

Barnet Hodes's Quest to Remember Haym Salomon, the Almost-Forgotten Jewish Patriot of the American Revolution

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“For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.”¹

*President George Washington to the Hebrew Congregation
in Newport, Rhode Island, 1790*

“Sculpture is a difficult and expensive craft; monuments are not erected by a community without good and sufficient reason.”²

Lorado Taft (1860–1936)

On a cold December day in 1980, the hearse carrying the body of Barnet Hodes made its way to Heald Square at the intersection of Wabash Avenue and Wacker Drive in downtown Chicago. The park, which is slightly west of the footprint of Fort Dearborn, is situated just northeast of the LaSalle Street office where Hodes had worked during the 1930s and 1940s as counsel for the city of Chicago and as the co-chair (and primary force) of the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago.

But it was not the office that the driver of the hearse had in mind when he approached the small, triangular, traffic-dividing park near the Chicago River. There, in that park, stood an impressive monument depicting three men in American-Revolutionary-era garb. Standing hand-in-hand were bronze representations of George Washington, Robert Morris, and Haym Salomon—“this great triumvirate of patriots,” as President Franklin Delano Roosevelt described the three American revolutionaries in a letter that was read at the monument’s dedication in 1941. When the cortege stopped before the trio of sculpted patriots, the family of Barnet Hodes stepped out of the vehicle and placed a wreath at the foot of the large granite base that exhibited President Washington’s comforting words to a Jewish Congregation in Rhode Island and a bas-relief of a seated Lady Liberty welcoming people of different ethnicities to America. As Hodes’s son, Scott, would later remember, that is what his dad would have liked. And he was right.³

What follows is the story of Hodes’s quest during the 1930s and early 1940s to have the statue erected to memorialize the patriotic activities of financier

Haym Salomon. Histories of commemoration tend to focus on controversy and conflict surrounding the formation of public memory. Historian John Bodnar argues that public memory emerges from the mediation of tensions seemingly inherent in the official and the vernacular forces in society. Official culture, Bodnar explains, “promotes a nationalistic, patriotic culture of the whole that mediates an assortment of vernacular interests,” while vernacular culture “represents an array of specialized interests that are grounded in parts of the whole.”⁴

While usually articulated as a clash of interests between these two elements, the conflict involved in shaping public memory can also bring into relief deep fissures that exist within the vernacular culture (in this case, an ethnic community), not just a national community, as Beth Wenger skillfully demonstrates in her work on the attempts to commemorate Salomon in New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles during the twentieth century.⁵

Commemoration during the 1930s was generally forged by middle-class professionals who had a stake in the dominant culture. As a rising star in the Democratic Party in Chicago, attorney Hodes fit this description. Defying the national trend, machine politics in Chicago actually became stronger during the New Deal, and Mayor Edward Kelly successfully built ethnic coalitions and co-opted potential ethnic rivals, as had his assassinated predecessor, Anton Cermak. Kelly brought into his circle two Jewish Chicagoans, Jacob Arvey and his law partner, Hodes. Kelly and Arvey were also members of the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago, an organization committed to fostering “the historical fact that peoples of all groups participated patriotically in the founding and building of America.”⁶

As a political and cultural leader with a stake in stability and the continuation of the status quo, Hodes was clearly part of the official commemorative force to which Bodnar refers. As such, Hodes articulated the official interests by expressing his vision of unity, or what society “should be like.” Conversely, as a member of B’nai B’rith and with a known association with two Chicago synagogues—including a stint as president of the South Shore Temple—Hodes was a leading member of an ethnic and religious group with its own interests and concerns and, therefore, can be considered a representative of the vernacular, as well. As such, he was a member of a social group during the 1930s whose senses were alive to what “social reality feels like.”⁷

Instead of being at the center of a struggle, Hodes served as a bridge between the potentially contentious forces of the official and the vernacular. As a cultural and political leader employed by the city of Chicago, Hodes represented “the official.” It was in his capacity as city counsel that Hodes advocated for the monument as well as sent and received mail on behalf of the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago. As a member of an ethnic and religious group that was one of the “specialized interests” that made up American society, Hodes also represented “the vernacular.” His quest to make the Jewish story part of the

American narrative by building a patriotic monument in downtown Chicago (as opposed to in an ethnic neighborhood) that celebrated a Jewish American revolutionary alongside Washington and Morris demonstrates that the official and the vernacular were not so easily distinguishable.⁸

This is not to say that opposition to the project was totally absent. There was opposition, but it was minimal and did not take on the intensity surrounding an attempt to erect a statue of Salomon in New York City during the 1920s and early 1930s. In fact, people from all walks of life wrote to Hodes from across the country encouraging him to finish the project, even giving him leads to pursue regarding historical artifacts that might help his cause. Bodnar's observation that "symbolic language of patriotism is central to public memory in the United States" is clear in this case. Hodes discussed his project in patriotic language and firmly believed that the project was of central importance to American Jewry. Rather than illustrating a serious conflict within the Jewish community or within the larger national community of which it was a part, Hodes's quest for the Washington-Morris-Salomon monument rode a wave of Americanism and patriotism that began to emerge in the 1930s and early 1940s, as international events and the rise of fascism threatened American life.⁹

Those who were involved either directly or indirectly in the project at the time recognized that the statue was meant to signify the Jewish contribution to the American experience. Today the impressive sculpture stands—with thousands of Chicagoans and tourists passing it each day—as a testament to the significant role that Jews played in the opening act of the United States of America. That Hodes, a member of this vernacular interest, played a leading role in the project was not meant to detract from, but rather add to, the case that unity between ethnic groups as well as between civilians and the military led to the unlikely American victory over the British. Like the project's intended message, the Washington-Morris-Salomon sculpture's very existence testifies to Hodes's commitment and ability to bring together people from a broad spectrum of American society in order to bring the monument to a successful completion during another era that would "try men's souls."¹⁰

Beginnings

Born in Poland in 1900, Hodes migrated to the United States as a child with his parents five years later. Growing up in LaSalle, Illinois, just over ninety miles from his adopted hometown of Chicago, Hodes dreamed of honoring the Jewish Revolutionary patriot, Haym Salomon. While studying American history in high school, Hodes, the only Jewish student in his class, wondered why Jews were not part of the American story as it was taught in school. Possibly influenced by the writings of the Protestant Rev. Madison C. Peters, who wrote a number of books about the importance of Jews in American history, young Hodes was particularly intrigued by Salomon, the financial and linguistic wizard who had given his financial all to the revolutionary cause.¹¹



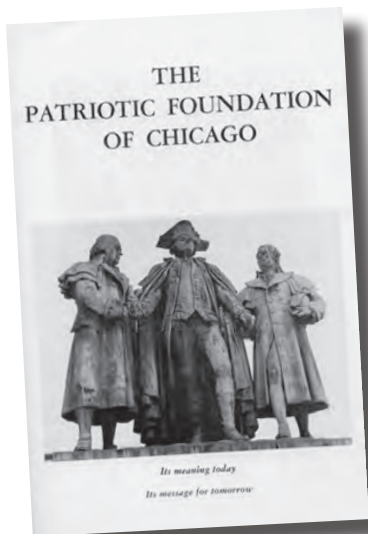
Chicago sculptor, Lorado Taft, with an initial model for the Washington-Morris-Salomon Memorial

(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

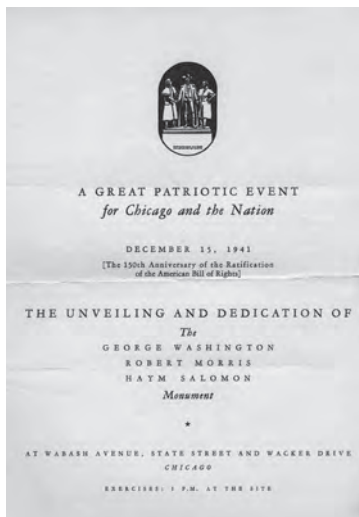


Barnet Hodes showing the model to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Governor Henry Horner, Illinois's first Jewish governor

(Courtesy Chicago History Museum)



Cover of brochure for the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago
(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)



Cover of Program for the Unveiling and Dedication of the Washington-Morris-Salomon Monument
(Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

Detail of Washington-Morris-Salomon Memorial

(Courtesy Michael Ball, Initiate Marketing, Inc.)





Sculptor Leonard Crunelle showing his work to Barnet Hodes, Paul H. Douglas, and Lorado Taft's daughter, Emily Taft Douglas (Courtesy Chicago History Museum)



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STAMP DESIGN FOR FINANCIAL HERO



DESIGN for new postage stamp commemorating Haym Salomon, whose money-raising efforts helped finance the American revolution and save the emerging nation from financial collapse, was unveiled February 13 in office of Chicago Postmaster Emmett

Cooper left, with Barnet Hodes, president of the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago and authority on Haym Salomon as a contributor to the American cause. First day of issue for the stamp is scheduled for March 25 in Chicago.

THANKS FROM EX-PMG

Text of letter from E. T. Klasson to C. B. Gels, dated February 15:

"Dear Clarence: Please extend to all the employees of the Central Region my deep appreciation for the kind message they sent me on February 14, 1975. Pos of 3 car

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Below: "Haym Salomon Lives Again," a cartoon depiction of Barnet Hodes at the unveiling of the Washington-Morris-Salomon Monument

(Courtesy Chicago History Museum)



Unveiling of postage stamp commemorating Haym Salomon with Chicago Postmaster Emmett Cooper, left, and Barnet Hodes, right (Courtesy American Jewish Archives)

Salomon emigrated from Poland to New York City before war broke out between Great Britain and the thirteen colonies. He used his position as a shopkeeper to inform the American army about the British occupiers. In 1778 British forces arrested Salomon as a spy and sentenced him to death. As he awaited his fate in one of the infamous prisoner-of-war ships that floated ominously in Wallabout Bay along the Brooklyn shore, the British Army realized that Salomon was multilingual and therefore could be of some assistance. He was particularly helpful as a translator for the British in their interactions with Hessian troops and French prisoners of war. In time, however, the British realized that under Salomon's watch American and French prisoners began to escape. After Salomon orchestrated numerous escapes, he, too, fled, making his way to Philadelphia, where he remained for the rest of his life. There he forged connections with Founding Fathers such as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Eventually, Salomon earned the attention and confidence of the American Confederacy's Finance Minister Robert Morris. During the remainder of the war, Salomon gained fame for his financial acumen, especially brokering bills of exchange, as well as for his generosity toward delegates to the Continental Congress while they labored in Philadelphia under personal financial constraints.¹²

Hodes had an affinity with Salomon; both were Polish Jews who were intensely patriotic. When Hodes moved to Evanston, Illinois, to study law at Northwestern University and eventually made his home and career in Chicago, his idea to rectify the historical gap of the Jewish revolutionary story remained with him. The idea finally came to a head when he and fellow Chicagoans spearheaded an organization called the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago, which hoped "to strengthen the traditional spirit of American unity." Founded in July 1936, this group, whose membership consisted of Jews and gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, philanthropists and politicians, business leaders and artists, set out to make Hodes's dream a reality.¹³

They were able to do so because of the organization's strategy of depicting three men of different heritage rather than one. This decision was in part due to an earlier controversy that took place within the New York City Jewish community when a group called the Federation of Polish Jews (formerly known as the Federation of Polish Hebrews) proposed erecting a statue to honor Salomon as a Polish "immigrant hero." The proposal, offered in 1925, was rejected by the New York Art Commission because of design issues as well as a lack of historically significant evidence to support the federation's claims. The group tried again a few years later and this time met with more success—at least from the New York Art Commission. However, until the project's eventual demise in the mid-1930s, the Federation of Polish Jews was dogged by a formidable opposition within the more established Jewish community in New York City, including Max Kohler of the American Jewish Historical Society. The opposition had hoped that the federation would be willing to erect a monument that included

other Jewish patriots of the American Revolution, but the federation refused. It was adamant that the statue be a monument to the Polish Jewish patriot in order to inspire future generations of similar heritage. The federation's attempt to mitigate opposition by commissioning Charles E. Russell, who had recently won a Pulitzer Prize, to write a book on Salomon failed. "At stake in the debate over the monument was not only the memory of Haym Salomon," historian Beth Wenger observes, "but a power struggle between different sectors of the Jewish community." The debate over the memorial honoring Salomon "fundamentally centered on Salomon's symbolic meaning within two American Jewish cultures and their differing beliefs about public expressions of Jewish identity."¹⁴

The wrangle in New York exposed the division that existed between the recently arrived Polish Jews and more established groups of American and ethnic Jews, especially those from Germany. Those opposed to the idea of honoring Salomon with a statue feared that a lack of historical evidence to support his presumed heroic efforts could invite criticism of both the statue and the Jewish community that erected it. Choosing an individual with a sketchy historical record to depict the Jewish contribution (or the Polish Jewish contribution in particular) to the American Revolution would, they worried, make them vulnerable to accusations that the Jews' role in the founding of the American nation was at best minimal.¹⁵

As Hodes frequently pointed out, he was aware of the New York situation and set out to avoid a similar outcome in Chicago. Consequently, the proposed—and eventual—statue did not celebrate Salomon the Man or Salomon the Jew or Salomon the Hero of the American Revolution; rather, a statue featuring Salomon was meant to symbolize the role of minority groups in the founding of the United States. (By minority groups, however, Hodes made it clear in his correspondence that he meant Jews.) In the wake of the failed attempt by the Federation of Polish Jews in New York City, the decision to link Salomon to Washington and Morris was a clever one that led to success in Chicago. Hodes's activities and strategy suggest that he was determined not to have a repeat of the New York debacle. The key was to present to Chicago not a Jewish monument, but an American one; not a monument that celebrated a Jewish-American hero in particular, but one that displayed in bronze the American values of diversity and unity as exemplified by Jewish participation. While the unique statue depicting the three patriots was meant to reinforce Americanism, it remained (and remains) for many, especially in the Jewish-American community, a statue dedicated to the memory of a Jewish patriot of the American Revolution.¹⁶

An American Project with Jewish Urgency

With antisemitism running rampant in Europe and becoming increasingly virulent in America, friends of Hodes and well-wishers from across the country expressed that a permanent reminder of the Jewish contribution to the American story was needed more than ever. Hodes clearly agreed.

To create the statue, Hodes approached Lorado Taft, one of the nation's premier sculptors. The artist was known in the Chicago area for pieces such as *Eternal Silence* (1908), *Fountain of the Great Lakes* (1913), and *The Fountain of Time* (1922). Throughout his career, Taft focused a number of his works on historical figures, including *Schuyler Colfax* (1887), *General Ulysses S. Grant* (1889), *George Washington* (1908), *Black Hawk* (1911), and *Lincoln, The Young Lawyer* (1927). When Hodes made his request, Taft, a gentile descendant of American revolutionaries, happily agreed to the commission.¹⁷

The two men no doubt were acutely aware of the growing antisemitism in a city that was home to roughly 300,000 Jews—especially as manifested by groups such as the Chicago chapter of the German-American Bund, which, led by Fritz Kuhn, spouted Nazi propaganda. The Bund, which ceased to exist the day after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, was not the only force of antisemitism in the United States during the Great Depression. Others, such as Father Charles Coughlin, preyed on American anxieties during the Great Depression and offered up a favorite scapegoat for popular consumption—Jews. The popularity of such men and their ideas were, according to one scholar, “a symptom of the weakened state of American democracy.” Moreover, during the 1930s the rise of groups characterized by their antisemitic sentiments and profascist beliefs bode gravely on the American public mind. Americans increasingly suspected that people in their midst, including their neighbors, were engaged in traitorous activity. In fact, according to a Gallup poll taken in 1940, nearly half of Americans believed that people making up a fifth column were part of their communities. Stunningly, only 26 percent of Americans polled felt that fifth columnists had *not* penetrated their neighborhoods. So, it is not surprising that for those living at this time in the United States it did not seem farfetched to think that a “dangerous, anti-democratic Trojan Horse” was in the making.¹⁸

The creeping antisemitism was very much on the mind of those who wished to see the project move forward. At a luncheon fundraiser at Chicago's Standard Club, Richard Gutstadt, the executive director of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, reported that Premier Hermann William Goering himself announced at the Nuremberg Congress that “the Swastika was no longer the emblem of Nazi Germany but was rather becoming the symbol of the world's determination to exterminate Jews; that that was seriously intended and was not merely Nazi ballyhoo.” Time was of essence, Gutstadt told the crowd assembled to raise funds for the Washington-Morris-Salomon monument. Gutstadt argued that the proposed memorial would serve an educational purpose and help save democracy. And it was American democracy that acted as a safeguard for Jews as well as other minority groups, such as Catholics. The statue, according to Gutstadt, will be a “concrete manifestation that all who see may understand that the philosophy of our democracy and the development of this great government is ... the product of the genius of the representatives of all groups who were

here at the time the Revolutionary concept was first born, and who have made their contribution from that time down to the present day.”

While attempting to reach out to a broad audience by emphasizing diversity, the speech was a thinly veiled message to the Jews in the audience. As such, Gutstadt concluded his talk by wondering aloud if a city of four million, including over 300,000 Jews, would step up to raise the necessary \$50,000. “Are we going to dedicate ourselves to this purpose which transcends Jewish interest, which transcends civic pride, to this purpose which is thoroughly and truly American in its implications?” Gutstadt exhorted, adding: “Are we going to rise to the needs of the occasion and make this magnificent and permanent artistic concept a reality for Chicago?” The speaker hoped that by encouraging the vernacular interest to bind itself with the official, the Washington-Morris-Salomon project would meet with success. Hodes must have been heartened and deeply satisfied as he listened to Gutstadt.¹⁹

Hodes and Taft no doubt hoped that the monument would serve as an antidote to antisemitic threats to American democracy. According to his son-in-law, Taft “became increasingly concerned during the last two years of his life about the anti-semitic movement in the country . . . [and] became constantly more indignant as he saw some of the cunning attempts to stir up anti-semitism by reactionary and unAmerican groups, and he was very anxious to do what he could to help counteract these attempts.”²⁰ A realistic and concerned Hodes discussed with Taft a way to protect what would be an obvious target for Nazi supporters and other antisemites. They concluded that they would have the patriots join hands. Besides giving the finished product a striking appearance it would, at the same time, underscore the message of unity, as well as minimize the chances that the statue of Salomon would be harmed. Hodes later said that he “went to Lorado Taft and induced him to interlock Washington’s and Salomon’s arms. In that way,” Hodes continued, “any disfigurement of Salomon would also have injured Washington, and would have been a national disgrace.”²¹

Having commissioned the statue and seen the model, Hodes was determined to defend the historical record of Salomon and set out to gather as much information as possible. Again, the New York controversy remained on his mind. He received an unexpected boost from a Warner Brothers “patriotic short” that appeared in 1939, titled *Sons of Liberty*, which won an Oscar the following year. Directed by Michael Curtiz and starring Claude Rains, the film focused on the patriotic services of Salomon and was a rare instance when a Jewish character was portrayed in a motion picture. In fact, as Randi Hokett, the director of the Warner Bros. Archives at the University of Southern California, observed, *Sons of Liberty* “stands out” because of its synagogue scene, which was “bold imagery in a time when Jewish identity had been largely eliminated from the American movie screen.”²²

Hollywood's silence regarding the rise of Nazism in Germany as well as the antisemitism at home was strange and surprising, and Harry Warner was determined to counter it. Warner, the lesser-known sibling of the famed Warner Brothers, was adamant about getting the word out regarding the ominous trend toward Jews. Described by his daughter as "a very serious, moral man," Warner, like Hodes, had a natural connection with the revolutionary patriot Haym Salomon. Like Salomon, Warner was a Polish Jewish immigrant who hoped to aid America during a time of crisis. *Sons of Liberty*, which could be shown free of charge in places of worship or educational institutions, was, according to historian Michael Birdwell, "a tonic to the rising tide of domestic anti-Semitism, for it assured viewers that Jews were as patriotic as Christians and loved their country just as dearly." This observation closely resembles Hodes's driving sentiment. Moreover, Birdwell's conclusion that "Haym Salomon, then, could easily be interpreted as a filmic embodiment of Harry Warner" could just as easily be said about Hodes and the statue that was eventually erected in downtown Chicago.²³

"The Project will be Completed"

The Washington-Morris-Salomon statue was the last commissioned work of Lorado Taft. The artist embraced the project because he enthusiastically believed in the mission of the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago. However, he was unable to see it to its completion. The famed sculptor died in October 1936 only having completed a maquette. As Taft lay dying, he extracted a promise from his son-in-law, Paul H. Douglas, professor of economics at the University of Chicago and future war hero and U.S. senator, that it would be completed. Douglas assured his father-in-law that he would contact Hodes to make sure that he and the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago were on board with continuing the project should Taft die. The next day Douglas (falsely) reported back to the sculptor that he had discussed the issue with Hodes, who had affirmed his commitment to completing the project. Comforted by this information, Taft took his son-in-law's hand and confided, "If the memorial can be finished I can die happy." Within fifteen minutes, the sculptor closed his eyes, never to regain consciousness again. He died four days later. In the days following Taft's death a desperate Douglas contacted supporters to urge on the project to its completion—even admitting to them that he had told Taft a white lie in order to grant the artist his dying wish.²⁴

Douglas set to work right away to fulfill his promise. He wrote letter after letter to friends explaining the need to see the project through. Interestingly, those in charge had to decide between two major projects that Taft was involved with at the time—the Fountain of Creation and the Washington-Morris-Salomon statue—to make sure that at least one would be completed. Douglas and Taft's widow, Ada Bartlett, decided to move forward on the Patriotic

Foundation of Chicago project, since the sculptor was passionate about the fight against prejudice and it was his dying wish that it be completed. Sculptor and former Taft student Leonard Crunelle took on the task of turning Taft's model into a monument.²⁵

The project continued to move forward. In 1938, Hodes embarked on a letter-writing campaign to forty-six governors and U.S. senators, explaining the purpose of the project and encouraging his fellow politicians to write letters of support. The response was everything that Hodes could have wished for. The co-chair of the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago would later use these letters to demonstrate the widespread support the project enjoyed.²⁶

Judging by the politicians' comments—which ranged from the prosaic to the eloquent—a number of the governors and senators sounded genuinely inspired by the project. U.S. Senator Richard Russell applauded Hodes's project as a reminder that “no section nor strain has a monopoly in patriotism or in our record of achievement” as a nation. James Davis, U.S. senator from Pennsylvania, commented that “many racial strains which have been dedicated in this great land to the cause of constitutional government and free enterprise. . . have blended their splendid forces to provide the drive towards higher levels of human happiness in an orderly way.” Elbert Thomas, U.S. senator from Utah, added a personal touch to his letter to Hodes:

As a son of a mother and a father who both immigrated to America with the purpose of coming to a land which would furnish a home for those who wished to worship as they saw fit, to think as they wished, and to help build a lasting monument in a governmental way to democracy in all its possibilities, I rejoice in your undertaking. May our country ever remain the land of opportunities your monument symbolizes.

Interestingly, Florida's Senator Claude Pepper wrote that the monument to “honor our early American patriots is just the vital force we need today to awaken our generation to patriotic consciousness which will weld them together in a common fight against another tyrant—the depression.” Governor Harry Nice of Maryland stated that “Chicago's graphic symbol in memory of . . . Salomon's service makes me pause to give recognition to the fact that our country is a beautiful Mosaic of all social and religious patterns.”²⁷ Nearly all of the letters made a point of praising Hodes (or the proposed memorial) for rescuing the memory of Salomon while acknowledging the crucial service the Polish-Jewish immigrant played in the revolutionary drama.

Hodes's letter-writing campaign continued during the fall of 1939, when he sent a brief article to leading newspapers and periodicals describing the project. He requested the public to inform him of any leads regarding material on Salomon. On the same day he sent letters to chairs of history departments at leading American academic institutions asking if they or anyone they knew,

including graduate students, were in possession of historical information regarding Salomon. He sent letters to leading citizens as well, such as John Pershing, the general of the armies; Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., war hero and leading founder of the American Legion; Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter; and President Franklin D. Roosevelt, informing them of the project. In return, he received expressions of support from these towering Americans.²⁸

This, of course, does not mean that all politicians supported the project. The well-respected Congressman Emanuel Celler, of Brooklyn, wrote to a mutual friend that he opposed the proposed statue in New York City and he opposed this one as well for the same reason: He believed there was not enough information to justify a statue of Salomon. While Celler agreed that Salomon was a patriot, he had his concerns, which he expressed in no uncertain terms. The congressman thought there were plenty of other individuals who were more deserving but were not having a statue erected in their honor. Like the opposition group in New York City, he worried that the Salomon statue would stoke the rabid antisemites in America who had a bully pulpit—namely, Father Coughlin.²⁹

In a letter to the congressman (via the same mutual friend), Hodes confidently fired back, stating that he was well aware of the arguments regarding the historical Salomon. For Hodes and the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago, Morris's frequent acknowledgment of Salomon's assistance during the War for Independence was enough to justify permanently displaying the three men together for posterity. He posited that the Jewish patriot served to represent the Jewish contribution—among others—and emphasized that Salomon was “included in the monument as a symbol of all the many Jews who were in America at the time of the Revolution.” Hodes's response was a shrewd one, for even the opposing sides in New York City were able to agree on Salomon's symbolic value.³⁰

By 1940, the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago had already raised the \$50,000 needed to fund the project—a remarkable feat considering the shrinking payrolls over the previous decade. Chicago, a population with a foreign-born majority, led the state of Illinois in unemployment. At one point in the early 1930s, 40 percent of Chicagoans were unemployed. Fortunately, as the decade wore on, Chicago benefited from a generous amount of New Deal funding, thanks to the mutually beneficial relationship between the popular Mayor Kelly and the even more popular President Roosevelt. While a few affluent individuals offered to pay for the statue, Hodes believed that the spirit with which the statue was being erected demanded that people across the social and economic spectrum contribute, even if it took longer to accomplish. Consequently, the funds were raised by popular subscription as well as fundraisers. A confident Hodes informed inquirers in 1940 that he expected the statue to be completed and erected sometime in the spring, and then late summer. In the end, the statue would not be completed for another year.³¹

Conclusion

On 15 December 1941, the Washington- Morris- Salomon statue was dedicated in Chicago. Ostensibly the purpose of the monument was to symbolize that the success of the War for Independence was achieved through tolerance, diversity, sacrifice, and unity—the united efforts of different ethnic groups as well as the cooperation between the military and civilians. The monument was imagined, in the words of its sculptor, Lorado Taft, as “a powerful sermon in bronze and granite of the importance” of unity amongst America’s diverse people and “in crucial times, of civilian as well as military sacrifice and preparedness.”³² The message of Hodes and the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago was especially important on this day in Chicago, when the attack on Pearl Harbor, which had taken place just a week earlier, was still foremost on everyone’s minds. Timed to coincide with the anniversary of the Bill of Rights, and coincidentally, with the first day of Chanukah, the statue’s message became even more pertinent as a new war would demand participation from all ethnic groups and cooperation between the military and civilian populations at an unprecedented level. Moreover, the ominous developments in Europe that portended grave fears for American Jewry brought a sharp urgency to the project.³³

Chicagoans dutifully followed President Roosevelt’s proclamation encouraging Americans to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Bill of Rights—the first ten amendments to a Constitution that Haym Salomon did not live to experience. Throughout the day, gatherings took place all over the city. Mayor Kelly found himself running between functions, which were sometimes separated by only a matter of blocks. At 11:30 AM people began to gather at Heald Square. Movie stars, well-known radio and theater performers, and the United States Navy Band entertained the crowd as they waited for the program to begin at 1:00. By the time it started, five thousand people had assembled to witness the dedication of the Washington-Morris-Salomon monument. Thousands more listened to the program as it was boomed over the “State street amplification system” that was arranged to maximize the number who could hear “the downtown observances program.”³⁴

Those in attendance watched the presentation of colors and listened to speeches from politicians, military officials, and religious figures, including a Presbyterian minister, a Roman Catholic priest, and a rabbi from Congregation Mikveh Israel of Philadelphia, the religious community to which Salomon once belonged. The need for unity to defeat the latest enemy of American liberties was the day’s theme. Diversity and tolerance as bulwarks of American strength continued to be emphasized, as they had been since the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago’s campaign began. Now, on this wintry afternoon, the speakers and their audience were linked to the American War for Independence in a way that few could have imagined just weeks before. However, the public celebration and dedication of the monument deemphasized Salomon’s Jewishness. In fact, the

pamphlet that was prepared for the day fails to make any specific reference to Jewish participation in the War for Independence or to Salomon as a Jew. While this was in stark contrast to the letters and newspaper articles that discussed the project from its conception through its dedication, it was exactly what Hodes had planned to do to make this monument a success. His Jewish hero of the American Revolution would be on an American monument, not a Jewish one.³⁵

Unity and American values in the face of tyranny was the message of the day, even while war preparation was in the air and people braced for the dark reality that would soon make itself known. Seemingly, the official had eclipsed the vernacular. However, Hodes's quest to have Salomon remembered demonstrates that a tension is not necessary between the official and the vernacular as the public memory of a person or an event emerges. At the gathering in downtown Chicago, Jewish and gentile Americans in and out of government celebrated their shared country, their shared past, and each other.

During the height of Hodes's campaign for the Jewish American revolutionary, a writer for the *New York Times* reportedly quipped that Salomon was the "most remembered forgotten man in history."³⁶ Today, it may be tempting to think that he is simply forgotten. As long as the statue stands, however, the possibility exists that each person who walks by it and takes notice of the unusual name will enfold the Jewish patriot into his or her historical memory—so that rather than being forgotten, Salomon will be, as Senator William Smathers of New Jersey said in 1938, the "almost forgotten patriot" of the American Revolution.

Appendix

*Members of The Patriotic Foundation of Chicago, C. 1936*³⁷

Mayor Edward J. Kelly, Honorary Chairman

Colonel A. A. Sprague, Co-Chairman

Barnet Hodes, Co-Chairman

Edgar L. Schnadig, Executive Vice Chairman

Laurance H. Armour, Treasurer

Lorado Taft, Sculptor

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I. Baumgartl William Scott Bond Ralph Clarkson

N.B. Bederman Britton I. Budd Joseph B. David

Louis Behr Oscar S. Caplan Dr. Joseph B. De Lee

Charles H. Dennis	Adolph F. Kramer	Harold Rosenberg
Zoltan Dicker	H. Kramer	S. Rosenthal
Amb. William E. Dodd	Howard Landau	Maurice L. Rothschild
Paul H. Douglas	A.D. Lasker	Peter Sampson
RDML J. H. Downes	Herbert Lautmann	Benjamin Samuels
Joseph L. Drucker	Brig. Gen.S. Lawton	Dr. Philip D. Sand
Leon Edelman	Foreman M. Lebold	Howard Savage
Harry Englestein	Edward T. Lee	Arthur Schoenstadt
Benj. P. Epstein	Benjamin Levitan	Charles K. Schwartz
Bernard J. Fallon	Mark Levy	Charles P. Schwartz
Edward G. Felsenthal	F. J. Lewis	Dr. Samuel Schwartz
Dr. Morris Fishbein	Dr. Walter Lichtenstein	U.S. Schwartz
Harry M. Fisher	Harry A. Lipsky	Dr. Walter D. Scott
Dr. G. George Fox	Lewis Litt	Dr. Phillip Seman
Mrs. Earnest Freund	Frank A. Logan	Angus Roy Shannon
Erwin O. Freund	Jack Manfield	Herbert S. Silberman
Harry Gamson	Dr. Louis L. Mann	Mrs. S. Silberman
Dr.W. E. Garrison	H.L. Meites	Edwin Silverman
Dean Charles W. Gilkey	S. Mayer	Harry W. Solomon
Nathan Goldblatt	Mrs. Mary T. McHugh	H. T. Spiesberger
Harry Goldstine	Herman Meltzer	Barnet Stein
Harry N. Gottlieb	S. Felix Mendelsohn	Alfred K. Stern
Dr. Carl Greenwald	Alfred C. Meyer	Arthur W. Straus
Joseph F. Grossman	A. Miller	H. H. Straus
Richard Gutstadt	Benj. I. Morris	S. J. T. Straus
Mrs. A. Headburg	Dr. Chas. C. Morrison	Thomas E. Tallmadge
Abram Hirschberg	Wm. S. Newburger	Morris Teller
Mrs. Marcus Hirschl	Dwight Perkins	Merle Trees
Dr. Saml. S. Hollender	H. Perlstein	Dudley C. Watson
Dr. Arthur Holt	Charles S. Peterson	Joseph Weil
Governor Henry Horner	Mrs.Chas.Pillsbury	Benjamin Weintraub
Edmund K. Jarecki	Charles Pillsbury	Charles Weisenseng
David Jetzinger	S. P. Platt	Gen.W. Westervelt
Eleanor Jewett	Dr. Sidney Portis	Sigmund Wedeles
Harry Joseph	Mrs. M.L. Purvin	Max Woldenberg
Louis Kahn	Charles L. Rice	Dr. Edwin P. Zeisler
S.B. Komaiko	Mitchell C. Robin	Frank Zintak
Frank E. Konkowski	Sol P. Roderick	
Leo S. Kositchek		

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Notes

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¹George Washington to the Hebrew Congregation of Newport, Rhode Island, 18 August 1790, *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*, ed. Theodore J. Crackel (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008).

²Lorado Taft, "The Monuments of Chicago," *Art and Archaeology* 12 (1921): 120.

³Franklin D. Roosevelt to Barnet Hodes, 13 November 1941, Barnet Hodes Collection, Box 10, Folder 14, Chicago History Museum; Scott Hodes, "50 years later, a son recounts drive to erect 'Patriots' statue," *Chicago Sun-Times* (17 December 1991): 5. Harry Barnard, "*This Great Triumvirate of Patriots*": *The Inspiring Story Behind Lorado Taft's Chicago Monument to George Washington, Robert Morris and Haym Salomon* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1971), 11–13. In 2003, the statue received a new home on the other side of Wacker Drive, closer to the river. Susan Chandler, "Logan's Hero—The City's Neglected Monuments Have Their Guardian Angels," *Chicago Tribune* (15 February 2004): 17.

⁴John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), quotes on p. 14. Bodnar's useful model continues to be employed to good effect in strikingly different ways. See, for instance, Stephanie E. Yuhl, "Sculpted Radicals: The Problem of Sacco and Vanzetti in Boston's Public Memory," *The Public Historian* 32, no. 2 (May 2010): 9–30; and Theodore J. Karamanski, "History, Memory, and Historic Districts in Chicago," *The Public Historian* 32, no. 4 (Nov. 2010): 33–41.

⁵Beth S. Wenger, "Sculpting an American Jewish Hero: The Monuments, Myths, and Legends of Haym Salomon" in *Divergent Jewish Cultures: Israel and America*, ed. Deborah Dash Moore and S. Ilan Troen (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 123–151. The consensus involved in shaping myths and memory is often overshadowed by the focus on conflict. For instance, in her insightful essay on the battle over the memory of Salomon within the American Jewish community, Wenger characterizes the history as a conflict even though a majority of the attempts to erect a statue of Salomon that she writes about were successful and without serious or overwhelming contention. While statues of Salomon went up in Chicago and Los Angeles without much of a hitch, the attempt in New York, which preceded both, was a source of internecine conflict.

⁶Roger Biles, "Edward J. Kelly: New Deal Machine Builder," in *The Mayors: The Chicago Political Tradition*, ed. Paul M. Green and Melvin G. Holli (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005 [orig. 1987]), 111–125. "The George Washington Robert Morris Haym Salomon Memorial," a pamphlet of the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago, c. 1936, Haym Salomon File, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio (hereafter AJA).

⁷Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 14, 114, 136, quote on p. 14. "Barnet Hodes," *Who's Who in American Jewry: A Biographical Dictionary of Living Jews of the United States and Canada*, vol. 3, ed. John Simons (New York: National News Association, Inc., 1938), 447. According to this entry, in 1938 Hodes belonged to both the South Shore Temple (Reform), where he served as president, and the South Side Hebrew Congregation (Conservative), which is now called the

Central Synagogue of Chicago. The two congregations were within blocks of each other in the South Shore neighborhood of Chicago. See Irving Cutler, *The Jews of Chicago: From Shtetl to Suburb* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 206. Both congregations moved to the North Side in the 1970s. See “A New Home for Central Synagogue of Chicago,” 22 March 2010, http://www.centralchicago.org/blog_article.html?id=16 (accessed 14 February 2011).

⁸It is likely that the city’s law department, which was—and still is—housed in a building at 33 N. LaSalle Street, doubled as the headquarters of the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago. Not only was correspondence regarding the project sent and received by Hodes at this address, a letter from the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago’s executive secretary, Jack Reilly, is on foundation letterhead that uses the address 33 N. LaSalle Street. See Reilly to Benjamin Davis, 22 September 1936, Haym Salomon File, AJA. When Wacker Drive was reconfigured in 2003, the Washington-Morris-Salomon statue was moved from the medianlike park to the other side of Wacker—a matter of yards. It is now in a more accessible area along the Chicago River. Unlike the Chicago statue, which has remained part of the cityscape of downtown Chicago, the statue of Salomon in Los Angeles has moved a number of times over the last half century, following the movement of the Jewish community within the city. See “Statue Gets Around,” 11 November 2005, <http://www.forward.com/articles/2221/> (accessed 20 January 2011). See also “Haym Salomon Statue Re-Dedication,” 12 June 2008, <http://www.tomlabonge.com/news/story/164> (accessed 20 January 2011).

⁹Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 14, 16, quote on p. 14; Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 481, 531.

¹⁰Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis*, no. 1 (Philadelphia: Styner and Cist, 1776): 1.

¹¹“Barnet Hodes,” *Who’s Who in American Jewry*, 447; “Biographical Sketch of Barnet Hodes,” Guide to the Barnet Hodes Papers, Chicago History Museum. For an interesting overview of the life and work of Madison C. Peters, see “Madison C. Peters Dies of Influenza,” *New York Times* (13 October 1918): 23. Peters was the author of a number of books, including *The Jew as a Patriot* (New York: The Baker & Taylor Co., 1902); *The Jews in America; a short story of their part in building the republic* (Philadelphia: The J.C. Winston Company, 1905); *Justice to the Jew: The Story of What He Had Done for the World* (New York: The Trow Press, 1910); and *The Jews who stood by Washington; an unwritten chapter in American history* (New York: The Trow Press, 1915). In 1927 there were only sixty-nine Jews in LaSalle, Illinois; ten years later that number went up to eighty. Jacob Rader Marcus, *To Count a People: American Jewish Population Data, 1585–1984* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 60.

¹²William Pencak, *Jews and Gentiles in Early America, 1654–1800* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 225; Laurens R. Schwartz, *Jews and the American Revolution: Haym Salomon and Others* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1987), 28–29. An 1828 affidavit suggests that George Washington assigned Salomon the task of burning New York City. The sketch, of which the affidavit is a part, was written by Salomon’s son and namesake, who attempted during the nineteenth century to secure repayment for the financial contribution made by his father during the American Revolution. See Simon Wolf, “A Sketch of Haym Salomon,” in *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, ed. Louis Edward Levy (New York: Brentano’s, 1895), 16, 23–24. For a skeptical reading of the events associated with Salomon, see Wenger, “Sculpting an American Jewish Hero.” For Salomon’s assistance to members of Congress, see James Madison to Edmund Randolph, 27 August 1782, *Letters of Delegates to Congress*, vol. 19, 96; and James Madison to Edmund Randolph, 30 September 1782, *ibid.*, 214, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwdg.html> (accessed July 14, 2010).

¹³“A Great Patriotic Event for Chicago and the Nation, The Unveiling and Dedication of the George Washington, Robert Morris, Haym Salomon Monument, December 15, 1941,” Haym Salomon file, AJA.

¹⁴This account of the New York controversy is drawn from Wenger, “Sculpting an American Jewish Hero,” 129–137 (quotes are on pp. 135 and 137).

¹⁵Ibid. Hodes emphasized the Jewish contribution to the American Revolutionary War far more than Wenger suggests. For similar concerns held by Chicago Jews that their community would be “accused of synthetically creating a national hero out of Ham Salomon,” see Paul H. Douglas to Hamlin Garland, 30 November 1936, Lorado Taft Papers, Box 11, University Archives, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois (hereafter “University Archives”).

¹⁶For instance, the logo for the Chicago Jewish Historical Society depicts a Chicago skyline peppered with Jewish landmarks, including the Washington-Morris-Salomon statue. See <http://www.chicagojewishhistory.org> (accessed 14 July 2010). This author suspects that for the general American population Salomon does not hold any more meaning than lesser-known participants in the War for Independence. A perusal of relevant archival collections leads one to believe that Salomon is remembered mainly in the American Jewish community as a hero of the American Revolution, whereas knowledge of him in the general American public remains limited. While the statue has the potential to constantly introduce and reintroduce Salomon to the general public, Hodes’s hope—that “names such as Salomon, which heretofore have had an association that is purely Jewish, will take on an association that is American”—remains partially unfulfilled. Hodes to Walter Kraus, 12 July 1940, Box 10, folder 12, Chicago History Museum.

¹⁷Ada Bartlett Taft, *Lorado Taft, Sculptor and Citizen* (Greensboro, NC: Mary Taft Smith, 1946), 87–88; Timothy J. Garvey, *Public Sculptor: Lorado Taft and the Beautification of Chicago* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Patrick Reynolds, “‘Fra Lorado,’ Chicago’s Master Sculptor,” *Chicago History* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 50–63.

¹⁸Marcus, *To Count a People*, 57; Francis MacDonnell, *Insidious Foes: The Axis Fifth Column and the American Home Front* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 6–8, 32, 43, 45; David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 216, 227–234, 410–418.

¹⁹Richard E. Gutstadt, “A Picture for the Future...” [1930s], Barnet Hodes Papers, Box 10, Folder 14, Chicago History Museum.

²⁰Paul H. Douglas to Alfred S. Alschuler, 30 November 1936, Lorado Taft Papers, Box 11, University Archives.

²¹Quote from “Evading Nazi vandals,” *Chicago Sun-Times* (17 December 1991): 5. The story was repeated in “Anti-Nazi Art,” *Chicago Sun-Times* (31 August 1992): 4. For the German American Bund, see United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “German American Bund,” *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, <http://www.ushmm.org/eresearch/library/citation> (accessed 18 June 2010); Jim Bredemus, “The Failure of American Nazism: The German-American Bund’s Attempt to Create an American ‘fifth Column,’” *Traces*, <http://www.traces.org/americanbund.html> (accessed 18 June 2010); Dominic A. Pacyga, *Chicago: A Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 265, 267.

²²Randi Hokett, “Waging Warners’ War” in *Warners’ War: Politics, Pop Culture & Propaganda in Wartime Hollywood*, ed. Martin Kaplan and Johanna Blakley (Los Angeles: Norman Lear Center Press, 2004), 16, 18. See also Martin Starr, “Forgotten Patriot: The Inside Story of the Filming of Warner Brothers’ ‘Sons of Liberty,’” *The American Hebrew* (11 August 1939): 4, 17 and (18 August 1939): 12. The dire times resurrected interest in Salomon. Charles E. Russell’s *Haym Salomon and the Revolution* was published in 1930 as part of the attempt to erect a statue of Salomon in New York City. Eleven years later, in 1941, Howard Fast’s novel for young readers, *Haym Salomon: Son of Liberty*, appeared.

²³Betty Warner Sheinbaum, “Obligations Above and Beyond: Remembering Harry Warner” in *Warners’ War*, 11; Michael E. Birdwell, *Celluloid Soldiers: The Warner Bros. Campaign against Nazism* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 1–3, 59–60.

²⁴Paul H. Douglas to Alfred S. Alschuler, 30 November 1936 and Paul H. Douglas to Hamlin Garland, 30 November 1936, Lorado Taft Papers, Box 11, University Archives.

²⁵Paul H. Douglas to Albion Headburg, 30 November 1936, Lorado Taft Papers, Box 11, University Archives. Taft envisioned his Fountain of Creation sitting at the east end of the Midway in the Hyde Park neighborhood opposite of his masterpiece, Fountain of Time, which sits on the west end near Washington Park. As a result of the decision to move forward on the Washington-Morris-Salomon monument, the Fountain of Creation was never completed. Pieces can be located on the campus of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, including at the main library's front entrance.

²⁶Pacyga, *Chicago: A Biography*, 265, 267. Of the twenty-five U.S. senators to whom Hodes wrote, twenty-one were Democrats; and of the twenty-one governors to whom he wrote, fifteen were Democrats. For the party affiliation of the governors and U.S. senators, see <http://www.nga.org> (accessed 16 June 2010) and <http://www.bioguide.congress.gov> (accessed 16 June 2010).

²⁷Richard Russell to Barnet Hodes, 24 May 1938; James Davis to Hodes, 27 May 1938; Elbert Thomas to Hodes, 7 June 1938; Claude Pepper to Hodes, 3 June 1938; Harry Nice to Hodes, 28 May 1938; Barnet Hodes Papers, Box 10, Folder 14, Chicago History Museum.

²⁸John J. Pershing to Barnet Hodes, 27 April 1939; Theodore Roosevelt to Hodes, 15 January 1940; Felix Frankfurter to Hodes, 3 September 1941; Franklin Delano Roosevelt to Hodes, 3 September 1941 and 13 November 1941; Barnet Hodes Papers, Box 10, Folder 14, Chicago History Museum. Hodes sent letters to twenty-two history departments. See "Salomon Letter to Universities," Barnet Hodes Papers, Box 10, Folder 12, Chicago History Museum. A number of letters sent to Hodes refer to the publication in which they read his request.

²⁹Emanuel Celler to I.B. Pearlman, 15 December 1939, Barnet Hodes Papers, Box 10, Folder 14, Chicago History Museum; Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 216, 227–234, 410–418.

³⁰Barnet Hodes to I. B. Pearlman, 3 January 1940, Barnet Hodes Papers, Box 10, Folder 14, Chicago History Museum. Hodes's response to Congressman Celler resembles the clash between "fact" and "interpretation" that Edward T. Linenthal observed during the *Enola Gay* controversy at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum during the 1990s. See Linenthal, "Anatomy of a Controversy," in *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past*, ed. Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1996), 9–62. See also Barnet Hodes to James A. James, 26 March 1940, Barnet Hodes Papers, Box 10, Folder 12, Chicago History Museum. In his book, written on behalf of the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago, Harry Barnard observed, "Reflecting the true situation that the War of Independence was not a one-man affair but included many other patriots, Washington properly does not stand alone." Barnard, "*This Great Triumvirate of Patriots*," 7; Wenger, "Sculpting an American Jewish Hero," 137; For the patriotic symbol serving pluralistic ends in the Midwest, see Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 113–137.

³¹For the bleak economic situation in Chicago, especially during the early 1930s, see Pacyga, *Chicago: A Biography*, 251, 253. The foreign-born and their offspring accounted for 64.3 percent of Chicago's population in 1930. *Ibid.*, 257; Biles, "Edward J. Kelly," 111–125; a telegram to Louis Schwartz from Barnet Hodes, 4 January 1940, and a letter from Hodes to Harry Jacoby, 19 March 1940, indicate that Hodes had hoped to see the statue completed in 1940. He explicitly states in the telegram that a statue was being erected in Chicago because of the bicentennial of Salomon's birth and that it would be a "permanent tribute to our first President and two of the leading figures of the American Revolution." Barnet Hodes Papers, Box 10, Folder 12, Chicago History Museum.

³²Lorado Taft quoted in "A Great Patriotic Event for Chicago and the Nation, The Unveiling and Dedication of the George Washington, Robert Morris, Haym Salomon Monument, December 15, 1941," Haym Salomon file, AJA.

³³"Chicago to Unveil Washington-Morris-Salomon Monument to Mark American Unity," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* (4 December 1941), at <http://archive.jta.org/article/1941/12/04/2855967/chicago-to-unveil-washingtonmorrissalomon-monument-to-mark-american-unity> (accessed 1 November 2011). Thanks to John Hoffman for bringing this document to my attention.

³⁴“Dedicatory Program for Presenting the George Washington-Robert Morris-Haym Salomon Monument to the City of Chicago,” 15 December 1941, Haym Salomon file, AJA; “Chicago Prepares to Observe 150th Year of Bill of Rights,” *Chicago Daily News* (13 December 1941): 6. “City Unveils Statue; Hails Bill of Rights,” *Chicago Daily News* (15 December 1941): 1, 4; “Chicagoans Join Nation in Tribute to Bill of Rights; Monument to Heroes of 1776 Unveiled,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (16 December 1941): 2, 8.

³⁵“A Great Patriotic Event for Chicago and the Nation, The Unveiling and Dedication of the George Washington, Robert Morris, Haym Salomon Monument, December 15, 1941,” Haym Salomon file, AJA. For instance, see Milton S. Mayer, “Unique Statue Here to Honor Washington Aids,” *Chicago Evening American* (3 July 1936): 3, 5; Virginia Gardner, “Push Drive for Memorial to 3 Patriots of ’76; Chicagoans will Honor Haym Salomon,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (14 August 1936): 14; “Push Fund Drive for Statues of Revolution Trio; Memorial to Washington, Morris and Salomon,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (21 July 1937): 7, 28; “Jewish Patriot of Revolution to be Honored,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (9 April 1939): 18; “Huge Monument to 3 Men Will be Unveiled Dec. 15,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (18 November 1941): 28; “Dedicate New Monument to 3 Men on Dec. 15,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (27 November 1941): 16.

³⁶Quoted in *The American Hebrew* (8 March 1940): 4.

³⁷“The George Washington Robert Morris Haym Salomon Memorial,” a pamphlet of the Patriotic Foundation of Chicago, c. 1936, Haym Salomon File, AJA.