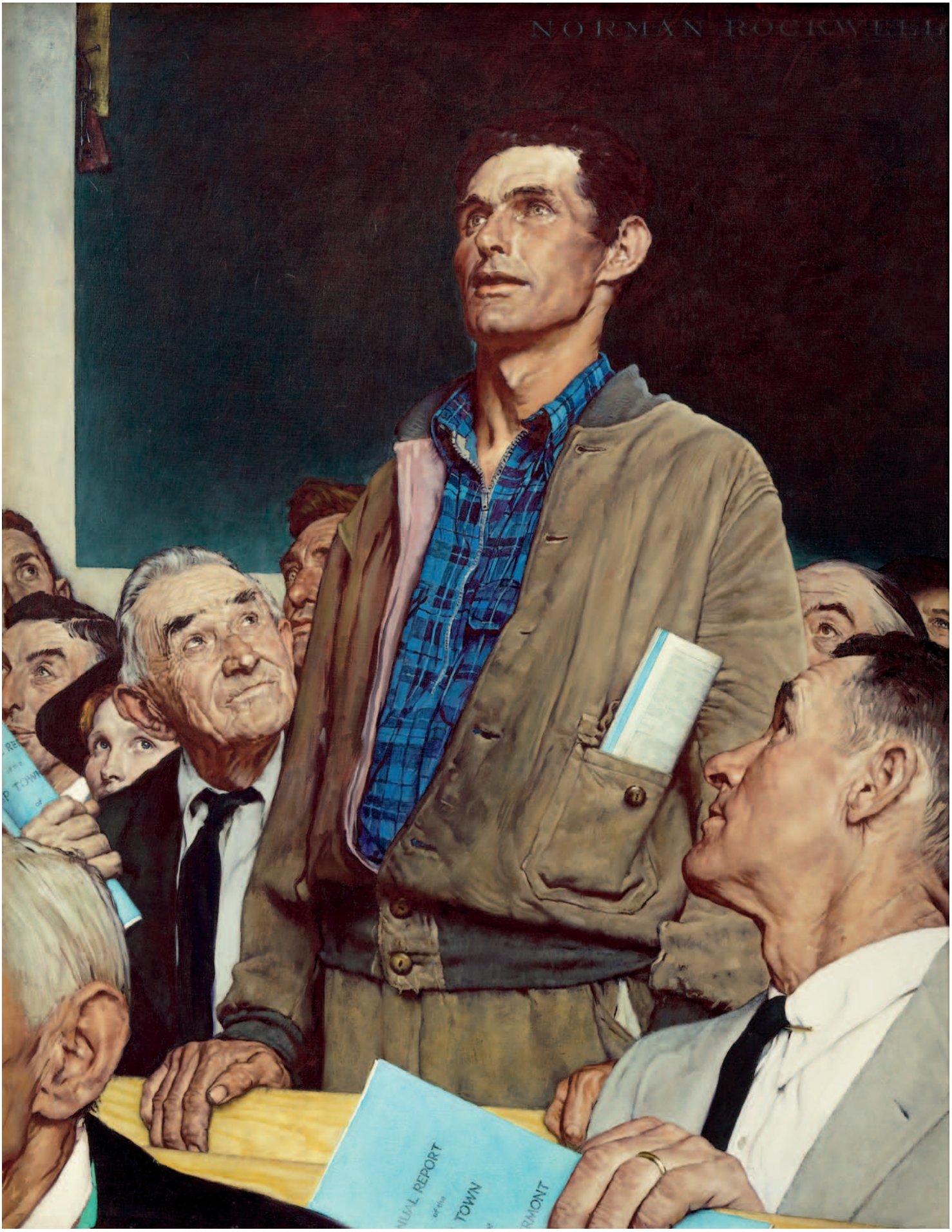
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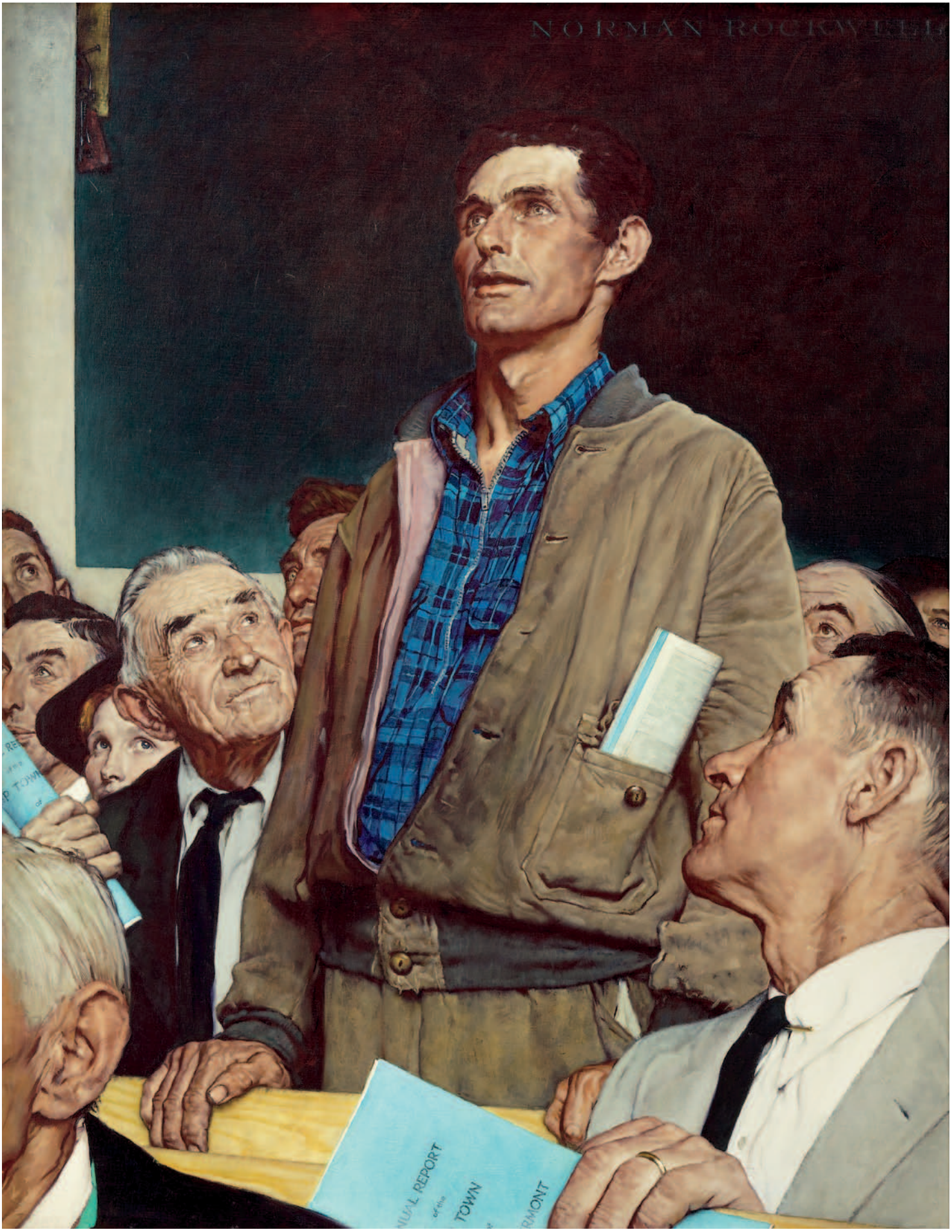
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ROCKWELL, ROOSEVELT & THE FOUR FREEDOMS





★ Norman Rockwell, *Freedom of Speech*, 1942



★ Norman Rockwell, *Freedom of Speech*, 1942



★ Norman Rockwell, *Freedom of Worship*, 1942



★ Norman Rockwell, *Freedom from Want*, 1942



★Norman Rockwell, *Freedom from Fear*, 1942

NORMAN ROCKWELL MUSEUM

ENDURING IDEALS

ROCKWELL, ROOSEVELT & THE FOUR FREEDOMS

EXHIBITION CO-CURATED BY

STEPHANIE HABOUSH PLUNKETT

& JAMES J. KIMBLE



Abbeville Press Publishers
New York London

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A comprehensive resource relating to Norman Rockwell and the art of illustration, American visual culture, and the role of published imagery in society, Norman Rockwell Museum is honored to present *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms.*

Sincere thanks to the generous individuals, corporations, and institutions that have made this exhibition possible.

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Appreciation goes to the generous lenders who have graciously made significant artworks and artifacts available for travel, including American Legion Post 193, Winchendon, MA; Anonymous; The Boeing Company Corporate Archive; Brooklyn Museum; The Coca-Cola Company; Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art; Scott M. Delman; Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park; The Eisenstat Collection of American Illustration/Alice Carter and Courtney Granner; Lois and Daniel Fermaglich; Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum; Grace Family; Mrs. Louise Holland; Kimble Antique Automobiles; James J. Kimble and Tina Potuto Kimble; Library of Congress; Lawrence Matteson; National Archives and Records Administration; The National Museum of the United States Army; Nebraska State Historical Society; New-York Historical Society; Norman Rockwell Museum; Private Collection; Syracuse University Art Collection; Raziel Ungar; United Services Automobile Association (USAA); D. B. Dowd Modern Graphic History Library, Washington University in St. Louis; University of North Florida, Thomas G. Carpenter Library, Special Collections and Archives; Paul Warchol; Denys Wortman and The Center for Cartoon Studies.

We appreciate the insights of our outstanding catalogue contributors, whose enlightening essays open new ways of seeing, as well as the efforts of the National Advisory Board, which provided both wisdom and expertise throughout the exhibition process, including Liza Donnelly, Stéphane Grimaldi, Harvey J. Kaye, Nora Krug, Anita Kunz, Steven Lomazow, James McCabe, Lester C. Olson, Robyn Phillips-Pendleton, Chuck Pyle, Ambassador William J. vanden Heuvel, and Setsuko Sato Winchester. Special thanks also to Paul Sparrow, Herman Eberhardt, and Michelle M. Frauenberger of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum; Michael J. Lombardi of the Boeing Company Corporate Archives; and the students and teachers of Academy of Art University, San Francisco.

We are grateful to our Reimagining the Four Freedoms jurors, whose selection of contemporary works greatly enhances the exhibition, including Liza Donnelly, Wendy Tarlow Kaplan, Anita Kunz, Robyn Phillips-Pendleton, Maurice Pops Peterson, Chuck Pyle, Melanie Reim, John Wetenhall, and Setsuko Sato Winchester. Works by Benny Alaga, Stephanie Angelo, Brandin Barón, Curt Belshe, James Berson, James Billeaudeau, Gary Bist, Barbara Brandel, Celine Browning, Jarret Christian, Erin Currier, John Dempsey, Sarah Dilliplane, Candace Eaton, Daniella Edstrom, Jane Feldman, Sarah Fukami, Marcia Haffmans, Bri Hermanson, Chris Hopkins, Sarah Hoskins, Felice House, Esther Iverem; Kenneth Laird, Lisa Long, Jonathan Monaghan, Tim Needles, Deborah Samia, Kathryn Scott, Robert Selby, Andreanna Seymore, Soody Sharifi, Leslie Sills, Fazilat Soukhakian, Carrie Vik, Amy Wike, and Peter Zeirlein presented viewpoints on the continued relevance of freedom today.

Thanks also to Norman Rockwell Museum Director/CEO Laurie Norton Moffatt and the Board of Trustees for their ongoing support; to Linda Pero for her foundational work; and to our talented curatorial and digital learning staff, who skillfully and enthusiastically managed the many details of this comprehensive traveling exhibition, including Rich Bradway, Martin Mahoney, Barbara Rundback, Mary Melius, Thomas Mesquita, Joseph Tonetti, and Venus Van Ness. Appreciation also goes to Jana Purdy and Four Freedoms team members Jill Gellert, Margit Hotchkiss, Jeremy Clowe, Ellen Mazzer, Debbie Greene, Bailey Girvan, Dan Heck, Tom Daly, Patrick O'Donnell,

Mike Duffy, Sharon Brigham, Corryn Kosik, Betsy Ennis, Lucy O'Brien, Arthur Lebow, Rita Marshall, and Magdalen Livesey. We are grateful to our curriculum specialists Cheryl Paulsen and Karen Romeo-Leger, and to Abbeville Press for their exceptional work and partnership on the exhibition catalogue, including Robert Abrams, David Fabricant, Will Lach, Misha Beletsky, Louise Kurtz, Ada Rodriguez, Matt Garczynski, Peter Rooney, and Amy K. Hughes.

Last, but certainly not least, we greatly appreciate the opportunity to collaborate with our museum partners, who are sharing the essential messages in *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms* with visitors to their outstanding institutions.

Stephanie Haboush Plunkett, Co-curator and Deputy Director/Chief Curator, Norman Rockwell Museum

James J. Kimble, Co-curator and Associate Professor of Communication and the Arts, Seton Hall University

EXHIBITION VENUES

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
May 25, 2018–September 2, 2018

THE HENRY FORD, DEARBORN, MICHIGAN
October 13, 2018–January 13, 2019

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
AND THE TEXTILE MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, DC
February 9, 2019–May 6, 2019

MÉMORIAL DE CAEN, NORMANDY, FRANCE
June 4, 2019–October 27, 2019

THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, HOUSTON
December 15, 2019–March 22, 2020

DENVER ART MUSEUM
July 4, 2020–September 20, 2020

NORMAN ROCKWELL MUSEUM,
STOCKBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
Fall 2020

★Denotes item that appears in the *Enduring Ideals* exhibition.

DIRECTORS' STATEMENTS

Shortly before the blur of the 2017 holiday season, New-York Historical Society presented a riveting—and elevating—conversation between "patriotic philanthropist" David Rubenstein and legendary journalist Tom Brokaw. Mr. Brokaw, of course, originated the phrase *The Greatest Generation*, making it the title of his extraordinary 1998 book reflecting on the generation that helped the United States and its allies win World War II. It is hard not to think about the power and significance of that phrase as we, at New-York Historical, anticipate the opening of *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms*. On view in our galleries will be abundant evidence of why the greatest generation made such extraordinary sacrifices in the name of the Four Freedoms articulated by Franklin Delano Roosevelt and illustrated by Norman Rockwell—and why the concerns, challenges, and triumphs of the World War II era should continue to motivate us today.

Louise Mirrer, PhD
President and CEO, New-York Historical Society

The mission of the Henry Ford is to provide unique educational experiences based on authentic objects, stories, and lives from America's traditions of ingenuity, resourcefulness, and innovation. Our purpose is to inspire people to learn from these traditions to help shape a better future. *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms* is the perfect exhibition for our institution to host in the Henry Ford Museum of American Innovation, as it depicts the power of artistic expression and political speech to provoke thought among broad audiences about the world in which we live, our common humanity, and our shared aspirations.

Patricia E. Mooradian
President and CEO, The Henry Ford

Just two miles from the United States Capitol and five city blocks from the White House, the George Washington University Museum will be hosting both an exhibition of iconic images of American art and a dialogue about the core freedoms that inform our nation's values. Our academic community—including GW's Columbian College of Arts and Sciences; Elliott School of International Affairs; Schools of Law, Business, and Medicine, as well as Media and Public Affairs; and the Corcoran School of the Arts and Design, among others—welcomes this exhibition as a focal point for discourse to probe current realities surrounding freedom of religion and speech, as well as freedom from fear and want. In a city of public policy, filled with embassies, universities, think tanks, and cultural treasures, we hope that our small museum can provide a catalyst for a civilized, civic exploration of American ideals, embodied and preserved for generations in the powerful imagery of Norman Rockwell's greatest works.

John Wetenhall, PhD
Director, The George Washington
University Museum and The Textile Museum

This exhibition will be shown at the Mémorial de Caen, in Normandy, France, for the commemorations of the seventy-fifth anniversary of D-Day and the Battle of Normandy, which were the real prelude to the liberation of Western Europe. The United States played an essential role in saving our liberty and our fundamental values. Norman Rockwell achieved his work in that spirit, and he was one of the artists who were committed to democracy's side. He obviously has a place at the Mémorial de Caen on that special occasion.

Stéphane Grimaldi
CEO, Mémorial de Caen, Mémorial de Falaise,
and Arromanches 360°

The Great Depression and the Second World War prompted economic, social, and political challenges and change unseen in the United States since the Civil War. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's evolving responses to the threat of social discord and political instability centered on unifying messages of reassurance and confidence that America's work ethic and moral values would triumph over adversity and evil. The concepts epitomized as the Four Freedoms in FDR's January 6, 1941, address to Congress have lodged in the American psyche as essential components of our national character, memorialized in Norman Rockwell's iconic visualizations. The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, is delighted to make these works, which rank with the Statue of Liberty and Emanuel Leutze's *Washington Crossing the Delaware* as icons of American identity, available to our community. As always, we are indebted to our museum staff as well as to the exhibition organizer, the Norman Rockwell Museum.

Gary Tinterow
The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston

It has been on the wish list of the Denver Art Museum for quite a while to take a fresh look at Norman Rockwell's iconic and beloved paintings—unquestionable icons of the American twentieth century. Masterworks, they were executed by an artist who is as beloved by a broad public as misunderstood, even detested, by opinion leaders in the art world. When we heard about the Four Freedoms tour we knew immediately we wanted to bring this exhibition to our community. It was always clear that Rockwell was an amazingly skillful illustrator who had a loving relationship with his audience. But in *Enduring Ideals*, Norman Rockwell enters the stage as an extraordinary talent—not only in the context of American history, but universally—standing in defense of human rights, respect, and tolerance.

Christoph Heinrich
Frederick and Jan Mayer Director
Denver Art Museum



FINDING COMMON GROUND

LAURIE NORTON MOFFATT
DIRECTOR/CEO,
NORMAN ROCKWELL MUSEUM

As public dialogue becomes increasingly discordant and polarized—intensified and broadcast by the unfiltered echo chamber of social media; as income inequality becomes ever more extreme; and as the free press is subjected to continual attack, the very notions of the common good and of civic engagement and civil discourse—all central to Norman Rockwell's work—are called into question. Are they still relevant as organizing principles of civil society, or have they joined the mores of a bygone era?

The United States of America was founded upon passionately held beliefs and contentious issues, ranging from religious freedom to the rejection of taxation without representation and from individual liberty to the pursuit of wealth. The nation was shaped by both the Greek and Roman ideals of sovereignty by the people and a colonizing philosophy derived from an assumption of European entitlement that allowed for slavery and the appropriation of land from indigenous peoples. These are not foundational premises of harmony and accord.

Indeed, the establishment of founding principles for the new nation was fraught with controversy and discord. The Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution, and the Bill of Rights were the products of fierce intellectual debate by our nation's founding fathers. Can the United States of today truly come together in common cause? Are there binding principles or beliefs around which a majority of people can agree—or is this simply an idealistic notion of a peaceable kingdom? Is respectful discourse with the free expression of ideas merely a utopian ideal framed in the Bill of Rights?

Civic engagement, thoughtful discourse, listening, tolerance, and a sense of community, whether on the local or national level, are themes that Rockwell turns to again and again in his artworks. He does so explicitly in his painting of the Golden Rule: Do unto others as you would have them do unto you. In this aspirational image (p. 22), peoples of many religions, races, and ethnicities dwell together in harmony, bound by the fundamental premise of universal humanity. Rockwell painted here what I believe was his personal philosophy of love for all peoples as a single, common entity.

How did he come to portray the ideals of universal human goodness? It started with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's rhetoric describing four essential freedoms.

President Roosevelt was confronted simultaneously with the domestic crisis of the Great Depression and the urgency to go to war to defend the country's ally nations and secure freedom around the globe. Mobilizing Americans behind a war on foreign soil while they were struggling to recover not only from the Depression but also from World War I was among the greatest challenges of his presidency.

★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Town Meeting*, 1942. Study for *Freedom of Speech*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943. Oil on board, 22 × 17 in. (55.9 × 43.2 cm). Anonymous.

In striving to put forth a set of values that Americans could rally around, Roosevelt articulated four universal freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—as rights that everyone, everywhere, should enjoy. While the first two of these rights are embedded in the US Constitution's Bill of Rights, the other two were among the goals of the president's visionary and controversial New Deal, intended to provide a social safety net for Americans through Social Security and other government-supported programs. They remain widely debated even today.

Roosevelt and his administration had a difficult time garnering attention and support for the Four Freedoms. FDR appealed to artists to give them visual form, hoping to create a compelling narrative of the necessity of America's entrance into the war. Few of these efforts resonated with the public, however. In the meantime, Rockwell, wanting to support the war effort (and perhaps also spurred by regret that he had been too young to contribute to the World War I poster campaign organized by the Society of Illustrators), retreated to his studio in the tightly knit New England community of Arlington, Vermont, to ponder how to visually communicate the "big idea" of freedom. After much introspection, he decided to express these enduring ideals through familiar genre scenes of everyday community and domestic life, his common and universally beloved subjects.

The *Four Freedoms* paintings (pp. 1–4) are persuasive expressions of Rockwell's ideals of respect, courtesy, tolerance, generosity, caring, and community, and they helped Americans find common ground at a time of world peril. The paintings were not only an immediate success, reaping public support for the war effort and claiming their place among the most indelible images in the history of American art, but they were also a turning point for Rockwell himself, who thereafter remained attuned to calls for social justice. Over the next two decades, he aspired to tackle big ideas, creating such images as the drawing of the United Nations (whose founding charter was framed around the Four Freedoms); *Golden Rule*, which graced a cover of the *Saturday Evening Post*; and three powerful paintings, commissioned by *Look* magazine, documenting the civil rights movement, when the United States faced head-on the climb toward freedom and equality for all.

The United States was and is imperfect, and Rockwell was aware that many Americans did not enjoy the freedoms he attempted to illuminate. His enduring ideals, expressed in the *Four Freedoms*, were a call to do better at home and across the world. These ideals awakened in Rockwell a desire to use his artist's voice to seek justice for all people. Can these paintings once again remind us of what it means to be American—to be generous, inclusive, kind, respectful, forgiving, nurturing, brave, and virtuous? Will these paintings inspire the United States and the world to a return to the ideals of civic virtue, civic engagement, and civility?

Or is it unrealistic to think that these images can bring a sense of common purpose and unity to a nation fiercely divided over notions of human rights and social justice, and engaged in a drama played out in the increasingly angry national debate over immigration, race relations, taxation, health care, education, stewardship of the environment, and America's diplomatic role in the world?

Norman Rockwell came to know the power of his artistic voice through the *Four Freedoms* paintings. He became an artist-activist in the second half of his life, using his position as an elder statesman and plying his brush and canvas to advocate for human rights. His artworks may speak to us more powerfully today than at any time since their creation.

Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms will bring the images that rallied Americans to the defense of freedom to a broad public in the United States and, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Allied D-Day landings, in France. It is my hope that Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* and his other powerful artworks advocating for generosity and equality will once again inspire people to join in common cause for greater public good.



Troops of Company E, Sixteenth Infantry, First Infantry Division, disembark from an LCVP (Landing Craft Vehicle Personnel) from the US Coast Guard–manned USS *Samuel Chase* and wade onto the Fox Green section of Omaha Beach, Normandy, France, on D-Day, June 6, 1944. Photograph by Chief Photographer's Mate Robert F. Sargent. National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

NORMAN ROCKWELL: THE PEOPLE'S PAINTER

STÉPHANE GRIMALDI
CEO, MÉMORIAL DE CAEN, MÉMORIAL DE FALAISE, AND ARROMANCHES 360°

Who could fail to be touched and charmed by the paintings of Norman Rockwell? Here is an artist who makes us happy by transporting us to a world that seems somehow better than the present one—even though we know it is out of date.

Looking at his paintings, I have always been thrilled to discover the many details the artist so meticulously includes, as an anthropologist would: here a garment that is now out of fashion, there a common object that is no longer used, a job that has become irrelevant, an attitude or expression that one no longer sees.

Obviously, Norman Rockwell makes us feel nostalgic.

Beyond nostalgia, however, Rockwell is popular because of his deep love for his fellow human beings. He observes them with kindness and indulgence, two qualities that have come to seem rare in the twenty-first century.

Deeply connected to his home environment and to the neighbors who became his models, Rockwell drew and painted his attachment to America and Americans.

Thanks to his talent and his open nature, Rockwell came to represent the United States and its citizens, first portraying a happy and carefree country, and then, with his darker paintings of the 1960s, an America tormented by such demons as racism and the Vietnam War.

Rockwell's work is precise and yet subtle, remaining fluid and consistent throughout his long career. And his art is loved—truly loved—by people in all parts of the world.

Each painting tells a story, and each story reflects the evolution of American society. The stories in Rockwell's paintings, despite the anecdotal qualities that make them so accessible, are in fact important testimonials.

Throughout his work, Rockwell can be grave, even deliberative, although he never gives the irritating impression of teaching lessons. The messages in his canvases are subtle and elegant. He shows without accusing, reveals without destroying.

The 1963 painting *The Problem We All Live With* (p. 184) is, in my opinion, the best example of this. No other painting from that time better portrays the isolation of the child at its center, so dignified in her immaculate white dress, protected by the law and its representatives but harangued by an unseen mob. The venom of the mob is symbolized by the tomatoes smashed against the wall—spattered like blood. It is an ugly scene, but Rockwell's portrayal transcends the ugliness.

It was certainly Rockwell's ability to portray important themes that enabled him to bring to visual life one of the most important speeches of the twentieth century: the President's Annual Message to Congress, known as the Four Freedoms speech, that Franklin Delano Roosevelt gave on January 6, 1941. Roosevelt was convinced of the urgent need to enter the escalating war abroad on the free world's side. Rockwell responded to the president's peroration calling for freedom "everywhere in the world" in the way he knew best.

At that moment in history, all of Europe with the exception of England was under the oppression of fascism, and a large part of Asia was under the yoke of imperial Japan. Many Americans, deeply affected by the catastrophic losses of World War I and the terrible financial crisis that began in 1929, were isolationist. The America First Committee was influential and powerful. However, what was at stake was the survival of the free world, and that world was waiting for the United States to join the fight.

It took the Japanese attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbor, in Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, followed by Nazi Germany's declaration of war on the United States on December 11, for the country to enter fully into this vicious assault on civilization.

Norman Rockwell embodied the American people who had to resign themselves to the need to defend the universal ideals of justice, peace, and prosperity. But President Roosevelt had to convince citizens that a foreign war was necessary. After all, aren't oceans the last bastion against tyranny?

Perceptively, Roosevelt began a campaign to promote the Four Freedoms as human rights worth fighting for, calling on writers and artists to get the word out. It wasn't until Norman Rockwell took up the challenge and created the *Four Freedoms* that the campaign showed true success.

These magnificent paintings, which have never left the United States until now, will be on view in Normandy, France, for the seventy-fifth anniversary of D-Day, June 6, 1944.

On that day—which marked the launch of the Allied invasion that would liberate Western Europe from Nazi occupation—thousands of young American soldiers, along with their English and Canadian counterparts, died defending FDR's Four Freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from fear, and freedom from want. Many others died during the terrible Battle of Normandy, which raged until September. Most of the dead rest in Normandy, where they fell.

In 1942, the year Norman Rockwell created the *Four Freedoms* paintings, American forces were already making huge contributions to the Allied war effort. It was the deadliest year of the war for both military and civilians. In fact, more civilians died than military personnel, on all continents. The United States was fighting on many fronts, each more violent than the other, as well as supporting Soviet and British forces with massive shipments of equipment. In 1942, thousands of American soldiers were already dead or wounded. The country was forced to realize that the war was far from over.

But it can be difficult to engage a democracy in a foreign war, and Roosevelt knew he needed the support of positive public opinion.

The fundamental Four Freedoms of FDR's speech, portrayed by the painter, echoed what was being lost in Europe and Asia, where the Germans and their Western allies, as well as the Japanese, had engaged in wars of annihilation that killed several million people.

No military personnel appear in Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*, nor does any situation that would evoke the realities of war. All is implicit. The paintings faithfully convey the themes of the Four Freedoms speech. They perfectly depict the civilians' frailty.

Perhaps in some ways the subjects may appear trivial, even inappropriate, in view of the horrifying realities of 1942. For instance, it might seem lamentable that the American ideal is a turkey dinner! But this would ignore the reality that people famished by war do indeed dream of sitting down to a feast. They dream of not being deported or killed because they are Jewish. They dream

of being able to prevent harm from coming to their children. They dream of being able to speak in protest without risking torture or a bullet to the head.

The American citizens represented in Rockwell's four paintings embody the thirty-five million-plus civilians who would disappear, succumbing to atrocious suffering, during the war.

The aspirations Rockwell expressed are straightforward and easy to understand. This is the genius of Norman Rockwell—to depict serious subjects without shocking his audience or finger-pointing. He did not need to show the ugliness of mass graves or the horror of destroyed cities and homes.

What were the political stakes of the four paintings? They did express the very words of the president, didn't they?

The paintings were about the fundamental values of America, both the obvious (protect one's family) and the complex (pray to one's God), that were being threatened.

Indeed, these universal values must be preserved, for they underlie the idea of civilization and the root value of respect for others, whatever one's continent or religion.

Norman Rockwell did not show a family that was starving but instead one that was happy and united. He did not show a man imprisoned for his beliefs but rather a simple man in work clothes, respected and listened to by members of his community dressed in nice suits, suggesting the strong bond that existed within an American society sharing a common destiny.

Rockwell's was clearly a new style of propaganda. The violence implicitly denounced by these paintings is not shown. The painter counts on the intelligence of his viewers to draw the desired conclusion—unlike typical propagandists, who make their case in the most brutal fashion.

In these paintings, as in Roosevelt's speech, the true enemy is the choice to do nothing because of weakness or cowardice.

For Norman Rockwell, the *Four Freedoms* paintings are works of deep conviction. He has faith in people, and he paints their humanity in contrast to the horrors of war.

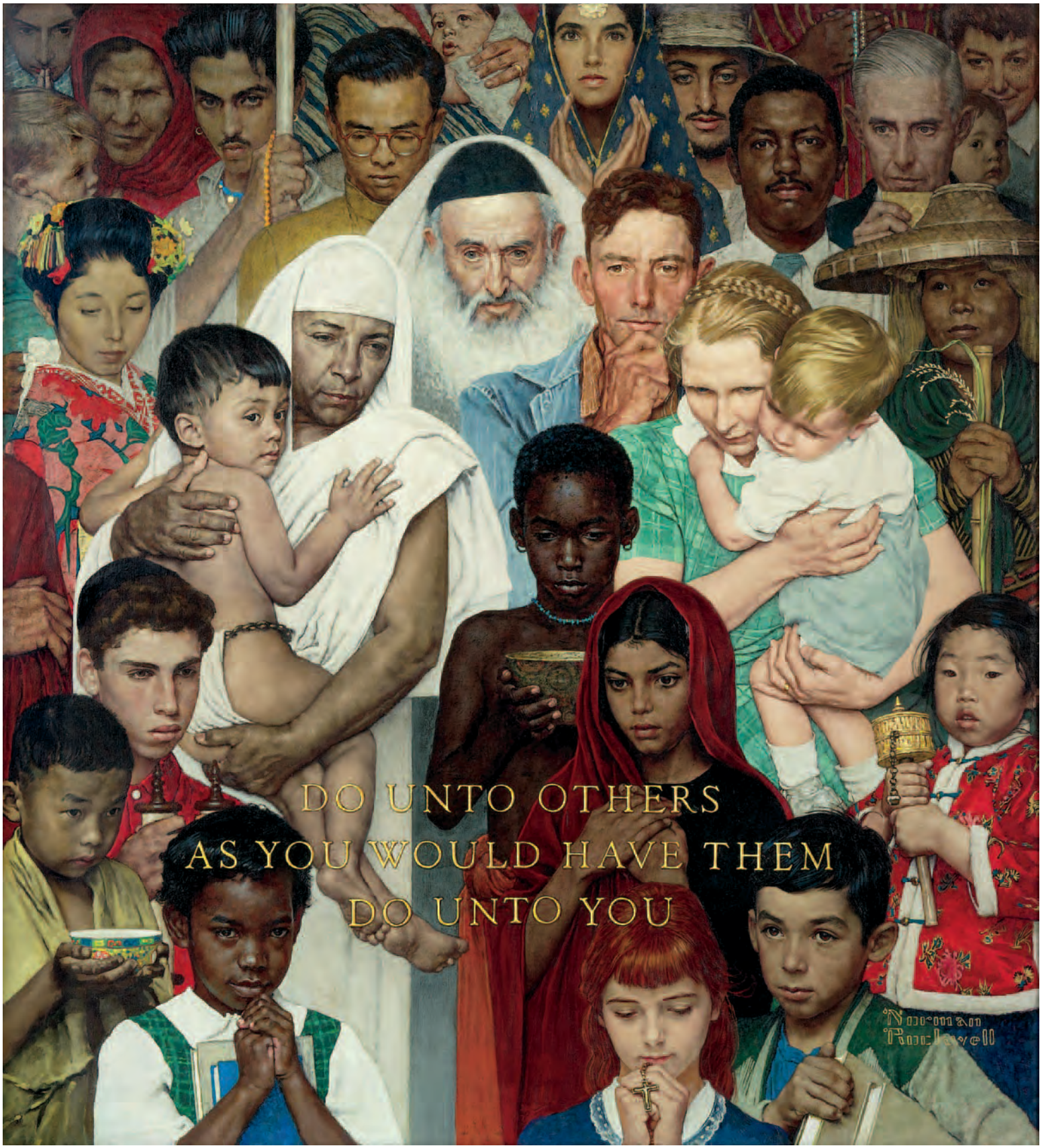
Other paintings in the exhibition are more explicit, especially *Let's Give Him Enough and On Time* (p. 40), an illustration for the US Army depicting a young soldier in uniform bearing arms. Even here, Rockwell never gives up his fundamental choice of telling without hurting.

All the paintings in this exhibition carry one essential message. It was the diverse, sympathetic, happy, united America that joined this fierce fight. It was this America that was threatened and that consented to go to battle—the America of the people—not a jackbooted, authoritarian regime like those controlling the opposing totalitarian states.

This important exhibition displays the painter's prolific career. During preparatory discussions in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, we came to the idea that Norman Rockwell's work could allow us to tell the story of twentieth-century America. Thanks to the care and attention of the Norman Rockwell Museum, led by its director, Laurie Norton Moffatt, we have the drawings and paintings available to make possible this historical exploration.

The importance of this historical perspective provides the motivation for bringing this exceptional exhibition to Caen, Normandy, after New York and Washington, DC. The exhibition will find a natural home at the Mémorial de Caen, where every day we attempt to convey one key message to our visitors from around the world: the most precious gift for humanity is peace.

Norman Rockwell, with his kind and gentle spirit, would not tell us anything different.


DO UNTO OTHERS
AS YOU WOULD HAVE THEM
DO UNTO YOU

WE ARE ALL NEIGHBORS

JAN ELIASSON
FORMER DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

There is a line that connects my earliest days as a high-school student to my last days as a senior United Nations official. That line is drawn by Norman Rockwell. That may sound odd coming from someone who grew up in a town in Sweden and spent a career in international affairs. Yet Rockwell resonated with me as a young boy and does so to this day.

My Rockwell connection took root as a teen. I spent a year as an exchange student in Decatur, Indiana, back in the early 1960s. I vividly recall waiting each week for the *Saturday Evening Post*. I saw in those covers what I lived every day. In many ways, I felt as if I had stepped into a Rockwell painting.

Decades later, I found that the connection ran even deeper. When I served as UN deputy secretary-general, I came to discover that Rockwell had visited the United Nations headquarters in New York just after the complex opened. It seemed to him, he said, "that the United Nations was our only hope"—and he wanted to draw a picture to show it.

Rockwell created a moving but largely forgotten work of ambassadors in the Security Council chamber (p. 25). Standing right behind them, almost breathing down their necks, is a cross section of humanity. They represent, as the Charter of the United Nations says, "we the peoples."

You see the peoples' worries and their dreams. You feel their expectations. You sense their quiet but insistent demands to deliver results.

To celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the United Nations in 2015, we brought Rockwell's original drawing to the headquarters for the first time. The exhibition attracted thousands of visitors from around the world. Norman Rockwell may have been as American as baseball and apple pie, but he was also at home in the wider world.

Rockwell kept his UN drawing in his studio, and it inspired him years later to create one of his most famous paintings, *Golden Rule*. A mosaic of that work was given to the United Nations as a gift from the United States; it is perhaps the most popular piece of art in the headquarters building.

I think this is largely because, like the United Nations itself, the Golden Rule—do unto others as you would have them do unto you—is a mirror of the world. It reflects our common humanity, the wondrous mix of nationalities, creeds, and colors. In a similar fashion, Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* paintings (pp. 1–4) reflect common values and aspirations.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt understood that an individual's hopes could not be confined by national borders. He believed that leaders everywhere must help people live those dreams. The concept and formulation of the Four Freedoms came straight from Roosevelt himself. When he

★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Golden Rule*, 1961. Oil on canvas, 44½ × 39½ in. (113 × 100.3 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 1, 1961. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



Reference photograph of UN ambassadors for Norman Rockwell's *United Nations* (study), 1953. Norman Rockwell sits in for the USSR. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



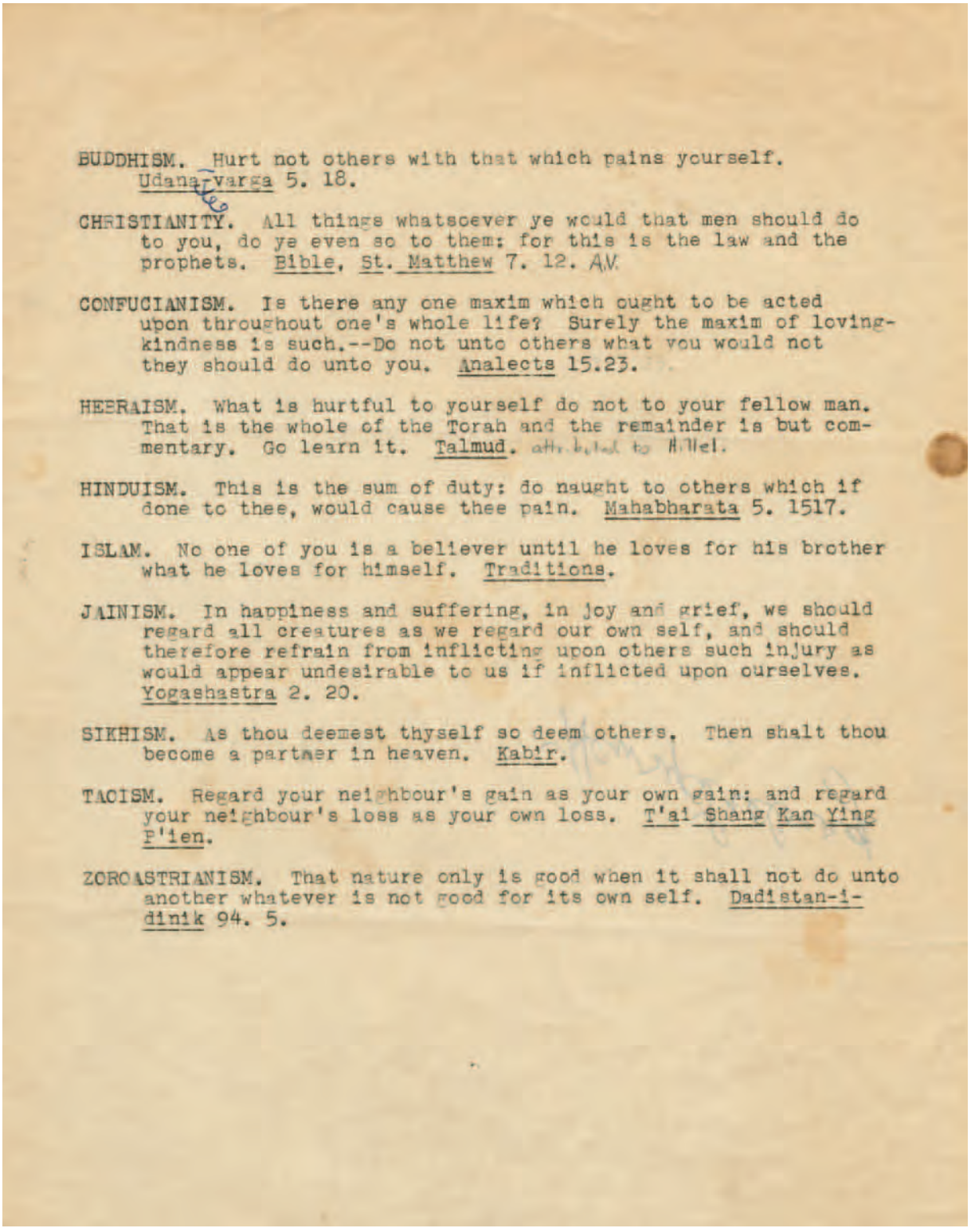
★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *United Nations*, 1953. Unpublished study.Graphite and charcoal on paper, 27¼ × 73½ in. (69.2 × 186.7 cm). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

dictated the passage to his advisers, one of them questioned whether the Four Freedoms should apply "everywhere in the world."

"That covers a lot of territory," the adviser said, "I don't know how interested Americans are going to be in the people of Java."

President Roosevelt replied: "I'm afraid they'll have to be some day. . . . The world is getting so small that even the people in Java are getting to be our neighbors now."

In the twenty-first century, we are all neighbors. And the Four Freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—resonate as deeply with a person from the United States as they do with a person from Sweden, Samoa, or Senegal. It is little



BUDDHISM. Hurt not others with that which pains yourself. Udana-varga 5. 18.

CHRISTIANITY. All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets. Bible, St. Matthew 7. 12. AV.

CONFUCIANISM. Is there any one maxim which ought to be acted upon throughout one's whole life? Surely the maxim of loving-kindness is such.--Do not unto others what you would not they should do unto you. Analects 15.23.

HEBRAISM. What is hurtful to yourself do not to your fellow man. That is the whole of the Torah and the remainder is but commentary. Go learn it. Talmud. attributed to Hillel.

HINDUISM. This is the sum of duty: do naught to others which if done to thee, would cause thee pain. Mahabharata 5. 1517.

ISLAM. No one of you is a believer until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself. Traditions.

JAINISM. In happiness and suffering, in joy and grief, we should regard all creatures as we regard our own self, and should therefore refrain from inflicting upon others such injury as would appear undesirable to us if inflicted upon ourselves. Yogashastra 2. 20.

SIKHISM. As thou deemest thyself so deem others. Then shalt thou become a partner in heaven. Kabir.

TAOISM. Regard your neighbour's gain as your own gain: and regard your neighbour's loss as your own loss. T'ai Shang Kan Ying P'ien.

ZOROASTRIANISM. That nature only is good when it shall not do unto another whatever is not good for its own self. Dadistan-i-dinik 94. 5.

★ Norman Rockwell's notes for *Golden Rule*, ca. 1961. Typewritten document. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

wonder that Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* were on display in San Francisco in 1945 as delegates from around the world drafted the UN Charter. To my mind, his works speak even louder to us today. They are a reminder of the need to keep striving to find the humanity and the heart that make us one. They tell us that while oceans may separate people, there is not that much that sets hopes and dreams apart.

That is the Rockwell message that struck me as a young boy and that stirs me to this day. He summons the inner artist in us all. Keep drawing, he says. Draw the line that connects our shared humanity and aspirations.

And as we do, we will narrow the gap between the world as it is and the world as we know it can be.







Reference photographs for Norman Rockwell's *United Nations* (study), 1953. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



★ *President Franklin D. Roosevelt Receiving Norman Rockwell Painting*, 1940. In the White House, Rockwell offers FDR an original painting, created for the Children's Crusade for Children, a fund-raiser for the relief of children in war-torn Europe.

ENDURING IDEALS: ROCKWELL, ROOSEVELT & THE FOUR FREEDOMS

AN INTRODUCTION

JAMES J. KIMBLE

Think of them as water and oil. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and artist Norman Rockwell, both among the most famous figures of their time, rarely found an opportunity to mix. In fact, the two contemporaries apparently met just once. The record shows that they posed together in 1940 at the White House for a promotional photograph in support of the Children's Crusade for Children relief organization (p. 28). The intriguing encounter lasted only ten minutes. Looking back, its abrupt nature is a bit surprising. After all, artists of various sorts were regular guests at the Roosevelt White House, and Rockwell's intimate presidential portraits are still some of his most famous works. So this lack of a familiar relationship between two of the giants of the era is, at first glance, rather inexplicable.

The interpersonal gap between Rockwell and FDR was there for all to see during the illustrator's later visit to the White House, in mid-1943. His assignment, eventually dubbed "So You Want to See the President!" by the *Saturday Evening Post*, was a visual essay depicting the dozens of people lingering in the executive waiting room, each one hoping that FDR might have time to see her or him. Although the artist seems to have had a lot of time to sketch his subjects, he apparently did not make it into the Oval Office himself. Tellingly, the only view of Roosevelt in the *Post*'s essay is in its final sketch (p. 30), which shows a military aide cracking open the presidential door to allow access—but to someone else. Inside the room, the viewer can glimpse FDR, sitting at his desk, so near and yet so painfully unaware of Rockwell's presence in the outer room.[1]

There is no evidence that Roosevelt and Rockwell did not get along. Yet it makes sense that they might have been wary of each other. True, both were New Yorkers by birth. But FDR, the upstate patrician, wealthy politician, and former governor was cut from a very different cloth than the homespun illustrator who fled the city for pastoral New England, ultimately gaining acclaim for his admiring glimpses into the lives of the average Americans just down the street (or down at the local swimming hole). The president and the artist might have gotten along famously, had they made time to get to know one another. But people with their differing life experiences tended to mix as easily as water and oil.

Water and oil are in fact apt metaphors for thinking about these two titanic personalities. FDR's intense affection for water was well known. As his grandson Christopher du Pont Roosevelt re-



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *So You Want to See the President!* (detail), 1943. The caption reads: "Genial 'Pa' Watson opens the big door and says 'Step this way. The president will see you now.'" Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 13, 1943, p. 12. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



FDR on his sailboat off the New England coast, 1933. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

called fondly, the president had "an overwhelming, lifelong love of the sea and sailing." Perhaps it was genetic. Both sides of FDR's family, the Delanos and the Roosevelts, had long been noted for their seafaring ways, going back to Claes Martenszen van Rosenvelt, who had once explored the Atlantic seaboard with none other than Henry Hudson. FDR himself started traveling over the ocean at the age of three and at only thirty-one years of age had begun service as the assistant secretary of the United States Navy. His love of the water did not diminish once he moved to the White House. In his book *Sailor in the White House*, Robert Cross describes FDR as "our country's greatest seafaring president." The commander in chief logged "hundreds of thousands

of miles afloat" and "spent more days at sea" than any other occupant of the White House. The president even found himself drawn to water while ashore, and numerous world leaders ended up talking about one crisis or another at the White House swimming pool while FDR energetically swam around.[2]

Rockwell, in contrast, spent much of his time working in oils, his lifelong medium of choice. Through an elaborate process, the artist fused rich pigments that he would use to depict humorous truths and simple revelations for his many fans. His palette, ranging from raw umber to Venetian red, was the colorful source from which he crafted light and shadow alongside figure and form. The results—what biographer Laura Claridge calls "storytelling in oils"—were captivating visual narratives that taught Americans how to see their daily foibles as a kind of rough-hewn visual poetry. Away from the studio, oil was a fitting label for Rockwell's personality as well. Much like his medium of choice, the artist, too, was colorful, sensitive, and occasionally mercurial. But if the versatile hues of his oils were somehow able to capture the essence of a timeless moment, the same was true of the artist who carefully applied them to canvas and in the process turned ideas into art.[3]

Ironically, the primary historical collaboration of these two figures—of the down-to-earth artist and the elegant president—reflected their oil and water dispositions. As it turned out, their individual contributions to the life of the Four Freedoms were both essential and yet as different as the men themselves. The idealistic Freedoms emerged from FDR's oratorical genius, to be sure. But when they critically needed a boost, at a time when the Allied victory in World War II was no-



Norman Rockwell at work on *Norman Rockwell Visits a County Agent*, 1948. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

where near a foregone conclusion, Rockwell and his vibrant oils were at the ready, helping to accelerate the Four Freedoms into indelible ideals for the ages.

The resulting story of the triumph of the Four Freedoms could just as easily have been a dirge if the twists of history had pivoted in a slightly different way. As it was, the Roosevelt administration at one point seemed ready to give up on the president's phrase altogether, only to realize that Rockwell's paintings were, at almost that very moment, beginning to ignite nationwide interest in the Four Freedoms. It is a largely forgotten aspect of an otherwise glorious tale. But to tell it—as the exhibition *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms* aims to do—is to celebrate an incredible rhetorical triumph that took place against the backdrop of the United States in wartime. It is a story of careful ingenuity and of unflagging determination. It is also a story of a brilliant set of ideals whose application, at the time, was both incomplete and inconsistent. Yet most of all, it is a story of an unlikely collaboration between a commander in chief and a craftsman, of a creative yin-and-yang effort whose central vision somehow managed to change the face of the world.

FDR AND THE UNLIKELY ADVENTURES OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS

President Roosevelt was thinking about fear. It was late in the terrifying spring of 1940, but the distant shadow of his first inaugural address might well have been on his mind. Seven years earlier he had told his fellow citizens that only "fear itself" was worthy of their fears. Back then, when the villains had been corrupt speculators, hapless bankers, and overconfident economists, the plea made perfect sense. Fear, the president suggested in those tense days of early 1933, can paralyze us into inaction, a road we must never take lest we fall victim to the forces that besiege us. Rather, deliberate action (soon to be exemplified in FDR's frenetic first one hundred days in office) was the proper course. Since this sentiment came from a man who had already faced down the fear of his own kind of paralysis, the point had been a profound one.[4]

Nineteen forty had brought with it new villains and new victims. Belgium, Denmark, and Luxembourg had disappeared into the maw of the Nazi war machine in May. France would succumb to Adolf Hitler and his generals only weeks later. By June 3, what remained of the British forces in continental Europe had evacuated across the English Channel at Dunkirk. For millions of observers across the globe, this series of shocking spectacles confirmed Nazi Germany's gruesome grip on the Old World. The thought of Hitler and his shock troops overtaking the continent was no longer a nightmare—it was a reality.

To Roosevelt, readying to speak before an informal conference with representatives from the American Youth Congress on June 5, the disturbing situation of the spring of 1940 was indeed fearsome. He said as much in his remarks, suggesting that if the world were to ask him to negotiate an end to the ongoing violence, his goal would be the "elimination of four fears": the fear of not being able to worship freely, the fear of losing one's freedom of expression, the fear of military arms, and the fear of fractured commerce among nations. He concluded that the long-term resolution of these four fears was "something to think over."[5]



★ *Leo Friedlander with Four Freedoms Models*, 1939. New York World's Fair 1939–40 records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library; Astor, Lenos, and Tilden Foundations.

FDR did think it over. He returned to his theme only a month later, at a press conference held in his library back home in Hyde Park, New York—but with a different emphasis. Now the *fears* had become *freedoms*. Perhaps, over the course of that month, his mind had gone back to the British maritime tradition of advocating for the so-called Four Fs: freedom of the seas, freedom of ports, freedom of trade, and freedom of contracts. Or perhaps he had recalled giving the inaugural speech at the 1939 New York World's Fair in front of the *Four Freedoms*, Leo Friedlander's massive four-piece sculptural homage to the freedoms of speech, press, religion, and assembly outlined in the Bill of Rights. Or perhaps he had drawn inspiration more recently, from Frank Knox, publisher of the *Chicago Daily News*, who had spoken eloquently to a Cleveland audience earlier in the spring about "freedom of speech," "freedom of the press," "freedom of religious belief," and "freedom from fear."[6]

Whatever the inspiration for his change in emphasis, the president now saw the fear-inducing crisis of the accelerating war as the ideal time to promote freedom across the world. As he told the gathered reporters that day, he had come to cherish "freedom of information," "freedom of religion," "freedom to express one's self," and "freedom from fear." However, Richard Harkness, a reporter for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, then complicated matters. He suggested to the president that a fifth freedom, this one called "freedom from want," might be equally important in the after-

math of war. FDR immediately agreed. "Freedom from want," he concluded, "is the fifth, very definitely." This remarkable exchange in well-heeled Hyde Park had an easygoing, optimistic tone. Yet the president was well aware that to those who were even then suffering under the Axis onslaught overseas, the very idea of freedoms—whether there were four or five of them—by that point would have seemed unattainable.[7]

The theme of postwar freedoms proved elusive even for FDR. He was running for a third term in the fall of 1940, and his advisers were concerned that speculative talk about goals in a postwar world might worry too many citizens that the president had a secret interest in bringing Americans into the conflict. Even so, various versions of freedom were clearly still on his mind. Once safely reelected in November, for example, he wrote, in a letter to the president of the Economics Club of New York, "our freedoms must include freedom from want, freedom from insecurity, and freedom from fear." Then, in late December, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes called Roosevelt's attention to journalist Samuel Grafton's new book, *All Out! How Democracy Will Defend America*, pointing specifically to this passage:

> In September of 1940, the better sections of the English press began to debate the need for an "economic bill of rights," to defeat Hitlerism in the world forever by establishing "minimum standards of housing, food, education, and medical care," along with free speech, free press, and free worship.

There is no record in the president's papers of his reaction to this writing, which offered yet another listing of varied freedoms. But the markings on Ickes's letter indicate that it was included in the materials that the White House used in preparation for the upcoming President's Annual Message to Congress (the yearly event that has since come to be known as the State of the Union address). Thus, the notion of multiple freedoms was once more lurking in the background as the president's team went to work on the text of what would become one of his most famous and fateful speeches.[8]

The primary aim of the January 1941 message would be to sell Congress on the new Lend-Lease proposal, which would enable the wholesale export of munitions to Britain and the other nations that were resisting the Axis powers. The White House felt the proposal's passage was imperative, while critics naturally feared that it would draw the nation closer to war. For FDR, however, the address presented a rich opportunity. In his view, it was a chance to start crafting in earnest a postwar world based not on fear but on an expanded understanding of freedoms.[9]

On January 1, 1941, the president, working with his aides on the speech's third draft, suddenly asked his secretary, Dorothy Brady, to take down his idea for a new peroration. Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, a trusted adviser and speechwriter, was by this time used to FDR's occasional moments of brilliance in such drafting sessions. The president, Rosenman recalled later, "would suddenly lay down his pen, lean back in his large swivel armchair, throw his head back, and look up at the ceiling intently," while his staffers stood by in respectful silence. These episodes usually took two or three minutes. On that cold New Year's Day, however, FDR thought for "so long that it began to become uncomfortable." At long last, the president settled on what he wanted to say. He di-

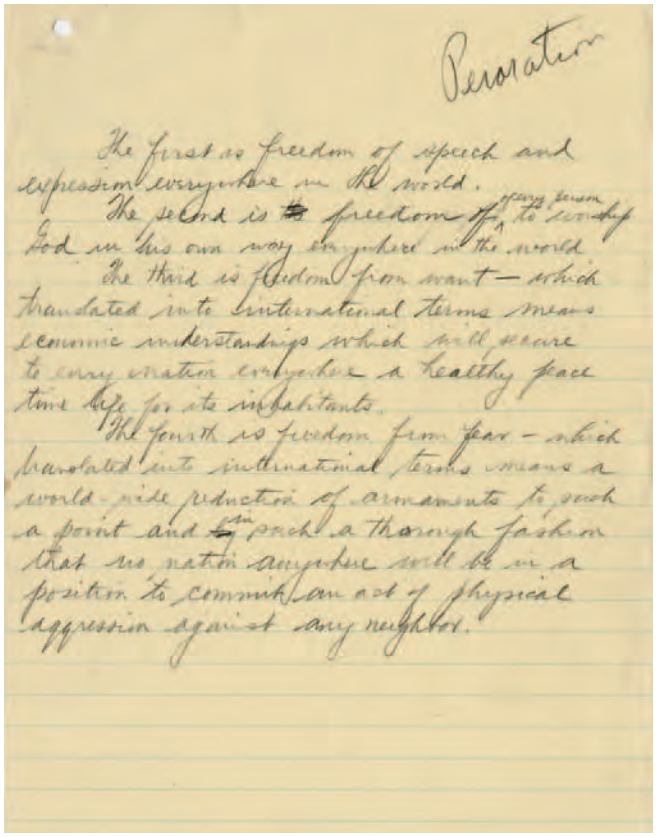
rected Brady to take down the passage that would, with only minor changes, become remembered as the Four Freedoms.[10]

The address was ready to go a few days later. On Monday, January 6, 1941, the president, Eleanor Roosevelt, and their guests, Norway's Crown Prince Olav and Crown Princess Märtha, arrived at the US Capitol at 1:48 p.m. Inside the House of Representatives Chamber, FDR soon began his long and laborious walk up to the front of the grand room. Along the way, he could see the newly installed network of steel girders holding up the room's aging roof. He could see the members of Congress, some of them friends, some of them bitter enemies, anxiously awaiting his words; several of them had even brought along their children to see the president speak. And he could see the multitude of microphones set up for his address. FDR's immediate audience was the Congress, to be sure, but he knew that every radio network would carry his message live to all forty-eight states, and that translators would quickly send it abroad in six languages. As FDR began to speak, he must have understood that his Four Freedoms could not have found a better opportunity to captivate the world.[11]

Yet something curious happened to the Four Freedoms along the way to the ideal's triumphant debut that day. While the nation's major newspapers covered the message in detail, by and large they ignored the critical Four Freedoms passage. (The *Wall Street Journal* was par-



FDR and his secretary, Dorothy Brady, 1942. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.


Peroration

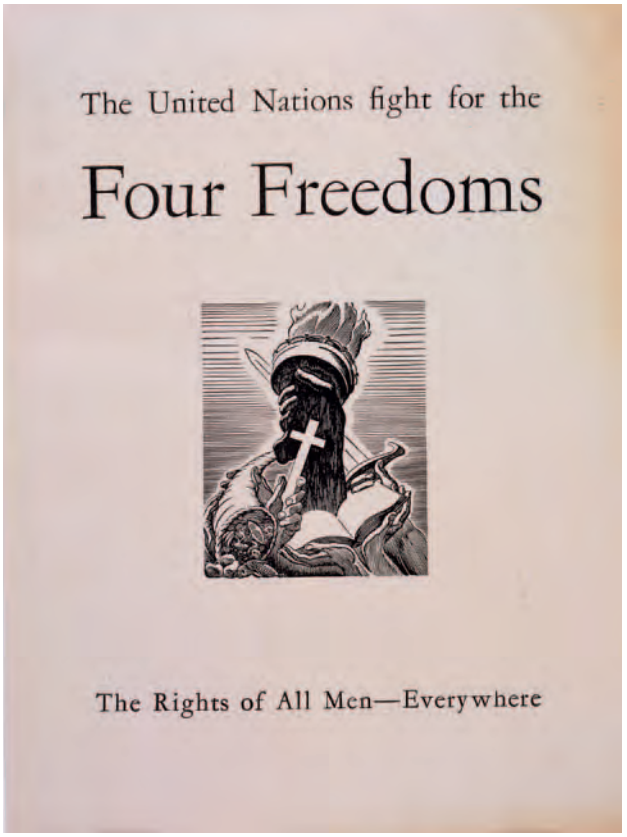
The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want — which translated into international terms means economic understandings which will secure to every nation everywhere a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants.

The fourth is freedom from fear — which translated into international terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation anywhere will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor.

★ Draft of the Four Freedoms peroration from the President's Annual Message to Congress delivered by FDR on January 6, 1941. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.



★ *The United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms*, 1942. Office of War Information pamphlet. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

ticularly unimpressed, writing that the speech offered "no surprises.") Forty-two members of Congress, commenting on the address to the *New York Times*, likewise failed to acknowledge FDR's optimistic ideal. Even members of the public—who wrote hundreds of letters and telegrams to the White House in the days after the speech—generally overlooked the president's visionary phrase. Instead, the vast majority of the correspondents shared with the president their individual views on the Lend-Lease proposal. It was not, to say the least, an impressive debut for the Four Freedoms.[12]

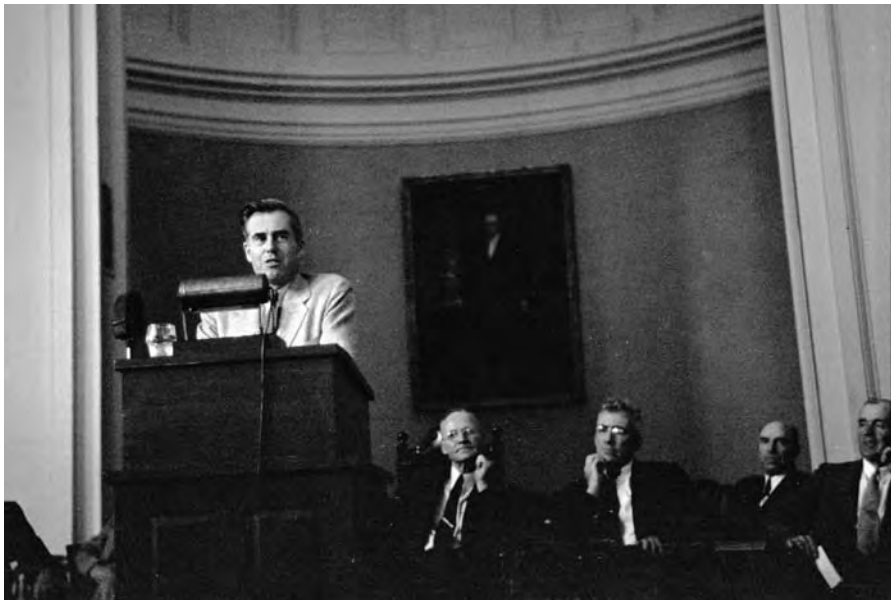
The Roosevelt administration was undoubtedly disappointed by this unexpected reaction. Undaunted, however, the White House continued to highlight the Four Freedoms theme throughout the spring of 1941. When FDR and British prime minister Winston Churchill met near the coast of Newfoundland that August, the president even proposed including the Freedoms in the resulting Atlantic Charter. Unfortunately, the document somehow ended up leaving out freedom of speech and freedom of worship altogether. A few national church groups were infuriated at this turn of events, suspecting that the growing alliance with the officially atheistic Soviet Union had led to the removal of any reference to religion.[13]

Sources within the administration claimed that the omission of two of the freedoms was a simple oversight. But it was a troubling sign that the campaign to promote the president's catchphrase was not functioning very efficiently. Indeed, the abstract words simply had not yet caught on with many Americans. Journalist and commentator Eliot Janeway acknowledged that the Four Freedoms made for an exhilarating goal for those nations that were facing the brutality of Axis expansion, but that at home the phrase was "not very exciting to us, [and] perhaps even too commonplace to be taken seriously." In fact, he characterized the very idea as "so old-fashioned that it is rather dull and embarrassing to think of." *Christian Century*'s commentary was more combative. The president's Four Freedoms, its editors wrote, might sound "noble" at first but ultimately gave off a "hollow, empty sound."[14]

Still, the White House resolutely kept up the campaign, and the attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in December 1941 prompted a redoubling of its efforts. For example, in addition to FDR's speeches touting the ideal as the nation ramped up its war machine that winter, Vice President Henry A. Wallace used a prominent address before the Free World Association to contend that the president's Four Freedoms were "the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand." Meanwhile, the administration's Office of Facts and Figures (OFF) was hard at work on a pamphlet that would aim to explain the Four Freedoms to everyday Americans.[15]

But even OFF's crack team of writers—among them Archibald MacLeish, Malcolm Cowley, Henry Pringle, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., and E. B. White—could not seem to find a way to connect with its audience. A group of analysts at the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University wrote a scathing critique of a draft of the Four Freedoms pamphlet, concluding that "only a small intellectual elite, maybe 10 or 15 per cent of the total adult population, are likely to read this pamphlet with interest and ease." Predictably, when the government ignored the advice, hurriedly releasing its publication, *The United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms* (p. 36), on the anniversary of the Atlantic Charter, there was almost no response from the American public. It was all too much for public opinion expert George Gallup, who subsequently warned FDR, "the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms have not registered a very deep imprint here at home." The country still needed "a battle cry," he went on, that would help "explain what we are fighting for." To that point, at least, the Four Freedoms did not seem to be up to the task.[16]

Part of the problem may have been that the administration was having trouble keeping its Four Freedoms campaign disciplined. In April 1942, an internal Office of Government Reports memo warned that several voices within the administration were needlessly complicating the president's catchphrase by suggesting that it included many more freedoms and rights than FDR had originally intended. One of those voices was Vice President Wallace himself, who told an audience in September that he had discovered additional freedoms, including "the freedom to buy land at a reasonable price," "the freedom to borrow money at a reasonable rate of interest," and "the freedom to establish schools which teach the realities of life." Henry Luce's *Time* magazine, which had never been a fan of the Roosevelt administration in the first place, responded by disdainfully noting, "there are not numbered freedoms but only freedom." After all, the article continued, "Patrick Henry did not ask for Nos. 1 to 4, nor for Nos. 3, 5, 7 and 9. He simply used the singular."[17]



Secretary of Agriculture (and future vice president) Henry A. Wallace addresses a group of Vermont and New Hampshire farmers in Hanover, New Hampshire, in September 1937. Photograph by Edwin Locke. Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

It should not be that surprising, then, to find that FDR's Four Freedoms did not fare particularly well as a popular slogan in that first year the United States was at war. Polling results confirmed that 61 percent of the public claimed to have never heard of the Four Freedoms, while the portion of Americans who could name even one of them was smaller than 25 percent. It is worth noting that the government's pollsters found that it was not that citizens disliked the concept of the Four Freedoms—far from it. When asked directly whether they supported establishing those freedoms in the postwar world, more than 80 percent responded favorably to the idea. Perhaps it was just that, for the average American, the president's words seemed ephemeral, lacking a clear and convincing connection to their own lives.[18]

As one might imagine, staffers within OFF and its successor, the Office of War Information (OWI), gradually began to grow concerned that FDR's theme was not making headway with the American people. One OFF memo from the spring of 1942 expressed worry that the Four Freedoms seemed "to be lacking in precision," were "too reminiscent of the Wilsonian crusade," or (even worse) were "criticized for being mere words unaccompanied by concrete acts." By January 1943, such concerns were becoming dire. "The four freedoms theme," concluded an OWI memo with blunt finality, "is a flop."[19]

And so it was that FDR's Four Freedoms did not start out as the timeless rhetorical moment that later generations now celebrate. Looking back, there is no question that the president's phrase represented a bold and brilliant set of ideals. It is also clear that the Four Freedoms benefited from the full (if occasionally inconsistent) support of FDR's talented team. Yet something crucial seemed to be missing. It is safe to say that if the president's Four Freedoms were ever going to resonate as a rallying cry for the nation, or even for the Allies, they would need to find a way to captivate the public's imagination. Over the course of two years, the full rhetorical power of the administration had not been able to accomplish that goal. Yet, fortunately for the White House—not to mention the long-term legacy of the Four Freedoms—an unassuming New England illustrator was even then getting ready to unveil four masterpieces.



Norman Rockwell, lost in thought (undated). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

NORMAN ROCKWELL AND THE ILLUSTRATION OF IDEALS

As far as Norman Rockwell was concerned, the Four Freedoms were probably an artistic dead end. In the summer of 1941, like most Americans, the beloved artist was well aware of the accelerating pace of the ongoing war in Europe and Asia. Also like most Americans, he wanted to help his nation during the global crisis. He believed that his talents as an illustrator could be extremely useful in public appeals (much as the compelling posters of James Montgomery Flagg and Howard Chandler Christy had transfixed the home front during the Great War). The announcement of the Atlantic Charter that August gave Rockwell hope that the highly touted new document, springing as it had from the shrewd minds of FDR and Churchill, would give him some inspiration toward that end.

However, after trying to read the actual document, the artist came away thoroughly unimpressed. "I hadn't been able to get beyond the first paragraph," he later recalled. The crucial problem was that the charter's wording gave him no creative insights at all. As he put it, "the language was so noble, platitudinous really, that it stuck in my throat." How, he wondered, "am I to illustrate that? I'm not noble enough. Besides, nobody I know is reading the proclamation either, in spite of the fanfare and hullabaloo about it in the press." The renowned Atlantic Charter, simply put, did not lend itself to illustration, let alone the kind of artwork that could captivate the home front.[20]

After the Pearl Harbor attack later that year, though, Rockwell felt that it was time to reach out to the government to see whether his skills might be useful to the war effort. The US Army Ordnance Corps turned out to be eager for a Rockwell poster for its "Keep 'Em Shooting" motivational campaign. Army officials were so keen that when the artist requested a machine gun to



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Let's Give Him Enough and On Time*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 42 × 50 in. (106.7 × 127 cm). Poster illustration for the US Army. US Army Center of Military History, Washington, DC.

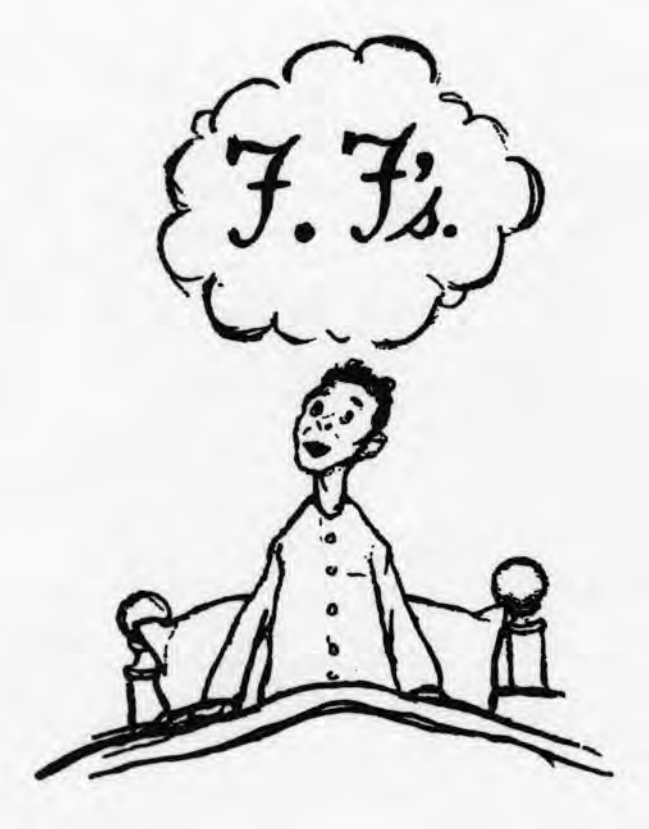
serve as a model, they sent him not only a working firearm but also live ammunition, a Jeep, and an active-duty soldier to pose with it all. The resulting poster (p. 40) was printed for national distribution, and even appeared on numerous billboards across the country, in December 1942.[21]

But Rockwell could not seem to stop going back to the idea of the Four Freedoms. Throughout early 1942 he found himself continually generating and then discarding various ways to illustrate them. Then, in a classic eureka moment so common to artists, he had a vision at three o'clock one early morning. While he lay awake in bed, frustrated that he still had not found a way to turn the president's ideal into a compelling set of images, his mind suddenly flashed to a town hall meeting he had recently attended. In the meeting, his next-door neighbor, Jim Edgerton, had risen to speak against a popular motion while the rest of those gathered had listened patiently, although disagreeing with him. The memory gave Rockwell a sudden jolt. That moment of tolerant democracy, he realized, was exactly the scene he needed. "My gosh," he remembered thinking, "that's it. There it is. Freedom of Speech." It was a creative breakthrough. Using his neighbors as models to show people living the Four Freedoms, "in simple, everyday scenes," was the perfect way to take the Freedoms "out of the noble language of the proclamation and put them in terms everybody [could] understand."[22]

The artist was so excited by the moment that he grabbed his bicycle and rushed over to neighbor Mead Schaeffer's house to share the news. There is no record of Schaeffer's reaction to this impromptu visit. Most people might have said something like, "Norman, it's 3:00 a.m. Can't it wait?" But Schaef, as Rockwell called his friend, understood the enthusiasm of the moment all too well. As a prolific cover artist for the *Saturday Evening Post* in his own right, Schaeffer knew that artistic muses do not bother to conform to the norms of ordinary humans. Inspiration, in short, comes when it does, and with a comrade-in-oils as close as Rockwell, Schaef was most likely willing to celebrate the news about the Four Freedoms, whatever the hour.

Rockwell spent the next several days sketching his idea for the new series. With Schaeffer's encouragement, he began to feel more and more confident that his vision of bringing the Freedoms to life through glimpses of familiar, everyday American experiences would be an immediate hit with the government and then the public. Before long, he and Schaeffer, sketches in hand, were on their way to the nation's capital. They were both eager to see which government agency would seize the opportunity to put the images to use.

The two artists saw numerous officials during their visit to Washington's confusing wartime bureaucracy. But few of the harried officials expressed even a mild interest in the sketches. The most encouraging reaction was at the Department of War, where their contact said, "We'd love to print your Four Freedoms, but we can't. I'm sorry. We just don't have the time to spare to arrange it." At OWI, whose propaganda mission was a natural fit for such inspirational imagery, the staffer's response was more blunt: "The last war you illustrators did the posters," but this time around, "we're going to use fine arts men, real artists." Turning insult into injury, the official told Rockwell that if he really wanted to make a contribution to the war effort, he could "do some of these pen-and-ink drawings for the Marine Corps calisthenics manual. But as far as your Four Freedoms go, we aren't interested." It was the final straw on a dispiriting and even humiliating day. Rockwell and Schaeffer, dejected, boarded a train for the return trip to Vermont.[23]



Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *The Four Freedoms Idea*, 1946. Book illustration for Arthur L. Guptill, *Norman Rockwell: Illustrator* (New York: Watson-Guptill, 1946, p. xxviii).



Exhibit D

Example of poster treatment of the Four Freedoms.

ISSUE - THE FOUR FREEDOMS Distribution: General
(To be presented in two ways: what we have (optimistic); what it would be if we lost it (negative).

1. Freedom of Worship (2,000,000 posters)

a. Our Church as we have it (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: Ernest Fiene or Doris Lee or perhaps Hopper or Elizabeth Terrell

b. The suppression of Religious Freedom (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: Ben Shahn or George Grosz or Stephan Hirsch

Six Weeks Interval.

2. Freedom from Want (2,000,000 posters)

a. Our heritage (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: John Stuart Curry or Boardman Robinson or Edgar Britton (harvest)

b. Starving children (1,000,000 posters)
Documentary photographs or Simeon Shiaio

Six Weeks Interval

3. Freedom from Fear (2,000,000 posters)

a. Sunday picnic (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: Norman Rockwell or Leon Kroll or Ward Lockwood or Dale Nichols

b. Fear, the loss of our freedom (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: George Grosz or William Gropper

Six Weeks Interval

4. Freedom of Speech (2,000,000 posters)

a. Our Speech as we have it (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: Louis Hibbs or Clifford Neal or Kendrew McLeary

b. Loss of Speech (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: Fitzpatrick or Duffey or Kuniyoshi

Page from an Office of War Information internal document listing potential artists who could be approached to illustrate the Four Freedoms, ca. 1942. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

Ironically, Rockwell may simply have come across the wrong government staffers for his pitch that day. The archival record clearly shows that OWI *was* interested in artistic representations of the Four Freedoms at the time. Indeed, FDR had extended an open invitation to the artistic world to interpret them soon after Pearl Harbor. At about the same time that Rockwell was visiting Washington, OWI's creative team had even begun to brainstorm a list of well-known artists it might ask to interpret the president's Freedoms for a series of posters. Rockwell was named on the planning document as a possible interpreter of freedom from fear (suggested imagery: a placid Sunday picnic). It is unclear whether Rockwell ever received a formal invitation from this initiative; if he did, the letter may have been destroyed in a studio fire the subsequent spring.[24]

On the return trip from Washington, Rockwell surely knew nothing of these efforts. But as the train neared Philadelphia on its way north, he thought of another possible outlet for his Four Freedoms project. Curtis Publishing, home of the *Saturday Evening Post*, was headquartered in downtown Philadelphia. Perhaps there was a way to salvage his idea for an inspirational set of paintings after all. So Rockwell and Schaeffer made an impromptu call on Ben Hibbs, the new editor of the magazine. "I hauled the sketches out," remembered Rockwell, "explaining rather listlessly what they were all about."[25]

The response was immediate. Hibbs loved the idea: "Norman, you've got to do them for us." He advised Rockwell to drop everything else. "Just do the Four Freedoms. Don't bother with *Post* covers or illustrations." The editor later reflected, "I agreed with Norman that somebody should try to present the Four Freedoms in understandable, visual, emotional terms, and I knew if anybody could do it Norman Rockwell could." It was clear, in short, that the magazine was going to reproduce the artist's finished images with as much publicity as it could manage.[26]

And so Rockwell's trip to the capital was not a failure after all. It was instead an unexpected triumph. The government may not have been interested in his Four Freedoms proposal, but the *Post* was emphatically interested. With more than 3.3 million subscribers across the country, not to mention the many more readers who did not subscribe but simply read the copies of families and friends, the *Saturday Evening Post* was an incredibly large venue for Rockwell's inspirational project.

There was, of course, much more work to do. For the rest of the year, following Hibbs's suggestion, Rockwell isolated himself in his studio and focused intently on the Four Freedoms project. The work was lonely and often frustrating. An early study for *Freedom of Worship*, for example, shows that Rockwell had originally wanted to portray a number of men—each rather obviously representing a different religious tradition—informally enjoying each other's company in a barbershop (p. 44). He eventually concluded that the scene did not work. But he pressed on, laboring at all hours and losing fifteen pounds due to the strain. Finally, in late 1942 (at about the same time the propaganda experts at OWI had begun to conclude that the president's Four Freedoms theme was never going to catch on with Americans), the oils were ready for their grand unveiling.[27]

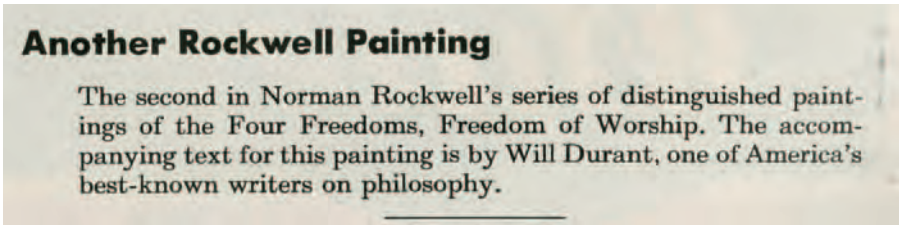
Back in Philadelphia, Hibbs had also been hard at work. As the new editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, he was painfully aware that his magazine had a poor reputation in government circles. The *Post*'s conservative tradition had often put it at odds with Roosevelt specifically and with the New Deal more generally. Hibbs wanted to mend the rift. Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* seemed to the editor to be the perfect way to show the administration that the magazine was in fact determined to support the war effort in a very public way. It did not hurt that Rockwell's status as a national artistic icon gave the project a certain commercial potential as well. If the artist's images could please the Roosevelt administration, galvanize the public, *and* sell magazine copies, the editor knew, then they would raise the *Post*'s profile on the national stage.

To maximize the potential impact of the unveiling of Rockwell's paintings, Hibbs decided that they would be reprinted, one after the other, in four consecutive issues. He also invited an essayist to provide commentary on each one. First up was *Freedom of Speech* (p. 1) in the February 20, 1943, issue, accompanied by a parable from Booth Tarkington, a two-time winner of the Pulitzer Prize. On February 27, the magazine released *Freedom of Worship* (p. 2), alongside an essay by the famous philosopher Will Durant. Rockwell's *Freedom from Want* (p. 3) followed in the March 6 issue, with commentary by Carlos Bulosan, the Filipino American poet and labor activist. Finally, the March 13 issue featured the artist's *Freedom from Fear* (p. 4), along with a moving essay by the Pulitzer Prize–winning poet Stephen Vincent Benét.

The extended rollout did nothing to diminish the public's reaction. In fact, both the *Post* and Rockwell began receiving admiring letters immediately after the very first issue. As early as



Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Barbershop*, ca. 1942.
Preliminary concept for *Freedom of Worship*. Oil on canvas,
41 × 33 in. (104.1 × 83.8 cm). Private collection.

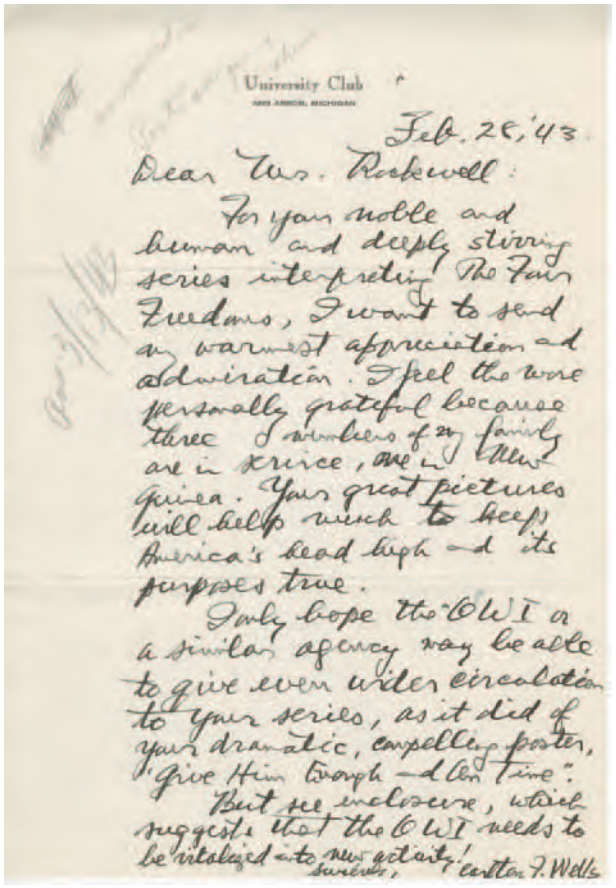


This announcement advertises the upcoming Four Freedoms feature, with Rockwell's *Freedom of Worship* and Will Durant's accompanying essay. "Next Week," *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943, p. 6. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves.

February 17, when the first of the *Freedoms* began to arrive in mailboxes across the country, Rhoda Jerryman of Galveston, Texas, wrote to Rockwell that the artist had "made these ideas living and real in more ways than one." His *Four Freedoms*, she believed, "should be framed and put in the nursery of every home." A few days later, Carolyn McMullan of Edenton, North Carolina, expressed her admiration as well: "I opened my *Post* on my way home from work, and from the time I saw the *Four Freedoms* page, until I reached my doorsteps, I didn't take my eyes off of it. The craziest little chills and tickles went all up and down my spine. (And incidentally I nearly got run over because I didn't look up when I crossed the street.)" Jerryman's and McMullan's letters were just two of the thousands of missives—by one count, more than sixty thousand—that soon came in from the *Post*'s awestruck readers. While there were a few isolated detractors, most of those who took time to put down their thoughts would have agreed with Pittsburgh's Mrs. John A. Flannery, who wrote of *Freedom of Speech* that "every town hall in the land should have one on its walls." The Four Freedoms ideal had clearly begun to captivate the public.[28]

The media was also thoroughly impressed. The *Post* began receiving requests from other publications to reprint the paintings for their own readers. National radio networks started to mention Rockwell's images as a way to invite listeners to tune in to live discussions of the president's Four Freedoms theme. The *Washington Post* (which was typically read closely in the White House) suggested that "the Four Freedoms, which had hitherto been brought home to the people only in cold type, have been freshened by Rockwell with the warmth of feeling, the minute detail, the imagination and the fine draughtsmanship" that will foster a "universality of appeal which should strike fire among freedom loving people everywhere." And Elsie Robinson's Listen, World! newspaper column, disseminated widely by King Features, related this admiring reaction: "I've seen four dreams—I've heard four bugle calls." Rockwell's meaningful interpretations, she predicted, were destined to "hang in lonely mountain cabins, adobe huts, desert schools and shacks, swank offices, rose-wreathed homes . . . or [be] pinned to the tent flap of some youngster far away in Tunisia or the Solomons, who's dying that those words may always live." In such places, she concluded, the paintings would always give Americans "strength and dignity—and faith—to carry on!"[29]

Robinson's poignant prophecy about the widespread circulation of Rockwell's four images would soon ring true. The Office of War Information, obviously impressed with the massive reaction to the *Post*'s rollout, made a formal approach to Curtis Publishing about using the paintings in an official capacity. Given the big splash that Rockwell's interpretations had made, OWI sought the publisher's permission to turn them into war posters after all. The answer was an em-



University Club
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

Feb. 28, '43

Dear Mr. Rockwell:

For your noble and human and deeply stirring series interpreting The Four Freedoms, I want to send my warmest appreciation and admiration. I feel the more personally grateful because three members of my family are in Africa, one in New Guinea. Your great pictures will help much to keep America's head high and its purposes true.

Only hope the OWI or a similar agency may be able to give even wider circulation to your series, as it did of your dramatic, compelling poster, "Give Him Tough—& On Time".

But see enclosure, which suggests that the OWI needs to be vitalized into new activity!

Carlton F. Wells

★ This February 28, 1943, letter from Carlton Wells to Norman Rockwell expresses the heartfelt reaction that many Americans had to the artist's *Four Freedoms* series. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



William John Moriarty (1903–1978), *Four Freedoms with T/5 Norma Boudreau and M/Sgt. Louis Dovilla, Camp Atterbury, Ind.*, July 12, 1943. Photograph for Signal Corps, US Army. Camp Atterbury World War II Photograph Collection, Indiana State Library Manuscripts Photographs Collection, Indianapolis.



★ *U.S. Treasury Department and* Saturday Evening Post *War Bond Show*, 1943. Pamphlet for the Four Freedoms War Bond Show sponsored by Wm. Filene's Sons, Boston. Ink on paper, 9 × 6 in. (22.9 × 15.2 cm) (closed). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of John F. Butler.

phatic *yes*. Almost immediately, four million copies of the posters were rolling off the presses. As Robinson had predicted, they did in fact appear prominently in private homes and in post offices, canteens, libraries, and countless other public spaces throughout the rest of the war.

Henry Morgenthau Jr., the secretary of the treasury and a close friend of the president, was watching these events with great interest as well. Morgenthau soon directed his War Finance Division (WFD) to get in touch with the magazine. The WFD team's crucial mission during the war was the financing of the massive American military operation. Costing hundreds of billions of dollars, the war was among the most expensive operations ever undertaken by the government. In short, it took funds to fight, and Morgenthau and his team were the country's chief fund-raisers. They quickly realized that Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* represented an excellent opportunity not only to publicize FDR's ideal but also to sell war bonds. Thus the Department of the Treasury requested that the *Saturday Evening Post* join it in planning and sponsoring the sixteen-city Four Freedoms War Bond Show. The original paintings would travel from stop to stop, along with a host of other paintings, posters, pamphlets, window displays, and (of course) plenty of war bonds, as well as the volunteers who would sell those bonds to the avid public.

Hibbs and the *Post* team agreed. By mid-March, just after the fourth of Rockwell's images appeared in the magazine, publicity for the tour had already begun. Starting in Washington, DC, and gradually working its way around to points west, with such locations as New York City, Detroit,



★ Norman Rockwell interacting with fans at the inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show at Hecht's department store, Washington, DC, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

and New Orleans along the way, the tour was a dynamic entertainment extravaganza like nothing that had ever come before it. Each stop vied to offer the biggest thrills and the most notable celebrity appearances. At the Boston stop, local organizers brought in the original models from Rockwell's paintings. In Buffalo, visitors were challenged to purchase enough war bonds to sponsor four new fighter-bombers, each named after one of the Freedoms (they succeeded). And two newspapers in Portland, Oregon, used "over 1,000 column inches of newspaper publicity" to attract more than one hundred thousand bond purchasers to that city's stop on the tour. The traveling exhibition, in other words, was a sensation. As Stuart Murray and James McCabe note in *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, "almost overnight, the Four Freedoms Show" had become "the rallying point of a massive national outpouring of patriotic enthusiasm."[30]

Rockwell himself ended up being part of the tour, but only for the first stop. Deep within the display halls of Hecht's department store in downtown Washington, DC, he quickly found that he had no appetite for the nonstop routine of signing autographs, meeting celebrities, and talking to reporter after reporter. Asked to continue tagging along with the exhibition, he allowed the protective Hibbs to interject: "No, Norman's going to stay home and do *Post* covers." The artist's role in the publicity machine was not completely done—he soon had to endure a Paramount News crew visiting the Vermont studio to film reenacted scenes of Rockwell and his Four Freedoms models at work—but for the most part he could enjoy the spectacle from a distance.[31]

The tour did just fine without him. By its finale in mid-1944, more than a million people had come to see Rockwell's images. Furthermore, they had purchased some $133 million in war bonds for the privilege. By any standard, it was a staggering amount, especially considering that many Americans were *already* hoarding every extra cent to put into the war-financing program. Orville S. Poland, one of the Treasury staffers who had overseen the tour, testified: "[Rockwell's] pictures and the way they were shown were deeply stirring. Not only that—they could not fail to make a lasting imprint on the thought, and affect the action, of all those who saw them" at their various stops across the country. Simply put, if Rockwell had started out to inspire his fellow Americans with simple, everyday interpretations of the Four Freedoms, by the end of the war bond tour he had more than met his goal. As one Curtis Publishing Company official told Rockwell, "this snowball of yours just rolls on and on and on."[32]

Hidden among the tour's startling financial and emotional results, however, was an equally startling change in public perception, at least in hindsight. That change involved FDR's Four Freedoms themselves. Only sixteen months earlier, in January 1943, OWI's analysts had all but concluded that the president's ideal was a misguided flop. Fortunately, at that very moment, the *Post* had been preparing for the launch of Rockwell's interpretations, which soon landed in the public's consciousness like a grenade thrown by one of the nation's dauntless marines. Thereafter, there was no more talk of a failed theme or of an embarrassing flop.

Instead, throughout 1943 the president's Four Freedoms swiftly became an indelible part of the national vocabulary. Consider that in 1941 the *Washington Post* used the phrase *four freedoms* only fifty-seven times. In 1943, as Rockwell's interpretations were rousing magazine subscribers and exhibition attendees alike, the newspaper used that same phrase 246 times. The pattern was repeated in other newspapers. Even the *Chicago Tribune*, generally considered a stout opponent of anything associated with FDR, saw its use of the phrase leap from 145 times in 1941 to 240 times two years later. After Hibbs's team members at the *Post*, alongside OWI and the Treasury, were finished promoting Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*, the phrase had become a routine feature of the national vernacular. By that point, the presidential phrase and the artistic interpretation had apparently begun to merge, giving Americans a set of moving and familiar images to associate with FDR's original set of ideals.[33]

It was an intriguing and yet unlikely outcome. But at the time, with the war going on, few people would have had the occasion to ponder the jagged course of the Four Freedoms. Perhaps the two people best equipped to do so were the commander in chief and the craftsman—those two famous Americans who barely knew each other. After all, FDR was well aware that his favored phrase had been a hard sell in the early going. And Rockwell, in turn, knew precisely how difficult the abstract ideals had been to illustrate. Together, with one telling and the other showing, the two men had unwittingly given the abstract concept a profound meaning even as they had inspired Americans to embrace the ideals themselves. It was a collaboration that would elevate the president's original phrase into a timeless moment. And that moment, looking forward, would influence the very shape of the postwar landscape.

THE LEGACY OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS

On October 17, 2012, hundreds of onlookers gathered on New York City's Roosevelt Island to celebrate the opening of a picture-perfect park. The weather that fall morning was bright and brisk. Through a line of linden trees, just across the East River, the United Nations complex was visible against the skyline of the great city. A number of dignitaries, as well as several Roosevelt family descendants, were present to celebrate the unveiling of the new Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park. After nearly forty years of planning, the site was finally ready to host an admiring and appreciative public.

With Tom Brokaw serving as the master of ceremonies, the lineup that morning featured the usual laudatory speeches, including one from former president Bill Clinton. Collectively, the presenters spoke for over fifty minutes. As one might expect, their words crafted a familiar set of memories. They talked of FDR and of war. They talked of the Great Depression and of the home front. And they talked of guiding principles and of timeless ideals. All of the discussion ultimately revolved around FDR's Four Freedoms and their long-term legacy.

None of the speakers present that day mentioned Norman Rockwell. Nor did anyone refer to his *Four Freedoms*. Quite understandably, all attention was focused on FDR's rhetorical genius and on the impact of his powerful notion. As Brokaw put it, Roosevelt "chose to rally his fellow citizens and the world with a bold statement of the fundamental principles of free men and women everywhere. . . . Four Freedoms that on that day and forever more define the aspirations and rights of all, as he put it, everywhere in the world."[34]

Still, the complete absence of Rockwell from the ceremony prompts the question: If he had somehow found a way to attend the morning's event (never mind that he passed away in 1978), what would he have thought of this circumstance? Would he have been upset that his *Four Freedoms* paintings, which played such an instrumental role in the American public's appreciation of the president's phrase, were not part of the conversation?

While the answer to this question is of course unknowable, an angry reaction from the artist seems highly unlikely. This is the man, after all, who did not enjoy living in the spotlight—so much that when given the opportunity to lead events at every stop on the war bond tour, he declined in favor of going back home to work on more canvases.

This is also the man who understood, especially later in his career, that the mission of an illustrator—while a unique and admirable artistic tradition—is ultimately to give life to the ideas of others. That understanding suggests that he conceived of his *Four Freedoms* work as a contribution to the war effort, not as an attempt to crowd FDR out of the picture. As an American with a particular gift, Rockwell did his part by giving visual life to a set of ideals that the president himself had proposed. The credit, then, still went to FDR, then and now. Rockwell had simply followed in the footsteps of his fellow citizens, such as the laborers who brought the armaments described by the president into being and the soldiers who followed the president's orders in bringing those

armaments to bear in theaters across the world. Like them, Rockwell had found a way to put his skills to use on behalf of his president and his country.

Finally, this is also the man who was well aware that his four masterpieces were not perfect, at least not from every vantage point. As Elizabeth Borgwardt notes in *A New Deal for the World*, for instance, *Freedom from Want*'s "large, well-fed family sitting around the dinner table anticipating the consumption of an enormous roast turkey" aroused considerable resentment overseas, where "starving, overrun, displaced Europeans" could barely imagine access to such a feast. Nearer to home, at least a few Americans felt free to criticize the images, such as T. C. Upham, a theater director from Cape May, New Jersey, who wrote to the artist to complain that *Freedom of Worship* was "very bad," as its figures were too "foreign-looking" and were posed like "cattle or sheep" (p. 221). Moreover, the artist himself was never quite satisfied with *Freedom from Fear*, which he later called "rather smug." Hibbs may have been right when he contended that "those four pictures quickly became the best known and most appreciated paintings" of the era. But they were not without their flaws—and if Rockwell had been in the audience at the new park, he would surely have been mindful of them.[35]

Yet it is important to add that the imperfect *Four Freedoms* were, in this respect at least, a fitting echo of the president's imperfect version of the Freedoms. FDR had proposed his ideals as a postwar goal that was "no vision of a distant millennium" but rather "a kind of world attainable in our own time." These were powerful words, and he and his team seemed to believe in them wholeheartedly. Despite that apparent belief, however, Roosevelt's critics, then and now, have often questioned his actual commitment to guaranteeing such freedoms. Most obviously, the administration's internment of more than one hundred thousand Japanese Americans for much of the war (most of them bona fide American citizens) was a far cry from any version of freedom, whether in wartime or not. And the millions of members of the nation's African American community—segregated economically and socially from the rest of the nation throughout the 1940s—understandably questioned the administration's willingness to ensure that the president's freedoms would apply to them, too.[36]

Despite the inevitable imperfections, however, the Four Freedoms soldiered on, inspiring people in ways never dreamed of by either Roosevelt or Rockwell. In the wake of the war bond tour, the ideals gained enough credibility to merit Eleanor Roosevelt's intense devotion as she helped plan what would ultimately become the United Nations. Due primarily to her efforts, all four of the Freedoms became part of the organization's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ratified in 1948. Moreover, the new postwar countries that based their national constitutions on the model of the United Nations typically incorporated the Freedoms into their laws as well.[37]

The Four Freedoms were making their mark in other ways. In Africa, a young Nelson Mandela and his fellow activists found the very idea inspiring. In India, Mahatma Gandhi, too, was influenced by the president's vision of multiple freedoms. Jewish refugees attempting to flee to Palestine in 1946 might have found themselves setting sail aboard the newly christened *Four Freedoms*. By 1958, Gaganvihari L. Mehta, India's ambassador to the United States, remarked that "the 'four freedoms' proclaimed by the late President Roosevelt" had become "a beacon for de-



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Murder in Mississippi*, 1965. Oil on canvas, 42 × 35 in. (106.7 × 88.9 cm). Unpublished illustration for *Look*. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

pendent and economically underdeveloped countries," ultimately igniting a widespread demand for independence from colonialism as the fastest way to implement "the principles for which the Allies fought." The Four Freedoms, then, were clearly alive and well and doing their part to reshape the postwar world for the better.[38]

Back in the United States, aspects of the Four Freedoms lived on in Rockwell's work as well. During the 1960s, his art took on an increasingly progressive tone, addressing issues such as racial tolerance, service to humankind, and equality of opportunity. Perhaps his most searing work from this period is *Murder in Mississippi* (p. 52), an unpublished illustration from 1965 that depicts the impending murder of civil rights activists James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner by Deputy Sheriff Cecil Ray Price and a group of Ku Klux Klansmen. Rockwell's illustration of the scene is at once an emotional condemnation of racist atrocities and a commentary on the perilous state of the country at the time. It is, in many ways, another take on freedom from fear—replacing the smug wartime family that had bothered him in the 1943 image with a genuine plea for the kind of change implied by FDR's original clarion call.[39]

And so the legacy of the Four Freedoms continues. Brought into being by a president in 1941 and given full meaning by a good-natured artist in 1943, the Freedoms are a rare instance of a timeless rhetorical moment that emerged from a successful collaboration. As FDR wrote, "I am grateful for the reproductions of Norman Rockwell's paintings illustrating the Four Freedoms. He has done a superb job in bringing home the plain, everyday truths behind them."[40]

And what a collaboration, full of contradictions as it was. Whether one conceives of the course of the Four Freedoms (and the *Four Freedoms*) in terms of water and oil, yin and yang, words and images, or telling and showing, it is evident that the president's famous phrase had fostered a remarkable set of ideals. Perhaps those ideals were so magnificent that they needed the divergent approaches of these two contemporaries who were in many ways strangers to each other. Working separately, one helped shape the Four Freedoms with his words, the other with his brushes. But working together, they brought forth a new vision of freedom that enlivened the home front, inspired countless millions of people, and ultimately reshaped the world that would emerge from the ashes of the greatest conflict in history.



Old covered bridge, West Arlington, Vermont (undated). Russell Collection of Vermontiana, Martha Canfield Library, Arlington, Vermont.

FREEDOM TO THINK & FREEDOM TO SPEAK: A ROCKWELL CASE STUDY

BRIAN ALLEN

Norman Rockwell's *Freedom of Speech* (p. 1) is among the most famous works of American art, arguably as well known as James McNeill Whistler's portrait of his mother and Emanuel Leutze's *Washington Crossing the Delaware*. While fame does not necessarily mean quality, the Rockwell work is a beautifully designed picture that expresses a timeless and powerful message with clarity. It has been popular from the start; millions of copies of the illustration circulated during World War II. And it is resilient: it continues to serve as a go-to image for causes related to freedom of thought, the press, assembly, and speech, as well as for those advocating for the sanctity of the written and spoken word and the role of community cohesion. Yes, it is propaganda. But it is also a fine and significant work of art.

Freedom of Speech belongs to that rarest of categories in Rockwell's work: it is based on a specific event. Many of his illustrations contain newspaper clippings, calendars, and other time-specific objects that help to set an otherwise generic scene in a time and place. The scenes, however, are invented. The other *Four Freedoms* pictures (pp. 2–4) reference no event that actually occurred. *Freedom of Worship* tells no story. *Freedom from Want* is a generic scene showing a holiday celebration that unfolded, menu included, in millions of wartime homes. A newspaper from an unspecified time and place reporting a horrible bombing coaxes a story of wartime air raids from *Freedom from Fear*. *Freedom of Speech* is different. Like Rockwell's *The Problem We All Live With* (p. 184), which drew from six-year-old Ruby Bridges's much-photographed efforts to integrate an all-white New Orleans public school in 1960, it dramatizes an event that actually happened.

Yet, unlike that later image, *Freedom of Speech* represents a scene that Rockwell himself witnessed. As he well understood, the moment emerged not just from a specific time and place but also from a venerable American tradition, one particularly associated with New England. That the artist was able to make the scene of a local town meeting into a universal experience reveals much about his skill and about his genius.

SOME DETECTIVE WORK

On November 9, 1940, the Memorial School in Arlington, Vermont, burned to the ground. The school had been built in 1921 to educate Arlington students from all grades, replacing most of the one-room schoolhouses scattered throughout the town. Soon after the fire, a replacement school was offered for voter approval. The townspeople voted to borrow $80,000. Along with the money from the town's insurance policy and private donations, the funds allowed for the authorization of a new high school. The planned school would open in time for the start of classes in September 1942.

Rockwell attended the town meeting at which Arlington's citizens discussed the financing for the proposed new school. His autobiography sets the scene. Already commissioned by the *Saturday Evening Post* to produce illustrations based on President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms speech, the artist was struggling for ideas. "But it was so darned high-blown," he wrote of the president's ideal. "Somehow I just couldn't get my mind around it."[1]

> Then one night as I was tossing in bed, mulling over the proclamation and the war, rejecting one idea after another and getting more and more discouraged as the minutes ticked by, all empty and dark, I suddenly remembered how Jim Edgerton had stood up in town meeting and said something that everyone else disagreed with. But they had let him have his say. No one had shouted him down. My gosh, I thought, that's it. There it is. Freedom of Speech. . . . I'll express the ideas in simple, everyday scenes.[2]

James Edgerton and his wife, Clara, lived next door to the Rockwells in West Arlington. Their part of town was almost totally rural. Electricity had arrived only in 1937, and hot and cold running water came to the Edgerton's farmhouse a year later. Both Edgertons came from old Vermont families with deep roots in the Arlington area. Their dairy farm, about eighty acres serving as many cows, was a going business. However, like almost all small Vermont farms during the Great Depression, it was not much of an income producer. While farm families raised most of their own food and produced their own clothing, the monthly check for the milk they sold was essential income. With the collapse of milk prices during the Depression, that income had diminished dramatically. In 1940, the Edgertons' farm income took a further hit. An outbreak of hoof-and-mouth disease required the destruction of most of the family's cows. As 1941 began, the missing income was still affecting the family. The man who rose to speak at the town meeting was not impoverished, but he and his family were hurting.[3]

In his memoir, the Edgertons' son, Buddy, described the scene that day:

> The town hall was lined wall-to-wall as a heated debate raged about whether or not to build the new high school. While most folks felt it should be rebuilt, for whatever reason, my dad wasn't one of them. He felt strongly that the students in the high school should be bussed to other lo-

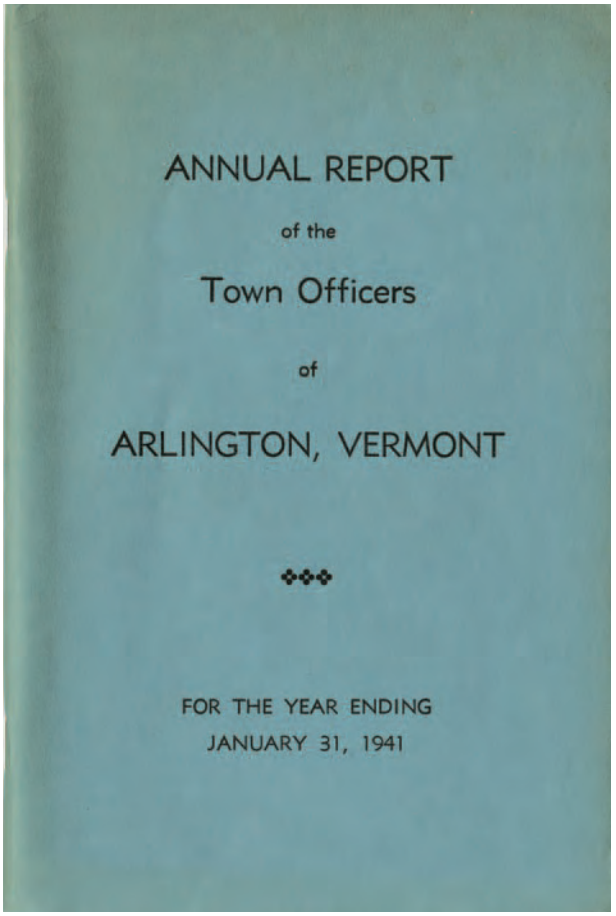




The Memorial School, Arlington, Vermont, was destroyed by fire in 1940 (above, left). The town's citizens approved its rebuilding (above, right, in 1950) at a special town meeting in 1941. Private collection, Arlington, Vermont.



Map of Arlington, Vermont, 1869. Russell Collection of Vermontiana, Martha Canfield Library, Arlington, Vermont.



Annual Report of the Town Officers of Arlington, Vermont, for the year ending January 31, 1941. Russell Collection of Vermontiana, Martha Canfield Library, Arlington, Vermont.

cal schools instead. My dad was no shrinking violet and as he stood up at the meeting waiting for his turn to be recognized, folks quieted and turned to hear what he would say. . . . He held everyone's full attention as he passionately outlined his minority position. Finishing with thanks and a nod of his head, he sat down; and then the townspeople voted to build the new school.[4]

Clara Edgerton gave her own eyewitness account of the moment in a 1981 interview. Proclaiming "I was there," she remembered that her husband wanted details on the proposed building, especially its safety features. These were germane questions, she felt, since the previous building had burned. The architect gave "a twenty minute answer, but didn't answer." Such imprecision did not impress her husband. His fundamental concern, recalled Bud, was the impact of additional town indebtedness on his family's taxes.[5]

So was this exchange the evocative moment that appears in Rockwell's *Freedom of Speech*? The painting itself provides an important clue. Notice that the men on both sides of the speaker hold a copy of a document with a pale blue cover. The speaker himself has a rolled-up copy in his jacket pocket. We get the clearest view of it from the figure on the right. Its title confirms that it is the annual report for a Vermont town. Although Rockwell changed the front cover to eliminate the date, it appears to be the *Annual Report of the Town Officers of Arlington, Vermont*, for the year ending January 31, 1941 (p. 57). The cover of Arlington's annual report was a different color each year. The only one with a robin's-egg blue cover appeared in 1941.

This report was by state law distributed annually to every property owner in Arlington at least ten days before the annual town meeting. The blue booklet distributed in early 1941 included reports from town departments, an itemized list of expenditures, lists of town officers, births, and deaths, and the minutes of the March 5, 1940, annual town meeting and other special town meetings that year. Also included were the agendas for a special town meeting that would occur on January 18, 1941, and for the upcoming March 5, 1941, annual town meeting.[6]

The blue-bound annual report provides additional context for Rockwell's scene. On December 18, 1940, the Arlington Board of Education convened in a special meeting to discuss the proposal to build the new high school. Board member John Fisher, the husband of the nationally acclaimed novelist Dorothy Canfield Fisher, presented a $140,000 proposal for the new building. The board recommended a plan, an appropriation, and the appointment of a building committee.

These steps needed approval in a town meeting. In Arlington, as in almost every locale in Vermont, each registered voter was, in effect, part of the legislative branch of the town government. No appropriation of town money could be approved without a town meeting vote. The board of education could only recommend expenditures. It could not legally spend money without the citizenry's approval. In this case, the board of education requested a special meeting in which the school project would be the only item on the agenda. This meeting—which Rockwell would commemorate in *Freedom of Speech*—occurred on January 18, 1941. (Curiously, the meeting took place less than two weeks after President Roosevelt first proclaimed the Four Freedoms.)

The minutes of the January 18 meeting appear in the 1942 annual report. They reflect that there were in fact comments from voters. They also confirm that "Mr. Hancock, the architect for the new school building, was present at the meeting and was called on to answer questions con-



Town Hall, Arlington, Vermont (undated). Russell Collection of Vermontiana, Martha Canfield Library, Arlington, Vermont.

cerned with the proposed new building." Rockwell's picture thus accurately portrays an actual exchange; his late-night vision of Edgerton rising to speak was no false memory.[7]

In fact, Edgerton was not the only citizen who spoke out in opposition to the new high school that day. But the record shows that the dissenters were in a distinct minority. The school project was authorized by a landslide vote, 119 to 15. By a separate, 114 to 18 vote, the town authorized borrowing $80,000 to help finance the project. Rockwell's depiction of a man speaking in opposition to the prevailing opinion, then, is accurate as well.

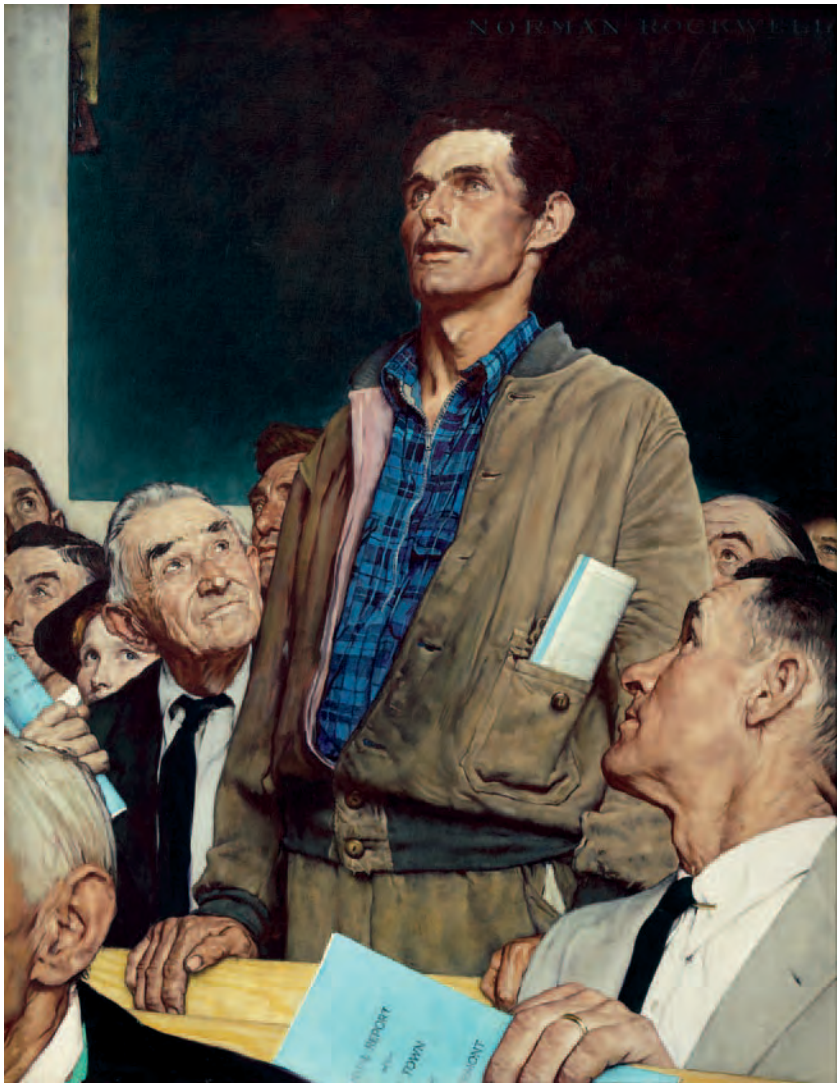
On an ironic note, when ground was broken for the new school a few weeks later, Edgerton became part of the construction crew. He earned seventy-five cents per hour for an eight-hour day. Later, as head carpenter, he made ninety cents an hour. As it turned out, the school he had so famously opposed would eventually help to salvage his family's finances.

ROCKWELL AS STAGE DESIGNER AND CASTING DIRECTOR

While Rockwell's *Freedom of Speech* was based on a moment in a real event, the translation of that moment to the canvas shows the artist's eye at work in distinctive and yet subtle ways. The painting is the most succinct of Rockwell's *Freedoms* pictures. The speaker, a single, strong vertical, dominates. A man flanks him on each side, looking up at him. A horizontal bench and a horizontally held annual report draw our eyes to the speaker's right hand, with its rough skin and dirty nails. The seam on his jacket and the zipper on his flannel shirt lead us to a notably pronounced Adam's apple and his open mouth. In the background is a blank blackboard. The scene is decisively anchored by the rectangle of figures that compose the lower half of the picture and the modified triangle formed by the speaker himself. It has what I call a skyscraper design, with a central tower flanked by two wings. Yet the zipper, jacket seam, and uplifted faces provide thrust. The overall picture is designed as a grid, with verticals—ties, the sides of the speaker's arms, the seams and shirt zipper, and the left side of the blackboard—crossed by horizontals—the top of the bench, the jacket's fitted and buttoned hem, the speaker's broad shoulders, and so forth. The design is both stable and dynamic,

and as a composition it is economical and effective. The local culture's austerity, simplicity, and aversion to frills clearly informed the artist's aesthetic. Rockwell thought that it had more "wallop" than the fussier *Freedom from Fear* and *Freedom from Want*.[8]

Rockwell's eye for detail is revealed in the intriguing emphasis on both eyes and ears. The proliferation of eyes, including Rockwell's, in the far left by the blackboard, are perhaps more obvious at first glance. Nearly the uppermost figure in the group, aside from the speaker, Rockwell the artist essentially reserved for himself the bird's-eye view. Unusually, we see an abundance of ears, too. They are big and judiciously framed. The blackboard edge points to Rockwell's. The faceless figure on the lower left is not entirely all ears, so to speak, but his left ear is rendered with minia-



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom of Speech*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



Norman Rockwell's neighbor James Edgerton is the model in this 1944 reference photograph for *Norman Rockwell Visits a Ration Board*, story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 15, 1944. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

turist bravura. In many ways, the picture concerns both seeing and listening—which are perfectly appropriate motifs for an image devoted to what Roosevelt called, in his Four Freedoms message, "freedom of speech and expression."

The townspeople, of course, are listening to the meeting's central figure. Interestingly, the model for the speaker was not Edgerton. The artist's next-door neighbor had modeled for Rockwell three times in decidedly minor roles (p. 60), and his son and grandson modeled for the artist as late as the 1960s. But this time Rockwell seemed to want a different look. Perhaps Edgerton looked too handsome, too much like the Arrow Collar Man, or perhaps he was too wholesome or too much the generic Yankee. Rockwell might even have thought that he looked too much like Charles Lindbergh, among the most famous men in the United States at the time.

The actual model for the speaker was Carl Hess, the owner and operator of a small gas station and car repair shop in Arlington, about half a mile from Rockwell's home. Ardis Edgerton, Edgerton's daughter, believed Rockwell "wanted someone who looked like a wreck," and on that basis selected Hess. Disregarding the harshness of Ardis's choice of words, we can see what she meant. Rockwell sought a model who would come across not as a person of privilege—a clothing model or prep-school graduate—but as a guy from the other side of the tracks, someone whose hands get dirty when he works. More precisely, Hess's lean ruggedness, dark complexion, sunken cheeks, prominent jaw, and overall angularity suggested Abraham Lincoln—albeit a modern version who pumped gas and fixed cars rather than splitting rails. The look was ideal for *Freedom of Speech*—however, Rockwell never used Hess again. After the painting became so well known, Hess was probably too famous.[9]

The cast of characters surrounding the speaker is just as meaningful as the selection of Hess. If one thinks of Rockwell's Arlington work as more spartan than his work from the 1910s and 1920s (as if he had absorbed a culture that valued simplicity and economy in habits, speech, and look), the citizens in *Freedom of Speech* offer good evidence. His use of models who were not professionals but rather drawn from the tiny, isolated working-class farm town is palpably evident. The models wore their own clothes, and each portrayed him- or herself—except for Hess, who in nearly every respect was Edgerton's peer. Almost every feature of the painting is focused and simple. It is almost minimalist, with no props other than the annual reports, the bench railing, and the blackboard. It is clear that the Rockwell who created this image was painting in the tradition of American realist genre artists from the nineteenth century. It was a lineage that started with George Caleb Bingham, William Sidney Mount, and Eastman Johnson, and continued with Works Progress Administration (WPA) photography, the Wyeth family, artistic photo-realism, and American street photography. With the Arlington-based realist choices of *Freedom of Speech* so apparent, we can justifiably describe Rockwell as a New England regionalist. It is therefore quite fitting that Rockwell chose such a veritable New England tradition, the town meeting, to embody his message.

THE NEW ENGLAND TOWN MEETING

The town meeting form of government exists in about a thousand towns in the United States, most in the Northeast. Some of them have populations of over 25,000, but most are much smaller. For the average New Englander, the town meeting is an unremarkable reality of civic life.[10]

But it is remarkable. Few of us realize its ancient roots or how radical it was, especially in the eighteenth century. We find its beginnings as a method of governance in ancient Athens. In frontier New England, it was born again. Early settlers in New England, especially the Puritans, were not inclusive. They saw democracy in a different way—not as an invitation to individual expression but as a localizing of power that remained communal. They reviled inclusivity, the basic ingredient of democracy. After all, they left England to get away from anyone who disagreed with them.

As the population in the early settlements grew, though, the communal zeitgeist changed. By the eighteenth century, villages came to value concord and consensus. The town meeting became a place for civic debate, the massaging of ideas, and compromise. Thomas Jefferson called this New England tradition "the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government." Alexis de Tocqueville wrote, "Town-meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach, [and] they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it."[11]

This new model for government in New England could not have been more different from the mother country's version. The simplest description is bottom up versus top down. American government in the colonial era was almost exclusively local, with voters guiding local decisions, electing local officials to implement their decisions, and selecting town representatives to the colonial legislatures. The colonial governor's authority was weak and practically limited to a colony's biggest settlement.[12]

In England, the concept of "one man, one vote," or representative democracy, did not exist. It was still, in many respects, a feudal society in which power and wealth were distributed through birth, and social, economic, and political relationships were governed by hierarchy. The right to vote was severely restricted. Members of Parliament almost never lived in their constituencies. Local interests were an unimportant factor in their thinking. Elections were rare. Fundamental principles of justice, liberty, consent of the governed, and fairness figured little. The redress of citizens' grievances was nonexistent. Government was the province of the Crown, aristocrats, and royal courts.

In New England, in contrast, almost all political authority gradually came to reside in town meetings, which operated as local legislatures. These legislatures, whose members were every property-owning man in town, instructed their representatives to colonial legislatures how to vote. Such democracy was seen as the best protection against the despotism of the state. As John Adams wrote in 1775, "a democratic despotism is a contradiction in terms."[13]

The radicalism of the town meeting lay in the primacy of local control over, in the case of colonial America, royal control based in London. Its empowerment and privileging of the individual are the golden threads running through the founders' thinking and the core documents they produced. In the 1760s and 1770s, every New England town fashioned its grievances against London and the Crown through town meeting debates and votes. In the years that followed, the town meeting form of government remained a New England staple. While it did not spread far beyond the Hudson River, it did become an indispensable part of the American psyche.

By using the town meeting as a symbol for freedom of speech, Rockwell made a direct, precise, and convincing reference to a pillar of American liberty. That it was a tradition both ancient and enduring gave it the quality of a secular sacrament. No wonder, then, that Rockwell's speaker is rugged, tall, and lean. Channeling the presence and confidence of Jim Edgerton in the pivotal 1941 town meeting, he commands the space on the canvas. His freedom to speak, his individuality, and his freedom to think as he wishes symbolize both the rights of the individual and the critical distinction between democracy and despotism. Rockwell's artistic choices—his genius, really—ultimately made the fight at hand, which by 1941 was heading toward the height of Axis expansion, more convincingly one between good and evil.


Norman
Rockwell

EVERYMAN, MEET SOMEBODY: CHARACTERIZATION & MELODRAMA IN ROCKWELL'S FOUR FREEDOMS

D. B. DOWD

PREAMBLE

Despite pretensions to eternity, we know that art is fixed in time, rooted to the moment of its creation and distribution. The historical exigencies that led to the creation of Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* suite (pp. 1–4) are well known. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had designated the Freedoms—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—in his January 1941 message to Congress. In May 1942, when Rockwell toured the US Department of War, casting about for opportunities to be helpful, the memory of Pearl Harbor was still fresh, and recent news from the Pacific theater of war had been mixed. Seventy-six thousand American and Filipino troops had surrendered to Japanese forces on the Bataan Peninsula, Philippines, on April 9. The US Army Air Forces' Doolittle Raid on Tokyo (emotionally satisfying, if not particularly effective) had followed on April 18. All that spring, from Hawaii to California to Washington State, government agents were rounding up Japanese Americans, stripping them of their property, and depositing them in isolated camps. When Rockwell finished the suite at the end of 1942, the tide had turned in the Pacific, although a bloody slog remained. Europe remained occupied by the Axis powers; Americans had yet to land in Sicily, and the Allied invasion of Normandy was still eighteen months off. All told, the *Four Freedoms* paintings were undertaken in a deeply unsettled moment.

Our return to Rockwell is likewise grounded in time. Revivals always reveal latter-day concerns. Amid the tumult of 2016–18 in the United States, we should note that until quite recently, any attempt to reengage with Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* might have come off as quaint or triumphalist. After all, the victory over fascism and the achievements of the postwar era have been amply celebrated. Paeans to the so-called greatest generation had grown cliché within the first full decade of this new century. The enterprise this catalogue marks might well have been a giant bore. But alas, no. Today we take up the Four Freedoms newly alert to the dangers of complacency. We face radical discontent of more than one stripe and eroding trust in our institutions, even in the very legitimacy of our elections.

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Two Plumbers*, 1951. Oil on canvas, 39¼ × 37 in. (99.7 × 94 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, June 2, 1951. Private collection.

All of this matters greatly. Our civic health is subject to other measurements, too. The plague of cheap talk and bad faith in contemporary America threatens our thinking. The headlong rush to the battlements to fend off Vandals, whomever they may be, erodes our capacity to weigh carefully and judge discerningly. Discernment takes practice. And culture provides the raw material to practice *on*, valuable precisely because life and limb are not at stake. If we have grown used to the notion of *culture war*, that is an indictment of our era.

In divided times, a reliance on melodrama can be a safe—if also culturally stunting—path. Certainly the fare at the movies has descended into juvenilia, particularly comic book melodrama. Ironically, many of the superheroes who nowadays stalk the multiplex were invented by Jewish kids in the late 1930s. They were understandably in thrall to the wish fulfillment of special powers, having learned through family networks of the mortal danger to European Jewry. Well before the United States entered the war for which Rockwell propagandized, superheroes had begun battling Nazis. As for today, we might do with fewer cosmic battles against galactic villains. Our requirements are simpler. We need legislators, holiday partygoers, everyday persons and more, all of whom object to indecency. But because big-dollar returns for *The Avengers* and its ilk are predictable, the studios continue to serve up spectacular, repetitive fare.

By such a route—a reflection on melodrama—do I arrive at what may seem like an impertinent question. As we return our thoughts and gaze to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's alliterative quartet and Norman Rockwell's visualizations of it, we have an obligation to ask: *Are these things any good?* That is, are the illustrated *Four Freedoms* cultural work of high merit? Or should they, all these decades later on, be understood primarily as skillfully wrought pabulum?

That latter formulation might induce a form of mid-twentieth-century post-traumatic stress disorder in Rockwellians. *Not again!* Shouldn't the steady rehabilitation of Norman Rockwell's reputation among (some) critics and (certain deep-pocketed) collectors have set such loaded questions to rest? In many respects, yes. Rockwell's visual range, gift for staging, command of his medium, productivity, and durability with audiences establish him as a major figure in twentieth-century American visual culture. And yes, the prior terms of his exclusion from the master narrative of American art history remain mostly in force and owe much to high cultural disdain for the products of consumer culture.[1]

Whatever. Historically and critically speaking, Rockwell matters now, just as previously scorned categories of cultural production like genre fiction and television do. The old hierarchies of taste have aged poorly, and we can be thankful for that.

But that is not the whole story. To dispense with the vertical axis of high and low is not to abandon judgment or forswear criticism. To the contrary, a vital pluralism relies on rigor, lest it slip into naive enthusiasm or louche fellow-traveling. Let's take Rockwell seriously. What has he got to show us?



Alex Schomburg (1905–1998), cover illustration for *The Sub-Mariner*, no. 1, "Deep-Sea Blitzkrieg" (Timely Publications), Spring 1941.

ON METHOD

As a practical matter, Rockwell's pictorial enfleshment of Roosevelt's theorized transnational rights succeeded and wildly so. Audiences identified with the pictures because they recognized themselves in them. That may sound like an utter commonplace but should not be taken as such. Reverse engineer the pictures: the freedoms themselves are quite abstract. How and by whom should images depicting them be populated? Ponder the creative knot that sits at the intersection of modern personhood, shifting modes of representation, and the machinery of mass culture. Who is Everyman? (Note: I use *man* advisedly.)

Artists and writers had been working on this problem since the turn of the century. The notion of Modern Man was still fresh in the early 1940s. Speaking broadly, he was imagined to have transcended class and escaped (or realized) history by one of several routes at a fork in the ideological road paved years earlier: via abstraction to the left, via advertising to the Calvin Coolidge right, or via the *Volk* to the fascist right.[2] After Pearl Harbor, only the first two were viable in the United States. Both routes required generalization, the first through social realism inflected by abstraction (itself driven by analytical reduction of early social scientism), and the second through alternately arcadian and urbane fantasies of consumerist self-realization. Depression-era American visual culture featured human representations of both kinds: the noble laborers of Works Progress Administration (WPA) posters and murals and the dreamy stock guys and gals of print advertising. (Notably, almost all such heroic generalizing in mainstream print involved white people. When other racial groups were generalized, mockery prevailed.)

These were the vocabularies available to an American illustrator who aspired, as Rockwell did, to give plastic form to universalizing language aimed at a wartime popular audience. The abstractionist forswore anecdote, simplifying planes and eliminating local detail to create a sense of the mythic. Rockwell did the opposite: he committed to particulars. His Everyman would be Somebody.



Maurice Merlin (1909–1947), *Mobilizing Michigan for Farm and Factory*, 1941–43. Poster, Michigan Art and Craft Project, Work Projects Administration. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.



George Petty (1894–1975), "'Snowonder she likes Old Golds!" Two-color print advertisement, *Collier's*, January 28, 1939.

As a matter of general practice Norman Rockwell cast the characters in his paintings much as a film director might, painstakingly building his tableaux through repeated sittings and photo shoots. *All* of his characters were somebodies. The method suggests the illustrator as a documentary allegorist, which is accurate as far as it goes. But Rockwell's persuasiveness as a maker of illusions—skillfully rendering characters as well as objects and settings—served as a Trojan horse. The illustrator's verisimilitude masked the hidden caricaturist within, the secret to his beloved warmth and liveliness. As a comparison of his photographic contact sheets and his finished paintings suggests, Rockwell exaggerated unmistakably, investing—*goosing*, really—a given pose or a model's expression with a boost of animation at a controlled rate; the exaggeration was percep-





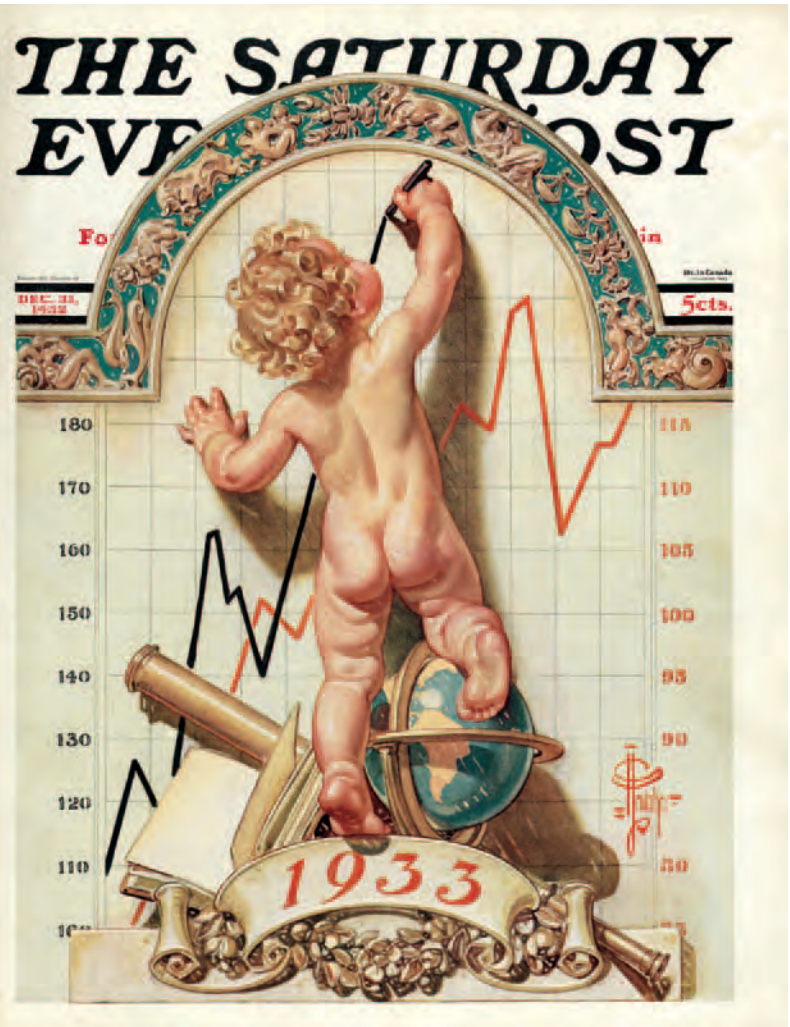
Reference photograph (left) for figure in Norman Rockwell's *Two Plumbers* (detail, right), with Rockwell posing model, 1951. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

tible, if barely. Cloaked in realist garb, such comedic adjustments went unseen. The maneuver is most evident in Rockwell's *Saturday Evening Post* covers, and is easiest to spot in particularly performative scenes, such as *The Gossips* (1948) and *Two Plumbers* (1951, p. 64), the latter reproduced on these pages with but one of the forty-five reference photographs shot for the project. The left plumber's stance, gesture, and expression were highly directed, as the photograph shows. His features (evocative of silent film comedian Stan Laurel) and gestures are visibly more plastic in the painting.

Perhaps because he intended the *Four Freedoms* project to embody high ideals, Rockwell qua cartoonist is occasionally absent from the famous quartet. No matter. Audiences who had been looking at his *Post* covers since the First World War embraced Rockwell's amplified specificity, perhaps even filling in blanks, in the service of Roosevelt's rhetoric.

THE PAINTINGS

The *Four Freedoms* did not run as magazine covers but rather as interior pages in the *Saturday Evening Post*, which collaborated with the US Department of the Treasury to distribute them. But all parties involved traded on Rockwell's renown as a cover artist for the magazine to propel the project into the public eye. The modern *Saturday Evening Post* cover, as established most definitively by J. C. Leyendecker in the first decade of the twentieth century, consisted of a central motif, element, or scene suspended in a solution of nega-



★J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951), *1933 Baby New Year Charting*. Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, December 31, 1932. Tearsheet. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William Hargreaves.

tive space. No matter how adventurous Leyendecker's later *Post* covers became, they remained almost militantly two-dimensional in spirit, resisting any urge to articulate a setting, or create a picture *into which* the viewer peered, as opposed to *at which* one looked. Norman Rockwell's first *Post* covers followed the Leyendecker model, beginning with *Boy with Baby Carriage* (November 1917) and extending into the 1930s. Many of Rockwell's finest covers of the 1940s and '50s tackled more sophisticated visual problems. The *Four Freedoms* help to mark the turning point toward more spatially ambitious pictures.

Considered as a set, the *Four Freedoms* is an uneven affair that trades on Rockwell's strengths but suffers from his weaknesses, albeit with the edge going decisively to the former. *Freedom of Speech* resonates yet condescends; *Freedom from Want* serves up the most satisfying aesthetic experience by withholding bounty; *Freedom from Fear* enacts Rockwell's thematic squeamishness; and the weakest illustration, *Freedom of Worship*, domesticates its subject beyond all recognition, yet points to a future work, nine years on, that might qualify as the artist's crowning achievement.

Freedom of Speech (p. 1) has justly remained a durable image, if one undermined by class condescension. Rockwell's *Post* covers conveyed an amiable social cohesion grounded in the rituals of middle-class small-town life. We associate Rockwell with a communal world—a view that places the (admittedly homogeneous) group at the center. *Freedom of Speech* cuts another way, if only to a degree.

A Lincolnesque tradesman stands to state his case at a town meeting. His worn suede jacket, open-collared blue plaid shirt, casually rolled annual report, and workman's hands mark him as anything but a cultural elite, to use today's term. Tanned from outdoor work, the speaker stands in the visual center of four men. They are soberly jacketed and tied, comparatively pallid, implicitly professional. One has turned to listen to the remarks with wrinkled forbearance (p. 72). Whatever his opinion, the standing townsman offers it plainly, without oratorical gestures. His gaze is upturned, mouth open, in a manner vaguely reminiscent of the saint in Bernini's *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa*, suggesting a democratic apotheosis, an Everyman among the Gray Suits. Despite the patient reception, the likely result is clear: the professionals—better educated, more experienced in organizational affairs—are going to call the shots. With luck, our tradesman will have offered an unexpected insight that will inform their decisions. But he also might just be indulged and ignored. In either event, Everyman gets to say his piece. (Every*woman*, less so. As Deborah Solomon notes in her biography of the artist, the painting "is compromised by a near absence of women, making it look . . . like a meeting of aging male Elks." A facial fragment of a single female appears at the left margin.)[3]

Endlessly parodied, *Freedom from Want* (p. 3) has entered the realm of images that signify themselves. Obscured by mental shorthand because it is instantly identifiable, the picture goes largely unseen. That is a pity, because *Freedom from Want* merits sustained looking. In abbreviated recollection, most recall a grandmother with a turkey and a family lining a table, which is true as far as it goes. Rockwell has stacked the people the way saints' heads line the margins of an illuminated manuscript. The backlit presiding elders are positioned at the top of the painting, including the woman with the turkey—which upon examination might turn out to be made of Styrofoam for all it appears to weigh. (The unpersuasive fowl is a casualty of Rockwell's process. Almost certainly the model was photographed with a platter sans bird. We will never know, since the Arlington, Vermont, studio where Rockwell painted the *Freedoms* burned to the ground in May 1943, taking all his reference materials with it.)

The humans, then, provide the mass of the painting. If you squint, they form a warmly colored A-frame structure—a Sienese *baldacchino*—flecked at the bottom by a yellow-red bowl of fruit. But the people are not the subject of the painting. They may provide subject *matter*, but the picture has other fish to fry. It is *about* something else. When experienced in person, at scale, *Freedom from Want* is a painting about an austere feast, a celebration of light. Dramatic though it may be, the uncarved turkey seems to be it for food, aside from blanched-looking celery, an aspic, and some fruit (p. 72). We confront empty plates and colorless water. No heaping bowls, no spilling cornucopia, no bottles of wine. But the restraint does not suggest self-denial—far from it. Rockwell paints an airy blanket of white light, sourced through the curtained window, that settles over the table, linens, china, silver, and glassware. Light suffuses everything, conferring grace on the gathering.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom of Speech* (detail), 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom from Want* (detail), 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

Freedom from Fear (p. 4) offers formal comforts. A solicitous mother and tired, attendant father put their children to bed. The genre scene unfolds in an upper bedroom, the angle of pitched roof squeezing the picture from the upper left, complemented by the abbreviated diagonal of a stair banister on the right. Shapes in cascading light values spill down from the top: the man's shirt, the woman's (mostly obscured) white apron, an incipient horizontal slash of pillows, and a turned-down sheet. Next come the beige blanket and newspaper, and after them a set of blue gestures: a sword of skirt, the fallen doll, discarded clothing, a shard of dour wallpaper angling to an apex. Lastly, a satisfying notch, easily missed at the upper left: the corner of a framed devotional print—a throwaway in reproduction, surprisingly lovely in the original painting.

Rockwell's methodology involved shooting the photographic reference for each character in turn, and *Fear* exposes some limitations of the approach. The suspendered father attends his wife, flanking her as she pulls up the sheet. Two abreast, like passengers in a car, each faces the head of the bed. All four feet line up, spaced evenly in pairs. The mechanics of this processional choreography are peculiar, in two respects. First, neither has room for *hips*. Unless they occupy space with the geometry of a pair of bedside tables, it is difficult to see how they could take up the minimal floor spaces assigned by their stances. Second, the woman bends over her children, leaning to the right over the bed. A figure so extended in one direction must make a corresponding adjustment in another to maintain her balance. Either her feet would be oriented differently, or her left foot would be stuck out to keep her from falling onto the bed. But her husband's position prevents her from doing so. Had the two models posed together, subtleties of positioning would have prevailed. Their adjustments to each other would have affected the visual and spatial rhythm of the painting.[4]



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom from Fear* (detail), 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 13, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

More obvious is an aversion to the putative subject of *Freedom from Fear*. Rockwell's biographers (Laura Claridge, Deborah Solomon) have made much of the illustrator's identification with Charles Dickens. The ruddy-faced boys and indulgent older men who populate Rockwell's world justify such comparisons, as do his autobiographical writings. But the Dickensian Rockwell is incomplete; his illustrated world cannot accommodate a genuine threat, either pictorially or tonally. Nowhere will we find the villainy of Quilp or the wicked falsity of Uriah Heep, the bad guys of *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *David Copperfield*, respectively.[5]

I do not think it is fair to accuse Rockwell of lacking emotional range, exactly; at his best he captures longing, sadness, and pathos in addition to the impish *joie de vivre* we associate with him. But the personification of fear and danger were off the menu.

It is odd, really. Consider that other beloved mid-twentieth-century American melodramatist, Walt Disney. He could scare the bejeezus out of his viewers, and routinely did; consider the near murder of Snow White and her headlong flight, the transformation of boys into jackasses in *Pinocchio*, the forest fire in *Bambi*, the hallucinogenic pink elephants in *Dumbo*. Nothing in Rockwell comes close.

So it is, then, that the representation of fear boils down to a newspaper headline and an allegorically limp doll. Subtract the comforting genre scene and you are left with a lazily conceived editorial cartoon. Typesetting the words BOMBINGS and HORROR does not pack much punch. (See: *Guernica*, Picasso, Pablo.)[6]

Even after Rockwell freed himself from the editorial strictures of the *Saturday Evening Post* and dug into civil rights themes for *Look* in the mid-1960s, he flinched. *Murder in Mississippi*

(p. 75), which depicts a moment just before the infamous killings of Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman, in Philadelphia, Mississippi, on June 21, 1964, focuses on the victims, not the victimizers. An early sketch included a visualization of the threat, an extrajudicial posse led by Deputy Sheriff Cecil Ray Price. But Rockwell could not follow through. Save for their shadows, the killers remained offstage in the published work. (See: *The Third of May 1808 in Madrid*, a.k.a. *The Executions*, de Goya, Francisco.)[7]

Finally comes Rockwell's attempt to illustrate religious pluralism, a subject fraught with cardboard peril. Unsurprisingly, *Freedom of Worship* (p. 2) brings up the rear of the quartet in all respects. Unlike the other three paintings, *Worship* is not situated architecturally. *Fear* and *Want* appear in domestic spaces, upstairs and down; *Speech* is staged in a public meeting room. Perhaps to avoid an ecclesiastical setting, thereby stacking the deck in favor of one faith over another, Rockwell creates a collage of heads in prayerful profile—a supplicant-as-emblem approach. A grandmotherly Protestant, perhaps flanked by her elderly husband, mostly obscured; a behatted Greek Orthodox (sometimes seen as a Jew); a woman praying the rosary; a chin-stroking agnostic. *Portraits in piety!*

Spatially, dramatically, and thematically, the picture is a dud. Rockwell did not have a religious sense of life, and his pictorial translation of faith conveys nothing of the essential strangeness of religion. Despite the inevitable domestication of faith into liturgical procedure and moral injunction, at the heart of all religious experience lies bizarre wonderment: the unconsumed burning bush, the unspeakable *YHWH*, the revivified corpse of Lazarus, the New Jerusalem in outer space.

Rockwell would go on nearly a decade later to create *Saying Grace* (p. 76), a vastly more potent take on private religion and public tolerance. It is arguably Rockwell's very finest painting, and surely one of his best three or four works. That image, which appeared on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post* on November 24, 1951, forswore pietistic generalization and returned to the Rockwell wheelhouse: specific people and settings—or getting to the general by way of the particular.

Rockwell gives us two travelers who have stopped to eat in a crowded restaurant somewhere in the northeastern United States. A slight grandmother and a small boy, by appearances Mennonites, are bent in prayer over a meal. Seated family-style across from them are two working-class tough kids, one dangling a cigarette and looking askance, the other scanning the room for other witnesses. As in *Freedom from Want*, white sunlight burnishes the dinnerware and cutlery, as well as the old woman's faux-alligator bag, a particularly beautiful flourish when experienced up close. (The scene beyond the window is executed in graphite on unpainted canvas—a pencil drawing!)

Encircled by cigar smoke, *this* piety is properly strange. The quiet modesty of the devotional act in *Saying Grace* reminds us that some of our neighbors live in the world but refuse to think themselves *of* it. The Mennonites are Anabaptist cousins to the Amish. Into the 1950s they set themselves apart, too, if less radically. Rockwell focuses on his rakish onlookers, quizzical in the face of this private act in a busy, chaotic setting. They register disbelief but hold their peace. Rockwell shares their skepticism, yet honors the simple ritual of blessing food. I can think of no other picture that more intimately captures the sacred and profane in American life, while somehow celebrating both. Critically speaking, *Saying Grace* amounts to a back payment on the disappointing *Freedom of Religion* (even if Rockwell himself was quite satisfied with the latter).



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Murder in Mississippi*, 1965. Oil on board, 16⅛ × 12¾ in. (41 × 32.4 cm). Story illustration for "Southern Justice," by Charles Morgan Jr., *Look*, June 29, 1965. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Saying Grace*, 1951. Oil on canvas, 42 × 40 in. (106.7 × 101.6 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 24, 1951. Private collection.

CONCLUSION

Early in this essay I wondered whether an advanced cinematic economy in superheroes might amount to a kind of cultural sophomorism. I also suggested that Norman Rockwell's melodrama suffers for want of the villains who populate his beloved Dickens. These contradictory observations get to the heart of what is to be gained from a Four Freedoms revival now. What can Rockwell's propaganda offer us in a national episode of unexpected ugliness?

Americans are having to relearn forgotten lessons. Chief among them are the disciplines of democracy, currently threatened by a decadent politics, too much money spent unaccountably by too few, and an immature communication regime of vast reach, traveling in disguise as technology. But we are still armed with a Constitution written by people who were deeply pessimistic about human behavior. They built a system designed to constrain the worst of it (with slavery being an extremely glaring exception). Under these conditions many people find themselves beset by temptations to Manichaean simplicity—good versus evil—even as they strain to keep George Orwell's dictum top of mind: "To see what is in front of one's nose needs a constant struggle." How to stay attentive—to keep one's lanterns lit—while staving off the deadly business of exhorting the infallible good guys against the irredeemable bad ones?[8]

Perhaps Norman Rockwell offers a useful lesson about essential human decency, within historical constraints. Perhaps his disinclination to vilify and demonize may be put to good use. Call it conflict avoidance if you want, but Rockwell's willingness to empathize with almost anyone is admirable.[9] Good criticism, for its part, extends hospitality by seeking first to describe so as to understand. Too often we lack such generosity now, in part because audiences on social media prize quick judgment and colorfully phrased dismissals. Rockwell rewards the slower take, once prized in American laps in domestic spaces, of an encounter with an illustrated magazine.

Rockwell extends generosity to his characters and viewers alike, delivered through visual and dramatic attention to detail, complexity when necessary and simplicity when not, and sheer imaginative reach. If Norman Rockwell operated and created in a narrower (read: whiter) editorial landscape at the *Post* than we or he would have liked, in his way he made the circle bigger. He eschewed heroic generalization. He took people as he found them but improved them by investing them with an animated dignity. In his hands we are more charming, warmer, and possessed of more generous spirits than we are in real life. Now, to be sure, we must complicate this thought. Majoritarian myths are involved, appeals to sentiment, which tempt us to evade awareness of historical wrongs and to avoid fixing them. No elisions should be inferred. Let us not be untroubled.

But neither let us refuse a gift. Norman Rockwell thinks better of us than we deserve. If he abstains from the manufacture of villains, perhaps we can, too. We could grow into a Rockwellian sense of decency, extend it into places and spaces he could not reach or even imagine, and put it to work in the world. Such freedoms will be worthy of our devotion.



ARTISTS FIGHTING FOR THE FOUR FREEDOMS

HARVEY J. KAYE

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered his Four Freedoms message to Congress on January 6, 1941, he knew very well that the United States would soon be compelled to enter World War II. In fact, he pronounced the Four Freedoms—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—not simply to rally Americans to support Britain and its allies by transforming the nation into the "arsenal of democracy," but also to project a vision of the United States, and the world, that his fellow citizens would see as worth fighting for. The speech was a call to arms.[1]

Of course, FDR also knew very well that Americans were not eager to enter the war (when were they ever eager to go to war?). But he truly believed that they would make the Four Freedoms their own and confront their rendezvous with destiny. They would do so, he thought, just as the greatest generations of the past had confronted their own challenges in the 1770s and 1860s, by not only fighting to defend American democratic life but also by enhancing it in the process. Hadn't FDR's constituents already begun the struggle for the Four Freedoms when they went into battle against the Great Depression of the 1930s, the worst economic and social catastrophe in American history? Hadn't they harnessed the powers of democratic government in favor of a New Deal and pursued not just national relief and recovery but also national reconstruction and reform? And for all their faults, failings, and sins of omission, hadn't they actually made the nation freer, more equal, and more democratic than ever before in the process?

Inspired and encouraged by his fellow citizens, Roosevelt used his 1941 address to articulate the nation's purpose and promise anew. His Four Freedoms were the eloquent embodiment of that articulation. And in the years that followed, Americans, despite the tragic and ironic turns to come, would not fail him—nor would they fail themselves.

The fight for the Four Freedoms, however, was never going to be easy. Class, race, and religion sorely divided Americans. The tragic legacy of World War I made many cynical about what another war could ever accomplish. While sixteen million citizens, men and women in all their wonderful American diversity, would don uniforms to defend the nation and fight for democracy—and millions more would serve the war effort at home as workers and volunteers—the Roosevelt administration was determined to win not just the war but also the peace to come, which, to the

Andrew Herman, *William Karp (1905–2005) Works on His Mural,* Normal Pursuits of Man, *at Bellevue Hospital, New York, as Part of the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project,* September 7, 1936. Photographic Division Collection, ca. 1920–1965, bulk 1935–1942. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian.



Archibald M. Willard (1836–1918), *Spirit of '76*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 24 × 18 in. (61 × 45.7 cm). Town of Marblehead, Massachusetts. This work was revered by the World War II generation for its celebration of the fight for freedom in the American Revolution.

president, meant introducing the Four Freedoms "everywhere in the world." Unfortunately, both before and after Pearl Harbor, the president grew increasingly concerned that many Americans were not enthusiastically embracing those Four Freedoms.[2]

It was true that labor, civil rights, consumer, and women's groups had responded enthusiastically and aggressively to both FDR's speech and to the idea of the Four Freedoms; these groups would continue to do so throughout the war. However, surveys indicated that most Americans could not recite the president's freedoms. Many could not list even one. Poet Archibald MacLeish (p. 82), the director of the Office of Facts and Figures (OFF), observed in May 1942 that although Americans apparently "know very well why we are fighting" and "what we are fighting *against*," they did not yet know "what we are fighting *for*."[3]

Moreover, many corporate leaders and southern politicians were especially wary of, if not outright antagonistic toward, promises of freedom from want and fear. The playwright Arthur Miller stated the problem starkly in a radio script he was working on in 1942:



Segregated drinking fountain, Halifax, North Carolina, April 1938. Photograph by John Vachon (1914–1975). Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



Italian-American members of the American Legion marching in a parade on Mott Street, New York, at the Feast of San Rocco, August 16, 1942. Photograph by Marjory Collins (1912–1985). Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

> The Four Freedoms frighten some people. And rightly. Because to a man who hates Negroes it is a frightening thing when a government sets out to guarantee the Negro's freedom from the fear of the rope. To a man who wants to cut wages to the bone it is a terrible and frightening thing when a government sets out to guarantee the right of every worker, black and white, to the fruits of his labor.

Miller's radio play was never produced, but the playwright spoke a frustrating truth: the Four Freedoms would face an uphill battle.[4]

Recognizing this truth, the nation's artists, writers, actors, designers, composers, and musicians vigorously took up the challenges of promoting the war effort and advancing the Four Freedoms. Many of them had been deeply engaged in the New Deal by way of the Works Progress Administration's Federal One projects for art, theater, music, and writers. Drawing on those experiences, they now brought their creative energies to a new cause.

Stephen Vincent Benét, one of America's most beloved poets, quickly set the tone in a radio play that aired on July 4, 1941, just six months after the president's address. Titled *Listen to the People*, it critically asked: "Oh, we can call on Lincoln and Tom Paine. . . . Call on the great words spoken that remain. . . . And yet the dead are dead. This is our world. . . . What have we got to say?"

The play's answer, expressed in diverse voices, was powerful:

A VOICE We are the people, listen to us now. . . .
VOICE We lost our way for a while, but we've found our way. We know it and we'll hold it and we'll keep it. We'll tell it to the world. We're saying it.
VOICE Freedom to speak and pray.
VOICE Freedom from want and fear.
VOICE That's what we're building. Now and here and now. . . .
VOICE That's what we're building and we'll build it here.[5]

The Roosevelt administration was eager to build on such potent sentiments. The government's leading propaganda agencies soon took up the cause of the Four Freedoms and—in collaboration with Madison Avenue's new War Advertising Council—began to issue a stream of patriotic images and messages by way of radio shows, short films, and posters. In early 1942, OFF director MacLeish commissioned writer E. B. White, theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, columnist Max Lerner, and novelist and journalist Malcolm Cowley to author, respectively, essays on freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear for *The United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms* (p. 36), a pamphlet intended for a wide popular audience. That summer the Office of War Information (the successor to OFF) sent a manual to the major Hollywood film studios, which recommended that they "help win the war" by producing films that presented the conflict as a global campaign for "democracy," "the Four Freedoms," and (referring to a recent speech by Vice President Henry A. Wallace) "the Century of the Common Man."[6]

Concurrently, writers and artists across the country began to coordinate their efforts, rushing to volunteer their talents and skills to the job of rallying the nation and developing the vision



Pach Brothers, *Portrait of Archibald MacLeish* (undated). Library of Congress Archives, Photographs, Illustrations, Objects, Washington, DC.



Installation view of *Road to Victory* exhibition, May 21–October 4, 1942. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

of the Four Freedoms. Instigated by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr., a number of prominent authors met in New York in January 1942 and established the Writers' War Board, as their counterparts in Los Angeles organized the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization. Later that spring, poet Carl Sandburg and photographer Edward Steichen collaborated to create *Road to Victory*, a full-floor exhibition of photography and texts that opened at New York's Museum of Modern Art and would tour the country in 1943. Welcoming visitors with FDR's Four Freedoms peroration, the exhibit visually narrated the growing American war effort at home and abroad. Acting on the precept "fascists burn books, democrats read them," the nation's leading publishers, joined by the American Booksellers Association, the American Library Association, the National Education Association, and various authors' groups, created the Council on Books in Wartime, emphasizing freedom of expression with the slogan "Books are weapons in the war of ideas."[7]

Some artists worked directly from FDR's words. Dramatists of all sorts, for instance, began to draw up performative versions of the president's ideal. Miller's 1942 stage play *The Four Freedoms* connected the struggles for labor and minority rights in the United States to anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggles globally. African American poet Langston Hughes (p. 86) wrote *Brothers*, a radio play about a black merchant mariner's troubled search for the Four Freedoms at home in the United States. (The Office of Civilian Defense declared *Brothers* too controversial to broadcast, but the Council on Books in Wartime later distributed it in print).[8]



★ Lance Taylor, *Four Freedoms Monument, Madison, Florida, March 30, 2010*. Digital reproduction. Photographs of Historic Architecture in the United States, Special Collections and Archives, Thomas G. Carpenter Library, University of North Florida, Jacksonville.



Victor Kraft (1880–1975), *Aaron Copland by Candlelight, Studio in the Berkshires,* September 1946. Aaron Copland Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Meanwhile, studio artists set to translating FDR's words into visual images. Famed muralist Hugo Ballin rendered the Four Freedoms in pictures with a multiracial cast inside the city hall of Burbank, California. Sculptor Walter Russell represented the Four Freedoms as "four angels, standing back to back, facing the points of the compass," in a monument originally displayed in New York City. The people of Madison, Florida, would soon place the monument in their new Four Freedoms Park, as a memorial to Captain Colin P. Kelly, a native son killed in action early in the war. Polish Jewish illustrator Arthur Szyk, who called himself "FDR's soldier in art," produced four miniature paintings of the Four Freedoms (p. 166). Depicting a medieval knight, "speaking, praying, feasting, and riding off to war on a white horse, his shield emblazoned with the stars and stripes," Szyk's small but militant quadriptych would be printed in a popular series of picture postcards and poster stamps. And, of course, magazine illustrator and artist Norman Rockwell spent much of the latter half of 1942 working in Vermont on his soon-to-be-celebrated, and eventually iconic, *Four Freedoms* paintings (pp. 1–4).[9]

Musicians rallied as well. Songwriters composed pieces patriotic, democratic, and spirited, including "The Four Freedoms" by Jay Gorney, Henry Myers, and Edward Eliscu. Enlisting himself and swing music in the war against fascism, bandleader Glenn Miller put the Four Freedoms into action by organizing the Glenn Miller Army Air Force Band and recruiting a multiethnic orchestra that resembled the diverse B-17 bomber crew featured in many home-front movies.[10]

Classical composers and musicians mobilized, too. Soon after Pearl Harbor, conductor André Kostelanetz invited Jerome Kern, Virgil Thomson, and Aaron Copland (p. 84) to join in creating "a musical portrait gallery of great Americans." Kern chose writer Mark Twain; Thomson chose New York City mayor Fiorello La Guardia; and Copland chose President Abraham Lincoln. A year later, Eugene Goossens of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra commissioned eighteen fanfares to salute those who were fighting the Axis powers. Copland was involved here as well, contributing the powerful and moving *Fanfare for the Common Man*—which he acknowledged had been deeply inspired by the Four Freedoms.[11]

Still, while many artists pointed to the virtue and value of the Four Freedoms, others were all too aware of how far the nation still had to go in fulfilling the ideal's promise. In October 1942, for example, Hughes gave poetic voice to the African American–led "Double Victory" campaign against fascism, which sought a victory against the Nazis abroad and over white supremacy and racism at home. He wrote:

> The President's Four Freedoms
> Appeal to me.
> I would like to see those Freedoms
> Come to be.
> If you believe
> In the Four Freedoms, too,
> Then share 'em with me—
> Don't keep 'em all for you.
> . . . . . .
>
> Freedom's not just
> To be won Over There.
> It means Freedom at home too—
> Now—*right here!*

The following month, during what was dubbed "Listen America Week," the Negro Labor Victory Committee staged the grand People's Rally and Drama on the Four Freedoms in Harlem, New York. There the middle-class sisters of the national black sorority Alpha Kappa Alpha declared: "Listen, America! American Negroes want to win this war. . . . Listen, America! We can fight better in an American army—not a Negro army. . . . Listen, America! We want the four freedoms right here in America." For these impassioned citizens, at least, the promise of the Four Freedoms remained elusive.[12]



★ Gordon Parks (1912–2006), *Portrait of Langston Hughes*, 1943. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

To be sure, not every reference to the Four Freedoms invoked the limits of the ideal's reach at the time. Indeed, by 1943 lighthearted references were showing up everywhere, from the tongue-in-cheek ad for Manhattan's Waldorf-Astoria hotel that invited guests to enjoy "Freedom from servant problems! Freedom from transit problems! Freedom from maintenance problems! Freedom from ownership problems!" to the Women's Republican Club's display of designer fashion ensembles inspired by the Four Freedoms and even to Belmont Park and Aqueduct racetracks, where the thoroughbred Four Freedoms ran handsomely (p. 87).[13]

More seriously, the US Post Office issued a one-cent Four Freedoms stamp on Lincoln's birthday; syllabi, artworks, and plays on the Freedoms were prepared for every level of schooling from the elementary grades to college and even adult night classes. Educator and civic leader Frank Kingdon argued for "cultivating the Four Freedoms" at home in the family to fight prejudice and to encourage democratic values. In California, federal judge Florence Allen told students at Scripps College that the Four Freedoms represented the "cardinal points of the American doctrine" found in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. And in New York City, the Broadway Association proposed a victory arch in Times Square, to be inscribed with the Four Freedoms. Elsewhere in the city, the Italian American Labor Council awarded its new Four Freedoms prize to Attorney General Francis Biddle, and the Yiddish Culture Chorus performed a musical arrangement of FDR's Four Freedoms at the Town Hall theater. Fittingly, echoing the Sabbath sermons of many a reverend and rabbi, the nationally prominent Baptist minister Edwin McNeill Poteat Jr. proclaimed, "The Four Freedoms must become the primary concern of those who share the great Judeo-Christian cultural tradition."[14]

As Americans and their allies began to turn the tide of war throughout 1943, liberal and progressive politicians and artists spoke all the more determinedly of advancing the Four Freedoms. At the invitation of that year's National Committee for Birthday Balls, Norman Corwin, the na-



THE TROY RECORD, FRIDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 3, 1943. 25

Four Freedoms Races To Popular Victory In Aqueduct Feature

9-10 Favorite Scores by 4 Lengths

Burgaway, Second Choice in Field of Five, Beats Favored Challamore At Narragansett

Youthful Stars Advance in National Net Championships

Supreme Hal Sets Trot Mark At Empire Oval

Signator Shows Way At Chicago

113 Horses Eligible For Rich Futurity

Director J. E. Captures Headliner at Camden

Moran Named Grid Coach at South Carolina

Nelson Kayoes Arthur France

Race Entries and Results at Leading Tracks

Entries

"Four Freedoms Races to Popular Victory in Aqueduct Feature."
Troy (NY) Record, September 3, 1943, p. 25.



Will Kron, Artists for Victory. *Slave World or Free World*, 1943. Poster stamp, produced by Ever Ready Label Corporation. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

tion's leading radio producer and writer, staged *A Moment of the Nation's Time*, a short but sharp play broadcast on January 30, the president's birthday, over all four national radio networks. Reaffirming the United States' commitment to the Freedoms, in the spirit of the invocation "they shall not have died in vain," Corwin projected a truly progressive victory that would not only secure "the right to food, clothing, shelter, medical care" but also witness "storm troopers, the race-haters, lynchers, ground into the dust." Soon after, the radio program *Free World Theater* aired *The People March* and *Music for Freedom*, the former based on the vice president's Century of the Common Man speech, the latter on FDR's Four Freedoms message. And that spring, Artists for Victory announced a Four Freedoms campaign and graphic-design competition to coincide with the upcoming national Four Freedoms Days, with plans for an exhibition that would run concurrently in twenty-six museums around the country. Addressing America in the war, entrants were to submit works that portrayed the barbarities of fascism and imperialism, the heroic determination of Americans, *and* the promise of the Four Freedoms (p. 87).[15]

Equally telling of the Four Freedoms' growing national presence and popular appeal, the *Saturday Evening Post* ran Rockwell's FDR-inspired paintings in four consecutive issues that



Woman holding poster at Four Freedoms War Bond Show, Hecht's department store, Washington, DC, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

February and March, each accompanied by an article on the respective freedom. The pictures were decidedly democratic in spirit and beautifully captured American ideals of the good society. Rockwell's *Freedom of Speech* depicted a garage mechanic, Lincolnesque in appearance, addressing an attentive New England town meeting; *Freedom of Worship* portrayed an ecumenical group of people praying together; *Freedom from Want* was represented by a family gathered for a Thanksgiving feast, and *Freedom from Fear* by a couple tucking their children safely to bed.

Remarkably, given the *Post*'s historically conservative outlook, editor Ben Hibbs commissioned the liberal poet and playwright Stephen Vincent Benét to write about freedom from fear and the progressive Filipino immigrant writer Carlos Bulosan to compose the essay on freedom from want. Warning against "forces which have been trying to falsify American history," Bulosan recalled American workers' perennial struggles for democratic rights, cited the continuing oppression of workers and minorities, and answered "What do we want?" with: "We want complete security and peace. We want to share the promises and fruits of American life. We want to be free from fear and hunger. If you want to know what we are—we are marching!"[16]

Americans loved Rockwell's series and flooded the *Post*'s offices with requests for copies. Roosevelt himself praised the pictures and proposed that the accompanying essays be translated for international distribution along with them. The Department of the Treasury subsequently cooperated with the *Post* in launching the yearlong Four Freedoms War Bond Show, which took Rockwell's paintings to major department stores around the country. Starting out in Washington, DC, in April 1943, the show traveled to Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Buffalo, Rochester, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Saint Louis, New Orleans, Dallas, Los Angeles, Portland (Oregon), and Denver, with celebrity-filled gala events staged at each location. Just before the



President Franklin Delano Roosevelt discusses his most recent annual message to Congress with a radio audience, 1944. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

Detroit stop on the tour, the NBC Symphony Orchestra premiered Robert Russell Bennett's new symphony *The Four Freedoms*, in a nationwide radio broadcast, giving even more attention to the president's ideal. By the war bond show's close in the spring of 1944, more than 1.2 million people had seen it in one place or another. Incredibly, they had purchased $133 million in war bonds.[17]

Thrilled by the popular and presidential response, the *Post* decided to run a related series, "What I Am Fighting For," in July 1943. Composed of four GI-authored articles, which Hibbs selected from submissions to an essay contest sponsored by the Service Men's Christian League, the series spoke of family, friends, and "the girl back home"—the American dream *and* the Four Freedoms. The soldiers' references to the Freedoms were more than perfunctory. Private Albert Gerber, a Jewish soldier from Saint Louis, eloquently wrote that he was fighting not only for freedom of speech and religion but also for "economic freedom for all." As he explained, economic freedom meant "unemployment compensation, old-age benefits, really public education—including university and professional training—and all the other things that will be necessary to give the individual economic security in this complex society." Indeed, he said, "I am fighting for a progressive, humane American way of life—not . . . [that of] nostalgic reactionaries who want to go back to the *status quo* of *ante* 1929. I am fighting so that our river of democracy may roll on and wash away . . . more intolerances, more discriminations and more inequities and iniquities."[18]

As polls conducted for the White House that year registered, Private Gerber spoke for the overwhelming majority of Americans. They wanted postwar policies and programs to address, if not assure, freedom from want and fear. These were programs that would guarantee jobs, provide



Anton Refregier (1905–1979), *War and Peace* (detail), history of San Francisco mural installed in Rincon Annex Post Office, San Francisco, 1948. Photograph by Carol M. Highsmith. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.



★ Andre Jenny, *Evansville, IN, Four Freedoms Bicentennial Monument, Riverfront Park, Evening*, 2008.

health care to all, and enable young people to get an education and go to college. Such aspirations encouraged Roosevelt to translate the Four Freedoms into a call for an "economic bill of rights" for all Americans in his 1944 message to Congress. Many congressional conservatives, as well as a number of business leaders, stood firmly against the proposal. Opposing them, labor, civil rights, and consumer groups campaigned in favor of it. With critical grassroots support—including, ironically enough, a national lobbying campaign by the traditionally conservative American Legion—the Roosevelt administration succeeded in securing passage of what would be thenceforth known as the GI Bill of Rights, which would enable twelve million veterans to better themselves and the nation at war's end.[19]

World victory over fascism came in 1945. On the American home front, artists had served the country well. They had not only bolstered the war effort—they had also helped to turn FDR's vision of the Four Freedoms into the promise of the Four Freedoms.

In fact, diverse artists ever since have turned to and embraced the Four Freedoms to challenge Americans to remember them and to recognize what they need to do to live up to (and to advance) them. In San Francisco, muralist Anton Refregier honored the 1945 signing of the United Nations Charter in that city by producing *War and Peace*, a triptych for the city's Rincon Annex Post Office lobby that has FDR's Four Freedoms as its centerpiece (p. 90). In 1949, Szyk illustrated the *Four Freedoms Prayer* with a picture of the Madonna and Child receiving the gifts of the Magi, framed by FDR's words (p. 170). And in 1976, the city of Evansville, Indiana, celebrated the US



★ Setsuko Winchester, *Freedom from Fear/Yellow Bowl Project*, 2016. Photographed at Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park, Roosevelt Island, New York.

bicentennial by erecting a Four Freedoms monument consisting of four tall columns, each representing one of the Freedoms (p. 91). However, reflecting the rise of a new conservative politics, the city leaders somehow saw fit to rename one of those freedoms. Perhaps because it was tied too closely to FDR's New Deal and the progressive struggles of the 1930s, "freedom from want" was replaced with "freedom from oppression."[20]

The Four Freedoms have continued to inspire artists. In 2012, after many years of delay, New Yorkers celebrated the completion of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park on the southern tip of New York City's Roosevelt Island. Louis I. Kahn's design for the park affords spectacular views of the city, including the United Nations headquarters. Part of FDR's Four Freedoms speech is chiseled into a dramatic granite wall, on the opposite side of which is a bust of the president himself—modeled after a 1933 original by the renowned sculptor Jo Davidson. Fittingly, the new park has become a magnet for historical talks, political events, and art exhibits, including Setsuko Winchester's *Freedom from Fear/Yellow Bowl Project* (p. 92), a collection of 120 handmade yellow tea bowls representing the 120,000 West Coast Japanese Americans who, in the worst violation of American civil liberties in US history, were interned during the war by the Roosevelt administration. More recently, photographer Hank Willis Thomas and video artist Eric Gottesman organized a host of fellow artists into a super PAC named "For Freedoms," which aims to produce works that not only challenge Americans to think more deeply about their freedoms but also to "give voice" to their thinking.[21]

These projects demonstrate the continuing urgency of FDR's words, now seventy-seven years old and yet still relevant and timely. When FDR introduced those Four Freedoms on January 6, 1941, he was making an eloquent promise. In many respects, the promise remains unfulfilled. And yet our affection for both FDR's words and the works of those artists who translated them to countless viewers and listeners signifies that the hopes and aspirations of what has been called the "greatest generation" persist in us, abiding in one of humanity's greatest ideals.



Illustrator Mead Schaeffer's *Saturday Evening Post* cover series featuring branches of the military was displayed in one of the many galleries at Detroit's J. L. Hudson department store during the Four Freedoms War Bond Show, in 1943. Photograph by David B. Hilmer (1896–1979). Detroit Historical Society, Detroit, Michigan.

CHANGING THE CONVERSATION IN DETROIT: NORMAN ROCKWELL'S FOUR FREEDOMS & THE FOUR FREEDOMS WAR BOND SHOW

JAMES MCCABE

Throughout much of September 1943, the citizens of Detroit, Michigan, struggled to meet the area's sales quota of Series E war bonds. While the city's wealthier investors were doing well with the higher bond denominations, sales of the lowest-priced note—a comparatively small investment of $18.75—were faltering. Fortunately, a new initiative was about to energize the region. Unbeknownst to most Detroiters, the staff at the J. L. Hudson Company department store was making preparations to host the Four Freedoms War Bond Show. The show, part of a wide array of efforts across the city and state to sell war bonds, was ideally suited to inspire the community to step up to meet the goals of the drive.

The sale of war bonds, a key effort of Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr., had multiple objectives. Financing the immense cost of US participation in a global war was an obvious goal, but there were other important objectives as well. The diversion of the nation's industry from civilian to military production had made consumer products scarce—even necessities such as fuel and some foods—in some cases necessitating rationing. Shifting the increased income of the wartime economy to bonds helped to reduce the resulting inflationary pressures. Moreover, the bonds ensured that at war's end, when they began to mature, there would be a fresh infusion of cash to temper the stresses of a contracting economy weaned from war production.

Yet one particularly critical goal of the war bond program was not about money at all—and that goal was embodied in the voluntary nature of the campaign. To the Department of the Treasury, the voluntary purchase of a war bond represented the buyer's shared sacrifice with those fighting the war overseas. Many different modes of persuasion were employed in support of this goal, such as the depiction of the bonds as a way to ensure sufficient supplies, fight back against the Axis powers, and show the world that the nation was behind the war effort.

The Four Freedoms that President Franklin D. Roosevelt named in his 1941 message to Congress—and that Norman Rockwell interpreted in his *Four Freedoms* painting series (pp. 1–4)—gave war bond promoters an even broader argument that went beyond such win-the-war nar-

ratives, tying a given bond purchase to the war's fundamental aims and even visions of a postwar world. The Four Freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—had different meanings to different people. But it was the power of these ideals, and Rockwell's images, to resonate with a wide swath of the population that made them such an effective tool in the war bond campaign.

Wartime Detroit was an important front for such war bond sales efforts. The city had come to embody both the promise and the perils of the American home front. It had roared out of the slowdown of the Great Depression to embody what FDR called the "arsenal of democracy." Its massive industrial infrastructure, developed for the automotive industry, was quickly converted to war production. The city had remarkable factories with moving assembly lines and other manufacturing innovations, such as the immense Willow Run bomber plant. At its peak, Willow Run completed a B-24 bomber every sixty-three minutes.[1]

In this context, Detroit's unemployment vanished, wages rose, and waves of new workers took their places on assembly lines. As women were hired in large numbers, Rosie the Riveter became an American icon. The transformation of the labor force spurred a second wave of the Great Migration of African Americans, as well as white Southerners, to Detroit and other northern cities. At the same time, immigrants from around the world arrived, fleeing repression, war, and poverty.

This rapid growth placed huge strains on the city. The influx of new workers caused severe shortages in housing, transportation, and public spaces. The city never slowed down, as work and social life expanded to fill a twenty-four-hour day. Average weekly wages shot up from $33.54 in 1939 to $53.40 in 1943, leading to inflation and shortages in both consumer goods and necessities. Furthermore, long working hours and full employment led to unattended children and increases in juvenile delinquency.[2]

These pressures were exacerbated by widespread segregation and racial tension. Federal efforts to reduce discrimination in housing and employment met resistance from white Detroiters, fomenting numerous disturbances. Locally these tensions came to a head on June 20, 1943, when fights between gangs of white and African American youths erupted on the bridge to Belle Isle, a popular Detroit park. The fights rapidly escalated into a full-blown race riot that lasted two days before finally being quelled by federal troops. Thirty-four people were killed and 433 injured, with African Americans making up over 75 percent of the casualties. The city engaged in considerable soul-searching and finger-pointing in the weeks and months that followed.[3]

Cyril Cane, the British consul general for Detroit at the time, was a keen observer of the community. In July 1943 he sent a detailed letter to the Foreign Office in London relating Detroit's post-riot conditions. Along with describing the many strains the war effort had placed on the city, he lamented the attitudes of the citizens. "The majority of the masses are just not interested in the war or its possibilities," he wrote. "The speed and tension of the work has something to do with this, but the money interest has the most. So many are in a new form of life, with money they never had before, that they are in a whirl and cannot find their feet." The Foreign Office thanked Cane for his report, commenting, "One stark fact emerges clearly: the complete apathy of the great majority towards either the war or the post-war."[4]



Intense work pressures, severe shortages, and racial tensions erupted into widespread rioting in Detroit in the summer of 1943. Here, rioters run from tear gas. *Detroit News*, June 21, 1943. Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit.

With Detroit's summer troubles as a backdrop, the nation's Third War Loan bond campaign opened on September 9, 1943. Its slogan, "Back the Attack!" (p. 98), referred to the Allied invasion of Italy, which started on September 3. Detroit and surrounding Wayne County were expected to sell $112 million in bonds. But a full ten days into the three-week campaign, Frank N. Isbey, the head of Michigan's bond sales effort, declared, "We are way behind." Michigan ranked thirty-second among the states in its progress toward its bond sales goal. To make matters worse, the bulk of the purchases had been in large denominations by institutional investors such as businesses, churches, and unions. Thus, proportionately, the sales of small-denomination E bonds to individuals were even further behind the goals.[5]

The timing of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show, which opened in Detroit at the start of the last week of the war bond campaign, could not have been better. The touring exhibition had been organized in the spring of 1943, after the phenomenal success of the publication of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Created as a collaboration between the *Post* and the Treasury Department, the massive show featured an exhibition of the original *Four Freedoms* paintings along with more than one thousand other pieces of original artwork from the *Post*. The show was accompanied by an assortment of other activities that varied from city to city, including parades, celebrity appearances, musical performances, visits by Rockwell's models, and radio programs. The show had already been to Washington, DC, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Buffalo, Rochester, and Pittsburgh before opening in the landmark Hudson's department store on September 27. It was the perfect spot; located downtown, on Detroit's main street, Woodward Avenue, the twenty-five-story building was both the commercial and social center of town.

Workers installed the show on the twelfth floor, in and adjacent to the store's auditorium. For the next two weeks, the exhibits would be augmented by radio broadcasts, pageants, celebrity appearances, informational presentations about military equipment and tactics, and speeches from



George Schreiber (1904–1977), *Back the Attack!*, 1943. Poster for the Third War Loan bond campaign, commissioned by Office for Emergency Management, Office of War Information, Domestic Operations Branch, Bureau of Special Services, 28 × 20 in. (71.1 × 50.8 cm). National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.



The J. L. Hudson Company took out many ads in Detroit newspapers to promote the Four Freedoms War Bonds Show. Advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, September 26, 1943.


Confetti from buildings on the line of march makes a swirling storm about this group of AWVS members carrying their flags in the parade. These uniformed women will take over Bond sale booths during the week.

A huge parade down Woodward Avenue opened the Four Freedoms War Bonds Show in Detroit. *Detroit Free Press*, September 28, 1943.

dignitaries. All of it was aimed at driving foot traffic to Hudson's to buy the Series E bonds that were for sale to individuals.

The show enjoyed an ambitious promotional effort. Hudson's began advertising a week in advance of its opening, and both the *Detroit Free Press* and the *Detroit News* covered the event. The extravaganza kicked off with a huge parade comprising ten marching bands, a military police battalion, American and Canadian servicemen and women, and numerous civic organizations. The crowd was estimated at three hundred thousand. Cannon salutes and a shower of confetti officially opened the show.[6]

Visitors flocked to see Rockwell's original *Four Freedoms* paintings, which were exhibited in a colonnade situated behind velvet ropes, lending them a gravity and formality that belied the everyday scenes in the paintings. The store's auditorium ceiling was adorned with model airplanes, creating the impression of an ongoing air raid. The walls displayed *Post* covers and other illustrations, with the flags of the United Nations (the Allied powers) arrayed above them. A series of store-window-style displays featured more *Post* illustration art, military technology, men's and women's uniform replicas from both world wars, and printed lists of reasons for buying war bonds. Those who did purchase a bond were eligible to win one of 141 original *Post* illustrations.[7]



Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* paintings were exhibited in a formal setting adjacent to the auditorium in Hudson's department store, 1943. Photograph by David B. Hilmer (1896–1979). Detroit Historical Society, Detroit, Michigan.



The auditorium on Hudson's twelfth floor, set up for the Four Freedoms War Bond Show, 1943. Artwork from the *Saturday Evening Post* fills the walls and galleries in the back of the auditorium. Photograph by David B. Hilmer (1896–1979). Detroit Historical Society, Detroit, Michigan.

While most of the displays followed established patterns of war boosterism for bond sales—support for the troops, defeat of the Axis powers, and so on—the Four Freedoms ideals fostered appeals for bond purchases that diverged from the usual entreaties. Replicated in war bond posters (p. 101), Rockwell's images conveyed a different type of message. The posters called on Americans to "Save Freedom of Speech" and "Save Freedom of Worship," with "Buy War Bonds" as the follow-up pitch at the base of each image. Rockwell's *Freedom from Want* and *Freedom from Fear* were presented under the slogan "OURS . . . to fight for." These were not win-the-war slogans but statements about endangered human rights. They were a vision of a better world—one worth fighting for.

Rockwell's images were uniquely suited to this purpose. Rather than trying to build a compelling case for the president's high ideals, the artist's *Four Freedoms* started with the familiar and found connections to the ideal. By seeing the freedoms in familiar settings of everyday life, Detroiters found that they could grasp the ideals as their own. The wording of the slogans that accompanied the images on the bond posters framed the freedoms as something to be saved as well as to be built on. For viewers, Rockwell's images fostered personal connections with the president's Four Freedoms and laid the basis for the remarkable success of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show. The voluntary purchase of a bond was an affirmation of those ideals.[8]

The large parade that opened the war bonds show also presented a platform for Detroit to explore what the postwar world should look like. Tellingly, among the military service groups, marching bands, political dignitaries, and women's auxiliaries was an organization called the Inter-racial









★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), posters from story illustrations for the *Saturday Evening Post*, 1943, Office of War Information, Washington, DC. Each poster, 59 × 35½ in. (149.9 × 90.2 cm). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The *Four Freedoms* war bond posters focused on the postwar world, rather than the war itself.

Group. Just three months after the deadly June race riots, this group's participation was a tentative step forward in the city's quest to address its deep-seated racial animosities. Formed in the days after the riots, the Inter-racial Group was one part of a seven-point set of actions proposed by R. J. Thomas, the president of the United Automobile Workers (UAW). Responding to Thomas's call, circuit court judge Ira W. Jayne addressed a mixed group of prominent African American and white citizens, calling on them to form a committee that would work for racial harmony in order to prevent a repeat of the riots. In calling for the Inter-racial Group to be officially recognized by the city, Jayne specifically referenced "freedom from fear" as motivation for a broad-based movement against the forces of hatred that plagued the city, nation, and world. Jayne had criticized Mayor Edward Jefferies for his failure to create such a coalition months earlier, so the presence of this group in the Four Freedoms parade was an important statement in the highly segregated, racially tense city.[9]

The exhibition also presented viewers with an opportunity to consider the international implications of the Four Freedoms. One prominent radio panel, moderated by WJR's George Cushing, featured Fred Healy, vice president of Curtis Publishing; Peter Martin, a writer and associate editor at the *Saturday Evening Post*; Edward Shugrue, an actor and playwright with the Treasury Department; and Professor Alfred Kelly of Wayne University (now Wayne State University).



Frank L. Williams (1913–1992), *At the Four Freedoms Show*, *Detroit Free Press*, September 30, 1943. The editorial cartoonist at the *Detroit Free Press* made a point about the voluntary nature of war bond purchases.


War Makes High Wages--Put Some of Them Back into Extra War Bonds

The Detroit Free Press

METROPOLITAN FINAL EDITION

TOOL BLACK MARKET PROBED

Detroit WMC Prepares Drastic Labor Control

Investigator Sent Here by Senators

Reds Cement Gains East of Dnieper

New Curbs Expected by End of Week

Auditorium Is Packed for First Opera

Senate Awaits Floor Fight on Father Draft

Allied Trap Is Closing on Foe at Naples

Parade and Show Spur Sales of E-Bonds Here

Lawyer Held as Mercy Killer of Son

Dondero Hits City Gas Rates

Buy a Bond Save a Boy!

Canned-Fruit Point Cost Raised Sharply by OPA

Chinese Execute Admiral as Traitor

On Inside Pages

The *Four Freedoms* were featured on the front page of the *Detroit Free Press* after the opening of the Four Freedoms War Bonds Show. *Detroit Free Press*, September 28, 1943.

Joining the panel was George Lechler, a German émigré who was also a faculty member at Wayne. In an impassioned plea, Lechler called for Americans to "fight for the Four Freedoms," because, he lamented, "I saw them die." Until 1935, Lechler had been the owner and publisher of a German newspaper with a circulation of three million. The Nazis imprisoned him and held him for three weeks until he signed over ownership. "The Nazis wanted me to sign to make it legal," he said. "Everything they have done appears to be legal. That's why the common people thought everything was all right in Germany under Hitler." Lechler continued: "My wife was driven to suicide by the Nazis. I know what your Four Freedoms mean. I know too what it means to lose those freedoms. Men are dying that you might keep those precious freedoms."[10]

Local religious leaders were a prominent part of the discussion as well. On September 26, the *Detroit Free Press* highlighted freedom of worship in a series of front-page essays in support of war bond purchases. The writers were Dean Kirk B. O'Farrell, of the Episcopal Cathedral Church of Saint Paul's; Dr. Leo M. Franklin, of Temple Beth El; and Msgr. Edward J. Hickey, of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit. O'Farrell stated that the "underlying values behind the titanic world struggle are religious values." Franklin put it in starker terms: "This war is being fought not merely for the preservation of the democratic ideal, but for the very salvation of civilization." And Hickey reminded readers, "The freedom of religion that we cherish so dearly is denied by our enemies."[11]

How did Detroiters react to the Four Freedoms exhibition and the wide-ranging discussions that ensued? By and large, the community responded with enthusiasm, despite the many different interpretations of the meaning of those Four Freedoms. Not surprisingly, the *Detroit Free Press*, a Democratic-leaning morning paper, embraced the Four Freedoms War Bond Show. On the opening day, Rockwell's paintings covered much of the front page of the paper. An editorial was effusive in its praise of both the ideals and the paintings:

> There is a great deal of America in this set of four paintings. Yet they are more than American in their appeal. . . . Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Religion are woven deeply into our tradition; are inextricably part of our history. Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want we have not yet attained in fullness, yet no nation has gone further in making the ideal into reality. The Norman Rockwell canvases have a message for the world, but the message begins here at home.[12]

The *Detroit News*, the more Republican-leaning afternoon newspaper, strongly supported the Third War Loan bond drive. The *News* also covered the Four Freedoms War Bond Show but not as closely as the *Free Press*, and it did not comment on the Four Freedoms in editorials. In fact, the only such commentary to appear in the *News* during the run of the show was in George Stark's Town Talk column. He wrote that "the Four Freedoms Show in Our Town" was "something everybody ought to see, implemented as it is by Norman Rockwell's stunning paintings." He then used the ideals as a bridge to talk about a Gilbert and Sullivan show, noting how wonderfully it employed freedom of speech. The *News*' views were perhaps best captured in Ray S. Ayer's Roadside Philosopher column of September 12. Under the title "False Freedom," he commented



Charles Henry Alston (1907–1977), *A Second Emancipation Proclamation!!*, 1943. Illustration for Office of Emergency Management, Office of War Information, Domestic Operations, News Bureau. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland. The Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter were deeply meaningful to the African American community, which saw them as promises for better conditions in the postwar world. This editorial cartoon was published in numerous African American newspapers across the country.

on the importance of responsibility accompanying freedom and liberty. He closed by contending that "the Four Freedoms: freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech and of religion are fine; but they must never include freedom from responsibility."[13]

The *Michigan Chronicle*, a weekly that served the local African American community, covered the Four Freedoms very differently. It gave front-page coverage to the Four Freedoms rally on Belle Isle, on August 29, 1943 (held just after the second anniversary of the Atlantic Charter, the US–UK joint statement of common aims signed by FDR and Winston Churchill). The *Chronicle* also reported on a local youth group, the Bethel Young People's Cabinet, and its consideration of the question, "What do the Four Freedoms mean?" The *Chronicle* saw FDR's Four Freedoms as a promise for improved conditions in the United States after the war, although it was uncertain whether FDR would be willing or able to carry out that promise.[14]

The *Chronicle* actively supported local war bond efforts, stating in an editorial: "We are confident that the Negro citizens will assure the success of the Third War Loan. . . . and that we will buy



Advertisement for a bond rally for the African American community at Broad's Club Zombie, in Detroit's North End neighborhood. *Michigan Chronicle*, September 18, 1943.

more bonds in proportion to our ability to buy them than any group in America." It also carried numerous advertisements for war bond rallies, many of which were held at clubs in the African American neighborhoods of Paradise Valley and Black Bottom. However, perhaps reflecting the segregation of Detroit and the nation, as well as the *Saturday Evening Post*'s marginalization of African Americans, the *Chronicle* never mentioned the Four Freedoms War Bond Show nor carried an ad for it.[15]

Despite these varying interpretations—or perhaps because of them—the Four Freedoms War Bond Show ultimately marked an optimistic turn in Detroit. There was still a healthy amount of skepticism, to be sure. R. J. Thomas, the UAW president, cited freedom of speech when he was arrested in Texas while attempting to organize workers in that state, but he could have also cited freedom from want. Indeed, freedom from want was the most controversial of the four ideals. When the US vice president, Henry A. Wallace, attempted to expand and elaborate on that freedom, he was mocked by editorials in both the *Free Press* and the *News*. Both newspapers were particularly suspicious of other nations in the global arena, fearing that they would take advantage of the United States after the war. In a one-line filler at the bottom of the opinion page, the *Free Press* quipped: "Unfortunately, the world may get the idea that a Fifth Freedom will consist in free access to Uncle Sam's bank roll."[16]

Nonetheless, when looking back, it is clear that the arrival of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* in Detroit that fall had a profound impact. Along with prompting thought and discussion in the very busy city, the Four Freedoms War Bond Show helped lead Detroit and Michigan to exceed their quotas of bond sales. In fact, the final surge was actually led by the sale of the small-denomination Series E bonds, with both the city and the state leading the nation in that category. "Michigan is bound to place first in E bond sales among the 13 large states," predicted Michigan bond-drive chief Frank Isbey. The show raised $2.7 million in Series E bond sales and helped give the city an opportunity to consider the shape of the future that it was helping to make secure.[17]



★Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Lincoln for the Defense*, ca. 1962. Oil on canvas, 49¾ × 17½ in. (126.4 × 44.5 cm). Illustration for "Mr. Lincoln for the Defense," by Elisa Bialk, *Saturday Evening Post*, February 10, 1962, p. 25. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

FREEDOM FROM SPEECH: LINCOLN, ROOSEVELT & THE MYTH OF IMPROMPTU ORATORY

HAROLD HOLZER

On January 1, 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, alert and focused as ever, despite an eggnog-suffused New Year's Eve celebration the previous night, summoned his team of speechwriters to his White House study to review the most recent draft of his upcoming annual message to Congress—the address soon to achieve immortality as the Four Freedoms speech.[1]

According to Samuel I. Rosenman, who was one of the wordsmiths gathered around FDR's desk that day, what happened next approached the level of performance art. The president declared that their latest, lengthy draft still cried out for a memorable ending. Then, as Rosenman remembered, FDR "leaned far back in his swivel chair with his gaze on the ceiling. It was a long pause—so long that it began to become uncomfortable." Finally, the president assumed an expression that suggested inspiration had finally struck, and broke the reverie by barking jovially to his stenographer: "Dorothy, take a law!"[2]

The speechwriters must have chuckled. That line, a well-known catchphrase of the era, came directly from the script of the recent Broadway musical *I'd Rather Be Right*. In summoning words that had been declaimed onstage by George M. Cohan, Roosevelt seemed to be flamboyantly assuming the role of a president portraying an actor who was portraying a president. At this highly theatrical moment, acting as if he were inventing his thoughts on the spot, FDR proceeded to recite the words he would soon immortalize in his speech before the joint session of Congress: a stirring enumeration of each of the Four Freedoms that he hoped, despite the threat posed by fascism, would take hold "everywhere in the world." The guarantees—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from fear, and freedom from want—came tumbling out with force and succinctness, but also in FDR's irresistibly conversational style of oratory. In this speech, as with his best public orations, he would appear to be thinking, and speaking, almost spontaneously. And he had made certain that speechwriters Rosenman, Harry Hopkins, and Robert E. Sherwood had all been present to witness an apparently impromptu burst of creativity that seemed to combine personal intuition and divine guidance.[3]

In reality, FDR had been formulating his quartet of freedoms ever since responding to a question about his "peace objectives" at a press conference the previous summer. At that session,



Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, a key member of FDR's speechwriting team, is seated alongside the president in this 1930 pose. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.



Fletcher C. Ransom, *Lincoln at Gettysburg*, 1919. Oil on canvas, 65 × 80 (165.1 × 203.2 cm) (framed). Forest Lawn Memorial Park, Los Angeles.

Roosevelt had initially pledged himself only to freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and freedom from fear. The correspondent then followed up by asking whether the president had not forgotten world hunger: freedom from want? Yes, Roosevelt freely added, he had indeed left that one out; it belonged on the same list of goals. By that point, as James J. Kimble demonstrates in the introduction to this catalogue, FDR had been collecting freedom-themed notes in his files, perhaps refining them in his mind, waiting for the chance to relaunch them into the spotlight.[4]

The 1941 message to Congress proved the perfect opportunity. Much consideration, and a good deal of work, had already gone into the preparation for the speech before Roosevelt thought to adopt—or, more accurately, recite—his Four Freedoms ideas for the peroration that the annual message still lacked. So impressed was Rosenman by the moment that he never corrected the implication that FDR had devised the climactic words as he dictated them.[5]

Some four score years earlier, in crafting an arguably even more famous address, President Abraham Lincoln developed his "new birth of freedom" remarks at Gettysburg under similarly mythic and seemingly offhand circumstances—or so Lincoln (like Roosevelt) hoped everyone would believe. Otherwise, the circumstances were quite different. For example, FDR's speech anticipated possible American entry into a war to defend freedom around the globe, while Lincoln's provided solace for sacrifices already rendered in an ongoing war being waged, in part, to expand freedom at home. Other differences prevailed as well. According to custom, FDR was expected to address the new session of Congress personally each January—as a matter of political ritual—while in Lincoln's day, tradition discouraged presidential speechmaking and all but forbade ap-

pearances before Congress. (Lincoln submitted his own annual messages in writing; they were read aloud on Capitol Hill by clerks.)[6]

Lincoln was not even invited to give the principal address at the dedication of the new Soldiers' National Cemetery on the site of the 1863 Battle of Gettysburg. That honor went to Edward Everett, a renowned orator who had run for vice president on a ticket opposing Lincoln three years earlier. Later, almost reluctantly, the organizers asked Lincoln whether he might wish to deliver "a few appropriate remarks" of his own, perhaps expecting, even hoping, that he would decline. As canny as Roosevelt was when it came to seizing the spotlight at moments of highest drama, Lincoln wisely accepted the summons. And like Roosevelt, he took pains to minimize the deep thought and hard work that in fact preceded his appearance. A comparison of the two presidents' methods—for both devising memorable messages and concealing the labor that characterized their authorship—reveals a strain of leadership common to many great leaders and phrasemakers: the desire to make the process look easy.[7]

Unlike Roosevelt, Lincoln employed no ghostwriters to craft even the outlines of his messages and orations. He performed all such work himself, leaving to his private secretaries only the most rote correspondence. But much like his eventual successor, Lincoln did not like to grant too many people full access to either his creative process or his sources. When he did share such insights, he did so in a manner startlingly similar to Roosevelt's, aiming not only to dazzle staff and visitors but also occasionally to mislead them in order to conceal the sweat that went into words meant to sound fresh and almost spontaneous when publicly delivered. This process was employed even when the words at hand might attain the status of national scripture on the subject of freedom.

Lincoln's confidence in his abilities was justified, and he may well rank as the greatest writer among American presidents. Edmund Wilson stated that, notwithstanding the "folksy and jocular" style of Lincoln's youthful yarn-spinning, "alone among American presidents, it is possible to imagine Lincoln, grown up in a different milieu, becoming a distinguished writer of a not merely political kind." To Wilson, Lincoln's style "was cunning in its cadences, exact in its choice of words, and yet also instinctive and natural; and it was inseparable from his personality in all of its manifestations." Lincoln needed only to carve out the necessary time to think and write—much as Roosevelt had required a holiday respite to sit back, ponder, and then dictate as if without preparation the words he had in reality been considering for months.[8]

To compose his first inaugural address back in 1861, president-elect Lincoln had closeted himself away inside a room above his brother-in-law's store in Springfield, Illinois, out of the gaze of the reporters and office seekers who were already making his life a misery. To prepare his Gettysburg Address two and a half years later, he managed somehow to steal time from his crushingly burdensome White House schedule to compose a first draft. We know little about how much time he devoted to the project or how many jottings he attempted and discarded. We know only that he recrafted his message several times until he was satisfied with it. As a jumping-off point, Lincoln referred back to the genuinely extemporaneous comments he had made to a crowd gathered at the White House to rejoice over the Gettysburg victory back in July. (Here the comparison to FDR's later efforts to improve upon spontaneity is uncanny.) "How long ago is it?" Lincoln had asked the audience that 1863 night. "Eighty odd years—since on the Fourth of July for the



FDR gives his Four Freedoms address before Congress, January 6, 1941. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

first time in the history of the world a nation by its representatives, assembled and declared as a self-evident truth that 'all men are created equal.' That was the birthday of the United States of America." Now, ingeniously massaging the clumsy but earnest thought, Lincoln tweaked that observation into an elegiac new opening: "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that 'all men are created equal.'" The phrase that achieved the greatest fame—his pledge to preserve government of, by, and for the people—Lincoln may have borrowed from earlier writers such as Theodore Parker or Daniel Webster.[9]

Lincoln did offer a glimpse into his preliminary efforts to compose his speech when the friendly newspaperman Noah Brooks accompanied him to Alexander Gardner's Washington, DC, photography gallery on November 8, 1863, eleven days before the president was scheduled to appear at Gettysburg. Between soon-to-be iconic poses before the camera (p. 112), Brooks inquired whether the president had already written his highly anticipated remarks. "Not yet," Lincoln responded, quickly adding, "not finished anyway." As Brooks remembered it, Lincoln further elaborated: "I have written it over, two or three times, and I shall have to give it another lick before I am satisfied." He was sure of only one thing: it would be "short, short, short." Clearly, the work was already well underway.[10]

An envelope visible on the table before which Lincoln posed at Gardner's that day, Brooks later claimed, contained an advance copy of Everett's stem-winder, which the orator had ordered to be typeset, so it could be ready for flawless, and presumably page-one, reproduction in northern newspapers the day after its delivery.[11]

"I suppose he was afraid I should say something that he wanted to say," Lincoln observed matter-of-factly, adding, "He needn't have been alarmed." Again, in the face of competition from the nation's most renowned public speaker, Lincoln tried emphasizing his casual attitude toward his own effort. As he added that day: "My speech isn't very long," as if to suggest that it was harder to write long speeches than short ones. In fact, as the *Providence Journal* later observed of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address: "The hardest thing in the world is to make a five minute's speech. . . . Could the most elaborate, splendid oration be more beautiful, more touching, more inspiring, than those thrilling words?"[12]

Out of Brooks's gaze, Lincoln was working diligently to condense his thoughts into the time allotted for his remarks. The president reviewed the plans for the Gettysburg burial grounds and undoubtedly determined to bury as well his privately expressed disappointment that Union forces had not pursued the Confederate army after defeating it at Gettysburg. With the facts before him, he proceeded to make sure that he had the cadence of his draft precisely right, its 272 words so sublime that the result approached poetry. He waxed poetic yet again—this time approaching the Shakespearian—when insisting on departing Washington the day before the scheduled dedication ceremony, lest, as he put it, "by the slightest accident we fail entirely, and, at the best, the whole to be a mere breathless running of the gauntlet."[13]

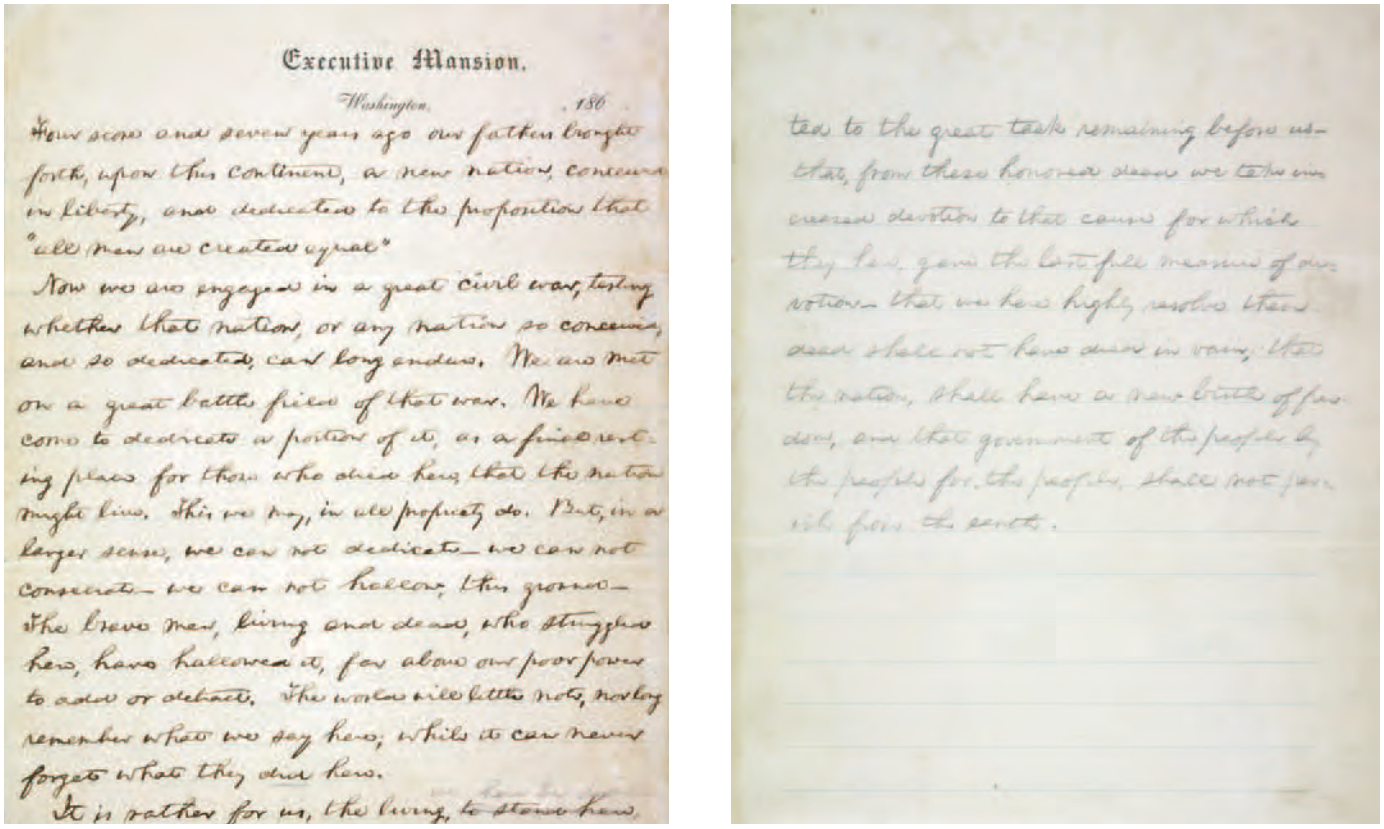
In the hours before leaving, Lincoln showed (or read—Lincoln liked to read his speeches aloud before delivering them) his latest draft to both his former secretary of war, Simon Cameron, and the US marshal for the District of Columbia, Lincoln's old Illinois friend (and sometime body-



Alexander Gardner (1821–1882), *Abraham Lincoln*, Sunday, November 8, 1863. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

guard) Ward Hill Lamon, who was scheduled to serve as master of ceremonies at the cemetery dedication. Lamon later unconvincingly recalled that Lincoln "was extremely busy, and had no time for preparation; and that he greatly feared he would not be able to acquit himself with credit, much less to fill the measure of public expectation."[14]

Burnishing that legend further (in much the same way that Sam Rosenman recalled the events of January 1, 1941), few of Lincoln's intimates ever objected to—much less endeavored to correct—the myth that later arose to suggest that Lincoln created these immortal remarks in a slapdash manner. Perhaps, went one persistent story, he had even done so on the back of an envelope on the train that carried the president to Gettysburg the day before the ceremonies. The point was not to denigrate Lincoln for laziness but to ascribe the brilliant result to sheer genius. Among others, nineteenth-century journalist Ben Perley Poore contended that the address was "written in the car on the way from Washington to the battlefield, upon a piece of pasteboard held on his knee." A fellow rail passenger claimed that Lincoln finished the masterpiece before the train even reached Baltimore. A naval volunteer accompanying the traveling party insisted that not until the


Executive Mansion.

Washington, 180

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal"

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final resting place for those who died here, that the nation might live. This we may, in all propriety do. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate — we can not consecrate — we can not hallow this ground — The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, while it can never forget what they did here.

It is rather for us, the living, to stand here,

tes to the great task remaining before us — that, from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address (Nicolay copy), November 1863. Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

train reached Hanover—just twelve miles from Gettysburg—did Lincoln rise after hours of innocuous storytelling to declare: "Gentlemen, this is all very pleasant, but the people will expect me to say something to them tomorrow, and I must give the matter some thought." Even the governor of Pennsylvania fueled the myth by recalling that Lincoln excused himself from the reception in his honor at the house of David Wills the night before the ceremony by declaring: "I believe, gentlemen, the committee are expecting me to say something here today [*sic*]. If you will excuse me I will go into this room here and prepare it."[15]

The most absurd recollection of all came from a young executive with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, who claimed not only to have seen Lincoln scribbling the Gettysburg Address aboard his train but also to have personally handed him the pencil with which he wrote it. The junior railroad man's name was Andrew Carnegie, and the truth was, he could not have participated in such a historic moment—he was in Pittsburgh that day. Even the president's sole surviving son, Robert T. Lincoln, added to the legend of offhandedness when he agreed, twenty-one years after the fact: "My father's Gettysburg address was jotted down in pencil, in part at least on his way to the place." But Robert had not been at the White House, or in Gettysburg, either; he had been away matriculating at Harvard. The record shows that while Lincoln may have been unwilling to share

wide access to his true creative process, he was determined to devote as much time as needed to find the right words to assure the war-weary public that free government would not perish from the earth.[16]

That the Gettysburg Address came eventually to be regarded as a masterpiece is no surprise; it was ingeniously conceived and brilliantly crafted. It was indeed brief, which added to the mystique of its spontaneity. It was also roundly criticized by pro-Democratic newspapers, whose opprobrium made the oration seem greater for the fact that it had been dismissed as inadequate in its own time (in fact, pro-Republican newspapers lauded it). Even Lincoln had underestimated his achievement, declaring in the speech itself: "The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here." More crucially, the speech was generic enough in its commitment to "a new birth of freedom"—neither African Americans nor slavery are ever mentioned—to become a useful testament to his greatness. This was especially so in the Jim Crow era, when Lincoln's success in saving the Union replaced his success in ending slavery as his principal presidential accomplishment. Lincoln the orator, not Lincoln the emancipator, became the subject of later veneration and the object of celebratory statuary embraced by Republicans and Democrats alike, especially after the 1909 centennial of Lincoln's birth and the long-delayed federal commitment to fund the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC.[17]

In the early years of the twentieth century, Lincoln worship routinely crossed party lines as well. Woodrow Wilson, notwithstanding his segregationist instincts, was one of the Democrats who began claiming Lincoln as an inspiration. As a presidential nominee in 1912, he broke tradition and made a pilgrimage to a Lincoln shrine, until then the exclusively Republican mecca of Springfield, Illinois.[18]

It is only reasonable to assume that Wilson's assistant secretary of the navy, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, took careful note. No Democrat would work more assiduously to seize the Lincoln



Crowd attending the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial, May 30, 1922. National Photo Company Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



E. H. Shepherd (1879–1976), *These Dead . . . Shall Not Have Died in Vain*. The perception of an FDR–Lincoln connection was made visible in this editorial cartoon, which appeared in the *New York Times Magazine*, February 8, 1942. Originally published in *Punch* magazine, December 17, 1941.

legacy than FDR himself. While serving as governor of New York, Roosevelt told a journalist that one of his goals was for "us Democrats to claim Lincoln as one of our own." With characteristic zeal and deftness, he proceeded to accomplish precisely that. During the presidential campaign of 1932, he attempted to do what no Democrat had done since passage of the Fourteenth Amendment granted African Americans the right to vote: he competed for black support, which had lined up solidly behind Republicans, the party of Lincoln, since Reconstruction. The black vote finally tipped to the Democrats when FDR ran for a second term in 1936; it has remained in the party's corner, not only reliably but almost unanimously, ever since.[19]

On July 3, 1938, two years after his reelection, Roosevelt embraced the Lincoln connection more dramatically than ever by traveling to Gettysburg to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Civil War battle. It was also the twenty-fifth anniversary of the final soldiers' reunion on the site, an event at which the previous Democratic president, Woodrow Wilson, had given the principal address. The 1938 event would be highlighted by the dedication of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial. Just as local officials had done three-quarters of a century earlier, they invited the president to deliver remarks at the dedicatory ceremony. No doubt with Lincoln very much on his mind, FDR accepted.

Unlike Lincoln before him, Roosevelt took his chances with the breathless gauntlet of a same-day railroad journey, traveling all the way from Hyde Park, New York, to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on the morning of the ceremonies. In 1863, Lincoln had ridden on horseback to the cemetery grounds, accompanied by a military escort. In 1938, Roosevelt traveled from the depot to the site in his familiar open car, led toward the ceremony by a cavalry escort. Like Lincoln, Roosevelt spoke from a temporary wooden platform erected for the occasion. Lincoln had spoken for less than three minutes; Roosevelt was relatively brief as well, consuming only nine minutes for his own Gettysburg address.

Did FDR do what Lincoln had not done: write some of his speech aboard the train that transported him to Gettysburg? Here the evidence suggests that he might actually have done so. The surviving typescript of his remarks contains a handwritten opening paragraph likely composed en route to the event: "On behalf of the people of the United States I accept this monument in the spirit of brotherhood and peace." Inevitably, FDR went on to quote the Gettysburg Address: "We are encompassed by 'The last full measure of devotion' of many men and by the words in which Abraham Lincoln expressed the simple faith for which they died." If Roosevelt failed to emphasize precisely what that devotion had made possible—the beginning of the end of American slavery and the potential for racial equality in the (re-)United States—he was doing exactly what the sixteenth president had done seventy-five years before: expressing vague if earnest appreciation of his presidential predecessors and their commitment to unity. As FDR put it, in a clever paraphrase, it constituted a reaffirmation of "the purposes for which the Nation was founded—to preserve under the changing conditions of each generation a people's government for the people's good." Roosevelt spoke of "unity . . . opportunity and security," hopeful that "bitterness" and "strife" might be addressed while "avoiding war."[20]

The arc of coincidence did not end here. As war overtook Europe, Roosevelt took his affinity for Lincoln one step further in re-staffing his White House in preparation for a possible run for a third term. In 1940, he hired for his speechwriting team Robert Emmet Sherwood, one of the witnesses to the president's recitation of the Four Freedoms the following New Year's Day. Sherwood was no ordinary speechwriter. He had authored the 1938 Broadway drama *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*, which became not only a commercial success but also a Pulitzer Prize winner. In 1940, RKO Radio Pictures released the film version, in which Raymond Massey (a Roosevelt supporter) re-created the role he had originated on Broadway and earned an Academy Award nomination as best actor.

It is difficult to believe that FDR did not comprehend and embrace the connection to his predecessor that Sherwood's presence at the White House suggested. It is equally hard to believe that, in hiring Sherwood, Roosevelt did not consider the possibility that his own prose might thereafter more directly reflect the aspirations Lincoln (and Sherwood's dramatized Lincoln) had earlier enunciated. Perhaps, as the Four Freedoms message took shape, Sherwood, well acquainted with the Lincoln literature, even directed Roosevelt's attention to one of Lincoln's own messages to Congress, the one sent to Capitol Hill on December 1, 1862, which declared: "In *giving* freedom to the *slave*, we *assure* freedom to the *free*." Slavery had been the great hypocrisy preventing America from fulfilling its founding avowal that all men are created equal. Now, as Roosevelt saw



The Roosevelts attended a wreath-laying ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial on Lincoln Day in February 1938. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

it, wholesale violations of human rights throughout the globe compelled the United States to extend its aspirations for freedom and equality across borders.[21]

Three months before speaking at Gettysburg, Abraham Lincoln received African American leader Frederick Douglass at the White House. There Douglass implored Lincoln to address another violation of American principle by equalizing the disparate pay scale that reigned in the Union army at the time, with newly recruited enrollees in the U.S. Colored Troops receiving smaller salaries than white soldiers. Lincoln expressed sympathy, along with admiration for black soldiers' recent gallantry in battle, but cautioned Douglass that the white American public would not yet tolerate pay equity for African American soldiers. "I assure you, Mr. Douglass," Lincoln told his visitor, "that in the end they shall have the same pay as white soldiers." The president ultimately lived up to his word.[22]

Minutes after delivering *his* Gettysburg address on July 3, 1938, Franklin Delano Roosevelt met briefly with an African American introduced to him as the single oldest surviving veteran of the Civil War: William Barnes, 112 years of age, who had served in the U.S. Colored Troops. History had truly come full cycle.

Two and a half years would elapse before FDR's allegedly improvised recitation of the Four Freedoms peroration would dazzle his speechwriting team at their New Year's Day work session, thereafter introducing the new phrase into the national vocabulary. But once Roosevelt had visited Gettysburg and hired Sherwood, the past became prologue and another, even more encompassing "new birth of freedom" loomed on the horizon, similarly crafted as the result of careful preparation but in a misty haze of exaggerated spontaneity. As Lincoln had declared in his 1862 message to Congress—yet another text FDR undoubtedly knew—"*we* can not escape history."[23]


VACATION

THE POWER OF ART: SELECTED IMAGES

STEPHANIE HABOUSH PLUNKETT



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Ticket Seller*, 1937. Oil on canvas, 28 × 24 in. (71.1 × 61 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 24, 1937. Private collection.

The longest and most severe economic downturn of the twentieth century, the Great Depression began with the stock market crash of October 29, 1929, and lasted for a decade. Despite this, the *Saturday Evening Post* and other magazines presented uplifting images and hope for better times. Published almost a year after the crash, Norman Rockwell's September 13, 1930, cover illustration portrays a weary family that has managed to take some time away despite challenging times. The box camera at the woman's feet recorded their adventures, and such clues as the pail and shovel, wilted bouquet, deflated balloon, and frog struggling to escape from captivity give us a sense of the family's experience. As the Depression wore on, however, Rockwell's perspective on the theme took a turn. In his April 24, 1937, *Post* cover, a bored ticket seller seems unable to entice travelers to purchase vacation fares to any destination, near or far.

Travel was Rockwell's only passion other than art, and it is the subject of many of his paintings. By the time *Family Home from Vacation* was published, he had been to South America, made three trips to Europe, and recently returned from an extended trip to California, where he had met and married his second wife, Mary Barstow. In 1932, the Rockwells, then including infant son Jarvis and pet German shepherd Raleigh, boarded the RMS *Mauretania* for Paris. There Rockwell hoped to find inspiration for his art, but five months into their projected eight-month stay the family returned to New Rochelle, New York—their second child, Thomas, was on the way.

Opposite:
★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Family Home from Vacation*, 1930. Oil on canvas, 40 × 32 in. (101.6 × 81.3 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 13, 1930. The Grace Family.



★Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Barbershop Quartet*, 1936. Oil on canvas, 36 × 27¼ in. (91.4 × 69.2 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 26, 1936. Mrs. Louise Holland.

During the Depression era, Norman Rockwell and other magazine illustrators celebrated life's simple pleasures in artworks filled with pathos and often a touch of humor. This animated group of singers was likely inspired by the popularity of professional and amateur barbershop quartets, which were especially widespread from the 1890s through the 1930s. In true Rockwellian fashion, facial expression and hand gestures are emphasized to convey the story, supported by telling details like the straight razor, shaving cup and mug, and well-worn comb. When Rockwell painted this work, he was living in New Rochelle, New York, where his neighbors and fellow artists were eager models. Fellow *Post* illustrator Walter Beach Humphrey appears on the far right, his face half-covered with shaving cream. In Humphrey's hand is a copy of the *Police Gazette*, an early twentieth-century gentleman's magazine featuring stories that portray a less innocent side of life.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Marble Champion*, 1939. Oil on canvas, 28 × 22 in. (71.1 × 55.9 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 2, 1939. Private collection.

Strong women and girls are a mainstay of Rockwell's art, and in this *Saturday Evening Post* cover illustration, his lively female protagonist dominates a game of marbles to the chagrin of her two male friends. Her stuffed marble bag—in contrast to the boys' empty sacks—adds insult to injury, and her determined expression indicates that she has only just begun. Kneeling on the ground in scuffed lace-up shoes, she is decidedly unladylike, exuding energy and power. Smart, assertive females, characterized by stars such Jean Arthur, Jean Harlow, and Joan Crawford, also made regular appearances in the movies of the era.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Rosie the Riveter*, 1943. Oil on canvas, 52 × 40 in. (132.1 × 101.6 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 29, 1943. Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, Bentonville, Arkansas.

During World War II, American women entered the workforce in unprecedented numbers, as widespread male enlistment greatly diminished the industrial labor force. Rockwell's *Rosie the Riveter* stands as a powerful symbol of women's critical contributions. The star of a government campaign aimed at recruiting female workers, she became an iconic symbol for the times and continues to have relevance today.

With seemingly little effort, Rosie holds a rivet gun on her lap while eating her sandwich on lunch break, her foot planted firmly on *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*). This autobiographical book by Nazi party leader Adolf Hitler, published in 1925–26, discusses his path to anti-Semitism and outlines his ideology and his schemes for the future of Germany. Rosie's statuesque physique is modeled after Michelangelo's sixteenth-century depiction of the prophet Isaiah on the Sistine Chapel ceiling, rather than the petite Mary Doyle, the Arlington, Vermont, neighbor who sat for the work.



★Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Liberty Girl*, 1943. Charcoal on paper, 41 × 31 in. (104.1 × 78.7 cm). Cover study for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 4, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

The mythical embodiment of the new roles that belonged to the American woman during World War II, *Liberty Girl* symbolizes the ability of Americans to mobilize and transform themselves in the interest of society. Rockwell hired a professional model to play the part in this work, and could have chosen a more idealized approach, as he had in the classically inspired *Rosie the Riveter*. Instead, he sketched her as a motivated girl next door, underscoring her authenticity. Large-scale charcoal drawings, such as this one, were important to Rockwell's artistic process. They allowed him to visualize compositional structure, narrative details, and tonal areas before he began work on the final canvas.



★ Denys Wortman (1887–1958), *"There was a time, Mopey, when bein' in the bread line was sort of exclusive . . . ,"* November 13, 1930. Ink, crayon, and charcoal on paper, 17 × 14 in. (43.2 × 35.6 cm). Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont.



★ Denys Wortman (1887–1958), *"When Mother says 'More?' say no, 'cause there's just a little left for her,"* February 6, 1943. Graphite on paper, 17 × 13 in. (43.2 × 33 cm). Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont.

An insightful realist and a masterful draftsman, Denys Wortman studied with Robert Henri at the New York School of Fine and Applied Art and exhibited in the famed 1913 New York Armory Show before turning his attention to comic art. In 1924, he began working for the *New York World*, and during the Great Depression his humorous, heartfelt drawings lightened the times in the *Unemployed*, a magazine established in 1930 by the League for Industrial Democracy. Captions for many of his images came from overheard chatter that was later refined by the artist's wife, Hilda Renbold Wortman, who turned an astute ear to the conversations of people around her. Wortman's story lines unfolded in a single panel, summoning up the urban realities of men, women, and children going about their lives and trying to stay afloat in an unsympathetic world.

Mopey Dick and the Duke, seen here on the left in the 1930 cartoon, were recurring characters in Wortman's long-running syndicated feature, *Metropolitan Movies*, which appeared in several New York papers, including the *World*, the *World Telegram*, and the *Sun*. This popular single-panel comic offered running commentary about the joys, and mostly trials, of city life.



★ Hugh M. Hutton (1898–1976), *The Funeral Oration for Poland*, 1939. Lithographic crayon on paper, 18½ × 13½ in. (47 × 34.3 cm). Editorial cartoon for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 20, 1939. The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner.

An American cartoonist who worked at the *Philadelphia Inquirer* for more than thirty years, Hugh M. Hutton exercised freedom of expression in powerful visual commentary that addressed a wide range of social and political issues. Born in Lincoln, Nebraska, he served in the armed forces during World War I and found his first success as an artist with *Nutty Natural History*, a series of syndicated, uncaptioned cartoons.

The Funeral Oration for Poland is a striking work in which Hutton employs recognizable symbols to comment upon the invasion of Poland, which began on September 1, 1939, and marked the beginning of World War II. A motionless woman lying facedown is closely observed by large, predatory vultures representing Germany and the Soviet Union.



★ Martha Sawyers (1902–1988), *United China Relief*, ca. 1944. Gouache on board, 32 × 26 in. (81.3 × 66 cm). Poster illustration for the United China Relief Foundations, US Government Printing Office. The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner.

Born in the small town of Cuero, Texas, Martha Sawyers studied at the Art Students League of New York with anatomist George Bridgman and painter-illustrator George Luks before setting out for the Far East, which had long held her fascination. She settled in Beijing, but the Japanese invasion of 1937 forced her narrow escape to Shanghai. She returned to the United States that year and was commissioned by *Collier's*, *Liberty*, and other publications to focus on the Asian subjects she cared so deeply about. At the end of World War II, Sawyers returned to China as a US Army war correspondent, creating artworks that captured public attention. This sensitive portrayal of a Chinese family suffering the impacts of war appeared on a United China Relief Foundations poster at a time when aid to the war-torn country was a popular cause in the United States.



★ Dorothea Tomlinson (1898–1985), *Family Quilting*, 1934.
Oil on canvas, 42½ × 50⅜ in. (108 × 128 cm). Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

During the Great Depression and into the early years of World War II, from 1933 to 1943, the federal government supported the arts in unprecedented ways. Federal tax dollars were utilized to employ jobless people working in the visual, performing, and literary arts. But President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal arts projects had a larger goal—to promote American art and culture and provide access to what he described as "an abundant life." These projects lifted thousands of artists out of poverty, and allowed Americans throughout the nation to see original artworks and theater or take art and music classes for the first time.

Born in Fairfield, Iowa, Dorothea Tomlinson was a painter, illustrator, and lithographer who created murals and paintings for the Works Progress Administration, including this colorful group scene. Popular in the 1930s, quilting parties, or bees, brought women of diverse ages together, providing them with the opportunity to socialize with other members of the community while creating striking, utilitarian works of art.



★ Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985), *Mother and Daughter Swimmers*, 1940. Gouache on board, 22 × 20 in. (55.9 × 50.8 cm). Cover illustration for *Ladies' Home Journal*, July 1940. D. B. Dowd Modern Graphic History Library, Washington University in St. Louis.



★ Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985), *Mother and Daughter Soldier's Homecoming*, 1945. Cover illustration for *Ladies' Home Journal*, July 1945. Tearsheet. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of the Rosenbaum Family.

A founder of the modern glamour aesthetic, Al Parker defined the progressive look and feel of published imagery at a time of sweeping change, when Americans sought symbols of hope on the pages of the nation's periodicals. His innovative modernist artworks created for mass-appeal women's magazines, such as *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Cosmopolitan*, captivated upwardly mobile readers, reflecting and influencing the values and aspirations of women and their families during World War II and the postwar era.

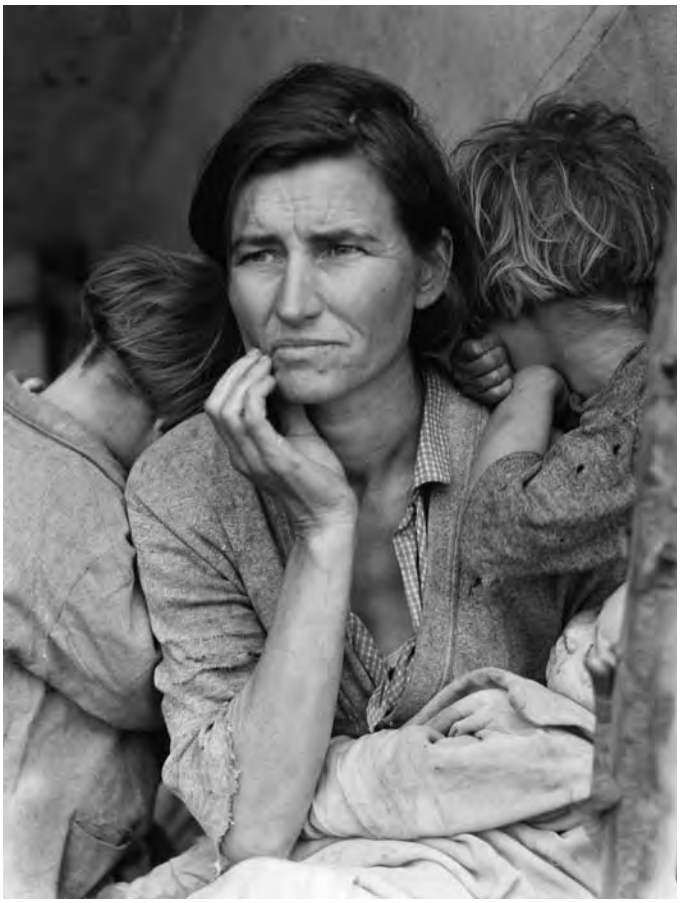
When the first of Parker's mother and daughter covers for *Ladies' Home Journal* appeared in February 1939, the figures' graceful silhouettes and matching outfits created a sensation and inspired fashion trends. Over the next thirteen years, Parker's mother and daughter celebrated holiday traditions and shared a love of sport, as seen here in *Mother and Daughter Swimmers*. They also played their part during World War II, modeling best behavior by rationing, sending letters abroad, and taking on Dad's chores at home. In July 1945, Parker's mother and daughter welcomed their returning soldier, presenting another narrative at the outset of the postwar baby boom. By that December, two knitted booties—one pink and one blue—were already underway, and in 1946 a son was born.



★ Jo Davidson (1883–1952), *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1934. Baked clay with gold-bronze patina, 9¼ × 3¾ × 5 in. (23.5 × 9.5 × 12.7 cm). New-York Historical Society.

One of the most celebrated American sculptors of the twentieth century, Jo Davidson spent his career creating captivating likenesses of many renowned figures, including Mahatma Gandhi, Helen Keller, Albert Einstein, Gertrude Stein, Rudyard Kipling, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. In December 1933, he arrived in Washington, DC, at the invitation of Sara Roosevelt, to create a bust of her son, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had been elected in 1932. Davidson completed the piece quickly and went on to create others, which were admired by the president and his family. The artist, too, had much affection for his sitter. "President Roosevelt won me completely with his charm, his beautiful voice and his freedom from constraint," Davidson said. "He had an unshakeable faith in man. . . . In Roosevelt's tremendous relief program, the artist too was included, and the influence of the WPA projects was tremendous." In 1936, small busts of Roosevelt by the sculptor were presented as gifts to prominent supporters during the reelection campaign.[1]

Born to Russian immigrants on New York's Lower East Side, Davidson sold portraits on the boardwalk in Atlantic City, New Jersey, and began to sculpt in 1904 while studying medicine at Yale University. Adept at capturing likenesses, he did not require his subjects to pose formally, preferring to engage them in conversation to observe their facial expressions. Sculpted primarily in clay, his works were typically cast in terra-cotta or bronze, with unique patinas applied for emphasis.



★ Dorothea Lange (1895–1965), *Destitute pea pickers in California. Mother of seven children. Age thirty-two. Nipomo, California*, 1936. Digital reproduction. Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

President Roosevelt famously advised Americans in 1933, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." But the nation was justified in being fearful. The stock market crash of 1929 swiftly transformed the Roaring Twenties into the Great Depression. Banks closed their doors, breadlines became a common sight, and the shantytowns called Hoovervilles dotted the landscape. Jim Crow policies and racial inequality continued to be a fact of life for millions, and much of the nation's grain belt became a dusty wasteland, fostering the exodus of destitute migrants seeking work that was no longer available.

In 1936, Dorothea Lange met Florence Owens Thompson in a California camp of fieldworkers whose livelihoods had been devastated by crop failure. Lange's timeless photograph of the forlorn migrant mother and her children came to represent a generation and a nation that seemed to have lost its way. Published widely in magazines and newspapers at the time, Lange's documentary photography for the Farm Security Administration (FSA) humanized the Depression's consequences. Lange had been operating a successful portrait studio in San Francisco but was moved by the homeless and unemployed standing in breadlines as the financial crisis wore on. A pioneering documentary photographer, she created images of the urban scene that reflected her passionate social concerns and led to her association with the FSA.



★ Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985), *Evicted sharecroppers along Highway 60, New Madrid Country, Missouri*, January 1939. Digital reproduction. Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

In January 1939, travelers on the highways of southern Missouri encountered an alarming sight—thousands of sharecroppers and their families were camped out on the sides of the road, with piles of their possessions beside them, in the cold of winter. Almost all assembled were African American and had been evicted by farm owners. Sharecroppers were entitled to a portion of the harvest of the land they worked, and the government had recently announced that they were also entitled to federal farm subsidies. Preferring to keep these subsidies for themselves, many farm owners evicted the sharecroppers, hiring day laborers to work the fields.

Rather than bargaining with landowners, leaders of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union used this dramatic moment to capture public attention and encourage the government to step in. Reporters, including Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographer Arthur Rothstein, were there to cover the story. As this and many other images reveal, Rothstein's compelling portraits humanized his subjects, presenting them not just as victims of economic realignment but as individuals determined to speak out and be heard. Despite many challenges, in January 1941—two years after the roadside demonstration—the FSA had constructed ten settlements around Missouri's Bootheel region, including almost six hundred homes with plots of land. Rothstein left the FSA in 1940 and worked as director of photography for *Look*, where he remained for more than thirty years.



★ Gordon Parks (1912–2006), *Washington, D.C. Interior of a Chinese laundry located under the apartment of Mrs. Ella Watson, a government charwoman*, August 1942. Digital reproduction. Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Born in Kansas and raised in Minnesota, Gordon Parks held a variety of jobs during the Great Depression, working as a musician, a waiter on passenger trains, and a self-taught fashion photographer. In 1942, he traveled to Washington, DC, on a fellowship from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, a foundation dedicated to research about the South. Hoping to apprentice with the Farm Security Administration (FSA), Parks was met with resistance by Information Division head Roy Stryker, who had initial concerns about hiring an African American photographer. Parks did ultimately work with the FSA, becoming one of the agency's most prominent photographers. He emphasized the importance of the education he received there, saying, "I have always felt as though I needed a weapon against evil." That weapon was his camera.[2]

On Stryker's recommendation, Parks began a series of striking photographs focusing on the life and environs of Mrs. Ella Watson, a cleaning woman who worked in the FSA building. Through their conversations, he learned of challenges she had faced and created poignant images that reflected her experiences. Even mundane scenes hold fascination, such as this Chinese-owned laundry below Mrs. Watson's apartment, with its picture of President Roosevelt and piles of clothing that had been washed, pressed, and wrapped by immigrant labor.



★J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951), *1940 Baby New Year Ready for War*. Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, December 30, 1939. Tearsheet. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves.



★J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951), *1943 Baby New Year at War*. Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, January 2, 1943. Tearsheet. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves.

Illustrator J. C. Leyendecker's most iconic images, created for the *Saturday Evening Post* from 1907 to 1943, were his New Year's babies—chubby, newly minted infants who looked ahead to the joys and challenges of the coming year. Starting with the artist's first cherubic child atop a globe, these symbolic figures were an annual tradition for Americans, who anticipated each new baby's arrival.

Inspired by the events of the day, Leyendecker's New Year's babies took on an array of issues, from woman suffrage and women in politics in 1912 to balancing the budget during the Great Depression in 1935. Though the nation was at peace in 1940, Americans were concerned about involvement in the European conflict. No longer a picture of innocence, the New Year's baby is seated with bags packed, ready to take action at a moment's notice. Wearing a gas mask and clutching an umbrella, the child references British prime minister Neville Chamberlain, whose assurances of "peace in our time" proved illusory. The 1941 baby is delivered by the armored fist of war, and by 1943 the baby is fighting against symbols of the Axis powers. Unfortunately, Leyendecker's icon would not see peacetime, for his 1943 image was the last of the series and the artist's final cover illustration for the *Post*.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Willie Gillis: Food Package*, 1941. Oil on canvas, 50 × 38 in. (127 × 96.5 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, October 4, 1941. Lawrence Matteson.

Distant from the activities of the battles raging in Europe and Asia, Norman Rockwell found it a challenge to record the effects of World War II on servicemen and women for Americans at home. His unassuming fictional private, Willie Gillis, told the story of one man's army in a series of popular *Saturday Evening Post* covers. Rockwell depicted his soldier engaged in mundane tasks, such as receiving a care package from home, peeling potatoes, or reading his hometown news. The artist met his Willie Gillis model, Robert Otis "Bob" Buck, at an Arlington, Vermont, square dance. Then fifteen years of age, Buck was too young to fight, but he eventually began his service in 1943 as a naval aviator in the South Seas. The name Willie Gillis was coined by Rockwell's wife, Mary Barstow Rockwell, an avid reader, who drew inspiration from Munro Leaf's *Wee Gillis*, a 1938 book about an orphan boy. The first Gillis cover appeared on October 4, 1941, and the last after the war, when this familiar character enrolled in college on the GI Bill. Willie Gillis enlargements, distributed by the USO, were circulated widely, appearing in the organization's clubs at home and abroad as well as in numerous railway stations and bus terminals.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Willie Gillis in Convoy*, ca. 1941. Oil on canvas, 43 × 34½ in. (109.2 × 87.6 cm). Unpublished cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*. Private collection.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Willie Gillis in Church*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 29 × 25 in. (73.7 × 63.5 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 25, 1942. Scott M. Delman.

In this unpublished illustration featuring Willie Gillis being transported by convoy truck, Rockwell brought the war more explicitly into view. Realistically rather than heroically portrayed, soldiers nap, smoke, and eat during transport, while wide-eyed Gillis, wearing a rabbit's foot around his neck, stares dreamily into the distance. This youthful character's innocence may have contrasted too greatly with the older, more experienced troops, who know what lies ahead.

Images portraying soldiers in service to God and country were prevalent during World War II. Here Rockwell's Willie Gillis sits solemnly in a church pew surrounded by others in the armed forces seeking spiritual solace.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Thanksgiving: Mother and Son Peeling Potatoes*, 1945. Oil on canvas, 35 × 33½ in. (88.9 × 85.1 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 24, 1945. Lent courtesy of American Legion Post 193, Winchendon, Massachusetts.

For the *Saturday Evening Post*'s Thanksgiving cover of 1945, Rockwell initially intended to portray a group of prayerful people giving thanks, but with the end of war in sight, he redirected his efforts and began work on a more timely painting of a homecoming soldier. His subject seems happy to peel potatoes in the warmth of his admiring mother's kitchen, a task that would have been considerably less pleasant in the army. Though still in uniform, he has slipped back into his civilian shoes, and is seated on a chair that appears almost child-size—perhaps a remnant of years past.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Back to Civvies*, 1945. Oil on canvas, 39½ × 30 in. (100.3 × 76.2 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, December 15, 1945. Anonymous.

By the end of World War II, many lives had been changed, but Rockwell's artworks did not betray the emotional struggles of servicemen and women or their families. *Back to Civvies*, his poignant portrayal of Lieutenant A. H. Beckloft, a Flying Fortress pilot, focuses on his joyous return to the childhood bedroom that remains unchanged and the clothing that he has now outgrown. Youthful dreams of flying are reflected in the poster of a Boeing B-17 on the wall and the model Martin B-26 Marauder that sits on top of the cluttered dresser.



★ Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980), *Paratrooper*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 43 × 34 in. (109.2 × 86.4 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 12, 1942. United Services Automobile Association (USAA), San Antonio.



★ Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980), *Flight Controller on Aircraft Carrier*, 1943. Oil on canvas, 43 × 34 in. (109.2 × 86.4 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, June 12, 1943. United Services Automobile Association (USAA), San Antonio.

Either by coincidence or because of his friendship with Rockwell, illustrator Mead Schaeffer adapted his approach to his work during the World War II years. Abandoning the romantic and literary themes that had been his focus, he turned his attention to real people and places and embraced the reportorial direction of the *Saturday Evening Post* at the time.

Neighbors and friends who shared models and scrutinized each other's work, Rockwell and Schaeffer traveled from their studios in Arlington, Vermont, to Washington, DC, in 1942, seeking ways to contribute their talents to the war effort. Rockwell brought along sketches for his proposed *Four Freedoms*, and Schaeffer a handful of drawings featuring servicemen in action. No funds were available for their projects in Washington, so on the way home they stopped in Philadelphia to see *Post* editor Ben Hibbs. He liked their ideas and commissioned them to develop their paintings for publication. Schaeffer's careful research and technical ability, combined with his instinctive sense of design and ability to portray action, are reflected in his armed forces commemorative cover series highlighting the work of every military branch. His emphasis on the heroism and professionalism of the American soldier was reassuring to the public during unstable times.



★ Boris Artzybasheff (1899–1965), *Witches' Sabbath*, 1942. Gouache on board, 14¼ × 27 in. (36.2 × 68.6 cm). Story illustration for "Speaking of Pictures . . . Swastikas Make Ghoulish Symbols," *Life*, September 14, 1942, p. 11. The Syracuse University Art Collection.

World War II was a fertile era for political cartoonists, as passions ran high and the fate of the world was at stake. Russian émigré and artist Boris Artzybasheff came to the United States at the age of twenty and painted more than two hundred cover illustrations for *Time* magazine, contributing also to *Life* and *Fortune*. During World War II, his stark portrayals of politicians and military leaders shed light on the issues that governed the course of the conflict. Well known for his surrealistic imagery, Artzybasheff created prescient anthropomorphic illustrations that seemed to predict the future, giving machinery human characteristics.

In *Witches' Sabbath*, Hitler oversees a grotesque world filled with living swastikas, symbols portrayed frequently in Artzybasheff's work. As described in the work's caption, "Creatures of Hitler's turgid nightmare swamp are a medal-heavy Göring, a prating Goebbels, a smirking Himmler and, trapped by swastika, a simian Pierre Laval." Artzybasheff and other political artists of the era sought to pull back the curtain on society's ills, an approach that differed from Rockwell's aspirational visual statements.



★ John Falter (1910–1982), *By His Deeds . . . Measure Yours*, ca. 1942. Oil on canvas, 20⅝ × 43⅛ in. (52.4 × 109.5 cm). Illustration for *Coronet*, January 1943, p. 96. Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln.

Commissioned by the Magazine Publishers of America, illustrator John Falter's *By His Deeds . . . Measure Yours* was featured in *Coronet*, *Life*, and other publications to inspire the home front by comparing soldiers to the martyred Christ. Public-service advertisements of the World War II era urged civilians to actively support the war effort by reminding them of the life-and-death struggles engaging the military. The advertisement is striking in its use of religious imagery to compare the soldier's sacrifice to that of Jesus. In Falter's work, the fallen soldier's head is wrapped in barbed wire, recalling the crown of thorns; his gun rests across his body, and he holds bullets in the palm of his left hand. A broken fence on the upper right forms the shape of a cross.

When it appeared in *Life* magazine on March 15, 1943, Falter's work was accompanied by this strident admonition:

> It is not pleasant to have your peaceful life upset by wartime needs and restrictions and activities. . . . It is not pleasant to die, either. . . . Between you who live at home and the men who die at the front there is a direct connection. . . . If you do everything you can to hasten victory and do every bit of it as fast as you can . . . then, sure as fate you will save the lives of some men who will otherwise die because you let the war last too long.

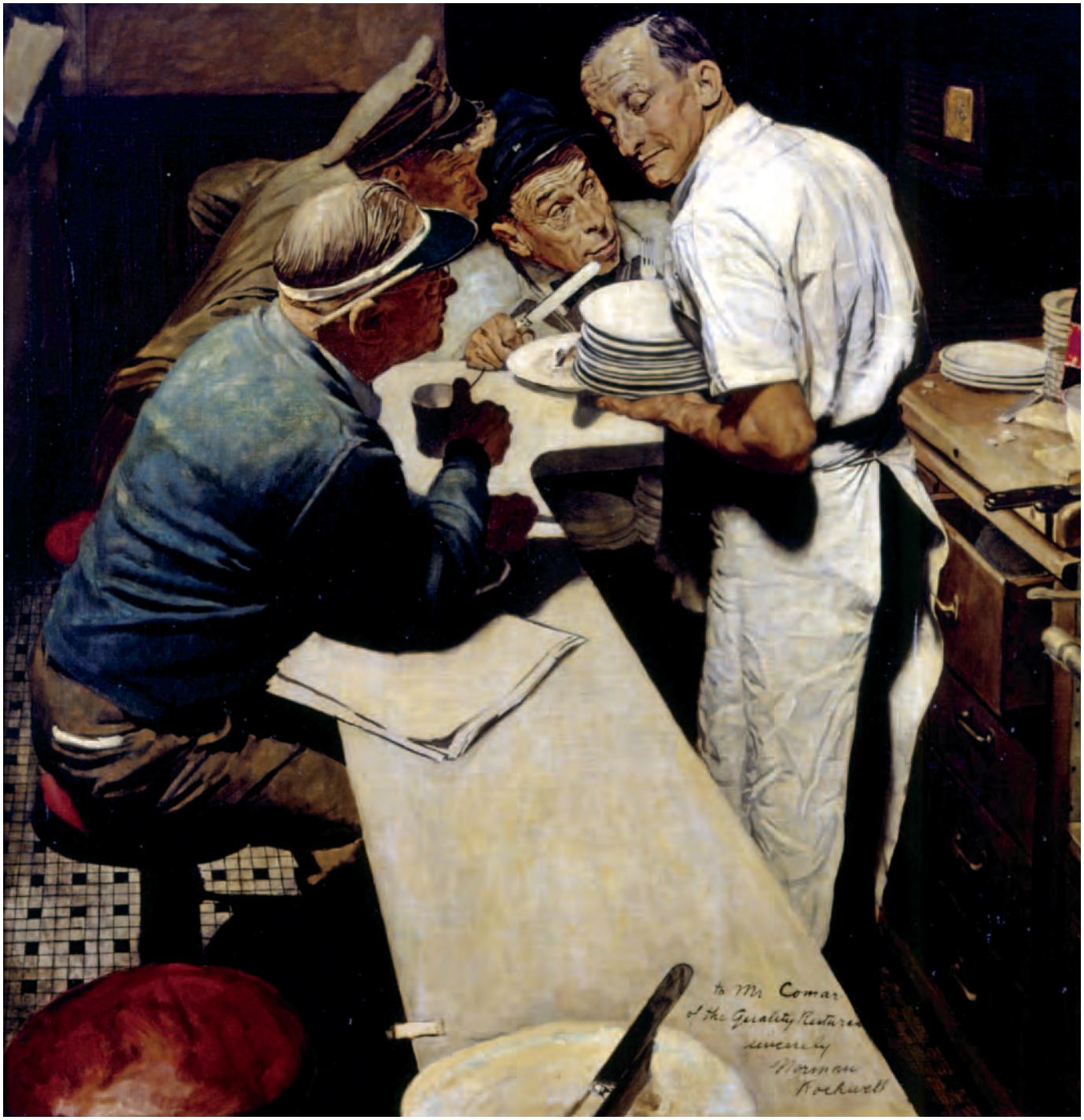
A popular *Saturday Evening Post* illustrator, Falter also created art for more than three hundred recruiting posters as well as numerous advertisements. In 1943, he enlisted in the US Navy and was rapidly promoted from chief boatswain's mate to lieutenant on special assignment as an artist. His final rank was chief petty officer.



★Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom of Speech*, 1942. Oil on board, 21¼ × 17¼ in. (54 × 43.8 cm). Study for the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943. Lent by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; George A. Hearn Fund, 1952.

In composing *Freedom of Speech*, Norman Rockwell considered several questions and potential compositional approaches. In society, who speaks and who listens? Do individual rights conflict with the needs of a community? What barriers are there to being heard? Rockwell's *Freedom of Speech* was inspired by a lone dissenter's passionate remarks at an Arlington, Vermont, town meeting. The scene inspired Rockwell to root the Four Freedoms concepts in universal human experiences and to use his Vermont neighbors as his subjects.

This color study was one of several that Rockwell made in preparation for his final work—a step undertaken after completing a series of thumbnail sketches and detailed charcoal drawings. His initial approach, as seen here, was to surround the speaker with his fellow citizens. In the final painting, Rockwell shifted to a more heroic pose in which meeting attendees look up at the standing orator. In his 1948 Famous Artists School instructional course, Rockwell recommended the use of this vantage point to emphasize a subject's importance.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *War News*, ca. 1944. Oil on canvas, 41¼ × 40½ in. (104.8 × 102.9 cm). Intended illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

Intended as a cover for the *Saturday Evening Post* but never completed, *War News* pictures a restaurant counterman and his customers, including a Western Union boy, a clerk, and a deliveryman, gathering to listen to a radio report. Though newspaper text is not evident in Rockwell's painting, which he worked on during the winter of 1944, part of the headline of the January 17, 1944, *Times Record* of Troy, New York, appeared in the artist's preliminary drawing. Calling attention to the proposed invasion of Normandy, it read, "Invasion Plans at France Possible."

Rockwell decided not to submit *War News* to the *Post*, perhaps because it was hard to convey what the men were hearing or to make the newspaper headline discernible. He instead went on to create a second painting, the more clearly articulated *Man Charting War Maneuvers*, which was published on April 29, 1944.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Man Charting War Maneuvers*, ca. 1944. Oil on canvas, 35 × 33 in. (89 × 83.8 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 29, 1944. Private collection.

In this work, a man listens intently to the news on his radio. His hand on the dial, he searches for an update on the day's battles, as would have been typical during World War II, especially for a concerned parent on the home front. Changing stations, he may have come upon the music of the Glenn Miller Orchestra, or perhaps *You Can't Do Business with Hitler*, a radio series written and produced by the Office of War Information—one of thousands of government propaganda plays that were broadcast to support the war effort.

A map of Europe hangs on the wall, as do photographs of Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and Douglas MacArthur. A white flag with three blue stars positioned with three small photographs of men in the uniforms of the US Army, Navy, and Army Air Corps indicate Rockwell's subject has three sons in the service. With an open map on his lap and a newspaper in his hand, he follows the battles and the movements of his sons closely. The Windsor chair in which the man is seated is identical to the one Rockwell used at his easel, though he often worked standing up. Rockwell's studio furnishings frequently served as props in his art.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Tattoo Artist*, ca. 1944. Oil on canvas, 43 × 33 in. (109.2 × 83.8 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 4, 1944. Brooklyn Museum; Gift of the artist.

In Arlington, Vermont, which he called home from 1939 to 1953, Rockwell lived among a close-knit group of fellow illustrators, who at times drafted one another into service as models for their work. In this narrative about a sailor with a love interest at every port, illustrator Mead Schaeffer sat in as Rockwell's tattoo artist, seen in this painting from the rear. Always striving to establish a sense of authenticity, Rockwell researched his subject at a tattoo parlor on New York's Bowery, giving a sense of the gritty, even makeshift, environment in which the proprietor worked without actually showing it.

Though often perceived as straightforward reflections of American life, Rockwell's artworks are carefully constructed realities that demonstrate greater complexity. In this work, Rockwell subtly alludes to contemporary aesthetics and mores. His subjects are suspended before a tattooist's flash, the flat decorative design sheet from which his clients can choose their decoration. The painting continues to have relevance today—once the purview of just a few, body art is now a mainstream medium in American popular culture.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Norman Rockwell Visits a Ration Board*, 1944. Oil on board, 28 × 45 in. (71.1 × 114.3 cm). Study illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 15, 1944. Private collection.

Between 1943 and 1948, the *Saturday Evening Post* sent Norman Rockwell on eight visits around the country to record the lives of Americans, in a pictorial series that took him as far afield as Indiana, Georgia, New York City, and Washington, DC. For each visual report, he sought to accurately document aspects of contemporary life that were recognizable or interesting to a broad spectrum of the population. Rockwell shared with *Post* readers what it was like to spend a night with paratroopers on a troop train; wait with reporters and photographers to see the president at the White House; apply at a ration board in Manchester, Vermont; vote at a polling station in Cedar Rapids, Iowa; visit a newspaper in Monroe County, Missouri; attend a one-room school in rural Georgia; spend a day with a family doctor in Arlington, Vermont; and make the rounds with a county agent in Jay County, Indiana.

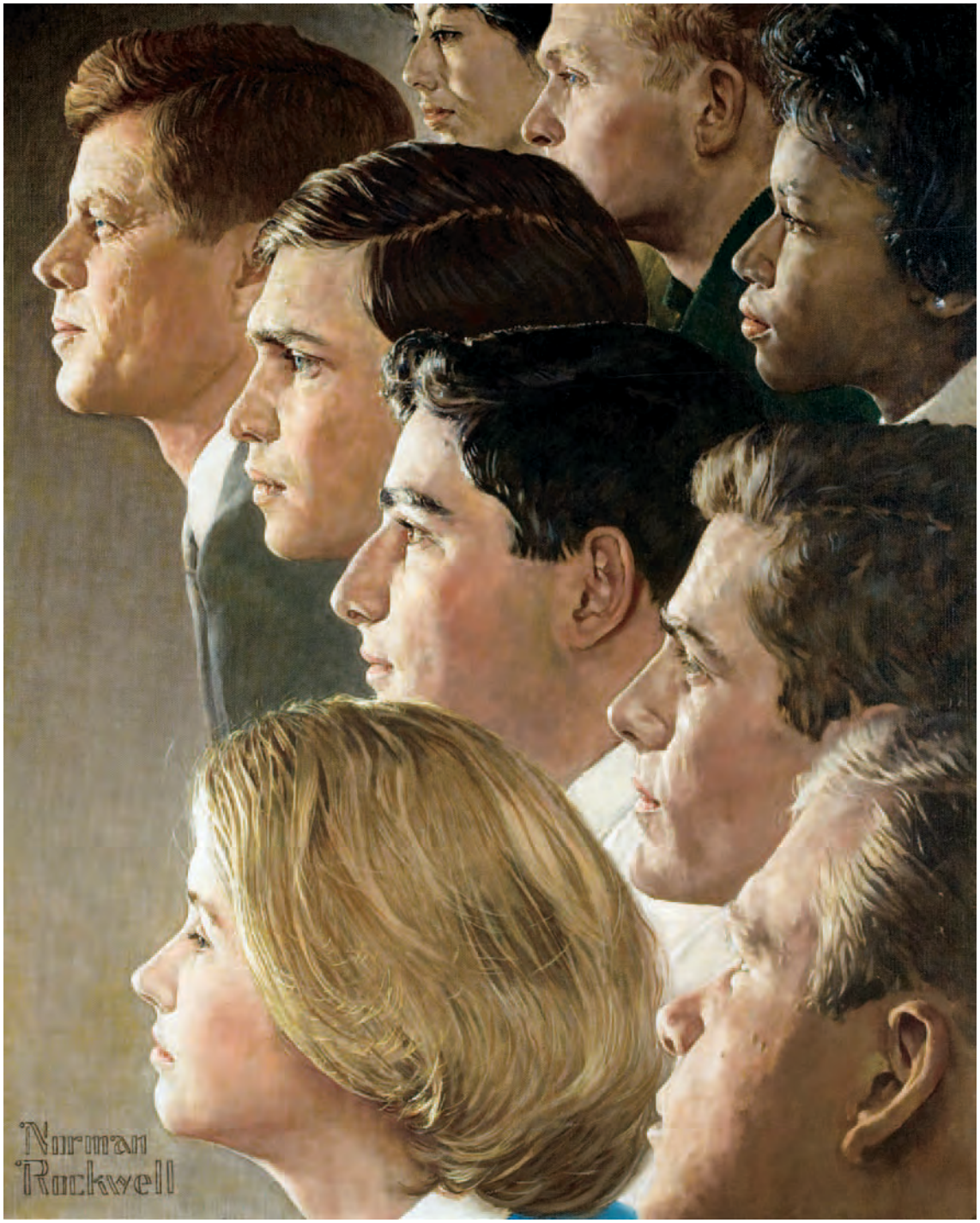
During World War II, in the spring of 1942, the national food rationing program was set into motion, as many foods and other products were in short supply—from gasoline and tires to meat, cheese, sugar, butter, and coffee. Volunteer ration boards were formed throughout the country to evaluate claims by citizens who felt that their need for rationed commodities was greater than allowed. To document this wartime reality, Rockwell requested that the board members and citizens of Manchester, Vermont, just eight miles from his Arlington home, serve as his models. After sketching and taking photographs at the scene, Rockwell returned to his studio to develop his final composition. This study reveals the artist's attention to the details of expression, gesture, color, and setting in his composition, though areas of the painting are finished to varying degrees.



★ Thomas Lea (1907–2001), *Marines Call It That 2,000 Yard Stare*, 1945. Oil on canvas, 36 × 28 in. (91.4 × 71.1 cm). Story illustration for "Peleliu: Tom Lea Paints Island Invasion," *Life*, June 11, 1945, p. 65. Life Collection of Art, WWII, US Army Center of Military History, Fort Belvoir, Virginia.

This painting by artist and *Life* magazine war correspondent Tom Lea was inspired by his experiences with the First Marine Division as it fought the battle of Peleliu, Palau, in September 1944. It portrays a war-weary soldier whom Lea met after the fight on Bloody Nose Ridge, one of Japan's most staunchly defended redoubts on the western Pacific island. The "two-thousand-yard stare" describes the appearance of soldiers who have been forced to detach themselves from the trauma of their firsthand experiences with violent combat. After Lea's painting was published in *Life*, in June 1945, the image became synonymous with the phrase and the residual effects of war on the human psyche.

During World War II, *Life* commissioned Tom Lea to capture the combat experiences of US and Allied troops. In 1941, he documented the fight against German U-boats, and worked aboard the carrier *Hornet* just days before it sank at Guadalcanal in 1942. Lea went on to record the struggles of Army Air Corps transport, fighter, and bomber crews in England, North Africa, and China in 1943, before hitting the bloody beaches at Peleliu with the assault waves of the marines in 1944. When the war ended in 1945, Lea had been preparing to join US troops again, for another deployment.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *JFK's Legacy. The Peace Corps*, 1966. Oil on canvas, 45½ × 36½ in. (115.6 × 92.7 cm). Cover illustration for *Look*, June 14, 1966. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

On March 1, 1961, President John F. Kennedy signed an executive order establishing the Peace Corps. Intended to "promote world peace and friendship" among nations by providing volunteers to assist in advancing education, agriculture, health care, and the environment, this federal program was eagerly received in the United States and by international governments alike. Just five months after being introduced, the Peace Corps sent its first group of volunteers to Ghana and Tanganyika; from 1961 through 2017, nearly 230,000 American volunteers served in the Peace Corps, assisting 141 countries.

In *JFK's Legacy. The Peace Corps*, Rockwell repeated the simple graphic style used in *Freedom of Worship* to create impact. Knowing his strength lay in communicating ideas and feelings through facial expressions, he chose to portray faces rather than situations to commemorate the Peace Corps' fifth anniversary. The artist's portrait of Kennedy is based on a photograph by Jacques Lowe, the official photographer of the president's pivotal 1960 campaign. Former Peace Corps volunteers posed for most of the figures. In addition to this cover painting, the interior of the magazine issue featured detailed portrayals of Peace Corps volunteers working closely with citizens of Ethiopia, India, and Bogotá, Colombia—sites that Rockwell had visited in 1964. In a note to *Look* art director Allen Hurlburt, Rockwell took a moment to express his admiration for the program: "In this sordid world of power struggles, politics and national rivalries the Peace Corps seems to stand almost alone."



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *The Right to Know*, 1968. Oil on canvas, 29 × 54 in. (73.7 × 137.2 cm). Illustration for *Look*, August 20, 1968, pp. 48–49. Private collection.



In 1966, Rockwell spent a week at Quantico, the US Marine Corps base in Virginia, taking photos of an experienced marine, with the thought of designing an image that focused on the man's strength as well as his compassion. Rockwell had been commissioned to create a recruitment poster but had ambivalent feelings about the war in Vietnam, and in March 1967, he wrote to the Marines Corps declining the assignment: "I just can't paint a picture unless I have my heart in it."[3]

One year later, Rockwell began work on *The Right to Know*, an editorial illustration for *Look* magazine. Just months before the painting was to be published in August 1968, the *New York Times* reported that General William Westmoreland had requested 206,000 additional troops be sent to Vietnam, a story that the White House had tried to suppress. After the troop escalation was reported, news broke of the My Lai massacre, committed by American troops, fueling growing dissent against the war. Rockwell's political statement expressing the right of American citizens to know the reasons behind its government's actions was accompanied by one simple paragraph of text, which concluded,

> Those of us who stand here mean to watch those we put in the seats of power. And listen to us, you who lead, for we are listening harder for the truth that you have not always offered us. Your voice must be ours, and ours speaks of cities that are not safe, and of wars we do not want, of poor in a land of plenty, and of a world that will not take the shape our arms would give it.

"I don't think my style has changed," Rockwell told *Sunday News* reporter Ed Wilcox in 1970, "but America has, and hence, so has my subject matter. . . . Lord knows we have problems—plenty of them—but we should also have great confidence in the present generation of young people who are, I think, the very best we have produced, long hair and all. Who is to say that one of these hippies won't be a genius of the future?"



The *Saturday Evening Post* published each of the Four Freedoms essays on the page facing Norman Rockwell's matching interpretation. Here the essay "Freedom from Want," by the Filipino American writer Carlos Bulosan (1913–1956), appears with the artist's famous image. *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943, pp. 12–13. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, CARLOS BULOSAN & THE BATTLE FOR THE SOUL OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS

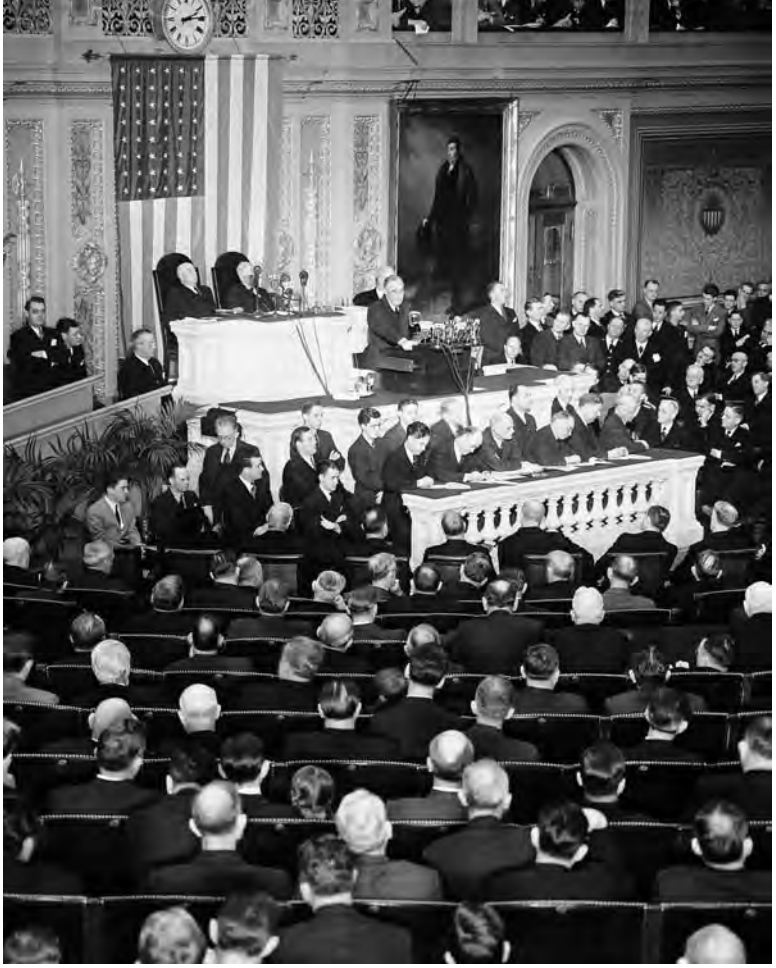
RAMÓN SALDÍVAR

On January 6, 1941, with American entry into World War II less than a year away, Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered the President's Annual Message to Congress. In the days before the speech, FDR had fretted over how best to address in one unified line the lingering effects of spiritual and economic crisis, the need for a revaluation of political standards in moral terms, and the real urgency of preparing for the coming war. At the very brink of war, with its shadow practically touching the shores of the North American continent, FDR now urged Congress toward vigilance and action on the international stage and in foreign policy, pressing for the establishment of the Lend-Lease Act to allow the United States to continue to serve as the "arsenal of democracy."[1]

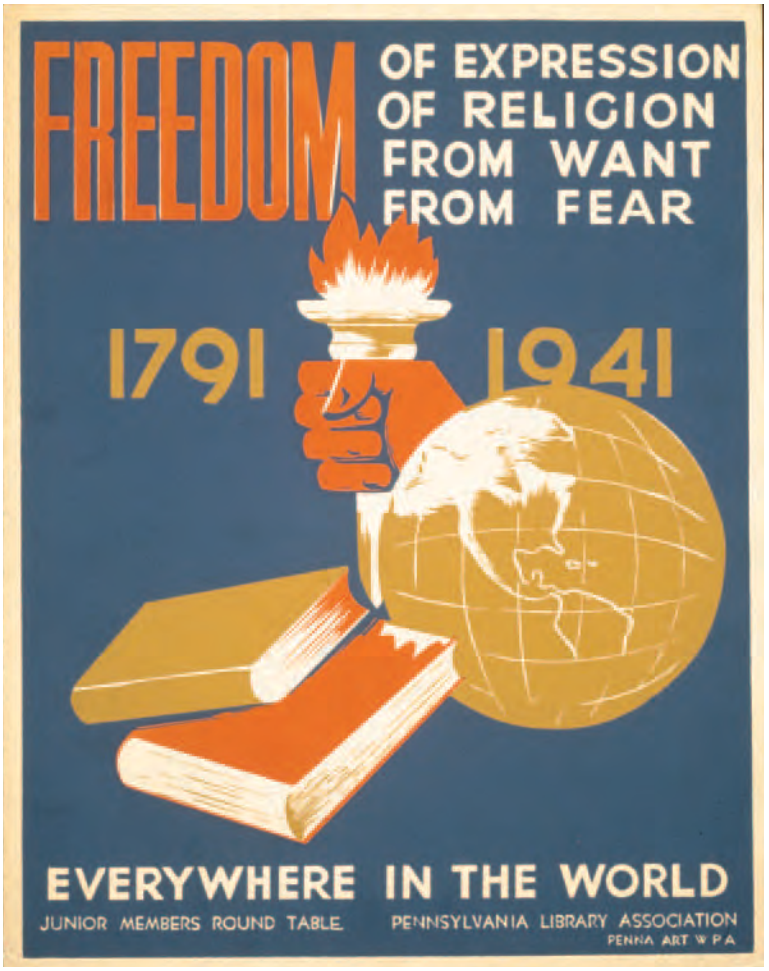
Nevertheless, the president was also profoundly aware of how national security depended on the action on the internal stage of domestic affairs. "As men do not live by bread alone," he proclaimed, "they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending." Consequently, he added, this was no time "to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world."[2]

Having linked national security and domestic tranquility in the alleviation of the national economic depression, FDR looked ahead, even beyond the war that the United States had not yet officially entered, to sketch a vision of what the nation might one day be. What emerged from that vision was an extraordinarily felicitous formulation, the Four Freedoms. "In the future days, which we seek to make secure," FDR proclaimed, in his now celebrated phrasing, "we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms."[3]

Cynics mocked the president's words, alleging that he offered no more than a utopian vision of a distant millennium. FDR himself, however, had insisted in his message to the nation that his grand idea of the Four Freedoms was "a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation." Even more grandly, for him the Four Freedoms constituted both a renewal of the American commitment to basic human rights and an extension of those personal rights into the transpersonal arena of world politics.[4]



President Franklin D. Roosevelt delivering his annual message to Congress on January 6, 1941. Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



★ *Freedom of Expression, of Religion, from Want, from Fear Everywhere in the World*, 1941. Published by Penna Art WPA. Digital reproduction, 25½ × 20 in. (64.8 × 50.8 cm). Work Projects Administration Poster Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. This poster emphasizes the international vision inherent in FDR's Four Freedoms.

The Four Freedoms—of speech and worship, and from want and fear—had, as the historian Eric Foner points out, "an unmistakably liberal cast." At various times over the next few years, Roosevelt would compare the Four Freedoms to the Ten Commandments, the Magna Carta, and the Emancipation Proclamation. They represented the culmination of FDR's lifelong commitment to liberal democratic notions of justice and fundamental human rights. The New Deal agenda for American renewal, to be understood as an ethical revaluation for the elimination of spiritual and economic maladies, was now turned outward upon the world in general. As the president put it, "The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society." To this end, then, Roosevelt asked "all Americans to respond to that call." "Our strength is our unity of purpose," he concluded.[5]

Not everyone agreed with the president's understanding of *purpose*, of course. In particular, the *Saturday Evening Post*—with its 3.3 million subscribers, one of the most influential media outlets in the country—had few encouraging words to say about FDR's Four Freedoms. The president's "four horsemen of American freedom," editorialized the magazine, were little more than "a New Deal for the whole world, planned that way, and financed in the beginning with American billions." Adopting the Freedoms as a war aim was a fruitless endeavor, as "the world we now undertake to save is one we have imagined." Might it be appropriate for skeptics to ask, the editors demanded, "what America will get back?"[6]

It was no surprise that the *Post* found it prudent to cast such aspersions on the Four Freedoms. The Roosevelt administration's idealism had never appealed to the magazine's staid editorial team, especially longtime head George Horace Lorimer (who had responded to FDR's 1933 ascendancy to the presidency by vowing to "fight this New Deal if it's the last thing I ever do"). Wesley Winans Stout had taken over what was becoming an isolationist periodical in 1937, but he largely continued the magazine's policy of opposing the White House at every turn. If the Four Freedoms were a suitably progressive vision for FDR, for the *Post* and for many of its readers, those same Four Freedoms were New Deal panaceas and little else.[7]

The *Post*'s antagonism arguably diminished when Stout abruptly resigned in early 1942. The new editor, former wunderkind Ben Hibbs (p. 152), was an import from sibling magazine *Country Gentleman*. He told his new staffers that he viewed himself as a "liberal Republican" and that his aim was to ensure that the magazine would no longer "be wedded to any political party or faction." Before long, he made a savvy (if surprising) move: he commissioned the magazine's star illustrator, Norman Rockwell, to depict the president's Four Freedoms. It must have seemed as if, at long last, the *Post* was ready to make peace with the White House.[8]

Yet the rapprochement was apparently too good to be true. Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* (pp. 1–4), appearing in four consecutive weekly numbers beginning with the issue of February 20, 1943, at first glance offered representations of the American soul in four achingly sentimental scenes: a blue-collar man speaking in opposition at a town meeting, loving parents tucking children into bed, a diverse group of prayerful, meditative citizens, and a joyful Thanksgiving family dinner. The paintings conveyed a simple, if not altogether unambiguous, message. They portrayed carefully selected images of an American way of life based on fundamental political, civic, religious, and social institutions: the democratic process, the church, and the family. But the underlying



Benjamin Smith Hibbs, ca. 1940–45. Hibbs took over the *Saturday Evening Post* in early 1942, promising a more moderate editorial approach. Kansas State Historical Society.

message was a far cry from the worldwide vision of human rights evoked in FDR's stirring words. Instead, argues historian Robert B. Westbrook, the message of the paintings was fundamentally conservative, insinuating "that Americans were fighting World War II to protect essentially private interests and discharge essentially private obligations." In fact, he adds, "in two of the four paintings, the message was that the people of the United States were fighting for the family."[9]

Still, the creative Hibbs was not content to let Rockwell's colorful images speak for themselves. He also commissioned complementary essays to offer reflections on the meaning of each of the Four Freedoms. Each essay was featured with its respective artistic interpretation on the facing page, offering subscribers a side-by-side composite of words on the left and brushstrokes on the right. This positioning implicitly communicated that Rockwell, long one of the most celebrated illustrators in the country, was on familiar ground, once again giving visual form to authorial prose. And indeed, the essays and the paintings, in three of the four cases, provided meaningful parallels.

The contributing authors of these three essays were some of the most celebrated writers of the age: Booth Tarkington, Stephen Vincent Benét, and Will Durant (the first two were already winners of the Pulitzer Prize, while Durant would have to wait until 1968 to claim his award). Tarkington's freedom of speech parable offered a fanciful glimpse of a young Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, conspiring in 1912 to rid their homelands of that freedom. Condemning the United States for cherishing it, Mussolini tacitly refers to Rockwell's blue-collar speaker on the opposite page: "They let anybody stand up and say what he thinks." Benét's treatment of freedom from fear, meanwhile, repeatedly returns to the theme of vulnerable children, and even ac-

NUMBER THREE OF A SERIES DEPICTING THE FOUR FREEDOMS FOR WHICH WE FIGHT

Freedom from Want

TEXT BY CARLOS BULOSAN

PAINTING BY NORMAN ROCKWELL

IF YOU want to know what we are, look upon the farms or upon the hard pavements of the city. You usually see us working or waiting for work, and you think you know us, but our outward guise is more deceptive than our history.

Our history has many strands of fear and hope, that snarl and converge at several points in time and space. We clear the forest and the mountains of the land. We cross the river and the wind. We harness wild beast and living steel. We celebrate labor, wisdom, peace of the soul.

When our crops are burned or plowed under, we are angry and confused. Sometimes we ask if this is the real America. Sometimes we watch our long shadows and doubt the future. But we have learned to emulate our ideals from these trials. We know there were men who came and stayed to build America. We know they came because there is something in America that they needed, and which needed them.

We march on, though sometimes strange moods fill our children. Our march toward security and peace is the march of freedom—the freedom that we should like to become a living part of. It is the dignity of the individual to live in a society of free men, where the spirit of understanding and belief exist; of understanding that all men are equal; that all men, whatever their color, race, religion or estate, should be given equal opportunity to serve themselves and each other according to their needs and abilities.

But we are not really free unless we use what we produce. So long as the fruit of our labor is denied us, so long will want manifest itself in a world of slaves. It is only when we have plenty to eat—plenty of everything—that we begin to understand what freedom means. To us, freedom is not an intangible thing. When we have enough to eat, then we are healthy enough to enjoy what we eat. Then we have the time and ability to read and think and discuss things. Then we are not merely living but also becoming a creative part of life. It is only then that we become a growing part of democracy.

We do not take democracy for granted. We feel it grow in our working together—many millions of us working toward a common purpose. If it took us several decades of sacrifices to arrive at this faith, it is because it took us that long to know what part of America is ours.

Our faith has been shaken many times, and now it is put to question. Our faith is a living thing, and it can be crippled or chained. It can be killed by denying us enough food or clothing, by blasting away our personalities and keeping us in constant fear. Unless we are properly prepared, the powers of darkness will have good reason to catch us unaware and trample our lives.

The totalitarian nations hate democracy. They hate us, because we ask for a definite guaranty of freedom of religion, freedom of expression and freedom from fear and want. Our challenge to tyranny is the depth of our faith in a democracy worth defending. Although they spread lies about us, the way of life we cherish is not dead. The American dream is only hidden away, and it will push its way up and grow again.

We have moved down the years steadily toward the practice of democracy. We become animate in the growth of Kansas wheat or in the ring of Mississippi rain. We tremble in the strong winds of the Great Lakes. We cut timbers in Oregon just as the wild flowers blossom in Maine. We are multitudes in Pennsylvania mines, in Alaskan canneries. We are millions from Puget Sound to Florida. In violent factories, crowded tenements, teeming cities. Our numbers increase as the war revolves into years and increases hunger, disease, death and fear.

But sometimes we wonder if we are really a part of America. We recognize the mainsprings of American democracy in our right to form unions and bargain through them collectively, our opportunity to sell our products at reasonable prices, and the privilege of our children to attend schools where they learn the truth about the world in which they live. We also recognize the forces which have been trying to falsify American history—the forces which drive many Americans to a corner of compromise with those who would distort the ideals of men that died for freedom.

Sometimes we walk across the land looking for something to hold on to. We cannot believe that the resources of this country are exhausted. Even when we see our children suffer humiliations, we cannot believe that America has no more place for us. We realize that what is wrong is not in our system of government, but in the ideals which were blasted away by a materialistic age. We know that we can truly find and identify ourselves with a living tradition if we walk proudly in familiar streets. It is a great honor to walk on the American earth.

If you want to know what we are, look at the men reading books, searching in the dark pages of history for the lost word, the key to the mystery of living peace. We are factory hands, field hands, mill hands, searching, building and molding structures. We are doctors, scientists, chemists, discovering and eliminating disease, hunger and antagonism. We are soldiers, Navy men, citizens, guarding the imperishable dream of our fathers to live in freedom. We are the living dream of dead men. We are the living spirit of free men.

Everywhere we are on the march, passing through darkness into a sphere of economic peace. When we have the freedom to think and discuss things without fear, when peace and security are assured, when the futures of our children are ensured—then we have resurrected and cultivated the early beginnings of democracy. And America lives and becomes a growing part of our aspirations again.

We have been marching for the last one hundred and fifty years. We sacrifice our individual liberties, and sometimes we fail and suffer. Sometimes we divide into separate groups and our methods conflict, though we all aim at one common goal. The significant thing is that we march on without turning back. What we want is peace, not violence. We know that we thrive and prosper only in peace.

We are bleeding where clubs are smashing heads, where bayonets are gleaming. We are fighting where the bullet is crashing upon armorless citizens, where the tear gas is choking unprotected children. Under the lynch trees, amidst hysterical mobs. Where the prisoner is beaten to confess a crime he did not commit. Where the honest man is hanged because he told the truth.

We are the sufferers who suffer for natural love of man for another man, who commemorate the humanities of every man. We are the creators of abundance.

We are the desires of anonymous men. We are the subways of suffering, the well of dignities. We are the living testament of a flowering race.

But our march to freedom is not complete unless want is annihilated. The America we hope to see is not merely a physical but also a spiritual and an intellectual world. We are the mirror of what America *is*. If America wants us to be living and free, then we must be living and free. If we fail, then America fails.

What do we want? We want complete security and peace. We want to share the promises and fruits of American life. We want to be free from fear and hunger.

If you want to know what we are —— We are Marching!

★ Carlos Bulosan (1913–1956), "Freedom from Want," *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943, p. 12. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves.

Bulosan

BECAUSE a man struggling to reach a goal often sees the goal more clearly than one who already has reached it, the Post's editors believed that the text for the Rockwell painting, Freedom from Want, could best be written by a man who had never experienced that freedom. For Carlos Bulosan, young Filipino writer and journeyman laborer, freedom from want lies in the future.

Bulosan, orphaned early in life, left his native village at the age of twelve, and four years later came to America, where he had two brothers whom he had never seen, for his family had become widely scattered upon the death of his father. Driven by a desire to write, he has wandered over the land, doing odd jobs, picking berries and fruit, eking out a living as best he could, and never sure how or where the eking would be going on next week.

In the office of Bulosan's agent, Associate Editor Stuart Rose read an outline of Bulosan's projected autobiography and found in it a rare quality, a quality which, he felt, should go into the text of Freedom from Want. But a writer prowling the country for bread and butter isn't an easy person to find. When the agent's telegram caught up with Bulosan, he was stranded in Seattle, looking for a job, with five dollars a Filipino dishwasher friend had lent him.



Carlos Bulosan.

Bulosan went to Tacoma, wrote the article and sent it to us. It was accepted, and then . . . suddenly nobody could find the manuscript. Apparently, routine in a magazine office gets starved once in a great while and eats manuscripts, for Bulosan's article disappeared, utterly and mysteriously. We asked for a copy and by great good luck got it. Bulosan's side of the story is told in a subsequent letter to his agent:

> Today your telegram came telling me the article was lost. I was worried because I didn't make a carbon copy. In fact, the draft, the only draft, was left on a table in a beer tavern in Tacoma. I rushed to Tacoma. I almost cried when the manager produced it. It was spilled with beer and one end was burned. Some drunk must have used it to light his cigar.

Bulosan, now in his late twenties, last year published his first book of poetry, Letters From America. A collection of Philippine poetry, Chorus for America, also appeared under his name. For the future Bulosan has laid out for himself a literary agenda which will have his readers humping to keep up with him.

A profile of Bulosan in "Keeping Posted" (detail), *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943, p. 4. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves.



Portrait of Carlos Bulosan, standing, ca. 1940s. University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, Carlos Bulosan Photograph Collection.

knowledges the artist's nearby rendering: "here is a house, a woman, a man, their children." And Durant's poetic homage to freedom of worship is a match for the folks in Rockwell's prayerful, diverse gathering, who are suitably lifting their hearts "to a hidden presence and power," ultimately finding "a pillar of strength for [their] fragile decency." In all three pairings, the well-known essayists had found a way to connect with Rockwell's private and familial *Four Freedoms* more than with FDR's more international, rights-oriented Four Freedoms.[10]

The fourth essayist was different. Editor Hibbs had selected a young, virtually unknown Filipino writer by the name of Carlos Bulosan (p. 154) for the essay dedicated to the most problematic of the private and familial representations of the Four Freedoms, freedom from want. In counterpoint to the nostalgic representations of an American past that really never quite existed as portrayed in Rockwell's many epideictic paintings, Bulosan's essay looked forward to a possible American future in which those outside the social mainstream—migrant farmworkers, union organizers, cannery laborers, African American victims of segregation, Asian and Latino immigrants—might be allowed to experience real freedom. For these Americans, notes Foner, "freedom meant having enough to eat, sending their children to school," and realizing the desire to share in the unfulfilled promise of American democracy.[11]

Bulosan himself was far outside the social mainstream at the time and was selected to contribute an essay almost by accident. As the series was in preparation, *Post* associate editor Stuart Rose had chanced one day to be in the offices of Bulosan's literary agent and read there an outline of Bulosan's projected autobiography. The magazine later commented that Rose "found in it a rare quality, a quality which, he felt, should go into the text of Freedom from Want."[12]

In his late twenties, Bulosan, like so many other laborers—Filipino, Mexican, African American, and white—was living on the periphery of the American dream. His life experience was of an America more akin to the one of John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* than the one imagined in Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* paintings. Bulosan was a journeyman laborer. He worked odd jobs, picked berries and fruit in the Northwest, and made a living as best as he could, bumming from small town to small town during the Great Depression. And, as he admits in his essay (p. 153), he had never experienced the freedom from want.

From such experiences Bulosan understood that for Americans like him, freedom from want lay as a possibility in the future, not as something experienced at the Thanksgiving Day dinner table. In the *Post* essay, he would thus say about Americans like himself:

> If you want to know what we are, look upon the farms or upon the hard pavements of the city. You usually see us working or waiting for work, and you think you know us, but our outward guise is more deceptive than our history. . . .
>
> We celebrate labor, wisdom, peace of the soul. . . .
>
> But we are not really free unless we use what we produce. So long as the fruit of our labor is denied us, so long will want manifest itself in a world of slaves. It is only when we have plenty to eat—plenty of everything—that we begin to understand what freedom means. To us, freedom is not an intangible thing. When we have enough to eat, then we are healthy enough to enjoy what we eat. Then we have the time and ability to read and think and discuss things. Then

> we are not merely living but also becoming a creative part of life. It is only then that we become a growing part of democracy. . . .
>
> What do we want? We want complete security and peace. We want to share the promises and fruits of American life. We want to be free from fear and hunger.[13]

Paired with Rockwell's painting of a family gathered on Thanksgiving Day to celebrate overindulgence at a time when people worldwide were dying of starvation because of global warfare, Bulosan's words were haunting and sharp. Unwittingly, by juxtaposing the artist's bountiful surfeit, a typical scene of American overabundance, with Bulosan's lean language, the editors of the *Post* were illustrating the necessity of the reciprocal relationship between the liberal democratic state and its citizens. The state was obliged to provide a minimal level of subsistence for all of its citizens if all of its citizens were to owe the state the duties and obligations of loyalty, allegiance, identification, and ultimately, self-sacrifice. As Laurie Norton Moffatt justly observes, "President Roosevelt and Norman Rockwell addressed, each in his own way, a profound question of citizenship: what are the national goals which justify asking citizens to make ultimate sacrifices?" Bulosan responded by calling for "a democracy worth defending" on behalf of those American citizens who were "not really free" because they are without the freedom from want. He spoke of those who could legitimately wonder whether "we are really a part of America."[14]

Bulosan's essay in the *Post* sequence on the Four Freedoms gets squarely at the issues of national and individual identity and the rights of citizens in relation to the pledges of American democracy. It was chosen by the editors of the *Post* precisely because it offered, as Foner explains, an extension of the American promise into the postwar future rather than a retreat to Rockwell's imagined past of white American small-town life. For working men and women of other ethnic backgrounds, the failure of the nation's institutions to live up to the declarations of the Four Freedoms amounted to a critique in practice of the rights and obligations of citizenship. If the traditional foundations of the democratic state, such as freedom from fear and want, were not part of the experience of their lives, on what possible basis could political duty and obligation to the state be justified?[15]

Such pointed questions most likely would have been anathema to most of the regular readers of the *Saturday Evening Post* during the Lorimer years. They were, perhaps, a bit too incisive even for Hibbs's readers in the midst of World War II. In fact, six months after Bulosan's essay appeared, the magazine acknowledged that many of its subscribers remained "dubious" about the Four Freedoms. Freedom from want, it noted, was a particular concern of those Americans who interpreted it to "imply that men are to be guaranteed not merely against 'want' in the literal sense, but against lacking anything they happen to desire at any given moment." The point, Hibbs's team suggested, was that the freedoms were an "ideal" or a "professed goal," in the manner of "'the full dinner pail' or 'a chicken in every pot.'" These were phrases, they added, that were "seldom associated with radical welfare schemes."[16]

The *Post*'s follow-up was probably a simple matter of damage control in response to a truculent readership, but it did not matter in the long run. Bulosan's unexpected, searing voice had already presented a clarion call to the disaffected, to the downtrodden, to those countless Americans

who existed in the shadows, longing for their rightful place. It was, in a sense, a telling prophecy of the rise of the struggle for civil rights in the coming decades. Worldwide, it presaged the spirit of the coming anti-colonial movements. When Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi said they admired the Four Freedoms, it is safe to say that they did not have a familial Thanksgiving feast in mind. True, the ideal these leaders would describe was capably represented in the pages of Hibbs's conservative periodical. But that ideal was on the reader's left, not the right, opposing Rockwell's private gathering in more ways than one.

And there that stirring ideal would remain, indelibly printed on the very pages of the *Saturday Evening Post* itself. But it had already been lost once. Bulosan was so far on the edge at the time of the magazine's commission that when the nightmare of all writers occurred—the *Post* inexplicably lost his manuscript—he was barely able to recover from the near disaster. The editors of the *Post* tracked him down and requested the carbon copy of the essay. There was none, and Bulosan had abandoned the only working draft of the article in the tavern where he had written it. Bulosan tells his side of the story in a letter to his agent, quoted in the *Post*: "Today your telegram came telling me the article was lost. I was worried because I didn't make a carbon copy. In fact, the draft, the only draft, was left on a table in a beer tavern in Tacoma. I rushed to Tacoma. I almost cried when the manager produced it. It was spilled with beer and one end was burned. Some drunk must have used it to light his cigar." Bulosan's message, it was apparent, was already proving to be resilient.[17]



TO MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

FROM Arthur Szyk

N.Y. 1946.

F.D.R.'S SOLDIER IN ART.

ARTHUR SZYK: IMMIGRANT ARTIST AS FDR'S SOLDIER IN ART

IRVIN UNGAR

Arthur Szyk was born in Łódź, Poland, in 1894—the same year Norman Rockwell was born in New York, the city Szyk was destined to call home. As a Pole, Szyk loved the land of his birth. As a Jew, he loved Israel, which he saw as the homeland of his people. And as an immigrant to the United States, in 1940, he loved America as the land of his ideals. Upon his arrival, he was said to have proclaimed: "At last, I have found the home I have always searched for. Here I can speak of what my soul feels. There is no other place on earth that gives one the freedom, liberty and justice that America does." This Polish Jewish immigrant artist would go on to serve his adopted country as did no other artist during World War II—becoming President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "soldier in art" (p. 158).[1]

This is Szyk's American story. It is strikingly different from Rockwell's journey, to be sure. But the two artists, though in some ways worlds apart, catered to much the same domestic audience during World War II. Both played prominent roles in the visual culture of the conflict. And, most pertinently, both artists found common ground in the Four Freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—that FDR had named in his 1941 message to Congress, as each brought new light to the president's ideal.

To understand Szyk's story, one first needs to know that Szyk (pronounced *Shick*) grew up as a Pole and Jew amid numerous cultural currents. In the late 1800s, Łódź was an industrial metropolis, its populace comprising Polish Catholics, German Protestants, Orthodox Russians, and Eastern European Jews, the lattermost representing about a third of the city's population. As a boy, Szyk was influenced by Polish nationalist art. When visiting Ottoman-occupied Palestine in 1914, he sought out a Jewish nationalist art. On his return to Poland, he was conscripted into the Russian army to fight in World War I. After the war Szyk became the director for propaganda for Poland as it fought against the Soviet Union to maintain its newly won independence. In the 1920s he settled in Paris, where he had been a student in his teenage years. During this period, he was decorated by the governments of both France and Poland for his artworks in the service of humanity, receiving the French Ordre des Palmes Académiques in 1923 and the Polish Gold Cross of Merit in 1931.

Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *F.D.R.'s Soldier in Art*, New York, 1944 (inscribed in 1946). Watercolor and gouache, 7⅜ × 5⅜ in. (18.7 × 13.7 cm). Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Washington the Soldier*, from *Washington and His Times*, Paris, 1930. Watercolor and gouache, 8¾ × 6¾ in. (22.2 × 17.1 cm). Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

Szyk's relationship with the United States began in late 1933—the year Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany—when members of Congress invited the artist to attend an exhibition of his works on freedom at the Library of Congress. The exhibition showcased Szyk's illuminated version of the *Statut de Kalisz* (Statute of Kalisz, or General Charter of Jewish Liberties), a historic document that had granted civil and religious privileges to the Jews of Poland in the thirteenth century. It also featured a celebrated series of thirty-eight paintings, titled *Washington and His Times*, illustrating scenes of the American Revolution. While in the United States, Szyk received the George Washington Bicentennial Medal in honor of his contributions to the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the first president's birthday.

The Szyk exhibit at the Library of Congress hinted at the artist's broad knowledge of history, whether it was Polish, Jewish, European, United States, or South American (as revealed in his series *Simón Bolívar and His Time*). Quite often, Szyk used history in his art to build bridges between peoples and nations. This aim was particularly evident in the twenty-three works known

as the *Glorious Days of the Polish-American Fraternity*. Szyk created this series to highlight the contributions people from Poland had made to the United States; he hoped it would bring the two countries closer.[2]

Just as often, others used Szyk's art precisely for the same purpose. Consider that in 1935, Ignacy Mościcki, the president of Poland, purchased Szyk's *Washington and His Times* series (p. 160) and presented it to FDR as a gift from the Polish people to the American people. He did so hoping to foster closer relations between the two nations in the face of rising tensions with Nazi Germany. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt later reported to Szyk that the paintings were on display in the White House; they were there even as the president delivered his Four Freedoms speech in January 1941.[3]

Szyk returned to Poland in 1934. There he began work on the great book devoted to freedom in Jewish tradition—the Haggadah, the text used in the Passover seder to recount the Exodus, the liberation of the ancient Israelites from slavery in Egypt. Szyk's illustrated Haggadah, however, simultaneously called upon the Jews of Europe to be heroic in the face of the new Nazi pharaoh who was bent on their annihilation even as it encouraged their exodus to British-occupied Palestine.[4]

Szyk left Poland for England in 1937 to supervise the production of *The Haggadah*. Published in London in 1940, the book opened with a dedication and appeal to King George VI that included the supplication: "I humbly lay these works of my hands shewing forth the afflictions of my people Israel." The first edition, printed on vellum, debuted as the most expensive new book in the world, selling at five hundred dollars per copy. The *Times Literary Supplement* described Szyk's masterpiece as "worthy to be placed among the most beautiful of books that the hand of man has produced."[5]

While in London, Szyk focused his talents on creating anti-Hitler and anti-Nazi art for British magazines and newspapers. Germany's occupation of Poland in 1939 had made a return to his birthplace impossible. Both the Polish government-in-exile and British officials, knowing the power of his pen would be more effective in the United States, urged Szyk to move his family across the Atlantic. By October 1940 he had arrived in his final home.

This immigrant artist reached the United States with a threefold mission. His first objective was to warn Americans of the evil intentions of Nazi Germany against his adopted country. The second was to take aim at the America First movement, its isolationist agenda, and its leading spokesmen, Charles Lindbergh and Senator Gerald P. Nye. The third was to draw the United States into a comradeship of arms with the Allies in Europe (the United Kingdom, France, Poland, and, eventually, the Soviet Union). By July 1941—five months before the United States entered the war—Szyk's *The New Order* (p. 162), the first anti-Nazi book of its kind in America, was published in New York. By then Szyk was already a regular contributor to *PM* newspaper (later replacing Theodor Geisel, better known as Dr. Seuss, as its editorial cartoonist). The magazine *American Mercury* was publishing Szyk's political cartoons by September 1941.

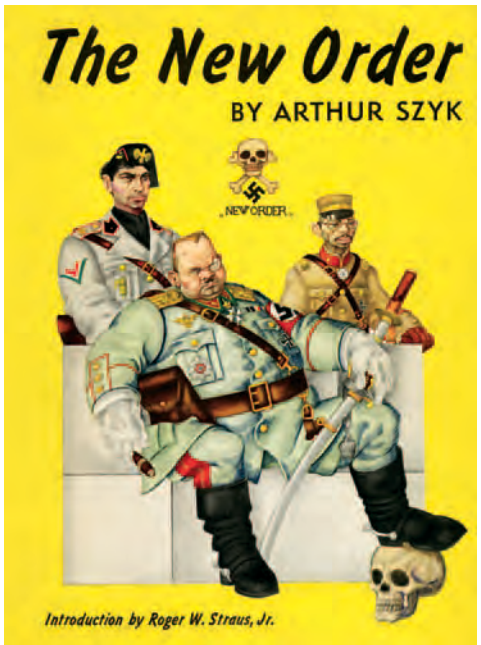
That same year, Szyk created the first two of his works to appear on the cover of *Collier's* magazine (p. 162): *Historic Poker Game*, for the issue of November 1, 1941, and *Madness*, for the issue of January 17, 1942. Accompanying the first image, tucked inside the issue's front cover, was a broadsheet insert written by the artist. It described the cover's strange and historic poker game, in which Ivan of Russia's two aces (representing the United Kingdom and the United States) are



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *A Madman's Dream*, New York, 1940. Published in *Coronet*, January 1942.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *A Madman's Dream*, New York, 1941. Published in the *American Mercury*, November 1941.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *The New Order* (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons), 1941, dust jacket.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Historic Poker Game*. Cover illustration for *Collier's*, November 1, 1941. Taube Family Arthur Szyk Collection, The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, University of California, Berkeley.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Madness*. Cover illustration for *Collier's*, January 17, 1942. Taube Family Arthur Szyk Collection, The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, University of California, Berkeley.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Admiral Yamamoto*, New York, 1941. Pen and ink and pencil. 7¼ × 7 in. (18.4 × 17.6 cm). Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

a stronger hand than Hitler's three jokers (representing Japan, Italy, and Vichy France). Szyk also wrote:

> It is my privilege as an artist to have drawn this cover. I wonder if you realize just how great a privilege it is? I have been in this country for only a year. I am a Polish exile from Lodz, which is now in German hands, and for years I have lived in Paris, which is also in German hands. My boy is a Second Lieutenant with De Gaulle and is, I believe, somewhere in Syria, although I am not sure. So—the war has come rather close to me. For me, I know it is not a war but a world revolution, and 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. I am proud to see my work on the cover of *Collier's*. It is a real privilege.

On December 7, 1941, Japanese aircraft bombed Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and the United States entered the war. Szyk's portrait of Admiral Yamamoto, the architect of the surprise attack, would soon appear on the front cover of *Time* magazine. The artist's powerful work was quickly becoming recognized.



★ Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Arsenal of Democracy II*, New York, 1942. Pen, ink, and graphite on paper, 5½ × 9¼ in. (14 × 23.5 cm). Raziel Ungar, California.

In fact, it was not long before Szyk's contributions to the war effort became renowned. Eleanor Roosevelt, in her newspaper column, My Day, wrote that Szyk was fighting the Axis "as truly as any of us who cannot actually be on the fighting fronts." A 1942 magazine titled *Predictions of Things to Come* opined that the "Polish-born artist . . . will soon be recognized as the outstanding cartoonist of this war." That same year, an essay in *Click* magazine, titled "One-Man War against Hitler: Arthur Szyk Fights the Dictators with Pen, Brush and Venom," stated: "His cartoons are so exquisitely detailed that they are closer to the art of the illuminator than to that of the cartoonist; so trenchant in their satire that they invite comparisons with the works of Hogarth and Daumier."[6]

After Pearl Harbor, Szyk stepped up his campaign as a one-man army against Hitler and the Axis powers. In addition to serving as the featured political artist for the *New York Post* and the *Chicago Sun*, Szyk syndicated his work to hundreds of newspapers throughout the United States. By mid-1942, Szyk estimated he had already created more than one thousand war cartoons. His art was exhibited at five hundred United Service Organizations (USO) recreation centers and



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Arsenal of Democracy*. Cover illustration for *Collier's*, September 12, 1942 (Labor Day).

many US Army airfields and bases. An American military spokesperson called Szyk a "citizen-soldier of the free world." *Look*, *Liberty*, and *Esquire* magazines featured his art, and a survey conducted by the lattermost indicated that Szyk's anti-Nazi and anti-Japanese caricatures and cartoons were more popular with American servicemen than were "pinup girls." Even the Manhattan and Brooklyn telephone directories carried Szyk's art on their covers.[7]

As "soldier in art," Szyk worked to illuminate FDR's vision of the United States as the "arsenal of democracy," the president's call to American industry to join forces in supporting the war effort. Szyk's painting *Arsenal of Democracy*, showing a Nazi serpent attempting to strangle the pillars of American democracy, appeared on the Labor Day cover of *Collier's* in 1942. One can see in this image how Szyk used his art to challenge and inspire American workers to forge and fortify their weapons of freedom.[8]

Szyk's *Four Freedoms* artwork (p. 166), completed that same year, reflected his spirit as a fighting artist. The central figure in all four paintings is a medieval knight. Swords, daggers, and lances are at hand, a frank acknowledgment that all freedoms must be fought for. The shield of the United States reminds viewers that their country stands strong as the protective guardian of those freedoms. Szyk's *Four Freedoms* images were widely circulated in sheets of poster stamps and oversize postcards.

In late 1942, when the Roosevelt administration acknowledged that the Nazis had murdered two million European Jews, Szyk doubled down on his commitment to resist Hitler's war against the Jewish people. Over the duration of World War II, he produced more Holocaust art, advocating



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Freedom of Speech*, from *The Four Freedoms*, New York, 1942. Issued by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, New York.



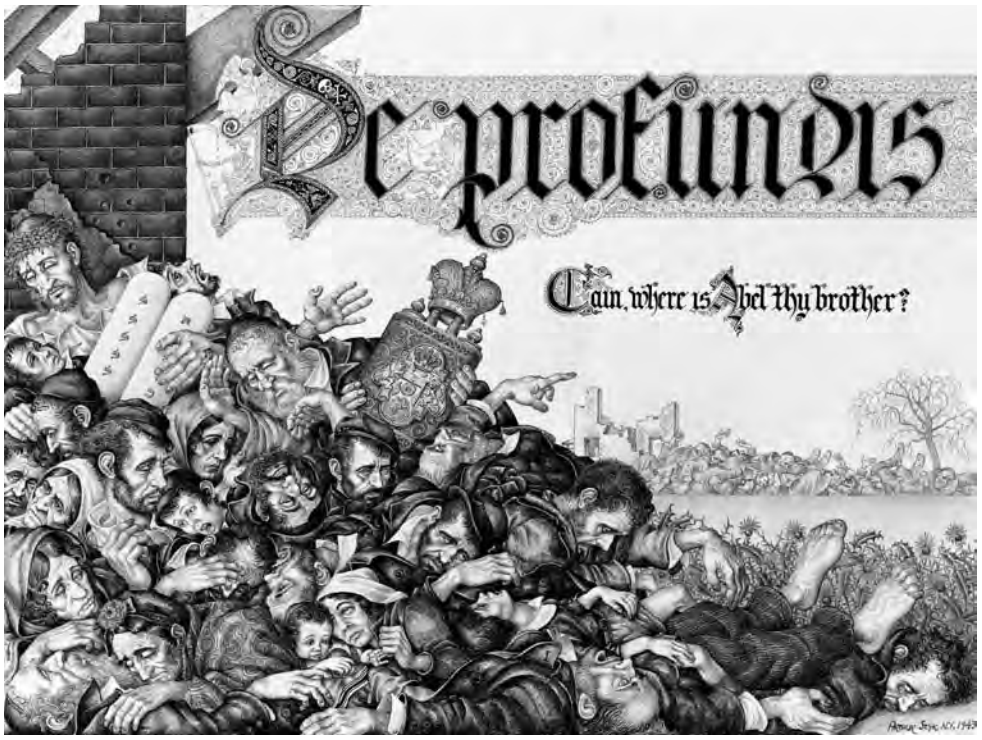
Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Freedom of Religion*, from *The Four Freedoms*, New York, 1942. Issued by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, New York.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Freedom from Want*, from *The Four Freedoms*, New York, 1942. Issued by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, New York.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Freedom from Fear*, from *The Four Freedoms*, New York, 1942. Issued by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, New York.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *De Profundis: Cain, Where Is Abel Thy Brother?*, New York, 1943. Pen and ink and pencil, 15 × 20 in. (38.1 × 50.8 cm). Taube Family Arthur Szyk Collection, The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, University of California, Berkeley.

the rescue of European Jewry, than any other artist. He collaborated with Hollywood screenwriter Ben Hecht, creating an illuminated illustration of Hecht's *Ballad of the Doomed Jews of Europe*, a poetic indictment of apathy and inaction regarding the murder of fellow Jews while "the world is busy with other news."[9]

Szyk's *De Profundis*, which appeared on a full page in the *Chicago Sun* in February 1943, is his *Guernica* and *White Crucifixion* combined in one searing image. In fact, it goes beyond those masterworks in its urgency, calling out from the depths of deepest despair: "Cain, where is Abel thy brother?" The anguished words unambiguously raise two questions: Who is responsible for this mass heap of murdered humanity? How will the perpetrators be held accountable? These same questions haunt us to this day.[10]

How widely circulated was Szyk's work during the war, and how widely known was his art at that time? The answers, which may surprise even the most knowledgeable student of World War II history, political art, and the Holocaust, can be found by placing Szyk within the context of his peer Norman Rockwell. No doubt every reader of this essay is familiar with Rockwell's wartime covers for the *Saturday Evening Post*. Fewer may know that at the same time Rockwell was working for the *Post*, Szyk was illustrating covers for *Collier's*. How many copies of each issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* were printed? Three million. How many of each issue of *Collier's*? Two and a half million. Virtually everyone who saw Rockwell's artwork during the war years also saw Szyk's!



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Murder Incorporated: Hirohito, Hitlerhito, Benito*, New York, December 1941. Watercolor and gouache, 17 × 14 in. (43 × 35.5 cm). Harlan Crow, Dallas.

Moreover, while Rockwell's work is more prominent today, many in the artistic world at the time had a special appreciation for the historical importance of Szyk's works. When the war was over, for example, the literary critic and Pulitzer Prize–winning biographer Carl Van Doren wrote of Szyk: "Of all the works produced by the present war, there is no one more certain to be alive two hundred years from now. Just as we turn back to Hogarth and Goya for the living images of their age, so our descendants will turn back to Arthur Szyk for the most graphic history of Hitler and Hirohito and Mussolini."[11]

Szyk even anticipated Rockwell's postwar embrace of emotional appeals to justice. Of course, Szyk had always been ready to take a stand against injustice and evil. (Dare one say that his response through his activist art was of biblical proportions?) Arriving in the United States with a



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *"And [what] would you do with Hitler?" "I would have made him a Negro and dropped him somewhere in the U.S.A. . . . ,"* New York, 1944. Pen and ink and pencil, 5⅝ × 8⅞ in. (14.3 × 22.5 cm). Anthony J. Mourek, Chicago.

price on his head, aware of the murder of his mother and brother in one of Europe's death camps, and identifying intimately with the genocide of his people, Szyk literally and figuratively walked through the valley of the shadow of death, yet feared no evil, in his quest to fight injustice (a slight paraphrase of Psalm 23, "The Lord is my shepherd").[12]

Indeed, even as soldiers from the land of his ideals fought Nazi racism abroad, Szyk was unafraid to attack American racism at home. Responding to the racial segregation of fighting units, he poured forth his outrage in a political cartoon in which, walking side by side, a white GI asks a black GI: "And [what] would you do with Hitler?" The black soldier responds, "I would have made him a Negro and dropped him somewhere in the U.S.A."

Szyk was equally fearless in 1949 when the House Un-American Activities Committee named him—along with Albert Einstein, Paul Robeson, Frank Lloyd Wright, and other prominent scientists, artists, and writers—as a member of subversive and communist organizations. Szyk's response was to attack McCarthyism and its crusading henchmen by drawing cartoons of innocent victims with captions such as: "He is under investigation; his blood is *red* and his heart is *left of the center*! . . . To think of it, we are all in truble [*sic*]" (1949). At the same time, he demonstrated his devotion to the United States, despite its flaws, by painting his best works of Americana: *Bill of Rights*, *Declaration of Independence of the United States*, and *Four Freedoms Prayer*.

In his *Four Freedoms Prayer* (p. 170), Szyk's reverence for the late president's ideal and the freedom of all peoples is evident. Painting it shortly after the Four Freedoms appeared in the preamble of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted on December 10, 1948, Szyk illuminated the rebirth and universal ideals of his own new nation. The full text of the so-called National Prayer for Peace (often ascribed to Thomas Jefferson), in Szyk's calligraphy, complements his image of prayer, around which is penned each of the Four Freedoms. At the cen-



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Four Freedoms Prayer*, New Canaan, Connecticut, 1949. Watercolor and gouache, 8¼ × 6⅝ in. (21.1 × 16.8 cm). Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

ter, the Madonna and Child receive three "wise men"—a white man, a black man, and a Jewish man—who offer the newborn country three gifts, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."[13]

On July 4, 1950, Szyk's illuminated *Declaration of Independence*—the capstone of his life—was dedicated at a public ceremony in New Canaan, Connecticut, his final city of residence. More than three hundred people gathered at the town hall on that Independence Day to celebrate Szyk, his painting, and his love for his adopted country. The chair of the event described the artist as "one of the world's great free men who has dedicated his life and art to the preservation of freedom."[14]

At the very bottom of his work, Szyk had added his own words of dedication:

> To my fellow Americans, I dedicate with love this immortal heritage of our forefathers. May these words live in our hearts forever and ever; for no good man loses his freedom but with life . . . Arthur Szyk, New Canaan, Conn. July 4, 1950.

Little more than a year later, at age fifty-seven, Szyk was dead, his life cut short by a fatal heart attack. Shortly before his death he had completed his illuminated *Thomas Jefferson's Oath*: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." No words could better describe the passion that had illuminated this great artist's life and work.[15]

Fast-forward to the new millennium: In the year 2000, Szyk's work and fame in his adopted homeland were reinvigorated with a second Library of Congress exhibition, titled *Arthur Szyk: Artist for Freedom*. More recently, in 2017–18, Szyk's beloved New York City hosted an exhibition of his art, at the New-York Historical Society, titled *Arthur Szyk: Soldier in Art*.

The year 2018 marks the seventieth anniversary of the date when Arthur Szyk, a Polish Jewish immigrant artist, became a citizen of the United States. With this exhibition, *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms*, the Artist for Freedom and Soldier in Art has truly come home.



★ *Eleanor Roosevelt and the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Lake Success, New York*, November 1949. National Archives and Records Service, Washington, DC, Office of Presidential Libraries, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT & THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS: THE FOUR FREEDOMS IN ACTION

ALLIDA BLACK

Why include Eleanor Roosevelt in this tribute to the Four Freedoms? She did not write the landmark 1941 speech, nor did she deliver it. Her husband, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, did. She never commented publicly on Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* paintings (pp. 1–4) or worked behind the scenes to distribute them. When she spoke of these fundamental freedoms, she did not offer comfort or evoke tranquil images of children sleeping in their beds, families gathered around dining tables, communities united by prayer, or wholesome Americans defending their nation. Instead, she emphasized the challenging work—and widespread change—that concretizing these ideals demanded at home and around the world.[1]

Simply put, if FDR gave us the vision that Rockwell immortalized on canvas, ER insisted that Americans recognize what it meant. "It is not only in war . . . that we fight for freedom," she wrote, shortly after Rockwell's paintings appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*. "When the war is over, the four freedoms will not have been won, we shall simply have dominated their more aggressive enemies. At all times, day by day, we have to continue fighting for freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom from fear, and freedom from want—for these are things that must be gained in peace as well as in war."[2]

ER knew the painstaking, dangerous, and bold work this aim required. As she undertook the task, attacks on her character escalated. The Ku Klux Klan and other hate groups targeted her. Haunted by her visits with gravely wounded soldiers and distressed by increased ethnic discrimination at home, ER prayed for strength. "Dear Lord," she implored:

> Lest I continue
> My complacent way,
> Help me to remember that somewhere,
> Somehow out there
> A man died for me today.
> . . . . . .

I then must
Ask and answer
Am I worth dying for?[3]

ER grew even more convinced that although the United States had won World War I, it had lost the peace that followed. Her vision of victory now included more than military triumph. When her husband asked Americans to say goodbye to "Old Dr. New Deal" and hello to "Dr. Win-the-War," she declared that she doubted that "anyone has laid the New Deal away in lavender." While FDR focused on invading Europe and building the United Nations and its war-deterrence agencies, ER concentrated on mobilizing the war-weary American public to embrace the challenges that a world grounded in the Four Freedoms demanded.[4]

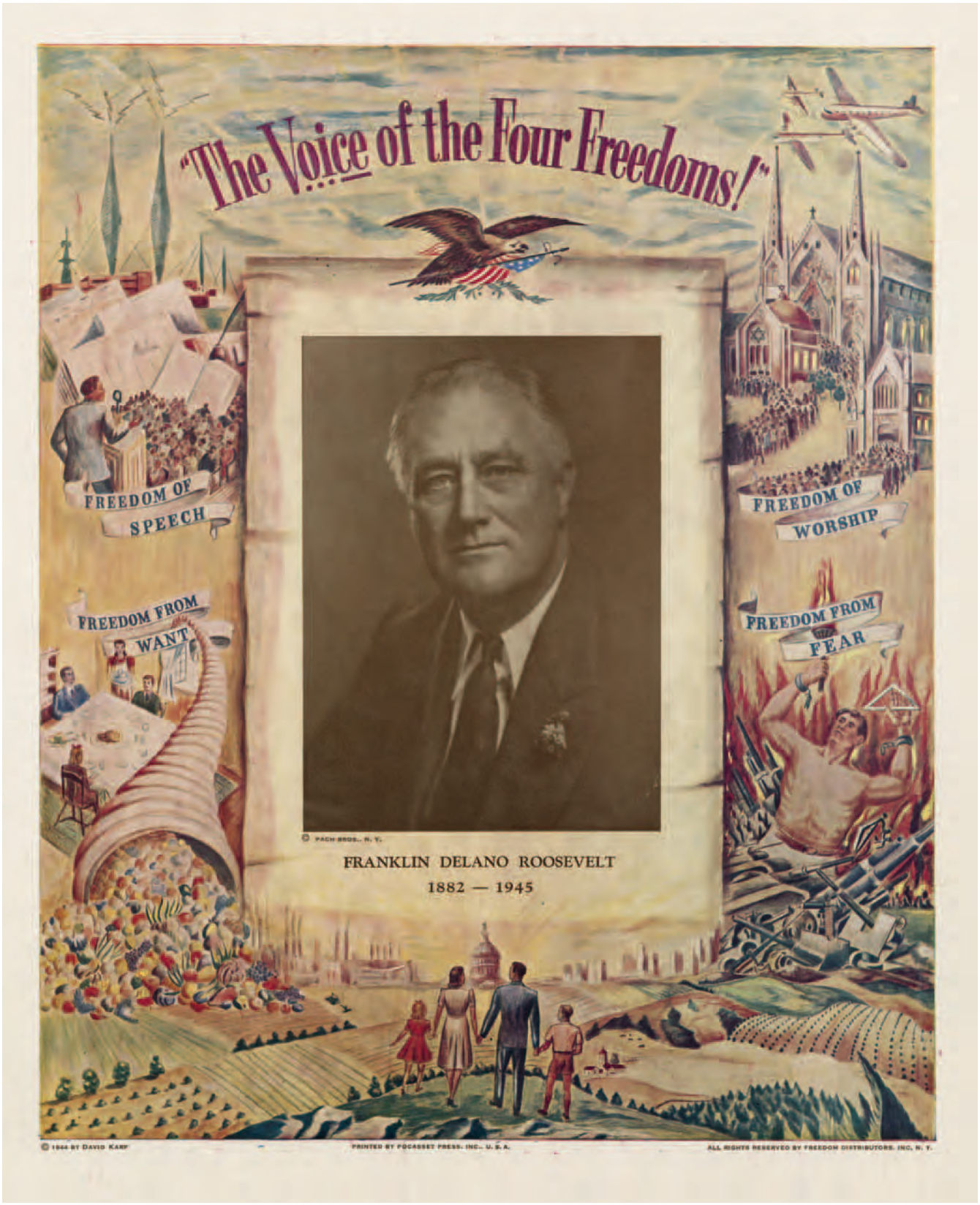
Each of them knew that the world needed their combined skills—and they looked forward to working together in new ways once the war ended. But that would not happen.

FDR died less than a month before Germany surrendered. He did not live to see the devastation caused by the atomic bomb, the convening of the United Nations, the soul-crushing sadness of the death camps and refugee resettlements, the rebuilding of Europe, or the collapse of colonialism. Moreover, he died before someone could show the world what policies grounded in the Four Freedoms could achieve.

That responsibility fell to Eleanor Roosevelt. It would become her life's work, albeit in an unexpected way.



The Roosevelts attend a dedication ceremony in Hyde Park, New York, in 1940. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.



★ David Karp (1905–1967), *The Voice of the Four Freedoms*, 1944 (updated in or after 1945). Poster, 14 × 11 in. (35.6 × 28 cm). Published by Freedom Distributors, New York. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York. FDR's role in creating the Four Freedoms was often memorialized after his death.

ER had intended to spend the summer of 1945 alongside her husband as he shepherded the delegates charged with designing and launching the United Nations. Instead, she remained at Val-Kill, her cottage in Hyde Park, New York, where she settled his estate and relied on the administration colleagues who were attending the planning conference to brief her on United Nations deliberations. Rejecting all pleas that she run for office, accept a Cabinet post, or direct a major political action committee, ER envisioned a life in which she could do what she wanted when she wanted, and say what she wanted without fear of undermining her husband's positions. Do not worry, she counseled colleagues and friends, in My Day, her widely read newspaper column, and on her lecture tour: "My voice will not be silent."[5]

But by late June, frustrated by the nation's capitulation to anxiety and the politics of fear, ER reentered the political debate and became the Four Freedoms' most outspoken advocate.

Repeatedly, she told her audiences that peace depended upon the Four Freedoms: "Security is not a matter of armed forces alone." It is instead the combination of "freedom from fear and from want," both at home and abroad. When Congress balked at increased foreign assistance, ER urged her readers to recognize that "if our standard of living goes up, but our neighbors' standard of living goes down; if we eat, but our neighbors starve, we may have power for a little while, but we will not have assurance of peace and security for all."[6]

When critics attacked the Fair Employment Practices Committee, she reminded them, "We have fought a war to establish the dignity of the individual. . . . We cannot very well permit at home conditions which would curtail . . . freedom from want."[7]

Throughout her fall 1945 lecture tour, ER challenged Americans to realize that domestic policies have huge international implications: "We are in an important moment in history," she told a Boston gathering. "What happens here in the United States will either give courage to people in the other parts of the world, or on the other hand, will sap their courage." In New Jersey she declared, "We must have confidence in one another and must avoid a situation where everybody approaches everyone else with suspicion." To a Chicago audience she said, "It takes just as much determination to work for peace as it does to win a war." But, she confessed, she wondered whether "we're going to have the courage and the strength to sustain our effort to win the peace."[8]

By December 1945, Harry S. Truman, his presidency in trouble due to a host of economic challenges related to the peacetime conversion, could no longer ignore ER's calls to action on winning the peace—or the threat she posed to his sinking popularity. When a trusted aide suggested that Truman appoint her to the first American delegation to the United Nations, Truman phoned her immediately. ER initially declined the appointment—not only doubting her ability but also reluctant to relinquish her own newfound freedom.

But she soon changed her mind. She could not walk away from the Four Freedoms. "I feel a great responsibility to the youth who fought the war," she told her readers. "Every one of us has a deep and solemn obligation to them which we should fulfill by giving all that we are capable of giving to the making of the peace so they can feel that the maximum good has come from their sacrifice."[9]

Initially, the men of the US delegation did not know what to do with her. They focused their energies on structuring the Security Council and regulating atomic weapons. What could she pos-



President Harry S. Truman and Eleanor Roosevelt, 1945. Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum, Independence, Missouri.

sibly add to that?, they must have thought (and, oh, what damage she could do!). Values, to them, had at most a minimal place in realpolitik diplomacy. They had no doubt that freedom from fear trumped freedom from want. They assumed that if they parked her on the Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Affairs Committee, she could work on issues they considered inconsequential.

History soon intervened.

By spring 1946, the care and feeding of sixty million European displaced persons surfaced as a contentious issue. When the Soviet Union's representatives insisted that the countless displaced persons in the areas now under Joseph Stalin's influence remain in Soviet hands, ER's blindsided



Eleanor Roosevelt with Adlai Stevenson and John Foster Dulles at the United Nations, 1946. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

male colleagues were unprepared. As the Soviets continued to exploit the issue, the delegation had no choice but to turn to her. She not only understood the humane issues, but she also had the political acumen that rebuffing the Soviet demand for involuntary repatriation required. Her gracious dismantling of the Soviet position—and her subtle refusal to decouple freedom from fear and freedom from want—stunned her colleagues and led John Foster Dulles to confess: "I feel I must tell you that when you were appointed I thought it was terrible and now I think your work has been fine!"[10]

The following month, ER, pressured by the US Army, toured displaced persons camps for Jewish, Polish, and Baltic refugees. She did not want to go, because she knew that she would be haunted by what she saw and heard. But she felt compelled to investigate. She heard the stories of the victims of the Nazi concentration camps and the pleas of Jewish survivors to emigrate to Palestine. She talked with non-Jews displaced for political and economic reasons. What she saw emboldened her in ways she had not anticipated. The Four Freedoms became even more piercingly real to her. While still on the tour, she used her My Day column to convey angst and outrage. With "an aching heart," she asked, "When will our consciences grow so tender that we will act to prevent human misery rather than avenge it?"[11]

Convinced that the United States had been purposely spared from the destruction that the war inflicted on other nations, ER seized all avenues at her disposal—columns, speeches, articles, private conversation, correspondence—to urge Americans to recognize what was at stake and to assume both the responsibility and the financial cost of world leadership.

The Four Freedoms demanded no less.

Fervently, ER cautioned Americans to learn that "you cannot live for yourselves alone. You depend on the rest of the world and the rest of the world depends on you." UN debates on the refugee crisis, the Geneva Conventions, atomic energy, arms control, the proposed UN peace force, the creation of Israel, the implementation of apartheid, the demise of colonialism, and women's rights underscored for ER the crying need for the United States to accept its connection with the rest of the world. They also convinced her how crucial a commonly shared vision could be in overcoming the haunting legacy of war.[12]

The United Nations General Assembly had voted to establish the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) in June 1946 and instructed it to create an international bill of rights. The commission promptly elected ER its chair, and she became responsible for overseeing all the tasks associated with creating the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and securing its adoption by the UN General Assembly. ER hoped that this document would provide that commonly shared vision she sought and make the Four Freedoms a living reality.

The battle to create an international vision of human rights drew on every skill ER possessed—and challenged her in ways she could never have envisioned. As the sessions began, she saw that any discussion of human rights quickly became ensnarled in Cold War politics. Deeply worried that escalating political tensions could easily spark another world war, ER decided to push for a comprehensive agreement that could be adopted as quickly as possible. A fearful world still recovering from the worst war in its history needed a vision sooner than it needed a treaty. Thus, she urged that the UNCHR's assignment be separated into three complementary aims: a declaration of human rights, a covenant to enforce them, and a human rights court to hold violators accountable. Convinced that Truman would not win the 1948 election, and that she would not be reappointed to the UN position, ER strove to have a declaration adopted by the end of that year.

Drafting the UDHR required monumental effort. The United States had yet to agree on what the Four Freedoms meant or what they required. The world had never agreed on a common concept of rights, much less on what made a violation so egregious that the offending nation's sovereignty could be challenged. Now the United States and the world had to do so in the shadow of unimaginable horror and economic uncertainty.

As chair of the Human Rights Commission, ER had to create a climate in which all eighteen member nations—each of which was represented by a very vocal representative instructed to follow the parameters his or her government set—could envision, debate, and articulate rights and freedoms. Ultimately, she would chair more than three thousand hours of contentious debate to define human rights and to decide whether or not these rights applied to all men, women, and children everywhere—regardless of race, religion, ethnicity, nationality, age, country of origin, income, or social status.



Eleanor Roosevelt's work on behalf of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was tireless. Here she is speaking at a meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1947. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

It would be a master class in the Four Freedoms. The questions seemed endless. Was the Four Freedoms ideal truly a universal concept or did it apply only to the United States and her Western allies? How did these values relate to human rights and the other philosophies guiding the debate?

What did the right to work, the right to wages and income, the right to assemble, the right to food and shelter, the right to education, the right to dissent, the right to vote and participate in government, the right to nationality, and guarantees against torture and discrimination *mean*? What did the guarantee of equal treatment in one's community or government or workplace mean in different political systems? What were women's rights and how would they be protected?

Negotiations teetered, often tipping toward one political posture or another. Freedom from fear often battled freedom from want, as Western democracies and the communist Eastern Bloc strove to impose their geopolitics on committee negotiations.

As chair of the subcommittee charged with drafting the declaration, ER had to make sure that the vision she guided the committee to create was presented in clear, readily comprehensible, and empowering prose.

As chair of the overall Human Rights Commission, she had to sell the declaration to its members and then to each member of the General Assembly. This meant that she had to convince a recalcitrant State Department that freedom from want was just as important as freedom from fear, that "freedom from want and freedom from aggression were twin freedoms which had to go hand in hand." Secretary of State George C. Marshall (p. 181) did not accept that view. His postwar plan focused on the rebuilding of European commerce rather than the development of international



Secretary of State George C. Marshall at a United Nations meeting in Paris, 1948. Photograph by Gerald Waller, *Stars and Stripes*.

law. He did not seem inclined to think about human rights; if he thought about the Four Freedoms, he prioritized them and put freedom from want at the bottom.[13]

ER did not believe that political and civil rights trumped social and economic rights. She had seen up close the spiritual and physical devastation that depression, starvation, homelessness, and war had wrought. As the deliberations on the declaration drew to a close, she wrote (in a column published around the world): "To obtain one of the four freedoms, Freedom from Want, and not the others, is a poor bargain; and yet, unless one obtains freedom from want, one probably is not much interested in any of the other freedoms."[14]

ER considered the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights her most important work. It is also the starkest example of her political acumen, stamina, and vision. As the declaration took shape, she not only had to convince a reluctant State Department to accept a definition of human rights that included social, economic, and cultural rights, but she also had to convince the Soviets, whom she increasingly distrusted, not to sabotage the committee's work.

Perhaps no one other than ER could have negotiated this minefield. As she presented the UDHR to the General Assembly, she took stock of its potential:

> We stand today at the threshold of a great event both in the life of the United Nations and in the life of mankind. This Universal Declaration of Human Rights may well become the international Magna Carta of all men everywhere. We hope its proclamation by the General Assembly will be an event comparable to the proclamation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man by the



Eleanor Roosevelt addressing the UN General Assembly in July 1947.
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

> French people in 1789, the adoption of the Bill of Rights by the people of the United States, and the adoption of comparable declarations at different times in other countries.

That vision was comparable to the one contained in the Four Freedoms that her husband introduced and that Rockwell captured:

> This Declaration is based upon the spiritual fact that man must have freedom in which to develop his full stature and through common effort to raise the level of human dignity.

Finally, ER recognized that this powerful wording began a new era that demanded fierce fidelity to the goals that the declaration set:

> We have much to do to fully achieve and to assure the rights set forth in this Declaration. But having them put before us with the moral backing of 58 nations will be a great step forward. As we here bring to fruition our labors on this Declaration of Human Rights, we must at the same time rededicate ourselves to the unfinished task which lies before us. We can now move on with new courage and inspiration to the completion of an international covenant on human rights and of measures for the implementation of human rights.[15]

Ultimately, Eleanor Roosevelt's commitment to the Four Freedoms changed the world. Her determination to transform this gauzy ideal into a concrete document had consequences that neither she, Franklin Roosevelt, nor Norman Rockwell could have imagined. The declaration inspired dozens of international covenants and the creation of international courts. It inspired numerous new governments and an increasingly powerful international movement.

It is past time that the world recognized ER's contribution. No longer can she be left out of any discussion on the Four Freedoms.

Eleanor Roosevelt made them real and left them in our hands to protect.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *The Problem We All Live With*, 1963. Oil on canvas, 36 × 58 in. (91.4 × 147.3 cm). Story illustration for *Look*, January 14, 1964, pp. 22–23. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

RUBY BRIDGES & THE PROBLEM WE ALL LIVE WITH

INTERVIEW BY STEPHANIE HABOUSH PLUNKETT

Beyond the legendary status that he achieved some forty years before his death in 1978, illustrator Norman Rockwell was a remarkable painter and a complex man. A gifted storyteller and masterful technician, with a distinct, personal message to convey, he created images that described universal human experiences within a particularly American context. For more than six decades he revealed meaning in the commonplace, inspiring viewers to see the best in themselves. When he shifted his attention to significant social concerns, he faced an audience ready to receive his messages.

In the 1960s, leaving behind his beloved storytelling scenes, Rockwell threw himself into a new genre—the visual documentation of contemporary issues. He had always wanted to make a difference with his art, and as a highly marketable illustrator, he had the opportunity to do so. Humor and pathos—traits that made his *Saturday Evening Post* covers successful—were replaced by a pared down, reportorial style more appropriate for magazine editorials.

After ending his forty-seven-year career with the *Post* in 1963, Rockwell sought new artistic challenges. His first assignment for *Look* generated *The Problem We All Live With* (p. 184), which portrayed a six-year-old African American girl being escorted by four US marshals to her first day at an all-white school in New Orleans, an assertion on moral decency. In 1965, in *Murder in Mississippi* (pp. 52, 75), Rockwell focused on the killing of three civil rights workers, and in 1967 he chose children, once again, to illustrate desegregation, this time in our nation's suburbs, with *New Kids in the Neighborhood*. In an interview later in life, Rockwell recalled that he once had to paint out an African American in a group picture, because the *Post*'s policy was that people of color appear in service-industry roles only. Freed from such restraints, Rockwell sought opportunities to correct the editorial prejudices that were reflected in his previous work.

The Problem We All Live With commemorated the tenth anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the 1954 US Supreme Court ruling on a landmark civil rights case affirming that state-sanctioned segregation of America's public schools was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and therefore unconstitutional. Rockwell's painting—a double-page interior illustration in *Look*—was inspired by the story of young Ruby Bridges and her courageous march into the William Frantz Elementary School. On November 14, 1960, Bridges became the

first African American child to integrate a southern elementary school. US marshals accompanied her on that day, and for months to come, to shield her from the violent crowds protesting her attendance. Lynda Gunn, a child who lived near Rockwell's town of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, modeled for the figure of the young girl in his painting.

Letters to the editor of *Look* were a mixed bag of praise and criticism. One Florida reader wrote, "Rockwell's picture is worth a thousand words. . . . I am saving this issue for my children with the hope that by the time they become old enough to comprehend its meaning, the subject matter will have become history." Other readers objected to the stance Rockwell had taken. A man from Texas wrote, "Just where does Norman Rockwell live? Just where does your editor live? Probably both of these men live in all-white, highly expensive, highly exclusive neighborhoods. Oh, what hypocrites all of you are!" Public opinion, however, did not dissuade Rockwell from pursuing the course of creating a series of powerful images for *Look* expressing his most deeply held beliefs about equality and essential democratic ideals.[1]

A lifelong activist for racial equality, Ruby Bridges is an award-winning author and the founder of the Ruby Bridges Foundation, promoting tolerance and meaningful change through education. She spoke with Norman Rockwell Museum Deputy Director/Chief Curator Stephanie Haboush Plunkett and Director of Digital Learning and Engagement Rich Bradway about her experiences and recollections, in an interview recorded at the International House Hotel in New Orleans on August 7, 2017, excerpted below.

SHP: Ruby, we are so honored to represent your voice and experiences in *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms*. To begin, I wonder if you could talk a little bit about your life as a girl.

RB: As you know, I was born in a small town called Tylertown, Mississippi, where my parents were both from very large families. They were sharecroppers. My father's family actually raised cotton, picked cotton. My grandmother on my mother's side grew crops and sold them, working the land. It was a very wide spectrum of what life was like during that time in Mississippi, which I absolutely loved.

We were very poor and didn't have a clue that we were. Whenever we wanted something to eat, my grandmother would say, "Go out into the garden and get what you want." Anything we could imagine eating, she grew and sold. Even though we were poor, I wasn't aware of that.

We would visit my grandparents in Mississippi every summer. For me, that was like my summer camp experience, spending it with all of my cousins. There must've been about forty of us at any given time. My mother has six sisters, and all of them have at least eight to ten kids.

It was a very rich experience. When I was about two years old, my family moved. My mom and father moved from Mississippi to New Orleans. I went to an all-black school for kindergarten and a few months of first grade, before there was a knock at the door and my parents were asked if they would be willing to send me to one of the all-white schools in New Orleans. It was before schools were integrated.



Guarded by three deputy US marshals, including Charles Burks, top center, young Ruby Bridges enters newly desegregated William Frantz Elementary School in New Orleans, on December 5, 1960, to begin her third week as the only black student in the school.

I found myself thrust into the middle of the civil rights movement, not knowing anything about it, and I have to say that I don't believe that my parents knew very much about what was going on politically, because they were not activists, and because they were very poor. They were consumed with where the next meal was going to come from. I think it was a huge undertaking for them that they were not expecting.

SHP: You have other siblings as well. Is that right?

RB: I do. I am the oldest of eight. During that time, there were probably five of us. My parents were struggling, and they were very young, both just turning thirty.

SHP: Do you think your parents felt that having you attend the William Frantz Elementary School would give you opportunities you might not have in your own community?

RB: Absolutely. Because they were sharecroppers, going to school for them was a luxury. If it was time for them to get the crops in, they were the labor, so they were not allowed to go to

school every day. My father had a sixth-grade education, and my mother only eighth-grade.

When they heard that they would have an opportunity to send their child and their other kids to better schools, possibly be able to choose any college that they wanted to go to, my mother was all for that. I say my mother because my father was against it. My father also fought in the Korean War, where he was hurt and helped to carry another soldier back and was awarded the Purple Heart.

SHP: He had seen a lot through his service, in that case.

RB: I think he saw things that neither my mother nor my siblings could imagine. He didn't talk about it very much, and felt as though sending me to this all-white school at that time was just much too dangerous. He honestly felt like it wouldn't change things. I remember him saying that being on the front line, you could be fighting next to a white soldier, but if you both lived and went back, you couldn't go to the same barracks and you couldn't eat in the same mess hall. He really felt as though if all of that didn't change the country, then sending me to this school and risking my life wouldn't change things. He never had an opportunity to see the outcome of putting me into that school. Unfortunately, my father passed away when I was about twenty. He was only forty-six.

SHP: Did you get a sense that as things progressed he came to a point of agreement?

RB: Sort of, because I was the oldest. I was a daddy's girl. I actually loved school, even though all of that was happening around me. I had an amazing teacher, Barbara Henry, who isolated me as much as possible. I enjoyed learning from her. I always say that even though that was going on outside of the school every day, the mobs screaming and yelling, I did not miss a day of school, and neither did Barbara. It was because I loved learning, and she was the ultimate teacher, and that's what she loved to do. I think my father noticed that and felt like if I was happy and this was where I wanted to be, he would go along with it.

SHP Can you describe what that first day was like? Do you remember preparing in any special way?

RB: I do. What was a little bit strange for me was the fact that I had already had a first day, because I was attending the all-black school that was farther away from my house at the time, but the law didn't allow me to go to my neighborhood school. This white school *was* my neighborhood school, only a few blocks from my house. I was accustomed to school. I'd had a first day of kindergarten, and I'd also had a first day of first grade, because even though school started in September, the desegregation of the schools didn't happen until November 14.

This particular first day was totally different from what I was accustomed to. Yes, I do remember it. I remember all of my mother's friends coming over to the house that morning. I remember all of the new things that I'd gotten to get dressed for school. It just seemed so very exciting, and everybody took an interest in it.

I talk about that a lot today, because when we think about the fact that we've been told that it takes a village to raise a child, that's what was happening during that time. There were extended family and neighbors who looked out for one another, which is something that we don't see as frequently today. I remember that firsthand.

I remember them helping me to get dressed, and the fact that the federal marshals came every day to escort me. All of the neighbors living on my street also walked with me to school. They would walk behind the federal marshals' car. I do remember what that was like.

SHP: Can you describe what your community was like at the time?

RB: Living here in New Orleans—part of the South, so close to Mississippi—racism was alive and well even during those times. It was different, I believe, from other places, because in the community where I lived, you could be on one street, and then the street over might be a mixed neighborhood or all white. That's the way it was even on my street. The neighbors right around my house, maybe directly across the street, they were black, but right on the corner, they were white. It wasn't as though we didn't interact. We did. During those times, most people knew their place and stayed in it, so to speak.

SHP: How were you chosen to attend William Frantz Elementary School? What was the selection process like?

RB: The process began because it was time for schools to be integrated in Louisiana. *Brown v. the Board* happened in 1954, the year that I was born, but six years later the schools had not been integrated. The Supreme Court ruling ordered schools "to integrate by all deliberate speed." What does that mean? That left a loophole, so it was six years before the schools even began the process.

I wasn't told anything about what was going to happen. Officials came into my neighborhood going door to door, asking people if they had six-year-old children, because they were going to integrate by grade level, starting with first grade. Schools in Little Rock [were integrated] in 1957, but that was high school. This was the first time it would happen in elementary school.

That knock came at the door. I was the right age. My parents heard that, and because of the way they grew up, they thought, "This is an opportunity that we need to take." I've been told that the powers that be were concerned about what would happen during the process. They'd seen what happened in Little Rock.

It's my understanding that the kids had to be tested because there were probably around 150 families who agreed, "Yes, we do have a six-year-old, and yes, we'd like to send them." There would be an elimination process, and a test was set up to pare the number of students down to something they could handle. The two schools that were chosen were located in the Ninth Ward, which we all are so familiar with now after Hurricane Katrina.

Only six kids passed the test and I happened to be one of them. Three were assigned to one school and three to the other. A couple of days before it was time to go, two children dropped out. Those two kids had been assigned to go to the same school that I went to, which left me to attend alone. My parents discussed it, and they decided that they were going to continue to go through the process.

SHP: I recall reading that on that first day of school, you thought you were in the middle of something else, perhaps a parade. Is that the case?

RB: Living here in New Orleans, I'm naturally accustomed to Mardi Gras. That's a huge celebration in the city, and we look forward to it. That particular day, when I was in the car being



Deputy US marshals escort six-year-old Ruby Bridges from William Frantz Elementary School in New Orleans, November 1960.

escorted to school, the streets were lined with protesters, and they were barricaded. There were policemen everywhere. Some were on horseback and motorcycles. The fact that people were screaming and yelling and waving their hands and throwing things, that is what happens during Mardi Gras. That day, being in the car when I turned the corner, I just assumed that I was in the middle of a parade. When I think about it today, that was the innocence of a child. I think that protected me, not knowing.

A lot of times people say, "Did you discuss it with your parents? Couldn't you have said no, you don't want to go?" I said, "That was a different day and a different time. You didn't say no. You didn't question them. You did what you were told." For us, the way we were raised, we were not allowed to be in the same room when adults were discussing or having conversation, so no, it wasn't something that they discussed with me.

SHP: Once you entered the building, you sat in the principal's office for much of the day, as parents withdrew their children from school.

RB: I had already been enrolled, but was waiting to be escorted to my classroom, possibly to meet my teacher and get started with my studies. In actuality, I sat in the principal's office with my mom that day, and I remember the federal marshals standing right outside the door—we could see them through the glass windows.

All of those people who had been standing outside began rushing in, shoving and pushing and pointing at me through the windows. Their faces seemed very angry about something. It seemed really busy and confusing to me; adults would pass the window, and when they came back, there were kids with them. That happened all day long, back and forth.

Finally the bell rang at three o'clock, and I remember someone entering the room saying, "School is dismissed. You can leave." I distinctly remember that, because I thought to myself, "Wow, this school is easy," not knowing that parents went into every classroom to pull their children out. There were over five hundred kids that left the building that day, and it was because I was there. I had no idea what was happening, even though it was taking place right before my eyes. Plans had been kept secret, so no one in the city actually knew which schools were going to be integrated. When I drove up with federal marshals, they knew it was their school.

The very next day, it was the same thing. Federal marshals knocked on the door, and I got into the car with them. They escorted me back to the school. When we drove up that day, the crowds had almost doubled in size, because at that point, everybody knew. It was all over the news. What we didn't realize was that the whole world was looking at what was happening, just as they had with the Little Rock Nine.

My mother said that day made her the most nervous. I don't think that [my parents] knew what they were getting into. There was probably no way they could've known. She said she would go home and pray until three o'clock, hoping that her child would come home.

SHP: What impact did these events have on your family?

RB: It was very, very hard for them. My father was a service-station attendant, he pumped gas, worked on cars, that sort of thing. It was a neighborhood station, very close to our house. They found out somehow that it was his daughter who had been the first to integrate the schools, so he was let go, fired from his job. The NAACP, which was spearheading the movement, felt it would not be a good time for him to go out and look for another job, that it could be dangerous. I don't think he had a clue as to how he was going to feed and manage his family and household. That naturally would take a toll.

We lived very near a riverfront where all the men would pass that street to go to work, and so every Friday, they would all stop back at the house and leave money for my father. They said, "Keep her in school. We'll help you." It was amazing to see that.

My grandparents were sharecroppers in Mississippi, and it didn't take long for people there to find out about their granddaughter, so they were asked to leave the land that they had worked for years and years, and the place we used to go to for summers. They left Mississippi and moved to the rural Louisiana town of Franklinton. It was very, very hard for them.

SHP: Was it the second day of school when you were taken to your classroom and met your teacher, Barbara Henry?

RB: The second day I was escorted into the building it seemed very different. It was so quiet you could hear a pin drop. There was no one moving around. I didn't hear any kids. I remember

getting to the top of the stairs and someone saying, "Your class is down the hall." Once I got there, the door opened, and a woman stepped out. She said, "Hi, my name is Mrs. Henry. I'm your teacher." I remember looking at her and thinking, "She's white." I'd never seen a white teacher before, even though I was accustomed to school. I didn't know what she would be like, which is probably a fear of many young kids. For me it was a little bit different because she was different. I soon learned that she was an amazing teacher. She became my best friend. I knew that she cared about me.

SHP: What is your memory of Mrs. Henry and your day-to-day experience at school? You must have developed a close relationship as the only child in her class that year.

RB: She was amazing. Aside from our studies, Barbara Henry played games with me, and we did art and music. We made all kinds of things for the holidays; at Easter we made baskets and bonnets. She did everything she could to keep my mind off of what was happening outside the school. I could hear crowds screaming, but she would to go the windows and close them. I was never allowed to go onto the playground because of the crowds. The federal marshals even escorted me to the restroom and waited to bring me back to my seat. I was not allowed to eat lunch in the cafeteria because there were people outside threatening to poison me. The protesters showed up every day by the busload, boycotting the school. They would march around carrying signs, throwing things. They even brought a small baby's coffin with a black doll inside. That's what frightened me the most.

When it got really cold, I would go into this closet to hang up my coat, and I could hear children laughing and talking, but I never saw them. Now I realize what was happening—there were some white parents who crossed that picket line wanting to send their children to school, but they were harassed. Husbands were fired from their jobs, crosses were burned on their lawns, bricks and rocks thrown through their windows. It was all recorded and on the news.

SHP: Even though she didn't share this with you, Barbara Henry was advocating behind the scenes to allow you and the other children at school to play together.

RB: Yes, she was, and that is why I was eventually allowed to interact with those other kids. I'll never forget that day. They were not allowed to come to my classroom, but Mrs. Henry would bring me to where they were. I was filled with joy, because I felt as though I had finally found some friends. But I got a very rude awakening, because that's when a little boy said, "I can't play with you. My mom said not to play with you because you're a nigger."

When he said that, even at six, I felt like this huge weight lifted off my shoulders, because I had spent so much time trying to figure it all out—why I was the only kid in the school, why it seemed so different, and finally he said it. He made it all make sense.

SHP: Did you and Barbara Henry stay in touch after that year?

RB: Mrs. Henry and I didn't keep in touch, and I did not meet her again until 1995, when *The Story of Ruby Bridges* was published by Dr. Robert Coles. Actually, we were not allowed to stay in contact. I don't know if that was for her own protection, probably so. After that year, I think she was ready to leave New Orleans and to go back home to Boston to start her family.



Women kept back by police jeer at a passing car taking children home from the William Frantz Elementary School on December 5, 1960, in New Orleans. Protesters had tried to impose a total white boycott of the school, integrated by a single African American six-year-old girl, Ruby Bridges, but about eighteen white children attended that day, and the boycott appeared to be weakening.

I was not told that she left, and on that first day of second grade, I rushed back to my classroom to find her, but another teacher opened the door. All of the things we had created together were taken down. That year, I was taught by someone who had refused to do so the year before. My best friend was gone. No one talked about what happened. It was like it didn't happen. It was over, and the schools were integrated. As the years went on, I blocked all of that out.

SHP: When did you become aware of Norman Rockwell's 1963 painting *The Problem We All Live With*?

RB: Everybody was familiar with the Norman Rockwell painting, but no one actually knew the story behind it, or who that little girl was, not until years and years later.

I actually never saw the painting until I was about eighteen, when a reporter came to New Orleans to do a story and showed it to me. At that point, it made me realize that [it] wasn't something I had dreamed, it was actually real—it happened, and the world actually sat up and took notice. I didn't realize how important that event was and that it was a part of history until that reporter showed me the Norman Rockwell painting and said, "This is you."

That was an eye-opening moment for me, because that old saying that you have to know where you come from to know where you're going is very, very true, and why history is so important. I'm a strong advocate for history being told exactly the way that it happened. I don't think any of us have the right or the privilege to change or alter history in any way. When we do that, we change the outcome of things to come. I am an advocate for history being taught in schools the way that it actually happened. I think that stems from the story and my own history.

SHP: How did your discovery of Rockwell's painting impact you?

RB: Once I saw that painting, I realized that the experience was something much bigger than myself, and that I needed to pursue and be involved in it. It put me on my quest to tell my story and to work with children, which is what I do today. It brought things into focus for me, and in that way I realized that my path was chosen for me.

SHP: We are fortunate to have *The Problem We All Live With* in the collection of the Norman Rockwell Museum—it is one of Rockwell's most iconic works. Jumping ahead to 2011, you visited President Barack Obama at the White House, where he requested it be installed just outside of the Oval Office. What was that like?

RB: The first time I saw the painting [in person] was in 2000 at a ceremony at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, when [future US] Attorney General Eric Holder named me an honorary deputy federal marshal. I had the pleasure of visiting the White House in 2001, when President Clinton awarded me a Presidential Citizens Medal, which was quite an honor. But I have to honestly say that it was a highlight of my life to work with the Norman Rockwell Museum to bring the painting to Washington, DC, when President Obama was in office. To stand there with the first African American president, and to have him turn to me and say, "I look at this and I know that I owe a lot to you and your parents, that I would not be standing here if this incident hadn't happened first, and that I am standing on your shoulders," was an amazing moment for me. I remember looking around. It was a closed meeting, there were probably a dozen people in the room listening to this conversation that he and I were having in front of the painting (p. 195). When I looked back over my shoulder, everybody was in tears. It was as though the past and the present came together in that moment, and one thing could not have happened without the other.

SHP: It seems that you have maintained a very positive view of humanity, given what you went through as a little girl. How have you managed to do that?

RB: I believe that that's what happened with Dr. Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, and probably even Norman Rockwell. The truth of the matter is that it took a lot for people during that time to take a stand, to do something that wasn't politically correct, which is [what] Rockwell did by painting that work of art and those that came later. He had to know that he was taking a risk, but there was no turning back. When you decide that something is for the greater good, you have to move forward.

SHP: You've been a very inspirational figure for many, but your work with children has been particularly important. What messages do you want to convey to them?

RB: I began to realize that if I was going to tell my story, I wanted to accomplish something



In the White House, President Barack Obama, Ruby Bridges, and representatives from the Norman Rockwell Museum look at Rockwell's *The Problem We All Live With*, July 15, 2011. Photograph by Pete Souza.

meaningful. Somehow, I thought it was important to explain to children that racism really doesn't have a place in our hearts and in our minds. Adults already know that, and they make choices, but kids are not aware of the possibilities that exist. I decided that I needed to explain to kids what I saw and how I felt as a six-year-old, and that in revisiting my experiences, they would understand it, too. I am doing what I was called to do. In our world today, if we are going to get past our racial differences, I believe it's going to come from our children. The best place for that to happen is in our schools.



★ Ansel Adams (1902–1984), *Tom Kobayashi, Landscape, South Fields, Manzanar Relocation Center*, 1943. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

FINDING FREEDOM FROM FEAR

DAISY ROCKWELL

FREEDOM FROM FEAR

> *The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.*[1]

Of the Four Freedoms, freedom from fear is the most mysterious. The US Constitution enshrines both freedom of speech and freedom of worship, so we know where they come from. Freedom from want addresses a basic physical need—adequate nourishment—and is therefore easy to understand. But freedom from fear promises us freedom from a negative emotion.

The Four Freedoms were wartime principles, so in that sense we can understand that by invoking freedom from fear, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was speaking not just to the worldwide reduction in armaments but also to the need to intervene in a foreign war, and he was portraying that need as a means to preemptively protect American soil as well. Although FDR presented the Four Freedoms as universal rights, he was also speaking specifically to Americans. Americans have the right, if they have freedom from fear, to be happy and carefree, and perhaps to be oblivious to the horrors occurring on foreign shores. We are amply defended. We are safe. We are also rather too far away for most foreign enemies to launch a meaningful attack on our island.

The depiction of freedom from fear painted by my grandfather, Norman Rockwell, picks up on a promise to Americans: his painting seems to point to a benign paternal regard on the part of the government (p. 4). We, the citizens, are the innocent little children, able to fall into a blissful slumber after a day of play, despite the violence and evil playing out, far off, on the war front. Our government, well informed (see the newspaper in the father's hand) and responsible, solicitously tucks us into bed. The government wants us to be free of the worrying fears that plague the grown-ups, and we, in turn, should trust in its ability to take care of these grown-up things safely, out of view and hearing.

Fearmongering was as much a part of drumming up support for World War II as freedom from the emotion of fear. Indeed, the US government, in one of its most shameful and xenophobic moments, went so far as to place Japanese Americans in internment camps. Even so, the evolution in our public discourse from the ideal notion of fear as an emotion the populace should be able to live without to the messaging following the attacks on American soil of September 11, 2001, is quite striking. The so-called War on Terror unleashed in the wake of the attacks has represented a wholesale jettisoning of the ideal of freedom from fear. Since 2001, Americans have in fact been encouraged to live their lives in fear, as the government amps up its practice of selling arms around the world and our citizens grow to be one of the most heavily armed populaces on the planet.

A WAR ON OUR FEAR

If you see something, say something.[2]

Under the terms of the War on Terror, now more than sixteen years old, we are urged to look about us with suspicion constantly; anyone might be a terrorist, and we must be always at the ready. The figure of the terrorist is the perfect counterpoint to the ideal of freedom from fear. A terrorist, by definition, is someone whose goal is to incite fear. Fear leads to chaos, and chaos leads to the disintegration of the Republic and the ideals it purports to stand for. *Why would someone do this to us? Why do they hate us?* These questions were answered with this simple propagandist sound bite: *Because they hate our freedom*. It is a decidedly vague excuse. It erases complex histories of US intervention, proxy wars, regime changes, and other manipulations that have stirred up myriad resentments around the globe.

Imagine the children in the painting *Freedom from Fear* waking up and watching the Twin Towers collapse on CNN. They turn in disbelief and shock to their parents and ask them, "Why do they hate us?" Suddenly they are no longer free from fear, because those wishing to make us afraid have succeeded. If terrorism is a form of warfare designed to sow fear and cause chaos, then the felling of the Twin Towers was a magnificent success.

Ever since, American discourse completely lost sight of the universal right to live one's life free from fear, instead becoming mired in a miasma of fear. This fear was initially directed primarily at Muslims (and those imagined to be Muslims)—immediately encroaching on freedom of worship, a cornerstone of American society and the US Constitution. Fear of the other is contagious, however, and it has spread rapidly into fear and hatred of all kinds of others. Xenophobia, fear, and suspicion dominate public conversations about immigration, public health, freedom of speech, and indeed just about every aspect of American life. That emotion, fear, has in fact proved to be a lethal weapon, and it is now threatening all four of the freedoms Norman Rockwell enshrined.



Daisy Rockwell, *Karuna Rasa* (the *rasa* of compassion), 2008. Acrylic and glitter on wooden panel, 6 × 6 in. (15.2 × 15.2 cm). Collection of Jarvis Rockwell.



Daisy Rockwell, *Bhayānak Rasa* (the *rasa* of terror), 2008. Acrylic and glitter on wooden panel, 6 × 6 in. (15.2 × 15.2 cm). Collection of Jarvis Rockwell.

IF YOU SEE SOMETHING, PAINT SOMETHING

In my own artistic work, I have puzzled for more than a decade over the notion of the War on Terror as a kind of evil twin of freedom from fear. What exactly are we fighting when we wage war against an affective state, against an emotion like terror? I have painted a number of portraits of alleged and convicted terrorists as I probed this question. I have researched the stories of these people, and the tales that are told about them and their motivations. Do they hate our freedom? What makes them terrorists?

As I have pursued these questions, I have wondered what in our public discourse makes some into killers or terrorists, but not all. There are the obvious answers in our news and social media: the notion that followers of the Islamic faith are somehow motivated to cause fear in our populace, out of a kind of civilizational holy war, whereas all others are simply mentally ill, loners, or gun nuts. A Muslim killer is rarely characterized as mentally ill, or a lone wolf, even when there is ample evidence that he or she exhibits such traits. A white, non-Muslim killer is rarely called a terrorist (even when he has written a manifesto, as did the Unabomber and any number of school shooters). A Muslim killer is seen as driven by an intractable theological ideology, whereas a non-Muslim is seen as motivated by a mysterious and individual pathology.

To tease out the notion of terror, or fear, as our enemy, I turned to an ancient Indian aesthetic theory, called *rasa* (pronounced *russ-uh*). Rasa theory holds that one can classify all emotions depicted in a work of art, theater, music, or literature into eight or nine categories, such as romantic love, astonishment or wonder, pathos, and rage, to name a few. One of these categories is the rasa of terror, or the *bhayānak* rasa.

To explore these rasas, I asked a Muslim friend from Pakistan to send me photographs of himself demonstrating each mood. The idea came initially when he sent me a photograph of himself with his new beard. He had had a bad day and scowled in the picture. He had grown a beard mostly by accident—maybe he just hadn't bothered to shave for a week. I was shocked and then interested at my initial reaction to the photo. *He looks just like a terrorist*, I thought. And then I asked myself why. It was the new beard, perhaps, but also the scowl. I wondered if the same impression would be created if he were laughing, in the *hāsya*, or humorous rasa, for example. I ended up painting him in all nine rasas (p. 199). It was only in the *bhayānak* (terrifying) and *raudra* (angry) rasas that he matched the stereotype of a terrorist.

I came to realize through this exercise the power of propaganda and the freedom that comes with questioning pervasive and accepted imagery. In the case of alleged and convicted terrorists, we always encounter photos of the suspects in passport and visa pictures, or sometimes mug shots. In the former, one is not allowed to smile; in the latter, one is not inclined to. The figure of the man of color staring blankly into the camera is integral to the depiction of the terrorist. That lack of smile shows his sinister intent, his underlying hatred. He is devoid of human feeling, and that lack of humanity is terrifying! The look on his face becomes a symbol of his intent to fill us with terror. It is always a bonus if such an individual wears a beard. The beard is symbolic of his religious

fervor. We all know that Osama bin Laden wore a beard, as do most Muslim religious leaders. If a man of color with a beard stares blankly at us from a photograph, we somehow intuit that he is devoid of empathy but brimming over with incomprehensible religious fervor.

The War on Terror has effectively overturned the values that the Four Freedoms enshrined as universal rights for all humanity. In American culture, the figure of the terrorist has been used to market to the population an increase in surveillance. The result is a steep drop-off in personal privacy, an increased involvement in foreign wars, an international buildup of armaments, a heavily armed domestic populace—not to mention diminished freedom of speech and freedom of worship for those seen as potential terrorists. Only when we have learned to question and analyze the xenophobic imagery that pervades traditional and social media will we be able to overturn this trend that has deprived us of our freedom from fear. We need new tools: we will never return to a time when the news could be confined to a daily paper, as in Norman Rockwell's painting, but we must still strive to achieve the universal rights illustrated by his *Four Freedoms*.



FROM INSPIRATION TO ASPIRATION: REALIZING FDR'S FOUR FREEDOMS

MARK R. SHULMAN

History doesn't just happen. People make it happen. And ideas are the most powerful device people employ to shape history's course. All of our values, our institutions, and our strategies rely on the essential power of ideas to motivate people to do anything greater than serving their own visceral impulses. Ideas can move people to rise above themselves, inspiring bravery and sacrifice. Ideas can tame the powerful feelings of fear or want, either by defeating their triggers or by enabling us to see that surrendering to them is what prevents us from achieving our ambitions or becoming the people we wish to be.

To accomplish all of this, ideas require translation from the intellectual plane to a more organic, essential level—for instance, from the abstract language of strategic leadership to the embrace of the individual. Without that act of translation, leaders will lack followers, and generals will not have their soldiers. Take, for example, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's critical insight, from the viewpoint of the early 1940s, that civilization was facing grave peril and that for freedom to prevail every man and woman needed to mobilize to combat the fascist threat—and that everything turned on the success or failure of this great struggle.

One might ask: So what? How did his big idea help save the free world? FDR's big idea could not communicate itself any more than it could thwart a *blitzkrieg*. Ideas alone cannot convince people to make the kinds of deep and sustained sacrifices such a struggle would necessitate. FDR was not powerless; perhaps more than any other, this president had mastered the art of political communication. But he also faced obstinate and widespread isolationist sentiment. So he looked for the right opportunity to share his idea with the nation. He selected his prominent forum, the President's Annual Message to Congress, to be broadcast via radio live to the nation on January 6, 1941, and rebroadcast to the rest of the free world. FDR framed his idea with alliteration, symmetry, and reference to a more just future. And he articulated it with all the eloquence that this practiced communicator could muster. Had he saved civilization? No. But he had taken the first essential step on this heroic task. His ideas still needed translation into terms that everyone could comprehend, that each man and woman would feel and take as inspiration. For this task, President Roosevelt needed the kind of brilliance that Norman Rockwell had: an unrivaled capacity to affect ordinary Americans through his illustrations.

Norman Rockwell poses in front of *Freedom of Speech*, ca. 1942. The artist's emphasis on everyday Americans in his paintings of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms made them, at last, understandable to the average American. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



US Supreme Court Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes administers the oath of office to FDR on the east portico of the US Capitol on January 20, 1941. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington DC.

FREEDOM'S DARKEST HOUR

Of course, this task was no mere theoretical exercise. By January 1941, the Axis war machine did in fact threaten freedom everywhere. The fall of the French Republic in the summer of 1940 clearly demonstrated to FDR that the New World could no longer ignore the crisis in the Old World. Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan had conquered or otherwise come to dominate much of Europe and Asia. To the president, America's entry into the war was inevitable, leaving only the question whether the United States would fight with the Allies or, after their fall, fight alone and with less certain prospects. The previous November, however, he had been reelected for an unprecedented third term by a wary nation absorbed in its own obsessions, campaigning on the promise, "Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." This slogan cannot have come easily to the president. Nor could he have foreseen how the December 1941 attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbor was going to obviate it.[1]



An enthusiastic crowd gathers outside a New York City theater where Charles Lindbergh, a leading isolationist voice, speaks at an America First rally in April 1941. FDR was well aware of the powerful isolationist sentiment in the United States.

In the meantime, FDR may not have believed his own campaign rhetoric but rather viewed it as legerdemain necessary for his reelection and for prevailing over powerful isolationist forces. In retrospect, his lack of candor seems both obvious and excusable. Facing fast-spreading war abroad and widespread anti-interventionist sentiments at home, he had no easy choices. Speaking for the only major European power to have held out against the Axis powers, Prime Minister Winston Churchill and King George VI had convinced FDR of the need to support Great Britain in its hour of need. Privately, Churchill had warned FDR that, without cash and supplies, Britain would itself succumb to the Axis juggernaut, leaving the United States alone among the remaining free powers.

Roosevelt understood that the plucky Royal Air Force and mighty Royal Navy presented the only meaningful bulwarks against this ultimate catastrophe. He also understood that those forces did not have the numbers or the resources to resist for very long on their own. Yet most Americans continued to oppose any policy that might lead their country into war. As one contemporary historian bitterly observed:

> The country was not ready to make or meet an enemy. Most Americans were still spending their days slackly, insulated from calls upon their energies, fortunes, or lives. Until they were brought to the cold hard drill ground only a foolish diplomacy would have hastened a crisis. But only a negligent diplomacy would have failed to get ready for one, if the United States intended to hold fast to the course it was on.[2]

FDR demonstrated extraordinary leadership in paying due respect to the widely held isolationist views while doing everything possible to prevent an irreversible disaster of the first order.

To avoid that catastrophe, the president planned to lend or lease war matériel to the British. But first he needed some support from Congress and the American people. A few months before (without congressional authorization), FDR had traded fifty old flush-deck naval destroyers in exchange for leases on British territorial possessions in the Western Hemisphere. The destroyers-for-bases deal raised concerns about Congress being shut out of the process. To minimize the impression that he was taking the country to war through the back door (a charge that his former boss, President Woodrow Wilson, had faced), FDR couched his new initiative in a soothing metaphor. In a December 17, 1940, press conference, he likened the program to lending a garden hose to a neighbor whose house was on fire. Suppressing the fire would end the threat of its spread, and then the neighbor would simply return the hose. The Lend-Lease program, FDR claimed, would protect America's home from being engulfed in the flames of war. At the same time, he rationalized the nation's common cause with Britain and her free allies.[3]

A few weeks later, in his January 1941 message to Congress, FDR formally launched the Lend-Lease proposal, simultaneously articulating a vision detailing the Four Freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from fear, freedom from want—and portraying a world in which the United States could find common cause not only with states such as the United Kingdom but also with freedom-loving individuals around the world, regardless of nationality. As he concluded, "Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose." These views were grounded in the package of rights he had just detailed. FDR's careful words framed the Four Freedoms in a memorable appeal to principles and practicality.

> In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. . . .
>
> That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.[4]

With this vision, FDR encapsulated the threat facing civilization and the opportunity it offered. He also framed some of the most powerful and necessary ideas of the modern era.

But his ideas were not self-executing; they required transmission into wider society. They needed more emotional resonance. They needed the skills of one Norman Rockwell.



★ This cartoon, a page from the government-issued comic book *The Life of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Office of War Information, 1943), emphasized the Lend-Lease Act (under which the United States provided war matériel to the United Kingdom and its allies) and its role in the defense of freedom. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



Norman Rockwell at work in his studio in Arlington, Vermont, ca. 1940s. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

FROM IDEAS TO EMOTIONS

In a pluralistic society, strategic direction is mediated between leaders and would-be followers. No one should underestimate FDR's capacity to inspire and mobilize people. After all, he had pioneered the use of broadcast radio—with his formal addresses and his fireside chats—to inform, reassure, and move the American people throughout the grueling years of the Great Depression. No leader has communicated more powerfully with the American public.

Nor should one overestimate FDR's power to move a heterogeneous and divided society. Prior to the attacks on Pearl Harbor, the bulk of the American people remained highly resistant to joining the global conflict. They were only starting to emerge from a dozen years of economic depression and misery. Many political elites and ordinary people believed that the United States had been tricked into joining World War I at the behest of naive internationalists and greedy munitions makers. Moreover, the nation's armed forces were ill prepared for global war. And there seemed to be little upside to joining what appeared to many to be the losing side of this war. No, the nation would not be transformed by one speech with its mellifluous but ambiguous Four Freedoms. While FDR was arguably the most talented politician of the twentieth century, he needed help to inspire the American people to rise above their everyday concerns in order to make the sacrifices necessary to fight and win the war.

Much of that help originated in Norman Rockwell's studio in Arlington, Vermont. By translating FDR's Four Freedoms into images that captured the popular imagination (pp. 1–4), the illustrator played a key role in winning the war and in laying the groundwork for what has been called

the Age of Rights. With his unique style of folksy interpretation, Rockwell translated FDR's lofty language into imagery that appealed to Americans' better angels and inspired the kinds of sacrifice necessary to fund the war, to fight it, and to persevere in the face of horrifying adversity. How he managed this effect is simple but interesting: he personalized the abstract principles.[5]

With his personification of the war in these and other images, Rockwell helped establish the defining messaging of America's war effort. Despite FDR's grand visions, Americans had not been convinced of the need to fight for his principles—or for those of his predecessor, Wilson, who sought to make a world safe for democracy. Moreover, unlike the citizens of the other combatant countries, won over by mostly nationalist propaganda, Americans were sold World War II as one in defense of private interests, one's family and home. As historian Robert B. Westbrook observes, Americans were not generally called upon to defend their country during this war. FDR beckoned them to fight for an ideal: the Four Freedoms. But an essential part of the successful messaging was Rockwell's translation of these principles into exhortations to "defend *private* interests and discharge *private* moral obligations"—that is, to defend their families and their homes.[6]

Westbrook observes that Rockwell embodied this project of transformation by translating the lofty Freedoms into local, personal stories. As he notes:

> Rockwell's translation of Roosevelt's noble, platitudinous, abstract and universalist moral language into a more concrete, particular moral language centering on private obligations and interests was far from idiosyncratic. Indeed, I would maintain that this sort of translation is one of the most significant features of American propaganda during World War II. Again and again, propagandists explicitly or implicitly contended, as an advertisement for U.S. Rubber put it, that "words like *freedom* or *liberty* draw close to us only when we break them down into the *homely fragments of daily life*." And, more often than not, those fragments were literally "homely," that is, familial.[7]

Westbrook sees this language of translation as key to the artist's effectiveness in achieving resonance with those called up to make sacrifices. And he observes that Rockwell's breakthrough was replicated in many other forms of appeal: "The enemy was repeatedly portrayed in posters and ads as a threat to the family, particularly its weakest members. . . . The state, in turn, was seen in good liberal fashion as the protector of the family." Rockwell's rendering of *Freedom from Fear*, with worried parents checking on their sleeping tots, and *Freedom from Want*, featuring a family eagerly anticipating its Thanksgiving feast, exemplifies his brilliance in bringing FDR's lofty platitudes down to a defense of hearth and home.[8]

By illustrating the Four Freedoms with scenes from his idyllic rural America, Rockwell connected them to the individuals who were being called to buy war bonds and to make other sacrifices for the war effort. He enabled Americans to see themselves in these freedoms. In essence, he localized them, identifying these freedoms with individual American faces in idealized American scenes.

But while the illustrations ultimately found widespread appreciation, by Americanizing the freedoms Rockwell unintentionally limited their appeal to a more global audience. Each scene, ex-

cept perhaps *Freedom of Religion*, lost some of its universality by being obviously set in American places, in contrast to FDR's speech that spoke so explicitly about bringing these freedoms "everywhere in the world."[9]

Of course, Rockwell was just doing his job: to imagine the Four Freedoms for the readers of the *Saturday Evening Post* and then for those who might buy war bonds. And the illustrator's *Four Freedoms* worked powerfully to inspire the American people. It was this audience, America's vast middle, that Rockwell knew best. At the same time, as I have written elsewhere, Roosevelt's original Four Freedoms reached a more cosmopolitan audience of people, who were receptive to his spoken and written calls for freedom everywhere. In this way, it can be said, Rockwell translated FDR's Four Freedoms to inspire Americans, but the original version nonetheless remained powerful as well.[10]

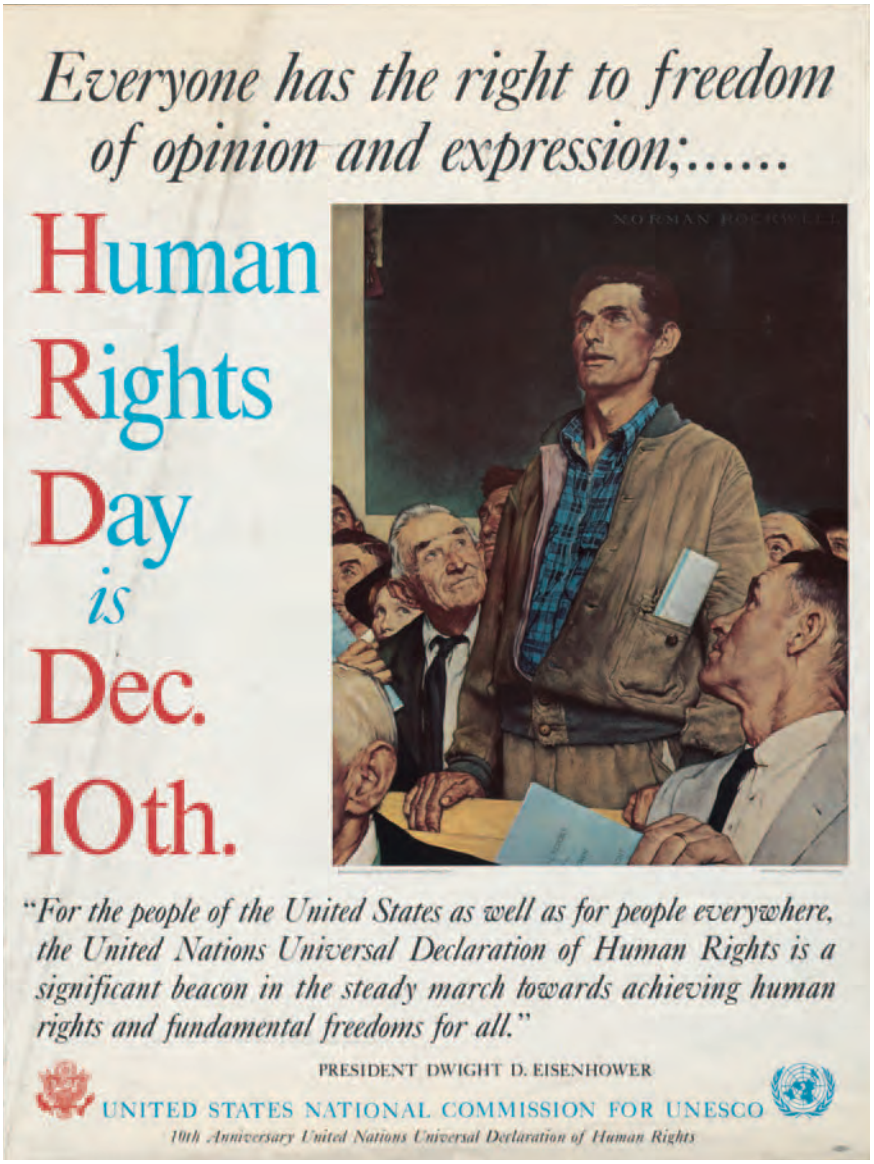
THE FOUR FREEDOMS' LEGACY

Ultimately, the Four Freedoms served not only as powerful inspiration for ordinary Americans called up to protect their families but also as ideas that shaped postwar policy and politics. Even before Rockwell started his work, the president's freedoms had influenced a mission statement for the Allies. Great Britain's wartime leadership acknowledged the ideal of the Four Freedoms in its initial draft of the Atlantic Charter, which FDR and Churchill then jointly issued in August 1941. When bolstered in their popular appeal by Rockwell's iconic imagery eighteen months later, the Four Freedoms gained in status and, by the war's end, were reflected within the DNA of the charter of the new United Nations organization.

Three years after the war, FDR's widow, Eleanor Roosevelt, led the committee that drafted the Four Freedoms into the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, incorporating them by reference in the preamble. As the document noted, "the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy *freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want* has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people." On the world stage, moreover, the Freedoms have continued to shape international relationships in an influential postwar life.[11]

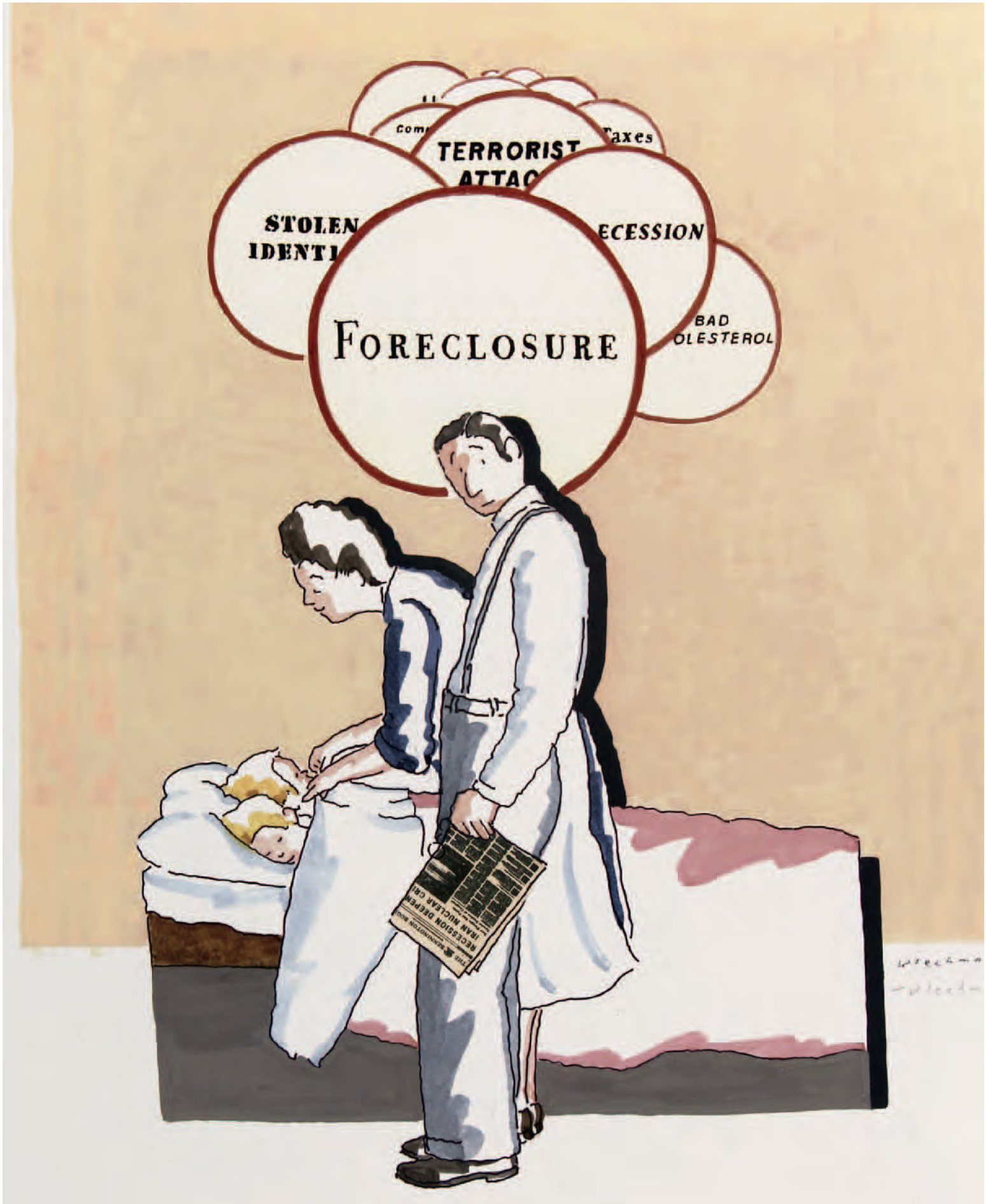
It would overstate the case to attribute this productive afterlife solely to Rockwell's illustrations. Still, it seems fair to conclude that the artist performed an important service in translating FDR's aspirational formula into a widespread understanding that, in turn, provided popular support for adopting the Four Freedoms. His contribution gave them the necessary momentum to move the American people to fight and ultimately prevail in the war. And with the Four Freedoms so warmly embraced, they remained useful to political elites bearing FDR's vision into the foundational documents of the postwar liberal order.

Clearly, ideas play an essential role in changing the course of history. However, in a democratic society they will not succeed without translation into the popular imagination. During World War II, Rockwell played a crucial role in inspiring people to rise above parochialism and prejudice to promote a progressive, rights-based order. His famous *Four Freedoms* illustrations—along with subsequent work fleshing out human rights claims for ordinary Americans—played impor-



Norman Rockwell (1894–1978). *Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression;.....*, ca. 1958. Poster illustration for United States National Commission for UNESCO. Lithograph, 24 × 18 in. (61 × 45.7 cm). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* helped immortalize FDR's Four Freedoms in the postwar world.

tant but perhaps indefinable roles in this translation project. In doing his part, Rockwell helped the American people understand what was at stake in the war and arguably moved them to make the sacrifices required to win it. From these efforts, he ultimately contributed mightily to shaping a postwar era defined by an expansive set of human rights claims. In the end, his inimitable illustrations remind us of the essential roles that individuals play in shaping history's course. For Norman Rockwell, the Four Freedoms were about individuals, and it was individuals who came together—inspired by his illustrations—to win the war and to set the terms intended to ensure a lasting peace.


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PUBLIC INTERACTIONS WITH NORMAN ROCKWELL'S FOUR FREEDOMS, THEN & NOW

LESTER C. OLSON

Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* illustrations were initially published in four consecutive issues of the *Saturday Evening Post* between February 20 and March 13, 1943 (p. 214), in the magazine's interior, on a full page facing an essay by a well-known author. Soon afterward, reproductions circulated in additional formats; these included large posters printed by the US Government Printing Office for war bond drives (p. 217) and reproductions presented to purchasers of war bonds during World War II. According to the Norman Rockwell Museum's website, "Bonds were sold in denominations of $25, $100, and $1,000, and each person who purchased one received a set of prints of the four paintings. In addition, the Office of War Information printed four million sets of posters of the paintings. Each was printed with the words 'Buy War Bonds.'"[1]

In a March 1945 profile of Rockwell, the *New Yorker* reported: "Portfolios of the pictures were presented to President Roosevelt, members of the Cabinet, Congress and the State Department, members of the parliaments and cabinets of all the United Nations, and forty thousand civic leaders around the country. The O.W.I. [Office of War Information] printed four million sets of posters and distributed them abroad and to the nation's schools, post offices, Elks clubs, hotels, saloons, poolrooms, ration-board offices, Sunday schools, and railway stations." Rockwell's illustrations were credited with inspiring a Four Freedoms symphony, composed by Robert Russell Bennett, and gave meaning to the ongoing war efforts by visualizing ideals that motivated and sustained the United States' engagements abroad. Decades later, in 1994, the US Postal Service produced stamps featuring Rockwell's compositions. The four images have inspired countless parodies, satires, and provocative revisions, which suggest the ways in which American culture has evolved over the decades.[2]

While the impact of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* on viewers at the time and today is undeniable, public interactions with the illustrations have been diverse, and extant evidence is inevitably fragmentary. This essay explores these public interactions, focusing primarily on written remarks and visual appropriations—including irreverent parodies and revisions derived later on from the artist's compositions—while touching on broader political and fund-raising campaigns. During World War II, commentary on Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* was entangled with partisan views of

R. O. Blechman, *Parody of the Freedom from Fear by Norman Rockwell*. Created for the Wolfsonian museum's Four Freedoms competition, 2008. Giclée print, 20 × 16 in. (50.8 × 40.6 cm). Collection of the artist.









The four consecutive *Saturday Evening Post* issues featuring Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*: February 20, 1943; February 27, 1943; March 6, 1943; March 13, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves. Cover illustrators, left to right, top: Mead Schaeffer, Howard Scott; bottom: Rutherford Boyd, George Garland.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal and his January 6, 1941, speech that committed the United States to advancing the Four Freedoms "everywhere in the world," even though Rockwell's illustrations gave them idealized meaning with homey scenes in the United States.[3]

This selective survey underscores the rhetorical appeal of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* (pp. 1–4), addressing factors of social identity at the time of their creation, made even more explicit in provocative satirical works published decades later. Francis Frascina observed that Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* "place emphases on idealized white small town American lifestyles and American institutions that underpin them. His works are indebted to norms of heterosexual, Christian families with conventional adherence to the work ethic and local white community life." Claire Sisco King concurs: "Many of Rockwell's paintings have been deployed to reaffirm the hegemony of White, middle-class, Christian, and heterosexual values and subject positions. Images such as the iconic *Freedom from Want* (1943), which depicts a White, middle-class family eating Thanksgiving dinner, or *Freedom from Fear* (1943), which depicts White, heterosexual parents putting their children to bed, are those for which Rockwell is perhaps best known, and they have often functioned to reinforce dominant cultural narratives."[4]

Because Rockwell's illustrations became part of a political and a fund-raising campaign with numerous components in 1943 and 1944, isolating the specific impact of his *Four Freedoms* is a fallible undertaking. Thomas Buechner generalized about the illustrations' circulation and influence: "Millions of copies were printed and distributed by the government and private agencies all over the world; the Treasury department toured the four originals to sixteen cities where they were seen by 1,222,000 people and used in selling $132,999,537 worth of war bonds. For many Americans, World War II made sense because of the goals depicted in the *Four Freedoms*." While these images were central to a campaign that raised a substantial sum for the war effort, fund-raising events also featured appeals from celebrities, political figures, and diplomats, who charmed contributors into purchasing war bonds. According to the *New Yorker* magazine, "a total of four hundred and fifty entertainers, public officials, and miscellaneous celebrities took part" in the national tour of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show. The tour, which included the four original paintings, began on April 26, 1943, in Washington, DC, and then moved up the East Coast to Philadelphia (May 15), New York (June 4), and Boston (June 19), before continuing inland to Buffalo (July 12) and Rochester, New York (August 2), Pittsburgh (September 8), Detroit (September 27), Cleveland (October 25), Chicago (November 11), Saint Louis (December 16), New Orleans (January 16, 1944), Dallas (January 27), Los Angeles (February 12), Portland, Oregon (March 27), and Denver (May 1).[5]

"The major difference between the Rockwell and Roosevelt visions of the Four Freedoms was the distance between a domestic and an international focus for U.S. interests," writes Elizabeth Borgwardt. "While the text of Roosevelt's original Four Freedoms speech highlighted the worldwide relevance of each 'freedom,' percussively repeating the phrase 'everywhere in the world' after each item to emphasize its universal application, Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* were an almost exclusively domestic affair, in both senses of that term—not international, and emphasizing images of home and hearth." James J. Kimble has proposed, moreover, that Roosevelt's Four Freedoms were a failure during the initial months after his 1941 speech, but that, in 1943, "Rockwell's paintings



★ Fans stand in line to have Norman Rockwell sign their war bond prints at Hecht's department store in Washington, DC, inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

and their attendant publicity blitz dramatized and personalized the president's Four Freedoms, fostering a surge of identification on the home front and ultimately launching the ideal on its ascendant course into rhetorical history." Kimble credits the illustrations' "*mimetic* approach" with giving them a power that Roosevelt's remarks and his government's "*diegetic* approach to propaganda" lacked.[6]

A *Saturday Evening Post* editorial, in the September 25, 1943, issue, acknowledged controversy over Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* within the context of Roosevelt's New Deal, noting fear among some readers of socialism and the potential creation of a welfare state. The editor distinguished freedom of speech and worship as relatively uncontroversial, while asserting, "the real controversy, of course, rages about the other two freedoms: Freedom from Want and Freedom from Fear." The *Post* explained: "The assumption by those who are alarmed at their inclusion in a body of doctrine is that they imply that men are to be guaranteed not merely against 'want' in the literal sense, but against lacking anything they happen to desire at any given moment. Freedom from Fear, these critics affect to believe, implies that the Government is fraudulently promising to remove all the hazards of life which men have feared in the past." Seeking to reassure its readership, the *Post* averred,

> If we believed that either Freedom from Want or Freedom from Fear meant that the New Deal was promising to pass a miracle which would end the necessity of individual work or foresight, reward the lazy and incompetent as richly as the able and conscientious, and set up a "welfare state," we should be as dubious about the Four Freedoms as are some of our correspondents. Some New Dealers may misconstrue these freedoms, but there is little ground for such an interpretation.

Partisan pushback from the public had apparently compelled the editor to clarify the *Post*'s stance in relation to Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*.[7]



Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *OURS . . . to Fight For*, 1943. Office of War Information, poster no. 41, US Government Printing Office. Lithograph, 39 × 27 in. (99 × 68.6 cm). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

Such misgivings and fears about Rockwell's illustrations were not isolated to the *Saturday Evening Post*'s readership. The pattern of public interactions with them in the contemporaneous political and economic climate had been indicated in a letter to the editor published in the *New York Times* on June 20, 1943. The writer, a B. Tomlinson, described having stood near a shop window that prominently displayed Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*. When he asked a taxi driver, who had "left his cab and strolled over to take a look," for his opinion of them, the driver replied: "Brother, the only freedoms I want are the ones guaranteed me by the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights. The New Deal can't swap me anything for the Constitution." Tomlinson concluded: "Which just shows how stubborn and ungrateful the proletariat can be. Maybe the wretches don't deserve anything better than the Constitution and the Bill of Rights." In addition, on June 21, 1943, *Time* magazine criticized Rockwell's portrayal of the Four Freedoms, commenting that the artist "would probably be incapable of portraying a really evil human being, or even a really complex one—perhaps even a really real one." The critique continued: "Though he paints and composes exceedingly well, it is questionable whether any of his work could be seriously de-

scribed as art. Even the Four Freedoms posters fall short of artistic maturity through their very virtue as posters: they hit hardest at first sight." In contrast to these undercurrents of concern and dissatisfaction, an appreciative characterization was expressed in March 1945 by the *New Yorker*, which stated that Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* "were received by the public with more enthusiasm, perhaps, than any other paintings in the history of American art."[8]

The underlying power of Rockwell's illustrations depended largely on productive pictorial ambiguities, which suffused these works with a distinctive ideology oftentimes called "civil religion" or "civic piety." This ideology infuses US political life with a generalized spirituality that transcends specific religious traditions. Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* presented a generalized portrait of American political and religious values in a way that lent support to Roosevelt's wartime policies. Ekaterina Haskins has suggested that civil religion's unifying power has waned in public memory, with the rise of postmodernism and a fragmentation of grand narratives that ostensibly unite a nation, and been replaced by what she calls the "consumer sublime." Yet Peter Gardella writes that, "Among the first effects of 9/11 on the practice of American civil religion was a dramatic increase in the intensity and extent of the cult of the flag." American culture has changed in basic ways that can be indexed by contemporary revisions and uses of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*, especially irreverent satires and revisions.[9]

In this presentation of public interactions with Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*, the illustrations are discussed in the sequence in which they were published. *Freedom of Speech* circulated initially, in the February 20, 1943, *Saturday Evening Post*, accompanied on the facing page by Booth Tarkington's essay on the subject. Because the First Amendment to the US Constitution establishes free speech, this work was not as provocative as others at the time of its initial release. It is impossible to know how representative was a letter, dated February 21, 1943, from Carolyn McMullan to Rockwell. She affirmed that "the first of your Four Freedoms is beautiful. The man certainly isn't beautiful, but you feel sure that whatever he is saying is beautiful. You can see in his face everything about him. You can see the sort of life he lives and the things he believes in. And the things he believes in are, I am sure what every real American believes in." Viewers may have seen in these pictures what they were already predisposed to see, since the speaker's convictions are not evident in the illustration. Rockwell biographer Deborah Solomon commented in 2013 that this illustration "is compromised by a near absence of women" at the town gathering, an observation that calls attention to women's comparatively meager participation in public life in past decades.[10]

That same year, Lefty Nast posted online a parody image, titled *Free Speech 2013*, with "apologies" to Norman Rockwell. This unsettling satire contends that freedom of speech has eroded in the United States as a result of surveillance of citizens by government agencies such as the CIA, the FBI, and the NSA, whose representatives are positioned similarly to the men in Rockwell's composition. They still listen with rapt attention to the speaker, but now wear headphones and dark glasses, presumably to conceal their identities while recording his remarks. At least seven microphones surround the speaker to capture his every word. A "wiretap list" appears centrally in the design in place of the annual meeting brochure in the original. The federal government subjects ostensibly free speech to so much covert surveillance, the image implies, that representatives



Dan Nance, *Freedom of Speech 2010*, 2010. Acrylic on canvas, 32 × 24 in. (81.2 × 61 cm). Collection of the artist.

of all three agencies are attending to the same speaker's comments. The iconic white, working-class man from Rockwell's original print, still wearing his familiar blue plaid shirt and leather jacket, sweats visibly, apparently concerned that his remarks are being so closely recorded. The satire implicates the federal government in damaging the centuries-old constitutional guarantee of US citizens' fundamental rights.[11]

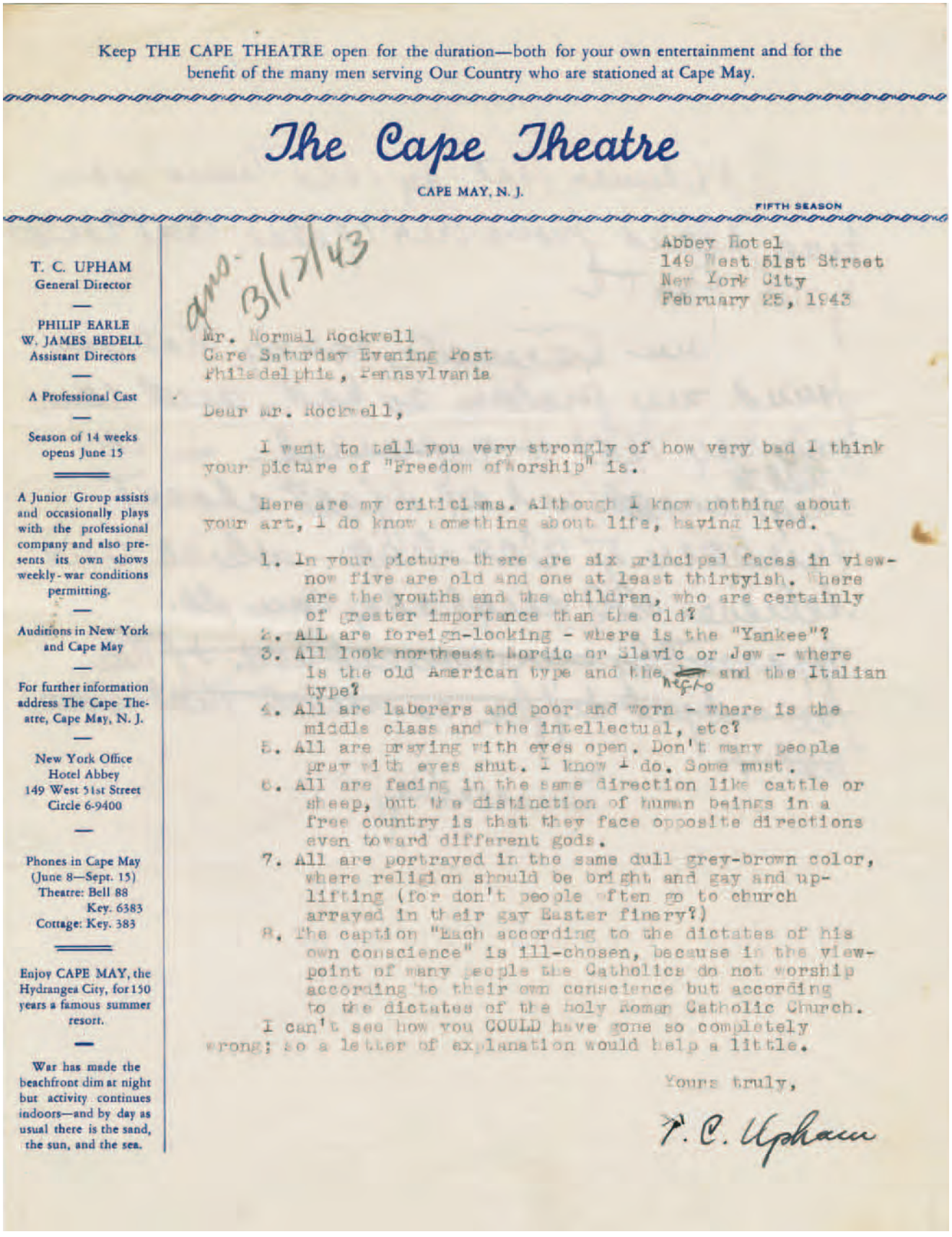
Another revision of *Freedom of Speech* was posted online in 2010, by Dan Nance, who asked the questions: "What would Norman Rockwell's famous 'Four Freedoms' series, painted in 1943, look like today? How have 70 years changed us as Americans and our collective sense of 'freedom'?" This dramatic piece juxtaposes Nance's revisions with Rockwell's originals for both speech and fear. In his version of free speech, Nance portrays the speaker as an African American woman, who stands at the center, wearing a long, beige hooded sweater with the meeting brochure in the pocket. While some in the racially diverse audience listen respectfully to her remarks, a white woman to the viewer's left shouts down her ideas. A man behind the speaker likewise shouts over her remarks, with his hand cupped to amplify the disruption, as does a person in a baseball

cap next to the bellowing white woman. The work suggests that freedom of speech and community bonds are eroded whenever consideration and respect are lacking, particularly across racial lines. This parody portrays a noticeable decline in citizens' civility in the United States, and yet it is likely that these social tensions were already there in the past, though perhaps not as visually noticeable at town hall meetings, in part because of systematic exclusions, along racial, ethnic, and gender lines, from certain public forums.[12]

Freedom of Worship appeared in the February 27, 1943, issue of the *Post* along with Will Durant's essay on the facing page. In a recollection published posthumously in the *Post*, Rockwell recounted that he "wanted *Freedom of Worship* to make the statement that no man should be discriminated against for his race or religion." Not characterized as controversial in the *Post*'s September 1943 editorial, because of the nation's long-standing commitment to religious freedom as a constitutional guarantee, this illustration may have tacitly reassured the magazine's readership, given its diverse though ambiguous portrayals. Rockwell portrayed religious diversity by including a Catholic holding a rosary; an agnostic or atheist above her, who strokes his chin, deep in thought, instead of folding his hands in prayer; an elderly Protestant woman whose gray hair is held back with a hair clip; and a Jewish or Greek Orthodox worshipper in the right foreground. The imagery for the last figure might have been a productive pictorial ambiguity for viewers who were not familiar with these religions. He was interpreted at the time and over the decades as a Jewish man, because he could be construed as holding a Jewish prayer book in a codex form and wearing a hat that, according to religious historian Rachel L. Kranson, "looks quite a bit like the caps typically worn by the Chazan (cantor) in formal synagogues. These hats are still worn by cantors today—particularly on the high holidays—and were even more popular in the 1940s." Yet he has also been interpreted as holding a Bible and wearing a hat similar to a conventional Greek Orthodox Kalimavkion.[13]

In 1943, the *Post* had an interest in portraying religious diversity and specifically including Jews in its assessments of freedom of worship. In December 1941 and March 1942, the *Post* had published a series of three articles that explored the importance of Jewish history and culture, all written by prominent Jewish authors: Jerome Frank, Waldo Frank, and Milton Mayer. The last of these articles, Mayer's "The Case Against the Jew," was interpreted as anti-Semitic by readers, whose objections were substantial and widespread enough to elicit an editorial explanation and an apology from the new editor, Ben Hibbs, in the May 5, 1942, issue. Subsequently, the Will Durant essay paired with Rockwell's *Freedom of Worship* alluded to "chapels" as well as "temples and mosques and great cathedrals—everywhere on earth," which expanded the *Post*'s rhetorical appeal by coupling the artwork with an essay nodding to Jews, Muslims, Christians, and people of other religions around the globe.[14]

At least one viewer of the time was profoundly dissatisfied with *Freedom of Worship*, to judge by the lengthy criticism that T. C. Upham, a theater director, sent to Rockwell on February 25, 1943 (p. 221). Although there were seven faces featured in the illustration, the first of Upham's eight enumerated criticisms began, "In your picture there are six principal faces in view—now five are old and one at least thirtyish." "Where," Upham asked, "are the youths and the children, who are certainly of greater importance than the old?" He was discontent that "ALL are foreign-



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amo 3/17/43

Abbey Hotel
149 West 51st Street
New York City
February 25, 1943

Mr. Normal Rockwell
Care Saturday Evening Post
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Rockwell,

I want to tell you very strongly of how very bad I think your picture of "Freedom of Worship" is.

Here are my criticisms. Although I know nothing about your art, I do know something about life, having lived.

1. In your picture there are six principal faces in view- now five are old and one at least thirtyish. Where are the youths and the children, who are certainly of greater importance than the old?
2. All are foreign-looking - where is the "Yankee"?
3. All look northeast Nordic or Slavic or Jew - where is the old American type and the Negro and the Italian type?
4. All are laborers and poor and worn - where is the middle class and the intellectual, etc?
5. All are praying with eyes open. Don't many people pray with eyes shut. I know I do. Some must.
6. All are facing in the same direction like cattle or sheep, but the distinction of human beings in a free country is that they face opposite directions even toward different gods.
7. All are portrayed in the same dull grey-brown color, where religion should be bright and gay and uplifting (for don't people often go to church arrayed in their gay Easter finery?)
8. The caption "Each according to the dictates of his own conscience" is ill-chosen, because in the viewpoint of many people the Catholics do not worship according to their own conscience but according to the dictates of the holy Roman Catholic Church.

I can't see how you COULD have gone so completely wrong; so a letter of explanation would help a little.

Yours truly,

T. C. Upham

★ T. C. Upham's letter to Rockwell regarding *Freedom of Worship*, February 25, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

looking" and "all are northeast Nordic or Slavic or Jew." "Where," he wanted to know, "is the old American type and the Negro and the Italian type?" These comments are perplexing in that the image contains no specifically Jewish symbolism, and there is an African American woman praying in the upper left, possibly the seventh figure that he did not notice, to judge from his lament. "All are laborers and poor and worn," the dissatisfied viewer continued, asking, "where is the middle class and the intellectual, etc.?" Moreover, this viewer was troubled that all were praying "with eyes open," when "many people pray with eyes shut." Upham was upset that "All are facing in the same direction like cattle or sheep, but the distinction of human beings in a free country is that they face in opposite directions even toward different gods." He extended his critique even to the "dull grey-brown color, where religion should be bright and gay and uplifting." He was dissatisfied too with the caption, "Each according to the dictates of his own conscience." The writer observed, "Catholics do not worship according to their own conscience but according to the dictates of the Holy Roman Catholic Church." He concluded, "I can't see how you COULD have gone so completely wrong; so a letter of explanation would help a little." Rockwell replied, "I am extremely sorry that you found my picture so bad, and can truly say that in it I tried to express what I felt about *Freedom of Worship*—which I believe is all anybody can do."[15]

Writing as well about *Freedom of Worship*, on the stationery of the Young Women's Christian Association, on April 5, 1943, General Secretary Gladys W. Taber reported to Rockwell that young businesswomen had "wondered why there were no young people in the picture, why everyone looked so troubled, old and worn." One recent revision of the illustration replaces Rockwell's praying elderly white woman wearing a hair clip in the foreground with a young praying black woman, her eyes closed, likewise wearing a hair clip, almost as if to respond to these bothered, contemporaneous critics' concerns about Rockwell's inattention to youths, African Americans, and varied praying practices. This revision, posted online in August 2014 by Jacqueline DeBerry, who identifies herself as the woman portrayed, could be interpreted as an affirmation of the Black Lives Matter slogan, because of its timing and the broader political climate that followed the movement's founding in July 2013. Yet DeBerry offered the image explicitly as a sample of her work and an homage to Rockwell in her portfolio as an art student. A recent revision by artist-photographer Maggie Meiners (p. 223) is racially and spiritually diverse and features younger worshippers as well, an apt response to Mr. Upham's concerns more than seventy years later. Acknowledging ongoing tensions regarding Islam, it features a Muslim man holding a clearly labeled Quran. Of Rockwell's four illustrations, *Freedom of Worship* is the least used in contemporary satire and parody, possibly because of the gravity with which many people continue to view faith and religious convictions.[16]

In contrast, *Freedom from Want* is the most appropriated of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*. On March 6, 1943, the *Post* featured *Freedom from Want* with an essay by Carlos Bulosan (pp. 148, 153), a Filipino novelist and poet who had grown up in poverty, worked as a laborer on farms in the Pacific Northwest, and participated in the labor movement. A June 21, 1943, *Time* article reported that Rockwell "wants especially to rework *Freedom of Worship* and *Freedom from Want*." The *Time* writer seems to agree, asserting, "The latter is perhaps weakest: Rockwell's acquaintance with want is decidedly impersonal." Later, Rockwell acknowledged that "*Freedom from Want* was



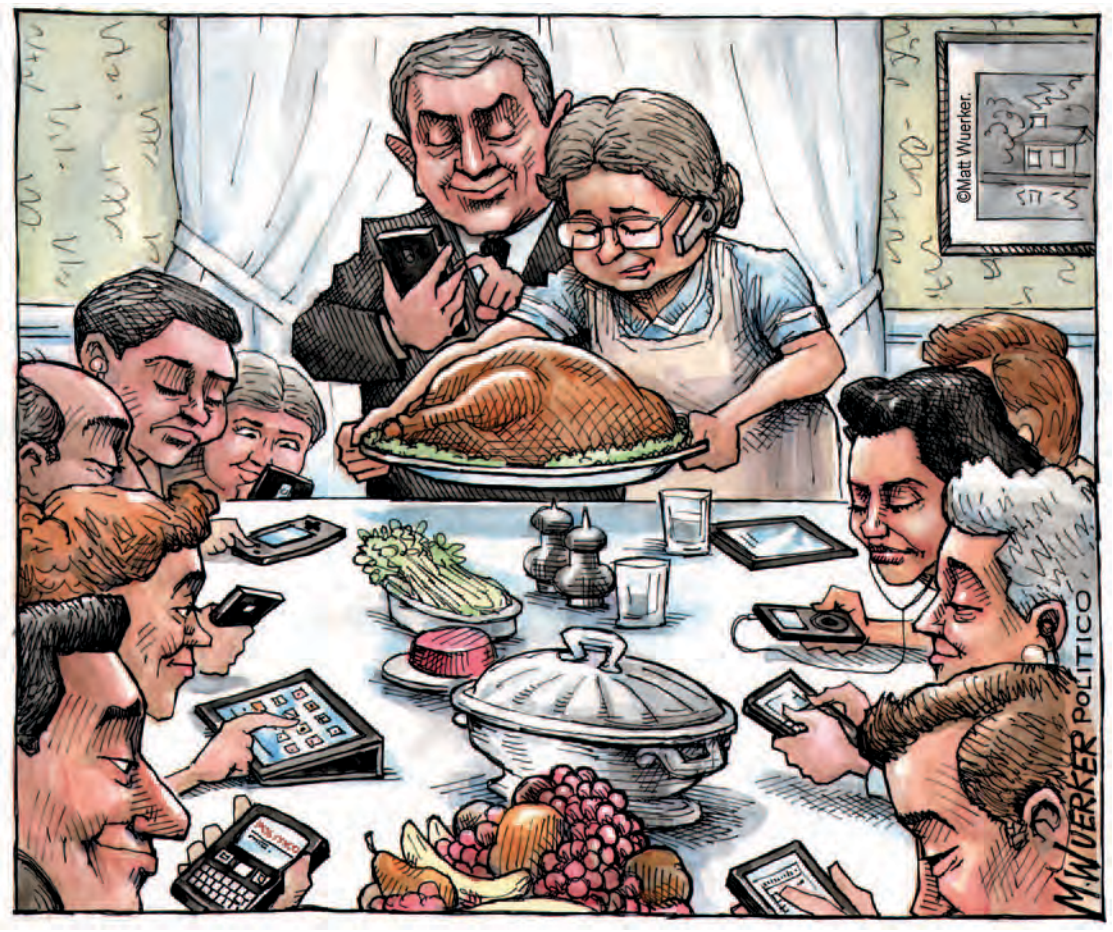
Maggie Meiners, *Freedom of Religion*, 2016. Digital photograph, *Revisiting Rockwell* series.



Pops Peterson, *Thanksgiving Gay Dinner*, 2015. Digital photograph.

not popular overseas. Europeans sort of resented it because it wasn't freedom from want, it was overabundance." It is possible that in the context of rationing food in the United States, which had begun in 1942, the abundance raised concerns for domestic viewers as well. In March 1943, soon after the publication of Rockwell's illustration, the ongoing rationing was expanded to include meat, cheese, fats, canned fish, canned milk, and other types of foods.[17]

There have been so many satirical appropriations of Rockwell's composition for *Freedom from Want* that entire websites are devoted to them. Most of these collections are apparently curated in the United States, though one is evidently French. On his blog, Josh McCormack has posted the most extensive coverage of these parodies, showcasing at this writing fifty-five different appropriations of Rockwell's *Freedom from Want*. Most parodies are playful and amusing, featuring zombies or Muppets at the table, or portraying superheroes such as DC Comics' Justice League or Marvel's Fantastic Four. Sofia Vergara and Ed O'Neill, who play characters from the popular television series *Modern Family*, star in one adaptation of the scene. Comic book artist Joe Phillips features a gathering of buff young gay men of diverse racial backgrounds. Another such revision appeared in *Reinventing Rockwell*, an exhibition featuring re-creations by Pops Peterson, on view in 2015 at the Sohn Fine Art Gallery in Lenox, Massachusetts. This composition, *Thanksgiving*



Matt Wuerker, *Thxgiving*, 2010. Watercolor and ink on paper.
Editorial cartoon for *Politico*, November 22, 2010.

Gay Dinner, portrays Pops and his partner, an interracial male couple, at the head of the long table. As a group, these revisions offer an inclusive and capacious representation of family compared with Rockwell's original composition for *Freedom from Want*.[18]

In a different vein is a powerful satire designed by 2012 Pulitzer Prize–winning editorial cartoonist Matt Wuerker, entitled *Thxgiving*, in which almost everyone at the table is distracted by communication technology, including the elderly woman serving the food. When the *Daily Kos* website displayed Wuerker's parody on November 24, 2011, it prompted a conversation, in fifty-one comments, about the prevalence of electronics in social settings. If Rockwell's original composition portrayed family togetherness, Wuerker's satire suggested that recent technologies and social media have so distracted family members that they have eroded such togetherness. Overwhelmed by the rush and distractions of Thanksgiving, parents serve fast food from containers to two kids in a 2015 parody, this one featuring a family much smaller in overall size than the one in Rockwell's version. None of the family members, noticeably, make eye contact with each other, or even, for that matter, with the family dog.[19]

Finally, *Freedom from Fear* was distributed in the *Post*'s March 13, 1943, issue, accompanied by an essay by Stephen Vincent Benét. Francis Frascina commented:

> In retrospect, Rockwell thought *Freedom from Fear* was, in his own words, "based on a rather smug idea." While European cities were in flames, American families could rest assured that their children slept free from the fear of injury and death. Rockwell wrote: "Painted during the bombing of London, it was supposed to say, 'Thank God we can put our children to bed with a feeling of security, knowing they will not be killed in the night.'"[20]

The most famous digital revision of *Freedom of Fear* appeared in the *New York Times*, soon after the attacks of September 11, 2001. In this piece, the father's newspaper was changed digitally for a very different political moment. Frascina comments:

> On 2 November 2001, *The New York Times* published a full-page advertisement for itself (p. B12). A large white border surrounded a digitally altered full colour reproduction of Norman Rockwell's painting *Freedom from Fear*, 1943, with the byline "Make sense of our times." . . . In the advertisement of 2 November the depicted 1940s newspaper has been replaced so that the father is seen to hold *The New York Times* for 12 September 2001. On view is the front page with a central photograph of the burning World Trade Center and the headline: "U.S. ATTACKED HIJACKED JETS DESTROY TWIN TOWERS AND HIT PENTAGON IN DAY OF TERROR". The altered Rockwell was placed at the end of the section titled *A Nation Challenged* and after the subsection *Portraits of Grief*.[21]

The same advertisement was published again on November 4, 2012. Frascina observes, "On 3 November, the day after the altered Rockwell advertisement for *The New York Times* first appeared, the traveling exhibition *Norman Rockwell: Pictures for the American People* opened to the public at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York." He concludes, "In the aftermath of 'September 11', the Rockwell exhibition and individual works were received in transformed emphases that combined the complexities of trauma and new patriotism. One phenomenon of trauma is regression; another is a return to a vision of the past fashioned by a pleasurable order."[22]

Karen J. Engle has also commented at length on the digitally revised use of Rockwell's *Freedom from Fear* in the November 2001 *Times*. "Drawn in part from his *Four Freedoms*, a Second World War series first published in *The Saturday Evening Post*, the doctored Rockwells enable identification with images of pre 9/11—pre-*collapsarian*—American innocence." Engle further explained, "Capitalizing on the nostalgic power of Rockwell while promising readers the salve of elucidation, the ad paints a picture of America as a family under threat, selling *The New York Times* as the path to understanding." This nostalgic power consists primarily in a general commitment to civil religion. "In order better to understand how a compelling sense of national unity and renewal can be generated by a massacre like the Sept. 11 attacks," writes Agnieszka Soltysik Monnet, "we need to look into sociology and specifically the concept of civil religion, which is concerned with the religious or emotional aspects of nationalism."[23]

Today, other satires of *Freedom from Fear* raise grave domestic issues of the day, such as racism and poverty within the United States, in contrast with Rockwell's emphasis on a threat from abroad. For instance, in 2008, the Wolfsonian museum at Florida International University invited



Dan Nance, *Freedom from Fear 2010*, 2010. Acrylic on canvas, 32 × 24 in. (81.2 × 61 cm). Collection of the artist.



Maggie Meiners, *Freedom from Fear*, 2016. Digital photograph, *Revisiting Rockwell* series.

sixty artists and designers "to create contemporary responses to Norman Rockwell's 1943 *Four Freedoms* paintings." R. O. Blechman's entry for the exhibition (p. 212), according to the Norman Rockwell Museum's Illustration History website,

> acknowledges some of the challenges that assail the contemporary every man: foreclosure, stolen identity, recession, bad cholesterol, terrorist attack, and taxes, as opposed to those detailed in Rockwell's World War II era painting: bombings, kill, horror, hit. To communicate the immensity of these issues, Blechman's father figure looks out of the picture frame at those of us viewing it, while Rockwell's father gazes down at his children. Rockwell couched his Four Freedoms illustrations in personal and private terms. Blechman's decision to pose the father figure looking back at the audience broadens the realm of personal fear into every man's fear.[24]

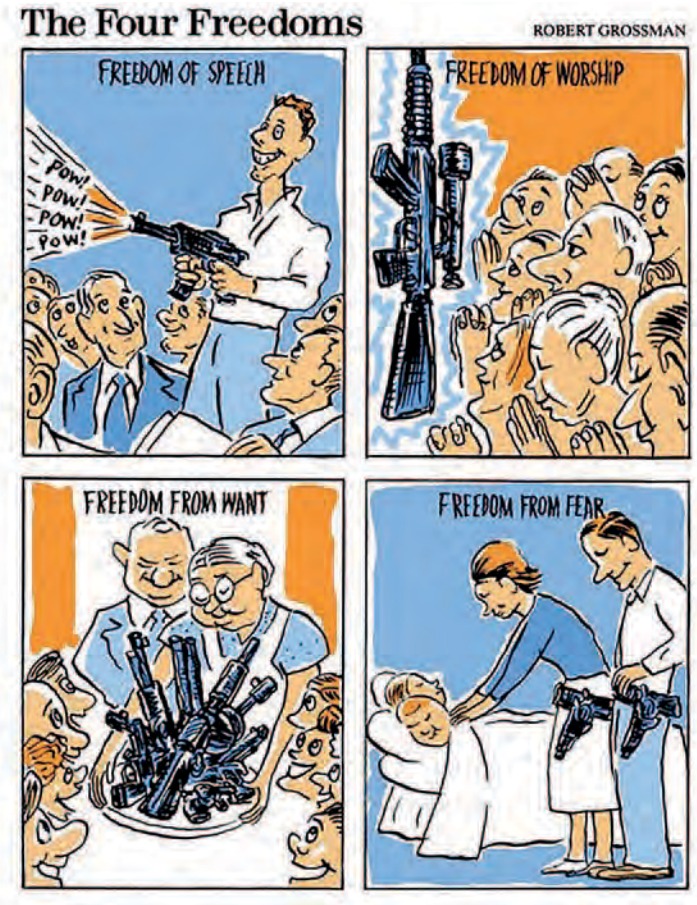
Other revisions of Rockwell's famous composition explore race and abiding racism in the United States. For instance, Dan Nance's 2010 appropriation of *Freedom from Fear* features a woman of color, apparently pregnant, tucking her children into the bed, above which hangs a portrait of her partner in military attire. A headline on her newspaper, a copy of the *New York Times*, suggests that her partner is serving in the Iraq War. Maggie Meiners, in contrast, featured a black, single mother at her children's bedside in her reworking of *Freedom of Fear*, which has the alternative title *Cock, Bang, Repeat*, alluding to gun violence. The mother's newspaper, a copy of the *Chicago Tribune*, has the headline, "If you see some[thing]," referencing the fear of terrorism in

the United States. Another powerful revision by Pops Peterson, focusing on racism and the Black Lives Matter movement, reveals a newspaper headline with the words "I Can't Breathe." In this work, the mother gazes directly at the viewers, as if seeking a response from them.[25]

In closing, the potential to tap Norman Rockwell's original *Four Freedoms* compositions for parodies, satires, and revisions is a testament to their enduring iconographic and ideological power. The creative possibilities seem endless. Partisans have endeavored to challenge, limit, redefine, and even propose additional freedoms. Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers from Massachusetts, for instance, wrote to Rockwell, enclosing a copy of her proposal to recognize a fifth freedom, "Freedom of Private Enterprise." Apparently written in 1943, her letter asked Rockwell to lend his artistic talents to preparing a cover for the *Saturday Evening Post* that would incorporate this additional freedom, because such an illustration "undoubtedly would be a major contribution towards speedy passage of the Resolution."[26]

Each public interaction offers a glimpse into American culture in a specific historical moment and, oftentimes, indexes changes across social differences as well as convictions regarding civil religion. Many satires, as illustrated above, focus on the issue of racism in the United States. There was evidence even in Rockwell's day that some viewers wanted him to attend to these deep and abiding concerns. Writing to the artist on the stationery of the Bronx Inter-Racial Conference, on July 12, 1943, chairman Roderick Stephens began with observations regarding *Freedom from Want* and *Freedom from Fear*: "'Want' is something with which the Negro has been very familiar, except during the height of the war industry boom during World War I and, to a considerable extent, at present. 'Fear' has been ingrained in the Southern Negro and, in recent months, must have extended beyond the deep South, as a result of race riots of recent occurrence in Northern and Western Cities." Stephens further observed, "The 'Four Freedoms' were generally recognized from the outset as intended for global application, but on second thought, the question of equal application at home, so far as our Negro population is concerned, has been arising in our minds, whether Negro or white." Toward the conclusion of this lengthy letter, Stephens acknowledged, "I am attempting to suggest an idea which, in your powers of visualization and your presently integrated association in the minds of the American public with the Four Freedoms, can be visualized by you in terms to which the American public will quickly respond. If so, you can thus advance racial good-will by years." It is possible that correspondence such as this, as well as changing times, contributed to Rockwell's raised consciousness, as evidenced in such civil rights–era works as *The Problem We All Live With* (p. 184), *New Kids in the Neighborhood*, and especially *Murder in Mississippi* (pp. 52, 75).[27]

Today the *Four Freedoms* illustrations are rarely satirized in a single work, even though in 1943 they were at times reproduced together as a single poster. One disconcerting example, by Robert Grossman, relating to gun violence in the United States, uses weaponry as the central focus of all four images (p. 229). Grossman's reworking of *Freedom of Speech* suggests that people shoot guns in public to express themselves and as a way to communicate with others. He revises *Freedom of Worship* to imply that there is a worship of weaponry in the country today. In *Freedom from Fear*, the parents' gun holsters are visible even while they are tucking the children into bed. In his *Freedom from Want*, a platter full of weaponry is served at the table to eager con-



Robert Grossman (1940–2018), *The Four Freedoms*, ca. 1996. India ink on bristol board, digitally colored, 11 × 8½ in. (27.9 × 21.6 cm). Originally published in the *Nation*.

sumers. Grossman's images represent a sea change from Rockwell's originals, in which violence was intimated but not vividly depicted as a representation of the people of the United States.[28]

While much has changed over the decades, the Four Freedoms portray deeply and widely held values that are at risk today in a changed political climate. Writing in the *Guardian* on February 7, 2017, Jonathan Jones affirmed, "Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms remind us what the US has to lose. News that the painter's quartet of works celebrating an apple-pie America is to go on tour emphasizes what is under threat in the Trump era." Jones explains, "Donald Trump's 'America First' presidency is abandoning any claim of a US mission to defend or spread 'freedom,' around the world. He also seems not to care much about it at home." Alternatively, in a very different context, Francis Frascina questions whether "there was once a sentiment, a set of values, a vision of America to be preserved and memorialized" as portrayed in Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*. He asks incisively, "Was there ever such a vision in a society with histories of racial discrimination, slavery, poverty, and the genocide of Native Americans?" Conflicting commentaries such as these underscore the transnational importance of citizens around the globe continuing to discuss, debate, argue, converse, contest, and teach diverse perspectives on the Four Freedoms. Disagreement can be a good thing. It can make us think, reconsider, and change for the better.[29]



★Paul Warchol, *View of Four Freedoms Park NYC 2012*, 2012. Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park, Roosevelt Island, New York.

THE FOUR FREEDOMS: ENVISIONING A BETTER WORLD

WILLIAM J. VANDEN HEUVEL
FORMER DEPUTY US PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The address to the United States Congress that history knows as the Four Freedoms speech was given by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the country's thirty-second president, on January 6, 1941. In it, the president asked not only his countrymen and women but also the people of the world to understand that the terrible scourge of war could be justified to our children's children only if we in faith and honor determined to create a different world to assure the peace of humankind. That world, Roosevelt proposed, should be based on the Four Freedoms—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear. In the world of the time of the president's speech, however—beset by war, oppressed by Nazi domination, brutalized by racist thugs—every tenet of democracy was threatened and ridiculed.[1]

President Roosevelt's power as a speaker lay in his ability to present profound ideas in simple language. A great newspaper editor (and a Republican), William Allen White, upon hearing the speech, declared: "The Four Freedoms mark the opening of a new era for the world. A great occasion, a great cause and a great man have been united." President Roosevelt made clear that the Four Freedoms were "no vision of a distant millennium." They are, he said, "a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation."[2]

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park (p. 230), a memorial to the late president on New York City's Roosevelt Island, will be a constant reminder of that challenge. The Four Freedoms are inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations. They are part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted under the brilliant and determined leadership of the president's widow, Eleanor Roosevelt. Winston Churchill described Franklin Roosevelt as the greatest man he had ever known. President Roosevelt's life, Winston Churchill said, "must be regarded as one of the commanding events in human destiny."[3]

President Roosevelt was the voice of the people of the United States during the most difficult crises of the twentieth century. He led America out of the despair of the Great Depression. He led us to victory in World War II. Four times he was elected president of the United States. By temperament and talent, by energy and instinct, Franklin Roosevelt was ready for the challenges that confronted him. He was a breath of fresh air in our political life—vital, confident and optimistic, warm and good-humored. He was a man of incomparable personal courage. At the age of thirty-nine, he was stricken with polio. He would never again walk or stand unassisted. The pain of his

struggle is itself painful to recall: he learned to move again, to stand, to rely upon the physical support of others, and never gave in to despair, to self-pity, to discouragement. He imparted that courage to his country at a time of its greatest need. He replaced fear with faith, transforming our government into an active instrument of social justice.

It was a time when heroes were possible, when idealism was admired, when public service was the highest calling. It was also a time when Adolf Hitler laid claim to the future. President Roosevelt's response was to make America the "arsenal of democracy." He was commander in chief of the greatest military force in history. He crafted the victorious alliance that won the war. He was the father of the nuclear age. He guided the blueprint for the world that was to follow. He was behind the vision of the United Nations, the commitment to collective security, the determination to end colonialism, the economic plan for a prosperous world. This is the legacy of Franklin Roosevelt that we memorialize; we live in a world still guided and dominated by his strategic vision. But it is not worldly power and grandeur that cause us to remember Franklin Roosevelt this day. It is the causes of human freedom and social justice to which he gave so much of his life.

Let children everywhere hear the bells of freedom. Let our leaders be unafraid in the quest for peace and social justice. Come my friends, come all of us, find again inspiration, courage, strength. It is not too late to seek a better world.

NOTES

ENDURING IDEALS: AN INTRODUCTION

1. Norman Rockwell, "So You Want to See the President!," *Saturday Evening Post*, Nov. 13, 1943, 9–12.

2. Robert F. Cross, *Sailor in the White House: The Seafaring Life of FDR* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2003), xi, xii, xvi; the swimming pool anecdote is from Russell Freedman, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (New York: Clarion Books, 1990), 109.

3. Laura Claridge, *Norman Rockwell: A Life* (New York: Modern Library, 2001), 5. A short summary of the artist's intriguing personality is in Deborah Solomon, *American Mirror: The Life and Art of Norman Rockwell* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2013), 5.

4. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Inaugural Address. Mar. 4, 1933," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. 2, ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Random House, 1938), 11–16.

5. "Conference #649-A, Held with Representatives of the American Youth Congress, In the State Dining Room of the White House, Jun. 5, 1940, 8:50 P.M.," 48, Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933–1945, FDR Presidential Library and Museum, Digital Collections, http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/_resources/images/pc/pc0101.pdf.

6. "British Use 'Big Bertha' Tactics," *Marine Review*, Jun. 1922, 236; Frank Knox, "The Gravity of the World Situation," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, May 1, 1940, 420. Knox would become secretary of the navy in Jul. 1940.

7. Press Conference #658, Jul. 5, 1940, in *Complete Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. 16 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), sections 21, 22.

8. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "A Greeting to the Economics Club of New York. Dec. 2, 1940," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 597; "Background of the Four Freedoms Speech (Jan. 1941)," undated TS, in Samuel I. Rosenman Papers, Box 18, Folder "Working with Roosevelt—Background Material," Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, NY.

9. James J. Kimble, "Franklin D. Roosevelt: '1941 State of the Union Address' ('The Four Freedoms') (6 Jan. 1941)," *Voices of Democracy* 3 (2008): 63–82.

10. Laura Crowell, "The Building of the 'Four Freedoms' Speech," *Speech Monographs* 22 (1955): 266–83; Samuel I. Rosenman, *Working with Roosevelt* (New York: Harper, 1952), 143, 263.

11. "President Urges Swift and Driving Increase in Home, Foreign Arms," *Petaluma (CA) Argus-Courier*, Jan. 6, 1941, 1.

12. Bernard Kilgore, "Congressional Reaction Favorable to His Stand on Questions of Foreign Policy," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 7, 1941, 3; "Congress Reaction Widely Favorable," *New York Times*, Jan. 7, 1941, 2–3. The post-address correspondence received by the White House is preserved in President's Personal File, 200B, Box 84, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, NY. For additional discussion, see James J. Kimble, "The Illustrated Four Freedoms: FDR, Rockwell, and the Margins of the Rhetorical Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 45 (Mar. 2015): 50–51.

13. The omission of two of the freedoms from the charter is discussed in Frank Donovan, *Mr. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms: The Story behind the United Nations Charter* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1966), 40; and Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), 301.

14. Eliot Janeway, "The Four Freedoms vs. 'The New Order,'" in *Smash Hitler's International*, eds. Edmond Taylor, Edgar Snow, and Eliot Janeway (New York: Greystone Press, 1941), 95; "Are the Four Freedoms a Delusion?," *Christian Century*, Oct. 15, 1941, 1264.

15. "Henry A. Wallace on the People's Revolution," *Current History* 2 (Jul. 1942): 385–91.

16. Paul F. Lazarsfeld to Cornelius DuBois, Jun. 16, 1942, 4, in Records of the Office of Government Reports, US Information Service, Record Group 44, Box 1836, Folder "Paul Lazarsfeld," National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD; George Gallup, "An Analysis of American Public Opinion Regarding the War: A Confidential Report," Sept. 10, 1942, in President's Personal File, 4721, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, NY.

17. "War Aims and Postwar Policies," Apr. 17, 1942, in Records of the Office of Government Reports, US Information Service, Record Group 44, Box 1849, Folder "Sources Div: War Aims and Postwar Policy," National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD; Wallace's remarks are in "Vice President Wallace Champions Set of '7 Freedoms' for Mexicans," *Santa Ana (CA) Register*, Sep. 16, 1942, 2; "Let Freedom Ring?," *Time*, Sep. 28, 1942, 19.

18. Hadley Cantril, ed., *Public Opinion, 1935–1946* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), 1087; the government's internal poll is listed in Office of Facts and Figures, "The Peace Settlement and the Post-War World," survey 107, Mar. 23, 1942, in Records of the Office of War Information, Records of the Office of Facts and Figures, Alphabetical Subject File, 1939–1942, Record Group 208, Box 7, Folder "Peace & Post-War Reports and Proposals, 1942," National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

19. A. H. Feller, "Problems Involved in Making the War a Crusade," Apr. 5, 1942, in Records of the Office of War Information, Records of the Office of Facts and Figures, Alphabetical Subject File, 1939–1942, Record Group 208, Box 7, Folder "Peace & Post-War Reports and Proposals, 1942," National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD; Lucien Warner, "Prepared by Dr. Warner," Jan. 14, 1943, in Records of the Office of Government Reports, US Information Service, Record Group 44, Box 1829, Folder "OCD Material (General)," National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

20. Norman Rockwell, *My Adventures as an Illustrator* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), 312.

21. "The 'Keep 'Em Shooting' Program," *Butte (MT) Standard*, Nov. 26, 1942, 4; Susan E. Meyer, *Norman Rockwell's World War II: Impressions from the Homefront* (San Antonio: USAA Foundation, 1991), 36.

22. Rockwell, *My Adventures*, 313.

23. Ibid., 313, 314.

24. FDR's desire for artistic interpretations of the Four Freedoms is discussed in "Artists Interpret the Four Freedoms," *Art Digest*, Mar. 1, 1943, 10; OWI's listing of potential Four Freedoms artists is in "Exhibit D" of the undated document "Bureau of Graphics," RG 208, Records of the Office of War Information, Records of the Historian, Records of the Historian Relating to the Domestic Branch, 1942–1945, Entry 6A, Box 2, Folder "Bureau of Graphics," National Archives and Research Administration, College Park, MD, 17. For an example of a surviving OWI letter inviting a well-known artist to interpret the Four Freedoms, see Thomas D. Mabry to John Steuart Curry, Jun. 29, 1942, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Collections Online, p. 1: https://www.aaa.si.edu/assets/images/collectionsonline/currjohn/fullsize/AAA_currjohn_368179.jpg, p. 2: https://www.aaa.si.edu/assets/images/collectionsonline/currjohn/fullsize/AAA_currjohn_368180.jpg.

25. Rockwell, *My Adventures*, 341.

26. Ibid., 341. Hibbs's later quotation is cited in Basilio Raymundo Mañago, "The Saturday Evening Post under Ben Hibbs: 1942–1961" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1968, University Microfilms 69-1888), 99.

27. Peter Gardella, *American Civil Religion: What Americans Hold Sacred* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 263.

28. Rhoda Jerryman to Norman Rockwell, Feb. 17, 1943, and Carolyn McMullan to Norman Rockwell, Feb. 21, 1943, in NR Fan Correspondence, General:

1943–1944, Box 2, Folder "1943 Feb," Norman Rockwell Museum Archival Collections, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA; Flannery's letter is quoted in Stuart Murray and James McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1993), 63; the sixty thousand figure is from Lester C. Olson, "Portraits in Praise of a People: A Rhetorical Analysis of Norman Rockwell's Icons in Franklin D. Roosevelt's 'Four Freedoms' Campaign," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 69 (1983): 19.

29. "Four Freedoms Artist to Get Bond Citation," *Washington Post*, Apr. 26, 1943, 8; Elsie Robinson, "Four Dreams," Listen, World!, *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Record*, Mar. 22, 1943, 5.

30. *Summary Report of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show and Its Development as a Community-Wide Promotion* (Philadelphia, 1944), 8, 11, 27; Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 72.

31. Rockwell, *My Adventures*, 318.

32. *Summary Report of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show*, 9; the letter from the Curtis official (identified only as "Bert"), dated Jun. 16, 1943, is in NR Donated Correspondence, 1935–1983, Box 1, Folder "Curtis Publishing Company, 1943," Norman Rockwell Museum Archival Collections, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA.

33. The search results concerning the phrase *four freedoms* are available via the Proquest Historical Newspapers database and the Newspapers.com web page, respectively. Because the results are based on optical character recognition (OCR), one cannot assume that they are exact totals.

34. "Dedication Ceremony for FDR Four Freedoms Park," NBC News video, Oct. 17, 2012, 13:04–13:37, http://video.msnbc.msn.com/nbc-news/49449235/#49449235.

35. Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 47; Upham's letter to Rockwell, dated Feb. 25, 1943, is quoted in Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 68; Rockwell, *My Adventures*, 315, 317.

36. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to the Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *Public Papers and Addresses of Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Rosenman, 672. For an example of African American concerns about the universality of the government's Four Freedoms intentions, see the editorial "The Four Freedoms," *Amsterdam New York Star-News*, Sep. 12, 1942, 6.

37. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," 1948, United Nations, http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/; John F. Sears, "Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (n.p.: The Task Force—Celebrating Eleanor Roosevelt, 2008), https://fdrlibrary.org/documents/356632/390886/sears.pdf/c300e130-b6e6-4580-8bf1-07b72195b370.

38. Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1994), 95–96; Sugata Bose, *His Majesty's Opponent: Subhas Chandra Bose and India's Struggle against Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 2; Idith Zertal, *From Catastrophe to Power: The Holocaust Survivors and the Emergence of Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 141; G. L. Mehta, "Asian Nationalism Vis-À-Vis Other Asian Nations," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 318 (1958): 92.

39. *Look* magazine chose not to publish Rockwell's final painting of the violent scene (p. 52), opting instead for his more impressionistic preparatory study (p. 75).

40. Franklin D. Roosevelt to Forrest Davis, Feb. 10, 1943, in *Summary Report of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show*, 2.

FREEDOM TO THINK & FREEDOM TO SPEAK: A ROCKWELL CASE STUDY

1. Norman Rockwell, *My Adventures as an Illustrator* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), 339.

2. Ibid., 339.

3. James A. "Buddy" Edgerton and Nan O'Brien, *The Unknown Rockwell: A Portrait of Two Families* (Essex Junction, VT: Battenkill River Press, 2009), 25.

4. Ibid., 46–47,

5. Buddy Edgerton, interview by the author, by phone, from Edgerton's home in South Burlington, VT, Mar. 2, 2017.

6. *Annual Report of the Town Officers of Arlington, Vermont*, 1941.

7. *Annual Report of the Town Officers of Arlington, Vermont*, 1942, 4.

8. Rockwell, *My Adventures*, 343.

9. Ardis Edgerton quotation from Buddy Edgerton, Clara Edgerton, et al., interviewed by Susan Meyer, Oct. 5, 1980, Norman Rockwell Museum Audio Recordings, CD #25, Norman Rockwell Archives, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA.

10. Frank Bryan, *Real Democracy: The New England Town Meeting and How It Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 2–3.

11. Michael Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Knopf, 1971) 48–50; Jefferson is quoted in Bryan, *Real Democracy*, 26; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Boston: Sever, Francis, 1862), 76.

12. Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms*, 45.

13. Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms*, 40–50; Adams is quoted in Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic*, 1789–1815 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 19.

EVERYMAN, MEET SOMEBODY

1. The arguments of Clement Greenberg ("Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Partisan Review*, Summer 1939; "Towards a Newer Laocoon," *Partisan Review*, Jul. 1940) and Dwight MacDonald ("Masscult and Midcult," *Partisan Review*, Summer 1960) need not be rehearsed here, but suffice to say, they prize difficulty over ease, opacity over transparency, and emotion over sentiment.

2. Calvin Coolidge addressed the annual meeting of the American Association of Advertising Agencies in 1926: "When we stop to consider the part which advertising plays in the modern life of production and trade we see that . . . it is that of education. It informs its readers . . . of commodities . . . and creates for them a wider demand. [Advertising] makes new thoughts, new desires, and new actions." The stress on *new* underscores the antihistorical spirit of modernism itself; implicitly freed from the plodding past, we enjoy a freshly minted super-now of consumerist wonder. The pattern is borrowed from and shared with late nineteenth- and twentieth-century avant-gardisms. See Coolidge, "Address before the American Association of Advertising Agencies in Washington, D.C.," Oct. 27, 1926, in Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=412.

3. Deborah Solomon, *American Mirror: The Life and Art of Norman Rockwell* (New York: Picador, 2014), 207.

4. All that said, the mechanics of the figures reveal themselves reluctantly. I had looked at this image many times and never noticed the problem in the drawing. Only when I stood before the painting at length did I tease it out.

5. Rockwell's biographers are Laura Claridge, *Norman Rockwell: A Life* (New York: Modern Library, 2001); and Solomon, *American Mirror* (see n. 3).

6. This criticism is not, of course, to minimize the suffering of children bombed in the Blitz, as referenced by Rockwell's headline. The same freedom from fear could reasonably have been demanded by the children of Tokyo and Dresden in 1944–45, or in Aleppo, Syria, or Sana'a, Yemen, today.

7. *Murder in Mississippi* illustrated a story published in *Look*, Jun. 29, 1965. Rockwell, not knowing the precise details of the murders, based his interpretation on the 1963 Pulitzer Prize–winning photograph "Aid from the Padre" by Hector Rondon. In the painting, Schwerner holds Chaney in the same pose that Rondon's priest holds a victim of violence in Venezuela. See Linda Szekely Pero, *American Chronicles: The Art of Norman Rockwell* (Stockbridge, MA: Norman Rockwell Museum, 2007), 211.

8. George Orwell, "In Front of Your Nose," *Tribune* (London), Mar. 22, 1946.

9. The admirableness of Rockwell's empathy is within limits, of course; under certain circumstances, expressions of empathy evince moral failure. The events (including murder) that unfolded during the Unite the Right rally on Aug. 11–12, 2017, in Charlottesville, Virginia, provided such an opportunity, duly seized. Executive rhetoric in the aftermath infamously descended to grotes-

querie to extend a "very fine people on both sides" canopy over latter-day fascists. Empathy for regretful hotheads is one thing; racial malice aforethought takes us into different territory. Rockwell's civil rights work for *Look* demonstrates that he knew the difference.

ARTISTS FIGHTING FOR THE FOUR FREEDOMS

1. Portions of this essay are adapted from my blog entry, "When Artists Cultivated FDR's Four Freedoms," OurFuture.org, Aug. 16, 2015, https://ourfuture.org/20150816/recalling-a-different-kind-of-culture-war-when-artists-cultivated-fdrs-four-freedoms.

2. Harvey J. Kaye, *The Fight for the Four Freedoms: What Made FDR and the Greatest Generation Truly Great* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014), 99; Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to the Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 672.

3. Hadley Cantril, ed., *Public Opinion, 1935–1946* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), 1087; Archibald MacLeish, "The Image of Victory" (May 15, 1942), in *A Time to Act: Selected Addresses* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), 183.

4. Arthur Miller, *The Four Freedoms* [unpublished play, 1942], 3, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

5. Stephen Vincent Benét, *Listen to the People* (1941), in *We Stand United and Other Radio Scripts* (New York: Farrar and Reinhart, 1945), 145–50.

6. William L. Bird Jr. and Harry B. Rubinstein, *Design for Victory: World War II Posters on the American Home Front* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 27; Office of Facts and Figures, *Report to the Nation: The American Preparation for War* (Washington, DC: Office of Facts and Figures, 1942); Office of War Information, *The United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms* (Washington, DC: Office of War Information, 1942); and *Government Information Manual for the Motion Picture Industry* (Washington, DC: Office of War Information, 1942), quoted in Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 65–70.

7. Howard Blue, *Words at War: World War II Era Radio Drama and the Postwar Broadcasting Industry Blacklist* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 145–54; Carl Sandburg, "Road to Victory," in *Home Front Memo* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1942); and Robert O. Ballou and Irene Rakosky, *A History of the Council on Books in Wartime, 1942–1946* (New York: Council on Books in Wartime/Country Life Press, 1946).

8. Susan C. W. Abbotson, *Critical Companion to Arthur Miller: A Literary Reference to His Life and Work* (New York: Facts on File, 2007), 491; Arnold Rampersad and David Roessel, eds., *Selected Letters of Langston Hughes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015), 241.

9. "Four Freedoms in Show," *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, Feb. 16, 1943, 42; Allison Claire Chang, "Visualizing the Four Freedoms: FDR's Fighting Artist, Arthur Szyk," *Nation*, Jan. 8, 2016, https://www.thenation.com/article/visualizing-the-four-freedoms-fdrs-fighting-artist-arthur-szyk/.

10. The popular perception of the era that bomber crews were diverse (though still white, given the military's segregation) was a reflection of a new multiethnic unity among Americans that had begun in the labor movement of the 1930s and became the norm in the US military. Within musical circles, bands frequently performed with multiracial talent despite racism in the larger culture.

11. Elizabeth B. Crist, *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland during the Depression and World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 149, 181–84.

12. Langston Hughes, "How About It, Dixie" (Oct. 1942), in *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*, ed. Arnold Rampersad (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 291; "People's Rally and Drama on the Four Freedoms" (Nov. 15, 1942), solicitation letter and flyer, Negro Labor Victory Committee and *Negro Quarterly* (n.d.).

13. "Let Freedom Ring?" *Time*, Sep. 28, 1942, 19.

14. Frank Kingdon, "Cultivating the Four Freedoms," *Parents' Magazine*, Jan. 1942, 17, 58; Florence E. Allen, "Lectures on the Four Freedoms," *Scripps College Bulletin*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1943, 27; Edwin McNeill Poteat Jr., *Four Freedoms and God* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1943), 7.

15. Norman Corwin, *A Moment of the Nation's Time*, in *More by Corwin: 16 Radio Dramas by Norman Corwin* (New York: Henry Holt, 1944), 362; Arch Oboler, *The People March* (broadcast on Feb. 23, 1943) and *Music for Freedom* (broadcast on Mar. 28, 1943), in *Free World Theater*, eds. Arch Oboler and Stephen Longstreet (New York: Random House, 1944), 3–18, 78–84; Ellen G. Landau, *Artists for Victory* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1983), 2–3, 36–37, 38–39, 55.

16. Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* were published in the *Saturday Evening Post* in four consecutive issues in 1943: Feb. 20 (*Freedom of Speech*), Feb. 27 (*Freedom of Worship*), Mar. 6 (*Freedom from Want*), and Mar. 13 (*Freedom from Fear*), each on p. 13 of the respective issue. The essays discussed here are: Carlos Bulosan, "Freedom from Want," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 6, 1943, 12; and Stephen Vincent Benét, "Freedom from Fear," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 13, 1943, 12.

17. Stuart Murray and James McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1993); Lawrence R. Samuel, *Pledging Allegiance: American Identity and the Bond Drive of World War II* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997).

18. Pvt. Albert B. Gerber, "What I Am Fighting For," *Saturday Evening Post*, Jul. 24, 1943, 25. The complete series of four essays ran in the magazine from Jul. 10 through Jul. 31, 1943.

19. Kaye, *Fight for the Four Freedoms*.

20. John Bodnar, *The "Good War" in American Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 95–98.

21. Madeline Grimes, "Freedom from Fear Project," Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park blog, Feb. 11, 2016, http://www.fdrfourfreedomspark.org/blog/2016/2/11/freedom-from-fear-project; Celia McGee, "A 'Super PAC' Where Art Meets Politics," *New York Times*, Apr. 24, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/25/arts/design/a-super-pac-where-art-meets-politics.html.

CHANGING THE CONVERSATION IN DETROIT

1. David L. Lewis, "They May Save Our Honor, Our Hopes—and Our Necks," *Michigan History* 77 (Sep. 1993): 14.

2. Thomas E. Hachey, "The Wages of War: A British Commentary on Life in Detroit in July, 1943," *Michigan History* 59 (Jul. 1975): 230.

3. Dominic J. Capeci Jr. and Martha Wilkerson, "The Detroit Rioters of 1943: A Reinterpretation," *Michigan Historical Review* 16 (Spring 1990): 49–72; Harvard Sitkoff, "The Detroit Race Riot 1943," *Michigan History* 53 (May 1969): 183–206.

4. Hachey, "Wages of War," 229, 237.

5. Isbey is quoted in, "Small Sales Vital in State Bond Drive," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 19, 1943.

6. Stuart Murray and James McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms: Images That Inspire a Nation* (Stockbridge, MA: Berkshire House, 1993), 88; "Parade to Launch Bond Exhibit Today," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 27, 1943.

7. J. L. Hudson Company advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 30, 1943.

8. On the suitability of Rockwell's images, James J. Kimble, "The Illustrated Four Freedoms: FDR, Rockwell, and the Margins of the Rhetorical Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 45 (Mar. 2015): 58–62.

9. J. L. Hudson Company advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 28, 1943; "Civic Group Plans Racial Harmony," *Detroit Free Press*, Jun. 25, 1943.

10. "Nazi Victim Pleads for the Four Freedoms," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 27, 1943.

11. "Clergymen Plead for Sale of Bonds," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 26, 1943.

12. "Parade and Show Spur Sales of E Bonds Here," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 28, 1943; "Rockwell's Four Freedoms," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 28, 1943.

13. George Stark, Town Talk, *Detroit News*, Oct. 4, 1943; Ray S. Ayer, Roadside Philosopher, *Detroit News*, Sep. 12, 1943.

14. "Young People's Cabinet Considers Four Freedoms," *Michigan Chronicle*, Aug. 28, 1943.

15. "On Backing the Attack," *Michigan Chronicle*, Sep. 18, 1943.

16. "Writ Frees Thomas from Jail in Texas," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 26, 1943; Malcolm W. Bingay, "Henry Wallace Vindicated," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 14, 1943; untitled filler, *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 26, 1943.

17. "State Expected to Lead in E Bond Sales," *Detroit Free Press*, Oct. 3, 1943; Murray and McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 88.

LINCOLN, ROOSEVELT & THE MYTH OF IMPROMPTU ORATORY

1. The President's Annual Message to Congress would become widely known as the State of the Union address in later years.

2. Samuel I. Rosenman, *Working with Roosevelt* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1952), 263; James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), 33. Burns begins his magisterial account of Roosevelt's wartime leadership with this story.

3. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 672.

4. Press Conference #658, Jul. 5, 1940, in *Complete Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. 16 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), sections 18, 21, 22.

5. Laura Crowell, "The Building of the 'Four Freedoms' Speech," *Speech Monographs* 22 (1955): 266.

6. Abraham Lincoln, "Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg" (Final Text), Nov. 19, 1863, in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953–55), vol. 7, 23.Woodrow Wilson broke the unwritten rule and began the modern presidential tradition of appearing before Congress in person to deliver what would eventually come to be known as the State of the Union address.

7. David Wills to Abraham Lincoln, Nov. 2, 1863, in Abraham Lincoln Papers, Series 1, General Correspondence, 1833 to 1916, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, https://www.loc.gov/item/mal2778100/. The principal orator, Edward Everett, had been invited months earlier. He was the most famous orator of his day and had been the vice presidential candidate of the Constitutional Union Party (with John Bell as its standard-bearer) in the election of 1860.

8. Edmund Wilson, *Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1962), quoted in *The Lincoln Anthology: Great Writers on His Life and Legacy from 1860 to Now*, ed. Harold Holzer (New York: Library of America, 2009), 700–701.

9. "Response to a Serenade," Jul. 7, 1863, in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 6, 319; "Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg" (First Draft), Nov. 19, 1863, in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 7, 17. Dorothy Lamon, ed., *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln 1847–1865 by Ward Hill Lamon* (Chicago, [McClurg, 1895]), 175. Ward Hill Lamon, who later insisted that Lincoln considered his speech "a flat failure," also raised, then denied, the idea that the "great and sincere man" had been "guilty of the crime of willful plagiarism."

10. Noah Brooks, "Personal Reminiscences of Lincoln," *Scribner's Monthly* (Feb.–Mar. 1878): 565; Noah Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time* (New York: Century, 1895), 286.

11. Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time*, 286. For the photograph, see Charles Hamilton and Lloyd Ostendorf, *Lincoln in Photographs: An Album of Every Known Pose*, rev. ed. (Dayton, OH: Morningside Press, 1985 [orig. pub. 1963]), 149. Lincoln's assistant private secretary, John Hay, who accompanied him to the Gardner studio that day (and in one exposure posed with his boss), made the claim that Lincoln had the Everett copy in hand; historian Garry Wills later disputed the claim. See Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 28–29.

12. Brooks, "Personal Reminiscences," 565. Brooks told several versions of this story in his various articles and books but seldom varied from the general outlines of the story. He never seemed absolutely certain, however, whether Lincoln showed him Everett's speech at Gardner's gallery on Nov. 8 or in the White House on Nov. 14. The *Providence Journal* is quoted in Harold Holzer, "'Thrilling Words' or 'Silly Remarks': What the Press Said about the Gettysburg Address," *Lincoln Herald* 90 (Winter 1988): 144–45.

13. For Lincoln's disappointment about Gettysburg, see Lincoln to General George G. Meade [unsigned and unsent], Jul. 14, 1863, in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 6, 327–28. The "gauntlet" quotation is in Lincoln to Edwin M. Stanton [n.d., ca. Nov. 16 or 17, 1863], in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 7, 16.

14. Harold Holzer, *Lincoln Seen and Heard* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 193; Lamon, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*, 171.

15. William E. Barton, *Lincoln at Gettysburg* (New York: Peter Smith, 1950), 173; Henry Clay Cochrane, "With Lincoln to Gettysburg, 1863," in *Abraham Lincoln: Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the State of Pennsylvania, Memorial Meeting, Feb. 12, 1907* (n.p., 1907), 9–10; William A. Mowry, "Reminiscences of Lincoln Told by the Late Ex-Governor [Andrew] Curtin of Pennsylvania," *Independent* 49 (Aug. 1897): 1069.

16. Frank L. Klement, *The Gettysburg Soldiers' Cemetery and Lincoln's Address* (Shippensburg, PA: White Man Publishing, 1985), 86; Robert T. Lincoln to Bell F. Keyes, Dec. 15, 1885, quoted in Louis A. Warren, *Lincoln's Gettysburg Declaration: "A New Birth of Freedom"* (Fort Wayne, IN: Lincoln National Life Foundation, 1964), 61.

17. Abraham Lincoln, "Address Delivered at the Dedication" (Final Text), in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 7, 23.

18. Merrill Peterson, *Lincoln in American Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 164.

19. Much of this paragraph is adapted from an essay I coauthored with the late Mario M. Cuomo, my onetime boss and longtime friend and occasional coauthor. See Cuomo and Holzer, "Lincoln as Scripture," in Cuomo, *Why Lincoln Matters: Today More than Ever* (New York: Harcourt, 2004), esp. 18–19.

20. A photograph of the speech manuscript is available at "Eternal Light Peace Memorial Dedication Ceremony," *Gettysburg Daily*, Jan. 1, 2009, https://www.gettysburgdaily.com/eternal-light-peace-memorial, and at http://i.gettysburgdaily.com/imgs/PeaceLight122508/PeaceLight12250898.jpg; Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Address at the Dedication of the Memorial on the Gettysburg Battlefield, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania," Jul. 3, 1938, in Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=15669.

21. Abraham Lincoln, "Annual Message to Congress," Dec. 1, 1862, in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 5, 537.

22. Frederick Douglass essay in Allen Thorndike Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time* (New York: North American Publishing, 1886), 188.

23. Lincoln, "Annual Message," in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 5, 537.

THE POWER OF ART

1. Jo Davidson, *Between Sittings* (New York: Dial Press, 1951), 276.

2. Martin H. Bush, "A Conversation with Gordon Parks," in Martin H. Bush, *The Photographs of Gordon Parks* (Wichita, KS: Wichita State University, 1983), 36.

3. Norman Rockwell to D. N. Rexrod, US Marine Corps, Mar. 15, 1967. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA.

CARLOS BULOSAN & THE BATTLE FOR THE SOUL OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS

1. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 668. Portions of this essay are based on chapter 4 of my book *The Borderlands of Culture: Américo Paredes and the Transnational Imaginary* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 190–225.

2. Roosevelt, "Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," 670.

3. Ibid., 672.

4. For criticisms of FDR's speech, see Thomas H. Greer, *What Roosevelt Thought: The Social and Political Ideas of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1958), 12; Roosevelt, "Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," 672.

5. Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: Norton, 1998), 223; Roosevelt, "Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," 672, 671, 672. As early as Mar. 1929, Roosevelt had already claimed that "Modern social conditions have progressed to a point where such demands [as basic human rights] can no longer be regarded other than as matters of an absolute right"; Greer, *What Roosevelt Thought*, 14.

6. "The New Apocalypse," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 22, 1941, 26.

7. David E. Sumner, *The Magazine Century: American Magazines Since 1900* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 29.

8. "Credo," *Saturday Evening Post*, Jun. 20, 1942, 4.

9. Robert B. Westbrook, "Fighting for the American Family: Private Interests and Political Obligation in World War II," in *The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in American History*, eds. Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 203.

10. Booth Tarkington, "Freedom of Speech," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 20, 1943, 12; Stephen Vincent Bénet, "Freedom from Fear," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 13, 1943, 12; and Will Durant, "Freedom of Worship," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 27, 1943, 12.

11. Foner, *The Story of American Freedom*, 227.

12. "Bulosan," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 6, 1943, 4. The autobiography that Bulosan was writing at the time would turn out to be one of the first great expressions of postwar ethnic identity; see Carlos Bulosan, *America Is in the Heart: A Personal History* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1946).

13. Carlos Bulosan, "Freedom from Want," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 6, 1943, 12. All four of the essays are reprinted in Stuart Murray and James McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms: Images That Inspire a Nation* (Stockbridge, MA: Berkshire House, 1993), 125–37.

14. Laurie Norton Moffatt, foreword, in Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, x; Bulosan, "Freedom from Want," 12.

15. Foner, *The Story of American Freedom*, 227–28; Westbrook, "Fighting for the American Family," 204–7 and n.15.

16. "The Four Freedoms Are an Ideal," *Saturday Evening Post*, Sep. 25, 1943, 112.

17. "Bulosan," 4.

ARTHUR SZYK: FDR'S SOLDIER IN ART

1. The original source of Szyk's quotation about America is unknown. The quotation appears in *Arthur Szyk: Artist for Freedom*, a brochure for an exhibition in the Swann Gallery, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, Dec. 9, 1999–May 6, 2000.

2. Between 1929 and 1950, Szyk completed fifty-one paintings dealing with Simón Bolívar, whom he saw as the George Washington of South America; they were exhibited at the Pan American Union, Washington, DC, Apr. 14–May 12, 1952, seven months after Szyk's death. Created in 1938 in London, the *Polish-American Fraternity* paintings were exhibited in the Polish Pavilion at the 1939–40 New York World's Fair, in Queens, when Germany and Russia invaded Poland.

3. Today these works reside at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum in Hyde Park, NY.

4. By 1936, the British government had already enacted its first two (1922, 1930) in its White Paper series, outlining policy designed to restrict the flow of European Jews to their biblical homeland. Szyk, in light of the Arab riots beginning in 1936 (before his work on *The Haggadah*'s dedication, to King George VI, was completed), must have had a strong feeling about the forthcoming 1939 White Paper and its policy of further restrictions on Jewish immigration, dependent upon Arab approval.

5. "The Haggadah: A Sumptuous Illustrated Edition," *Times Literary Supplement* (London), Feb. 22, 1941, 88.

6. Eleanor Roosevelt, My Day, *New York World Telegram*, Jan. 8, 1943; "Predictions of Things to Come," *Predictions of Things to Come*, Dec. 1942, 50–51; "One-Man War against Hitler: Arthur Szyk Fights the Dictators with Pen, Brush and Venom," *Click*, Aug. 1942, 20–21.

7. "USO Gets Szyk Cartoons," *New York Post*, Jul. 13, 1942; the "citizen-soldier" quotation appears in untitled articles in *Sentinel* (Chicago), Aug. 20, 1942, and *Jewish Ledger* (Atlantic City, NJ), Aug. 21, 1942; the survey is cited in a 1944 bulletin from the US Office of War Information; see also Arthur Szyk, "I Am Waiting for V-H Day," *Answer*, Sep. 1945, 14, 16.

8. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "'There Can Be No Appeasement with Ruthlessness. . . . We Must Be the Great Arsenal of Democracy.' Fireside Chat on National Security. White House, Washington, D.C., Dec. 29, 1940," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 633.

9. "Hitler Has Ordered Annihilation of All Jews by End of 1942, Washington Hears," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, daily news bulletin, Nov. 25, 1942. The original source notes:

> Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress, after a conference today with Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles and other high officials of the State Department, declared that Hitler has ordered the annihilation of all Jews in Europe by the end of this year.
>
> "This news is substantiated in documents furnished to me by the State Department this afternoon," Dr. Wise said. "It is one of the last mad acts of destruction which Hitler will perpetrate before he is called to judgement." Declaring that a representative of President Roosevelt, who returned a short time ago from a mission abroad, told him that "the worst fears about the fate of the Jews under Hitler are true," Dr. Wise estimated that "one-half of the five million Jews in the territories occupied by the Nazis have already been destroyed."

Szyk's *The Ballad of the Doomed Jews of Europe* was completed in New York, in Mar. 1943. Its text appeared as an advertisement in the *New York Times* on Sep. 14, 1943, and earlier, complete with Szyk's artwork, in the Apr. 1943 issue of the *Answer* magazine. This visual manifesto is a no-holds-barred indictment of indifference by the State Department and the united nations of the world: a desperate Jew calls for help while Jews are hanging from the gallows; a soldier listens to the ringing phone and chooses not to answer.

10. Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* was painted in 1937; Marc Chagall's *White Crucifixion* was painted in 1938 in response to Kristallnacht. The latter is Pope Francis's favorite work of art.

11. Carl Van Doren is quoted in Struthers Burt, preface, in Arthur Szyk, *Ink & Blood: A Book of Drawings* (New York: Heritage Press, 1946).

12. "Famed Polish Artist Has Price on His Head," *Halifax (NS) Herald*, Jul. 13, 1940; "Szyk, For Whom Hitler Offers Reward, to Show Works at Y.M.H.A. Tomorrow," *Bergen Record* (Hackensack, NJ), May 16, 1942; in the Only Human feature, *New York Daily Mirror*, Apr. 10, 1941, the columnist Candide reported that "the Nazis make him [Szyk] the hated subject of their radio broadcasts and have put him high on their proscribed list." To his drawing *We're Running Short of Jews* (1943), Szyk's most personal Holocaust work, he added the inscription, "To the memory of my darling mother, murdered by the Germans somewhere in the ghettos of Poland"; records found after the war indicate that Szyk's mother and brother were taken on separate transports from the Łódź ghetto and murdered at the Chełmno killing center. In his drawing of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, *The Repulsed Attack* (1943), and in *Palestine Restricted* (1943), Szyk signed his name on the yellow badges of murdered Jews.

13. Szyk became a US citizen in May 1948.

14. Carlton Hill, chairman of the event, concluded his remarks about Szyk with these words: "If only enough of us hold it [freedom] as dear to our hearts as does Arthur Szyk, then perhaps we may see the day when we can say the tyrants are not just temporarily defeated—but tyranny is dead." Quoted in "Szyk Given Great Ovation at July Fourth Ceremony," *New Canaan (CT) Advertiser*, Jul. 6, 1950.

15. This oath was written by Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Benjamin Rush, Sep. 23, 1800, and is inscribed under the dome of the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, DC.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT & THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

1. A few passages in this chapter are adapted from my introduction to: Eleanor Roosevelt, *Tomorrow Is Now: It Is Today That We Must Create the World of the Future* (New York: Penguin, 2012), xviii–xliv.

2. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, Apr. 15, 1943," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1943&_f=md056471.

3. "Eleanor Roosevelt's War Time Prayer," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project, https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/teachinger/q-and-a/q21-prayer.cfm.

4. FDR's "Dr. Win-the-War" phrasing is from: Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Excerpts from the Press Conference," Dec. 28, 1943, in Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=16358; ER's "lavender" statement was quoted widely in the press, including in "Mrs. Roosevelt's Slogan Choice Is Win the War and the Peace," *St. Louis Star-Times*, Jan. 3, 1944. See further discussion in Allida Black, *Casting Her Own Shadow: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Making of Postwar Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 140.

5. Eleanor Roosevelt to Harold Ickes, May 26, 1945, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, vol. 1, ed. Allida Black et al. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 36.

6. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, Jun. 8, 1945," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1945&_f=md000045.

7. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, Jun. 25, 1945," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1945&_f=md000059.

8. Boston: "Mrs. Roosevelt in PAC Talk Here," *Boston Post*, Nov. 1, 1945, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, ed. Black, vol. 1, 125; New Jersey: "Suspicion as Peace Bar Feared by Mrs. Roosevelt," Oct. 2, 1945, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, ed. Black, vol. 1, 111; Chicago: Eleanor Roosevelt, Founder's Day Address, Roosevelt College, Nov. 10, 1945, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, ed. Black, vol. 1, 137.

9. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, Dec. 22, 1945," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1945&_f=md000215.

10. Eleanor Roosevelt to Joe Lash, Feb. 13, 1946, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, ed. Black, vol. 1, 248–49.

11. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, Feb. 16, 1946," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1946&_f=md000264.

12. Eleanor Roosevelt, "Address to the Women's Joint Campaign Committee," Mar. 11, 1946, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, ed. Black, vol. 1, 274.

13. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, May 9, 1945," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1945&_f=md000019.

14. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, Jun. 1, 1948," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), http://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1948&_f=md000981.

15. "Statement by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, U.S. Representative to the General Assembly," Dec. 9, 1948, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, ed. Black, vol. 1, 972–73.

RUBY BRIDGES & THE PROBLEM WE ALL LIVE WITH

1. "Rockwell's picture is worth a thousand words," W. E. Leverett, letter to the editor, *Look*, Feb. 25, 1964; "Just where does Norman Rockwell live?," Joe E. Moore Jr., letter to the editor, *Look*, Feb. 25, 1964.

FINDING FREEDOM FROM FEAR

1. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 672.

2. Slogan adopted by the Department of Homeland Security to encourage citizen vigilance, https://www.dhs.gov/see-something-say-something.

FROM INSPIRATION TO ASPIRATION: REALIZING FDR'S FOUR FREEDOMS

1. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Campaign Address at Boston, Massachusetts: 'We Are Going Full Speed Ahead!' Oct. 30, 1940," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 517.

2. Herbert Feis, *The Road to Pearl Harbor: The Coming of the War between the United States and Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), 124–25.

3. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Seven Hundred and Second Press Conference. Dec. 17, 1940," in *Public Papers and Addresses of Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Rosenman, 607. The official name of the legislation commonly known as the Lend-Lease Act was An Act to Promote the Defense of the United States, ch. 11, Pub. L. No. 77-11, 55 Stat. 31 (1941).

4. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *Public Papers and Addresses of Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Rosenman, 672.

5. For essential background, see James J. Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006); John M. Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture during World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976); David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

6. Robert B. Westbrook, "Fighting for the American Family: Private Interests and Political Obligation in World War II," in *The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in American History*, eds. Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 198.

7. Westbrook, "Fighting for the American Family," 207.

8. Ibid.

9. Roosevelt, "Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," 672.

10. During the war, people around the world clamoring for freedom cited Roosevelt's words long before Rockwell's illustrations appeared. Mark R. Shulman, "The War on Terror Is Over—Now What? Restoring the Four Freedoms as a Foundation for Peace and Security," *Journal of National Security Law and Policy* 3, no. 2 (2010), esp. 279 *ff*.

11. United Nations General Assembly, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Dec. 10, 1948, preamble; emphasis added for clarity.

PUBLIC INTERACTIONS WITH NORMAN ROCKWELL'S FOUR FREEDOMS

1. "Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms," Norman Rockwell Museum, https://www.nrm.org/2012/01/norman-rockwells-four-freedoms. The most exhaustive discussion of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* paintings is in Stuart Murray and James McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1993). The author is grateful to Norman Rockwell Museum archivist Venus Van Ness for help with preparing this entry.

2. Rufus Jarman, "Profiles, U.S. Artist," *New Yorker*, Mar. 17, 1945, 41; on Robert Russell Bennett, *Evening Banner* (Bennington, VT), Dec. 16, 1943, 1.

3. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to the Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: MacMillan, 1941), 672.

4. Francis Frascina, "*The New York Times*, Norman Rockwell, and the New Patriotism," *Journal of Visual Culture* 2, no. 1 (2003): 105; Claire Sisco King, "American Queerer: Norman Rockwell and the Art of Queer Feminist Critique," *Women's Studies in Communication* 39, no. 2 (2016): 159–60.

5. Thomas Buechner, *Norman Rockwell: A Sixty Year Retrospective* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1972), 85; Jarman, "Profiles," 41; on the tour, see Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 85–91. In contrast with extensive newspaper coverage of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show in Washington, DC (the *Washington Post* carried at least sixteen articles and advertisements), the Philadelphia newspapers provided little coverage. A photograph

reproduced in Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 85, dates the Philadelphia show, presented at Strawbridge and Clothier department store, from May 15 through May 22, 1943.

6. Elizabeth Borgwardt, "FDR's Four Freedoms as a Human Rights Instrument," *OAH [Organization of American Historians] Magazine of History* 22, no. 2 (Apr. 2008): 8; James J. Kimble, "The Illustrated Four Freedoms: FDR, Rockwell, and the Margins of the Rhetorical Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (Mar. 2015): 46.

7. "The Four Freedoms Are an Ideal," *Saturday Evening Post*, Sep. 25, 1943, 112; excerpts from this editorial can be read in Patrick Perry, "Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms," *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan./Feb. 2009, http://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2009/01/01/art-entertainment/norman-rockwell-art-entertainment/rockwells-four-freedoms.html.

8. B. Tomlinson, "Taxicab Driver Prefers Constitution to New Deal," letter to the editor, dated Jun. 17, 1943, *New York Times*, Jun. 20, 1943, E13; "I Like to Please People," *Time*, Jun. 21, 1943, 41; Jarman, "Profiles," 34.

9. Lester C. Olson, "Portraits in Praise of a People: A Rhetorical Analysis of Norman Rockwell's Icons in Franklin D. Roosevelt's 'Four Freedoms' Campaign," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 69, no. 1 (Feb. 1983): 15–24; on civil religion, Robert N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus* 96, no. 1 (Winter 1967): 11; Ekaterina V. Haskins, "'Put Your Stamp on History': The USPS Commemorative Program *Celebrate the Century* and Postmodern Collective Memory," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 89, no. 1 (Feb. 2003): 1–18, esp. 2–3 and 15–16; Peter Gardella, *American Civil Religion: What Americans Hold Sacred* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 353. Gardella devotes a chapter to discussing FDR, Norman Rockwell, and the Four Freedoms in connection with civil religion; see 257–69.

10. Norman Rockwell and Booth Tarkington, "Freedom of Speech," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 20, 1943, 12–13; Carolyn McMullan to Norman Rockwell, Feb. 21, [1943], Norman Rockwell Fan Correspondence Collection, Folder ST.1976.20028.2.04, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA. Cara Finnegan writes about the phenomenon of people seeing what they are predisposed to see in terms of what she calls "image vernaculars," in Cara A. Finnegan, "Recognizing Lincoln: Image Vernaculars in Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 8, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 31–57. Deborah Solomon, *American Mirror: The Life and Art of Norman Rockwell* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2013), 207.

11. Lefty Nast, "Freedom of Speech 2013 Parody jpeg . . . ," Democratic Underground, Jul. 5, 2013, https://www.democraticunderground.com/1017129637 (the image, accessed Jul. 17, 2017, had disappeared from the page by Feb. 26, 2018).

12. "Dan Nance – Four Freedoms 2010," YouTube video, posted by "patriotart," Sep. 24, 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M83fhxKhpus.

13. Norman Rockwell and Will Durant, "Freedom of Worship," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 27, 1943, 12–13; Rockwell, "Four Freedoms," *Saturday Evening Post*, Nov. 1979, 112; Rachel L. Kranson, e-mail message to author, Aug. 29, 2017. Biographer Deborah Solomon identifies the three figures in the foreground as a Catholic, a Protestant, and, foremost, a Jew; Solomon, *American Mirror*, 209. In contrast, Francis Frascina identifies the foremost man's attire as Greek Orthodox; Frascina, "*New York Times*, Rockwell, and the New Patriotism," 105.

14. Jerome Frank, "Red White and Blue Herring," *Saturday Evening Post*, Dec. 6, 1941, 9–10 and 83–86; Waldo Frank, "The Jews Are Different," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 21, 1942, 27, 53, 55, and 57–58; Milton Mayer, "The Case against the Jew," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 28, 1942, 18–19 and 44–45; Ben Hibbs, "The *Saturday Evening Post* Reaffirms a Policy," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 16, 1942, 18; Rockwell and Durant, "Freedom of Worship."

15. T. C. Upham to Norman Rockwell, Feb. 25, 1943, Norman Rockwell Separated Correspondence Collection, Folder ST.1976.20030.1.78, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA; the entire letter and Rockwell's reply are printed in Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 68–69.

16. Gladys W. Taber to Norman Rockwell, Apr. 5, 1943, Norman Rockwell Fan Correspondence Collection, Folder ST.1976.20028.2.06, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA; Jacqueline DeBerry, "Rockwell's Freedom of Worship Parody," Elance, [posted ca. Aug. 2, 2014], https://www.elance.com/samples/rockwells-freedom-of-worship-parody-oil-painting-oils-traditional-illustration-rockwell/114224619; for all four of Maggie Meiners's revisions of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*, see *Revisiting Rockwell*, on the artist's website, http://www.maggiemeiners.com/revisiting-rockwell. Another, unattributed artist takes up Islam in a revision of *Freedom of Speech*, placing a headdress on the speaker in Rockwell's composition, in Hafiz Naveed, "Myth of Islam's Contribution to Human Civilization," *Islamic Issuess* [sic], May 2011, http://islamicissuess.blogspot.com/2011/05/myth-of-islamscontribution-to-human.html.

17. Norman Rockwell and Carlos Bulosan, "Freedom from Want," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 6, 1943, 12–13; "I Like to Please People," *Time*, 42; Rockwell, "Four Freedoms," 112.

18. For a French website that comments on US culture via these parodies, see Lycée George-Sand La Châtre, "A Few Parodies of Norman Rockwell's 'Freedom from Want' Painting," Nov. 16, 2011, http://lyc-george-sand-la-chatre.tice.ac-orleans-tours.fr/eva/spip.php?article762. For a selection of Rockwell parodies on apparently US-based websites, see: Philip Van der Vossen, "Rockwell's Thanksgiving Parodies," *Gunaxin*, Nov. 24, 2016, http://humor.gunaxin.com/rockwells-thanksgiving-parodies/178165; "The 37 Best Parodies of Rockwell's Freedom from Want (aka Thanksgiving Dinner)," *If It's Hip It's Here*, posted by "Laura," Nov. 27, 2014, http://www.ifitshipitshere.com/37-best-parodies-rockwells-freedom-want-aka-thanksgiving-dinner; "Art Parodies—Rockwell," Pinterest, [posted by Pamela Barrier], https://www.pinterest.com/pbarrier/art-parodies-rockwell. Josh McCormack's blogpost is, "*Freedom from Want* by Norman Rockwell," Nov. 23, 2016, http://joshmccormack.com/2016/11/23/freedom-from-want-norman-rockwell. Joe Phillips's parody can also be viewed at: "Variations on a Thanksgiving Theme," *Quasi-Interesting Paraphernalia Inc.*, Nov. 25, 2010, http://quasi-interestingparaphernaliainc.blogspot.com/2010/11/variations-on-thanksgiving-theme.html; for more on Phillips, visit the artist's website, http://www.joephillips.com. Pops Peterson's *Reinventing Rockwell* images can be viewed on the website of the Sohn Fine Art Gallery, Past Exhibitions, 2015, http://www.sohnfineart.com/past-exhibitions-2015. For sustained comment on representations of gender in Norman Rockwell's illustrations, see King, "American Queerer," 157–176 (see n. 4); and Eric J. Segal, "Norman Rockwell and the Fashioning of American Masculinity," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 4 (Dec. 1996): 633–46.

19. Matt Wuerker, *Daily Kos*, Nov. 24, 2011, https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2011/11/24/1037825/-Thxgving; the fast-food "Freedom from Want" can be seen at the top of the post by Philip Van der Vossen, "Rockwell's Thanksgiving Parodies" (see n. 18).

20. Norman Rockwell and Stephen Vincent Benét, "Freedom from Fear," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 13, 1943, 12–13; Frascina, "*New York Times*, Rockwell, and the New Patriotism," 105. Frascina quotes Maureen Hart Hennessey and Anne Knutson, eds., *Norman Rockwell: Pictures for the American People* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art; Stockbridge, MA: Norman Rockwell Museum; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), 102; and Karal Ann Marling, *Norman Rockwell* (Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997), 100.

21. Frascina, "*New York Times*, Rockwell, and the New Patriotism," 99.

22. Ibid., 101, 102.

23. Karen J. Engle, "Putting Mourning to Work: Making Sense of 9/11," *Theory, Culture and Society* 24, no. 1 (2007): 61–88, esp. 63–68, 71, and 79; the *New York Times*' digitally modified image is reproduced on p. 68 of Engle's essay. Agnieszka Soltysik Monnet, "War and National Renewal: Civil Religion and Blood Sacrifice in American Culture," *Wars and New Beginnings in American History*, special issue, *European Journal of American Studies* 7, no. 2 (2012): 6.

24. "Parody of Norman Rockwell's 'Freedom from Fear,'" Illustration History, Norman Rockwell Museum, https://www.illustrationhistory.org/illustrations/parody-of-norman-rockwells-freedom-from-fear; on R. O. Blechman, see the artist's website, http://www.roblechman.com.

25. "Dan Nance – Four Freedoms 2010," YouTube video (see n. 12); Meiners, *Revisiting Rockwell* (see n. 16); Peterson, *Reinventing Rockwell* (see n. 18); see also Kate Abbott, "Maurice 'Pops' Peterson Re-imagines Norman Rockwell Scenes," *Berkshire Eagle*, Mar. 4, 2015, http://www.berkshireeagle.com/stories/maurice-pops-peterson-re-imagines-norman-rockwell-scenes,334979.

26. Speaking to the creative possibilities of Rockwell's images, one communications scholar has proposed using Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* in a course exercise to teach ideology: Christina M. Smith, "Using 'Reinterpreting the Four Freedoms' to Teach about Ideology and Ideographic Persuasion," *Communication Teacher* 29, no. 1 (Jan. 2015): 27–31. Edith Nourse Rogers to Norman Rockwell, [1943?], Norman Rockwell Fan Correspondence Collection, Folder ST.1976.20030.8.39, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA; the letter also appears in Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 65. Rogers's letter is undated, but Rockwell likely received it in late 1943, as the response date he wrote on it is Jan. 14, 1944.

27. Roderick Stephens to Norman Rockwell, Jul. 12, 1943, Norman Rockwell Separated Correspondence Collection, Folder ST.1976.20030.5.4, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA; see Victoria Gallagher and Kenneth S. Zagacki, "Visibility and Rhetoric: The Power of Visual Images in Norman Rockwell's Depictions of Civil Rights," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 91, no. 2 (2005): 175–200.

28. Robert Grossman's image can be viewed, along with a number of other parodies, at: "Thoughts on *Thoughts on Democracy*," *Speak Up*, archive ID 4985, posted by "Armin," Jul. 2, 2008, http://www.underconsideration.com/speakup/archives/004985.html.

29. Jonathan Jones, *Guardian* (London), Feb. 7, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/jonathanjonesblog/2017/feb/07/norman-rockwell-four-freedoms-trump-roosevelt; Frascina, "*New York Times*, Rockwell, and the New Patriotism," 108.

THE FOUR FREEDOMS: ENVISIONING A BETTER WORLD

1. This essay has been adapted from: William J. vanden Heuvel, "Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the Twentieth Century," (address, Aug. 2006); and vanden Heuvel, address, Dedication of the Four Freedoms Park, a Memorial to Franklin Delano Roosevelt (Oct. 17, 2012, Roosevelt Island, New York).

2. White is quoted in William J. vanden Heuvel, "The Four Freedoms," in Stuart Murray and James McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1993), 108; Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to the Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 672.

3. Richard L. Toibin, *Decisions of Destiny: Ten Crucial Moments in the American Presidency* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1961), 243.

EXHIBITION CHECKLIST

THE WAR GENERATION

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Deadline (Artist Facing Blank Canvas), 1938
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, October 8, 1938
Oil on canvas, 38½ × 30½ in. (97.8 × 77.5 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; NRACT.1973.4

Jo Davidson (1883–1952)
Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1934
Baked clay with gold-bronze patina, 9¼ × 3¾ × 5 in. (23.5 × 9.5 × 12.7 cm)
New-York Historical Society; Purchase, Softer-Jarvis Fund

Unknown photographer
President Franklin D. Roosevelt Delivering Fireside Chat #6, September 30, 1934
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

John Collier, Jr. (1913–1992)
Provincetown, Massachusetts. Family of a Portuguese dory fisherman, spring 1942
Digital reproduction
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC; LC-USW3-002070-C

Dorothea Lange (1895–1965)
Destitute pea pickers in California. Mother of seven children. Age thirty-two. Nipomo, California, 1936
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USF34-009058-C

Dorothea Lange (1895–1965)
Mississippi Delta Negro children, July 1936
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-DIG-fsa-8b29649

Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985)
Sign, Birmingham, Alabama, February 1937
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USF33-002393-M2

Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985)
Evicted sharecroppers along Highway 60, New Madrid Country, Missouri, January 1939
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-DIG-fsa-8a10394

Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985)
Evicted sharecroppers along Highway 60, New Madrid Country, Missouri, January 1939
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USF33- 002943-M5

Gordon Parks (1912–2006)
Washington, D.C. Interior of a Chinese laundry located under the apartment of Mrs. Ella Watson, a government charwoman, August 1942
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USF34-013505-C

Esther Bubley (1921–1998)
Cincinnati, Ohio. "Red" Cochran, a Greyhound bus driver, and his family eating Sunday dinner, September 1943
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USW3- 037502-E

New York Daily News photographer
Central Park Hooverville with Central Park West in the Background, 1932
Digital reproduction
New York *Daily News*/Getty Images

Dorothea Tomlinson (1898–1985)
Family Quilting, 1934
Oil on canvas, 42½ × 50⅜ in. (108 × 128 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Unknown photographer
President Franklin D. Roosevelt Receiving Norman Rockwell Painting, 1940
Digital reproduction
Bettmann/Getty Images

Unknown artist
National Youth Administration, ca. 1936
Oil on canvas, 43½ × 78⅛ in. (110.5 × 198.4 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Children's Crusade for Children, April 22–30, 1940
Digital reproduction
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC; POS-US.R62

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Children's Crusade for Children coin bank, 1940
Lithograph on tin
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of Steven M. Lomazow, MD; RC.1979.1.1

Denys Wortman (1887–1958)
"There was a time, Mopey, when bein' in the bread line was sort of exclusive . . . ," November 13, 1930
Ink, crayon, and charcoal on paper, 17 × 14 in. (43.2 × 35.6 cm)
Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont

Denys Wortman (1887–1958)
"Buddy, could you spare a dime for a Defense Stamp?" March 30, 1942
Pen, charcoal, and graphite on paper, 18⅛ × 15¼ in. (46 × 38.7 cm)
Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont

Denys Wortman (1887–1958)
"When Mother says 'More?' say no, 'cause there's just a little left for her," February 6, 1943
Graphite on paper, 17 × 13 in. (43.2 × 33 cm)
Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont

Denys Wortman (1887–1958)
"I'm worried about post-war conditions. I'll probably be back home mopping, dusting, and cleaning again," October 18, 1943
Ink, charcoal, and graphite on paper, 17½ × 15 in. (44.5 × 38.1 cm)
Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont

Denys Wortman (1887–1958)
"You sorta took the place of his mother, but now you too are gone," November 2, 1932
Editorial cartoon for Metropolitan Newspaper Feature Service, United Kingdom
Green crayon, ink, and graphite on paper, 17 × 14⅛ in. (43.2 × 35.9 cm)
Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont

Denys Wortman (1887–1958)
"If you're going home, I'll give you a lift." "Thanks, Bill, I'd rather walk. It'll kill more time that way," November 15, 1938
Graphite, ink, and charcoal on paper, 18⅛ × 14⅛ in. (46 × 35.9 cm)
Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Gramercy Park, 1918
Oil on canvas, 30 × 18½ in. (76.2 × 47 cm)
Private collection

Unknown photographer
1939 World's Fair, Four Freedoms Sculptures by Leo Friedlander, n.d.
Digital reproduction
New York World's Fair 1939–40 Records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library; Astor, Lenos and Tilden Foundations

Unknown photographer
Leo Friedlander with Four Freedoms Models, 1939
Digital reproduction
New York World's Fair 1939–40 records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library; Astor, Lenos and Tilden Foundations

Unknown photographer
Franklin D. Roosevelt leads reporters out under the trees of the family picnic grounds and with a kettle of hot dogs on the table in Hyde Park, September 11, 1939
Digital reproduction
AP Photo

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Family Home from Vacation, 1930
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 13, 1930
Oil on canvas, 40 × 32 in.
(101.6 × 81.3 cm)
The Grace Family

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
'OK' the Pause that Refreshes, 1931
Advertising illustration for Coca-Cola
Oil on canvas, 32¾ × 22 in.
(83.2 × 55.9 cm)
The Coca-Cola Company

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Brass Merchant (Bargaining with the Antiques Dealer), 1934
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 19, 1934
Oil on canvas, 34 × 28 in.
(86.4 × 71.1 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRM.1978.02

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Barbershop Quartet, 1936
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 26, 1936
Oil on canvas, 36 × 27¼ in.
(91.4 × 69.2 cm)
Mrs. Louise Holland

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Ticket Seller, 1937
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 24, 1937
Oil on canvas, 28 × 24 in.
(71.1 × 61 cm)
Private collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Marble Champion, 1939
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 2, 1939
Oil on canvas, 28 × 22 in.
(71.1 × 55.9 cm)
Private collection

J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951)
1933 Baby New Year Charting
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, December 31, 1932
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951)
1935 Baby New Year Balances the Budget
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, January 5, 1935
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951)
1940 Baby New Year Ready for War
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, December 30, 1939
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951)
1941 New Year Baby, Warring Fist
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, January 4, 1941
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951)
1942 New Year Baby, No Trespassing
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, January 3, 1942
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951)
1943 Baby New Year at War
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, January 2, 1943
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
On to Washington, August 21–30, 1935, by request of President Franklin D. Roosevelt
Poster, 42 × 27¾ in. (106.7 × 70.5 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

German Army Photographer
German Invasion of Poland, September 1, 1939
Digital reproduction
Ullstein bild via Getty Images

Hugh M. Hutton (1897–1976)
The Funeral Oration for Poland, 1939
Editorial cartoon for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 20, 1939
Lithographic crayon on paper, 18½ × 13½ in. (47 × 34.3 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Jerry Aloysius Doyle (1898–1986)
Roosevelt Favors Old Age Pensions, ca. 1935
Editorial cartoon for the *Philadelphia Record*, ca. 1935
Lithographic crayon and ink on paper, 15 × 14½ in. (38.1 × 36.8 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

William Galbraith Crawford (1894–1978)
"Be nice to him, he's about to be drafted," March 3, 1942
Editorial cartoon for NEA Service, March 1942
Lithographic crayon on paper, 10 × 8 in. (25.4 × 20.3 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Samuel Nelson Abbott (1874–1953)
The New Order: "The Children Starve, our plan succeeds—there will be Lebensraum," n.d.
Lithographic crayon on board, 15¼ × 12½ in. (38.7 × 31.8 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

First issue of *Stars and Stripes*, July 4, 1944
Newspaper, 17 × 11¼ in.
(43.2 × 28.6 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Ben Eisenstat (1920–2001)
Briquebec Normandy, June 1944
Graphite on paper, 8⅝ × 11 in.
(21.9 × 27.9 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Ben Eisenstat (1920–2001)
Place de Opera, August–September 1944
Graphite on paper, 12 × 19¼ in.
(30.5 × 48.9 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Abian A. "Wally" Wallgren (1892–1948)
A Letter from Somewhere Overseas
Ink on paper
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Unknown photographer
United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Their Advisors at the Casablanca Conference, January 1943
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Fred Eng (1917–1995)
Casablanca Portfolio: [Loading the wounded on plane], ca. 1944
Graphite, ink, and charcoal on paper, 7⅞ × 10 in. (20 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift Michael and Monica Eng; NRM.2012.4.16

Fred Eng (1917–1995)
Casablanca Portfolio: [Busy city street scene in Fr. Morocco], ca. 1944
Gouache and ink on paper, 7¾ × 9⅞ in. (20 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift Michael and Monica Eng; NRM.2012.4.4

Fred Eng (1917–1995)
Casablanca Portfolio: [Two soldiers looking at a German tank], ca. 1944
Graphite, ink, and charcoal on paper, 7⅞ × 10 in. (20 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift Michael and Monica Eng; NRM.2012.4.36

Fred Eng (1917–1995)
Casablanca Portfolio: Entrance to Native Section, Fr. Morocco, September 24, 1944
Graphite, ink, and charcoal on paper, 7⅞ × 10 in. (20 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift Michael and Monica Eng; NRM.2012.4.21

Fred Eng (1917–1995)
Casablanca Portfolio: A Street in the Mellah, Marrakech, Fr. Morocco, July 16, 1944
Graphite, ink, and charcoal on paper, 7⅞ × 10 in. (20 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift Michael and Monica Eng; NRM.2012.4.21

Fred Eng (1917–1995)
Casablanca Portfolio: [Soldier entering building ruins], ca. 1944
Graphite, ink, and gouache on paper, 7⅞ × 10 in. (20 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift Michael and Monica Eng; NRM.2012.4.42

J. Howard Miller (?–1985)
We Can Do It!, 1943
Poster illustration for Westinghouse for the War Production Co-Ordinating Committee
Digital reproduction
National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC

J. Howard Miller (?–1985)
It's a Tradition with Us, Mister!, 1943
Poster illustration for Westinghouse for the War Production Co-Ordinating Committee
Poster, 22 × 17 in. (55.9 × 43.2 cm)
James J. Kimble and Tina Potuto Kimble

Unknown photographer
"Rosie the Riveter" Naomi Parker,

March 26, 1942
Model reference for *We Can Do It!* poster by J. Howard Miller
Digital reproduction
Bettmann/Getty Images

Unknown Photographer
Mary Ann Johnson Riveting the Skin onto a Boeing Bomber, ca. 1942
Digital reproduction
The Boeing Company; Corporate Archives

Unknown Photographer
Mary Ruth Berry Working on Boeing Aircraft, ca. 1942
Digital reproduction
The Boeing Company; Corporate Archives

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Rosie the Riveter, 1943
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 29, 1943
Oil on canvas, 52 × 40 in. (132.1 × 101.6 cm)
Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, Bentonville, Arkansas; 2007.178

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Liberty Girl, 1943
Cover study for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 4, 1943
Charcoal on paper, 41 × 31 in. (104.1 × 78.7 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRM.1978.09

George Roepp
I've Found the Job Where I Fit Best!, 1943
Poster illustration for Office of War Information
Poster, 16 × 22½ in. (40.6 × 57.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985)
We'll Have Lots to Eat This Winter, Won't We Mother?, 1942
Poster illustration for Office of War Information
Poster, 24 × 18 in. (61 × 45.7 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985)
Even a Little Can Help A Lot—Now, 1942
Poster illustration for Office of War Information
Poster, 20 × 14 in. (50.8 × 35.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985)
Mother and Daughter Swimmers, 1940
Cover illustration for the *Ladies' Home Journal*, July 1940
Gouache on board, 22 × 20 in. (55.9 × 50.8 cm)
D. B. Dowd Modern Graphic History Library, Washington University in St. Louis

Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985)
Mother, Daughter, and Son, 1950
Cover illustration for the *Ladies' Home Journal*, December 1950
Gouache on board, 19¾ x 12¾ in. (50.2 x 32.4 cm)
D. B. Dowd Modern Graphic History Library, Washington University in St. Louis

Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985)
Mother and Daughter series
Cover illustrations for the *Ladies' Home Journal*
Tearsheets
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection
- *Mother and Daughter Ice Skating*, February 1939
- *Mother and Daughter Wrapping Christmas Presents*, December 1939
- *United We Stand*, July 1942
- *Mother and Daughter Changing Tire*, March 1943
- *Mother and Daughter Soldier's Homecoming*, July 1945
- *Mother, Daughter, and Baby*, September 1947

War Ration Booklet with Ration Stamps, 1943
Issued by the US Office of Price Administration
Kimble Antique Automobiles

Know Your War Planes, 1943
Published by the Coca-Cola Company
Lithograph booklet
Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich

Aircraft Spotter Dial, 1943
Promotional item for Wonder Bread, printed by Advertisers Service Division, New York
Cardboard
Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich

Fun at the Breakfast Table!, no. 31
What our country's "Best Dressed" men are wearing. Can you name all these uniforms?, n.d.
Product illustration for Wheaties
Lithograph on cardboard
Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich

Selection of Gum Trading Cards
- *Uncle Sam's HOME DEFENSE*, 1941
  Promotional illustration for Gum, Inc., Philadelphia
  Lithograph on cardboard
  Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich
- *Don't Let It Happen Over Here*, 1938
  Promotional illustration for International Chewing Co., Cambridge, Massachusetts
  Lithograph on cardboard
  Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich
- *To Know the HORRORS OF WAR Is to Want PEACE*, 1938
  Promotional illustration for Gum, Inc., Philadelphia
  Lithograph on cardboard
  Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich
- *First Column Defenders*, 1940
  Promotional illustration for Goudey Gum Co., Boston
  Lithograph on cardboard
  Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich

FDR'S FOUR FREEDOMS

Samuel I. Rosenman's draft of peroration, President's Annual Message to Congress (Four Freedoms speech), ca. 1940
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Draft of Roosevelt's annual message to Congress, January 6, 1941
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Reading copy of Roosevelt's annual message to Congress, January 6, 1941
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Freedom of Expression, of Religion, from Want, from Fear Everywhere in the World, 1941
Published by Penna Art WPA, Pennsylvania
Digital reproduction, 25½ × 20 in. (64.8 × 50.8 cm)
Work Projects Administration Poster Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Unknown photographer
President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill aboard the HMS Prince of Wales *during the Atlantic Conference in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland*, August 10, 1941
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Raymond P. R. Neilson (1881–1964)
Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill aboard the HMS Prince of Wales, *1942*
Oil on canvas, 39 × 44¾ in. (99 × 113.7 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Winston Churchill (1871–1965)
Churchill's edited copy of the final draft of the Atlantic Charter, 1941
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

The Atlantic Charter, 1943
Office of War Information, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 28 × 20 in. (71.1 × 50.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

The United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms, 1942
Cover for Office of War Information pamphlet, US Government Printing Office
Digital reproduction
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

Ansel Adams (1902–1984)
Tom Kobayashi, Landscape, South Fields, Manzanar Relocation Center, 1943
Digital reproduction
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC; LC-A351-3-M-19

Francis Stewart (1909–1992)
Gila River Relocation Center, Rivers, Arizona, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Accompanied by Dillon Myer, April 23, 1943
Digital reproduction
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

Dorothea Lange (1895–1965)
A large sign reading "I am an American" placed in the window of a store, at Eighth and Franklin Streets [Oakland, CA], on December 8, the day after Pearl Harbor, March 1942
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USZ62-23602

Unknown photographer
Labels. In enemy-occupied countries where matches are scarce, five tons of them have been circulated by methods which must remain military secrets for the present. They carry this message to every match lighter: "The Four Freedoms—

Freedom to speak, Freedom to worship, Freedom to think, Freedom from want." March 1943
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USE6-D-009080

Dr. Lucien Warner
Office of War Information memo, January 14, 1943
Digital reproduction
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Willie Gillis: Food Package, 1941
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, October 4, 1941
Oil on canvas, 50 × 38 in. (127 × 96.5 cm)
Lawrence Matteson

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Willie Gillis in Convoy, ca. 1941
Unpublished cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*
Oil on canvas, 43 × 34½ in. (109.2 × 87.6 cm)
Private collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Willie Gillis in Church, 1942
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 25, 1942
Oil on canvas, 29 × 25 in. (73.7 × 63.5 cm)
Scott M. Delman

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Willie Gillis series
Cover illustrations for the *Saturday Evening Post*
Tearsheets
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves
- *Willie Gillis Food Package*, October 4, 1941
- *Willie Gillis Home Sweet Home*, November 29, 1941
- *Willie Gillis USO*, February 7, 1942
- *Willie Gillis Hometown News*, April 11, 1942
- *What to Do in a Blackout*, June 27, 1942
- *Willie Gillis in Church*, July 25, 1942
- *Willie Gillis Double Trouble*, September 5, 1942
- *Willie Gillis Travels*, June 26, 1943
- *Willie Gillis New Year's Eve*, January 1, 1944
- *The Fighting Gillises*, September 16, 1944
- *Willie Gillis in College*, October 5, 1946

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Let's Give Him Enough and On Time, 1942
Poster illustration for United States Army
Oil on canvas, 42 × 50 in. (106.7 × 127 cm)
US Army Center of Military History, Washington, DC

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Let's Give Him Enough and On Time, 1942
United States Army, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 28 × 38 in. (71.1 × 96.5 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown photographer
Norman Rockwell with *Let's Give Him Enough and On Time*, 1942
Digital reproduction
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Refugee Thanksgiving, 1943
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 27, 1943
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Alexander Liberman (1912–1999)
United We Win, 1943
Printed by the US Government Printing Office for the War Manpower Commission
Poster, 28 × 20 in. (71.1 × 50.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

United Nations Four Freedoms Flag, 2017
Nylon, 36 × 59 in. (91.4 × 149.9 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Henry Koerner (1915–1991)
United We Are Strong, United We Win, 1943
Poster, 28 × 20 in. (71.1 × 50.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Alexey Brodovitch (1898–1971)
Libres de Miseria, 1942
Poster, 20 × 14¼ in. (50.8 × 36.2 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Gift of Adriance Memorial Library

John Atherton (1900–1952)
Libres de Temor, ca. 1939–45
Poster, 20 × 14¼ in. (50.8 × 36.2 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Gift of Adriance Memorial Library

J. Harvey Delaney
Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms ashtray, ca. 1943
Hand-carved wood with glass, metal, and plastic, 8½ × 6 × 6 in. (21.6 × 15.2 × 15.2 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Bequest of Franklin D. Roosevelt

Onorio Ruotolo (1888–1966)
Four Freedoms Award, Italian-American Labor Council, 1943
Plastic plaque mounted to wood, 34¼ × 28⅛ × 7⅞ in. (87 × 71.4 × 20 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Bequest of Franklin D. Roosevelt

"F. D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill/Atlantic Meeting, 1941," cigarette box, ca. 1941
Manufactured by T. Lawrence Falcon Ware, England
Ceramic, 2⅛ × 5½ × 3⅝ in. (5.4 × 14 × 9.2 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Amber Cigarette Holder, ca. 1945
Band inscribed *To the Father of the Four Freedoms, The Master-Builder of Glorious America and Free Humility, Alexander Isserman, FDR*
Manufactured by Comoy, London
Amber with gold band, 7¼ in. (18.4 cm); diameter ½ in. (1.3 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Bequest of Franklin D. Roosevelt

Franklin D. Roosevelt ashtray, ca. 1941
Ceramic, ⅞ × 3½ × 3½ in. (2.2 × 8.9 × 8.9 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Winston Churchill ashtray, ca. 1941
Ceramic, ⅞ × 3½ × 3½ in. (2.2 × 8.9 × 8.9 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Julio Kilenyi (1885–1959)
Four Freedoms Victory/Franklin Roosevelt medal, ca. 1944
Manufactured by Robbins Medallic Guild, Attleboro, Massachusetts
14-karat gold, diameter 1½ in. (3.8 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League medallion, 1948
Sterling silver, 3⅝ × 2¾ × ⅜ in. (9.2 × 7 × 1 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Atlantic Charter medallion, 1941
Silver over bronze, ⅜ in. (1 cm); diameter 3 in. (7.6 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

United Nations medallion, 1948
Silver, ¼ in. (0.6 cm); diameter 2⅛ in. (5.4 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

David Karp (1905–1967)
The Voice of the Four Freedoms, 1944
Published by Freedom Distributors, New York
Poster, 14 × 11 in. (35.6 × 27.9 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Bequest of the Estate of Franklin D. Roosevelt

1944 Roosevelt Presidential campaign sticker
Paper and adhesive, diameter 1¼ in. (3.2 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Gift of John Vargo

Daniel Stern
Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms, 1942
Poster, 16 × 20 in. (40.6 × 50.8 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Received through exchange from H. E. Walden

Arnold Machin (1911–1999)
Franklin D. Roosevelt cameo mug, 1942
Manufactured by Wedgwood, Barlaston, England
Ceramic, 4¼ × 4¾ × 3¾ in. (10.8 × 12.1 × 9.5 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Gift of the Mayborn Museum

The Four Freedoms postage stamps, first day cover, 1943
Printed envelope, 3⅝ × 6½ in. (9.2 × 16.5 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Gift of Arthur Freed

Toward United Nations April 25, 1945, five-cent stamp, first day of

issue, 1945
Printed envelope, 3⅜ × 6½ in.
(8.6 × 16.5 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

US #933 5¢ *FDR and Four Freedoms* postage stamp block, 1946
Postage stamp, 2 × 3 in.
(5.1 × 7.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of Henry H. Williams

ARTISTIC RESPONSE

Thomas Lea (1907–2001)
Marines Call It That 2,000 Yard Stare, 1945
Illustration for "Pelilieu: Tom Lea Paints Island Invasion," *Life*, June 11, 1945, p. 65
Oil on canvas, 36 × 28 in.
(91.4 × 71.1 cm)
Life Collection of Art WWII, US Army Center of Military History, Fort Belvoir, Virginia

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
So You Want to See the President!, 1943
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 13, 1943, pp. 10–11
Tearsheets
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
A Night on a Troop Train, 1943
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 8, 1943, pp. 22–23
Tearsheets
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Tattoo Artist, ca. 1944
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 4, 1944
Oil on canvas, 43 × 33 in.
(109 × 83.8 cm)
Brooklyn Museum; Gift of the artist, 69.8

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Man Charting War Maneuvers, ca. 1944
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 29, 1944
Oil on canvas, 35 × 33
(88.9 × 83.8 cm)
Private collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
War News, ca. 1944
Intended illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*
Oil on canvas, 41¼ × 40½ in.
(104.8 ×102.9 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRM.1976.02

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Norman Rockwell Visits a Ration Board, 1944
Study illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 15, 1944 , pp. 22–23
Oil on board, 28 × 45 in.
(71.1 × 114.3 cm)
Private collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Waiting for Their Turn to Be Heard, 1944
Story illustration for *Norman Rockwell Visits a Ration Board*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 15, 1944, p.22
Pencil on paper, 5¾ × 4½ in.
(14.6 × 11.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of Harry S. Forrest; NRM.2017.11

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Norman Rockwell Visits a Ration Board, 1944
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 15, 1944, pp. 22–23
Tearsheets
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Thanksgiving: Mother and Son Peeling Potatoes, 1945
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 24, 1945
Oil on canvas, 35 × 33½ in.
(88.9 × 85.1 cm)
Lent courtesy of American Legion Post 193, Winchendon, Massachusetts

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Back to Civvies, 1945
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, December 15, 1945
Oil on canvas, 39½ × 30 in.
(100.3 × 76.2 cm)
Anonymous

Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980)
Paratrooper, 1942
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 12, 1942
Oil on canvas, 43 × 34 in.
(109.2 × 86.4 cm)
United Services Automobile Association (USAA), San Antonio

Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980)
Medical Corps, 1944
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 6, 1944
Oil on canvas, 43 × 34 in.
(109.2 × 86.4 cm)
United Services Automobile Association (USAA), San Antonio

Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980)
Naval Lookout, 1942
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 7, 1942
Oil on canvas, 43 × 34 in.
(109.2 × 86.4 cm)
United Services Automobile Association (USAA), San Antonio

Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980)
Flight Controller on Aircraft Carrier, 1943
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, June 12, 1943
Oil on canvas, 43 × 34 in.
(109.2 × 86.4 cm)
United Services Automobile Association (USAA), San Antonio

Martha Sawyers (1902–1988)
United China Relief, ca. 1944
Poster illustration for the United China Relief Foundations
Gouache on board, 32 × 26 in.
(81.3 × 66 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Martha Sawyers (1902–1988)
United China Relief, ca. 1944
United China Relief Foundations, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 50½ × 41½ in.
(128.3 × 105.4 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Boris Artzybasheff (1899–1965)
Heinrich Himmler, Nazi Gestapo Chief (1936–1945), 1943
Cover illustration for *Time*, October 11, 1943
Gouache on board, 10⅝ × 9½ in.
(27 × 24.1 cm)
Syracuse University Art Collection

Boris Artzybasheff (1899–1965)
Witches' Sabbath, 1942
Illustration for *Life*, September 14, 1942, p. 11
Gouache on board, 14¼ × 27 in.
(36.2 × 68.6 cm)
Syracuse University Art Collection

Boris Artzybasheff (1899–1965)
Speaking of Pictures . . . Swastikas Make Ghoulish Symbols, 1942
Life, September 14, 1942, pp. 10–11
Magazine
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Boris Artzybasheff (1899–1965)
Adolf Hitler, German Chancellor and Fuhrer, 1945
Cover illustration for *Time*, May 7, 1945
Gouache on board, 10½ × 9½ in.
(26.7 × 24.1 cm)
Syracuse University Art Collection
Boris Artzybasheff (1899–1965)
Emperor Hirohito of Japan, 1945
Cover illustration for *Time*, May 21, 1945
Gouache on board, 10⅝ × 9½ in.
(27 × 24.1 cm)
Syracuse University Art Collection

John Falter (1910–1982)
By His Deeds . . . Measure Yours, ca. 1942
Illustration for *Coronet*, January 1943, p. 96
Oil on canvas, 20⅝ × 43⅛ in.
(52.4 × 109.5 cm)
Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln; 10645-4423

John Falter (1910–1982)
By His Deeds . . . Measure Yours, ca. 1942
Illustration for *Coronet*, January 1943, p. 96
Magazine
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Valentino Sarra (1903–1982)
Give 'em the Stuff to Fight With . . ., 1942
Office of War Information, Office of Facts and Figures, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 44 × 32 in. (111.8 × 81.3 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Wesley Heyman (1918?–2002)
. . . Because Somebody Talked!, 1944
Office of War Information, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 28 × 20 in. (71.1 × 50.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Anton Otto Fischer (1882–1962)
A Careless Word . . . A Needless Loss, 1944
Office of War Information, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 28 × 22 in. (71.1 × 55.9 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Allen Saalburg (1899–1987)
Remember Dec. 7th!, 1942
Office of War Information, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 28 × 22 in. (71.1 × 55.9 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

John Falter (1910–1982)
Give 'em the Stuff to Fight With . . . , Fight for Freedom!, 1942
Office of Facts and Figures, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 29 × 40 in. (73.7 × 101.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Zudor
More Production. USA., 1942
War Production Board, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 40 × 29 in. (101.6 × 73.7 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Ben Shahn (1898–1969)
We French Workers Warn You . . . Defeat Means Slavery, Starvation, Death, 1942
War Production Board, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 28½ × 40 in. (72.4 × 101.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Ben Shahn (1898–1969)
This Is Nazi Brutality, 1942
Office of War Information, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 38 × 28½ in. (96.5 × 72.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown Artist
Yudan Taiteki [Overconfidence can be a great enemy], ca. 1942
Poster, 20 × 15 in. (50.8 × 38.1 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Gino Boccasile (1901–1952)
La Germania è Veramente Vostra Amica [Germany is truly your friend], 1944
Poster, 55 × 39 in. (139.7 × 99 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Theo Matejeko (1893–1946)
Achtung Spione—Vorsicht bei Gesprächen! [Attention spies—Beware of conversations!], 1939
Poster, 37⅝ × 27⅞ in. (95.6 × 70.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Arthur Szyk (1894–1951)
The Four Freedoms, ca. 1940s
Issued by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, 25 West 45th Street, New York
Sheet of stamps
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Arthur Szyk (1894–1951)
Arsenal of Democracy II, 1942.
Pen, ink and graphite on paper
Raziel Ungar, California

Alfred T. Palmer (1906–1993)
Four Freedoms and Arsenal of Democracy Installation by Jean Carlu, February 1942
Digital reproduction
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC; LC-USE6-D-004848

John Collier (1913–1992) or Gordon Parks (1912–2006)
Textile designed and sold by Jay Thorpe, printed with motifs symbolizing the Four Freedoms, 1943
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC- USW3- 023559-C

John Collier (1913–1992) or Gordon Parks (1912–2006)
Textile designed and sold by Jay Thorpe, printed with motifs symbolizing the Four Freedoms, 1943
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USW3- 021102-C

David Torke
Four Freedoms Monument, Buffalo, New York, November 23, 2008
Digital reproduction
Collection of the photographer

Lance Taylor
Four Freedoms Monument, Madison, Florida, March 30, 2010
Digital reproduction
Photographs of Historic Architecture in the United States, Special Collections and Archives, Thomas G. Carpenter Library, University of North Florida, Jacksonville

Gordon Parks (1912–2006)
Portrait of Langston Hughes, 1943
Digital reproduction
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, LC-USW3-033841-C

The Life of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1943
Published by Office of War Information
Booklet, 10½ × 8 in. (26.7 × 20.3 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Scott Faron
Letter to Norman Rockwell, re: *Four Freedoms Symphony*, September 10, 1943
Typewritten letter on *Saturday Evening Post* letterhead
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; RC.2007.18.1.67d

The Four Freedoms by Steffi Nossen's Teen-Age Dance Workshop, 1944
Promotional flyer, 9 × 6 in. (22.9 × 15.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Frederic Stanley (1892–1967)
What Did You Do Today . . . for Freedom?, 1943
Advertising illustration for Magazine Publishers of America, the *American Home*, March 1943
Magazine
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown artist
Freedom of Choice, ca. 1944
Advertising illustration for General Electric, in *Farm Journal and Farmer's Wife*, April 1944, p. 52
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown artist
Buy War Bonds, 1943
Advertisement for B. Altman, New York, *Vogue*, September 15, 1943, p. 7
Magazine
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown artist
Freedom from Aggression, 1942
Advertising illustration for Pan American World Airways System, *Life*, September 21, 1942, pp. 54–55
Magazine
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

NORMAN ROCKWELL'S FOUR FREEDOMS

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Freedom of Speech, 1942
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943
Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.021

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Freedom of Worship, 1942
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 27, 1943
Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.023

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Freedom from Want, 1942
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943
Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.022

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Freedom from Fear, 1942
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 13, 1943
Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.020

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Save Freedom of Worship, Buy War Bonds, 1943
Poster illustration from the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 27, 1943, Office of War Information, Washington, DC
Poster, 59 × 35½ in. (149.9 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Save Freedom of Speech, Buy War Bonds, 1943
Poster illustration from the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943, Office of War Information, Washington, DC
Poster, 59 × 35½ in. (149.9 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
OURS . . . to Fight for, Freedom from Want, 1943
Poster illustration from the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943, Office of War Information, Washington, DC
Poster, 59 × 35½ in. (149.9 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
OURS . . . to fight for, Freedom from Fear, 1943
Poster illustration from the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 13, 1943, Office of War Information, Washington, DC
Poster, 59 × 35½ in. (149.9 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown photographer
Norman Rockwell standing in front of his painting Freedom of Speech at Hecht's Department Store, Washington, DC, inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Tour, 1943
Photograph, 8 × 10 in. (20.3 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown photographer
Norman Rockwell interacting with fans at Hecht's Department Store, Washington, DC, inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Tour, 1943
Photograph, 8 × 10 in.
(20.3 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown photographer
Norman Rockwell signing Four Freedom prints at Hecht's Department Store, Washington, DC, inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Tour, 1943
Photograph, 8 × 10 in.
(20.3 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown photographer
Norman Rockwell speaking at Hecht's Department Store, Washington, DC, inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Tour, 1943
Photograph, 10 × 8 in.
(25.4 × 20.3 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown photographer
Norman Rockwell interacting with fans at Hecht's Department Store, Washington, DC, inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Tour, 1943
Photograph, 8 × 10 in.
(20.3 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Town Meeting, 1942
Study for *Freedom of Speech*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943
Oil on board, 22 × 17 in.
(55.9 × 43.2 cm)
Anonymous

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Freedom of Speech, 1942
Study for *Freedom of Speech*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943
Oil on board, 21¼ × 17¼ in.
(54 × 43.8 cm)
Lent by the Metropolitan Museum of Art; George A. Hearn Fund, 1952 (52.164)

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
My Studio Burns, 1943
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 17, 1943, p. 11
Charcoal and gouache on paper, 21½ × 17 in. (54.6 × 43.2 cm)
Private collection

T. C. Upham
Letter to Norman Rockwell re: *Freedom of Worship*, February 25, 1943
Typewritten letter on the Cape Theatre letterhead, 11 × 8½ in.
(27.9 × 21.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Roderick Stephens
Letter to Norman Rockwell re: Paintings to address interracial relations with the power of the *Four Freedoms*, July 12, 1943
Typewritten two-page letter on Bronx Inter-Racial Conference letterhead, 11 × 8½ in. (27.9 × 21.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Richard Morrison
Letter to Norman Rockwell re: *Freedom of Speech*, February 20, 1943
Handwritten letter on US Army Air Corps, Maxwell Field, Alabama, letterhead, 10½ × 7¼ in.
(26.7 × 18.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Carlton F. Wells
Letter to Norman Rockwell re: the *Four Freedoms*, February 28, 1943
Handwritten letter on University Club letterhead, 10½ × 7¼ in.
(26.7 × 18.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Walt Disney (1901–1966)
Letter to Rockwell re: the *Four Freedoms*, May 21, 1943
Typewritten letter on Walt Disney letterhead, 11 × 8½ in.
(27.9 × 21.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

U.S. Treasury Department and Saturday Evening Post *War Bond Show*, 1943
Pamphlet for the Four Freedoms War Bond Show sponsored by Wm. Filene's Sons, Boston, 9 × 6 in.
(22.9 × 15.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of John F. Butler

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
U.S. War Savings Bond Four Freedoms Commemorative Cover, 1943
Offset print on paper, 8 × 4½ in.
(20.3 × 11.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

The Four Freedoms—Norman Rockwell, 1943
Bound hardcover book containing five *Saturday Evening Post* magazines, February 13–March 13, 1943, with presentation box, 14 × 11 in.
(35.6 × 27.9 cm) (closed)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of Carmen O. Smith, RC.2015.4

Freedom of Speech, the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943, pp. 12–13
Magazine, 13¾ × 21 in.
(34.9 × 53.3 cm) (open)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

Freedom of Worship, the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 27, 1943, pp. 12–13
Magazine, 13¾ × 21 in.
(34.9 × 53.3 cm) (open)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

Freedom from Want, the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943, pp. 12–13
Magazine, 13¾ × 21 in.
(34.9 × 53.3 cm) (open)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

Freedom from Fear, the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 13, 1943, pp. 12–13
Magazine, 13¾ × 21 in.
(34.9 × 53.3 cm) (open)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

Jacket worn by model Carl Hess in *Freedom of Speech*
Suede and cotton
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of Ms. Anne Pelham, RC.2002.15

FREEDOM'S LEGACY

Presidential Medal of Freedom
Presented by President Gerald Ford to Norman Rockwell; accepted by Jarvis Rockwell III on behalf of his father, January 10, 1977
Gold and enamel, 2 × 2 in.
(5.1 × 5.1 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of Jarvis, Thomas, and Peter Rockwell, RC.1986.4b

Presidential Medal of Freedom Certificate
Presented by President Gerald Ford to Norman Rockwell; accepted by Jarvis Rockwell III on behalf of his father, January 10, 1977
Printed document, 14¼ × 17¼ in.
(36.2 × 43.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; ST.1976.0580.1

Unknown photographer
Eleanor Roosevelt and the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Lake Success, New York, November 1949
Digital reproduction
National Archives and Records Service, Washington, DC; Office of Presidential Libraries, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

Eleanor Roosevelt medallion, 1946
Bronze, ⅜ in. (1 cm); diameter 3¼ in.
(8.3 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Carolyn Palmer
Portrait bust of Franklin D. Roosevelt
Bronze, 32 × 19 × 10½ in.
(81.3 × 48.3 × 26.7 cm)
New-York Historical Society

Carolyn Palmer
Portrait bust of Eleanor Roosevelt
Bronze, 31 × 18 × 12½ in.
(78.7 × 45.7 × 31.8 cm)
New-York Historical Society

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
United Nations, 1953
Unpublished study
Graphite and charcoal on paper, 27¼ × 73½ in. (69.2 × 186.7 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.113

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Golden Rule, 1961
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 1, 1961
Oil on canvas, 44½ × 39½ in.
(113 × 100.3 cm).
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.010

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Notes for the *Golden Rule*, ca. 1961
Typewritten document, 11 × 8½ in.
(27.9 × 21.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Lincoln for the Defense, ca. 1962
Illustration for "Mr. Lincoln for the Defense" by Elisa Bialk, the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 10, 1962, p. 25
Oil on canvas, 49¾ × 17½ in.
(126.4 × 44.5 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection, NRACT.1973.077

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
The Problem We All Live With, 1963
Illustration for *Look*, January 14, 1964, pp. 22–23
Oil on canvas, 36 × 58 in.
(91.4 × 147.3 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRM.1975.01

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Portrait of Lynda Gunn, 1963
Study for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964, pp. 22–23
Oil on board, 11 × 10½ in.
(27.9 × 26.7 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1976.29

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Portraits of Model Lynda Gunn, 1963
Studies for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964, pp. 22–23
Pencil and charcoal on paper, 7¼ × 5 in. (18.4 × 12.7 cm); 13 × 11¾ in. (33 × 29.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; from Lynda Gunn, Norman Rockwell model for *The Problem We All Live With*, NRM.2016.03.1

Dress worn by model Lynda Gunn in *The Problem We All Live With*
White cotton
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; from Lynda Gunn, Norman Rockwell model for *The Problem We All Live With*, NRM.2016.03.2

Louie Lamone (1918–2007)
[Pigtail detail], 1963
Reference photo for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964
Photograph, 10 × 8 in.
(25.4 × 20.3 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Louie Lamone (1918–2007)
[Lynda Gunn as model for Ruby Bridges], 1963
Reference photo for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964
Photograph, 10 × 8 in.
(25.4 × 20.3 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Louie Lamone (1918–2007)
[Three different girls model for painting], 1963
Reference photos for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964
Photographs, 10 × 8 in.
(25.4 × 20.3 cm); 6½ × 3¼ in.
(16.5 × 8.3 cm); 13½ × 6 in.
(34.3 × 15.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Louie Lamone (1918–2007)
[Unknown model as US marshal], 1963
Reference photo for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964
Photograph, 5 × 4 in.
(12.7 × 10.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Louie Lamone (1918–2007)
[Norman Rockwell as model for US marshal], 1963
Reference photo for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964
Digital reproduction
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Louie Lamone (1918–2007)
[Tomato splatter against wall], 1963
Reference photo for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964
Photograph, 8 × 10 in.
(20.3 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Murder in Mississippi, 1965
Unpublished illustration for *Look*
Oil on canvas, 42 × 35 in.
(106.7 × 88.9 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRM.1978.07

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Murder in Mississippi, 1965
Illustration for "Southern Justice" by Charles Morgan Jr., *Look*, June 29, 1965
Oil on board, 16⅛ × 12¾ in.
(41 × 32.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.079

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
JFK's Legacy. The Peace Corps, 1966
Cover illustration for *Look*, June 14, 1966
Oil on canvas, 45½ × 36½ in.
(115.6 × 92.7 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.083

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Blood Brothers, 1968
Unpublished study illustration for *Look*
Oil on board, 10½ × 21½ in.
(26.7 × 54.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1976.16

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Blood Brothers, 1968
Unpublished study illustration for *Look*
Oil on board, 10 × 20 in.
(25.4 × 50.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRM.1976.17

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
The Right to Know, 1968
Illustration for *Look*, August 20, 1968, pp. 48–49
Oil on canvas, 29 × 54 in.
(73.7 × 137.2 cm)
Private collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
The Right to Know, 1968
Study illustration for *Look*, August 20, 1968, pp. 48–49
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Private collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
An Uneasy Christmas in the Birthplace of Peace, 1970
Illustration for *Look*, December 28, 1970, pp. 18–19
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Four Freedoms Park, Roosevelt Island, New York, scale model, 2009
Mixed media, 50 × 51 × 26 in.
(127 × 129.5 × 66 cm)
Four Freedoms Park Conservancy

Andre Jenny
Evansville, IN, Four Freedoms Bicentennial Monument, Riverfront Park, Evening, 2008
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★Page 2: Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom of Worship*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 27, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

★Page 3: Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom from Want*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

★Page 4: Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom from Fear*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 13, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

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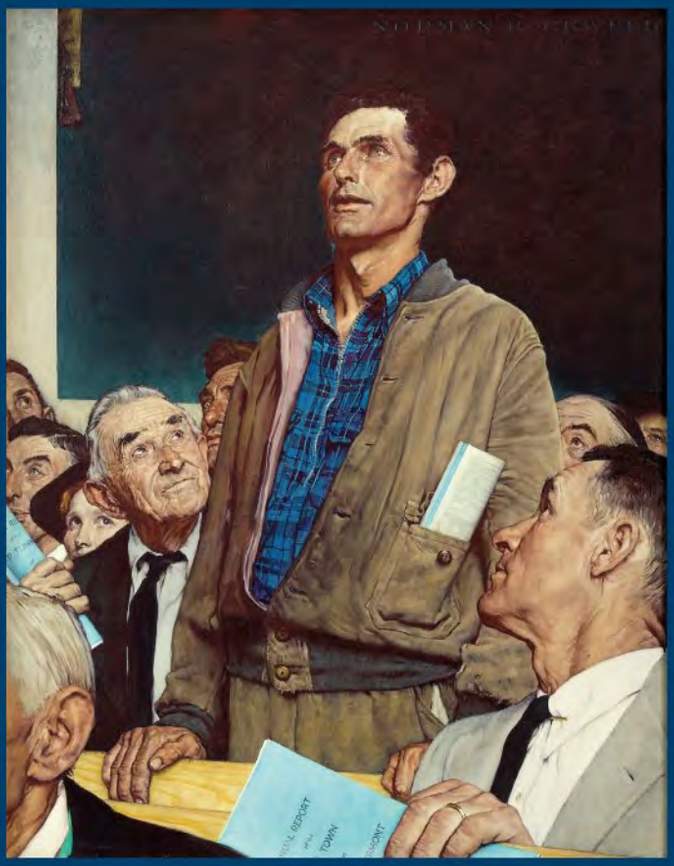
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★Norman Rockwell, *Freedom from Fear*, 1942

NORMAN ROCKWELL MUSEUM

ENDURING IDEALS

ROCKWELL, ROOSEVELT & THE FOUR FREEDOMS

EXHIBITION CO-CURATED BY

STEPHANIE HABOUSH PLUNKETT

& JAMES J. KIMBLE



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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A comprehensive resource relating to Norman Rockwell and the art of illustration, American visual culture, and the role of published imagery in society, Norman Rockwell Museum is honored to present *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms.*

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We are grateful to our Reimagining the Four Freedoms jurors, whose selection of contemporary works greatly enhances the exhibition, including Liza Donnelly, Wendy Tarlow Kaplan, Anita Kunz, Robyn Phillips-Pendleton, Maurice Pops Peterson, Chuck Pyle, Melanie Reim, John Wetenhall, and Setsuko Sato Winchester. Works by Benny Alaga, Stephanie Angelo, Brandin Barón, Curt Belshe, James Berson, James Billeaudeau, Gary Bist, Barbara Brandel, Celine Browning, Jarret Christian, Erin Currier, John Dempsey, Sarah Dilliplane, Candace Eaton, Daniella Edstrom, Jane Feldman, Sarah Fukami, Marcia Haffmans, Bri Hermanson, Chris Hopkins, Sarah Hoskins, Felice House, Esther Iverem; Kenneth Laird, Lisa Long, Jonathan Monaghan, Tim Needles, Deborah Samia, Kathryn Scott, Robert Selby, Andreanna Seymore, Soody Sharifi, Leslie Sills, Fazilat Soukhakian, Carrie Vik, Amy Wike, and Peter Zeirlein presented viewpoints on the continued relevance of freedom today.

Thanks also to Norman Rockwell Museum Director/CEO Laurie Norton Moffatt and the Board of Trustees for their ongoing support; to Linda Pero for her foundational work; and to our talented curatorial and digital learning staff, who skillfully and enthusiastically managed the many details of this comprehensive traveling exhibition, including Rich Bradway, Martin Mahoney, Barbara Rundback, Mary Melius, Thomas Mesquita, Joseph Tonetti, and Venus Van Ness. Appreciation also goes to Jana Purdy and Four Freedoms team members Jill Gellert, Margit Hotchkiss, Jeremy Clowe, Ellen Mazzer, Debbie Greene, Bailey Girvan, Dan Heck, Tom Daly, Patrick O'Donnell,

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Last, but certainly not least, we greatly appreciate the opportunity to collaborate with our museum partners, who are sharing the essential messages in *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms* with visitors to their outstanding institutions.

Stephanie Haboush Plunkett, Co-curator and Deputy Director/Chief Curator, Norman Rockwell Museum

James J. Kimble, Co-curator and Associate Professor of Communication and the Arts, Seton Hall University

EXHIBITION VENUES

NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
May 25, 2018–September 2, 2018

THE HENRY FORD, DEARBORN, MICHIGAN
October 13, 2018–January 13, 2019

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
AND THE TEXTILE MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, DC
February 9, 2019–May 6, 2019

MÉMORIAL DE CAEN, NORMANDY, FRANCE
June 4, 2019–October 27, 2019

THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, HOUSTON
December 15, 2019–March 22, 2020

DENVER ART MUSEUM
July 4, 2020–September 20, 2020

NORMAN ROCKWELL MUSEUM,
STOCKBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
Fall 2020

★Denotes item that appears in the *Enduring Ideals* exhibition.

DIRECTORS' STATEMENTS

Shortly before the blur of the 2017 holiday season, New-York Historical Society presented a riveting—and elevating—conversation between "patriotic philanthropist" David Rubenstein and legendary journalist Tom Brokaw. Mr. Brokaw, of course, originated the phrase *The Greatest Generation*, making it the title of his extraordinary 1998 book reflecting on the generation that helped the United States and its allies win World War II. It is hard not to think about the power and significance of that phrase as we, at New-York Historical, anticipate the opening of *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms*. On view in our galleries will be abundant evidence of why the greatest generation made such extraordinary sacrifices in the name of the Four Freedoms articulated by Franklin Delano Roosevelt and illustrated by Norman Rockwell—and why the concerns, challenges, and triumphs of the World War II era should continue to motivate us today.

Louise Mirrer, PhD
President and CEO, New-York Historical Society

The mission of the Henry Ford is to provide unique educational experiences based on authentic objects, stories, and lives from America's traditions of ingenuity, resourcefulness, and innovation. Our purpose is to inspire people to learn from these traditions to help shape a better future. *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms* is the perfect exhibition for our institution to host in the Henry Ford Museum of American Innovation, as it depicts the power of artistic expression and political speech to provoke thought among broad audiences about the world in which we live, our common humanity, and our shared aspirations.

Patricia E. Mooradian
President and CEO, The Henry Ford

Just two miles from the United States Capitol and five city blocks from the White House, the George Washington University Museum will be hosting both an exhibition of iconic images of American art and a dialogue about the core freedoms that inform our nation's values. Our academic community—including GW's Columbian College of Arts and Sciences; Elliott School of International Affairs; Schools of Law, Business, and Medicine, as well as Media and Public Affairs; and the Corcoran School of the Arts and Design, among others—welcomes this exhibition as a focal point for discourse to probe current realities surrounding freedom of religion and speech, as well as freedom from fear and want. In a city of public policy, filled with embassies, universities, think tanks, and cultural treasures, we hope that our small museum can provide a catalyst for a civilized, civic exploration of American ideals, embodied and preserved for generations in the powerful imagery of Norman Rockwell's greatest works.

John Wetenhall, PhD
Director, The George Washington
University Museum and The Textile Museum

This exhibition will be shown at the Mémorial de Caen, in Normandy, France, for the commemorations of the seventy-fifth anniversary of D-Day and the Battle of Normandy, which were the real prelude to the liberation of Western Europe. The United States played an essential role in saving our liberty and our fundamental values. Norman Rockwell achieved his work in that spirit, and he was one of the artists who were committed to democracy's side. He obviously has a place at the Mémorial de Caen on that special occasion.

Stéphane Grimaldi
CEO, Mémorial de Caen, Mémorial de Falaise,
and Arromanches 360°

The Great Depression and the Second World War prompted economic, social, and political challenges and change unseen in the United States since the Civil War. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's evolving responses to the threat of social discord and political instability centered on unifying messages of reassurance and confidence that America's work ethic and moral values would triumph over adversity and evil. The concepts epitomized as the Four Freedoms in FDR's January 6, 1941, address to Congress have lodged in the American psyche as essential components of our national character, memorialized in Norman Rockwell's iconic visualizations. The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, is delighted to make these works, which rank with the Statue of Liberty and Emanuel Leutze's *Washington Crossing the Delaware* as icons of American identity, available to our community. As always, we are indebted to our museum staff as well as to the exhibition organizer, the Norman Rockwell Museum.

Gary Tinterow
The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston

It has been on the wish list of the Denver Art Museum for quite a while to take a fresh look at Norman Rockwell's iconic and beloved paintings—unquestionable icons of the American twentieth century. Masterworks, they were executed by an artist who is as beloved by a broad public as misunderstood, even detested, by opinion leaders in the art world. When we heard about the Four Freedoms tour we knew immediately we wanted to bring this exhibition to our community. It was always clear that Rockwell was an amazingly skillful illustrator who had a loving relationship with his audience. But in *Enduring Ideals*, Norman Rockwell enters the stage as an extraordinary talent—not only in the context of American history, but universally—standing in defense of human rights, respect, and tolerance.

Christoph Heinrich
Frederick and Jan Mayer Director
Denver Art Museum

FINDING COMMON GROUND

LAURIE NORTON MOFFATT
DIRECTOR/CEO,
NORMAN ROCKWELL MUSEUM

As public dialogue becomes increasingly discordant and polarized—intensified and broadcast by the unfiltered echo chamber of social media; as income inequality becomes ever more extreme; and as the free press is subjected to continual attack, the very notions of the common good and of civic engagement and civil discourse—all central to Norman Rockwell's work—are called into question. Are they still relevant as organizing principles of civil society, or have they joined the mores of a bygone era?

The United States of America was founded upon passionately held beliefs and contentious issues, ranging from religious freedom to the rejection of taxation without representation and from individual liberty to the pursuit of wealth. The nation was shaped by both the Greek and Roman ideals of sovereignty by the people and a colonizing philosophy derived from an assumption of European entitlement that allowed for slavery and the appropriation of land from indigenous peoples. These are not foundational premises of harmony and accord.

Indeed, the establishment of founding principles for the new nation was fraught with controversy and discord. The Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution, and the Bill of Rights were the products of fierce intellectual debate by our nation's founding fathers. Can the United States of today truly come together in common cause? Are there binding principles or beliefs around which a majority of people can agree—or is this simply an idealistic notion of a peaceable kingdom? Is respectful discourse with the free expression of ideas merely a utopian ideal framed in the Bill of Rights?

Civic engagement, thoughtful discourse, listening, tolerance, and a sense of community, whether on the local or national level, are themes that Rockwell turns to again and again in his artworks. He does so explicitly in his painting of the Golden Rule: Do unto others as you would have them do unto you. In this aspirational image (p. 22), peoples of many religions, races, and ethnicities dwell together in harmony, bound by the fundamental premise of universal humanity. Rockwell painted here what I believe was his personal philosophy of love for all peoples as a single, common entity.

How did he come to portray the ideals of universal human goodness? It started with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's rhetoric describing four essential freedoms.

President Roosevelt was confronted simultaneously with the domestic crisis of the Great Depression and the urgency to go to war to defend the country's ally nations and secure freedom around the globe. Mobilizing Americans behind a war on foreign soil while they were struggling to recover not only from the Depression but also from World War I was among the greatest challenges of his presidency.

★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Town Meeting*, 1942. Study for *Freedom of Speech*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943. Oil on board, 22 × 17 in. (55.9 × 43.2 cm). Anonymous.

In striving to put forth a set of values that Americans could rally around, Roosevelt articulated four universal freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—as rights that everyone, everywhere, should enjoy. While the first two of these rights are embedded in the US Constitution's Bill of Rights, the other two were among the goals of the president's visionary and controversial New Deal, intended to provide a social safety net for Americans through Social Security and other government-supported programs. They remain widely debated even today.

Roosevelt and his administration had a difficult time garnering attention and support for the Four Freedoms. FDR appealed to artists to give them visual form, hoping to create a compelling narrative of the necessity of America's entrance into the war. Few of these efforts resonated with the public, however. In the meantime, Rockwell, wanting to support the war effort (and perhaps also spurred by regret that he had been too young to contribute to the World War I poster campaign organized by the Society of Illustrators), retreated to his studio in the tightly knit New England community of Arlington, Vermont, to ponder how to visually communicate the "big idea" of freedom. After much introspection, he decided to express these enduring ideals through familiar genre scenes of everyday community and domestic life, his common and universally beloved subjects.

The *Four Freedoms* paintings (pp. 1–4) are persuasive expressions of Rockwell's ideals of respect, courtesy, tolerance, generosity, caring, and community, and they helped Americans find common ground at a time of world peril. The paintings were not only an immediate success, reaping public support for the war effort and claiming their place among the most indelible images in the history of American art, but they were also a turning point for Rockwell himself, who thereafter remained attuned to calls for social justice. Over the next two decades, he aspired to tackle big ideas, creating such images as the drawing of the United Nations (whose founding charter was framed around the Four Freedoms); *Golden Rule*, which graced a cover of the *Saturday Evening Post*; and three powerful paintings, commissioned by *Look* magazine, documenting the civil rights movement, when the United States faced head-on the climb toward freedom and equality for all.

The United States was and is imperfect, and Rockwell was aware that many Americans did not enjoy the freedoms he attempted to illuminate. His enduring ideals, expressed in the *Four Freedoms*, were a call to do better at home and across the world. These ideals awakened in Rockwell a desire to use his artist's voice to seek justice for all people. Can these paintings once again remind us of what it means to be American—to be generous, inclusive, kind, respectful, forgiving, nurturing, brave, and virtuous? Will these paintings inspire the United States and the world to a return to the ideals of civic virtue, civic engagement, and civility?

Or is it unrealistic to think that these images can bring a sense of common purpose and unity to a nation fiercely divided over notions of human rights and social justice, and engaged in a drama played out in the increasingly angry national debate over immigration, race relations, taxation, health care, education, stewardship of the environment, and America's diplomatic role in the world?

Norman Rockwell came to know the power of his artistic voice through the *Four Freedoms* paintings. He became an artist-activist in the second half of his life, using his position as an elder statesman and plying his brush and canvas to advocate for human rights. His artworks may speak to us more powerfully today than at any time since their creation.

Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms will bring the images that rallied Americans to the defense of freedom to a broad public in the United States and, on the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Allied D-Day landings, in France. It is my hope that Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* and his other powerful artworks advocating for generosity and equality will once again inspire people to join in common cause for greater public good.



Troops of Company E, Sixteenth Infantry, First Infantry Division, disembark from an LCVP (Landing Craft Vehicle Personnel) from the US Coast Guard–manned USS *Samuel Chase* and wade onto the Fox Green section of Omaha Beach, Normandy, France, on D-Day, June 6, 1944. Photograph by Chief Photographer's Mate Robert F. Sargent. National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

NORMAN ROCKWELL: THE PEOPLE'S PAINTER

STÉPHANE GRIMALDI
CEO, MÉMORIAL DE CAEN, MÉMORIAL DE FALAISE, AND ARROMANCHES 360°

Who could fail to be touched and charmed by the paintings of Norman Rockwell? Here is an artist who makes us happy by transporting us to a world that seems somehow better than the present one—even though we know it is out of date.

Looking at his paintings, I have always been thrilled to discover the many details the artist so meticulously includes, as an anthropologist would: here a garment that is now out of fashion, there a common object that is no longer used, a job that has become irrelevant, an attitude or expression that one no longer sees.

Obviously, Norman Rockwell makes us feel nostalgic.

Beyond nostalgia, however, Rockwell is popular because of his deep love for his fellow human beings. He observes them with kindness and indulgence, two qualities that have come to seem rare in the twenty-first century.

Deeply connected to his home environment and to the neighbors who became his models, Rockwell drew and painted his attachment to America and Americans.

Thanks to his talent and his open nature, Rockwell came to represent the United States and its citizens, first portraying a happy and carefree country, and then, with his darker paintings of the 1960s, an America tormented by such demons as racism and the Vietnam War.

Rockwell's work is precise and yet subtle, remaining fluid and consistent throughout his long career. And his art is loved—truly loved—by people in all parts of the world.

Each painting tells a story, and each story reflects the evolution of American society. The stories in Rockwell's paintings, despite the anecdotal qualities that make them so accessible, are in fact important testimonials.

Throughout his work, Rockwell can be grave, even deliberative, although he never gives the irritating impression of teaching lessons. The messages in his canvases are subtle and elegant. He shows without accusing, reveals without destroying.

The 1963 painting *The Problem We All Live With* (p. 184) is, in my opinion, the best example of this. No other painting from that time better portrays the isolation of the child at its center, so dignified in her immaculate white dress, protected by the law and its representatives but harangued by an unseen mob. The venom of the mob is symbolized by the tomatoes smashed against the wall—spattered like blood. It is an ugly scene, but Rockwell's portrayal transcends the ugliness.

It was certainly Rockwell's ability to portray important themes that enabled him to bring to visual life one of the most important speeches of the twentieth century: the President's Annual Message to Congress, known as the Four Freedoms speech, that Franklin Delano Roosevelt gave on January 6, 1941. Roosevelt was convinced of the urgent need to enter the escalating war abroad on the free world's side. Rockwell responded to the president's peroration calling for freedom "everywhere in the world" in the way he knew best.

At that moment in history, all of Europe with the exception of England was under the oppression of fascism, and a large part of Asia was under the yoke of imperial Japan. Many Americans, deeply affected by the catastrophic losses of World War I and the terrible financial crisis that began in 1929, were isolationist. The America First Committee was influential and powerful. However, what was at stake was the survival of the free world, and that world was waiting for the United States to join the fight.

It took the Japanese attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbor, in Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, followed by Nazi Germany's declaration of war on the United States on December 11, for the country to enter fully into this vicious assault on civilization.

Norman Rockwell embodied the American people who had to resign themselves to the need to defend the universal ideals of justice, peace, and prosperity. But President Roosevelt had to convince citizens that a foreign war was necessary. After all, aren't oceans the last bastion against tyranny?

Perceptively, Roosevelt began a campaign to promote the Four Freedoms as human rights worth fighting for, calling on writers and artists to get the word out. It wasn't until Norman Rockwell took up the challenge and created the *Four Freedoms* that the campaign showed true success.

These magnificent paintings, which have never left the United States until now, will be on view in Normandy, France, for the seventy-fifth anniversary of D-Day, June 6, 1944.

On that day—which marked the launch of the Allied invasion that would liberate Western Europe from Nazi occupation—thousands of young American soldiers, along with their English and Canadian counterparts, died defending FDR's Four Freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from fear, and freedom from want. Many others died during the terrible Battle of Normandy, which raged until September. Most of the dead rest in Normandy, where they fell.

In 1942, the year Norman Rockwell created the *Four Freedoms* paintings, American forces were already making huge contributions to the Allied war effort. It was the deadliest year of the war for both military and civilians. In fact, more civilians died than military personnel, on all continents. The United States was fighting on many fronts, each more violent than the other, as well as supporting Soviet and British forces with massive shipments of equipment. In 1942, thousands of American soldiers were already dead or wounded. The country was forced to realize that the war was far from over.

But it can be difficult to engage a democracy in a foreign war, and Roosevelt knew he needed the support of positive public opinion.

The fundamental Four Freedoms of FDR's speech, portrayed by the painter, echoed what was being lost in Europe and Asia, where the Germans and their Western allies, as well as the Japanese, had engaged in wars of annihilation that killed several million people.

No military personnel appear in Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*, nor does any situation that would evoke the realities of war. All is implicit. The paintings faithfully convey the themes of the Four Freedoms speech. They perfectly depict the civilians' frailty.

Perhaps in some ways the subjects may appear trivial, even inappropriate, in view of the horrifying realities of 1942. For instance, it might seem lamentable that the American ideal is a turkey dinner! But this would ignore the reality that people famished by war do indeed dream of sitting down to a feast. They dream of not being deported or killed because they are Jewish. They dream

of being able to prevent harm from coming to their children. They dream of being able to speak in protest without risking torture or a bullet to the head.

The American citizens represented in Rockwell's four paintings embody the thirty-five million-plus civilians who would disappear, succumbing to atrocious suffering, during the war.

The aspirations Rockwell expressed are straightforward and easy to understand. This is the genius of Norman Rockwell—to depict serious subjects without shocking his audience or finger-pointing. He did not need to show the ugliness of mass graves or the horror of destroyed cities and homes.

What were the political stakes of the four paintings? They did express the very words of the president, didn't they?

The paintings were about the fundamental values of America, both the obvious (protect one's family) and the complex (pray to one's God), that were being threatened.

Indeed, these universal values must be preserved, for they underlie the idea of civilization and the root value of respect for others, whatever one's continent or religion.

Norman Rockwell did not show a family that was starving but instead one that was happy and united. He did not show a man imprisoned for his beliefs but rather a simple man in work clothes, respected and listened to by members of his community dressed in nice suits, suggesting the strong bond that existed within an American society sharing a common destiny.

Rockwell's was clearly a new style of propaganda. The violence implicitly denounced by these paintings is not shown. The painter counts on the intelligence of his viewers to draw the desired conclusion—unlike typical propagandists, who make their case in the most brutal fashion.

In these paintings, as in Roosevelt's speech, the true enemy is the choice to do nothing because of weakness or cowardice.

For Norman Rockwell, the *Four Freedoms* paintings are works of deep conviction. He has faith in people, and he paints their humanity in contrast to the horrors of war.

Other paintings in the exhibition are more explicit, especially *Let's Give Him Enough and On Time* (p. 40), an illustration for the US Army depicting a young soldier in uniform bearing arms. Even here, Rockwell never gives up his fundamental choice of telling without hurting.

All the paintings in this exhibition carry one essential message. It was the diverse, sympathetic, happy, united America that joined this fierce fight. It was this America that was threatened and that consented to go to battle—the America of the people—not a jackbooted, authoritarian regime like those controlling the opposing totalitarian states.

This important exhibition displays the painter's prolific career. During preparatory discussions in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, we came to the idea that Norman Rockwell's work could allow us to tell the story of twentieth-century America. Thanks to the care and attention of the Norman Rockwell Museum, led by its director, Laurie Norton Moffatt, we have the drawings and paintings available to make possible this historical exploration.

The importance of this historical perspective provides the motivation for bringing this exceptional exhibition to Caen, Normandy, after New York and Washington, DC. The exhibition will find a natural home at the Mémorial de Caen, where every day we attempt to convey one key message to our visitors from around the world: the most precious gift for humanity is peace.

Norman Rockwell, with his kind and gentle spirit, would not tell us anything different.

WE ARE ALL NEIGHBORS

JAN ELIASSON
FORMER DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL
OF THE UNITED NATIONS

There is a line that connects my earliest days as a high-school student to my last days as a senior United Nations official. That line is drawn by Norman Rockwell. That may sound odd coming from someone who grew up in a town in Sweden and spent a career in international affairs. Yet Rockwell resonated with me as a young boy and does so to this day.

My Rockwell connection took root as a teen. I spent a year as an exchange student in Decatur, Indiana, back in the early 1960s. I vividly recall waiting each week for the *Saturday Evening Post*. I saw in those covers what I lived every day. In many ways, I felt as if I had stepped into a Rockwell painting.

Decades later, I found that the connection ran even deeper. When I served as UN deputy secretary-general, I came to discover that Rockwell had visited the United Nations headquarters in New York just after the complex opened. It seemed to him, he said, "that the United Nations was our only hope"—and he wanted to draw a picture to show it.

Rockwell created a moving but largely forgotten work of ambassadors in the Security Council chamber (p. 25). Standing right behind them, almost breathing down their necks, is a cross section of humanity. They represent, as the Charter of the United Nations says, "we the peoples."

You see the peoples' worries and their dreams. You feel their expectations. You sense their quiet but insistent demands to deliver results.

To celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the United Nations in 2015, we brought Rockwell's original drawing to the headquarters for the first time. The exhibition attracted thousands of visitors from around the world. Norman Rockwell may have been as American as baseball and apple pie, but he was also at home in the wider world.

Rockwell kept his UN drawing in his studio, and it inspired him years later to create one of his most famous paintings, *Golden Rule*. A mosaic of that work was given to the United Nations as a gift from the United States; it is perhaps the most popular piece of art in the headquarters building.

I think this is largely because, like the United Nations itself, the Golden Rule—do unto others as you would have them do unto you—is a mirror of the world. It reflects our common humanity, the wondrous mix of nationalities, creeds, and colors. In a similar fashion, Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* paintings (pp. 1–4) reflect common values and aspirations.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt understood that an individual's hopes could not be confined by national borders. He believed that leaders everywhere must help people live those dreams. The concept and formulation of the Four Freedoms came straight from Roosevelt himself. When he

★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Golden Rule*, 1961. Oil on canvas, 44½ × 39½ in. (113 × 100.3 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 1, 1961. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



Reference photograph of UN ambassadors for Norman Rockwell's *United Nations* (study), 1953. Norman Rockwell sits in for the USSR. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



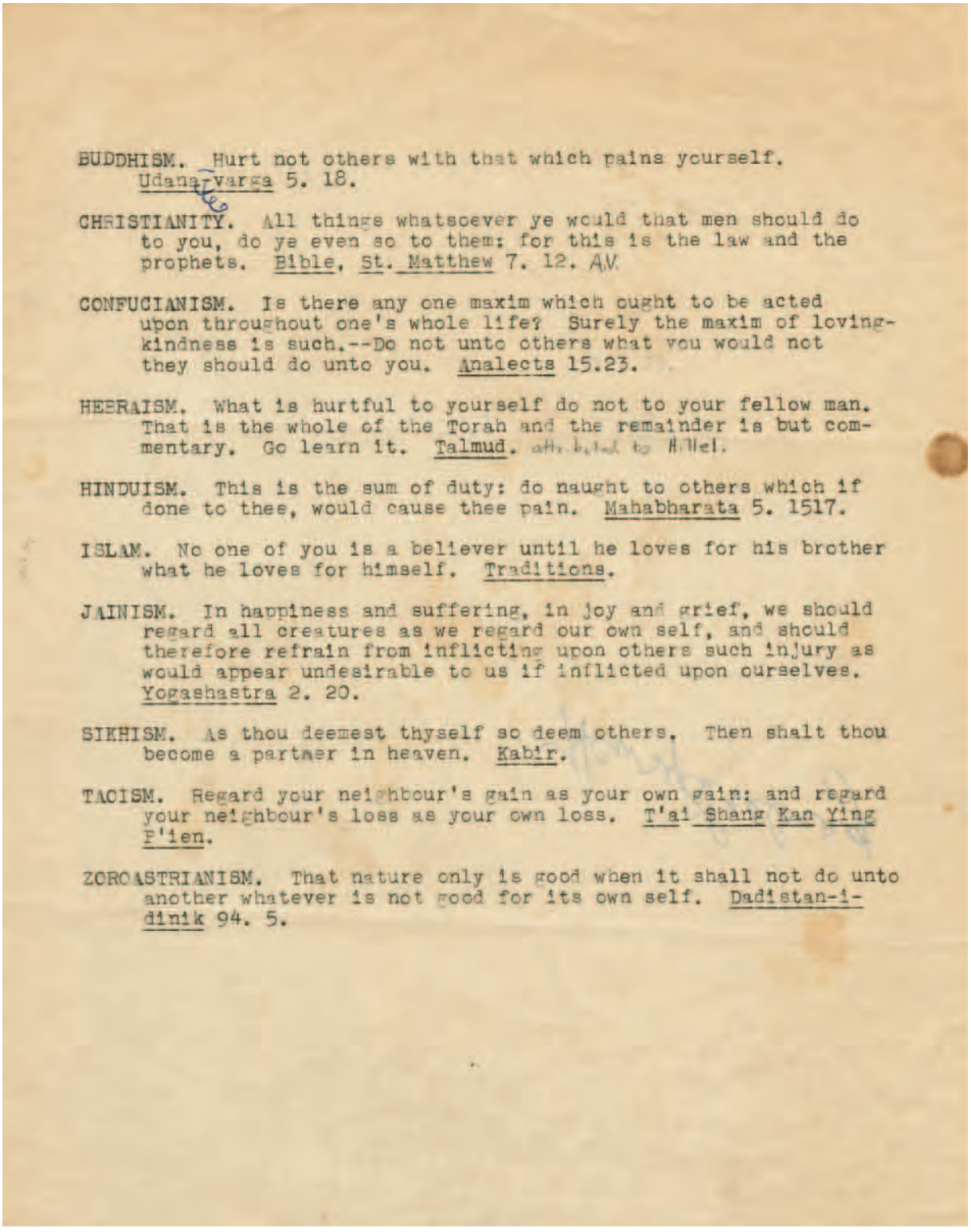
★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *United Nations*, 1953. Unpublished study.Graphite and charcoal on paper, 27¼ × 73½ in. (69.2 × 186.7 cm). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

dictated the passage to his advisers, one of them questioned whether the Four Freedoms should apply "everywhere in the world."

"That covers a lot of territory," the adviser said, "I don't know how interested Americans are going to be in the people of Java."

President Roosevelt replied: "I'm afraid they'll have to be some day. . . . The world is getting so small that even the people in Java are getting to be our neighbors now."

In the twenty-first century, we are all neighbors. And the Four Freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—resonate as deeply with a person from the United States as they do with a person from Sweden, Samoa, or Senegal. It is little



BUDDHISM. Hurt not others with that which pains yourself. Udana-varga 5. 18.

CHRISTIANITY. All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets. Bible, St. Matthew 7. 12. AV.

CONFUCIANISM. Is there any one maxim which ought to be acted upon throughout one's whole life? Surely the maxim of loving-kindness is such.--Do not unto others what you would not they should do unto you. Analects 15.23.

HEBRAISM. What is hurtful to yourself do not to your fellow man. That is the whole of the Torah and the remainder is but commentary. Go learn it. Talmud. attributed to Hillel.

HINDUISM. This is the sum of duty: do naught to others which if done to thee, would cause thee pain. Mahabharata 5. 1517.

ISLAM. No one of you is a believer until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself. Traditions.

JAINISM. In happiness and suffering, in joy and grief, we should regard all creatures as we regard our own self, and should therefore refrain from inflicting upon others such injury as would appear undesirable to us if inflicted upon ourselves. Yogashastra 2. 20.

SIKHISM. As thou deemest thyself so deem others. Then shalt thou become a partner in heaven. Kabir.

TAOISM. Regard your neighbour's gain as your own gain: and regard your neighbour's loss as your own loss. T'ai Shang Kan Ying P'ien.

ZOROASTRIANISM. That nature only is good when it shall not do unto another whatever is not good for its own self. Dadistan-i-dinik 94. 5.

★ Norman Rockwell's notes for *Golden Rule*, ca. 1961. Typewritten document. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

wonder that Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* were on display in San Francisco in 1945 as delegates from around the world drafted the UN Charter. To my mind, his works speak even louder to us today. They are a reminder of the need to keep striving to find the humanity and the heart that make us one. They tell us that while oceans may separate people, there is not that much that sets hopes and dreams apart.

That is the Rockwell message that struck me as a young boy and that stirs me to this day. He summons the inner artist in us all. Keep drawing, he says. Draw the line that connects our shared humanity and aspirations.

And as we do, we will narrow the gap between the world as it is and the world as we know it can be.







Reference photographs for Norman Rockwell's *United Nations* (study), 1953. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



★ *President Franklin D. Roosevelt Receiving Norman Rockwell Painting*, 1940. In the White House, Rockwell offers FDR an original painting, created for the Children's Crusade for Children, a fund-raiser for the relief of children in war-torn Europe.

ENDURING IDEALS: ROCKWELL, ROOSEVELT & THE FOUR FREEDOMS

AN INTRODUCTION

JAMES J. KIMBLE

Think of them as water and oil. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and artist Norman Rockwell, both among the most famous figures of their time, rarely found an opportunity to mix. In fact, the two contemporaries apparently met just once. The record shows that they posed together in 1940 at the White House for a promotional photograph in support of the Children's Crusade for Children relief organization (p. 28). The intriguing encounter lasted only ten minutes. Looking back, its abrupt nature is a bit surprising. After all, artists of various sorts were regular guests at the Roosevelt White House, and Rockwell's intimate presidential portraits are still some of his most famous works. So this lack of a familiar relationship between two of the giants of the era is, at first glance, rather inexplicable.

The interpersonal gap between Rockwell and FDR was there for all to see during the illustrator's later visit to the White House, in mid-1943. His assignment, eventually dubbed "So You Want to See the President!" by the *Saturday Evening Post*, was a visual essay depicting the dozens of people lingering in the executive waiting room, each one hoping that FDR might have time to see her or him. Although the artist seems to have had a lot of time to sketch his subjects, he apparently did not make it into the Oval Office himself. Tellingly, the only view of Roosevelt in the *Post*'s essay is in its final sketch (p. 30), which shows a military aide cracking open the presidential door to allow access—but to someone else. Inside the room, the viewer can glimpse FDR, sitting at his desk, so near and yet so painfully unaware of Rockwell's presence in the outer room.[1]

There is no evidence that Roosevelt and Rockwell did not get along. Yet it makes sense that they might have been wary of each other. True, both were New Yorkers by birth. But FDR, the upstate patrician, wealthy politician, and former governor was cut from a very different cloth than the homespun illustrator who fled the city for pastoral New England, ultimately gaining acclaim for his admiring glimpses into the lives of the average Americans just down the street (or down at the local swimming hole). The president and the artist might have gotten along famously, had they made time to get to know one another. But people with their differing life experiences tended to mix as easily as water and oil.

Water and oil are in fact apt metaphors for thinking about these two titanic personalities. FDR's intense affection for water was well known. As his grandson Christopher du Pont Roosevelt re-



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *So You Want to See the President!* (detail), 1943. The caption reads: "Genial 'Pa' Watson opens the big door and says 'Step this way. The president will see you now.'" Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 13, 1943, p. 12. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



FDR on his sailboat off the New England coast, 1933. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

called fondly, the president had "an overwhelming, lifelong love of the sea and sailing." Perhaps it was genetic. Both sides of FDR's family, the Delanos and the Roosevelts, had long been noted for their seafaring ways, going back to Claes Martenszen van Rosenvelt, who had once explored the Atlantic seaboard with none other than Henry Hudson. FDR himself started traveling over the ocean at the age of three and at only thirty-one years of age had begun service as the assistant secretary of the United States Navy. His love of the water did not diminish once he moved to the White House. In his book *Sailor in the White House*, Robert Cross describes FDR as "our country's greatest seafaring president." The commander in chief logged "hundreds of thousands

of miles afloat" and "spent more days at sea" than any other occupant of the White House. The president even found himself drawn to water while ashore, and numerous world leaders ended up talking about one crisis or another at the White House swimming pool while FDR energetically swam around.[2]

Rockwell, in contrast, spent much of his time working in oils, his lifelong medium of choice. Through an elaborate process, the artist fused rich pigments that he would use to depict humorous truths and simple revelations for his many fans. His palette, ranging from raw umber to Venetian red, was the colorful source from which he crafted light and shadow alongside figure and form. The results—what biographer Laura Claridge calls "storytelling in oils"—were captivating visual narratives that taught Americans how to see their daily foibles as a kind of rough-hewn visual poetry. Away from the studio, oil was a fitting label for Rockwell's personality as well. Much like his medium of choice, the artist, too, was colorful, sensitive, and occasionally mercurial. But if the versatile hues of his oils were somehow able to capture the essence of a timeless moment, the same was true of the artist who carefully applied them to canvas and in the process turned ideas into art.[3]

Ironically, the primary historical collaboration of these two figures—of the down-to-earth artist and the elegant president—reflected their oil and water dispositions. As it turned out, their individual contributions to the life of the Four Freedoms were both essential and yet as different as the men themselves. The idealistic Freedoms emerged from FDR's oratorical genius, to be sure. But when they critically needed a boost, at a time when the Allied victory in World War II was no-



Norman Rockwell at work on *Norman Rockwell Visits a County Agent*, 1948. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

where near a foregone conclusion, Rockwell and his vibrant oils were at the ready, helping to accelerate the Four Freedoms into indelible ideals for the ages.

The resulting story of the triumph of the Four Freedoms could just as easily have been a dirge if the twists of history had pivoted in a slightly different way. As it was, the Roosevelt administration at one point seemed ready to give up on the president's phrase altogether, only to realize that Rockwell's paintings were, at almost that very moment, beginning to ignite nationwide interest in the Four Freedoms. It is a largely forgotten aspect of an otherwise glorious tale. But to tell it—as the exhibition *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms* aims to do—is to celebrate an incredible rhetorical triumph that took place against the backdrop of the United States in wartime. It is a story of careful ingenuity and of unflagging determination. It is also a story of a brilliant set of ideals whose application, at the time, was both incomplete and inconsistent. Yet most of all, it is a story of an unlikely collaboration between a commander in chief and a craftsman, of a creative yin-and-yang effort whose central vision somehow managed to change the face of the world.

FDR AND THE UNLIKELY ADVENTURES OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS

President Roosevelt was thinking about fear. It was late in the terrifying spring of 1940, but the distant shadow of his first inaugural address might well have been on his mind. Seven years earlier he had told his fellow citizens that only "fear itself" was worthy of their fears. Back then, when the villains had been corrupt speculators, hapless bankers, and overconfident economists, the plea made perfect sense. Fear, the president suggested in those tense days of early 1933, can paralyze us into inaction, a road we must never take lest we fall victim to the forces that besiege us. Rather, deliberate action (soon to be exemplified in FDR's frenetic first one hundred days in office) was the proper course. Since this sentiment came from a man who had already faced down the fear of his own kind of paralysis, the point had been a profound one.[4]

Nineteen forty had brought with it new villains and new victims. Belgium, Denmark, and Luxembourg had disappeared into the maw of the Nazi war machine in May. France would succumb to Adolf Hitler and his generals only weeks later. By June 3, what remained of the British forces in continental Europe had evacuated across the English Channel at Dunkirk. For millions of observers across the globe, this series of shocking spectacles confirmed Nazi Germany's gruesome grip on the Old World. The thought of Hitler and his shock troops overtaking the continent was no longer a nightmare—it was a reality.

To Roosevelt, readying to speak before an informal conference with representatives from the American Youth Congress on June 5, the disturbing situation of the spring of 1940 was indeed fearsome. He said as much in his remarks, suggesting that if the world were to ask him to negotiate an end to the ongoing violence, his goal would be the "elimination of four fears": the fear of not being able to worship freely, the fear of losing one's freedom of expression, the fear of military arms, and the fear of fractured commerce among nations. He concluded that the long-term resolution of these four fears was "something to think over."[5]



★ *Leo Friedlander with Four Freedoms Models*, 1939. New York World's Fair 1939–40 records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library; Astor, Lenos, and Tilden Foundations.

FDR did think it over. He returned to his theme only a month later, at a press conference held in his library back home in Hyde Park, New York—but with a different emphasis. Now the *fears* had become *freedoms*. Perhaps, over the course of that month, his mind had gone back to the British maritime tradition of advocating for the so-called Four Fs: freedom of the seas, freedom of ports, freedom of trade, and freedom of contracts. Or perhaps he had recalled giving the inaugural speech at the 1939 New York World's Fair in front of the *Four Freedoms*, Leo Friedlander's massive four-piece sculptural homage to the freedoms of speech, press, religion, and assembly outlined in the Bill of Rights. Or perhaps he had drawn inspiration more recently, from Frank Knox, publisher of the *Chicago Daily News*, who had spoken eloquently to a Cleveland audience earlier in the spring about "freedom of speech," "freedom of the press," "freedom of religious belief," and "freedom from fear."[6]

Whatever the inspiration for his change in emphasis, the president now saw the fear-inducing crisis of the accelerating war as the ideal time to promote freedom across the world. As he told the gathered reporters that day, he had come to cherish "freedom of information," "freedom of religion," "freedom to express one's self," and "freedom from fear." However, Richard Harkness, a reporter for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, then complicated matters. He suggested to the president that a fifth freedom, this one called "freedom from want," might be equally important in the after-

math of war. FDR immediately agreed. "Freedom from want," he concluded, "is the fifth, very definitely." This remarkable exchange in well-heeled Hyde Park had an easygoing, optimistic tone. Yet the president was well aware that to those who were even then suffering under the Axis onslaught overseas, the very idea of freedoms—whether there were four or five of them—by that point would have seemed unattainable.[7]

The theme of postwar freedoms proved elusive even for FDR. He was running for a third term in the fall of 1940, and his advisers were concerned that speculative talk about goals in a postwar world might worry too many citizens that the president had a secret interest in bringing Americans into the conflict. Even so, various versions of freedom were clearly still on his mind. Once safely reelected in November, for example, he wrote, in a letter to the president of the Economics Club of New York, "our freedoms must include freedom from want, freedom from insecurity, and freedom from fear." Then, in late December, Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes called Roosevelt's attention to journalist Samuel Grafton's new book, *All Out! How Democracy Will Defend America*, pointing specifically to this passage:

> In September of 1940, the better sections of the English press began to debate the need for an "economic bill of rights," to defeat Hitlerism in the world forever by establishing "minimum standards of housing, food, education, and medical care," along with free speech, free press, and free worship.

There is no record in the president's papers of his reaction to this writing, which offered yet another listing of varied freedoms. But the markings on Ickes's letter indicate that it was included in the materials that the White House used in preparation for the upcoming President's Annual Message to Congress (the yearly event that has since come to be known as the State of the Union address). Thus, the notion of multiple freedoms was once more lurking in the background as the president's team went to work on the text of what would become one of his most famous and fateful speeches.[8]

The primary aim of the January 1941 message would be to sell Congress on the new Lend-Lease proposal, which would enable the wholesale export of munitions to Britain and the other nations that were resisting the Axis powers. The White House felt the proposal's passage was imperative, while critics naturally feared that it would draw the nation closer to war. For FDR, however, the address presented a rich opportunity. In his view, it was a chance to start crafting in earnest a postwar world based not on fear but on an expanded understanding of freedoms.[9]

On January 1, 1941, the president, working with his aides on the speech's third draft, suddenly asked his secretary, Dorothy Brady, to take down his idea for a new peroration. Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, a trusted adviser and speechwriter, was by this time used to FDR's occasional moments of brilliance in such drafting sessions. The president, Rosenman recalled later, "would suddenly lay down his pen, lean back in his large swivel armchair, throw his head back, and look up at the ceiling intently," while his staffers stood by in respectful silence. These episodes usually took two or three minutes. On that cold New Year's Day, however, FDR thought for "so long that it began to become uncomfortable." At long last, the president settled on what he wanted to say. He di-

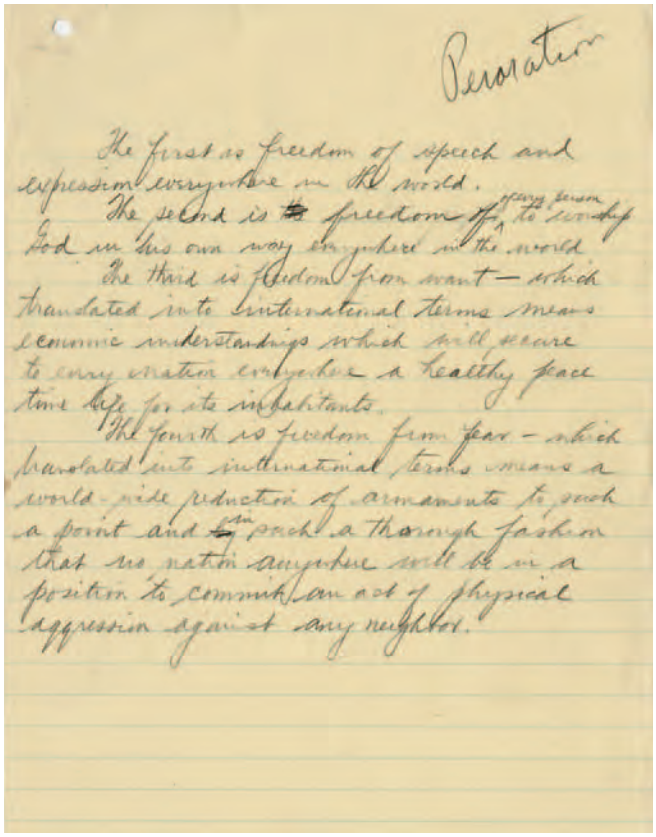
rected Brady to take down the passage that would, with only minor changes, become remembered as the Four Freedoms.[10]

The address was ready to go a few days later. On Monday, January 6, 1941, the president, Eleanor Roosevelt, and their guests, Norway's Crown Prince Olav and Crown Princess Märtha, arrived at the US Capitol at 1:48 p.m. Inside the House of Representatives Chamber, FDR soon began his long and laborious walk up to the front of the grand room. Along the way, he could see the newly installed network of steel girders holding up the room's aging roof. He could see the members of Congress, some of them friends, some of them bitter enemies, anxiously awaiting his words; several of them had even brought along their children to see the president speak. And he could see the multitude of microphones set up for his address. FDR's immediate audience was the Congress, to be sure, but he knew that every radio network would carry his message live to all forty-eight states, and that translators would quickly send it abroad in six languages. As FDR began to speak, he must have understood that his Four Freedoms could not have found a better opportunity to captivate the world.[11]

Yet something curious happened to the Four Freedoms along the way to the ideal's triumphant debut that day. While the nation's major newspapers covered the message in detail, by and large they ignored the critical Four Freedoms passage. (The *Wall Street Journal* was par-



FDR and his secretary, Dorothy Brady, 1942. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.


Peroration

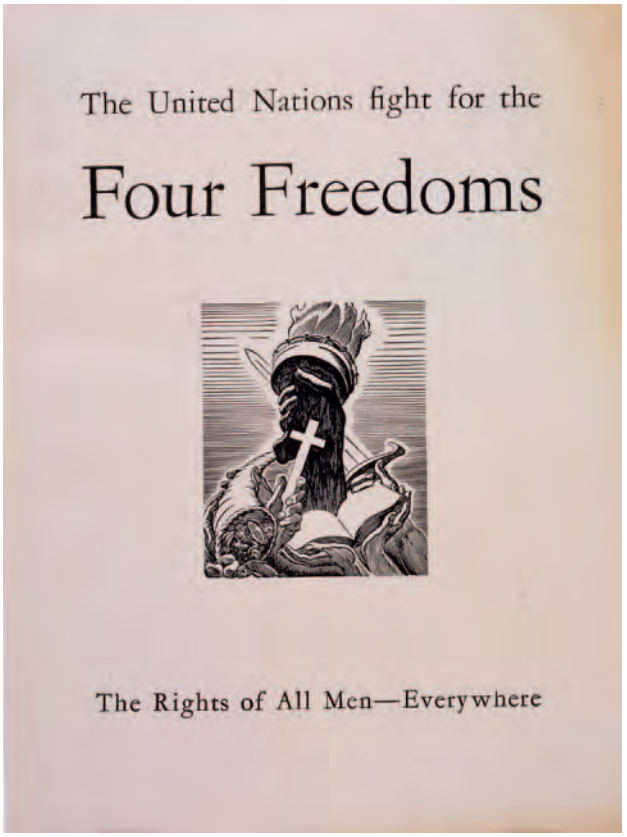
The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want — which translated into international terms means economic understandings which will secure to every nation everywhere a healthy peace time life for its inhabitants.

The fourth is freedom from fear — which translated into international terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation anywhere will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor.

★ Draft of the Four Freedoms peroration from the President's Annual Message to Congress delivered by FDR on January 6, 1941. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.



★ *The United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms*, 1942. Office of War Information pamphlet. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

ticularly unimpressed, writing that the speech offered "no surprises.") Forty-two members of Congress, commenting on the address to the *New York Times*, likewise failed to acknowledge FDR's optimistic ideal. Even members of the public—who wrote hundreds of letters and telegrams to the White House in the days after the speech—generally overlooked the president's visionary phrase. Instead, the vast majority of the correspondents shared with the president their individual views on the Lend-Lease proposal. It was not, to say the least, an impressive debut for the Four Freedoms.[12]

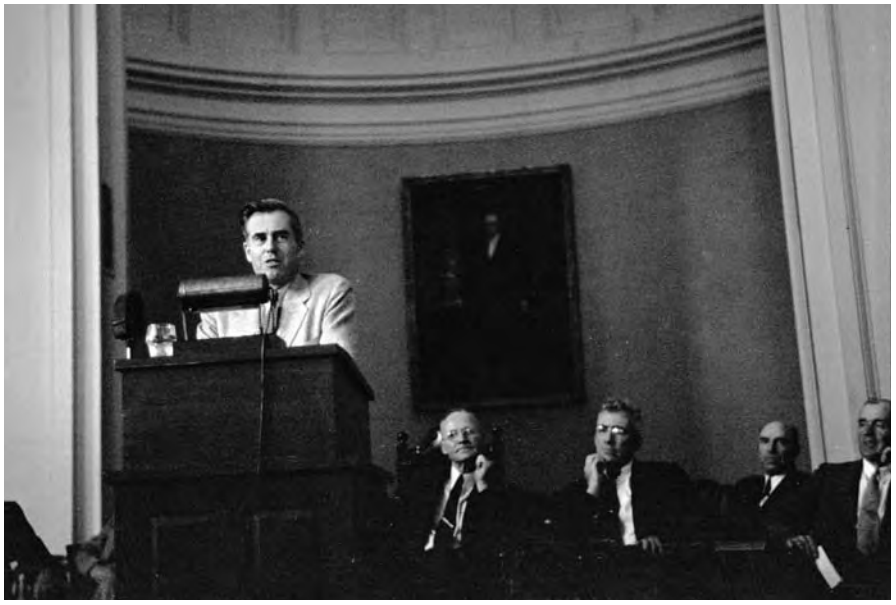
The Roosevelt administration was undoubtedly disappointed by this unexpected reaction. Undaunted, however, the White House continued to highlight the Four Freedoms theme throughout the spring of 1941. When FDR and British prime minister Winston Churchill met near the coast of Newfoundland that August, the president even proposed including the Freedoms in the resulting Atlantic Charter. Unfortunately, the document somehow ended up leaving out freedom of speech and freedom of worship altogether. A few national church groups were infuriated at this turn of events, suspecting that the growing alliance with the officially atheistic Soviet Union had led to the removal of any reference to religion.[13]

Sources within the administration claimed that the omission of two of the freedoms was a simple oversight. But it was a troubling sign that the campaign to promote the president's catchphrase was not functioning very efficiently. Indeed, the abstract words simply had not yet caught on with many Americans. Journalist and commentator Eliot Janeway acknowledged that the Four Freedoms made for an exhilarating goal for those nations that were facing the brutality of Axis expansion, but that at home the phrase was "not very exciting to us, [and] perhaps even too commonplace to be taken seriously." In fact, he characterized the very idea as "so old-fashioned that it is rather dull and embarrassing to think of." *Christian Century*'s commentary was more combative. The president's Four Freedoms, its editors wrote, might sound "noble" at first but ultimately gave off a "hollow, empty sound."[14]

Still, the White House resolutely kept up the campaign, and the attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, in December 1941 prompted a redoubling of its efforts. For example, in addition to FDR's speeches touting the ideal as the nation ramped up its war machine that winter, Vice President Henry A. Wallace used a prominent address before the Free World Association to contend that the president's Four Freedoms were "the very core of the revolution for which the United Nations have taken their stand." Meanwhile, the administration's Office of Facts and Figures (OFF) was hard at work on a pamphlet that would aim to explain the Four Freedoms to everyday Americans.[15]

But even OFF's crack team of writers—among them Archibald MacLeish, Malcolm Cowley, Henry Pringle, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., and E. B. White—could not seem to find a way to connect with its audience. A group of analysts at the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University wrote a scathing critique of a draft of the Four Freedoms pamphlet, concluding that "only a small intellectual elite, maybe 10 or 15 per cent of the total adult population, are likely to read this pamphlet with interest and ease." Predictably, when the government ignored the advice, hurriedly releasing its publication, *The United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms* (p. 36), on the anniversary of the Atlantic Charter, there was almost no response from the American public. It was all too much for public opinion expert George Gallup, who subsequently warned FDR, "the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms have not registered a very deep imprint here at home." The country still needed "a battle cry," he went on, that would help "explain what we are fighting for." To that point, at least, the Four Freedoms did not seem to be up to the task.[16]

Part of the problem may have been that the administration was having trouble keeping its Four Freedoms campaign disciplined. In April 1942, an internal Office of Government Reports memo warned that several voices within the administration were needlessly complicating the president's catchphrase by suggesting that it included many more freedoms and rights than FDR had originally intended. One of those voices was Vice President Wallace himself, who told an audience in September that he had discovered additional freedoms, including "the freedom to buy land at a reasonable price," "the freedom to borrow money at a reasonable rate of interest," and "the freedom to establish schools which teach the realities of life." Henry Luce's *Time* magazine, which had never been a fan of the Roosevelt administration in the first place, responded by disdainfully noting, "there are not numbered freedoms but only freedom." After all, the article continued, "Patrick Henry did not ask for Nos. 1 to 4, nor for Nos. 3, 5, 7 and 9. He simply used the singular."[17]



Secretary of Agriculture (and future vice president) Henry A. Wallace addresses a group of Vermont and New Hampshire farmers in Hanover, New Hampshire, in September 1937. Photograph by Edwin Locke. Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

It should not be that surprising, then, to find that FDR's Four Freedoms did not fare particularly well as a popular slogan in that first year the United States was at war. Polling results confirmed that 61 percent of the public claimed to have never heard of the Four Freedoms, while the portion of Americans who could name even one of them was smaller than 25 percent. It is worth noting that the government's pollsters found that it was not that citizens disliked the concept of the Four Freedoms—far from it. When asked directly whether they supported establishing those freedoms in the postwar world, more than 80 percent responded favorably to the idea. Perhaps it was just that, for the average American, the president's words seemed ephemeral, lacking a clear and convincing connection to their own lives.[18]

As one might imagine, staffers within OFF and its successor, the Office of War Information (OWI), gradually began to grow concerned that FDR's theme was not making headway with the American people. One OFF memo from the spring of 1942 expressed worry that the Four Freedoms seemed "to be lacking in precision," were "too reminiscent of the Wilsonian crusade," or (even worse) were "criticized for being mere words unaccompanied by concrete acts." By January 1943, such concerns were becoming dire. "The four freedoms theme," concluded an OWI memo with blunt finality, "is a flop."[19]

And so it was that FDR's Four Freedoms did not start out as the timeless rhetorical moment that later generations now celebrate. Looking back, there is no question that the president's phrase represented a bold and brilliant set of ideals. It is also clear that the Four Freedoms benefited from the full (if occasionally inconsistent) support of FDR's talented team. Yet something crucial seemed to be missing. It is safe to say that if the president's Four Freedoms were ever going to resonate as a rallying cry for the nation, or even for the Allies, they would need to find a way to captivate the public's imagination. Over the course of two years, the full rhetorical power of the administration had not been able to accomplish that goal. Yet, fortunately for the White House—not to mention the long-term legacy of the Four Freedoms—an unassuming New England illustrator was even then getting ready to unveil four masterpieces.



Norman Rockwell, lost in thought (undated). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

NORMAN ROCKWELL AND THE ILLUSTRATION OF IDEALS

As far as Norman Rockwell was concerned, the Four Freedoms were probably an artistic dead end. In the summer of 1941, like most Americans, the beloved artist was well aware of the accelerating pace of the ongoing war in Europe and Asia. Also like most Americans, he wanted to help his nation during the global crisis. He believed that his talents as an illustrator could be extremely useful in public appeals (much as the compelling posters of James Montgomery Flagg and Howard Chandler Christy had transfixed the home front during the Great War). The announcement of the Atlantic Charter that August gave Rockwell hope that the highly touted new document, springing as it had from the shrewd minds of FDR and Churchill, would give him some inspiration toward that end.

However, after trying to read the actual document, the artist came away thoroughly unimpressed. "I hadn't been able to get beyond the first paragraph," he later recalled. The crucial problem was that the charter's wording gave him no creative insights at all. As he put it, "the language was so noble, platitudinous really, that it stuck in my throat." How, he wondered, "am I to illustrate that? I'm not noble enough. Besides, nobody I know is reading the proclamation either, in spite of the fanfare and hullabaloo about it in the press." The renowned Atlantic Charter, simply put, did not lend itself to illustration, let alone the kind of artwork that could captivate the home front.[20]

After the Pearl Harbor attack later that year, though, Rockwell felt that it was time to reach out to the government to see whether his skills might be useful to the war effort. The US Army Ordnance Corps turned out to be eager for a Rockwell poster for its "Keep 'Em Shooting" motivational campaign. Army officials were so keen that when the artist requested a machine gun to



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Let's Give Him Enough and On Time*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 42 × 50 in. (106.7 × 127 cm). Poster illustration for the US Army. US Army Center of Military History, Washington, DC.

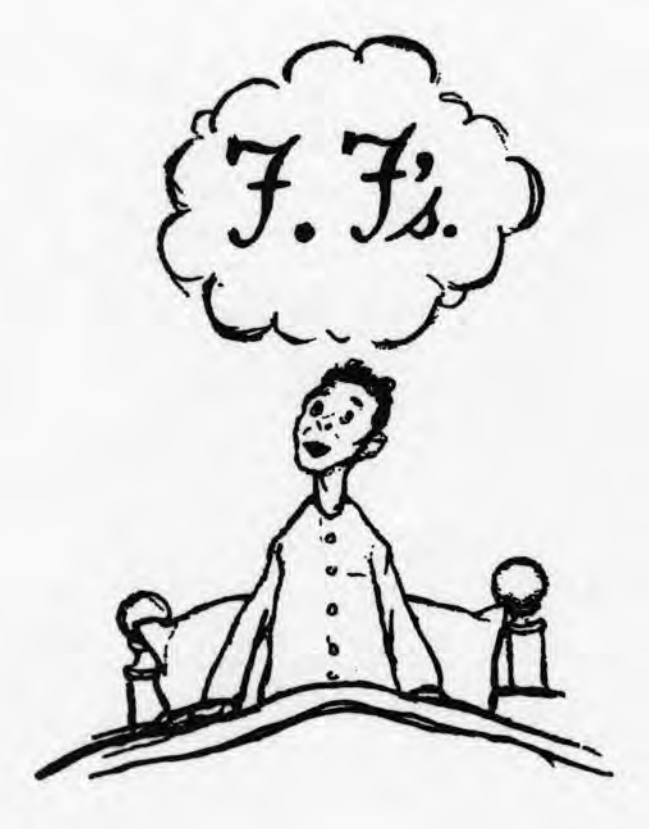
serve as a model, they sent him not only a working firearm but also live ammunition, a Jeep, and an active-duty soldier to pose with it all. The resulting poster (p. 40) was printed for national distribution, and even appeared on numerous billboards across the country, in December 1942.[21]

But Rockwell could not seem to stop going back to the idea of the Four Freedoms. Throughout early 1942 he found himself continually generating and then discarding various ways to illustrate them. Then, in a classic eureka moment so common to artists, he had a vision at three o'clock one early morning. While he lay awake in bed, frustrated that he still had not found a way to turn the president's ideal into a compelling set of images, his mind suddenly flashed to a town hall meeting he had recently attended. In the meeting, his next-door neighbor, Jim Edgerton, had risen to speak against a popular motion while the rest of those gathered had listened patiently, although disagreeing with him. The memory gave Rockwell a sudden jolt. That moment of tolerant democracy, he realized, was exactly the scene he needed. "My gosh," he remembered thinking, "that's it. There it is. Freedom of Speech." It was a creative breakthrough. Using his neighbors as models to show people living the Four Freedoms, "in simple, everyday scenes," was the perfect way to take the Freedoms "out of the noble language of the proclamation and put them in terms everybody [could] understand."[22]

The artist was so excited by the moment that he grabbed his bicycle and rushed over to neighbor Mead Schaeffer's house to share the news. There is no record of Schaeffer's reaction to this impromptu visit. Most people might have said something like, "Norman, it's 3:00 a.m. Can't it wait?" But Schaef, as Rockwell called his friend, understood the enthusiasm of the moment all too well. As a prolific cover artist for the *Saturday Evening Post* in his own right, Schaeffer knew that artistic muses do not bother to conform to the norms of ordinary humans. Inspiration, in short, comes when it does, and with a comrade-in-oils as close as Rockwell, Schaef was most likely willing to celebrate the news about the Four Freedoms, whatever the hour.

Rockwell spent the next several days sketching his idea for the new series. With Schaeffer's encouragement, he began to feel more and more confident that his vision of bringing the Freedoms to life through glimpses of familiar, everyday American experiences would be an immediate hit with the government and then the public. Before long, he and Schaeffer, sketches in hand, were on their way to the nation's capital. They were both eager to see which government agency would seize the opportunity to put the images to use.

The two artists saw numerous officials during their visit to Washington's confusing wartime bureaucracy. But few of the harried officials expressed even a mild interest in the sketches. The most encouraging reaction was at the Department of War, where their contact said, "We'd love to print your Four Freedoms, but we can't. I'm sorry. We just don't have the time to spare to arrange it." At OWI, whose propaganda mission was a natural fit for such inspirational imagery, the staffer's response was more blunt: "The last war you illustrators did the posters," but this time around, "we're going to use fine arts men, real artists." Turning insult into injury, the official told Rockwell that if he really wanted to make a contribution to the war effort, he could "do some of these pen-and-ink drawings for the Marine Corps calisthenics manual. But as far as your Four Freedoms go, we aren't interested." It was the final straw on a dispiriting and even humiliating day. Rockwell and Schaeffer, dejected, boarded a train for the return trip to Vermont.[23]



Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *The Four Freedoms Idea*, 1946. Book illustration for Arthur L. Guptill, *Norman Rockwell: Illustrator* (New York: Watson-Guptill, 1946, p. xxviii).



Exhibit D

Example of poster treatment of the Four Freedoms.

ISSUE - THE FOUR FREEDOMS Distribution: General
(To be presented in two ways: what we have (optimistic); what it would be if we lost it (negative).

1. Freedom of Worship (2,000,000 posters)

a. Our Church as we have it (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: Ernest Fiene or Doris Lee or perhaps Hopper or Elizabeth Terrell

b. The suppression of Religious Freedom (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: Ben Shahn or George Grosz or Stephan Hirsch

Six Weeks Interval.

2. Freedom from Want (2,000,000 posters)

a. Our heritage (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: John Stuart Curry or Boardman Robinson or Edgar Britton (harvest)

b. Starving children (1,000,000 posters)
Documentary photographs or Simeon Shiaio

Six Weeks Interval

3. Freedom from Fear (2,000,000 posters)

a. Sunday picnic (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: Norman Rockwell or Leon Kroll or Ward Lockwood or Dale Nichols

b. Fear, the loss of our freedom (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: George Grosz or William Gropper

Six Weeks Interval

4. Freedom of Speech (2,000,000 posters)

a. Our Speech as we have it (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: Louis Hibbs or Clifford Neal or Kendrew McLeary

b. Loss of Speech (1,000,000 posters)
Artist: Fitzpatrick or Duffey or Kuniyoshi

Page from an Office of War Information internal document listing potential artists who could be approached to illustrate the Four Freedoms, ca. 1942. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

Ironically, Rockwell may simply have come across the wrong government staffers for his pitch that day. The archival record clearly shows that OWI *was* interested in artistic representations of the Four Freedoms at the time. Indeed, FDR had extended an open invitation to the artistic world to interpret them soon after Pearl Harbor. At about the same time that Rockwell was visiting Washington, OWI's creative team had even begun to brainstorm a list of well-known artists it might ask to interpret the president's Freedoms for a series of posters. Rockwell was named on the planning document as a possible interpreter of freedom from fear (suggested imagery: a placid Sunday picnic). It is unclear whether Rockwell ever received a formal invitation from this initiative; if he did, the letter may have been destroyed in a studio fire the subsequent spring.[24]

On the return trip from Washington, Rockwell surely knew nothing of these efforts. But as the train neared Philadelphia on its way north, he thought of another possible outlet for his Four Freedoms project. Curtis Publishing, home of the *Saturday Evening Post*, was headquartered in downtown Philadelphia. Perhaps there was a way to salvage his idea for an inspirational set of paintings after all. So Rockwell and Schaeffer made an impromptu call on Ben Hibbs, the new editor of the magazine. "I hauled the sketches out," remembered Rockwell, "explaining rather listlessly what they were all about."[25]

The response was immediate. Hibbs loved the idea: "Norman, you've got to do them for us." He advised Rockwell to drop everything else. "Just do the Four Freedoms. Don't bother with *Post* covers or illustrations." The editor later reflected, "I agreed with Norman that somebody should try to present the Four Freedoms in understandable, visual, emotional terms, and I knew if anybody could do it Norman Rockwell could." It was clear, in short, that the magazine was going to reproduce the artist's finished images with as much publicity as it could manage.[26]

And so Rockwell's trip to the capital was not a failure after all. It was instead an unexpected triumph. The government may not have been interested in his Four Freedoms proposal, but the *Post* was emphatically interested. With more than 3.3 million subscribers across the country, not to mention the many more readers who did not subscribe but simply read the copies of families and friends, the *Saturday Evening Post* was an incredibly large venue for Rockwell's inspirational project.

There was, of course, much more work to do. For the rest of the year, following Hibbs's suggestion, Rockwell isolated himself in his studio and focused intently on the Four Freedoms project. The work was lonely and often frustrating. An early study for *Freedom of Worship*, for example, shows that Rockwell had originally wanted to portray a number of men—each rather obviously representing a different religious tradition—informally enjoying each other's company in a barbershop (p. 44). He eventually concluded that the scene did not work. But he pressed on, laboring at all hours and losing fifteen pounds due to the strain. Finally, in late 1942 (at about the same time the propaganda experts at OWI had begun to conclude that the president's Four Freedoms theme was never going to catch on with Americans), the oils were ready for their grand unveiling.[27]

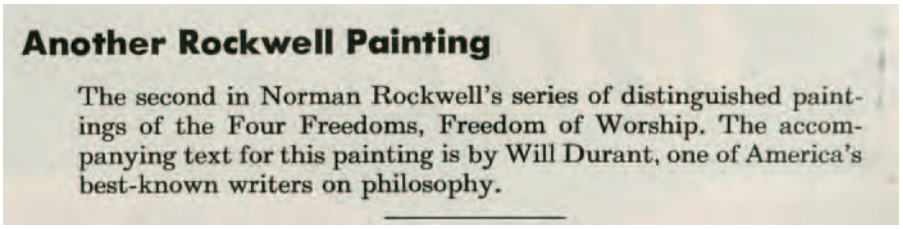
Back in Philadelphia, Hibbs had also been hard at work. As the new editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, he was painfully aware that his magazine had a poor reputation in government circles. The *Post*'s conservative tradition had often put it at odds with Roosevelt specifically and with the New Deal more generally. Hibbs wanted to mend the rift. Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* seemed to the editor to be the perfect way to show the administration that the magazine was in fact determined to support the war effort in a very public way. It did not hurt that Rockwell's status as a national artistic icon gave the project a certain commercial potential as well. If the artist's images could please the Roosevelt administration, galvanize the public, *and* sell magazine copies, the editor knew, then they would raise the *Post*'s profile on the national stage.

To maximize the potential impact of the unveiling of Rockwell's paintings, Hibbs decided that they would be reprinted, one after the other, in four consecutive issues. He also invited an essayist to provide commentary on each one. First up was *Freedom of Speech* (p. 1) in the February 20, 1943, issue, accompanied by a parable from Booth Tarkington, a two-time winner of the Pulitzer Prize. On February 27, the magazine released *Freedom of Worship* (p. 2), alongside an essay by the famous philosopher Will Durant. Rockwell's *Freedom from Want* (p. 3) followed in the March 6 issue, with commentary by Carlos Bulosan, the Filipino American poet and labor activist. Finally, the March 13 issue featured the artist's *Freedom from Fear* (p. 4), along with a moving essay by the Pulitzer Prize–winning poet Stephen Vincent Benét.

The extended rollout did nothing to diminish the public's reaction. In fact, both the *Post* and Rockwell began receiving admiring letters immediately after the very first issue. As early as



Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Barbershop*, ca. 1942.
Preliminary concept for *Freedom of Worship*. Oil on canvas,
41 × 33 in. (104.1 × 83.8 cm). Private collection.

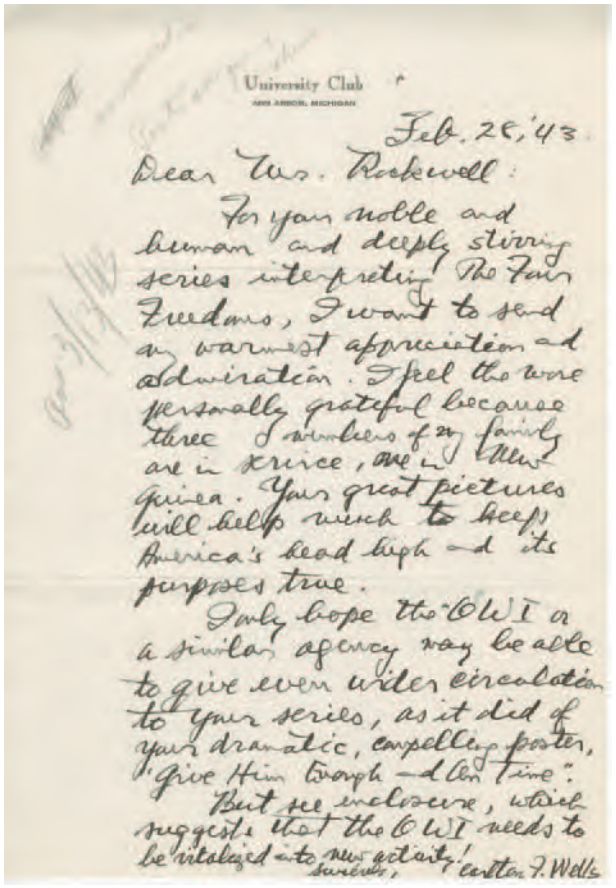


This announcement advertises the upcoming Four Freedoms feature, with Rockwell's *Freedom of Worship* and Will Durant's accompanying essay. "Next Week," *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943, p. 6. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves.

February 17, when the first of the *Freedoms* began to arrive in mailboxes across the country, Rhoda Jerryman of Galveston, Texas, wrote to Rockwell that the artist had "made these ideas living and real in more ways than one." His *Four Freedoms*, she believed, "should be framed and put in the nursery of every home." A few days later, Carolyn McMullan of Edenton, North Carolina, expressed her admiration as well: "I opened my *Post* on my way home from work, and from the time I saw the *Four Freedoms* page, until I reached my doorsteps, I didn't take my eyes off of it. The craziest little chills and tickles went all up and down my spine. (And incidentally I nearly got run over because I didn't look up when I crossed the street.)" Jerryman's and McMullan's letters were just two of the thousands of missives—by one count, more than sixty thousand—that soon came in from the *Post*'s awestruck readers. While there were a few isolated detractors, most of those who took time to put down their thoughts would have agreed with Pittsburgh's Mrs. John A. Flannery, who wrote of *Freedom of Speech* that "every town hall in the land should have one on its walls." The Four Freedoms ideal had clearly begun to captivate the public.[28]

The media was also thoroughly impressed. The *Post* began receiving requests from other publications to reprint the paintings for their own readers. National radio networks started to mention Rockwell's images as a way to invite listeners to tune in to live discussions of the president's Four Freedoms theme. The *Washington Post* (which was typically read closely in the White House) suggested that "the Four Freedoms, which had hitherto been brought home to the people only in cold type, have been freshened by Rockwell with the warmth of feeling, the minute detail, the imagination and the fine draughtsmanship" that will foster a "universality of appeal which should strike fire among freedom loving people everywhere." And Elsie Robinson's Listen, World! newspaper column, disseminated widely by King Features, related this admiring reaction: "I've seen four dreams—I've heard four bugle calls." Rockwell's meaningful interpretations, she predicted, were destined to "hang in lonely mountain cabins, adobe huts, desert schools and shacks, swank offices, rose-wreathed homes . . . or [be] pinned to the tent flap of some youngster far away in Tunisia or the Solomons, who's dying that those words may always live." In such places, she concluded, the paintings would always give Americans "strength and dignity—and faith—to carry on!"[29]

Robinson's poignant prophecy about the widespread circulation of Rockwell's four images would soon ring true. The Office of War Information, obviously impressed with the massive reaction to the *Post*'s rollout, made a formal approach to Curtis Publishing about using the paintings in an official capacity. Given the big splash that Rockwell's interpretations had made, OWI sought the publisher's permission to turn them into war posters after all. The answer was an em-



University Club
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

Feb. 28, '43

Dear Mr. Rockwell:

For your noble and human and deeply stirring series interpreting The Four Freedoms, I want to send my warmest appreciation and admiration. I feel the more personally grateful because three members of my family are in Africa, one in New Guinea. Your great pictures will help much to keep America's head high and its purposes true.

Only hope the OWI or a similar agency may be able to give even wider circulation to your series, as it did of your dramatic, compelling poster, "Give Him Tough—& On Time".

But see enclosure, which suggests that the OWI needs to be vitalized into new activity!

Carlton F. Wells

★ This February 28, 1943, letter from Carlton Wells to Norman Rockwell expresses the heartfelt reaction that many Americans had to the artist's *Four Freedoms* series. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



William John Moriarty (1903–1978), *Four Freedoms with T/5 Norma Boudreau and M/Sgt. Louis Dovilla, Camp Atterbury, Ind.*, July 12, 1943. Photograph for Signal Corps, US Army. Camp Atterbury World War II Photograph Collection, Indiana State Library Manuscripts Photographs Collection, Indianapolis.



★ *U.S. Treasury Department and* Saturday Evening Post *War Bond Show*, 1943. Pamphlet for the Four Freedoms War Bond Show sponsored by Wm. Filene's Sons, Boston. Ink on paper, 9 × 6 in. (22.9 × 15.2 cm) (closed). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of John F. Butler.

phatic *yes*. Almost immediately, four million copies of the posters were rolling off the presses. As Robinson had predicted, they did in fact appear prominently in private homes and in post offices, canteens, libraries, and countless other public spaces throughout the rest of the war.

Henry Morgenthau Jr., the secretary of the treasury and a close friend of the president, was watching these events with great interest as well. Morgenthau soon directed his War Finance Division (WFD) to get in touch with the magazine. The WFD team's crucial mission during the war was the financing of the massive American military operation. Costing hundreds of billions of dollars, the war was among the most expensive operations ever undertaken by the government. In short, it took funds to fight, and Morgenthau and his team were the country's chief fund-raisers. They quickly realized that Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* represented an excellent opportunity not only to publicize FDR's ideal but also to sell war bonds. Thus the Department of the Treasury requested that the *Saturday Evening Post* join it in planning and sponsoring the sixteen-city Four Freedoms War Bond Show. The original paintings would travel from stop to stop, along with a host of other paintings, posters, pamphlets, window displays, and (of course) plenty of war bonds, as well as the volunteers who would sell those bonds to the avid public.

Hibbs and the *Post* team agreed. By mid-March, just after the fourth of Rockwell's images appeared in the magazine, publicity for the tour had already begun. Starting in Washington, DC, and gradually working its way around to points west, with such locations as New York City, Detroit,



★ Norman Rockwell interacting with fans at the inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show at Hecht's department store, Washington, DC, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

and New Orleans along the way, the tour was a dynamic entertainment extravaganza like nothing that had ever come before it. Each stop vied to offer the biggest thrills and the most notable celebrity appearances. At the Boston stop, local organizers brought in the original models from Rockwell's paintings. In Buffalo, visitors were challenged to purchase enough war bonds to sponsor four new fighter-bombers, each named after one of the Freedoms (they succeeded). And two newspapers in Portland, Oregon, used "over 1,000 column inches of newspaper publicity" to attract more than one hundred thousand bond purchasers to that city's stop on the tour. The traveling exhibition, in other words, was a sensation. As Stuart Murray and James McCabe note in *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, "almost overnight, the Four Freedoms Show" had become "the rallying point of a massive national outpouring of patriotic enthusiasm."[30]

Rockwell himself ended up being part of the tour, but only for the first stop. Deep within the display halls of Hecht's department store in downtown Washington, DC, he quickly found that he had no appetite for the nonstop routine of signing autographs, meeting celebrities, and talking to reporter after reporter. Asked to continue tagging along with the exhibition, he allowed the protective Hibbs to interject: "No, Norman's going to stay home and do *Post* covers." The artist's role in the publicity machine was not completely done—he soon had to endure a Paramount News crew visiting the Vermont studio to film reenacted scenes of Rockwell and his Four Freedoms models at work—but for the most part he could enjoy the spectacle from a distance.[31]

The tour did just fine without him. By its finale in mid-1944, more than a million people had come to see Rockwell's images. Furthermore, they had purchased some $133 million in war bonds for the privilege. By any standard, it was a staggering amount, especially considering that many Americans were *already* hoarding every extra cent to put into the war-financing program. Orville S. Poland, one of the Treasury staffers who had overseen the tour, testified: "[Rockwell's] pictures and the way they were shown were deeply stirring. Not only that—they could not fail to make a lasting imprint on the thought, and affect the action, of all those who saw them" at their various stops across the country. Simply put, if Rockwell had started out to inspire his fellow Americans with simple, everyday interpretations of the Four Freedoms, by the end of the war bond tour he had more than met his goal. As one Curtis Publishing Company official told Rockwell, "this snowball of yours just rolls on and on and on."[32]

Hidden among the tour's startling financial and emotional results, however, was an equally startling change in public perception, at least in hindsight. That change involved FDR's Four Freedoms themselves. Only sixteen months earlier, in January 1943, OWI's analysts had all but concluded that the president's ideal was a misguided flop. Fortunately, at that very moment, the *Post* had been preparing for the launch of Rockwell's interpretations, which soon landed in the public's consciousness like a grenade thrown by one of the nation's dauntless marines. Thereafter, there was no more talk of a failed theme or of an embarrassing flop.

Instead, throughout 1943 the president's Four Freedoms swiftly became an indelible part of the national vocabulary. Consider that in 1941 the *Washington Post* used the phrase *four freedoms* only fifty-seven times. In 1943, as Rockwell's interpretations were rousing magazine subscribers and exhibition attendees alike, the newspaper used that same phrase 246 times. The pattern was repeated in other newspapers. Even the *Chicago Tribune*, generally considered a stout opponent of anything associated with FDR, saw its use of the phrase leap from 145 times in 1941 to 240 times two years later. After Hibbs's team members at the *Post*, alongside OWI and the Treasury, were finished promoting Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*, the phrase had become a routine feature of the national vernacular. By that point, the presidential phrase and the artistic interpretation had apparently begun to merge, giving Americans a set of moving and familiar images to associate with FDR's original set of ideals.[33]

It was an intriguing and yet unlikely outcome. But at the time, with the war going on, few people would have had the occasion to ponder the jagged course of the Four Freedoms. Perhaps the two people best equipped to do so were the commander in chief and the craftsman—those two famous Americans who barely knew each other. After all, FDR was well aware that his favored phrase had been a hard sell in the early going. And Rockwell, in turn, knew precisely how difficult the abstract ideals had been to illustrate. Together, with one telling and the other showing, the two men had unwittingly given the abstract concept a profound meaning even as they had inspired Americans to embrace the ideals themselves. It was a collaboration that would elevate the president's original phrase into a timeless moment. And that moment, looking forward, would influence the very shape of the postwar landscape.

THE LEGACY OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS

On October 17, 2012, hundreds of onlookers gathered on New York City's Roosevelt Island to celebrate the opening of a picture-perfect park. The weather that fall morning was bright and brisk. Through a line of linden trees, just across the East River, the United Nations complex was visible against the skyline of the great city. A number of dignitaries, as well as several Roosevelt family descendants, were present to celebrate the unveiling of the new Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park. After nearly forty years of planning, the site was finally ready to host an admiring and appreciative public.

With Tom Brokaw serving as the master of ceremonies, the lineup that morning featured the usual laudatory speeches, including one from former president Bill Clinton. Collectively, the presenters spoke for over fifty minutes. As one might expect, their words crafted a familiar set of memories. They talked of FDR and of war. They talked of the Great Depression and of the home front. And they talked of guiding principles and of timeless ideals. All of the discussion ultimately revolved around FDR's Four Freedoms and their long-term legacy.

None of the speakers present that day mentioned Norman Rockwell. Nor did anyone refer to his *Four Freedoms*. Quite understandably, all attention was focused on FDR's rhetorical genius and on the impact of his powerful notion. As Brokaw put it, Roosevelt "chose to rally his fellow citizens and the world with a bold statement of the fundamental principles of free men and women everywhere. . . . Four Freedoms that on that day and forever more define the aspirations and rights of all, as he put it, everywhere in the world."[34]

Still, the complete absence of Rockwell from the ceremony prompts the question: If he had somehow found a way to attend the morning's event (never mind that he passed away in 1978), what would he have thought of this circumstance? Would he have been upset that his *Four Freedoms* paintings, which played such an instrumental role in the American public's appreciation of the president's phrase, were not part of the conversation?

While the answer to this question is of course unknowable, an angry reaction from the artist seems highly unlikely. This is the man, after all, who did not enjoy living in the spotlight—so much that when given the opportunity to lead events at every stop on the war bond tour, he declined in favor of going back home to work on more canvases.

This is also the man who understood, especially later in his career, that the mission of an illustrator—while a unique and admirable artistic tradition—is ultimately to give life to the ideas of others. That understanding suggests that he conceived of his *Four Freedoms* work as a contribution to the war effort, not as an attempt to crowd FDR out of the picture. As an American with a particular gift, Rockwell did his part by giving visual life to a set of ideals that the president himself had proposed. The credit, then, still went to FDR, then and now. Rockwell had simply followed in the footsteps of his fellow citizens, such as the laborers who brought the armaments described by the president into being and the soldiers who followed the president's orders in bringing those

armaments to bear in theaters across the world. Like them, Rockwell had found a way to put his skills to use on behalf of his president and his country.

Finally, this is also the man who was well aware that his four masterpieces were not perfect, at least not from every vantage point. As Elizabeth Borgwardt notes in *A New Deal for the World*, for instance, *Freedom from Want*'s "large, well-fed family sitting around the dinner table anticipating the consumption of an enormous roast turkey" aroused considerable resentment overseas, where "starving, overrun, displaced Europeans" could barely imagine access to such a feast. Nearer to home, at least a few Americans felt free to criticize the images, such as T. C. Upham, a theater director from Cape May, New Jersey, who wrote to the artist to complain that *Freedom of Worship* was "very bad," as its figures were too "foreign-looking" and were posed like "cattle or sheep" (p. 221). Moreover, the artist himself was never quite satisfied with *Freedom from Fear*, which he later called "rather smug." Hibbs may have been right when he contended that "those four pictures quickly became the best known and most appreciated paintings" of the era. But they were not without their flaws—and if Rockwell had been in the audience at the new park, he would surely have been mindful of them.[35]

Yet it is important to add that the imperfect *Four Freedoms* were, in this respect at least, a fitting echo of the president's imperfect version of the Freedoms. FDR had proposed his ideals as a postwar goal that was "no vision of a distant millennium" but rather "a kind of world attainable in our own time." These were powerful words, and he and his team seemed to believe in them wholeheartedly. Despite that apparent belief, however, Roosevelt's critics, then and now, have often questioned his actual commitment to guaranteeing such freedoms. Most obviously, the administration's internment of more than one hundred thousand Japanese Americans for much of the war (most of them bona fide American citizens) was a far cry from any version of freedom, whether in wartime or not. And the millions of members of the nation's African American community—segregated economically and socially from the rest of the nation throughout the 1940s—understandably questioned the administration's willingness to ensure that the president's freedoms would apply to them, too.[36]

Despite the inevitable imperfections, however, the Four Freedoms soldiered on, inspiring people in ways never dreamed of by either Roosevelt or Rockwell. In the wake of the war bond tour, the ideals gained enough credibility to merit Eleanor Roosevelt's intense devotion as she helped plan what would ultimately become the United Nations. Due primarily to her efforts, all four of the Freedoms became part of the organization's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ratified in 1948. Moreover, the new postwar countries that based their national constitutions on the model of the United Nations typically incorporated the Freedoms into their laws as well.[37]

The Four Freedoms were making their mark in other ways. In Africa, a young Nelson Mandela and his fellow activists found the very idea inspiring. In India, Mahatma Gandhi, too, was influenced by the president's vision of multiple freedoms. Jewish refugees attempting to flee to Palestine in 1946 might have found themselves setting sail aboard the newly christened *Four Freedoms*. By 1958, Gaganvihari L. Mehta, India's ambassador to the United States, remarked that "the 'four freedoms' proclaimed by the late President Roosevelt" had become "a beacon for de-



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Murder in Mississippi*, 1965. Oil on canvas, 42 × 35 in. (106.7 × 88.9 cm). Unpublished illustration for *Look*. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

pendent and economically underdeveloped countries," ultimately igniting a widespread demand for independence from colonialism as the fastest way to implement "the principles for which the Allies fought." The Four Freedoms, then, were clearly alive and well and doing their part to reshape the postwar world for the better.[38]

Back in the United States, aspects of the Four Freedoms lived on in Rockwell's work as well. During the 1960s, his art took on an increasingly progressive tone, addressing issues such as racial tolerance, service to humankind, and equality of opportunity. Perhaps his most searing work from this period is *Murder in Mississippi* (p. 52), an unpublished illustration from 1965 that depicts the impending murder of civil rights activists James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner by Deputy Sheriff Cecil Ray Price and a group of Ku Klux Klansmen. Rockwell's illustration of the scene is at once an emotional condemnation of racist atrocities and a commentary on the perilous state of the country at the time. It is, in many ways, another take on freedom from fear—replacing the smug wartime family that had bothered him in the 1943 image with a genuine plea for the kind of change implied by FDR's original clarion call.[39]

And so the legacy of the Four Freedoms continues. Brought into being by a president in 1941 and given full meaning by a good-natured artist in 1943, the Freedoms are a rare instance of a timeless rhetorical moment that emerged from a successful collaboration. As FDR wrote, "I am grateful for the reproductions of Norman Rockwell's paintings illustrating the Four Freedoms. He has done a superb job in bringing home the plain, everyday truths behind them."[40]

And what a collaboration, full of contradictions as it was. Whether one conceives of the course of the Four Freedoms (and the *Four Freedoms*) in terms of water and oil, yin and yang, words and images, or telling and showing, it is evident that the president's famous phrase had fostered a remarkable set of ideals. Perhaps those ideals were so magnificent that they needed the divergent approaches of these two contemporaries who were in many ways strangers to each other. Working separately, one helped shape the Four Freedoms with his words, the other with his brushes. But working together, they brought forth a new vision of freedom that enlivened the home front, inspired countless millions of people, and ultimately reshaped the world that would emerge from the ashes of the greatest conflict in history.



Old covered bridge, West Arlington, Vermont (undated). Russell Collection of Vermontiana, Martha Canfield Library, Arlington, Vermont.

FREEDOM TO THINK & FREEDOM TO SPEAK: A ROCKWELL CASE STUDY

BRIAN ALLEN

Norman Rockwell's *Freedom of Speech* (p. 1) is among the most famous works of American art, arguably as well known as James McNeill Whistler's portrait of his mother and Emanuel Leutze's *Washington Crossing the Delaware*. While fame does not necessarily mean quality, the Rockwell work is a beautifully designed picture that expresses a timeless and powerful message with clarity. It has been popular from the start; millions of copies of the illustration circulated during World War II. And it is resilient: it continues to serve as a go-to image for causes related to freedom of thought, the press, assembly, and speech, as well as for those advocating for the sanctity of the written and spoken word and the role of community cohesion. Yes, it is propaganda. But it is also a fine and significant work of art.

Freedom of Speech belongs to that rarest of categories in Rockwell's work: it is based on a specific event. Many of his illustrations contain newspaper clippings, calendars, and other time-specific objects that help to set an otherwise generic scene in a time and place. The scenes, however, are invented. The other *Four Freedoms* pictures (pp. 2–4) reference no event that actually occurred. *Freedom of Worship* tells no story. *Freedom from Want* is a generic scene showing a holiday celebration that unfolded, menu included, in millions of wartime homes. A newspaper from an unspecified time and place reporting a horrible bombing coaxes a story of wartime air raids from *Freedom from Fear*. *Freedom of Speech* is different. Like Rockwell's *The Problem We All Live With* (p. 184), which drew from six-year-old Ruby Bridges's much-photographed efforts to integrate an all-white New Orleans public school in 1960, it dramatizes an event that actually happened.

Yet, unlike that later image, *Freedom of Speech* represents a scene that Rockwell himself witnessed. As he well understood, the moment emerged not just from a specific time and place but also from a venerable American tradition, one particularly associated with New England. That the artist was able to make the scene of a local town meeting into a universal experience reveals much about his skill and about his genius.

SOME DETECTIVE WORK

On November 9, 1940, the Memorial School in Arlington, Vermont, burned to the ground. The school had been built in 1921 to educate Arlington students from all grades, replacing most of the one-room schoolhouses scattered throughout the town. Soon after the fire, a replacement school was offered for voter approval. The townspeople voted to borrow $80,000. Along with the money from the town's insurance policy and private donations, the funds allowed for the authorization of a new high school. The planned school would open in time for the start of classes in September 1942.

Rockwell attended the town meeting at which Arlington's citizens discussed the financing for the proposed new school. His autobiography sets the scene. Already commissioned by the *Saturday Evening Post* to produce illustrations based on President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms speech, the artist was struggling for ideas. "But it was so darned high-blown," he wrote of the president's ideal. "Somehow I just couldn't get my mind around it."[1]

> Then one night as I was tossing in bed, mulling over the proclamation and the war, rejecting one idea after another and getting more and more discouraged as the minutes ticked by, all empty and dark, I suddenly remembered how Jim Edgerton had stood up in town meeting and said something that everyone else disagreed with. But they had let him have his say. No one had shouted him down. My gosh, I thought, that's it. There it is. Freedom of Speech. . . . I'll express the ideas in simple, everyday scenes.[2]

James Edgerton and his wife, Clara, lived next door to the Rockwells in West Arlington. Their part of town was almost totally rural. Electricity had arrived only in 1937, and hot and cold running water came to the Edgerton's farmhouse a year later. Both Edgertons came from old Vermont families with deep roots in the Arlington area. Their dairy farm, about eighty acres serving as many cows, was a going business. However, like almost all small Vermont farms during the Great Depression, it was not much of an income producer. While farm families raised most of their own food and produced their own clothing, the monthly check for the milk they sold was essential income. With the collapse of milk prices during the Depression, that income had diminished dramatically. In 1940, the Edgertons' farm income took a further hit. An outbreak of hoof-and-mouth disease required the destruction of most of the family's cows. As 1941 began, the missing income was still affecting the family. The man who rose to speak at the town meeting was not impoverished, but he and his family were hurting.[3]

In his memoir, the Edgertons' son, Buddy, described the scene that day:

> The town hall was lined wall-to-wall as a heated debate raged about whether or not to build the new high school. While most folks felt it should be rebuilt, for whatever reason, my dad wasn't one of them. He felt strongly that the students in the high school should be bussed to other lo-

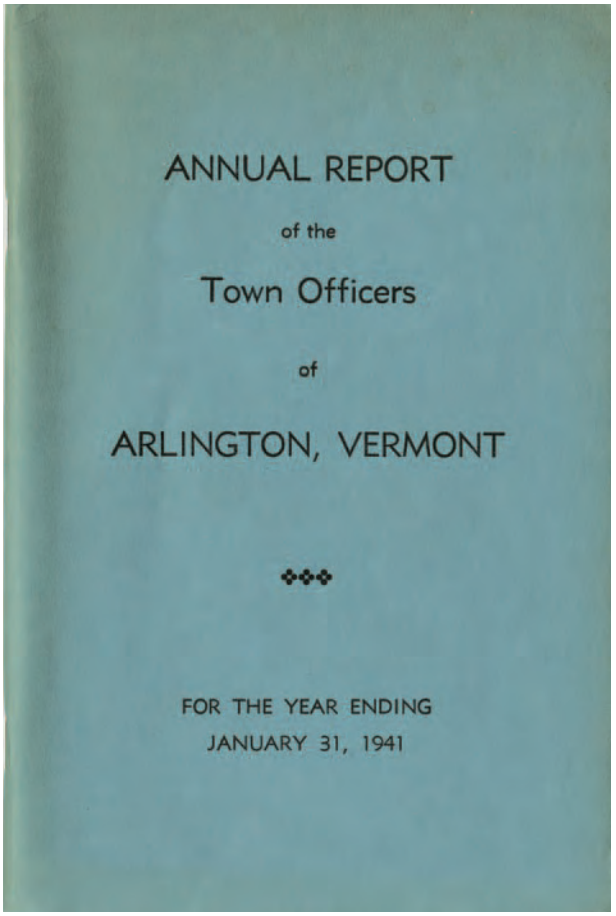




The Memorial School, Arlington, Vermont, was destroyed by fire in 1940 (above, left). The town's citizens approved its rebuilding (above, right, in 1950) at a special town meeting in 1941. Private collection, Arlington, Vermont.



Map of Arlington, Vermont, 1869. Russell Collection of Vermontiana, Martha Canfield Library, Arlington, Vermont.



Annual Report of the Town Officers of Arlington, Vermont, for the year ending January 31, 1941. Russell Collection of Vermontiana, Martha Canfield Library, Arlington, Vermont.

cal schools instead. My dad was no shrinking violet and as he stood up at the meeting waiting for his turn to be recognized, folks quieted and turned to hear what he would say. . . . He held everyone's full attention as he passionately outlined his minority position. Finishing with thanks and a nod of his head, he sat down; and then the townspeople voted to build the new school.[4]

Clara Edgerton gave her own eyewitness account of the moment in a 1981 interview. Proclaiming "I was there," she remembered that her husband wanted details on the proposed building, especially its safety features. These were germane questions, she felt, since the previous building had burned. The architect gave "a twenty minute answer, but didn't answer." Such imprecision did not impress her husband. His fundamental concern, recalled Bud, was the impact of additional town indebtedness on his family's taxes.[5]

So was this exchange the evocative moment that appears in Rockwell's *Freedom of Speech*? The painting itself provides an important clue. Notice that the men on both sides of the speaker hold a copy of a document with a pale blue cover. The speaker himself has a rolled-up copy in his jacket pocket. We get the clearest view of it from the figure on the right. Its title confirms that it is the annual report for a Vermont town. Although Rockwell changed the front cover to eliminate the date, it appears to be the *Annual Report of the Town Officers of Arlington, Vermont*, for the year ending January 31, 1941 (p. 57). The cover of Arlington's annual report was a different color each year. The only one with a robin's-egg blue cover appeared in 1941.

This report was by state law distributed annually to every property owner in Arlington at least ten days before the annual town meeting. The blue booklet distributed in early 1941 included reports from town departments, an itemized list of expenditures, lists of town officers, births, and deaths, and the minutes of the March 5, 1940, annual town meeting and other special town meetings that year. Also included were the agendas for a special town meeting that would occur on January 18, 1941, and for the upcoming March 5, 1941, annual town meeting.[6]

The blue-bound annual report provides additional context for Rockwell's scene. On December 18, 1940, the Arlington Board of Education convened in a special meeting to discuss the proposal to build the new high school. Board member John Fisher, the husband of the nationally acclaimed novelist Dorothy Canfield Fisher, presented a $140,000 proposal for the new building. The board recommended a plan, an appropriation, and the appointment of a building committee.

These steps needed approval in a town meeting. In Arlington, as in almost every locale in Vermont, each registered voter was, in effect, part of the legislative branch of the town government. No appropriation of town money could be approved without a town meeting vote. The board of education could only recommend expenditures. It could not legally spend money without the citizenry's approval. In this case, the board of education requested a special meeting in which the school project would be the only item on the agenda. This meeting—which Rockwell would commemorate in *Freedom of Speech*—occurred on January 18, 1941. (Curiously, the meeting took place less than two weeks after President Roosevelt first proclaimed the Four Freedoms.)

The minutes of the January 18 meeting appear in the 1942 annual report. They reflect that there were in fact comments from voters. They also confirm that "Mr. Hancock, the architect for the new school building, was present at the meeting and was called on to answer questions con-



Town Hall, Arlington, Vermont (undated). Russell Collection of Vermontiana, Martha Canfield Library, Arlington, Vermont.

cerned with the proposed new building." Rockwell's picture thus accurately portrays an actual exchange; his late-night vision of Edgerton rising to speak was no false memory.[7]

In fact, Edgerton was not the only citizen who spoke out in opposition to the new high school that day. But the record shows that the dissenters were in a distinct minority. The school project was authorized by a landslide vote, 119 to 15. By a separate, 114 to 18 vote, the town authorized borrowing $80,000 to help finance the project. Rockwell's depiction of a man speaking in opposition to the prevailing opinion, then, is accurate as well.

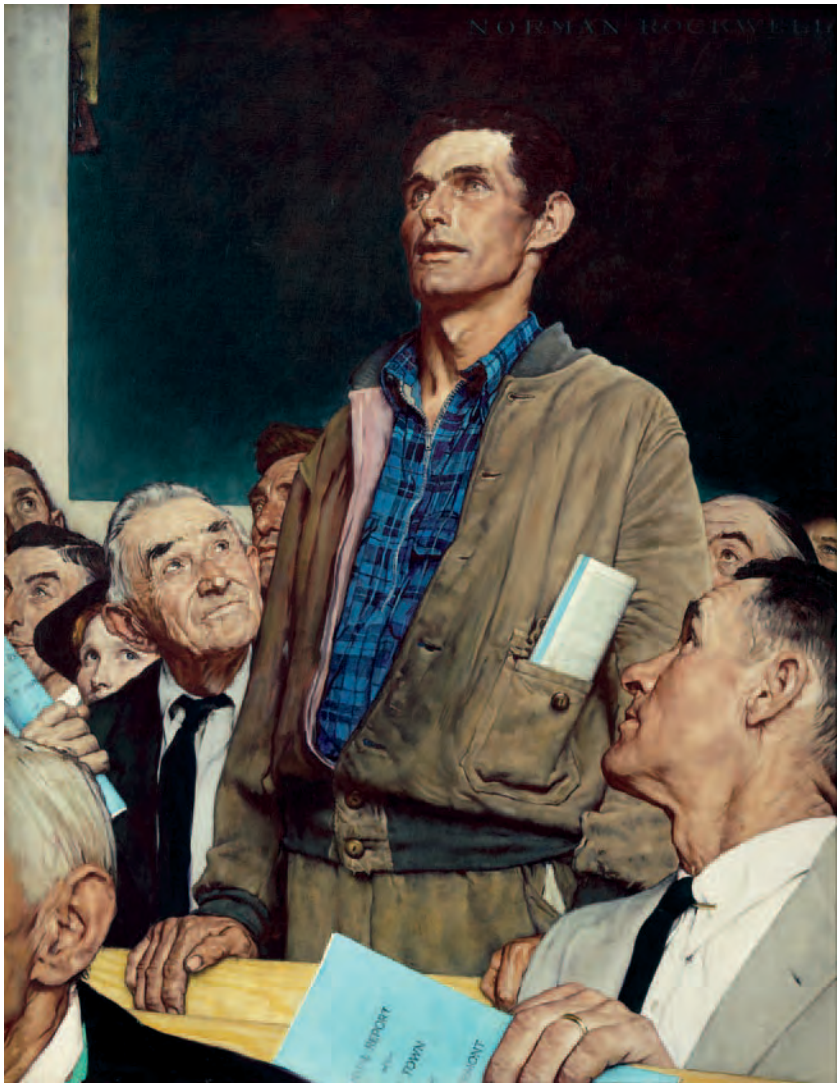
On an ironic note, when ground was broken for the new school a few weeks later, Edgerton became part of the construction crew. He earned seventy-five cents per hour for an eight-hour day. Later, as head carpenter, he made ninety cents an hour. As it turned out, the school he had so famously opposed would eventually help to salvage his family's finances.

ROCKWELL AS STAGE DESIGNER AND CASTING DIRECTOR

While Rockwell's *Freedom of Speech* was based on a moment in a real event, the translation of that moment to the canvas shows the artist's eye at work in distinctive and yet subtle ways. The painting is the most succinct of Rockwell's *Freedoms* pictures. The speaker, a single, strong vertical, dominates. A man flanks him on each side, looking up at him. A horizontal bench and a horizontally held annual report draw our eyes to the speaker's right hand, with its rough skin and dirty nails. The seam on his jacket and the zipper on his flannel shirt lead us to a notably pronounced Adam's apple and his open mouth. In the background is a blank blackboard. The scene is decisively anchored by the rectangle of figures that compose the lower half of the picture and the modified triangle formed by the speaker himself. It has what I call a skyscraper design, with a central tower flanked by two wings. Yet the zipper, jacket seam, and uplifted faces provide thrust. The overall picture is designed as a grid, with verticals—ties, the sides of the speaker's arms, the seams and shirt zipper, and the left side of the blackboard—crossed by horizontals—the top of the bench, the jacket's fitted and buttoned hem, the speaker's broad shoulders, and so forth. The design is both stable and dynamic,

and as a composition it is economical and effective. The local culture's austerity, simplicity, and aversion to frills clearly informed the artist's aesthetic. Rockwell thought that it had more "wallop" than the fussier *Freedom from Fear* and *Freedom from Want*.[8]

Rockwell's eye for detail is revealed in the intriguing emphasis on both eyes and ears. The proliferation of eyes, including Rockwell's, in the far left by the blackboard, are perhaps more obvious at first glance. Nearly the uppermost figure in the group, aside from the speaker, Rockwell the artist essentially reserved for himself the bird's-eye view. Unusually, we see an abundance of ears, too. They are big and judiciously framed. The blackboard edge points to Rockwell's. The faceless figure on the lower left is not entirely all ears, so to speak, but his left ear is rendered with minia-



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom of Speech*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



Norman Rockwell's neighbor James Edgerton is the model in this 1944 reference photograph for *Norman Rockwell Visits a Ration Board*, story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 15, 1944. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

turist bravura. In many ways, the picture concerns both seeing and listening—which are perfectly appropriate motifs for an image devoted to what Roosevelt called, in his Four Freedoms message, "freedom of speech and expression."

The townspeople, of course, are listening to the meeting's central figure. Interestingly, the model for the speaker was not Edgerton. The artist's next-door neighbor had modeled for Rockwell three times in decidedly minor roles (p. 60), and his son and grandson modeled for the artist as late as the 1960s. But this time Rockwell seemed to want a different look. Perhaps Edgerton looked too handsome, too much like the Arrow Collar Man, or perhaps he was too wholesome or too much the generic Yankee. Rockwell might even have thought that he looked too much like Charles Lindbergh, among the most famous men in the United States at the time.

The actual model for the speaker was Carl Hess, the owner and operator of a small gas station and car repair shop in Arlington, about half a mile from Rockwell's home. Ardis Edgerton, Edgerton's daughter, believed Rockwell "wanted someone who looked like a wreck," and on that basis selected Hess. Disregarding the harshness of Ardis's choice of words, we can see what she meant. Rockwell sought a model who would come across not as a person of privilege—a clothing model or prep-school graduate—but as a guy from the other side of the tracks, someone whose hands get dirty when he works. More precisely, Hess's lean ruggedness, dark complexion, sunken cheeks, prominent jaw, and overall angularity suggested Abraham Lincoln—albeit a modern version who pumped gas and fixed cars rather than splitting rails. The look was ideal for *Freedom of Speech*—however, Rockwell never used Hess again. After the painting became so well known, Hess was probably too famous.[9]

The cast of characters surrounding the speaker is just as meaningful as the selection of Hess. If one thinks of Rockwell's Arlington work as more spartan than his work from the 1910s and 1920s (as if he had absorbed a culture that valued simplicity and economy in habits, speech, and look), the citizens in *Freedom of Speech* offer good evidence. His use of models who were not professionals but rather drawn from the tiny, isolated working-class farm town is palpably evident. The models wore their own clothes, and each portrayed him- or herself—except for Hess, who in nearly every respect was Edgerton's peer. Almost every feature of the painting is focused and simple. It is almost minimalist, with no props other than the annual reports, the bench railing, and the blackboard. It is clear that the Rockwell who created this image was painting in the tradition of American realist genre artists from the nineteenth century. It was a lineage that started with George Caleb Bingham, William Sidney Mount, and Eastman Johnson, and continued with Works Progress Administration (WPA) photography, the Wyeth family, artistic photo-realism, and American street photography. With the Arlington-based realist choices of *Freedom of Speech* so apparent, we can justifiably describe Rockwell as a New England regionalist. It is therefore quite fitting that Rockwell chose such a veritable New England tradition, the town meeting, to embody his message.

THE NEW ENGLAND TOWN MEETING

The town meeting form of government exists in about a thousand towns in the United States, most in the Northeast. Some of them have populations of over 25,000, but most are much smaller. For the average New Englander, the town meeting is an unremarkable reality of civic life.[10]

But it is remarkable. Few of us realize its ancient roots or how radical it was, especially in the eighteenth century. We find its beginnings as a method of governance in ancient Athens. In frontier New England, it was born again. Early settlers in New England, especially the Puritans, were not inclusive. They saw democracy in a different way—not as an invitation to individual expression but as a localizing of power that remained communal. They reviled inclusivity, the basic ingredient of democracy. After all, they left England to get away from anyone who disagreed with them.

As the population in the early settlements grew, though, the communal zeitgeist changed. By the eighteenth century, villages came to value concord and consensus. The town meeting became a place for civic debate, the massaging of ideas, and compromise. Thomas Jefferson called this New England tradition "the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government." Alexis de Tocqueville wrote, "Town-meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach, [and] they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it."[11]

This new model for government in New England could not have been more different from the mother country's version. The simplest description is bottom up versus top down. American government in the colonial era was almost exclusively local, with voters guiding local decisions, electing local officials to implement their decisions, and selecting town representatives to the colonial legislatures. The colonial governor's authority was weak and practically limited to a colony's biggest settlement.[12]

In England, the concept of "one man, one vote," or representative democracy, did not exist. It was still, in many respects, a feudal society in which power and wealth were distributed through birth, and social, economic, and political relationships were governed by hierarchy. The right to vote was severely restricted. Members of Parliament almost never lived in their constituencies. Local interests were an unimportant factor in their thinking. Elections were rare. Fundamental principles of justice, liberty, consent of the governed, and fairness figured little. The redress of citizens' grievances was nonexistent. Government was the province of the Crown, aristocrats, and royal courts.

In New England, in contrast, almost all political authority gradually came to reside in town meetings, which operated as local legislatures. These legislatures, whose members were every property-owning man in town, instructed their representatives to colonial legislatures how to vote. Such democracy was seen as the best protection against the despotism of the state. As John Adams wrote in 1775, "a democratic despotism is a contradiction in terms."[13]

The radicalism of the town meeting lay in the primacy of local control over, in the case of colonial America, royal control based in London. Its empowerment and privileging of the individual are the golden threads running through the founders' thinking and the core documents they produced. In the 1760s and 1770s, every New England town fashioned its grievances against London and the Crown through town meeting debates and votes. In the years that followed, the town meeting form of government remained a New England staple. While it did not spread far beyond the Hudson River, it did become an indispensable part of the American psyche.

By using the town meeting as a symbol for freedom of speech, Rockwell made a direct, precise, and convincing reference to a pillar of American liberty. That it was a tradition both ancient and enduring gave it the quality of a secular sacrament. No wonder, then, that Rockwell's speaker is rugged, tall, and lean. Channeling the presence and confidence of Jim Edgerton in the pivotal 1941 town meeting, he commands the space on the canvas. His freedom to speak, his individuality, and his freedom to think as he wishes symbolize both the rights of the individual and the critical distinction between democracy and despotism. Rockwell's artistic choices—his genius, really—ultimately made the fight at hand, which by 1941 was heading toward the height of Axis expansion, more convincingly one between good and evil.

EVERYMAN, MEET SOMEBODY: CHARACTERIZATION & MELODRAMA IN ROCKWELL'S FOUR FREEDOMS

D. B. DOWD

PREAMBLE

Despite pretensions to eternity, we know that art is fixed in time, rooted to the moment of its creation and distribution. The historical exigencies that led to the creation of Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* suite (pp. 1–4) are well known. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had designated the Freedoms—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—in his January 1941 message to Congress. In May 1942, when Rockwell toured the US Department of War, casting about for opportunities to be helpful, the memory of Pearl Harbor was still fresh, and recent news from the Pacific theater of war had been mixed. Seventy-six thousand American and Filipino troops had surrendered to Japanese forces on the Bataan Peninsula, Philippines, on April 9. The US Army Air Forces' Doolittle Raid on Tokyo (emotionally satisfying, if not particularly effective) had followed on April 18. All that spring, from Hawaii to California to Washington State, government agents were rounding up Japanese Americans, stripping them of their property, and depositing them in isolated camps. When Rockwell finished the suite at the end of 1942, the tide had turned in the Pacific, although a bloody slog remained. Europe remained occupied by the Axis powers; Americans had yet to land in Sicily, and the Allied invasion of Normandy was still eighteen months off. All told, the *Four Freedoms* paintings were undertaken in a deeply unsettled moment.

Our return to Rockwell is likewise grounded in time. Revivals always reveal latter-day concerns. Amid the tumult of 2016–18 in the United States, we should note that until quite recently, any attempt to reengage with Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* might have come off as quaint or triumphalist. After all, the victory over fascism and the achievements of the postwar era have been amply celebrated. Paeans to the so-called greatest generation had grown cliché within the first full decade of this new century. The enterprise this catalogue marks might well have been a giant bore. But alas, no. Today we take up the Four Freedoms newly alert to the dangers of complacency. We face radical discontent of more than one stripe and eroding trust in our institutions, even in the very legitimacy of our elections.

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Two Plumbers*, 1951. Oil on canvas, 39¼ × 37 in. (99.7 × 94 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, June 2, 1951. Private collection.

All of this matters greatly. Our civic health is subject to other measurements, too. The plague of cheap talk and bad faith in contemporary America threatens our thinking. The headlong rush to the battlements to fend off Vandals, whomever they may be, erodes our capacity to weigh carefully and judge discerningly. Discernment takes practice. And culture provides the raw material to practice *on*, valuable precisely because life and limb are not at stake. If we have grown used to the notion of *culture war*, that is an indictment of our era.

In divided times, a reliance on melodrama can be a safe—if also culturally stunting—path. Certainly the fare at the movies has descended into juvenilia, particularly comic book melodrama. Ironically, many of the superheroes who nowadays stalk the multiplex were invented by Jewish kids in the late 1930s. They were understandably in thrall to the wish fulfillment of special powers, having learned through family networks of the mortal danger to European Jewry. Well before the United States entered the war for which Rockwell propagandized, superheroes had begun battling Nazis. As for today, we might do with fewer cosmic battles against galactic villains. Our requirements are simpler. We need legislators, holiday partygoers, everyday persons and more, all of whom object to indecency. But because big-dollar returns for *The Avengers* and its ilk are predictable, the studios continue to serve up spectacular, repetitive fare.

By such a route—a reflection on melodrama—do I arrive at what may seem like an impertinent question. As we return our thoughts and gaze to Franklin Delano Roosevelt's alliterative quartet and Norman Rockwell's visualizations of it, we have an obligation to ask: *Are these things any good?* That is, are the illustrated *Four Freedoms* cultural work of high merit? Or should they, all these decades later on, be understood primarily as skillfully wrought pabulum?

That latter formulation might induce a form of mid-twentieth-century post-traumatic stress disorder in Rockwellians. *Not again!* Shouldn't the steady rehabilitation of Norman Rockwell's reputation among (some) critics and (certain deep-pocketed) collectors have set such loaded questions to rest? In many respects, yes. Rockwell's visual range, gift for staging, command of his medium, productivity, and durability with audiences establish him as a major figure in twentieth-century American visual culture. And yes, the prior terms of his exclusion from the master narrative of American art history remain mostly in force and owe much to high cultural disdain for the products of consumer culture.[1]

Whatever. Historically and critically speaking, Rockwell matters now, just as previously scorned categories of cultural production like genre fiction and television do. The old hierarchies of taste have aged poorly, and we can be thankful for that.

But that is not the whole story. To dispense with the vertical axis of high and low is not to abandon judgment or forswear criticism. To the contrary, a vital pluralism relies on rigor, lest it slip into naive enthusiasm or louche fellow-traveling. Let's take Rockwell seriously. What has he got to show us?



Alex Schomburg (1905–1998), cover illustration for *The Sub-Mariner*, no. 1, "Deep-Sea Blitzkrieg" (Timely Publications), Spring 1941.

ON METHOD

As a practical matter, Rockwell's pictorial enfleshment of Roosevelt's theorized transnational rights succeeded and wildly so. Audiences identified with the pictures because they recognized themselves in them. That may sound like an utter commonplace but should not be taken as such. Reverse engineer the pictures: the freedoms themselves are quite abstract. How and by whom should images depicting them be populated? Ponder the creative knot that sits at the intersection of modern personhood, shifting modes of representation, and the machinery of mass culture. Who is Everyman? (Note: I use *man* advisedly.)

Artists and writers had been working on this problem since the turn of the century. The notion of Modern Man was still fresh in the early 1940s. Speaking broadly, he was imagined to have transcended class and escaped (or realized) history by one of several routes at a fork in the ideological road paved years earlier: via abstraction to the left, via advertising to the Calvin Coolidge right, or via the *Volk* to the fascist right.[2] After Pearl Harbor, only the first two were viable in the United States. Both routes required generalization, the first through social realism inflected by abstraction (itself driven by analytical reduction of early social scientism), and the second through alternately arcadian and urbane fantasies of consumerist self-realization. Depression-era American visual culture featured human representations of both kinds: the noble laborers of Works Progress Administration (WPA) posters and murals and the dreamy stock guys and gals of print advertising. (Notably, almost all such heroic generalizing in mainstream print involved white people. When other racial groups were generalized, mockery prevailed.)

These were the vocabularies available to an American illustrator who aspired, as Rockwell did, to give plastic form to universalizing language aimed at a wartime popular audience. The abstractionist forswore anecdote, simplifying planes and eliminating local detail to create a sense of the mythic. Rockwell did the opposite: he committed to particulars. His Everyman would be Somebody.



Maurice Merlin (1909–1947), *Mobilizing Michigan for Farm and Factory*, 1941–43. Poster, Michigan Art and Craft Project, Work Projects Administration. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.



George Petty (1894–1975), "'Snowonder she likes Old Golds!" Two-color print advertisement, *Collier's*, January 28, 1939.

As a matter of general practice Norman Rockwell cast the characters in his paintings much as a film director might, painstakingly building his tableaux through repeated sittings and photo shoots. *All* of his characters were somebodies. The method suggests the illustrator as a documentary allegorist, which is accurate as far as it goes. But Rockwell's persuasiveness as a maker of illusions—skillfully rendering characters as well as objects and settings—served as a Trojan horse. The illustrator's verisimilitude masked the hidden caricaturist within, the secret to his beloved warmth and liveliness. As a comparison of his photographic contact sheets and his finished paintings suggests, Rockwell exaggerated unmistakably, investing—*goosing*, really—a given pose or a model's expression with a boost of animation at a controlled rate; the exaggeration was percep-





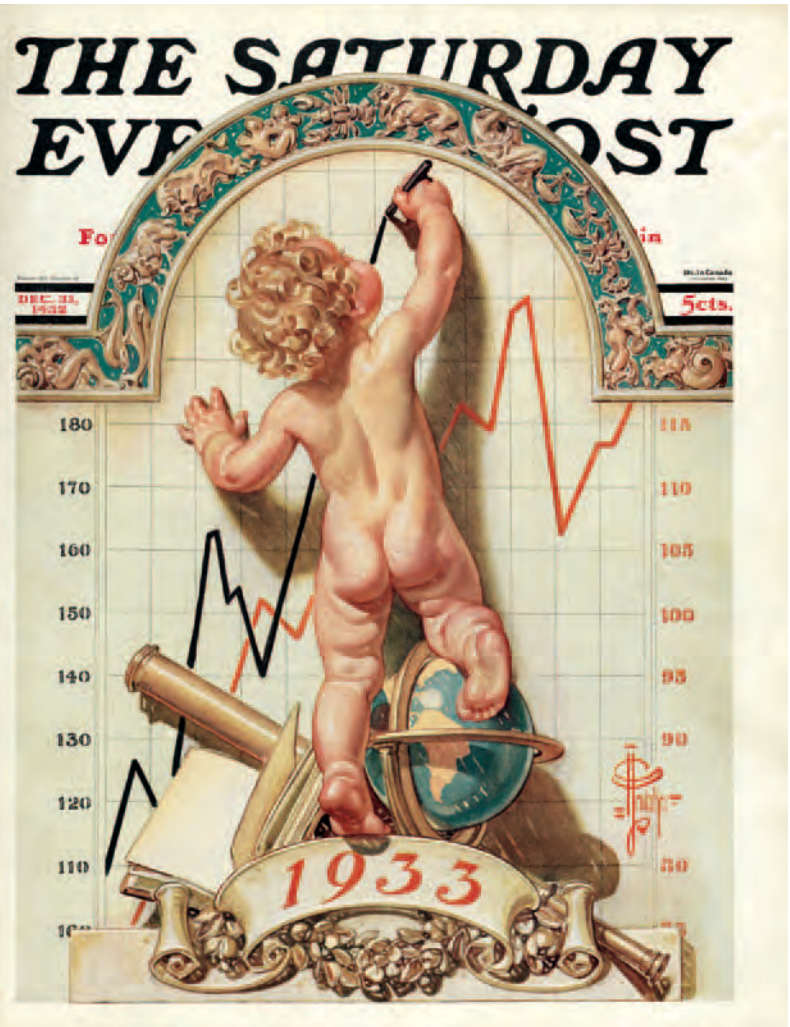
Reference photograph (left) for figure in Norman Rockwell's *Two Plumbers* (detail, right), with Rockwell posing model, 1951. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

tible, if barely. Cloaked in realist garb, such comedic adjustments went unseen. The maneuver is most evident in Rockwell's *Saturday Evening Post* covers, and is easiest to spot in particularly performative scenes, such as *The Gossips* (1948) and *Two Plumbers* (1951, p. 64), the latter reproduced on these pages with but one of the forty-five reference photographs shot for the project. The left plumber's stance, gesture, and expression were highly directed, as the photograph shows. His features (evocative of silent film comedian Stan Laurel) and gestures are visibly more plastic in the painting.

Perhaps because he intended the *Four Freedoms* project to embody high ideals, Rockwell qua cartoonist is occasionally absent from the famous quartet. No matter. Audiences who had been looking at his *Post* covers since the First World War embraced Rockwell's amplified specificity, perhaps even filling in blanks, in the service of Roosevelt's rhetoric.

THE PAINTINGS

The *Four Freedoms* did not run as magazine covers but rather as interior pages in the *Saturday Evening Post*, which collaborated with the US Department of the Treasury to distribute them. But all parties involved traded on Rockwell's renown as a cover artist for the magazine to propel the project into the public eye. The modern *Saturday Evening Post* cover, as established most definitively by J. C. Leyendecker in the first decade of the twentieth century, consisted of a central motif, element, or scene suspended in a solution of nega-



★J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951), *1933 Baby New Year Charting*. Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, December 31, 1932. Tearsheet. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William Hargreaves.

tive space. No matter how adventurous Leyendecker's later *Post* covers became, they remained almost militantly two-dimensional in spirit, resisting any urge to articulate a setting, or create a picture *into which* the viewer peered, as opposed to *at which* one looked. Norman Rockwell's first *Post* covers followed the Leyendecker model, beginning with *Boy with Baby Carriage* (November 1917) and extending into the 1930s. Many of Rockwell's finest covers of the 1940s and '50s tackled more sophisticated visual problems. The *Four Freedoms* help to mark the turning point toward more spatially ambitious pictures.

Considered as a set, the *Four Freedoms* is an uneven affair that trades on Rockwell's strengths but suffers from his weaknesses, albeit with the edge going decisively to the former. *Freedom of Speech* resonates yet condescends; *Freedom from Want* serves up the most satisfying aesthetic experience by withholding bounty; *Freedom from Fear* enacts Rockwell's thematic squeamishness; and the weakest illustration, *Freedom of Worship*, domesticates its subject beyond all recognition, yet points to a future work, nine years on, that might qualify as the artist's crowning achievement.

Freedom of Speech (p. 1) has justly remained a durable image, if one undermined by class condescension. Rockwell's *Post* covers conveyed an amiable social cohesion grounded in the rituals of middle-class small-town life. We associate Rockwell with a communal world—a view that places the (admittedly homogeneous) group at the center. *Freedom of Speech* cuts another way, if only to a degree.

A Lincolnesque tradesman stands to state his case at a town meeting. His worn suede jacket, open-collared blue plaid shirt, casually rolled annual report, and workman's hands mark him as anything but a cultural elite, to use today's term. Tanned from outdoor work, the speaker stands in the visual center of four men. They are soberly jacketed and tied, comparatively pallid, implicitly professional. One has turned to listen to the remarks with wrinkled forbearance (p. 72). Whatever his opinion, the standing townsman offers it plainly, without oratorical gestures. His gaze is upturned, mouth open, in a manner vaguely reminiscent of the saint in Bernini's *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa*, suggesting a democratic apotheosis, an Everyman among the Gray Suits. Despite the patient reception, the likely result is clear: the professionals—better educated, more experienced in organizational affairs—are going to call the shots. With luck, our tradesman will have offered an unexpected insight that will inform their decisions. But he also might just be indulged and ignored. In either event, Everyman gets to say his piece. (Every*woman*, less so. As Deborah Solomon notes in her biography of the artist, the painting "is compromised by a near absence of women, making it look . . . like a meeting of aging male Elks." A facial fragment of a single female appears at the left margin.)[3]

Endlessly parodied, *Freedom from Want* (p. 3) has entered the realm of images that signify themselves. Obscured by mental shorthand because it is instantly identifiable, the picture goes largely unseen. That is a pity, because *Freedom from Want* merits sustained looking. In abbreviated recollection, most recall a grandmother with a turkey and a family lining a table, which is true as far as it goes. Rockwell has stacked the people the way saints' heads line the margins of an illuminated manuscript. The backlit presiding elders are positioned at the top of the painting, including the woman with the turkey—which upon examination might turn out to be made of Styrofoam for all it appears to weigh. (The unpersuasive fowl is a casualty of Rockwell's process. Almost certainly the model was photographed with a platter sans bird. We will never know, since the Arlington, Vermont, studio where Rockwell painted the *Freedoms* burned to the ground in May 1943, taking all his reference materials with it.)

The humans, then, provide the mass of the painting. If you squint, they form a warmly colored A-frame structure—a Sienese *baldacchino*—flecked at the bottom by a yellow-red bowl of fruit. But the people are not the subject of the painting. They may provide subject *matter*, but the picture has other fish to fry. It is *about* something else. When experienced in person, at scale, *Freedom from Want* is a painting about an austere feast, a celebration of light. Dramatic though it may be, the uncarved turkey seems to be it for food, aside from blanched-looking celery, an aspic, and some fruit (p. 72). We confront empty plates and colorless water. No heaping bowls, no spilling cornucopia, no bottles of wine. But the restraint does not suggest self-denial—far from it. Rockwell paints an airy blanket of white light, sourced through the curtained window, that settles over the table, linens, china, silver, and glassware. Light suffuses everything, conferring grace on the gathering.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom of Speech* (detail), 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom from Want* (detail), 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

Freedom from Fear (p. 4) offers formal comforts. A solicitous mother and tired, attendant father put their children to bed. The genre scene unfolds in an upper bedroom, the angle of pitched roof squeezing the picture from the upper left, complemented by the abbreviated diagonal of a stair banister on the right. Shapes in cascading light values spill down from the top: the man's shirt, the woman's (mostly obscured) white apron, an incipient horizontal slash of pillows, and a turned-down sheet. Next come the beige blanket and newspaper, and after them a set of blue gestures: a sword of skirt, the fallen doll, discarded clothing, a shard of dour wallpaper angling to an apex. Lastly, a satisfying notch, easily missed at the upper left: the corner of a framed devotional print—a throwaway in reproduction, surprisingly lovely in the original painting.

Rockwell's methodology involved shooting the photographic reference for each character in turn, and *Fear* exposes some limitations of the approach. The suspendered father attends his wife, flanking her as she pulls up the sheet. Two abreast, like passengers in a car, each faces the head of the bed. All four feet line up, spaced evenly in pairs. The mechanics of this processional choreography are peculiar, in two respects. First, neither has room for *hips*. Unless they occupy space with the geometry of a pair of bedside tables, it is difficult to see how they could take up the minimal floor spaces assigned by their stances. Second, the woman bends over her children, leaning to the right over the bed. A figure so extended in one direction must make a corresponding adjustment in another to maintain her balance. Either her feet would be oriented differently, or her left foot would be stuck out to keep her from falling onto the bed. But her husband's position prevents her from doing so. Had the two models posed together, subtleties of positioning would have prevailed. Their adjustments to each other would have affected the visual and spatial rhythm of the painting.[4]



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom from Fear* (detail), 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 13, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

More obvious is an aversion to the putative subject of *Freedom from Fear*. Rockwell's biographers (Laura Claridge, Deborah Solomon) have made much of the illustrator's identification with Charles Dickens. The ruddy-faced boys and indulgent older men who populate Rockwell's world justify such comparisons, as do his autobiographical writings. But the Dickensian Rockwell is incomplete; his illustrated world cannot accommodate a genuine threat, either pictorially or tonally. Nowhere will we find the villainy of Quilp or the wicked falsity of Uriah Heep, the bad guys of *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *David Copperfield*, respectively.[5]

I do not think it is fair to accuse Rockwell of lacking emotional range, exactly; at his best he captures longing, sadness, and pathos in addition to the impish *joie de vivre* we associate with him. But the personification of fear and danger were off the menu.

It is odd, really. Consider that other beloved mid-twentieth-century American melodramatist, Walt Disney. He could scare the bejeezus out of his viewers, and routinely did; consider the near murder of Snow White and her headlong flight, the transformation of boys into jackasses in *Pinocchio*, the forest fire in *Bambi*, the hallucinogenic pink elephants in *Dumbo*. Nothing in Rockwell comes close.

So it is, then, that the representation of fear boils down to a newspaper headline and an allegorically limp doll. Subtract the comforting genre scene and you are left with a lazily conceived editorial cartoon. Typesetting the words BOMBINGS and HORROR does not pack much punch. (See: *Guernica*, Picasso, Pablo.)[6]

Even after Rockwell freed himself from the editorial strictures of the *Saturday Evening Post* and dug into civil rights themes for *Look* in the mid-1960s, he flinched. *Murder in Mississippi*

(p. 75), which depicts a moment just before the infamous killings of Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman, in Philadelphia, Mississippi, on June 21, 1964, focuses on the victims, not the victimizers. An early sketch included a visualization of the threat, an extrajudicial posse led by Deputy Sheriff Cecil Ray Price. But Rockwell could not follow through. Save for their shadows, the killers remained offstage in the published work. (See: *The Third of May 1808 in Madrid*, a.k.a. *The Executions*, de Goya, Francisco.)[7]

Finally comes Rockwell's attempt to illustrate religious pluralism, a subject fraught with cardboard peril. Unsurprisingly, *Freedom of Worship* (p. 2) brings up the rear of the quartet in all respects. Unlike the other three paintings, *Worship* is not situated architecturally. *Fear* and *Want* appear in domestic spaces, upstairs and down; *Speech* is staged in a public meeting room. Perhaps to avoid an ecclesiastical setting, thereby stacking the deck in favor of one faith over another, Rockwell creates a collage of heads in prayerful profile—a supplicant-as-emblem approach. A grandmotherly Protestant, perhaps flanked by her elderly husband, mostly obscured; a behatted Greek Orthodox (sometimes seen as a Jew); a woman praying the rosary; a chin-stroking agnostic. *Portraits in piety!*

Spatially, dramatically, and thematically, the picture is a dud. Rockwell did not have a religious sense of life, and his pictorial translation of faith conveys nothing of the essential strangeness of religion. Despite the inevitable domestication of faith into liturgical procedure and moral injunction, at the heart of all religious experience lies bizarre wonderment: the unconsumed burning bush, the unspeakable *YHWH*, the revivified corpse of Lazarus, the New Jerusalem in outer space.

Rockwell would go on nearly a decade later to create *Saying Grace* (p. 76), a vastly more potent take on private religion and public tolerance. It is arguably Rockwell's very finest painting, and surely one of his best three or four works. That image, which appeared on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post* on November 24, 1951, forswore pietistic generalization and returned to the Rockwell wheelhouse: specific people and settings—or getting to the general by way of the particular.

Rockwell gives us two travelers who have stopped to eat in a crowded restaurant somewhere in the northeastern United States. A slight grandmother and a small boy, by appearances Mennonites, are bent in prayer over a meal. Seated family-style across from them are two working-class tough kids, one dangling a cigarette and looking askance, the other scanning the room for other witnesses. As in *Freedom from Want*, white sunlight burnishes the dinnerware and cutlery, as well as the old woman's faux-alligator bag, a particularly beautiful flourish when experienced up close. (The scene beyond the window is executed in graphite on unpainted canvas—a pencil drawing!)

Encircled by cigar smoke, *this* piety is properly strange. The quiet modesty of the devotional act in *Saying Grace* reminds us that some of our neighbors live in the world but refuse to think themselves *of* it. The Mennonites are Anabaptist cousins to the Amish. Into the 1950s they set themselves apart, too, if less radically. Rockwell focuses on his rakish onlookers, quizzical in the face of this private act in a busy, chaotic setting. They register disbelief but hold their peace. Rockwell shares their skepticism, yet honors the simple ritual of blessing food. I can think of no other picture that more intimately captures the sacred and profane in American life, while somehow celebrating both. Critically speaking, *Saying Grace* amounts to a back payment on the disappointing *Freedom of Religion* (even if Rockwell himself was quite satisfied with the latter).



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Murder in Mississippi*, 1965. Oil on board, 16⅛ × 12¾ in. (41 × 32.4 cm). Story illustration for "Southern Justice," by Charles Morgan Jr., *Look*, June 29, 1965. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Saying Grace*, 1951. Oil on canvas, 42 × 40 in. (106.7 × 101.6 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 24, 1951. Private collection.

CONCLUSION

Early in this essay I wondered whether an advanced cinematic economy in superheroes might amount to a kind of cultural sophomorism. I also suggested that Norman Rockwell's melodrama suffers for want of the villains who populate his beloved Dickens. These contradictory observations get to the heart of what is to be gained from a Four Freedoms revival now. What can Rockwell's propaganda offer us in a national episode of unexpected ugliness?

Americans are having to relearn forgotten lessons. Chief among them are the disciplines of democracy, currently threatened by a decadent politics, too much money spent unaccountably by too few, and an immature communication regime of vast reach, traveling in disguise as technology. But we are still armed with a Constitution written by people who were deeply pessimistic about human behavior. They built a system designed to constrain the worst of it (with slavery being an extremely glaring exception). Under these conditions many people find themselves beset by temptations to Manichaean simplicity—good versus evil—even as they strain to keep George Orwell's dictum top of mind: "To see what is in front of one's nose needs a constant struggle." How to stay attentive—to keep one's lanterns lit—while staving off the deadly business of exhorting the infallible good guys against the irredeemable bad ones?[8]

Perhaps Norman Rockwell offers a useful lesson about essential human decency, within historical constraints. Perhaps his disinclination to vilify and demonize may be put to good use. Call it conflict avoidance if you want, but Rockwell's willingness to empathize with almost anyone is admirable.[9] Good criticism, for its part, extends hospitality by seeking first to describe so as to understand. Too often we lack such generosity now, in part because audiences on social media prize quick judgment and colorfully phrased dismissals. Rockwell rewards the slower take, once prized in American laps in domestic spaces, of an encounter with an illustrated magazine.

Rockwell extends generosity to his characters and viewers alike, delivered through visual and dramatic attention to detail, complexity when necessary and simplicity when not, and sheer imaginative reach. If Norman Rockwell operated and created in a narrower (read: whiter) editorial landscape at the *Post* than we or he would have liked, in his way he made the circle bigger. He eschewed heroic generalization. He took people as he found them but improved them by investing them with an animated dignity. In his hands we are more charming, warmer, and possessed of more generous spirits than we are in real life. Now, to be sure, we must complicate this thought. Majoritarian myths are involved, appeals to sentiment, which tempt us to evade awareness of historical wrongs and to avoid fixing them. No elisions should be inferred. Let us not be untroubled.

But neither let us refuse a gift. Norman Rockwell thinks better of us than we deserve. If he abstains from the manufacture of villains, perhaps we can, too. We could grow into a Rockwellian sense of decency, extend it into places and spaces he could not reach or even imagine, and put it to work in the world. Such freedoms will be worthy of our devotion.

ARTISTS FIGHTING FOR THE FOUR FREEDOMS

HARVEY J. KAYE

When President Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered his Four Freedoms message to Congress on January 6, 1941, he knew very well that the United States would soon be compelled to enter World War II. In fact, he pronounced the Four Freedoms—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—not simply to rally Americans to support Britain and its allies by transforming the nation into the "arsenal of democracy," but also to project a vision of the United States, and the world, that his fellow citizens would see as worth fighting for. The speech was a call to arms.[1]

Of course, FDR also knew very well that Americans were not eager to enter the war (when were they ever eager to go to war?). But he truly believed that they would make the Four Freedoms their own and confront their rendezvous with destiny. They would do so, he thought, just as the greatest generations of the past had confronted their own challenges in the 1770s and 1860s, by not only fighting to defend American democratic life but also by enhancing it in the process. Hadn't FDR's constituents already begun the struggle for the Four Freedoms when they went into battle against the Great Depression of the 1930s, the worst economic and social catastrophe in American history? Hadn't they harnessed the powers of democratic government in favor of a New Deal and pursued not just national relief and recovery but also national reconstruction and reform? And for all their faults, failings, and sins of omission, hadn't they actually made the nation freer, more equal, and more democratic than ever before in the process?

Inspired and encouraged by his fellow citizens, Roosevelt used his 1941 address to articulate the nation's purpose and promise anew. His Four Freedoms were the eloquent embodiment of that articulation. And in the years that followed, Americans, despite the tragic and ironic turns to come, would not fail him—nor would they fail themselves.

The fight for the Four Freedoms, however, was never going to be easy. Class, race, and religion sorely divided Americans. The tragic legacy of World War I made many cynical about what another war could ever accomplish. While sixteen million citizens, men and women in all their wonderful American diversity, would don uniforms to defend the nation and fight for democracy—and millions more would serve the war effort at home as workers and volunteers—the Roosevelt administration was determined to win not just the war but also the peace to come, which, to the

Andrew Herman, *William Karp (1905–2005) Works on His Mural,* Normal Pursuits of Man, *at Bellevue Hospital, New York, as Part of the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project,* September 7, 1936. Photographic Division Collection, ca. 1920–1965, bulk 1935–1942. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian.



Archibald M. Willard (1836–1918), *Spirit of '76*, 1875. Oil on canvas, 24 × 18 in. (61 × 45.7 cm). Town of Marblehead, Massachusetts. This work was revered by the World War II generation for its celebration of the fight for freedom in the American Revolution.

president, meant introducing the Four Freedoms "everywhere in the world." Unfortunately, both before and after Pearl Harbor, the president grew increasingly concerned that many Americans were not enthusiastically embracing those Four Freedoms.[2]

It was true that labor, civil rights, consumer, and women's groups had responded enthusiastically and aggressively to both FDR's speech and to the idea of the Four Freedoms; these groups would continue to do so throughout the war. However, surveys indicated that most Americans could not recite the president's freedoms. Many could not list even one. Poet Archibald MacLeish (p. 82), the director of the Office of Facts and Figures (OFF), observed in May 1942 that although Americans apparently "know very well why we are fighting" and "what we are fighting *against*," they did not yet know "what we are fighting *for*."[3]

Moreover, many corporate leaders and southern politicians were especially wary of, if not outright antagonistic toward, promises of freedom from want and fear. The playwright Arthur Miller stated the problem starkly in a radio script he was working on in 1942:



Segregated drinking fountain, Halifax, North Carolina, April 1938. Photograph by John Vachon (1914–1975). Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



Italian-American members of the American Legion marching in a parade on Mott Street, New York, at the Feast of San Rocco, August 16, 1942. Photograph by Marjory Collins (1912–1985). Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

> The Four Freedoms frighten some people. And rightly. Because to a man who hates Negroes it is a frightening thing when a government sets out to guarantee the Negro's freedom from the fear of the rope. To a man who wants to cut wages to the bone it is a terrible and frightening thing when a government sets out to guarantee the right of every worker, black and white, to the fruits of his labor.

Miller's radio play was never produced, but the playwright spoke a frustrating truth: the Four Freedoms would face an uphill battle.[4]

Recognizing this truth, the nation's artists, writers, actors, designers, composers, and musicians vigorously took up the challenges of promoting the war effort and advancing the Four Freedoms. Many of them had been deeply engaged in the New Deal by way of the Works Progress Administration's Federal One projects for art, theater, music, and writers. Drawing on those experiences, they now brought their creative energies to a new cause.

Stephen Vincent Benét, one of America's most beloved poets, quickly set the tone in a radio play that aired on July 4, 1941, just six months after the president's address. Titled *Listen to the People*, it critically asked: "Oh, we can call on Lincoln and Tom Paine. . . . Call on the great words spoken that remain. . . . And yet the dead are dead. This is our world. . . . What have we got to say?"

The play's answer, expressed in diverse voices, was powerful:

A VOICE We are the people, listen to us now. . . .
VOICE We lost our way for a while, but we've found our way. We know it and we'll hold it and we'll keep it. We'll tell it to the world. We're saying it.
VOICE Freedom to speak and pray.
VOICE Freedom from want and fear.
VOICE That's what we're building. Now and here and now. . . .
VOICE That's what we're building and we'll build it here.[5]

The Roosevelt administration was eager to build on such potent sentiments. The government's leading propaganda agencies soon took up the cause of the Four Freedoms and—in collaboration with Madison Avenue's new War Advertising Council—began to issue a stream of patriotic images and messages by way of radio shows, short films, and posters. In early 1942, OFF director MacLeish commissioned writer E. B. White, theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, columnist Max Lerner, and novelist and journalist Malcolm Cowley to author, respectively, essays on freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear for *The United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms* (p. 36), a pamphlet intended for a wide popular audience. That summer the Office of War Information (the successor to OFF) sent a manual to the major Hollywood film studios, which recommended that they "help win the war" by producing films that presented the conflict as a global campaign for "democracy," "the Four Freedoms," and (referring to a recent speech by Vice President Henry A. Wallace) "the Century of the Common Man."[6]

Concurrently, writers and artists across the country began to coordinate their efforts, rushing to volunteer their talents and skills to the job of rallying the nation and developing the vision



Pach Brothers, *Portrait of Archibald MacLeish* (undated). Library of Congress Archives, Photographs, Illustrations, Objects, Washington, DC.



Installation view of *Road to Victory* exhibition, May 21–October 4, 1942. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

of the Four Freedoms. Instigated by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr., a number of prominent authors met in New York in January 1942 and established the Writers' War Board, as their counterparts in Los Angeles organized the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization. Later that spring, poet Carl Sandburg and photographer Edward Steichen collaborated to create *Road to Victory*, a full-floor exhibition of photography and texts that opened at New York's Museum of Modern Art and would tour the country in 1943. Welcoming visitors with FDR's Four Freedoms peroration, the exhibit visually narrated the growing American war effort at home and abroad. Acting on the precept "fascists burn books, democrats read them," the nation's leading publishers, joined by the American Booksellers Association, the American Library Association, the National Education Association, and various authors' groups, created the Council on Books in Wartime, emphasizing freedom of expression with the slogan "Books are weapons in the war of ideas."[7]

Some artists worked directly from FDR's words. Dramatists of all sorts, for instance, began to draw up performative versions of the president's ideal. Miller's 1942 stage play *The Four Freedoms* connected the struggles for labor and minority rights in the United States to anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggles globally. African American poet Langston Hughes (p. 86) wrote *Brothers*, a radio play about a black merchant mariner's troubled search for the Four Freedoms at home in the United States. (The Office of Civilian Defense declared *Brothers* too controversial to broadcast, but the Council on Books in Wartime later distributed it in print).[8]



★ Lance Taylor, *Four Freedoms Monument, Madison, Florida, March 30, 2010*. Digital reproduction. Photographs of Historic Architecture in the United States, Special Collections and Archives, Thomas G. Carpenter Library, University of North Florida, Jacksonville.



Victor Kraft (1880–1975), *Aaron Copland by Candlelight, Studio in the Berkshires,* September 1946. Aaron Copland Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Meanwhile, studio artists set to translating FDR's words into visual images. Famed muralist Hugo Ballin rendered the Four Freedoms in pictures with a multiracial cast inside the city hall of Burbank, California. Sculptor Walter Russell represented the Four Freedoms as "four angels, standing back to back, facing the points of the compass," in a monument originally displayed in New York City. The people of Madison, Florida, would soon place the monument in their new Four Freedoms Park, as a memorial to Captain Colin P. Kelly, a native son killed in action early in the war. Polish Jewish illustrator Arthur Szyk, who called himself "FDR's soldier in art," produced four miniature paintings of the Four Freedoms (p. 166). Depicting a medieval knight, "speaking, praying, feasting, and riding off to war on a white horse, his shield emblazoned with the stars and stripes," Szyk's small but militant quadriptych would be printed in a popular series of picture postcards and poster stamps. And, of course, magazine illustrator and artist Norman Rockwell spent much of the latter half of 1942 working in Vermont on his soon-to-be-celebrated, and eventually iconic, *Four Freedoms* paintings (pp. 1–4).[9]

Musicians rallied as well. Songwriters composed pieces patriotic, democratic, and spirited, including "The Four Freedoms" by Jay Gorney, Henry Myers, and Edward Eliscu. Enlisting himself and swing music in the war against fascism, bandleader Glenn Miller put the Four Freedoms into action by organizing the Glenn Miller Army Air Force Band and recruiting a multiethnic orchestra that resembled the diverse B-17 bomber crew featured in many home-front movies.[10]

Classical composers and musicians mobilized, too. Soon after Pearl Harbor, conductor André Kostelanetz invited Jerome Kern, Virgil Thomson, and Aaron Copland (p. 84) to join in creating "a musical portrait gallery of great Americans." Kern chose writer Mark Twain; Thomson chose New York City mayor Fiorello La Guardia; and Copland chose President Abraham Lincoln. A year later, Eugene Goossens of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra commissioned eighteen fanfares to salute those who were fighting the Axis powers. Copland was involved here as well, contributing the powerful and moving *Fanfare for the Common Man*—which he acknowledged had been deeply inspired by the Four Freedoms.[11]

Still, while many artists pointed to the virtue and value of the Four Freedoms, others were all too aware of how far the nation still had to go in fulfilling the ideal's promise. In October 1942, for example, Hughes gave poetic voice to the African American–led "Double Victory" campaign against fascism, which sought a victory against the Nazis abroad and over white supremacy and racism at home. He wrote:

> The President's Four Freedoms
> Appeal to me.
> I would like to see those Freedoms
> Come to be.
> If you believe
> In the Four Freedoms, too,
> Then share 'em with me—
> Don't keep 'em all for you.
> . . . . . .
>
> Freedom's not just
> To be won Over There.
> It means Freedom at home too—
> Now—*right here!*

The following month, during what was dubbed "Listen America Week," the Negro Labor Victory Committee staged the grand People's Rally and Drama on the Four Freedoms in Harlem, New York. There the middle-class sisters of the national black sorority Alpha Kappa Alpha declared: "Listen, America! American Negroes want to win this war. . . . Listen, America! We can fight better in an American army—not a Negro army. . . . Listen, America! We want the four freedoms right here in America." For these impassioned citizens, at least, the promise of the Four Freedoms remained elusive.[12]



★ Gordon Parks (1912–2006), *Portrait of Langston Hughes*, 1943. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

To be sure, not every reference to the Four Freedoms invoked the limits of the ideal's reach at the time. Indeed, by 1943 lighthearted references were showing up everywhere, from the tongue-in-cheek ad for Manhattan's Waldorf-Astoria hotel that invited guests to enjoy "Freedom from servant problems! Freedom from transit problems! Freedom from maintenance problems! Freedom from ownership problems!" to the Women's Republican Club's display of designer fashion ensembles inspired by the Four Freedoms and even to Belmont Park and Aqueduct racetracks, where the thoroughbred Four Freedoms ran handsomely (p. 87).[13]

More seriously, the US Post Office issued a one-cent Four Freedoms stamp on Lincoln's birthday; syllabi, artworks, and plays on the Freedoms were prepared for every level of schooling from the elementary grades to college and even adult night classes. Educator and civic leader Frank Kingdon argued for "cultivating the Four Freedoms" at home in the family to fight prejudice and to encourage democratic values. In California, federal judge Florence Allen told students at Scripps College that the Four Freedoms represented the "cardinal points of the American doctrine" found in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. And in New York City, the Broadway Association proposed a victory arch in Times Square, to be inscribed with the Four Freedoms. Elsewhere in the city, the Italian American Labor Council awarded its new Four Freedoms prize to Attorney General Francis Biddle, and the Yiddish Culture Chorus performed a musical arrangement of FDR's Four Freedoms at the Town Hall theater. Fittingly, echoing the Sabbath sermons of many a reverend and rabbi, the nationally prominent Baptist minister Edwin McNeill Poteat Jr. proclaimed, "The Four Freedoms must become the primary concern of those who share the great Judeo-Christian cultural tradition."[14]

As Americans and their allies began to turn the tide of war throughout 1943, liberal and progressive politicians and artists spoke all the more determinedly of advancing the Four Freedoms. At the invitation of that year's National Committee for Birthday Balls, Norman Corwin, the na-



THE TROY RECORD, FRIDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 3, 1943. 25

Four Freedoms Races To Popular Victory In Aqueduct Feature

9-10 Favorite Scores by 4 Lengths

Burgaway, Second Choice in Field of Five, Beats Favored Challamore At Narragansett

Youthful Stars Advance in National Net Championships

Supreme Hal Sets Trot Mark At Empire Oval

Signator Shows Way At Chicago

113 Horses Eligible For Rich Futurity

Director J. E. Captures Headliner at Camden

Moran Named Grid Coach at South Carolina

Nelson Kayoes Arthur France

Race Entries and Results at Leading Tracks

Entries

"Four Freedoms Races to Popular Victory in Aqueduct Feature."
Troy (NY) Record, September 3, 1943, p. 25.



Will Kron, Artists for Victory. *Slave World or Free World*, 1943. Poster stamp, produced by Ever Ready Label Corporation. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

tion's leading radio producer and writer, staged *A Moment of the Nation's Time*, a short but sharp play broadcast on January 30, the president's birthday, over all four national radio networks. Reaffirming the United States' commitment to the Freedoms, in the spirit of the invocation "they shall not have died in vain," Corwin projected a truly progressive victory that would not only secure "the right to food, clothing, shelter, medical care" but also witness "storm troopers, the race-haters, lynchers, ground into the dust." Soon after, the radio program *Free World Theater* aired *The People March* and *Music for Freedom*, the former based on the vice president's Century of the Common Man speech, the latter on FDR's Four Freedoms message. And that spring, Artists for Victory announced a Four Freedoms campaign and graphic-design competition to coincide with the upcoming national Four Freedoms Days, with plans for an exhibition that would run concurrently in twenty-six museums around the country. Addressing America in the war, entrants were to submit works that portrayed the barbarities of fascism and imperialism, the heroic determination of Americans, *and* the promise of the Four Freedoms (p. 87).[15]

Equally telling of the Four Freedoms' growing national presence and popular appeal, the *Saturday Evening Post* ran Rockwell's FDR-inspired paintings in four consecutive issues that



Woman holding poster at Four Freedoms War Bond Show, Hecht's department store, Washington, DC, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

February and March, each accompanied by an article on the respective freedom. The pictures were decidedly democratic in spirit and beautifully captured American ideals of the good society. Rockwell's *Freedom of Speech* depicted a garage mechanic, Lincolnesque in appearance, addressing an attentive New England town meeting; *Freedom of Worship* portrayed an ecumenical group of people praying together; *Freedom from Want* was represented by a family gathered for a Thanksgiving feast, and *Freedom from Fear* by a couple tucking their children safely to bed.

Remarkably, given the *Post*'s historically conservative outlook, editor Ben Hibbs commissioned the liberal poet and playwright Stephen Vincent Benét to write about freedom from fear and the progressive Filipino immigrant writer Carlos Bulosan to compose the essay on freedom from want. Warning against "forces which have been trying to falsify American history," Bulosan recalled American workers' perennial struggles for democratic rights, cited the continuing oppression of workers and minorities, and answered "What do we want?" with: "We want complete security and peace. We want to share the promises and fruits of American life. We want to be free from fear and hunger. If you want to know what we are—we are marching!"[16]

Americans loved Rockwell's series and flooded the *Post*'s offices with requests for copies. Roosevelt himself praised the pictures and proposed that the accompanying essays be translated for international distribution along with them. The Department of the Treasury subsequently cooperated with the *Post* in launching the yearlong Four Freedoms War Bond Show, which took Rockwell's paintings to major department stores around the country. Starting out in Washington, DC, in April 1943, the show traveled to Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Buffalo, Rochester, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Saint Louis, New Orleans, Dallas, Los Angeles, Portland (Oregon), and Denver, with celebrity-filled gala events staged at each location. Just before the



President Franklin Delano Roosevelt discusses his most recent annual message to Congress with a radio audience, 1944. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

Detroit stop on the tour, the NBC Symphony Orchestra premiered Robert Russell Bennett's new symphony *The Four Freedoms*, in a nationwide radio broadcast, giving even more attention to the president's ideal. By the war bond show's close in the spring of 1944, more than 1.2 million people had seen it in one place or another. Incredibly, they had purchased $133 million in war bonds.[17]

Thrilled by the popular and presidential response, the *Post* decided to run a related series, "What I Am Fighting For," in July 1943. Composed of four GI-authored articles, which Hibbs selected from submissions to an essay contest sponsored by the Service Men's Christian League, the series spoke of family, friends, and "the girl back home"—the American dream *and* the Four Freedoms. The soldiers' references to the Freedoms were more than perfunctory. Private Albert Gerber, a Jewish soldier from Saint Louis, eloquently wrote that he was fighting not only for freedom of speech and religion but also for "economic freedom for all." As he explained, economic freedom meant "unemployment compensation, old-age benefits, really public education—including university and professional training—and all the other things that will be necessary to give the individual economic security in this complex society." Indeed, he said, "I am fighting for a progressive, humane American way of life—not . . . [that of] nostalgic reactionaries who want to go back to the *status quo* of *ante* 1929. I am fighting so that our river of democracy may roll on and wash away . . . more intolerances, more discriminations and more inequities and iniquities."[18]

As polls conducted for the White House that year registered, Private Gerber spoke for the overwhelming majority of Americans. They wanted postwar policies and programs to address, if not assure, freedom from want and fear. These were programs that would guarantee jobs, provide



Anton Refregier (1905–1979), *War and Peace* (detail), history of San Francisco mural installed in Rincon Annex Post Office, San Francisco, 1948. Photograph by Carol M. Highsmith. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.



★ Andre Jenny, *Evansville, IN, Four Freedoms Bicentennial Monument, Riverfront Park, Evening*, 2008.

health care to all, and enable young people to get an education and go to college. Such aspirations encouraged Roosevelt to translate the Four Freedoms into a call for an "economic bill of rights" for all Americans in his 1944 message to Congress. Many congressional conservatives, as well as a number of business leaders, stood firmly against the proposal. Opposing them, labor, civil rights, and consumer groups campaigned in favor of it. With critical grassroots support—including, ironically enough, a national lobbying campaign by the traditionally conservative American Legion—the Roosevelt administration succeeded in securing passage of what would be thenceforth known as the GI Bill of Rights, which would enable twelve million veterans to better themselves and the nation at war's end.[19]

World victory over fascism came in 1945. On the American home front, artists had served the country well. They had not only bolstered the war effort—they had also helped to turn FDR's vision of the Four Freedoms into the promise of the Four Freedoms.

In fact, diverse artists ever since have turned to and embraced the Four Freedoms to challenge Americans to remember them and to recognize what they need to do to live up to (and to advance) them. In San Francisco, muralist Anton Refregier honored the 1945 signing of the United Nations Charter in that city by producing *War and Peace*, a triptych for the city's Rincon Annex Post Office lobby that has FDR's Four Freedoms as its centerpiece (p. 90). In 1949, Szyk illustrated the *Four Freedoms Prayer* with a picture of the Madonna and Child receiving the gifts of the Magi, framed by FDR's words (p. 170). And in 1976, the city of Evansville, Indiana, celebrated the US



★ Setsuko Winchester, *Freedom from Fear/Yellow Bowl Project*, 2016. Photographed at Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park, Roosevelt Island, New York.

bicentennial by erecting a Four Freedoms monument consisting of four tall columns, each representing one of the Freedoms (p. 91). However, reflecting the rise of a new conservative politics, the city leaders somehow saw fit to rename one of those freedoms. Perhaps because it was tied too closely to FDR's New Deal and the progressive struggles of the 1930s, "freedom from want" was replaced with "freedom from oppression."[20]

The Four Freedoms have continued to inspire artists. In 2012, after many years of delay, New Yorkers celebrated the completion of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park on the southern tip of New York City's Roosevelt Island. Louis I. Kahn's design for the park affords spectacular views of the city, including the United Nations headquarters. Part of FDR's Four Freedoms speech is chiseled into a dramatic granite wall, on the opposite side of which is a bust of the president himself—modeled after a 1933 original by the renowned sculptor Jo Davidson. Fittingly, the new park has become a magnet for historical talks, political events, and art exhibits, including Setsuko Winchester's *Freedom from Fear/Yellow Bowl Project* (p. 92), a collection of 120 handmade yellow tea bowls representing the 120,000 West Coast Japanese Americans who, in the worst violation of American civil liberties in US history, were interned during the war by the Roosevelt administration. More recently, photographer Hank Willis Thomas and video artist Eric Gottesman organized a host of fellow artists into a super PAC named "For Freedoms," which aims to produce works that not only challenge Americans to think more deeply about their freedoms but also to "give voice" to their thinking.[21]

These projects demonstrate the continuing urgency of FDR's words, now seventy-seven years old and yet still relevant and timely. When FDR introduced those Four Freedoms on January 6, 1941, he was making an eloquent promise. In many respects, the promise remains unfulfilled. And yet our affection for both FDR's words and the works of those artists who translated them to countless viewers and listeners signifies that the hopes and aspirations of what has been called the "greatest generation" persist in us, abiding in one of humanity's greatest ideals.



Illustrator Mead Schaeffer's *Saturday Evening Post* cover series featuring branches of the military was displayed in one of the many galleries at Detroit's J. L. Hudson department store during the Four Freedoms War Bond Show, in 1943. Photograph by David B. Hilmer (1896–1979). Detroit Historical Society, Detroit, Michigan.

CHANGING THE CONVERSATION IN DETROIT: NORMAN ROCKWELL'S FOUR FREEDOMS & THE FOUR FREEDOMS WAR BOND SHOW

JAMES MCCABE

Throughout much of September 1943, the citizens of Detroit, Michigan, struggled to meet the area's sales quota of Series E war bonds. While the city's wealthier investors were doing well with the higher bond denominations, sales of the lowest-priced note—a comparatively small investment of $18.75—were faltering. Fortunately, a new initiative was about to energize the region. Unbeknownst to most Detroiters, the staff at the J. L. Hudson Company department store was making preparations to host the Four Freedoms War Bond Show. The show, part of a wide array of efforts across the city and state to sell war bonds, was ideally suited to inspire the community to step up to meet the goals of the drive.

The sale of war bonds, a key effort of Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr., had multiple objectives. Financing the immense cost of US participation in a global war was an obvious goal, but there were other important objectives as well. The diversion of the nation's industry from civilian to military production had made consumer products scarce—even necessities such as fuel and some foods—in some cases necessitating rationing. Shifting the increased income of the wartime economy to bonds helped to reduce the resulting inflationary pressures. Moreover, the bonds ensured that at war's end, when they began to mature, there would be a fresh infusion of cash to temper the stresses of a contracting economy weaned from war production.

Yet one particularly critical goal of the war bond program was not about money at all—and that goal was embodied in the voluntary nature of the campaign. To the Department of the Treasury, the voluntary purchase of a war bond represented the buyer's shared sacrifice with those fighting the war overseas. Many different modes of persuasion were employed in support of this goal, such as the depiction of the bonds as a way to ensure sufficient supplies, fight back against the Axis powers, and show the world that the nation was behind the war effort.

The Four Freedoms that President Franklin D. Roosevelt named in his 1941 message to Congress—and that Norman Rockwell interpreted in his *Four Freedoms* painting series (pp. 1–4)—gave war bond promoters an even broader argument that went beyond such win-the-war nar-

ratives, tying a given bond purchase to the war's fundamental aims and even visions of a postwar world. The Four Freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—had different meanings to different people. But it was the power of these ideals, and Rockwell's images, to resonate with a wide swath of the population that made them such an effective tool in the war bond campaign.

Wartime Detroit was an important front for such war bond sales efforts. The city had come to embody both the promise and the perils of the American home front. It had roared out of the slowdown of the Great Depression to embody what FDR called the "arsenal of democracy." Its massive industrial infrastructure, developed for the automotive industry, was quickly converted to war production. The city had remarkable factories with moving assembly lines and other manufacturing innovations, such as the immense Willow Run bomber plant. At its peak, Willow Run completed a B-24 bomber every sixty-three minutes.[1]

In this context, Detroit's unemployment vanished, wages rose, and waves of new workers took their places on assembly lines. As women were hired in large numbers, Rosie the Riveter became an American icon. The transformation of the labor force spurred a second wave of the Great Migration of African Americans, as well as white Southerners, to Detroit and other northern cities. At the same time, immigrants from around the world arrived, fleeing repression, war, and poverty.

This rapid growth placed huge strains on the city. The influx of new workers caused severe shortages in housing, transportation, and public spaces. The city never slowed down, as work and social life expanded to fill a twenty-four-hour day. Average weekly wages shot up from $33.54 in 1939 to $53.40 in 1943, leading to inflation and shortages in both consumer goods and necessities. Furthermore, long working hours and full employment led to unattended children and increases in juvenile delinquency.[2]

These pressures were exacerbated by widespread segregation and racial tension. Federal efforts to reduce discrimination in housing and employment met resistance from white Detroiters, fomenting numerous disturbances. Locally these tensions came to a head on June 20, 1943, when fights between gangs of white and African American youths erupted on the bridge to Belle Isle, a popular Detroit park. The fights rapidly escalated into a full-blown race riot that lasted two days before finally being quelled by federal troops. Thirty-four people were killed and 433 injured, with African Americans making up over 75 percent of the casualties. The city engaged in considerable soul-searching and finger-pointing in the weeks and months that followed.[3]

Cyril Cane, the British consul general for Detroit at the time, was a keen observer of the community. In July 1943 he sent a detailed letter to the Foreign Office in London relating Detroit's post-riot conditions. Along with describing the many strains the war effort had placed on the city, he lamented the attitudes of the citizens. "The majority of the masses are just not interested in the war or its possibilities," he wrote. "The speed and tension of the work has something to do with this, but the money interest has the most. So many are in a new form of life, with money they never had before, that they are in a whirl and cannot find their feet." The Foreign Office thanked Cane for his report, commenting, "One stark fact emerges clearly: the complete apathy of the great majority towards either the war or the post-war."[4]



Intense work pressures, severe shortages, and racial tensions erupted into widespread rioting in Detroit in the summer of 1943. Here, rioters run from tear gas. *Detroit News*, June 21, 1943. Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit.

With Detroit's summer troubles as a backdrop, the nation's Third War Loan bond campaign opened on September 9, 1943. Its slogan, "Back the Attack!" (p. 98), referred to the Allied invasion of Italy, which started on September 3. Detroit and surrounding Wayne County were expected to sell $112 million in bonds. But a full ten days into the three-week campaign, Frank N. Isbey, the head of Michigan's bond sales effort, declared, "We are way behind." Michigan ranked thirty-second among the states in its progress toward its bond sales goal. To make matters worse, the bulk of the purchases had been in large denominations by institutional investors such as businesses, churches, and unions. Thus, proportionately, the sales of small-denomination E bonds to individuals were even further behind the goals.[5]

The timing of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show, which opened in Detroit at the start of the last week of the war bond campaign, could not have been better. The touring exhibition had been organized in the spring of 1943, after the phenomenal success of the publication of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Created as a collaboration between the *Post* and the Treasury Department, the massive show featured an exhibition of the original *Four Freedoms* paintings along with more than one thousand other pieces of original artwork from the *Post*. The show was accompanied by an assortment of other activities that varied from city to city, including parades, celebrity appearances, musical performances, visits by Rockwell's models, and radio programs. The show had already been to Washington, DC, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Buffalo, Rochester, and Pittsburgh before opening in the landmark Hudson's department store on September 27. It was the perfect spot; located downtown, on Detroit's main street, Woodward Avenue, the twenty-five-story building was both the commercial and social center of town.

Workers installed the show on the twelfth floor, in and adjacent to the store's auditorium. For the next two weeks, the exhibits would be augmented by radio broadcasts, pageants, celebrity appearances, informational presentations about military equipment and tactics, and speeches from



George Schreiber (1904–1977), *Back the Attack!*, 1943. Poster for the Third War Loan bond campaign, commissioned by Office for Emergency Management, Office of War Information, Domestic Operations Branch, Bureau of Special Services, 28 × 20 in. (71.1 × 50.8 cm). National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.



The J. L. Hudson Company took out many ads in Detroit newspapers to promote the Four Freedoms War Bonds Show. Advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, September 26, 1943.


Confetti from buildings on the line of march makes a swirling storm about this group of AWVS members carrying their flags in the parade. These uniformed women will take over Bond sale booths during the week.

A huge parade down Woodward Avenue opened the Four Freedoms War Bonds Show in Detroit. *Detroit Free Press*, September 28, 1943.

dignitaries. All of it was aimed at driving foot traffic to Hudson's to buy the Series E bonds that were for sale to individuals.

The show enjoyed an ambitious promotional effort. Hudson's began advertising a week in advance of its opening, and both the *Detroit Free Press* and the *Detroit News* covered the event. The extravaganza kicked off with a huge parade comprising ten marching bands, a military police battalion, American and Canadian servicemen and women, and numerous civic organizations. The crowd was estimated at three hundred thousand. Cannon salutes and a shower of confetti officially opened the show.[6]

Visitors flocked to see Rockwell's original *Four Freedoms* paintings, which were exhibited in a colonnade situated behind velvet ropes, lending them a gravity and formality that belied the everyday scenes in the paintings. The store's auditorium ceiling was adorned with model airplanes, creating the impression of an ongoing air raid. The walls displayed *Post* covers and other illustrations, with the flags of the United Nations (the Allied powers) arrayed above them. A series of store-window-style displays featured more *Post* illustration art, military technology, men's and women's uniform replicas from both world wars, and printed lists of reasons for buying war bonds. Those who did purchase a bond were eligible to win one of 141 original *Post* illustrations.[7]



Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* paintings were exhibited in a formal setting adjacent to the auditorium in Hudson's department store, 1943. Photograph by David B. Hilmer (1896–1979). Detroit Historical Society, Detroit, Michigan.



The auditorium on Hudson's twelfth floor, set up for the Four Freedoms War Bond Show, 1943. Artwork from the *Saturday Evening Post* fills the walls and galleries in the back of the auditorium. Photograph by David B. Hilmer (1896–1979). Detroit Historical Society, Detroit, Michigan.

While most of the displays followed established patterns of war boosterism for bond sales—support for the troops, defeat of the Axis powers, and so on—the Four Freedoms ideals fostered appeals for bond purchases that diverged from the usual entreaties. Replicated in war bond posters (p. 101), Rockwell's images conveyed a different type of message. The posters called on Americans to "Save Freedom of Speech" and "Save Freedom of Worship," with "Buy War Bonds" as the follow-up pitch at the base of each image. Rockwell's *Freedom from Want* and *Freedom from Fear* were presented under the slogan "OURS . . . to fight for." These were not win-the-war slogans but statements about endangered human rights. They were a vision of a better world—one worth fighting for.

Rockwell's images were uniquely suited to this purpose. Rather than trying to build a compelling case for the president's high ideals, the artist's *Four Freedoms* started with the familiar and found connections to the ideal. By seeing the freedoms in familiar settings of everyday life, Detroiters found that they could grasp the ideals as their own. The wording of the slogans that accompanied the images on the bond posters framed the freedoms as something to be saved as well as to be built on. For viewers, Rockwell's images fostered personal connections with the president's Four Freedoms and laid the basis for the remarkable success of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show. The voluntary purchase of a bond was an affirmation of those ideals.[8]

The large parade that opened the war bonds show also presented a platform for Detroit to explore what the postwar world should look like. Tellingly, among the military service groups, marching bands, political dignitaries, and women's auxiliaries was an organization called the Inter-racial









★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), posters from story illustrations for the *Saturday Evening Post*, 1943, Office of War Information, Washington, DC. Each poster, 59 × 35½ in. (149.9 × 90.2 cm). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The *Four Freedoms* war bond posters focused on the postwar world, rather than the war itself.

Group. Just three months after the deadly June race riots, this group's participation was a tentative step forward in the city's quest to address its deep-seated racial animosities. Formed in the days after the riots, the Inter-racial Group was one part of a seven-point set of actions proposed by R. J. Thomas, the president of the United Automobile Workers (UAW). Responding to Thomas's call, circuit court judge Ira W. Jayne addressed a mixed group of prominent African American and white citizens, calling on them to form a committee that would work for racial harmony in order to prevent a repeat of the riots. In calling for the Inter-racial Group to be officially recognized by the city, Jayne specifically referenced "freedom from fear" as motivation for a broad-based movement against the forces of hatred that plagued the city, nation, and world. Jayne had criticized Mayor Edward Jefferies for his failure to create such a coalition months earlier, so the presence of this group in the Four Freedoms parade was an important statement in the highly segregated, racially tense city.[9]

The exhibition also presented viewers with an opportunity to consider the international implications of the Four Freedoms. One prominent radio panel, moderated by WJR's George Cushing, featured Fred Healy, vice president of Curtis Publishing; Peter Martin, a writer and associate editor at the *Saturday Evening Post*; Edward Shugrue, an actor and playwright with the Treasury Department; and Professor Alfred Kelly of Wayne University (now Wayne State University).



Frank L. Williams (1913–1992), *At the Four Freedoms Show*, *Detroit Free Press*, September 30, 1943. The editorial cartoonist at the *Detroit Free Press* made a point about the voluntary nature of war bond purchases.


War Makes High Wages--Put Some of Them Back into Extra War Bonds

The Detroit Free Press

METROPOLITAN FINAL EDITION

TOOL BLACK MARKET PROBED

Detroit WMC Prepares Drastic Labor Control

Investigator Sent Here by Senators

Reds Cement Gains East of Dnieper

New Curbs Expected by End of Week

Auditorium Is Packed for First Opera

Senate Awaits Floor Fight on Father Draft

Allied Trap Is Closing on Foe at Naples

Parade and Show Spur Sales of E-Bonds Here

Lawyer Held as Mercy Killer of Son

Dondero Hits City Gas Rates

Buy a Bond Save a Boy!

Canned-Fruit Point Cost Raised Sharply by OPA

Chinese Execute Admiral as Traitor

On Inside Pages

The *Four Freedoms* were featured on the front page of the *Detroit Free Press* after the opening of the Four Freedoms War Bonds Show. *Detroit Free Press*, September 28, 1943.

Joining the panel was George Lechler, a German émigré who was also a faculty member at Wayne. In an impassioned plea, Lechler called for Americans to "fight for the Four Freedoms," because, he lamented, "I saw them die." Until 1935, Lechler had been the owner and publisher of a German newspaper with a circulation of three million. The Nazis imprisoned him and held him for three weeks until he signed over ownership. "The Nazis wanted me to sign to make it legal," he said. "Everything they have done appears to be legal. That's why the common people thought everything was all right in Germany under Hitler." Lechler continued: "My wife was driven to suicide by the Nazis. I know what your Four Freedoms mean. I know too what it means to lose those freedoms. Men are dying that you might keep those precious freedoms."[10]

Local religious leaders were a prominent part of the discussion as well. On September 26, the *Detroit Free Press* highlighted freedom of worship in a series of front-page essays in support of war bond purchases. The writers were Dean Kirk B. O'Farrell, of the Episcopal Cathedral Church of Saint Paul's; Dr. Leo M. Franklin, of Temple Beth El; and Msgr. Edward J. Hickey, of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit. O'Farrell stated that the "underlying values behind the titanic world struggle are religious values." Franklin put it in starker terms: "This war is being fought not merely for the preservation of the democratic ideal, but for the very salvation of civilization." And Hickey reminded readers, "The freedom of religion that we cherish so dearly is denied by our enemies."[11]

How did Detroiters react to the Four Freedoms exhibition and the wide-ranging discussions that ensued? By and large, the community responded with enthusiasm, despite the many different interpretations of the meaning of those Four Freedoms. Not surprisingly, the *Detroit Free Press*, a Democratic-leaning morning paper, embraced the Four Freedoms War Bond Show. On the opening day, Rockwell's paintings covered much of the front page of the paper. An editorial was effusive in its praise of both the ideals and the paintings:

> There is a great deal of America in this set of four paintings. Yet they are more than American in their appeal. . . . Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Religion are woven deeply into our tradition; are inextricably part of our history. Freedom from Fear and Freedom from Want we have not yet attained in fullness, yet no nation has gone further in making the ideal into reality. The Norman Rockwell canvases have a message for the world, but the message begins here at home.[12]

The *Detroit News*, the more Republican-leaning afternoon newspaper, strongly supported the Third War Loan bond drive. The *News* also covered the Four Freedoms War Bond Show but not as closely as the *Free Press*, and it did not comment on the Four Freedoms in editorials. In fact, the only such commentary to appear in the *News* during the run of the show was in George Stark's Town Talk column. He wrote that "the Four Freedoms Show in Our Town" was "something everybody ought to see, implemented as it is by Norman Rockwell's stunning paintings." He then used the ideals as a bridge to talk about a Gilbert and Sullivan show, noting how wonderfully it employed freedom of speech. The *News*' views were perhaps best captured in Ray S. Ayer's Roadside Philosopher column of September 12. Under the title "False Freedom," he commented



Charles Henry Alston (1907–1977), *A Second Emancipation Proclamation!!*, 1943. Illustration for Office of Emergency Management, Office of War Information, Domestic Operations, News Bureau. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland. The Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter were deeply meaningful to the African American community, which saw them as promises for better conditions in the postwar world. This editorial cartoon was published in numerous African American newspapers across the country.

on the importance of responsibility accompanying freedom and liberty. He closed by contending that "the Four Freedoms: freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech and of religion are fine; but they must never include freedom from responsibility."[13]

The *Michigan Chronicle*, a weekly that served the local African American community, covered the Four Freedoms very differently. It gave front-page coverage to the Four Freedoms rally on Belle Isle, on August 29, 1943 (held just after the second anniversary of the Atlantic Charter, the US–UK joint statement of common aims signed by FDR and Winston Churchill). The *Chronicle* also reported on a local youth group, the Bethel Young People's Cabinet, and its consideration of the question, "What do the Four Freedoms mean?" The *Chronicle* saw FDR's Four Freedoms as a promise for improved conditions in the United States after the war, although it was uncertain whether FDR would be willing or able to carry out that promise.[14]

The *Chronicle* actively supported local war bond efforts, stating in an editorial: "We are confident that the Negro citizens will assure the success of the Third War Loan. . . . and that we will buy



Advertisement for a bond rally for the African American community at Broad's Club Zombie, in Detroit's North End neighborhood. *Michigan Chronicle*, September 18, 1943.

more bonds in proportion to our ability to buy them than any group in America." It also carried numerous advertisements for war bond rallies, many of which were held at clubs in the African American neighborhoods of Paradise Valley and Black Bottom. However, perhaps reflecting the segregation of Detroit and the nation, as well as the *Saturday Evening Post*'s marginalization of African Americans, the *Chronicle* never mentioned the Four Freedoms War Bond Show nor carried an ad for it.[15]

Despite these varying interpretations—or perhaps because of them—the Four Freedoms War Bond Show ultimately marked an optimistic turn in Detroit. There was still a healthy amount of skepticism, to be sure. R. J. Thomas, the UAW president, cited freedom of speech when he was arrested in Texas while attempting to organize workers in that state, but he could have also cited freedom from want. Indeed, freedom from want was the most controversial of the four ideals. When the US vice president, Henry A. Wallace, attempted to expand and elaborate on that freedom, he was mocked by editorials in both the *Free Press* and the *News*. Both newspapers were particularly suspicious of other nations in the global arena, fearing that they would take advantage of the United States after the war. In a one-line filler at the bottom of the opinion page, the *Free Press* quipped: "Unfortunately, the world may get the idea that a Fifth Freedom will consist in free access to Uncle Sam's bank roll."[16]

Nonetheless, when looking back, it is clear that the arrival of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* in Detroit that fall had a profound impact. Along with prompting thought and discussion in the very busy city, the Four Freedoms War Bond Show helped lead Detroit and Michigan to exceed their quotas of bond sales. In fact, the final surge was actually led by the sale of the small-denomination Series E bonds, with both the city and the state leading the nation in that category. "Michigan is bound to place first in E bond sales among the 13 large states," predicted Michigan bond-drive chief Frank Isbey. The show raised $2.7 million in Series E bond sales and helped give the city an opportunity to consider the shape of the future that it was helping to make secure.[17]



★Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Lincoln for the Defense*, ca. 1962. Oil on canvas, 49¾ × 17½ in. (126.4 × 44.5 cm). Illustration for "Mr. Lincoln for the Defense," by Elisa Bialk, *Saturday Evening Post*, February 10, 1962, p. 25. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

FREEDOM FROM SPEECH: LINCOLN, ROOSEVELT & THE MYTH OF IMPROMPTU ORATORY

HAROLD HOLZER

On January 1, 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, alert and focused as ever, despite an eggnog-suffused New Year's Eve celebration the previous night, summoned his team of speechwriters to his White House study to review the most recent draft of his upcoming annual message to Congress—the address soon to achieve immortality as the Four Freedoms speech.[1]

According to Samuel I. Rosenman, who was one of the wordsmiths gathered around FDR's desk that day, what happened next approached the level of performance art. The president declared that their latest, lengthy draft still cried out for a memorable ending. Then, as Rosenman remembered, FDR "leaned far back in his swivel chair with his gaze on the ceiling. It was a long pause—so long that it began to become uncomfortable." Finally, the president assumed an expression that suggested inspiration had finally struck, and broke the reverie by barking jovially to his stenographer: "Dorothy, take a law!"[2]

The speechwriters must have chuckled. That line, a well-known catchphrase of the era, came directly from the script of the recent Broadway musical *I'd Rather Be Right*. In summoning words that had been declaimed onstage by George M. Cohan, Roosevelt seemed to be flamboyantly assuming the role of a president portraying an actor who was portraying a president. At this highly theatrical moment, acting as if he were inventing his thoughts on the spot, FDR proceeded to recite the words he would soon immortalize in his speech before the joint session of Congress: a stirring enumeration of each of the Four Freedoms that he hoped, despite the threat posed by fascism, would take hold "everywhere in the world." The guarantees—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from fear, and freedom from want—came tumbling out with force and succinctness, but also in FDR's irresistibly conversational style of oratory. In this speech, as with his best public orations, he would appear to be thinking, and speaking, almost spontaneously. And he had made certain that speechwriters Rosenman, Harry Hopkins, and Robert E. Sherwood had all been present to witness an apparently impromptu burst of creativity that seemed to combine personal intuition and divine guidance.[3]

In reality, FDR had been formulating his quartet of freedoms ever since responding to a question about his "peace objectives" at a press conference the previous summer. At that session,



Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, a key member of FDR's speechwriting team, is seated alongside the president in this 1930 pose. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.



Fletcher C. Ransom, *Lincoln at Gettysburg*, 1919. Oil on canvas, 65 × 80 (165.1 × 203.2 cm) (framed). Forest Lawn Memorial Park, Los Angeles.

Roosevelt had initially pledged himself only to freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and freedom from fear. The correspondent then followed up by asking whether the president had not forgotten world hunger: freedom from want? Yes, Roosevelt freely added, he had indeed left that one out; it belonged on the same list of goals. By that point, as James J. Kimble demonstrates in the introduction to this catalogue, FDR had been collecting freedom-themed notes in his files, perhaps refining them in his mind, waiting for the chance to relaunch them into the spotlight.[4]

The 1941 message to Congress proved the perfect opportunity. Much consideration, and a good deal of work, had already gone into the preparation for the speech before Roosevelt thought to adopt—or, more accurately, recite—his Four Freedoms ideas for the peroration that the annual message still lacked. So impressed was Rosenman by the moment that he never corrected the implication that FDR had devised the climactic words as he dictated them.[5]

Some four score years earlier, in crafting an arguably even more famous address, President Abraham Lincoln developed his "new birth of freedom" remarks at Gettysburg under similarly mythic and seemingly offhand circumstances—or so Lincoln (like Roosevelt) hoped everyone would believe. Otherwise, the circumstances were quite different. For example, FDR's speech anticipated possible American entry into a war to defend freedom around the globe, while Lincoln's provided solace for sacrifices already rendered in an ongoing war being waged, in part, to expand freedom at home. Other differences prevailed as well. According to custom, FDR was expected to address the new session of Congress personally each January—as a matter of political ritual—while in Lincoln's day, tradition discouraged presidential speechmaking and all but forbade ap-

pearances before Congress. (Lincoln submitted his own annual messages in writing; they were read aloud on Capitol Hill by clerks.)[6]

Lincoln was not even invited to give the principal address at the dedication of the new Soldiers' National Cemetery on the site of the 1863 Battle of Gettysburg. That honor went to Edward Everett, a renowned orator who had run for vice president on a ticket opposing Lincoln three years earlier. Later, almost reluctantly, the organizers asked Lincoln whether he might wish to deliver "a few appropriate remarks" of his own, perhaps expecting, even hoping, that he would decline. As canny as Roosevelt was when it came to seizing the spotlight at moments of highest drama, Lincoln wisely accepted the summons. And like Roosevelt, he took pains to minimize the deep thought and hard work that in fact preceded his appearance. A comparison of the two presidents' methods—for both devising memorable messages and concealing the labor that characterized their authorship—reveals a strain of leadership common to many great leaders and phrasemakers: the desire to make the process look easy.[7]

Unlike Roosevelt, Lincoln employed no ghostwriters to craft even the outlines of his messages and orations. He performed all such work himself, leaving to his private secretaries only the most rote correspondence. But much like his eventual successor, Lincoln did not like to grant too many people full access to either his creative process or his sources. When he did share such insights, he did so in a manner startlingly similar to Roosevelt's, aiming not only to dazzle staff and visitors but also occasionally to mislead them in order to conceal the sweat that went into words meant to sound fresh and almost spontaneous when publicly delivered. This process was employed even when the words at hand might attain the status of national scripture on the subject of freedom.

Lincoln's confidence in his abilities was justified, and he may well rank as the greatest writer among American presidents. Edmund Wilson stated that, notwithstanding the "folksy and jocular" style of Lincoln's youthful yarn-spinning, "alone among American presidents, it is possible to imagine Lincoln, grown up in a different milieu, becoming a distinguished writer of a not merely political kind." To Wilson, Lincoln's style "was cunning in its cadences, exact in its choice of words, and yet also instinctive and natural; and it was inseparable from his personality in all of its manifestations." Lincoln needed only to carve out the necessary time to think and write—much as Roosevelt had required a holiday respite to sit back, ponder, and then dictate as if without preparation the words he had in reality been considering for months.[8]

To compose his first inaugural address back in 1861, president-elect Lincoln had closeted himself away inside a room above his brother-in-law's store in Springfield, Illinois, out of the gaze of the reporters and office seekers who were already making his life a misery. To prepare his Gettysburg Address two and a half years later, he managed somehow to steal time from his crushingly burdensome White House schedule to compose a first draft. We know little about how much time he devoted to the project or how many jottings he attempted and discarded. We know only that he recrafted his message several times until he was satisfied with it. As a jumping-off point, Lincoln referred back to the genuinely extemporaneous comments he had made to a crowd gathered at the White House to rejoice over the Gettysburg victory back in July. (Here the comparison to FDR's later efforts to improve upon spontaneity is uncanny.) "How long ago is it?" Lincoln had asked the audience that 1863 night. "Eighty odd years—since on the Fourth of July for the



FDR gives his Four Freedoms address before Congress, January 6, 1941. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

first time in the history of the world a nation by its representatives, assembled and declared as a self-evident truth that 'all men are created equal.' That was the birthday of the United States of America." Now, ingeniously massaging the clumsy but earnest thought, Lincoln tweaked that observation into an elegiac new opening: "Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that 'all men are created equal.'" The phrase that achieved the greatest fame—his pledge to preserve government of, by, and for the people—Lincoln may have borrowed from earlier writers such as Theodore Parker or Daniel Webster.[9]

Lincoln did offer a glimpse into his preliminary efforts to compose his speech when the friendly newspaperman Noah Brooks accompanied him to Alexander Gardner's Washington, DC, photography gallery on November 8, 1863, eleven days before the president was scheduled to appear at Gettysburg. Between soon-to-be iconic poses before the camera (p. 112), Brooks inquired whether the president had already written his highly anticipated remarks. "Not yet," Lincoln responded, quickly adding, "not finished anyway." As Brooks remembered it, Lincoln further elaborated: "I have written it over, two or three times, and I shall have to give it another lick before I am satisfied." He was sure of only one thing: it would be "short, short, short." Clearly, the work was already well underway.[10]

An envelope visible on the table before which Lincoln posed at Gardner's that day, Brooks later claimed, contained an advance copy of Everett's stem-winder, which the orator had ordered to be typeset, so it could be ready for flawless, and presumably page-one, reproduction in northern newspapers the day after its delivery.[11]

"I suppose he was afraid I should say something that he wanted to say," Lincoln observed matter-of-factly, adding, "He needn't have been alarmed." Again, in the face of competition from the nation's most renowned public speaker, Lincoln tried emphasizing his casual attitude toward his own effort. As he added that day: "My speech isn't very long," as if to suggest that it was harder to write long speeches than short ones. In fact, as the *Providence Journal* later observed of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address: "The hardest thing in the world is to make a five minute's speech. . . . Could the most elaborate, splendid oration be more beautiful, more touching, more inspiring, than those thrilling words?"[12]

Out of Brooks's gaze, Lincoln was working diligently to condense his thoughts into the time allotted for his remarks. The president reviewed the plans for the Gettysburg burial grounds and undoubtedly determined to bury as well his privately expressed disappointment that Union forces had not pursued the Confederate army after defeating it at Gettysburg. With the facts before him, he proceeded to make sure that he had the cadence of his draft precisely right, its 272 words so sublime that the result approached poetry. He waxed poetic yet again—this time approaching the Shakespearian—when insisting on departing Washington the day before the scheduled dedication ceremony, lest, as he put it, "by the slightest accident we fail entirely, and, at the best, the whole to be a mere breathless running of the gauntlet."[13]

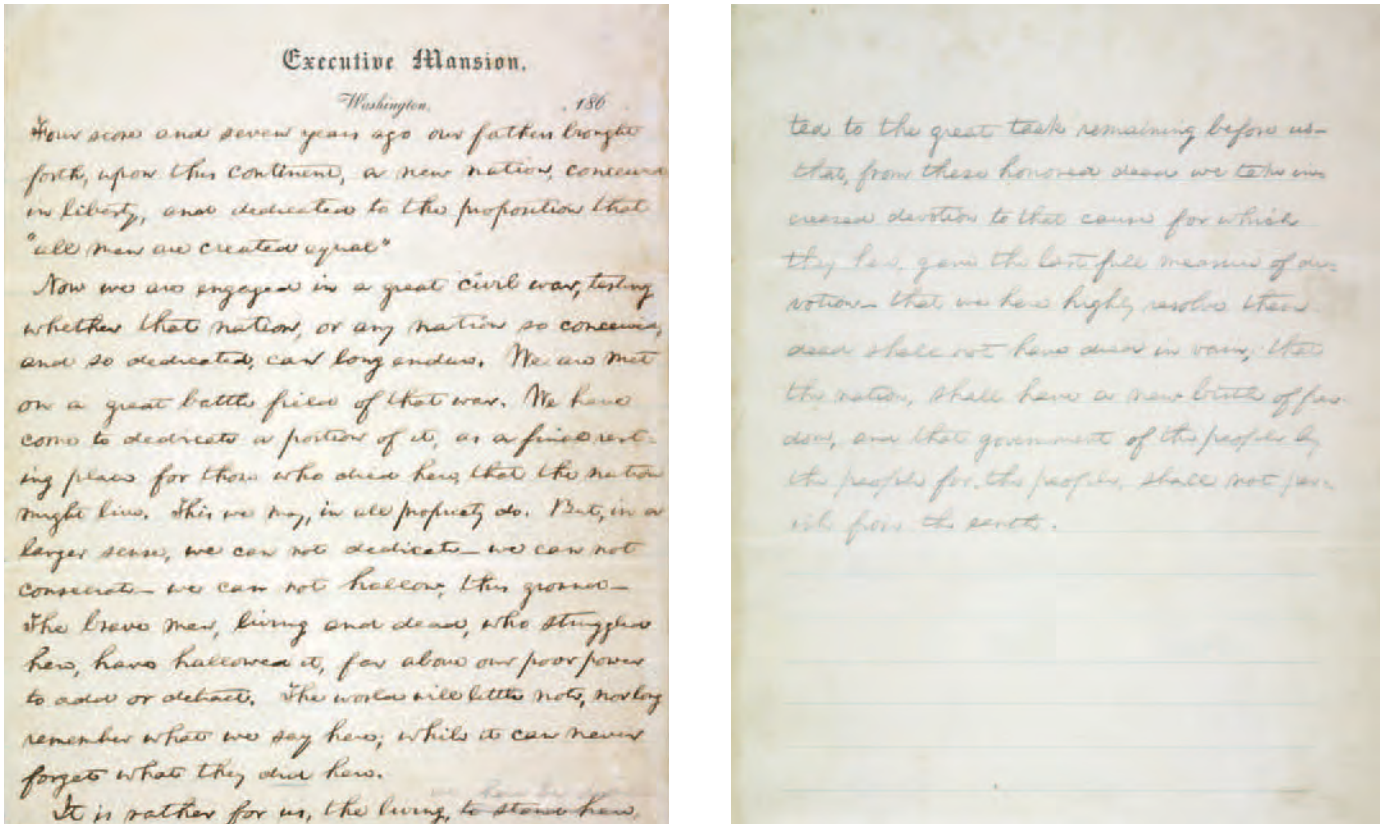
In the hours before leaving, Lincoln showed (or read—Lincoln liked to read his speeches aloud before delivering them) his latest draft to both his former secretary of war, Simon Cameron, and the US marshal for the District of Columbia, Lincoln's old Illinois friend (and sometime body-



Alexander Gardner (1821–1882), *Abraham Lincoln*, Sunday, November 8, 1863. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

guard) Ward Hill Lamon, who was scheduled to serve as master of ceremonies at the cemetery dedication. Lamon later unconvincingly recalled that Lincoln "was extremely busy, and had no time for preparation; and that he greatly feared he would not be able to acquit himself with credit, much less to fill the measure of public expectation."[14]

Burnishing that legend further (in much the same way that Sam Rosenman recalled the events of January 1, 1941), few of Lincoln's intimates ever objected to—much less endeavored to correct—the myth that later arose to suggest that Lincoln created these immortal remarks in a slapdash manner. Perhaps, went one persistent story, he had even done so on the back of an envelope on the train that carried the president to Gettysburg the day before the ceremonies. The point was not to denigrate Lincoln for laziness but to ascribe the brilliant result to sheer genius. Among others, nineteenth-century journalist Ben Perley Poore contended that the address was "written in the car on the way from Washington to the battlefield, upon a piece of pasteboard held on his knee." A fellow rail passenger claimed that Lincoln finished the masterpiece before the train even reached Baltimore. A naval volunteer accompanying the traveling party insisted that not until the


Executive Mansion.

Washington, 180

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal"

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final resting place for those who died here, that the nation might live. This we may, in all propriety do. But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate — we can not consecrate — we can not hallow this ground — The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have hallowed it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, while it can never forget what they did here.

It is rather for us, the living, to stand here,

tes to the great task remaining before us — that, from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address (Nicolay copy), November 1863. Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

train reached Hanover—just twelve miles from Gettysburg—did Lincoln rise after hours of innocuous storytelling to declare: "Gentlemen, this is all very pleasant, but the people will expect me to say something to them tomorrow, and I must give the matter some thought." Even the governor of Pennsylvania fueled the myth by recalling that Lincoln excused himself from the reception in his honor at the house of David Wills the night before the ceremony by declaring: "I believe, gentlemen, the committee are expecting me to say something here today [*sic*]. If you will excuse me I will go into this room here and prepare it."[15]

The most absurd recollection of all came from a young executive with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, who claimed not only to have seen Lincoln scribbling the Gettysburg Address aboard his train but also to have personally handed him the pencil with which he wrote it. The junior railroad man's name was Andrew Carnegie, and the truth was, he could not have participated in such a historic moment—he was in Pittsburgh that day. Even the president's sole surviving son, Robert T. Lincoln, added to the legend of offhandedness when he agreed, twenty-one years after the fact: "My father's Gettysburg address was jotted down in pencil, in part at least on his way to the place." But Robert had not been at the White House, or in Gettysburg, either; he had been away matriculating at Harvard. The record shows that while Lincoln may have been unwilling to share

wide access to his true creative process, he was determined to devote as much time as needed to find the right words to assure the war-weary public that free government would not perish from the earth.[16]

That the Gettysburg Address came eventually to be regarded as a masterpiece is no surprise; it was ingeniously conceived and brilliantly crafted. It was indeed brief, which added to the mystique of its spontaneity. It was also roundly criticized by pro-Democratic newspapers, whose opprobrium made the oration seem greater for the fact that it had been dismissed as inadequate in its own time (in fact, pro-Republican newspapers lauded it). Even Lincoln had underestimated his achievement, declaring in the speech itself: "The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here." More crucially, the speech was generic enough in its commitment to "a new birth of freedom"—neither African Americans nor slavery are ever mentioned—to become a useful testament to his greatness. This was especially so in the Jim Crow era, when Lincoln's success in saving the Union replaced his success in ending slavery as his principal presidential accomplishment. Lincoln the orator, not Lincoln the emancipator, became the subject of later veneration and the object of celebratory statuary embraced by Republicans and Democrats alike, especially after the 1909 centennial of Lincoln's birth and the long-delayed federal commitment to fund the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC.[17]

In the early years of the twentieth century, Lincoln worship routinely crossed party lines as well. Woodrow Wilson, notwithstanding his segregationist instincts, was one of the Democrats who began claiming Lincoln as an inspiration. As a presidential nominee in 1912, he broke tradition and made a pilgrimage to a Lincoln shrine, until then the exclusively Republican mecca of Springfield, Illinois.[18]

It is only reasonable to assume that Wilson's assistant secretary of the navy, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, took careful note. No Democrat would work more assiduously to seize the Lincoln



Crowd attending the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial, May 30, 1922. National Photo Company Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



E. H. Shepherd (1879–1976), *These Dead . . . Shall Not Have Died in Vain*. The perception of an FDR–Lincoln connection was made visible in this editorial cartoon, which appeared in the *New York Times Magazine*, February 8, 1942. Originally published in *Punch* magazine, December 17, 1941.

legacy than FDR himself. While serving as governor of New York, Roosevelt told a journalist that one of his goals was for "us Democrats to claim Lincoln as one of our own." With characteristic zeal and deftness, he proceeded to accomplish precisely that. During the presidential campaign of 1932, he attempted to do what no Democrat had done since passage of the Fourteenth Amendment granted African Americans the right to vote: he competed for black support, which had lined up solidly behind Republicans, the party of Lincoln, since Reconstruction. The black vote finally tipped to the Democrats when FDR ran for a second term in 1936; it has remained in the party's corner, not only reliably but almost unanimously, ever since.[19]

On July 3, 1938, two years after his reelection, Roosevelt embraced the Lincoln connection more dramatically than ever by traveling to Gettysburg to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Civil War battle. It was also the twenty-fifth anniversary of the final soldiers' reunion on the site, an event at which the previous Democratic president, Woodrow Wilson, had given the principal address. The 1938 event would be highlighted by the dedication of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial. Just as local officials had done three-quarters of a century earlier, they invited the president to deliver remarks at the dedicatory ceremony. No doubt with Lincoln very much on his mind, FDR accepted.

Unlike Lincoln before him, Roosevelt took his chances with the breathless gauntlet of a same-day railroad journey, traveling all the way from Hyde Park, New York, to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on the morning of the ceremonies. In 1863, Lincoln had ridden on horseback to the cemetery grounds, accompanied by a military escort. In 1938, Roosevelt traveled from the depot to the site in his familiar open car, led toward the ceremony by a cavalry escort. Like Lincoln, Roosevelt spoke from a temporary wooden platform erected for the occasion. Lincoln had spoken for less than three minutes; Roosevelt was relatively brief as well, consuming only nine minutes for his own Gettysburg address.

Did FDR do what Lincoln had not done: write some of his speech aboard the train that transported him to Gettysburg? Here the evidence suggests that he might actually have done so. The surviving typescript of his remarks contains a handwritten opening paragraph likely composed en route to the event: "On behalf of the people of the United States I accept this monument in the spirit of brotherhood and peace." Inevitably, FDR went on to quote the Gettysburg Address: "We are encompassed by 'The last full measure of devotion' of many men and by the words in which Abraham Lincoln expressed the simple faith for which they died." If Roosevelt failed to emphasize precisely what that devotion had made possible—the beginning of the end of American slavery and the potential for racial equality in the (re-)United States—he was doing exactly what the sixteenth president had done seventy-five years before: expressing vague if earnest appreciation of his presidential predecessors and their commitment to unity. As FDR put it, in a clever paraphrase, it constituted a reaffirmation of "the purposes for which the Nation was founded—to preserve under the changing conditions of each generation a people's government for the people's good." Roosevelt spoke of "unity . . . opportunity and security," hopeful that "bitterness" and "strife" might be addressed while "avoiding war."[20]

The arc of coincidence did not end here. As war overtook Europe, Roosevelt took his affinity for Lincoln one step further in re-staffing his White House in preparation for a possible run for a third term. In 1940, he hired for his speechwriting team Robert Emmet Sherwood, one of the witnesses to the president's recitation of the Four Freedoms the following New Year's Day. Sherwood was no ordinary speechwriter. He had authored the 1938 Broadway drama *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*, which became not only a commercial success but also a Pulitzer Prize winner. In 1940, RKO Radio Pictures released the film version, in which Raymond Massey (a Roosevelt supporter) re-created the role he had originated on Broadway and earned an Academy Award nomination as best actor.

It is difficult to believe that FDR did not comprehend and embrace the connection to his predecessor that Sherwood's presence at the White House suggested. It is equally hard to believe that, in hiring Sherwood, Roosevelt did not consider the possibility that his own prose might thereafter more directly reflect the aspirations Lincoln (and Sherwood's dramatized Lincoln) had earlier enunciated. Perhaps, as the Four Freedoms message took shape, Sherwood, well acquainted with the Lincoln literature, even directed Roosevelt's attention to one of Lincoln's own messages to Congress, the one sent to Capitol Hill on December 1, 1862, which declared: "In *giving* freedom to the *slave*, we *assure* freedom to the *free*." Slavery had been the great hypocrisy preventing America from fulfilling its founding avowal that all men are created equal. Now, as Roosevelt saw



The Roosevelts attended a wreath-laying ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial on Lincoln Day in February 1938. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

it, wholesale violations of human rights throughout the globe compelled the United States to extend its aspirations for freedom and equality across borders.[21]

Three months before speaking at Gettysburg, Abraham Lincoln received African American leader Frederick Douglass at the White House. There Douglass implored Lincoln to address another violation of American principle by equalizing the disparate pay scale that reigned in the Union army at the time, with newly recruited enrollees in the U.S. Colored Troops receiving smaller salaries than white soldiers. Lincoln expressed sympathy, along with admiration for black soldiers' recent gallantry in battle, but cautioned Douglass that the white American public would not yet tolerate pay equity for African American soldiers. "I assure you, Mr. Douglass," Lincoln told his visitor, "that in the end they shall have the same pay as white soldiers." The president ultimately lived up to his word.[22]

Minutes after delivering *his* Gettysburg address on July 3, 1938, Franklin Delano Roosevelt met briefly with an African American introduced to him as the single oldest surviving veteran of the Civil War: William Barnes, 112 years of age, who had served in the U.S. Colored Troops. History had truly come full cycle.

Two and a half years would elapse before FDR's allegedly improvised recitation of the Four Freedoms peroration would dazzle his speechwriting team at their New Year's Day work session, thereafter introducing the new phrase into the national vocabulary. But once Roosevelt had visited Gettysburg and hired Sherwood, the past became prologue and another, even more encompassing "new birth of freedom" loomed on the horizon, similarly crafted as the result of careful preparation but in a misty haze of exaggerated spontaneity. As Lincoln had declared in his 1862 message to Congress—yet another text FDR undoubtedly knew—"*we* can not escape history."[23]

THE POWER OF ART: SELECTED IMAGES

STEPHANIE HABOUSH PLUNKETT



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Ticket Seller*, 1937. Oil on canvas, 28 × 24 in. (71.1 × 61 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 24, 1937. Private collection.

The longest and most severe economic downturn of the twentieth century, the Great Depression began with the stock market crash of October 29, 1929, and lasted for a decade. Despite this, the *Saturday Evening Post* and other magazines presented uplifting images and hope for better times. Published almost a year after the crash, Norman Rockwell's September 13, 1930, cover illustration portrays a weary family that has managed to take some time away despite challenging times. The box camera at the woman's feet recorded their adventures, and such clues as the pail and shovel, wilted bouquet, deflated balloon, and frog struggling to escape from captivity give us a sense of the family's experience. As the Depression wore on, however, Rockwell's perspective on the theme took a turn. In his April 24, 1937, *Post* cover, a bored ticket seller seems unable to entice travelers to purchase vacation fares to any destination, near or far.

Travel was Rockwell's only passion other than art, and it is the subject of many of his paintings. By the time *Family Home from Vacation* was published, he had been to South America, made three trips to Europe, and recently returned from an extended trip to California, where he had met and married his second wife, Mary Barstow. In 1932, the Rockwells, then including infant son Jarvis and pet German shepherd Raleigh, boarded the RMS *Mauretania* for Paris. There Rockwell hoped to find inspiration for his art, but five months into their projected eight-month stay the family returned to New Rochelle, New York—their second child, Thomas, was on the way.

Opposite:
★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Family Home from Vacation*, 1930. Oil on canvas, 40 × 32 in. (101.6 × 81.3 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 13, 1930. The Grace Family.



★Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Barbershop Quartet*, 1936. Oil on canvas, 36 × 27¼ in. (91.4 × 69.2 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 26, 1936. Mrs. Louise Holland.

During the Depression era, Norman Rockwell and other magazine illustrators celebrated life's simple pleasures in artworks filled with pathos and often a touch of humor. This animated group of singers was likely inspired by the popularity of professional and amateur barbershop quartets, which were especially widespread from the 1890s through the 1930s. In true Rockwellian fashion, facial expression and hand gestures are emphasized to convey the story, supported by telling details like the straight razor, shaving cup and mug, and well-worn comb. When Rockwell painted this work, he was living in New Rochelle, New York, where his neighbors and fellow artists were eager models. Fellow *Post* illustrator Walter Beach Humphrey appears on the far right, his face half-covered with shaving cream. In Humphrey's hand is a copy of the *Police Gazette*, an early twentieth-century gentleman's magazine featuring stories that portray a less innocent side of life.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Marble Champion*, 1939. Oil on canvas, 28 × 22 in. (71.1 × 55.9 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 2, 1939. Private collection.

Strong women and girls are a mainstay of Rockwell's art, and in this *Saturday Evening Post* cover illustration, his lively female protagonist dominates a game of marbles to the chagrin of her two male friends. Her stuffed marble bag—in contrast to the boys' empty sacks—adds insult to injury, and her determined expression indicates that she has only just begun. Kneeling on the ground in scuffed lace-up shoes, she is decidedly unladylike, exuding energy and power. Smart, assertive females, characterized by stars such Jean Arthur, Jean Harlow, and Joan Crawford, also made regular appearances in the movies of the era.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Rosie the Riveter*, 1943. Oil on canvas, 52 × 40 in. (132.1 × 101.6 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 29, 1943. Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, Bentonville, Arkansas.

During World War II, American women entered the workforce in unprecedented numbers, as widespread male enlistment greatly diminished the industrial labor force. Rockwell's *Rosie the Riveter* stands as a powerful symbol of women's critical contributions. The star of a government campaign aimed at recruiting female workers, she became an iconic symbol for the times and continues to have relevance today.

With seemingly little effort, Rosie holds a rivet gun on her lap while eating her sandwich on lunch break, her foot planted firmly on *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*). This autobiographical book by Nazi party leader Adolf Hitler, published in 1925–26, discusses his path to anti-Semitism and outlines his ideology and his schemes for the future of Germany. Rosie's statuesque physique is modeled after Michelangelo's sixteenth-century depiction of the prophet Isaiah on the Sistine Chapel ceiling, rather than the petite Mary Doyle, the Arlington, Vermont, neighbor who sat for the work.



★Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Liberty Girl*, 1943. Charcoal on paper, 41 × 31 in. (104.1 × 78.7 cm). Cover study for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 4, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

The mythical embodiment of the new roles that belonged to the American woman during World War II, *Liberty Girl* symbolizes the ability of Americans to mobilize and transform themselves in the interest of society. Rockwell hired a professional model to play the part in this work, and could have chosen a more idealized approach, as he had in the classically inspired *Rosie the Riveter*. Instead, he sketched her as a motivated girl next door, underscoring her authenticity. Large-scale charcoal drawings, such as this one, were important to Rockwell's artistic process. They allowed him to visualize compositional structure, narrative details, and tonal areas before he began work on the final canvas.



★ Denys Wortman (1887–1958), *"There was a time, Mopey, when bein' in the bread line was sort of exclusive . . . ,"* November 13, 1930. Ink, crayon, and charcoal on paper, 17 × 14 in. (43.2 × 35.6 cm). Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont.



★ Denys Wortman (1887–1958), *"When Mother says 'More?' say no, 'cause there's just a little left for her,"* February 6, 1943. Graphite on paper, 17 × 13 in. (43.2 × 33 cm). Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont.

An insightful realist and a masterful draftsman, Denys Wortman studied with Robert Henri at the New York School of Fine and Applied Art and exhibited in the famed 1913 New York Armory Show before turning his attention to comic art. In 1924, he began working for the *New York World*, and during the Great Depression his humorous, heartfelt drawings lightened the times in the *Unemployed*, a magazine established in 1930 by the League for Industrial Democracy. Captions for many of his images came from overheard chatter that was later refined by the artist's wife, Hilda Renbold Wortman, who turned an astute ear to the conversations of people around her. Wortman's story lines unfolded in a single panel, summoning up the urban realities of men, women, and children going about their lives and trying to stay afloat in an unsympathetic world.

Mopey Dick and the Duke, seen here on the left in the 1930 cartoon, were recurring characters in Wortman's long-running syndicated feature, *Metropolitan Movies*, which appeared in several New York papers, including the *World*, the *World Telegram*, and the *Sun*. This popular single-panel comic offered running commentary about the joys, and mostly trials, of city life.



★ Hugh M. Hutton (1898–1976), *The Funeral Oration for Poland*, 1939. Lithographic crayon on paper, 18½ × 13½ in. (47 × 34.3 cm). Editorial cartoon for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 20, 1939. The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner.

An American cartoonist who worked at the *Philadelphia Inquirer* for more than thirty years, Hugh M. Hutton exercised freedom of expression in powerful visual commentary that addressed a wide range of social and political issues. Born in Lincoln, Nebraska, he served in the armed forces during World War I and found his first success as an artist with *Nutty Natural History*, a series of syndicated, uncaptioned cartoons.

The Funeral Oration for Poland is a striking work in which Hutton employs recognizable symbols to comment upon the invasion of Poland, which began on September 1, 1939, and marked the beginning of World War II. A motionless woman lying facedown is closely observed by large, predatory vultures representing Germany and the Soviet Union.



★ Martha Sawyers (1902–1988), *United China Relief*, ca. 1944. Gouache on board, 32 × 26 in. (81.3 × 66 cm). Poster illustration for the United China Relief Foundations, US Government Printing Office. The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner.

Born in the small town of Cuero, Texas, Martha Sawyers studied at the Art Students League of New York with anatomist George Bridgman and painter-illustrator George Luks before setting out for the Far East, which had long held her fascination. She settled in Beijing, but the Japanese invasion of 1937 forced her narrow escape to Shanghai. She returned to the United States that year and was commissioned by *Collier's*, *Liberty*, and other publications to focus on the Asian subjects she cared so deeply about. At the end of World War II, Sawyers returned to China as a US Army war correspondent, creating artworks that captured public attention. This sensitive portrayal of a Chinese family suffering the impacts of war appeared on a United China Relief Foundations poster at a time when aid to the war-torn country was a popular cause in the United States.



★ Dorothea Tomlinson (1898–1985), *Family Quilting*, 1934.
Oil on canvas, 42½ × 50⅜ in. (108 × 128 cm). Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

During the Great Depression and into the early years of World War II, from 1933 to 1943, the federal government supported the arts in unprecedented ways. Federal tax dollars were utilized to employ jobless people working in the visual, performing, and literary arts. But President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal arts projects had a larger goal—to promote American art and culture and provide access to what he described as "an abundant life." These projects lifted thousands of artists out of poverty, and allowed Americans throughout the nation to see original artworks and theater or take art and music classes for the first time.

Born in Fairfield, Iowa, Dorothea Tomlinson was a painter, illustrator, and lithographer who created murals and paintings for the Works Progress Administration, including this colorful group scene. Popular in the 1930s, quilting parties, or bees, brought women of diverse ages together, providing them with the opportunity to socialize with other members of the community while creating striking, utilitarian works of art.



★ Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985), *Mother and Daughter Swimmers*, 1940. Gouache on board, 22 × 20 in. (55.9 × 50.8 cm). Cover illustration for *Ladies' Home Journal*, July 1940. D. B. Dowd Modern Graphic History Library, Washington University in St. Louis.



★ Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985), *Mother and Daughter Soldier's Homecoming*, 1945. Cover illustration for *Ladies' Home Journal*, July 1945. Tearsheet. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of the Rosenbaum Family.

A founder of the modern glamour aesthetic, Al Parker defined the progressive look and feel of published imagery at a time of sweeping change, when Americans sought symbols of hope on the pages of the nation's periodicals. His innovative modernist artworks created for mass-appeal women's magazines, such as *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Cosmopolitan*, captivated upwardly mobile readers, reflecting and influencing the values and aspirations of women and their families during World War II and the postwar era.

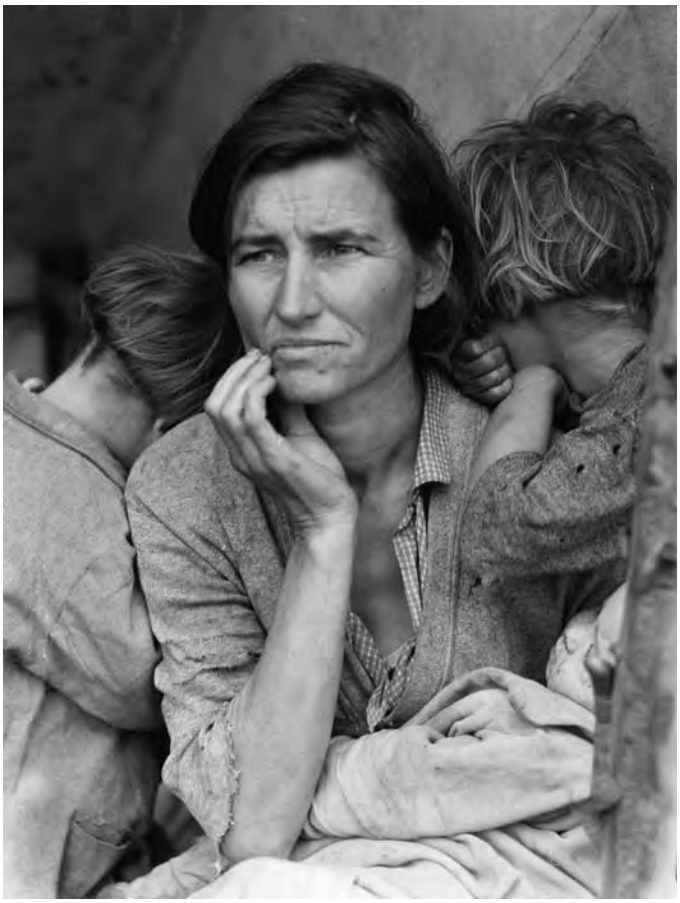
When the first of Parker's mother and daughter covers for *Ladies' Home Journal* appeared in February 1939, the figures' graceful silhouettes and matching outfits created a sensation and inspired fashion trends. Over the next thirteen years, Parker's mother and daughter celebrated holiday traditions and shared a love of sport, as seen here in *Mother and Daughter Swimmers*. They also played their part during World War II, modeling best behavior by rationing, sending letters abroad, and taking on Dad's chores at home. In July 1945, Parker's mother and daughter welcomed their returning soldier, presenting another narrative at the outset of the postwar baby boom. By that December, two knitted booties—one pink and one blue—were already underway, and in 1946 a son was born.



★ Jo Davidson (1883–1952), *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1934. Baked clay with gold-bronze patina, 9¼ × 3¾ × 5 in. (23.5 × 9.5 × 12.7 cm). New-York Historical Society.

One of the most celebrated American sculptors of the twentieth century, Jo Davidson spent his career creating captivating likenesses of many renowned figures, including Mahatma Gandhi, Helen Keller, Albert Einstein, Gertrude Stein, Rudyard Kipling, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. In December 1933, he arrived in Washington, DC, at the invitation of Sara Roosevelt, to create a bust of her son, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had been elected in 1932. Davidson completed the piece quickly and went on to create others, which were admired by the president and his family. The artist, too, had much affection for his sitter. "President Roosevelt won me completely with his charm, his beautiful voice and his freedom from constraint," Davidson said. "He had an unshakeable faith in man. . . . In Roosevelt's tremendous relief program, the artist too was included, and the influence of the WPA projects was tremendous." In 1936, small busts of Roosevelt by the sculptor were presented as gifts to prominent supporters during the reelection campaign.[1]

Born to Russian immigrants on New York's Lower East Side, Davidson sold portraits on the boardwalk in Atlantic City, New Jersey, and began to sculpt in 1904 while studying medicine at Yale University. Adept at capturing likenesses, he did not require his subjects to pose formally, preferring to engage them in conversation to observe their facial expressions. Sculpted primarily in clay, his works were typically cast in terra-cotta or bronze, with unique patinas applied for emphasis.



★ Dorothea Lange (1895–1965), *Destitute pea pickers in California. Mother of seven children. Age thirty-two. Nipomo, California*, 1936. Digital reproduction. Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

President Roosevelt famously advised Americans in 1933, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself." But the nation was justified in being fearful. The stock market crash of 1929 swiftly transformed the Roaring Twenties into the Great Depression. Banks closed their doors, breadlines became a common sight, and the shantytowns called Hoovervilles dotted the landscape. Jim Crow policies and racial inequality continued to be a fact of life for millions, and much of the nation's grain belt became a dusty wasteland, fostering the exodus of destitute migrants seeking work that was no longer available.

In 1936, Dorothea Lange met Florence Owens Thompson in a California camp of fieldworkers whose livelihoods had been devastated by crop failure. Lange's timeless photograph of the forlorn migrant mother and her children came to represent a generation and a nation that seemed to have lost its way. Published widely in magazines and newspapers at the time, Lange's documentary photography for the Farm Security Administration (FSA) humanized the Depression's consequences. Lange had been operating a successful portrait studio in San Francisco but was moved by the homeless and unemployed standing in breadlines as the financial crisis wore on. A pioneering documentary photographer, she created images of the urban scene that reflected her passionate social concerns and led to her association with the FSA.



★ Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985), *Evicted sharecroppers along Highway 60, New Madrid Country, Missouri*, January 1939. Digital reproduction. Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

In January 1939, travelers on the highways of southern Missouri encountered an alarming sight—thousands of sharecroppers and their families were camped out on the sides of the road, with piles of their possessions beside them, in the cold of winter. Almost all assembled were African American and had been evicted by farm owners. Sharecroppers were entitled to a portion of the harvest of the land they worked, and the government had recently announced that they were also entitled to federal farm subsidies. Preferring to keep these subsidies for themselves, many farm owners evicted the sharecroppers, hiring day laborers to work the fields.

Rather than bargaining with landowners, leaders of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union used this dramatic moment to capture public attention and encourage the government to step in. Reporters, including Farm Security Administration (FSA) photographer Arthur Rothstein, were there to cover the story. As this and many other images reveal, Rothstein's compelling portraits humanized his subjects, presenting them not just as victims of economic realignment but as individuals determined to speak out and be heard. Despite many challenges, in January 1941—two years after the roadside demonstration—the FSA had constructed ten settlements around Missouri's Bootheel region, including almost six hundred homes with plots of land. Rothstein left the FSA in 1940 and worked as director of photography for *Look*, where he remained for more than thirty years.



★ Gordon Parks (1912–2006), *Washington, D.C. Interior of a Chinese laundry located under the apartment of Mrs. Ella Watson, a government charwoman*, August 1942. Digital reproduction. Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Born in Kansas and raised in Minnesota, Gordon Parks held a variety of jobs during the Great Depression, working as a musician, a waiter on passenger trains, and a self-taught fashion photographer. In 1942, he traveled to Washington, DC, on a fellowship from the Julius Rosenwald Fund, a foundation dedicated to research about the South. Hoping to apprentice with the Farm Security Administration (FSA), Parks was met with resistance by Information Division head Roy Stryker, who had initial concerns about hiring an African American photographer. Parks did ultimately work with the FSA, becoming one of the agency's most prominent photographers. He emphasized the importance of the education he received there, saying, "I have always felt as though I needed a weapon against evil." That weapon was his camera.[2]

On Stryker's recommendation, Parks began a series of striking photographs focusing on the life and environs of Mrs. Ella Watson, a cleaning woman who worked in the FSA building. Through their conversations, he learned of challenges she had faced and created poignant images that reflected her experiences. Even mundane scenes hold fascination, such as this Chinese-owned laundry below Mrs. Watson's apartment, with its picture of President Roosevelt and piles of clothing that had been washed, pressed, and wrapped by immigrant labor.



★J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951), *1940 Baby New Year Ready for War*. Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, December 30, 1939. Tearsheet. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves.



★J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951), *1943 Baby New Year at War*. Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, January 2, 1943. Tearsheet. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves.

Illustrator J. C. Leyendecker's most iconic images, created for the *Saturday Evening Post* from 1907 to 1943, were his New Year's babies—chubby, newly minted infants who looked ahead to the joys and challenges of the coming year. Starting with the artist's first cherubic child atop a globe, these symbolic figures were an annual tradition for Americans, who anticipated each new baby's arrival.

Inspired by the events of the day, Leyendecker's New Year's babies took on an array of issues, from woman suffrage and women in politics in 1912 to balancing the budget during the Great Depression in 1935. Though the nation was at peace in 1940, Americans were concerned about involvement in the European conflict. No longer a picture of innocence, the New Year's baby is seated with bags packed, ready to take action at a moment's notice. Wearing a gas mask and clutching an umbrella, the child references British prime minister Neville Chamberlain, whose assurances of "peace in our time" proved illusory. The 1941 baby is delivered by the armored fist of war, and by 1943 the baby is fighting against symbols of the Axis powers. Unfortunately, Leyendecker's icon would not see peacetime, for his 1943 image was the last of the series and the artist's final cover illustration for the *Post*.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Willie Gillis: Food Package*, 1941. Oil on canvas, 50 × 38 in. (127 × 96.5 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, October 4, 1941. Lawrence Matteson.

Distant from the activities of the battles raging in Europe and Asia, Norman Rockwell found it a challenge to record the effects of World War II on servicemen and women for Americans at home. His unassuming fictional private, Willie Gillis, told the story of one man's army in a series of popular *Saturday Evening Post* covers. Rockwell depicted his soldier engaged in mundane tasks, such as receiving a care package from home, peeling potatoes, or reading his hometown news. The artist met his Willie Gillis model, Robert Otis "Bob" Buck, at an Arlington, Vermont, square dance. Then fifteen years of age, Buck was too young to fight, but he eventually began his service in 1943 as a naval aviator in the South Seas. The name Willie Gillis was coined by Rockwell's wife, Mary Barstow Rockwell, an avid reader, who drew inspiration from Munro Leaf's *Wee Gillis*, a 1938 book about an orphan boy. The first Gillis cover appeared on October 4, 1941, and the last after the war, when this familiar character enrolled in college on the GI Bill. Willie Gillis enlargements, distributed by the USO, were circulated widely, appearing in the organization's clubs at home and abroad as well as in numerous railway stations and bus terminals.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Willie Gillis in Convoy*, ca. 1941. Oil on canvas, 43 × 34½ in. (109.2 × 87.6 cm). Unpublished cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*. Private collection.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Willie Gillis in Church*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 29 × 25 in. (73.7 × 63.5 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 25, 1942. Scott M. Delman.

In this unpublished illustration featuring Willie Gillis being transported by convoy truck, Rockwell brought the war more explicitly into view. Realistically rather than heroically portrayed, soldiers nap, smoke, and eat during transport, while wide-eyed Gillis, wearing a rabbit's foot around his neck, stares dreamily into the distance. This youthful character's innocence may have contrasted too greatly with the older, more experienced troops, who know what lies ahead.

Images portraying soldiers in service to God and country were prevalent during World War II. Here Rockwell's Willie Gillis sits solemnly in a church pew surrounded by others in the armed forces seeking spiritual solace.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Thanksgiving: Mother and Son Peeling Potatoes*, 1945. Oil on canvas, 35 × 33½ in. (88.9 × 85.1 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 24, 1945. Lent courtesy of American Legion Post 193, Winchendon, Massachusetts.

For the *Saturday Evening Post*'s Thanksgiving cover of 1945, Rockwell initially intended to portray a group of prayerful people giving thanks, but with the end of war in sight, he redirected his efforts and began work on a more timely painting of a homecoming soldier. His subject seems happy to peel potatoes in the warmth of his admiring mother's kitchen, a task that would have been considerably less pleasant in the army. Though still in uniform, he has slipped back into his civilian shoes, and is seated on a chair that appears almost child-size—perhaps a remnant of years past.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Back to Civvies*, 1945. Oil on canvas, 39½ × 30 in. (100.3 × 76.2 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, December 15, 1945. Anonymous.

By the end of World War II, many lives had been changed, but Rockwell's artworks did not betray the emotional struggles of servicemen and women or their families. *Back to Civvies*, his poignant portrayal of Lieutenant A. H. Beckloft, a Flying Fortress pilot, focuses on his joyous return to the childhood bedroom that remains unchanged and the clothing that he has now outgrown. Youthful dreams of flying are reflected in the poster of a Boeing B-17 on the wall and the model Martin B-26 Marauder that sits on top of the cluttered dresser.



★ Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980), *Paratrooper*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 43 × 34 in. (109.2 × 86.4 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 12, 1942. United Services Automobile Association (USAA), San Antonio.



★ Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980), *Flight Controller on Aircraft Carrier*, 1943. Oil on canvas, 43 × 34 in. (109.2 × 86.4 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, June 12, 1943. United Services Automobile Association (USAA), San Antonio.

Either by coincidence or because of his friendship with Rockwell, illustrator Mead Schaeffer adapted his approach to his work during the World War II years. Abandoning the romantic and literary themes that had been his focus, he turned his attention to real people and places and embraced the reportorial direction of the *Saturday Evening Post* at the time.

Neighbors and friends who shared models and scrutinized each other's work, Rockwell and Schaeffer traveled from their studios in Arlington, Vermont, to Washington, DC, in 1942, seeking ways to contribute their talents to the war effort. Rockwell brought along sketches for his proposed *Four Freedoms*, and Schaeffer a handful of drawings featuring servicemen in action. No funds were available for their projects in Washington, so on the way home they stopped in Philadelphia to see *Post* editor Ben Hibbs. He liked their ideas and commissioned them to develop their paintings for publication. Schaeffer's careful research and technical ability, combined with his instinctive sense of design and ability to portray action, are reflected in his armed forces commemorative cover series highlighting the work of every military branch. His emphasis on the heroism and professionalism of the American soldier was reassuring to the public during unstable times.



★ Boris Artzybasheff (1899–1965), *Witches' Sabbath*, 1942. Gouache on board, 14¼ × 27 in. (36.2 × 68.6 cm). Story illustration for "Speaking of Pictures . . . Swastikas Make Ghoulish Symbols," *Life*, September 14, 1942, p. 11. The Syracuse University Art Collection.

World War II was a fertile era for political cartoonists, as passions ran high and the fate of the world was at stake. Russian émigré and artist Boris Artzybasheff came to the United States at the age of twenty and painted more than two hundred cover illustrations for *Time* magazine, contributing also to *Life* and *Fortune*. During World War II, his stark portrayals of politicians and military leaders shed light on the issues that governed the course of the conflict. Well known for his surrealistic imagery, Artzybasheff created prescient anthropomorphic illustrations that seemed to predict the future, giving machinery human characteristics.

In *Witches' Sabbath*, Hitler oversees a grotesque world filled with living swastikas, symbols portrayed frequently in Artzybasheff's work. As described in the work's caption, "Creatures of Hitler's turgid nightmare swamp are a medal-heavy Göring, a prating Goebbels, a smirking Himmler and, trapped by swastika, a simian Pierre Laval." Artzybasheff and other political artists of the era sought to pull back the curtain on society's ills, an approach that differed from Rockwell's aspirational visual statements.



★ John Falter (1910–1982), *By His Deeds . . . Measure Yours*, ca. 1942. Oil on canvas, 20⅝ × 43⅛ in. (52.4 × 109.5 cm). Illustration for *Coronet*, January 1943, p. 96. Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln.

Commissioned by the Magazine Publishers of America, illustrator John Falter's *By His Deeds . . . Measure Yours* was featured in *Coronet*, *Life*, and other publications to inspire the home front by comparing soldiers to the martyred Christ. Public-service advertisements of the World War II era urged civilians to actively support the war effort by reminding them of the life-and-death struggles engaging the military. The advertisement is striking in its use of religious imagery to compare the soldier's sacrifice to that of Jesus. In Falter's work, the fallen soldier's head is wrapped in barbed wire, recalling the crown of thorns; his gun rests across his body, and he holds bullets in the palm of his left hand. A broken fence on the upper right forms the shape of a cross.

When it appeared in *Life* magazine on March 15, 1943, Falter's work was accompanied by this strident admonition:

> It is not pleasant to have your peaceful life upset by wartime needs and restrictions and activities. . . . It is not pleasant to die, either. . . . Between you who live at home and the men who die at the front there is a direct connection. . . . If you do everything you can to hasten victory and do every bit of it as fast as you can . . . then, sure as fate you will save the lives of some men who will otherwise die because you let the war last too long.

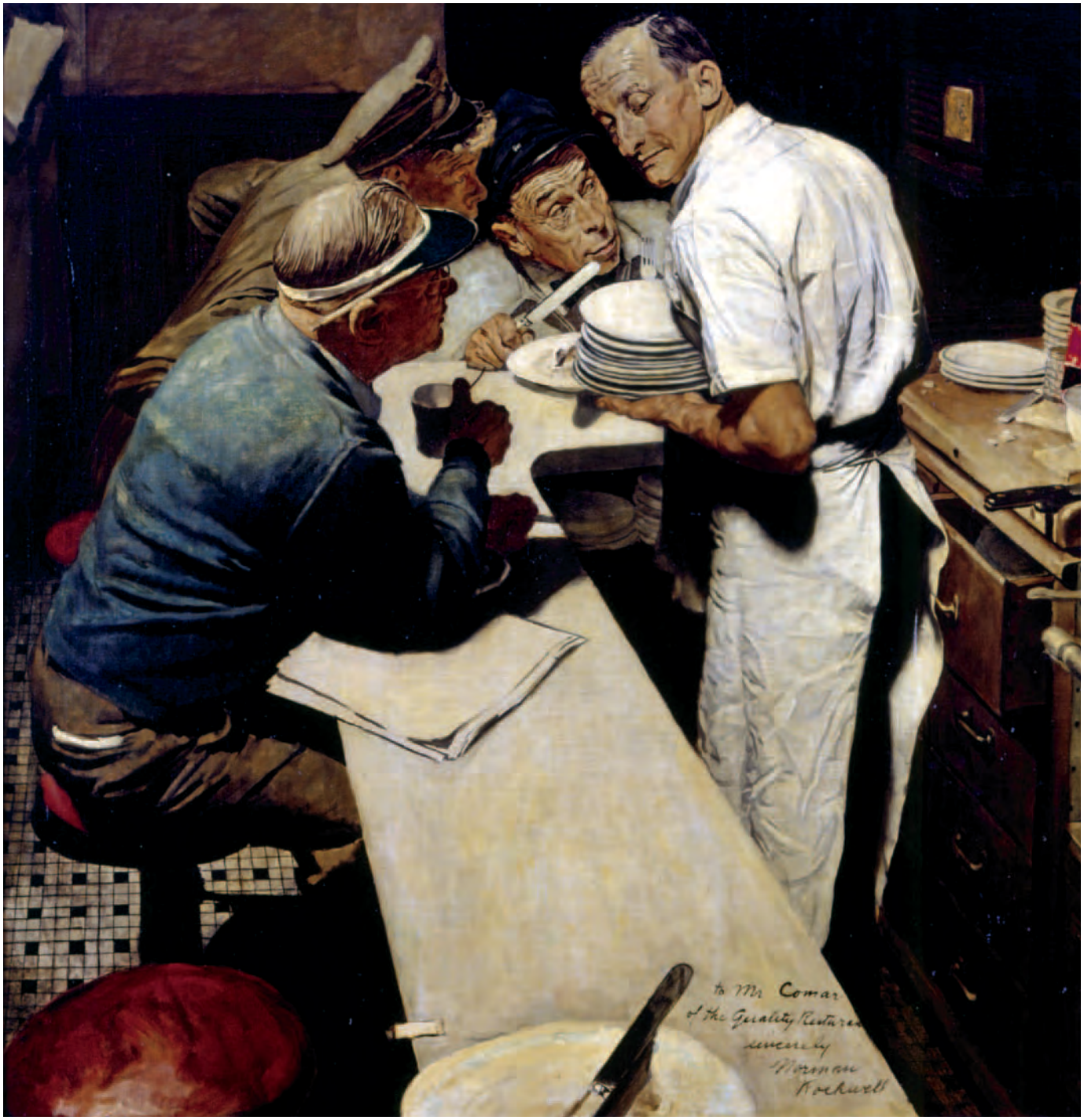
A popular *Saturday Evening Post* illustrator, Falter also created art for more than three hundred recruiting posters as well as numerous advertisements. In 1943, he enlisted in the US Navy and was rapidly promoted from chief boatswain's mate to lieutenant on special assignment as an artist. His final rank was chief petty officer.



★Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom of Speech*, 1942. Oil on board, 21¼ × 17¼ in. (54 × 43.8 cm). Study for the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943. Lent by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; George A. Hearn Fund, 1952.

In composing *Freedom of Speech*, Norman Rockwell considered several questions and potential compositional approaches. In society, who speaks and who listens? Do individual rights conflict with the needs of a community? What barriers are there to being heard? Rockwell's *Freedom of Speech* was inspired by a lone dissenter's passionate remarks at an Arlington, Vermont, town meeting. The scene inspired Rockwell to root the Four Freedoms concepts in universal human experiences and to use his Vermont neighbors as his subjects.

This color study was one of several that Rockwell made in preparation for his final work—a step undertaken after completing a series of thumbnail sketches and detailed charcoal drawings. His initial approach, as seen here, was to surround the speaker with his fellow citizens. In the final painting, Rockwell shifted to a more heroic pose in which meeting attendees look up at the standing orator. In his 1948 Famous Artists School instructional course, Rockwell recommended the use of this vantage point to emphasize a subject's importance.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *War News*, ca. 1944. Oil on canvas, 41¼ × 40½ in. (104.8 × 102.9 cm). Intended illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

Intended as a cover for the *Saturday Evening Post* but never completed, *War News* pictures a restaurant counterman and his customers, including a Western Union boy, a clerk, and a deliveryman, gathering to listen to a radio report. Though newspaper text is not evident in Rockwell's painting, which he worked on during the winter of 1944, part of the headline of the January 17, 1944, *Times Record* of Troy, New York, appeared in the artist's preliminary drawing. Calling attention to the proposed invasion of Normandy, it read, "Invasion Plans at France Possible."

Rockwell decided not to submit *War News* to the *Post*, perhaps because it was hard to convey what the men were hearing or to make the newspaper headline discernible. He instead went on to create a second painting, the more clearly articulated *Man Charting War Maneuvers*, which was published on April 29, 1944.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Man Charting War Maneuvers*, ca. 1944. Oil on canvas, 35 × 33 in. (89 × 83.8 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 29, 1944. Private collection.

In this work, a man listens intently to the news on his radio. His hand on the dial, he searches for an update on the day's battles, as would have been typical during World War II, especially for a concerned parent on the home front. Changing stations, he may have come upon the music of the Glenn Miller Orchestra, or perhaps *You Can't Do Business with Hitler*, a radio series written and produced by the Office of War Information—one of thousands of government propaganda plays that were broadcast to support the war effort.

A map of Europe hangs on the wall, as do photographs of Generals Dwight D. Eisenhower and Douglas MacArthur. A white flag with three blue stars positioned with three small photographs of men in the uniforms of the US Army, Navy, and Army Air Corps indicate Rockwell's subject has three sons in the service. With an open map on his lap and a newspaper in his hand, he follows the battles and the movements of his sons closely. The Windsor chair in which the man is seated is identical to the one Rockwell used at his easel, though he often worked standing up. Rockwell's studio furnishings frequently served as props in his art.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Tattoo Artist*, ca. 1944. Oil on canvas, 43 × 33 in. (109.2 × 83.8 cm). Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 4, 1944. Brooklyn Museum; Gift of the artist.

In Arlington, Vermont, which he called home from 1939 to 1953, Rockwell lived among a close-knit group of fellow illustrators, who at times drafted one another into service as models for their work. In this narrative about a sailor with a love interest at every port, illustrator Mead Schaeffer sat in as Rockwell's tattoo artist, seen in this painting from the rear. Always striving to establish a sense of authenticity, Rockwell researched his subject at a tattoo parlor on New York's Bowery, giving a sense of the gritty, even makeshift, environment in which the proprietor worked without actually showing it.

Though often perceived as straightforward reflections of American life, Rockwell's artworks are carefully constructed realities that demonstrate greater complexity. In this work, Rockwell subtly alludes to contemporary aesthetics and mores. His subjects are suspended before a tattooist's flash, the flat decorative design sheet from which his clients can choose their decoration. The painting continues to have relevance today—once the purview of just a few, body art is now a mainstream medium in American popular culture.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Norman Rockwell Visits a Ration Board*, 1944. Oil on board, 28 × 45 in. (71.1 × 114.3 cm). Study illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 15, 1944. Private collection.

Between 1943 and 1948, the *Saturday Evening Post* sent Norman Rockwell on eight visits around the country to record the lives of Americans, in a pictorial series that took him as far afield as Indiana, Georgia, New York City, and Washington, DC. For each visual report, he sought to accurately document aspects of contemporary life that were recognizable or interesting to a broad spectrum of the population. Rockwell shared with *Post* readers what it was like to spend a night with paratroopers on a troop train; wait with reporters and photographers to see the president at the White House; apply at a ration board in Manchester, Vermont; vote at a polling station in Cedar Rapids, Iowa; visit a newspaper in Monroe County, Missouri; attend a one-room school in rural Georgia; spend a day with a family doctor in Arlington, Vermont; and make the rounds with a county agent in Jay County, Indiana.

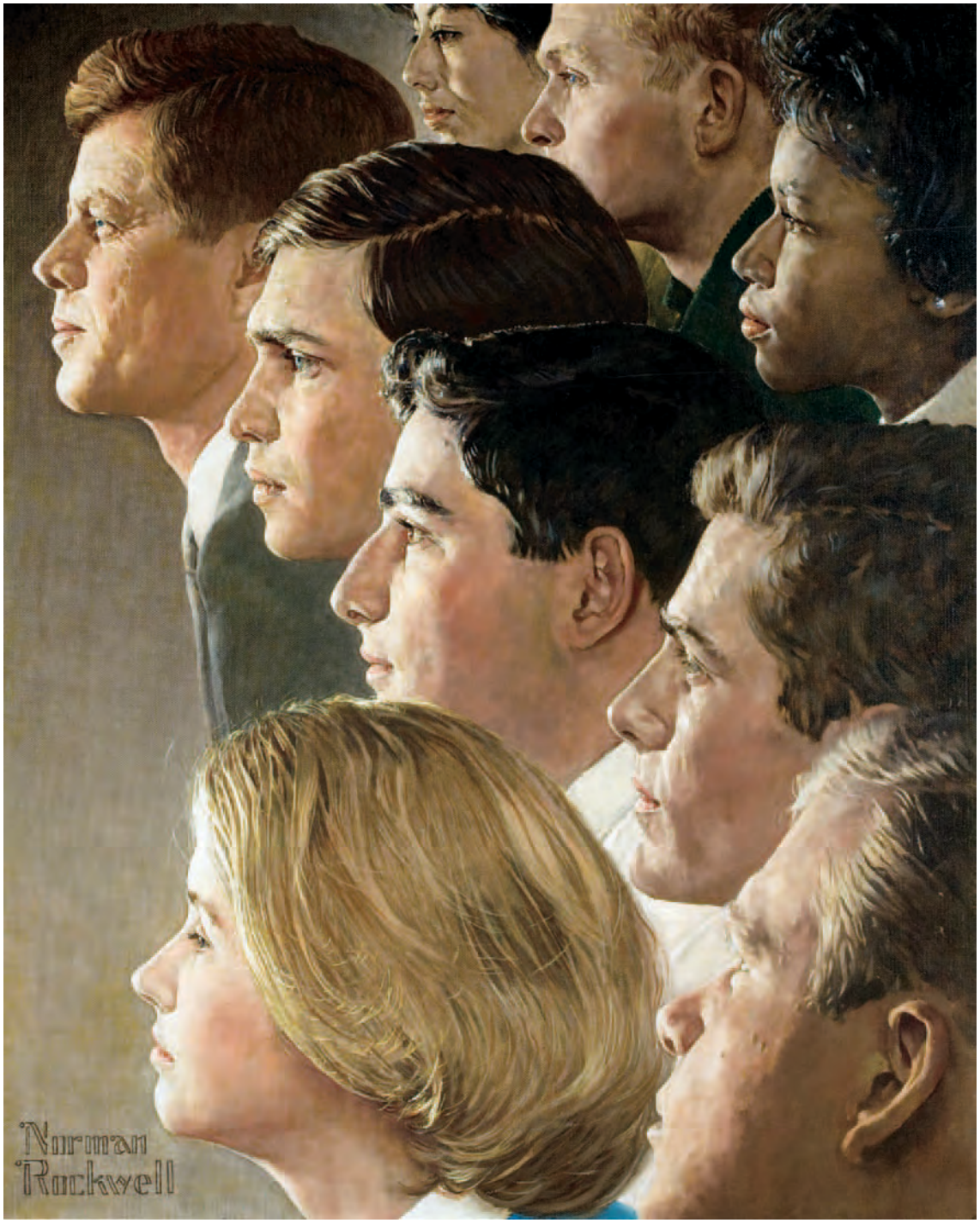
During World War II, in the spring of 1942, the national food rationing program was set into motion, as many foods and other products were in short supply—from gasoline and tires to meat, cheese, sugar, butter, and coffee. Volunteer ration boards were formed throughout the country to evaluate claims by citizens who felt that their need for rationed commodities was greater than allowed. To document this wartime reality, Rockwell requested that the board members and citizens of Manchester, Vermont, just eight miles from his Arlington home, serve as his models. After sketching and taking photographs at the scene, Rockwell returned to his studio to develop his final composition. This study reveals the artist's attention to the details of expression, gesture, color, and setting in his composition, though areas of the painting are finished to varying degrees.



★ Thomas Lea (1907–2001), *Marines Call It That 2,000 Yard Stare*, 1945. Oil on canvas, 36 × 28 in. (91.4 × 71.1 cm). Story illustration for "Peleliu: Tom Lea Paints Island Invasion," *Life*, June 11, 1945, p. 65. Life Collection of Art, WWII, US Army Center of Military History, Fort Belvoir, Virginia.

This painting by artist and *Life* magazine war correspondent Tom Lea was inspired by his experiences with the First Marine Division as it fought the battle of Peleliu, Palau, in September 1944. It portrays a war-weary soldier whom Lea met after the fight on Bloody Nose Ridge, one of Japan's most staunchly defended redoubts on the western Pacific island. The "two-thousand-yard stare" describes the appearance of soldiers who have been forced to detach themselves from the trauma of their firsthand experiences with violent combat. After Lea's painting was published in *Life*, in June 1945, the image became synonymous with the phrase and the residual effects of war on the human psyche.

During World War II, *Life* commissioned Tom Lea to capture the combat experiences of US and Allied troops. In 1941, he documented the fight against German U-boats, and worked aboard the carrier *Hornet* just days before it sank at Guadalcanal in 1942. Lea went on to record the struggles of Army Air Corps transport, fighter, and bomber crews in England, North Africa, and China in 1943, before hitting the bloody beaches at Peleliu with the assault waves of the marines in 1944. When the war ended in 1945, Lea had been preparing to join US troops again, for another deployment.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *JFK's Legacy. The Peace Corps*, 1966. Oil on canvas, 45½ × 36½ in. (115.6 × 92.7 cm). Cover illustration for *Look*, June 14, 1966. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

On March 1, 1961, President John F. Kennedy signed an executive order establishing the Peace Corps. Intended to "promote world peace and friendship" among nations by providing volunteers to assist in advancing education, agriculture, health care, and the environment, this federal program was eagerly received in the United States and by international governments alike. Just five months after being introduced, the Peace Corps sent its first group of volunteers to Ghana and Tanganyika; from 1961 through 2017, nearly 230,000 American volunteers served in the Peace Corps, assisting 141 countries.

In *JFK's Legacy. The Peace Corps*, Rockwell repeated the simple graphic style used in *Freedom of Worship* to create impact. Knowing his strength lay in communicating ideas and feelings through facial expressions, he chose to portray faces rather than situations to commemorate the Peace Corps' fifth anniversary. The artist's portrait of Kennedy is based on a photograph by Jacques Lowe, the official photographer of the president's pivotal 1960 campaign. Former Peace Corps volunteers posed for most of the figures. In addition to this cover painting, the interior of the magazine issue featured detailed portrayals of Peace Corps volunteers working closely with citizens of Ethiopia, India, and Bogotá, Colombia—sites that Rockwell had visited in 1964. In a note to *Look* art director Allen Hurlburt, Rockwell took a moment to express his admiration for the program: "In this sordid world of power struggles, politics and national rivalries the Peace Corps seems to stand almost alone."



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *The Right to Know*, 1968. Oil on canvas, 29 × 54 in. (73.7 × 137.2 cm). Illustration for *Look*, August 20, 1968, pp. 48–49. Private collection.



In 1966, Rockwell spent a week at Quantico, the US Marine Corps base in Virginia, taking photos of an experienced marine, with the thought of designing an image that focused on the man's strength as well as his compassion. Rockwell had been commissioned to create a recruitment poster but had ambivalent feelings about the war in Vietnam, and in March 1967, he wrote to the Marines Corps declining the assignment: "I just can't paint a picture unless I have my heart in it."[3]

One year later, Rockwell began work on *The Right to Know*, an editorial illustration for *Look* magazine. Just months before the painting was to be published in August 1968, the *New York Times* reported that General William Westmoreland had requested 206,000 additional troops be sent to Vietnam, a story that the White House had tried to suppress. After the troop escalation was reported, news broke of the My Lai massacre, committed by American troops, fueling growing dissent against the war. Rockwell's political statement expressing the right of American citizens to know the reasons behind its government's actions was accompanied by one simple paragraph of text, which concluded,

> Those of us who stand here mean to watch those we put in the seats of power. And listen to us, you who lead, for we are listening harder for the truth that you have not always offered us. Your voice must be ours, and ours speaks of cities that are not safe, and of wars we do not want, of poor in a land of plenty, and of a world that will not take the shape our arms would give it.

"I don't think my style has changed," Rockwell told *Sunday News* reporter Ed Wilcox in 1970, "but America has, and hence, so has my subject matter. . . . Lord knows we have problems—plenty of them—but we should also have great confidence in the present generation of young people who are, I think, the very best we have produced, long hair and all. Who is to say that one of these hippies won't be a genius of the future?"



The *Saturday Evening Post* published each of the Four Freedoms essays on the page facing Norman Rockwell's matching interpretation. Here the essay "Freedom from Want," by the Filipino American writer Carlos Bulosan (1913–1956), appears with the artist's famous image. *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943, pp. 12–13. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST, CARLOS BULOSAN & THE BATTLE FOR THE SOUL OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS

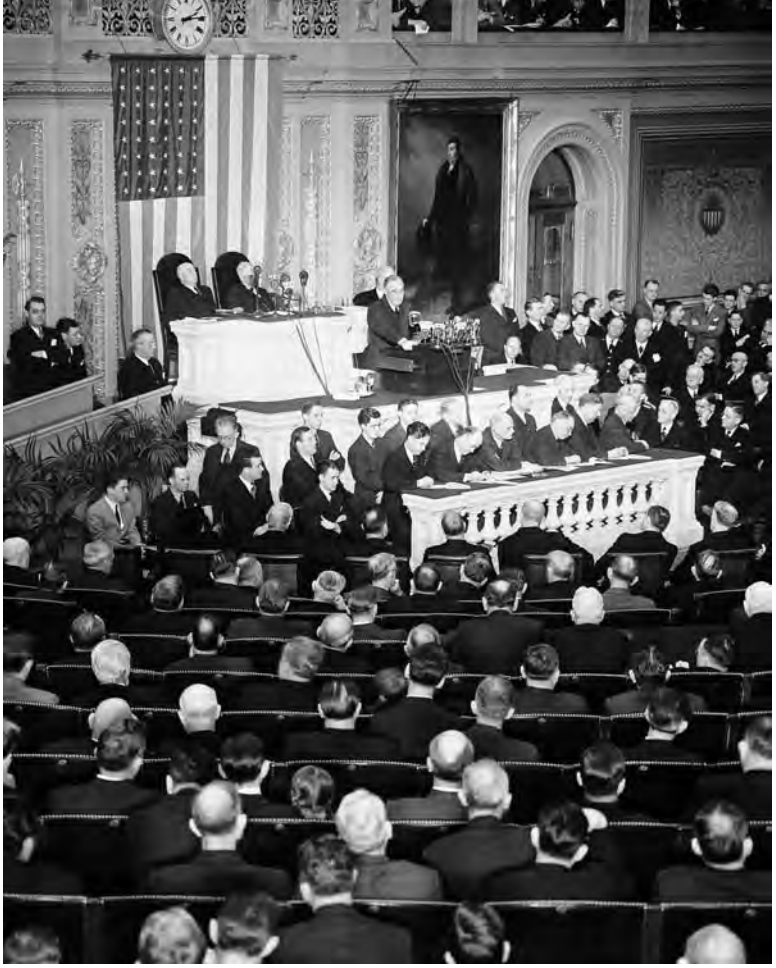
RAMÓN SALDÍVAR

On January 6, 1941, with American entry into World War II less than a year away, Franklin D. Roosevelt delivered the President's Annual Message to Congress. In the days before the speech, FDR had fretted over how best to address in one unified line the lingering effects of spiritual and economic crisis, the need for a revaluation of political standards in moral terms, and the real urgency of preparing for the coming war. At the very brink of war, with its shadow practically touching the shores of the North American continent, FDR now urged Congress toward vigilance and action on the international stage and in foreign policy, pressing for the establishment of the Lend-Lease Act to allow the United States to continue to serve as the "arsenal of democracy."[1]

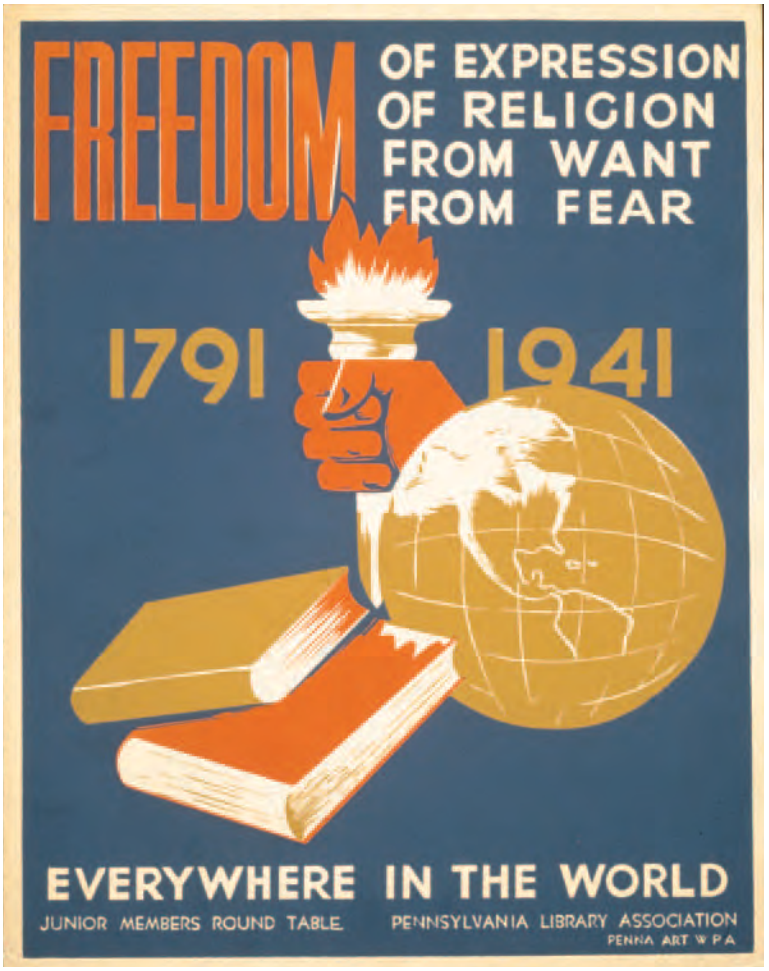
Nevertheless, the president was also profoundly aware of how national security depended on the action on the internal stage of domestic affairs. "As men do not live by bread alone," he proclaimed, "they do not fight by armaments alone. Those who man our defenses, and those behind them who build our defenses, must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending." Consequently, he added, this was no time "to stop thinking about the social and economic problems which are the root cause of the social revolution which is today a supreme factor in the world."[2]

Having linked national security and domestic tranquility in the alleviation of the national economic depression, FDR looked ahead, even beyond the war that the United States had not yet officially entered, to sketch a vision of what the nation might one day be. What emerged from that vision was an extraordinarily felicitous formulation, the Four Freedoms. "In the future days, which we seek to make secure," FDR proclaimed, in his now celebrated phrasing, "we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms."[3]

Cynics mocked the president's words, alleging that he offered no more than a utopian vision of a distant millennium. FDR himself, however, had insisted in his message to the nation that his grand idea of the Four Freedoms was "a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation." Even more grandly, for him the Four Freedoms constituted both a renewal of the American commitment to basic human rights and an extension of those personal rights into the transpersonal arena of world politics.[4]



President Franklin D. Roosevelt delivering his annual message to Congress on January 6, 1941. Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



★ *Freedom of Expression, of Religion, from Want, from Fear Everywhere in the World*, 1941. Published by Penna Art WPA. Digital reproduction, 25½ × 20 in. (64.8 × 50.8 cm). Work Projects Administration Poster Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. This poster emphasizes the international vision inherent in FDR's Four Freedoms.

The Four Freedoms—of speech and worship, and from want and fear—had, as the historian Eric Foner points out, "an unmistakably liberal cast." At various times over the next few years, Roosevelt would compare the Four Freedoms to the Ten Commandments, the Magna Carta, and the Emancipation Proclamation. They represented the culmination of FDR's lifelong commitment to liberal democratic notions of justice and fundamental human rights. The New Deal agenda for American renewal, to be understood as an ethical revaluation for the elimination of spiritual and economic maladies, was now turned outward upon the world in general. As the president put it, "The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society." To this end, then, Roosevelt asked "all Americans to respond to that call." "Our strength is our unity of purpose," he concluded.[5]

Not everyone agreed with the president's understanding of *purpose*, of course. In particular, the *Saturday Evening Post*—with its 3.3 million subscribers, one of the most influential media outlets in the country—had few encouraging words to say about FDR's Four Freedoms. The president's "four horsemen of American freedom," editorialized the magazine, were little more than "a New Deal for the whole world, planned that way, and financed in the beginning with American billions." Adopting the Freedoms as a war aim was a fruitless endeavor, as "the world we now undertake to save is one we have imagined." Might it be appropriate for skeptics to ask, the editors demanded, "what America will get back?"[6]

It was no surprise that the *Post* found it prudent to cast such aspersions on the Four Freedoms. The Roosevelt administration's idealism had never appealed to the magazine's staid editorial team, especially longtime head George Horace Lorimer (who had responded to FDR's 1933 ascendancy to the presidency by vowing to "fight this New Deal if it's the last thing I ever do"). Wesley Winans Stout had taken over what was becoming an isolationist periodical in 1937, but he largely continued the magazine's policy of opposing the White House at every turn. If the Four Freedoms were a suitably progressive vision for FDR, for the *Post* and for many of its readers, those same Four Freedoms were New Deal panaceas and little else.[7]

The *Post*'s antagonism arguably diminished when Stout abruptly resigned in early 1942. The new editor, former wunderkind Ben Hibbs (p. 152), was an import from sibling magazine *Country Gentleman*. He told his new staffers that he viewed himself as a "liberal Republican" and that his aim was to ensure that the magazine would no longer "be wedded to any political party or faction." Before long, he made a savvy (if surprising) move: he commissioned the magazine's star illustrator, Norman Rockwell, to depict the president's Four Freedoms. It must have seemed as if, at long last, the *Post* was ready to make peace with the White House.[8]

Yet the rapprochement was apparently too good to be true. Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* (pp. 1–4), appearing in four consecutive weekly numbers beginning with the issue of February 20, 1943, at first glance offered representations of the American soul in four achingly sentimental scenes: a blue-collar man speaking in opposition at a town meeting, loving parents tucking children into bed, a diverse group of prayerful, meditative citizens, and a joyful Thanksgiving family dinner. The paintings conveyed a simple, if not altogether unambiguous, message. They portrayed carefully selected images of an American way of life based on fundamental political, civic, religious, and social institutions: the democratic process, the church, and the family. But the underlying



Benjamin Smith Hibbs, ca. 1940–45. Hibbs took over the *Saturday Evening Post* in early 1942, promising a more moderate editorial approach. Kansas State Historical Society.

message was a far cry from the worldwide vision of human rights evoked in FDR's stirring words. Instead, argues historian Robert B. Westbrook, the message of the paintings was fundamentally conservative, insinuating "that Americans were fighting World War II to protect essentially private interests and discharge essentially private obligations." In fact, he adds, "in two of the four paintings, the message was that the people of the United States were fighting for the family."[9]

Still, the creative Hibbs was not content to let Rockwell's colorful images speak for themselves. He also commissioned complementary essays to offer reflections on the meaning of each of the Four Freedoms. Each essay was featured with its respective artistic interpretation on the facing page, offering subscribers a side-by-side composite of words on the left and brushstrokes on the right. This positioning implicitly communicated that Rockwell, long one of the most celebrated illustrators in the country, was on familiar ground, once again giving visual form to authorial prose. And indeed, the essays and the paintings, in three of the four cases, provided meaningful parallels.

The contributing authors of these three essays were some of the most celebrated writers of the age: Booth Tarkington, Stephen Vincent Benét, and Will Durant (the first two were already winners of the Pulitzer Prize, while Durant would have to wait until 1968 to claim his award). Tarkington's freedom of speech parable offered a fanciful glimpse of a young Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, conspiring in 1912 to rid their homelands of that freedom. Condemning the United States for cherishing it, Mussolini tacitly refers to Rockwell's blue-collar speaker on the opposite page: "They let anybody stand up and say what he thinks." Benét's treatment of freedom from fear, meanwhile, repeatedly returns to the theme of vulnerable children, and even ac-

NUMBER THREE OF A SERIES DEPICTING THE FOUR FREEDOMS FOR WHICH WE FIGHT

Freedom from Want

TEXT BY CARLOS BULOSAN

PAINTING BY NORMAN ROCKWELL

IF YOU want to know what we are, look upon the farms or upon the hard pavements of the city. You usually see us working or waiting for work, and you think you know us, but our outward guise is more deceptive than our history.

Our history has many strands of fear and hope, that snarl and converge at several points in time and space. We clear the forest and the mountains of the land. We cross the river and the wind. We harness wild beast and living steel. We celebrate labor, wisdom, peace of the soul.

When our crops are burned or plowed under, we are angry and confused. Sometimes we ask if this is the real America. Sometimes we watch our long shadows and doubt the future. But we have learned to emulate our ideals from these trials. We know there were men who came and stayed to build America. We know they came because there is something in America that they needed, and which needed them.

We march on, though sometimes strange moods fill our children. Our march toward security and peace is the march of freedom—the freedom that we should like to become a living part of. It is the dignity of the individual to live in a society of free men, where the spirit of understanding and belief exist; of understanding that all men are equal; that all men, whatever their color, race, religion or estate, should be given equal opportunity to serve themselves and each other according to their needs and abilities.

But we are not really free unless we use what we produce. So long as the fruit of our labor is denied us, so long will want manifest itself in a world of slaves. It is only when we have plenty to eat—plenty of everything—that we begin to understand what freedom means. To us, freedom is not an intangible thing. When we have enough to eat, then we are healthy enough to enjoy what we eat. Then we have the time and ability to read and think and discuss things. Then we are not merely living but also becoming a creative part of life. It is only then that we become a growing part of democracy.

We do not take democracy for granted. We feel it grow in our working together—many millions of us working toward a common purpose. If it took us several decades of sacrifices to arrive at this faith, it is because it took us that long to know what part of America is ours.

Our faith has been shaken many times, and now it is put to question. Our faith is a living thing, and it can be crippled or chained. It can be killed by denying us enough food or clothing, by blasting away our personalities and keeping us in constant fear. Unless we are properly prepared, the powers of darkness will have good reason to catch us unaware and trample our lives.

The totalitarian nations hate democracy. They hate us, because we ask for a definite guaranty of freedom of religion, freedom of expression and freedom from fear and want. Our challenge to tyranny is the depth of our faith in a democracy worth defending. Although they spread lies about us, the way of life we cherish is not dead. The American dream is only hidden away, and it will push its way up and grow again.

We have moved down the years steadily toward the practice of democracy. We become animate in the growth of Kansas wheat or in the ring of Mississippi rain. We tremble in the strong winds of the Great Lakes. We cut timbers in Oregon just as the wild flowers blossom in Maine. We are multitudes in Pennsylvania mines, in Alaskan canneries. We are millions from Puget Sound to Florida. In violent factories, crowded tenements, teeming cities. Our numbers increase as the war revolves into years and increases hunger, disease, death and fear.

But sometimes we wonder if we are really a part of America. We recognize the mainsprings of American democracy in our right to form unions and bargain through them collectively, our opportunity to sell our products at reasonable prices, and the privilege of our children to attend schools where they learn the truth about the world in which they live. We also recognize the forces which have been trying to falsify American history—the forces which drive many Americans to a corner of compromise with those who would distort the ideals of men that died for freedom.

Sometimes we walk across the land looking for something to hold on to. We cannot believe that the resources of this country are exhausted. Even when we see our children suffer humiliations, we cannot believe that America has no more place for us. We realize that what is wrong is not in our system of government, but in the ideals which were blasted away by a materialistic age. We know that we can truly find and identify ourselves with a living tradition if we walk proudly in familiar streets. It is a great honor to walk on the American earth.

If you want to know what we are, look at the men reading books, searching in the dark pages of history for the lost word, the key to the mystery of living peace. We are factory hands, field hands, mill hands, searching, building and molding structures. We are doctors, scientists, chemists, discovering and eliminating disease, hunger and antagonism. We are soldiers, Navy men, citizens, guarding the imperishable dream of our fathers to live in freedom. We are the living dream of dead men. We are the living spirit of free men.

Everywhere we are on the march, passing through darkness into a sphere of economic peace. When we have the freedom to think and discuss things without fear, when peace and security are assured, when the futures of our children are ensured—then we have resurrected and cultivated the early beginnings of democracy. And America lives and becomes a growing part of our aspirations again.

We have been marching for the last one hundred and fifty years. We sacrifice our individual liberties, and sometimes we fail and suffer. Sometimes we divide into separate groups and our methods conflict, though we all aim at one common goal. The significant thing is that we march on without turning back. What we want is peace, not violence. We know that we thrive and prosper only in peace.

We are bleeding where clubs are smashing heads, where bayonets are gleaming. We are fighting where the bullet is crashing upon armorless citizens, where the tear gas is choking unprotected children. Under the lynch trees, amidst hysterical mobs. Where the prisoner is beaten to confess a crime he did not commit. Where the honest man is hanged because he told the truth.

We are the sufferers who suffer for natural love of man for another man, who commemorate the humanities of every man. We are the creators of abundance.

We are the desires of anonymous men. We are the subways of suffering, the well of dignities. We are the living testament of a flowering race.

But our march to freedom is not complete unless want is annihilated. The America we hope to see is not merely a physical but also a spiritual and an intellectual world. We are the mirror of what America *is*. If America wants us to be living and free, then we must be living and free. If we fail, then America fails.

What do we want? We want complete security and peace. We want to share the promises and fruits of American life. We want to be free from fear and hunger.

If you want to know what we are —— We are Marching!

★ Carlos Bulosan (1913–1956), "Freedom from Want," *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943, p. 12. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves.

Bulosan

BECAUSE a man struggling to reach a goal often sees the goal more clearly than one who already has reached it, the Post's editors believed that the text for the Rockwell painting, Freedom from Want, could best be written by a man who had never experienced that freedom. For Carlos Bulosan, young Filipino writer and journeyman laborer, freedom from want lies in the future.

Bulosan, orphaned early in life, left his native village at the age of twelve, and four years later came to America, where he had two brothers whom he had never seen, for his family had become widely scattered upon the death of his father. Driven by a desire to write, he has wandered over the land, doing odd jobs, picking berries and fruit, eking out a living as best he could, and never sure how or where the eking would be going on next week.

In the office of Bulosan's agent, Associate Editor Stuart Rose read an outline of Bulosan's projected autobiography and found in it a rare quality, a quality which, he felt, should go into the text of Freedom from Want. But a writer prowling the country for bread and butter isn't an easy person to find. When the agent's telegram caught up with Bulosan, he was stranded in Seattle, looking for a job, with five dollars a Filipino dishwasher friend had lent him.



Carlos Bulosan.

Bulosan went to Tacoma, wrote the article and sent it to us. It was accepted, and then . . . suddenly nobody could find the manuscript. Apparently, routine in a magazine office gets starved once in a great while and eats manuscripts, for Bulosan's article disappeared, utterly and mysteriously. We asked for a copy and by great good luck got it. Bulosan's side of the story is told in a subsequent letter to his agent:

> Today your telegram came telling me the article was lost. I was worried because I didn't make a carbon copy. In fact, the draft, the only draft, was left on a table in a beer tavern in Tacoma. I rushed to Tacoma. I almost cried when the manager produced it. It was spilled with beer and one end was burned. Some drunk must have used it to light his cigar.

Bulosan, now in his late twenties, last year published his first book of poetry, Letters From America. A collection of Philippine poetry, Chorus for America, also appeared under his name. For the future Bulosan has laid out for himself a literary agenda which will have his readers humping to keep up with him.

A profile of Bulosan in "Keeping Posted" (detail), *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943, p. 4. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves.



Portrait of Carlos Bulosan, standing, ca. 1940s. University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, Carlos Bulosan Photograph Collection.

knowledges the artist's nearby rendering: "here is a house, a woman, a man, their children." And Durant's poetic homage to freedom of worship is a match for the folks in Rockwell's prayerful, diverse gathering, who are suitably lifting their hearts "to a hidden presence and power," ultimately finding "a pillar of strength for [their] fragile decency." In all three pairings, the well-known essayists had found a way to connect with Rockwell's private and familial *Four Freedoms* more than with FDR's more international, rights-oriented Four Freedoms.[10]

The fourth essayist was different. Editor Hibbs had selected a young, virtually unknown Filipino writer by the name of Carlos Bulosan (p. 154) for the essay dedicated to the most problematic of the private and familial representations of the Four Freedoms, freedom from want. In counterpoint to the nostalgic representations of an American past that really never quite existed as portrayed in Rockwell's many epideictic paintings, Bulosan's essay looked forward to a possible American future in which those outside the social mainstream—migrant farmworkers, union organizers, cannery laborers, African American victims of segregation, Asian and Latino immigrants—might be allowed to experience real freedom. For these Americans, notes Foner, "freedom meant having enough to eat, sending their children to school," and realizing the desire to share in the unfulfilled promise of American democracy.[11]

Bulosan himself was far outside the social mainstream at the time and was selected to contribute an essay almost by accident. As the series was in preparation, *Post* associate editor Stuart Rose had chanced one day to be in the offices of Bulosan's literary agent and read there an outline of Bulosan's projected autobiography. The magazine later commented that Rose "found in it a rare quality, a quality which, he felt, should go into the text of Freedom from Want."[12]

In his late twenties, Bulosan, like so many other laborers—Filipino, Mexican, African American, and white—was living on the periphery of the American dream. His life experience was of an America more akin to the one of John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* than the one imagined in Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* paintings. Bulosan was a journeyman laborer. He worked odd jobs, picked berries and fruit in the Northwest, and made a living as best as he could, bumming from small town to small town during the Great Depression. And, as he admits in his essay (p. 153), he had never experienced the freedom from want.

From such experiences Bulosan understood that for Americans like him, freedom from want lay as a possibility in the future, not as something experienced at the Thanksgiving Day dinner table. In the *Post* essay, he would thus say about Americans like himself:

> If you want to know what we are, look upon the farms or upon the hard pavements of the city. You usually see us working or waiting for work, and you think you know us, but our outward guise is more deceptive than our history. . . .
>
> We celebrate labor, wisdom, peace of the soul. . . .
>
> But we are not really free unless we use what we produce. So long as the fruit of our labor is denied us, so long will want manifest itself in a world of slaves. It is only when we have plenty to eat—plenty of everything—that we begin to understand what freedom means. To us, freedom is not an intangible thing. When we have enough to eat, then we are healthy enough to enjoy what we eat. Then we have the time and ability to read and think and discuss things. Then

> we are not merely living but also becoming a creative part of life. It is only then that we become a growing part of democracy. . . .
>
> What do we want? We want complete security and peace. We want to share the promises and fruits of American life. We want to be free from fear and hunger.[13]

Paired with Rockwell's painting of a family gathered on Thanksgiving Day to celebrate overindulgence at a time when people worldwide were dying of starvation because of global warfare, Bulosan's words were haunting and sharp. Unwittingly, by juxtaposing the artist's bountiful surfeit, a typical scene of American overabundance, with Bulosan's lean language, the editors of the *Post* were illustrating the necessity of the reciprocal relationship between the liberal democratic state and its citizens. The state was obliged to provide a minimal level of subsistence for all of its citizens if all of its citizens were to owe the state the duties and obligations of loyalty, allegiance, identification, and ultimately, self-sacrifice. As Laurie Norton Moffatt justly observes, "President Roosevelt and Norman Rockwell addressed, each in his own way, a profound question of citizenship: what are the national goals which justify asking citizens to make ultimate sacrifices?" Bulosan responded by calling for "a democracy worth defending" on behalf of those American citizens who were "not really free" because they are without the freedom from want. He spoke of those who could legitimately wonder whether "we are really a part of America."[14]

Bulosan's essay in the *Post* sequence on the Four Freedoms gets squarely at the issues of national and individual identity and the rights of citizens in relation to the pledges of American democracy. It was chosen by the editors of the *Post* precisely because it offered, as Foner explains, an extension of the American promise into the postwar future rather than a retreat to Rockwell's imagined past of white American small-town life. For working men and women of other ethnic backgrounds, the failure of the nation's institutions to live up to the declarations of the Four Freedoms amounted to a critique in practice of the rights and obligations of citizenship. If the traditional foundations of the democratic state, such as freedom from fear and want, were not part of the experience of their lives, on what possible basis could political duty and obligation to the state be justified?[15]

Such pointed questions most likely would have been anathema to most of the regular readers of the *Saturday Evening Post* during the Lorimer years. They were, perhaps, a bit too incisive even for Hibbs's readers in the midst of World War II. In fact, six months after Bulosan's essay appeared, the magazine acknowledged that many of its subscribers remained "dubious" about the Four Freedoms. Freedom from want, it noted, was a particular concern of those Americans who interpreted it to "imply that men are to be guaranteed not merely against 'want' in the literal sense, but against lacking anything they happen to desire at any given moment." The point, Hibbs's team suggested, was that the freedoms were an "ideal" or a "professed goal," in the manner of "'the full dinner pail' or 'a chicken in every pot.'" These were phrases, they added, that were "seldom associated with radical welfare schemes."[16]

The *Post*'s follow-up was probably a simple matter of damage control in response to a truculent readership, but it did not matter in the long run. Bulosan's unexpected, searing voice had already presented a clarion call to the disaffected, to the downtrodden, to those countless Americans

who existed in the shadows, longing for their rightful place. It was, in a sense, a telling prophecy of the rise of the struggle for civil rights in the coming decades. Worldwide, it presaged the spirit of the coming anti-colonial movements. When Nelson Mandela and Mahatma Gandhi said they admired the Four Freedoms, it is safe to say that they did not have a familial Thanksgiving feast in mind. True, the ideal these leaders would describe was capably represented in the pages of Hibbs's conservative periodical. But that ideal was on the reader's left, not the right, opposing Rockwell's private gathering in more ways than one.

And there that stirring ideal would remain, indelibly printed on the very pages of the *Saturday Evening Post* itself. But it had already been lost once. Bulosan was so far on the edge at the time of the magazine's commission that when the nightmare of all writers occurred—the *Post* inexplicably lost his manuscript—he was barely able to recover from the near disaster. The editors of the *Post* tracked him down and requested the carbon copy of the essay. There was none, and Bulosan had abandoned the only working draft of the article in the tavern where he had written it. Bulosan tells his side of the story in a letter to his agent, quoted in the *Post*: "Today your telegram came telling me the article was lost. I was worried because I didn't make a carbon copy. In fact, the draft, the only draft, was left on a table in a beer tavern in Tacoma. I rushed to Tacoma. I almost cried when the manager produced it. It was spilled with beer and one end was burned. Some drunk must have used it to light his cigar." Bulosan's message, it was apparent, was already proving to be resilient.[17]

ARTHUR SZYK: IMMIGRANT ARTIST AS FDR'S SOLDIER IN ART

IRVIN UNGAR

Arthur Szyk was born in Łódź, Poland, in 1894—the same year Norman Rockwell was born in New York, the city Szyk was destined to call home. As a Pole, Szyk loved the land of his birth. As a Jew, he loved Israel, which he saw as the homeland of his people. And as an immigrant to the United States, in 1940, he loved America as the land of his ideals. Upon his arrival, he was said to have proclaimed: "At last, I have found the home I have always searched for. Here I can speak of what my soul feels. There is no other place on earth that gives one the freedom, liberty and justice that America does." This Polish Jewish immigrant artist would go on to serve his adopted country as did no other artist during World War II—becoming President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "soldier in art" (p. 158).[1]

This is Szyk's American story. It is strikingly different from Rockwell's journey, to be sure. But the two artists, though in some ways worlds apart, catered to much the same domestic audience during World War II. Both played prominent roles in the visual culture of the conflict. And, most pertinently, both artists found common ground in the Four Freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear—that FDR had named in his 1941 message to Congress, as each brought new light to the president's ideal.

To understand Szyk's story, one first needs to know that Szyk (pronounced *Shick*) grew up as a Pole and Jew amid numerous cultural currents. In the late 1800s, Łódź was an industrial metropolis, its populace comprising Polish Catholics, German Protestants, Orthodox Russians, and Eastern European Jews, the lattermost representing about a third of the city's population. As a boy, Szyk was influenced by Polish nationalist art. When visiting Ottoman-occupied Palestine in 1914, he sought out a Jewish nationalist art. On his return to Poland, he was conscripted into the Russian army to fight in World War I. After the war Szyk became the director for propaganda for Poland as it fought against the Soviet Union to maintain its newly won independence. In the 1920s he settled in Paris, where he had been a student in his teenage years. During this period, he was decorated by the governments of both France and Poland for his artworks in the service of humanity, receiving the French Ordre des Palmes Académiques in 1923 and the Polish Gold Cross of Merit in 1931.

Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *F.D.R.'s Soldier in Art*, New York, 1944 (inscribed in 1946). Watercolor and gouache, 7⅜ × 5⅜ in. (18.7 × 13.7 cm). Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Washington the Soldier*, from *Washington and His Times*, Paris, 1930. Watercolor and gouache, 8¾ × 6¾ in. (22.2 × 17.1 cm). Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

Szyk's relationship with the United States began in late 1933—the year Adolf Hitler came to power in Germany—when members of Congress invited the artist to attend an exhibition of his works on freedom at the Library of Congress. The exhibition showcased Szyk's illuminated version of the *Statut de Kalisz* (Statute of Kalisz, or General Charter of Jewish Liberties), a historic document that had granted civil and religious privileges to the Jews of Poland in the thirteenth century. It also featured a celebrated series of thirty-eight paintings, titled *Washington and His Times*, illustrating scenes of the American Revolution. While in the United States, Szyk received the George Washington Bicentennial Medal in honor of his contributions to the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the first president's birthday.

The Szyk exhibit at the Library of Congress hinted at the artist's broad knowledge of history, whether it was Polish, Jewish, European, United States, or South American (as revealed in his series *Simón Bolívar and His Time*). Quite often, Szyk used history in his art to build bridges between peoples and nations. This aim was particularly evident in the twenty-three works known

as the *Glorious Days of the Polish-American Fraternity*. Szyk created this series to highlight the contributions people from Poland had made to the United States; he hoped it would bring the two countries closer.[2]

Just as often, others used Szyk's art precisely for the same purpose. Consider that in 1935, Ignacy Mościcki, the president of Poland, purchased Szyk's *Washington and His Times* series (p. 160) and presented it to FDR as a gift from the Polish people to the American people. He did so hoping to foster closer relations between the two nations in the face of rising tensions with Nazi Germany. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt later reported to Szyk that the paintings were on display in the White House; they were there even as the president delivered his Four Freedoms speech in January 1941.[3]

Szyk returned to Poland in 1934. There he began work on the great book devoted to freedom in Jewish tradition—the Haggadah, the text used in the Passover seder to recount the Exodus, the liberation of the ancient Israelites from slavery in Egypt. Szyk's illustrated Haggadah, however, simultaneously called upon the Jews of Europe to be heroic in the face of the new Nazi pharaoh who was bent on their annihilation even as it encouraged their exodus to British-occupied Palestine.[4]

Szyk left Poland for England in 1937 to supervise the production of *The Haggadah*. Published in London in 1940, the book opened with a dedication and appeal to King George VI that included the supplication: "I humbly lay these works of my hands shewing forth the afflictions of my people Israel." The first edition, printed on vellum, debuted as the most expensive new book in the world, selling at five hundred dollars per copy. The *Times Literary Supplement* described Szyk's masterpiece as "worthy to be placed among the most beautiful of books that the hand of man has produced."[5]

While in London, Szyk focused his talents on creating anti-Hitler and anti-Nazi art for British magazines and newspapers. Germany's occupation of Poland in 1939 had made a return to his birthplace impossible. Both the Polish government-in-exile and British officials, knowing the power of his pen would be more effective in the United States, urged Szyk to move his family across the Atlantic. By October 1940 he had arrived in his final home.

This immigrant artist reached the United States with a threefold mission. His first objective was to warn Americans of the evil intentions of Nazi Germany against his adopted country. The second was to take aim at the America First movement, its isolationist agenda, and its leading spokesmen, Charles Lindbergh and Senator Gerald P. Nye. The third was to draw the United States into a comradeship of arms with the Allies in Europe (the United Kingdom, France, Poland, and, eventually, the Soviet Union). By July 1941—five months before the United States entered the war—Szyk's *The New Order* (p. 162), the first anti-Nazi book of its kind in America, was published in New York. By then Szyk was already a regular contributor to *PM* newspaper (later replacing Theodor Geisel, better known as Dr. Seuss, as its editorial cartoonist). The magazine *American Mercury* was publishing Szyk's political cartoons by September 1941.

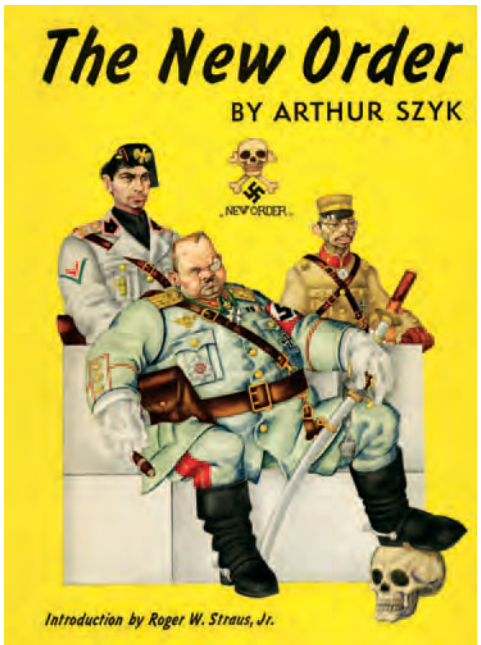
That same year, Szyk created the first two of his works to appear on the cover of *Collier's* magazine (p. 162): *Historic Poker Game*, for the issue of November 1, 1941, and *Madness*, for the issue of January 17, 1942. Accompanying the first image, tucked inside the issue's front cover, was a broadsheet insert written by the artist. It described the cover's strange and historic poker game, in which Ivan of Russia's two aces (representing the United Kingdom and the United States) are



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *A Madman's Dream*, New York, 1940. Published in *Coronet*, January 1942.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *A Madman's Dream*, New York, 1941. Published in the *American Mercury*, November 1941.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *The New Order* (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons), 1941, dust jacket.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Historic Poker Game*. Cover illustration for *Collier's*, November 1, 1941. Taube Family Arthur Szyk Collection, The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, University of California, Berkeley.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Madness*. Cover illustration for *Collier's*, January 17, 1942. Taube Family Arthur Szyk Collection, The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, University of California, Berkeley.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Admiral Yamamoto*, New York, 1941. Pen and ink and pencil. 7¼ × 7 in. (18.4 × 17.6 cm). Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

a stronger hand than Hitler's three jokers (representing Japan, Italy, and Vichy France). Szyk also wrote:

> It is my privilege as an artist to have drawn this cover. I wonder if you realize just how great a privilege it is? I have been in this country for only a year. I am a Polish exile from Lodz, which is now in German hands, and for years I have lived in Paris, which is also in German hands. My boy is a Second Lieutenant with De Gaulle and is, I believe, somewhere in Syria, although I am not sure. So—the war has come rather close to me. For me, I know it is not a war but a world revolution, and 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. I am proud to see my work on the cover of *Collier's*. It is a real privilege.

On December 7, 1941, Japanese aircraft bombed Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, and the United States entered the war. Szyk's portrait of Admiral Yamamoto, the architect of the surprise attack, would soon appear on the front cover of *Time* magazine. The artist's powerful work was quickly becoming recognized.



★ Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Arsenal of Democracy II*, New York, 1942. Pen, ink, and graphite on paper, 5½ × 9¼ in. (14 × 23.5 cm). Raziel Ungar, California.

In fact, it was not long before Szyk's contributions to the war effort became renowned. Eleanor Roosevelt, in her newspaper column, My Day, wrote that Szyk was fighting the Axis "as truly as any of us who cannot actually be on the fighting fronts." A 1942 magazine titled *Predictions of Things to Come* opined that the "Polish-born artist . . . will soon be recognized as the outstanding cartoonist of this war." That same year, an essay in *Click* magazine, titled "One-Man War against Hitler: Arthur Szyk Fights the Dictators with Pen, Brush and Venom," stated: "His cartoons are so exquisitely detailed that they are closer to the art of the illuminator than to that of the cartoonist; so trenchant in their satire that they invite comparisons with the works of Hogarth and Daumier."[6]

After Pearl Harbor, Szyk stepped up his campaign as a one-man army against Hitler and the Axis powers. In addition to serving as the featured political artist for the *New York Post* and the *Chicago Sun*, Szyk syndicated his work to hundreds of newspapers throughout the United States. By mid-1942, Szyk estimated he had already created more than one thousand war cartoons. His art was exhibited at five hundred United Service Organizations (USO) recreation centers and



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Arsenal of Democracy*. Cover illustration for *Collier's*, September 12, 1942 (Labor Day).

many US Army airfields and bases. An American military spokesperson called Szyk a "citizen-soldier of the free world." *Look*, *Liberty*, and *Esquire* magazines featured his art, and a survey conducted by the lattermost indicated that Szyk's anti-Nazi and anti-Japanese caricatures and cartoons were more popular with American servicemen than were "pinup girls." Even the Manhattan and Brooklyn telephone directories carried Szyk's art on their covers.[7]

As "soldier in art," Szyk worked to illuminate FDR's vision of the United States as the "arsenal of democracy," the president's call to American industry to join forces in supporting the war effort. Szyk's painting *Arsenal of Democracy*, showing a Nazi serpent attempting to strangle the pillars of American democracy, appeared on the Labor Day cover of *Collier's* in 1942. One can see in this image how Szyk used his art to challenge and inspire American workers to forge and fortify their weapons of freedom.[8]

Szyk's *Four Freedoms* artwork (p. 166), completed that same year, reflected his spirit as a fighting artist. The central figure in all four paintings is a medieval knight. Swords, daggers, and lances are at hand, a frank acknowledgment that all freedoms must be fought for. The shield of the United States reminds viewers that their country stands strong as the protective guardian of those freedoms. Szyk's *Four Freedoms* images were widely circulated in sheets of poster stamps and oversize postcards.

In late 1942, when the Roosevelt administration acknowledged that the Nazis had murdered two million European Jews, Szyk doubled down on his commitment to resist Hitler's war against the Jewish people. Over the duration of World War II, he produced more Holocaust art, advocating



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Freedom of Speech*, from *The Four Freedoms*, New York, 1942. Issued by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, New York.



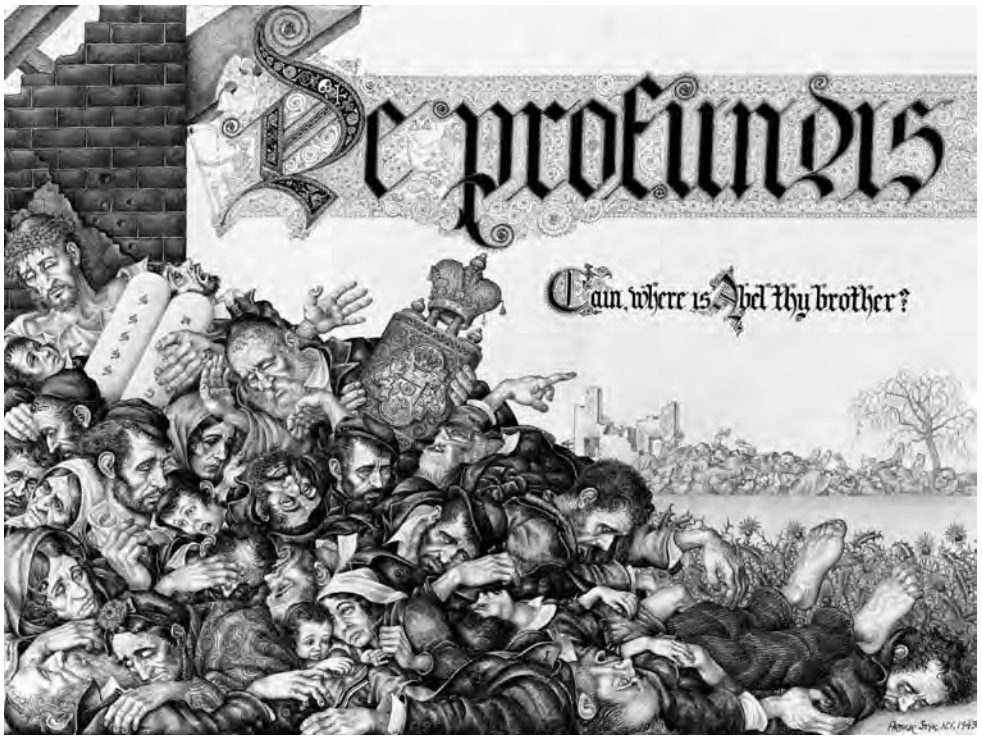
Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Freedom of Religion*, from *The Four Freedoms*, New York, 1942. Issued by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, New York.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Freedom from Want*, from *The Four Freedoms*, New York, 1942. Issued by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, New York.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Freedom from Fear*, from *The Four Freedoms*, New York, 1942. Issued by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, New York.



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *De Profundis: Cain, Where Is Abel Thy Brother?*, New York, 1943. Pen and ink and pencil, 15 × 20 in. (38.1 × 50.8 cm). Taube Family Arthur Szyk Collection, The Magnes Collection of Jewish Art and Life, University of California, Berkeley.

the rescue of European Jewry, than any other artist. He collaborated with Hollywood screenwriter Ben Hecht, creating an illuminated illustration of Hecht's *Ballad of the Doomed Jews of Europe*, a poetic indictment of apathy and inaction regarding the murder of fellow Jews while "the world is busy with other news."[9]

Szyk's *De Profundis*, which appeared on a full page in the *Chicago Sun* in February 1943, is his *Guernica* and *White Crucifixion* combined in one searing image. In fact, it goes beyond those masterworks in its urgency, calling out from the depths of deepest despair: "Cain, where is Abel thy brother?" The anguished words unambiguously raise two questions: Who is responsible for this mass heap of murdered humanity? How will the perpetrators be held accountable? These same questions haunt us to this day.[10]

How widely circulated was Szyk's work during the war, and how widely known was his art at that time? The answers, which may surprise even the most knowledgeable student of World War II history, political art, and the Holocaust, can be found by placing Szyk within the context of his peer Norman Rockwell. No doubt every reader of this essay is familiar with Rockwell's wartime covers for the *Saturday Evening Post*. Fewer may know that at the same time Rockwell was working for the *Post*, Szyk was illustrating covers for *Collier's*. How many copies of each issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* were printed? Three million. How many of each issue of *Collier's*? Two and a half million. Virtually everyone who saw Rockwell's artwork during the war years also saw Szyk's!



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Murder Incorporated: Hirohito, Hitlerhito, Benito*, New York, December 1941. Watercolor and gouache, 17 × 14 in. (43 × 35.5 cm). Harlan Crow, Dallas.

Moreover, while Rockwell's work is more prominent today, many in the artistic world at the time had a special appreciation for the historical importance of Szyk's works. When the war was over, for example, the literary critic and Pulitzer Prize–winning biographer Carl Van Doren wrote of Szyk: "Of all the works produced by the present war, there is no one more certain to be alive two hundred years from now. Just as we turn back to Hogarth and Goya for the living images of their age, so our descendants will turn back to Arthur Szyk for the most graphic history of Hitler and Hirohito and Mussolini."[11]

Szyk even anticipated Rockwell's postwar embrace of emotional appeals to justice. Of course, Szyk had always been ready to take a stand against injustice and evil. (Dare one say that his response through his activist art was of biblical proportions?) Arriving in the United States with a



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *"And [what] would you do with Hitler?" "I would have made him a Negro and dropped him somewhere in the U.S.A. . . . ,"* New York, 1944. Pen and ink and pencil, 5⅝ × 8⅞ in. (14.3 × 22.5 cm). Anthony J. Mourek, Chicago.

price on his head, aware of the murder of his mother and brother in one of Europe's death camps, and identifying intimately with the genocide of his people, Szyk literally and figuratively walked through the valley of the shadow of death, yet feared no evil, in his quest to fight injustice (a slight paraphrase of Psalm 23, "The Lord is my shepherd").[12]

Indeed, even as soldiers from the land of his ideals fought Nazi racism abroad, Szyk was unafraid to attack American racism at home. Responding to the racial segregation of fighting units, he poured forth his outrage in a political cartoon in which, walking side by side, a white GI asks a black GI: "And [what] would you do with Hitler?" The black soldier responds, "I would have made him a Negro and dropped him somewhere in the U.S.A."

Szyk was equally fearless in 1949 when the House Un-American Activities Committee named him—along with Albert Einstein, Paul Robeson, Frank Lloyd Wright, and other prominent scientists, artists, and writers—as a member of subversive and communist organizations. Szyk's response was to attack McCarthyism and its crusading henchmen by drawing cartoons of innocent victims with captions such as: "He is under investigation; his blood is *red* and his heart is *left of the center*! . . . To think of it, we are all in truble [*sic*]" (1949). At the same time, he demonstrated his devotion to the United States, despite its flaws, by painting his best works of Americana: *Bill of Rights*, *Declaration of Independence of the United States*, and *Four Freedoms Prayer*.

In his *Four Freedoms Prayer* (p. 170), Szyk's reverence for the late president's ideal and the freedom of all peoples is evident. Painting it shortly after the Four Freedoms appeared in the preamble of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted on December 10, 1948, Szyk illuminated the rebirth and universal ideals of his own new nation. The full text of the so-called National Prayer for Peace (often ascribed to Thomas Jefferson), in Szyk's calligraphy, complements his image of prayer, around which is penned each of the Four Freedoms. At the cen-



Arthur Szyk (1894–1951), *Four Freedoms Prayer*, New Canaan, Connecticut, 1949. Watercolor and gouache, 8¼ × 6⅝ in. (21.1 × 16.8 cm). Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

ter, the Madonna and Child receive three "wise men"—a white man, a black man, and a Jewish man—who offer the newborn country three gifts, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."[13]

On July 4, 1950, Szyk's illuminated *Declaration of Independence*—the capstone of his life—was dedicated at a public ceremony in New Canaan, Connecticut, his final city of residence. More than three hundred people gathered at the town hall on that Independence Day to celebrate Szyk, his painting, and his love for his adopted country. The chair of the event described the artist as "one of the world's great free men who has dedicated his life and art to the preservation of freedom."[14]

At the very bottom of his work, Szyk had added his own words of dedication:

> To my fellow Americans, I dedicate with love this immortal heritage of our forefathers. May these words live in our hearts forever and ever; for no good man loses his freedom but with life . . . Arthur Szyk, New Canaan, Conn. July 4, 1950.

Little more than a year later, at age fifty-seven, Szyk was dead, his life cut short by a fatal heart attack. Shortly before his death he had completed his illuminated *Thomas Jefferson's Oath*: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." No words could better describe the passion that had illuminated this great artist's life and work.[15]

Fast-forward to the new millennium: In the year 2000, Szyk's work and fame in his adopted homeland were reinvigorated with a second Library of Congress exhibition, titled *Arthur Szyk: Artist for Freedom*. More recently, in 2017–18, Szyk's beloved New York City hosted an exhibition of his art, at the New-York Historical Society, titled *Arthur Szyk: Soldier in Art*.

The year 2018 marks the seventieth anniversary of the date when Arthur Szyk, a Polish Jewish immigrant artist, became a citizen of the United States. With this exhibition, *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms*, the Artist for Freedom and Soldier in Art has truly come home.



★ *Eleanor Roosevelt and the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Lake Success, New York*, November 1949. National Archives and Records Service, Washington, DC, Office of Presidential Libraries, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT & THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS: THE FOUR FREEDOMS IN ACTION

ALLIDA BLACK

Why include Eleanor Roosevelt in this tribute to the Four Freedoms? She did not write the landmark 1941 speech, nor did she deliver it. Her husband, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, did. She never commented publicly on Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* paintings (pp. 1–4) or worked behind the scenes to distribute them. When she spoke of these fundamental freedoms, she did not offer comfort or evoke tranquil images of children sleeping in their beds, families gathered around dining tables, communities united by prayer, or wholesome Americans defending their nation. Instead, she emphasized the challenging work—and widespread change—that concretizing these ideals demanded at home and around the world.[1]

Simply put, if FDR gave us the vision that Rockwell immortalized on canvas, ER insisted that Americans recognize what it meant. "It is not only in war . . . that we fight for freedom," she wrote, shortly after Rockwell's paintings appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*. "When the war is over, the four freedoms will not have been won, we shall simply have dominated their more aggressive enemies. At all times, day by day, we have to continue fighting for freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom from fear, and freedom from want—for these are things that must be gained in peace as well as in war."[2]

ER knew the painstaking, dangerous, and bold work this aim required. As she undertook the task, attacks on her character escalated. The Ku Klux Klan and other hate groups targeted her. Haunted by her visits with gravely wounded soldiers and distressed by increased ethnic discrimination at home, ER prayed for strength. "Dear Lord," she implored:

> Lest I continue
> My complacent way,
> Help me to remember that somewhere,
> Somehow out there
> A man died for me today.
> . . . . . .

I then must
Ask and answer
Am I worth dying for?[3]

ER grew even more convinced that although the United States had won World War I, it had lost the peace that followed. Her vision of victory now included more than military triumph. When her husband asked Americans to say goodbye to "Old Dr. New Deal" and hello to "Dr. Win-the-War," she declared that she doubted that "anyone has laid the New Deal away in lavender." While FDR focused on invading Europe and building the United Nations and its war-deterrence agencies, ER concentrated on mobilizing the war-weary American public to embrace the challenges that a world grounded in the Four Freedoms demanded.[4]

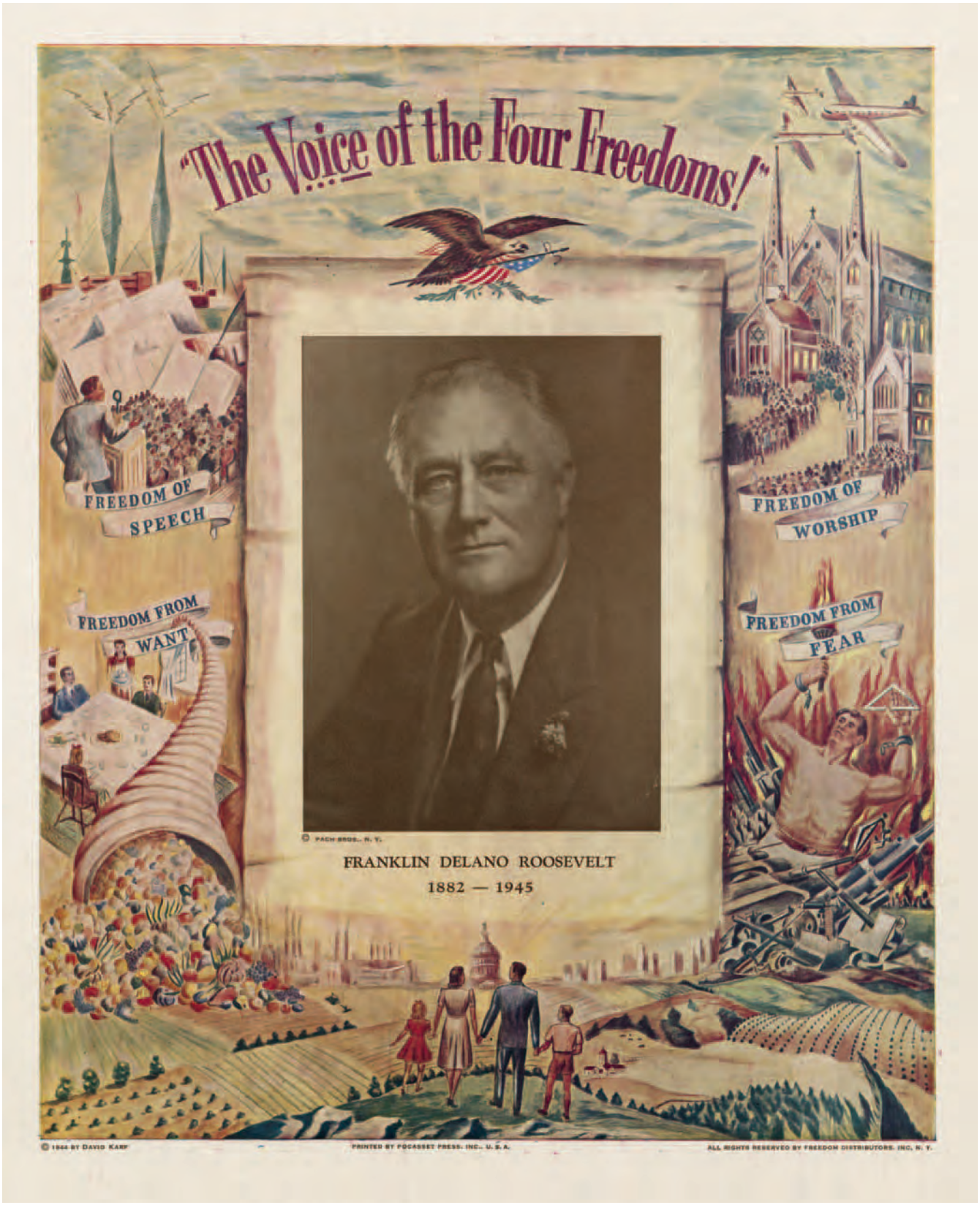
Each of them knew that the world needed their combined skills—and they looked forward to working together in new ways once the war ended. But that would not happen.

FDR died less than a month before Germany surrendered. He did not live to see the devastation caused by the atomic bomb, the convening of the United Nations, the soul-crushing sadness of the death camps and refugee resettlements, the rebuilding of Europe, or the collapse of colonialism. Moreover, he died before someone could show the world what policies grounded in the Four Freedoms could achieve.

That responsibility fell to Eleanor Roosevelt. It would become her life's work, albeit in an unexpected way.



The Roosevelts attend a dedication ceremony in Hyde Park, New York, in 1940. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.



★ David Karp (1905–1967), *The Voice of the Four Freedoms*, 1944 (updated in or after 1945). Poster, 14 × 11 in. (35.6 × 28 cm). Published by Freedom Distributors, New York. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York. FDR's role in creating the Four Freedoms was often memorialized after his death.

ER had intended to spend the summer of 1945 alongside her husband as he shepherded the delegates charged with designing and launching the United Nations. Instead, she remained at Val-Kill, her cottage in Hyde Park, New York, where she settled his estate and relied on the administration colleagues who were attending the planning conference to brief her on United Nations deliberations. Rejecting all pleas that she run for office, accept a Cabinet post, or direct a major political action committee, ER envisioned a life in which she could do what she wanted when she wanted, and say what she wanted without fear of undermining her husband's positions. Do not worry, she counseled colleagues and friends, in My Day, her widely read newspaper column, and on her lecture tour: "My voice will not be silent."[5]

But by late June, frustrated by the nation's capitulation to anxiety and the politics of fear, ER reentered the political debate and became the Four Freedoms' most outspoken advocate.

Repeatedly, she told her audiences that peace depended upon the Four Freedoms: "Security is not a matter of armed forces alone." It is instead the combination of "freedom from fear and from want," both at home and abroad. When Congress balked at increased foreign assistance, ER urged her readers to recognize that "if our standard of living goes up, but our neighbors' standard of living goes down; if we eat, but our neighbors starve, we may have power for a little while, but we will not have assurance of peace and security for all."[6]

When critics attacked the Fair Employment Practices Committee, she reminded them, "We have fought a war to establish the dignity of the individual. . . . We cannot very well permit at home conditions which would curtail . . . freedom from want."[7]

Throughout her fall 1945 lecture tour, ER challenged Americans to realize that domestic policies have huge international implications: "We are in an important moment in history," she told a Boston gathering. "What happens here in the United States will either give courage to people in the other parts of the world, or on the other hand, will sap their courage." In New Jersey she declared, "We must have confidence in one another and must avoid a situation where everybody approaches everyone else with suspicion." To a Chicago audience she said, "It takes just as much determination to work for peace as it does to win a war." But, she confessed, she wondered whether "we're going to have the courage and the strength to sustain our effort to win the peace."[8]

By December 1945, Harry S. Truman, his presidency in trouble due to a host of economic challenges related to the peacetime conversion, could no longer ignore ER's calls to action on winning the peace—or the threat she posed to his sinking popularity. When a trusted aide suggested that Truman appoint her to the first American delegation to the United Nations, Truman phoned her immediately. ER initially declined the appointment—not only doubting her ability but also reluctant to relinquish her own newfound freedom.

But she soon changed her mind. She could not walk away from the Four Freedoms. "I feel a great responsibility to the youth who fought the war," she told her readers. "Every one of us has a deep and solemn obligation to them which we should fulfill by giving all that we are capable of giving to the making of the peace so they can feel that the maximum good has come from their sacrifice."[9]

Initially, the men of the US delegation did not know what to do with her. They focused their energies on structuring the Security Council and regulating atomic weapons. What could she pos-



President Harry S. Truman and Eleanor Roosevelt, 1945. Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum, Independence, Missouri.

sibly add to that?, they must have thought (and, oh, what damage she could do!). Values, to them, had at most a minimal place in realpolitik diplomacy. They had no doubt that freedom from fear trumped freedom from want. They assumed that if they parked her on the Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Affairs Committee, she could work on issues they considered inconsequential.

History soon intervened.

By spring 1946, the care and feeding of sixty million European displaced persons surfaced as a contentious issue. When the Soviet Union's representatives insisted that the countless displaced persons in the areas now under Joseph Stalin's influence remain in Soviet hands, ER's blindsided



Eleanor Roosevelt with Adlai Stevenson and John Foster Dulles at the United Nations, 1946. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

male colleagues were unprepared. As the Soviets continued to exploit the issue, the delegation had no choice but to turn to her. She not only understood the humane issues, but she also had the political acumen that rebuffing the Soviet demand for involuntary repatriation required. Her gracious dismantling of the Soviet position—and her subtle refusal to decouple freedom from fear and freedom from want—stunned her colleagues and led John Foster Dulles to confess: "I feel I must tell you that when you were appointed I thought it was terrible and now I think your work has been fine!"[10]

The following month, ER, pressured by the US Army, toured displaced persons camps for Jewish, Polish, and Baltic refugees. She did not want to go, because she knew that she would be haunted by what she saw and heard. But she felt compelled to investigate. She heard the stories of the victims of the Nazi concentration camps and the pleas of Jewish survivors to emigrate to Palestine. She talked with non-Jews displaced for political and economic reasons. What she saw emboldened her in ways she had not anticipated. The Four Freedoms became even more piercingly real to her. While still on the tour, she used her My Day column to convey angst and outrage. With "an aching heart," she asked, "When will our consciences grow so tender that we will act to prevent human misery rather than avenge it?"[11]

Convinced that the United States had been purposely spared from the destruction that the war inflicted on other nations, ER seized all avenues at her disposal—columns, speeches, articles, private conversation, correspondence—to urge Americans to recognize what was at stake and to assume both the responsibility and the financial cost of world leadership.

The Four Freedoms demanded no less.

Fervently, ER cautioned Americans to learn that "you cannot live for yourselves alone. You depend on the rest of the world and the rest of the world depends on you." UN debates on the refugee crisis, the Geneva Conventions, atomic energy, arms control, the proposed UN peace force, the creation of Israel, the implementation of apartheid, the demise of colonialism, and women's rights underscored for ER the crying need for the United States to accept its connection with the rest of the world. They also convinced her how crucial a commonly shared vision could be in overcoming the haunting legacy of war.[12]

The United Nations General Assembly had voted to establish the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) in June 1946 and instructed it to create an international bill of rights. The commission promptly elected ER its chair, and she became responsible for overseeing all the tasks associated with creating the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and securing its adoption by the UN General Assembly. ER hoped that this document would provide that commonly shared vision she sought and make the Four Freedoms a living reality.

The battle to create an international vision of human rights drew on every skill ER possessed—and challenged her in ways she could never have envisioned. As the sessions began, she saw that any discussion of human rights quickly became ensnarled in Cold War politics. Deeply worried that escalating political tensions could easily spark another world war, ER decided to push for a comprehensive agreement that could be adopted as quickly as possible. A fearful world still recovering from the worst war in its history needed a vision sooner than it needed a treaty. Thus, she urged that the UNCHR's assignment be separated into three complementary aims: a declaration of human rights, a covenant to enforce them, and a human rights court to hold violators accountable. Convinced that Truman would not win the 1948 election, and that she would not be reappointed to the UN position, ER strove to have a declaration adopted by the end of that year.

Drafting the UDHR required monumental effort. The United States had yet to agree on what the Four Freedoms meant or what they required. The world had never agreed on a common concept of rights, much less on what made a violation so egregious that the offending nation's sovereignty could be challenged. Now the United States and the world had to do so in the shadow of unimaginable horror and economic uncertainty.

As chair of the Human Rights Commission, ER had to create a climate in which all eighteen member nations—each of which was represented by a very vocal representative instructed to follow the parameters his or her government set—could envision, debate, and articulate rights and freedoms. Ultimately, she would chair more than three thousand hours of contentious debate to define human rights and to decide whether or not these rights applied to all men, women, and children everywhere—regardless of race, religion, ethnicity, nationality, age, country of origin, income, or social status.



Eleanor Roosevelt's work on behalf of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was tireless. Here she is speaking at a meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights in 1947. Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

It would be a master class in the Four Freedoms. The questions seemed endless. Was the Four Freedoms ideal truly a universal concept or did it apply only to the United States and her Western allies? How did these values relate to human rights and the other philosophies guiding the debate?

What did the right to work, the right to wages and income, the right to assemble, the right to food and shelter, the right to education, the right to dissent, the right to vote and participate in government, the right to nationality, and guarantees against torture and discrimination *mean*? What did the guarantee of equal treatment in one's community or government or workplace mean in different political systems? What were women's rights and how would they be protected?

Negotiations teetered, often tipping toward one political posture or another. Freedom from fear often battled freedom from want, as Western democracies and the communist Eastern Bloc strove to impose their geopolitics on committee negotiations.

As chair of the subcommittee charged with drafting the declaration, ER had to make sure that the vision she guided the committee to create was presented in clear, readily comprehensible, and empowering prose.

As chair of the overall Human Rights Commission, she had to sell the declaration to its members and then to each member of the General Assembly. This meant that she had to convince a recalcitrant State Department that freedom from want was just as important as freedom from fear, that "freedom from want and freedom from aggression were twin freedoms which had to go hand in hand." Secretary of State George C. Marshall (p. 181) did not accept that view. His postwar plan focused on the rebuilding of European commerce rather than the development of international



Secretary of State George C. Marshall at a United Nations meeting in Paris, 1948. Photograph by Gerald Waller, *Stars and Stripes*.

law. He did not seem inclined to think about human rights; if he thought about the Four Freedoms, he prioritized them and put freedom from want at the bottom.[13]

ER did not believe that political and civil rights trumped social and economic rights. She had seen up close the spiritual and physical devastation that depression, starvation, homelessness, and war had wrought. As the deliberations on the declaration drew to a close, she wrote (in a column published around the world): "To obtain one of the four freedoms, Freedom from Want, and not the others, is a poor bargain; and yet, unless one obtains freedom from want, one probably is not much interested in any of the other freedoms."[14]

ER considered the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights her most important work. It is also the starkest example of her political acumen, stamina, and vision. As the declaration took shape, she not only had to convince a reluctant State Department to accept a definition of human rights that included social, economic, and cultural rights, but she also had to convince the Soviets, whom she increasingly distrusted, not to sabotage the committee's work.

Perhaps no one other than ER could have negotiated this minefield. As she presented the UDHR to the General Assembly, she took stock of its potential:

> We stand today at the threshold of a great event both in the life of the United Nations and in the life of mankind. This Universal Declaration of Human Rights may well become the international Magna Carta of all men everywhere. We hope its proclamation by the General Assembly will be an event comparable to the proclamation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man by the



Eleanor Roosevelt addressing the UN General Assembly in July 1947.
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York.

> French people in 1789, the adoption of the Bill of Rights by the people of the United States, and the adoption of comparable declarations at different times in other countries.

That vision was comparable to the one contained in the Four Freedoms that her husband introduced and that Rockwell captured:

> This Declaration is based upon the spiritual fact that man must have freedom in which to develop his full stature and through common effort to raise the level of human dignity.

Finally, ER recognized that this powerful wording began a new era that demanded fierce fidelity to the goals that the declaration set:

> We have much to do to fully achieve and to assure the rights set forth in this Declaration. But having them put before us with the moral backing of 58 nations will be a great step forward. As we here bring to fruition our labors on this Declaration of Human Rights, we must at the same time rededicate ourselves to the unfinished task which lies before us. We can now move on with new courage and inspiration to the completion of an international covenant on human rights and of measures for the implementation of human rights.[15]

Ultimately, Eleanor Roosevelt's commitment to the Four Freedoms changed the world. Her determination to transform this gauzy ideal into a concrete document had consequences that neither she, Franklin Roosevelt, nor Norman Rockwell could have imagined. The declaration inspired dozens of international covenants and the creation of international courts. It inspired numerous new governments and an increasingly powerful international movement.

It is past time that the world recognized ER's contribution. No longer can she be left out of any discussion on the Four Freedoms.

Eleanor Roosevelt made them real and left them in our hands to protect.



★ Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *The Problem We All Live With*, 1963. Oil on canvas, 36 × 58 in. (91.4 × 147.3 cm). Story illustration for *Look*, January 14, 1964, pp. 22–23. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

RUBY BRIDGES & THE PROBLEM WE ALL LIVE WITH

INTERVIEW BY STEPHANIE HABOUSH PLUNKETT

Beyond the legendary status that he achieved some forty years before his death in 1978, illustrator Norman Rockwell was a remarkable painter and a complex man. A gifted storyteller and masterful technician, with a distinct, personal message to convey, he created images that described universal human experiences within a particularly American context. For more than six decades he revealed meaning in the commonplace, inspiring viewers to see the best in themselves. When he shifted his attention to significant social concerns, he faced an audience ready to receive his messages.

In the 1960s, leaving behind his beloved storytelling scenes, Rockwell threw himself into a new genre—the visual documentation of contemporary issues. He had always wanted to make a difference with his art, and as a highly marketable illustrator, he had the opportunity to do so. Humor and pathos—traits that made his *Saturday Evening Post* covers successful—were replaced by a pared down, reportorial style more appropriate for magazine editorials.

After ending his forty-seven-year career with the *Post* in 1963, Rockwell sought new artistic challenges. His first assignment for *Look* generated *The Problem We All Live With* (p. 184), which portrayed a six-year-old African American girl being escorted by four US marshals to her first day at an all-white school in New Orleans, an assertion on moral decency. In 1965, in *Murder in Mississippi* (pp. 52, 75), Rockwell focused on the killing of three civil rights workers, and in 1967 he chose children, once again, to illustrate desegregation, this time in our nation's suburbs, with *New Kids in the Neighborhood*. In an interview later in life, Rockwell recalled that he once had to paint out an African American in a group picture, because the *Post*'s policy was that people of color appear in service-industry roles only. Freed from such restraints, Rockwell sought opportunities to correct the editorial prejudices that were reflected in his previous work.

The Problem We All Live With commemorated the tenth anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the 1954 US Supreme Court ruling on a landmark civil rights case affirming that state-sanctioned segregation of America's public schools was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and therefore unconstitutional. Rockwell's painting—a double-page interior illustration in *Look*—was inspired by the story of young Ruby Bridges and her courageous march into the William Frantz Elementary School. On November 14, 1960, Bridges became the

first African American child to integrate a southern elementary school. US marshals accompanied her on that day, and for months to come, to shield her from the violent crowds protesting her attendance. Lynda Gunn, a child who lived near Rockwell's town of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, modeled for the figure of the young girl in his painting.

Letters to the editor of *Look* were a mixed bag of praise and criticism. One Florida reader wrote, "Rockwell's picture is worth a thousand words. . . . I am saving this issue for my children with the hope that by the time they become old enough to comprehend its meaning, the subject matter will have become history." Other readers objected to the stance Rockwell had taken. A man from Texas wrote, "Just where does Norman Rockwell live? Just where does your editor live? Probably both of these men live in all-white, highly expensive, highly exclusive neighborhoods. Oh, what hypocrites all of you are!" Public opinion, however, did not dissuade Rockwell from pursuing the course of creating a series of powerful images for *Look* expressing his most deeply held beliefs about equality and essential democratic ideals.[1]

A lifelong activist for racial equality, Ruby Bridges is an award-winning author and the founder of the Ruby Bridges Foundation, promoting tolerance and meaningful change through education. She spoke with Norman Rockwell Museum Deputy Director/Chief Curator Stephanie Haboush Plunkett and Director of Digital Learning and Engagement Rich Bradway about her experiences and recollections, in an interview recorded at the International House Hotel in New Orleans on August 7, 2017, excerpted below.

SHP: Ruby, we are so honored to represent your voice and experiences in *Enduring Ideals: Rockwell, Roosevelt & the Four Freedoms*. To begin, I wonder if you could talk a little bit about your life as a girl.

RB: As you know, I was born in a small town called Tylertown, Mississippi, where my parents were both from very large families. They were sharecroppers. My father's family actually raised cotton, picked cotton. My grandmother on my mother's side grew crops and sold them, working the land. It was a very wide spectrum of what life was like during that time in Mississippi, which I absolutely loved.

We were very poor and didn't have a clue that we were. Whenever we wanted something to eat, my grandmother would say, "Go out into the garden and get what you want." Anything we could imagine eating, she grew and sold. Even though we were poor, I wasn't aware of that.

We would visit my grandparents in Mississippi every summer. For me, that was like my summer camp experience, spending it with all of my cousins. There must've been about forty of us at any given time. My mother has six sisters, and all of them have at least eight to ten kids.

It was a very rich experience. When I was about two years old, my family moved. My mom and father moved from Mississippi to New Orleans. I went to an all-black school for kindergarten and a few months of first grade, before there was a knock at the door and my parents were asked if they would be willing to send me to one of the all-white schools in New Orleans. It was before schools were integrated.



Guarded by three deputy US marshals, including Charles Burks, top center, young Ruby Bridges enters newly desegregated William Frantz Elementary School in New Orleans, on December 5, 1960, to begin her third week as the only black student in the school.

I found myself thrust into the middle of the civil rights movement, not knowing anything about it, and I have to say that I don't believe that my parents knew very much about what was going on politically, because they were not activists, and because they were very poor. They were consumed with where the next meal was going to come from. I think it was a huge undertaking for them that they were not expecting.

SHP: You have other siblings as well. Is that right?

RB: I do. I am the oldest of eight. During that time, there were probably five of us. My parents were struggling, and they were very young, both just turning thirty.

SHP: Do you think your parents felt that having you attend the William Frantz Elementary School would give you opportunities you might not have in your own community?

RB: Absolutely. Because they were sharecroppers, going to school for them was a luxury. If it was time for them to get the crops in, they were the labor, so they were not allowed to go to

school every day. My father had a sixth-grade education, and my mother only eighth-grade.

When they heard that they would have an opportunity to send their child and their other kids to better schools, possibly be able to choose any college that they wanted to go to, my mother was all for that. I say my mother because my father was against it. My father also fought in the Korean War, where he was hurt and helped to carry another soldier back and was awarded the Purple Heart.

SHP: He had seen a lot through his service, in that case.

RB: I think he saw things that neither my mother nor my siblings could imagine. He didn't talk about it very much, and felt as though sending me to this all-white school at that time was just much too dangerous. He honestly felt like it wouldn't change things. I remember him saying that being on the front line, you could be fighting next to a white soldier, but if you both lived and went back, you couldn't go to the same barracks and you couldn't eat in the same mess hall. He really felt as though if all of that didn't change the country, then sending me to this school and risking my life wouldn't change things. He never had an opportunity to see the outcome of putting me into that school. Unfortunately, my father passed away when I was about twenty. He was only forty-six.

SHP: Did you get a sense that as things progressed he came to a point of agreement?

RB: Sort of, because I was the oldest. I was a daddy's girl. I actually loved school, even though all of that was happening around me. I had an amazing teacher, Barbara Henry, who isolated me as much as possible. I enjoyed learning from her. I always say that even though that was going on outside of the school every day, the mobs screaming and yelling, I did not miss a day of school, and neither did Barbara. It was because I loved learning, and she was the ultimate teacher, and that's what she loved to do. I think my father noticed that and felt like if I was happy and this was where I wanted to be, he would go along with it.

SHP Can you describe what that first day was like? Do you remember preparing in any special way?

RB: I do. What was a little bit strange for me was the fact that I had already had a first day, because I was attending the all-black school that was farther away from my house at the time, but the law didn't allow me to go to my neighborhood school. This white school *was* my neighborhood school, only a few blocks from my house. I was accustomed to school. I'd had a first day of kindergarten, and I'd also had a first day of first grade, because even though school started in September, the desegregation of the schools didn't happen until November 14.

This particular first day was totally different from what I was accustomed to. Yes, I do remember it. I remember all of my mother's friends coming over to the house that morning. I remember all of the new things that I'd gotten to get dressed for school. It just seemed so very exciting, and everybody took an interest in it.

I talk about that a lot today, because when we think about the fact that we've been told that it takes a village to raise a child, that's what was happening during that time. There were extended family and neighbors who looked out for one another, which is something that we don't see as frequently today. I remember that firsthand.

I remember them helping me to get dressed, and the fact that the federal marshals came every day to escort me. All of the neighbors living on my street also walked with me to school. They would walk behind the federal marshals' car. I do remember what that was like.

SHP: Can you describe what your community was like at the time?

RB: Living here in New Orleans—part of the South, so close to Mississippi—racism was alive and well even during those times. It was different, I believe, from other places, because in the community where I lived, you could be on one street, and then the street over might be a mixed neighborhood or all white. That's the way it was even on my street. The neighbors right around my house, maybe directly across the street, they were black, but right on the corner, they were white. It wasn't as though we didn't interact. We did. During those times, most people knew their place and stayed in it, so to speak.

SHP: How were you chosen to attend William Frantz Elementary School? What was the selection process like?

RB: The process began because it was time for schools to be integrated in Louisiana. *Brown v. the Board* happened in 1954, the year that I was born, but six years later the schools had not been integrated. The Supreme Court ruling ordered schools "to integrate by all deliberate speed." What does that mean? That left a loophole, so it was six years before the schools even began the process.

I wasn't told anything about what was going to happen. Officials came into my neighborhood going door to door, asking people if they had six-year-old children, because they were going to integrate by grade level, starting with first grade. Schools in Little Rock [were integrated] in 1957, but that was high school. This was the first time it would happen in elementary school.

That knock came at the door. I was the right age. My parents heard that, and because of the way they grew up, they thought, "This is an opportunity that we need to take." I've been told that the powers that be were concerned about what would happen during the process. They'd seen what happened in Little Rock.

It's my understanding that the kids had to be tested because there were probably around 150 families who agreed, "Yes, we do have a six-year-old, and yes, we'd like to send them." There would be an elimination process, and a test was set up to pare the number of students down to something they could handle. The two schools that were chosen were located in the Ninth Ward, which we all are so familiar with now after Hurricane Katrina.

Only six kids passed the test and I happened to be one of them. Three were assigned to one school and three to the other. A couple of days before it was time to go, two children dropped out. Those two kids had been assigned to go to the same school that I went to, which left me to attend alone. My parents discussed it, and they decided that they were going to continue to go through the process.

SHP: I recall reading that on that first day of school, you thought you were in the middle of something else, perhaps a parade. Is that the case?

RB: Living here in New Orleans, I'm naturally accustomed to Mardi Gras. That's a huge celebration in the city, and we look forward to it. That particular day, when I was in the car being



Deputy US marshals escort six-year-old Ruby Bridges from William Frantz Elementary School in New Orleans, November 1960.

escorted to school, the streets were lined with protesters, and they were barricaded. There were policemen everywhere. Some were on horseback and motorcycles. The fact that people were screaming and yelling and waving their hands and throwing things, that is what happens during Mardi Gras. That day, being in the car when I turned the corner, I just assumed that I was in the middle of a parade. When I think about it today, that was the innocence of a child. I think that protected me, not knowing.

A lot of times people say, "Did you discuss it with your parents? Couldn't you have said no, you don't want to go?" I said, "That was a different day and a different time. You didn't say no. You didn't question them. You did what you were told." For us, the way we were raised, we were not allowed to be in the same room when adults were discussing or having conversation, so no, it wasn't something that they discussed with me.

SHP: Once you entered the building, you sat in the principal's office for much of the day, as parents withdrew their children from school.

RB: I had already been enrolled, but was waiting to be escorted to my classroom, possibly to meet my teacher and get started with my studies. In actuality, I sat in the principal's office with my mom that day, and I remember the federal marshals standing right outside the door—we could see them through the glass windows.

All of those people who had been standing outside began rushing in, shoving and pushing and pointing at me through the windows. Their faces seemed very angry about something. It seemed really busy and confusing to me; adults would pass the window, and when they came back, there were kids with them. That happened all day long, back and forth.

Finally the bell rang at three o'clock, and I remember someone entering the room saying, "School is dismissed. You can leave." I distinctly remember that, because I thought to myself, "Wow, this school is easy," not knowing that parents went into every classroom to pull their children out. There were over five hundred kids that left the building that day, and it was because I was there. I had no idea what was happening, even though it was taking place right before my eyes. Plans had been kept secret, so no one in the city actually knew which schools were going to be integrated. When I drove up with federal marshals, they knew it was their school.

The very next day, it was the same thing. Federal marshals knocked on the door, and I got into the car with them. They escorted me back to the school. When we drove up that day, the crowds had almost doubled in size, because at that point, everybody knew. It was all over the news. What we didn't realize was that the whole world was looking at what was happening, just as they had with the Little Rock Nine.

My mother said that day made her the most nervous. I don't think that [my parents] knew what they were getting into. There was probably no way they could've known. She said she would go home and pray until three o'clock, hoping that her child would come home.

SHP: What impact did these events have on your family?

RB: It was very, very hard for them. My father was a service-station attendant, he pumped gas, worked on cars, that sort of thing. It was a neighborhood station, very close to our house. They found out somehow that it was his daughter who had been the first to integrate the schools, so he was let go, fired from his job. The NAACP, which was spearheading the movement, felt it would not be a good time for him to go out and look for another job, that it could be dangerous. I don't think he had a clue as to how he was going to feed and manage his family and household. That naturally would take a toll.

We lived very near a riverfront where all the men would pass that street to go to work, and so every Friday, they would all stop back at the house and leave money for my father. They said, "Keep her in school. We'll help you." It was amazing to see that.

My grandparents were sharecroppers in Mississippi, and it didn't take long for people there to find out about their granddaughter, so they were asked to leave the land that they had worked for years and years, and the place we used to go to for summers. They left Mississippi and moved to the rural Louisiana town of Franklinton. It was very, very hard for them.

SHP: Was it the second day of school when you were taken to your classroom and met your teacher, Barbara Henry?

RB: The second day I was escorted into the building it seemed very different. It was so quiet you could hear a pin drop. There was no one moving around. I didn't hear any kids. I remember

getting to the top of the stairs and someone saying, "Your class is down the hall." Once I got there, the door opened, and a woman stepped out. She said, "Hi, my name is Mrs. Henry. I'm your teacher." I remember looking at her and thinking, "She's white." I'd never seen a white teacher before, even though I was accustomed to school. I didn't know what she would be like, which is probably a fear of many young kids. For me it was a little bit different because she was different. I soon learned that she was an amazing teacher. She became my best friend. I knew that she cared about me.

SHP: What is your memory of Mrs. Henry and your day-to-day experience at school? You must have developed a close relationship as the only child in her class that year.

RB: She was amazing. Aside from our studies, Barbara Henry played games with me, and we did art and music. We made all kinds of things for the holidays; at Easter we made baskets and bonnets. She did everything she could to keep my mind off of what was happening outside the school. I could hear crowds screaming, but she would to go the windows and close them. I was never allowed to go onto the playground because of the crowds. The federal marshals even escorted me to the restroom and waited to bring me back to my seat. I was not allowed to eat lunch in the cafeteria because there were people outside threatening to poison me. The protesters showed up every day by the busload, boycotting the school. They would march around carrying signs, throwing things. They even brought a small baby's coffin with a black doll inside. That's what frightened me the most.

When it got really cold, I would go into this closet to hang up my coat, and I could hear children laughing and talking, but I never saw them. Now I realize what was happening—there were some white parents who crossed that picket line wanting to send their children to school, but they were harassed. Husbands were fired from their jobs, crosses were burned on their lawns, bricks and rocks thrown through their windows. It was all recorded and on the news.

SHP: Even though she didn't share this with you, Barbara Henry was advocating behind the scenes to allow you and the other children at school to play together.

RB: Yes, she was, and that is why I was eventually allowed to interact with those other kids. I'll never forget that day. They were not allowed to come to my classroom, but Mrs. Henry would bring me to where they were. I was filled with joy, because I felt as though I had finally found some friends. But I got a very rude awakening, because that's when a little boy said, "I can't play with you. My mom said not to play with you because you're a nigger."

When he said that, even at six, I felt like this huge weight lifted off my shoulders, because I had spent so much time trying to figure it all out—why I was the only kid in the school, why it seemed so different, and finally he said it. He made it all make sense.

SHP: Did you and Barbara Henry stay in touch after that year?

RB: Mrs. Henry and I didn't keep in touch, and I did not meet her again until 1995, when *The Story of Ruby Bridges* was published by Dr. Robert Coles. Actually, we were not allowed to stay in contact. I don't know if that was for her own protection, probably so. After that year, I think she was ready to leave New Orleans and to go back home to Boston to start her family.



Women kept back by police jeer at a passing car taking children home from the William Frantz Elementary School on December 5, 1960, in New Orleans. Protesters had tried to impose a total white boycott of the school, integrated by a single African American six-year-old girl, Ruby Bridges, but about eighteen white children attended that day, and the boycott appeared to be weakening.

I was not told that she left, and on that first day of second grade, I rushed back to my classroom to find her, but another teacher opened the door. All of the things we had created together were taken down. That year, I was taught by someone who had refused to do so the year before. My best friend was gone. No one talked about what happened. It was like it didn't happen. It was over, and the schools were integrated. As the years went on, I blocked all of that out.

SHP: When did you become aware of Norman Rockwell's 1963 painting *The Problem We All Live With*?

RB: Everybody was familiar with the Norman Rockwell painting, but no one actually knew the story behind it, or who that little girl was, not until years and years later.

I actually never saw the painting until I was about eighteen, when a reporter came to New Orleans to do a story and showed it to me. At that point, it made me realize that [it] wasn't something I had dreamed, it was actually real—it happened, and the world actually sat up and took notice. I didn't realize how important that event was and that it was a part of history until that reporter showed me the Norman Rockwell painting and said, "This is you."

That was an eye-opening moment for me, because that old saying that you have to know where you come from to know where you're going is very, very true, and why history is so important. I'm a strong advocate for history being told exactly the way that it happened. I don't think any of us have the right or the privilege to change or alter history in any way. When we do that, we change the outcome of things to come. I am an advocate for history being taught in schools the way that it actually happened. I think that stems from the story and my own history.

SHP: How did your discovery of Rockwell's painting impact you?

RB: Once I saw that painting, I realized that the experience was something much bigger than myself, and that I needed to pursue and be involved in it. It put me on my quest to tell my story and to work with children, which is what I do today. It brought things into focus for me, and in that way I realized that my path was chosen for me.

SHP: We are fortunate to have *The Problem We All Live With* in the collection of the Norman Rockwell Museum—it is one of Rockwell's most iconic works. Jumping ahead to 2011, you visited President Barack Obama at the White House, where he requested it be installed just outside of the Oval Office. What was that like?

RB: The first time I saw the painting [in person] was in 2000 at a ceremony at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, when [future US] Attorney General Eric Holder named me an honorary deputy federal marshal. I had the pleasure of visiting the White House in 2001, when President Clinton awarded me a Presidential Citizens Medal, which was quite an honor. But I have to honestly say that it was a highlight of my life to work with the Norman Rockwell Museum to bring the painting to Washington, DC, when President Obama was in office. To stand there with the first African American president, and to have him turn to me and say, "I look at this and I know that I owe a lot to you and your parents, that I would not be standing here if this incident hadn't happened first, and that I am standing on your shoulders," was an amazing moment for me. I remember looking around. It was a closed meeting, there were probably a dozen people in the room listening to this conversation that he and I were having in front of the painting (p. 195). When I looked back over my shoulder, everybody was in tears. It was as though the past and the present came together in that moment, and one thing could not have happened without the other.

SHP: It seems that you have maintained a very positive view of humanity, given what you went through as a little girl. How have you managed to do that?

RB: I believe that that's what happened with Dr. Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, and probably even Norman Rockwell. The truth of the matter is that it took a lot for people during that time to take a stand, to do something that wasn't politically correct, which is [what] Rockwell did by painting that work of art and those that came later. He had to know that he was taking a risk, but there was no turning back. When you decide that something is for the greater good, you have to move forward.

SHP: You've been a very inspirational figure for many, but your work with children has been particularly important. What messages do you want to convey to them?

RB: I began to realize that if I was going to tell my story, I wanted to accomplish something



In the White House, President Barack Obama, Ruby Bridges, and representatives from the Norman Rockwell Museum look at Rockwell's *The Problem We All Live With*, July 15, 2011. Photograph by Pete Souza.

meaningful. Somehow, I thought it was important to explain to children that racism really doesn't have a place in our hearts and in our minds. Adults already know that, and they make choices, but kids are not aware of the possibilities that exist. I decided that I needed to explain to kids what I saw and how I felt as a six-year-old, and that in revisiting my experiences, they would understand it, too. I am doing what I was called to do. In our world today, if we are going to get past our racial differences, I believe it's going to come from our children. The best place for that to happen is in our schools.



★ Ansel Adams (1902–1984), *Tom Kobayashi, Landscape, South Fields, Manzanar Relocation Center*, 1943. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC.

FINDING FREEDOM FROM FEAR

DAISY ROCKWELL

FREEDOM FROM FEAR

> *The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.*[1]

Of the Four Freedoms, freedom from fear is the most mysterious. The US Constitution enshrines both freedom of speech and freedom of worship, so we know where they come from. Freedom from want addresses a basic physical need—adequate nourishment—and is therefore easy to understand. But freedom from fear promises us freedom from a negative emotion.

The Four Freedoms were wartime principles, so in that sense we can understand that by invoking freedom from fear, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was speaking not just to the worldwide reduction in armaments but also to the need to intervene in a foreign war, and he was portraying that need as a means to preemptively protect American soil as well. Although FDR presented the Four Freedoms as universal rights, he was also speaking specifically to Americans. Americans have the right, if they have freedom from fear, to be happy and carefree, and perhaps to be oblivious to the horrors occurring on foreign shores. We are amply defended. We are safe. We are also rather too far away for most foreign enemies to launch a meaningful attack on our island.

The depiction of freedom from fear painted by my grandfather, Norman Rockwell, picks up on a promise to Americans: his painting seems to point to a benign paternal regard on the part of the government (p. 4). We, the citizens, are the innocent little children, able to fall into a blissful slumber after a day of play, despite the violence and evil playing out, far off, on the war front. Our government, well informed (see the newspaper in the father's hand) and responsible, solicitously tucks us into bed. The government wants us to be free of the worrying fears that plague the grown-ups, and we, in turn, should trust in its ability to take care of these grown-up things safely, out of view and hearing.

Fearmongering was as much a part of drumming up support for World War II as freedom from the emotion of fear. Indeed, the US government, in one of its most shameful and xenophobic moments, went so far as to place Japanese Americans in internment camps. Even so, the evolution in our public discourse from the ideal notion of fear as an emotion the populace should be able to live without to the messaging following the attacks on American soil of September 11, 2001, is quite striking. The so-called War on Terror unleashed in the wake of the attacks has represented a wholesale jettisoning of the ideal of freedom from fear. Since 2001, Americans have in fact been encouraged to live their lives in fear, as the government amps up its practice of selling arms around the world and our citizens grow to be one of the most heavily armed populaces on the planet.

A WAR ON OUR FEAR

If you see something, say something.[2]

Under the terms of the War on Terror, now more than sixteen years old, we are urged to look about us with suspicion constantly; anyone might be a terrorist, and we must be always at the ready. The figure of the terrorist is the perfect counterpoint to the ideal of freedom from fear. A terrorist, by definition, is someone whose goal is to incite fear. Fear leads to chaos, and chaos leads to the disintegration of the Republic and the ideals it purports to stand for. *Why would someone do this to us? Why do they hate us?* These questions were answered with this simple propagandist sound bite: *Because they hate our freedom*. It is a decidedly vague excuse. It erases complex histories of US intervention, proxy wars, regime changes, and other manipulations that have stirred up myriad resentments around the globe.

Imagine the children in the painting *Freedom from Fear* waking up and watching the Twin Towers collapse on CNN. They turn in disbelief and shock to their parents and ask them, "Why do they hate us?" Suddenly they are no longer free from fear, because those wishing to make us afraid have succeeded. If terrorism is a form of warfare designed to sow fear and cause chaos, then the felling of the Twin Towers was a magnificent success.

Ever since, American discourse completely lost sight of the universal right to live one's life free from fear, instead becoming mired in a miasma of fear. This fear was initially directed primarily at Muslims (and those imagined to be Muslims)—immediately encroaching on freedom of worship, a cornerstone of American society and the US Constitution. Fear of the other is contagious, however, and it has spread rapidly into fear and hatred of all kinds of others. Xenophobia, fear, and suspicion dominate public conversations about immigration, public health, freedom of speech, and indeed just about every aspect of American life. That emotion, fear, has in fact proved to be a lethal weapon, and it is now threatening all four of the freedoms Norman Rockwell enshrined.



Daisy Rockwell, *Karuna Rasa* (the *rasa* of compassion), 2008. Acrylic and glitter on wooden panel, 6 × 6 in. (15.2 × 15.2 cm). Collection of Jarvis Rockwell.



Daisy Rockwell, *Bhayānak Rasa* (the *rasa* of terror), 2008. Acrylic and glitter on wooden panel, 6 × 6 in. (15.2 × 15.2 cm). Collection of Jarvis Rockwell.

IF YOU SEE SOMETHING, PAINT SOMETHING

In my own artistic work, I have puzzled for more than a decade over the notion of the War on Terror as a kind of evil twin of freedom from fear. What exactly are we fighting when we wage war against an affective state, against an emotion like terror? I have painted a number of portraits of alleged and convicted terrorists as I probed this question. I have researched the stories of these people, and the tales that are told about them and their motivations. Do they hate our freedom? What makes them terrorists?

As I have pursued these questions, I have wondered what in our public discourse makes some into killers or terrorists, but not all. There are the obvious answers in our news and social media: the notion that followers of the Islamic faith are somehow motivated to cause fear in our populace, out of a kind of civilizational holy war, whereas all others are simply mentally ill, loners, or gun nuts. A Muslim killer is rarely characterized as mentally ill, or a lone wolf, even when there is ample evidence that he or she exhibits such traits. A white, non-Muslim killer is rarely called a terrorist (even when he has written a manifesto, as did the Unabomber and any number of school shooters). A Muslim killer is seen as driven by an intractable theological ideology, whereas a non-Muslim is seen as motivated by a mysterious and individual pathology.

To tease out the notion of terror, or fear, as our enemy, I turned to an ancient Indian aesthetic theory, called *rasa* (pronounced *russ-uh*). Rasa theory holds that one can classify all emotions depicted in a work of art, theater, music, or literature into eight or nine categories, such as romantic love, astonishment or wonder, pathos, and rage, to name a few. One of these categories is the rasa of terror, or the *bhayānak* rasa.

To explore these rasas, I asked a Muslim friend from Pakistan to send me photographs of himself demonstrating each mood. The idea came initially when he sent me a photograph of himself with his new beard. He had had a bad day and scowled in the picture. He had grown a beard mostly by accident—maybe he just hadn't bothered to shave for a week. I was shocked and then interested at my initial reaction to the photo. *He looks just like a terrorist*, I thought. And then I asked myself why. It was the new beard, perhaps, but also the scowl. I wondered if the same impression would be created if he were laughing, in the *hāsya*, or humorous rasa, for example. I ended up painting him in all nine rasas (p. 199). It was only in the *bhayānak* (terrifying) and *raudra* (angry) rasas that he matched the stereotype of a terrorist.

I came to realize through this exercise the power of propaganda and the freedom that comes with questioning pervasive and accepted imagery. In the case of alleged and convicted terrorists, we always encounter photos of the suspects in passport and visa pictures, or sometimes mug shots. In the former, one is not allowed to smile; in the latter, one is not inclined to. The figure of the man of color staring blankly into the camera is integral to the depiction of the terrorist. That lack of smile shows his sinister intent, his underlying hatred. He is devoid of human feeling, and that lack of humanity is terrifying! The look on his face becomes a symbol of his intent to fill us with terror. It is always a bonus if such an individual wears a beard. The beard is symbolic of his religious

fervor. We all know that Osama bin Laden wore a beard, as do most Muslim religious leaders. If a man of color with a beard stares blankly at us from a photograph, we somehow intuit that he is devoid of empathy but brimming over with incomprehensible religious fervor.

The War on Terror has effectively overturned the values that the Four Freedoms enshrined as universal rights for all humanity. In American culture, the figure of the terrorist has been used to market to the population an increase in surveillance. The result is a steep drop-off in personal privacy, an increased involvement in foreign wars, an international buildup of armaments, a heavily armed domestic populace—not to mention diminished freedom of speech and freedom of worship for those seen as potential terrorists. Only when we have learned to question and analyze the xenophobic imagery that pervades traditional and social media will we be able to overturn this trend that has deprived us of our freedom from fear. We need new tools: we will never return to a time when the news could be confined to a daily paper, as in Norman Rockwell's painting, but we must still strive to achieve the universal rights illustrated by his *Four Freedoms*.

FROM INSPIRATION TO ASPIRATION: REALIZING FDR'S FOUR FREEDOMS

MARK R. SHULMAN

History doesn't just happen. People make it happen. And ideas are the most powerful device people employ to shape history's course. All of our values, our institutions, and our strategies rely on the essential power of ideas to motivate people to do anything greater than serving their own visceral impulses. Ideas can move people to rise above themselves, inspiring bravery and sacrifice. Ideas can tame the powerful feelings of fear or want, either by defeating their triggers or by enabling us to see that surrendering to them is what prevents us from achieving our ambitions or becoming the people we wish to be.

To accomplish all of this, ideas require translation from the intellectual plane to a more organic, essential level—for instance, from the abstract language of strategic leadership to the embrace of the individual. Without that act of translation, leaders will lack followers, and generals will not have their soldiers. Take, for example, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's critical insight, from the viewpoint of the early 1940s, that civilization was facing grave peril and that for freedom to prevail every man and woman needed to mobilize to combat the fascist threat—and that everything turned on the success or failure of this great struggle.

One might ask: So what? How did his big idea help save the free world? FDR's big idea could not communicate itself any more than it could thwart a *blitzkrieg*. Ideas alone cannot convince people to make the kinds of deep and sustained sacrifices such a struggle would necessitate. FDR was not powerless; perhaps more than any other, this president had mastered the art of political communication. But he also faced obstinate and widespread isolationist sentiment. So he looked for the right opportunity to share his idea with the nation. He selected his prominent forum, the President's Annual Message to Congress, to be broadcast via radio live to the nation on January 6, 1941, and rebroadcast to the rest of the free world. FDR framed his idea with alliteration, symmetry, and reference to a more just future. And he articulated it with all the eloquence that this practiced communicator could muster. Had he saved civilization? No. But he had taken the first essential step on this heroic task. His ideas still needed translation into terms that everyone could comprehend, that each man and woman would feel and take as inspiration. For this task, President Roosevelt needed the kind of brilliance that Norman Rockwell had: an unrivaled capacity to affect ordinary Americans through his illustrations.

Norman Rockwell poses in front of *Freedom of Speech*, ca. 1942. The artist's emphasis on everyday Americans in his paintings of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms made them, at last, understandable to the average American. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



US Supreme Court Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes administers the oath of office to FDR on the east portico of the US Capitol on January 20, 1941. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington DC.

FREEDOM'S DARKEST HOUR

Of course, this task was no mere theoretical exercise. By January 1941, the Axis war machine did in fact threaten freedom everywhere. The fall of the French Republic in the summer of 1940 clearly demonstrated to FDR that the New World could no longer ignore the crisis in the Old World. Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan had conquered or otherwise come to dominate much of Europe and Asia. To the president, America's entry into the war was inevitable, leaving only the question whether the United States would fight with the Allies or, after their fall, fight alone and with less certain prospects. The previous November, however, he had been reelected for an unprecedented third term by a wary nation absorbed in its own obsessions, campaigning on the promise, "Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." This slogan cannot have come easily to the president. Nor could he have foreseen how the December 1941 attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbor was going to obviate it.[1]



An enthusiastic crowd gathers outside a New York City theater where Charles Lindbergh, a leading isolationist voice, speaks at an America First rally in April 1941. FDR was well aware of the powerful isolationist sentiment in the United States.

In the meantime, FDR may not have believed his own campaign rhetoric but rather viewed it as legerdemain necessary for his reelection and for prevailing over powerful isolationist forces. In retrospect, his lack of candor seems both obvious and excusable. Facing fast-spreading war abroad and widespread anti-interventionist sentiments at home, he had no easy choices. Speaking for the only major European power to have held out against the Axis powers, Prime Minister Winston Churchill and King George VI had convinced FDR of the need to support Great Britain in its hour of need. Privately, Churchill had warned FDR that, without cash and supplies, Britain would itself succumb to the Axis juggernaut, leaving the United States alone among the remaining free powers.

Roosevelt understood that the plucky Royal Air Force and mighty Royal Navy presented the only meaningful bulwarks against this ultimate catastrophe. He also understood that those forces did not have the numbers or the resources to resist for very long on their own. Yet most Americans continued to oppose any policy that might lead their country into war. As one contemporary historian bitterly observed:

> The country was not ready to make or meet an enemy. Most Americans were still spending their days slackly, insulated from calls upon their energies, fortunes, or lives. Until they were brought to the cold hard drill ground only a foolish diplomacy would have hastened a crisis. But only a negligent diplomacy would have failed to get ready for one, if the United States intended to hold fast to the course it was on.[2]

FDR demonstrated extraordinary leadership in paying due respect to the widely held isolationist views while doing everything possible to prevent an irreversible disaster of the first order.

To avoid that catastrophe, the president planned to lend or lease war matériel to the British. But first he needed some support from Congress and the American people. A few months before (without congressional authorization), FDR had traded fifty old flush-deck naval destroyers in exchange for leases on British territorial possessions in the Western Hemisphere. The destroyers-for-bases deal raised concerns about Congress being shut out of the process. To minimize the impression that he was taking the country to war through the back door (a charge that his former boss, President Woodrow Wilson, had faced), FDR couched his new initiative in a soothing metaphor. In a December 17, 1940, press conference, he likened the program to lending a garden hose to a neighbor whose house was on fire. Suppressing the fire would end the threat of its spread, and then the neighbor would simply return the hose. The Lend-Lease program, FDR claimed, would protect America's home from being engulfed in the flames of war. At the same time, he rationalized the nation's common cause with Britain and her free allies.[3]

A few weeks later, in his January 1941 message to Congress, FDR formally launched the Lend-Lease proposal, simultaneously articulating a vision detailing the Four Freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from fear, freedom from want—and portraying a world in which the United States could find common cause not only with states such as the United Kingdom but also with freedom-loving individuals around the world, regardless of nationality. As he concluded, "Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. Our support goes to those who struggle to gain those rights or keep them. Our strength is our unity of purpose." These views were grounded in the package of rights he had just detailed. FDR's careful words framed the Four Freedoms in a memorable appeal to principles and practicality.

> In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. . . .
>
> That is no vision of a distant millennium. It is a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation. That kind of world is the very antithesis of the so-called new order of tyranny which the dictators seek to create with the crash of a bomb.[4]

With this vision, FDR encapsulated the threat facing civilization and the opportunity it offered. He also framed some of the most powerful and necessary ideas of the modern era.

But his ideas were not self-executing; they required transmission into wider society. They needed more emotional resonance. They needed the skills of one Norman Rockwell.



★ This cartoon, a page from the government-issued comic book *The Life of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Office of War Information, 1943), emphasized the Lend-Lease Act (under which the United States provided war matériel to the United Kingdom and its allies) and its role in the defense of freedom. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



Norman Rockwell at work in his studio in Arlington, Vermont, ca. 1940s. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

FROM IDEAS TO EMOTIONS

In a pluralistic society, strategic direction is mediated between leaders and would-be followers. No one should underestimate FDR's capacity to inspire and mobilize people. After all, he had pioneered the use of broadcast radio—with his formal addresses and his fireside chats—to inform, reassure, and move the American people throughout the grueling years of the Great Depression. No leader has communicated more powerfully with the American public.

Nor should one overestimate FDR's power to move a heterogeneous and divided society. Prior to the attacks on Pearl Harbor, the bulk of the American people remained highly resistant to joining the global conflict. They were only starting to emerge from a dozen years of economic depression and misery. Many political elites and ordinary people believed that the United States had been tricked into joining World War I at the behest of naive internationalists and greedy munitions makers. Moreover, the nation's armed forces were ill prepared for global war. And there seemed to be little upside to joining what appeared to many to be the losing side of this war. No, the nation would not be transformed by one speech with its mellifluous but ambiguous Four Freedoms. While FDR was arguably the most talented politician of the twentieth century, he needed help to inspire the American people to rise above their everyday concerns in order to make the sacrifices necessary to fight and win the war.

Much of that help originated in Norman Rockwell's studio in Arlington, Vermont. By translating FDR's Four Freedoms into images that captured the popular imagination (pp. 1–4), the illustrator played a key role in winning the war and in laying the groundwork for what has been called

the Age of Rights. With his unique style of folksy interpretation, Rockwell translated FDR's lofty language into imagery that appealed to Americans' better angels and inspired the kinds of sacrifice necessary to fund the war, to fight it, and to persevere in the face of horrifying adversity. How he managed this effect is simple but interesting: he personalized the abstract principles.[5]

With his personification of the war in these and other images, Rockwell helped establish the defining messaging of America's war effort. Despite FDR's grand visions, Americans had not been convinced of the need to fight for his principles—or for those of his predecessor, Wilson, who sought to make a world safe for democracy. Moreover, unlike the citizens of the other combatant countries, won over by mostly nationalist propaganda, Americans were sold World War II as one in defense of private interests, one's family and home. As historian Robert B. Westbrook observes, Americans were not generally called upon to defend their country during this war. FDR beckoned them to fight for an ideal: the Four Freedoms. But an essential part of the successful messaging was Rockwell's translation of these principles into exhortations to "defend *private* interests and discharge *private* moral obligations"—that is, to defend their families and their homes.[6]

Westbrook observes that Rockwell embodied this project of transformation by translating the lofty Freedoms into local, personal stories. As he notes:

> Rockwell's translation of Roosevelt's noble, platitudinous, abstract and universalist moral language into a more concrete, particular moral language centering on private obligations and interests was far from idiosyncratic. Indeed, I would maintain that this sort of translation is one of the most significant features of American propaganda during World War II. Again and again, propagandists explicitly or implicitly contended, as an advertisement for U.S. Rubber put it, that "words like *freedom* or *liberty* draw close to us only when we break them down into the *homely fragments of daily life*." And, more often than not, those fragments were literally "homely," that is, familial.[7]

Westbrook sees this language of translation as key to the artist's effectiveness in achieving resonance with those called up to make sacrifices. And he observes that Rockwell's breakthrough was replicated in many other forms of appeal: "The enemy was repeatedly portrayed in posters and ads as a threat to the family, particularly its weakest members. . . . The state, in turn, was seen in good liberal fashion as the protector of the family." Rockwell's rendering of *Freedom from Fear*, with worried parents checking on their sleeping tots, and *Freedom from Want*, featuring a family eagerly anticipating its Thanksgiving feast, exemplifies his brilliance in bringing FDR's lofty platitudes down to a defense of hearth and home.[8]

By illustrating the Four Freedoms with scenes from his idyllic rural America, Rockwell connected them to the individuals who were being called to buy war bonds and to make other sacrifices for the war effort. He enabled Americans to see themselves in these freedoms. In essence, he localized them, identifying these freedoms with individual American faces in idealized American scenes.

But while the illustrations ultimately found widespread appreciation, by Americanizing the freedoms Rockwell unintentionally limited their appeal to a more global audience. Each scene, ex-

cept perhaps *Freedom of Religion*, lost some of its universality by being obviously set in American places, in contrast to FDR's speech that spoke so explicitly about bringing these freedoms "everywhere in the world."[9]

Of course, Rockwell was just doing his job: to imagine the Four Freedoms for the readers of the *Saturday Evening Post* and then for those who might buy war bonds. And the illustrator's *Four Freedoms* worked powerfully to inspire the American people. It was this audience, America's vast middle, that Rockwell knew best. At the same time, as I have written elsewhere, Roosevelt's original Four Freedoms reached a more cosmopolitan audience of people, who were receptive to his spoken and written calls for freedom everywhere. In this way, it can be said, Rockwell translated FDR's Four Freedoms to inspire Americans, but the original version nonetheless remained powerful as well.[10]

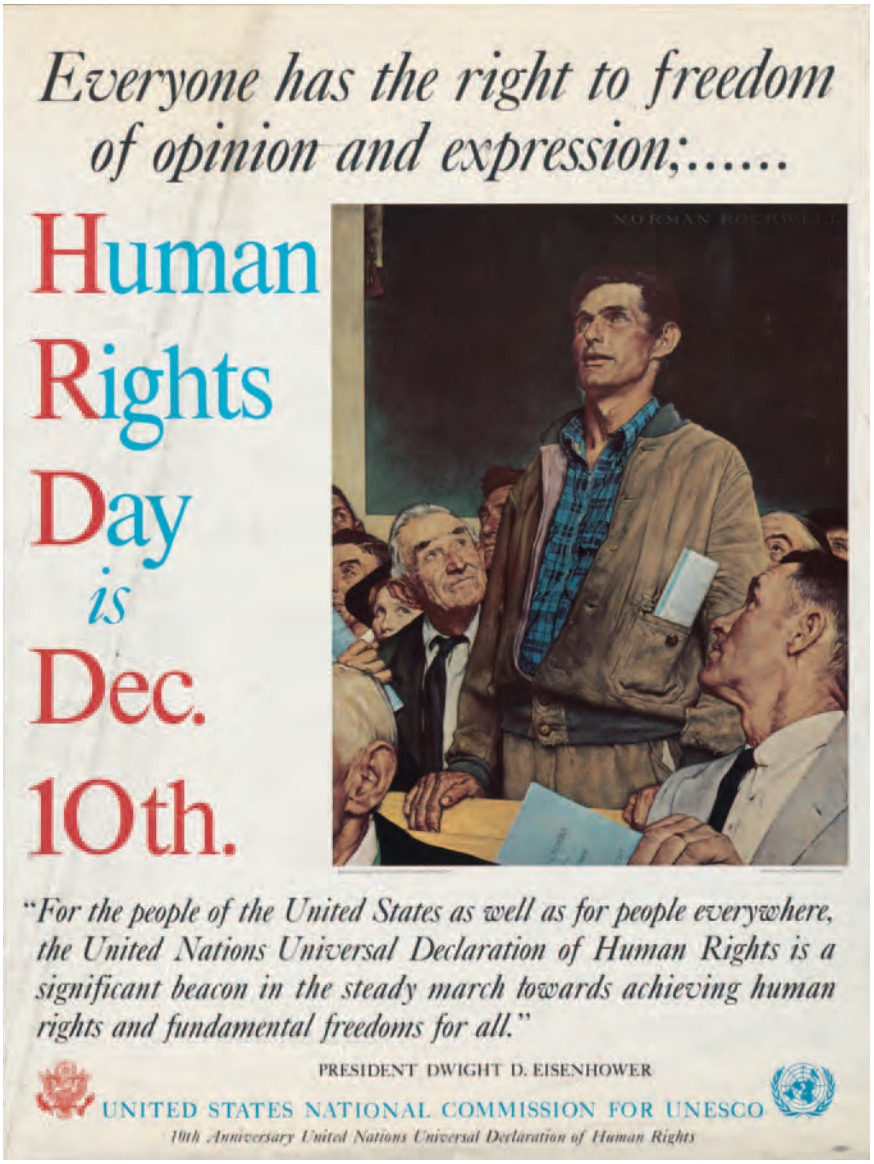
THE FOUR FREEDOMS' LEGACY

Ultimately, the Four Freedoms served not only as powerful inspiration for ordinary Americans called up to protect their families but also as ideas that shaped postwar policy and politics. Even before Rockwell started his work, the president's freedoms had influenced a mission statement for the Allies. Great Britain's wartime leadership acknowledged the ideal of the Four Freedoms in its initial draft of the Atlantic Charter, which FDR and Churchill then jointly issued in August 1941. When bolstered in their popular appeal by Rockwell's iconic imagery eighteen months later, the Four Freedoms gained in status and, by the war's end, were reflected within the DNA of the charter of the new United Nations organization.

Three years after the war, FDR's widow, Eleanor Roosevelt, led the committee that drafted the Four Freedoms into the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, incorporating them by reference in the preamble. As the document noted, "the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy *freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want* has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people." On the world stage, moreover, the Freedoms have continued to shape international relationships in an influential postwar life.[11]

It would overstate the case to attribute this productive afterlife solely to Rockwell's illustrations. Still, it seems fair to conclude that the artist performed an important service in translating FDR's aspirational formula into a widespread understanding that, in turn, provided popular support for adopting the Four Freedoms. His contribution gave them the necessary momentum to move the American people to fight and ultimately prevail in the war. And with the Four Freedoms so warmly embraced, they remained useful to political elites bearing FDR's vision into the foundational documents of the postwar liberal order.

Clearly, ideas play an essential role in changing the course of history. However, in a democratic society they will not succeed without translation into the popular imagination. During World War II, Rockwell played a crucial role in inspiring people to rise above parochialism and prejudice to promote a progressive, rights-based order. His famous *Four Freedoms* illustrations—along with subsequent work fleshing out human rights claims for ordinary Americans—played impor-



Norman Rockwell (1894–1978). *Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression;.....*, ca. 1958. Poster illustration for United States National Commission for UNESCO. Lithograph, 24 × 18 in. (61 × 45.7 cm). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* helped immortalize FDR's Four Freedoms in the postwar world.

tant but perhaps indefinable roles in this translation project. In doing his part, Rockwell helped the American people understand what was at stake in the war and arguably moved them to make the sacrifices required to win it. From these efforts, he ultimately contributed mightily to shaping a postwar era defined by an expansive set of human rights claims. In the end, his inimitable illustrations remind us of the essential roles that individuals play in shaping history's course. For Norman Rockwell, the Four Freedoms were about individuals, and it was individuals who came together—inspired by his illustrations—to win the war and to set the terms intended to ensure a lasting peace.

PUBLIC INTERACTIONS WITH NORMAN ROCKWELL'S FOUR FREEDOMS, THEN & NOW

LESTER C. OLSON

Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* illustrations were initially published in four consecutive issues of the *Saturday Evening Post* between February 20 and March 13, 1943 (p. 214), in the magazine's interior, on a full page facing an essay by a well-known author. Soon afterward, reproductions circulated in additional formats; these included large posters printed by the US Government Printing Office for war bond drives (p. 217) and reproductions presented to purchasers of war bonds during World War II. According to the Norman Rockwell Museum's website, "Bonds were sold in denominations of $25, $100, and $1,000, and each person who purchased one received a set of prints of the four paintings. In addition, the Office of War Information printed four million sets of posters of the paintings. Each was printed with the words 'Buy War Bonds.'"[1]

In a March 1945 profile of Rockwell, the *New Yorker* reported: "Portfolios of the pictures were presented to President Roosevelt, members of the Cabinet, Congress and the State Department, members of the parliaments and cabinets of all the United Nations, and forty thousand civic leaders around the country. The O.W.I. [Office of War Information] printed four million sets of posters and distributed them abroad and to the nation's schools, post offices, Elks clubs, hotels, saloons, poolrooms, ration-board offices, Sunday schools, and railway stations." Rockwell's illustrations were credited with inspiring a Four Freedoms symphony, composed by Robert Russell Bennett, and gave meaning to the ongoing war efforts by visualizing ideals that motivated and sustained the United States' engagements abroad. Decades later, in 1994, the US Postal Service produced stamps featuring Rockwell's compositions. The four images have inspired countless parodies, satires, and provocative revisions, which suggest the ways in which American culture has evolved over the decades.[2]

While the impact of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* on viewers at the time and today is undeniable, public interactions with the illustrations have been diverse, and extant evidence is inevitably fragmentary. This essay explores these public interactions, focusing primarily on written remarks and visual appropriations—including irreverent parodies and revisions derived later on from the artist's compositions—while touching on broader political and fund-raising campaigns. During World War II, commentary on Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* was entangled with partisan views of

R. O. Blechman, *Parody of the Freedom from Fear by Norman Rockwell*. Created for the Wolfsonian museum's Four Freedoms competition, 2008. Giclée print, 20 × 16 in. (50.8 × 40.6 cm). Collection of the artist.









The four consecutive *Saturday Evening Post* issues featuring Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*: February 20, 1943; February 27, 1943; March 6, 1943; March 13, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; Gift of William W. Hargreaves. Cover illustrators, left to right, top: Mead Schaeffer, Howard Scott; bottom: Rutherford Boyd, George Garland.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal and his January 6, 1941, speech that committed the United States to advancing the Four Freedoms "everywhere in the world," even though Rockwell's illustrations gave them idealized meaning with homey scenes in the United States.[3]

This selective survey underscores the rhetorical appeal of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* (pp. 1–4), addressing factors of social identity at the time of their creation, made even more explicit in provocative satirical works published decades later. Francis Frascina observed that Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* "place emphases on idealized white small town American lifestyles and American institutions that underpin them. His works are indebted to norms of heterosexual, Christian families with conventional adherence to the work ethic and local white community life." Claire Sisco King concurs: "Many of Rockwell's paintings have been deployed to reaffirm the hegemony of White, middle-class, Christian, and heterosexual values and subject positions. Images such as the iconic *Freedom from Want* (1943), which depicts a White, middle-class family eating Thanksgiving dinner, or *Freedom from Fear* (1943), which depicts White, heterosexual parents putting their children to bed, are those for which Rockwell is perhaps best known, and they have often functioned to reinforce dominant cultural narratives."[4]

Because Rockwell's illustrations became part of a political and a fund-raising campaign with numerous components in 1943 and 1944, isolating the specific impact of his *Four Freedoms* is a fallible undertaking. Thomas Buechner generalized about the illustrations' circulation and influence: "Millions of copies were printed and distributed by the government and private agencies all over the world; the Treasury department toured the four originals to sixteen cities where they were seen by 1,222,000 people and used in selling $132,999,537 worth of war bonds. For many Americans, World War II made sense because of the goals depicted in the *Four Freedoms*." While these images were central to a campaign that raised a substantial sum for the war effort, fund-raising events also featured appeals from celebrities, political figures, and diplomats, who charmed contributors into purchasing war bonds. According to the *New Yorker* magazine, "a total of four hundred and fifty entertainers, public officials, and miscellaneous celebrities took part" in the national tour of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show. The tour, which included the four original paintings, began on April 26, 1943, in Washington, DC, and then moved up the East Coast to Philadelphia (May 15), New York (June 4), and Boston (June 19), before continuing inland to Buffalo (July 12) and Rochester, New York (August 2), Pittsburgh (September 8), Detroit (September 27), Cleveland (October 25), Chicago (November 11), Saint Louis (December 16), New Orleans (January 16, 1944), Dallas (January 27), Los Angeles (February 12), Portland, Oregon (March 27), and Denver (May 1).[5]

"The major difference between the Rockwell and Roosevelt visions of the Four Freedoms was the distance between a domestic and an international focus for U.S. interests," writes Elizabeth Borgwardt. "While the text of Roosevelt's original Four Freedoms speech highlighted the worldwide relevance of each 'freedom,' percussively repeating the phrase 'everywhere in the world' after each item to emphasize its universal application, Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* were an almost exclusively domestic affair, in both senses of that term—not international, and emphasizing images of home and hearth." James J. Kimble has proposed, moreover, that Roosevelt's Four Freedoms were a failure during the initial months after his 1941 speech, but that, in 1943, "Rockwell's paintings



★ Fans stand in line to have Norman Rockwell sign their war bond prints at Hecht's department store in Washington, DC, inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

and their attendant publicity blitz dramatized and personalized the president's Four Freedoms, fostering a surge of identification on the home front and ultimately launching the ideal on its ascendant course into rhetorical history." Kimble credits the illustrations' "*mimetic* approach" with giving them a power that Roosevelt's remarks and his government's "*diegetic* approach to propaganda" lacked.[6]

A *Saturday Evening Post* editorial, in the September 25, 1943, issue, acknowledged controversy over Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* within the context of Roosevelt's New Deal, noting fear among some readers of socialism and the potential creation of a welfare state. The editor distinguished freedom of speech and worship as relatively uncontroversial, while asserting, "the real controversy, of course, rages about the other two freedoms: Freedom from Want and Freedom from Fear." The *Post* explained: "The assumption by those who are alarmed at their inclusion in a body of doctrine is that they imply that men are to be guaranteed not merely against 'want' in the literal sense, but against lacking anything they happen to desire at any given moment. Freedom from Fear, these critics affect to believe, implies that the Government is fraudulently promising to remove all the hazards of life which men have feared in the past." Seeking to reassure its readership, the *Post* averred,

> If we believed that either Freedom from Want or Freedom from Fear meant that the New Deal was promising to pass a miracle which would end the necessity of individual work or foresight, reward the lazy and incompetent as richly as the able and conscientious, and set up a "welfare state," we should be as dubious about the Four Freedoms as are some of our correspondents. Some New Dealers may misconstrue these freedoms, but there is little ground for such an interpretation.

Partisan pushback from the public had apparently compelled the editor to clarify the *Post*'s stance in relation to Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*.[7]



Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *OURS . . . to Fight For*, 1943. Office of War Information, poster no. 41, US Government Printing Office. Lithograph, 39 × 27 in. (99 × 68.6 cm). Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

Such misgivings and fears about Rockwell's illustrations were not isolated to the *Saturday Evening Post*'s readership. The pattern of public interactions with them in the contemporaneous political and economic climate had been indicated in a letter to the editor published in the *New York Times* on June 20, 1943. The writer, a B. Tomlinson, described having stood near a shop window that prominently displayed Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*. When he asked a taxi driver, who had "left his cab and strolled over to take a look," for his opinion of them, the driver replied: "Brother, the only freedoms I want are the ones guaranteed me by the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights. The New Deal can't swap me anything for the Constitution." Tomlinson concluded: "Which just shows how stubborn and ungrateful the proletariat can be. Maybe the wretches don't deserve anything better than the Constitution and the Bill of Rights." In addition, on June 21, 1943, *Time* magazine criticized Rockwell's portrayal of the Four Freedoms, commenting that the artist "would probably be incapable of portraying a really evil human being, or even a really complex one—perhaps even a really real one." The critique continued: "Though he paints and composes exceedingly well, it is questionable whether any of his work could be seriously de-

scribed as art. Even the Four Freedoms posters fall short of artistic maturity through their very virtue as posters: they hit hardest at first sight." In contrast to these undercurrents of concern and dissatisfaction, an appreciative characterization was expressed in March 1945 by the *New Yorker*, which stated that Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* "were received by the public with more enthusiasm, perhaps, than any other paintings in the history of American art."[8]

The underlying power of Rockwell's illustrations depended largely on productive pictorial ambiguities, which suffused these works with a distinctive ideology oftentimes called "civil religion" or "civic piety." This ideology infuses US political life with a generalized spirituality that transcends specific religious traditions. Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* presented a generalized portrait of American political and religious values in a way that lent support to Roosevelt's wartime policies. Ekaterina Haskins has suggested that civil religion's unifying power has waned in public memory, with the rise of postmodernism and a fragmentation of grand narratives that ostensibly unite a nation, and been replaced by what she calls the "consumer sublime." Yet Peter Gardella writes that, "Among the first effects of 9/11 on the practice of American civil religion was a dramatic increase in the intensity and extent of the cult of the flag." American culture has changed in basic ways that can be indexed by contemporary revisions and uses of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*, especially irreverent satires and revisions.[9]

In this presentation of public interactions with Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*, the illustrations are discussed in the sequence in which they were published. *Freedom of Speech* circulated initially, in the February 20, 1943, *Saturday Evening Post*, accompanied on the facing page by Booth Tarkington's essay on the subject. Because the First Amendment to the US Constitution establishes free speech, this work was not as provocative as others at the time of its initial release. It is impossible to know how representative was a letter, dated February 21, 1943, from Carolyn McMullan to Rockwell. She affirmed that "the first of your Four Freedoms is beautiful. The man certainly isn't beautiful, but you feel sure that whatever he is saying is beautiful. You can see in his face everything about him. You can see the sort of life he lives and the things he believes in. And the things he believes in are, I am sure what every real American believes in." Viewers may have seen in these pictures what they were already predisposed to see, since the speaker's convictions are not evident in the illustration. Rockwell biographer Deborah Solomon commented in 2013 that this illustration "is compromised by a near absence of women" at the town gathering, an observation that calls attention to women's comparatively meager participation in public life in past decades.[10]

That same year, Lefty Nast posted online a parody image, titled *Free Speech 2013*, with "apologies" to Norman Rockwell. This unsettling satire contends that freedom of speech has eroded in the United States as a result of surveillance of citizens by government agencies such as the CIA, the FBI, and the NSA, whose representatives are positioned similarly to the men in Rockwell's composition. They still listen with rapt attention to the speaker, but now wear headphones and dark glasses, presumably to conceal their identities while recording his remarks. At least seven microphones surround the speaker to capture his every word. A "wiretap list" appears centrally in the design in place of the annual meeting brochure in the original. The federal government subjects ostensibly free speech to so much covert surveillance, the image implies, that representatives



Dan Nance, *Freedom of Speech 2010*, 2010. Acrylic on canvas, 32 × 24 in. (81.2 × 61 cm). Collection of the artist.

of all three agencies are attending to the same speaker's comments. The iconic white, working-class man from Rockwell's original print, still wearing his familiar blue plaid shirt and leather jacket, sweats visibly, apparently concerned that his remarks are being so closely recorded. The satire implicates the federal government in damaging the centuries-old constitutional guarantee of US citizens' fundamental rights.[11]

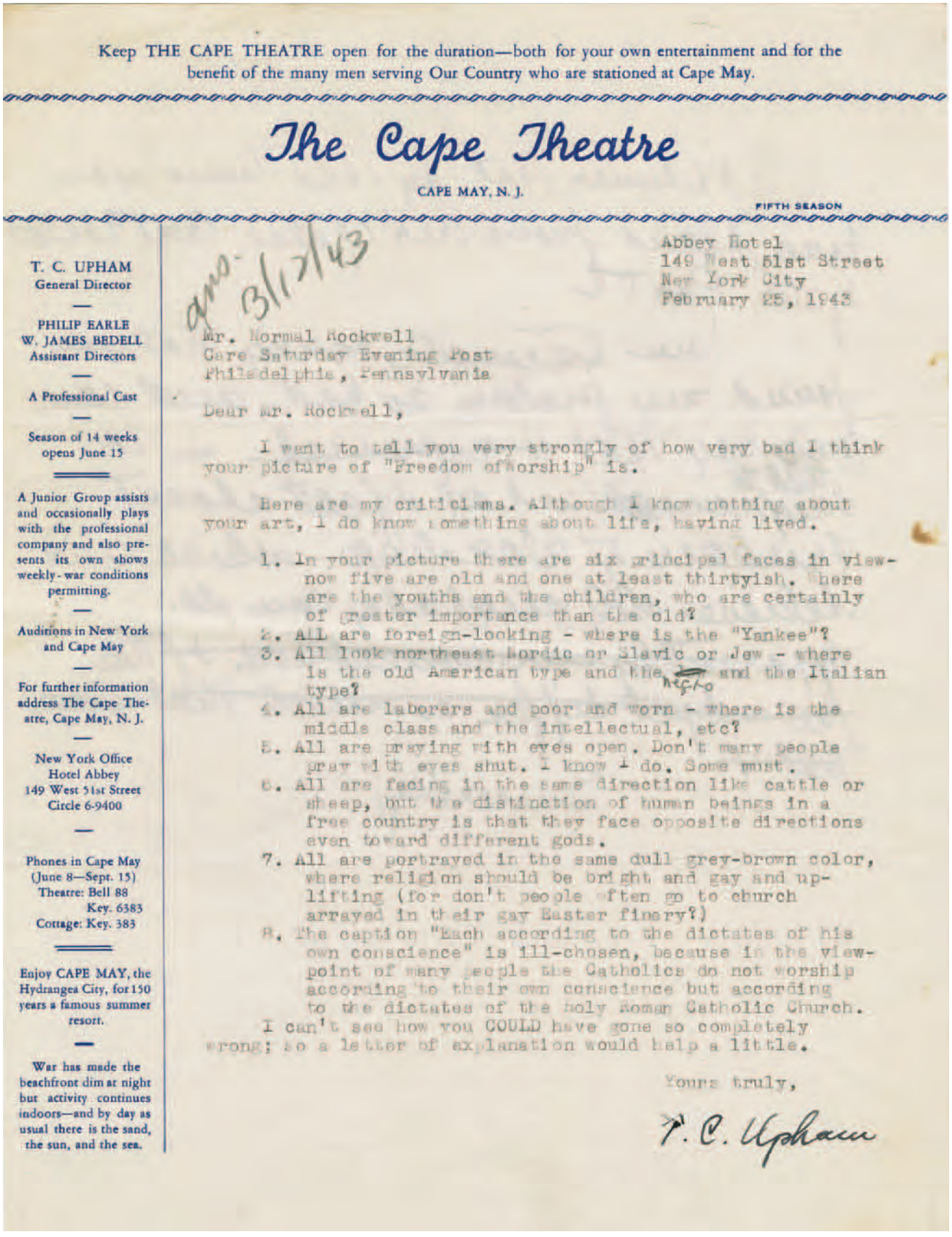
Another revision of *Freedom of Speech* was posted online in 2010, by Dan Nance, who asked the questions: "What would Norman Rockwell's famous 'Four Freedoms' series, painted in 1943, look like today? How have 70 years changed us as Americans and our collective sense of 'freedom'?" This dramatic piece juxtaposes Nance's revisions with Rockwell's originals for both speech and fear. In his version of free speech, Nance portrays the speaker as an African American woman, who stands at the center, wearing a long, beige hooded sweater with the meeting brochure in the pocket. While some in the racially diverse audience listen respectfully to her remarks, a white woman to the viewer's left shouts down her ideas. A man behind the speaker likewise shouts over her remarks, with his hand cupped to amplify the disruption, as does a person in a baseball

cap next to the bellowing white woman. The work suggests that freedom of speech and community bonds are eroded whenever consideration and respect are lacking, particularly across racial lines. This parody portrays a noticeable decline in citizens' civility in the United States, and yet it is likely that these social tensions were already there in the past, though perhaps not as visually noticeable at town hall meetings, in part because of systematic exclusions, along racial, ethnic, and gender lines, from certain public forums.[12]

Freedom of Worship appeared in the February 27, 1943, issue of the *Post* along with Will Durant's essay on the facing page. In a recollection published posthumously in the *Post*, Rockwell recounted that he "wanted *Freedom of Worship* to make the statement that no man should be discriminated against for his race or religion." Not characterized as controversial in the *Post*'s September 1943 editorial, because of the nation's long-standing commitment to religious freedom as a constitutional guarantee, this illustration may have tacitly reassured the magazine's readership, given its diverse though ambiguous portrayals. Rockwell portrayed religious diversity by including a Catholic holding a rosary; an agnostic or atheist above her, who strokes his chin, deep in thought, instead of folding his hands in prayer; an elderly Protestant woman whose gray hair is held back with a hair clip; and a Jewish or Greek Orthodox worshipper in the right foreground. The imagery for the last figure might have been a productive pictorial ambiguity for viewers who were not familiar with these religions. He was interpreted at the time and over the decades as a Jewish man, because he could be construed as holding a Jewish prayer book in a codex form and wearing a hat that, according to religious historian Rachel L. Kranson, "looks quite a bit like the caps typically worn by the Chazan (cantor) in formal synagogues. These hats are still worn by cantors today—particularly on the high holidays—and were even more popular in the 1940s." Yet he has also been interpreted as holding a Bible and wearing a hat similar to a conventional Greek Orthodox Kalimavkion.[13]

In 1943, the *Post* had an interest in portraying religious diversity and specifically including Jews in its assessments of freedom of worship. In December 1941 and March 1942, the *Post* had published a series of three articles that explored the importance of Jewish history and culture, all written by prominent Jewish authors: Jerome Frank, Waldo Frank, and Milton Mayer. The last of these articles, Mayer's "The Case Against the Jew," was interpreted as anti-Semitic by readers, whose objections were substantial and widespread enough to elicit an editorial explanation and an apology from the new editor, Ben Hibbs, in the May 5, 1942, issue. Subsequently, the Will Durant essay paired with Rockwell's *Freedom of Worship* alluded to "chapels" as well as "temples and mosques and great cathedrals—everywhere on earth," which expanded the *Post*'s rhetorical appeal by coupling the artwork with an essay nodding to Jews, Muslims, Christians, and people of other religions around the globe.[14]

At least one viewer of the time was profoundly dissatisfied with *Freedom of Worship*, to judge by the lengthy criticism that T. C. Upham, a theater director, sent to Rockwell on February 25, 1943 (p. 221). Although there were seven faces featured in the illustration, the first of Upham's eight enumerated criticisms began, "In your picture there are six principal faces in view—now five are old and one at least thirtyish." "Where," Upham asked, "are the youths and the children, who are certainly of greater importance than the old?" He was discontent that "ALL are foreign-



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amo 3/17/43

Abbey Hotel
149 West 51st Street
New York City
February 25, 1943

Mr. Normal Rockwell
Care Saturday Evening Post
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Rockwell,

I want to tell you very strongly of how very bad I think your picture of "Freedom of Worship" is.

Here are my criticisms. Although I know nothing about your art, I do know something about life, having lived.

1. In your picture there are six principal faces in view- now five are old and one at least thirtyish. Where are the youths and the children, who are certainly of greater importance than the old?
2. All are foreign-looking - where is the "Yankee"?
3. All look northeast Nordic or Slavic or Jew - where is the old American type and the Negro and the Italian type?
4. All are laborers and poor and worn - where is the middle class and the intellectual, etc?
5. All are praying with eyes open. Don't many people pray with eyes shut. I know I do. Some must.
6. All are facing in the same direction like cattle or sheep, but the distinction of human beings in a free country is that they face opposite directions even toward different gods.
7. All are portrayed in the same dull grey-brown color, where religion should be bright and gay and uplifting (for don't people often go to church arrayed in their gay Easter finery?)
8. The caption "Each according to the dictates of his own conscience" is ill-chosen, because in the viewpoint of many people the Catholics do not worship according to their own conscience but according to the dictates of the holy Roman Catholic Church.

I can't see how you COULD have gone so completely wrong; so a letter of explanation would help a little.

Yours truly,

T. C. Upham

★ T. C. Upham's letter to Rockwell regarding *Freedom of Worship*, February 25, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

looking" and "all are northeast Nordic or Slavic or Jew." "Where," he wanted to know, "is the old American type and the Negro and the Italian type?" These comments are perplexing in that the image contains no specifically Jewish symbolism, and there is an African American woman praying in the upper left, possibly the seventh figure that he did not notice, to judge from his lament. "All are laborers and poor and worn," the dissatisfied viewer continued, asking, "where is the middle class and the intellectual, etc.?" Moreover, this viewer was troubled that all were praying "with eyes open," when "many people pray with eyes shut." Upham was upset that "All are facing in the same direction like cattle or sheep, but the distinction of human beings in a free country is that they face in opposite directions even toward different gods." He extended his critique even to the "dull grey-brown color, where religion should be bright and gay and uplifting." He was dissatisfied too with the caption, "Each according to the dictates of his own conscience." The writer observed, "Catholics do not worship according to their own conscience but according to the dictates of the Holy Roman Catholic Church." He concluded, "I can't see how you COULD have gone so completely wrong; so a letter of explanation would help a little." Rockwell replied, "I am extremely sorry that you found my picture so bad, and can truly say that in it I tried to express what I felt about *Freedom of Worship*—which I believe is all anybody can do."[15]

Writing as well about *Freedom of Worship*, on the stationery of the Young Women's Christian Association, on April 5, 1943, General Secretary Gladys W. Taber reported to Rockwell that young businesswomen had "wondered why there were no young people in the picture, why everyone looked so troubled, old and worn." One recent revision of the illustration replaces Rockwell's praying elderly white woman wearing a hair clip in the foreground with a young praying black woman, her eyes closed, likewise wearing a hair clip, almost as if to respond to these bothered, contemporaneous critics' concerns about Rockwell's inattention to youths, African Americans, and varied praying practices. This revision, posted online in August 2014 by Jacqueline DeBerry, who identifies herself as the woman portrayed, could be interpreted as an affirmation of the Black Lives Matter slogan, because of its timing and the broader political climate that followed the movement's founding in July 2013. Yet DeBerry offered the image explicitly as a sample of her work and an homage to Rockwell in her portfolio as an art student. A recent revision by artist-photographer Maggie Meiners (p. 223) is racially and spiritually diverse and features younger worshippers as well, an apt response to Mr. Upham's concerns more than seventy years later. Acknowledging ongoing tensions regarding Islam, it features a Muslim man holding a clearly labeled Quran. Of Rockwell's four illustrations, *Freedom of Worship* is the least used in contemporary satire and parody, possibly because of the gravity with which many people continue to view faith and religious convictions.[16]

In contrast, *Freedom from Want* is the most appropriated of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*. On March 6, 1943, the *Post* featured *Freedom from Want* with an essay by Carlos Bulosan (pp. 148, 153), a Filipino novelist and poet who had grown up in poverty, worked as a laborer on farms in the Pacific Northwest, and participated in the labor movement. A June 21, 1943, *Time* article reported that Rockwell "wants especially to rework *Freedom of Worship* and *Freedom from Want*." The *Time* writer seems to agree, asserting, "The latter is perhaps weakest: Rockwell's acquaintance with want is decidedly impersonal." Later, Rockwell acknowledged that "*Freedom from Want* was



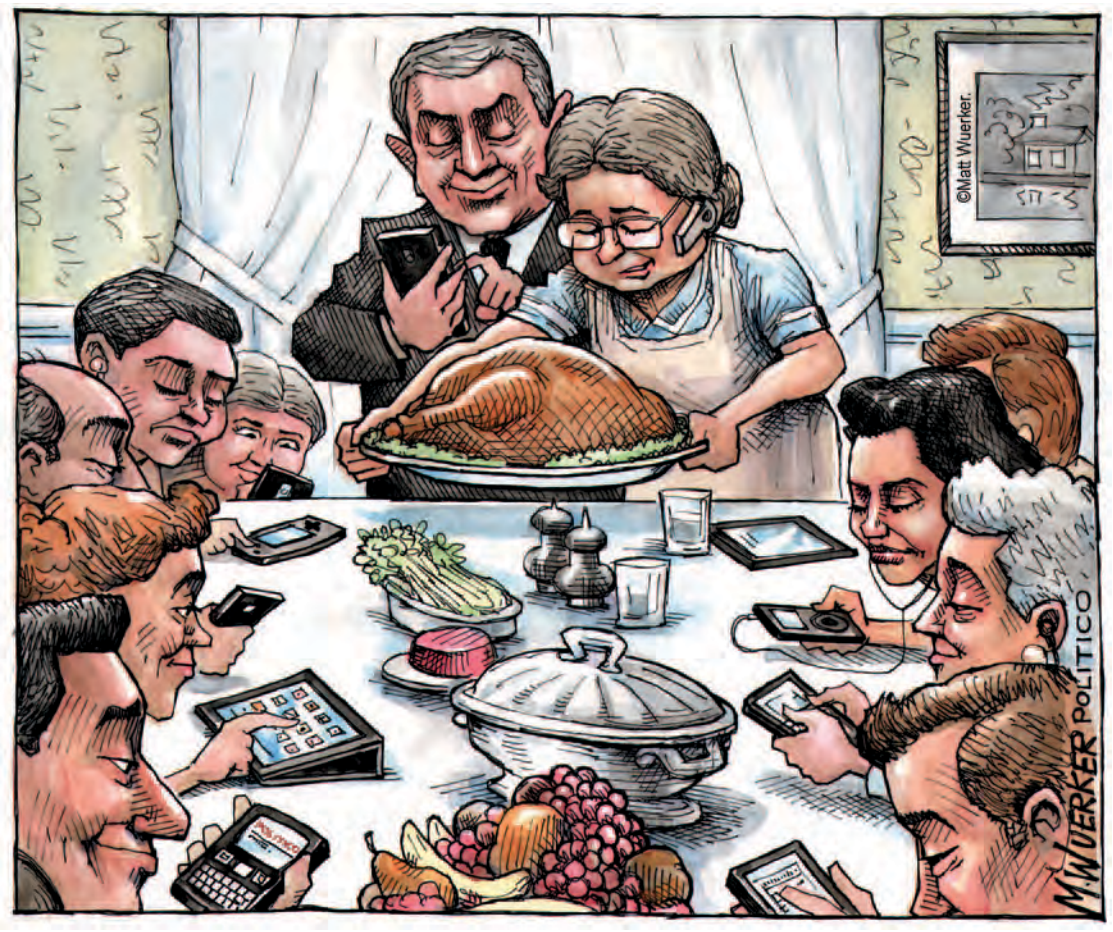
Maggie Meiners, *Freedom of Religion*, 2016. Digital photograph, *Revisiting Rockwell* series.



Pops Peterson, *Thanksgiving Gay Dinner*, 2015. Digital photograph.

not popular overseas. Europeans sort of resented it because it wasn't freedom from want, it was overabundance." It is possible that in the context of rationing food in the United States, which had begun in 1942, the abundance raised concerns for domestic viewers as well. In March 1943, soon after the publication of Rockwell's illustration, the ongoing rationing was expanded to include meat, cheese, fats, canned fish, canned milk, and other types of foods.[17]

There have been so many satirical appropriations of Rockwell's composition for *Freedom from Want* that entire websites are devoted to them. Most of these collections are apparently curated in the United States, though one is evidently French. On his blog, Josh McCormack has posted the most extensive coverage of these parodies, showcasing at this writing fifty-five different appropriations of Rockwell's *Freedom from Want*. Most parodies are playful and amusing, featuring zombies or Muppets at the table, or portraying superheroes such as DC Comics' Justice League or Marvel's Fantastic Four. Sofia Vergara and Ed O'Neill, who play characters from the popular television series *Modern Family*, star in one adaptation of the scene. Comic book artist Joe Phillips features a gathering of buff young gay men of diverse racial backgrounds. Another such revision appeared in *Reinventing Rockwell*, an exhibition featuring re-creations by Pops Peterson, on view in 2015 at the Sohn Fine Art Gallery in Lenox, Massachusetts. This composition, *Thanksgiving*



Matt Wuerker, *Thxgiving*, 2010. Watercolor and ink on paper.
Editorial cartoon for *Politico*, November 22, 2010.

Gay Dinner, portrays Pops and his partner, an interracial male couple, at the head of the long table. As a group, these revisions offer an inclusive and capacious representation of family compared with Rockwell's original composition for *Freedom from Want*.[18]

In a different vein is a powerful satire designed by 2012 Pulitzer Prize–winning editorial cartoonist Matt Wuerker, entitled *Thxgiving*, in which almost everyone at the table is distracted by communication technology, including the elderly woman serving the food. When the *Daily Kos* website displayed Wuerker's parody on November 24, 2011, it prompted a conversation, in fifty-one comments, about the prevalence of electronics in social settings. If Rockwell's original composition portrayed family togetherness, Wuerker's satire suggested that recent technologies and social media have so distracted family members that they have eroded such togetherness. Overwhelmed by the rush and distractions of Thanksgiving, parents serve fast food from containers to two kids in a 2015 parody, this one featuring a family much smaller in overall size than the one in Rockwell's version. None of the family members, noticeably, make eye contact with each other, or even, for that matter, with the family dog.[19]

Finally, *Freedom from Fear* was distributed in the *Post*'s March 13, 1943, issue, accompanied by an essay by Stephen Vincent Benét. Francis Frascina commented:

> In retrospect, Rockwell thought *Freedom from Fear* was, in his own words, "based on a rather smug idea." While European cities were in flames, American families could rest assured that their children slept free from the fear of injury and death. Rockwell wrote: "Painted during the bombing of London, it was supposed to say, 'Thank God we can put our children to bed with a feeling of security, knowing they will not be killed in the night.'"[20]

The most famous digital revision of *Freedom of Fear* appeared in the *New York Times*, soon after the attacks of September 11, 2001. In this piece, the father's newspaper was changed digitally for a very different political moment. Frascina comments:

> On 2 November 2001, *The New York Times* published a full-page advertisement for itself (p. B12). A large white border surrounded a digitally altered full colour reproduction of Norman Rockwell's painting *Freedom from Fear*, 1943, with the byline "Make sense of our times." . . . In the advertisement of 2 November the depicted 1940s newspaper has been replaced so that the father is seen to hold *The New York Times* for 12 September 2001. On view is the front page with a central photograph of the burning World Trade Center and the headline: "U.S. ATTACKED HIJACKED JETS DESTROY TWIN TOWERS AND HIT PENTAGON IN DAY OF TERROR". The altered Rockwell was placed at the end of the section titled *A Nation Challenged* and after the subsection *Portraits of Grief*.[21]

The same advertisement was published again on November 4, 2012. Frascina observes, "On 3 November, the day after the altered Rockwell advertisement for *The New York Times* first appeared, the traveling exhibition *Norman Rockwell: Pictures for the American People* opened to the public at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York." He concludes, "In the aftermath of 'September 11', the Rockwell exhibition and individual works were received in transformed emphases that combined the complexities of trauma and new patriotism. One phenomenon of trauma is regression; another is a return to a vision of the past fashioned by a pleasurable order."[22]

Karen J. Engle has also commented at length on the digitally revised use of Rockwell's *Freedom from Fear* in the November 2001 *Times*. "Drawn in part from his *Four Freedoms*, a Second World War series first published in *The Saturday Evening Post*, the doctored Rockwells enable identification with images of pre 9/11—pre-*collapsarian*—American innocence." Engle further explained, "Capitalizing on the nostalgic power of Rockwell while promising readers the salve of elucidation, the ad paints a picture of America as a family under threat, selling *The New York Times* as the path to understanding." This nostalgic power consists primarily in a general commitment to civil religion. "In order better to understand how a compelling sense of national unity and renewal can be generated by a massacre like the Sept. 11 attacks," writes Agnieszka Soltysik Monnet, "we need to look into sociology and specifically the concept of civil religion, which is concerned with the religious or emotional aspects of nationalism."[23]

Today, other satires of *Freedom from Fear* raise grave domestic issues of the day, such as racism and poverty within the United States, in contrast with Rockwell's emphasis on a threat from abroad. For instance, in 2008, the Wolfsonian museum at Florida International University invited



Dan Nance, *Freedom from Fear 2010*, 2010. Acrylic on canvas, 32 × 24 in. (81.2 × 61 cm). Collection of the artist.



Maggie Meiners, *Freedom from Fear*, 2016. Digital photograph, *Revisiting Rockwell* series.

sixty artists and designers "to create contemporary responses to Norman Rockwell's 1943 *Four Freedoms* paintings." R. O. Blechman's entry for the exhibition (p. 212), according to the Norman Rockwell Museum's Illustration History website,

> acknowledges some of the challenges that assail the contemporary every man: foreclosure, stolen identity, recession, bad cholesterol, terrorist attack, and taxes, as opposed to those detailed in Rockwell's World War II era painting: bombings, kill, horror, hit. To communicate the immensity of these issues, Blechman's father figure looks out of the picture frame at those of us viewing it, while Rockwell's father gazes down at his children. Rockwell couched his Four Freedoms illustrations in personal and private terms. Blechman's decision to pose the father figure looking back at the audience broadens the realm of personal fear into every man's fear.[24]

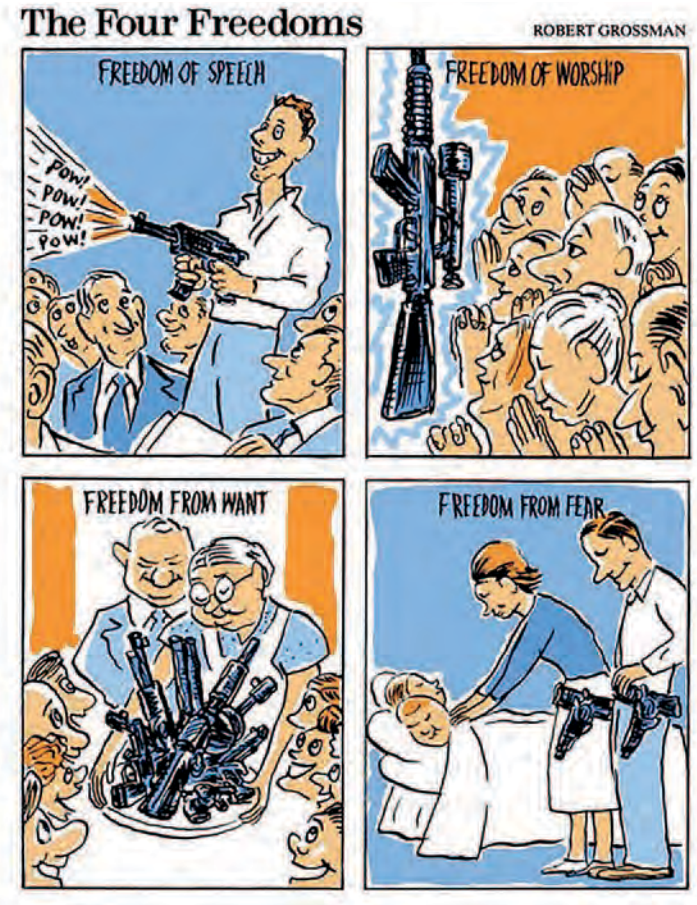
Other revisions of Rockwell's famous composition explore race and abiding racism in the United States. For instance, Dan Nance's 2010 appropriation of *Freedom from Fear* features a woman of color, apparently pregnant, tucking her children into the bed, above which hangs a portrait of her partner in military attire. A headline on her newspaper, a copy of the *New York Times*, suggests that her partner is serving in the Iraq War. Maggie Meiners, in contrast, featured a black, single mother at her children's bedside in her reworking of *Freedom of Fear*, which has the alternative title *Cock, Bang, Repeat*, alluding to gun violence. The mother's newspaper, a copy of the *Chicago Tribune*, has the headline, "If you see some[thing]," referencing the fear of terrorism in

the United States. Another powerful revision by Pops Peterson, focusing on racism and the Black Lives Matter movement, reveals a newspaper headline with the words "I Can't Breathe." In this work, the mother gazes directly at the viewers, as if seeking a response from them.[25]

In closing, the potential to tap Norman Rockwell's original *Four Freedoms* compositions for parodies, satires, and revisions is a testament to their enduring iconographic and ideological power. The creative possibilities seem endless. Partisans have endeavored to challenge, limit, redefine, and even propose additional freedoms. Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers from Massachusetts, for instance, wrote to Rockwell, enclosing a copy of her proposal to recognize a fifth freedom, "Freedom of Private Enterprise." Apparently written in 1943, her letter asked Rockwell to lend his artistic talents to preparing a cover for the *Saturday Evening Post* that would incorporate this additional freedom, because such an illustration "undoubtedly would be a major contribution towards speedy passage of the Resolution."[26]

Each public interaction offers a glimpse into American culture in a specific historical moment and, oftentimes, indexes changes across social differences as well as convictions regarding civil religion. Many satires, as illustrated above, focus on the issue of racism in the United States. There was evidence even in Rockwell's day that some viewers wanted him to attend to these deep and abiding concerns. Writing to the artist on the stationery of the Bronx Inter-Racial Conference, on July 12, 1943, chairman Roderick Stephens began with observations regarding *Freedom from Want* and *Freedom from Fear*: "'Want' is something with which the Negro has been very familiar, except during the height of the war industry boom during World War I and, to a considerable extent, at present. 'Fear' has been ingrained in the Southern Negro and, in recent months, must have extended beyond the deep South, as a result of race riots of recent occurrence in Northern and Western Cities." Stephens further observed, "The 'Four Freedoms' were generally recognized from the outset as intended for global application, but on second thought, the question of equal application at home, so far as our Negro population is concerned, has been arising in our minds, whether Negro or white." Toward the conclusion of this lengthy letter, Stephens acknowledged, "I am attempting to suggest an idea which, in your powers of visualization and your presently integrated association in the minds of the American public with the Four Freedoms, can be visualized by you in terms to which the American public will quickly respond. If so, you can thus advance racial good-will by years." It is possible that correspondence such as this, as well as changing times, contributed to Rockwell's raised consciousness, as evidenced in such civil rights–era works as *The Problem We All Live With* (p. 184), *New Kids in the Neighborhood*, and especially *Murder in Mississippi* (pp. 52, 75).[27]

Today the *Four Freedoms* illustrations are rarely satirized in a single work, even though in 1943 they were at times reproduced together as a single poster. One disconcerting example, by Robert Grossman, relating to gun violence in the United States, uses weaponry as the central focus of all four images (p. 229). Grossman's reworking of *Freedom of Speech* suggests that people shoot guns in public to express themselves and as a way to communicate with others. He revises *Freedom of Worship* to imply that there is a worship of weaponry in the country today. In *Freedom from Fear*, the parents' gun holsters are visible even while they are tucking the children into bed. In his *Freedom from Want*, a platter full of weaponry is served at the table to eager con-



Robert Grossman (1940–2018), *The Four Freedoms*, ca. 1996. India ink on bristol board, digitally colored, 11 × 8½ in. (27.9 × 21.6 cm). Originally published in the *Nation*.

sumers. Grossman's images represent a sea change from Rockwell's originals, in which violence was intimated but not vividly depicted as a representation of the people of the United States.[28]

While much has changed over the decades, the Four Freedoms portray deeply and widely held values that are at risk today in a changed political climate. Writing in the *Guardian* on February 7, 2017, Jonathan Jones affirmed, "Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms remind us what the US has to lose. News that the painter's quartet of works celebrating an apple-pie America is to go on tour emphasizes what is under threat in the Trump era." Jones explains, "Donald Trump's 'America First' presidency is abandoning any claim of a US mission to defend or spread 'freedom,' around the world. He also seems not to care much about it at home." Alternatively, in a very different context, Francis Frascina questions whether "there was once a sentiment, a set of values, a vision of America to be preserved and memorialized" as portrayed in Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*. He asks incisively, "Was there ever such a vision in a society with histories of racial discrimination, slavery, poverty, and the genocide of Native Americans?" Conflicting commentaries such as these underscore the transnational importance of citizens around the globe continuing to discuss, debate, argue, converse, contest, and teach diverse perspectives on the Four Freedoms. Disagreement can be a good thing. It can make us think, reconsider, and change for the better.[29]



★Paul Warchol, *View of Four Freedoms Park NYC 2012*, 2012. Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park, Roosevelt Island, New York.

THE FOUR FREEDOMS: ENVISIONING A BETTER WORLD

WILLIAM J. VANDEN HEUVEL
FORMER DEPUTY US PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The address to the United States Congress that history knows as the Four Freedoms speech was given by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the country's thirty-second president, on January 6, 1941. In it, the president asked not only his countrymen and women but also the people of the world to understand that the terrible scourge of war could be justified to our children's children only if we in faith and honor determined to create a different world to assure the peace of humankind. That world, Roosevelt proposed, should be based on the Four Freedoms—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear. In the world of the time of the president's speech, however—beset by war, oppressed by Nazi domination, brutalized by racist thugs—every tenet of democracy was threatened and ridiculed.[1]

President Roosevelt's power as a speaker lay in his ability to present profound ideas in simple language. A great newspaper editor (and a Republican), William Allen White, upon hearing the speech, declared: "The Four Freedoms mark the opening of a new era for the world. A great occasion, a great cause and a great man have been united." President Roosevelt made clear that the Four Freedoms were "no vision of a distant millennium." They are, he said, "a definite basis for a kind of world attainable in our own time and generation."[2]

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park (p. 230), a memorial to the late president on New York City's Roosevelt Island, will be a constant reminder of that challenge. The Four Freedoms are inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations. They are part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted under the brilliant and determined leadership of the president's widow, Eleanor Roosevelt. Winston Churchill described Franklin Roosevelt as the greatest man he had ever known. President Roosevelt's life, Winston Churchill said, "must be regarded as one of the commanding events in human destiny."[3]

President Roosevelt was the voice of the people of the United States during the most difficult crises of the twentieth century. He led America out of the despair of the Great Depression. He led us to victory in World War II. Four times he was elected president of the United States. By temperament and talent, by energy and instinct, Franklin Roosevelt was ready for the challenges that confronted him. He was a breath of fresh air in our political life—vital, confident and optimistic, warm and good-humored. He was a man of incomparable personal courage. At the age of thirty-nine, he was stricken with polio. He would never again walk or stand unassisted. The pain of his

struggle is itself painful to recall: he learned to move again, to stand, to rely upon the physical support of others, and never gave in to despair, to self-pity, to discouragement. He imparted that courage to his country at a time of its greatest need. He replaced fear with faith, transforming our government into an active instrument of social justice.

It was a time when heroes were possible, when idealism was admired, when public service was the highest calling. It was also a time when Adolf Hitler laid claim to the future. President Roosevelt's response was to make America the "arsenal of democracy." He was commander in chief of the greatest military force in history. He crafted the victorious alliance that won the war. He was the father of the nuclear age. He guided the blueprint for the world that was to follow. He was behind the vision of the United Nations, the commitment to collective security, the determination to end colonialism, the economic plan for a prosperous world. This is the legacy of Franklin Roosevelt that we memorialize; we live in a world still guided and dominated by his strategic vision. But it is not worldly power and grandeur that cause us to remember Franklin Roosevelt this day. It is the causes of human freedom and social justice to which he gave so much of his life.

Let children everywhere hear the bells of freedom. Let our leaders be unafraid in the quest for peace and social justice. Come my friends, come all of us, find again inspiration, courage, strength. It is not too late to seek a better world.

NOTES

ENDURING IDEALS: AN INTRODUCTION

1. Norman Rockwell, "So You Want to See the President!," *Saturday Evening Post*, Nov. 13, 1943, 9–12.

2. Robert F. Cross, *Sailor in the White House: The Seafaring Life of FDR* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2003), xi, xii, xvi; the swimming pool anecdote is from Russell Freedman, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (New York: Clarion Books, 1990), 109.

3. Laura Claridge, *Norman Rockwell: A Life* (New York: Modern Library, 2001), 5. A short summary of the artist's intriguing personality is in Deborah Solomon, *American Mirror: The Life and Art of Norman Rockwell* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2013), 5.

4. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Inaugural Address. Mar. 4, 1933," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. 2, ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Random House, 1938), 11–16.

5. "Conference #649-A, Held with Representatives of the American Youth Congress, In the State Dining Room of the White House, Jun. 5, 1940, 8:50 P.M.," 48, Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933–1945, FDR Presidential Library and Museum, Digital Collections, http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/_resources/images/pc/pc0101.pdf.

6. "British Use 'Big Bertha' Tactics," *Marine Review*, Jun. 1922, 236; Frank Knox, "The Gravity of the World Situation," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, May 1, 1940, 420. Knox would become secretary of the navy in Jul. 1940.

7. Press Conference #658, Jul. 5, 1940, in *Complete Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. 16 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), sections 21, 22.

8. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "A Greeting to the Economics Club of New York. Dec. 2, 1940," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 597; "Background of the Four Freedoms Speech (Jan. 1941)," undated TS, in Samuel I. Rosenman Papers, Box 18, Folder "Working with Roosevelt—Background Material," Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, NY.

9. James J. Kimble, "Franklin D. Roosevelt: '1941 State of the Union Address' ('The Four Freedoms') (6 Jan. 1941)," *Voices of Democracy* 3 (2008): 63–82.

10. Laura Crowell, "The Building of the 'Four Freedoms' Speech," *Speech Monographs* 22 (1955): 266–83; Samuel I. Rosenman, *Working with Roosevelt* (New York: Harper, 1952), 143, 263.

11. "President Urges Swift and Driving Increase in Home, Foreign Arms," *Petaluma (CA) Argus-Courier*, Jan. 6, 1941, 1.

12. Bernard Kilgore, "Congressional Reaction Favorable to His Stand on Questions of Foreign Policy," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 7, 1941, 3; "Congress Reaction Widely Favorable," *New York Times*, Jan. 7, 1941, 2–3. The post-address correspondence received by the White House is preserved in President's Personal File, 200B, Box 84, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, NY. For additional discussion, see James J. Kimble, "The Illustrated Four Freedoms: FDR, Rockwell, and the Margins of the Rhetorical Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 45 (Mar. 2015): 50–51.

13. The omission of two of the freedoms from the charter is discussed in Frank Donovan, *Mr. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms: The Story behind the United Nations Charter* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1966), 40; and Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), 301.

14. Eliot Janeway, "The Four Freedoms vs. 'The New Order,'" in *Smash Hitler's International*, eds. Edmond Taylor, Edgar Snow, and Eliot Janeway (New York: Greystone Press, 1941), 95; "Are the Four Freedoms a Delusion?," *Christian Century*, Oct. 15, 1941, 1264.

15. "Henry A. Wallace on the People's Revolution," *Current History* 2 (Jul. 1942): 385–91.

16. Paul F. Lazarsfeld to Cornelius DuBois, Jun. 16, 1942, 4, in Records of the Office of Government Reports, US Information Service, Record Group 44, Box 1836, Folder "Paul Lazarsfeld," National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD; George Gallup, "An Analysis of American Public Opinion Regarding the War: A Confidential Report," Sept. 10, 1942, in President's Personal File, 4721, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, NY.

17. "War Aims and Postwar Policies," Apr. 17, 1942, in Records of the Office of Government Reports, US Information Service, Record Group 44, Box 1849, Folder "Sources Div: War Aims and Postwar Policy," National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD; Wallace's remarks are in "Vice President Wallace Champions Set of '7 Freedoms' for Mexicans," *Santa Ana (CA) Register*, Sep. 16, 1942, 2; "Let Freedom Ring?," *Time*, Sep. 28, 1942, 19.

18. Hadley Cantril, ed., *Public Opinion, 1935–1946* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), 1087; the government's internal poll is listed in Office of Facts and Figures, "The Peace Settlement and the Post-War World," survey 107, Mar. 23, 1942, in Records of the Office of War Information, Records of the Office of Facts and Figures, Alphabetical Subject File, 1939–1942, Record Group 208, Box 7, Folder "Peace & Post-War Reports and Proposals, 1942," National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

19. A. H. Feller, "Problems Involved in Making the War a Crusade," Apr. 5, 1942, in Records of the Office of War Information, Records of the Office of Facts and Figures, Alphabetical Subject File, 1939–1942, Record Group 208, Box 7, Folder "Peace & Post-War Reports and Proposals, 1942," National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD; Lucien Warner, "Prepared by Dr. Warner," Jan. 14, 1943, in Records of the Office of Government Reports, US Information Service, Record Group 44, Box 1829, Folder "OCD Material (General)," National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.

20. Norman Rockwell, *My Adventures as an Illustrator* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), 312.

21. "The 'Keep 'Em Shooting' Program," *Butte (MT) Standard*, Nov. 26, 1942, 4; Susan E. Meyer, *Norman Rockwell's World War II: Impressions from the Homefront* (San Antonio: USAA Foundation, 1991), 36.

22. Rockwell, *My Adventures*, 313.

23. Ibid., 313, 314.

24. FDR's desire for artistic interpretations of the Four Freedoms is discussed in "Artists Interpret the Four Freedoms," *Art Digest*, Mar. 1, 1943, 10; OWI's listing of potential Four Freedoms artists is in "Exhibit D" of the undated document "Bureau of Graphics," RG 208, Records of the Office of War Information, Records of the Historian, Records of the Historian Relating to the Domestic Branch, 1942–1945, Entry 6A, Box 2, Folder "Bureau of Graphics," National Archives and Research Administration, College Park, MD, 17. For an example of a surviving OWI letter inviting a well-known artist to interpret the Four Freedoms, see Thomas D. Mabry to John Steuart Curry, Jun. 29, 1942, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Collections Online, p. 1: https://www.aaa.si.edu/assets/images/collectionsonline/currjohn/fullsize/AAA_currjohn_368179.jpg, p. 2: https://www.aaa.si.edu/assets/images/collectionsonline/currjohn/fullsize/AAA_currjohn_368180.jpg.

25. Rockwell, *My Adventures*, 341.

26. Ibid., 341. Hibbs's later quotation is cited in Basilio Raymundo Mañago, "The Saturday Evening Post under Ben Hibbs: 1942–1961" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1968, University Microfilms 69-1888), 99.

27. Peter Gardella, *American Civil Religion: What Americans Hold Sacred* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 263.

28. Rhoda Jerryman to Norman Rockwell, Feb. 17, 1943, and Carolyn McMullan to Norman Rockwell, Feb. 21, 1943, in NR Fan Correspondence, General:

1943–1944, Box 2, Folder "1943 Feb," Norman Rockwell Museum Archival Collections, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA; Flannery's letter is quoted in Stuart Murray and James McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1993), 63; the sixty thousand figure is from Lester C. Olson, "Portraits in Praise of a People: A Rhetorical Analysis of Norman Rockwell's Icons in Franklin D. Roosevelt's 'Four Freedoms' Campaign," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 69 (1983): 19.

29. "Four Freedoms Artist to Get Bond Citation," *Washington Post*, Apr. 26, 1943, 8; Elsie Robinson, "Four Dreams," Listen, World!, *Wilkes-Barre (PA) Record*, Mar. 22, 1943, 5.

30. *Summary Report of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show and Its Development as a Community-Wide Promotion* (Philadelphia, 1944), 8, 11, 27; Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 72.

31. Rockwell, *My Adventures*, 318.

32. *Summary Report of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show*, 9; the letter from the Curtis official (identified only as "Bert"), dated Jun. 16, 1943, is in NR Donated Correspondence, 1935–1983, Box 1, Folder "Curtis Publishing Company, 1943," Norman Rockwell Museum Archival Collections, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA.

33. The search results concerning the phrase *four freedoms* are available via the Proquest Historical Newspapers database and the Newspapers.com web page, respectively. Because the results are based on optical character recognition (OCR), one cannot assume that they are exact totals.

34. "Dedication Ceremony for FDR Four Freedoms Park," NBC News video, Oct. 17, 2012, 13:04–13:37, http://video.msnbc.msn.com/nbc-news/49449235/#49449235.

35. Elizabeth Borgwardt, *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 47; Upham's letter to Rockwell, dated Feb. 25, 1943, is quoted in Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 68; Rockwell, *My Adventures*, 315, 317.

36. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to the Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *Public Papers and Addresses of Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Rosenman, 672. For an example of African American concerns about the universality of the government's Four Freedoms intentions, see the editorial "The Four Freedoms," *Amsterdam New York Star-News*, Sep. 12, 1942, 6.

37. "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," 1948, United Nations, http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/; John F. Sears, "Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" (n.p.: The Task Force—Celebrating Eleanor Roosevelt, 2008), https://fdrlibrary.org/documents/356632/390886/sears.pdf/c300e130-b6e6-4580-8bf1-07b72195b370.

38. Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1994), 95–96; Sugata Bose, *His Majesty's Opponent: Subhas Chandra Bose and India's Struggle against Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 2; Idith Zertal, *From Catastrophe to Power: The Holocaust Survivors and the Emergence of Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 141; G. L. Mehta, "Asian Nationalism Vis-À-Vis Other Asian Nations," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 318 (1958): 92.

39. *Look* magazine chose not to publish Rockwell's final painting of the violent scene (p. 52), opting instead for his more impressionistic preparatory study (p. 75).

40. Franklin D. Roosevelt to Forrest Davis, Feb. 10, 1943, in *Summary Report of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show*, 2.

FREEDOM TO THINK & FREEDOM TO SPEAK: A ROCKWELL CASE STUDY

1. Norman Rockwell, *My Adventures as an Illustrator* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), 339.

2. Ibid., 339.

3. James A. "Buddy" Edgerton and Nan O'Brien, *The Unknown Rockwell: A Portrait of Two Families* (Essex Junction, VT: Battenkill River Press, 2009), 25.

4. Ibid., 46–47,

5. Buddy Edgerton, interview by the author, by phone, from Edgerton's home in South Burlington, VT, Mar. 2, 2017.

6. *Annual Report of the Town Officers of Arlington, Vermont*, 1941.

7. *Annual Report of the Town Officers of Arlington, Vermont*, 1942, 4.

8. Rockwell, *My Adventures*, 343.

9. Ardis Edgerton quotation from Buddy Edgerton, Clara Edgerton, et al., interviewed by Susan Meyer, Oct. 5, 1980, Norman Rockwell Museum Audio Recordings, CD #25, Norman Rockwell Archives, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA.

10. Frank Bryan, *Real Democracy: The New England Town Meeting and How It Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 2–3.

11. Michael Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Knopf, 1971) 48–50; Jefferson is quoted in Bryan, *Real Democracy*, 26; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Boston: Sever, Francis, 1862), 76.

12. Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms*, 45.

13. Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms*, 40–50; Adams is quoted in Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic*, 1789–1815 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 19.

EVERYMAN, MEET SOMEBODY

1. The arguments of Clement Greenberg ("Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Partisan Review*, Summer 1939; "Towards a Newer Laocoon," *Partisan Review*, Jul. 1940) and Dwight MacDonald ("Masscult and Midcult," *Partisan Review*, Summer 1960) need not be rehearsed here, but suffice to say, they prize difficulty over ease, opacity over transparency, and emotion over sentiment.

2. Calvin Coolidge addressed the annual meeting of the American Association of Advertising Agencies in 1926: "When we stop to consider the part which advertising plays in the modern life of production and trade we see that . . . it is that of education. It informs its readers . . . of commodities . . . and creates for them a wider demand. [Advertising] makes new thoughts, new desires, and new actions." The stress on *new* underscores the antihistorical spirit of modernism itself; implicitly freed from the plodding past, we enjoy a freshly minted super-now of consumerist wonder. The pattern is borrowed from and shared with late nineteenth- and twentieth-century avant-gardisms. See Coolidge, "Address before the American Association of Advertising Agencies in Washington, D.C.," Oct. 27, 1926, in Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=412.

3. Deborah Solomon, *American Mirror: The Life and Art of Norman Rockwell* (New York: Picador, 2014), 207.

4. All that said, the mechanics of the figures reveal themselves reluctantly. I had looked at this image many times and never noticed the problem in the drawing. Only when I stood before the painting at length did I tease it out.

5. Rockwell's biographers are Laura Claridge, *Norman Rockwell: A Life* (New York: Modern Library, 2001); and Solomon, *American Mirror* (see n. 3).

6. This criticism is not, of course, to minimize the suffering of children bombed in the Blitz, as referenced by Rockwell's headline. The same freedom from fear could reasonably have been demanded by the children of Tokyo and Dresden in 1944–45, or in Aleppo, Syria, or Sana'a, Yemen, today.

7. *Murder in Mississippi* illustrated a story published in *Look*, Jun. 29, 1965. Rockwell, not knowing the precise details of the murders, based his interpretation on the 1963 Pulitzer Prize–winning photograph "Aid from the Padre" by Hector Rondon. In the painting, Schwerner holds Chaney in the same pose that Rondon's priest holds a victim of violence in Venezuela. See Linda Szekely Pero, *American Chronicles: The Art of Norman Rockwell* (Stockbridge, MA: Norman Rockwell Museum, 2007), 211.

8. George Orwell, "In Front of Your Nose," *Tribune* (London), Mar. 22, 1946.

9. The admirableness of Rockwell's empathy is within limits, of course; under certain circumstances, expressions of empathy evince moral failure. The events (including murder) that unfolded during the Unite the Right rally on Aug. 11–12, 2017, in Charlottesville, Virginia, provided such an opportunity, duly seized. Executive rhetoric in the aftermath infamously descended to grotes-

querie to extend a "very fine people on both sides" canopy over latter-day fascists. Empathy for regretful hotheads is one thing; racial malice aforethought takes us into different territory. Rockwell's civil rights work for *Look* demonstrates that he knew the difference.

ARTISTS FIGHTING FOR THE FOUR FREEDOMS

1. Portions of this essay are adapted from my blog entry, "When Artists Cultivated FDR's Four Freedoms," OurFuture.org, Aug. 16, 2015, https://ourfuture.org/20150816/recalling-a-different-kind-of-culture-war-when-artists-cultivated-fdrs-four-freedoms.

2. Harvey J. Kaye, *The Fight for the Four Freedoms: What Made FDR and the Greatest Generation Truly Great* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014), 99; Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to the Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 672.

3. Hadley Cantril, ed., *Public Opinion, 1935–1946* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951), 1087; Archibald MacLeish, "The Image of Victory" (May 15, 1942), in *A Time to Act: Selected Addresses* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1943), 183.

4. Arthur Miller, *The Four Freedoms* [unpublished play, 1942], 3, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

5. Stephen Vincent Benét, *Listen to the People* (1941), in *We Stand United and Other Radio Scripts* (New York: Farrar and Reinhart, 1945), 145–50.

6. William L. Bird Jr. and Harry B. Rubinstein, *Design for Victory: World War II Posters on the American Home Front* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 27; Office of Facts and Figures, *Report to the Nation: The American Preparation for War* (Washington, DC: Office of Facts and Figures, 1942); Office of War Information, *The United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms* (Washington, DC: Office of War Information, 1942); and *Government Information Manual for the Motion Picture Industry* (Washington, DC: Office of War Information, 1942), quoted in Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics, Profits, and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 65–70.

7. Howard Blue, *Words at War: World War II Era Radio Drama and the Postwar Broadcasting Industry Blacklist* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 145–54; Carl Sandburg, "Road to Victory," in *Home Front Memo* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1942); and Robert O. Ballou and Irene Rakosky, *A History of the Council on Books in Wartime, 1942–1946* (New York: Council on Books in Wartime/Country Life Press, 1946).

8. Susan C. W. Abbotson, *Critical Companion to Arthur Miller: A Literary Reference to His Life and Work* (New York: Facts on File, 2007), 491; Arnold Rampersad and David Roessel, eds., *Selected Letters of Langston Hughes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015), 241.

9. "Four Freedoms in Show," *Decatur (IL) Daily Review*, Feb. 16, 1943, 42; Allison Claire Chang, "Visualizing the Four Freedoms: FDR's Fighting Artist, Arthur Szyk," *Nation*, Jan. 8, 2016, https://www.thenation.com/article/visualizing-the-four-freedoms-fdrs-fighting-artist-arthur-szyk/.

10. The popular perception of the era that bomber crews were diverse (though still white, given the military's segregation) was a reflection of a new multiethnic unity among Americans that had begun in the labor movement of the 1930s and became the norm in the US military. Within musical circles, bands frequently performed with multiracial talent despite racism in the larger culture.

11. Elizabeth B. Crist, *Music for the Common Man: Aaron Copland during the Depression and World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 149, 181–84.

12. Langston Hughes, "How About It, Dixie" (Oct. 1942), in *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*, ed. Arnold Rampersad (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 291; "People's Rally and Drama on the Four Freedoms" (Nov. 15, 1942), solicitation letter and flyer, Negro Labor Victory Committee and *Negro Quarterly* (n.d.).

13. "Let Freedom Ring?" *Time*, Sep. 28, 1942, 19.

14. Frank Kingdon, "Cultivating the Four Freedoms," *Parents' Magazine*, Jan. 1942, 17, 58; Florence E. Allen, "Lectures on the Four Freedoms," *Scripps College Bulletin*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1943, 27; Edwin McNeill Poteat Jr., *Four Freedoms and God* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1943), 7.

15. Norman Corwin, *A Moment of the Nation's Time*, in *More by Corwin: 16 Radio Dramas by Norman Corwin* (New York: Henry Holt, 1944), 362; Arch Oboler, *The People March* (broadcast on Feb. 23, 1943) and *Music for Freedom* (broadcast on Mar. 28, 1943), in *Free World Theater*, eds. Arch Oboler and Stephen Longstreet (New York: Random House, 1944), 3–18, 78–84; Ellen G. Landau, *Artists for Victory* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1983), 2–3, 36–37, 38–39, 55.

16. Norman Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* were published in the *Saturday Evening Post* in four consecutive issues in 1943: Feb. 20 (*Freedom of Speech*), Feb. 27 (*Freedom of Worship*), Mar. 6 (*Freedom from Want*), and Mar. 13 (*Freedom from Fear*), each on p. 13 of the respective issue. The essays discussed here are: Carlos Bulosan, "Freedom from Want," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 6, 1943, 12; and Stephen Vincent Benét, "Freedom from Fear," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 13, 1943, 12.

17. Stuart Murray and James McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1993); Lawrence R. Samuel, *Pledging Allegiance: American Identity and the Bond Drive of World War II* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997).

18. Pvt. Albert B. Gerber, "What I Am Fighting For," *Saturday Evening Post*, Jul. 24, 1943, 25. The complete series of four essays ran in the magazine from Jul. 10 through Jul. 31, 1943.

19. Kaye, *Fight for the Four Freedoms*.

20. John Bodnar, *The "Good War" in American Memory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 95–98.

21. Madeline Grimes, "Freedom from Fear Project," Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park blog, Feb. 11, 2016, http://www.fdrfourfreedomspark.org/blog/2016/2/11/freedom-from-fear-project; Celia McGee, "A 'Super PAC' Where Art Meets Politics," *New York Times*, Apr. 24, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/25/arts/design/a-super-pac-where-art-meets-politics.html.

CHANGING THE CONVERSATION IN DETROIT

1. David L. Lewis, "They May Save Our Honor, Our Hopes—and Our Necks," *Michigan History* 77 (Sep. 1993): 14.

2. Thomas E. Hachey, "The Wages of War: A British Commentary on Life in Detroit in July, 1943," *Michigan History* 59 (Jul. 1975): 230.

3. Dominic J. Capeci Jr. and Martha Wilkerson, "The Detroit Rioters of 1943: A Reinterpretation," *Michigan Historical Review* 16 (Spring 1990): 49–72; Harvard Sitkoff, "The Detroit Race Riot 1943," *Michigan History* 53 (May 1969): 183–206.

4. Hachey, "Wages of War," 229, 237.

5. Isbey is quoted in, "Small Sales Vital in State Bond Drive," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 19, 1943.

6. Stuart Murray and James McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms: Images That Inspire a Nation* (Stockbridge, MA: Berkshire House, 1993), 88; "Parade to Launch Bond Exhibit Today," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 27, 1943.

7. J. L. Hudson Company advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 30, 1943.

8. On the suitability of Rockwell's images, James J. Kimble, "The Illustrated Four Freedoms: FDR, Rockwell, and the Margins of the Rhetorical Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 45 (Mar. 2015): 58–62.

9. J. L. Hudson Company advertisement, *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 28, 1943; "Civic Group Plans Racial Harmony," *Detroit Free Press*, Jun. 25, 1943.

10. "Nazi Victim Pleads for the Four Freedoms," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 27, 1943.

11. "Clergymen Plead for Sale of Bonds," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 26, 1943.

12. "Parade and Show Spur Sales of E Bonds Here," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 28, 1943; "Rockwell's Four Freedoms," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 28, 1943.

13. George Stark, Town Talk, *Detroit News*, Oct. 4, 1943; Ray S. Ayer, Roadside Philosopher, *Detroit News*, Sep. 12, 1943.

14. "Young People's Cabinet Considers Four Freedoms," *Michigan Chronicle*, Aug. 28, 1943.

15. "On Backing the Attack," *Michigan Chronicle*, Sep. 18, 1943.

16. "Writ Frees Thomas from Jail in Texas," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 26, 1943; Malcolm W. Bingay, "Henry Wallace Vindicated," *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 14, 1943; untitled filler, *Detroit Free Press*, Sep. 26, 1943.

17. "State Expected to Lead in E Bond Sales," *Detroit Free Press*, Oct. 3, 1943; Murray and McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 88.

LINCOLN, ROOSEVELT & THE MYTH OF IMPROMPTU ORATORY

1. The President's Annual Message to Congress would become widely known as the State of the Union address in later years.

2. Samuel I. Rosenman, *Working with Roosevelt* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1952), 263; James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), 33. Burns begins his magisterial account of Roosevelt's wartime leadership with this story.

3. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 672.

4. Press Conference #658, Jul. 5, 1940, in *Complete Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. 16 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), sections 18, 21, 22.

5. Laura Crowell, "The Building of the 'Four Freedoms' Speech," *Speech Monographs* 22 (1955): 266.

6. Abraham Lincoln, "Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg" (Final Text), Nov. 19, 1863, in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953–55), vol. 7, 23.Woodrow Wilson broke the unwritten rule and began the modern presidential tradition of appearing before Congress in person to deliver what would eventually come to be known as the State of the Union address.

7. David Wills to Abraham Lincoln, Nov. 2, 1863, in Abraham Lincoln Papers, Series 1, General Correspondence, 1833 to 1916, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, https://www.loc.gov/item/mal2778100/. The principal orator, Edward Everett, had been invited months earlier. He was the most famous orator of his day and had been the vice presidential candidate of the Constitutional Union Party (with John Bell as its standard-bearer) in the election of 1860.

8. Edmund Wilson, *Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1962), quoted in *The Lincoln Anthology: Great Writers on His Life and Legacy from 1860 to Now*, ed. Harold Holzer (New York: Library of America, 2009), 700–701.

9. "Response to a Serenade," Jul. 7, 1863, in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 6, 319; "Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg" (First Draft), Nov. 19, 1863, in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 7, 17. Dorothy Lamon, ed., *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln 1847–1865 by Ward Hill Lamon* (Chicago, [McClurg, 1895]), 175. Ward Hill Lamon, who later insisted that Lincoln considered his speech "a flat failure," also raised, then denied, the idea that the "great and sincere man" had been "guilty of the crime of willful plagiarism."

10. Noah Brooks, "Personal Reminiscences of Lincoln," *Scribner's Monthly* (Feb.–Mar. 1878): 565; Noah Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time* (New York: Century, 1895), 286.

11. Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time*, 286. For the photograph, see Charles Hamilton and Lloyd Ostendorf, *Lincoln in Photographs: An Album of Every Known Pose*, rev. ed. (Dayton, OH: Morningside Press, 1985 [orig. pub. 1963]), 149. Lincoln's assistant private secretary, John Hay, who accompanied him to the Gardner studio that day (and in one exposure posed with his boss), made the claim that Lincoln had the Everett copy in hand; historian Garry Wills later disputed the claim. See Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 28–29.

12. Brooks, "Personal Reminiscences," 565. Brooks told several versions of this story in his various articles and books but seldom varied from the general outlines of the story. He never seemed absolutely certain, however, whether Lincoln showed him Everett's speech at Gardner's gallery on Nov. 8 or in the White House on Nov. 14. The *Providence Journal* is quoted in Harold Holzer, "'Thrilling Words' or 'Silly Remarks': What the Press Said about the Gettysburg Address," *Lincoln Herald* 90 (Winter 1988): 144–45.

13. For Lincoln's disappointment about Gettysburg, see Lincoln to General George G. Meade [unsigned and unsent], Jul. 14, 1863, in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 6, 327–28. The "gauntlet" quotation is in Lincoln to Edwin M. Stanton [n.d., ca. Nov. 16 or 17, 1863], in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 7, 16.

14. Harold Holzer, *Lincoln Seen and Heard* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 193; Lamon, *Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*, 171.

15. William E. Barton, *Lincoln at Gettysburg* (New York: Peter Smith, 1950), 173; Henry Clay Cochrane, "With Lincoln to Gettysburg, 1863," in *Abraham Lincoln: Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the State of Pennsylvania, Memorial Meeting, Feb. 12, 1907* (n.p., 1907), 9–10; William A. Mowry, "Reminiscences of Lincoln Told by the Late Ex-Governor [Andrew] Curtin of Pennsylvania," *Independent* 49 (Aug. 1897): 1069.

16. Frank L. Klement, *The Gettysburg Soldiers' Cemetery and Lincoln's Address* (Shippensburg, PA: White Man Publishing, 1985), 86; Robert T. Lincoln to Bell F. Keyes, Dec. 15, 1885, quoted in Louis A. Warren, *Lincoln's Gettysburg Declaration: "A New Birth of Freedom"* (Fort Wayne, IN: Lincoln National Life Foundation, 1964), 61.

17. Abraham Lincoln, "Address Delivered at the Dedication" (Final Text), in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 7, 23.

18. Merrill Peterson, *Lincoln in American Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 164.

19. Much of this paragraph is adapted from an essay I coauthored with the late Mario M. Cuomo, my onetime boss and longtime friend and occasional coauthor. See Cuomo and Holzer, "Lincoln as Scripture," in Cuomo, *Why Lincoln Matters: Today More than Ever* (New York: Harcourt, 2004), esp. 18–19.

20. A photograph of the speech manuscript is available at "Eternal Light Peace Memorial Dedication Ceremony," *Gettysburg Daily*, Jan. 1, 2009, https://www.gettysburgdaily.com/eternal-light-peace-memorial, and at http://i.gettysburgdaily.com/imgs/PeaceLight122508/PeaceLight12250898.jpg; Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Address at the Dedication of the Memorial on the Gettysburg Battlefield, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania," Jul. 3, 1938, in Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=15669.

21. Abraham Lincoln, "Annual Message to Congress," Dec. 1, 1862, in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 5, 537.

22. Frederick Douglass essay in Allen Thorndike Rice, ed., *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time* (New York: North American Publishing, 1886), 188.

23. Lincoln, "Annual Message," in *Collected Works of Lincoln*, ed. Basler, vol. 5, 537.

THE POWER OF ART

1. Jo Davidson, *Between Sittings* (New York: Dial Press, 1951), 276.

2. Martin H. Bush, "A Conversation with Gordon Parks," in Martin H. Bush, *The Photographs of Gordon Parks* (Wichita, KS: Wichita State University, 1983), 36.

3. Norman Rockwell to D. N. Rexrod, US Marine Corps, Mar. 15, 1967. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA.

CARLOS BULOSAN & THE BATTLE FOR THE SOUL OF THE FOUR FREEDOMS

1. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 668. Portions of this essay are based on chapter 4 of my book *The Borderlands of Culture: Américo Paredes and the Transnational Imaginary* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 190–225.

2. Roosevelt, "Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," 670.

3. Ibid., 672.

4. For criticisms of FDR's speech, see Thomas H. Greer, *What Roosevelt Thought: The Social and Political Ideas of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1958), 12; Roosevelt, "Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," 672.

5. Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: Norton, 1998), 223; Roosevelt, "Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," 672, 671, 672. As early as Mar. 1929, Roosevelt had already claimed that "Modern social conditions have progressed to a point where such demands [as basic human rights] can no longer be regarded other than as matters of an absolute right"; Greer, *What Roosevelt Thought*, 14.

6. "The New Apocalypse," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 22, 1941, 26.

7. David E. Sumner, *The Magazine Century: American Magazines Since 1900* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 29.

8. "Credo," *Saturday Evening Post*, Jun. 20, 1942, 4.

9. Robert B. Westbrook, "Fighting for the American Family: Private Interests and Political Obligation in World War II," in *The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in American History*, eds. Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 203.

10. Booth Tarkington, "Freedom of Speech," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 20, 1943, 12; Stephen Vincent Bénet, "Freedom from Fear," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 13, 1943, 12; and Will Durant, "Freedom of Worship," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 27, 1943, 12.

11. Foner, *The Story of American Freedom*, 227.

12. "Bulosan," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 6, 1943, 4. The autobiography that Bulosan was writing at the time would turn out to be one of the first great expressions of postwar ethnic identity; see Carlos Bulosan, *America Is in the Heart: A Personal History* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1946).

13. Carlos Bulosan, "Freedom from Want," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 6, 1943, 12. All four of the essays are reprinted in Stuart Murray and James McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms: Images That Inspire a Nation* (Stockbridge, MA: Berkshire House, 1993), 125–37.

14. Laurie Norton Moffatt, foreword, in Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, x; Bulosan, "Freedom from Want," 12.

15. Foner, *The Story of American Freedom*, 227–28; Westbrook, "Fighting for the American Family," 204–7 and n.15.

16. "The Four Freedoms Are an Ideal," *Saturday Evening Post*, Sep. 25, 1943, 112.

17. "Bulosan," 4.

ARTHUR SZYK: FDR'S SOLDIER IN ART

1. The original source of Szyk's quotation about America is unknown. The quotation appears in *Arthur Szyk: Artist for Freedom*, a brochure for an exhibition in the Swann Gallery, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, Dec. 9, 1999–May 6, 2000.

2. Between 1929 and 1950, Szyk completed fifty-one paintings dealing with Simón Bolívar, whom he saw as the George Washington of South America; they were exhibited at the Pan American Union, Washington, DC, Apr. 14–May 12, 1952, seven months after Szyk's death. Created in 1938 in London, the *Polish-American Fraternity* paintings were exhibited in the Polish Pavilion at the 1939–40 New York World's Fair, in Queens, when Germany and Russia invaded Poland.

3. Today these works reside at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum in Hyde Park, NY.

4. By 1936, the British government had already enacted its first two (1922, 1930) in its White Paper series, outlining policy designed to restrict the flow of European Jews to their biblical homeland. Szyk, in light of the Arab riots beginning in 1936 (before his work on *The Haggadah*'s dedication, to King George VI, was completed), must have had a strong feeling about the forthcoming 1939 White Paper and its policy of further restrictions on Jewish immigration, dependent upon Arab approval.

5. "The Haggadah: A Sumptuous Illustrated Edition," *Times Literary Supplement* (London), Feb. 22, 1941, 88.

6. Eleanor Roosevelt, My Day, *New York World Telegram*, Jan. 8, 1943; "Predictions of Things to Come," *Predictions of Things to Come*, Dec. 1942, 50–51; "One-Man War against Hitler: Arthur Szyk Fights the Dictators with Pen, Brush and Venom," *Click*, Aug. 1942, 20–21.

7. "USO Gets Szyk Cartoons," *New York Post*, Jul. 13, 1942; the "citizen-soldier" quotation appears in untitled articles in *Sentinel* (Chicago), Aug. 20, 1942, and *Jewish Ledger* (Atlantic City, NJ), Aug. 21, 1942; the survey is cited in a 1944 bulletin from the US Office of War Information; see also Arthur Szyk, "I Am Waiting for V-H Day," *Answer*, Sep. 1945, 14, 16.

8. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "'There Can Be No Appeasement with Ruthlessness. . . . We Must Be the Great Arsenal of Democracy.' Fireside Chat on National Security. White House, Washington, D.C., Dec. 29, 1940," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 633.

9. "Hitler Has Ordered Annihilation of All Jews by End of 1942, Washington Hears," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, daily news bulletin, Nov. 25, 1942. The original source notes:

> Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the American Jewish Congress, after a conference today with Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles and other high officials of the State Department, declared that Hitler has ordered the annihilation of all Jews in Europe by the end of this year.
>
> "This news is substantiated in documents furnished to me by the State Department this afternoon," Dr. Wise said. "It is one of the last mad acts of destruction which Hitler will perpetrate before he is called to judgement." Declaring that a representative of President Roosevelt, who returned a short time ago from a mission abroad, told him that "the worst fears about the fate of the Jews under Hitler are true," Dr. Wise estimated that "one-half of the five million Jews in the territories occupied by the Nazis have already been destroyed."

Szyk's *The Ballad of the Doomed Jews of Europe* was completed in New York, in Mar. 1943. Its text appeared as an advertisement in the *New York Times* on Sep. 14, 1943, and earlier, complete with Szyk's artwork, in the Apr. 1943 issue of the *Answer* magazine. This visual manifesto is a no-holds-barred indictment of indifference by the State Department and the united nations of the world: a desperate Jew calls for help while Jews are hanging from the gallows; a soldier listens to the ringing phone and chooses not to answer.

10. Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* was painted in 1937; Marc Chagall's *White Crucifixion* was painted in 1938 in response to Kristallnacht. The latter is Pope Francis's favorite work of art.

11. Carl Van Doren is quoted in Struthers Burt, preface, in Arthur Szyk, *Ink & Blood: A Book of Drawings* (New York: Heritage Press, 1946).

12. "Famed Polish Artist Has Price on His Head," *Halifax (NS) Herald*, Jul. 13, 1940; "Szyk, For Whom Hitler Offers Reward, to Show Works at Y.M.H.A. Tomorrow," *Bergen Record* (Hackensack, NJ), May 16, 1942; in the Only Human feature, *New York Daily Mirror*, Apr. 10, 1941, the columnist Candide reported that "the Nazis make him [Szyk] the hated subject of their radio broadcasts and have put him high on their proscribed list." To his drawing *We're Running Short of Jews* (1943), Szyk's most personal Holocaust work, he added the inscription, "To the memory of my darling mother, murdered by the Germans somewhere in the ghettos of Poland"; records found after the war indicate that Szyk's mother and brother were taken on separate transports from the Łódź ghetto and murdered at the Chełmno killing center. In his drawing of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, *The Repulsed Attack* (1943), and in *Palestine Restricted* (1943), Szyk signed his name on the yellow badges of murdered Jews.

13. Szyk became a US citizen in May 1948.

14. Carlton Hill, chairman of the event, concluded his remarks about Szyk with these words: "If only enough of us hold it [freedom] as dear to our hearts as does Arthur Szyk, then perhaps we may see the day when we can say the tyrants are not just temporarily defeated—but tyranny is dead." Quoted in "Szyk Given Great Ovation at July Fourth Ceremony," *New Canaan (CT) Advertiser*, Jul. 6, 1950.

15. This oath was written by Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Benjamin Rush, Sep. 23, 1800, and is inscribed under the dome of the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, DC.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT & THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

1. A few passages in this chapter are adapted from my introduction to: Eleanor Roosevelt, *Tomorrow Is Now: It Is Today That We Must Create the World of the Future* (New York: Penguin, 2012), xviii–xliv.

2. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, Apr. 15, 1943," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1943&_f=md056471.

3. "Eleanor Roosevelt's War Time Prayer," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Project, https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/teachinger/q-and-a/q21-prayer.cfm.

4. FDR's "Dr. Win-the-War" phrasing is from: Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Excerpts from the Press Conference," Dec. 28, 1943, in Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=16358; ER's "lavender" statement was quoted widely in the press, including in "Mrs. Roosevelt's Slogan Choice Is Win the War and the Peace," *St. Louis Star-Times*, Jan. 3, 1944. See further discussion in Allida Black, *Casting Her Own Shadow: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Making of Postwar Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 140.

5. Eleanor Roosevelt to Harold Ickes, May 26, 1945, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, vol. 1, ed. Allida Black et al. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 36.

6. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, Jun. 8, 1945," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1945&_f=md000045.

7. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, Jun. 25, 1945," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1945&_f=md000059.

8. Boston: "Mrs. Roosevelt in PAC Talk Here," *Boston Post*, Nov. 1, 1945, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, ed. Black, vol. 1, 125; New Jersey: "Suspicion as Peace Bar Feared by Mrs. Roosevelt," Oct. 2, 1945, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, ed. Black, vol. 1, 111; Chicago: Eleanor Roosevelt, Founder's Day Address, Roosevelt College, Nov. 10, 1945, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, ed. Black, vol. 1, 137.

9. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, Dec. 22, 1945," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1945&_f=md000215.

10. Eleanor Roosevelt to Joe Lash, Feb. 13, 1946, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, ed. Black, vol. 1, 248–49.

11. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, Feb. 16, 1946," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1946&_f=md000264.

12. Eleanor Roosevelt, "Address to the Women's Joint Campaign Committee," Mar. 11, 1946, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, ed. Black, vol. 1, 274.

13. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, May 9, 1945," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1945&_f=md000019.

14. Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day, Jun. 1, 1948," The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers Digital Edition (2017), http://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1948&_f=md000981.

15. "Statement by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, U.S. Representative to the General Assembly," Dec. 9, 1948, in *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers*, ed. Black, vol. 1, 972–73.

RUBY BRIDGES & THE PROBLEM WE ALL LIVE WITH

1. "Rockwell's picture is worth a thousand words," W. E. Leverett, letter to the editor, *Look*, Feb. 25, 1964; "Just where does Norman Rockwell live?," Joe E. Moore Jr., letter to the editor, *Look*, Feb. 25, 1964.

FINDING FREEDOM FROM FEAR

1. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 672.

2. Slogan adopted by the Department of Homeland Security to encourage citizen vigilance, https://www.dhs.gov/see-something-say-something.

FROM INSPIRATION TO ASPIRATION: REALIZING FDR'S FOUR FREEDOMS

1. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Campaign Address at Boston, Massachusetts: 'We Are Going Full Speed Ahead!' Oct. 30, 1940," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 517.

2. Herbert Feis, *The Road to Pearl Harbor: The Coming of the War between the United States and Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1950), 124–25.

3. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Seven Hundred and Second Press Conference. Dec. 17, 1940," in *Public Papers and Addresses of Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Rosenman, 607. The official name of the legislation commonly known as the Lend-Lease Act was An Act to Promote the Defense of the United States, ch. 11, Pub. L. No. 77-11, 55 Stat. 31 (1941).

4. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *Public Papers and Addresses of Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Rosenman, 672.

5. For essential background, see James J. Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006); John M. Blum, *V Was for Victory: Politics and American Culture during World War II* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976); David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

6. Robert B. Westbrook, "Fighting for the American Family: Private Interests and Political Obligation in World War II," in *The Power of Culture: Critical Essays in American History*, eds. Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 198.

7. Westbrook, "Fighting for the American Family," 207.

8. Ibid.

9. Roosevelt, "Message to Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," 672.

10. During the war, people around the world clamoring for freedom cited Roosevelt's words long before Rockwell's illustrations appeared. Mark R. Shulman, "The War on Terror Is Over—Now What? Restoring the Four Freedoms as a Foundation for Peace and Security," *Journal of National Security Law and Policy* 3, no. 2 (2010), esp. 279 *ff*.

11. United Nations General Assembly, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Dec. 10, 1948, preamble; emphasis added for clarity.

PUBLIC INTERACTIONS WITH NORMAN ROCKWELL'S FOUR FREEDOMS

1. "Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms," Norman Rockwell Museum, https://www.nrm.org/2012/01/norman-rockwells-four-freedoms. The most exhaustive discussion of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* paintings is in Stuart Murray and James McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1993). The author is grateful to Norman Rockwell Museum archivist Venus Van Ness for help with preparing this entry.

2. Rufus Jarman, "Profiles, U.S. Artist," *New Yorker*, Mar. 17, 1945, 41; on Robert Russell Bennett, *Evening Banner* (Bennington, VT), Dec. 16, 1943, 1.

3. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to the Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: MacMillan, 1941), 672.

4. Francis Frascina, "*The New York Times*, Norman Rockwell, and the New Patriotism," *Journal of Visual Culture* 2, no. 1 (2003): 105; Claire Sisco King, "American Queerer: Norman Rockwell and the Art of Queer Feminist Critique," *Women's Studies in Communication* 39, no. 2 (2016): 159–60.

5. Thomas Buechner, *Norman Rockwell: A Sixty Year Retrospective* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1972), 85; Jarman, "Profiles," 41; on the tour, see Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 85–91. In contrast with extensive newspaper coverage of the Four Freedoms War Bond Show in Washington, DC (the *Washington Post* carried at least sixteen articles and advertisements), the Philadelphia newspapers provided little coverage. A photograph

reproduced in Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 85, dates the Philadelphia show, presented at Strawbridge and Clothier department store, from May 15 through May 22, 1943.

6. Elizabeth Borgwardt, "FDR's Four Freedoms as a Human Rights Instrument," *OAH [Organization of American Historians] Magazine of History* 22, no. 2 (Apr. 2008): 8; James J. Kimble, "The Illustrated Four Freedoms: FDR, Rockwell, and the Margins of the Rhetorical Presidency," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (Mar. 2015): 46.

7. "The Four Freedoms Are an Ideal," *Saturday Evening Post*, Sep. 25, 1943, 112; excerpts from this editorial can be read in Patrick Perry, "Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms," *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan./Feb. 2009, http://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2009/01/01/art-entertainment/norman-rockwell-art-entertainment/rockwells-four-freedoms.html.

8. B. Tomlinson, "Taxicab Driver Prefers Constitution to New Deal," letter to the editor, dated Jun. 17, 1943, *New York Times*, Jun. 20, 1943, E13; "I Like to Please People," *Time*, Jun. 21, 1943, 41; Jarman, "Profiles," 34.

9. Lester C. Olson, "Portraits in Praise of a People: A Rhetorical Analysis of Norman Rockwell's Icons in Franklin D. Roosevelt's 'Four Freedoms' Campaign," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 69, no. 1 (Feb. 1983): 15–24; on civil religion, Robert N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus* 96, no. 1 (Winter 1967): 11; Ekaterina V. Haskins, "'Put Your Stamp on History': The USPS Commemorative Program *Celebrate the Century* and Postmodern Collective Memory," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 89, no. 1 (Feb. 2003): 1–18, esp. 2–3 and 15–16; Peter Gardella, *American Civil Religion: What Americans Hold Sacred* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 353. Gardella devotes a chapter to discussing FDR, Norman Rockwell, and the Four Freedoms in connection with civil religion; see 257–69.

10. Norman Rockwell and Booth Tarkington, "Freedom of Speech," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 20, 1943, 12–13; Carolyn McMullan to Norman Rockwell, Feb. 21, [1943], Norman Rockwell Fan Correspondence Collection, Folder ST.1976.20028.2.04, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA. Cara Finnegan writes about the phenomenon of people seeing what they are predisposed to see in terms of what she calls "image vernaculars," in Cara A. Finnegan, "Recognizing Lincoln: Image Vernaculars in Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 8, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 31–57. Deborah Solomon, *American Mirror: The Life and Art of Norman Rockwell* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2013), 207.

11. Lefty Nast, "Freedom of Speech 2013 Parody jpeg . . . ," Democratic Underground, Jul. 5, 2013, https://www.democraticunderground.com/1017129637 (the image, accessed Jul. 17, 2017, had disappeared from the page by Feb. 26, 2018).

12. "Dan Nance – Four Freedoms 2010," YouTube video, posted by "patriotart," Sep. 24, 2010, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M83fhxKhpus.

13. Norman Rockwell and Will Durant, "Freedom of Worship," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 27, 1943, 12–13; Rockwell, "Four Freedoms," *Saturday Evening Post*, Nov. 1979, 112; Rachel L. Kranson, e-mail message to author, Aug. 29, 2017. Biographer Deborah Solomon identifies the three figures in the foreground as a Catholic, a Protestant, and, foremost, a Jew; Solomon, *American Mirror*, 209. In contrast, Francis Frascina identifies the foremost man's attire as Greek Orthodox; Frascina, "*New York Times*, Rockwell, and the New Patriotism," 105.

14. Jerome Frank, "Red White and Blue Herring," *Saturday Evening Post*, Dec. 6, 1941, 9–10 and 83–86; Waldo Frank, "The Jews Are Different," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 21, 1942, 27, 53, 55, and 57–58; Milton Mayer, "The Case against the Jew," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 28, 1942, 18–19 and 44–45; Ben Hibbs, "The *Saturday Evening Post* Reaffirms a Policy," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 16, 1942, 18; Rockwell and Durant, "Freedom of Worship."

15. T. C. Upham to Norman Rockwell, Feb. 25, 1943, Norman Rockwell Separated Correspondence Collection, Folder ST.1976.20030.1.78, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA; the entire letter and Rockwell's reply are printed in Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 68–69.

16. Gladys W. Taber to Norman Rockwell, Apr. 5, 1943, Norman Rockwell Fan Correspondence Collection, Folder ST.1976.20028.2.06, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA; Jacqueline DeBerry, "Rockwell's Freedom of Worship Parody," Elance, [posted ca. Aug. 2, 2014], https://www.elance.com/samples/rockwells-freedom-of-worship-parody-oil-painting-oils-traditional-illustration-rockwell/114224619; for all four of Maggie Meiners's revisions of Rockwell's *Four Freedoms*, see *Revisiting Rockwell*, on the artist's website, http://www.maggiemeiners.com/revisiting-rockwell. Another, unattributed artist takes up Islam in a revision of *Freedom of Speech*, placing a headdress on the speaker in Rockwell's composition, in Hafiz Naveed, "Myth of Islam's Contribution to Human Civilization," *Islamic Issuess* [sic], May 2011, http://islamicissuess.blogspot.com/2011/05/myth-of-islamscontribution-to-human.html.

17. Norman Rockwell and Carlos Bulosan, "Freedom from Want," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 6, 1943, 12–13; "I Like to Please People," *Time*, 42; Rockwell, "Four Freedoms," 112.

18. For a French website that comments on US culture via these parodies, see Lycée George-Sand La Châtre, "A Few Parodies of Norman Rockwell's 'Freedom from Want' Painting," Nov. 16, 2011, http://lyc-george-sand-la-chatre.tice.ac-orleans-tours.fr/eva/spip.php?article762. For a selection of Rockwell parodies on apparently US-based websites, see: Philip Van der Vossen, "Rockwell's Thanksgiving Parodies," *Gunaxin*, Nov. 24, 2016, http://humor.gunaxin.com/rockwells-thanksgiving-parodies/178165; "The 37 Best Parodies of Rockwell's Freedom from Want (aka Thanksgiving Dinner)," *If It's Hip It's Here*, posted by "Laura," Nov. 27, 2014, http://www.ifitshipitshere.com/37-best-parodies-rockwells-freedom-want-aka-thanksgiving-dinner; "Art Parodies—Rockwell," Pinterest, [posted by Pamela Barrier], https://www.pinterest.com/pbarrier/art-parodies-rockwell. Josh McCormack's blogpost is, "*Freedom from Want* by Norman Rockwell," Nov. 23, 2016, http://joshmccormack.com/2016/11/23/freedom-from-want-norman-rockwell. Joe Phillips's parody can also be viewed at: "Variations on a Thanksgiving Theme," *Quasi-Interesting Paraphernalia Inc.*, Nov. 25, 2010, http://quasi-interestingparaphernaliainc.blogspot.com/2010/11/variations-on-thanksgiving-theme.html; for more on Phillips, visit the artist's website, http://www.joephillips.com. Pops Peterson's *Reinventing Rockwell* images can be viewed on the website of the Sohn Fine Art Gallery, Past Exhibitions, 2015, http://www.sohnfineart.com/past-exhibitions-2015. For sustained comment on representations of gender in Norman Rockwell's illustrations, see King, "American Queerer," 157–176 (see n. 4); and Eric J. Segal, "Norman Rockwell and the Fashioning of American Masculinity," *Art Bulletin* 78, no. 4 (Dec. 1996): 633–46.

19. Matt Wuerker, *Daily Kos*, Nov. 24, 2011, https://www.dailykos.com/stories/2011/11/24/1037825/-Thxgving; the fast-food "Freedom from Want" can be seen at the top of the post by Philip Van der Vossen, "Rockwell's Thanksgiving Parodies" (see n. 18).

20. Norman Rockwell and Stephen Vincent Benét, "Freedom from Fear," *Saturday Evening Post*, Mar. 13, 1943, 12–13; Frascina, "*New York Times*, Rockwell, and the New Patriotism," 105. Frascina quotes Maureen Hart Hennessey and Anne Knutson, eds., *Norman Rockwell: Pictures for the American People* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art; Stockbridge, MA: Norman Rockwell Museum; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1999), 102; and Karal Ann Marling, *Norman Rockwell* (Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art; New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997), 100.

21. Frascina, "*New York Times*, Rockwell, and the New Patriotism," 99.

22. Ibid., 101, 102.

23. Karen J. Engle, "Putting Mourning to Work: Making Sense of 9/11," *Theory, Culture and Society* 24, no. 1 (2007): 61–88, esp. 63–68, 71, and 79; the *New York Times*' digitally modified image is reproduced on p. 68 of Engle's essay. Agnieszka Soltysik Monnet, "War and National Renewal: Civil Religion and Blood Sacrifice in American Culture," *Wars and New Beginnings in American History*, special issue, *European Journal of American Studies* 7, no. 2 (2012): 6.

24. "Parody of Norman Rockwell's 'Freedom from Fear,'" Illustration History, Norman Rockwell Museum, https://www.illustrationhistory.org/illustrations/parody-of-norman-rockwells-freedom-from-fear; on R. O. Blechman, see the artist's website, http://www.roblechman.com.

25. "Dan Nance – Four Freedoms 2010," YouTube video (see n. 12); Meiners, *Revisiting Rockwell* (see n. 16); Peterson, *Reinventing Rockwell* (see n. 18); see also Kate Abbott, "Maurice 'Pops' Peterson Re-imagines Norman Rockwell Scenes," *Berkshire Eagle*, Mar. 4, 2015, http://www.berkshireeagle.com/stories/maurice-pops-peterson-re-imagines-norman-rockwell-scenes,334979.

26. Speaking to the creative possibilities of Rockwell's images, one communications scholar has proposed using Rockwell's *Four Freedoms* in a course exercise to teach ideology: Christina M. Smith, "Using 'Reinterpreting the Four Freedoms' to Teach about Ideology and Ideographic Persuasion," *Communication Teacher* 29, no. 1 (Jan. 2015): 27–31. Edith Nourse Rogers to Norman Rockwell, [1943?], Norman Rockwell Fan Correspondence Collection, Folder ST.1976.20030.8.39, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA; the letter also appears in Murray and McCabe, *Rockwell's Four Freedoms*, 65. Rogers's letter is undated, but Rockwell likely received it in late 1943, as the response date he wrote on it is Jan. 14, 1944.

27. Roderick Stephens to Norman Rockwell, Jul. 12, 1943, Norman Rockwell Separated Correspondence Collection, Folder ST.1976.20030.5.4, Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, MA; see Victoria Gallagher and Kenneth S. Zagacki, "Visibility and Rhetoric: The Power of Visual Images in Norman Rockwell's Depictions of Civil Rights," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 91, no. 2 (2005): 175–200.

28. Robert Grossman's image can be viewed, along with a number of other parodies, at: "Thoughts on *Thoughts on Democracy*," *Speak Up*, archive ID 4985, posted by "Armin," Jul. 2, 2008, http://www.underconsideration.com/speakup/archives/004985.html.

29. Jonathan Jones, *Guardian* (London), Feb. 7, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/jonathanjonesblog/2017/feb/07/norman-rockwell-four-freedoms-trump-roosevelt; Frascina, "*New York Times*, Rockwell, and the New Patriotism," 108.

THE FOUR FREEDOMS: ENVISIONING A BETTER WORLD

1. This essay has been adapted from: William J. vanden Heuvel, "Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the Twentieth Century," (address, Aug. 2006); and vanden Heuvel, address, Dedication of the Four Freedoms Park, a Memorial to Franklin Delano Roosevelt (Oct. 17, 2012, Roosevelt Island, New York).

2. White is quoted in William J. vanden Heuvel, "The Four Freedoms," in Stuart Murray and James McCabe, *Norman Rockwell's Four Freedoms* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1993), 108; Franklin D. Roosevelt, "The Annual Message to the Congress. Jan. 6, 1941," in *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 1940 vol., ed. Samuel I. Rosenman (New York: Macmillan, 1941), 672.

3. Richard L. Toibin, *Decisions of Destiny: Ten Crucial Moments in the American Presidency* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1961), 243.

EXHIBITION CHECKLIST

THE WAR GENERATION

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Deadline (Artist Facing Blank Canvas), 1938
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, October 8, 1938
Oil on canvas, 38½ × 30½ in. (97.8 × 77.5 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection, Stockbridge, Massachusetts; NRACT.1973.4

Jo Davidson (1883–1952)
Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1934
Baked clay with gold-bronze patina, 9¼ × 3¾ × 5 in. (23.5 × 9.5 × 12.7 cm)
New-York Historical Society; Purchase, Softer-Jarvis Fund

Unknown photographer
President Franklin D. Roosevelt Delivering Fireside Chat #6, September 30, 1934
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

John Collier, Jr. (1913–1992)
Provincetown, Massachusetts. Family of a Portuguese dory fisherman, spring 1942
Digital reproduction
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC; LC-USW3-002070-C

Dorothea Lange (1895–1965)
Destitute pea pickers in California. Mother of seven children. Age thirty-two. Nipomo, California, 1936
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USF34-009058-C

Dorothea Lange (1895–1965)
Mississippi Delta Negro children, July 1936
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-DIG-fsa-8b29649

Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985)
Sign, Birmingham, Alabama, February 1937
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USF33-002393-M2

Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985)
Evicted sharecroppers along Highway 60, New Madrid Country, Missouri, January 1939
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-DIG-fsa-8a10394

Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985)
Evicted sharecroppers along Highway 60, New Madrid Country, Missouri, January 1939
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USF33- 002943-M5

Gordon Parks (1912–2006)
Washington, D.C. Interior of a Chinese laundry located under the apartment of Mrs. Ella Watson, a government charwoman, August 1942
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USF34-013505-C

Esther Bubley (1921–1998)
Cincinnati, Ohio. "Red" Cochran, a Greyhound bus driver, and his family eating Sunday dinner, September 1943
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USW3- 037502-E

New York Daily News photographer
Central Park Hooverville with Central Park West in the Background, 1932
Digital reproduction
New York *Daily News*/Getty Images

Dorothea Tomlinson (1898–1985)
Family Quilting, 1934
Oil on canvas, 42½ × 50⅜ in. (108 × 128 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Unknown photographer
President Franklin D. Roosevelt Receiving Norman Rockwell Painting, 1940
Digital reproduction
Bettmann/Getty Images

Unknown artist
National Youth Administration, ca. 1936
Oil on canvas, 43½ × 78⅛ in. (110.5 × 198.4 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Children's Crusade for Children, April 22–30, 1940
Digital reproduction
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC; POS-US.R62

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Children's Crusade for Children coin bank, 1940
Lithograph on tin
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of Steven M. Lomazow, MD; RC.1979.1.1

Denys Wortman (1887–1958)
"There was a time, Mopey, when bein' in the bread line was sort of exclusive . . . ," November 13, 1930
Ink, crayon, and charcoal on paper, 17 × 14 in. (43.2 × 35.6 cm)
Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont

Denys Wortman (1887–1958)
"Buddy, could you spare a dime for a Defense Stamp?" March 30, 1942
Pen, charcoal, and graphite on paper, 18⅛ × 15¼ in. (46 × 38.7 cm)
Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont

Denys Wortman (1887–1958)
"When Mother says 'More?' say no, 'cause there's just a little left for her," February 6, 1943
Graphite on paper, 17 × 13 in. (43.2 × 33 cm)
Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont

Denys Wortman (1887–1958)
"I'm worried about post-war conditions. I'll probably be back home mopping, dusting, and cleaning again," October 18, 1943
Ink, charcoal, and graphite on paper, 17½ × 15 in. (44.5 × 38.1 cm)
Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont

Denys Wortman (1887–1958)
"You sorta took the place of his mother, but now you too are gone," November 2, 1932
Editorial cartoon for Metropolitan Newspaper Feature Service, United Kingdom
Green crayon, ink, and graphite on paper, 17 × 14⅛ in. (43.2 × 35.9 cm)
Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont

Denys Wortman (1887–1958)
"If you're going home, I'll give you a lift." "Thanks, Bill, I'd rather walk. It'll kill more time that way," November 15, 1938
Graphite, ink, and charcoal on paper, 18⅛ × 14⅛ in. (46 × 35.9 cm)
Denys Wortman and the Center for Cartoon Studies, White River Junction, Vermont

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Gramercy Park, 1918
Oil on canvas, 30 × 18½ in. (76.2 × 47 cm)
Private collection

Unknown photographer
1939 World's Fair, Four Freedoms Sculptures by Leo Friedlander, n.d.
Digital reproduction
New York World's Fair 1939–40 Records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library; Astor, Lenos and Tilden Foundations

Unknown photographer
Leo Friedlander with Four Freedoms Models, 1939
Digital reproduction
New York World's Fair 1939–40 records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library; Astor, Lenos and Tilden Foundations

Unknown photographer
Franklin D. Roosevelt leads reporters out under the trees of the family picnic grounds and with a kettle of hot dogs on the table in Hyde Park, September 11, 1939
Digital reproduction
AP Photo

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Family Home from Vacation, 1930
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 13, 1930
Oil on canvas, 40 × 32 in.
(101.6 × 81.3 cm)
The Grace Family

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
'OK' the Pause that Refreshes, 1931
Advertising illustration for Coca-Cola
Oil on canvas, 32¾ × 22 in.
(83.2 × 55.9 cm)
The Coca-Cola Company

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Brass Merchant (Bargaining with the Antiques Dealer), 1934
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 19, 1934
Oil on canvas, 34 × 28 in.
(86.4 × 71.1 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRM.1978.02

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Barbershop Quartet, 1936
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 26, 1936
Oil on canvas, 36 × 27¼ in.
(91.4 × 69.2 cm)
Mrs. Louise Holland

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Ticket Seller, 1937
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 24, 1937
Oil on canvas, 28 × 24 in.
(71.1 × 61 cm)
Private collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Marble Champion, 1939
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 2, 1939
Oil on canvas, 28 × 22 in.
(71.1 × 55.9 cm)
Private collection

J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951)
1933 Baby New Year Charting
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, December 31, 1932
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951)
1935 Baby New Year Balances the Budget
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, January 5, 1935
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951)
1940 Baby New Year Ready for War
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, December 30, 1939
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951)
1941 New Year Baby, Warring Fist
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, January 4, 1941
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951)
1942 New Year Baby, No Trespassing
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, January 3, 1942
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

J. C. Leyendecker (1874–1951)
1943 Baby New Year at War
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, January 2, 1943
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
On to Washington, August 21–30, 1935, by request of President Franklin D. Roosevelt
Poster, 42 × 27¾ in. (106.7 × 70.5 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

German Army Photographer
German Invasion of Poland, September 1, 1939
Digital reproduction
Ullstein bild via Getty Images

Hugh M. Hutton (1897–1976)
The Funeral Oration for Poland, 1939
Editorial cartoon for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 20, 1939
Lithographic crayon on paper, 18½ × 13½ in. (47 × 34.3 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Jerry Aloysius Doyle (1898–1986)
Roosevelt Favors Old Age Pensions, ca. 1935
Editorial cartoon for the *Philadelphia Record*, ca. 1935
Lithographic crayon and ink on paper, 15 × 14½ in. (38.1 × 36.8 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

William Galbraith Crawford (1894–1978)
"Be nice to him, he's about to be drafted," March 3, 1942
Editorial cartoon for NEA Service, March 1942
Lithographic crayon on paper, 10 × 8 in. (25.4 × 20.3 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Samuel Nelson Abbott (1874–1953)
The New Order: "The Children Starve, our plan succeeds—there will be Lebensraum," n.d.
Lithographic crayon on board, 15¼ × 12½ in. (38.7 × 31.8 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

First issue of *Stars and Stripes*, July 4, 1944
Newspaper, 17 × 11¼ in.
(43.2 × 28.6 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Ben Eisenstat (1920–2001)
Briquebec Normandy, June 1944
Graphite on paper, 8⅝ × 11 in.
(21.9 × 27.9 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Ben Eisenstat (1920–2001)
Place de Opera, August–September 1944
Graphite on paper, 12 × 19¼ in.
(30.5 × 48.9 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Abian A. "Wally" Wallgren (1892–1948)
A Letter from Somewhere Overseas
Ink on paper
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Unknown photographer
United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Their Advisors at the Casablanca Conference, January 1943
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Fred Eng (1917–1995)
Casablanca Portfolio: [Loading the wounded on plane], ca. 1944
Graphite, ink, and charcoal on paper, 7⅞ × 10 in. (20 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift Michael and Monica Eng; NRM.2012.4.16

Fred Eng (1917–1995)
Casablanca Portfolio: [Busy city street scene in Fr. Morocco], ca. 1944
Gouache and ink on paper, 7¾ × 9⅞ in. (20 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift Michael and Monica Eng; NRM.2012.4.4

Fred Eng (1917–1995)
Casablanca Portfolio: [Two soldiers looking at a German tank], ca. 1944
Graphite, ink, and charcoal on paper, 7⅞ × 10 in. (20 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift Michael and Monica Eng; NRM.2012.4.36

Fred Eng (1917–1995)
Casablanca Portfolio: Entrance to Native Section, Fr. Morocco, September 24, 1944
Graphite, ink, and charcoal on paper, 7⅞ × 10 in. (20 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift Michael and Monica Eng; NRM.2012.4.21

Fred Eng (1917–1995)
Casablanca Portfolio: A Street in the Mellah, Marrakech, Fr. Morocco, July 16, 1944
Graphite, ink, and charcoal on paper, 7⅞ × 10 in. (20 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift Michael and Monica Eng; NRM.2012.4.21

Fred Eng (1917–1995)
Casablanca Portfolio: [Soldier entering building ruins], ca. 1944
Graphite, ink, and gouache on paper, 7⅞ × 10 in. (20 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift Michael and Monica Eng; NRM.2012.4.42

J. Howard Miller (?–1985)
We Can Do It!, 1943
Poster illustration for Westinghouse for the War Production Co-Ordinating Committee
Digital reproduction
National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC

J. Howard Miller (?–1985)
It's a Tradition with Us, Mister!, 1943
Poster illustration for Westinghouse for the War Production Co-Ordinating Committee
Poster, 22 × 17 in. (55.9 × 43.2 cm)
James J. Kimble and Tina Potuto Kimble

Unknown photographer
"Rosie the Riveter" Naomi Parker,

March 26, 1942
Model reference for *We Can Do It!* poster by J. Howard Miller
Digital reproduction
Bettmann/Getty Images

Unknown Photographer
Mary Ann Johnson Riveting the Skin onto a Boeing Bomber, ca. 1942
Digital reproduction
The Boeing Company; Corporate Archives

Unknown Photographer
Mary Ruth Berry Working on Boeing Aircraft, ca. 1942
Digital reproduction
The Boeing Company; Corporate Archives

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Rosie the Riveter, 1943
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 29, 1943
Oil on canvas, 52 × 40 in. (132.1 × 101.6 cm)
Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, Bentonville, Arkansas; 2007.178

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Liberty Girl, 1943
Cover study for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 4, 1943
Charcoal on paper, 41 × 31 in. (104.1 × 78.7 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRM.1978.09

George Roepp
I've Found the Job Where I Fit Best!, 1943
Poster illustration for Office of War Information
Poster, 16 × 22½ in. (40.6 × 57.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985)
We'll Have Lots to Eat This Winter, Won't We Mother?, 1942
Poster illustration for Office of War Information
Poster, 24 × 18 in. (61 × 45.7 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985)
Even a Little Can Help A Lot—Now, 1942
Poster illustration for Office of War Information
Poster, 20 × 14 in. (50.8 × 35.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985)
Mother and Daughter Swimmers, 1940
Cover illustration for the *Ladies' Home Journal*, July 1940
Gouache on board, 22 × 20 in. (55.9 × 50.8 cm)
D. B. Dowd Modern Graphic History Library, Washington University in St. Louis

Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985)
Mother, Daughter, and Son, 1950
Cover illustration for the *Ladies' Home Journal*, December 1950
Gouache on board, 19¾ x 12¾ in. (50.2 x 32.4 cm)
D. B. Dowd Modern Graphic History Library, Washington University in St. Louis

Alfred Charles Parker (1906–1985)
Mother and Daughter series
Cover illustrations for the *Ladies' Home Journal*
Tearsheets
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection
- *Mother and Daughter Ice Skating*, February 1939
- *Mother and Daughter Wrapping Christmas Presents*, December 1939
- *United We Stand*, July 1942
- *Mother and Daughter Changing Tire*, March 1943
- *Mother and Daughter Soldier's Homecoming*, July 1945
- *Mother, Daughter, and Baby*, September 1947

War Ration Booklet with Ration Stamps, 1943
Issued by the US Office of Price Administration
Kimble Antique Automobiles

Know Your War Planes, 1943
Published by the Coca-Cola Company
Lithograph booklet
Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich

Aircraft Spotter Dial, 1943
Promotional item for Wonder Bread, printed by Advertisers Service Division, New York
Cardboard
Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich

Fun at the Breakfast Table!, no. 31
What our country's "Best Dressed" men are wearing. Can you name all these uniforms?, n.d.
Product illustration for Wheaties
Lithograph on cardboard
Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich

Selection of Gum Trading Cards
- *Uncle Sam's HOME DEFENSE*, 1941
  Promotional illustration for Gum, Inc., Philadelphia
  Lithograph on cardboard
  Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich
- *Don't Let It Happen Over Here*, 1938
  Promotional illustration for International Chewing Co., Cambridge, Massachusetts
  Lithograph on cardboard
  Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich
- *To Know the HORRORS OF WAR Is to Want PEACE*, 1938
  Promotional illustration for Gum, Inc., Philadelphia
  Lithograph on cardboard
  Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich
- *First Column Defenders*, 1940
  Promotional illustration for Goudey Gum Co., Boston
  Lithograph on cardboard
  Drs. Lois and Daniel Fermaglich

FDR'S FOUR FREEDOMS

Samuel I. Rosenman's draft of peroration, President's Annual Message to Congress (Four Freedoms speech), ca. 1940
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Draft of Roosevelt's annual message to Congress, January 6, 1941
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Reading copy of Roosevelt's annual message to Congress, January 6, 1941
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Freedom of Expression, of Religion, from Want, from Fear Everywhere in the World, 1941
Published by Penna Art WPA, Pennsylvania
Digital reproduction, 25½ × 20 in. (64.8 × 50.8 cm)
Work Projects Administration Poster Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Unknown photographer
President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill aboard the HMS Prince of Wales *during the Atlantic Conference in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland*, August 10, 1941
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Raymond P. R. Neilson (1881–1964)
Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill aboard the HMS Prince of Wales, *1942*
Oil on canvas, 39 × 44¾ in. (99 × 113.7 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Winston Churchill (1871–1965)
Churchill's edited copy of the final draft of the Atlantic Charter, 1941
Digital reproduction
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

The Atlantic Charter, 1943
Office of War Information, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 28 × 20 in. (71.1 × 50.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

The United Nations Fight for the Four Freedoms, 1942
Cover for Office of War Information pamphlet, US Government Printing Office
Digital reproduction
United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

Ansel Adams (1902–1984)
Tom Kobayashi, Landscape, South Fields, Manzanar Relocation Center, 1943
Digital reproduction
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC; LC-A351-3-M-19

Francis Stewart (1909–1992)
Gila River Relocation Center, Rivers, Arizona, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Accompanied by Dillon Myer, April 23, 1943
Digital reproduction
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

Dorothea Lange (1895–1965)
A large sign reading "I am an American" placed in the window of a store, at Eighth and Franklin Streets [Oakland, CA], on December 8, the day after Pearl Harbor, March 1942
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USZ62-23602

Unknown photographer
Labels. In enemy-occupied countries where matches are scarce, five tons of them have been circulated by methods which must remain military secrets for the present. They carry this message to every match lighter: "The Four Freedoms—

Freedom to speak, Freedom to worship, Freedom to think, Freedom from want." March 1943
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USE6-D-009080

Dr. Lucien Warner
Office of War Information memo, January 14, 1943
Digital reproduction
National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Willie Gillis: Food Package, 1941
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, October 4, 1941
Oil on canvas, 50 × 38 in. (127 × 96.5 cm)
Lawrence Matteson

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Willie Gillis in Convoy, ca. 1941
Unpublished cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*
Oil on canvas, 43 × 34½ in. (109.2 × 87.6 cm)
Private collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Willie Gillis in Church, 1942
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 25, 1942
Oil on canvas, 29 × 25 in. (73.7 × 63.5 cm)
Scott M. Delman

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Willie Gillis series
Cover illustrations for the *Saturday Evening Post*
Tearsheets
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves
- *Willie Gillis Food Package*, October 4, 1941
- *Willie Gillis Home Sweet Home*, November 29, 1941
- *Willie Gillis USO*, February 7, 1942
- *Willie Gillis Hometown News*, April 11, 1942
- *What to Do in a Blackout*, June 27, 1942
- *Willie Gillis in Church*, July 25, 1942
- *Willie Gillis Double Trouble*, September 5, 1942
- *Willie Gillis Travels*, June 26, 1943
- *Willie Gillis New Year's Eve*, January 1, 1944
- *The Fighting Gillises*, September 16, 1944
- *Willie Gillis in College*, October 5, 1946

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Let's Give Him Enough and On Time, 1942
Poster illustration for United States Army
Oil on canvas, 42 × 50 in. (106.7 × 127 cm)
US Army Center of Military History, Washington, DC

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Let's Give Him Enough and On Time, 1942
United States Army, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 28 × 38 in. (71.1 × 96.5 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown photographer
Norman Rockwell with *Let's Give Him Enough and On Time*, 1942
Digital reproduction
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Refugee Thanksgiving, 1943
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 27, 1943
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Alexander Liberman (1912–1999)
United We Win, 1943
Printed by the US Government Printing Office for the War Manpower Commission
Poster, 28 × 20 in. (71.1 × 50.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

United Nations Four Freedoms Flag, 2017
Nylon, 36 × 59 in. (91.4 × 149.9 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Henry Koerner (1915–1991)
United We Are Strong, United We Win, 1943
Poster, 28 × 20 in. (71.1 × 50.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Alexey Brodovitch (1898–1971)
Libres de Miseria, 1942
Poster, 20 × 14¼ in. (50.8 × 36.2 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Gift of Adriance Memorial Library

John Atherton (1900–1952)
Libres de Temor, ca. 1939–45
Poster, 20 × 14¼ in. (50.8 × 36.2 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Gift of Adriance Memorial Library

J. Harvey Delaney
Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms ashtray, ca. 1943
Hand-carved wood with glass, metal, and plastic, 8½ × 6 × 6 in. (21.6 × 15.2 × 15.2 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Bequest of Franklin D. Roosevelt

Onorio Ruotolo (1888–1966)
Four Freedoms Award, Italian-American Labor Council, 1943
Plastic plaque mounted to wood, 34¼ × 28⅛ × 7⅞ in. (87 × 71.4 × 20 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Bequest of Franklin D. Roosevelt

"F. D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill/Atlantic Meeting, 1941," cigarette box, ca. 1941
Manufactured by T. Lawrence Falcon Ware, England
Ceramic, 2⅛ × 5½ × 3⅝ in. (5.4 × 14 × 9.2 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Amber Cigarette Holder, ca. 1945
Band inscribed *To the Father of the Four Freedoms, The Master-Builder of Glorious America and Free Humility, Alexander Isserman, FDR*
Manufactured by Comoy, London
Amber with gold band, 7¼ in. (18.4 cm); diameter ½ in. (1.3 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Bequest of Franklin D. Roosevelt

Franklin D. Roosevelt ashtray, ca. 1941
Ceramic, ⅞ × 3½ × 3½ in. (2.2 × 8.9 × 8.9 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Winston Churchill ashtray, ca. 1941
Ceramic, ⅞ × 3½ × 3½ in. (2.2 × 8.9 × 8.9 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Julio Kilenyi (1885–1959)
Four Freedoms Victory/Franklin Roosevelt medal, ca. 1944
Manufactured by Robbins Medallic Guild, Attleboro, Massachusetts
14-karat gold, diameter 1½ in. (3.8 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League medallion, 1948
Sterling silver, 3⅝ × 2¾ × ⅜ in. (9.2 × 7 × 1 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Atlantic Charter medallion, 1941
Silver over bronze, ⅜ in. (1 cm); diameter 3 in. (7.6 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

United Nations medallion, 1948
Silver, ¼ in. (0.6 cm); diameter 2⅛ in. (5.4 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

David Karp (1905–1967)
The Voice of the Four Freedoms, 1944
Published by Freedom Distributors, New York
Poster, 14 × 11 in. (35.6 × 27.9 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Bequest of the Estate of Franklin D. Roosevelt

1944 Roosevelt Presidential campaign sticker
Paper and adhesive, diameter 1¼ in. (3.2 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Gift of John Vargo

Daniel Stern
Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms, 1942
Poster, 16 × 20 in. (40.6 × 50.8 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Received through exchange from H. E. Walden

Arnold Machin (1911–1999)
Franklin D. Roosevelt cameo mug, 1942
Manufactured by Wedgwood, Barlaston, England
Ceramic, 4¼ × 4¾ × 3¾ in. (10.8 × 12.1 × 9.5 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Gift of the Mayborn Museum

The Four Freedoms postage stamps, first day cover, 1943
Printed envelope, 3⅝ × 6½ in. (9.2 × 16.5 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York; Gift of Arthur Freed

Toward United Nations April 25, 1945, five-cent stamp, first day of

issue, 1945
Printed envelope, 3⅜ × 6½ in.
(8.6 × 16.5 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

US #933 5¢ *FDR and Four Freedoms* postage stamp block, 1946
Postage stamp, 2 × 3 in.
(5.1 × 7.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of Henry H. Williams

ARTISTIC RESPONSE

Thomas Lea (1907–2001)
Marines Call It That 2,000 Yard Stare, 1945
Illustration for "Pelilieu: Tom Lea Paints Island Invasion," *Life*, June 11, 1945, p. 65
Oil on canvas, 36 × 28 in.
(91.4 × 71.1 cm)
Life Collection of Art WWII, US Army Center of Military History, Fort Belvoir, Virginia

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
So You Want to See the President!, 1943
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 13, 1943, pp. 10–11
Tearsheets
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
A Night on a Troop Train, 1943
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, May 8, 1943, pp. 22–23
Tearsheets
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Tattoo Artist, ca. 1944
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 4, 1944
Oil on canvas, 43 × 33 in.
(109 × 83.8 cm)
Brooklyn Museum; Gift of the artist, 69.8

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Man Charting War Maneuvers, ca. 1944
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 29, 1944
Oil on canvas, 35 × 33
(88.9 × 83.8 cm)
Private collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
War News, ca. 1944
Intended illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*
Oil on canvas, 41¼ × 40½ in.
(104.8 ×102.9 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRM.1976.02

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Norman Rockwell Visits a Ration Board, 1944
Study illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 15, 1944 , pp. 22–23
Oil on board, 28 × 45 in.
(71.1 × 114.3 cm)
Private collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Waiting for Their Turn to Be Heard, 1944
Story illustration for *Norman Rockwell Visits a Ration Board*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 15, 1944, p.22
Pencil on paper, 5¾ × 4½ in.
(14.6 × 11.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of Harry S. Forrest; NRM.2017.11

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Norman Rockwell Visits a Ration Board, 1944
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 15, 1944, pp. 22–23
Tearsheets
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Thanksgiving: Mother and Son Peeling Potatoes, 1945
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 24, 1945
Oil on canvas, 35 × 33½ in.
(88.9 × 85.1 cm)
Lent courtesy of American Legion Post 193, Winchendon, Massachusetts

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Back to Civvies, 1945
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, December 15, 1945
Oil on canvas, 39½ × 30 in.
(100.3 × 76.2 cm)
Anonymous

Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980)
Paratrooper, 1942
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 12, 1942
Oil on canvas, 43 × 34 in.
(109.2 × 86.4 cm)
United Services Automobile Association (USAA), San Antonio

Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980)
Medical Corps, 1944
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 6, 1944
Oil on canvas, 43 × 34 in.
(109.2 × 86.4 cm)
United Services Automobile Association (USAA), San Antonio

Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980)
Naval Lookout, 1942
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, November 7, 1942
Oil on canvas, 43 × 34 in.
(109.2 × 86.4 cm)
United Services Automobile Association (USAA), San Antonio

Mead Schaeffer (1898–1980)
Flight Controller on Aircraft Carrier, 1943
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, June 12, 1943
Oil on canvas, 43 × 34 in.
(109.2 × 86.4 cm)
United Services Automobile Association (USAA), San Antonio

Martha Sawyers (1902–1988)
United China Relief, ca. 1944
Poster illustration for the United China Relief Foundations
Gouache on board, 32 × 26 in.
(81.3 × 66 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Martha Sawyers (1902–1988)
United China Relief, ca. 1944
United China Relief Foundations, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 50½ × 41½ in.
(128.3 × 105.4 cm)
The Eisenstat Collection: On loan from Alice Carter and Courtney Granner

Boris Artzybasheff (1899–1965)
Heinrich Himmler, Nazi Gestapo Chief (1936–1945), 1943
Cover illustration for *Time*, October 11, 1943
Gouache on board, 10⅝ × 9½ in.
(27 × 24.1 cm)
Syracuse University Art Collection

Boris Artzybasheff (1899–1965)
Witches' Sabbath, 1942
Illustration for *Life*, September 14, 1942, p. 11
Gouache on board, 14¼ × 27 in.
(36.2 × 68.6 cm)
Syracuse University Art Collection

Boris Artzybasheff (1899–1965)
Speaking of Pictures . . . Swastikas Make Ghoulish Symbols, 1942
Life, September 14, 1942, pp. 10–11
Magazine
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Boris Artzybasheff (1899–1965)
Adolf Hitler, German Chancellor and Fuhrer, 1945
Cover illustration for *Time*, May 7, 1945
Gouache on board, 10½ × 9½ in.
(26.7 × 24.1 cm)
Syracuse University Art Collection
Boris Artzybasheff (1899–1965)
Emperor Hirohito of Japan, 1945
Cover illustration for *Time*, May 21, 1945
Gouache on board, 10⅝ × 9½ in.
(27 × 24.1 cm)
Syracuse University Art Collection

John Falter (1910–1982)
By His Deeds . . . Measure Yours, ca. 1942
Illustration for *Coronet*, January 1943, p. 96
Oil on canvas, 20⅝ × 43⅛ in.
(52.4 × 109.5 cm)
Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln; 10645-4423

John Falter (1910–1982)
By His Deeds . . . Measure Yours, ca. 1942
Illustration for *Coronet*, January 1943, p. 96
Magazine
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Valentino Sarra (1903–1982)
Give 'em the Stuff to Fight With . . ., 1942
Office of War Information, Office of Facts and Figures, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 44 × 32 in. (111.8 × 81.3 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Wesley Heyman (1918?–2002)
. . . Because Somebody Talked!, 1944
Office of War Information, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 28 × 20 in. (71.1 × 50.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Anton Otto Fischer (1882–1962)
A Careless Word . . . A Needless Loss, 1944
Office of War Information, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 28 × 22 in. (71.1 × 55.9 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Allen Saalburg (1899–1987)
Remember Dec. 7th!, 1942
Office of War Information, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 28 × 22 in. (71.1 × 55.9 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

John Falter (1910–1982)
Give 'em the Stuff to Fight With . . . , Fight for Freedom!, 1942
Office of Facts and Figures, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 29 × 40 in. (73.7 × 101.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Zudor
More Production. USA., 1942
War Production Board, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 40 × 29 in. (101.6 × 73.7 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Ben Shahn (1898–1969)
We French Workers Warn You . . . Defeat Means Slavery, Starvation, Death, 1942
War Production Board, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 28½ × 40 in. (72.4 × 101.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Ben Shahn (1898–1969)
This Is Nazi Brutality, 1942
Office of War Information, US Government Printing Office
Poster, 38 × 28½ in. (96.5 × 72.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown Artist
Yudan Taiteki [Overconfidence can be a great enemy], ca. 1942
Poster, 20 × 15 in. (50.8 × 38.1 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Gino Boccasile (1901–1952)
La Germania è Veramente Vostra Amica [Germany is truly your friend], 1944
Poster, 55 × 39 in. (139.7 × 99 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Theo Matejeko (1893–1946)
Achtung Spione—Vorsicht bei Gesprächen! [Attention spies—Beware of conversations!], 1939
Poster, 37⅝ × 27⅞ in. (95.6 × 70.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Arthur Szyk (1894–1951)
The Four Freedoms, ca. 1940s
Issued by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, 25 West 45th Street, New York
Sheet of stamps
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Arthur Szyk (1894–1951)
Arsenal of Democracy II, 1942.
Pen, ink and graphite on paper
Raziel Ungar, California

Alfred T. Palmer (1906–1993)
Four Freedoms and Arsenal of Democracy Installation by Jean Carlu, February 1942
Digital reproduction
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC; LC-USE6-D-004848

John Collier (1913–1992) or Gordon Parks (1912–2006)
Textile designed and sold by Jay Thorpe, printed with motifs symbolizing the Four Freedoms, 1943
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC- USW3- 023559-C

John Collier (1913–1992) or Gordon Parks (1912–2006)
Textile designed and sold by Jay Thorpe, printed with motifs symbolizing the Four Freedoms, 1943
Digital reproduction
Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; LC-USW3- 021102-C

David Torke
Four Freedoms Monument, Buffalo, New York, November 23, 2008
Digital reproduction
Collection of the photographer

Lance Taylor
Four Freedoms Monument, Madison, Florida, March 30, 2010
Digital reproduction
Photographs of Historic Architecture in the United States, Special Collections and Archives, Thomas G. Carpenter Library, University of North Florida, Jacksonville

Gordon Parks (1912–2006)
Portrait of Langston Hughes, 1943
Digital reproduction
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, LC-USW3-033841-C

The Life of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1943
Published by Office of War Information
Booklet, 10½ × 8 in. (26.7 × 20.3 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Scott Faron
Letter to Norman Rockwell, re: *Four Freedoms Symphony*, September 10, 1943
Typewritten letter on *Saturday Evening Post* letterhead
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; RC.2007.18.1.67d

The Four Freedoms by Steffi Nossen's Teen-Age Dance Workshop, 1944
Promotional flyer, 9 × 6 in. (22.9 × 15.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Frederic Stanley (1892–1967)
What Did You Do Today . . . for Freedom?, 1943
Advertising illustration for Magazine Publishers of America, the *American Home*, March 1943
Magazine
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown artist
Freedom of Choice, ca. 1944
Advertising illustration for General Electric, in *Farm Journal and Farmer's Wife*, April 1944, p. 52
Tearsheet
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown artist
Buy War Bonds, 1943
Advertisement for B. Altman, New York, *Vogue*, September 15, 1943, p. 7
Magazine
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown artist
Freedom from Aggression, 1942
Advertising illustration for Pan American World Airways System, *Life*, September 21, 1942, pp. 54–55
Magazine
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

NORMAN ROCKWELL'S FOUR FREEDOMS

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Freedom of Speech, 1942
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943
Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.021

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Freedom of Worship, 1942
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 27, 1943
Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.023

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Freedom from Want, 1942
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943
Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.022

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Freedom from Fear, 1942
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 13, 1943
Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.020

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Save Freedom of Worship, Buy War Bonds, 1943
Poster illustration from the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 27, 1943, Office of War Information, Washington, DC
Poster, 59 × 35½ in. (149.9 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Save Freedom of Speech, Buy War Bonds, 1943
Poster illustration from the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943, Office of War Information, Washington, DC
Poster, 59 × 35½ in. (149.9 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
OURS . . . to Fight for, Freedom from Want, 1943
Poster illustration from the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943, Office of War Information, Washington, DC
Poster, 59 × 35½ in. (149.9 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
OURS . . . to fight for, Freedom from Fear, 1943
Poster illustration from the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 13, 1943, Office of War Information, Washington, DC
Poster, 59 × 35½ in. (149.9 × 90.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown photographer
Norman Rockwell standing in front of his painting Freedom of Speech at Hecht's Department Store, Washington, DC, inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Tour, 1943
Photograph, 8 × 10 in. (20.3 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown photographer
Norman Rockwell interacting with fans at Hecht's Department Store, Washington, DC, inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Tour, 1943
Photograph, 8 × 10 in.
(20.3 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown photographer
Norman Rockwell signing Four Freedom prints at Hecht's Department Store, Washington, DC, inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Tour, 1943
Photograph, 8 × 10 in.
(20.3 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown photographer
Norman Rockwell speaking at Hecht's Department Store, Washington, DC, inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Tour, 1943
Photograph, 10 × 8 in.
(25.4 × 20.3 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Unknown photographer
Norman Rockwell interacting with fans at Hecht's Department Store, Washington, DC, inaugural stop of the Four Freedoms War Bond Tour, 1943
Photograph, 8 × 10 in.
(20.3 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Town Meeting, 1942
Study for *Freedom of Speech*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943
Oil on board, 22 × 17 in.
(55.9 × 43.2 cm)
Anonymous

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Freedom of Speech, 1942
Study for *Freedom of Speech*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943
Oil on board, 21¼ × 17¼ in.
(54 × 43.8 cm)
Lent by the Metropolitan Museum of Art; George A. Hearn Fund, 1952 (52.164)

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
My Studio Burns, 1943
Illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, July 17, 1943, p. 11
Charcoal and gouache on paper, 21½ × 17 in. (54.6 × 43.2 cm)
Private collection

T. C. Upham
Letter to Norman Rockwell re: *Freedom of Worship*, February 25, 1943
Typewritten letter on the Cape Theatre letterhead, 11 × 8½ in.
(27.9 × 21.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Roderick Stephens
Letter to Norman Rockwell re: Paintings to address interracial relations with the power of the *Four Freedoms*, July 12, 1943
Typewritten two-page letter on Bronx Inter-Racial Conference letterhead, 11 × 8½ in. (27.9 × 21.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Richard Morrison
Letter to Norman Rockwell re: *Freedom of Speech*, February 20, 1943
Handwritten letter on US Army Air Corps, Maxwell Field, Alabama, letterhead, 10½ × 7¼ in.
(26.7 × 18.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Carlton F. Wells
Letter to Norman Rockwell re: the *Four Freedoms*, February 28, 1943
Handwritten letter on University Club letterhead, 10½ × 7¼ in.
(26.7 × 18.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Walt Disney (1901–1966)
Letter to Rockwell re: the *Four Freedoms*, May 21, 1943
Typewritten letter on Walt Disney letterhead, 11 × 8½ in.
(27.9 × 21.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

U.S. Treasury Department and Saturday Evening Post *War Bond Show*, 1943
Pamphlet for the Four Freedoms War Bond Show sponsored by Wm. Filene's Sons, Boston, 9 × 6 in.
(22.9 × 15.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of John F. Butler

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
U.S. War Savings Bond Four Freedoms Commemorative Cover, 1943
Offset print on paper, 8 × 4½ in.
(20.3 × 11.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

The Four Freedoms—Norman Rockwell, 1943
Bound hardcover book containing five *Saturday Evening Post* magazines, February 13–March 13, 1943, with presentation box, 14 × 11 in.
(35.6 × 27.9 cm) (closed)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of Carmen O. Smith, RC.2015.4

Freedom of Speech, the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 20, 1943, pp. 12–13
Magazine, 13¾ × 21 in.
(34.9 × 53.3 cm) (open)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

Freedom of Worship, the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 27, 1943, pp. 12–13
Magazine, 13¾ × 21 in.
(34.9 × 53.3 cm) (open)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

Freedom from Want, the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943, pp. 12–13
Magazine, 13¾ × 21 in.
(34.9 × 53.3 cm) (open)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

Freedom from Fear, the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 13, 1943, pp. 12–13
Magazine, 13¾ × 21 in.
(34.9 × 53.3 cm) (open)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of William W. Hargreaves

Jacket worn by model Carl Hess in *Freedom of Speech*
Suede and cotton
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of Ms. Anne Pelham, RC.2002.15

FREEDOM'S LEGACY

Presidential Medal of Freedom
Presented by President Gerald Ford to Norman Rockwell; accepted by Jarvis Rockwell III on behalf of his father, January 10, 1977
Gold and enamel, 2 × 2 in.
(5.1 × 5.1 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; Gift of Jarvis, Thomas, and Peter Rockwell, RC.1986.4b

Presidential Medal of Freedom Certificate
Presented by President Gerald Ford to Norman Rockwell; accepted by Jarvis Rockwell III on behalf of his father, January 10, 1977
Printed document, 14¼ × 17¼ in.
(36.2 × 43.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; ST.1976.0580.1

Unknown photographer
Eleanor Roosevelt and the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Lake Success, New York, November 1949
Digital reproduction
National Archives and Records Service, Washington, DC; Office of Presidential Libraries, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

Eleanor Roosevelt medallion, 1946
Bronze, ⅜ in. (1 cm); diameter 3¼ in.
(8.3 cm)
Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, Hyde Park, New York

Carolyn Palmer
Portrait bust of Franklin D. Roosevelt
Bronze, 32 × 19 × 10½ in.
(81.3 × 48.3 × 26.7 cm)
New-York Historical Society

Carolyn Palmer
Portrait bust of Eleanor Roosevelt
Bronze, 31 × 18 × 12½ in.
(78.7 × 45.7 × 31.8 cm)
New-York Historical Society

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
United Nations, 1953
Unpublished study
Graphite and charcoal on paper, 27¼ × 73½ in. (69.2 × 186.7 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.113

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Golden Rule, 1961
Cover illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, April 1, 1961
Oil on canvas, 44½ × 39½ in.
(113 × 100.3 cm).
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.010

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Notes for the *Golden Rule*, ca. 1961
Typewritten document, 11 × 8½ in.
(27.9 × 21.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Lincoln for the Defense, ca. 1962
Illustration for "Mr. Lincoln for the Defense" by Elisa Bialk, the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 10, 1962, p. 25
Oil on canvas, 49¾ × 17½ in.
(126.4 × 44.5 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection, NRACT.1973.077

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
The Problem We All Live With, 1963
Illustration for *Look*, January 14, 1964, pp. 22–23
Oil on canvas, 36 × 58 in.
(91.4 × 147.3 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRM.1975.01

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Portrait of Lynda Gunn, 1963
Study for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964, pp. 22–23
Oil on board, 11 × 10½ in.
(27.9 × 26.7 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1976.29

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Portraits of Model Lynda Gunn, 1963
Studies for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964, pp. 22–23
Pencil and charcoal on paper, 7¼ × 5 in. (18.4 × 12.7 cm); 13 × 11¾ in. (33 × 29.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; from Lynda Gunn, Norman Rockwell model for *The Problem We All Live With*, NRM.2016.03.1

Dress worn by model Lynda Gunn in *The Problem We All Live With*
White cotton
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; from Lynda Gunn, Norman Rockwell model for *The Problem We All Live With*, NRM.2016.03.2

Louie Lamone (1918–2007)
[Pigtail detail], 1963
Reference photo for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964
Photograph, 10 × 8 in.
(25.4 × 20.3 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Louie Lamone (1918–2007)
[Lynda Gunn as model for Ruby Bridges], 1963
Reference photo for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964
Photograph, 10 × 8 in.
(25.4 × 20.3 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Louie Lamone (1918–2007)
[Three different girls model for painting], 1963
Reference photos for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964
Photographs, 10 × 8 in.
(25.4 × 20.3 cm); 6½ × 3¼ in.
(16.5 × 8.3 cm); 13½ × 6 in.
(34.3 × 15.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Louie Lamone (1918–2007)
[Unknown model as US marshal], 1963
Reference photo for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964
Photograph, 5 × 4 in.
(12.7 × 10.2 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Louie Lamone (1918–2007)
[Norman Rockwell as model for US marshal], 1963
Reference photo for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964
Digital reproduction
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Louie Lamone (1918–2007)
[Tomato splatter against wall], 1963
Reference photo for *The Problem We All Live With*, *Look*, January 14, 1964
Photograph, 8 × 10 in.
(20.3 × 25.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Murder in Mississippi, 1965
Unpublished illustration for *Look*
Oil on canvas, 42 × 35 in.
(106.7 × 88.9 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRM.1978.07

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Murder in Mississippi, 1965
Illustration for "Southern Justice" by Charles Morgan Jr., *Look*, June 29, 1965
Oil on board, 16⅛ × 12¾ in.
(41 × 32.4 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.079

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
JFK's Legacy. The Peace Corps, 1966
Cover illustration for *Look*, June 14, 1966
Oil on canvas, 45½ × 36½ in.
(115.6 × 92.7 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1973.083

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Blood Brothers, 1968
Unpublished study illustration for *Look*
Oil on board, 10½ × 21½ in.
(26.7 × 54.6 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1976.16

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
Blood Brothers, 1968
Unpublished study illustration for *Look*
Oil on board, 10 × 20 in.
(25.4 × 50.8 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRM.1976.17

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
The Right to Know, 1968
Illustration for *Look*, August 20, 1968, pp. 48–49
Oil on canvas, 29 × 54 in.
(73.7 × 137.2 cm)
Private collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
The Right to Know, 1968
Study illustration for *Look*, August 20, 1968, pp. 48–49
Oil on photographic paper, 10½ × 18½ in. (26.7 × 47 cm)
Private collection

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)
An Uneasy Christmas in the Birthplace of Peace, 1970
Illustration for *Look*, December 28, 1970, pp. 18–19
Oil on canvas, 33 × 51 in.
(83.8 × 129.5 cm)
Norman Rockwell Museum Collection; NRACT.1976.16

Paul Warchol
View of Four Freedoms Park NYC 2012
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Freedom from Fear/Yellow Bowl Project, 2016
Photographed at Four Freedoms Park, Roosevelt Island, New York
Digital reproduction
Setsuko Winchester

Situ Studio, Brooklyn, New York
Four Freedoms Park, Roosevelt Island, New York, scale model, 2009
Mixed media, 50 × 51 × 26 in.
(127 × 129.5 × 66 cm)
Four Freedoms Park Conservancy

Andre Jenny
Evansville, IN, Four Freedoms Bicentennial Monument, Riverfront Park, Evening, 2008
Digital reproduction
Alamy Stock Photo

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

BRIAN ALLEN is a curator and scholar living in Arlington, Vermont. He received his BA from Wesleyan University, his MA in art history from Williams College, and his PhD in the history of art from Yale University. He has served as Chief Curator at the Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA, and as Director of the Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, MA, and of the museum division of the New-York Historical Society.

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DAISY ROCKWELL holds a PhD in South Asian literature from the University of Chicago and is an artist, writer, and translator of modern Hindi and Urdu literature. She is an accomplished artist and the granddaughter of Norman Rockwell. Her work has been exhibited widely and is featured in *Reimagining the Four Freedoms*, a component of this exhibition. Rockwell's translations include Bhisham Sahni's *Tamas* and Upendranath Ashk's *Falling Walls*, and she is author of *The Little Book of Terror*, a collection of essays and paintings, and a novel, *Taste*.

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IRVIN UNGAR, a former pulpit rabbi and antiquarian bookseller, has devoted the past quarter-century to scholarship relating to illustrator Arthur Szyk. He has curated numerous Szyk exhibitions worldwide, including those at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, the Library of Congress, and the New-York Historical Society. Ungar is the author of the award-winning book *Arthur Szyk: Soldier in Art*, publisher of the limited edition of *The Szyk Haggadah*, and producer of the documentary film *Soldier in Art: Arthur Szyk*.

WILLIAM J. VANDEN HEUVEL has served as Deputy US Permanent Representative to the United Nations and as US Permanent Representative to the European office of the UN. Chair emeritus and founder of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Park, he has served as president of the International Rescue Committee, chairman of the Board of Governors of UNA-USA, and chairman of the New York City Board of Correction, becoming a laureate of the Four Freedoms Award in 2002. Ambassador vanden Heuvel was instrumental in the founding of the Roosevelt Study Center in Middelburg, in the province of Zeeland, the Netherlands.

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★Page 2: Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom of Worship*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, February 27, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

★Page 3: Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom from Want*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 6, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

★Page 4: Norman Rockwell (1894–1978), *Freedom from Fear*, 1942. Oil on canvas, 45¾ × 35½ in. (116.2 × 90.2 cm). Story illustration for the *Saturday Evening Post*, March 13, 1943. Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

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