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HARVARD

MAGAZINE

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FEATURES

- 43 The Caribbean Zola | *by* CRAIG LAMBERT
Sociologist (and novelist) Orlando Patterson's epic encounter with slavery and freedom
- 50 Vita: John Muir | *by* STEVEN PAVLOS HOLMES
Brief life of a Scottish-American conservationist: 1838-1914
- 52 The New Histories | *by* JONATHAN SHAW
Humanity's past reinterpreted—globally, through science, and in economic and other perspectives
- 58 Yearning to Escape | *by* IAN S. MACNIVEN
The era of James Laughlin's passage to Harvard, Europe, and publishing at New Directions



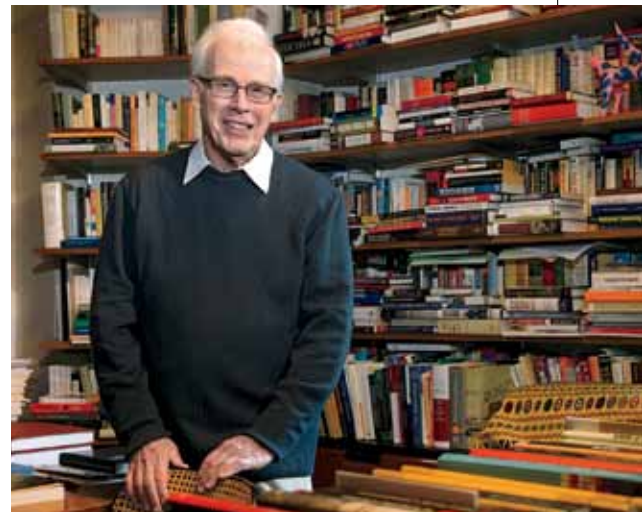
p. 104

JOHN HARVARD'S JOURNAL

- 18 The Art Museums renewed, fall news—from an Instagram-savvy College dean and advancements in teaching to employee-benefit cuts, an immigration-law specialist, robust capital-campaign results (and Design and Education Schools' kickoffs), National Medalist dean, aflutter over drum majorettes, underpinning public health, the market-matching endowment, vice-presidential departures, divestment discussions, the Undergraduate carves out her own space on campus, fast start for footballers, and anticipating a shooting guard's on-court moves



p. 78



p. 52

DEPARTMENTS

- 4 Cambridge 02138 | *Letters from our readers*
- 5 The View from Mass Hall
- 11 Right Now | *Overcoming ethical blind spots, magnetism and mood disorders, data-driven city governance*
- 16A Harvard² | *A calendar of seasonal events, gospel music, Russian icons: the museum, weapons as art, a winter greenhouse retreat, and carnivorous dining on the Cambridge-Somerville line*
- 71 Montage | *A very public artist, Republican Party polarities, the long-term heart-break of the Middle East, the freedom to play music badly, musical notation, and more*
- 80 Alumni | *Helping veterans find missions stateside, jobs wanted, and Harvardians in World War I*
- 84 The College Pump | *Submarining Cape Cod, motoring to The Game*
- 104 Treasure | *Etienne de Silhouette's eponymous penny-pinching portraiture*
- 85 Crimson Classifieds



p. 18

On the cover: Photograph by Stu Rosner

Cambridge 02138

Teaching writing, legacy admissions, the sly Slive, louts

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TAXING CARBON

IT WAS EXCITING to see the cover story "Taxing Carbon (and boosting the economy)" (September-October, page 52). Taxing carbon is likely the most effective way to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions. However, I would like to question two points of Professor Dale Jorgensen's plan.

First, he states that the most effective way of recycling the revenues would be to reduce taxes on capital. Given the sad, and growing, income disparity in the Unit-

ed States, yet another tax break for the wealthy would be quite unfair.

Second, he states that the damages from emissions can be approximated as \$30 per ton of CO₂. He seems to say that this amount of tax is the most we can "afford" and would be good enough. However, our goal should be the elimination of emissions. To drive a changeover to renewable energy, we need a carbon tax that steadily, and relentlessly, increases. This would send a signal to the market that we are enter-

7 WARE STREET

A Faculty's Vision

ON JULY 28, Harvard's neighbor published the final report of the Institute-wide Task Force on the Future of MIT Education, and obligingly made it available for interested parties (web.mit.edu/future-report/Task-ForceFinal_July28.pdf). Even in mid summer, it made for gripping reading about teaching, learning, and research elsewhere in Cambridge, and beyond.

Those sober, calculating engineers turn out to be giddy about transforming education. The task force (faculty and staff members and students, plus alumni and governing-board advisory groups) embraces "modular" instruction units, rather than conventional courses; flexibility, so students may "reduce or extend their time to degree"; options for students to engage further in teaching and service; for-credit summer classes in online and "blended" formats (five experimental classes were held in 2014); revised undergraduate requirements (for basic science, communications-intensive, and humanities, arts, and social-sciences courses); international connections among students, alumni, and MITx online learners around the world; and more.

Their ideas verge on breathtaking: "The very notion of a 'class' may be outmoded," as online modular libraries are assembled.

MIT should explore "game-based" learning, and "define a K-12 strategy" to expand offerings for pre-college students. Departments should shape serial online courses meant to qualify users for professional certification—and generate revenue. By 2020, "the roles of MITx instructor and MITx student may exist." "Academic villages" should feature new kinds of classrooms, labs, and "maker spaces." And the recommendations are tied to a suggested financial model that could work, given MIT's revenues, costs, and aspirations.

Shrugging off MIT's perspective as inapplicable elsewhere—given its origin at an engineering school with a unified pedagogy and an imminent capital campaign—is shortsighted. In fact, the attempt to engage both faculty and the wider community (through extensive surveys) in envisioning MIT's educational future is invigorating in and of itself.

Will the result indeed "transform pedagogy through bold but thoughtful experimentation, extend MIT's impact to the world, broaden access to high-quality education, and improve affordability for future generations of learners," as its authors hope? Perhaps not. But the odds are certainly better than if they were never asked to imagine what their institution might do—or were too timid to aim high.

—JOHN S. ROSENBERG, *Editor*

My Favorite Things

THERE IS SOMETHING to love about every season at Harvard, but, in my mind, autumn is unmatched as a time for new beginnings. Watching eager students crisscross the Yard in swirls of leaves to get to a new class, hearing from faculty about new research collaborations or courses, walking into Massachusetts Hall to escape the chill of early morning and learning about an exciting advance soon to be announced: these are—with due thanks to Rodgers and Hammerstein—a few of my favorite things.

This fall, I was grateful to add another item to that list: exploring the new home of the Harvard Art Museums. After an ambitious six-year renovation and expansion project led by renowned architect Renzo Piano, the Fogg Museum, Busch-Reisinger Museum, and Arthur M. Sackler Museum have been brought together for the first time in new and renewed spaces on Quincy Street. Familiar brick façades intersect with dramatic glass walls and ceilings and wood-clad forms, welcoming all comers from the community into spaces that invite closer and deeper looks. On my first visit, I encountered something arresting around every corner: Max Beckmann's *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo*, Winslow Homer's *Pitching Quoits*, Vincent van Gogh's *Self-Portrait Dedicated to Paul Gauguin*.

Interacting directly with objects that communicate human achievement and history is a moving experience, and the addition of forty percent more exhibition space creates expanded opportunities to share the approximately 250,000 objects in Harvard's collections. Dedicated galleries give students and scholars of art and art history ample time to study drawings, paintings, sculptures, and other works, and the Art Study Center brings objects not currently on display into view for faculty, students, and visitors. These activities are complemented by the work of specialists in the Straus Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, located on the top-most floors to provide natural light in laboratories and daily views of essential conservation efforts.

For those familiar with the Fogg Museum in its previous state, one of the most striking transformations is the Calderwood Courtyard. The space, its travertine stone painstakingly cleaned and its mortar joints repointed, is filled with light that passes through the building's glass and steel roof. Galleries and research centers on multiple levels are visible from its center, and one can pass easily through its sixteen portals and move unencumbered to connect with extraordinary—and extraordinarily varied—works of art. Tradition and innovation meet, embodying the potential not just of the arts at Harvard, but of Harvard in a changing world.

Students a century ago needed a "good excuse" to visit Harvard's holdings, as one *Crimson* writer put it, because regular courses rarely included "spheres of voluntary culture" such as the Fogg. Today, undergraduates engage fully with the collections across concentra-



tions. Imagine seeking inspiration for an original music composition from a work assigned to you in class, learning introductory Italian by being immersed in the collections with an audio recording to guide you, or studying wood anatomy in an organismic and evolutionary biology course by examining the backs of painting frames. Regardless of field or discipline, students develop an informed sense of seeing and new ways of looking, gaining a deeper understanding of the past and the future in the process.

The arts represent in all their variety the impulse to question and create that has sparked centuries of inquiry and progress at Harvard. They free us from what we thought we understood—what we thought was possible—and challenge us to reconsider our assumptions. The Harvard Art Museums have been brought together in a breathtaking space that invites us to make time for reflection and appreciation, and I am confident they will introduce "favorite things" to countless people for generations to come.

Sincerely,

Drew Faust

ing an era of renewable energy.

A carbon tax-and-dividend that addresses these points has been proposed. It starts at \$10 per ton of CO₂ and is increased every year by \$10. All of the revenue is returned to households. A major study of the economic consequences by Regional Economic Models Inc. of Washington predicts a positive effect on GDP. Further, the report states, "Because of the economic stimulus of recycling carbon fee revenue back to households, in 20 years, 2.8 million jobs would be added to the American economy."

Fortunately, there are many proposals for ways to reduce carbon emissions. Now is the time to compare them carefully.

JOHN F. SCHIVELL '63, Ph.D. '68
Princeton, N.J.

REGARDING "Time to Tax Carbon," I am reminded that whenever a Big Government solution is proposed, individual freedom is reduced. Do citizens really want to turn their lives over to the central planners? I cannot disagree that it empowers and enriches the central planners and crony capitalists. And the little people get littler.

DONALD BOYD, Ph.D. '68
Indianapolis

A CARBON TAX is an efficient way of achieving reductions in carbon emissions, says Dale Jorgenson. In the real world, his learned thesis will not work. The so-overwrought climate-change agenda must focus on these realities: China, India, and the United States are the world's biggest (but not the sole) carbon emitters. Unless (at least) these three work in concert to reduce their emissions, we're just whistlin' Dixie. Yes, even as emerging nations become more efficient in energy use, their absolute amount of emissions growth will increase as their industrial output increases. Natural gas is now plentiful, and will help the U.S. reduce its aggregate carbon emissions from relatively cheap coal, but won't make a dent in glob-

al emissions for decades. Carbon taxes or cap-and-trade impositions are too burdensome to specific, basic industries. (Australia repealed its carbon-dioxide tax this year.) Wind, solar, nuclear—lotsa luck depending on these. The only feasible, present "solution" is for the world to actively adapt to the presence of carbon emissions—with gradual mitigation in the longer run.

STEVE SUSMAN '57, J.D. '60
Denver

DALE JORGENSEN highlights the potential for a carbon tax to encourage use of "green" manufacturing techniques while improving the economy. However, a tax focused on U.S. manufacturers is of limited value; it affects pollution by non-U.S. manufacturers only if there is international cooperation based on shared concerns about climate change, and, in the absence of international adoption of a similar tax regime, U.S. manufacturing is put at a competitive disadvantage.

An alternative would be to apply a carbon tax along the supply chain to the point of use, similar to the way value-added taxes operate. An item imported into the U.S. would be cumulatively taxed based on the carbon load created by its production and shipping. Goods arriving without reliable certification as to the means of production would be taxed at the highest rate.

This method would have the advantage of using U.S. power as a *consumer*, rather than solely as a *manufacturer*, to influence global change. International governmental cooperation would not be required to create a global effect. Other countries would be incentivized to impose similar taxes on their own production and imports. Assuming taxes assessed by other countries on their own production were used to promote environmentally responsible behavior, the U.S. could give a credit on goods imported for the taxes paid elsewhere.

Carbon taxes have the potential to be regressive, since the unrecognized carbon load of inexpensive products consumed by low-income consumers may be larger in proportion to their price than the carbon load relating to more expensive items. To address this concern, low-income consumers could be provided with a rebate, possibly even at the cash register. This, too, could be structured to reward selection of "green" products.

STEPHANIE R. BRESLOW '81
New York City

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DALE JORGENSEN has quite a “deal” for us: industrial producers of carbon will accept reduced profits (via carbon tax) so long as this is offset by reductions in capital taxes. These capital-tax reductions should increase efficiency and productivity which will trickle down to the masses. Hmm. Yes, the 1 percent will become much more wealthy and inequality will become more severe...but the poor and remnants of the middle class will have cleaner air now, won't they?

In other words, don't even *think* of asking producers to pay higher taxes unless you give them something to offset it. He calls this “recycling” (Orwell, take note).

How about this: recycle this revenue toward bringing renewable/alternate energy to scale, improving public transportation, and addressing our crumbled infrastructure. This will create sustainable jobs and broad efficiencies that will increase demand for products and services by wage-workers...which translate into real economic growth and reduced inequality.

STUART ZEIGER '72
Denver

ALL CONVERSATIONS about the levy of a carbon tax should begin with this admission: a carbon “tax” is already in place. As Jonathan Shaw points out, the social cost of emitting greenhouse gases into the atmosphere equals approximately \$1.6 trillion annually. These costs are not internalized by the producers of fossil fuels and represent, in effect, a subsidy that supports their production. A carbon tax would put an end to the subsidy that fossil-fuel producers enjoy, and redistribute that wealth back to the world's domestic economies.

Dale Jorgenson correctly identifies the issue of carbon taxation as “what to do with the resulting revenue.” His prescription for the U.S. is to use the resulting revenue to reduce capital-tax rates. The result, he predicts, will be “large gains in the efficiency of the economy overall, as goods and services are produced less energy-intensively.” In fact, the U.S. economy is increasingly energy efficient already: according to the U.S. Department of Energy, the amount of energy needed to produce a dollar's worth of goods and services fell by more than half between 1949 and 2004. During that time U.S. GDP increased more than six times. What is urgently needed now is a transition to a de-carbonized U.S. economy. Revenues resulting from a tax on

carbon should be used to compensate taxpayers for the increases in the price of energy and other commodities that will necessarily occur when fossil fuel producers pass the cost of the carbon tax on to consumers. This approach would sustain consumer demand, provide for uninterrupted economic expansion, and encourage the producers of goods and services to reduce the cost of their energy inputs by investing directly in renewable energy, which will compare much more favorably in price to then-unsubsidized fossil fuels.

JOSEPH LARUSSO, M.P.A. '00
Roslindale, Mass.

I HAVE ALWAYS thought economists lived in a different world than we human beings, but Dale Jorgenson shocked me. His was a fine number-crunch on the possibilities of a worldwide carbon tax, but his suggestion of what to do with the revenue generated convinced me that economists don't even live on the same planet as I do.

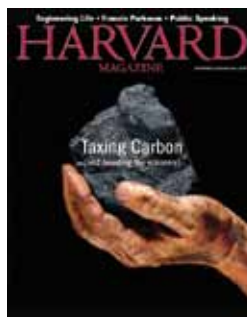
Jorgenson suggests that revenues from the carbon tax should be used to accelerate the growth of our economy and presumably those in Europe as well. If, however, the economies of the West continue to grow, they will overwhelm supplies of the world's resources. The planet cannot support nine billion humans and the ever-demanding advanced economies as well as the needs of the underdeveloped economies to catch up.

Professor, please throw away your growth glasses and start to work on how we might have an equitable and prosperous life *without* the ceaseless demands of economic growth. Please, as you set about your new task, don't think about hiding under the umbrella of possible advances in technology. The record shows the advanced technological economies keep demanding more and more of the world's resources.

SAM BASS WARNER '50
Needham, Mass.

TEACHING WRITING

JOHN CASEY and others like him who claim that writing cannot be taught (“Bears, Oars, Metaphors,” September-October, page 59) do immeasurable damage to education. We



HM Visit harvardmag.com/extras for many more letters on a proposed carbon tax and climate change—and other recent articles in these pages.

have a nation which for the large part is illiterate not only in reading but in writing, a nation where school teachers do not assign written assignments, a nation where invective and sophistry characterize much of the national dialogue. Why should teachers submit themselves to reading student compositions when Harvard-educated masters of literature such as Casey and others tell them that writing cannot be taught?

Casey may not be able to teach writing, but writing can be taught. Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian believed writing can be taught. I suggest anyone interested in writing have a look at Edward P. Corbett's *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (1965). In its preface Corbett says, “No system, classical or modern, has been devised that can change students suddenly and irrevocably into masters of elegant prose, but the ancient teachers of rhetoric, refusing to be impressed by the notion of ‘creative self-expression’ until the student had a self to express and a facility for expressing it, succeeded in large part in developing a method which, when well taught, could help students to write and speak effectively.”

Thirty-five years of teaching high-school students and reading mountains of student compositions have taught me not only that writing can be taught but that reading and writing are symbiotic. And that effort taught me an even greater lesson: writing can go a long way toward helping students to know themselves.

JAMES W. DOWNS '51
Suffern, N.Y.

FRANCIS PARKMAN

RE “VITA” (September-October, page 50): A recent visit to Cambridge demonstrated to me the continuing power of Francis Parkman's post-Harvard travel experiences to electrify. Surely the climax of his adventures was attained during the post-Law School trip out West: the fever pitch of the Indians' mass buffalo hunt on horseback into which Parkman flung himself in 1846 and then re-

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LETTERS

counted in *The Oregon Trail*. When, entering the Peabody Museum for the first time, I spotted a small object which on further inspection proved to be a small riding whip of Oglala Sioux manufacture, my heart started to pound in anticipation. Sure enough: "Gift of Francis Parkman." How breathtaking to encounter this talisman of his youthful excitement and purpose in light of the massive historical accomplishment they fueled! Happily, thanks to generous donors and a sympathetic College administration, the life-changing experience of travel for research is now within the reach of a far broader portion of the undergraduate socioeconomic spectrum than in the Brahmin Parkman's day.

His monumental France and England in North America contains a heartening reminder of another enduring aspect of the student experience: the inspiration and motivation that we draw from our fellows. The central volume, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (1869), begins "To The Class of 1844, Harvard College, This Book is Cordially Dedicated by one of their number." I hope he enjoyed his twenty-fifth reunion!

JODY ARMSTRONG '78

New York City

LEGACY ADMISSIONS

I WAS DISHEARTENED to read the letter by Gretchen Bachrach about diversity (September-October, page 8). Although Bachrach seemingly does not understand the enriching and enlarging educational value of diverse thought and experience to any university, including Harvard, "the pinnacle" of higher education, my main area of contention with her letter was the admissions category she omitted: legacy. If Harvard is to accept students only on the basis of "past demonstrations of academic effort and achievement," then surely there will be many offspring of Harvard alums who will have to get their education from the non-pinnacle university. If we are to eliminate awarding points to applicants based on "race, religion or gender," then let's do away with all such categories, including that awarded to the privileged who, through no effort on their part, happened to be born into a Harvard family. Not all Harvard students who "look" the part are there solely on sheer "academic effort and achievement."

PHYLLIS LEVINSON, MCR '79

Gaithersburg, Md.

TIBET'S STATUS

I READ "Tibetan Literature, Digitized" (September-October, page 23). It said, "...an enormous number of Tibetan texts disappeared during the Cultural Revolution, which affected the Tibetan plateau as much as it did the rest of China." The statement is saying that the Tibetan plateau is China, but Tibet is *not* China any more than France was Germany after Germany invaded France during the Second World War. Tibet has its own culture, literature, history, language, that China is trying to suppress along with its ethnic cleansing of the Tibetan people. I appreciate that the politics of the situation are difficult but the truth remains. It is still inappropriate to baldly misstate and thereby deny Tibet's invaded and subjugated status. If the sovereignty of Tibet had not been violated, there wouldn't be the same need for Harvard to try to protect the country's remaining literary heritage.

NANCY J. GAWLOWICZ

New York City

CRIMSON VS. CARDINAL

WHEN I WAS AN undergraduate at Stanford in the early 1960s ("Is Harvard Cool?" September-October, page 2), there was a standing joke that Stanford might be the Harvard of the West, but you still never heard anyone say that Harvard was the Stanford of the East. It took *The New York Times* to finally say it. It's all in good fun. Out of my class and the preceding class from my fraternity at Stanford, six of us went on to Harvard for graduate school, and we all felt we were very fortunate indeed to be able to do so.

CHRIS MOORE, J.D. '64

Torrance, Calif.

SLIVE ON THE SLY

IT WAS LOVELY to see Professor Seymour Slive presented with an honorary degree this past June. [His subsequent death was reported in Brevia, September-October, page 29.] He provides one of my favorite Harvard anecdotes.

I took an art-history course with Slive that included a tour of the Busch-Reisinger Museum. We spent some time with several ornately carved German wooden pieces from another era. As he stood next to one, he put his hands lovingly upon it, exploring all of its nooks and crannies. He said something which I now find absolutely unbelievable: "Sometime when the

museum guard's back is turned, you must touch a piece like this and feel how much the artist cared about it." I have never had the nerve to follow his advice, but I tell this story as frequently as I can.

CLARISSA BUSHMAN '79
New York City

WONDERFUL WIDENER

PRESIDENT DREW FAUST wrote in the September-October 2014 issue (The View from Mass Hall, page 5) that as Widener begins its second century it has accumulated 3.5 million volumes in 10 stories of stacks. That pales in comparison to that majestic edifice's accumulated billions of memories.

When I think back to my time on campus, there are numerous places, things, and events that come to mind, but none any more vivid than wandering Widener. I will never forget sitting on the floor, between those narrow stacks, that could be seen continuing mysteriously through the slabs of stone to the floors above and below, engrossed in one book or another and watching the lights wink on and off as someone else moved through the floors,

turning their light on as they entered an aisle and off as they exited, only to repeat it at the next one, sometimes bright and close and sometimes dim and far away. It was magical then, even more so now with time. Hail Widener!

BILL LACEY, M.ARCH. '76
Manhattan Beach, Calif.

PRESIDENT FAUST'S PAEAN to Widener Library reminded me of a delightful discovery I made there while trying to find material for a term paper for an economic history course. I came across a huge bookstack packed floor to ceiling with hundreds of English detective novels. They had the bookplate of a Harvard professor of Egyptology. He must have spent his evenings in the desert reading them, and then donated them to Widener. Needless to say, I spent too many of my own evenings reading them.

BARBARA R. BERGMANN, PH.D. '58
Bethesda, Md.

HOW TO DEAL WITH LOUTS

I ENJOYED "How the Faculty Feels" (September-October, page 21). Of special inter-

est was the figure titled "Work/Life Balance," which showed that, on average, both men and women put in the same hours on the job. In contrast, the women with children spend roughly twice as many hours as men on housework. While I was the director of residency training at the University of Louisville ophthalmology department, my unpleasant task was reprimanding those trainees who did not measure up to our standards. The males who caused problems did so in a variety of ways: some were late for clinics or failed to answer emergency calls; others dressed inappropriately or showed little respect for the technicians or their female colleagues. In contrast, all the female trainees who got in trouble shared the same failing: on the annual Ophthalmic Knowledge Assessment Program they had terrible scores—sometimes below the tenth percentile. These women weren't hitting the books.

When I called them into my office for their quarterly reviews, each told the same story: they had to spend many hours every day feeding the family, cleaning the house, bathing the kids, (please turn to page 101)

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Herbicide and Insecticide Use on GMO Crops Skyrocketing While Pro-GMO Media Run Interference

Former EPA Senior Scientist's New Article Sets Record Straight

By David Bronner, President of Dr. Bronner's Magic Soaps

Michael Specter's recent articles bashing Vandana Shiva and the labeling of genetically engineered foods ("Seeds of Doubt" and "The Problem with G.M.O. Labels," 8/25/14) in *The New Yorker* are the latest high-profile, pro-GMO articles that fail to engage with the fundamental critique of genetically engineered food crops in U.S. soil today: rather than reduce pesticide inputs, GMOs are causing them to skyrocket in volume and toxicity.

Setting the record straight, Dr. Ramon J. Seidler, Ph.D., former Senior Scientist at the Environmental Protection Agency, has recently published a well-researched article documenting the devastating facts, "Pesticide Use on Genetically Engineered Crops," in the Environmental Working Group's online *AgMag*. Dr. Seidler's article cites and links to recent scientific literature and media reports and should be required reading for all journalists covering GMOs, as well as for citizens generally to understand why their right to know if food is genetically engineered is so important. The short discussion below summarizes the major points of his article.

Over 99% of GMO acreage is engineered by chemical companies to tolerate heavy herbicide (glyphosate) use and/or to produce insecticide (Bt) in every cell of every plant over the entire growing season. The result is massive selection pressure that has rapidly created pest resistance—the opposite of integrated pest management where judicious use of chemical controls is applied only as necessary. Predictably, just like the overuse of antibiotics in confined factory farms has created resistant "supergerms" leading to animals being overdosed with ever more powerful antibiotics, we now have huge swaths of the country infested with "superweeds" and "superbugs" resistant to glyphosate and Bt, meaning more volume of greater quantities of toxic pesticides are being applied.

For example, the use of systemic insecticides, which coat GMO corn and soy seeds and are incorporated and expressed inside the entire plant, has skyrocketed in the last ten years. This includes the use of neonicotinoids (neonics) which are extremely powerful neurotoxins that contaminate our food and water and destroy non-target pollinators and wildlife such as bees, butterflies and birds. In fact, two neonics in widespread use in the U.S. are currently banned in the EU because of their suspected link to Colony Collapse Disorder in bees.

Mainstream pro-GMO media also fail to discuss the ever-increasing amount of older, much more toxic herbicides like 2,4-D and Dicamba being sprayed, along with huge volumes of glyphosate, to deal with superweeds. Most importantly and egregiously, this biased reporting does not mention the imminent approval of the pesticide industry's next-generation herbicide-tolerant crops that are resistant not only to glyphosate but also to high doses of 2,4-D and Dicamba, which will lead to huge increases of these toxic chemicals being sprayed on our food and farming communities.

The USDA and EPA are in the process of rubber-stamping these into our farming communities (and unlabeled onto our dinner plates) this fall, yet pro-GMO media consistently fail to discuss their imminent approval, even as the lower-toxicity profile of glyphosate is touted. Such reporting gives a free pass to the chemical pesticide industry that pours millions into lobbying government and media elites and defeating voter ballot initiatives to require labeling of GMO foods.

Hopefully Dr. Seidler's article will be widely read and disseminated, so reporters can learn the facts and check their biases against industry-fed distortions. Citizens and consumers need to hear the fundamental concern that GMOs are doubling down on, not freeing us from, the pesticide treadmill that contaminates our food and water while lining the pockets of the chemical companies that make both the GMOs and the pesticides used on them.



David Bronner is President of Dr. Bronner's Magic Soaps, the top-selling brand of natural soaps in North America. He graduated with a degree (B.A.) in Biology from Harvard University in 1995. A leader in the fight to label GMO foods in the U.S., Dr. Bronner's dedicates resources to progressive issues on behalf of the company's mission to use profits to help make a better world.

Read the Seidler article online here: <http://bit.ly/1tPDHhl> or scan the QR code



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ETHICS ELEVATED

Making Organizations Moral

IN THE EARLY 2000s, a riptide of business scandals toppled Enron, Arthur Andersen, and WorldCom. In the aftermath, says Straus professor of business administration Max Bazerman, “society turned to professional schools” to ask why their graduates were misbehaving. Behavioral ethics—combining aspects of moral philosophy, cognitive science, psychology, and economics—was born: “a creation of the new millennium.” As a teacher in this field, Bazerman explains, “My job is not about what ethics you follow, but how to bring you up to *your own* ethical standards.”

Historically, business programs treated ethics as a tangential topic, says Bazerman. Ethics courses, if offered at all, were electives, taught by philosophers. Such classes considered morality as a grand abstraction, concerning themselves with elucidating ways of thinking, not with strategizing how to change behavior. That changed when stories of corporate malfeasance began to dominate the headlines.

Bazerman's first book for a general audience on how to foster ethical behavior, *Blind Spots*, explained why people behave unethically without intending to. His new book, *The Power of Noticing*, underlines why leaders need to be more aware of ethical challenges and other “organizational threats”—and explains how they can recognize and address such challenges. He hopes to foster organizational cultures where, by design, members keep abreast of critical informa-

tion and pay attention to what they learn, thereby avoiding lapses in judgment, and becoming generally more vigilant.

Whistle-blowing runs counter to rational self-interest, he explains, so a badly run organization can be particularly susceptible to what social scientists call “motivated blindness.” Psychological barriers inhibit individuals’ abilities to perceive something amiss—whether it’s inconvenient data or evidence of wrongdoing—

and then act. Even substantiated suspicion can be short-circuited by doubt: when people smell smoke, they can be reluctant to go looking for fire. Bazerman describes the mindset: “Life is busy, I don’t know who to report this information to, I’m not positive that something’s wrong—I just *feel* that something’s wrong.”

Bazerman can recall this emotional state vividly because he has experienced it himself. In 2005, the U.S. Department



Illustration by Taylor Callery

of Justice asked him to be a witness for the prosecution of the tobacco industry. Days before he was to testify, a government lawyer asked him to water down his recommendations. Bazerman refused, but let the matter drop; he was tired and overwhelmed, he writes, mistrusting his perception that the request was corrupt. Weeks later, news reports that the prosecution had cut the fine it sought from \$130 billion to \$10 billion were followed by a *New York Times* story alleging that another expert witness had been urged to alter his testimony—the result of political pressure applied to prosecutors to water down the charges and thus reduce the financial penalty. This news of witness-tampering spurred Bazerman to go public with his own story, but his initial passivity haunts him: why didn't he say anything?

Partly it is because people tend to consign front-page scandals to “a special category of viscerally appalling crimes,” he writes. Such outrages appear to be outliers. It's easy to think of motivated blindness and institutional inertia as something that happens only to others. People don't realize that “hu-

man failure to act is remarkably common”—and that, in the moment, the signs of wrongdoing can be mundane and easy to miss.

In his book, Bazerman highlights promising directions in behavioral decision research that have the potential to promote more effective and more ethical noticing. One involves “choice architecture,” a term coined by Richard H. Thaler and Walmsley University Professor Cass R. Sunstein in their 2008 book *Nudge: Improving Decisions about Health, Wealth, and Happiness*. Choice architecture taps knowledge of psychology to identify better ways to present options—and Bazerman asserts that organizations can use it to create systems that increase the likelihood of their staff noticing key data. In a study he conducted with Kennedy School colleagues Alexandra van Geen and professor of public policy Iris Bohnet, supervisors were asked to assess a pool of job candidates. When judging applicants one at a time, they tended to favor men on quantitative tasks and women on verbal tasks. But when judging male and female candidates side-by-side, they relied on *performance-related* data; gender biases no longer factored

into the decision. Changing the structure of the hiring process encouraged people to pay attention to the important information.

Though examples of glaring failures to notice may appear to outnumber models for good behavior, Bazerman offers a mildly hopeful observation: success in noticing—and acting accordingly—often goes unnoticed itself. He illustrates with an example beyond the realm of ethics. In 2012, state and local government officials on the East Coast who'd studied previous severe storms observed that hundreds of drivers had been trapped on roadways in dangerous conditions. That prompted them, in advance of Hurricane Sandy, to limit highway use to emergency personnel. This minimized casualties and allowed them to direct their resources more efficiently. In Bazerman's view, those civil servants “create[d] a non-story, and avoid[ed] a bad story.” There is, he says, “a power to be extraordinarily effective by seeing things in advance.”

—SOPHIA NGUYEN

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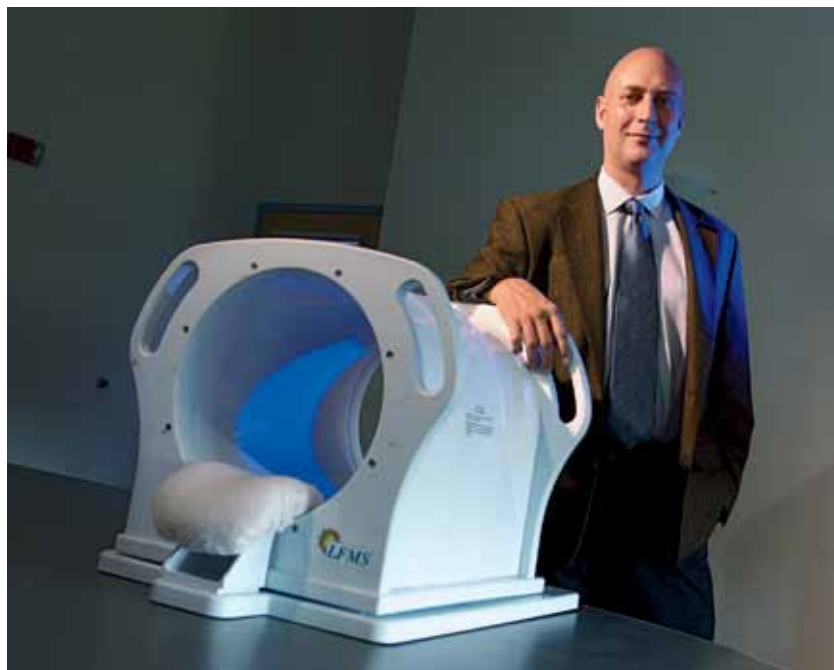
UNDOING DEPRESSION?

Mood and Magnetic Stimulation

IN 2001, a research assistant at the Harvard Medical School-affiliated McLean Hospital noticed an intriguing pattern. One of her tasks was to escort study participants to and from a magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) machine where they received brain scans. All of the participants had bipolar disorder and were depressed; the scans involved an experimental form of MRI that measured the effect of medication changes on their brain chemistry.

"The research assistant noticed that people came out of the MRI saying, 'I feel much better,'" remembers Michael Rohan, an imaging physicist at McLean and

lecturer at Harvard Medical School (HMS). The assistant shared her observations with the lab director, who consulted Rohan because of his expertise in the biological effects of electromagnetic fields (see "Magnetically Lifted Spirits," May-June 2004, page 18). Why, they wondered, might this type of MRI trigger a sudden lift in mood?



JIM HARRISON

Michael Rohan has developed a magnetic-stimulation machine that shows promise for the immediate treatment of depression.

Rohan immediately zeroed in on one particular waveform within the MRI because

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PHOTO: JULIETTE LYNCH

it pulsed at a speed and strength that he suspected could affect neuronal activity. He built a small prototype that produced the waveform, and colleagues then conducted a “forced swim test,” an animal study frequently used to test antidepressant medications. “Rats who have been given an antidepressant are more likely to swim or climb, instead of just floating and resting,” Rohan explains—and the rats exposed to his device swam and climbed more than the control animals. That suggested he had identified something significant.

He then set to work designing a device to administer this low-frequency magnetic stimulation (LFMS) to humans, and received review-board permission to test it. The resulting machine looks a little like a miniature MRI machine, but is just 14 inches wide and can sit on a tabletop. The patient lies on a gurney, head positioned on a headrest; the device then slides down over the top of the head to about the eyebrows, “so that patients can see out,” Rohan explains. “We wanted people to feel very comfortable.”

In an article published this past summer in *Biological Psychiatry*, Rohan and his colleagues—including senior author Bruce M. Cohen, Robertson-Steele professor of psychiatry—describe their study of 63 people diagnosed with either major depression or bipolar disorder. People received either one 20-minute treatment with LFMS or a sham procedure, and took standard mood-assessment tests before and after treatment.

Both groups experienced immediate and significant improvement in mood: people in the placebo group showed a five-point improvement on a 17-point scale, while the treatment group had an eight-point improvement. That suggested, Rohan says, that researchers managed to “capture and separate out” the placebo effect. “People who come to McLean Hospital and get to try new technology feel better just because they walked in the door,” he says. Once the placebo effect has been stripped away, the remaining three-point change is similar to the improvements many people see after taking an antidepressant medication for six weeks.

This lag time is a troubling limitation of existing therapies. Current medications take at least four to six weeks to improve mood, and electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) and transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS), though effective, require mul-

tle treatments each week for a month or more before results appear. In contrast, patients who received one LFMS treatment felt better immediately, suggesting that the new option could help people in crisis. “We don’t have anything like that right now,” Rohan says. Furthermore, there are no reported LFMS side effects so far, whereas ECT can trigger memory loss and TMS often causes scalp pain.

The study wasn’t designed to examine how LFMS works, but Rohan hypothesizes that the device sends electric fields into cortical regions of the brain, where they may affect the dendrites, fibers that transmit information between neurons and play a key role in mood regulation. He stresses that the procedure needs further study; he’s now running a new trial of bipolar patients to determine how long the improved mood from LFMS lasts, and how

frequently patients need the treatment.

Since his findings were published, Rohan has fielded frequent queries from families desperate to help loved ones with treatment-resistant depression. Given the need for new options, it’s surprising that it’s taken almost a decade to conduct initial studies on the LFMS device, but the National Institutes of Health “is reluctant to fund new discoveries,” Rohan explains. His current work is supported by grants from private foundations.

Rohan can’t offer concrete hope to families yet: “It’s really not the best choice to pin hopes on something that’s unproven so far,” he says. “But regardless of what happens clinically, this opens a new area into how to work with the brain.” ~ERIN O’DONNELL

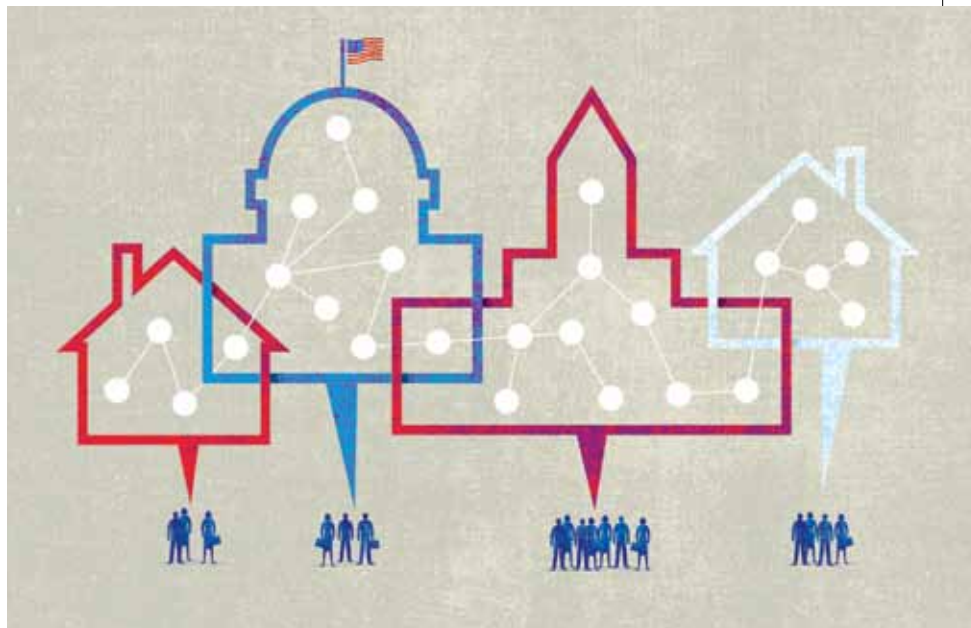
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CITY HALL REBOOTS

Governing in the Smartphone Era

IN 2011, after nine years and a \$2-billion investment, New York City’s revamped 911 system still had a major problem: trouble in tracking emergency responses, especially when multiple calls came in about the

same incident, or one call involved multiple incidents. This made it nearly impossible for officials to tease out why some city residents waited longer for aid—a matter, potentially, of life and death.



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Apps such as this one, developed for Boston, allow residents to report problems like trash or broken signs by uploading geocoded photos to a publicly accessible map.

The city had all the information it needed about the 30,000 calls it received daily, but lacked a system to unify that data and, more importantly, the political will to do so.

These are the kinds of challenges that former Indianapolis mayor Stephen Goldsmith, Paul professor of the practice of government at Harvard Kennedy School, and Susan Crawford, Reilly visiting professor in intellectual property at Harvard Law School (and co-director of Harvard's Berkman Center for Internet & Society), tackle in their new book, *The Responsive City: Engaging Communities Through Data-Smart Governance* (Wiley). They argue for the transformative power of analytics in city governments, so that—once innovators cut through the red tape—simple changes can connect elected officials and city employees to each other and to the citizens they serve.

In Goldsmith and Crawford's "responsive city," technology allows information to flow in multiple directions between cities and citizens, connecting them in ways that are responsive to how residents really live. Existing tech solutions to urban problems range from traffic sensors that control red-light patterns in busy midtown Manhattan to Boston's five-year-old Citizens Connect app, which has made the process of lodging complaints about potholes, trash, and broken signs as easy as snapping a quick photo and uploading it to a map.

And when city governments share their comprehensive data with their citizens, the authors argue, residents can not only complain but also cooperate in effecting solutions. They point to the example of Palo Alto, which has put intuitive, interactive visualizations of its budgeting priorities online. "People do have enormous civic energy, but they don't have time to

go to a three-hour community meeting," Crawford says. "What's great about the Internet is it allows them to devote just a shard of their attention—just the 15 minutes necessary to understand an issue, see it, visualize it, and act on it."

The trillions of bits of data that cities collect can also help the mechanisms of government work more smoothly. In New York, a small cadre of analysts, led by employee Mike Flowers, fixed the 911 system by figuring out what the city knew, how data in different departments needed to be connected, and how they needed to analyze it to solve problems. The team applied similar methods to streamline mortgage fraud investigations and help the city's 200 building inspectors triage the more than 20,000 complaints they receive each year about illegally converted apartment buildings, which pose serious fire hazards. "What stood out to me," says Goldsmith, who was New York's deputy mayor for operations from 2010 to 2011, and worked with Flowers, "was how easy it is for a group of smart, really committed people to solve some really big public-service problems." Once innovators overcome bureaucratic inertia, the tech solutions are often easy to find. Savvy leaders, therefore, are important in an almost paradoxical way, providing the top-down vision needed to break down hierarchy and empower ordinary government employees. Crawford calls Flowers one of her government "heroes," noting that it "took real leadership and commitment and zeal to get that done."

The Responsive City focuses on pioneering innovations in New York, Boston, and Chicago, and the authors want it to serve as a blueprint for other cities in the United States and abroad. They've already found examples in the slums of Chennai and the favelas of Rio; Goldsmith has begun cataloging these advances on the Data-Smart City Solutions site run by the Kennedy School's Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation.

The transition to data-driven government is spreading, but Crawford and Goldsmith acknowledge that strong leadership is necessary to make sure its power is harnessed for good. In looking at the potential pitfalls, as well as benefits, Goldsmith cites what happened when New York City created HHS-Connect, a system that allowed authorized workers at hospitals and social-service agencies to create temporary "synapses" connecting patient and client information from the school, court, and social-service systems. Opposition from citizens wary of an all-knowing "Big Brother" government, and from lawyers worried about protecting clients' privacy and controlling data access, nearly derailed the project. "Data boosters" also needed to convince skeptics that these systems would not be used as a simple formula—they do not constitute "a score card that says '1 plus 3 plus 5 means remove the kid from the home,'" Goldsmith says. Instead, systems like New York's enable workers to learn as much as possible, synthesizing information that helps them make the right decisions.

Helping government connect better, and do better, is a fundamental idea. Goldsmith, who worked as a policy adviser for George W. Bush's 2000 campaign, and Crawford, who worked on Barack Obama's 2008 transition team, come at their subjects from opposite ends of the political spectrum. "There's a legitimate debate about the size and role of government," Goldsmith acknowledges. "But maybe we can agree, as a democratic society, that whatever we decide government *should* do, it ought to do well." —STEPHANIE GARLOCK

THE RESPONSIVE CITY WEBSITE:

<http://theresponsivecity.com>

SUSAN CRAWFORD WEBSITE:

<http://scrawford.net>

STEPHEN GOLDSMITH WEBSITE:

<http://datasmart.ash.harvard.edu>

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(From left) "The Case of the Mysterious X-rays from Space" at the Center for Astrophysics; *The Light Princess* at ART; *Show Girl I* (1969), by Karl Wirsum, at the RISD Museum

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www.hcl.harvard.edu/hfa

The intimate, diaristic works of director George Kuchar include shorts reflecting the sometimes funny emotional turmoil brought on by the holidays. (December 20)

**Boston Baroque:
New Year's Celebration**

Resolve to enjoy Domenico Cimarosa's Italian opera, *Il maestro di cappella*, at Sanders Theatre. (December 31 and January 1)

EXHIBITIONS & EVENTS

Harvard Art Museums

www.harvardartmuseums.org/calendar

Celebrate the long-awaited opening of the museum—and be among the first to view the new presentation of **Mark Rothko's Harvard Murals**. (November 16)

Harvard Museum of Natural History

www.hmn.harvard.edu

Artist and ornithologist Katrina van Grouw explores **The Art and Science of The Unfeathered Bird** through her painstaking illustrations of skeletal forms. (November 15)

RISD Museum

www.risdmuseum.org

What Nerve! Alternative Figures in American Art, from 1960 to the Present celebrates creations defiantly sourced in

Spotlight



On any Sunday morning, churchgoers can hear splendid gospel music in Greater Boston. Only this December at the Museum of Fine Arts can anyone tune into the select power of The NEC Millennium Gospel Choir, which features about 100 dedicated local singers chosen for their dynamic ranges and techniques. "It's a multiethnic, multid denominational choir that embodies the whole mission behind the Gospel, as well as gospel music," says choir co-director Herbert Jones. "That is, being a unifier of people and providing a place where everyone can come together and not let their differences be an issue." The choir was formed through the New England Conservatory's Community Collaborations Program in 2000, and has given sporadic concerts ever since. Jones says a mix of works is on the MFA program, such as the modern world classic "Total Praise" by Grammy-winning gospel artist Richard Smallwood. The song's beautifully harmonized chorus is a simple act of devotion: "You are the source of my strength/You are the strength of my life/I lift my hands in total praise to You."

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The Institute for Contemporary Art

www.icaboston.org

The first American solo exhibition of works by Brazilian artist **Adriana Varejão** examines interracial identity and colonization. (Opens November 19)

MUSIC

The Harvard Department of Music

www.music.fas.harvard.edu

Guitarist and composer Michael Pisaro joins others to perform his *Concentric Rings in Magnetic Levitation*. (November 17)

NATURE AND SCIENCE

The Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics

www.cfa.harvard.edu/events/mon.html

"The Case of the Mysterious X-rays from Space." Astronomer Esra Bulbul explores the latest telescopic findings from the Chandra X-ray Observatory, followed by sky-viewing, weather permitting. (December 4)

The Arnold Arboretum

www.arboretum.harvard.edu

Enjoy a vigorous winter walk, then step inside to view **Small Worlds: Through A Small Glass Window**, an exhibit of Josh Falks's intricate, almost abstract images of nature. (Through February 3)

LECTURES

The Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study

www.radcliffe.harvard.edu

"Sweet Talk: A Lecture by Kara Walker." The artist reflects on her life and the making of her 40-foot-tall sugar sphinx, which awed crowds earlier this year at the former Domino Sugar Refinery in Brooklyn. (November 8)

"What's Wrong With Me?: The Uncertainties of Chronic Illness." Radcliffe Institute fellow Meghan O'Rourke (a poet and writer) discusses her research on the apparent rise of illnesses such as autoimmunity. (December 10)

THEATER

American Repertory Theater

www.americanrepertorytheater.org

The world premiere of Eve Ensler's come-

dic satire **O.P.C.** ("obsessive political correctness") stars a dumpster-diving squatter (Olivia Thirlby) and her mother, a U.S. Senate candidate (Melissa Leo), wrestling with the impact of consumerism. Directed by Pesho Rudnick. (Through January 4)

The Light Princess is doomed to float through life unless the king and queen can restore her gravity before she turns 16. The musical (for all ages) is adapted from the classic fairy tale by George MacDonald. (December 6 - January 4)

FILM

www.hcl.harvard.edu/hfa

The Harvard Film Archive presents a retrospective on director **Mario Monicelli**, who is credited with discovering Marcello Mastroianni and Vittorio Gassman, and pioneering *commedia all'italiana*. Screenings include: *The Girl with the Pistol*, *For Love and Gold*, and *Big Deal on Madonna Street*.

(November 21 - December 15)


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A Slice of Russia

Gilded icons, stark portraits, and a warm tea room • by Nell Porter Brown



A former carpet factory (top left) was renovated to house the Museum of Russian Icons. An elegant interior spiral staircase leads to exhibits, including a circa 1450 painting of John the Baptist; a jeweled icon of Saint George and the dragon; and bathers on display in *Siberia Imagined and Reimagined*.

AROUND 1650, somewhere in what was then Russian territory, an artist transformed a piece of wood into a devotional object. On it, he painted a scene from The Presentation of Mary, a pivotal Christian theological event. The Gospel of James recounts that after God granted her elderly parents' wish for a child, they dedicated the Virgin to His service and handed her over at age three to the high priest at the temple. She lived there for 12 years before rejoining the world.

That painting now hangs at the Museum of Russian Icons, in Clinton, Massachusetts. Founded by art collector and retired industrialist Gordon B. Lankton in 2006, the muse-

um holds more than 700 such objects—one of the world's largest collections. They range from a circa 1450 panel depicting John the Baptist and minutely detailed liturgical calendars, on which each day is represented by a saint, to a circa 1600 set of arched doors through which the clergy enter the sanctuary, to an icon created in 2006 by Alyona Knyazeva depicting Saint Andrei Rublev, the famous medieval painter of icons and frescoes. The museum has its own tea room, and hosts performances, lectures, and workshops, along with rotating exhibits on Russian art and culture, such as the arresting

photographs that explore lives and the landscape in *Siberia Imagined and Reimagined*, on display through January 10.

Icons are integral to the Russian Orthodox Church. "They are windows into the spiritual world," museum docent Michael Popik explained during a recent tour. "And believers will say that it's through the power of God that the icon can do things." Yet depicting religious subjects was, even in the early centuries of Christianity, problematic. During the latter 700s, images were banned and burned, and protesters



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were cruelly punished. "There was always talk and conflict in Constantinople in the 700s and 800s about whether this violated the commandment 'Thou shall not worship false idols,'" Popkin says, stopping in front of a variation on the icon The Mother of God, known as The Mother of God of the Three Hands, a testament to those times. The monk Saint John Damascus had his hand cut off for his zealous devotion to icons, the story goes, and he held it while praying to be healed before the Mother of God icon. He soon fell asleep, and when he awoke, his hand was reattached, unscathed. In gratitude, he added a hand wrought from silver to the icon,



These carved and gilded "Royal Doors" to a church altar (circa 1600) depict the Annunciation and the four Evangelists. Such artifacts are rarely seen in museums outside Russia.

leading to the creation of an entirely new icon that has been replicated ever since.

Icons may be simple painted wood, formal paintings covered with decorated metalwork through which only faces and hands can be seen, or even richly enameled and bejeweled, like the museum's two-inch-square depiction of Saint George slaying the dragon. Typical for the art form is the palette limited to lush reds, blues, greens, and yellows—with spots of gold.

The Presentation of Mary icon features a folk-art style that is nevertheless quite intricate. It shows the principal players, all with golden haloes, on the steps of the temple, with onlookers and ornate Byzantine buildings in the background. "I love the architecture and the patterns," says Tara Young '96, the museum's deputy director. "But it also captures this rite of passage. Even if you don't know the story, you know what's happening. And you wonder how her parents might be feeling about letting go of their three-year-old. There is something about how each icon tells a whole story in a single moment that is fascinating."

Young, who was an art-history concentrator and joined the museum staff in 2010, is impressed by the icons' elaborate forms. But she is also drawn to their universal themes, what they reveal about the power of visual language and how art is used throughout religious traditions. "There are so many ways to approach this artwork,"

CURIOSITIES: Pretty Daggers

Curator Steven A. LeBlanc has picked out the Peabody Museum's most beautiful instruments of pain. Some 150 of these knives, daggers, swords, guns, maces, shields, helmets, spear-throwers, and assorted clubs are now on display in *Arts of War: Artistry in Weapons across Cultures*. They date from more than 5,000 years ago to the twentieth century, and represent every continent. The new exhibit (on view through October 2017) draws no absolute distinction between art objects, LeBlanc

notes, and those designed purely to maim or kill: most are clearly both. "War in the past was much more pervasive and deadly than people realize," the archaeologist adds, "and yet any of the evidence we have of weapons used throughout history shows that they were decorated."

A wooden sword from a Kiribati warrior in the Pacific Islands is rendered more lethal with its

Clockwise from top: A Nisga'a club is armed with whale teeth (British Columbia); faces appear on part of an iron axe (Zaire); and a horse graces the hilt of a knife (India or Iran).



graduated series of shark teeth, laced on with twined coconut fibers tightly woven into intricate patterns. The ivory base of a Persian dagger sports carved human figures, while a Balinese blade's golden haft is studded with a star sapphire and rubies. Someone with taste certainly chose the dark gray stone with handsome natural striping that was honed and polished into a flat club used by the Maori people. "It's so elegantly curved, so carefully made," LeBlanc notes. "Would you think that it was a weapon?" It's clear, he continues, mentioning the nose art on military planes flown by both sides in World War II, that people anywhere will decorate their weapons if given the chance, "which is rather counterintuitive."

But is it? A club bludgeons an enemy, thereby keeping its wielder alive. Why wouldn't a warrior personalize or imbue with protective spirits any armament? How could a weapon taken into bloody battles not act in some sense as a talisman? And wouldn't a soldier want to differentiate his or her weapon from others—if only for practicality? "The exhibit does not pose theories about why," LeBlanc asserts. "It asks you to think about it."

Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology
Nov. 6, "Beautiful and Deadly: The Arts of War," lecture by Steven A. LeBlanc
www.peabody.harvard.edu





she says. “These icons open different doors for different visitors.” The museum receives a steady stream of church groups, seminary students, priests, and scholars. Yet most of the visitors to Clinton, about 15 miles northeast of Worcester, are not Orthodox believers, Young reports; they are intrigued by the story of the museum’s founding.

Lankton moved to the area in the 1960s and ultimately became president of Nypro, an international plastics injection molding company headquartered in Clinton, building it into a global manufacturer. He knew little about icons when, while traveling for work in 1989, he bought one at a Russian flea market. When his collection numbered around 100, he bought a former carpet factory in town, gutted the interior and restored the façade, put the artifacts on display, and opened the doors to the public. Now in his eighties, he is still active there, as a trustee, and at the separate downtown Gallery of African Art, to which he donated another impressive collection of works. His efforts are credited with spurring Clinton’s percolating revitalization. Other businesses have moved into rehabilitated buildings, the historic Strand Theatre was renovated and reopened in 1995, and a few new restaurants, such as Zaytoon, which serves excellent Middle Eastern food, have appeared in recent years.

Young encourages visitors to spend a day or two in the region: “People from Boston think we are really far away, but we’re not.” Within 15 to



20 minutes of the museum, she reports, are the Wachusett Reservoir (which offers local history lessons and walking and hiking trails), the Tower Hill Botanic Garden, Fruitlands Museum, the Worcester Art Museum, “and the Older Timer Restaurant. It’s an Irish pub and a

***Siberia Imagined and Reimagined* captures the rawness of wild and urban landscapes, as well as the daily flow of human life in a remote region.**

real institution.”

The museum itself has also grown over the years. “We find that once people get over their apprehension and initial reactions of ‘I’m not Russian, what is the appeal of icons?’ and get through the door, they are completely amazed by the building and the collection,” Young says. “And the museum strives to make icons accessible. You don’t need any background in Russian art or history or religion, you just need an interest in learning.”

ALL IN A DAY: Growing Pains

In the rear of the Hydrophyte House is a worn wooden bench where visitors may sit and listen to the burbling of a frog-shaped fountain and the erratic hissing of old pipes. Tropical pitcher plants hanging from baskets above ingest stray bugs, vines roam the walls, and stalks of sugar cane grow thick in one corner. Taking in the greenery and warm, moist air makes it possible to forgive the frigid winds swirling madly beyond the glass. “There’s always something growing, if not blooming, in the greenhouses,” says Gail Kahn, assistant director of the 22-acre Wellesley College Botanic Gardens, which include the Margaret C. Ferguson Greenhouses, completed in 1923. These shelter more than 1,100 specimens, many of them old and rare. There are black pepper plants; a Guadalupe palm and calabash and tamarind trees; cacti; bromeliads; and cycads. The 131-year-old camellia originally belonged to the college’s founders, Pauline and Henry Fowle Durant,

The Wellesley College greenhouses offer winter pleasures like the fuchsia moth orchid above.




A.B. 1841. Passionate horticulturists, the couple opened their collection of warm-weather plants to students, who also explored the flora growing in the meadows, woods, and waterways on and around the still-bucolic campus. Research and education remain the focus, but all visitors are welcome. Go soon to “catch sight of a Bird of Paradise in bloom,” says Kahn, “or the powder puff tree and some of the orchids.” Or even just to appreciate the historic greenhouses themselves. As early as this spring, they will be torn down to make way for replacements equipped with the most efficient climate-control systems and amenities. “They are charming and wonderful,” Kahn agrees, “but also past their prime.”



The Wellesley College Botanic Gardens
www.wellesley.edu/wcbg

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Slinging Meat

A neighborly pub on the Somerville-Cambridge border

PINING for the warmth of human babble on a wintry night? Duck into The Kirkland Tap & Trotter, the casual, grill-centric restaurant of chef Tony Maws, where hunks of meat and swillable drinks comfort a shivering crowd.

The place can be loud, beware, and carries the feel of an English pub. Chunky wooden forms—mismatched table and chairs and benches—and white pillars with coat hooks dominate the interior. A ceiling with exposed beams and piping is painted black. Diners help themselves to utensils kept in metal buckets, although waitstaff hand the steak-eaters hefty five-inch blades. (Are we supposed to kill the cow, too?) But what do the vintage airplane propellers and other industrial rel-

ics on display have to do with anything? Perhaps they promote the idea of the open kitchen as a forge, or the ruggedness of the chefs therein, who bound around clanking pots and pans and tending the flames over which much on the menu is cooked.

Grilled corn was featured in the bold garlic and cilantro sauce that came with a pile of tender Maine mussels (\$14). Among the cold appetizers was a “salad” with pickled peaches and peanuts, slices of prosciutto,



and a handful of Gouda shavings (\$16). Greens were scarce, however, and the vinegary taste of the fruit, and the soaked, crunchless peanuts, overwhelmed even

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the salty meat and made for an odd mix. The homemade whole-wheat rigatoni (\$15) was chewy and filling, even without the creamy ham ragout with corn and parsley. Perfectly grilled, the sirloin-tip brochette (time to use that big knife!) was paired with a rich salsa verde and grilled avocado slices (\$32). The latter, charred yet soft, was irresistible—but a crisp salad with a citrus kick might have better balanced the dish.

All told, the Kirkland Tap & Trotter seems to relish its lack of finesse. Maybe that's the point. Among the best items there is the cheeseburger (\$16)—extra-thick, with a puffy bun, and topped with Russian dressing, kimchi, and Emmen-taler. It fed two people, especially when



The convivial bistro-cum-pub, not far from Harvard Square, draws crowds for beers, burgers (left), and banana splits.



followed by the bourbon-caramel banana split (\$10), a gooey mass of dense chocolate ice cream, a fruity ice milk, and candied spiced peanuts. Drink-lovers are equally indulged. Drafts rotate, as do the inventive cocktails. We hope the bar has stocked plentiful makings of “Sky’s the Limit,” a blend of Dutch gin and

old Scotch whiskey touched with maple syrup, lemon juice, and bitters. A generous jolt of that ought to ease the pain of any nor’easter, right, mate? ~N.P.B.

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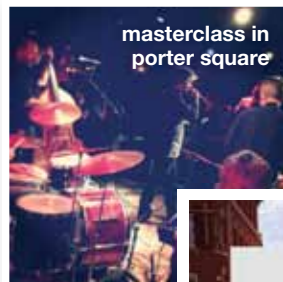
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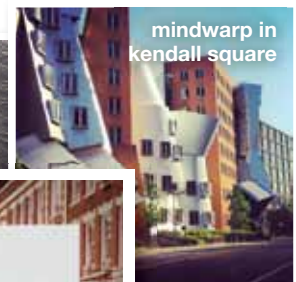


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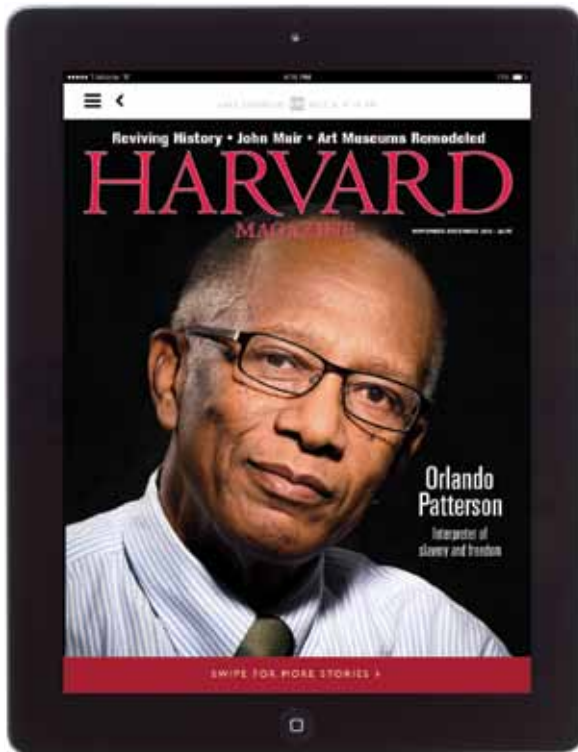


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JOHN HARVARD'S JOURNAL

Unleashing Harvard's Art Museums

ABUNDANT LIGHT and glass will greet visitors when the Harvard Art Museums reopen at 32 Quincy Street on November 16. The centrally located Calderwood Courtyard now rises through five stories to a glass roof. Natural light from this “lantern” suffuses the space and blends with artificial lighting installed in the farther reaches of the building. This is a trademark of architect Renzo Piano, designer of the Menil Collection in Houston, the Paul Klee Center in Bern, Switzerland, the renovation of the Morgan Library in New York City, and the expansions of the Art Institute of Chicago and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, among others. Piano refers to the roof as “a light machine.” But the renewal of 32 Quincy Street’s *functions* as a building—

which also include modern necessities such as climate control and improved security—are matched by the museums’ equally evident rededication to a *purpose*.

Teaching, it rapidly becomes clear, is what drives the program and many of the design decisions in the 205,000-square-foot building. “We have some of the greatest collections in the country,” says Cabot director of the Harvard Art Museums Thomas W. Lentz. “We desperately needed to make them far more accessible... and we wanted to put them to work for all students, all disciplines, all faculty, because we have a deep belief in the power of works of art to teach in very different ways.” Harvard, he points out, is “the birthplace of art history as a discipline,

as well as art conservation and conservation science.” (Harvard’s virtuosity in that latter discipline is on display in a special Rothko exhibit that uses light to restore badly faded pigments; see harvardmag.com/rothko-14.) To that end, the building houses new study centers where students, scholars, and the public can, under supervision, have up-close experiences with works of art; the Straus Center for conservation, visible through glass walls on the same floor; and “University galleries” dedicated to the display of artworks installed specifically for College courses in the history of art and architecture and interdisciplinary General Education courses. Even the curation of the permanent collections has come to reflect art history as it is now taught. American art, for example, is no longer considered separate from the



Clockwise: Light from the Calderwood Courtyard is ideal for the display of ancient sculpture, like this Roman work; the new building connects seamlessly with the ramp from Le Corbusier's Carpenter Center; a gallery tracing the origins of expressionism, with Max Beckmann's *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo* in center background; two Alexei Jawlensky paintings of the human face; Renée Sintenis's *Daphne*, depicted at the moment of her transformation into a laurel tree.

European art-historical tradition.

This has led to thought-provoking reinterpretations. The gallery that might once have been labeled "American" now reflects the transatlantic exchanges of European currency, images, and ideas with colonial and Native American culture. Copley

portraits of Boston merchant princes clad in Turkish garb hang opposite portraits of Native Americans (drawn, explains Winthrop associate curator of American art Ethan Lasser, by a painter sent by the French government to render their likenesses). A Charles Willson Peale portrait of George Washington that was sent to Paris hangs near one of Benjamin Franklin, then in Paris representing American interests, portrayed by the French paint-

er Joseph Duplessis. In the center of the room is a wrist ornament made of wampum, loaned (like the images of the Native Americans) by the Peabody Museum—a sign of increasing cooperation among University collections. Of the wampum and a nearby piece of British silver, Lasser says, "There are some similarities": both are aesthetic art materials *and* materials of exchange. "Silver is money, but here it is also a bowl. Wampum is a kind of cur-

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rency, but it is also a jewel.” And the wrist ornament depends on trade, “because the drills used to hollow the interior of the wampum beads were steel drills that Native Americans traded for.”

The cultural exchange illustrated in the American gallery is emblematic of the way art is considered throughout the museum, and was made possible by two major changes. First, the museums’ 10 tiny curatorial departments were combined into three larger divisions—Asian and Mediterranean; European and American; and Modern and Contemporary—to facilitate scholarly exchanges. Second, the new building has brought the three separate collections—the Fogg, the Busch-Reisinger, and the Arthur M. Sackler museums—together in one location so that, as Lentz describes it, “they can finally begin talking to one another. We can now begin to establish the multiple visual, intellectual, and historical linkages between these collections.”

Thus sculptures by Auguste Rodin and Louise Bourgeois are woven into a display of Roman sculpture organized around themes of dynamism, the human body, and materials. A spirit of experimentation, even playfulness, characterizes some of the newly installed galleries. High on the wall above the Roman sculptures, a word portrait by Félix González-Torres acts like a frieze. “I was very excited about this guest, as it were,” says Hanfmann curator of ancient art Susanne Ebbinghaus. “Word portraits are actually something that we have a lot of in the ancient world. Think of the deeds of Augustus or inscriptions in the palaces of Assyrian kings.” Because “the frieze is an element that is derived from classical architecture, I thought [it] would fit very well and chime in very interesting ways with the ancient works of art displayed, but open them up to the twenty-first century.”

In an adjacent gallery of Greek vases, the installation reflects how these ceremonial objects would have been seen when used. A krater for mixing wine and water, its decorations depicting Dionysus and a procession of misbehaving satyrs, has been “consciously placed at the center of the gallery, just as it would have been placed at the center of the ancient Greek drinking party,” Ebbinghaus says. A nearby case displays drinking bowls on their sides, as they would have been seen when raised to the lips, revealing the interior design visible to the drinker. The display also shows the



bottom of the cup when raised, “what your companions see as you are drinking,” she continues. “It shows you how these objects actually would look in motion”—a suggestion of what “people can really experience a little bit in the study center,” where these ancient objects may be handled.

On the fifth floor, one up from the study centers, the so-called lightbox gallery offers visitors the opportunity to explore the museum’s collections digitally. A project of Harvard’s metaLAB in collaboration with the museum, the space will allow visitors to interact with images of artworks and their associated data (date of acquisition, artist, colors, technique, style, or other attributes). Museum collections are becoming “visible through websites,” says metaLAB co-director Jeffrey Schnapp, presenting “a world of opportunities for thinking about programming, research, communication, engagement with local and off-site communities, and for enhancing, altering, or expanding the compass of what a visit is—even the on-site visit.” The system will let visitors explore objects on display more deeply, and eventually even collections that aren’t on display. “It’s a nimble space,” says Schnapp, a professor of Romance languages and literatures who also teaches at the Graduate School

In the Straus Center for Conservation and Technical Studies on the museum’s top floors, conservators and conservation scientists have been busy reading artworks for display in the reinstalled galleries.

of Design. The system could even be used to teach students about curatorial work, allowing them to “assemble objects and make arguments with them.”

Students are central to the “reoriented compass” of the museums, says chief curator Deborah Martin Kao. “If we can do something that is at the right pitch to [generate] excitement and curiosity in an undergraduate,” she recalls thinking, “then we will have gotten it right for most of our other audiences.” As planning for reinstallation of the galleries got under way, “We began to realize that, even in the permanent collections, the time and research and level of thinking” going into that process were commensurate with the effort required to stage a special exhibition. “To meet the aspiration that we were setting for ourselves”—the creation of an “incredibly robust teaching platform”—“we needed the galleries to do something more than they had in the past.”

That meant, as well, the commitment of a large space to the University galleries that would be programmed in consultation with faculty members for specific



Above: Ancient sculpture shares space with a modern version of a frieze: a Félix González-Torres word portrait. **Below:** In an installation of Greek vases, drinking bowls are displayed so the decorations can be seen as they would have been when in use—both inside and out—by the drinkers and their companions.



object-based teaching in their classes; creation of on-site storage to enable nimble supply of artworks to the study centers; allocation of space to a materials lab for studying artmaking; and a commitment by curators as they pursue their own scholarly projects to involve faculty partners, undergraduate and graduate interns, and fellows in their work, Kao says.

In addition, reports director of academic and public programs Jessica Levin Martinez, the museum now has a 19-member

undergraduate advisory board and a guide program led by students from the Harvard Graduate School of Education. There are plans to collaborate with Cambridge Rindge and Latin School's media-arts program, and explorations of how the museum could be used in "flipped classrooms," in which lectures are viewed online and the participatory work takes place in one of the museum's galleries or study centers.

One of the effects of the museums' renewed focus on teaching has been to enhance the way its paper collections are deployed. Of the 250,000 objects held by Harvard's three art museums, four-fifths are works on paper. These are often particularly useful in teaching, but also susceptible to light damage. As curators imagined how these collections could best be utilized in teaching, Kao says, they tried

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to open themselves to the idea that works on paper could drive the argument in a gallery. A modern gallery focused on the 1960s, for example, is anchored by “two deep and important paper collections:” Joseph Beuy’s *Multiples* and a Fluxus movement collection. “The two speak to each other,” says Kao, “because they both deal with the issue of the multiple, a key concept for the art of the 1960s. We built the rest of the gallery around them.” This, together with a systematic program for rotating works on paper into display, will allow more of these valuable teaching objects to be shown.

Kao says that part of what allows the new museum to fashion itself as a teaching machine is its position in the larger ecology of Greater Boston art museums: “Unlike the Yale University Art Museum, which is the only game in town in New Haven, we don’t have that pressure.” The “magisterial American wing of the Museum of Fine



Paintings by Sargent, Munch, and Degas background the latter’s *Little Dancer* in a gallery that shows the international nature of art and collection in the second half of the nineteenth century. Impressions on paper from Mary Cassatt’s own “studio collection” show her experimentation with combinations of black plates and color plates using a variety of inking techniques and colored papers.

Arts, Boston tells the story of America in a monumental way. [Salem’s] Peabody-Essex Museum lets visitors understand the seafaring, Silk Road story in a powerful way.” Harking back to the museum’s innovative

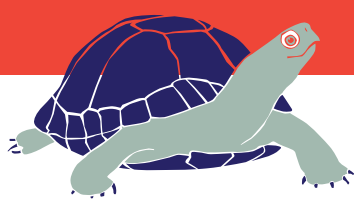


American gallery, she continues, “We felt the privilege of being in Boston” made it possible “to tell this other, integrated story—of the colonial Atlantic as a collision of world-views that gets played out in a kind of visual economics.” She concludes, “We can’t wait to unleash the capacity of this new building to really move the field forward.”



Visit www.harvard-mag.com/extras now to see more images and in late November for additional coverage on the new Harvard Art Museums.


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Frenetic Fall

THE FALL SEMESTER began with a lot of news, including capital-campaign developments (see page 26); the annual endowment report (plus announcement of the investment managers' new senior leadership—see page 32); and further discussion of divestment and climate change (see page 35). Herewith, some additional opening-weeks highlights—including a cutback in Harvard employees' benefits.

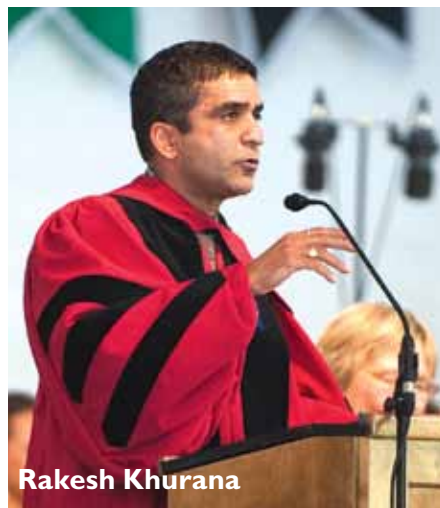
Freshman Convocation. The young Harvard tradition (b. 2009), held this year on a summery Labor Day, featured just-hatched College students and their freshly minted Harvard College dean, Rakesh Khurana, master of Cabot House—also masterful at self-deprecation. Khurana said he shared the students' anxiety as well as their excitement, and joked, "I'm 46 now and I still think medical school might be my possible next step if this whole deaning thing doesn't work out." (A twenty-first-century dean, he maintains an Instagram account and conducted an Instagram-mediated scavenger hunt/campus tour for his new charges.)

In a serious vein, Khurana underlined the difference between what he called "transactional" and "transformational" experiences in the intellectual, social, and personal realms. In the former, "you are reenacting the script that in many cases has worked for you up to this point." Transformation is "the harder route," but "If we are to tackle our most important challenges as a society—poverty, environmental degradation, justice, and health—a more transactional approach will not get us there."

President Drew Faust touched on diversity and inclusion, telling the members of the class of 2018, "You now are Harvard" (echoing minority students' "I, Too, Am Harvard" campaign of last spring), and reminding them of a sight that had greeted them on move-in day: lists of individuals who had occupied their dormitories in

years past. The very earliest names, she noted, were white, male New Englanders, but the rosters transform over time. Read more at harvardmag.com/2018-14 and harvardmag.com/hunt-14.

Morning Prayers. Faust amplified that theme at Morning Prayers the next day. For most students, faculty, and staff, she said, the University would be the most diverse community they ever encounter—and the 6,000 newly arrived students had chosen to join such a diverse place. "Our differences are the foundation of our great-



Rakesh Khurana

est strength, enabling each of us to grow beyond who we could be alone," she declared. "That is the ideal of the symphony. The orchestra would not sound nearly so good if it was just made up of 100 oboes."

But coming together, Faust noted, is never easy. She cited conflicts around the world that "seem to be tearing peoples apart"—a nod to unrest in places as far away as Gaza and Ukraine, and as near as Ferguson, Missouri. Frictions felt by "those who have felt marginalized or unsafe" have played out even closer to home, she said. Enriching diversity "is not something that just happens—without effort, without practice, without difficulties. It is a commitment. It requires work. And the notes we play will not always be per-

fect." On this first day of the new school year, Faust asked community members to rededicate themselves to "all together performing that Harvard symphony." Read more at harvardmag.com/prayers-14.

Learning and Teaching. Speakers at the third Harvard Initiative for Learning and Teaching (HILT) conference, on September 16, considered student engagement and distance (both in being distanced from learning, and in distance learning). In an initial discussion of innovation, Mallinckrodt professor of physics Melissa Franklin said she aimed "to get the students to do their own synthesizing—we never show them how to put it all together."

In one of seven pedagogy-focused breakout sessions, the faculty for a course on "International Humanitarian Response" described putting students in the woods for three days to teach crisis management by simulating a natural disaster in two sub-Saharan countries. Eighteen teams assumed roles that required them to provide medical services, water, or shelter. "That upped the tension," explained HILT research fellow Selen Turkey. "Just-in-time teaching" included situations such as encountering a villager wounded by a land mine—object lessons in managing stress.

At lunch, Malia Mason, Gantcher associate professor of business at Columbia, talked about "mindshare," demonstrating how much time they spend on social-media diversions, at the expense of discretionary tasks—like studying. HILT's research director, Samuel Molton, charted how attendance at lecture classes atrophied during the course of a semester, noting, "People vote with their feet."

That set up an observation by Peter Bol, vice provost for advances in learning, during the final panel. Students at MIT, he reported, initially objected to "flipped classrooms," in which they watched recorded lectures *before* attending class and then participated in learning exercises—precisely because that made them show up for class. Bates College president A. Clayton Spencer (a former Harvard vice president) suggested the institutional stakes in the attention now focusing on pedagogy when she said that "the sleeping giant of the Research-1 university has just woken up and gotten interested in what we [small liberal-arts colleges] thought we did best: teaching.

IN THIS ISSUE

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|----|------------------------|
| 25 | Harvard Portrait | 32 | Close to Par |
| 26 | Capitalizing | 33 | Brevia |
| 28 | University People | 35 | Divestment Discussions |
| 30 | Yesterday's News | 36 | The Undergraduate |
| 32 | Propelling Public Health | 38 | Sports |

They are...throwing all they've got at this." She added that "the liberal-arts colleges have gotten pretty lazy about the 'Small is good' idea. Large can be very good, very powerful, and very beautiful. Unless we get over ourselves in liberal arts, we're in a heap of trouble, because we've lost our distinctive market niche."

Read a detailed account of the day at harvardmag.com/hilt-14.

Changing Terrain for Employee Benefits.

And in an early-September human-resources e-mail, faculty and nonunionized staff members learned that their health-insurance coverage would become more costly. Atop co-payments for office visits and prescriptions, they will, effective January 1, become responsible for annual deductibles of \$250 per individual and \$750 per family, and coinsurance (equal to 10 percent of costs), for hospital expenses, surgeries, diagnostic testing, and outpatient services. The individual out-of-pocket maximum for such expenses is \$1,500 per year; for families, the ceiling is \$4,500 (present limits are \$2,000 and \$6,000). Co-payments for office visits and prescriptions will count towards these thresholds, above which Harvard resumes paying 100 percent of the costs. (Preventive care remains covered at 100 percent.)

These changes align University health benefits for nonunionized employees more closely with national norms—but faculty and staff members have been accustomed to Harvard's traditionally full insurance coverage. The University indicated that Harvard's cost savings would be sufficient to *reduce* employees' healthcare premiums in 2015 by about 2 percent (they were otherwise expected to *increase* by about 3 percent). But it declined to disclose either how much Harvard spends now on health benefits or the anticipated dollar savings from the change in coverage. The effect on employees will be buffered somewhat: Harvard will reimburse part of the new charges (as it does co-payments) for covered employees who earn less than \$95,000 annually.

The changes touch on the national discussion of healthcare and employee benefits. In her message, vice president for human resources Marilyn Hausammann wrote that "benefits have grown to consume 12 percent of the University's budget (from 8 percent) over the past decade." A review of past financial statements sug-

H A R V A R D P O R T R A I T



Deborah Anker

"This is my cause," thought Deborah Anker, M.A.T. '70, LL.M. '84, upon her first encounter with immigration law. A second-generation American whose Jewish grandparents crossed the Atlantic to escape the Holocaust, she got her start at a Boston-based refugee-assistance organization, where she worked for a few years after earning her law degree. Her family history sparked her passion for the subfield of asylum law, on which she later wrote the treatise that made her one of the discipline's most prominent scholars. The clinical professor of law notes that she inherited her deep sense of social justice from her parents, both public servants with progressive values. "I have grown up with a tremendous passion about civil rights," she recalls, adding that even her family was not progressive enough for her rebellious spirit. When Anker joined the Law School faculty in the mid 1980s, she notes, immigration "wasn't even considered an area of law." In addition to teaching the first full immigration-law course offered at the school, in 1984 she co-founded the Harvard Immigration and Refugee Clinical Program, an initiative that engages students in the direct representation of asylum applicants. "The best doctrine is shaped by the experience of representing clients," explains Anker, whose career has unfolded at the intersection of scholarship and practice. "I was born into a community that had just suffered so much," she says of her choice not to pursue a "happier" field. Coming into close contact with the sadness of her clients has been for her a cathartic experience. During three decades of lawyering, Anker has witnessed "the resiliency of the human spirit" in her clients, which she says has been profoundly transformative.

gests that shift was driven by changes in pension costs and accounting in fiscal year 2003—but there has not been much relief since. The University's health coverage, in the view of faculty experts at Harvard Medical School and Harvard School of Public Health, has been very generous—and that coverage pays for care in a market with very high-quality providers, who charge some of the highest prices in the country.

The changes in coinsurance and deductibles don't address those factors. As some of the faculty experts point out, high local costs are associated with academic medical centers: the very hospitals affiliated with the medical school. (There is research demonstrating that the costs vary a *lot*—and often far more than the *quality* of care, when provided by community hospitals, for instance, versus the most sophisticated tertiary-care hospitals.) Scholars have discussed how to provide health insurance in tiers, for service options carrying varying costs. But there is little appetite for insurance that is tightly tied to the medical “value” of care, or to provider networks with differing prices. Even the Harvard

Union of Clerical and Technical Workers (whose members are not immediately affected by the changes, which are subject to contract negotiation), a sharp critic of Harvard's approach of shifting costs to employees, has not proposed tiered insurance plans. The union did release a white paper outlining changes in medical services (better use of mail-order prescriptions, attempts to reduce emergency-room use for urgent care, and so on); it calculated savings of \$5 million to \$6 million annually.

Hinting at the large issues still looming, the union paper noted, “Current research suggests that the problem of unnecessarily high-cost hospital care is particularly acute for hospitals in the Partners Health-Care system. If a carefully-designed program could gently push Harvard patients away from Partners for routine care, without taking away the opportunity to receive appropriate care in areas where Partners hospitals are world leaders, the potential savings are great.” Treading delicately, it continued, “This is a complex...area both for the University (because Partners hospitals are Harvard-affiliated...) and for employees (because the quality of care at

Partners facilities...is so highly regarded).

It may take all the health-policy and economics expertise at the University's disposal to solve that problem, for Harvard and the wider U.S. healthcare system. A report on these issues can be found at harvardmag.com/health-14.

Capitalizing

THE UNIVERSITY announced in mid September that The Harvard Campaign—launched publicly a year earlier, with \$2.8 billion of gifts and pledges in hand—had realized an additional \$1.5 billion of commitments through the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 2014, having raised “more than \$4.3 billion” toward its goal of \$6.5 billion.

That brisk fundraising pace coincided with the launch of individual campaigns by the Harvard School of Public Health (HSPH), the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS), the Radcliffe Institute, and others: the kind of events that often focus gift-giving. By the end of the fiscal year, Harvard Business School had recorded \$721 million in gifts and pledges—up from the \$600 million-plus announced during its launch gala in late April. By late summer, FAS had exceeded \$1.4 billion in gifts and pledges toward its \$2.5-billion goal—up smartly from the \$1 billion secured when its public campaign began last October. Even the eye-opening \$4.3 billion total as of June 30 understated the robust results: it does not include the Chan family's \$350-million endowment gift to HSPH unveiled in early September (see “Propelling Public Health,” page 32).

By March 31, across Harvard, 56 existing and new professorships had been endowed during the campaign. Details were lacking about the proportion of gifts for endowment, as opposed to current use, or fundraising for academic and programmatic ambitions, but a few developments highlighted campaign benefactions:

- *Naming a deanship.* At the Harvard College Fund Assembly in September, President Drew Faust announced that the FAS dean's post had been named the Edgerley Family Deanship to recognize support from Paul B. Edgerley, M.B.A. '83, and Sandra Matejic Edgerley '84, M.B.A. '89—who are co-chairs of both the Harvard and the FAS campaigns (and the parents of two undergraduates). The Edgerleys' support

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Urban Art

page 71 | View additional images of former Loeb Fellow Ross Miller's interactive artworks, which transform public spaces around Boston.



Musical Notation

page 78 | Watch a video of Thomas Kelly describing and performing songs from his book *Capturing Music: The Story of Notation*, on how musical notation developed in the West.



An Opening-of-Year Conversation with Drew Faust

President Faust and Nicholas Kristof discuss Harvard and higher education
harvardmag.com/kristof-14

Biden on Foreign Policy at Harvard

The vice president at the Kennedy School on Ebola, ISIL, China, and Russia
harvardmag.com/biden-14

“Twenty Questions” with William Deresiewicz

At Harvard, the Ivy League critic faces faculty and student interlocutors.
harvardmag.com/deresiewicz-14

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A rendering of the Kennedy School's expanded and reconfigured campus; learn more at harvardmag.com/hks-14.

covers “the salary and other administrative costs for the position while helping to maintain and strengthen the leadership of FAS going forward.”

• **Kennedy School construction.** Harvard Kennedy School took plans for an ambitious, complex, 77,000-square-foot addition to and renovation of its campus before

the Cambridge Planning Board, as this issue went to press. The \$100-million-plus project—making three additions to current structures, including a bridge over the Eliot Street vehicular entry to link the Belfer and Taubman buildings; raising the elevation of the courtyard; and, as a result, expanding the campus's square footage by nearly one-third—was signaled as a campaign priority during the school's launch event last May. Robert A.M. Stern Architects LLP, responsible for the Business School's Spangler Center, did this new design, too. Construction is envisioned from mid 2015 to late 2017.

• **Other public-health priorities.** Soon after HSPH revealed the Chan family's endowment gift, the school announced a \$24-million gift from entrepreneur Murat Ülker of Istanbul to establish the Sabri Ülker Center for Nutrient, Genetic, and Metabolic Research, focused on ailments such as diabetes and heart disease. The center

(honoring the donor's late father, who founded Yıldız Holding, a multinational corporation based in Turkey) will be led by Simmons professor of genetics and metabolism Gökhan S. Hotamisligil.

• **Researching health policy.** At the Medical School, which unveils its campaign in November, the department of health care policy launched its Health Care Markets and Regulation Lab to investigate high-quality, financially sustainable care. A \$9.96-million grant from the Houston-based Laura (Elena Munoz '94) and John Arnold Foundation helped initiate seven projects on payment reform, care exchanges, and other subjects, beginning on October 1. Schaeffer professor of health care policy Michael Chernew leads the effort. John Arnold was an energy trader at Enron before operating his own hedge fund through 2012.

Amid this news, the Graduate School of Design and Graduate School of Education launched campaigns during the second and third weeks of September; highlights follow.

As to the future? Professional fundraisers, ever fretful, caution that past giving does not guarantee future success. That

University People

Innovation Honorand

Cherry Murray, dean of the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, has been awarded the National Medal of Technology and Innovation. President Barack Obama made the announcement on October 3. For details, see harvardmag.com/murray-14.



Cherry Murray

ELIZA GRINNELL/SEAS

Humanities Honorands

Alumni recognized with the National Humanities Medal, conferred in July, include M.H. Abrams '34, Ph.D. '40, Cornell's Class of 1916 professor emeritus, editor of the original *Norton Anthology of English Literature*; David Brion Davis, Ph.D. '56, Yale's Sterling Professor emeritus of American history, the leading historian of slavery; and Anne Firor Scott, Ph.D. '58, Duke's Boyd professor of history emerita, a pioneering historian of women and the South.

Seeding Scientists

Two of the three winners of the Blavatnik National Awards for Young Scientists are Harvard faculty members: Rachel Wilson, professor of neurobiology at the Medical School, who studies how brain circuitry works; and Adam E. Cohen, professor of chemistry and chemical biology and of physics, who develops tools to probe molecular and cellular functions (see “Light-Up Neurons,” March-April 2012, page 10). Each receives a \$250,000 unrestricted grant to pursue research. In his biography, Cohen cited his father, Joel E. Cohen '65, Ph.D. '70, JF '71, D.P.H. '73, Mauzé professor of populations at Rockefeller University, for inspiring his interest in science.

Fields First

Maryam Mirzakhani, Ph.D. '04, now professor of mathematics at Stanford, became the first woman to win a Fields Medal, the most prestigious honor in mathematics. A native of Tehran, she won gold medals in the 1994 and 1995 International Math Olympiads, and earned her doctorate under Curtis McMullen, Har-

vard's Cabot professor of the natural sciences—himself a Fields medalist. Manjul Bhargava '96, now professor of mathematics at Princeton, was also awarded a Fields this year

Math MacArthur, Et Alii

Professor of mathematics Jacob Lurie was named a MacArthur Foundation fellow, for work in derived algebraic geometry. Alumni honorands include Jennifer Eberhardt, Ph.D.



Jacob Lurie

JOHN D. AND CATHERINE T. MACARTHUR FOUNDATION

'93, a social psychologist; Joshua Oppenheimer '97, maker of the documentary film *The Act of Killing*; and Craig Gentry, J.D. '98, a computer scientist.

Rick Lowe, a public artist who was a Loeb Fellow at the Graduate School of Design, was also honored. For details, see harvardmag.com/macarthurs-14.

Library Comings and Goings

Tom Hyry became Fearington librarian of Houghton Library—Harvard's rare books and manuscripts collection—in

said, the campaign's alumni leaders are robust optimists. At the September 2013 launch event, Corporation member and campaign co-chair Joseph J. O'Donnell '67, M.B.A. '71, a seasoned rainmaker, was openly confident that "we'll exceed" the goal. At the current pace, the campaign would need to raise about \$550 million annually to meet the target during the next four years—a level of giving *below* that reported in fiscal years 2009 and 2010 (\$597 million in each year), during the height of a financial crisis and deep recession that pummeled stocks and private-equity and hedge funds—the assets from which most major gifts are made.

Now, those markets are in a period of extended boom (see recent investment returns by asset class for the endowment in "Close to Par," page 32). In its appeal to donors, as well as in its timing, The Harvard Campaign appears to be on a formidable roll—and a record-breaking pace for higher-education fundraising.

For details on the campaign's overall progress, see harvardmag.com/campaign-15; on the FAS deanship, see harvardmag.com/dean-14.

Complete coverage is indexed at <http://harvardmagazine.com/topic/capital-campaign>.

"We Make Things That Matter"

THE Graduate School of Design (GSD), which trains architects, landscape architects, and urban planners, invoked the theme of "grounded visionaries"—professionals engaged by what Dean Mohsen Mostafavi described as the constant tension between imagining and building human habitats—to launch its \$110-million campaign on September 12 and 13. Rem Koolhaas, professor in practice of architecture and urban design, and Fumihiko Maki, M.Arch. '54, G '56 (both Pritzker Prize recipients) spoke on the successive evenings. Research and teaching presentations throughout the weekend highlighted challenges as diverse as climate change, the ability of small-scale interventions to make cities healthier, and the role of designers in shaping urbanization in the coming century. "Our goal is a better world, a more humane world, and, yes, a more beautiful world," Mostafavi told Friday's audience, including hundreds of current students, gathered in Sanders Theatre.

"We recognize design as a catalyst for change with a strong social dimension. We make things that matter."

The campaign focuses on five academic "areas of impact"—energy and environment; urbanism and citymaking; technology and engineering; globalism and society; and art and culture—where the GSD expects to shape city-building and design, in part by collaborating with other Harvard faculties. Those substantive foci map on to three financial goals. Enhancing global impact (in an already very international faculty and student body) requires funds for long-term research and travel to studios around the world. Capacity at home includes support for expanded faculty and student cohorts, the new architectural studies track for undergraduates, and renovation of Gund Hall and construction of a complementary five-story "research tower." The final aim focuses on student aid, to re-



Mohsen Mostafavi

JUSTIN KNIGHT PHOTOGRAPHY

September, succeeding William Stoneman, who took the post in 1997 and remains curator of early books and manuscripts. Hyry became director of special collections at UCLA in 2010; previously, he was head of manuscripts at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale, where he worked for 13 years....Nancy F. Cott completed a dozen years of service as Pforzheimer Foundation director of the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America in June; she oversaw the building's renovation, the processing of a backlog of accessions, and significant digital initiatives. She remains Trumbull professor of American history. During a search for her successor, library council member Susan Ware, Ph.D. '78, will serve as senior adviser to the library, and Marilyn Dunn remains executive director.

Best Books

First-round ("long-list") nominations for National Book Awards included, in non-fiction: *New Yorker* writer Evan Osnos '98 (whose book on contemporary China was reviewed in the July-August *Harvard Magazine*); historian John Demos '59, G '68,

RI '07; Overseer Walter Isaacson '74; and Pellegrino University Professor emeritus E. O. Wilson. Poetry nominees included Maureen N. McLane '89; Spencer Reece, M.T.S. '90; and Fred Moten '84—who wrote 1,000 sonnets during a year off from the College, while he worked at the Nevada Nuclear Test site. Eliot Schrefer '01 was nominated in young adult and children's literature. Details are available at harvardmag.com/nba-14.

Miscellany

Professor of biology Brian D. Farrell, an entomologist, has become faculty director of the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, succeeding Merilee Grindle, the Kennedy School's Mason professor of international development, now emerita. "Brian Farrell in Bugdom" (September-October 2003, page 66), describes his work in the Dominican Republic's cloud forest....Matthew M. Segneri '04, M.B.A. '10, has been appointed director of Harvard Business School's social enterprise initiative, the 20-year-old program focusing on nonprofit strategy and governance, businesses with a

social mission, and so on; most recently, he was an adviser to then-Boston mayor Thomas M. Menino, LL.D. '13, and a government-innovation team leader at Bloomberg Philanthropies....Robert D. Manfred Jr., J.D. '83, has been elected commissioner of Major League Baseball; he had been the sport's chief operating officer....Thomas Sheehan has joined Memorial Church's music staff, where he is assistant University organist and choirmaster....Harvard Management Company has hired Michael Ryan as its new head of public equity; he previously worked at private investment-management and hedge funds, following service at Credit Suisse and diverse positions at Goldman Sachs Group—where he was a partner and co-head of global equity products—from 1989 to 2007....Susan Chira '80 has been appointed one of four deputy executive editors (a new position) at *The New York Times*. Joseph Kahn '87, A.M. '90, joined the masthead, too, as assistant editor for international.



Brian D. Farrell

STEAPHANIE MITCHELL/HPAG

Yesterday's News

From the pages of the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* and *Harvard Magazine*

1924 Professor of dramatic literature George P. Baker, founder of the "47 Workshop" and instructor in playwriting and production at Harvard, resigns to direct Yale's new Department of Dramatic Art, following a \$1-million gift to Yale from E.S. Harkness to be used in part to build a theater for the production of plays written by members of Baker's department. An unhappy alumnus writes the *Bulletin*, "Losing Professor Baker and the Yale game in the same week is a little too much to stand."

1939 In an apparent first for the Stadium, a drum majorette—Beatrice Fishman of New Hampshire University—appears in the halftime parade during a Harvard football game. In addition, after New Hampshire's 11 female cheerleaders call on Crimson fans for "a regular Harvard cheer," old-timers report "they had never heard such enthusiastic cheering from a Harvard crowd."

1954 A Committee on Visual Arts, to examine the place of art in the teaching of Harvard College and the Harvard graduate schools, has been designated by the president to find ways of putting Har-

vard resources in the fine arts to most fruitful use.

1959 Harvard's new chemistry laboratory, boasting 21,000 square feet of workspace, is dedicated and named after president emeritus James Bryant Conant. President Pusey thanks the federal government for paying half the building's cost and suggests this betokens an era when "we will work together more closely."

1984 Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, LL.D. '79, visits briefly, sponsored by the Harvard Foundation. "I can't say, 'Hey, I support divestment,' because that would be an indictable offense back in South Africa," he says during a press conference. "But I will certainly say that I expect those who want to support us...to exert all the pressure they can on the South African government—political, diplomatic, and above all economic pressure."

1989 At halftime during The Game, former clarinet student Derek Bok tootles the opening bars of *Rhapsody in Blue*. "The instrument was thrust upon me," Harvard's president reports. "The reed was in desperate condition, but the selection seemed appropriate. They had the blue and we had the rhapsody."

duce debt and enable graduates to pursue careers without the narrowing constraints of paying off loans.

The school announced it had already raised nearly \$70 million toward these ends (including half the unexpected Evergrande Group gift, reported last spring but undisclosed in size, to endow the new Center for Green Buildings and Cities).

Speaking about the GSD's academic ambitions and programmatic connections across the University, President Faust said, "Design is in everything we do. Design infuses Harvard." For a complete report, see harvardmag.com/gsd-14.

"The Grittiest Place at Harvard"

THE Harvard Graduate School of Education's (HGSE) daylong campaign celebration was designed to bring joy to the heart of any student: classes were canceled on September 19, and Appian Way was closed off for revelry. Dean James E. Ryan highlighted what he called "a unique confluence of need, opportunity, and interest"—an apt characterization of the appeal of, and anxieties over, such challenges as closing school achievement gaps; applying new discoveries about learning; deploying technology in teaching; and assuring access to education, in the United States and internationally.

U.S. secretary of education Arne Duncan '86, reflecting on HGSE's proposed undergraduate teacher-training program, urged his audience "to try and make sure your teachers reflect the tremendous diversity of our nation's children. I worry about the growing disconnect between what our teachers and our administrators look like, and what our students look like. Harvard can be part of the solution there." Worthy though education reform is, he warned, "This work is not for the faint of heart." Given the human stakes involved in schooling, one renowned reformer,

Harlem Children's Zone founder Geoffrey Canada, Ed.M. '75, L.H.D. '01, said, "Changing public policy is a full-contact sport," because the education sector can be uniquely resistant to change: "If you try to do something, the system is

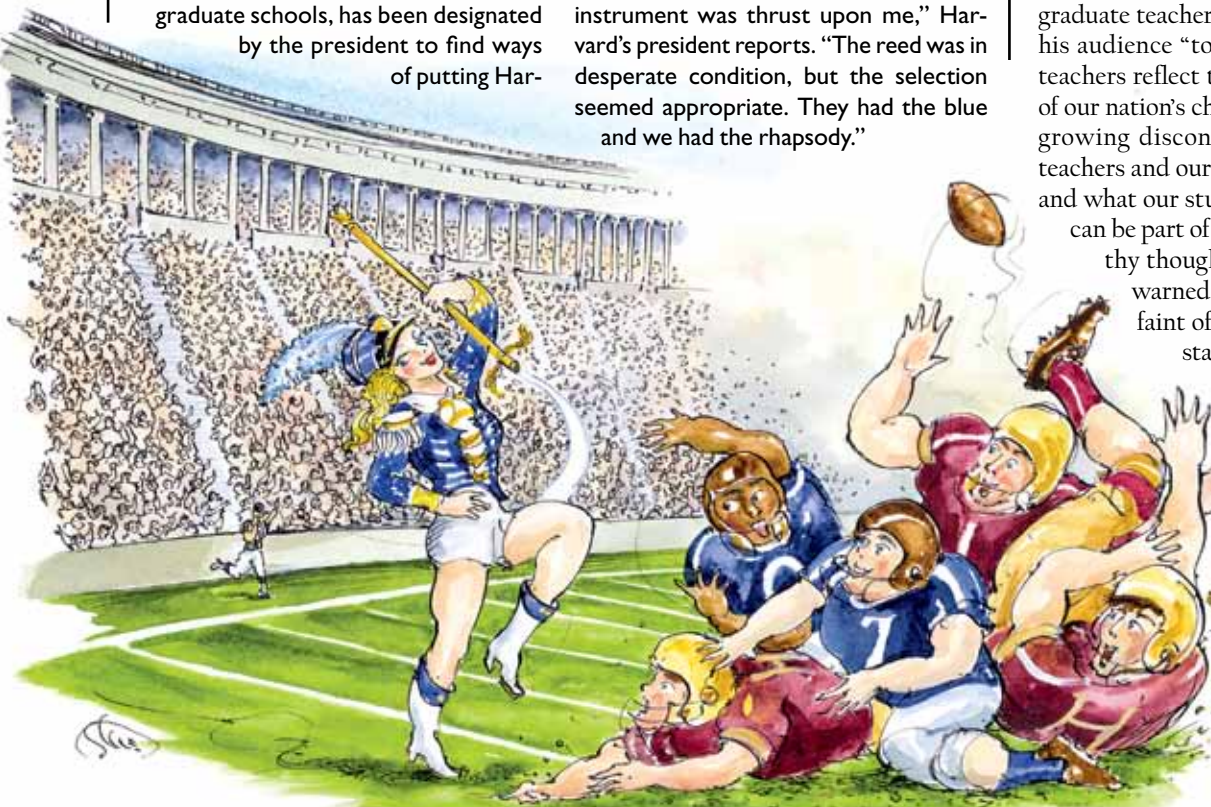


Illustration by Mark Steele



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determined to stop you.” In other lines of work, people guard their innovations jealously, but in education, “Nobody wants to steal a great idea from someone else,” Canada declared, speaking to school districts’ reluctance to try new approaches. Although education can be just as data-driven as the tech industry, he pointed out, other businesses have a higher tolerance for risk, and more patience with setbacks while a new product is being perfected.

After eight faculty members highlighted their research, from simplifying college applications to improving literacy, President Faust spoke about the school’s role in cultivating “explorers,” especially crucial because “The work of education is more scrutinized and sometimes downright assailed than ever before.” That, she said, made HGSE “quite possibly...the grittiest place at Harvard.” “Explorer-in-chief” Ryan then debuted the

campaign tagline, “Learn to Change the World,” suggesting that education was “the only sure path” for world change; that, at HGSE, anyone could learn how to make a difference through education; and finally, that the school’s community would change the world of education itself.

The campaign’s “three Cs” for change include cultivating world leaders and innovators (through financial aid for master’s and doctoral students; the new Harvard Teachers Fellows program aimed at the College; expanded online and hybrid learning; and research fellowships); collaboration on questions that matter (through research funding, aggressive replacement hiring for retiring faculty members, and growth in new disciplines such as neuroscience); and communication (with the vast population of practicing education leaders, bridging academia and practice both in the field and at modern convening facilities on campus).

Of the \$250-million goal, some \$111 million is already pledged. Ryan noted, “We have to appeal to those who may not have any formal connection to the Ed School or even any formal connection to Harvard.” He must have been encouraged by a sign that seems promising not only for his enterprise, but for the larger University. Ralph James, M.B.A. ’82, executive director of external relations at the Business School, who has his own campaign to run, has stepped forward to co-chair HGSE’s fundraising drive. Leading to change the world, so to speak. For comprehensive coverage, see harvardmag.com/hgse-14.

Close to Par

HARVARD’S ENDOWMENT was valued at \$36.4 billion last June 30, the end of fiscal year 2014—\$3.7 billion more (11.3 percent) than at the end of fiscal 2013, and with in a half-billion dollars of the peak value achieved in fiscal 2008, just before the financial crisis. The report, issued in late September, was the last wholly under the leadership of Jane L. Mendillo, president and chief executive officer of Harvard Management



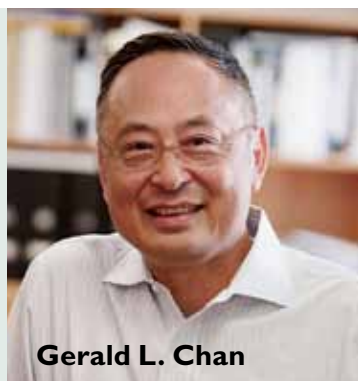
James Ryan

Propelling Public Health

The University was excited on the morning of September 8 when word spread that The Morningside Foundation, the philanthropic arm of a private-equity and venture-capital entity founded in 1986 by the family of the late T. H. Chan, had pledged a \$350-million gift to the Harvard School of Public Health (HSPH), the largest in Harvard history. The messenger was Gerald L. Chan, S.M. ’75, S.D. ’79, an HSPH alumnus and a leader of the family business enterprises, locally and in Hong Kong.

“On behalf of my mother and my brothers,” Chan said, “I want to express how pleased we are that the legacy of our late father can be honored by this gift to HSPH. He was a generous man who was a staunch supporter of education. He also wanted to support scientific research to alleviate human suffering.” One way that legacy will be honored is by renaming: HSPH is now the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. (Only Harvard itself, the Harvard Kennedy School, and the Radcliffe Institute have borne family names heretofore.)

More than the gift’s sheer size makes it a landmark. Graduates entering public health typically earn relatively little—and the beneficiaries of their expertise are diffuse populations, increasingly in the world’s lower-income areas. HSPH’s endowment as of mid 2013 was \$1.13 billion, about 3.5 percent of the University total. It is uniquely vulnerable to external funding: in fiscal year 2013, when its budget



Gerald L. Chan

was about \$350 million, 71 percent of operating revenue came from sponsored-research grants for specific projects. Just 14 percent came from endowment income: the lowest share at the University.

Julio Frenk, HSPH’s grateful dean, taking

stock of the Chans’ enormous endowment gift—income from which is likely to appreciate, and be available in perpetuity—called it “strategically important.” Given that discovery and progress in public health are “a marathon, not a sprint,” the unrestricted nature of the funds means they can adapt as priorities change. In support of the school’s campaign priorities—tackling pandemics; addressing harmful physical and social environments; tackling poverty and humanitarian crises; and remedying failing health systems and the challenges of affordability and accessibility—Frenk said early uses of the income would include a loan-forgiveness program for students and research support for junior faculty members; seed funding for early-stage ideas; and critical investments in teaching facilities and information systems.

Hailing the Chan family’s “commitment to education and...the power of public health” as “an inspiration,” Frenk said their generosity enabled the school to continue developing the “innovative solutions that will enable millions of people to live longer and healthier lives.” President Drew Faust said the gift “sends a signal to the world: this is the public-health moment.” For a complete report, see harvardmag.com/hsp-14.

Sexual-Assault Legislation?

Even as colleges institute stricter sexual-assault policies and processes (see harvardmag.com/assault-14), several U.S. senators introduced legislation mandating anonymous surveys concerning campus assaults (an effort to disseminate data on the prevalence of such behavior) and requiring creation of sexual-assault advisers and trained personnel (steps the University has taken). Fines for violating sexual-assault standards could be as much as 1 percent of an institution's operating budget (violations of Title IX of the 1972 education act can result in the suspension of *all* federal funding, a penalty so severe it has never been used). Penalties for violating the Clery Act, which requires reporting of campus crimes, would be raised to as much as \$150,000 from \$35,000. The American Council on Education questioned the efficacy of the "climate" surveys, and objected to the proposed financial penalties....Separately, California enacted a "yes means yes" campus consent standard, requiring affirmative assent to sexual activity—a more detailed threshold, promoted by some advocates, than the current Harvard policy definition of harassment as "unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature."

Humanities and Liberal Arts Anxieties

The "data forum" of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences has analyzed students' actual courses (rather than their concentrations) and found that many were "enclosed" in their fields. Although undergraduates earned more course credits in humanities than in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) disciplines, the distribution at either end of the spectrum is skewed: humanities concentrators expose themselves to fewer STEM courses (which may have formal prerequisites) than vice versa. One

Brevia



CHANGING OF THE GUARD: Dan Shore, vice president for finance and chief financial officer since 2008—who played a central role in Harvard's response to the financial crisis and recession, and to adjustments in operating expenses, financial planning and controls, and other improvements in the years since—departed September 30. He joined Onshape Inc., a Cambridge company developing computer-aided design systems. And Christine Heenan, vice president for public affairs and communications, will step down January 31 and begin a transition to her new role as senior communications adviser at the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, in Seattle. For more, see harvardmag.com/shore-14 and harvardmag.com/heen-14.

Harvard exception: an astonishing 822 undergraduates—one-eighth of the College's students—enrolled in the creatively taught Computer Science 50, "Introduction to Computer Science," this fall.... Separately, in the wake of a campaign that raised \$6.1 billion for Columbia, its Faculty of Arts and Sciences in May outlined urgent and unmet needs for science-facilities renovation, research support, faculty recruiting and retention, financial aid, and long-term endowment. Professors said those needs had been less fully addressed than those of the professional schools. In July, the *Columbia Spectator* reported that administrators were acceler-

ating a new arts-and-sciences campaign, shaped by the faculty's priorities.

Grade Inflation Aftermath

A decade after hand-wringing about rising average grades prompted discussion at Harvard and action elsewhere, Princeton (which imposed a 35-percent limit on A-range grades per course, compared to Harvard College's A- median mark) has now rescinded that policy. A faculty committee found that grades fell as a result of professorial discussions *before* the policy changed, and now recommends that the policy be abandoned in favor of departmental conversations and standards. At Wellesley, a study of differential standards for various disciplines found that the intended shift of student concentrations toward the sciences did not occur, and that undergraduates felt hindered in competition for jobs and fellowships with minimum GPA requirements. An institution acting alone, the authors found, "must consider the possibility of adverse consequences of this unilateral disarmament." Responding to a systemic problem, if there is one, they concluded, would require colleges to act in concert.

Galvanizing Gifts

Zhang Xin and Pan Shiyi, the couple who are co-founders and CEO and chairman, respectively, of SOHO China—the preeminent commercial-property developer in Beijing and Shanghai—have announced a \$100-million endowment to enable low-income Chinese students to attend leading universities in the United States and Great Britain. The first \$15-million installment came in the form of a gift to Harvard, agreed to in mid July and announced via an article in the *Wall Street Journal*. Negotiations with other schools are apparently under way....Oregon Health and Science University, with a \$500-million cancer-research chal-

allenge grant from Nike co-founder Phil Knight and his wife, Penny Knight, attracted an anonymous \$100-million; the gift, and state funds, bring the sum raised toward the challenge to \$418 million.

Online and Active Learning

edX, the Harvard-MIT online learning partnership, has unveiled a high-school initiative, with 26 courses, principally aiming at preparing students for Advanced Placement offerings in math, science, and computer science. The courses are being developed by MIT, Davidson, Wellesley, other colleges, and some high schools, as well as institutions interested in creating introductory and required college courses, including Boston University, Berkeley, and the University of Texas system. Harvard did not participate....Some 4,000 Starbucks employees have applied to the degree-oriented Arizona State University online learning partnership....Research involving introductory biology classes at the University of North Carolina, published in *CBE Life Sciences Education*, found that active-learning interventions (such as preparatory questions keyed to readings, and in-class teamwork) boosted academic performance particularly for black students (halving the achievement gap with white students) and first-generation students (closing the gap with continuing-generation students).

Nota Bene

LOAN LARGESS. Princeton has long used its formidable endowment to offer parents below-market-rate, long-term loans to meet their children's college expenses. The fixed-rate loan was recently offered at 4.3 percent interest, versus Federal PLUS loans at 7.21 percent *plus* a 4.3 percent origination fee (Princeton loans have no such fee). Now Stanford has partnered with SoFi, a peer-to-peer lender founded by one of its business-school alumni, to offer loans competitive with the federal funds, again without origination fees. Harvard makes student

loans, but does not compete in the parent-loan market.

ATHLETICS ALLIANCES. Harvard athletics has contracted with IMG College for sponsorship and marketing representation. IMG, which lists its clients as "our properties" (Yale among them), provides on-premises sales representation to boost sponsorships at sports venues, events tied to games, and other other revenue-generating opportunities, to support both the athletics program and financial aid.... Separately, suitably equipped tailgaters at The Game are advised that by showing their Harvard Alumni World Mastercard, they can receive a "free deluxe cushioned stadium seat."

TOBACCO-FREE YARD. As of August 15, Harvard Yard has become tobacco-free, joining the medical, public-health, dental, and Kennedy School campuses (with the Law School on deck)—perhaps of greater concern for the throngs of tourists than for students and Harvard staff members. The announcement came from Paul J. Barreira, Oliver professor of hygiene and director of University Health Services. He also promoted tobacco-cessation programs offered through UHS. The *Crimson*, citing minimal health benefits and needless "inconvenience" to smokers and "students' personal liberty," editorialized *against* the Yard ban.

THERAPEUTICS THRESHOLD. The Medical School's new Harvard Program in Therapeutic Science (see "Systematic Drug Discovery," July-August 2013, page 54) launched its research agenda with four federal grants that will provide, in total, \$30 million of funding during the next five years. The largest, from the National Institutes of Health, will probe how individual cells and cellular systems re-

spond to drugs; better understanding of how seemingly promising drugs fail may accelerate modifications that yield effective therapies.

EDUCATION OUTREACH. Seeking to disseminate its scholarship more widely to educators, and learn from them as well (aims of its capital campaign—see page 30), the Graduate School of Education on September 8 launched Usable Knowledge (<http://www.gse.harvard.edu/uk>), its online channel for "connecting research to practice," with content on the Common Core, early-education programs, and more.

PRESENTING BITS "O" AND "I"? Computer Sciences 50, the most popular undergraduate class this fall semester, features a "with thanks to our sponsors" link on its home page. They include Amazon Web Services, Dropbox, Facebook, Google, Microsoft, Samsung, VMware, and others. Some of the companies' personnel provide branded swag, according to a *Crimson* feature.

MISCELLANY. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, in 2014, for the first time, American public-school enrollments—the source of most future college and university students—will be "majority minority." Whites make up 49.8 percent of the cohort; the center forecasts that proportion will decline each year for the next decade.... To alleviate freshman stress, the College has opened a "Serenity Room" in Grays Hall (emulating similar facilities in some of the Houses), complete with comfort food, massages, and meditation guidance, according to the *Crimson*.... The American Repertory Theater's hip *Donkey Show* at Oberon has made room for the return of Queen Night, a "dance party" described in a news release as an opportunity for performers to move "between the disco booth and the dance floor shaking their groove thang".... Poking fun at the *U.S. News & World Report* college rankings, the online satire site, The Onion, posted its own listings; under the Harvard entry, in the "established" category, it entered not "1636" but "Yes. Very."

Practice
Safe Citing

SAFE STRESS? To encourage undergraduates to relax—and credit sources properly, lest they violate academic-conduct guidelines—Lamont Library and the College Administrative Board distributed "Practice Safe Citing" squeeze balls at the beginning of the fall term.

Company (HMC), who is stepping down at the end of 2014 (see “Endowment Exit,” September-October, page 18).

The appointment of her successor, Stephen Blyth, Ph.D. '92, HMC's managing director and head of public markets, was announced on September 24, the day after the endowment results were released. He will have his work cut out for him. Although the 15.4 percent investment return on endowment assets during fiscal 2014 narrowly exceeded HMC's internal benchmarks, it lagged behind the approximately 16 percent mean return of college and university portfolios—and well behind those of peer institutions like Stanford, Yale, and MIT. They recorded investment



Stephen Blyth

STEPHANIE MITCHELL/HFAC

gains for the year of 17.0 percent, 20.2 percent, and 19.2 percent, respectively—continuing a recent pattern of outperformance relative to Harvard. (Yale's endowment, second in size to Harvard's and similar in strategy, has been propelled by an annualized 11.0 percent investment return during the latest 10 years, compared to HMC's 8.9 percent return—a substantial difference in generating funds for the academic mission over time.)

The fiscal 2014 appreciation in Har-

vard's endowment reflects the investment return (perhaps \$5 billion), *minus* distributions to support University operations and for other purposes (perhaps \$1.6 billion), *plus* gifts received (expected to be healthy, given the capital campaign—see page 26; exact figures will appear in the annual financial report later this fall).

In a year of strong stock-market returns, HMC's public equities (about one-third of assets) gained 20.4 percent, slightly beneath their benchmark. Private-equity and venture-capital investments (about one-sixth of the portfolio) yielded 20.3 percent: again, slightly below the benchmark. Venture-capital returns were robust, but Mendillo pointed to underperformance in “legacy” private-equity investments made in the prior decade. Absolute-return assets (hedge funds, about one-sixth of assets) gained 12.2 percent, well above their benchmark. The fixed-income portfolios (10 percent of assets) generated 7.7 percent returns, above market gains. Real assets (real estate, timber and farmland, and commodities, 25 percent of the investments) earned a 10.9 percent return.

In her parting message, Mendillo said, “Our organization and our portfolio are now well positioned to continue to deliv-

Harvard Management Company 2014 Investment Performance

Asset Class	HMC Return	Benchmark Return	Difference
Public equities	20.4%	21.3%	(0.9)%
Private equity	20.3	21.6	(1.3)
Absolute return*	12.2	6.8	5.4
Real assets**	10.9	9.7	1.2
Fixed income	7.7	4.2	3.5
Total endowment	15.4%	14.6%	0.8%

*Includes high-yield bonds

**Includes real estate, commodities, and natural resources

er substantial returns and cash flow to the University for decades to come.”

Blyth, who has taught statistics and worked with campus cricket players while managing investments, acknowledged the complexity of the diverse portfolio that supports Harvard's long-term needs, and the focus on liquidity since 2008. He said he had “a lot to learn” from fellow HMC investment professionals, and could “rely on excellent colleagues” in doing so. Noting that his new responsibilities did mean that he would have to absent himself, for a while, from interacting with “spectacular” Harvard undergraduates, Blyth said that his teaching “reinforces for me what the endowment is really all about”: supporting the University's academic enterprise.

For a detailed report on HMC's performance by asset class, see harvardmag.com/endowment-15. For more information about Stephen Blyth, see harvardmag.com/ceo-14.

Divestment Discussions

LAST SPRING, Harvard Faculty for Divestment (HFD) posted letters to President Drew Faust and the Harvard Corporation reiterating their call to shed endowment investments in companies that produce fossil fuels and calling for an open forum for community discussion of the issue (see “The Divestment Debate,” July-August, page 22).

In a July 10 e-mail posted on HFD's website, William F. Lee, writing as the Corporation's new senior fellow and on its behalf, responded to those messages. As he briskly noted at the outset, “We fully support President Faust's conclusion in her letters of October 2013 and April 2014 that the most responsible, effective, and institutionally appropriate way for Harvard to

confront the challenge of climate change is to intensify our academic efforts in this important domain through both research and education, to continue Harvard's aggressive efforts to reduce the University's own carbon footprint, and to otherwise promote sustainability in the day-to-day activities of our community. Like President Faust, we do not support divestment....” He declared that “engagement with energy-producing companies in shared research and development on both the improved efficiency of energy use and development of renewable sources of energy is more likely [to be effective] than divesting ourselves of investments in fossil fuels and distancing us from the companies that produce them.”

Having conferred during the summer, the faculty advocates responded in a letter to Lee dated September 9, observing,

“[T]he difference between us is not about ends but means.” Pointing to recent research that concludes that pressure from equity investors and debt lenders does not influence companies' decisions to disclose data on greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, they suggested that remaining involved with fossil-fuel producers as stockholders was unlikely to be influential. Instead, they advocated a “divestment strategy [that] aims to make a difference—by stigmatizing the industry, highlighting artificial disparities in the marketplace, and opening up political space in which real alternatives can flourish.” They then renewed their call for a community forum on divestment.

APART FROM divestment, other actions are being taken to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions directly. Yale president Peter Salovey

announced some of the most interesting ideas in an August 27 briefing on “new sustainability initiatives.” He noted that Yale Corporation’s Committee on Investor Responsibility did *not* recommend divestment, but instructed its proxy-voting committee to “generally support” shareholder resolutions seeking disclosure of GHG emissions, the impact of climate change on a company’s business, and strategies designed to reduce its long-term impact on the global climate.

Yale’s chief investment officer has contacted the managers who invest its endowment assets “to indicate that [they]...should take into account the effects of climate change on the businesses in which they are or might be investing,” *The New York Times* reported.

Yale also announced a \$21-million investment in campus energy-conservation projects; a 1.25-megawatt solar installation; third-party verification of its GHG inventory and sustainability efforts by the Climate

Registry; and, most unusual, research into the feasibility of imposing a carbon charge on campus (see “Time to Tax Carbon,” September-October, page 52).

As the divestment debate continues, higher-education institutions’ direct action on climate change—beyond their core research and teaching missions—seems to be broadening in inventive, productive ways.

For a more detailed report, see harvardmag.com/climates-14.

THE UNDERGRADUATE

Learning Space

by MELANIE WANG '15

I MAINTAIN that the foremost reward for returning to Harvard as a senior is to walk through campus knowing where the trashcans are. Forget theses and job searches and the social petri dish. It’s the small victories that are strongest. Being able to absentmindedly deposit an apple core or a muffin wrapper during the half-jog to morning lecture—this is a peculiar, important kind of wisdom.

The locations of water fountains and

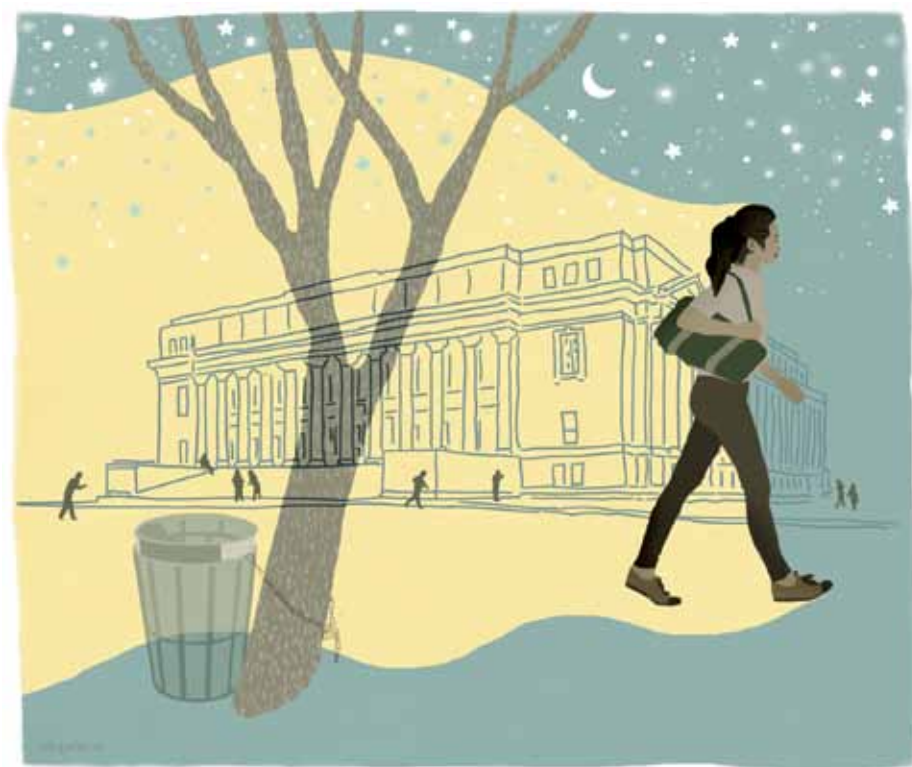
restrooms are similarly significant. An increased awareness of this information equates to a decrease in mental gymnastics. By this I mean: if I make a quick pit stop now, will I be late to my meeting with the professor whose mustache is bigger than his mouth?—and other exhausting calculations. With every year spent on campus, life becomes a bit easier. Knowledge accumulates, and not just the textbook kind. What was, during your freshman fall, a

landslide of new information, has long settled into a gravelly pile. You find yourself on stable ground with a familiar view. You find familiar is a good place to be.

It’s these small anchors that make a larger-than-life institution into a livable world. They bring this school down to scale. But for me, particularly, these anchors have been necessary to steal Harvard away from my father. From my birth to the end of my sophomore year, he worked in a small white Harvard office across the street from the Radcliffe Quad. He is an astrophysicist. He spent his days looking at grainy images of the universe I can’t comprehend, taking walks around the Quad on his lunch break.

It’s Harvard that brought my parents to our suburban Boston home, and Harvard that kept us here through my first 18 years. I have memories of the Square and the University scrambled throughout childhood. My father taking me to Widener Library for the first time and ushering me through those silent swinging doors into the stark light of Loker Reading Room. The two of us trying to name every species of animal etched into the brick of the Bio Labs building. The calm street view from his office, where his primary companions were a series of large gray filing cabinets and a potted vine that seemed taller than I was. Looking through children’s books at the Coop, getting ice cream at Lizzy’s, and marveling at the wonders of the old Curious George Store.

All this led to an inordinate sense of concern at the start of my freshman year. How could I possibly “do adulthood” in a place that knew me so deeply as a child? It was a 30-minute drive to our family home and a 15-minute walk from the Yard to my father’s office. I resolved that if I could not increase the distance physically, I would do so mentally. I swore off visits home un-



til Thanksgiving break, while my parents rolled their eyes. They let me declare my oaths of independence. They did not worry. I made it only until Halloween.

I am calmer these days. What's changed in three years is my knowledge of trashcans. It is the confidence that comes with a sense of possession. I am filled with gratitude every morning when I go to find my toothpaste behind the bathroom mirror, every time I climb the gray slate stairs to my suite. I am thinking of how we, my roommates and I, have christened these bare white and linoleum rooms with ourselves. With every small routine, we make them a place where we have lived. We make them sacred space.

The daily act of living is what makes this campus ours. There are plenty of historical markers to be found on gates and buildings, but I often wonder what Harvard would look like if dotted with smaller memorials: Phoebe liked to sit here after her 1 p.m. math lecture and worry through her problem sets. This low-slung couch is where Eli napped between classes. Once, Max and Anna had an hour-long

conversation in this hallway and never spoke again, but they both remember everything that was said and sometimes daydream about the moment.

Ten years before he began working at Harvard, my father left China for the United States to become a graduate student at Boston University. He rented a room in a large Victorian home just past Harvard Law School. It was 1983. His letters to my mother took three weeks to arrive, and he scheduled phone calls with his parents a month in advance. He still likes to recount how one particularly long cross-Pacific discussion cost his brother an entire month's salary. To keep up with news from home, he would ride his bike over to Yenching Library, on Oxford Street, to sit in the reading room and scan the Chinese newspapers that had made the same long journey as he had.

I am particularly stuck on this image of him, stolen from old photographs: age 23, oversized square glasses set on a square face, a sweep of black hair, and cheekbones that jut out just enough to say, yes, he is skinnier than he should be. Khakis,

legs pumping as he pedals from that Victorian to Yenching Library. Riding his bike through the same streets where much of the next three decades of his life would play out. I imagine him haunted—though I know he was not—by the many ghosts of what was yet to come.

Indulging in secondhand nostalgia, I made a trip to Yenching Library last semester to sit in the reading room myself. I'd taken several finals in the building's creaky auditorium, with its tiny wooden desks too small to fit an exam book on. Yet after five semesters, I had never seen the library itself, with its dark wooden tables and magazine racks. The kindly man at the front desk informed me, when asked, that it was no longer open to the public and had not been for a long time.

SOMETIMES, when school is out, I miss Harvard. I'll meditate on the image of Eliot House dining hall, and the red oriental carpet in my dorm room that I scoured Craigslist to find. While at home, I get homesick for this bizarre place, a small contained space where anything seems possible, and I

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hardly have to walk to reach outward. There is now a version of myself that is more at home here than anywhere else and knows where all the trashcans are. I know there is a version of my father that feels this way, too. We are stacked, like ancient cities, each iteration built upon the foundations of that which came before.

There's a new resolution that has been

on my mind lately: if you are comfortable in a place, it is about time to leave. I think it might be a useful maxim, at least while young. But for now, I am taking pleasure in ghosts. I am remembering, with love, all the college days I have lived between the Charles River and Oxford Street. The morning before fall classes began, I ran into a longtime resident tutor in Eliot din-

ing hall. He asked how I was doing, with genuine curiosity. I told him I was appreciating the senior-year feeling of knowing where everything is. "Enjoy," he responded. "You've earned it." ▢

*Berta Greenwald Ledecy Undergraduate Fellow
Melanie Wang '15 recommends a trip to Lizzy's Ice Cream for the Charles River Crunch.*

SPORTS

Next Man Up

Crimson football thrives despite a host of hurts.

SINCE LAST NOVEMBER 23, when Harvard thrashed Yale, 34-7, in New Haven to cap a 9-1 season and earn a share of the Ivy football championship (its fifteenth), the offseason had been tumultuous, for football and the Harvard program. The National Football League was rife with scandal. There were concerns about violence and brain injuries. Football was perhaps in its worst odor since the fatality-filled (19 deaths) season of 1905, when President Theodore Roosevelt, A.B. 1880, LL.D. 1902, summoned representatives

of the Big Three—Harvard, Yale and Princeton—to the White House and compelled rules changes that rescued the game. (Filmmaker Ken Burns's otherwise exemplary documentary *The Roosevelts*, which aired on PBS even as the Crimson was playing its opener, somehow failed to mention T.R.'s pipskin diplomacy.)

Some 109 years later, the hits kept on coming. Before Harvard's 2014 season was even one period old, three key returning starters from last fall's juggernaut—second-team All-Ivy quarterback Connor

Hempel '15, leading rusher Paul Stanton Jr. '16, and leading receiver Ricky Zorn '15—had been sidelined by injuries. Yet the scoreboard barely reflected their absence. Despite a few hiccups, coach Tim Murphy's squad won its first three games, defeating Holy Cross 41-18, Brown 22-14, and Georgetown 34-3. In doing so, the Crimson uncovered resilience, depth, and talent to carry into the meat of the season.

Health was a major issue even before two-a-days began. The direst development came in February, when Murphy underwent an emergency triple-bypass operation. He was forced to take an eight-week leave, his first such absence in a 28-year career. But in the Ivy League's preseason teleconference, Murphy (who turned 58 in October) declared that he was hale and rarin' to start his twenty-first season as Harvard's head coach, a tenure second only to that of his immediate predecessor, Joe Restic (23). "I feel a bit like a NASCAR race car that has run a few good races but now I've got a brand-new engine and I'm ready to run again," Murphy said. His time off, he added, had been "really humbling. It reinforced that I love...being the football coach at Harvard and working with these kids."

During the teleconference Murphy (with a coach's typical trepidation) professed perplexity about his team's prospects. "Our strengths are probably a little bit opposite what they were last year," he said. "Last year we had a lot of question marks on offense and we had lots of answers on defense. It might be a little bit polar opposite this year." This seemed to minimize the presence of such senior holdovers as defensive back and captain Norman Hayes (56 tackles, two interceptions

Thrust into action by an injury to starting QB Connor Hempel, untried Scott Hosch filled in admirably against Holy Cross, directing the Crimson to its second touchdown, which he scored on a seven-yard run.





Ever in the Brown backfield, Scott Peters (44) and Connor Sheehan (50) headed a hard-hitting crew that limited the Bears to 88 yards on the ground.

in 2013; see “Run Backward, on a Mission,” September–October, page 35) and the unit’s lynchpin, the ferociously focused six-foot-three, 235-pound defensive end Zach Hodges, last year’s Ivy League Defensive Player of the Year, who led the team in sacks with 6.5.

But by the early moments of the opening game, played at the Stadium on a 49-degree evening against ancient and honorable rival Holy Cross, it was the offense that suddenly faced urgent question marks. Stanton and Zorn did not even dress for the game. Filling Stanton’s spot was Andrew Casten ’15. No dropoff here: the five-foot-eleven 210-pounder rumbled for 153 yards (on only 17 carries) and three touchdowns. Casten’s gains exceeded by two yards his total for all of 2013.

At the outset, there was little hint that anything was amiss. Hempel led the Crimson on a six-play, 47-yard opening drive that culminated with Casten barging in from the three for a touchdown. But when the offense next took the field, it was without Hempel, who was suffering from back spasms. Junior Scott Hosch replaced him. The boyish-looking six-foot-three 205-pounder was the definition of “untried,” having never taken a varsity snap. But he performed creditably for the remainder of the half and into the third quarter, even capping a 73-yard drive by taking it to the end zone himself from seven yards out.

It appeared that Murphy’s preseason

worries about his defense were warranted when Holy Cross quarterback Peter Pujals opened the third quarter by engineering an 11-play, 71-yard drive that resulted in a touchdown and an 18-14 Crusaders lead. But Harvard had been substituting freely and now its forces were fresher. Moreover, back in trotted Hempel. Mixing Casten’s rushes with passes to tight ends Ben Braunecker ’16 and Ryan Halvorson ’17, Hempel ultimately connected with running back Anthony Firkser ’17 for a five-yard touchdown that again put Harvard in front, 20-18.

It took only another 24 seconds for the game to turn irrevocably.

Crimson foes now routinely double-team Hodges, which opens opportunities for his defensive linemates. (Hodges had two sacks anyway.) Junior defensive end James Duberg sacked Pujals and forced a fumble. Duberg’s classmate, linebacker Matt Koran, fell on the ball at the Crusaders’ 18. (After his 10 tackles, Koran would be named Ivy defensive player of the week.) On the next play, Casten ran it in. Harvard 27, Holy Cross 18.

Then yet another junior, defensive back Eric Medes, forced and recovered a fumble at the Harvard 48. Five plays later, it was Casten again going over, from the three, for 34-18. “When you’re playing a good team, you can’t shoot yourself in the foot,” said Pujals afterward.

Most good backs get stronger as the game wears on. On this night Casten was a very good back. When Harvard got the ball again, he made his most brilliant dash. Taking a handoff from Hempel at the Harvard 23, he blasted through a hole created by a pulverizing offensive line anchored by 300-pound All-Ivy center Nick Easton ’15. “Our guys up front were blowing guys off the ball,” Casten said afterward. True, but once he got past the line, he created a bit of magic, cutting back past the Crusaders. “Somehow, I made the safety miss,” he said. He gained 52 yards on the play. After two more Casten rushes, Hempel tossed to Halvor-

Returning from injury, Paul Stanton Jr. turned the Brown game around with a 43-yard touchdown run in the third period. Stanton finished with 123 yards on 21 carries.

son, who made a nifty grab at the pylon for the final touchdown.

Casten said that the last time he scored thrice in a game was for Red Bank Catholic in a playoff game against Bergen Catholic in New Jersey. (He became the first Crimson back to score three rushing touchdowns in a game since Treavor Scales ’13 did so against Dartmouth in 2012.) For this Jersey boy, the appropriate theme song on this evening might have been the Four Seasons’ “Oh, What a Night.”

THE NEXT WEEK brought another game under the lights, this time at Brown Stadium in the first Ivy game of 2014. (One more night game and the Crimson would qualify for the Texas high school Class 5A playoffs.) This time, Hempel did not even dress. But Stanton was back—and how!—barreling for 123 yards on 21 carries, and scoring the momentum-turning touchdown. Hosch sputtered but eventually found his rhythm, completing 24 of 34 passes for 234 yards with no interceptions. Twelve of those completions went to his classmate, junior wide receiver Andrew Fischer, who amassed 115 yards and a touchdown. Meantime, a bend-but-don’t-break defense shut the Bruins down for the final 23 minutes.

The pattern was similar—perhaps distressingly so—to that of the Holy Cross game. Midway through the third quarter, the Crimson trailed 14-6 and the mostly partisan Bruins crowd of 13,511 was loaded for its Bears. As Pujals had done the week before, Brown quarterback Marcus Fuller was bamboozling the Crimson defense with short dropbacks that neutralized the pass-rushing of Hodges, who was shut out of the sack column for the night. But that left other Harvard defenders free to plug holes: senior linebacker Connor Sheehan



(6.0 tackles for the game) and a bunch of juniors: Koran and defensive back Scott Peters (5.0 tackles apiece), plus defensive back Sean Ahern and tackle Doug Webb (4.0 tackles apiece). They helped the Crimson gain the field position that set up the game-turning play.

On third and eight from the Brown 43, Hosch handed the ball to Stanton, who bolted off right tackle, then cut back. Seconds later, he was in the end zone. (Brown coach Phil Estes later lamented what might have been: "We had the right defense called, and should have blown it up right at the point of attack.") Senior Ben Falloon kicked the point to make it 14-13.

On Brown's next series, Duberg (for the second straight week) made a play, stuffing Bruins back Andrew Coke on a third-and-two. With 13:47 left in the game, Harvard got the ball back...on its own three-yard line. Now Hosch showed his resourcefulness. He wasn't worried, later saying, "I know if we can execute, we can move the ball." Making like John Elway, he got the ball down to the Brown five, the key play coming on a beautiful crossing pattern executed by Firkser that resulted in a 34-yard gain. On third and goal from the five, Hosch was harassed but coolly tossed the ball out of harm's way, allowing senior Andrew Flesher to kick a 16-yard field goal that gave the Crimson a 16-14 lead.

On the Crimson's final drive—87 yards that chewed up 4:37—Fischer deftly worked the Brown flanks and hooked up with Hosch for five receptions. With third and goal from the Brown three, Hosch faked a pitch and ran it in himself to give Harvard a 22-14 lead. Moments later, junior defensive back Chris Evans salted it away with an interception.

Fischer's 12 catches doubled his previous game high, achieved twice (the prior week against Holy Cross, and in 2013 against San Diego). He credited his rapport with Hosch to "lots of reps in practice," adding that "we came into the game clicking."

The next week, the injuries to Hempel and Stanton were sufficiently aggravating to keep them from making the trip to Washington, D.C., for Harvard's first football game ever against Georgetown. Again, Casten was ready. "I always have that 'next guy up' mentality," he said afterward. With Hosch methodically running the attack (20-of-25 passing) and the offensive line gouging enormous holes,

Only 4:09 minutes into the Holy Cross game, surprise Crimson starter Andrew Casten scored the season's first points—and the first of his three touchdowns—on a three-yard plunge. He averaged nine yards a carry.

Casten ran for 139 yards and topped his performance against Holy Cross by scoring four times in a 34-3 win. His four rushing touchdowns were one shy of the Crimson single-game record set by Tom Ossman '52 in 1951 against Brown.

From these first three games, Crimson supporters found much to like, especially the efforts of the fill-ins. But there were concerns: the first-half funks; the absence of a deep passing game; and a kicking unit that was making each extra point and field goal an adventure.

More ominously, defending co-champion Princeton, led by quarterback Quinn Epperly (2013 Ivy League Player of the Year), again was scoring in bunches, while Yale, recently somnolent, was giving every sign of a great awakening, especially with an overtime upset of Army.

In other words, just as in olden times, it might again come down to the Big Three. Somewhere, T.R. was smacking his lips.

TIDBITS: In Harvard's Norman Hayes and Yale's running back Deon Randall, The Game this year for the first time will boast two African-American captains....A crowd of 15,132 attended the opener against Holy Cross on Friday, September 19. That was down from the 17,256 who had shown up



for the 2013 home opener against Brown, played on a Saturday night. The victory over the Crusaders ran the Crimson's record in home games under the lights to 8-0....Preseason polls tabbed Princeton to win the Ivy League, with Harvard a close second. Dartmouth was third, followed by

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Penn and Yale....Penn's Al Bagnoli has announced that this season, his twenty-third with the Quakers, will be his last. His final game at Franklin Field on November 15 will, somewhat fittingly, be against the Crimson: with Bagnoli's retirement, Harvard's Tim Murphy will become the dean of Ivy football coaches.

~DICK FRIEDMAN

Dick Friedman '73 spent two decades as an editor and writer at Sports Illustrated.

Rooks and Reverse Layups

The Ivies' top player, Wesley Saunders, anticipates better—and more.

CHESS was the game Ed Saunders, father of Wesley Saunders '15, recommended to his son and played with him: chess, the father said, would teach young Wes to think a few steps ahead. Apparently it worked, and not just with pawns and bishops. Last spring, in Harvard's third-round game against Michigan State in the NCAA basketball tournament, the Spartans threw an in-bounds pass to star power forward Adreian Payne (now with the Atlanta Hawks). "I was on the help side," Saunders recalls—the area

of the court away from the ball, on defense. When the pass came to Payne, "I was able to tap the ball away from him, and out of nowhere Steve [Moundou-Missi '15] grabs it and goes running down the sideline for a dunk. It was one of the great plays."

Moundou-Missi's thunderous jam over a Spartan defender narrowed the gap to 55-51 and electrified the crowd. Moments later, Saunders picked off another pass and drove the ball home to tie the game at 55. Soon, the Crimson shook the house by tak-

ing a 62-60 lead. The heavily favored Spartans eventually regrouped to prevail at the end, 80-73. But the centerpiece of that glorious Harvard run had been Saunders and his anticipation of where the throw-in might go—a skill honed at the chessboard. “The reason I am a good defender is my anticipation,” he explains. “Knowing where the pass is going to go.”

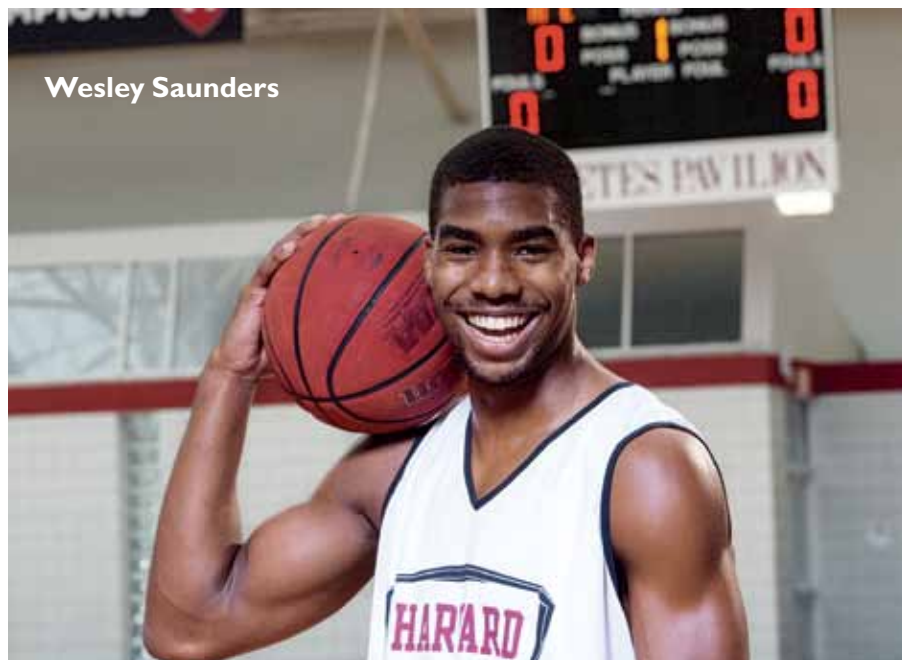
Anticipation plays a big role in many sports: it enables athletes to get the jump on the competition, sometimes quite literally. To rebound well, “you don’t need to be the highest jumper,” Saunders says. “It’s more about positioning, knowing where the ball will go when it hits off the rim.” For example, a shot from the corner, with no backboard to deflect it, typically bounces toward the opposite corner of the court.

Anticipation embraces foreknowledge of what opponents are likely to do in certain situations—or preparing for your own move by repositioning them. “Watch Dennis Rodman,” Saunders advises, naming one of the NBA’s greatest rebounders. “He would use his butt to push the defender back, and then just grab the ball. He had position.”

On offense, “I like reverse layups more than dunks,” Saunders reports. “I enjoy the finesse part of the game. When I used to play tennis, I was always doing trick shots.” He also likes spin moves, so he prefers to receive the ball in the middle of the court, where he can spin either way.

There are several types of layup: the classic layup that angles the ball off the backboard; the finger roll, in which the player rolls the ball off his fingers and over the rim. The reverse layup is probably the most stylish. To execute it, Saunders drives with the ball toward one side of the basket, and the defender “expects you to dunk, so he jumps as high as he can. Then you go under him” and lay the ball in from the other side—the “reverse” part—of the hoop. “He’s incredibly crafty,” says head coach Tommy Amaker. “Wes can move to the other side of the hoop while he’s in the air—and he’ll put English on it, too.”

Saunders has parlayed his finesse and anticipation into a bushel of points for Harvard. As a sophomore, he led the Ivy League in scoring, averaging 16.2 points per game, and last season he was Ivy League Player of the Year. He joined the Crimson’s career 1,000-point club in that Michigan State game and currently ranks thirty-first in all-time Harvard scoring,



with a full season yet to play. He is so fluid and productive on offense that many underestimate his excellent defense; his 55 steals as a sophomore, for example, rank seventh in team history. “Wes is one of the best all-around players in the country,” says Amaker, “and he has been the best in our conference for some time.”

Though he grew up only five minutes from the L.A. Lakers’ Staples Center, Saunders has no favorite team: “I just like good basketball.” He does learn from his favorite players, like Zach Randolph of the Mem-

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phis Grizzlies, a savvy rebounder. “He never really jumps,” Saunders says. “But he knows about positioning and angles.”

Saunders grew up in a highly athletic family. His mother, Ramona Robinson, remains an excellent tennis player; his father played football at the University of Iowa, where the couple met. Uncle John Wesley Saunders played free safety for the Los Angeles Rams of the National Football League and sister Akilah excelled at tennis. Wesley played basketball at Windward School in Los Angeles. “When I got there, we were very bad,” he recalls, but with his arrival and the addition of a few other talented players they won the California Interscholastic Federation champi-

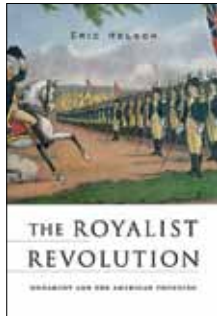
onship in his sophomore and senior years. As a teenager he had to work hard to develop his outside game, because as a boy he had always been the biggest kid and so played center by default. “It slowed down my development,” he says.

He has caught up, and then some. As a Harvard freshman, Saunders played few minutes, but in the pivotal summer before sophomore year, “I worked out harder than I ever had.” (He is now a six-foot, five-inch, 215-pound shooting guard, with the strength to fight through screens.) That summer, the Crimson squad’s trip to Italy to compete against European professional teams proved another major learning experience. “You are up against players who are, arguably, more talented,” he says. “It is a different style of play. You always try to steal a little bit of somebody you come up against.”

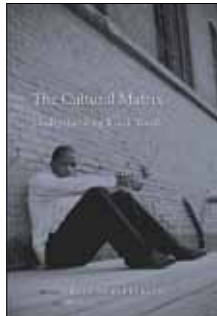
Stealing like that serves Saunders’s major goal: becoming a fine all-around player. The sociology concentrator hopes to pursue that ambition next year in professional basketball. This winter, some pro scouts might discern a few of his underrated talents—like passing. “I don’t think people have really noticed, but I *do* like to pass the ball,” he says, grinning. “To find a teammate wide open, or throw up an alley-oop pass for a dunk—that feels great. The way we play, we try to get everyone to touch the ball. Everyone knows they’ll get the rock sooner or later. It raises your level of play—and it’s a lot more fun.”

—CRAIG LAMBERT

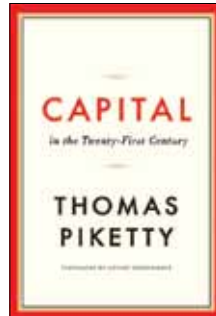
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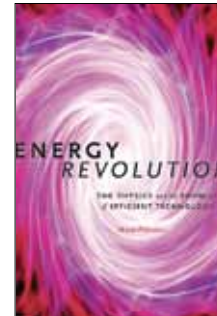
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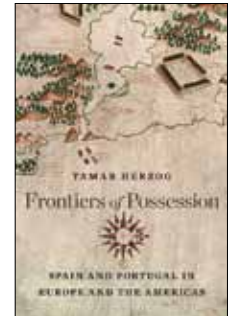
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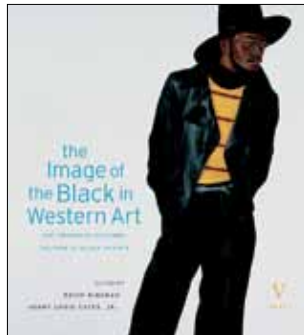


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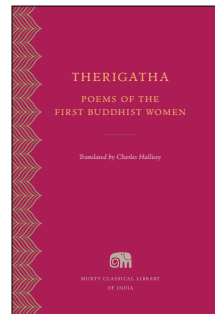
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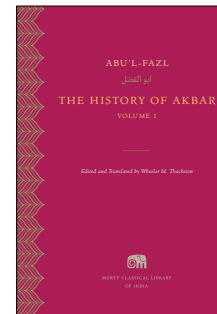
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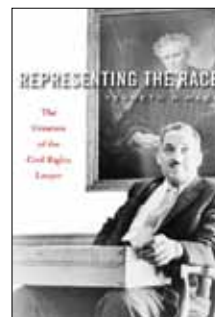
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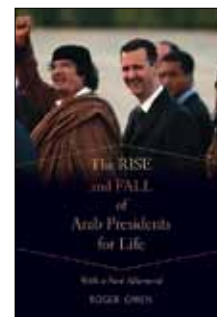
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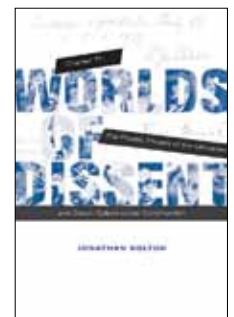
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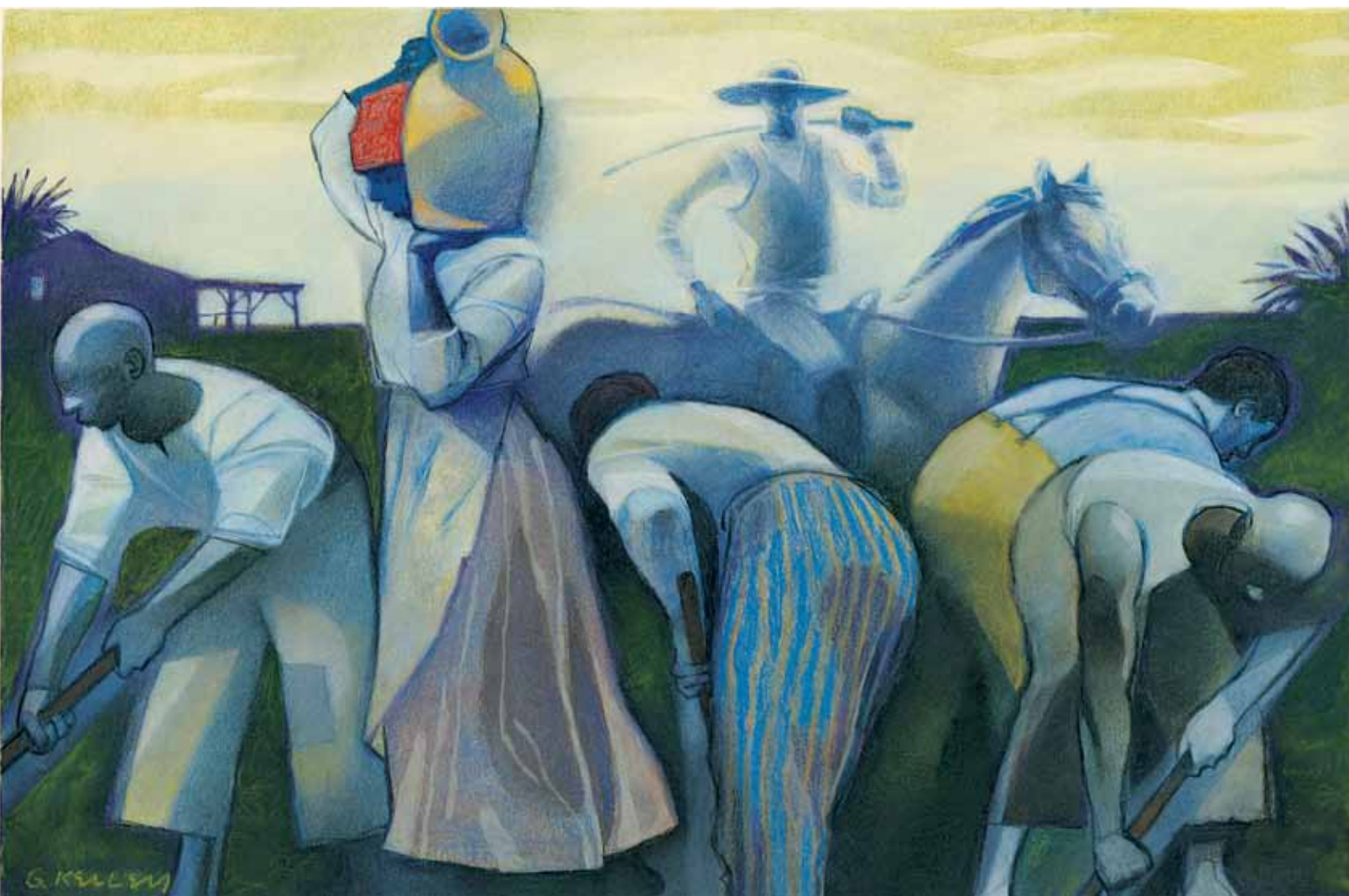
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The Caribbean Zola

Orlando Patterson may be the last of Harvard sociology's big thinkers.

by CRAIG LAMBERT

Illustrations by GARY KELLEY

IN THE SPRING of 2012, Brown University hosted an extraordinary academic conference. "Being Nobody?" honored the thirtieth anniversary of the publication of *Slavery and Social Death* by Orlando Patterson, Harvard's Cowles professor of sociology. Giving a birthday party for a scholarly book is a rarity in itself. Even more unusual, the symposium's 11 presenters were not sociologists. They were classicists and historians who gave papers on slavery in ancient Rome, the neo-Assyrian empire, the Ottoman Middle East, the early Han empire, West Africa in the nineteenth century, medieval Europe, and eighteenth-century Brazil, among other topics. "I'm not aware of another academic conference held by historians to celebrate the influence of a seminal work by a social scientist writing for a different discipline," says

John Bodel, professor of classics and history at Brown, one of the organizers.

But Patterson is no ordinary academician. "Orlando is one of a kind—the sheer scope and ambition of his work set him apart from

99 percent of social scientists," says Loïc Wacquant, JF '94, professor of sociology at Berkeley. "In an era when social scientists specialize in ever-smaller objects, he is a Renaissance scholar who takes the time to tackle huge questions across multiple continents and multiple centuries. There was another scholar like this in the early twentieth century, named Max Weber. Orlando is in that category."

PATTERSON is a historical-comparative sociologist who has written extensively on race relations and, especially, slavery and freedom. *Slavery and Social Death* is "a landmark study that has had

very broad and deep impact,” says Goelet professor of medieval history Michael McCormick, who participated in the “Being Nobody?” conference (see “The New Histories,” page 52). Patterson’s *Freedom in the Making of Western Culture*, a kind of obverse to *Slavery and Social Death*, won the 1991 National Book Award for nonfiction. Like his mentors, Harvard sociologists David Riesman and Seymour Martin Lipset, “Orlando tries to speak to a broader audience,” says Diker-Tishman professor of sociology Christopher Winship. “In many ways, he ranks among Harvard sociology’s last big thinkers—David Riesman, Daniel Bell, Talcott Parsons.”

Impoverished, urban black youths have “deep commitment to some of the most fundamental values of the mainstream—its individualism, materialism, admiration for the military....They are more American than Americans.”

The study of culture—of values, established ideas, traditions, language, customs, learned behaviors, symbolic materials, including the arts, and other nonbiological inheritances—has been central to Patterson’s work. Sociologists often contrast culture with structure: the “hard” variables that include prevailing institutions, distribution of wealth, education, housing, jobs, and other “physical-world” factors. For decades, researchers have debated whether culture informs structure, or vice versa.

Many scholars oversimplify culture by equating it simply with values, Patterson says. This can lead to paradoxes like citing the same cultural complex as the cause of opposite results. “Confucianism was used in the past to explain backwardness in China, before it became successful. The Confucian ethic was supposedly inconsistent with capitalism,” he explains. “Then China becomes economically successful, and suddenly it is the Confucian ethic that explains its success. The same cultural values can move in either direction. So you need a dynamic approach that shows how culture *interacts* with structure.

“Culture is a very tricky concept,” he continues. “It’s like Typhoid Mary—you’ve got to be very careful with it! Most conservatives tend to use the concept in a simplistic way. Liberals are wary of it—there is guilt by association.” That association has roots in the 1966 book *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty* by anthropologist Oscar Lewis, which gave an in-depth portrait of a former prostitute living with her sixth husband. Liberal critics attacked Lewis’s “culture of poverty” concept as one that “blamed the victims” for holding values that perpetuated their state: he suggested in *La Vida* and other work that the poor could pass down poverty-related beliefs for generations, and that such values might persist even after people had achieved better circumstances.

“No one talked about culture for a long time,” Patterson says. “Now it is back, but still wishy-washy as a causal explanation. It’s fine now to use culture like [anthropologist] Clifford Geertz does, as an interpretive, symbolic vehicle [in a classic essay on Balinese cockfighting, Geertz interpreted the cocks as symbols of important men in the village], but not as having a causal role

in social structures.”

The Cultural Matrix: Understanding Black Youth, edited and to a large degree written by Patterson (with Harvard graduate student Ethan Fosse as co-editor), to be published by Harvard University Press in January, breaks with that convention. “Orlando is first and foremost an iconoclast,” says Winship, and the new book, about impoverished young blacks in American cities, does challenge some received wisdom. It shows not only how much culture matters to these young people, but also their disproportionately large impact on mainstream culture. In October 2003, for exam-

ple, a turning point in the history of American popular culture occurred when “all of the top 10 positions on *Billboard*’s pop chart were filled by black artists, nine of them in the inner-city-created rap genre,” Patterson writes in the new book. “It is hardly to be wondered that the typical Euro-American imagines the African-American population to be somewhere between 23 and 30 percent of the U.S. population, over twice its actual size.”

The Cultural Matrix (with chapters by Winship and by Robert Sampson, Ford professor of the social sciences) may also enlighten some readers by demonstrating black youths’ “deep commitment to some of the most fundamental values of the mainstream—its individualism, materialism, admiration for the military, and insistence on taking near complete responsibility for their own failures and successes,” Patterson writes. The young African Americans are surprisingly self-critical, he notes. For example, he writes that “92 percent of black youth aged 18 to 24 say ‘young black men not taking their education seriously enough,’ is a ‘big problem,’ while 88 percent declare likewise on ‘not being responsible fathers.’” Patterson adds, in an interview, “They are more American than Americans.”

Responsible fatherhood is a particularly sticky issue, one that Patterson has often addressed in his studies of African-American history and culture. Slavery in the American South, he says, left no legacy more damaging than the destruction of the black family—the relations between husband and wife, parent and child. Marriage among slaves was illegal, and slaveholders brutally broke slave families apart by selling off children or parents to other masters. “It is true that many slaves were involved in social units that looked like nuclear families, but these were largely reproductive associations based on fragile male-female relationships,” Patterson says. “In many cases the ‘husbands’ lived on other plantations and needed permission to visit their ‘wives,’ and parents had no custodial claims on their children, who at any time could be sold away from them. To call these units ‘families,’ as revisionist historians have done, is a historical and sociological travesty.”

In his 1965 *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (the “Moynihan Report”), Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who had taught government at Harvard and was then assistant secretary of labor under President Lyndon Johnson, argued that the relative absence of nuclear families among black Americans, and the relatively large numbers of families headed by single mothers—both traceable to slavery and Jim Crow segregation—were a root cause of African-American poverty. Black leaders attacked the report, accusing it of stereotyping black Americans (particularly men), perpetuating

cultural bias, and setting back the civil-rights movement. “Moynihan became the *bête noire* of sociology. He took a terrible beating from academics,” Patterson says. “It was so unfair. He was an architect of the War on Poverty—the most radical national agenda for black people in American history. The critics all admit that slavery was horrible, but balk at the idea that the destructive impact has consequences today. Yet you cannot neglect slavery’s effects on the black family as a critical component of African-American life.”

Patterson and Moynihan befriended each other as Harvard colleagues, and when the University awarded Moynihan, by then retired from the U.S. Senate, an honorary degree in 2002, Patterson served as his escort at Commencement. Five years later, the American Academy of Political and Social Science and Harvard’s sociology department and Du Bois Institute (now part of the Hutchins Center for African & African American Research) co-sponsored a conference of sociologists and economists, “The Moynihan Report Revisited.” “The conclusion they had come around to,” Patterson says, “was that he was right.”

SLAVERY is a crucial part of Patterson’s cultural heritage. He grew up in Jamaica, a country that endured almost two centuries of ruthless slavery under British rule. He wanted to understand how “the horrendous colonial past of slavery, and then a pretty oppressive

post-emancipation era of 124 years, shape the present in terms of poverty and underdevelopment. In the Caribbean, that is a very radical position: it’s part of the neo-Marxian analysis of the plantation system. One of the great ironies of my life is that when I raise the same questions in the American context, because of the complexities of race here, people see it as *conservative*: ‘You’re blaming the victim! We don’t want to hear about the past—we want to hear about how present-day economic inequalities explain the plight of African Americans.’ But where I come from—both the British New Left and the Caribbean neo-Marxists—history is critical.”

History rolls through every page of Patterson’s *Slavery and Social Death*. “Slavery has existed all over the world,” he says, even if many Americans imagine it was unique to the antebellum South. “I asked if there were any common attributes to slavery that differentiate it from other forms of oppression, like serfdom,” he says. “What I came up with is that the fundamental feature of being a slave is that slaves are *socially dead*—both metaphorically and literally. They have no recognized legal existence in the society. They do not belong to the community, because they belong only to the master, and exist only through the master. I use the concept of *natal alienation*: they have no rights at birth. This doesn’t mean slaves don’t have communities of their own—they did have a slave life, a slave village. But in the eyes of non-slaves they do not be-



long, they are non-citizens. So after the United States abolished slavery, one of the first things they had to do was to amend the Constitution to make slaves citizens!

“The idea of social death became very powerful, very useful, especially in explaining what happens after slavery is formally ended,” he continues. “For example, Southern Americans, and Americans generally, found it so hard to accept black Americans after slavery was abolished. The *culture* of slavery still persisted, which is the idea that ‘you do not belong.’ They were nobodies; people were horrified at the idea that they could vote, like citizens. It even lingers to this day. What is the thing people who don’t like Obama say? They try to make out that he doesn’t have a birth certificate—that he doesn’t *belong*. Even a black president does not belong!”

AN UNEXPECTED OUTGROWTH of Patterson’s study of the socio-historical significance of slavery was his shift to the study of freedom. “I had gone in search of a man-killing wolf called slavery; to my dismay I kept finding the tracks of a lamb called freedom,” he writes in the preface to *Freedom in the Making of Western Culture*. “A lamb that stared back at me, on our first furtive encounters in the foothills of the Western past, with strange, uninnocent eyes. Was I to believe that slavery was a lamb in wolf’s clothing? Not with my past. And so I changed my quarry.” Patterson’s iconoclasm also informs this work. “The idea of freedom is seen as ‘inherent’—so there is nothing to explain,” he says. “[The idea is that] ‘Every-

body wants to be free because it is part of the human condition.’ That’s nonsense. Freedom as a value, as a cherished part of one’s culture, as something to strive for and die for, is *unusual* in human history. You can’t just take it for granted. So the question turns into, how did freedom become important? My explanation is that freedom emerged as the antithesis to the social death of slavery.”

Under slavery, he explains, there were three groups of people: masters, slaves, and non-slaves. “All three come to discover this thing we call *freedom* through their relationships. For the master, freedom is being able to do what you please with another person: freedom as power. For the slave—well, what does a slave yearn for? To be emancipated, to get rid of the social death that is slavery. Masters *encourage* this notion of freedom, too, as the hope of manumission is one of the most powerful ways to get a slave to work. The third group, the non-slaves or freemen, look at the slaves and say, ‘We are not them. We are born free.’ Suddenly, being born free becomes important, in a way it never could be for slaves. Freemen have a different status in society, one that does not depend on their socioeconomic class.

“If you go deep into Indo-European languages, the linguistic evidence is fascinating,” he continues. “The most ancient root of *freedom* is a word that means *beloved* or *belonging*. The people who first celebrated freedom were non-slaves who recognized the virtue of being born free, and belonging to a community of free people—the beloved. These three forms of freedom lie at the roots of democracy, and the first place it emerged was from the slave culture of ancient Greece.”

BORN IN JAMAICA in 1940, Patterson is the son of Charles and Almina Patterson, a police detective and a seamstress. His parents separated for several years, but eventually reunited. Patterson spent much of his boyhood in the small rural town of May Pen, which, like Jamaica generally, had an almost entirely black population. One day when he was about eight or nine, a one-room library opened under a pavilion in the town park, and the boy was astonished to learn that you could borrow books there. “Borrow books?” he recalled asking the librarian, in a 2013 interview in *small axe*, a Caribbean journal of criticism. “So I found myself going to this place with the smell of brand-new books, and I could take any book I wanted. It was amazing! I used to go there, and read and read and read....That was a *transformative* experience. I just read. Instead of shooting birds or swimming in the Rio Minho river, I’d go to the library.”

He rose to the top of his classes. Patterson’s mother was a strong-willed, intelligent woman who emphasized education; she made her son her “project.” He won a scholarship to the University College of the West Indies in Kingston, then an overseas college of London University, hoping to study history, but was involuntarily funneled into the new economics program. In 1965, he earned his Ph.D. in sociology at the London School of Economics (LSE), and married Nerys Thomas, Ph.D. ’81, a Welsh scholar of Celtic literature. (The couple divorced many years ago and Thomas has since died. They had two daughters, Rhiannon and Barbara.) Patterson cut quite a figure on the London literary scene, publishing three novels, the first when he was 23, as well as essays in the *Times Literary Supplement*, *New Statesman*, and *New Left Review*, serving on its



editorial board. The LSE appointed him to its faculty.

The early 1960s gave the young sociologist a golden opportunity to witness cultural change close-up. When he arrived in Britain in 1962, "It was still a gray, staid, uptight country," he recalls. "It was pre-Beatles. You didn't think of popular culture or fashion when you thought of Britain—they were just imperialists who played cricket. Then, overnight, there was a cultural revolution, and not just music—also theater, and fashion, with Mary Quant. Suddenly it exploded, right in front of our eyes. It showed how important culture is, and how it can change radically, and very quickly. When I hear sociologists talking about culture being slow, thick, and hard to change, I want to say, 'What are you talking about? You should have lived in Britain in the Sixties!'"

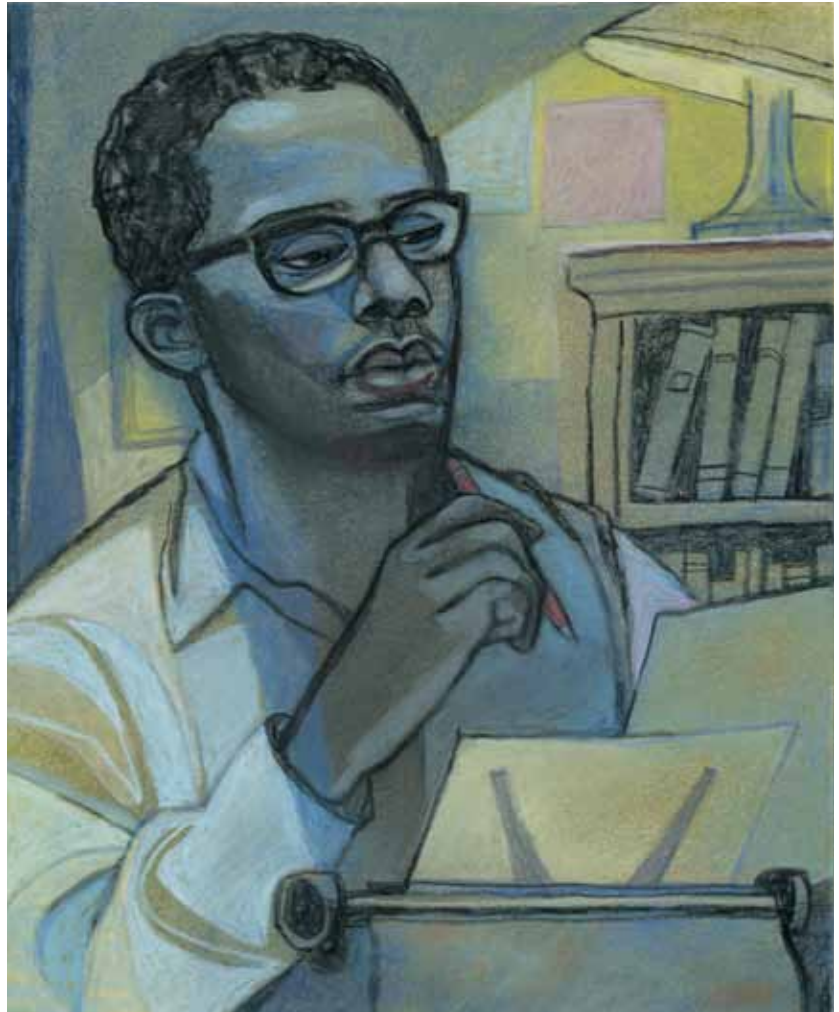
Patterson's first academic book, *The Sociology of Slavery* (1967), gave an historical account and analysis of Jamaican slavery across three centuries and was very well received. But his career in fiction started just as strongly. Two novels set in Jamaica, *The Children of Sisyphus* and *An Absence of Ruins*, appeared in England between 1964 and 1967. (Both have been recently reissued.) A third, *Die the Long Day*, set in Jamaican slave society, was published in 1972.

As its title implies, *Sisyphus* took inspiration, in part, from Camus: set amid the extreme poverty of the "Dungle," an urban shantytown in Kingston, it stands as a fair argument for the hopelessness of the human condition. The novel contains one of the first portrayals of the Rastafari, the religious cult made world-famous by reggae superstar Bob Marley, and about which, Patterson says, there has been "a lot of romanticizing. I thought Rastafarianism was their attempt at making symbolic sense of their condition. They thought [Ethiopian emperor Haile] Selassie was God. In reality, Selassie was an authoritarian who was eventually deposed." Throughout *Sisyphus*, Patterson's dialogue flawlessly renders the Jamaican patois, as in this street encounter with a middle-class woman, related by a Dungle laundress:

"Me see you a'ready," she say, "is wha' yu doin' in dis part o' Kingston?, so me ask her if is any o' her business an' same time she say, "Ah 'member wha' ah see you now, you come from de Dungle, you is a Dungle pickney, ah can smell it 'pon you, wha' yu ah do in good people place?"

The *Daily Telegraph* headline on *Sisyphus* called Patterson the "Caribbean Zola." With talent in both sociology and fiction, he had to make a choice. The turning point came when he went to tea at the home of George Lamming, an award-winning Barbadian novelist who had published several books and lectured widely. Lamming owned no car. Patterson had to change trains three times to get to Lamming's home in "the wilds" of North London. He found the address, and it was a neat cottage, "a pleasant house," he thought. But Lamming, it turned out, resided in a bed-sitter (a one-room studio) above the cottage. On leaving, Patterson thought, "Well, this is not the life for me." He had his parents to look after, and didn't feel he could gamble on the literary life. There was a secure career available in the academy.

PATTERSON WAS IN ENGLAND during the watershed moment in 1962 when Jamaica achieved full independence by leaving the Federation of the West Indies. A few years later, despite his suc-



cessful life in London, he felt a pull to return home. In 1967 he resigned from the LSE to take up an appointment at the University of the West Indies, and built a house in Jamaica. Then, while guest-teaching at Roosevelt University in Chicago in the summer of 1969, he got an unexpected phone call from Harvard's Talcott Parsons, a high-level theorist and one of the most prominent sociologists alive. Parsons offered Patterson a visiting professorship in African-American studies and sociology. He accepted, and soon gravitated toward the latter.

As a Jamaican who grew up as part of a racial majority, Patterson had not been socialized to feel like part of a minority group. Without a personal history of racial discrimination by a majority group, he hadn't experienced the slights and affronts that assail Americans of color daily. "I never felt awkward here," he says of the United States. "Not having been raised in a predominantly white society, you don't see racism, even when it is all around you." Furthermore, in Jamaica, the focus was on Oxford, Cambridge, and the LSE, not the Ivy League. "So being the second black professor at Harvard [after Martin Kilson, now Thomson professor of government emeritus] was no big deal to me, though it seemed to be for others," he recalls. "I came from the British system where there was no affirmative action, no pressure to appoint blacks, so I took it all in stride." He has remained at Harvard ever since, and now lives near the Square with his second wife, Anita (Goldman) Patterson '83, Ph.D. '92, a Boston University professor of English

whom he married in 1995, and their 10-year-old daughter, Kaia.

But his Jamaican ties remain strong. Patterson met Michael Manley when the trade-union leader visited the University of the West Indies when Patterson was a prominent, politically active senior—one of the “young Turks” who were the first generation of Caribbean students to study social science. The two men hit it off.

When Manley won the Jamaican prime ministry in 1972, he appointed Patterson as his special adviser, and the scholar began living two lives. For four to five months annually until 1980, during summers and at Christmas, he changed his clothes to tropical fabrics and departed the academic calm of Widener for the political turbulence of Kingston, where he wrote reports, did a major study on the living conditions of the poor of Kingston, and fed Manley ideas for helping his new leftist government implement a democratic socialist revolution.

It was hardly easy. Manley (who served as prime minister until 1980, and again from 1989 to 1992) “drove Jimmy Carter crazy,” Patterson says, and at one point “the CIA came after us.” (After Manley was photographed embracing Fidel Castro on a 1975 visit to Havana, “there were strong suspicions that the CIA was trying to destabilize the Manley government,” Patterson explains.) The left wing of Manley’s party, which had little actual power but did include bona fide communist D.K. Duncan, who held a minor ministry in the government, was “scaring the hell out of the middle class,” which fled the island; at one point Jamaica

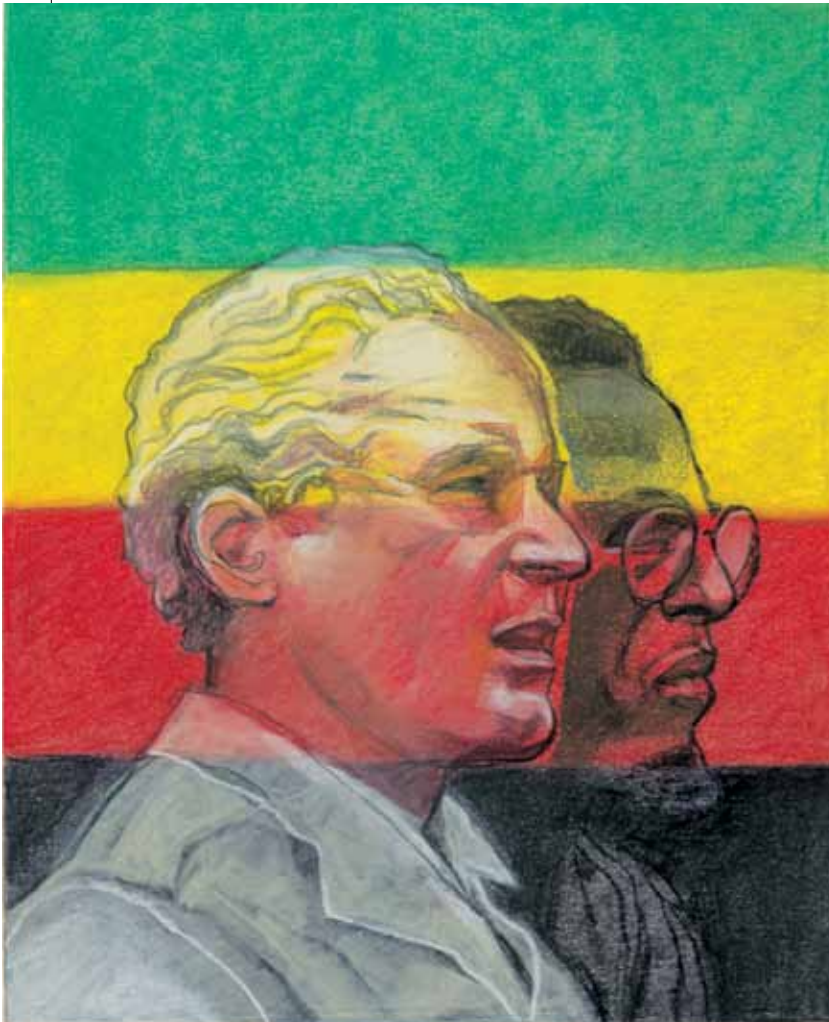
was down to two dentists and not many more doctors. In such a transition, “you need managers more than ever,” Patterson says. “You can’t implement things with hotheads who couldn’t run a chicken coop.”

Instead of demolishing tenements to build high-rise public housing “for the 5 percent, while kicking the other 95 percent out to another slum,” Patterson advocated “urban upgrading,” bringing in services like water, electricity, daycare, health centers. “It will still look like a slum, but it is a more *livable* slum,” he says. “The minister of housing *hated* my plan.” Patterson did put into place a program that sold 12 essential items to the poor at highly subsidized prices. “It was one of the worthiest things I’ve ever done,” he says. “It meant that thousands went to bed each night, not starving.” Eventually, though, he decided, “I am willing to be a public intellectual, but not a politician or revolutionary. Scholarship is what I wanted to do.”

Alongside his scholarship, Patterson has also taught sociology, emphasizing culture, and has earned a national presence as a public intellectual in the United States. As a teacher, “I try to get my students to be open to different approaches, and not to latch onto the latest bandwagon,” he says. “David Riesman and Marty Lipset always encouraged me to stay a little on the ‘outside.’” Consequently, Patterson is very critical of “people who try to set ‘agendas’ as a way of making a name for themselves. They love to call their agenda a ‘new paradigm,’ and promote it as an agenda for the discipline. That usually leads to dogma, and I am hostile to dogma.”

He has skewered dogmas in numerous op-ed essays in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Time*, and *Newsweek*, and has appeared on the PBS *News Hour* and *Hardball* with Chris Matthews on MSNBC. “I always just write what I think,” he says of his op-eds. “I don’t consider the political or social repercussions.” Though his credentials as a political progressive are unimpeachable, his freethinking essays often upend the settled pieties of academic culture.

In the aftermath of the dramatic 1991 Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings in the U.S. Senate, for example, Patterson’s *New York Times* op-ed “Race, Gender, and Liberal Fallacies” insisted that readers face “certain stark sociological realities,” however disconcerting. One such reality related to the allegation of sexual harassment Anita Hill made about Thomas’s behavior when she was his subordinate at work. Though Patterson found Thomas’s legal credentials inadequate for the Supreme Court, and identified himself as a feminist, he went on to assert: “Now to most American feminists, and to politicians manipulating the nation’s lingering Puritan ideals, an obscenity is always an obscenity, an absolute offense against God and the moral order; to everyone else, including all professional social linguists and qualitative sociologists, an obscene expression, whether in Chaucerian Britain or the American South, has to be understood in context.” For Hill to raise Thomas’s bawdy remarks 10 years later was “unfair and disingenuous,” he wrote, the latter because she “has lifted a verbal style that carries only minor sanction in one subcultural context and thrown it in the overheated cultural arena of mainstream, neo-Puritan America, where it incurs professional extinction.” This essay cost Patterson friendships. Yet, some years later, Anita Hill



invited him to contribute to a book she was editing, and he happily did so. His philosophy is that “what we do as public sociologists must inform our discipline, too.”

THAT DISCIPLINE ITSELF can be revolutionary, as sociological analysis of the past can clarify the roots of present conditions. For example, Patterson’s first book, on Jamaican slavery, remains the benchmark work on the subject. “Jamaica was the largest and most productive of the British colonies.

There was lots of money made from the sugar and coffee plantations,” he explains. “It was like an oil field, or a gold mine—in fact, sugar used to be called ‘brown gold.’ But the British in Jamaica made a harsh decision. Though some slave children did survive, there were high rates of infant mortality. So plantation owners focused on buying their Jamaican slaves from Africa as young adults, then literally worked them to death in eight years or so. Then they’d just buy another slave as a replacement. The demand for slaves in Jamaica far outran the supply from local births; astonishingly, the small island of Jamaica imported more slaves than the United States. Yet by the 1820s—even though the slave trade was abolished in Great Britain and the United States in 1807—the United States had far *more* slaves than Jamaica, because American masters encouraged reproduction and their slaves could be more cheaply provisioned.

“The money made in Jamaica did not stay there but went back to the owners in Britain,” he continues. “Those great English mansions were built on the backs of Jamaican slaves. The owners were not present on the plantations exercising any proprietary self-interest in their slaves. Instead, they left running the estate to overseers and slave drivers—people with no interest in preserving the slave stock. So they worked them as hard as possible. There were many slave revolts. Jamaica had the harshest system of slavery in world history.”

This sets the stage, he says, for understanding modern Jamaica, an economically underdeveloped and politically disorganized country relative to many of its Caribbean neighbors. Though many social scientists seem obsessed with change, “it is also important to explain continuity and persistence, which is one of the themes that has stayed with me,” Patterson notes. “The problem of persistence has finally emerged as an important one for economic historians. It takes the form of the role of institutions and institutional persistence.”

A lively debate now roils economic history regarding which is more important in determining prosperity: good *policies* or good *institutions*. MIT economist Daron Acemoglu (who has collaborated with Florence professor of government James Robinson; see “Why Nations Fail,” July-August 2012, page 9) argues that institutions—such as respect for private property and strong schools—are decisive. The “policy” advocates admit that although institutions are important, enlightened social and economic policies will give rise to good institutions. Both camps recognize, of course, that both policies and institutions are crucial; they disagree only over priority.

In *Turnaround* (2013), Jamaican economist Peter Blair Henry, dean of New York University’s Stern School of Business, argued the “policies” position by comparing Barbados and Jamaica: two

black Caribbean societies that took their institutions from their British colonial rulers and became independent in the early 1960s. “Fast forward half a century, and Barbados has been very successful, while Jamaica is having problems,” Patterson says. “So, Henry says, it couldn’t be the institutions, which are similar—it must be the policies in Barbados that made the difference.”

Patterson is joining the debate with a long paper on the subject. “If you look at history, you find something else,” he says. “It is not

Jamaica was down to two dentists and few doctors. In such times, “You need managers more than ever. You can’t implement things with hot-heads who couldn’t run a chicken coop.”

just institutions, but playing the institutional game the *right* way. A lot of African countries had great institutions set up: Zimbabwe is theoretically a democracy, but does Robert Mugabe actually get elected democratically? And factories are fine, but they are useless if you don’t have the know-how to *run* a factory.

“In Barbados, the colonial elite was ruthlessly efficient and brutal, but at all levels of society, they used black citizens—who thereby acquired the institutional knowledge,” he continues. “There were black policemen, black artisans, black bureaucrats—they got hired even at the expense of poor whites. Right after slavery ended, Barbados abolished the militia, which had been composed of poor whites. They instead created a police force and gave those jobs to blacks, as the elite had decided that the local poor whites were a degenerate, incompetent group. When independence came in 1966, they were already way ahead of the game: they knew what they were doing. They knew how to run a democracy and a court system. They did a much better job educating black citizens. In 1946 Barbadian blacks already had a literacy rate of more than 90 percent; at independence it was close to 100 percent, and today UNESCO ranks the island as one of the five most literate countries in the world.

“The history in Jamaica was very different,” he continues. “Yes, Jamaica did have black civil servants and a colored middle class, but that was far more the case in Barbados. Schools were much more efficient in Barbados. Jamaica had an Afro-Jamaican culture where the peasants were involved: that’s where reggae came from, and it’s a big reason for the cultural vitality of Jamaica. There was not the same degree of acculturation to British ways. Today, Jamaica has a democracy, too, but a very shaky one: hundreds of people die at elections—there’s endemic violence, class conflict, and corruption, and it will have to solve those problems before it can move forward. No one dies during elections in Barbados; Freedom House considers it one of the most democratic countries.”

This is the power of cultural and historical analysis, as practiced by Harvard’s answer to Max Weber, or its Caribbean Zola. Yes, structure, policies, and institutions matter. And another thing that matters a great deal is culture, the legacy that history leaves. ▢

Craig A. Lambert ’69, Ph.D. ’78, is deputy editor of this magazine.

John Muir

Brief life of a Scottish-American conservationist: 1838-1914

by STEVEN PAVLOS HOLMES

AS THE FIRST great nature writer of the American West, a passionate advocate for Yosemite Valley, and a founding theorist and promoter of national parks, John Muir remains a guiding spirit of American environmentalism. Though often viewed as a solitary prophet of the mountains, he depended throughout his life on family and friends for emotional and practical support.

Shaped by childhood experiences of the rugged Scottish coast and of the harsher Wisconsin frontier to which his family moved

in 1849, Muir was also influenced by his father's evangelical moralism and the more liberal outlook of his mother and siblings. When, while studying science at the state university in Madison, he wrote his sister Sarah in 1863 of a newfound interest in botany, she enthusiastically sent him plant specimens for identification and reminded him of "that silent but mighty Power that makes everything spring to fresh life and vigor. The most insignificant of His works when closely examined show his wisdom." During the next few years,



Muir made such insights his own, writing to a friend: “The most microscopic portions of plants are beautiful in themselves, and these are beautiful combined into individuals & undoubtedly are all woven with equal care into one harmonious beautiful whole.” His religious and ecological orientation toward nature was born long before he set eyes on the grand vistas of the West.

Driven to travel to wild places, Muir walked through the South in 1867 and made his way by ship to California, even as his intimacy with nature deepened through an expanding circle of personal and intellectual networks. Mentors in Madison had encouraged him to read works by naturalists Louis Agassiz, Alexander von Humboldt, and Henry David Thoreau, and helped him meet Ralph Waldo Emerson in Yosemite in 1871. He declined Emerson’s suggestion to move East, but began collecting specimens for the nation’s leading botanist, Agassiz’s Harvard colleague Asa Gray, who visited Yosemite in 1872. Gray publicized Muir’s plant findings, fostered his access to the larger scientific community, and stimulated his thinking about botanical geography. With such aid, Muir published important scientific studies of Sierra glaciers and botany, while his literary essays and travel writing attracted national attention in *Harper’s*, *Scribner’s*, and other journals.

In 1880, he married Louie Strentzel, the daughter of a pioneering California horticulturalist, and spent much of the decade working the family fruit ranch in the Alhambra Valley. But he never stopped traveling nor forgot his literary goals. Louie encouraged him: “A ranch that needs and takes the sacrifice of a noble life or work ought to be flung away...The [books], dear John, must be written...there is nothing that has a right to be considered besides this except the welfare of our children.” She took over daily management of the ranch, helped in time by some of Muir’s siblings and their families.

His debut as a conservationist came in 1890, when his articles in *Century Magazine* and his lobbying alongside its editor, his friend Robert Underwood Johnson, contributed to the creation of Yosemite National Park. In 1893, the men visited Cambridge and spent several days with Charles S. Sargent, director of Harvard’s Arnold Arboretum. Three years later, Johnson and Sargent arranged for Harvard to grant Muir an honorary master’s (in part to advance the conservation cause). Muir responded about his “Harvard baptism”:

Heavens, what an honor for a tramp & how it surprises & excites me...From the very beginning of my studies it was Harvard men who first hailed & cheered me—Emerson Agassiz Gray, & now Sargent Eliot & R.U. J. *Century*. Even in California the Harvard alumni were the first to honor me. Yet strange to say I would escape this formal honor if I could without hurting my friends & my influence for good.

This distrust of “formal honor” suggests an underlying ambivalence toward his Eastern associates. A friend once reported that after Muir and Sargent reached the top of a mountain in North Carolina, Muir “began to jump about and sing and glory in it all” before he noticed Sargent “standing there as cool as a rock...a half-amused look on his face.” When Sargent explained, “I don’t wear my heart on my sleeve,” Muir burst out: “Who cares where you wear your little heart, mon! There you stand in the face of all Heaven come to



earth...as if to say, ‘Come, Nature, bring on the best you have. I’m from BOSTON!’” Yet their affection and professional respect ran deep. Muir called Sargent “the only one of the [U.S. Forestry Commission] that knew & loved trees as I loved them”; and after Muir’s death, Sargent wrote in the *Sierra Club Bulletin*, “Few men whom I have known loved trees as deeply and intelligently as John Muir.”

Muir’s capacities for friendship and loyalty served him well during his presidency of the Sierra Club (which he co-founded in 1892) and numerous struggles on behalf of wild places. During the long campaign to prevent San Francisco from flooding the Hetch Hetchy Valley to create a reservoir, Muir tirelessly encouraged Johnson to “Rejoice, be of good cheer, and fight to a triumphant finish.” When the effort ended in defeat, Muir consoled his friend in January 1914: “The long drawn out battle work for Nature’s gardens has not been thrown away. The conscience of the whole country has been aroused from sleep; and from outrageous evil compensating good in some form must surely come.” Such a legacy of friendship, commitment, and hope is an enduring part of Muir’s bequest to the present. ▢

Steven Pavlos Holmes, Ph.D. ’96, is the author of *The Young John Muir: An Environmental Biography* and editor of the literary anthology *Facing the Change: Personal Encounters with Global Warming*.

Quotations from unpublished letters of Sarah Galloway to John Muir, 1863 Apr 29; JM to Robert Underwood Johnson, 1896 Jun 3, Jul 30, 1913 Nov 20, 1914 Jan 1; John Muir Papers, Holt-Atherton Special Collections, University of the Pacific. Copyright © 1984 Muir-Hanna Trust

The New Histories

Scholars pursue sweeping new interpretations of the human past.

by JONATHAN SHAW

IN MAY 1968, the university's students wanted to change the world. Left-thinking ideologies like Maoism and socialism were in their minds, and "Vietnam" was on their lips. They went on strike, skipping classes and exams. They rioted and clashed with police. One student was killed, 900 arrested.

If this sounds like a scene from Kent State, where student demonstrators were killed two years later, that is because the May

1968 unrest at the University of Dakar in Senegal was part of the same general mood around the world that moved students to protest, says Omar Gueye, professor of history at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar. Gueye spent six months at Harvard during the 2013-14 academic year as a postdoctoral fellow at the Weatherhead Initiative in Global History (WIGH), a program premised on the belief that events like these—not unlike the seemingly



Sven Beckert

contagious uprisings of the Arab Spring—can be fully understood only in a global context. As elsewhere during the student protests of the late 1960s, local factors played a role in Dakar: government cuts in scholarship funding precipitated the strike. But student anger tapped a deeper sense of injustice as well: although French colonial rule had ended in 1960, the university was still French, Gueye explains, and the French military was still stationed in Dakar. “Vietnam”—another former French colony—therefore had a specific resonance among Senegalese students, who felt a sense of brotherhood with the Vietnamese.

HISTORIANS increasingly recognize that trying to understand the past solely within the confines of national boundaries misses much of the story. Perhaps the integration of today’s world has fostered a renewed appreciation for global connections in the past. Historians now see that the same patterns—colonialism, or the rise of small elites controlling vast resources—emerge across cultures worldwide through time, and they are trying to explain why.

“If there is one big meta-trend within history, it is this turn toward the global,” says Bell professor of history Sven Beckert, who co-directs WIGH. “History looks very different if you don’t take a particular nation-state as the starting point of all your investigations.”

The rise of a global perspective is one of several trends that are changing the way history is studied and understood. The increasing use of science to illuminate the past is another. Goelet professor of history Michael McCormick leads the University’s Initiative for the Science of the Human Past, which has engaged a range of collaborators: from geneticists and chemists elucidating patterns of migration using DNA and isotopes, to climate and computer scientists using ice cores and Christian texts to parse the rise and fall of civilizations. In the Joint Center for History and Economics, Knowles professor of history Emma Rothschild has, as director, revitalized this third realm of historical research (which dates to the 1890s in the United States and Britain). Scholars there embrace new quantitative methods such as network analysis to enhance historical inquiry (see “Examining Economic Webs,” page 56); by undertaking collaborative projects—such as studying the history of energy—they are contributing freshly relevant understanding to some of today’s most pressing problems.

These three projects differ significantly, notes Adams University Professor emeritus Bernard Bailyn, “and they have very little directly to do with each other. But together, they create enough intellectual energy in the history department to light a midsized city.”

Fractal History

“IN THIS CONTEMPORARY MOMENT in which the world is becoming ever more globally interconnected,” says Beckert, “historians can’t help but observe that a global perspective might also be a useful way to understand the human past. We have spent the past hundred years looking at history within a nation-state framework, and there are limitations to that.” By

looking beyond these boundaries, he points out, “an entirely new history opens up.” His WIGH co-director, Saltonstall professor of history Charles Maier, notes that global history allows scholars to consider common challenges facing all of humanity, such as climate change or disease. “Or you can consider the impact that societies have on each other, sometimes referred to as ‘entangled history’”—why, for example, students around the world rose up in the 1960s in protest against social norms. A global perspective also makes possible the study of events such as migrations from one nation or region to another. Says Maier, “It opens you up to all kinds of questions.”

The Weatherhead initiative, collaborative to its core, attracts scholars from around the world. Faculty members, undergraduate and graduate students, and post-doctoral fellows meet weekly to discuss their research projects and to seek insights from their colleagues, often expert in the same fields, who work in the context of other countries. This past spring, Maier sought comment on a draft chapter of his forthcoming book on changing concepts of territoriality. He heard from scholars rooted in a variety of countries and eras, ranging from an undergraduate to a visiting postdoctoral fellow who studies Franciscan monks, members of a mendicant order of the Catholic church with an abstemious relationship to both property and territory, who established missions worldwide in the Middle Ages (see “Alternative Histories,” below).

The idea, says Beckert, is not just to write global history at Harvard, but to seek alternative perspectives from scholars in other parts of the world, especially voices of scholars from the global South, who often have pioneered the field without being heard in the West: “This relates to the internationalization of the University. We bring a dedication to the study of other parts of the world, but we are also very eager to start a global conversation on that global history.” To that end, WIGH both brings foreign scholars to Cambridge, and has established a network of research and teaching nuclei on four continents, with collaborations in China, India, the Netherlands, Senegal, and Brazil.

Because global history by its nature is inclusive, and actively seeks multiple points of view, says Maier, it has evolved in the spirit of the working-class histories championed by British historian E.P. Thompson in the 1960s. In that sense, “there is a moral component” to it, he feels. “It can’t be only about empires. It’s not that spatially you miss much,” he explains, “but empires are the stories of elites.” In global history, “voices cannot be hierarchized. You have to give the global South its voice,” for example. “Each history has to be written from its own perspective.”

One of the large questions that global history seeks to answer is why social structures that maintain the power of elite minorities are perpetuated. Maier notes “the fractal nature of social organization, as patterns repeat themselves at different levels of society, and across cultures. How do they carry on so strongly,” he wonders, “when they benefit such a small group of people?”

The “Great Divergence”

BECKERT HIMSELF has sought to answer this big question through a decade-long study of cotton—the commodity that started the Industrial Revolution and, he argues, shaped the present global capitalist system: glorious at its best, but at its worst, a “race to the bottom” that seeks the cheapest labor and materials. Beckert’s work has culminated in *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (Knopf), to



be published in December. As he writes in the introduction:

Particularly vexing is the question of why, after many millennia of slow economic growth, a few strands of humanity in the late eighteenth century suddenly got much richer. Scholars now refer to these few decades as the “great divergence”—the beginning of the vast divides that still structure today’s world, the divide between those countries that industrialized and those that did not, between colonizers and colonized, between the global North and the global South.

Taking a global perspective sheds fresh light on capitalism’s reliance on transoceanic connections, such as the simultaneous rise of industrial wage labor in Europe and slave labor in America. “We have hundreds of books on the Industrial Revolution in England,” says Beckert, “and these books focus, as they should, mostly on the expansion of cotton manufacturing, because that’s the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. And then we have hundreds of books on the expansion of slave agriculture in the United States. But these stories are, as I show, very tightly linked

pean industrialists and financiers were key to this transformation of the American South.

Taking a global view allows Beckert to explore why, for example, beginning around 1800, more cotton wasn’t cultivated in India, where it also grows well. At issue was not just the fact that slave-labor exploitation in the American South made production there cheaper. “Even though the British wanted to get cotton from India,” he explains, “they more or less failed in that project until the later part of the nineteenth century because of the difficulty of recasting colonial India’s political, social, and economic structures.”

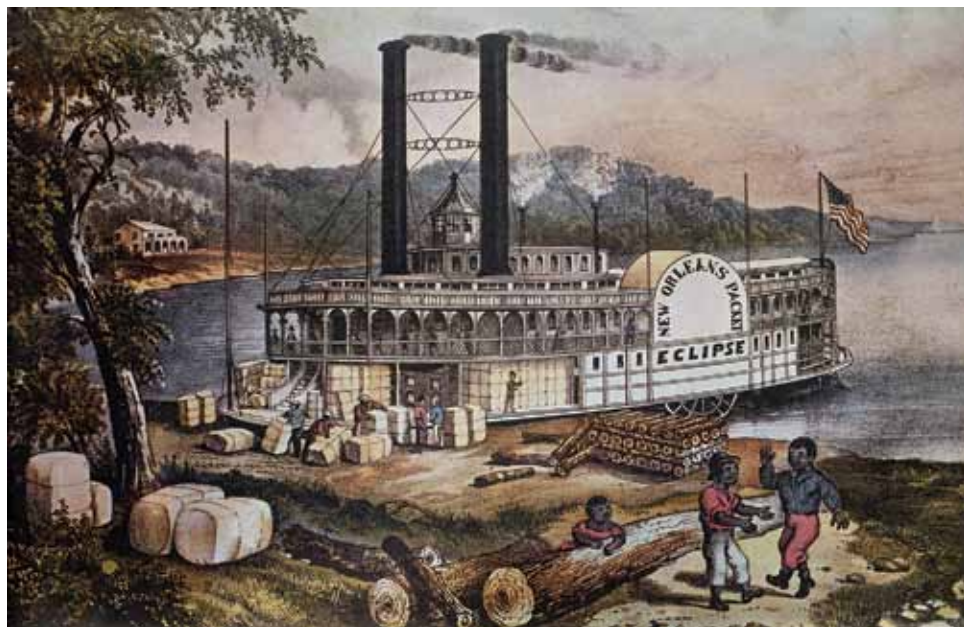
Then the American Civil War, and the end of slavery, triggered the world’s first raw materials crisis. “It would be as if, suddenly, no oil came from the Middle East,” Beckert says. European textile manufacturers were forced to find new sources of raw cotton. Focusing their attention on Egypt, India, and Brazil, they eventually succeeded in transforming agriculture in those parts of the world to extract more cotton.

Global history is “the kind of idea that, once you have it, is impossible to go back from,” Beckert continues. “You can’t. It’s going to be with you forever because it’s just a different way of seeing history.” While it opens new questions, it “also opens up totally new understandings of particular historical problems such as the problem of slavery. You understand, on a global scale, that the global problem, from the perspective of European colonialists and European entrepreneurs, is really how to transform the countryside. The resulting transformation takes different forms in different parts of the world, but sometimes it’s also quite similar. After the Civil War, for example, sharecropping becomes dominant in the United States, but it’s also important in Egypt, Mexico, Brazil, and other parts of the world. People in these places learn from one another. They observe one another.”

Capitalism can make strange bedfellows. Beckert relates how in 1898, the German ambassador to the United States approached Booker T. Washington, asking him to send students and professors—the sons and grandsons of slaves—from Tuskegee to Germany and then on to the West African colony of Togo to transform cotton agriculture there: “an amazing story of African Americans advising deeply racist German colonialists in Togo about how to make local peasants produce cotton for world markets.”

Global demand for cotton transformed the American South into the world’s most important cotton-producing region.

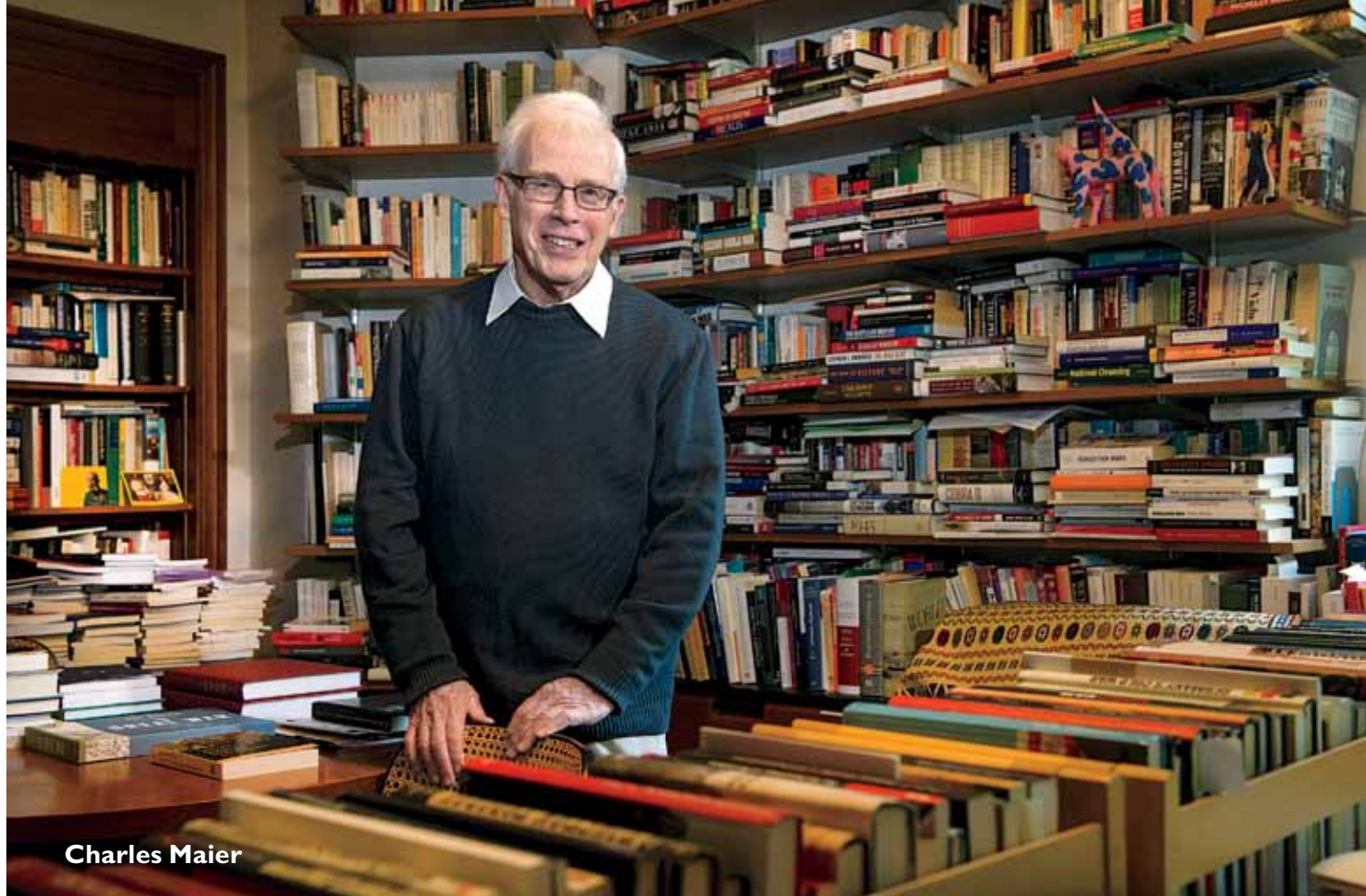
Beckert’s work played an important role in attracting graduate student Joan Chaker to Harvard from Lebanon. She’d written her master’s thesis years ago about the tobacco market in the Ottoman Empire, but quickly came to understand that she could not comprehend that history without looking beyond Turkey, to European financiers and their interests. After a stint as a banker in Amsterdam, Chaker resolved to return to academia. When she discovered Beckert’s work on cotton, it was “enlightening” she recalls, “be-



© LEE/ANALOG VIA GETTY IMAGES

to one another because with the growth of cotton manufacturing in Europe, huge needs for cotton emerged there. And since cotton does not grow on the continent of Europe, but it grows very well in places like...the United States, there is a huge expansion of cotton agriculture there, almost all of it based on slave labor. Slavery is *central* to industrial capitalism as it emerges in the nineteenth-century.”

Beckert tells how in 1785 British customs agents in Liverpool seized bags of cotton from an American ship when it sought to deliver the cargo. They didn’t believe the cotton came from the United States because at that time the plant was grown almost exclusively in the Ottoman Empire, the West Indies, Brazil, or India. “That the United States would ever produce significant amounts of cotton...seemed preposterous,” he writes. It was, he concludes, a “spectacular misjudgment,” given the ensuing transformation of the American South from producing “tobacco, rice, indigo, and some sugar” to producing cotton. And it upends the American sense of independence and self-determination: Euro-



Charles Maier

cause it explained a lot of history in the Ottoman tobacco market.” Like cotton, tobacco is a global commodity, and the American civil war allowed Turkish tobacco to acquire an important share of the global market. “I saw that I could transpose ideas from his framework to mine,” she says.

“I think students are catching on to the excitement,” says Beckert, “and to the fact that we have this institution now where they can connect, meet each other, other faculty members, visitors, and postdoctoral fellows who have taken a great role in helping them with their research papers.” Training the rising generation of historians in this way “makes it possible for them to embark upon projects that would likely have seemed too ambitious for a student even a few years ago. And they have the opportunity to become part of a global scholarly community from their first year in graduate school.”

In a 2009 essay, Maier noted that teaching global history to undergraduates has been one of the most difficult challenges of his career “because of the sheer volume of new information students confront.” Still, he wrote, “introducing global history strikes me as the most imperative challenge for historical teaching today,” given “the readjustment of American power and wealth, the migrations of new citizens, the clamorous challenges of inequality and environmental fragility.” The challenge of ensuring that undergraduates are familiar with basic historical timelines and factual details that undergird more detailed studies will become more acute if a course in global history is developed in the College. But there is enthusiasm for attempting this, says Beckert, even among faculty members not presently involved in the initiative.

Alternative Histories

GLOBAL HISTORY is not just *economic* history, Beckert emphasizes. Julia McClure, a WIGH postdoctoral fellow during the 2013-2014 academic year, studies a kind of global network radically different from his capitalist empire of cotton. Her ambitious goal is to understand how knowledge of the world is structured and formed. She is pursuing her subject by studying Franciscan missionaries, who traveled the globe from southern Europe in the Middle Ages and early modern era, quietly establishing a network of knowledge about its farthest reaches.

Franciscans arrived in the Far East years before Marco Polo did in the thirteenth century. They traveled to Scandinavia and North Africa. They played a key role in shaping Spanish colonialism in the Americas. Everywhere a new land was brought into the European orbit, it seems, Franciscans were there first. Yet the primacy of their explorations, though recorded in detail, is virtually unknown. In McClure’s view, this underscores the ways in which “history itself has been produced and used...to further nationalistic goals.” Whether to exert power or stake colonial claims, nations want to show that they discovered certain regions first. The Franciscans, “without that power agenda, have been left out” of the history books. Although they recorded what they found, few non-Franciscans have read their records. McClure recently obtained a copy of a letter, found in a Franciscan monastery in Bavaria, that was written in 1500 from the island of Hispaniola, where colonization initiated by Christopher Columbus and his son Diego ultimately decimated the native population. The letter “reveals much about the first years of the encounter history,” she says, but it is little known because no one has looked in depth at

Examining Economic Webs

"THERE WAS a longish period in the 1990s and the early part of this century when economic history was very much out of fashion, at least in history departments," says Knowles professor of history Emma Rothschild. She has played a role in the recent revival of the field, originally established in the 1890s in Great Britain, the United States, and France. As director of the Joint Center for History and Economics, which is, as she puts it, "one center in two locations" (at Harvard and at Cambridge University), she has been shepherding new scholarly collaborations and directions.

A project on the history of energy (and climate change) seeks to widen perspectives on past economic, social, and environmental processes by studying energy use and transformation. The field has been pursued in Cambridge, England, for some 20 years, says Rothschild, and has recently seen "outstanding work," by Harvard doctoral students looking at early responses to climate change in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. "Climate change was then thought to be strongly associated with desertification," she explains, "not with atmospheric change. They are very different physical processes." Like an earlier project that elucidated the negative impacts of past economic crises on the health of millions of people—undertaken in the midst of the recession that began in 2008-2009—the study of the *history* of energy aims to be relevant to the concerns of the *present*.

The center is also undertaking a quantitative approach to historical social networks. The idea of using network analysis—including computer-generated visualizations of social networks—came from conversations with economists, says Rothschild, "in particular Ben Golub," a postdoctoral fellow at the center who in 2015 will join the Harvard economics faculty. Rothschild first used the technique while working on a book about the Johnstones, a Scottish family with global



One of Emma Rothschild's visualizations of a social network in eighteenth-century provincial France

reach. "The book was an attempt to follow the lives of all the brothers and sisters," both those who traveled the world and those who stayed home. Several became slave owners, while others strongly opposed the practice. The project in time expanded to follow the lives of some of the Johnstone slaves as well—and it continues to grow. "It's an interesting example of how history is becoming more open-ended," Rothschild reflects. "I feel the project is never going to be finished, because people keep finding new things about this large, eighteenth-century family." Ian Kumeakawa '12 (now a doctoral student in history at Harvard), who worked with Rothschild on the project, says that what really excited him about getting involved with this story of empire, slavery, and commerce was the use of network visualization "not just [as] an infographic" but as "a research tool."

Rothschild is now studying 83 people who signed a document in eighteenth-century provincial France. "You can't really hold the social connections among 83 people in your head," she notes, "because it is beyond the capacity of the human social imagination. But by *visualizing* some of these relationships, you can *see* how information is likely to spread in a social network. It's been an exciting collaboration in all sorts of ways among historians, economists, computer scientists, and others who work on visualization techniques," but also, she emphasizes, "among very different kinds of historians." In addition to Rothschild's own study of poor artisans in eighteenth-century France, there are projects on ancient Rome, early-twentieth-century economists in Cambridge, England, and the spread of political information in seventeenth-century England. Despite her colleagues' disparate interests, she says, "We've been finding quite a lot to talk about—it's a different way of thinking."



Emma Rothschild

LEFT, KRIS SNIBBE/HAC; ABOVE, COURTESY OF VISUALIZING HISTORICAL NETWORKS WEBSITE

the Franciscan chronicle of what happened there.

Her work “puts the Middle Ages into a global context,” McClure says. “People think global connectivity begins in the nineteenth century with telephone cables, but it exists in the Middle Ages, and one way to represent that is through the movements of the Franciscan order.” The larger importance of that revelation is that “there is an alternative account of global history.” She aspires to use the Franciscan version of global history to pioneer an approach and perspective that lets students and others see traditional, mainstream history as a narrative *constructed with intention*—whether good or bad: a narrative that might be told in other ways.

Reaching Beyond the Written Record

GLOBAL HISTORY might be said to embody a simultaneous expansion of perspective and geographical scope. The science of the human past adds a third dimension: *time*. “Science is dissolving the boundary between history and prehistory,” explains Michael McCormick. “Historians have been confined until now to texts. Suddenly, we can chart the movements of groups of early humans in Africa” and beyond, he marvels, “and we see the human past as a much longer and deeper story.”

“It is so exciting to be an historian today,” McCormick continues. “History is exploding and transforming as the material past becomes an integral part of the historical record. We can no longer be satisfied with texts, because we are just as likely to learn something from a pot or from the lipids preserved in the fabric of the pot that tell us whether they were cooking cabbage or chicken for dinner in the seventh century A.D. when the Anglo-Saxons were taking over England (see “Who Killed the Men of England,” July-August 2009, page 31). Using DNA, “we can map human migrations or identify the genetic groups present, for example, in a burial ground from the Black Death [bubonic plague] in London, or from an imperial Roman estate in southern Italy,” McCormick says. “These are just the beginnings of the application of genetics and isotope studies to migration and questions of diet.”

A further implication of this approach, he points out, is that historical inquiry is “no longer limited to the most powerful people, who were usually the only people to make it into writing. We can see the history of individuals who had no surviving voice in the record coming back almost to life.”

During the 2013-14 academic year, McCormick co-taught History 1940, “The Science of the Human Past” (cross-listed as Human Evolutionary Biology 1940) with Clay professor of scientific archaeology Noreen Tuross. One student in the class, Marie Keil ’14, who had originally planned to become a chemist in the materials industry, changed her mind after hearing a guest lecture by Fenella France (who has used multispectral imaging to decipher erased texts in Thomas Jefferson’s draft of the Declaration of Independence). Keil spent the ensuing summer working with France at the Library of Congress in chemical analysis of ancient inks, and is now pursuing a master’s in archaeological chemistry at Oxford. Another student, Brendan Maione-Downing ’13, worked for a year after graduating as managing editor of the Digital Atlas for Roman and Medieval Civiliza-

tion, a free online atlas of the ancient world created by McCormick and his students that maps everything from Roman cities to ancient shipwrecks in the Mediterranean. Maione-Downing has gone on to a career in GIS (geographic information systems). McCormick marvels, “Brendan and Marie discovered their life’s work through one new course in the science of the human past.”

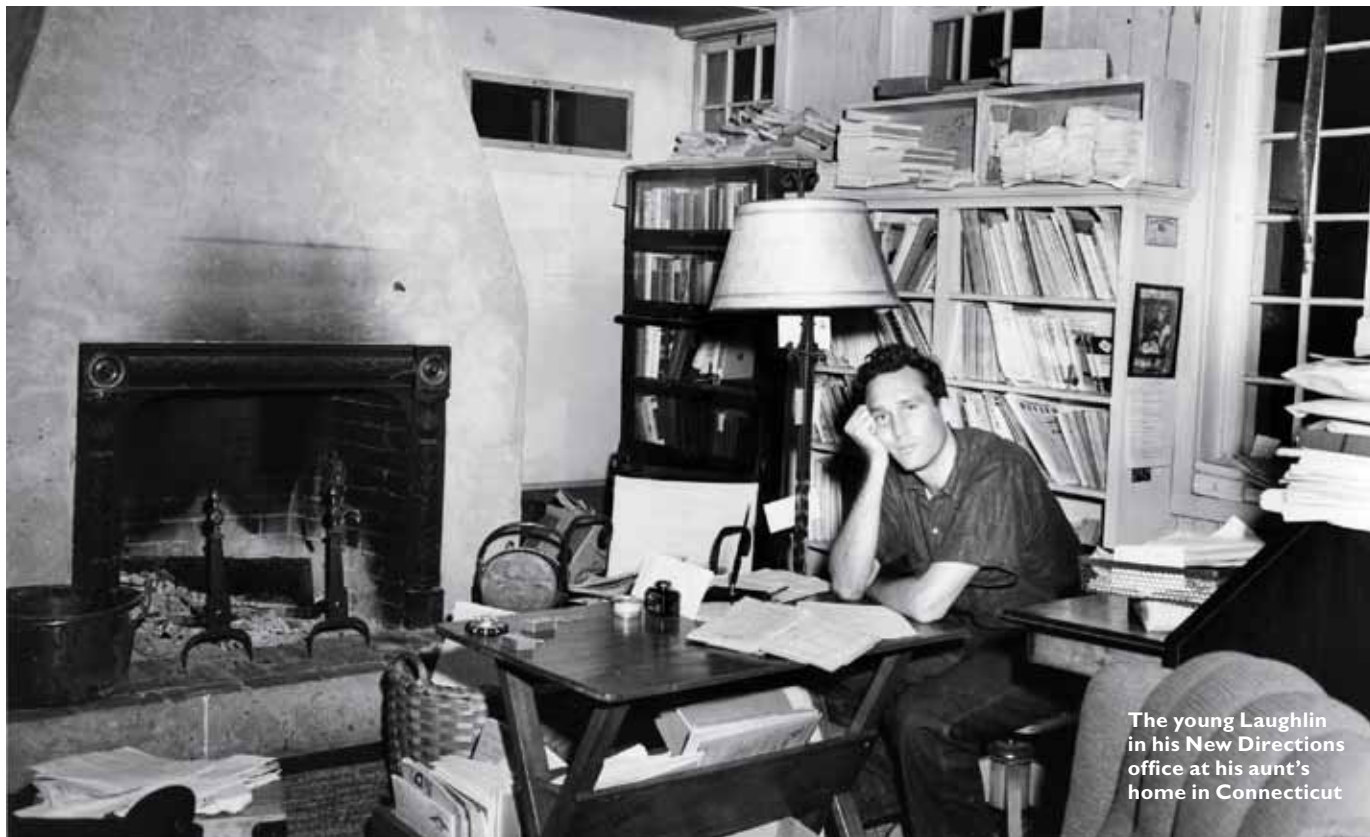
McCormick’s own life work is the fall of the Roman empire and origins of Europe. A longstanding question, now poised to be answered through techniques that Tuross has pioneered, concerns the origins and production of silk within the empire. As cotton would link the industrializing world a thousand years later, silk linked the ancient, precapitalist world. The so-called Silk Road, 4,000 miles long, consisted of a number of trade routes that connected China to the Mediterranean, and was essential to the economic development of these and intervening empires in India and Persia. “Luxury industries,” says McCormick (citing Werner Sombart, an early-twentieth-century historian of capitalism), “are the places in which capital first came together to do amazing things and multiply wealth. It was an early generator.” Because



Franciscan monks established a global presence in the Middle Ages. Here, Saint Francis of Assisi (1181/1182-1226) is shown meeting Sultan Malek-el-Kamel (1180-1238) in North Africa.

the fabric was one of the first global commodities, “volumes and volumes have been written on where a particular piece of silk comes from,” McCormick explains. “It’s really important for art history, for culture, for the economy.”

Because silk is light and easily transported, it “was worth many times its weight in gold,” McCormick continues. “If you’re carrying something from China to Italy on camelback and making money on it, it’s extremely valuable.” Pliny the Elder writes about the vast sums that Rome is sending to China and India in exchange for spices and silks, “but we don’t know where the silk that is being used in the Roman empire is coming from.” Very little is known about the spread of silk-making technology in the ancient world, or the history of the trade, because the many bits of silk fabric retrieved in archaeological digs or held in museums are hard to date and localize: on a trip to the textiles section at Boston’s Museum of Fine Arts, McCormick says, the class met with cura- (please turn to page 102)



The young Laughlin in his New Directions office at his aunt's home in Connecticut

COURTESY OF NEW DIRECTIONS

Yearning to Escape

James Laughlin's transit to Harvard and Europe—and pioneering literary publishing

JAMES LAUGHLIN '36, an heir of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation of Pittsburgh, founded the avant-garde publishing house New Directions three years before he finally graduated from Harvard, not too long after Ezra Pound allegedly told him, “[Y]ou’re never going to be any good as a poet. Why don’t you take up something useful?” and then refined that advice: “You’d better become a publisher. You’ve probably got enough brains for that.”

New Directions would publish not only Pound himself, but such notable American and foreign writers as William Carlos Williams, Denise Levertov, Thomas Merton, and Delmore Schwartz alongside Dylan Thomas, Vladimir Nabokov, Hermann Hesse, Yukio Mishima, and Jorge Luis Borges. And Laughlin himself would continue to write poetry, despite Pound’s critique; *The*

Collected Poems of James Laughlin (edited by Peter Glassgold for New Directions) appears this November in conjunction with a new Laughlin biography.

Ian S. MacNiven’s “*Literchoor Is My Beat*”: *A Life of James Laughlin, Publisher of New Directions* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux) presents a lively and revealing portrait of the man, he writes, who “practiced disappearance” and yet, “more than any other man of the twentieth century, directed the course of America writing and crested the waves of American passions and preoccupations,” publishing more than 1,500 books by others and writing more than 30 of his own. The following excerpt from chapter three, “Harvard, Part One,” highlights some of the influences pushing an already precocious undergraduate toward that catalytic meeting with Pound. ~The Editors



Princeton was heavily Presbyterian, and she had hoped that the college might reinvigorate her son’s straying faith. Although he credited [Dudley] Fitts with pushing him toward Harvard, the choice was his own. Harvard sealed his escape from Pittsburgh to New England, to the oldest, most richly endowed, and most intellectual institution of higher learning in the nation. Harvard also marked the emergence of James’s preference for signing himself with the shortened Jay, then to the bare J, and he soon dropped the Roman numeral.

JAMES LAUGHLIN IV’S FATHER WEPT—or so his son claimed—when the youth told him that he had settled on Harvard. A few years later Henry Hughart [Laughlin] wrote to Carey Briggs* about “J.’s deserting Princeton for the college of the Jews & Beconhillites.” The number of Jews at Harvard might have been limited by quota, but prominent Jews among the alumni included Justice Louis Brandeis (1877) of the Supreme Court and Lincoln Kirstein (1930), already a force in the arts and literature. James’s mother probably considered her son’s choice in religious terms:

J's father put a good face on the inevitable and escorted him to Cambridge. He would share a two-bedroom suite with Lawrence Angel, a classmate at Choate. Their rooms in Weld Hall in Harvard Yard included a good fireplace, but J's father pronounced the furniture appalling, so at an antiques store they bought two vintage American desks, a pair of bookcases, and a Persian rug with drapes to match. Mr. Lucas, Hughart's English tailor in Cambridge, measured J for a tuxedo, three pairs of dark gray trousers, and three tweed jackets—"suits / Were not worn at Harvard," J said.** A supply of striped and plain shirts and the customary white bucks (worn very dirty, commented Mr. Lucas disapprovingly) completed the basic wardrobe.

That evening Hughart took J to Concord to visit cousin Henry Laughlin, then head of the Riverside Press division of Houghton Mifflin. "What a spread!" recalled J. "Twenty acres of meadow, with / Horses grazing." Cousin Henry had bought Castle Hyde in Ireland and rode to hounds. "Plumpish and jolly," with rosy cheeks, he did not strike J as a typical Laughlin: he was a risk taker and a skier, and a horse had "nearly killed him by refusing a stone wall." The Concord Laughlins were useful to J; Henry's wife, Becky, volunteered to get J on the "dance list" so that he would be invited to Beacon Hill debutante balls, where he had heard that the girls were "nonflammable / But very pretty." Becky came from exalted stock, so she could vouch for his being sufficiently wellborn. Though J might be snubbed by the Groton and Milton preppies attending Harvard, he would not, thanks to his cousins, be denied Brahmin society...

Excused from freshman English, J elected yearlong courses in biology, history, Italian, and philosophy....J soon discovered that, by and large, "the faculty didn't / Really expect much of us / Freshmen." One exception was...a section leader in history, for whom J wrote a paper on Spengler, quoting extensively in German.... "This is all / Balderdash," he told J, "I want your / Ideas, not Spengler's." J was learning the difference between the appearance of accomplishment and the thing itself. So he assessed his instructors, turning in fodder when he thought he could get away with it. Marks, he now said, meant little to him. Being top boy might have counted for everything at Choate; at Harvard he wanted learning, not accolades. He cut many classes, passing often through the neo-Corinthian columns of the Widener Library, where he boasted that he had "conned" an attendant into giving him, a mere freshman, stack privileges. On his own, he began translating Virgil.

J arrived at Harvard with a few friends from Choate, and he soon made others. Joe Pulitzer was a grandson of the great newspaperman. He collected impressionist paintings, performed beautifully on his own grand piano in his suite, and, so J claimed, kept a French mistress at the Boston Ritz. J liked him even though Pulitzer teased him for never having visited St. Mark's in Venice.... "Lord Melcarth"—Ba'al Melcarth or Moloch—was the assumed name of a Lebanese painter who wore a monocle and carried a

*Choate English master Carey Briggs encouraged James Laughlin to write poetry and "planted in the future publisher the idea that a book was something intrinsically fine and could be a work of art," writes MacNiven; Briggs's colleague Dudley Fitts '25, a classicist, poet, and literary critic, "more than any other" challenged Laughlin intellectually.

**Quoted passages containing virgules are excerpts from Laughlin's autobiography in verse, *Byways*.

malacca cane topped by a silver devil's head. Melcarth had a friend, Wayne Andrews, who wrote good French, corresponded with Ezra Pound, and knew many of the French surrealists.

Toward the end of his freshman year, J was accepted as a "heeler" for *The Harvard Advocate*, the undergraduate literary journal. Advocate House was a small wooden building in an alley, with tables, chairs, and a worn leather couch, all comfortably scruffy: a den in which serious young writers could play at being bohemian. In fact, he was given more responsibilities than the errand boy designation implied; one of his successful crusades was to overcome the editors' "violent objections" toward publishing Andrews's essay on surrealism.

His time at the *Advocate* was probably the best of J's early Harvard life. Its president when J joined the staff was Cyrus Sulzberger of the *New York Times* family. J would work with Peter Viereck, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Leonard Bernstein, and Robert Fitzgerald. In 1935, John Jermain Slocum, called Jim, would be elected president: he became a friend for life, as did Fitzgerald. Robert Lowell, although he had been rejected when he applied to become a candidate for the literary board, would drop by the offices. The monthly tried to give voice to serious and even experimental poetry: the undergraduate verse of Eliot, Cummings, Wallace Stevens, and Edwin Arlington Robinson had appeared in its pages. *Dulce est periculum*—Sweet is danger—was the motto, inherited from a predecessor student publication closed down for opposing mandatory chapel attendance. Originality meant taking risks, and earlier risk takers on the *Advocate* staff had included Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevelt, the future Scribner's editor Maxwell Perkins, Conrad Aiken, Fitts, James Gould Cozzens, and Lincoln Kirstein.

J's freshman year coincided with the appointment of T. S. Eliot as Charles Eliot Norton Professor of Poetry. Eliot was extremely generous in his efforts, and in addition to his four mandated public Norton Lectures at Harvard, he taught an undergraduate course on modern English literature. J probably audited the two of Eliot's classes that were specifically devoted to Pound and Anglo-American poetry. Emboldened by having studied Eliot's poetry with Fitts, J introduced himself. "Ole / Possum," he would recall, "Was very amiable for a High / Anglican." When J commented to Eliot on a plate of cookies on the floor in the middle of the room at the Eliot House suite that he used for group conferences with students, the great man explained in his measured tones, "It's economical," he / Told me, 'they're too polite / To go out and grab cookies. / That plate has been there for / Five weeks.'"

Still, sitting at the feet of the famous was not all J had hoped for at Harvard. He expected epiphanies. But the classes seemed pedestrian, the assignments antediluvian....

On his return from Christmas recess, J took up skiing seriously....

The skiing weekend became part of J's Harvard routine: a six-hour drive to Stowe in Vermont's Green Mountains, slightly less to the New Hampshire ski areas....J and his friends climbed with sealskins on their skis. If blizzard conditions permitted, they could make it in two hours, carrying sleeping bags and supplies, up to the Harvard Mountaineering Club hut in Tuckerman Ravine on Mount Washington, New Hampshire.

...
DESPITE...INTRIGUING COMPANIONS, J poured out his usual discontents to his old mentor, Fitts, who volunteered a letter of

introduction to Ezra Pound. Fitts also appeared at the beginning of April in Cambridge to encourage his star alumnus. "Waiting & watching & doing precisely nothing," wrote J in a grumpy mood. "Dudley was in with a few choice words of bull-shit."

It wasn't just Harvard that J was bored with. It was Pittsburgh, Cambridge, Boston, even Norfolk—it was America. He wanted Europe. "We didn't think that one glimpse of an oxcart would turn us into geniuses, but we were sure that things would be different in Europe," J would write after a European trip in 1934, "that barriers inside us that had kept us from writing anything more startling at home than fairly adept imitations would somehow be moved away by the new life." However, J was not quite willing to cut his ties to Harvard and transplant himself to Paris.

During the spring term J's college experience seemed to be engaging him more. Theodore Spencer, an instructor in English, wrote to J in February 1933 that he had gotten his name from Fitts. Spencer was the main Harvard liaison and understudy for Eliot, and his acquaintance helped ease J into the circle around Eliot. Harry Levin, another instructor in English, would become important to J as a future author on James Joyce and as a connecting figure. Levin had been in the first class F. O. Matthiessen taught at Harvard, and like Spencer he had been singled out by Eliot for his brilliance. And when Robert Fitzgerald was asked by Sulzberger to collect material for the next *Advocate*, he invited J to his room for a consultation. Fitzgerald had graduated from Choate just before J had arrived, but the school bond and their shared love of the Greek classics led to almost immediate friendship.

...Reviewing the May *Advocate*, Matthiessen named J's "The Day Is Over," reprinted with permission from *The Atlantic Monthly*, as "easily the best contribution to this issue." "The effect of the whole piece is authentic," Matthiessen concluded. This was a considerable tribute coming from Matthiessen, whose monumental study, *American Renaissance*, would shortly earn him towering status among scholars of American literature.

At the instigation of a Childs cousin who "owned half of it," J became the Harvard stringer for *The Harkness Hoot* at Yale, a new and short-lived competitor to the venerable *Yale Literary Magazine*. His first article for the *Hoot* was an erudite nine pages on Archibald MacLeish, whose long poem, *Conquistador*, had just received a Pulitzer Prize. When the *Hoot* was also praised for a "sane attitude" and for becoming "a serious journal of discussion," J felt that he had contributed to change at Yale as well....

In the spring of 1933, J sent his short story "The River" to Lincoln Kirstein, co-founder of *The Hound and Horn*, which Pound usually referred to as "Bitch & Bugle"—the journal's name had come



MARGO MOORE/COURTESY OF NEW DIRECTIONS

from his own poem "The White Stag." "I'm sorry to say that Lincoln did not like your river story at all," reported Fitts. Kirstein was "one of my idols," J said, a man who used his wealth in service of high artistic values. He was a member of a Thursday evening supper group, as were J, R. P. Blackmur, John Cheever, Fitts, and "dear old Sherry Mangan," that met at the Ararat Café or the Athens Olympia. J said that he was in awe of Kirstein, seven years his senior and "such a brilliant man...doing such great work." Tall and powerfully built, Kirstein was painted, wearing absolutely nothing but a pair of boxing gloves, by Pavel Tchelitchew, one of many artists he championed. Mangan—poet, novelist, and book designer—was as striking an individual as Kirstein. When a friend produced a bookplate for him, the motto on it read, "Everything in Excess," and in his case this meant books, ideas,

dinners of curry, chateaubriand, shellfish, and wine, topped with good company in lavish quantities. Although not of great height, his massive, square frame made him seem very big, and a shock of red-blond hair crowned his animated, humorous face. His conversation raced and skipped in jolly flights of wit and invention. New England aristocrat that he was, the Depression had turned him into a passionate Trotskyite.

J was also receiving attention from at least four young women, and with his many extracurricular interests it is hardly surprising that his freshman year record was not outstanding: his grades for his four credit courses were C, B, B, and A. He received an Excellent for the noncredit but mandatory physical training.

The old prejudices lingering from Pittsburgh were crumbling under J's independence and what can best be called his innate sense of fairness. In his admiration for the shy brilliance of Levin and the outspoken if often abrasive idealism of Kirstein, J gradually became ashamed of the anti-Semitic turns of speech accepted without demur by his family. His already quite egalitarian attitudes about race were becoming more liberal as well. A score of years before there was an active movement to integrate public schools, Kirstein was campaigning for an equal representation of black and white students at the ballet school he envisioned. J's friend Wayne Andrews became the first white Harvard student to take a black girl as a date to a freshman dance. And J's friendships had far outstripped in diversity his Pittsburgh circle....To most young men, J's intellectual experience and circle of acquaintance would have added up to a highly satisfactory initial year at Harvard. J, however, was yearning to escape. He would make use of Fitts's letter of introduction to Pound. ▽



Craig Lambert profiled James Laughlin in this magazine's January-February 1995 issue. Visit www.harvardmag.com/extras to read the article.

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- 72 Open Book
- 74 Off the Shelf
- 75 Iconoclastic Music Educator
- 77 Chapter & Verse
- 78 Music, Noted

Some of Miller's surprises: model telescopes in University Park Common, and a silhouette in the fountain at a Roxbury park

Urban Surprises

Ross Miller's public art in overlooked places captivates viewers.

by STEPHANIE GARLOCK

TUCKED AWAY in a small stretch of grass near MIT's campus, the art in University Park Common reveals itself slowly to visitors. In one corner stands a slowly rusting spool of wire, a nod to the Simplex Wire Company that once stood on the site. Across the way models of three telescopes represent another past tenant, the Alvan Clark & Sons telescope manufacturer. In a third spot lie scat-

tered bronze castings of the oyster shells dug up when new construction reshaped the neighborhood. These small surprises make up *Historical Traces* (1998), by Boston-based public artist Ross Miller⁷⁷ (www.rossmiller.com). "It's just little layers," he says. "Even I forget where they are."

Miller, a Loeb Fellow at Harvard in 1992-93, has spent more than three decades creating subtle, interactive artworks that help

visitors rethink the places they inhabit every day. The job of the public artist, he says, is to bring the "wonderful moments" of surprise a visitor might encounter in nature—a fallen log crossing the path, a streak of light hitting a leaf just right—into the city. Unfortunately, he explains, "The things that happen accidentally when you walk through the city are often ugly and broken." Artists can change that. After concentrating in visual and environmental stud-

ies in college (and taking a year off to study with industrial designer Eva Zeisel), Miller began his project of reintroducing nature's curves into the rigid grid of the city.

His commissions have returned a "natural variety" to some of Boston's most prominent places. Often, they build on the history of the sites, helping resurrect the city's forgotten stories. In the sidewalk near Faneuil Hall, Miller embedded a set of etchings of the city's colonial-era shoreline (*Original Shoreline Mark*, 1996), and each year, he leads the construction of a replica of a Native American wooden fishweir (a fence used to catch spawning fish) on Boston Common.

O P E N B O O K

GOP Polarities

the past half-century. With an election in the offing, scholarly perspective may be particularly useful. Heather Cox Richardson '84, Ph.D. '92, professor of history at Boston College, offers one in *To Make Men Free: A History of the Republican Party* (Basic Books, \$29.99). From the introduction:

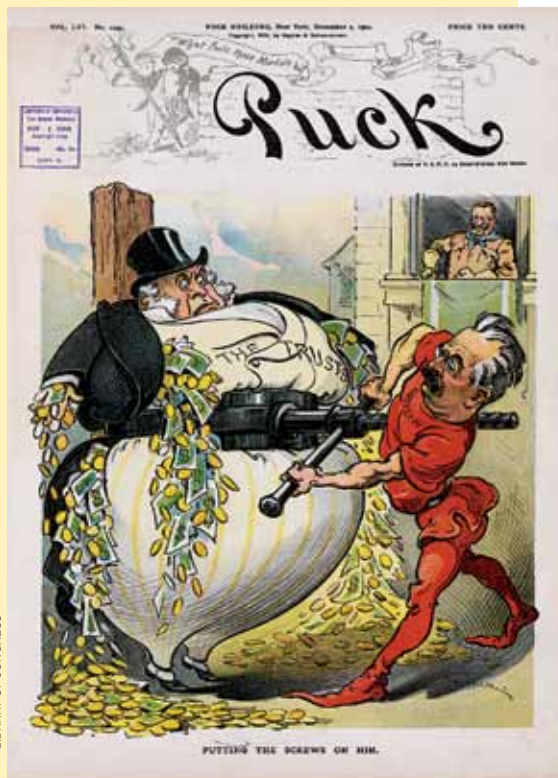
In 1862, in the midst of the Civil War, Republican Justin Smith Morrill stood up in Congress to defend his party's novel invention: an income tax. The government had the right to demand 99 percent of a man's property, Morrill thundered. If the nation needed it, "the property of the people...belongs to the government." The Republican Congress passed the income tax...and went on to create a strong national government. By the time the war ended...the Republicans had fielded an army and navy of more than 2.5 million men; had invented national banking, currency, and taxation; had provided schools and homes for poor Americans; and had freed the country's four million slaves.

A half-century later, when corporations dominated the economy and their millionaire owners threw their weight into political contests, Republican Theodore Roosevelt fulminated against that "small class of enormously wealthy and economically powerful men, whose chief object is to hold and increase their power."...Roosevelt called for government to regulate business, prohibit corporate funding of political campaigns, and impose income and inheritance taxes. He demanded a "square deal" for the American people.

In the mid-twentieth century, Republican president Dwight Eisenhower reiterated the earlier Republican calls for economic opportunity and applied them on an international scale. Believing that economic inequality bred war...

Puck's view of putting the squeeze on wealthy trusts in the Teddy Roosevelt era

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Political parties occupy an unspecified and shape-shifting role in American governance: think about the realignment of allegiances to the Democratic and Republican banners in the American South during

Eisenhower sought to prevent international conflict by raising standards of living everywhere....He called for government funding for schools, power plants, roads, and hospitals.

...At other times, the Republicans have thrown their support behind America's wealthiest men: Congress has passed laws that benefit businessmen—has even permitted businessmen to write legislation—and has blamed those who fell behind for their own poverty....

Over the 160 years of their history, Republicans have swung from one pole to another: sometimes they have been leftists, sometimes reactionaries....How did the...party of Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Dwight D. Eisenhower...become the party of today?



A traditional ceremony marks Miller's annual construction of a Native American fishweir on Boston Common.

Miller has become increasingly interested in adding art to urban spaces that tourists often miss. Recently, he helped transform what was once little more than a rundown strip of concrete and grass in a quiet Roxbury intersection into the refurbished Alvah Kittredge Park. At one corner stands *Carved in Stone* (2012), his unusual monument to abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, once a neighborhood resident. Instead of making a contemplative marble bust, Miller stacked up an undulating 10-foot-tall column of circular granite pedestals—19,000 pounds of stone in shades of gray, black, and red—leading to a metal nozzle that shoots out jets of water and fog at the push of a button.

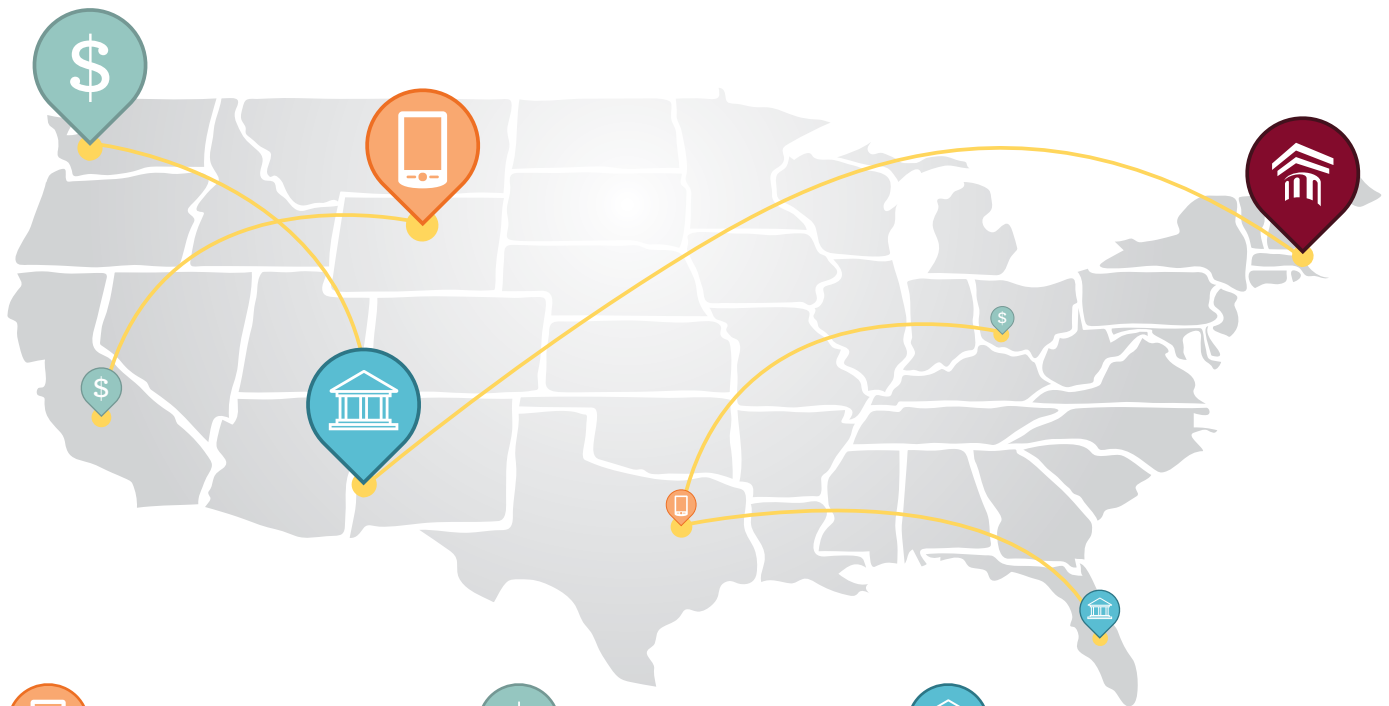
When he revisits earlier works, Miller likes to ask those he encounters how they learned about the space and what they think of what they've found there. At the Roxbury site, he spots a young girl standing off to the side, watching the fine mist that sprays out, wetting the concrete below. Smiling, he asks whether she's discovered the fountain's secret: when viewed straight on, it acts as a Rubin's Vase, creating two mirror-image silhouettes of Garrison's profile in the negative space surrounding its lower half.

"Hopefully that girl will go and look at that silhouette again, and show a friend of hers. That's something I would love to see," Miller says. "I've gone to that park and people have shown me that silhouette." In these small neighborhood parks, he likes to create designs that will reveal themselves slowly to local residents who

cross-country access.

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The fountain Salt Marsh Fog marks the history of the MIT park site, on what was once the Charles River's marshy bank.

return time after time. "There's a value in doing things that can be sort of subtle, and last for a long time—so you might uncover it or see it new," he says.

At the Garrison monument, the top water nozzle isn't working. How his art

is maintained in different parts of the city has become increasingly important to him—a sign of how government officials or developers treat art in rich, versus poor, neighborhoods. When workers re-poured the concrete pavement at his MIT work, they carefully re-sandblasted a quote from transcendentalist writer Margaret Fuller—touching on the "delight" we find in nature's "varying arrangements"—into the sidewalk. But the hanging time capsule he placed two decades ago in a glass case in South Boston's Andrew Square MBTA station has received far less attention. The

windows are now so dirty that visitors can barely see inside.

Miller seeks out highly accessible spaces, rather than cloistered private gardens or corporate courtyards. So often, he explains, "public" space is what's left over between the private spaces of office buildings and condominiums. Usually, public-works departments handle the maintenance, keeping such spots clean, but little else. "The beauty, the joy, the wonder that people deserve in public areas doesn't happen," Miller says. But art—inexpensive in the grand scheme of city budgets—can effectively show residents that they matter. "Art 'turns up the volume' of the experience of being in a specific place," he declares, "one that's different than being in another place."



Visit www.harvardmagazine.com/ extras to view more of Miller's sculptures.

Off the Shelf

Recent books with Harvard connections

Arts & Crafts Architecture: History and Heritage in New England, by Maureen Meister (University Press of New England, \$45). This useful illustrated guide to the movement that flowered from 1890 to 1920 puts into context Radcliffe's Fay House, the McLean Hospital campus, Phillips Brooks House, and many iconic homes. **Writing Architecture** (Trinity University Press, \$18.95 paper), by 1985 Loeb Fellow Carter Wiseman, now a lecturer at the Yale School of Architecture, puts this genre of productive criticism in its wider context.

God's Planet, by Owen Gingerich, professor of astronomy and of the history of science emeritus (Harvard, \$19.95). The expert on Kepler and Copernicus explores personally the meaning of "metaphysics" in the sense of "beyond physics": how the pursuit of science intersects with and is informed by faith—"an appreciation that there are differing magisteria, with differing paths to understanding."

Does Regulation Kill Jobs? edited by Cary Coglianese, Adam M. Finkel '79,

M.P.P. '84, S.D. '87, and Christopher Carrigan, Ph.D. '12 (Pennsylvania, \$49.95). The authors of 14 decidedly academic essays find evidence on either side of the heated rhetoric about "job-killing regulations" far from settled, with claims requiring much more, and more nuanced, analysis.

Walter Lippmann: Public Economist, by Craufurd D. Goodwin (Harvard, \$35). Lippmann, A.B. 1910, Litt.D. '44, was, of course, a formidable public journalist. But as Goodwin, an economic historian at Duke, also makes clear, he was the leading expositor of economics to an American populace buffeted by the Great Depression, World War II, and the country's new global role. In the current era of turbulent (or gridlocked) policy-making, the country could, perhaps, use a Lippmann clone.

The Secret History of Wonder Woman, by Jill Lepore, Kemper professor of American history (Knopf, \$29.95). The comic-book superheroine, created in 1941 by William Moulton Marston, A.B. 1915, LL.B. '18, Ph.D. '21, turns out to have a backstory as complicated and unlikely as her creator's academic preparation for his role. His personal life, involving living with three women and having children with two, had its own secrets, too.

A Chosen Exile: A History of Racial Passing in American Life, by Allyson Hobbs '97 (Harvard, \$29.95). The author, assistant professor of history at Stanford, probes the history of African Americans who presented themselves as white, a "chosen exile"—once, a way to elude the constraints of Jim Crow; later, a betrayal of essential identity—that illuminates the country's continuing confrontation with race.

The Sense of Style, by Steven Pinker, Johnstone Family professor of psychology (Viking, \$27.95). "I love style manuals," notes Pinker, confessing an affection for Strunk and White. To his own "thinking person's guide to writing in the 21st century," the author brings not only experience as a best-selling author (*The Blank Slate*, *The Language Instinct*), but also insight as a cognitive scientist—a new perspective on the genre—who is comfortable talking about "reverse-engineering good prose."

The Royalist Revolution, by Eric Nelson, professor of government (Harvard, \$29.95). What if the American Revolution aimed *not* at a tyrannical king, but at the British Parliament? Nelson interprets the founding as a rebellion in favor of restoring royal prerogatives unjustly usurped—a sentiment embodied in the new nation's powerful presidency.

Iconoclastic Music Educator

Rejecting the “tyranny of competence,” John Payne helps musicians bloom.

by CRAIG LAMBERT

IN 1979, musician and educator John Payne '67 faced a problem. He'd been teaching a lot of private students, who went home to practice and then returned for the next lesson—fine. But a lifetime in music had also taught Payne that playing with others not only increased enjoyment immensely, but motivated people to learn music better and to keep practicing and playing. “Where do I send people to play in groups?” he asked

himself. “To play in groups, you had to be good. We needed a place where people could be *bad* together!”

The answer was to start a different kind of music school, the John Payne Music Center (JPMC), now a nonprofit. Operating at a limited skill level was, he knew, no barrier to musical pleasure. Despite having played with Van Morrison (on the celebrated *Astral Weeks* album, among others),

Phoebe Snow, and Bonnie Raitt '72 (on her *Give It Up* album), and appearing on NBC's *Tonight Show* and *Saturday Night Live*, Payne realized that “Some of the greatest times I've had came when I was no good at all”—like playing a small, plastic end-blown flute called a Tonette as a fourth-grader, where “the level of musicianship of the group was very, very basic, to put it as delicately as possible.” He adds, “Enjoyment is *not* proportional to how good you are. The value of music comes in the joy you take from it, and give to others.” In an essay, “Reversing the Dwindling Spiral of Musical Enjoyment” (see his entry under “Teachers” at www.jpmmc.us), and at his school in Brookline, Massachusetts, Payne rejects what he calls “the tyranny of competence,” noting that the first question people often ask when they learn that someone plays an instrument is, “Is she any good?” Payne

Just Mercy, by Bryan Stevenson, J.D.-M.P.A. '85 (Spiegel and Grau, \$28). Professor of clinical law at New York University and founder of the Equal Justice Initiative, Stevenson litigates on behalf of poor defendants, prisoners locked up without parole, and those facing capital punishment. He draws on his cases, like that of Walter McMillian, sentenced to death and finally exonerated, to demand changes in an unequal criminal-justice system.

Island Naturalist, by Kathie Fiveash '69 (Penobscot Bay Press, \$27.95 paper). If you are cross about having summer in the rearview mirror, Fiveash's collected newspaper columns, from Isle au Haut, six miles off the Maine coast, may take you back to the idle hours of looking for periwinkles, being startled by a garter snake, or wondering about dragonflies' gossamer wings.

MOOCs, by Jonathan Haber (\$13.95 paper), and **The War on Learning**, by Elizabeth Losh '87 (\$29.95; both MIT Press). Haber, an education consultant, signed up for enough online courses, including several from HarvardX, to pursue the equivalent of a four-year degree in one year; he now concisely reflects on the promises and limitations of this technological innovation in teaching. Losh, director of the culture, art, and technology program at the University of California, San

Diego, probes (critically) the technological assumptions underlying online and other learning systems.

A Land of Aching Hearts: The Middle East in the Great War, by Leila Tarazi Fawaz, Ph.D. '79 (Harvard, \$35).

The author, an historian at Tufts (and past president of the Board of Overseers) tells the personal story of those in “Greater Syria” whose lives and national identities were changed by the end of Ottoman rule. Slightly farther east, physicist Jeremy Bernstein '51, Ph.D. '55, provides a succinct, lay explanation of one of the persisting points of intense friction in the region, in **Nuclear Iran** (Harvard, \$18.95).

Disconnected: Youth, New Media, and the Ethics Gap, by Carrie James, lecturer on education (MIT Press, \$24.95). How do young people, surrounded by social media, learn to think about privacy and participation as they develop and evolve as ethical beings? James, of the Graduate School of Education's Project Zero, who interviewed many youngsters, finds a need for mentorship, guidance, and the attributes of citizenship online.



The endless pain of the Middle East: woman and dead child near Aleppo, Syria (undated)

Rocket and Lightship, by Adam Kirsch '97 (W.W. Norton, \$26.95). The latest collection of essays on literature and ideas, by the prolific critic and poet (this is his seventh book), ranging widely from Hannah Arendt and Walter Benjamin to Proust, Darwin, and David Foster Wallace. Kirsch is a *Harvard Magazine* contributing editor.

Everything I Never Told You, by Celeste Ng '02 (Penguin, \$26.95). “Lydia is dead” is the first sentence of this acclaimed debut novel, a portrait of a Chinese-American family in Ohio in the 1970s; as an undergraduate, the author was an intern at this magazine.



John Payne teaches a saxophone student at his music center in Brookline, Massachusetts.

youth ensembles for 10- to 18-year-olds. Six teachers lead the nearly two dozen current groups, each of which meets for 90 minutes once a week. Several times a year, they play at Ryles Jazz Club in Cambridge; some have performed elsewhere, even landing paid gigs. Students thrive

suggests that “Is she having fun with it?” might be more appropriate.

The JPMC forms jazz, rock, and R&B ensembles of students (typically four to eight) playing at roughly the same levels, and not necessarily very advanced ones. There are adult students ranging in age from their twenties to their seventies, and

in the groups, which flourish as members play together for months, even years. In another broadside, Payne asserts that “the joy of group music making—wherein you are co-creating the music—has the potential to far exceed the joy possible in just being the audience to others’ music. In fact, this great joy is the reason I be-

came a musician. Why else would anyone do it?”

A Thelonius Monk concert that Payne attended as a teenage Dixieland clarinet player proved a watershed moment. Monk “blew my mind—the depth of the music,” he recalls. Within months, he had purchased about 100 albums and taken up tenor sax. Immersed in music, he took time off from college, edited math books at Houghton Mifflin, and eventually earned a degree in philosophy. He had a successful professional career as a sideman, and formed the John Payne Band, which released four albums and performed for several years. During one road trip, a drummer emerged from a phone booth to announce that he’d just become a dad. Payne, who was married, wanted children (he now has four) and decided to leave the touring life behind: “I didn’t want to be getting out of a phone booth at a truck stop in California when my wife had a baby.”

Hence he settled in his hometown of Boston, founded the JPMC, and began challenging orthodoxies of musical education—among them, that students cannot

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(even *should* not) be taught to improvise. “No one was teaching improvisation,” he says, acknowledging the paradox: “How do you teach someone to be free?” The clue emerged from his recognition that “music is a language. When toddlers learn to speak English, they don’t read a script. In some ways, that’s more difficult than improvising music!”

Payne has developed methods of teaching improv. Using a background track of a rhythm section—bass, drums, and piano—he’ll start by getting a student to improvise by creating a melody from the notes of one scale, say F major. “Eighty to 90 percent can do that right away,” he reports. Then he’ll get students to change scales in the middle of the piece while improvising. With experience, the student starts to see and hear *patterns* (like chords) rather than single notes: “You intuitively grasp an A-flat seventh chord as a gateway to a set of possibilities,” Payne explains. “That streamlines things, so you can go faster. Eventually you can play through the chord changes, and when you can do that, it’s a whole new universe.”

Chapter & Verse

Correspondence on not-so-famous lost words

Carol Ochs seeks a citation for “All science, all religion began with the innovator, the nonconformist, the heretic.” She writes, “In the 1950s, it was on the front cover of the Sunday *New York Times Book Review* with a photo of a sculpture of a hand reaching up.”

Thomas Burrows hopes, after a half-century of searching, that someone can provide him with the source of the following assertion, delivered by Professor Frank Moore Cross during an elementary Hebrew course: “It was a saying of the ancient rabbis that you may as well learn Hebrew *now* because you will need it in the world to come.”

George Bason wishes to know who first declared, “Lazy people take the most pains,” and what he or she meant by it.

More queries from the archives:

“Words are walls between us/Difficult to scale—/Guardians of self/That make a jail.”

“Elephants coming two by two each as big as a launch in tow...”

“Memory is an old woman who saves dirty rags and throws away pearls and diamonds.”

“Admit impediments” (September-October). Thomas Ehrlich was the first to identify this quotation from the sonnet “Admit impediments” written by Norma (Holzman) Farber, A.M. ’32, in response to Shakespeare’s Sonnet 116.

Send inquiries and answers to “Chapter and Verse,” *Harvard Magazine*, 7 Ware Street, Cambridge 02138 or via e-mail to chapterandverse@harvardmag.com.

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An ornate initial capital for Psalm 96 (*Cantate Domino canticum novum*) shows three singers singing a “new song,” probably a polyphonic motet.

[and a director of Harvard Magazine Inc.] sets out to answer in about 200 lively and engaging pages.

Western musical notation was developed for music with words—text-less instrumental music was not written down until the fourteenth century, and even then, very rarely. Kelly shows how the words themselves initially acted as a kind of music notation, because text gives some performers enough information to call a song to mind: “That boy took my love away.” Of course, this works only if you know the original Beatles song: when words were joined by “neumes” (the squiggles mentioned above), notation served to aid memory, not to replace it. This meant that the task of learning new songs involved transmission from one singer to another.

Over the course of the Middle Ages, the notation of pitch became more precise, eventually conveying enough information that singers not familiar with the repertoire at hand could learn it. Sticking with our anachronistic example, here’s the story in synopsis:

Music, Noted



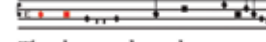
The recording of songs and sounds past

by ANNA ZAYARUZNAYA

“BUT WE DON’T have recordings from back then, do we?” We all have our own version of the stupidest question people might ask when they find out what we do. That one is mine. I study music in the fourteenth century; they didn’t have electricity, they didn’t have wax cylinders or records, there was no magnetized wire around, so—no. Biting back (usually) some sarcastic comment about the first generation iPod, I do my best to look empathetic and explain that we do not have audio recordings from back then. But what we do have is notated music, from the ninth century onward. At this point, some

of my collocutors’ eyes glaze over because musical notation has an aura of the arcane for the un-

initiated, and the ninth century doubly so; others will look encouraged and ask whether it looks like today’s notation. Now we’re in business. Thomas Forrest Kelly’s new book, *Capturing Music: The Story of Notation*, deftly covers three-quarters of a millennium to tell the story of how musical notation developed in the West. The earliest marks representing music will hardly look like notation in the sense in which we are used to seeing it—they look more like squiggles or punctuation marks (upper image, page 79). The most recent of Kelly’s examples, from the early fifteenth century, contains all of the main ingredients for modern notation (lower image, page 79). How scribes, composers, and singers got from the former to the latter is the question Kelly, who is Knafel professor of music

8th century:	That boy took my love away.
9th century:	/ ρ . . . / ρ. That boy took my love away.
10th century:	/ ρ . . . / ρ. That boy took my love away.
11th century:	 That boy took my love away.
12th century:	 That boy took my love away.
14th century:	 That boy took my love away.

It is tempting to fit such stories into a narrative of progress: medieval monks had no notation, then they started developing it, and eventually it morphed into the streamlined and powerful system we have today. (For an example of this kind

Thomas Forrest Kelly, *Capturing Music: The Story of Notation* (W.W. Norton, \$45)

of simplistic, teleological argument about an important concept in music, see Stuart Isacoff's *Temperament: How Music Became a Battleground for the Great Minds of Western Civilization*.) But no real historian would make such a claim, and Kelly is as real as they get. He is careful to point out not only what is gained, but what is lost as notational systems change. This is especially true in his discussion of Guido of Arezzo, the twelfth-century monk who changed the course of notation by placing neumes onto the grid we now call a staff. Although Guido himself was far from modest about his achievements, Kelly reminds us that his foregrounding of pitch effectively precluded the notation of such nuances as articulation, pacing, and timbre—nuances whose absence from later chant notation has led to “the mindless plodding we are sometimes subjected to in modern performances of Gregorian chant.” The songs that tenth-century monks sang contained many subtleties that Guido’s notation gradually left behind.

From a contemporary perspective, this plodding comes about because chant notation does not give information about rhythm, leading some modern performers to give equal time to each note. Other performers do not—as long as there is only one melodic line, much flexibility remains. But notating rhythm becomes crucial once the chant is joined by a newly composed voice—and it is with polyphony, and with the development of rhythmic notation, that the second part of Kelly’s

book concerns itself. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, music notation gained in complexity and precision: from merely notating patterns of alternating long and short notes (like iambs or trochees in poetry) to having the ability to render pretty much any rhythmic pattern one could think of (and a few that are hard to imagine). For interested readers, Kelly explains how, exactly, these innovations work, but he also highlights the cultural and conceptual shifts that underlie them—shifts in performance ensemble, in the way time was perceived, in how books functioned in society.

Along the way we learn quite a lot about the music in question. Kelly gives an engaging account of the major developments in musical genres and styles through the early fifteenth century: from the “swirling” sound of thirteenth-century organum (a slowed-down plainchant melody with ornate new voices added on top), resembling “an enormous mosaic of light,” through the “highly structured” and “theoretically complex” motets of Philippe de Vitry, to the “sprightly, lively and surprising” rhythmic effects of later Italian repertoires. This is no small feat, and it represents the most successful attempt to date at telling a broad history of medieval music in a publication primarily directed neither at specialists nor students. No interested reader will feel left behind by Kelly’s engagingly written and carefully laid-out narrative.

Beyond its informative and lively prose, *Capturing Music* is a sensory feast. The book is lavishly printed in full color and playfully designed, using elements borrowed from medieval illuminated manuscripts. There are colorful borders here, and illuminated miniatures; leaves curl around the page numbers in the margins. And the wealth of color images of music notation memorably illustrates the developments that Kelly’s text describes.

The upper image shows neumes from the ninth or tenth century; the lower image displays early fifteenth-century notation in the so-called *ars subtilior* style.



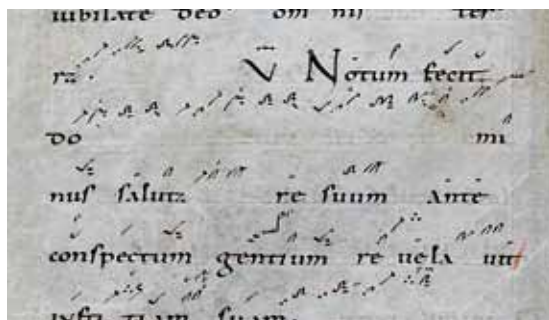
Visit www.harvardmagazine.com/ extras to view a video of Kelly performing several songs from his book.

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Then there's the music. An audio CD accompanying the book contains 16 tracks newly recorded for this project by the Boston-based vocal ensemble Blue Heron, directed by Scott Metcalfe. These renditions bring to life the sounds Kelly's prose evokes. The beautiful tracks hammer home a point Kelly makes repeatedly: were it not for notation, this centuries-old music would never have reached us. Listening to the sparkling and energetic renditions on the CD, we are glad that it did. What's at stake, after all, is not just technicalities about where stems do or don't go, but *music*—beautiful, challenging, ethereal or earthy, sacred and profane, de-

serving of our attention and admiration, and benefitting from repeated listening.

I have no doubt that *Capturing Sound* will make my life easier. As the first nontechnical book on the history of music notation, it fills a much-needed gap and will serve to educate general readers about the kinds of work music historians do. I expect fewer iterations of my least-favorite question from now on. But Kelly's book will also change the valence of another question I often hear: "What can I read to give me an introduction to this stuff you study, something intended for an interested lay reader?" In the past I had no good answer. Forget notation—I could not think of a

book covering any broad aspect of medieval music that was neither a textbook nor a publication aimed at specialists. But from now on I shall be able to reply confidently—knowing that I am recommending something as engaging as it is wise, as informative as it is fun—"Go read Thomas Forrest Kelly's new book." ▮

Musicologist Anna Zayaruznaya, Ph.D. '10, RF '14, is an assistant professor in the department of music at Yale. Thomas Forrest Kelly served as a member of her doctoral committee. Her first book, The Monstrous New Art: Divided Forms in the Late Medieval Motet, will be published by Cambridge University Press this winter.



Spencer Kympton talks to veterans about the importance of legacy, and aims to "restore a sense of purpose" in their lives.

defined missions and a new, shared identity with peers that immediately replaced the experience of being in the military."

Twelve years later, Kympton is president of The Mission Continues (TMC), a nonprofit organization that provides a similar context for post-9/11 veterans struggling to find a foothold in civilian life. "Many of this generation have deployed four or five times and often with the same men and women," he notes. When they come home, those bonds are often severed, along with "the only real identity that person has had, many from the age of 17. Layer on to that, they may be dealing with war wounds, the invisible scars of war, trying to reconnect with relationships at home, the need to find a job—and right there you've got monumental challenges for them to overcome."

The Mission Continues puts these veterans to work in volunteer "platoons" with "squad leaders" to tackle wide-ranging civic projects: mentoring children and refurbishing schools in Boston; tracking down homeless veterans in Phoenix who may want help; and building sustainable agricultural networks that supply fresher food to families in Washington, D.C. In The Bronx, a new platoon is partnered with DreamYard, which pairs arts education with community projects. "These are long-term revitalization efforts in some of the most disadvantaged areas in New York City," says Kympton, who lives in Brooklyn with his wife and young son. "The veterans provide all the blocking and tackling."

THE ALUMNI

Forward, March

Post-9/11 veterans find new ways to serve at home.
by NELL PORTER BROWN

THE DAY AFTER leaving the U.S. Army, Spencer Kympton, M.B.A. '04, packed up a U-Haul truck and drove from Georgia to Cambridge. The West Point valedictorian, who grew up in a military family, had spent eight

years as an aviation officer on tours in Korea, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Central and South America. Yet he felt barely any sense of loss or disconnection in moving on. "I went right into a new intensely team-based setting at Harvard Business School," he explains, "with



Versed in the Arabic language and culture, Aaron Scheinberg ran civil-affairs projects while deployed in Iraq.

The 30 platoons, each with 80 to 100 people, are led by trained veterans who are paid a stipend based on impact. (The Boston platoon leader is Rachel McNeill, A.L.B. '14, a seven-year army veteran; former U.S. Marine Regan Turner, M.B.A.-M.P.P. '13, is TMC's West Coast regional director.) Each unit defines its own mission. "What's most important is that we find a cause that speaks to them," says Kympton, who became a McKinsey & Company consultant and senior leader at Teach for America after Harvard. "Licking envelopes is not the kind of work that will restore a sense of purpose in life." One top funder is TMC's national partner, The Wounded Warrior Project, a larger non-profit that reinvigorates injured veterans through about 20 different programs. Corporate sponsors such as Boeing, Target, and Goldman Sachs provide 40 percent of TMC's current \$7.5-million budget; the balance comes from individuals, foundations, and philanthropies, including The Paul E. Singer Foundation, New Profit Inc., and Got Your 6.

The platoons are essentially "healing by helping" models that build crucial peer relationships through familiar, mostly physical work with a clear goal. All are linchpins of military life and, arguably, of any well-balanced civilian life as well. "Serving others is a very human concept—it creates meaningful connections," notes Kympton, who is well versed in research on the positive effects of volunteerism that drive the success of AmeriCorps, among other groups. Veterans, however, "are especially prone to act: they all stepped forward in the wake of 9/11," he adds. "This is action therapy—that's why it's so effective."

Eric Greitens, a Rhodes Scholar and

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ALUMNI

Navy Seal veteran of four anti-terror missions, founded The Mission Continues in 2007. Four years later he hired Kympton, who is now running and expanding the organization. Greitens remains on the board of directors, along with the Kennedy School's David Gergen, professor of public service and director of the Center for Public Leadership, and VICE News correspondent and former Navy Seal Kaj Larsen, M.P.P. '07.

Initially, The Mission Continues trained small groups of veterans as "fellows" who worked 20 hours a week on six-month-long projects linked to other nonprofits, earning roughly \$7,000. Surveys on the effect of this intensive experience have shown increased confidence, social integration, peer connections, and political engagement among fellows, and even improved family relationships. "We measure for self-efficacy," says the organization's Northeast regional director, Aaron Scheinberg, M.P.A./I.D. '11, a 2003 West Point graduate who was deployed in Iraq. Even the three-day orientation for fellows, he adds, "is a magical experience—and I don't use that term lightly. You see people who were at home sitting on the couch feeling bad, feeling socially isolated, with no structured path to contributing the skills they know they have collected. Here, they find a renewed belief in themselves." Many also find more tangible success, such as permanent jobs, new career paths, professional mentors, and incentives to return to school.

To date, about 1,100 veterans have completed the program, and each quarter, 100 more are chosen from upwards of 300 ap-



plicants. Former fellows, such as McNeill, who studied international relations at the Extension School, typically lead platoons. Still, these numbers barely register, given the nation's five million post-9/11 veterans.

To reach more people, Kympton, Scheinberg (who also has an M.B.A. from Columbia), and others at TMC in 2013 established the first pilot platoons in Phoenix, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Orlando, and San Diego, and have since expanded to the current 30. (By 2016, they plan to have 135 units up and running.)

Whether the positive outcomes of the fellowships can translate equally well to members of the much larger platoons, who typically volunteer less time, and less frequently, is not clear. "We are still experimenting with scale," Kympton readily admits. "We can't answer those questions about impact with five platoons, but we think we can with 80 platoons. We are very focused on making sure these service platoons are actually having meaningful impact." To help find out, he continues, the Bristol-Myers Squibb Foundation recently awarded TMC a grant

Each TMC platoon puts about 100 veterans to work in the community.

to fund an independent evaluation of the effects of community service on individuals in 10 platoons. Significantly enlarging the fellows program, although a good idea, is too costly with "private dollars alone," Kympton adds. TMC has not yet taken or pursued government money, but is exploring whether there are creative ways to tap into GI funding or other resources at the U.S. Department of Defense or the U.S. Veterans Administration.

Roughly 60 percent of those in TMC's fellowship and platoon programs have an officially recognized disability, but the nonprofit selects a range of veterans: anyone for whom a community mission will make a significant difference, Kympton explains, people "who have the potential to have a real impact on their communities that will endure across generations. We talk a lot about legacy." Older veterans are also welcomed, and participate in some of the platoons. Kympton acknowledges the challenges veterans face, now and historically, but he and Scheinberg also believe that news coverage, through the "frequency or tendency to focus on issues like PTSD [post traumatic stress disorder] and veteran suicide, has created the perception that those issues dominate this generation."

Scheinberg, who has himself experienced a degree of PTSD, points to TMC's strong rehabilitative component, but adds: "The truth is you can struggle *and* be successful. You can be negatively affected by combat, as most people would be, and still come back and be a leader in your community."

IN BOSTON, the 80-member platoon aims to "improve education and help local children,"

Wanted

The Office of Career Services (OCS) and the Harvard Alumni Association have launched a new campaign, "Harvard-Hiring-Harvard," to help students find employment. "Alumni have always been enthusiastic about helping students launch their careers, providing advice and information," says OCS director Robin Mount. "This is the next step—actual, concrete opportunities."

The number of entry-level jobs "has not come back to the level that existed before the economic downturn," reports

Mount, especially because seismic shifts across industries, from music to health-care to education, have also contributed to overall job shrinkage. "A lot of organizations and employers have cut back on training and resources for students who don't have the skills they are looking for."

Alumni interested in offering students entry-level positions, summer internships, or "winternships" (unpaid job-shadowing opportunities during the January break), can contact OCS through its website www.ocs.fas.harvard.edu/alumni.htm, by phone (617-495-2595), or by e-mail ocsjobs@fas.harvard.edu.

says leader Rachel McNeill, a Wisconsin native who was medically retired from service in 2010. So far, that has entailed renovating an art room at the Mather Elementary School and creating work spaces for teachers who had none at the John W. McCormack Middle School.

When McNeill moved to Boston to enroll at Harvard, she already had friends here, but says, "It would have been easy for me to isolate myself." Instead, she found a way to continue serving by applying her visual communications degree at Warrior Writers, which teaches veterans to use the arts to understand and express their experiences. McNeill formed and built a local chapter and was instrumental in publishing two anthologies of veterans' writings and artwork; in fact, she spent her six-month TMC fellowship at Warrior Writers while finishing her bachelor's degree. In April, she took on the Boston platoon where, as on every TMC project, veterans and civilians work together, learning about and trusting each other more along the way.

Scheinberg knows the value of mediating such cultural divides. As a student at West Point on September 11, 2001, he was one of only a few cadets majoring in Arabic. He was eventually sent to Iraq between 2005 and 2007 as an infantry platoon leader, stationed just south of Baghdad in the so-called Triangle of Death. "When I first got there, there were nightly raids and we were trying to get the bad guys off the streets,"

he reports. "We soon realized that tactic wasn't working and we needed more hearts-and-minds work, and started getting money from our division to do social-support and civic-infrastructure projects." Because he spoke Arabic and "understood the culture a little better than the others in the unit," Scheinberg had already formed working relationships with local officials, and was put in charge of the new "civil affairs" mission. "I had 90 projects with contractors and \$10 million in cash," he says. "I was only 24 or 25 and I ran my own contractors and town council meetings and I got a little paranoid because I was handing out large sums of money on a weekly basis to contractors and it was impossible to tell whether they were connected to insurgents or not."

When he left the military, he returned to school and then went into consulting—but found it lacked meaning. He eagerly took Kympton's offer in 2012 to become TMC's director of strategy and research, despite a wariness about traditional veterans organizations. "I have met amazing World War II, Korea, and Vietnam veterans," he says—including a man from his hometown, Philadelphia, who was a caring pen pal during especially rough times in Iraq. But Scheinberg and many of his peers are put off by what they view as a primary focus on advocating for benefits. "I don't like the approach of treating us like victims or charity cases," he says. "I just didn't want to be a part of it."

At The Mission Continues, he points out, the benefits just keep coming. "I get to help my community, and be a leader with other veterans, all while building an organization, which is very entrepreneurial," he explains. "I do some high-level thinking, then go paint a local school and be with children—and showcase what a veteran can do."

Like Scheinberg, Kympton never found the mission of private consulting—"generating profits for our clients"—meaningful enough. He transferred to McKinsey's social-sector practice and worked for the FBI and the Department of Defense before being assigned to the education-reform effort in Wash-

Projects with The Mission Continues range widely, from refurbishing buildings to teaching and inspiring schoolchildren.

Lest We Forget

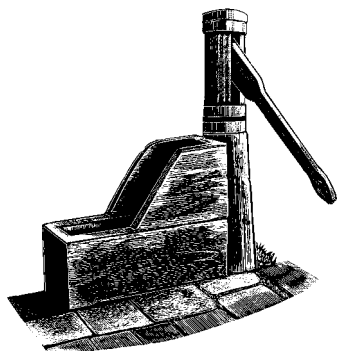
"One hundred years after the outbreak of World War I, a group of European Harvard alumni felt the need to recognize the sacrifice of their predecessors one last time before the events of that war are consigned to the archives of distant history," writes Douglas M. Carver '59 in his editor's introduction to *The Harvard Volunteers in World War I: One Hundred Years After*. Sponsored by the Harvard Clubs of France and the United Kingdom, his book reprints and meticulously updates and expands upon the 1916 volume *The Harvard Volunteers in Europe: Personal Records of Experience in Military, Ambulance, and Hospital Service*, including a prefatory essay by Saltonstall professor of history Charles S. Maier (see page 55). More than 1,100 Harvard and Radcliffe affiliates were involved in the war; 385 died as a result. Carver's Roll of Honor adds six more names to the list of the dead long engraved in Memorial Church. His book—a "Centennial monument to the Harvard community"—is available from Amazon.com.



ington, D.C., under former mayor Adrian Fenty and education chancellor Michelle Rhee, M.P.P. '97. "It was an emotionally charged environment and what it did for me—for the first time since I had been in the military—was to show me individuals who were so passionate about an issue that they were going to throw themselves into it full-throttle. That's why I left McKinsey for Teach for America."

Three years later, he became TMC's first executive. "One of my best friends from West Point had followed a very similar path," Kympton reports: leaving the army, going to business school and into consulting. But he never found an absorbing niche. "Ultimately, he answered the call to go back into the military and deployed to Iraq. Three weeks later he came home in a body bag....I don't want that to be the story of this generation." ▢

Combatants



"Your wooden arm you hold outstretched
to shake with passers-by."

ON THE MORNING OF July 21, 1918, a German submarine surfaced three miles off Nauset Beach in Orleans, on Cape Cod, and attacked an unarmed tugboat towing four barges. Shells from the sub's deck guns sank three of the barges and set the tug ablaze. Coast Guard lifeboats hastened to rescue crew members, and seaplanes from the Chatham Naval Air Station arrived to dive bomb the sub. A laying hen on one of the barges was discommoded as she bobbed to shore in her coop. No one was killed, but two of the tug's crew went to Massachusetts General Hospital for repairs. The attack

wasn't worth the Germans' effort and the large quantity of ammunition expended because three of the barges were empty of cargo and one was full of rocks, but it brought fame to Orleans: a few German shells landed on Nauset Beach, giving the town the distinction of being the only spot in the United States to receive enemy fire during World War I.

According to Jake Klim, author of *Attack on Orleans: The World War I Submarine Raid on Cape Cod* (History Press, 2014), the hero of the day was 26-year-old ensign Eric Lingard '13, former Harvard football star, ice-maker, and shipbuilder turned aviator and pilot of a flying boat. On that hot, hazy morning, Lingard raced to Chatham's Naval Air Station and took off with his two-man crew even though their seaplane had crankshaft problems and no one knew how long it would stay airborne. Chief special mechanic Edward Howard sat in the bow, ready to drop their single Mark IV bomb, a 55-inch-long proposition loaded with 120 pounds of TNT. When Lingard got the airplane perfectly positioned over the sub, Howard pulled the release, but the bomb stuck and would not leave its mount. Lingard circled, but a second attempt to drop the bomb also failed. Howard then climbed down to the lower wing of the plane, where the bomb was housed, and took the weapon in his arms as Lingard maneuvered. As the plane came in dangerously low, under fire, Howard let go of his bomb. But when it hit its mark, smack on, it failed to explode.

All four bombs dropped by Chatham flyers that day were duds. The navy's munitions gurus, writes Klim, soon decided to replace the Mark IV, declaring that "its mechanism is too complicated for the average personnel in whose charge it is placed."



READY FOR THE GAME: One can see that Robert Norton Ganz Jr. '47, Ph.D. '59,



COURTESY OF ROBERT NORTON GANZ JR.

and Anne, his wife of 51 years, are well equipped and well dressed for an upcoming Harvard-Yale football match. Robert bought the 1925 four-door Lincoln convertible (born the same year he was) in 1957 on Martha's Vineyard—where the Ganzes have now retired, to Chilmark—and drove it to Yale, where he was both teaching English literature and finishing his Harvard doctoral thesis on Robert Frost. He couldn't get a comb through his hair for three weeks after that drive, he says. He has in his barn on the island a one-cylinder 1909 Cadillac—a one-lunger, he calls it—also open to the elements.

"Once I took an old Browne & Nichols English teacher of mine to a Harvard-Yale Game," he says. "It was in the 1950s, when Yale was beating us fairly regularly. Near the end of the game, the Yalies all took out and began waving their handkerchiefs. My companion, Harvard '04, asked one of those wavers what they were doing that for. 'To say how sorry we are for Harvard' was the answer—to which explanation my old teacher replied, 'Well, all I can say is, it's a very insincere gesture!'" ~PRIMUS V



Eric Lingard. He died of pneumonia in October 1918 after his plane crashed at sea.

LETTERS

(continued from page 9)

etc., before collapsing in bed exhausted. When I asked what their husbands were doing, again came the same complaint: they were either watching television or studying for their own knowledge assessment program. Some women begged me to dress down their wayward spouses because of their selfish habits.

Keep in mind that all these women were the cream of the crop: only the best students got into medical school, while our department averaged 100 applicants for each training position. So here is the question that has plagued me for decades: why did those bright, ambitious women put up with such dreadful treatment? In retrospect, I wish I had bribed my stepson Arthur—six feet six, 300 pounds, a

professional bouncer for 10 years—to take those lazy bums aside for an intimate discussion.

JOHN GAMEL '66
Louisville

ERRORS AND AN EMENDATION

IN REVIEWING Andrea Louise Campbell's *Trapped in America's Safety Net* ("Ensnared," September-October, page 63), we failed to check the finished book against an earlier reading copy. The quoted last sentence in the first paragraph of the review should read, "She will need a wheelchair and round-the-clock personal care assistance indefinitely." We regret our oversight.

In the article on the faculty climate survey ("How the Faculty Feels," September-October, page 21), the \$5 million in funding for income-based childcare subsidies,

made available to junior faculty members, was incorrectly attributed to decanal (i.e., school) funds. The source of the funds in fact is the University's fringe-benefit pool.

The wording of "Is Harvard Cool?" (7 Ware Street, September-October, page 2) may have suggested that Stanford's rising yield rate among admitted applicants (79 percent) has now exceeded that of Harvard College (82 percent); it has not.

Freeman Dyson, identified as a Nobel Prize winner ("Synthetic Biology's New Menagerie," September-October, page 42), in fact has not been so honored. We apologize for the error.

Noah Feldman, quoted as Bemis professor of international law ("Loeb Classical Library 1.0," September-October, page 12), was named Frankfurter professor of law after the issue went to press. ~The Editors

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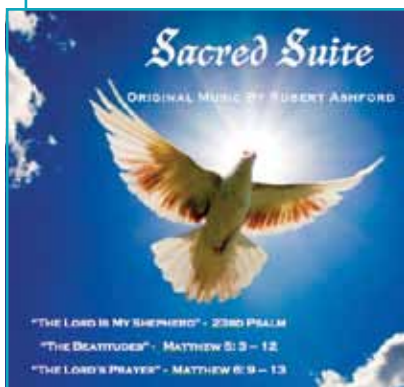
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THE NEW HISTORIES

(continued from page 57)

tors and “looked at the weave through a microscope and talked about established methods people have used” to identify the fragments’ origins.

Silk production is especially fascinating because silkworms cannot live without human care. Released into the wild, they die. In the sixth century A.D., the emperor Justinian reportedly sent industrial spies to the “Silk Land” (according to the Greek text) in order to bring the secret of silk production back to his empire. “They hollowed out their walking sticks and filled them with silkworm eggs,” McCormick relates. “And then they started silk production inside the Roman empire—according to two detailed written records in the original Greek sources.”



The Roman emperor Justinian allegedly ordered his spies to steal silkworms, and the secret of silk production, from China in the sixth century.

But some historians claim the empire was producing silk much earlier. This important historical question will likely be settled soon because Tuross, a chemist, has developed a technique for pinpointing the origins of ancient shreds of silk fabric. She is an expert in isotope analysis. By examining physical remains, for example, she can discover what food individuals ate during their lifetimes, the places where they grew up, and whether their lives ended somewhere else. At a symposium on the science of the human past in the fall of

2013, she described how the Arctic voyages of seventeenth-century Dutch whalers become etched in isotopic signatures in their teeth. Changes in people’s diet—even in the water they drink—can reveal where they have lived or traveled. Tuross earlier used such analysis to characterize the diet of Neanderthals (see “Who Killed the Men of England,” page 35), shattering myths about their putatively carnivorous tastes. “Now, using Noreen’s methods,” says McCormick, “we’ll be able to show whether silk was being cultivated inside the Roman empire before the sixth century. We’ll be able to see its introduction to Spain, to Sicily, to Italy, and ultimately to France. And we’ll be able to track the spread of the technology, after the Islamic conquest, throughout the Islamic world.” Scholars may find evidence of competition between China and India, or something wholly un-

expected: McCormick tells how French researchers using the Louvre’s particle accelerator to analyze the origins of garnet jewelry from the Roman empire discovered interruptions in the trade of these red gemstones from India and Sri Lanka. Demand had remained high (the Romans eventually sought and found new sources of supply), raising the question, “What happened in India, Sri Lanka, or along the way that interrupted this trade?”

The question is important because these economic exchanges, which show that even the ancient world was an interconnected place, underlie pivotal cultural exchanges: of art, design, and ideas that shaped the subsequent course of history.

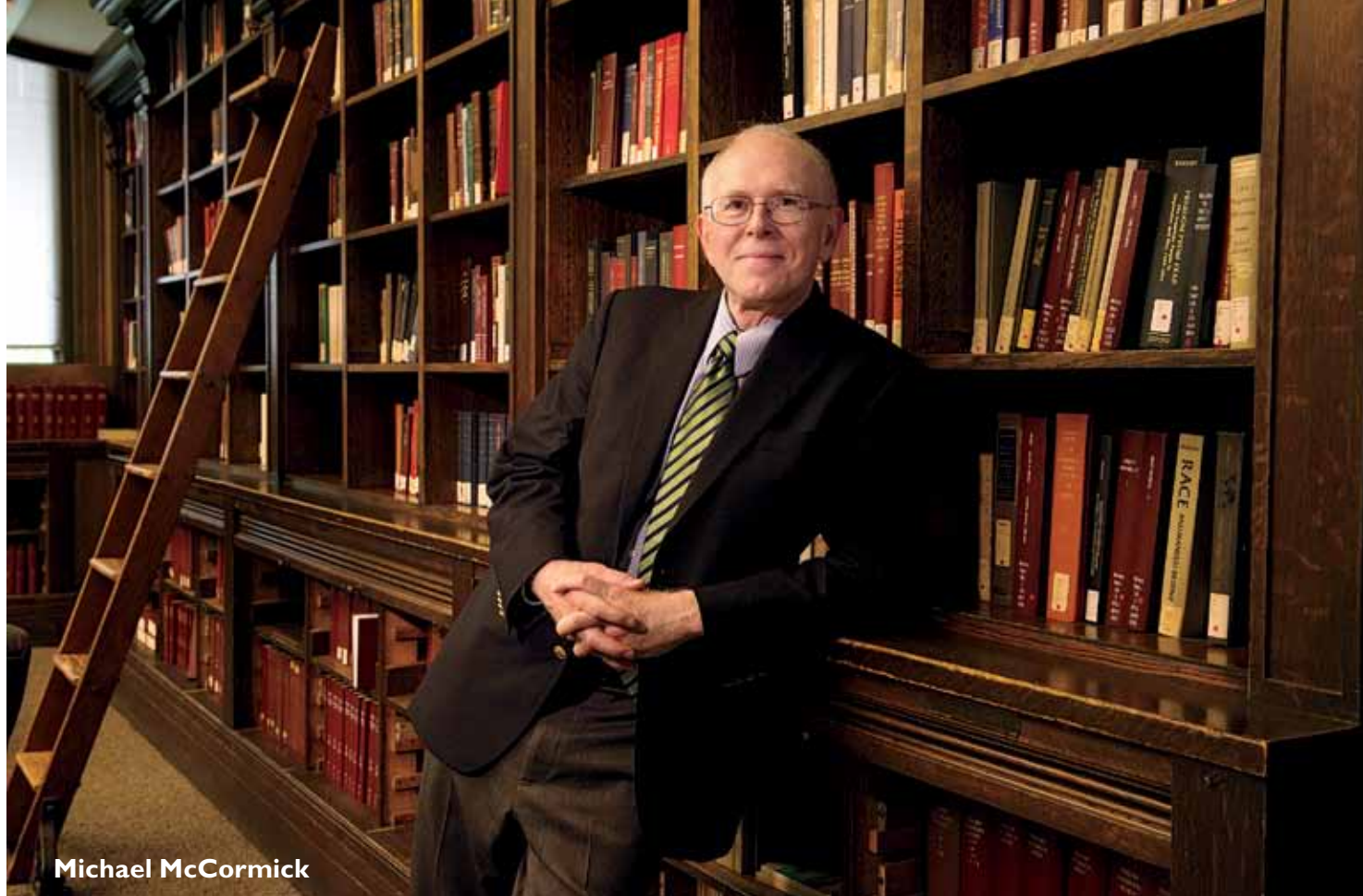
The Global and the Local

THE INITIATIVE for the Science of the Human Past might be said to have launched important cultural exchanges of its own, by putting historians in contact with scientists. In 2012, McCormick and Peter Huybers, professor of earth and planetary sciences and of environmental science and engineering, with other colleagues, published the first general survey of climate change within the Roman Empire, from 100 B.C. to A.D. 800. They showed that climate crises were closely linked to the expansion and contraction of the agriculturally dependent empire. They are now working on a broader project that combines climate proxies such as tree rings, speleothems (mineral deposits found in caves), and ice-core analyses with the written record for five major climate crises spanning the years A.D. 536 to 1741 not only for Europe, but also for China and Japan. The collaboration is mutual, because the scientists will use existing written records—what Huybers has termed “the most powerful proxy record there is: a human being who was there who will tell us what happened”—to help calibrate their scientific methods.

The collaboration extends into computing and genetics as well. Welch professor of computer science Stuart Shieber, for example, has developed programs for analyzing texts. In one demonstration, he was able to identify in a few minutes all the biblical references in a written record—work that had taken a class of students a week to analyze. He is now working with McCormick to develop a method for dating published Latin biographies of Christian saints. “There are 14,000 of them,” explains McCormick. “Of these, 6,000 have been dated to within a period of 500 years or less. That means there are 8,000 texts that no one has even bothered to look at. If we could date just 10 percent of those, that would be 800 new texts for historians to work with”—in an area “we thought to be well-mapped.”

Meanwhile, at Harvard Medical School and the Broad Institute, professor of genetics David Reich and visiting scientist and research fellow Nicholas Patterson use genetics to trace early human migrations and conquests. With the initiative’s first postgraduate fellow, Sriram Santharaman, they are working to understand the genetic variations contributed to modern humans by archaic hominins such as Neanderthals and Denisovans (see

SER. SIVE SERVICUS VERMIS, PLATE 9 FROM “NOVA REPERTA,” ENGRAVED BY PHILIP GALLE. C.1580-1605 (ENGRAVING), STRAET, JAN VAN DER (GIOVANNI STRADANO), (1523-1605) (AFTER) / PRIVATE COLLECTION / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES



Michael McCormick

“Human Family Reunions,” July-August, page 7). Separately, they have explored the genetic origins of the peoples of the Indian subcontinent, showing a recent population admixture, and have elucidated the origins of Native Americans. McCormick is realistic about his own interest in whether genetics will be able to determine who, precisely, the barbarians were who sacked Rome. But in part because the genetic differences between the conquerors and the conquered may be too small to see, as he acknowledges, McCormick says Reich and Patterson are right to concentrate on the “gigantic” questions: “the out-of-Africa event, the peopling of

Australasia, the origins of Indo-European languages and whether they are tied to population movements.”

McCormick never suspected that his own sphere of interest—the Roman empire—would extend beyond its ancient boundaries. But science has been for him a path to discovering a broader perspective that links to the work of other colleagues in the history department, a turn to the global and the quantitative in the study of history. “When I started out in graduate school,” he says happily, “I had no idea that what was going on in China could be of any interest to me. Wrong again!”

“ENTANGLED HISTORY,” or the ways that societies affect each other, is one thing. Entangled *historians* are quite another. During the six months he spent on campus finishing his book on May 1968, Omar Gueye learned much from the global history program, other global-history fellows, and the books he found in Harvard’s library (“for some, I am almost sure I am the first person to see them”), as well as from other professors at the University: professor of history Lisa McGirr, for example, who lectures on “protest and politics” in American history,

including the 1960s in the United States; and Prince Alwalced Bin Talal professor of contemporary Islamic religion and society Ousmane Oumar Kane, who has studied religion among Senegalese immigrants in New York City.

These intellectual exchanges often prompt unexpected discoveries. One student from Taiwan was astonished to learn from Gueye that there were Taiwanese students studying in Dakar in 1968. And Gueye hopes there will be many more such productive exchanges to come, now that a global network of scholars has been formed. A conference on global conceptions of freedom—of particular interest to historians of slavery in Senegal and Brazil—may take place in Dakar in 2015. How did ideas of freedom emerge around the world? What do they have in common? How do they differ, and how do they inform each other? “The goal of this program is to open up dialogue and perspective,” Gueye says. In the past, “People talked about world history. But now we have a strong network of people who formally think about it together.” ♥

Jonathan Shaw '89 is managing editor of this magazine.

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Shadow Art

All that's needed are scissors and a steady hand.

THE ARTIFACT called a silhouette is named after Etienne de Silhouette, a penny-pinching minister of finances under Louis XV, whose tenure was brief because parsimony rarely has a big following, especially among the wealthy. The phrase *à la Silhouette* came to mean doing things on the cheap. At the same time, in the second half of the eighteenth century, an old but until then little-practiced form of portraiture was burgeoning in popularity. An artist with scissors and maybe a knife could cut a pleasing and remarkably expressive outline of the shadow of a face for a quick likeness. No oil paint or years in the Academy required. Popularizers of the technique claimed that amateurs could make portraits of loved ones as well as artists could. Cheap to make, they were dubbed silhouettes, and the name stuck.

Caroline Duroselle-Melish, assistant curator in the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts at Harvard's Houghton Li-

brary, put together a small exhibition of such works last summer, *Silhouettes: From Craft to Art*, that suggested the dimensions of the field. She wrote that silhouettes “largely owe their fame to a four-volume treatise on physiognomy written by the German Swiss evangelical pastor Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801) and to an increasing demand for portraiture.” Lavater developed a pseudoscientific method to analyze human character through portrait silhouettes. His book, she noted, “translated into many languages and published in numerous editions, was greeted with both praise and criticism, but his instructions on how to draw silhouettes and the numerous engraved ones published in his book caught the public’s interest and contributed to the rage for their production.”

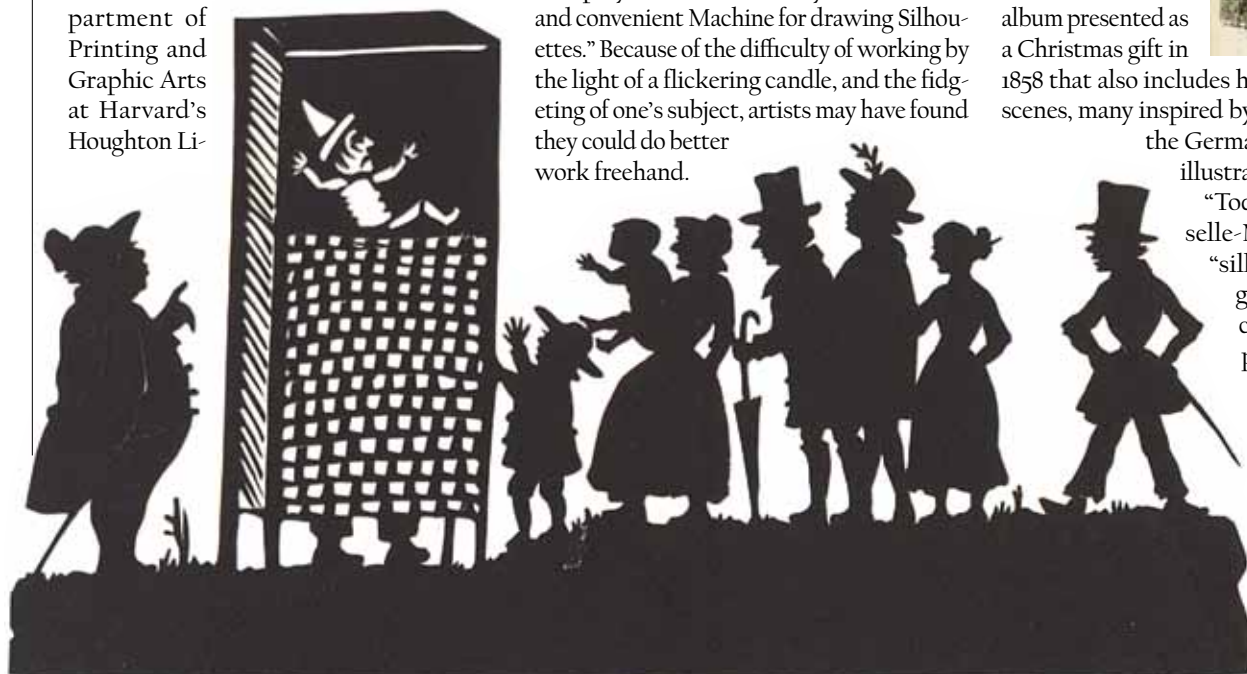
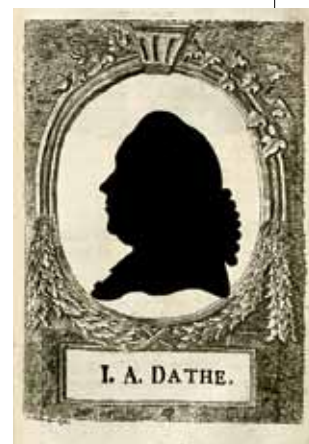
Various devices appeared meant to facilitate the cutting of accurate silhouettes, including the one shown in the 1792 engraving at top by Thomas Holloway titled “A sure and convenient Machine for drawing Silhouettes.” Because of the difficulty of working by the light of a flickering candle, and the fidgeting of one’s subject, artists may have found they could do better work freehand.



The portrait of scholar J. A. Dathe is from a collection published in 1779 by print dealer Johann Carl Müller. The silhouettes were printed separately from their etched ornamental frames.

The villagers at bottom are from an album presented as a Christmas gift in 1858 that also includes hunting and nature scenes, many inspired by the silhouettes of the German children's-book illustrator Karl Frölich.

“Today,” wrote Duroselle-Melish in closing, “silhouettes have regained vitality as a craft form. They are present in multiple public spaces, from streets to museums, and can be found in books and on screen. Continually evolving, they are here to last.” ~C.R.



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