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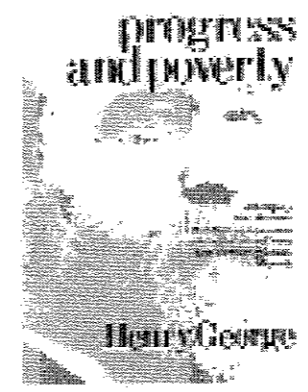
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# HENRY GEORGE



# &



# EMMA LAZARUS

## COMPARATIVE VIEWS

- \* ON PROGRESS AND POVERTY
- \* ON POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION
- \* ON SECTARIANISM VERSUS THE UNIVERSAL
- \* ON LIBERTY

BY JACK SCHWARTZMAN

HERE AT OUR SEA-WASHED, SUNSET GATES SHALL STAND  
A MIGHTY WOMAN WITH A TORCH, WHOSE FLAME  
IS THE IMPRISONED LIGHTNING, AND HER NAME  
MOTHER OF EXILES. . . .

. . . "GIVE ME YOUR TIRED, YOUR POOR,  
YOUR HUDDLED MASSES YEARNING TO BREATHE FREE,  
THE WRETCHED REFUSE OF YOUR TEEMING SHORE.  
SEND THESE, THE HOMELESS, TEMPEST-TOST TO ME,  
I LIFT MY LAMP BESIDE THE GOLDEN DOOR!"

- EMMA LAZARUS, *THE NEW COLLOSSUS*, 1883

WE HONOR LIBERTY IN NAME AND FORM.  
WE SET UP HER STATUES AND SOUND HER PRAISES.  
BUT WE HAVE NOT FULLY TRUSTED HER.  
AND WITH OUR GROWTH SO GROW HER DEMANDS.  
SHE WILL HAVE NO HALF SERVICE!

- HENRY GEORGE, *PROGRESS AND POVERTY*, 1879



# HENRY GEORGE AND EMMA LAZARUS: COMPARATIVE VIEWS



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HENRY GEORGE AND EMMA LAZARUS:  
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BY JACK SCHWARTZMAN

1998

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By Jack Schwartzman

1) Introduction

On March 26, 1996, an article appeared in the Long Island (New York) *Newsday* with the following heading: "Emma Lazarus Would Be Crying." The article was written by Lorraine Dusky, and stated (in part): "This is the year many want to tell the immigrants to go home. If this were medieval times, we would be rolling up the drawbridge and dumping the unwanted into the moat.... In a move to crack down on illegal immigration, the House [of Representatives] passed a bill allowing states to deny public education to illegal immigrants. Let the huddled masses, the tired, the poor welcomed to our shores by that misguided lady, the Statue of Liberty, stay where they are. We've got problems of our own. Like taxes. Everybody knows that immigrants breed taxes like carrion breeds flies."<sup>1</sup>

The author, Lorraine Dusky, was obviously sarcastic—but to the millions of Americans this is a most serious problem. Many citizens are fanatically determined to stop immigration: "illegal" or "legal." Numerous politicians are inciting the public, screaming that immigrants are "stealing" jobs from American citizens and causing the "excess" population to increase "beyond capacity." Soon, some say, there will be a "population explosion"—and one envisions corpses with swollen bellies lying in the gutter. Others are demanding that military forces patrol and "protect" the borders in order to stop the "invasion" of this human locust.

No wonder Emma Lazarus would be "crying"! After all, she was the author of the words satirized above: "the huddled masses," "the tired, the poor," and so on. She would be very much incensed—were she alive today—to witness this unceasing anti-immigration hysteria. And so would be (to a certain extent, as explained later) Henry George. It was he who, in a brilliant exposition, attacked the "population explosion" theory of Malthus.

In order to understand the problem fully, it is now necessary to explore the thoughts of the famed economist, Henry George (1839-1897), and the noted poet, Emma Lazarus (1849-1887), on the subjects of population and immigration—and other related topics.

\* \* \*

<sup>1</sup>*Newsday*, March 26, 1996, A37 and A40.

2) The Theme of Progress and Poverty

The year 1997 being the one hundredth anniversary of the death of Henry George, it is pertinent to examine his views, especially as expressed in his masterpiece, *Progress and Poverty*.

No book on economics was ever more acclaimed than Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* (1879). It is one of the great "best sellers" of all time. George set upon himself the task of finding out (and solving, to his own satisfaction) the problem of the "association of poverty and progress... the great enigma of our times. It is the central fact from which spring industrial, social, and political difficulties that perplex the world."<sup>2</sup> He continued:

"It is the riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilization, and which not to answer is to be destroyed. So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury, and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent. The reaction must come."<sup>3</sup>

George proposed, therefore, "to seek the law which associates poverty with progress, and increases want with advancing wealth."<sup>4</sup> How strange it was, he pondered, that in a century that witnessed great scientific inventions, all designed to "lighten the toil and improve the condition of the laborer,"<sup>5</sup> the contrary took place, for "upon streets lighted with gas and patrolled by uniformed policemen, beggars wait for the passer-by, and in the shadow of college, and library, and museum, are gathering the more hideous Huns and fiercer Vandals of whom Macaulay prophesied."<sup>6</sup>

And yet, all this poverty and all this terrible misery need not be! They are not caused by some law of nature but by human manipulation, by vicious and deliberate theft of the world's resources—which are unlimited. There is enough to provide for *all* the people—for *all* time! Using an apt metaphor, George compared the earth to a ship:

"It is a well provisioned ship, this on which we sail through space. If the bread and beef above decks seem to grow scarce we but open a hatch and there is a new supply, of which before we never dreamed. And very great command over the services of others comes to those who as the hatches are opened are permitted to say, 'This is mine!'"<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Henry George, *Progress and Poverty* (1879; New York: Schalkenbach, 1979), 10. (Hereafter, this book will be referred to as: P & P.)

<sup>3</sup>P & P, 10.

<sup>4</sup>P & P, 12.

<sup>5</sup>P & P, 3.

<sup>6</sup>P & P, 7.

<sup>7</sup>P & P, 243.

Then why is there such horrible want in the world? Who or what is responsible for the existing *extremes* of wealth and poverty? George was determined to find the cause. He eventually found such cause in land monopoly, in the unfortunately effective prohibition—to most of humanity—of access to nature, to the desperately needed resources of the world. Shocked by what he discovered, he proposed a solution to the problem of social iniquity. He called it the "remedy." His "remedy" was a proposal to impose a levy on land values only, in order to compel the relinquishing of the vast, immoral, and speculative holdings, and make nature and its potential produce available to all. George likewise proposed the abolition of all other taxes, in order to spur production—and thus bring about an economy based on justice. This is the gist of his book.

In 1881, two years after the publication of *Progress and Poverty*, George was living in New York City, and so was the budding poet, Emma Lazarus, a wealthy young lady, who was also determined to fight injustice throughout the world. She was a protégé and friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson, and an ardent admirer of the writings of Emerson and Henry David Thoreau.<sup>8</sup>

Emma Lazarus read *Progress and Poverty* and was very much "stirred by George's vision."<sup>9</sup> Evidently under the spell of George's "ship" metaphor, and deeply moved by George's startling revelation of the disparities between the very rich and the very poor, she wrote the following sonnet, which was published in *The New York Times*:

*Progress and Poverty*

Oh splendid age when Science lights her lamp  
At the brief lightning's momentary flame,  
Fixing it steadfast as a star, man's name  
Upon the very brow of heaven to stamp!  
Launched on a ship whose iron-cuirassed sides  
Mock storm and wave, Humanity sails free,  
Gayly upon a vast, untrodden sea.  
O'er pathless wastes, to ports undreamed she rides,  
Richer than Cleopatra's barge of gold,  
This vessel, manned by demi-gods, with freight  
Of priceless marvels. But where yawns the hold  
In that deep, reeking hell, what slaves be they,  
Who feed the ravenous monster, pant and sweat,  
Nor know if overhead reign night or day?<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup>H. E. Jacob, *The World of Emma Lazarus* (New York: Schocken Books, 1949), 62. (Hereafter, this book will be referred to as: Jacob.)

<sup>9</sup>Eve Merriam, *Emma Lazarus: Woman with a Torch* (New York: Citadel, 1956), 96. Hereafter, this book will be referred to as: *Torch*.)

<sup>10</sup>Emma Lazarus, "Progress and Poverty," *The New York Times* (1881). (Italics supplied.)

A biographer of Emma Lazarus described how the sonnet came to be written. "George's book, *Progress and Poverty*, had made a deep impression on her... Emma wrote a poem about his ideas, in which she pictured Progress as a ship of state sailing across the sea. The ship contained riches, and the people above deck were free and happy. Yet the power for the ship came from those who labored below, in the dark, damp hold, sweating as slaves. After *The New York Times* printed her poem, she sent George a copy."<sup>11</sup> According to one writer, George truly appreciated the sonnet.<sup>12</sup> In fact, stated another author, George was "very moved by it, and they began corresponding about social problems. He urged Emma to write more about topics of the day. A person with her gifts was needed to express the longings and the aspirations of the great masses of working people all over the world."<sup>13</sup> In a letter to Lazarus, George expressed (somewhat awkwardly) "the gratification of feeling that one of your gifts hears that appeal that once heard can never be forgotten."<sup>14</sup>

Emma Lazarus replied:

"I wish I could convey to you an idea of the feelings aroused in me by your book. No thinking man or woman these days can have remained altogether deaf to that mute 'appeal which once heard can never be forgotten.' But the same appeal when interpreted by your burning eloquence takes possession of one's mind and heart to such a degree as overpowers all other voices. Your work is not so much a book as an event—the life and thought of no one capable of understanding it can be quite the same after reading it—and even in the small circle of my personal friends I have had abundant evidence of the manner in which it sets the minds of men on fire—all men capable of feeling the inspiration of a great principle.' And how should it be otherwise? For once prove the indisputable truth of your ideas, and no person who prizes justice or common honesty can dine or sleep or read or work in peace until the monstrous wrong in which we are all accomplices be done away with. I congratulate you most heartily on the natural gifts with which you have been endowed for the noble cause you have espoused. Great as is the idea, it would certainly fail to kindle men's minds as it does now, if pleaded with less passionate eloquence, by less authoritative knowledge."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Eve Merriam, *The Voice of Liberty: The Story of Emma Lazarus* (New York: Farrar, 1959), 126-27. (Hereafter, this book will be referred to as: *Voice*.)

<sup>12</sup>Dan Vogel, *Emma Lazarus* (Boston: Twayne, 1980), 97. (Hereafter, this book will be referred to as: Vogel.)

<sup>13</sup>*Voice*, 127.

<sup>14</sup>*Torch*, 97.

<sup>15</sup>*Torch*, 97-98.

Emma Lazarus was mainly a poet; Henry George was mostly an economist. Yet the two of them found topics of mutual interest. Both were fervent idealists. Both were shocked by the existence of misery and poverty in the world. Both were dedicated to the ideas of justice and liberty. Their correspondence was friendly and warm. "At the end of six months or six years," Lazarus wrote to George, "if I were still here, I should be no less sure of your sympathy and friendly remembrance."<sup>16</sup>

\* \* \*

<sup>16</sup>Torch, 98.

### 3) The Theme of Population: Henry George

In order to grasp the ideas of George about population, it is necessary to become acquainted with Malthus and his famous (or infamous) theory.

In 1798, the English curate and economist, Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834), wrote his *Essay on Population*, which contains the following statement: "It may safely be pronounced... that population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every twenty-five years, or increases in a geometrical ratio."<sup>17</sup> However, it may also be "pronounced," he continued, that "the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favorable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio."<sup>18</sup> Therefore, "the human species would increase as the numbers, 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, and subsistence as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. In two centuries the population would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries as 4096 to 13, and in two thousand years the difference would be almost incalculable."<sup>19</sup> The majority of people would just suffocate and die.

Only "self-control," epidemics, or war could stave off (for an indefinite period of time) the impending catastrophe—which cannot be avoided.

Malthus' book took the world by storm. In spite of his fantastic and (as subsequently demonstrated) fallacious "prophecy" (since we are *now* at the "two centuries" mark and see how ridiculous his prediction is for today), his theory is, currently, widely and wildly accepted, and is more popular than ever. It especially appeals to the privileged classes, to those who control the world by means of monopoly and power. They can point to the wretches who are starving, and claim that there is nothing that can be done to help the afflicted (except for occasional well-publicized charities and military ["philanthropic"] invasions of "relief"). Those who are dying of hunger (say the pious do-gooders) have brought this calamity upon themselves. They have violated "God's law" by "overpopulating" the earth and literally choking themselves to death. This, say the modern Malthusians, is the inevitable "punishment" for failure to "abstain," and it is this "violation" which is the cause of world-wide famines. Of course, the fact that all these afflictions and tragedies are caused by war, conquest, revolutions, oppression, and mass murders is seldom—if ever—mentioned.

Angrily, Henry George lashed out against these self-appointed oracles of wisdom and virtue:

<sup>17</sup>Thomas Robert Malthus, *An Essay on Population*, 2 vols. (1798; London: Dent & Sons, 1914), 1:8. (Hereafter, this book will be referred to as: Malthus.)

<sup>18</sup>Malthus, 1:10.

<sup>19</sup>Malthus, 1:10-11.

"It is blasphemy that attributes to the inscrutable decrees of Providence the suffering and brutishness that come of poverty; that turns with folded hands to the All-Father and lays on Him the responsibility for the want and crime of our great cities. We degrade the Everlasting. We slander the Just One."<sup>20</sup>

The cause of social iniquity, George contended, lies in human greed and the professed "ownership" of the earth and its resources. Nevertheless, those who stand most to gain from the public acceptance of the Malthusian doctrine continue to espouse it with fanatic determination. They send emissaries and well-meaning reformers to impoverished countries to teach and to preach to "the natives" how *not* to "produce," "overpopulate," and "fertilize" the earth with unwanted babies, who, the powers-that-be contend, are the refuse of the world. "Malthus' conclusion is," stated Henry George, "that this tendency of population to indefinite increase must be held back either by moral restraint upon the reproductive faculty, or by the various causes which increase mortality."<sup>21</sup>

Aroused by the Malthusian doctrine, Henry George wrote an impassioned refutation in 1879. It is not the purpose of this essay to explore *in detail* this refutation. His argument could be briefly summarized as follows: The earth today is hardly overpopulated. (As a matter of fact, some economists claim that it is "underpopulated.") Poverty is caused artificially: by monopoly, oppressive tyranny, war, destruction, rigid class distinctions, ignorance, and tribal and religious hatreds. Poverty is not caused by "overpopulation" (whatever that may mean). George supported his argument with 1879 statistics. The author of this essay brought the argument up to date by using recently-released population figures.<sup>22</sup>

For instance, the following countries (city-states are not included) have almost the same densities (number of people per square mile), yet their per capita incomes (measured in U. S. dollars) vary so considerably as not even to be "in the same league."

**Incomes of 10 countries with densities of 1,000 or more people per sq. mile:**

- |                           |                           |                       |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1) Bermuda, \$28,000;     | 2) Netherlands, \$20,000; | 3) Taiwan, \$13,500;  |
| 4) South Korea, \$13,000; | 5) Bahrain, \$12,000;     | 6) Nauru, \$10,000;   |
| 7) Barbados, \$9,800;     | 8) Mauritius, \$9,600;    | 9) Maldives, \$1,500; |
| 10) Bangladesh, \$1,130.  |                           |                       |

<sup>20</sup>P & P, 549.

<sup>21</sup>P & P, 94.

<sup>22</sup>All the statistics cited here are taken from the 1998 *World Almanac*.

**Incomes of 10 countries with densities of 10 or fewer people per sq. mile:**

- |                          |                         |                       |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1) Canada, \$24,400;     | 2) Australia, \$22,100; | 3) Iceland, \$18,800; |
| 4) Libya, \$6,500;       | 5) Namibia, \$3,600;    | 6) Botswana, \$3,200; |
| 7) Suriname, \$3,000;    | 8) Guyana, \$ 2,200;    | 9) Mongolia, \$1,970; |
| 10) Mauritania, \$1,200. |                         |                       |

What relation, according to the above figures, is there between density and income? None whatever. Some heavily populated and some sparsely populated countries are extremely wealthy; some heavily populated and some sparsely populated countries are much impoverished. Further to show the ridiculousness of the Malthusian doctrine, it should be noted that:

The densities of both Japan and Comoros are almost the same (in the 820-860 range), yet the per capita income of Japan is \$21,300, among the highest in the world, and that of Comoros is \$700, among the lowest.

The densities of both the United Kingdom (Malthus' native land) and Haiti are the same (620), yet the per capita income of the United Kingdom is a high \$20,000, and that of Haiti is a low \$1,000.

The densities of the United States and Zimbabwe are the same (75), yet the per capita income of the United States is \$28,000, the highest in the world, and that of Zimbabwe is \$1,620, among the lowest.

The densities of both Finland and Somalia are the same (about 40), yet the per capita income of Finland is a high \$18,200, and that of Somalia is a very low \$500.

The densities of both Australia and Mauritania are the same (6), yet the per capita income of Australia is a high \$22,100, and that of Mauritania is a low \$1,200.

Do not these figure utterly demolish the Malthusian theory?

Let us now compare and contrast some selected countries from the viewpoint of *income*.

The following countries have almost the same per capita *incomes*, yet their densities vary tremendously.

**Densities of 15 countries with per capita incomes of \$20,000 or higher:**

- |                         |                               |                      |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1) Netherlands, 1,000;  | 2) Belgium, 865;              | 3) Japan, 860;       |
| 4) United Kingdom, 620; | 5) Liechtenstein, 500;        | 6) Switzerland, 450; |
| 7) Luxembourg, 422;     | 8) Denmark, 315;              | 9) Qatar, 150;       |
| 10) United States, 75;  | 11) United Arab Emirates, 70; | 12) Sweden, 50;      |
| 13) Norway, 35;         | 14) Canada, 8;                | 15) Australia, 6.    |

**Densities of 15 countries with per capita incomes of \$700 or lower:**

- |                       |                                 |                   |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1) Comoros, 820;      | 2) Rwanda, 760;                 | 3) Burundi, 564;  |
| 4) Malawi, 210;       | 5) Cambodia, 159;               | 6) Ethiopia, 134; |
| 7) Burkina Faso, 103; | 8) Afghanistan, 90;             | 9) Eritrea, 79;   |
| 10) Mozambique, 57;   | 11) Congo-Kinshasa (Zaire), 50; | 12) Somalia, 40;  |
| 13) Angola, 22;       | 14) Mali, 20;                   | 15) Chad, 14.     |

What relation, according to the above figures, is there between income and density? None whatever. Some wealthy and some impoverished countries are heavily populated; some wealthy and some impoverished countries are sparsely populated. What would Malthus say about this situation? Additionally to disprove his theory, one should point out that the last five countries listed above (all of them in Africa) have densities of only 50 people or fewer—yet the people are starving! Those who claim that poverty in Africa is caused by overpopulation might wish to reconsider their "thinking." The same proponents of Malthusianism may be interested in the following document that appeared in 1989:

"Is Africa overpopulated? So much has been published about total population levels in starving countries that the true extent of the numbers affected has been forgotten... So many figures are tossed around without comparing them to anything recognizable that the average person is left with wall-to-wall human beings, all of them with swollen bellies and matchstick limbs. How many people can picture the true size of the African continent? Would you believe it's larger than the United States, Europe (excluding Russia), and China all put together...? And how many people live in Africa? One-third as many as in the United States, Europe, and China combined. Overpopulated? Not by any stretch of any reasonable person's imagination."<sup>23</sup>

Further to show the ridiculousness of the Malthusian doctrine, it should be noted that:

The per capita incomes of both Netherlands and Sweden are the same (\$20,000), yet the density of Netherlands is 1,000, and that of Sweden is only 50.

The per capita incomes of both Barbados and Malaysia are the same (\$9,800), yet the density of Barbados is 1,550, and that of Malaysia is only 159.

The per capita incomes of both Mauritius and Venezuela are about the same (\$9,500), yet the density of Mauritius is close to 1,500, and that of Venezuela is only 63.

The per capita incomes of both Bangladesh and Mauritania are about the same (\$1,200), yet the density of Bangladesh is 2,200, and that of Mauritania is only 6.

The per capita incomes of both Tuvalu and Central African Republic are the same (\$800), yet the density of Tuvalu is almost 1,100, and that of Central African Republic is only 14.

Don't the above figures cause the Malthusian theory to stand on its head?

<sup>23</sup>Population Renewal Office, *Out of Africa: Some Population Truths*, 1989. In Carol Wekesser (ed.) and Christina Pierce (asst. ed.) *Africa: Opposing Viewpoints* (San Diego, Greenhaven Press, 1992), 77.

To those who cry out that "the more people the less food," Henry George has the proper answer:

"Of all living things, man is the only one who can give play to the reproductive forces, more powerful than his own, which supply him with food. Beast, insect, bird, and fish take only what they find. Their increase is at the expense of their food, and when they have reached the existing limits of food, their food must increase before they can increase. But unlike that of any other living thing, the increase of man involves the increase of his food....

"Here is a difference between the animal and the man. Both the jayhawk and the man eat chickens, but the more jayhawks the fewer chickens, while the more men the more chickens...

"In short, while all through the vegetable and animal kingdoms the limit of subsistence is independent of the thing subsisted, with man the limit of subsistence is, within the final limits of earth, air, water, and sunshine, dependent upon man himself."<sup>24</sup>

\* \* \*

<sup>24</sup>P & P, 131-32.

#### 4) The Theme of Population: Emma Lazarus

What were Emma Lazarus' views on population?

In scattered comments, she totally supported George's viewpoint, especially as presented in *Progress and Poverty*, and declared (as mentioned above): "I wish I could convey to you an idea of the feelings aroused in me by your book."<sup>25</sup>

In her appeal for unlimited emigration to America, Lazarus welcomed *all* people to America, especially the impoverished, whom Malthus had consigned to extinction. The theories of unlimited population and unlimited immigration bolster and support each other.

\* \* \*

#### 5) The Theme of Immigration: Henry George

What did George have to say about immigration, with which topic this essay began? What has immigration to do with the Malthusian doctrine?

Although immigration would cause no change in world-wide figures, the followers of Malthus in every country protest the increase within their *own* borders. To the Malthusians, immigration is part of the same population problem: *too many people!* They, therefore, *attack* immigration, which, according to them, causes an "unwanted excess" of *local* population.

The Malthusians bitterly argue that an increase in human numbers would diminish the supply of food. George answered them: "It is not the increase of food that has caused this increase of men; but the increase of men that has brought about the increase of food. There is more food, simply because there are more men."<sup>26</sup> He also stated: "The supply of labor is everywhere the same—*two* hands always come into the world with *one* mouth."<sup>27</sup>

However, George did acknowledge one thing. *All things being equal*, the more people, the greater the production of goods and services. But all things are *not* equal! When land is monopolized, each additional person causes "overpopulation" and becomes a "gladiator," forced to fight fellow-humans in order to survive. It is one against all! If scores of people were forcefully pushed into an ordinary passenger elevator, there would exist terrible "overpopulation"—with each occupant desperately fighting to stay alive. The tens of thousands of unfortunate victims who were compelled by Nazi murderers (at the point of a gun) to squeeze into jammed-to-destruction cattle cars, did cause "overpopulation"—and death.

"To drop a man in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean," George declared, "and tell him he is at liberty to walk ashore, would not be more bitter irony than to place a man where all the land is appropriated as the property of other people and to tell him that he is a free man, at liberty to work for himself and to enjoy his own earnings."<sup>28</sup>

However, this country has not yet reached the "total monopoly" stage, and those who emigrate from other parts of the world do find a haven in the United States—and will eventually make a haven for others.

When, during George's time (more than a century ago), there was an uproar in America about Irish immigrants (just as today there is an outcry against Mexican immigrants), George wrote: "The strength of a nation is in its men. It is its people that make a country great and strong, produce its wealth, and give it rank among other countries."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup>*P & P*, 131.

<sup>27</sup>*P & P*, 270. (Emphasis supplied.)

<sup>28</sup>Henry George, *Social Problems* (1883; New York: Schalkenbach, 1981), 99. (Hereafter, this book will be referred to as: *Problems*.)

<sup>29</sup>*Problems*, 105-06.

<sup>25</sup>See letter on page 6, cited in footnote 15.



The Irish-Americans have been an integral part of the country, and helped to make the United States prosperous and thriving. A century from now, the Latin-American descendants will, likewise, be an integral part of this country. What other "ethnic minority" will then be vilified?

Thus, George appears to be a great defender of unlimited immigration.

But...

There is (according to some commentators) a "dark side" to George's nature. He was bitterly opposed to *Chinese* immigration. This is what he had to say about the subject in his mature years while visiting San Francisco in 1890, seven years before his death:

"I came out here at an early age, and knew nothing about political economy... One of the first times I recollect talking on such a subject was one day when I was about eighteen [1857]... with a lot of miners... We got to talking about the Chinese, and I ventured to ask what harm they were doing here, if, as these miners said, they were only working the cheap diggings? 'No harm now,' said an old miner, 'but wages will not always be as they are today in California. As the country grows, as the people once come in, wages will go down, and some day or other white men will be glad to get those diggings that the Chinamen are now working.' And I well remember how it impressed me, the idea that as the country grew in all that we are hoping that it might grow, the condition of those who had to work for their living must become, not better, but worse."<sup>30</sup>

Henry George's views on "the Chinese question" never varied. From the age of eighteen (as described above), this champion of the rights of *all* human beings unflinchingly opposed unrestricted *Chinese* immigration. He reminisced: "In 1869 I went East on newspaper business.... John Russell Young was at that time managing editor of the *New York Tribune*, and I wrote for him an article on 'The Chinese on the Pacific Coast,' a question that had begun to arouse attention there, taking the side popular among the working-classes of the Coast, in opposition to the unrestrained immigration of that people."<sup>31</sup>

George's son, referring to his father as "Mr. George," commented: "In this 'Tribune' article, Mr. George explained and justified this hostile feeling.... The kernel of his presentation was this:"<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup>Henry George, Jr., *The Life of Henry George* (1900; New York: Schalkenbach, 1960), 80. (Hereafter, this book will be referred to as: *Life*.)

<sup>31</sup>Henry George, *The Science of Political Economy* (1897; New York: Schalkenbach, 1981), 200.

<sup>32</sup>*Life*, 194.

"The population of our country has been drawn from many different sources; but hitherto, with but one exception, these accessions have been of the same race, and though widely differing in language, customs and national characteristics, have been capable of being welded into a homogeneous people. The mongolians, who are now coming among us on the other side of the continent, differ from our race by as strongly marked characteristics as do the negroes. The difference between the two races in this respect is as the difference between an ignorant but docile child, and a grown man, sharp but narrow minded, opinionated, and set in character. The negro when brought to this country was a simple barbarian with nothing to unlearn; the Chinese have a civilization and a history of their own, a vanity which causes them to look down on all other races, habits of thought rendered permanent by being stamped upon countless generations. From present appearances we shall have a permanent Chinese population;...—a population born in China, reared in China, expecting to return to China, living while here in a little China of its own, and without the slightest attachment to the country—utter heathens, treacherous, sensual, cowardly and cruel.... Their moral standard is... low... They practice all the unnamable vices of the East... In person the Chinese are... filthy in their habits... They have a great capacity for secret organizations, forming a State within a State, governed by their own laws... incapable of understanding our religion... [and] our political institutions."<sup>33</sup>

"To the end of his life Mr. George held to the views against free entrance of the Chinese set forth in his 'Tribune' article in 1869. They appear in many of his subsequent California speeches and writings, and in 1881 [two years after the publication of *Progress and Poverty*] were set out fully in Lalor's 'Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy and of the Political History of the United States.'"<sup>34</sup>

Who would believe that Henry George, one of the great humanitarians of the world, would write so biased, so uncharacteristic, and so economically invalid a denunciation of the Chinese (and, possibly, black) minorities? It was he who once declared: "The reform that I have proposed accords with all that is politically, socially, or morally desirable.... What is it but the carrying out in letter and spirit of the truth enunciated in the Declaration of Independence... 'That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness!'"<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>*Life*, 194-95. (The uncapitalized words, "mongolians" and "negroes," are in the original text.)

<sup>34</sup>*Life*, 202.

<sup>35</sup>*P & P*, 545. (Italics in the original text.)

6) *The Theme of Immigration: Emma Lazarus*

What were Emma Lazarus' views on immigration?

There was never any doubt as to her stand on immigration. She was an enthusiastic, fervent believer in unlimited migrations—everywhere—of all the people of the world, at all times. Especially did she urge emigration to America. Long before she wrote her famous "Give me your tired, your poor, / Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,"<sup>36</sup> she composed a poem with a similar message, called "1492." "It was a sonnet," commented one author, "recalling that 'two-faced year' when the Jews were cast out from their Spanish homeland, and when Columbus voyaged to the New World where all would be free."<sup>37</sup> A part of the poem appears below:

1492

*Close-locked was every port, barred every gate.  
Then smiling, thou unveil'dst, O two-faced year,  
A virgin world where doors of sunset part,  
Saying, "Ho, all who weary, enter here!  
There falls each ancient barrier that the art  
Of race or creed or rank devised, to rear  
Grim bulwarked hatred between heart and heart."<sup>38</sup>*

No wonder Emma Lazarus would be outraged—were she alive today and heard the hateful anti-immigrant propaganda that is being chanted by those who still set up "grim bulwarked hatred between heart and heart!"

There is a startling parallel in the words, "Ho, all who weary, enter here!" and "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Emma Lazarus, "The New Colossus" (on the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty). The poem also appears in the book edited by Morris U. Schappes, *Emma Lazarus: Selections from her Poetry and Prose* (New York: Cooperative Book League, 1944), 40-41. Hereafter, this book will be referred to as: Schappes.)

<sup>37</sup>*Torch*, 77.

<sup>38</sup>*Torch*, 77; Schappes, p. 40. (Italics supplied.)

<sup>39</sup>Matthew, 11. 28.

7) *The Theme of Sectarianism versus the Universal*

A sudden, jarring incident put an end to the peaceful association between the poet and the economist. In the same year (1881) that Emma Lazarus wrote her poem, "Progress and Poverty," the Czar of Russia, Alexander II, was assassinated by the Nihilists. The Jews were blamed for the murder, and that was the start of bloody pogroms. Hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews fled to other countries, especially to America.

Seemingly overnight, Emma Lazarus (conscious of her Jewish heritage) became a fanatic partisan. All her time was now devoted to Jewish themes and Jewish causes. She wrote a book of "fiery" poems called *Songs of a Semite*. One of the poems in the book, titled "The Banner of the Jew," is representative of the entire collection. Three stanzas of that poem are reprinted here:

*Wake, Israel, wake! recall today  
The glorious Maccabean rage,  
The sire heroic, hoary-gray,  
His five-fold lion-lineage:  
The Wise, the Elect, the Help-of-God,  
The Burst of Spring, the Avenging Rod....*

*Oh deem not dead that martial fire,  
Say not the mystic flame is spent!  
With Moses' law and David's lyre,  
Your ancient strength remains unbent.  
Let but an Ezra rise anew,  
To lift the Banner of the Jew!*

*A rag, a mock at first—erelong,  
When men have bled and women wept,  
To guard its precious folds from wrong,  
Even they who shrank, even they who slept,  
Shall leap to bless it, and to save.  
Strike! for the brave revere the brave!<sup>40</sup>*

Henry George read Emma Lazarus' *Song of a Semite*. Not that he did not share her indignation about the injustice done to the Jews. He, too, agonized about the persecuted—all of them, everywhere in the world. But he felt that Lazarus was "turning her talents in the wrong direction." He reminded her of their earlier correspondence, and concluded: "I did not propose to you to write songs for *your* people, but for *the* people."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup>Schappes, 27-28.

<sup>41</sup>*Voice*, 127; Jacob, 161.

George believed that "localizing" the issues was being sectarian and narrow. He wrote, he stated, for *all* human beings, not for a selected group; for the *universal*, not the particular. "The differences between the people of communities, in different places and at different times," he stressed, "which we call differences of civilization, are not differences which inhere in the individuals, but differences which inhere in the society."<sup>42</sup> All people are the same, George declared; to write constantly about *one* segment of the total population was to "diffuse" the attack on injustice generally.

As for the Jews: Much earlier, in *Progress and Poverty*, he stated that they were no different from all the other people in the world. "The Jews have maintained the purity of their blood more scrupulously and for a far longer time than any of the European races, yet I am inclined to think that the only characteristic that can be attributed to this is that of physiognomy, and this is in reality far less marked than is conveniently supposed, as any one who will take the trouble may see on observation."<sup>43</sup>

He concluded with the "prophecy" that persecution of the Jews would vanish in time. Because "of the lessening intensity of religious belief..." he stated, "the distinction between Jew and Gentile, is fast disappearing."<sup>44</sup>

George's remarks disturbed Lazarus greatly. She could not accept his judgment that she was sectarian. The ideals of the Jewish people, she felt, were set forth in the Code of Moses, and were very close to what George himself believed in. Did not George write a magnificent essay on Moses? And did not George say, "The free spirit of the Mosaic law took their thinkers up to heights where they beheld the unity of God, and inspired their poets with strains that yet phrase the highest exaltation of thought?"<sup>45</sup>

(Of course, when George wrote the above-quoted passage, his comment about the Mosaic law was merely as *one* example of the ancient civilizations which he mentioned, since he *also* referred to Greece, Rome, England, and other nations, past and present.)

Emma Lazarus would not accept George's criticism. Did not the laws of Moses "assert that the corners of the field and the gleanings of the harvest belong in *justice*, not in *charity*, to the poor and the stranger?"<sup>46</sup> And did not George believe in such a Mosaic law?

(George not only believed in such a law but he actually made a similar statement in his "Open Letter to the Pope": "Charity is indeed a noble and beautiful virtue, grateful to man and approved by God. But charity must be built on justice. It cannot supersede justice."<sup>47</sup>)

<sup>42</sup>p & P, 504.

<sup>43</sup>p & P, 497.

<sup>44</sup>p & P, 498.

<sup>45</sup>p & P, 547.

<sup>46</sup>Voice, 127.

<sup>47</sup>Henry George, *The Condition of Labor: An Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII* (1891; in *The Land Question and Other Writings* [by Henry George], Schalkenbach, 1982), 92.

No, Lazarus thought, even when someone as great as George objected to her "narrowness," she would not abandon her Jewish quest. "On the contrary—she would deepen that interest—and broaden it to reach others."<sup>48</sup> Her preoccupation with the Jewish question would really be with the universal question, since Jewish philosophy, she declared, dealt with the same world-wide problems that George raised.

Thus began Emma Lazarus' probing new work, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, serialized in *The American Hebrew*. She wrote this book to express her faith in Judaism, and to give her Jewish readers "pride, conviction."<sup>49</sup>

While visiting England in 1885, Emma Lazarus met young William P. Barnes, and discovered that he was not only a follower of Henry George but that he was acquainted with her poem, "Progress and Poverty," as well. Barnes expressed amazement at her deep knowledge and understanding of the land question. However, she (instead of giving George credit for her awareness of things economic) stressed her fervent Jewish partisanship—and gave credit to the Bible for her knowledge. "After reading carefully the land laws of the Old Testament," she remarked, "everybody should know what the American agrarian reformers think and why they think it!"<sup>50</sup>

The communication between George and Lazarus came to an end.

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<sup>48</sup>Voice, 128.

<sup>49</sup>Voice, 130.

<sup>50</sup>Jacob, 188.

8) *The Theme of Liberty: Henry George*

Both Henry George and Emma Lazarus achieved fame and international recognition for their association with the concept "liberty." In the case of Henry George, a celebrated passage in *Progress and Poverty* is known as the "Ode to Liberty." It is a "prose poem" of much distinction—and is reprinted here in full:

*We honor Liberty in name and form. We set up her statues and sound her praises. But we have not fully trusted her. And with our growth so grow her demands. She will have no half service!*

*Liberty! It is a word to conjure with, not to vex the ear in empty boastings. For Liberty means Justice, and Justice is the natural law—the law of health and symmetry and strength, of fraternity and co-operation.*

*They who look upon Liberty as having accomplished her mission when she has abolished hereditary privileges and given men the ballot, who think of her as having no further relations to the everyday affairs of life, have not seen her real grandeur—to them the poets who have sung of her must seem rhapsodists, and her martyrs fools! As the sun is the lord of life, as well as of light; as his beams not merely pierce the clouds, but support all growth, supply all motion, and call forth from what would otherwise be a cold and inert mass all the infinite diversities of being and beauty, so is Liberty to mankind. It is not for an abstraction that men have toiled and died; that in every age the witnesses of Liberty have stood forth, and the martyrs of Liberty have suffered.*

*We speak of Liberty as one thing, and of virtue, wealth, knowledge, invention, national strength, and national independence as other things. But, of all these, Liberty is the source, the mother, the necessary condition. She is to virtue what light is to color; to wealth what sunshine is to grain; to knowledge what eyes are to sight. She is the genius of invention, the brawn of national strength, the spirit of national independence. Where Liberty rises, there virtue grows, wealth increases, knowledge expands, invention multiplies human powers, and in strength and spirit the freer nation rises among her neighbors as Saul amid his brethren—taller and fairer. Where Liberty sinks, there virtue fades, wealth diminishes, knowledge is forgotten, invention ceases, and empires once mighty in arms and arts become helpless prey to freer barbarians!*

*Only in broken gleams and partial light has the sun of Liberty yet beamed among men, but all progress hath she called forth.*

*Liberty came to a race of slaves crouching under Egyptian whips, and led them forth from the House of Bondage. She hardened them in the desert and made of them a race of conquerors. The free spirit of the Mosaic law took their thinkers up to heights where they beheld the unity of God, and inspired their poets with strains that yet phrase the highest exaltations of thought. Liberty dawned on the Phoenician coast, and ships passed the Pillars of Hercules to plow the unknown sea. She shed a partial light on Greece, and marble grew to shapes of ideal beauty, words became the instruments of subtlest thought, and against the scanty militia of free cities the countless hosts of the Great King broke like surges against a rock. She cast her beams on the four-acre farms of Italian husbandmen, and born of her strength a power came forth that conquered the world. They glistened from the shields of German warriors, and Augustus wept his legions. Out of the night that followed her eclipse, her slanting rays fell again on free cities, and a lost learning revived, modern civilization began, a new world was unveiled; and as Liberty grew, so grew art, wealth, power, knowledge, and refinement. In the history of every nation we may read the same truth. It was strength born of Magna Charta that won Crecy and Agincourt. It was the revival of Liberty from the despotism of the Tudors that glorified the Elizabethan age. It was the spirit that brought a crowned tyrant to the block that planted here a mighty tree. It was the energy of ancient freedom that, the moment it had gained unity, made Spain the mightiest power of the world, only to fall to the lowest depth of weakness when tyranny succeeded Liberty. See, in France, all intellectual vigor dying under the tyranny of the seventeenth century to revive in splendor as Liberty awoke in the eighteenth, and on the enfranchisement of French peasants in the Great Revolution, basing the wonderful strength that has in our time defied defeat.*

*Shall we not trust her?*

*In our time, as in times before, creep on the insidious forces that, producing inequality, destroy Liberty. On the horizon, the clouds begin to lower. Liberty calls to us again. We must follow her further; we must trust her fully. Either we must wholly accept her or she will not stay. It is not enough that men should vote; it is not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law. They must have Liberty to avail themselves of the opportunities and means of life; they must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounty of nature. Either this, or Liberty withdraws her light! Either this, or darkness comes on, and the very forces that progress has evolved turn to powers that work destruction. This is the universal law. This is the lesson of the centuries. Unless its foundations be laid in Justice the social structure cannot stand.<sup>51</sup>*

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<sup>51</sup>p & p, 546-48. (Italics supplied.)

9) *The Theme of Liberty: Emma Lazarus*

"We honor Liberty in name and form. We set up her statues..." Thus Henry George began his Ode. And it is in connection with the "setting up" of one such statue that we turn to Emma Lazarus.

In 1883, an appeal came to Lazarus from a committee that was planning to set up on Bedloe Island in New York Harbor a colossal statue, called "Liberty Enlightening the World." The sculptor would be Auguste Bartholdi of Paris, and the statue would be a gift from France to the United States.

Emma Lazarus was asked to write a poem that would appear on the pedestal of the statue. Hesitating for a while, "she sat down, and in the last week of November, 1883, wrote fourteen lines that have become immortal."<sup>52</sup>

"One of the most remarkable aspects of the poem," wrote a biographer, "was that Emma had never seen the burning torch of Liberty shedding its light through the salty air of New York Harbor upon the 'huddled masses' of immigrants."<sup>53</sup> "Emma completed her sonnet within a few swift hours," recorded another writer. "The lines were to endure forever after as the voice of Liberty itself."<sup>54</sup>

This was Emma Lazarus' world-famous sonnet:

*The New Colossus*

*Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame  
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;  
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand  
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame  
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name  
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand  
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command  
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.  
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she  
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"<sup>55</sup>*

<sup>52</sup>Jacob, 178.

<sup>53</sup>Jacob, 179.

<sup>54</sup>Voice, 157.

<sup>55</sup>Emma Lazarus, "The New Colossus" (1883). (On the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty.) (Italics supplied.)

Commenting on Emma Lazarus' poem, James Russell Lowell, famed poet, author, and American ambassador, wrote to her: "I must write... to say how much I like your sonnet about the Statue—much better than I like the Statue itself. But your sonnet gives its subject a *raison d'être* which it wanted before quite as much as it wants a pedestal. You have set it on a noble one, saying admirably just the right word to be said, an achievement more arduous than that of the sculptor."<sup>56</sup>

Writing about Emma Lazarus' sonnet, one observer poetically declared: "It is a hymn of hope, of love. The wind blows over the harbor; waves rush in, pull back. The words shine bright; the voice of Liberty sings clear."<sup>57</sup>

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Henry George and Emma Lazarus: voices of Liberty, dreamers of Justice, symbols of Eternal Hope.

<sup>56</sup>Vogel, 259.

<sup>57</sup>Voice, 179.

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Jack Schwartzman : Biographic Sketch (As of February 1, 1998)  
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Jack Schwartzman is the possessor of two earned doctorates, Ph.D. (N.Y.U.) and J.S.D. (Brooklyn Law School). He is also a graduate of the prestigious Townsend Harris High School. As an attorney in N.Y. State, he practiced law for 55 years, retiring in 1993. He is editor-in-chief of *Fragments*, an international individualist magazine; author of three books and several hundred articles; and public speaker, having delivered over a thousand talks.

At Nassau Community College, N.Y., he was professor of English for thirty years (1964-1994), winning, in 1974 (the very first year of NCC's participation), the N.Y. State Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Teaching. In 1975, he was appointed to the state-wide Distinguished Professorship Review Committee; and his "profile" appeared on the cover of the college's Speakers Bureau. In 1990, a "Dr. Jack Schwartzman Scholarship" for qualifying students was established in his name. When he retired from teaching (at eighty-two), with the rank of Professor Emeritus, he received from Dr. Sean A. Fanelli, president of the college, the following letter: "Your retirement signals the end of an era. Your dedication, your enthusiasm, your instructional talents... abilities... and your happy smile will be sorely missed.... Upon your retirement, you will rightfully assume the designation of 'Legend.'"

Schwartzman was also associated with the Henry George School, N.Y.C., for sixty years (on and off). He taught numerous classes, initiating a one-year course, "The History of Economic Thought." His classes were so large that they were held in the auditorium. He co-founded two branches of HGS, in Seattle and San Francisco. He is member of: Board of Trustees of H. G. School, Board of Directors of H. G. Institute, Council of Georgist Organizations, etc.

He also taught mathematics in Rhodes School, N.Y.C., 1956-1960.

Born in 1912, in Ukraine (then part of Russia), Schwartzman and his family fled from the Soviet Union in the 1920s, finally settling in the U.S. He served in the Army of the U.S. in World War II (1942-1946), rising from private to captain, and received the Army Commendation Ribbon (1947) for "extraordinary skill and application to his task."

Schwartzman is the author of the much reprinted, acclaimed, and translated prose poem, "Lilacs" (1966), and *Rebels of Individualism* (1949), which was reviewed by Fletcher A. Russell in the *Chicago Daily News* on June 8, 1949, as follows (in part): "Writing in English that is as pure and beautiful as that of the old masters, Schwartzman prefaces his volume with an introduction that is as powerful an appeal for individualism as I have ever read."

Thomas S. Gulotta, County Executive of Nassau County, N.Y., proclaimed March 22, 1991, as "Dr. Jack Schwartzman Day," and issued a similar Proclamation in honor of Schwartzman's 85th birthday on March 22, 1997.

His biographic sketch appears in *Who's Who in the World* and other *Who's Who* volumes. He is a member of the National Association of Scholars, N.Y. Academy of Sciences, Thoreau Society, Emerson Society, etc.

He is determined to continue writing and speaking—to the end of his days.