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On the cover: *Photograph © 2016 Elsa Dorfman, RI '72-'74. From left to right: John Keene, Danielle Legros Georges, Janice Lowe, Tisa Bryant, Major Jackson, Sharan Strange, Thomas Sayers Ellis, Artress Bethany White, Patrick Sylvain, and Tracy K. Smith, 2013*

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: JIM HARRISON; CAMILLE TOKERUD/GETTY IMAGES; STU ROSNER; MIGUEL DAVILLA

Cambridge 02138

Migration, capital punishment, House "master"

JUDGE POSNER

I have to praise Lincoln Caplan's article on Judge Richard Posner ("Rhetoric and Law," January-February, page 49) for largely avoiding the gushing worshipfulness of the typical *Harvard Magazine* piece. But I still must demur on some points.

First, I think the label "pragmatist," even if Posner's own self-description, is not only misleading but unfair to William James. I see Posner's approach as far closer to John Dewey's perversion, "instrumentalism."

Second, I think his approach is fundamentally wrong, even dangerous, for a

7 WARE

Curricular Conundrums

During the past decade, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) has labored mightily and at length to construct a workable general-education component for undergraduates' course of study. At present, Gen Ed comprises eight courses intended to lift young scholars' eyes from their fields of concentration and connect them to the civic and ethical challenges of the twenty-first-century life they will encounter Out There. As the faculty's own review committee reported, the effort has fallen significantly short, for reasons from the profound (real differences of opinion about how best to structure such an education) to the parochial (differences in how graduate students in the sciences and in the arts and humanities are paid)—for details, see **harvardmag.com/gened-16**. Moreover, too few resources were made available when the program came into being during the financial crisis.

The emerging proposal to revivify Gen Ed triangulates visions of the current program into what might be deemed a Lite version, imposing fewer requirements on students and faculty members alike, and allowing somewhat more freedom of choice among courses—discussed further at **harvardmag.com/curriculum-16**. The report outlining this reform specifies the places where resources are needed to make it work, even at this reduced scale.

Meanwhile, Wintersession, held January 15-24 this year, is a sort of *anti*-curriculum that occupies part of the hole opened in the College calendar when schedules were synchronized across the University in the 2009-2010 academic year. Offerings range from interesting international academic immersions to campus Wintersession events proper: a wilderness first-responder course, various bootcamps, résumé writing, ice climbing, ballroom dance, Japanese sword fighting, chats with high-profile alumni, ceramics, and so on.

But one cannot help but think that the early promise of innovative intellectual and other forms of outreach and experimentation has not been realized—and that lack of resources (and the committed attention it would take to secure and apply them well) again is a factor. For many students and their families, the result is just a weird hole in the calendar after exams: too late for seasonal employment; a five-week annoyance for some; and—when Harvard's academic year finally ends with its festival rites—an unnecessarily delayed summer break.

Harvard wants to be known for educational excellence alongside its research prowess, and for what the College dean calls a transformative student experience. Perhaps it is time for some undergraduates and teaching-focused faculty members to point out, to those on high, these obvious opportunities to do better on campus during the academic year.

—John S. Rosenberg, *Editor*

Better Together

THE NEW YORK TIMES described it as the "first rigorously tested insight into the biology behind any common psychiatric disorder." I regard it as an exemplary demonstration of the unmatched potential of the Harvard medical ecosystem. Steven McCarroll, associate professor of genetics at Harvard Medical School (HMS); working with Aswin Sekar, an MD-PhD student; drawing on the resources and human genome analysis of the Broad Institute of Harvard and MIT; and joining together with Beth Stevens, an assistant professor of neurology at Boston Children's Hospital and Harvard, has provided what the *Times* hails as "a showcase of biomedical investigation at its highest level." Their work offers unprecedented insight into how, through a process called synaptic pruning, genes can increase an individual's risk of developing schizophrenia. This advance in the understanding of a devastating disease has the potential to lead ultimately to treatments and perhaps even cures. HMS, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Harvard hospitals, and the Broad Institute joined together in this discovery as participants in an environment in which both researchers and pathbreaking science thrive.

One of the great pleasures and satisfactions of my job is learning about breakthroughs that emerge from the remarkable world of Harvard science and medicine. Happily, this is a quite regular occurrence. Last semester brought news of a genetic mutation that may help predict the risk of brain disorders in newborns with heart problems, an analysis of the response to Ebola that offers critical lessons for addressing future epidemics, a "human-gut-on-a-chip" that offers a new pathway to understanding inflammatory bowel diseases, and a faster method of using search data to track and monitor the flu created by two statisticians in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) and a faculty member in the computational health informatics program at Boston Children's Hospital who is also an applied mathematics lecturer at the Harvard Paulson School. In September, Stephen Elledge, the Gregor Mendel Professor of Genetics and of Medicine at HMS and Brigham and Women's Hospital, received the 2015 Albert Lasker Basic Medical Research Award in recognition of his work describing "the DNA-damage response—a fundamental mechanism that protects the genomes of all living organisms." Understanding the network that informs a cell of DNA damage, triggers repairs, and prevents mutations marks a significant advance in the effort to explain the origins of cancer.

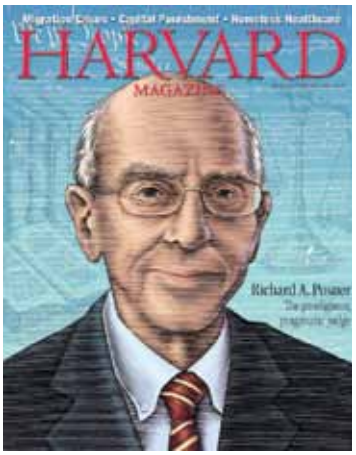
The spring semester is off to an auspicious start with the publication of research on a pair of extraordinary devices. A group of researchers led by Don Ingber, founding director of the Wyss Institute for Biologically Inspired Engineering, Judah Folkman Professor of Vascular Biology at HMS and Boston Children's Hospital, and professor of bioengineering at the Harvard Paulson School, unveiled a network of "vessels" that subjects blood to conditions found in the body and produces data that is analyzed in real time to predict when a clot will form. Less than three weeks later, a team of scientists at MIT, Harvard, and several other institutions announced a leap forward on the path to an effective treatment for type 1 diabetes. They have developed an implantable device that stops the immune system from attacking human insulin-producing beta cells that were themselves recently developed in the laboratory of Doug Melton, Xander University Professor and a member of the joint FAS-HMS Department of Stem Cell and Regenerative Biology. This collaboration between bioengineering and stem cell science across departments, schools, and even institutions brings clinical development—and a possible cure—within our grasp.

Crucial to these and so many other successes is location in a broader biotech community that constantly invests in translating promising ideas into applications and therapies, a so-called Massachusetts "supercluster" that comprises eight of top fourteen NIH-funded independent hospitals and attracted nearly $2 billion in venture capital in 2014. This spring, Provost Alan Garber and I regard the selection of a new dean for Harvard Medical School, a critical leader within this precious ecosystem, as among our very highest priorities. In the face of challenges to funding for scientific research and fundamental shifts in systems for the delivery of health care, we must sustain and extend Harvard's leadership in bio-medicine and ensure that we fully realize the potential of this extraordinary community to contribute to the alleviation of human suffering.

Sincerely,

Drew Faust

judge. Take antitrust law, where he has had the most influence. I personally am sympathetic to his wealth maximization approach. But there are many—as Caplan notes—who think economic efficiency is less important than the political and social benefits of having a large number of small operators. This is basically a matter of values—and should the choice be made by an unelected and irremovable judge?



Another example is his switch on photo IDs for voting. He gives two reasons: "voter impersonation fraud is extremely rare," and the requirement "impede[s] voting by people easily discouraged from voting." As someone who has lived so many years in Chicago, how could Posner possibly say voter fraud is "extremely rare"? And no one, I think, will disagree that lack of knowledge about or interest in public affairs is widespread even among the roughly 60 percent of the eligible electorate who cast a ballot. Is it thus sound policy to encourage voting by those likely to be the most deficient in those regards?

John Braeman '54
Champaign, Ill.

On the last day of his constitutional law class, the last words that [Loeb University] Professor Paul Freund uttered were, "In the law, there is only one absolute and that is intelligence." At the time, I was much impressed with this "build a better mousetrap" theory, dovetailing as it did with what I had come to see as the true Harvard motto: *Vanitas* (rather than *Veritas*).

According to Lincoln Caplan, Freund was Richard Posner's mentor, the man who, e.g., obtained a clerkship for him with Justice Brennan. Just as I did a few years later, Posner probably spent a lot of time parsing the difference in the constitutional thinking of Justices Frankfurter and Black. My memory goes back five decades, but I can still see clearly the process by which these two giants authorized the federal government to bring the states into alignment with what might be called civilized thinking. Frankfurter took the position that it was state conduct which "shocked the conscience" that was prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment, while Black argued that the only rights "incorporated" by the due process clause were those enumerated in the federal Bill of Rights.

It is easy, I think, to see the line from Frankfurter to Freund to Posner: the only absolute is intelligence! Certainly, none of these men hide their lights under the Biblical bushel. They were all far brighter than their generational peers and did not hesitate to let everyone know it. However, even as a legal naïf, I could see that Frankfurter was engaging in gross judicial lawmaking, clothing his totally subjective a priori conclusions with the patina of erudition. The same can be said of much of Posner's jurisprudence.

The co-founder of the now ubiquitous 12-step programs said that the first step toward theism is for a person to admit that he or she isn't G-d. Posner would definitely not make it in Alcoholics Anonymous. Like his Harvard mentor, he sees himself (perhaps correctly) as the smartest person in the room. More problematic, he gives no evidence of recognizing any "higher authority," e.g. natural law, originalism, constitutionalism.

These three Harvard Law School wise men seem to possess in great abundance "the haughty spirit that goes before a fall." They even fail to recognize that great fundament of our system (which sociologists have basically verified): that the collective wisdom of 12 people, randomly selected, is usually better than that of one genius.

H. John Rogers '66
New Martinsville, W.Va.

Editor's note: Stephen Ellmann '72, J.D. '76, of New York Law School, observes that the Posner article "refers to my father, Richard Ellmann, but spells his last name 'Ellman.' We two-n Ellmanns have fought for generations to preserve that second 'n.'" The editors regret the oversight.

MASS MIGRATION

In "When Water Is Safer Than Land," Jacqueline Bhabha suggests that the abandonment of the Dublin Convention regime was

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a result of Europe's migrant crisis (January-February 2016, page 41). In fact, Germany's suspension of the Dublin protocols helped cause the crisis. The Convention forces migrants to seek asylum in the first European Union country they enter, thereby preventing "asylum-shopping." Since most migrants arrive first at one of the impecunious nations of southern Europe, this sensible policy dampens the allure of generous northern European welfare states. When this bulwark was removed in the summer of 2015, the stream of migrants predictably turned into a flood.

Enoch Powell famously observed that "The supreme function of statesmanship is to provide against preventable evils." Angela Merkel abdicated this function by opening Germany's borders. Her actions have earned plaudits from the elite media, globalist politicians, and ivory-tower academics. But she must weigh this fleeting approval against the enduring scorn of German taxpayers who must now support the foreigners that she recklessly invited. Long after Merkel has left office, Germany will struggle to placate a potentially inassimilable minority, many of whose constituents are openly hostile to European culture, traditions, and manners.

If Europe seeks a future other than the dystopia foretold by Jean Raspail in *The Camp of the Saints*, it must turn away from the myopic globalism of Angela Merkel and embrace the sober, far-sighted nationalism of leaders like Viktor Orban, Nigel Farage, and Marine Le Pen.

Matthew D. Burwell, M.B.A. '06
Cambridge

THE UNDERGRADUATE'S IDENTITY

Thank you for publishing the essay by Jenny Gathright (The Undergraduate, "My Harvard Education," January-February, page 35) describing her growing emotional maturity in dealing with her insecurities and anxiety as a woman of color in situations that are new and awkward for her in her Harvard experience, both in and out of the classroom.

The author's descriptions are a breath of fresh air in the current environment of other college students far and wide demonstrating and petitioning for "safe spaces," "trigger warnings," and more authentic "ethnic foods." Those other students often participate in shout-downs of speakers with opposing views, or may even scream for the removal from buildings and academic departments of names and statues of persons with imperfect histories. By comparison, Gathright appears to possess self-awareness of her understandable insecurities. Instead of demonstrating for external changes that might help her temporarily feel more comfortable, she finds herself developing impressive journalistic skills writing this quality piece that is informative for all of us.

As an undergraduate in the 1960s, and as a white male, I would like to reassure Gathright that I experienced a range of similar insecurities and anxieties about my own place as a Harvard undergraduate then. Kudos to her for sharing "My Harvard Education."

Hugh R. Winig, M.D. '65
Lafayette, Calif.

Well said.

Laura Burnett, M.L.A. '86
San Diego

I present a small talk to third-year Johns Hopkins medical students, entitled "The Ignorome." It's intended to show that ignorance is a fundamental element in medical care, that the ability to acknowledge and manage ignorance is essential, and that humility is a necessary part of honesty. It is not a uniformly popular talk here.

Jenny Gaithright has provided a brilliant description of one aspect of ignorance and has really helped me. Although not specific to the field of medicine, the ignorance she describes is a direct threat to people of color who become patients. It's an area of ignorance that medical professionals, as everyone else, may not naturally recognize and manage. I am adding her article to the front of the syllabus.

Thomas E. Finucane '71, M.D.
Professor of medicine, Johns Hopkins
Baltimore

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Sophia Nguyen's "Capital Punishment's Persistence" (January-February, page 14),

SPEAK UP, PLEASE

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while apparently objective in approaching the topic, places the United States in company of some notorious human-rights violators, while ignoring that other countries, including Japan, India, and Indonesia, also employ capital punishment. In fact, while technically true that "most countries have abolished the death penalty," the Amnesty International website states that 101 countries have done so, while the United Nations has more than 190 member states.

To be sure, most countries your readers like to associate with (European Union states, Canada, Australia, etc.) have abolished capital punishment, and some where it is still on the books have not invoked it in recent years (Brazil, Russia, etc.). Nonetheless, journalistic integrity would require that no guilt by association be present.

Derick P. Pasternak '63, M.D. '67
Seattle

The author responds: "Most," here, simply means "a majority of" countries (not "almost all," as the word is sometimes used colloquially). Professor Temkin's paper specifically examines the United States as an exception among Western democracies. India, Japan, and Indonesia do retain capital punishment, as do Singapore and Taiwan, but on Amnesty International's most recent list of "persistent executioners," the United States ranks significantly higher than any of the above. In Japan and Indonesia, though, the use of the death penalty is on the rise. Thank you for pointing to this broader global context.

SEXUAL-ASSAULT VICTIMS

Dr. ernest bergel makes some excellent points in his letter on sexual assault (January-February, page 6). But those who are sexually assaulted are not partners; they are victims.

Frances Pierson O'Leary '54
Cambridge

DIVERSITY DEFICIT

I find the lack of diversity in the current edition of the magazine unsettling. I read President Faust's letter (page 5) and expected to read more about the challenges the Harvard Law School is taking on: battling racial inequity, defending human rights, immigration, etc. In the entire issue, I could only find two references or articles featuring Asian men, one feature on an African/Latino male, and one with *(please turn to page 75)*

LETTERS

(continued from page 7)

an Indian female. All of the other articles and references were to white males, with the exception of five photos of white women.

As a graduate of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, I took several courses by top scholars and professors of color, and find it upsetting that their work is not more prominently featured in the overall university publication. My work now takes me to areas of the nation that are struggling to deal with race, education, equity, and diversity. My former position at the U.S. Department of Education, as the deputy director for STEM Education, allowed me to tackle issues of underrepresentation in STEM fields, which is a serious concern that should be reflected by our nation's top institutions. Harvard and other top institutions could help us make sense of the racially charged issues of gun violence, educational inequity, immigration, etc. The article on the Syrian refugee crisis is a good example, and it would have been nice to at least include an image of Professor Bhabha. Images matter, and in a magazine that I look forward to reading bimonthly, I want to see the faces of women and men of all races reflected as contributors to this publication from one of the top institutions of learning on the earth.

Camsie McAdams, Ed.M. '05
Washington, D.C.

Editor's note: We take the point, and encourage you to look at multiple issues, not just one bimonthly edition, and the magazine's extensive reporting online. The magazine does not run photographs of contributors, so to do so for repeat contributor (and subject—see the photograph at **harvardmag.com/bhabha-16**) Jacqueline Bhabha would be an aberration. Finally, as the reports of the senior vice provost for faculty development and diversity suggest (http://faculty.harvard.edu), in many respects, the University's professoriate is less diverse than it wishes—a subject of regular, thorough reporting in these pages (see page 21).

"MASTER" NO MORE

The purpose of a university is to teach, and to try to teach accurately when public opinion would prefer obfuscation. The English word *master* is a very old Indo-European word, among whose cognates are Latin *magister* ("teacher"), French *maître*, and Ukrainian майстер ("expert"). In English, it has countless benign usages other than the one denoting the owner of slaves in the pre-1865 American South. Yet, with President Drew Faust's approval, public opinion at Harvard is about to expunge the term "House master" [see page 17].

Of itself, what one calls the leader of a Harvard House is not important. But the effort to expunge "master" is a sign we are in a silly season of the intellect. Harvard is not doing away with its *magister in artibus* ("master of arts"), and there is no agitation against "Overseer"—a Harvard word whose context in slavery bespoke brutality.

What is really going on? "Master" and "mistress" were common terms for teachers in English and American schools and colleges, including in the 380 years of Harvard. Language changes and the usage may seem quaint to us. But it never implied condonation of slavery, which many Harvard graduates spent their lives opposing. More than a few died in the war that ended it.

It is fashionable—worse, I think, it is acceptable—to despise the class of people who founded and led Boston, Harvard, and Massachusetts in their first three centuries. The peer tribalism of the sophomoric has sometimes shaken the world for the better. But in this case, it only seems to want to walk off with the head of the dean, or of the dean's English. "House master" never had anything to do with "slave master." The real implication of the agitation to expunge the term is to exclude a certain class of people from the human family. It closely resembles anti-Semitism, which it could easily turn into.

To date, Drew Faust has led Harvard with a common-sense enlightenment that was making her beloved. Her association with this silly season of the intellect halts that.

David A. Mittell Jr. '66
Boston

MURPHY MEMORIES

I read with interest the note in the "Yesterday's News" column (January-February, page 32) that in 1916 "William Stanislaus Murphy, Class of 1885, leaves all his money to establish scholarships at the College for young men with his last name." Thanks to this generosity, my father, John Gordon Murphy '25, LL.B. '31, who grew up in a large working-class family in Somerville, was able to receive a Harvard education. Many years later, at my father's urging, I inquired whether the Murphy Scholarship still existed. Alas, the funds had long since been expended.

John G. Murphy Jr. '68
McLean, Va.

EDUCATION AWOL?

In all of the articles I have read in *Harvard Magazine* concerning the improvement of teaching at Harvard, I have yet to come across any reference to the Harvard Graduate School of Education, a readily available resource that, on the surface at least, would seem to be able to make some contribution to the effort. Is this lack because there has been no effort to reach out to HGSE, because HGSE has rebuffed the effort, or because the magazine has chosen not to mention any such collaboration?

John H. Gillespie, Ed.D. '72
Old Lyme, Conn.

Editor's note: Recent coverage of the online initiative and of the College's General Education program did not involve HGSE people because they were not specifically engaged there, but they appear in the broader spectrum of coverage on teaching and learning, many times. The magazine has profiled Pforzheimer professor of teaching and learning Richard Light and reported on several of his initiatives; devoted a recent cover story ("Computing in the Classroom," March-April 2015, page 48) to HGSE faculty members and others involved in developing and deploying educational technology; profiled its current dean in unusual depth and detail ("Education and Opportunity," September-October 2013, page 52), following initial news coverage; reported on the school's capital campaign and priorities online (see **harvardmag.com/hgse-16**) and in print; covered the new Harvard Teaching Fellows Initiative; and reported extensively on HGSE researchers' evaluations of HarvardX, among other examples. Our reporters are in regular contact with the school.

ERRATUM

The vita on Cora Du Bois (January-February, page 46) mentioned the American Association of Anthropology; the organization's correct name is the American Anthropological Association. We regret the error.

Right Now

The expanding Harvard universe

PRICE-PUSH PARADOX

Debating School Choice

During the U.S. Bicentennial in 1976, *Boston Herald American* photographer Stanley Forman, NF '80, snapped a spot photo of a white man assailing a black man with a pole bearing the American flag. While the nation celebrated its founding revolution, Boston in the 1970s was undergoing a different kind of revolution. "The Soiling of Old Glory," as the image was later titled when submitted for the Pulitzer Prize, shocked Bostonians: the African American was Ted Landsmark, a civil-rights attorney, and his attacker, Joseph Rakes, a protester against the court-ordered desegregation of Boston public schools, which sparked years of racially motivated violence across the city. The desegregation plan eventually proved very successful at busing students across the city, but measuring busing's success in improving educational outcomes for students is not as simple.

One goal of social science is to inject rationality into public debates, like the school-choice question, that have been animated by particularist passions and untested social theories. Evidence-based research has produced divergent data on the effectiveness of school-choice systems (which aim to equalize education access by allowing families to choose among schools in their district) over neighborhood-based schools. Under choice systems, families typically compete for seats at the best schools through a lottery, an admissions test, or some other mechanism. Boston's busing system shared the same goal: delink children's neighborhoods from the quality of their education and integrate the schools. (The city abandoned much of the system in favor of more neighborhood-based school assignment in 2013.) Choice's success depends heavily on the characteristics of the cities where it's implemented and the mechanics of each system—and a good deal more on factors that researchers don't yet understand. Recent contributions by visiting professor of economics Parag Pathak and Larsen professor of public policy Christopher Avery suggest that even if school choice could work exactly as intended, the policy may

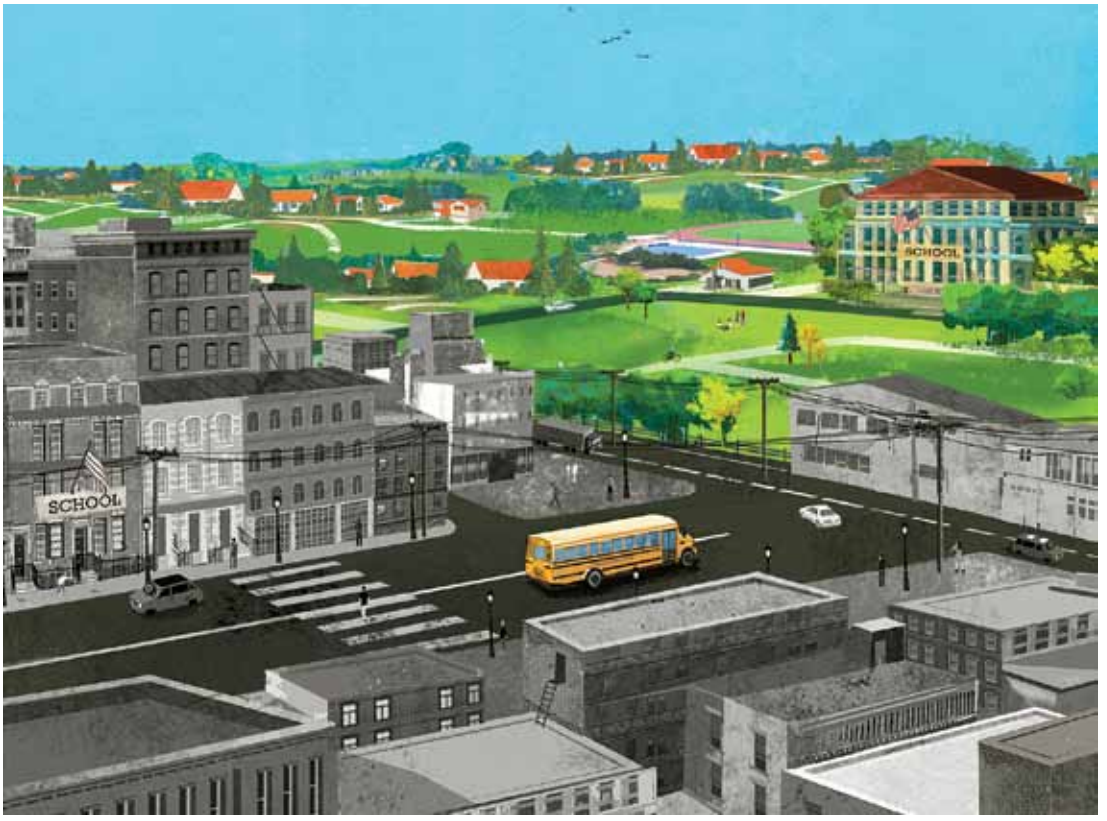

Illustration by Eva Vázquez

harm the disadvantaged students whom it's designed to help.

A recent paper models a choice system that assigns schools according to families' preferences, allotting seats at more sought-after schools by lottery. Parents would compete for access to the best schools, so that each school would not only reflect the socioeconomic mix of the community but also become perfectly equal—and average—in quality, Avery explains. But such a result, the model shows, would encourage wealthy families to abandon the system for better-than-average schools that are either private or in another district—a "flight" phenomenon widely documented already.

> Even if school choice could work exactly as intended, it might harm the very students it's designed to help.

Pathak and Avery also show a second mechanism—the effect of school quality on home prices—that forces flight not by wealthy families, but by the poor. "When you introduce school choice, school quality compresses...so the house-price distribution compresses as well," Pathak says, meaning that low-income families are priced out of their own neighborhoods as the schools in their community improve. Home values reflect differences in school quality so faithfully that prices spike and fall along district boundaries. "You see this at the border between [the Boston public school system] and Brookline...if the houses are almost identical, they're still very different prices because people perceive the schools to be much higher quality in Brookline," he explains.

In reality, though, researchers know that school choice hasn't worked this way. Because of variation in families' school preferences, imperfect information, test-based admissions systems that favor advantaged students, and other frictions, cities that have embraced choice systems are very far from producing perfectly equal schools. In some cases, school lotteries *do* help underserved students gain access to top schools. What, then, of the model? "What happens in practice is, we think,

some combination of things," Avery suggests. Real-life choice systems resemble something between neighborhood schools and a perfect-competition choice system. If schools remain sufficiently unequal, then people can afford to continue to live where they're living. Says Avery, "It's sort of a paradox."

Still, the model suggests that the assumptions driving the rationale for school choice may be wrong, given a private housing market where home prices are tied to perceived school quality. Even in a best-case scenario that assumes away the other logistical frictions of school choice, the home-price force still produces unequal outcomes. "The most surprising thing coming out of that analysis," Pathak explains, "is the possibility that—even though you have made the lowest-quality school better—you actually haven't helped the intended beneficiary," whose family is priced out of that school's district.

Perhaps this shouldn't be surprising, because the school-choice movement treats high-quality education as a scarce resource best allocated by a free market. If good schools are a scarce resource, then only some children can access them—and they tend to come from wealthy families who find ways to game the system in their favor. "If left unchecked," Avery says, "natural forces seem to run in the direction of making [good] schools more accessible to the wealthy."

One reading of the busing riots that erupted in Boston four decades ago might be as a conflict over scarce resources. Rather than ask how to distribute high-quality schools equitably, the researchers suggest, the better question may be how to create more very good schools, so that a good education isn't a scarce resource at all. "However we do it," Avery says, "we have to get to a point where *where* you live isn't so connected to the quality of your school."

~MARINA BOLOTNIKOVA

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PEDAGOGY MEETS PRACTICE

Fighting for Veterans, Learning the Law

THE LETTER ARRIVED right on time—and for Wilson Ausmer Jr., that turned out to be a very bad thing. It was 2011, and Ausmer, a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Army, was in Afghanistan, serving his second tour of duty overseas. The decorated soldier had already paid a personal price to serve his country: he suffered from headaches, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) related to his time on the battlefield, and had incurred a significant foot injury as well.

The letter, mailed to his home in Missouri, contained invaluable information on how he could file an appeal for military disability compensation. It also stated that he had to respond within 120 days of receipt.

Ausmer wouldn't return home for another five months. By the time he read the letter, he'd lost his one chance to appeal his benefits case. The Veterans Benefits Administration wasn't going to help him—but a trio of Harvard Law School (HLS) students did. Bradley Hinshelwood, J.D. '14, Juan Arguello, J.D. '15, and Christopher Melendez, J.D '15, took up Ausmer's case, arguing, among other things, that the clock on an appeals claim should start only after a veteran has returned home, rather than when a letter arrives in his or her hometown mailbox.

Daniel Nagin, faculty director of the clinic (right), and Andrew Roach, J.D. '13, meet with a veteran in Jamaica Plain.

The student lawyers became involved in Ausmer's case in 2013, while interning at the HLS Veterans Law and Disability Benefits Clinic, within the school's WilmerHale Legal Services Center (LSC). Each semester since 2012, when the clinic was established in Boston's Jamaica Plain neighborhood, about 30 students have assisted veterans with legal cases, winning verdicts of local and national importance.

Ausmer's student defenders presented their case to a panel of three judges from the U.S. Court of Appeals for Veterans Claims who were visiting Harvard as part of its annual educational outreach. The panel's January 2014 ruling in the students' favor marked a landmark victory. It allowed recently discharged veterans like Ausmer, whose ability to file an appeal is "materially affected"

Photograph courtesy of the Harvard Law School Veterans Law and Disability Benefits Clinic

by their service, to have 210 days from their discharge date to appeal, potentially helping thousands of former soldiers.

"Arguing *Ausmer v. Shinseki* was the highlight of my experience at HLS," says Melendez, himself a veteran who served in both Iraq and Afghanistan. "I met esteemed judges, set precedent, and was able to see the case through to a successful remand to the [Veterans Administration]. Because of this experience, I can head into professional life fully prepared to conduct veterans advocacy throughout the VA appeals process."

The Veterans Benefits Administration wasn't going to help him—but a trio of Harvard Law School students did.

Other students have successfully backed a female marine's challenge to a Board of Veterans' Appeals decision to deny her disability benefits for military sexual trauma; ensured that a homeless Navy veteran received Massachusetts veterans' services benefits despite a prior criminal conviction; and obtained service-connected-disability benefits for an Afghanistan war veteran diagnosed with cancer. "As we train students, we want to give them the opportunity to understand and appreciate the needs and sacrifices of disabled veterans," says Daniel Nagin, clinical professor of law, faculty director of the Legal Services Center, and founder of the veterans clinic. "The work is complicated and demanding—it's an uphill battle, and there are too few resources for people who need help....We are asking students to consider, 'What is the role of lawyers in responding to this problem?'"

Participants in the program are guided by Nagin and lawyers from the firm Chisholm Chisholm & Kilpatrick. (Veterans' cases are referred to the clinic through the Rhode Island firm's existing pro bono program with Disabled American Veterans.) The students can choose to represent veterans in administrative and federal court appeals that challenge denials of federal and state veterans benefits; represent clients and their families in estate- and financial-planning matters; or represent clients in administrative and court appeals that challenge denials of Social Security disability benefits.

The twin goals of the clinic—which also covers issues of administrative, disability, mental health, probate, and constitutional law—are service and pedagogy. "You're doing two things at once," Nagin says. "You're providing a compelling and unique learning opportunity for students, and also doing good in the world, trying to close the justice gap in any way you can." From the Revolutionary War until the establishment of the Court of Appeals for Veterans Claims in 1988, he points out, military veterans who were denied benefits had *no* judicial recourse.

Second-year law student Travis Leverett, whose grandfather was a veteran, has spent his time at the clinic working on estate planning and wills. Veterans, he says, are often "behind on their mortgage payments, they have health issues, their benefits have been cut—getting your will together is not going to take priority." His clinic work "really hammered home to me that law is a service industry, and you really have to be available whenever your clients are." —LAURA LEVIS

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL VETERANS CLINIC WEBSITE:
http://hls.harvard.edu/dept/clinical/clinics/veterans-law-and-disability-benefits-clinic-lsc

HM Explore More

For one in a series of online-only articles on research in progress, see:

Shedding Light on Genetic Cancer Risks

A new study offers a clearer picture of how genetics and the environment influence cancer risk in families.

harvardmag.com/walker-15

EPOCHS OF ICE

The Science of History

In his 1998 book *Consilience*, Pellegrino University Professor emeritus Edward O. Wilson dreamed of a time when the boundaries between sciences and humanities would fade away, leaving an intellectually unified store of human knowledge. His vision was prescient. Today, it's possible to use isotope analysis to pinpoint the origin of a single thread of silk that traveled the Silk Road. DNA tests of ancient skeletons can reveal how people lived, ate, and died—and two years ago helped confirm the role of the Plague of Justinian in the collapse of the Roman Empire. Ice-core samples drawn from polar caps or glaciers are telling historians more than they ever believed possible about the worlds their research subjects lived in. These findings share once-inaccessible insights into the human past—and into humanity's fragile climate future.

Until recently, ice-core research was limited to Arctic regions, where abundant snowfall produces a thick frozen record dating back thousands of years. Now, laser-based technology developed at the University of Maine's Climate Change Institute is sensitive enough to produce 50,000 measurements per meter—enabling researchers from UM and from Harvard's Initiative for the Science of the Human Past (SoHP) to analyze samples from the tightly packed Colle Gnifetti glacier in the Swiss Alps. Goelet professor of history Michael McCormick, who chairs SoHP, recalls a prominent Swiss climate scientist telling him, "There are no good Swiss ice cores." In fact, there were—but the technology to read them didn't exist.

Colle Gnifetti marks the first time historians have been able to look directly at weather patterns around the Mediterranean that date back nearly 2,000 years—much farther than traditional resources, like thermometer readings or tree rings.

The Mediterranean "is where history happened, and we no longer have to guess the conditions [people] lived in," McCormick says. "We can see it there in the ice record." And with unprecedented precision: "If you ask what the weather was like on Christmas of 1257, I can tell you," says history of science lecturer Alexander More, a postdoctoral fellow with SoHP. Unlike other tools used to approximate weather, ice records offer proxies for many types of climate events—temperature, precipitation, air circulation, even burning biomass—that can be tested against one another or combined to analyze the climate context from a moment in history.

The Harvard-UM team compared data from the Colle Gnifetti ice core to historical weather records from 1200 to 1400—an era of explosive economic growth in Europe but also of the Black Death and the beginning of the Little Ice Age, a period of cooling that followed the relative warmth of the Middle Ages. They found that historical reports of bad harvests showed a striking correspondence with drops in temperature, approximated by the frequency of oxygen isotopes in the ice record. A similar, though weaker, relationship appeared between historical reports of precipitation and drops in temperature recorded in the ice core.

Both findings advance historical narratives about the relationship of the Little Ice Age, famine, and the Black Death, which killed as much as half of Europe's population. The historical and scientific records—"independent lines of argument deriving from independent evidence deriving from different areas of reality," McCormick explains—increasingly appear to tell a similar story: the cooling period of the late Middle Ages contributed to greater rainfall and flooding—a breeding ground for disease vectors—and famine, which weakened the population and aggravated morbidity.

The data, which More stresses are still preliminary, also challenge accepted truths about European history. Estimates about when the Little Ice Age began run from around 1250 to 1650. Parts of the ice record suggest temperatures may have begun dropping earlier still, closer to 1200, but other parts don't appear to agree with the historical record at all, prompting both groups of scholars to take a closer look at their results. Laboratory science, McCormick points out, "is no more sure than any other kind of knowledge, and has to be submitted to the same kinds of challenges and testing as our most nuanced interpretation of a medieval love letter."

More also cautions against allowing current ideas about climate change to influence inquiry into the past. "We have to keep an always skeptical mind, and not be so excited by our findings that we dismiss clear signs of problems," he says. Even so, a confluence of evidence, strengthened by the Colle Gnifetti data, suggests climate change played a pivotal role in the events of the late Middle Ages. Less directly, climate-induced resource scarcity appears also to have stimulated European colonial ambitions. If that's true, the implications for the present appear unnervingly clear. The scale of climate change in the last two decades, McCormick says, "appears to be beyond anything we've seen in the last 2,000 years—and we've seen some scary things in the last 2,000 years.

"Twenty years ago, we couldn't know the climate in the Roman Empire was warming," he adds. "There were some slight hints that it got warm in the Middle Ages.... Now we can see that climate change occurred much more swiftly than I had thought possible."

—MARINA BOLOTNIKOVA

MICHAEL MCCORMICK WEBSITE:
history.fas.harvard.edu/people/michael-mccormick
ALEXANDER MORE WEBSITE:
scholar.harvard.edu/alexandermore/home

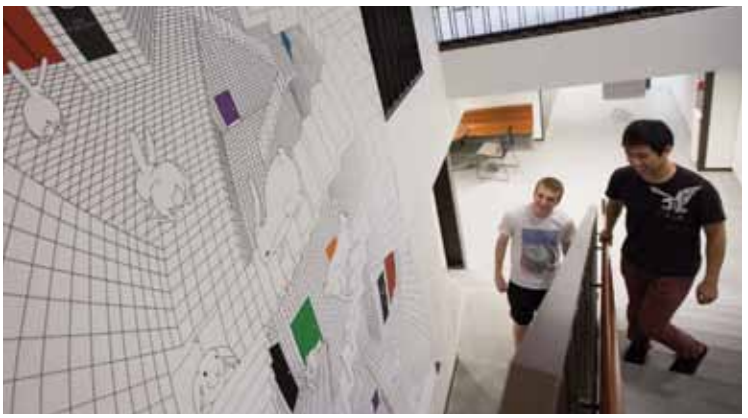
Illustration by Sam Falconer

A PLACE OF DISCOVERY

Harvard opens doors to new experiences, new friends, and new knowledge. From Sanders Theatre to the Science Center to the Houses, learning happens everywhere—and transforms each and every student, intellectually, socially, and personally.

HIGH MARKS FOR **RENEWED HOUSES**

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: A STUDENT PRACTICES IN A STONE HALL MUSIC ROOM IN QUINCY HOUSE; REBEKKA ELIZABETH-MARIE DEPEW '16 (RIGHT) CHATS WITH A FRIEND IN THE CHEERFUL COMMON ROOM AT STONE HALL; A LIVELY FOOSBALL GAME ENGAGES (FROM LEFT) MEGAN MCLAUGHLIN '16, JOAN TIMMINS '16, AND CHRISTINE CAHILL '16 IN MCKINLOCK HALL AT LEVERETT HOUSE; ROOMMATES MARK STEINBACH '17 (LEFT) AND JASON SHEN '17 ADMIRE A MURAL FEATURING RABBITS, THE LEVERETT HOUSE MASCOT, INSIDE MCKINLOCK HALL; AYO OPEYEMI '17 ENJOYS HIS BRIGHT AND COMFORTABLE LIVING SPACE IN THE NEWLY RENOVATED DUNSTER HOUSE.



HOUSE RENEWAL IS BRINGING NEW VITALITY TO

Harvard's venerable House system to meet the needs of 21st-century living and learning while preserving the historic character of each residence. Renovations to Quincy House's Stone Hall, Leverett House's McKinlock Hall, and Dunster House are complete, with Winthrop House up next. Below, learn how three undergraduates are using these exciting revitalized spaces.

Music Makers

SAMEER MEHRA '17
COMPUTER SCIENCE
QUINCY HOUSE

Walk by the Abu-Suud Music Suite in Stone Hall at Quincy House on a typical Sunday afternoon and you're bound to spot many spirited students playing trumpets, violins, and traditional Mexican instruments. This is Mariachi Véritas de Harvard, which rehearses weekly in the soundproof music room on the vibrant lower level.

"We all cram in there, and it works out great," says trumpet player Sameer Mehra '17, a computer science concentrator from Greenwich, Connecticut. The music room, built during the renewal of Stone Hall three years ago, has a screen that can be used for videoconferencing or, in this case, posting lyrics to learn. "With mariachi, you have to know all the music from memory," Mehra explains. "We aren't necessarily the best players, but we love the music and have a lot of heart."

Daily Discoveries

For Colette Bishogo '16, senior year is filled with discovery—not only in her classes, but in her Harvard home. She constantly finds new places to study and relax in Dunster House, which reopened this past fall after 15 months of construction. She also keeps meeting new people, thanks to the renewed common areas and reconfigured hallways that House Renewal brought.

COLETTE BISHOGO '16
AFRICAN STUDIES
DUNSTER HOUSE

"It feels a lot more open; you can move easily from one side of the House to another," she says. "There are so many places to study and hang out." Bishogo, an African studies concentrator from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and South Africa, is enamored with the lower level, which has been transformed from a dark corridor with low-hanging pipes to a center of House life with the Dunster Grille, music and art rooms, fitness equipment, and more.

While updating the 1930 residence, House Renewal has maintained the old Harvard feel that generations of Dunster alumni cherish. The Berk Junior Common Room, library, and dining hall have new luster, and the distinctive deep-brown wainscoting that once paneled student rooms has been repurposed around the House. "When you walk in, you see this dark wood all over," Bishogo notes. "It lets you know, yes, I am still in Dunster."

Building Community

MADELINE COOPER '16
BIOMEDICAL
ENGINEERING
LEVERETT HOUSE

Leverett House resident Madeline Cooper '16 adores natural light, so one of her favorite spots in McKinlock Hall is the Douglas W. Garden Light Court that flanks the dining hall. The appealing corridor was created by enclosing an old alleyway with a glass roof and adding tables, chairs, and a long wooden bench. "I'll sit and eat or study out there," Cooper says. "I like that big skylight feeling; it's very open and comfortable."

Cooper, a biomedical engineering concentrator from Ashland, Massachusetts, appreciates the variety of lounges, meeting rooms, and other shared spaces in McKinlock Hall, the second completed renewal project. There's the Emerald Library Theater, a multipurpose room for performances and other activities. There's the Halina and Pavel Bren Room, a tech-enabled seminar room off of the light court where a student health organization that Cooper is involved with meets regularly. And there's the art studio for creative expression, where students can participate in a variety of workshops.

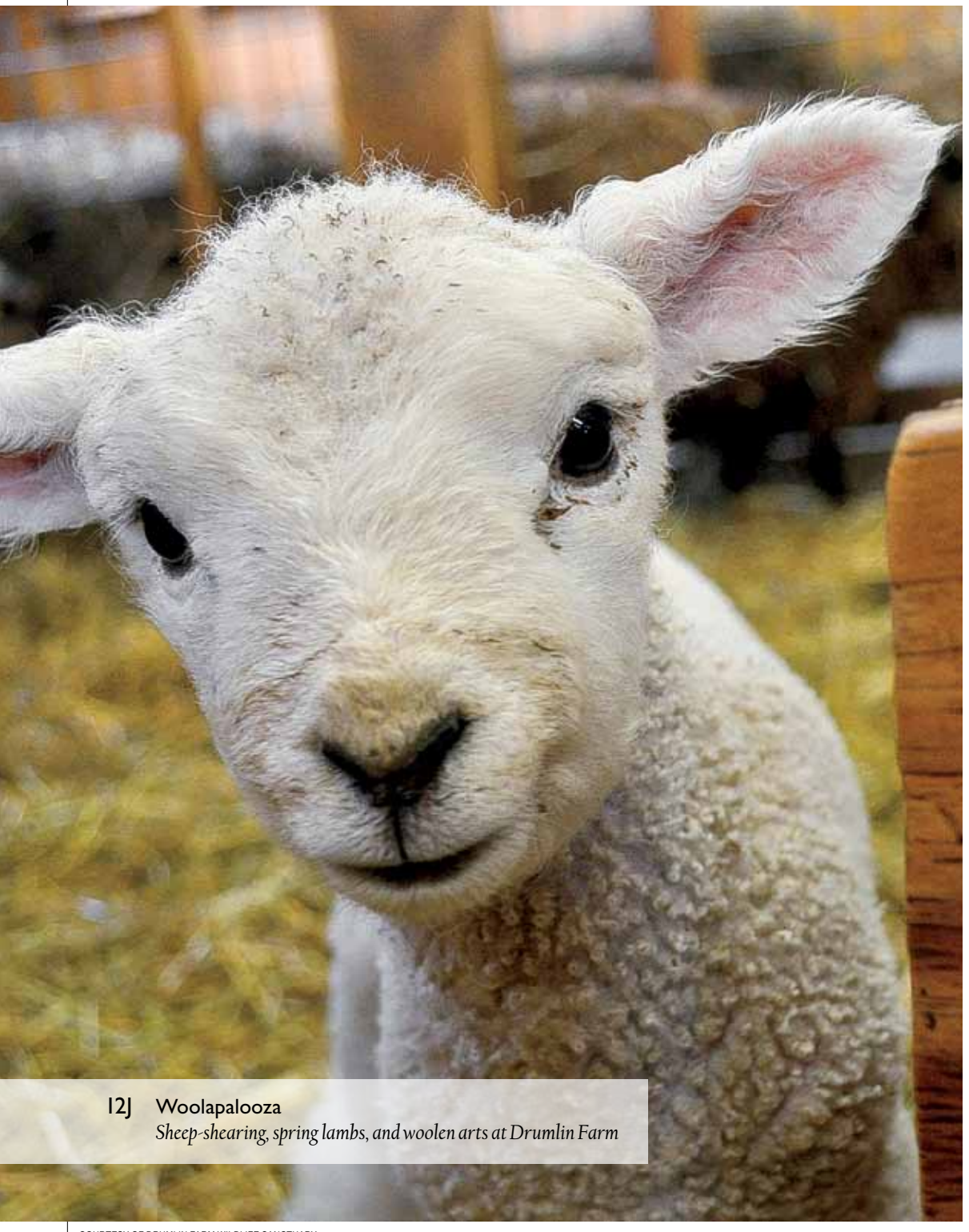
Overall, Cooper says, "House Renewal encourages people to get out of their rooms and socialize or study with others. It strengthens our sense of community, and I think that's great."

THE HARVARD CAMPAIGN
FOR ARTS AND SCIENCES

FAS 16-390 PHOTOGRAPHY BY HARVARD NEWS OFFICE PHOTOGRAPHERS/PROFILE PHOTOS COURTESY OF STUDENTS

Harvard²

Cambridge, Boston, and beyond



12J Woolapalooza
Sheep-shearing, spring lambs, and woolen arts at Drumlin Farm

COURTESY OF DRUMLIN FARM WILDLIFE SANCTUARY

12B Extracurriculars
Events on and off campus through the end of April

12D Celebrating Harvard's Art-makers
The 24th Arts First Festival

12G The Stuff of World War II
A "new" Natick museum

12H Stepping It Up
Shoes not made for walkin', in Manchester, N.H.

12N Sweets for All
Bakeries that "do it the old-fashioned way"

Extracurriculars

Events on and off campus during March and April

EXHIBITIONS & EVENTS

The Collection of Historical Scientific Instruments
www.chsi.harvard.edu
Radio Contact: Tuning In to Politics, Technology, and Culture examines U.S. broadcast communications, from ham radios and underground networks to the reports of Edward R. Murrow and the advent of podcasts. (Opens March 10)

From left: A Wayana headdress from Suriname, at the Peabody; The Parker Quartet performs in the Blodgett Chamber Music Series; and an ALMA image of the young star HL Tau and its protoplanetary disk, the topic of a lecture at the Center for Astrophysics

The Peabody Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology
www.peabody.harvard.edu
In Fine Feather: Selected Featherwork from the Peabody Collections highlights rare and beautiful examples of birds' plumage. (Opens April 13)

Native American Running: Health, Culture, and Sport. Coinciding with the Boston Marathon and the eightieth anniversary of Ellison Myers "Tarzan" Brown Sr.'s

FROM LEFT: © PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE, PEABODY MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY; CAMERON WITTIG/COURTESY OF THE PARKER QUARTET; COURTESY OF THE HARVARD-SMITHSONIAN CENTER FOR ASTROPHYSICS

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victory in the 1936 race (he also won in 1939), this multi-day event explores the history and significance of Native American running traditions. (April 15-18)

MUSIC

The Parker Quartet
www.boxoffice.harvard.edu
The program includes the winner of the Blodgett Composition Competition, *Amen dico tibi: hodie mecum eris in paradiso,* by doctoral candidate Kai Johannes Polzhofer. Paine Concert Hall. (March 5)

Harvard Wind Ensemble and Sunday Jazz Band
www.boxoffice.harvard.edu
On the program are "Joy in the Oasis," by jazz bassist Rufus Reid, and "I Remember Clifford," by tenor saxophonist Benny Golson. Lowell Lecture Hall. (April 15)

Harvard-Radcliffe Orchestra
www.boxoffice.harvard.edu
Works by Claude Debussy and Jean Sibelius. Sanders Theatre. (April 16)

Kuumba Singers
www.boxoffice.harvard.edu
The forty-sixth Dean Archie C. Epps Spring Concert. Sanders Theatre. (April 23)

STAFF PICK: Celebrating the Arts at Harvard

The Asian American Dance Troupe

JON CHASE/HPAC

The annual arts extravaganza sponsored by Harvard offers more than 100 events, from live performances of dance, music, and theater to public-art installations; most are free and open to the public. Festivities begin on Thursday, April 28, at 4 P.M. with the Harvard Arts Medal ceremony; President Drew Faust and festival founder, actor, and author John Lithgow '67, Ar.D. '05, will honor the 2016 medalist, architect Frank Gehry, Ds '57, Ar.D. '00.

Most of the 2,000 art-makers are undergraduates, says Jack Megan, director of the Office for the Arts at Harvard (OFA), which organizes the festival: "The great joy is getting to work with very creative, very diverse, and very inspiring young people." The weekend lineup includes Hasty Pudding Theatricals, the Harvard Pan-African Dance and Music Ensemble, Mariachi Véritas de Harvard, and the Brattle Street Chamber Players, as well as hands-on "Make Art" stations; concerts by the Silk Road Ensemble and rock and pop groups that bang it out in a "Battle of the Bands"; and an international-dance showcase that opens with a tango contest featuring the Harvard Ballroom Dance Team. In addition, OFA has made a point of sponsoring art that explores social and political issues—like minority inclusion and gender identification—that have arisen at Harvard and other universities, especially within the last year. "Where Do We Go From Here?" is an interactive art installation of 13 individual, human-sized, Plexiglas boxes, each containing letter-shaped mirrors that, together, spell out "make community." Despite "the terrible things happening around the world," Megan notes, "we can still hope to have moments of beauty, creativity, and collaboration. Artists have a contribution to make in creating space for reflection and, ultimately, change." ~N.P.B.

NATURE AND SCIENCE

The Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics
www.cfa.harvard.edu/events/mon.html
Skyviewing and a lecture on **"Where Do Planets Come From?"** by doctoral candidate Anjali Tripathi. (March 17)

THEATER

Harvard-Radcliffe Gilbert and Sullivan Players
www.hrgsp.org
Love transcends social class on the high seas in ***H.M.S. Pinafore; or, The Lass That Loved a Sailor.*** (March 25-April 3)

LECTURES

The Mahindra Humanities Center
www.mahindrahumanities.fas.harvard.edu/content/norton-lectures
Novelist and Nobel laureate Toni Morrison, Litt.D. '89, delivers the six Norton lectures under the umbrella title, **The Origin of Others, The Literature of Belonging.** Sanders Theatre. (March 2-April 12)

The Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study
www.radcliffe.harvard.edu
"One Writer's Trip." Author Michael Pollan discusses his forthcoming book on humans' use of plants and fungi to induce altered states. Knafel Center. (April 6).

Loeb associate professor of social sciences Laurence Ralph speaks to **"Witnessing Death: Policing, Race, and Limits of Democracy in the 21st Century."** Fay House. (April 13)

Events listings are also found at www.harvardmagazine.com.

Spotlight

Cigarette butts, broken glass, bottle caps, liquor "nips," snack packets, hypodermic needles, lottery tickets, tires, hubcaps, matchbooks, shopping carts, and the occasional computer monitor. All are among the litter likely to be found by the 3,000 volunteers at the Annual Earth Day Charles River Cleanup, on the morning of April 30. Some 30 miles of shoreline and shallows, from the river's mouth in Boston Harbor nearly to Wildcat Pond in Milford, are scoured before crews gather for a celebratory picnic. The Charles River Watershed Association leads the effort, in partnership with the Charles River Conservancy, Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation, Waltham Land Trust, Esplanade Association, Emerald Necklace Conservancy, and the office of Massachusetts state senator William N. Brownsberger. Volunteer slots fill quickly. To register, visit www.crwa.org/charles-river-cleanup/event-registration.

The Stuff of World War II

Curators shape a modern museum of history.

by NELL PORTER BROWN

Clockwise from top: a Sherman tank dominates the "America Enters the War" exhibit; a German doll's belt buckle sports a swastika; British propaganda targeting women; Rendell, Carter, and Heywood; flags and other artifacts from the Pacific theater

During a field trip to the Museum of World War II in Natick, Massachusetts, a burly high-school junior stopped at the glass case holding Adolf Hitler's personal effects: pills, powders, and ointments from his medicine cabinet; a monogrammed silver hand-mirror; and a leather mustache-trainer, worn at night to keep stray hairs in line.

"He said, 'Ah, I get it now!'" reports director of education Marshall W. Carter, Ed.M. '97. The student had connected the "personal vanity and megalomania with the dictator." It's just this sort of insight, Carter believes, that the museum—especially in its planned expansion—should induce. "The opportunity here," he explains, "is to understand that individuals in history had temperaments and agency that were very complex, and that those traits ended up affecting millions."

The museum is a plain, low-slung building off Route 9, behind a Dick's Sporting Goods. It holds the most comprehensive collection of World War II artifacts in the world. "Other places will have a complete set of guns, or of uniforms," says Carter, or focus on one nation's involvement, or historic events, such as the Holocaust. "But what we have is the most global collection—material from every theater, from battlefronts, *and* home fronts, and no one else has attempted to do that." Some 8,000 documents and objects are on display, in mind-boggling breadth: from a draft of the 1938 Munich Agreement (with penciled

Photographs courtesy of the Museum of World War II

Samples of Hitler's art supplies and watercolor works. Rendell says, "He rarely painted people."

marginalia by Hitler and Neville Chamberlain) and a complete set of plans for D-Day (as well as a map with original notations on landings and units), to explosives disguised as lumps of coal, German enigma machines, a French sewing kit used to relay messages for the Resistance, and the bronze bust of Hitler that General George S. Patton used as a doorstop.

Another half-million items are in storage, including the latest acquisition, the most complete known mobile auxiliary surgical hospital—a 50-foot canvas tent, two operating tables, anesthesia equipment, thousands of instruments. "What's amazing about it is the atmosphere it creates," says Carter. "People entered that tent hanging on to life. And because of the innovation of the MASH, which was new to World War II, many people who would have died were saved and went home." That mobile hospital will likely be set up in the museum's pending reincarnation as a two-story, 62,000-square-foot structure (six times its current size) slated to be built and fully open to the public within three years.

Kenneth W. Rendell, who built his career as a dealer in historic documents, began the collection at age 16. Born in 1943, the Somerville native was unusually sensitive to shifting cultural perceptions of the war. "In the 1940s I remember neighbors and friends of my parents coming back, mostly medics from the Pacific, and talking about the horrors," he says, "but by the 1950s everyone was talking about the glories of war; no one could afford to remember the horrors because they were too devastating. I was struck by this and concerned, even though I was just a kid." His goal in amassing the ephemera, then and now, is to "save the reality of the war, which reflects the very personal and complex causes and consequences, which were horrible—for everyone."

CURIOSITIES:

Not Made for Walkin'

Less a fête for the feet than a feast for the eyes, much of the haute couture footwear on display in *Killer Heels: The Art of the High-Heeled Shoe* at the Currier Museum is "barely wearable," admits curator Samantha Cataldo. "Any woman who has put her foot in a non-sensible shoe knows they are not comfortable." Instead, the 150 shoes range from eighteenth-century European embroidered precursors of the "pump" to Dutch designer Iris van Herpen's mounds of tangled black strands, which resemble the roots in a mangrove swap, and were produced by a 3-D printer. All are presented as design objects akin to titled sculpture, and as "layered cultural symbols in narratives of attraction, transformation, empowerment, and play," per exhibit notes from the original show organized by Lisa Small at the Brooklyn Museum last year.

At left: "Unicorn Tayss," Walter Steiger, spring 2013; *Casuccio e Scalera per* Loris Azzaro, 1974-79 (below); and gingham platform shoes, Vivienne Westwood, 1993

Take Walter Steiger's fetishistic "Unicorn Tayss." Leopard-print vamps and ankle straps top six-inch curved stiletto heels, à la golden horns. Rem D. Koolhaas's "Eamz" capture the industrial chic of mid-century designers Charles and Ray Eames: fire-engine red flats that appear hoisted by a metallic lever at the heel. Nicholas Kirkwood's suede "Pumps," encrusted with Swarovski crystals in a floral pattern, lack any utility.

Some 50 examples on display are historic, such as satin-weave-embroidered silk Manchu-era platforms, Chinese shoes for bound feet, and traditional wooden Japanese *geta* from the 1800s. They point to the Eastern origins of high heels. (Shoes have always walked the line "between form and function," Cataldo says.) Stilted bath sandals in the Ottoman Empire kept feet dry, and heeled equestrian Persian footwear kept riders firmly in stirrups, but both soon evolved as fashion styles that represented physical status, beauty, and even worldly power.

Fast-forward to the twentieth century and Roger Vivier and Salvatore Ferragamo, the designers most often credited with "inventing" the stiletto heel. To create the blade they adapted extruded steel, Cataldo explains, a material also on the rise in transforming the world of architecture and the urban built landscape, largely in the form of skyscrapers. "That shoe was really when the high heel became a sex symbol," she adds. Wearing them "changes our whole posture…pushing certain parts of the body out and other parts in." However glamorous "killer heels" can be, they do have a polarizing effect. "For some people, putting heels on makes them feel taller and more confident and offers a sense of authority," Cataldo notes. "For others, they symbolize objectification and constricting standards of beauty. Sometimes, too, people just find them erotic."

—N.P.B.

Currier Museum of Art
Manchester, New Hampshire
www.currier.org
February 6-May 15

CLOCKWISE FROM LOWER RIGHT: ©2014 BATA SHOE MUSEUM, TORONTO, CANADA; PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART; COURTESY OF WALTER STEIGER. PHOTOGRAPH BY JAY ZUCKERHORN

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By 1999, his private collection had been consolidated at the Natick facility, but was open just to friends, scholars, war veterans and their families, and military personnel. (Longtime trustees include retired four-star general George W. Casey Jr., historian Doris Kearns Goodwin, Ph.D. '68, and the director of the Churchill Museum and Cabinet War Rooms in London, Phil Reed.) The nonprofit museum was incorporated in 2011, when it started admitting members of the public by appointment. Last fall, Rendell and his wife and business partner, Shirley McNerney Rendell, once a local television news reporter, hired professional senior staff: Carter, formerly the K-8 principal of Milton Academy, and Samantha Heywood, who left the Imperial War Museums to become the founding director and director of exhibits. The museum is expected to stay open throughout construction, which could begin as early as next spring; visit museumofworldwarii.org/visit.html or e-mail museumofworldwarii@yahoo.com to make an appointment.

Just what shape the new museum's content, design, and narrative structures will take is still a matter for curatorial interpretation. Right now, items are displayed chronologically in some two dozen areas—from "Germany in the 1920s" to "War Trials."

The white walls are largely covered by ingenious and often vitriolic propaganda posters produced by all the combatants; the rooms are simply lit. The dearth of dramatic display staging and what curators call "didactics" (explanatory texts that guide experience) allows visitors freedom to think about and absorb the staggering volume of materials at their own pace and psychological capacity. Three hours is recommended for a first-time visit.

How to retain "the intimacy of the objects and documents," given a much bigger space and crowds, "is one of the challenges," notes Heywood. The greater creative and intellectual puzzle, though, is figuring out how the complex scope of World War II will be conceptualized and tangibly portrayed. What could, or should, be taught? What is most relevant to a wide-ranging contemporary audience, especially to young people, and what might the war mean to them in the future?

For Carter, the museum's educational power lies precisely in that personal contact and potential for connection with

ALL IN A DAY: Woolapalooza

The 206-acre Drumlin Farm Wildlife Sanctuary in Lincoln is Mass Audubon's only working farm-cum-educational center. Staff members tend livestock and bountiful vegetable and flower crops while safeguarding meadow, woodland, and pond habitats, and providing refuge for injured or orphaned wildlife—turkey vultures, red-tailed hawks, barred owls, a great horned owl, pheasants, and a fisher. "Ms. G," the Commonwealth's official state groundhog, also resides on site, but is generally not on public view.

The farm's annual Woolapalooza festival on March 26 supports these efforts to highlight the interconnection among animals, people, and the natural world. Twenty-six ewes will be freed from their winter coats, some just weeks after giving birth. (Seventeen appeared to be expecting at press time.) The rest of the celebratory day is filled with herding-dog demonstrations and farm-life and arts activities. Artisans also demonstrate how raw wool is washed, carded, spun, and eventually turned into sweaters. "Many people think of farms as being active only when everything is green and growing," sanctuary director Renata Pomponi says, "but there are exciting things going on all year round in nature. One of the important ways New England farmers use the winter is for other 'crops' like maple syrup and products like wool." At Woolapalooza, visitors can buy farm-tapped syrup, along with a lunch of farm produce and meat. All the barns will be open, as well as the four miles of walking trails (weather permitting), because by late March, as Pomponi notes, "People are really ready to get outside again after a cold, long winter."

Scenes from an early spring festival at Drumlin Farm in Lincoln, Massachusetts. See new lambs, try out the arts of spinning and weaving, and witness the annual rite of sheep-shearing.

Mass Audubon's Drumlin Farm Wildlife Sanctuary
www.massaudubon.org/get-outdoors/wildlife-sanctuaries/drumlin-farm
March 26, 10 a.m.- 4 p.m.

For those who shun crowds (and Woolapalooza has drawn thousands of visitors in the past), Drumlin Farm is also open daily. Classes and events include workshops on fermenting foods, making cheese, and running a chicken coop; night walks in search of owls; exploring the biological life of small ponds, and the fundamentals of Northeastern birding. —N.P.B.

COURTESY OF DRUMLIN FARM WILDLIFE SANCTUARY

the primary materials of history, including apparent detritus like the bit of tickertape reading, "THE WAR IS OVER." As the living memory of the war dims, he knows, it is the ephemera that keep history, and its lessons, alive. And so the museum, atypically, allows students and teachers to touch objects: to feel "a soldier's backpack, the heft of a rifle, or run their fingers along the scarred grooves of a Sherman tank hit by fire, or look through...binoculars that were on the deck of the USS *Arizona* at Pearl Harbor." He has already begun building the educational programs, and expects to guide more than 1,500 students through the collection before June.

Even the handwritten documents under glass convey the human touch, he adds, "with the ink and the loops of the cursive letters...and the scratch outs and amendments." Of the museum's trove of personal journals, notes, and manuscripts, Dwight D. Eisenhower's letters to his wife, Mamie, are especially emotional, given common perceptions of the man as the cool-headed supreme commander of the allied forces in Europe. "It is a terribly sad business to tot up the casualties each day," he wrote on April 16, 1944. "Mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, wives, and friends must have a difficult time preserving any comforting philosophy...War demands great toughness of fibre—not only in the soldiers that must endure, but in the home that must sacrifice their best." By revealing the multidimensionality and vulnerabilities of great leaders, Carter hopes that students will more readily explore their own characters—and act on their capacities for empathy, bravery, and even heroism.

Heywood believes war is not inevitable: "It happens because men and women make choices," she asserts. "The majority of us get along in life without conflict at every turn, and 'peace' is the norm for most of us on the planet." But she also acknowledges that wars will "probably always happen," and therefore any serious war museum should address "why and how did wars happen, and how and why can they be avoided?"

To that point, the museum's newest exhibit, on anti-Semitism between 1919 and 1939, opening April 8 at the New-York Historical Society, illustrates the incremental rise of prejudicial hatred. Rare documents

are highlighted, but so are items like pamphlets, shop signs, ashtrays, and postcards that Heywood says "helped 'normalize' anti-Semitism in German society." To create the show, she spent months culling through the archives. "A depressing task," she adds. "But enabling people today to see material like this, knowing what it led to during the war, may lead to them think afresh about discrimination, or about politics today."

A French wedding dress made from an American reserve parachute; binoculars salvaged from the deck of the USS *Arizona*

Rendell wants the museum to reflect the continuing "relevance of this period, 1920-1945." On the domestic front, he notes parallels between the political mood of 1920s Germany and the "staggering number of disaffected Americans...we have people who are broken and humiliated, who don't have jobs, and there's no sense of [positive] nationalism," he says. "And that is so dangerous."

In his view, the nation's current political divisiveness and dysfunction recall the gridlock evident in 1940 in Washington, D.C., when President Franklin Roosevelt was "stuck between the isolationists and the interventionists." Decisive action occurred only after the attack on Pearl Harbor, and after Hitler and his followers had already wrought unprecedented destruction. "I get really irritated when people talk about how we won the war, when more than 400,000 American soldiers died," he says. "That's not winning. We didn't lose as badly as others—but nobody wins war. And the more the museum can make people aware of that—of the realities of war, of the very serious consequences—the better."

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Sweets for All

Greater Boston bakeries that "do it the old-fashioned way"

Hiroko Sakan and her son, Takeo, work together at their bakery, Japonaise; Praliné's French treats are laid out like jewels, under glass.

People are picky about pastries. One lady's scone is another's scorn. A gentleman's prized honey-glazed donut is another's adamant *do not.* What follows is a very short list of bakeries that rose above derision during an impromptu office taste-test.

A clear favorite, the "azuki cream," from **Japonaise Bakery & Café,** in Brookline, (www.japonaisebakery.com), is a dreamy pillow of croissant pastry baked with a smear of red bean paste at the bottom, then cooled and pumped full of fresh whipped cream. The $3.50 treat is not fussily sweet, notes Takeo Sakan, who does the baking alongside his mother, Hiroko Sakan, who opened the shop in 1985.

Missing the Asian-French-fusion pastry of her native land (U.S. baked goods historically lean toward hefty English varieties), Sakan read cookbooks, experimented with Asian and French techniques, and listened to her own "good palate," her son says, "then created what she liked." In addition to the azuki cream, the Sakans produce a delectable chocolate cake layered with sliced bananas ($3.75 a slice) and a wonderful Japanese white bread, *shoku pan,* made with milk ($3.75) or heavy cream ($4). The business is being transferred to Takeo, so his mother can retire. "But it's hard for her to just go, after she has been doing this for so long," he says. "And at the same time, I can do all the bread myself, but I still need some help on the cakes."

Established in 1958 by French émigré Antoine Khachadourian, **Antoine's Pastry Shop,** in Newton (http://antoinespastryshop.com), is still a family-run operation, now led by his brother, René. Of the French- and Italian-inspired goodies, the standouts include the rum baba, ricotta cheese cup, and the cannolis, fresh-filled to order (all $2.75). "Everything is made here, in the back," René says, gesturing over the glass cases filled with cookies—half moons (or "black and whites"), rainbow-sprinkle-dipped, and nubby pine-nut—toward the kitchen. "We do it the old-fashioned way," he adds, with "fresh eggs and butter, flour, sugar, honey—all the basics."

For similarly no-nonsense, hand-cut donuts (unlike those maple-infused numbers dotted with bits of hand-cured bacon and free-trade chocolate), go to **Linda's Donuts** in Belmont (http://lindasdonutsbelmont.com), supposedly named for the former owner's daughter. She's not there now, but patrons *will* find Arthur Paloukos serving bags, boxes, and plates of donuts—most popularly, the Boston cream, raspberry-apple jelly, and chocolate honey-dipped sweets ($1.25 each)—that his

Photographs by Jim Harrison

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father, John, arrives every day at 4 A.M. to make. The cozy shop opens two hours later, when regulars shuffle in and take up the 18 seats, primed for a mug of coffee and a gab session. Soon, others line up, construction workers and cops, kids and their parents, all pining for that warm hunk of sweet dough that will carry them through the day.

For fancier fare, head a few blocks east to **Praliné Artisanal Confections** (www.pralineconfection.com). French-born owner and pastry chef Sophia Benyamina opened it a year ago and specializes in *macarons*—pistachio, orange blossom, chocolate, and raspberry, among others, $2.50 each—and French tea cakes, including madeleines, *cannelés* (cylinders of caramelized crust with custardy interiors), and *financiers* (springy cakes, typically almond-flavored), that cost around $3: "a lot of butter and sugar," comments the salesgirl. Also on offer are *tarte aux fruits;* chocolate-honey marshmallows; and almost-too-pretty-to-eat handmade chocolates.

More eclectic, with a grungy-chic vibe, is **Canto 6 Bakery** (www.canto6bakeryjp.com). Located on a busy street across from the police station in Jamaica Plain, the seven-seat, storefront café offers sweets that range from the rustic salted chocolate-chunk cookies ($2.95) and cranberry oat bars ($2.25) to the refined *bostok* (sliced brioche topped with apricot jam, frangipane, and almonds; $3.95), raspberry-apple galette ($2.95), and *palmiers* (those crunchy, buttery pastries also known as "elephant ears"; $2.50). Don't leave without a *tappo* ($1.25): Italian for bottle-stopper, this dense shot of crusty chocolate cake has a molten center.

Customers love the loaves at **Clear Flour Bread**, in Brookline, where the kitchen adheres fiercely to traditional European baking and pastry techniques. But excellent, too, are the scones, cookies, and croissants (from $2.95 to $3.50).

Alejandra Ramirez, Olivia Hitchens, and Gabriela Ramirez (from left to right) preside over the goods at Antoine's Pastry Shop in Newton.

The hard-to-find French-style *gibassier* ($3.95), an anise-laced cushion spiked with bits of candied orange peel, won the highest marks in the tasting. But the bakery does not wholesale its pastries, warns general manager Inga Sheaffer: "If you want those, you have to make the trip."

—NELL PORTER BROWN

JOHN HARVARD'S

JOURNAL

KENNEDY SCHOOL, UNDER CONSTRUCTION. The Harvard Kennedy School aims to build students' capacity for better public policy, wise democratic governance, international amity, and more. Now it is addressing its own capacity issues (as described at harvardmag.com/hks-16). In January, as seen across Eliot Street from the northeast (opposite page), work was well under way to raise the level of the interior courtyard, install utility space in a new below-grade level, and erect a four-story "south building." The project will bridge the Eliot Street opening between the Belfer (left) and Taubman (right) buildings with a new "gateway" structure that includes faculty offices and other spaces. The images on this page (above and upper right) show views diagonally across the courtyard from Taubman toward Littauer, and vice versa. Turning west, across the courtyard toward the Charles Hotel complex (right), affords a look at the current open space between buildings; the gap is to be filled with a new, connective academic building, including classrooms.

Debating Diversity

Toward a more inclusive Harvard

Amid widely publicized student protests on campuses around the country in the last year and a half, many of them animated by concerns about racial and class inequities, Harvard has had its own—sometimes quieter—upwelling of activism. The cadence of campus protests has gained particular urgency in the last two academic years, following the widely publicized deaths of African-American men and women at the hands of police. Particularly last semester, a new wave of activism, and the University's responses to it, have invited members of the Harvard community on all sides of the issues to confront the challenges of inclusion.

Campus conversation on racism peaked last November, when the portraits of African-American professors at Harvard Law School (HLS) were found defaced with black tape. The same day, College dean Rakesh Khurana distributed to undergraduates the results of an 18-month study on diversity at the College. The day before, President Drew Faust had joined students at a rally in solidarity with racial-justice activists at Yale and the University of Missouri.

Leaders of the Houses. In December, the heads of all 12 undergraduate Houses decided unanimously to abandon the title "House master" (imported in the 1930s from the Oxbridge residential systems), in favor of a new term more in line with their role in the twenty-first century; the University is expected to announce a new title this semester. Said Michael Rosengarten, co-master of Mather House, "[The title]

IN THIS ISSUE

Photographs by Jim Harrison

had an association with slavery in the South, and you just can't divorce them.... We have a long history relating to Oxford and Cambridge, but times change, and we have to make sure the University isn't so inflexible that it can't change."

He and Mather House master Christie McDonald, Smith professor of French language and literature and professor of comparative literature, had, as a joke, briefly changed their own titles to "chief executive officers" on the House website a few weeks ahead of the college-wide decision. "It was a non-gendered name that described most of what we do," Rosengarten said, alluding to the feeling among some that "master" is biased with respect to gender as well as race.

Students and journalists have tended to interpret the masters' December decision as a reaction to current conversations about race. A few weeks ahead of the change, a group of students had met with Faust to discuss their demands to make Harvard more hospitable to students of color, including changing the House master title. Other undergraduates felt the change was an abrupt and trivial concession to activist demands. Any "connection between the academic title of master and slavery is grounded neither in history nor in reality.... Rather than legitimizing these games of word association," *The Harvard Crimson* editorialized, "Harvard and its administrators ought to spend time addressing actual issues of inclusivity on campus."

House masters insist this wasn't how their decision was made. The change "only seems ridiculous if you believe that we didn't understand the etymology. We know the etymology. It isn't that we didn't get it," said Anne Harrington, master of Pforzheimer House and Ford professor of the history of science. "I don't think you could find a single House master who is comfortable using that title anymore. We all go by our first names. [The title] rings in twenty-first-century ears as imperious and suggestive of a kind of arbitrary power."

"It's important to understand that the impetus to change the title of 'House master' definitely was not just a reaction to current events," McDonald said. "House leaders have been thinking about this for a long time." The change has been delayed not by disagreement about the need for a new title, but by uncertainty about what that should be, said Khurana (who is himself master of Cabot House).

Similar changes are under way at peer schools: Princeton announced that it would drop the title "master of the residential college" two weeks before Harvard's announcement, and administrators at Yale, where a long and public debate over "master" has raged, are considering doing the same. (Yale also is expected to announce whether it will strike the name of fervently pro-slavery alumnus John C. Calhoun from one of its residential colleges. In January, portraits of Calhoun were removed from the college.)

Do such symbolic matters truly influence undergraduates' experiences? Those who called for the change insist that they do. "Our job is to not have any impediments to doing our job," Harrington said. "We're trying to wrap our arms around 400-plus students and create a community for them....We don't want barriers to that relationship." Anthony Jack, a tutor in Mather who is African American, recalled a moment when the title evoked an uncomfortable historical connotation. "I was asked to come to Amherst for an event, and I wrote back, 'I would love to, but let me ask my House master for permission to leave,'" he explained. "When you transport something from one context to another, it doesn't allow it to be devoid of the context of the new setting."

Mather House co-master Michael Rosengarten and master Christie McDonald

The Law School's roots. At graduate schools, too, students have protested matters both symbolic and fundamental. The vandalism of black professors' portraits in November (University police have closed the investigation without finding a suspect) lent momentum to Reclaim Harvard Law School, a coalition of students and staff members advocating for racial-justice reforms, including removal from the school's shield of the crest of the slave-owning Royall family, whose wealth endowed HLS's first faculty chair. That demand had already been made by the HLS student group Royall Must Fall, but failed to gain traction until after the vandalism, when Dean Martha Minow called racism a "serious problem" at the school and created a committee to consider dropping the crest. (Faust, for her part, told the *Crimson* in January that she does not favor hastily abandoning building names and symbols of Harvard's past, though she remains undecided about the HLS shield.)

These demands, and protesters' broader challenges to University policy, pose "a profound challenge to those who have never seriously contemplated how inclusion might or should change institutional practices," wrote Paul professor of constitutional law and professor of history Tomiko Brown-Nagin in a *Slate* op-ed.

Some students have criticized Minow for what they see as her unwillingness to address their other demands, including the creation of a program in critical race theory (which examines the role of racism in law and society); curricular reforms that would "ensure the integration of marginalized narratives and a serious study into the implications of racism, white supremacy, and imperialism in creating and perpetuating legal analysis and thought"; and significantly expanded financial aid. "Some students and staff have presented a list of demands. We are, however, a community of many voices and hopes, and we have an obligation to provide and protect the opportunity for all to participate, speak, and be heard," Minow wrote in an e-mail to the HLS community in December. "Real institutional change requires the engagement of many members of our large and diverse community."

Photograph courtesy of Christie McDonald and Michael Rosengarten

Perhaps because of the racially fraught legacy of law in the United States, tensions at the school appear to run especially high. Michele Hall, a second-year student, said that students of color are routinely exposed to racism in the classroom. "It's hostile every day to go into class and talk about laws that affect populations of color....Every time issues of profiling come up, black students say, yes, they've been profiled on campus, and white students are shocked," she continued. "Our daily experience is colored by these types of incidents, big and small."

Other members of the community describe what they view as a climate of intolerance toward dissenting views. Third-year student William Barthow, who created Responsible Speech at HLS, a website where students have expressed disagreement with the protesters, believes many students who oppose activist demands are intimidated into silence. "There's a contingent that disagrees with the protesters but is afraid to voice that view publicly because of the social backlash of doing so," he said. Barthow and 36 other students signed a letter in December urging Reclaim Harvard Law School to remove from its demands certain items that the signers believe threaten academic freedom—such as the proposed first-year course on racial inequality in the law, which, they write, "would be taught in a highly partisan manner."

Animating a diverse community. This tension has played out most visibly at Yale, where disputes about social-justice issues escalated into a discussion about whether college students and administrators were acting more as censors than facilitators of free inquiry. In Cambridge, the College's responses have been more muted. Khurana rejects the dichotomy drawn between free speech and student calls for racial justice: "Those are sort of false binaries...one can engage in free-spirited exchange and also do that in a way that is respectful," he said. "It requires skill and capacity-building and a genuine desire to hear from somebody else's perspective." Others suggest that the challenges of embracing Harvard's increasingly diverse student body demand more expansive University strategies. "From the 1960s on, it was about quantitative diversity. Now it's about qualitative diversity, as Tomiko Brown-Nagin has written. So the question

HARVARD PORTRAIT

James Mickens

James Mickens is explaining how comedians Hannibal Buress and Louis C.K. get their laughs: Buress's high "joke density" versus Louis C.K.'s slow-build storytelling. For Mickens, an associate professor of computer science known for his snappy, engaging, and laugh-out-loud funny PowerPoint presentations on computer security (many viewable online), YouTube comedy clips are research. "A lot of people don't realize that even the sciences are a social field," he says. "When you can explain your work well and create a narrative, you are building a universe for people to inhabit with you." He approaches teaching the same way. Mickens joined Harvard's faculty last fall, after six years with Microsoft Research and a one-year visiting professorship at MIT. He tries to give his students a "deeper sense of the work," he says, beyond money and prestige and Silicon Valley. Growing up in Atlanta as a physicist's son (and a serious heavy metal fan; he owns a formidable record collection and plays in two one-man bands), he was drawn to computer science and the potential to "build things with your mind, without needing a backhoe. There's a lot of architectural thought, and yet at a certain level you're in a different reality." After Georgia Tech, and a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, he now studies security—or the lack of it—in distributed systems (multiple computers connected to a network). A lot of his research, he says, "is thinking about failure scenarios." It also addresses the fundamental tension between privacy and profit in Web services like Facebook and Gmail. He's working on a data-storage system that would allow users to retain control of their online content—and a whole new ecosystem of Web services to go with it. Building without a backhoe. —LYDIALYLE GIBSON

Photographs by Jim Harrison

Yesterday's News

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

1926 Thick ice on the Charles River has lasted a month longer than usual, forcing the crew coach to hire men to cut a channel from Newell Boathouse to areas of the river with more open water.

1936 The article "Electing Overseers Fifty Years Ago" reports that alumni in 1886 were informed not only of candidates' qualifications but also of their opinions on controversial Harvard issues: should attendance at morning prayers be made voluntary? should knowledge of Greek be required for admission to the College? should women be allowed in the professional schools? should the marking system be abolished in College courses?

1941 The first *Crimson* to appear after spring recess decries the prejudice that led the U.S. Naval Academy to forbid Lucien V. Alexis Jr. '42, a black member of the Harvard lacrosse team, from playing in the game held there during the break.

1961 Radcliffe women are included in the Harvard Who's Who directory, lengthening the student section by some 35 pages.

1971 The peer-counseling group Room 13, operating from 8 P.M. to 8 A.M. every night, has been founded as a way for students to talk anonymously to a sympathetic listener or get information on sensitive topics like birth control and drug use. The founders credit their motto to the Beatles: "We get by with a little help from our friends."

1981 The student-faculty committee formed in response to student demands for a Third World Center unanimously recommends instead the establishment of a foundation to improve racial relations on campus. Rather than encourage "further separation of the races," the committee seeks an organization that does for race and ethnicity what Phillips Brooks House does for charity and service.

1996 The Harvard women's basketball team (20-7 overall, 13-1 Ivy) reaches the NCAA tournament playoffs for the first time in history. (The men's team hadn't made it since 1946.) Despite losing 100-83 to number-three seed Vanderbilt, number-14 seed Harvard twice draws within five points of its rival in the game's final minutes.

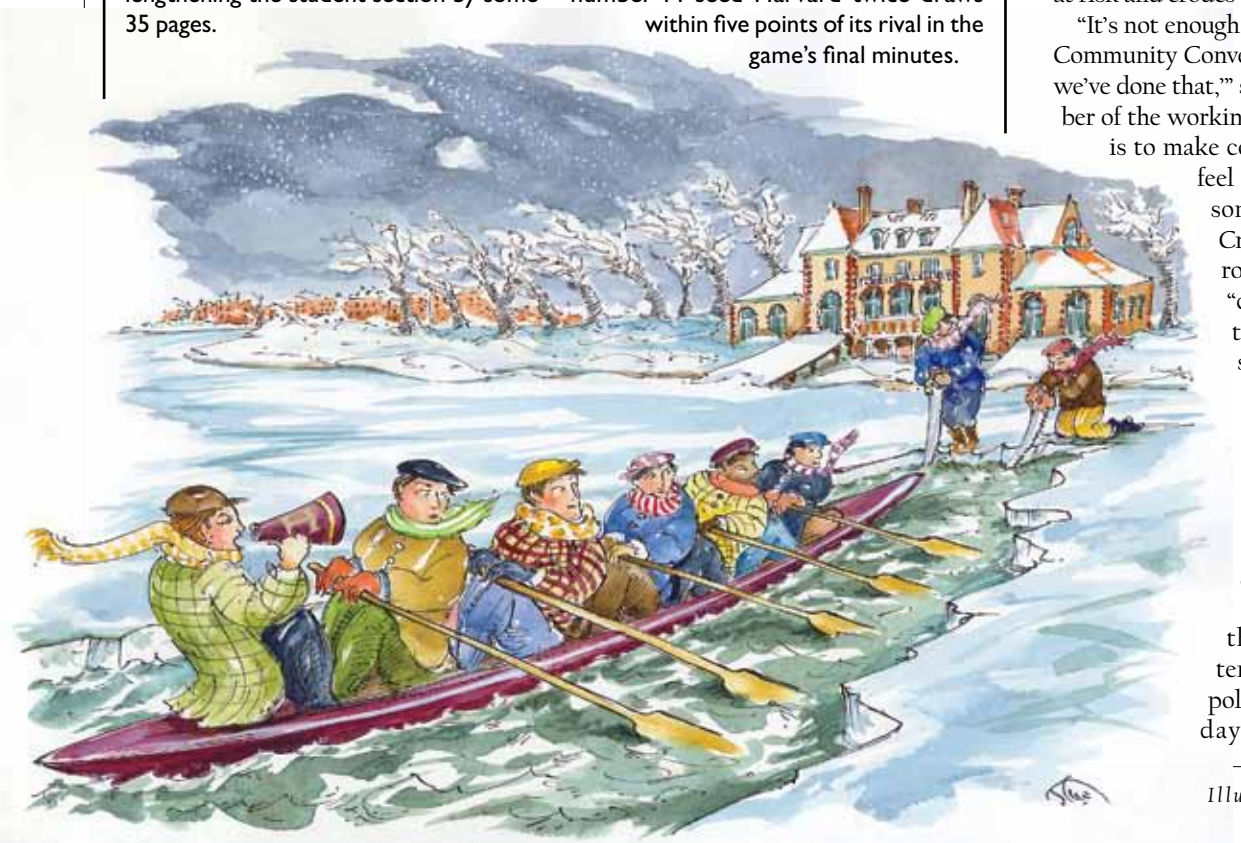


Illustration by Mark Steele

is, how do you bring together a community of diverse people?" McDonald said.

That question was the subject of the College Working Group on Diversity and Inclusion's report, released in November. It addressed ways to ensure that undergraduates can benefit equally from their Harvard experience, regardless of racial, economic, or other background. The study spans College life from the academic, by calling on departments to consider how their methods of inquiry or lack of diversity may exclude some groups, to the extracurricular and residential, by urging the Houses to create programming that promotes conversations about diversity.

In their freshman year, for example, students participate in mandatory Community Conversations: a series of discussions about diversity and the Harvard community. But the report notes that many House tutors stress the need for dialogue beyond the first year. It sharply criticizes the lack of regularity across Houses in their commitment to diversity: "The process of appointing resident tutors and scholars is informal and thus lacks transparency, which leads to mistrust in its integrity," it states, later referencing allegations raised last May that Dunster House was unwelcoming to LGBT students. "The lack of clear policies, structures of accountability, and consistency across Houses puts everyone at risk and erodes trust."

"It's not enough to have just two days of Community Conversations and say, 'Okay, we've done that,'" said Harrington, a member of the working group. "Our challenge is to make community conversation feel like a value rather than something burdensome." Creating an inclusive environment also might mean "changing the optics of the residential Houses, so that they celebrate the traditions of individuals who aren't necessarily just straight white men," she added. As a way to express Harvard's values, she stressed, such symbols matter.

Skeptics like Barthow question the extent to which University policy can affect students' day-to-day experiences

and interactions, where many grievances about racial intolerance originate. "Microaggressions"—everyday slights against marginalized groups, like the prejudiced assumptions that students of color say they experience in their social groups or in College or law school classes—occur outside the administration's sphere of influence, he said. "I'm not sure if the right response is a top-down response…It's a social problem, not an administrative problem."

The faculty. Beyond the portraits hung on House walls, an area of wide student concern has been the composition of Harvard's faculties, whose members they meet daily in classrooms. Student activists on many campuses have called for increasing the number of underrepresented minorities in the faculty ranks. In January, a group of Harvard Medical School and Dental School students delivered a petition calling on Faust to select a medical school dean who is committed to increasing student and faculty diversity. Yale committed $50 million last fall to increase the diversity of its faculty over five years. University of Missouri students have called on the administration to increase the share of black faculty to 10 percent by next year—up from 3 percent now. And Brown has announced an ambitious plan to double its share of underrepresented minority faculty to 18 percent by 2025.

Recent history suggests that such changes won't come easily. Nationally, only about 6 percent of University faculty members are African American. At Harvard and elsewhere, the share of underrepresented minority professors has moved little in the last decade. "With respect to faculty diversity," said McDonald, "we're still working on the quantitative."

Harvard's latest data on total ladder faculty (a group including both tenured and tenure-track professors) show the proportion of black faculty remaining stable at 4 percent. Of 1,485 *total* ladder faculty, 42 are black professors, and 18 are black junior faculty. Another 4 percent of ladder faculty are Latino, representing 36 professors and 26 junior faculty. Both groups are more likely to be non-tenured than the faculty overall. The population of tenured black and Latino professors has grown steadily in the last decade: the number of black professors has increased from 26 to 42, an increase of 62 percent; Latino professors have doubled from 18 to 36. But as noted, their share of the faculty overall remains low: during the past decade, the proportion of underrepresented minority junior faculty (which includes African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and faculty of two or more races) has grown from 10 percent to 11 percent; the share of underrepresented minority senior faculty increased from 5 percent to 8 percent. Asian Americans, who are not considered underrepresented, account for 10 percent of senior faculty and 19 percent of junior faculty. No faculty members are Native American.

"For 11 percent of the junior faculty to be underrepresented minorities and 8 percent of professors to be underrepresented minorities—Harvard's doing better than a lot of other places," said Judith Singer, senior vice provost for faculty development and diversity. Nonetheless, she continued, "You see these percentages moving, but they're moving more slowly than a lot of people would like." Stressing that the composition of the faculty evolves appointment by appointment, over long stretches of time, she pointed out, "Last year we tenured our first Latino in psychology, our first African American in computer science."

Part of the challenge is the dearth of underrepresented minorities in academia. African Americans account for about 6 percent of Ph.D. recipients in the United States, according to the National Science Foundation—a figure that has not changed in a decade. Latinos also make up 6 percent of recipients, up from 5 percent a decade ago. "We're all in competition for the same people," Singer said. At Harvard, these trends also appear to hold. Harvard College is the most diverse school in the University, she said, while graduate students look roughly the same as faculty in terms of diversity statistics. That trend reinforces itself: minority students who don't interact with minority faculty are less likely to pursue academic careers.

To meet the demands of equity and diversity, Harvard has had to rethink every stage of its faculty recruitment process. "We've discovered that the way our position descriptions are worded influences who applies," Singer explained. Her office encourages faculty search committees to write broad position descriptions and to

conduct active outreach to talented minority candidates: "If you want to diversify your faculty, you cannot just sit there, post an ad, and expect people to apply."

"In the old days," she said, faculty hiring worked quite differently. "You called up a few of your buddies, or your former students, and said, 'Who do you have for me this year?'" Persuading professors to abandon old systems, and to confront their implicit biases, she added, is not simple.

* * *

Harvard's approach to date has many critics who believe the University could do more to prevent attrition of minority scholars at the source of the problem: the academic pipeline. Mather House tutor Anthony Jack, a Ph.D. candidate in sociology who studies the effects of race and class on students' experiences at elite colleges, said Harvard should make a broader effort to diversify its ranks: embrace novel areas of research (such as his own scholarship), for example, and develop minority scholars at the college and graduate levels. "Diversify your graduate programs—I was the first black male in eight years in my department," he said. Jack was recently named a Junior Fellow, and next fall will join the faculty of the Graduate School of Education.

Jack traced the current wave of student protest to the Black Lives Matter movement of the last few years. Critics who condemn coddled college students "miss the point of the protests," he said, and those protests' connections to broader inequities that extend to the gates of elite universities. The symptoms raised by the national racial-justice movement also are reflected in Harvard's racial legacy, the experiences of students, and the diversity of the faculty. "We know the target of the criminal justice system is men and women of color. When we think about the faculty, it's the inverse: there's nobody—relatively—who's African American," Jack said. "The underlying issue is equality."

—Marina Bolotnikova

News Briefs

An Overseers' Challenge?

On February 1, Ron Unz '83 delivered petitions for himself and four other candidates seeking places on the ballot for the annual election of new members to Harvard's Board of Overseers. (The list of Harvard Alumni Association nominees appears on page 66.)

Under the theme, "Free Harvard, Fair Harvard," the petitioners advocate "greater transparency" in admissions, a message coupled with language about "abuses" in admissions and "powerful statistical evidence" of a quota that limits admission of Asians—leading to their statement, "Racial discrimination against Asian-American students has no place at Harvard University and must end." They also "demand the immediate elimination of all tuition for undergraduates," citing both income from the endowment and the notion that moving from financial aid to a tuition-free model would more readily promote diversity in the student body. A detailed report on Harvard's admissions and student-diversity policies, its finances, and the petitioners' arguments appears at **harvardmag.com/overseers-16**.

If the petitioners qualify for the ballot, an announcement with the full list of candidates is expected in mid February, after this issue of the magazine was printed; the outcome will be noted online at harvardmagazine.com toward the end of February, and printed in the May-June issue.

Reenvisioning Admissions

The Graduate School of Education's Making Caring Common project (which seeks to "develop effective strategies for promoting in children kindness and a commitment to the greater good") has addressed the cutthroat arena of college admissions. "Turning the Tide," a report released in January, proposes reworking admissions to promote ethical engagement among applicants, reduce excessive pressure for achievement, and create a fairer process for economically disadvantaged students.

It recommends that students participate in authentic service or community engagement—lasting at least a year, and including such contributions as working to provide income for one's family (a leveling step that recognizes diverse student circumstances). It also recommends that students go beyond individual service to collective action that addresses community challenges, exposing them to the emotional and problem-solving aspects of teamwork. The report urges institutions to state clearly their interest in the *quality* of applicants' activities, not their quantity, and to put their use of standardized tests in the evaluation process into context. The recommendations arose from a meeting of admissions officers, counselors, and others; they have been endorsed by admissions officers from dozens of institutions, including Brown, Harvard, Princeton, and Yale.

General Education, Downsized

The proposed revision of the College's General Education curriculum reached the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS) for debate on February 2. Compared to the program outlined in December (described at **harvardmag.com/curriculum-16**), this version, on which FAS members will vote later this term, further eases course requirements.

If enacted, undergraduates will take four Gen Ed courses (down from eight now), each "explicitly designed to prepare students for a life of civic and ethical engagement in a changing world." They will fall into four broadened categories: Aesthetics, Culture, Intepretation; Histories, Societies, Individuals; Science and Technology in Society; and Ethics and Civics. Students will also have to fulfill a distribution requirement, taking a course each in arts and humanities; social science; and science and engineering—but one of these may be from their concentration (flexibility the December proposal did not permit). And they face a new Empirical and Mathematical Reasoning requirement. If a student were to place out of that (the course remains to be defined by a separate committee) *and* use a concentration course for distributional purposes, she would reduce her requirements for Gen Ed plus distribution to six term-length classes.

—John S. Rosenberg

Brevia

Encouraging Entrepreneurs

As universities foster student and affiliate start-ups ("Inside Startup U," on Stanford, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*; "Universities Race to Nurture Start-Up Founders of the Future," *The New York Times*), Harvard's **iLab** has spawned the **Innovation Launch Lab** for alumni, just across Western Avenue. And now the Business School and its Arthur Rock Center for Entrepreneurship have taken the show on the road, introducing the **HBS Startup Studio** in Manhattan. A "gathering place" for local entrepreneurial alumni and a "workspace for New York-based teams," it welcomed an initial nine enterprises, ranging from an online-fitness firm and a maternal nutritional-beverage company (Bundle Organics) to Tootelage, which supplies educational content for at-home learning. Applicants are required to have at least $500,000 in seed funding and fewer than seven employees.

Aiming at Endowments

Several years after U.S. senator Charles Grassley (R-Iowa) aired proposals to mandate that university endowments distribute 5 percent of their assets annually (as foundations do), and perhaps be required to spend much of that money on financial aid (see "Endowments—Under a Tax?" July-August 2008, page 65), another legislator is toying with a similar idea. *Bloomberg* reported in January that U.S. representative Tom Reed (R-New York) is drafting legislation directing schools with large endowments to spend 25 percent of endowment income on financial aid for lower-income students—or risk losing their tax-exempt status. Depending on how income and need were defined, Harvard, with a $4.7-billion endowment investment return in a good year like fiscal 2014, could be required to spend much more than it actually did under its existing need-blind aid policy. That might pose problems in leaner years, like fiscal 2015, suggesting an unwanted degree of volatility from the formula, not to mention problems of conforming to donors' gift intentions. Whether the proposal advances past the talking stage, or not, the idea of tapping endowments to enhance aid spending, without boosting public appropriations, continues to pop up. For another perspective, see the news about the Overseers slate, facing page.

CRIMSON TIGER: Molecular biologist and geneticist Shirley M. Tilghman, LL.D. '04, president emerita of Princeton, has been elected a Fellow of the Harvard Corporation. She began serving as of January 1, filling the vacancy created by the sudden death of James F. Rothenberg '68, M.B.A. '70, last summer. Tilghman joins fellow education leaders Lawrence S. Bacow, former chancellor of MIT and president of Tufts, and Nannerl O. Keohane, president emerita of Wellesley and Duke, on the 13-member senior governing board. She brings to the Corporation command of the life sciences and broad engagement with Princeton's outstanding engineering program, significant changes in campus residential life, and the expansion of its performing arts offerings and facilities. Read a full report at harvardmag.com/tilghman-16.

A "Poverty Preference"

Amid concerns about lower-income students' participation in elite higher education, the **Jack Kent Cooke Foundation**, a major source of scholarships, in January published "True Merit: Ensuring Our Brightest Students Have Access to Our Best Colleges and Universities." Citing data showing that students from families in the lowest economic quartile comprise only 3 percent of enrollment at the most selective schools, while those from the top quartile comprise 72 percent of enrollment, the authors call for a "poverty preference" to factor into admissions decisions—much as legacy and athletic preferences do. Princeton president emeritus William G. Bowen, LL.D. '73, and colleagues previously made a similar argument for a sort of socioeconomic affirmative action in *Equity and Excellence in American Higher Education* (see the excerpt, "A Thumb on the Scale," May-June 2005, page 48); the problem they identified persists, and may even have worsened.

Schwarzman Scholars Debut

The first class of Schwarzman Scholars (a new master's program based at Tsinghua University in Beijing, modeled on the Rhodes and Marshall scholarships) includes 111 students, six of them from Harvard: **Bonnie Lei** '15 (a former organismic and evolutionary biology concentrator); **Christian Føhrby** '14 (government); **John Randolph Thornton** '14 (history); **Jonathan Jeffrey** '16 (history); **Rahim Mawji** '15 (applied mathematics); and **Rugsit Kanan** '16 (sociology and economics).

Nota Bene

Arts first first. **Frank Gehry,** Ds '57, Ar.D. '00, will become the first architect to receive the Harvard Arts Medal when he is honored on April 28, during the annual Arts First festival.

Masters move on. Moore professor of biological anthropology **Richard W. Wrangham** and **Elizabeth A. Ross**, mas-

Photograph courtesy of Shirley M. Tilghman

ter and co-master (as the titles have traditionally been; see page 17) of Currier House since 2008, have announced that they will relinquish those roles at the end of the academic year.

Writers' roster. University affiliates nominated for the National Book Critics Circle awards (to be conferred March 17) include Bernbaum research professor of literature **Leo Damrosch**, *Eternity's Sunrise: The Imaginative World of William Blake*; **Charlotte Gordon** '84, *Romantic Outlaws: The Extraordinary Lives of Mary Wollstonecraft and Her Daughter Mary Shelley*; **Vivian Gornick**, RF '08, *The Odd Woman and the City*; and professor of the practice of literary criticism **James Wood**, *The Nearest Thing to Life*.

The class of 2020. The College announced in early December that 918 of 6,173 **early-action applicants** (14.9 percent) had been granted admission to the class of 2020. In the prior year, 977 of 5,918 applicants (16.5 percent) were admitted, continuing a trend: a larger pool of early applicants, and a smaller cohort granted early admission. A total of 39,044 students applied, up 4.7 percent from last year.


JIM HARRISON

Jennifer Lewis

Inventors three. The National Academy of Inventors, founded in 2010 by member universities and nonprofit institutions to honor academic work that results in patents, has admitted 168 new fellows, including: Wyss professor of biologically inspired engineering **Jennifer Lewis**, who aims to develop an artificial kidney via 3-D printing (see Harvard Portrait, November-December 2013, page 62); Folkman professor of vascular biology **Donald E. Ingber**, who is also professor of bioengineering and director of the Wyss Institute (see "Mimicking Organs," January-February, page 12, a report on his "organs on a chip"); and professor of pathology **Guillermo J. Tearney**, who works on noninvasive optical imaging.

Pritzker honorand. **Alejandro Aravena**, a former faculty member at the Graduate School of Design, has won the Pritzker Prize, conferred annually on an outstanding architect. Atypically, his firm, ELEMENTAL, based in Santiago, Chile, was recognized not for its trophy buildings, but for designing very low-cost housing units whose occupants, in many cases, finish and extend the structures on their own, as their resources permit. The work was featured in "For Santiago's Poor, Housing with Dignity" (see **harvardmag.com/housing-16**).

Cyber studies. The **Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs**, at the Harvard Kennedy School, has received a $15-million gift from its eponymous supporters—**Robert** (J.D. '58) and **Renée Belfer**, and their son **Laurence** ('88)—to launch a project on cyber security.

Proxy profile. The **Corporation Committee on Shareholder Responsibility** revealed in its 2015 annual report (http://www.harvard.edu/shareholder-responsibility-committees) that Harvard voted in favor of shareholder proposals for corporate disclosure of political and lobbying expenditures. The committee abstained on certain proposals concerning greenhouse gases and global warming, in line with the recommendations of its advisory committee; abstained on and opposed two proposals on genetically modified nutritional ingredients; and abstained on a resolution on drug pricing, noting that "profits on effective 'blockbuster' drugs help fund research and development."


JIM HARRISON

John Asher Johnson

Top teachers. The Fannie Cox Prize for Excellence in Science Teaching—for exemplary work in introductory courses, and accompanied by a $10,000 personal award and $40,000 in support for teaching and research—has been conferred on Rumford professor of physics and McKay professor of applied physics **Jene Golovchenko** and professor of astronomy **John Asher Johnson**. (Johnson's work was described in a Harvard Portrait, January-February 2014, page 23.)

Miscellany. **Susan Holman**, M.T.S. '91, a senior writer at the Global Health Education and Learning Incubator, has won the 2016 Grawemeyer Award in religion for *Beholden: Religion, Global Health, and Human Rights*. **Gary Haugen** '85 and **Victor Boutros**, Ed.M. '99, won the award for ideas improving world order for *The Locust Effect: Why the End of Poverty Requires the End of Violence*....**Yale** began piloting its system of **carbon charges**, which are being tested on 20 campus buildings—part of its effort to reduce emission of 300,000 tons of carbon dioxide annually....**Diane Quinn**, formerly senior vice president of Cirque du Soleil, has joined the American Repertory Theater as executive director.... The Boston Redevelopment Authority has approved construction of **Harvard Business School's Klarman Hall**, an auditorium and meeting complex (see the roundup of capital-campaign news, January-February, pages 26-28); the BRA noted a $171-million project cost.

RADCLIFFE HONORAND: Federal Reserve chair Janet L. Yellen will receive the Radcliffe Medal, awarded annually to "an individual who has had a transformative impact on society," on May 27, during Commencement week. The first woman to lead the Federal Reserve will participate in a conversation with Beren professor of economics N. Gregory Mankiw. The event also features personal reflections by Yellen's immediate predecessor, Ben S. Bernanke '75.

Photograph courtesy of the Federal Reserve

Kid from a Flyover State

by BAILEY TRELA '16

When I finished winter exams, I flew home and was picked up by my father in Indianapolis. We detoured through Terre Haute on the way to New Harmony, in the south of our state, driving all the way beneath a gray, rain-threatening sky.

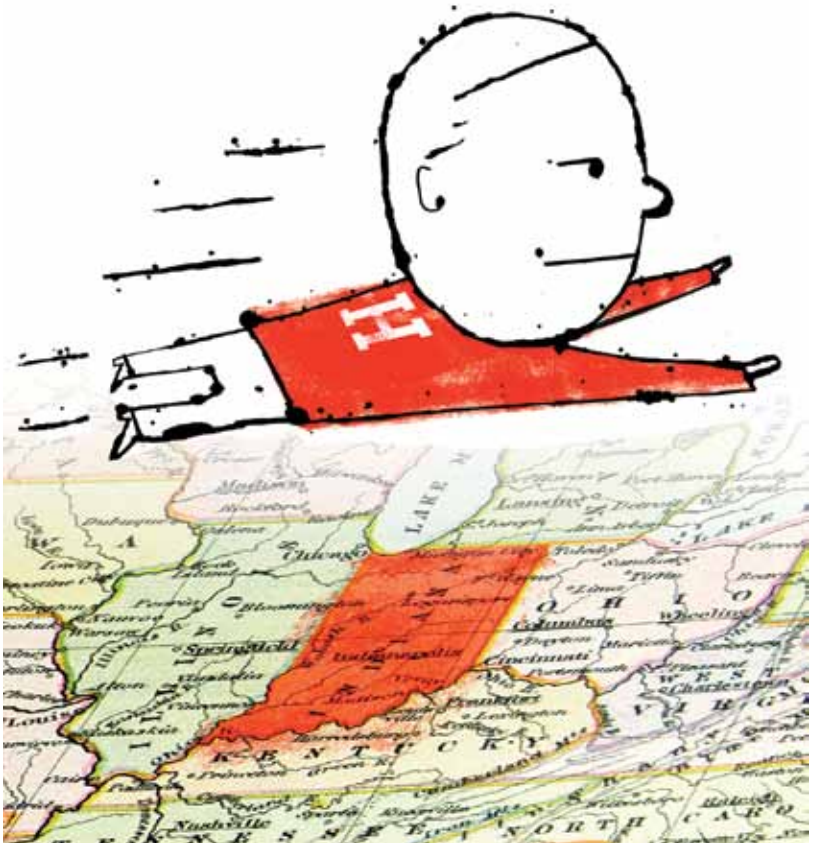
The drive always seemed drowsy and anonymous. I felt vaguely aware that there was nothing of interest outside the system, off the road. Trees might rear and fields spread outward, farming equipment might stand desolately in the harvested emptiness and small oil-field pumpjacks bob steadily—and yet they seemed pasteboard figures in a perfunctory scene, as though the onward and endlessly stretching scroll of the Hoosier State needed to be filled by *something*.

But it was different this time. I refused to let the scene's peculiarities pass under my notice. I saw hedge apples like yellow brains in the roadside ditches; wire fences thronged with shrubbery—when birds sit on the wire and excrete, my father explained, they drop motley seeds; entire fields run with regular rows of upchurned earth, like the traces of massive moles: evidence that a drainage system of black plastic pipes had been installed.

I'd spent the first 18 years of my life in Indiana; I knew the land so well that it had passed into archetype, become something that *just was*. Say what you would about it, you couldn't deny it existed. But at Harvard, as it turned out, people denied just that. To many of my classmates, the Midwest was the quintessential void; from both the coasts, they forayed into other countries, while the center of their own remained a cipher. In the face of this assessment, I'd never found the time to develop my own understanding of my state. It existed, I knew. It took up space. But beyond that, I couldn't say much.

As we drove home, the empty space filled up. It wasn't as if I'd suddenly come to understand the land. Rather, a difference had emerged, a sudden complexity that I'd never allowed myself to see, and I had to ask myself, with a newfound critical bent: What *had* I been seeing? And why?

So there's this Texan, or maybe he's a Sooner, or a Hoosier—it doesn't really matter, so long as he's not so refined, has a rougher understanding of decorum. Anyway, he's off to attend some East Coast school, and upon arrival gets it into his head to do some studying, but he's so bemused by the fanciful brick and high-rise architecture of his temporary home that he has to stop and ask a native for the location of the library: "Excuse me—I'm new here. Would you mind telling me where the library's at?" The native responds in a voice gone all transatlantic: "Here at Harvard," he draws it out, long as a sigh, "we don't end our sentences with prepositions." Not to be trod upon, our Texan (or Sooner, or Hoosier) responds in a stereotypical Texan (or Sooner, or Hoosier) accent: "I'm very sorry about that. Could you please tell me where the library's at, [expletive of your choice]?"



Just a few months before entering Harvard, I was told this joke by an established member of my Indiana community—his hearty frame convulsed mid delivery by bouts of shoulder-slapping merriment—who himself had attended a similar East Coast institution in the 1980s. Beyond the avowed triteness of the setup, delivery, and punch line lurked implicit messages, not the least of which was: *You're going to have to watch your back*. Your tools will be humor and subversion, the joke said; you will have to stock your quiver with the arrows of conscious humility and, like a folk hero, contrive to let them fly at the right moment, at the right target.

It sounds pompous and solemn and naïve, but I really *was* think-

Illustration by Miguel Davilla

ing along those lines, in that lofty register, when I landed on campus in the fall of 2012. I understood that I was supposed to be aggrieved; I was primed for a fight but found that I'd spent my days preparing for a battle long-since fought. Where had all the spooky elitism flown? Nobody cared where I was from, save to marvel halfheartedly at the minimal scale of my origins (a town of 800; one K-12 school of 150). Nobody was walking with canes and monocles. Perhaps most unfortunate, it seemed I'd never get the chance to use the powdered wig my grandma had bought me as a graduation gift.

In place of the aggression I'd expected, I found ignorance; in place of antagonism, an offer of assimilation. No one understood Indiana, so no one could hold the state against me. Of course, I was more than pleased to discover this; one could do worse, I thought, than forget all about Indiana.

My friends have a running joke, to which, in four years of college, I've failed to provide a winning retort. It goes like this: I say something about Indiana—anything at all—and they remind me that I meant to say Idaho, or Iowa; they're all interchangeable, like we're playing horseshoes with homelands. Either that or someone cocks a head, squints quizzically, and says: "Where?" As if the Hoosier state isn't, just this year, celebrating its bicentennial (Huzzah! Sumptuous Joy! Viva the Crossroads!).

It's very funny, the whole thing. But it leaves me feeling lousy, too.

There are names for these places—Indiana, Iowa, Idaho: right now, the voguest is "flyover state," meaning, ideally your feet will never touch their barren and mercifully miniaturized ground; meaning, the best that can be said about them is they're avoidable.

"Flyover state" seems to me to encapsulate, better than its coiner could ever have intended, the strange blending of tact and indifference that seems to determine so much of our dialogue, as Harvard students, about the regions we call home. I've never gotten into a fight because someone took umbrage at my Hoosier bearing, but, as I've come to learn, the absence of prejudice is still a long way from the presence of interest.

I've always felt that, to a majority of my classmates, Middle America is akin to Middle Earth: a mythic space whose unmarked zones bear the cautionary legend "Here be Republicans," or something more nebulous still; it exists only as idealized space, unarticulated, untouched, unexplored.

> "…the absence of prejudice is still a long way from the presence of interest."

And I think this perception of emptiness affected me—I became like a travel agent, bent on selling my home state, presenting as lures whatever stereotypical emblems came to mind. I had to justify it, prove that something was there. Over time I built this into a routine, a sort of grandstanding alter ego who engaged in all forms of cornpone kvetching, extolling the manifold virtues of cornbread and down-home coziness, the friendliness of backwaters—even, on one occasion, crafting an impromptu dance move at a party and christening it on the spot "The Shucker," despite the fact I've probably shucked only enough corn in my entire life to yield half a bushel of husks.

The problem is, if you're constantly trying to sell your homeland, you'll hardly have time to reflect on it critically. Whatever youthful impressions of Indiana I'd brought with me to Harvard—that its residents were merely lovable yokels, patched overalls and all; that the mindless cultivation of commercial crops constituted its raison d'être—became solidified, entrenched. When I dipped home for summer or winter breaks, I saw in the long glides through the countryside what I expected to see: nothing.

It all comes back to indifference, which, in the present context, is the same as ignorance. When people talk to me about Indiana, their ignorance is apparent. And in a strange way, it ends up protecting my own ignorance, safeguarding it. I always note, in these interactions, an unwillingness on both sides to probe too sharply. Whether this springs from a desire not to give offense or something else entirely, the end result is the same: nothing is challenged; I'm forced to defend nothing; and no one learns anything. Not that there isn't a reasonable solution to this indifferentism; I certainly wouldn't advise anything so militant as an organized chauvinism. Nor would it be reasonable to make everyone learn a few things about every state and then quiz them on a bimonthly basis. But it does seem to me that we could give more thought to the spaces we bring with us, to recognize in even the plainest plats of land an irreducible strangeness—and then perhaps, like a cherry on top, someone could reach out to say, "Tell me about the Hoosier State."

Berta Greenwald Ledecky Undergraduate Fellow Bailey Trela already misses Indiana.

SPORTS

A Calming Presence

Hockey goalie Emerance Maschmeyer steadies her team, in record-setting fashion.

The moment was easy to miss. Halfway through the third period in an early January game that Harvard would soon put out of reach, Colgate defenseman Nicole Gass skated into the zone and, from the top of the right-hand faceoff circle, snapped a hard shot toward the Harvard net. The puck sailed past two Crimson defenders and into the pads of goalie Emerance Maschmeyer '16, who flicked it harmlessly into the corner.

And that was it. Maschmeyer, 21, a senior co-captain of the Harvard women's hockey team and its principal goaltender for the past three years, had made her 2,108th career save, surpassing the school's all-time record. A half-second later, her teammates corralled the puck along the

left boards and, after a skirmish at the blue line, cleared it out of the zone and up the ice. In the next 10 minutes, Harvard would score another three goals to win the game 6-2, and it wasn't until after the final buzzer that the rink announcer reported Maschmeyer's record to the applauding crowd. By then she'd made another nine saves.


Emerance Maschmeyer

"My opinion is, she's the best goalie on the college level," says Landry Family head coach Katey Stone. Canada's national team wants her; so does the newly formed National Women's Hockey League: in 2015 the all-women professional league chose her as one of 20 athletes its inaugural draft. "She's *really* good," Stone says, "and she's a calming presence back there. You can feel it all over the ice." Averaging just over 30 saves per game, Maschmeyer (teammates call her "Mash") is hovering close to several Harvard or NCAA records: for save percentage, goals-against average, career shutouts, per-season wins. Last year she backstopped the team all the way to the NCAA tournament final, where the women fell to Minnesota in the title game. Harvard did take the 2015 ECAC regular-season and tournament championships, and upset a top-ranked, unbeaten Boston College team to win the Beanpot Tournament for the first time in five years.

This season has been a harder slog: seven players (two of them Olympians) graduated last spring, and the early fall was disrupted by absences and injuries, including one to center Mary Parker '16, last year's leading scorer. Along with her co-captain, defenseman (and Olympian) Michelle Picard '15 ('16), Maschmeyer, who will graduate this spring with a degree in sociology, has helped steady a younger squad.

"She's rock solid," Picard says. And she's helped her team win games they otherwise might not have. In a November contest against Northeastern, the Huskies came out flying; for the first period, the Crimson players found themselves mostly on their heels, battling in their own defensive zone. Against volley after volley, Maschmeyer kept the puck out of the net—she made 30 saves that night on 30 shots—and eventually her teammates found their stride. "I like being able to steal a game," she says. "A team can be outshooting and outplaying us, but if I'm able to stand on my head and give my team the chance to win—that's the best feeling."

Whenever she's in the net, Maschmeyer sings a song in her head. Not always the same one—and she's cagey about divulging titles (that might provoke the hockey gods)—although she allows it's less likely to be country ("a little slow") than hip-hop or R&B. "It depends on my mood." But when the pucks are flying toward her and opposing forwards crashing the net, a song in her head helps hold her focus.

That's what her teammates talk about when they describe her: her focus, her calm, her stability. Among the qualities that make a goalie good—lightning reflexes, disciplined positioning, a split-second instinct for when and where the puck is coming—confidence is sometimes the most elusive. It doesn't seem that way for Maschmeyer, though. Standing all of five-foot-six, she fairly disappears into her pads, a pair of dark eyes behind a wall of white and crimson. But she does not disappear on the ice. Her technical skill is formidable, and her poise and self-assurance give her team confidence to push hard and take chances on offense. "She's fun to play in front of," Picard says. "You always know that she'll have your back if you make a mistake....Nothing rattles her."

The first time Maschmeyer strapped on a set of goalie pads, it was just to be polite. She was seven years old, and she'd been playing hockey since she was three. "I started out as a forward," she says. "I liked scoring goals." Then she joined a league in which the young

Photographs by Jim Harrison

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SPOTLIGHT ON ITALY

players rotated positions, including guarding the goal. "So I would just be in regular player equipment in net," she recalls. After one game, she told her parents she'd had fun as goaltender. That Christmas, there was a set of goalie pads under the tree. "I felt like, OK, this is my present. I have to try this on." The first outing on the ice didn't go well. There were tears. "I did not like it," she says. "I had my pads on the opposite legs; it was a mess." After that, though, it got better, and then it got serious. Her siblings—all five Maschmeyer kids played hockey—were overjoyed to have a goalie to shoot against in their backyard rink.

"Backyard rink" doesn't really do justice, though. Maschmeyer grew up outside Bruderheim, Alberta, Canada, a tiny speck of a town about an hour's drive from Edmonton. Her parents, Arlan and Christine, farm 10,000 acres of wheat, barley, and canola. The rink Arlan Maschmeyer constructed every winter had full-size boards and Plexiglas shielding and a warming shack. There were workout stations, shooting-drill spots, and dummy bags to practice body-checking. A player himself until age 20, he coached his daughter and her siblings—three brothers and a sister—in those early years. "We'd be out there until 12:30 at night skating, and our toes would be frozen," she says. "It was awesome. And my dad would be like, 'You can't get off the ice until you can lift the puck.' And then we'd come in and my mom would put us in the bathtub to warm up." She gets a far-away look when she talks about Bruderheim and the rink and all those acres. "That's the root of my game," she says. "My game was built there, with my family."

The rink Arlan Maschmeyer constructed every winter had full-size boards and Plexiglas shielding and a warming shack.

Coach Stone remembers visiting Maschmeyer before the goalie came to Harvard. "It was a long trip—we took an airplane and then another and then got in a car and drove another couple of hours and arrived on one of the most beautiful summer days," she recalls. She spent hours touring the farm in Arlan's pickup truck and chatting with Maschmeyer's grandmother; she ate with the family out on the deck. "By the end, it's pitch black, and we're about to drive away, and Emerance said to me, 'Thank you for coming; it was really important for me that you know where I come from.' That's a special kid."

Until college, Maschmeyer played on boys' teams; at 10 she was only the second female goalie (Hockey Canada legend Shannon Szabados, whom Maschmeyer grew up idolizing—and against whom she may compete for a spot in the 2018 Olympics—was the first) invited to play in Edmonton's Brick Invitational Hockey Tournament, an event that routinely draws future NHLers. In her last year of high school, she played with the Alberta Junior Hockey League, at the highest amateur level, and also played in the Alberta Winter Games and Canada Winter Games.

Hockey Canada came calling that year, too. In 2012, she won gold with the national under-18 team in the International Ice Hockey Federation World Championship in Finland and Sweden. Maschmeyer was in net for the gold-medal game, a 3-0 shutout against the U.S. team (facing future Harvard teammate Brianna Laing in goal for the Americans). Playing with Canada's under-22 team, Maschmeyer has competed twice, in 2014 and 2015, in Europe's Four Nations Cup (this past November the team took second place), as well as in the world championship in Sweden last March. She plans to be there this spring, too. "I'm still getting stronger," she says.

That's true, says sophomore forward Carly Heffernan, Maschmeyer's roommate, best friend, and teammate—both at Harvard and Hockey Canada. The two grew up half an hour apart in Alberta and met when Heffernan was 12 and Maschmeyer was 15. Already, she says, Maschmeyer is the best goaltender she's ever played against or in front of. The two practiced together back home last summer, and the goalie coach often asked Heffernan to take shots on Maschmeyer at the end of a practice session. "So I've probably tried 200 different moves on her," Heffernan reports. "And maybe—*maybe*—10 went in. I've said to her, 'I've probably taken more shots on you than anyone in the world, and I still can't figure you out.' She just laughed. She's so calm in the net. You can't throw her off."

And the song keeps playing in her head.

—LYDIALYLE GIBSON

This season Maschmeyer made her 2,108th save, surpassing the Harvard's women's hockey all-time record.

A Slim Margin

Ups and downs for men's basketball in early conference play

One evening in mid January, Zena Edosomwan '17, the star center of Harvard men's basketball, stood at the free-throw line for what seemed like a low-stakes attempt. Harvard was playing Ryerson, a Canadian team added to the schedule primarily as a tune-up for Ivy play, and the outcome was hardly in doubt: the Crimson was up by 13 in the second half, and Stemberg head coach Tommy Amaker had been drawing on his bench.

Yet Edosomwan—who had struggled with free throws earlier in the season—focused as though the Ivy title were on the line. He took a deep breath as he eyed the basket and then bounced the ball twice before spinning it in his hands. After repeating this ritual three times, Edosomwan bent his knees, rose, and flicked his wrist. The shot was good, but the next attempt clanged off the front rim.

The sequence echoes the challenge the team faces this season. After graduating seven seniors from a class that went to four consecutive NCAA tournaments, and then losing star point guard Siyani Chambers '16 to an off-season knee injury, the Crimson has had to squeeze the most out of its talent, maximizing its opportunities to improve as it plays one of the most difficult schedules in program history and strives to capture a sixth consecutive conference championship.

Unwelcome Surprise, Challenging Start. At last spring's season-ending banquet, Amaker suggested that the 2015-2016 squad had the potential to surprise people, despite losing so many seniors. That comparison rested on the assumption that this year's Crimson would have Chambers, who had started as point guard since his freshman year. But once Chambers tore his ACL, the question became how such a young team could possibly compensate for his loss.

As the season got underway, it was clear how hard this task would be. After dispatching MIT (a Division III opponent) 59-39 in the season opener, the Crimson fell the next night to Providence 76-64. The outcome was not surprising—Providence is led by national player of the year candidate Kris Dunn—but the way it happened was unnerving. The Crimson turned the ball over 22 times; gave up 42 second-half points, a disconcerting number for a program that prides itself on playing high-level defense; and lost another point guard, Matt Fraschilla '17, also to an ACL tear.

Pre-injury, Zena Edosomwan '17 anchored the Crimson offense as a reliable scorer in the post and an outstanding rebounder.

There were some bright spots, namely the performance of Edosomwan, who tallied 13 points and hauled in 16 rebounds to earn his first career double-double. But the contest offered early proof that this year's Harvard squad was not ready to compete at the elite level of its predecessors.

Incremental Progress. The next few games—a 69-63 loss at home to the University of Massachusetts and a 69-56 setback at Boston College—did not allay concerns. Chambers's replacement, freshman Tommy McCarthy, had 10 turnovers and just one assist during this stretch, and the Eagles torched the Crimson for 53 second-half points. An 80-45 thrashing of Bryant just before Thanksgiving hinted at the Crimson's potential, but Amaker's squad followed that performance with a dismal loss at Holy Cross and then another setback, 80-71, to Northeastern.

After the game, Huskies head coach Bill Coen encouraged Harvard fans to focus on the bright side, noting that the Crimson were young and had talent that would coalesce as the season continued. Harvard, he said, would be "extremely formidable" by the beginning of Ivy play in January. Amaker echoed the point, emphasizing in his post-game remarks to his players and the press that the team was improving.

Still, with a matchup looming against Kansas (then fourth-ranked in the country), things had the potential to deteriorate—quickly.

And at first they did: playing in historic Allen Fieldhouse, Harvard fell behind by 16 points in the first half. Then the team staged an extraordinary comeback, tying the game at 56 with just over seven-and-a-half minutes remaining. Although the Crimson ultimately fell to the Jayhawks 75-69, the performance suggested that

Coach Tommy Amaker is trying to shape a young Crimson squad, including freshman point guard Tommy McCarthy, shown in action against the University of Kansas.

Photographs by Gil Talbot/Harvard Athletic Communications

Amaker's players were better than their 2-6 record suggested. On defense, the Crimson contained one of the most potent teams in the country, and its freshmen keyed the resurgence on offense. McCarthy nailed three three-pointers (one with the shot clock winding down and two Jayhawks descending on him), and Weisner Perez '19—until then a seldom-used reserve—tallied 15 points off of the bench. Most important, the team showed that it was not afraid to compete with tough opponents.

Agunwa Okolie '16 has been the team's best defender, guarding the opposing team's best perimeter player on offense and earning national recognition for his impact.

A Resurgence. That strong performance seemed to help the roster coalesce, and the Crimson won four of its next five games. The streak began with a 75-69 win, over crosstown rival Boston University, in which Harvard was led by yet another freshman. Corey Johnson hit six three-pointers, including a shot he made while falling out of bounds with just over 30 seconds remaining—giving the Crimson a six-point lead.

Far more impressive was the team's performance after exams in the Diamond Head Classic, a holiday tournament in Hawaii. After knocking off Brigham Young University 85-82 in a taut opening round game that went to overtime, the Crimson bested Auburn University from the high-powered Southeastern Conference 69-51 in the semifinals before falling 83-71 to Oklahoma (then ranked third in the country) in a game that Harvard led at halftime.

Despite entering the eight-team tournament with the weakest profile in the field, the Crimson managed to finish second. Agunwa Okolie '16 routinely guarded the opposition's best offensive player, prompting ESPN commentators to suggest that he was one of the best defenders in the country; Patrick Steeves '16, who did not play during his first three years in Cambridge due to injury, was a significant contributor off the bench, notching 10 points against Auburn; and Edosomwan, who averaged 20.3 points and 13 rebounds per contest during the event, was named to the all-tournament team.

The success in Hawaii, followed by a 77-57 thrashing of Wofford (a 2015 NCAA tournament participant) on December 31, suggested that Amaker's squad could be a contender in the new year.

The Competition Stiffens. The first January games, on the other hand—a 65-62 setback at home against Vermont and a narrow 77-70 win over Dartmouth (also at home)—showed that the strong performance in Hawaii was no guarantee of future success. Against Vermont, turnovers (17 total) again plagued the Crimson. And injuries continued to mount. After tweaking his knee against Wofford, Steeves did not suit up against the Catamounts, and McCarthy left the Vermont contest after hyperextending his knee midway through the first half. Most alarmingly, the Crimson failed to generate offense when the Catamounts double-teamed Edosomwan.

The contests signaled the kind of challenges the Crimson was apt to face within its conference. Unlike the opponents Harvard faced in Hawaii, Ivy League teams tend to play at a slower pace, which requires more patience and discipline on defense. Ivy rivals are also familiar with the Crimson's strategy and personnel and eager to defeat Amaker's squad.

After completing non-conference play by dispatching Ryerson 73-57 and narrowly beating Howard 69-61, the Crimson faced just 13 regular season games in a tightly contested league—and immediately experienced one of its most difficult stretches thus far. First came a 63-50 loss in its rematch with Dartmouth in Hanover, in a game that it led by 11 points in the second half. Next the squad lost back-to-back home games to Cornell (77-65) and Columbia (55-54). That dropped Harvard to 1-3 in conference play, three games behind Yale and Columbia, then sharing first place in the Ivy standings. As the injury-plagued Crimson faced the heart of its league schedule in early February, its margin for error was as slim as a single free throw.

—DAVID L. TANNENWALD

Harvard Hardwood

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Elbow Room

How the Dark Room Collective made space for a generation of African-American writers

by SOPHIA NGUYEN

No outward sign sets the pale yellow house at 31 Inman Street apart from its neighbors. Someone going on a literary pilgrimage in Cambridge might start a mile away, at 104 Irving Street, where e.e. cummings '15 grew up; then head west, to 16 Ash Street, where T.S. Eliot '10, A.M. '11, Litt.D. '47, studied Sanskrit in the attic; then westward still, to the final residence of Robert Frost '01, Litt.D. '37, at 35 Brewster Street—guided the whole way by blue historical markers, never thinking to glance in the opposite direction. But back in Central Square, that anonymous Victorian was the cradle of the Dark Room Collective. There, in the late 1980s, a trio of young African-American writers—Sharan Strange '81, Thomas Sayers Ellis, and Janice Lowe—formed their own literary center of gravity. During its decade of existence, their reading series and writers' group gathered a nebula of creative energy, a starry critical mass whose impact on American letters continues to expand.

The Dark Room Collective (DRC) was a haven for early members like writer and translator John Keene '87, experimental prose writer Tisa Bryant, and poet Patrick Sylvain, Ed.M. '98—a place to get together and get serious about their craft. It was "a whole 'nother kind of education," says Keene. "It was an immersion in a world that I only kind of glimpsed when I was in college." By e-mail, co-founder Sharan Strange comments, "I often say that working within the DRC and curating the reading series was in many ways my true M.F.A. experience." The reading series was also an early performance venue for then-emerging talent—from current Boston poet laureate Danielle Legros Georges to Natasha Trethewey, RI '01, U.S. poet laureate from 2012 to 2014. Many others passed through over the years, including Aya de Leon '08, now director of Poetry for the People at the University of California, Berkeley; poet and critic Carl Phillips '81; visual artist Ellen Gallagher; sound artist Tracie Morris; and actress Nehassaiu deGannes. In all, the participants' published books number in the dozens, and they have earned fellowships and nominations and wins for honors like the National Book Awards, Whiting Awards, and Pulitzer Prizes.

"Once you're in, you're in forever," declares poet Kevin Young '92 in his nonfiction inquiry *The Grey Album: On the Blackness of Blackness.* Young joined while still an undergraduate, as did Tracy K. Smith '94, who remembers thinking, "Oh, wow—these young people want to be writers, and I want to be a writer, but they're actually *doing* it." She began to help with lighting at events, just to "be in that space and see what the model for this life that I wanted looked like. For me," Smith adds, "the Dark Room was really about saying, 'If you want to do this, this is how you do it. And don't wait. Do it now.'"

The audience for literary writing is small, and slimmer still for poetry; by that measure, it's unsurprising that the Dark Room remains obscure. But even dedicated readers of contemporary verse might know the Collective only as a common footnote to its alumni's impressive biographies.

Over coffee at Lamont Library, *Harvard Review* poetry editor Major Jackson, RI '07, muses, "I almost tweeted this, but am glad that I didn't—," then just barely hesitates before continuing, "And maybe this is no better—but I think if there were a group of poets who were white and male, or white and male and female, or white and female, there would have been a documentary made about them by now. There would be a movie about them." Individual members have been celebrated, and the Dark Room has been loosely

associated with those summed accomplishments. But, he says, the Collective has not been recognized as a whole: "Maybe we need to all grow gray hairs before that happens and America catches up."

"For Some of Us, It Was Church"

The dark room collective began with loss. As the members tell it: on December 8, 1987, Strange, Thomas Sayers Ellis, and their two housemates piled into a car to make it to Harlem by noon, for the funeral of James Baldwin. More than 4,000 paid their respects at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Toni Morrison, Maya Angelou, William Styron, and Amiri Baraka spoke at the service. Strange and Ellis, aspiring writers who first met Baraka at a reading at Tufts University, came at his invitation ("It was probably very clear that we needed a lesson in Who We Owed," Ellis later reflected in an essay) and his eulogy may have left the deepest impression. Baldwin's spirit "will be with us as long as we remember ourselves," Baraka told the attendees. "For his is the spirit of life thrilling to its own consciousness."

Strange had stood in the same room as Baldwin once. He had come to Harvard for a tea, and, as she later wrote in the literary magazine *Mosaic*, she felt "too shy to break through the thick clot of fans around him and offer the admiration he had been accustomed to for decades." She and Ellis, their mourning amplified and made vague by distance, felt their hero's absence as a double negative; having never known him in person, they missed him twice over. The funeral filled them with new urgency about honoring their literary ancestors while they were still alive. They began planning the following spring.

In a third-floor room of their house used for storing old photographic equipment, they'd been building a library they christened "The Dark Room: A Collection of Black Writing." At the time, 31 Inman was already a communal house for artists and activists. Strange worked as a community organizer in Roxbury and as a prisoner advocate through Cambridge's American Friends Service Committee; Ellis was a projectionist at the Harvard Film Archive and a clerk at the Grolier Poetry Book Shop.

As Ellis recalls in his 2007 poem "Spike Lee at Harvard," the bookshop experience was fraught, and in that way, instructive: "I got my first glimpse/of the life of poetry/(through the Grolier's/cinematic glass window)." The life on display was orderly and monochromatic: the faces in the portraits above the shelves were nearly all white. At some point, his employer wondered if the black poets should be shelved separately so customers might more easily find their work; Ellis said he didn't think so. (An intervening line, dry but not unkind, adds: "Well, at least she asked.")

Members of the DRC, photographed by Elsa Dorfman in 2013; from left to right: Sharan Strange, Janice Lowe, Danielle Legros Georges, John Keene, Tisa Bryant, Major Jackson, Artress Bethany White, Thomas Sayers Ellis, Patrick Sylvain, and Tracy K. Smith

This homogeneity reflected the shop's surrounding scene. Literary events in Cambridge rarely featured artists of color, though a number of prominent black writers taught in the Boston area. Teaming up with Janice Lowe, a poet and musician studying at the Berklee College of Music, Strange and Ellis paid visits to such eminences as science-fiction writer Samuel R. Delany and future Nobel laureate Derek Walcott, asking them to headline a new reading series that would pair them with a younger writer. The Dark Room couldn't offer an honorarium, they said, but they could promise eager listeners and book sales.

In their living room, "We met on Sunday afternoons after church and for some of us it was church," Strange wrote. In fact, they did it "with chairs from the church," as Tisa Bryant told an interviewer in 2005. "We'd get some water and some snacks and some stuff and put some music on, clean the house and everybody would come in." Sometimes the space grew so full that not everybody could fit. Spilling onto the porch and down the street, the audience listened through open windows and doors.

As later described by poet Cornelius Eady, who was invited to be a young voice in the series' early seasons, "It was like being part of a Sunday revival meeting. A crowd showed up (I couldn't tell who actually lived there and who didn't), some furniture got moved, some chairs unfolded, and Pow! Their living room turned into a salon...that's how they all seemed to take it: with a serious joy and pride in their belief in being black and being wordy, which totally disarmed me."

Snow

for Toi Derricotte

It came once, the year I turned ten.
That year they told us how we
would become women, and I began
my monthly vigil. But this was
the miracle, singular, unexpected.

The whites had finally stopped
resisting. Unwanted at their school,
we went anyway—historic, our parents
intoned, eyes flashing caution
to our measured breaths.

That first martial autumn mellowed
into a winter of grudging acceptance
and private discontent, a season of hope
shaped by fists and threats.
Then angels molted, pelting all

of creation with their cast-off garb.
We went home early, drifting through
a landscape of sudden ghosts,
the yard churning in frothy waves,
as if by an invisible tide of protestors.

What I remember most is its rude
coldness, stinging and wet. How we
mixed it with milk, sugar, vanilla,
into a poor child's ice cream that
melted before we could savor it.

—Sharan Strange

A Scene, Busted Open

Word about the series spread. Older writers praised the project to their colleagues; members posted photocopied neon flyers around town. The organizers made a concerted effort to reach out to "journalists, editors, critics, arts organizations, academic institutions, activists, merchants, students, and just plain folks," wrote Strange. John Keene, then a loan-officer trainee at the Bank of Boston, learned about the Dark Room through his barber, who thought that it was a bookstore. This "sent my 22-year-old behind hiking halfway across Central Square to see these books I thought they'd be selling," he later wrote in a remembrance on his blog. When Keene showed up, some neighbors set him straight, and intrigued, he kept checking back until he finally came upon a reading. Joining "was one of the most fortuitous occurrences, but also one of the best decisions, I ever made in life," he says now. "The people who came through were extraordinary"—including, memorably, Alice Walker.

"After the reading," he reports, "There was a young woman who had really been struggling, and she was crying, and she told Alice Walker that her work had basically kept her alive. And Alice Walker—I'd never seen this—she left the podium, and came and embraced her."

Other young artists also were eager to join what came to be known as the Dark Room Collective, and to pay their literal and figurative dues. They put together the readings and accompanying musical performances and art shows. They pooled their resources to pay for their guests' tickets to Boston, for gas money to drive them to the train station and airport—for a dinner out if possible, but a home-cooked meal if not. On the off-Sundays when there wasn't a public event, they would hold small sessions to critique each other's work. In between, they kept busy, swapping books and going to film screenings and museum exhibitions. Along the way, they documented their activities. Patrick Sylvain was the Collective's videographer, recording readings on tape. Ellis, a photographer, coaxed his often camera-shy fellow members to pose for shoots around Cambridge.

Occasionally, the visiting writers would lead impromptu workshops. Sylvain relates how Yusef Komunyakaa—still five years away from his Pulitzer, but recognized by the Dark Room Award for Poetry in 1989—took the time to review his drafts. "And he says, 'Patrick, there's a lot there'—and then he kept going—'But I think there is too much. Oh dear, but there's too much. Okay. Now we have to remove all the fat. We have to make this poem muscular.'" Sitting outside Carpenter Center, the two men cut through the unnecessary adjectives and adverbs. The older writer gave the younger some advice he's remembered ever since: "Make sure that the verbs and the nouns dance on the page."

The Dark Room gathered a wide circle of associates and patrons, which may explain the varying accounts of the member-

ship process: a phone interview in one person's report, a nomination and voting process in another's. "It was not like pledging a fraternity or a sorority or anything like that—but it came close," Jackson jokes. Kevin Young, who attributes his early publishing ambitions to Strange and Ellis's encouragement, says that "I thought we just were *friends*"—until his poems ran in the literary journal *Callaloo*, and Ellis asked why the Collective didn't appear in Young's author's note. "And I was like, 'I didn't know I was *in* the Dark Room.' That was how I got in."

PHOTOGRAPHS ©PATRICK SYLVAIN

The DRC in 1990: founders Janice Lowe (top), Thomas Sayers Ellis, and Sharan Strange, and a group shot at 31 Inman Street

"The Dark Room Collective was one of the more influential movements in the city of Boston," says fiction writer Don Lee, an associate of the group. Lee, who first moved to the area to pursue his M.F.A. at Emerson College, and then became editor of the journal *Ploughshares*, observed how they shook up the "lily white" literary scene. "There was terrific energy, and it was contagious." He helped write a grant application that secured the Dark Room $12,500 from the Lannan Foundation—"not a *huge* amount, but at the time fairly significant"—which helped cover the travel expenses of writers they were beginning to invite from farther afield.

Eventually, this activity drew the interest of establishments like the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston. Strange says that the founders initially conceived of the Dark Room as independent of publications, universities, "or bookstores, even. We wanted it to be more homegrown—grassroots, so to speak. We wanted our guests and audiences to feel comfortable, not alienated in any way, we hoped, by the venue." Forced out by rising rent, the series relocated to the museum, just across the river, on Boylston Street. They brought a local jazz band, the Roxbury Blues Aesthetic, with them. Though the museum's auditorium could hold hundreds, the Dark Room series continued drawing standing-room-only crowds.

"Ours was a pretty eclectic audience" in terms of ethnicity, age, and class, says Strange. "I will venture to say that they probably had more folks of color from Dorchester, Mattapan, Roxbury, Jamaica Plain, Cambridge (and not just "Ivy League Cambridge"), and other parts of the city coming into that space on a regular basis than they had before. And once folks came for the reading series, they were a captive audience for the museum's exhibitions"—like one on the legacy of Malcolm X, curated by a Dark Room supporter, video artist Yvette Mattern.

"Although I never visited that house on Inman Street, I do know that what these young people did is historic," wrote Askold Melnyczuk, editor of *AGNI*. "That house could not hold them. They needed more room, and they made it. I hope they have changed this scene forever. They certainly busted it open." "Black poetry is/a place you can go/to in Cambridge,/Massachusetts," Columbia University professor and presidential inauguration poet Elizabeth Alexander, an early reader in the series, wrote in her tribute, "The Dark Room: An Invocation." "Soul buddies, compañeros/of sound, word, mind/Boston is no longer/Boston with you there."

The Good Life

When some people talk about money
They speak as if it were a mysterious lover
Who went out to buy milk and never
Came back, and it makes me nostalgic
For the years I lived on coffee and bread,
Hungry all the time, walking to work on payday
Like a woman journeying for water
From a village without a well, then living
One or two nights like everyone else
On roast chicken and red wine.

— Tracy K. Smith

The Drive-By Readings

By 1994, when their local series' final season—in its final venue, Derek Walcott's Boston Playwrights' Theatre at Boston University—drew to a close, the Collective writers were taking their show on the road. During their travels they brought new members into the fold. One was Jackson, who had invited them to read at Philadelphia's Painted Bride Art Center, after interviewing Ellis for *The Source*, a hip-hop magazine. "Thomas and I talked for almost two hours about *everything*. I had never talked to another man that long on the phone," Jackson recalls, laughing. "We covered art, we covered literature, we covered poetry."

In his 2006 collection *Hoops*, Jackson versified the encounter: "I, myself, emerged from a dark cave lured/By history and two visions. A romantic,/I stood in my b-boy stance, arms ruled,/Angled back, head posed for the authentic—/Up joined the Dark Room Collective./Were I in Kentucky, I would, even then,/Have united with the Affrilachians,/So strong the urge to place my pen aside/My generation. Ellis was our Pound." Piling into cars and splitting up what little money they made from these stops, Collective members traveled throughout the Northeast, and farther afield to Washington, D.C., Atlanta, and Miami for what they called the Drive-By Readings.

The Dark Room's presence on the page had grown, as members' writing appeared in *Callaloo, AGNI, Ploughshares, The Kenyon Review,* and elsewhere. But before any of them had "a readership—lowercase 'r,'" Jackson says, "we tested out poems in public. When you are aware of the poem both on the page and potentially read before an audience, it does, I think, impact the spirit of the writing. Not to say that it's less interior. But you become aware that the poem should have a certain sound, should have a certain rhythm or pace."

In an e-mail, Strange writes, "Going on tour further solidified a sense of collective as well as individual identity—it made me more conscious of functioning within a larger group, and thus of the similarities and differences in voice and style among us. I'm a shy person; I have a 'quiet' style. Others, I think, were more conscious of themselves as 'performers'—or, rather, different personalities led to different performance styles. Performing with the other Collective members made me more desirous of doing strong work in order to contribute something worthy."

"It felt, really, like you were participating in this long tradition found in jazz and hip hop and baseball and boxing—of being yourself but also having to step up your game," Young says. "I think that was really important, to make you do that extra moment of editing or woodshedding."

Although they did not establish a permanent physical home, the Collective opened a lasting symbolic space in the literary world. In his 1996 sketch of the Dark Room for *The New Yorker*, Cornelius Eady wrote, "[I]t's clear they are in this for more than trophies...they are marking a path for others to follow." That same year, he and poet Toi Dericotte led their first summer retreat for African-American poets, in upstate New York. (The foundation that resulted, Cave Canem, now offers fellowships to 54 new writers annually, as well as regional workshops and residencies.)

The Dark Room's camaraderie was not conflict-free. "As you can imagine, it wasn't all smooth bike riding," Jackson says. Personalities clashed, and there were aesthetic and political fights. A piece by Ellis in *The American Poetry Review* from 1998, the year the Collective ended, alludes to times of turmoil: "Clean house, lose friends—like Angry Sister X—forever." Sylvain's memory, with the comfort of distance, is breezier: "Of course, as with all groups and families, we have divisions—which sister or cousin you prefer, and so forth." Don Lee riffed on these "natural rivalries and skirmishes" in his 2012 novel, *The Collective*, about a fictional coterie of Asian-American writers. Pressed for particulars, he laughs and says, "They'll keep those things under their hats. But I think it's the natural outcome of having people who were as passionate and as smart and as opinionated as that group. I think they all look on it with great fondness now, in the light of nostalgia."

"I think there were probably a number of reasons why it disbanded, good and bad," says Keene—not least of which were the graduate programs and other job opportunities that beckoned. At heart, they were all "inkslingers," in Ellis's parlance—focused on their work and decreasingly interested in the business of logistics and promotion. As the members moved away from Boston, it became more difficult to come together to perform.

The Dark Room's last drive-by reading was on Valentine's Day, 1998, at the Painted Bride. As the Collective dissolved, Cave Canem solidified.

Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Poetry

A corpse snores in morning traffic.
I edge along a sidewalk
hoisting trash can after trash can.
Even maggots marvel
at the eloquence of my lift.

I peer inside the roar
of a steel mouth
& know lampshades once
channeled light.
Everyone is dumbstruck

like Cousteau at seaside.
A cat smarter than me
circles a boom box.
An unclothed doll
prostrate on a curb
tans in the sun.

When I lie down at night
my wife says I reek
of recycled news. I carry
wet onions into sleep.
Days unfold in sheaves.

I've pondered retiring
to a shopping cart,
to crushed cans for shoes.
I'd whistle songs only
from my youth.

—Major Jackson

With its annual prize—judged blind by someone different each year, granting $1,000 and publication to one debut talent—it ushered the first books by Trethewey (*Domestic Work,* 1999), Jackson (*Leaving Saturn,* 2000), and Smith (*The Body's Question,* 2002) into the world.

Elbow Room

The critic who tries to sum up the Dark Room succinctly—hunting for that single thread that weaves the writers into aesthetic unity—will be stymied. If ever there was a Dark Room manifesto, it's been lost; in any case, its likely signatories are working artists, who generally have strong allergic reactions to that kind of definition.

They do have common interests, in the broadest sense: identity and history. Pick any two members and they'll share themes, or plain old enthusiasms—for the honed chaos of Sun Ra's jazz, say, or the tropes of genre movies. Several draw on their Southern heritage for inspiration: Young's *Dear Darkness* includes a series of odes to foods like chitlins, sweet potato pie, and pepper vinegar; Strange's *Ash* delves into her childhood in Orangeburg, South Carolina; Trethewey's *Native Guard* dwells on the meeting of personal and public history, examining her parents' interracial marriage alongside the scars of the South. Keene's dense fictions in *Counternarratives*—speculating about W.E.B. Du Bois and William James passing each other on Mount Auburn Street, or Langston Hughes's trysts—have a kinship with Tisa Bryant's sharp interrogations of classics, from Manet's *Olympia* to Woolf's *Orlando,* in her book *Unexplained Presence.*

The Collective in 1996: (from left) Natasha Trethewey, Kevin Young, Major Jackson, Nehassaiu deGannes, Thomas Sayers Ellis, Sharan Strange, Adisa Vera Beatty

What the Dark Room gave to its members makes their output difficult to corral. It's something Ellis has called "elbow room"—a jostling freedom of movement that made Bryant, all those years ago, feel unexpected exhilaration during her 40-minute phone interview with the Collective. Though she at first tried to fake a love of jazz and the blues—at the time, these genres were to her parents' taste, not hers—she then admitted to being a fan of the Cure, the Smiths, and Siouxsie and the Banshees. "And it was the most miraculous thing, because suddenly we were doing these bizarre medleys of Smith songs and P-Funk and Run DMC and Billy Bragg and Psychadelic Furs and Joan Armatrading. It was outrageous," she told her interviewer. In "Dark Room: An Invocation," Elizabeth Alexander declares "the house/came down because/we knew how to read/each other, could code-switch/with the same fast dazzle." Now it's a critical commonplace to hear that some Dark Room writer can reference Homer and Tupac in the same space, making virtuoso maneuvers between different expressive registers. At the time, Bryant said to herself with relief, "Okay, I'm not the freak I thought I was."

The Dark Room has been criticized for producing depoliticized, conservative, and academic literature—art in which social concerns are subsumed by introspection and genteel form. Professionally, the "academic" critique sticks—many of the Dark Room alumni are tenure-track. But the implicit accusation of assimilation overlooks how they may shake up the institutions they inhabit. Ellis, despite being a visiting professor of poetry at the mecca of M.F.A. programs, the Iowa Writers' Workshop, is especially difficult to pin with that critique. His current project involves a band of writers and musicians (including Janice Lowe) called Heroes Are Gang Leaders, who create collage-like sound poetry—including tributes to forebears like Amiri Baraka and Gwendolyn Brooks.

As with theatrical works, these texts can be encountered as print (they've been published in *The Oxford American, Poetry,* and *The Paris Review*) but reveal different dimensions in live performance and audio recordings. By design, no single medium offers access to the unruly whole, and its essence can be viewed only peripherally. Only on the page can the reader observe the sly, intricate word games, swinging freely between made-up ideophones and unusual homophones; only aloud can the listener enjoy the exuberant sonic play, the performers biting off some syllables and extending others in a comic glissando drawl. And both would miss the theatrical antics of the performers seen up-close, and in person.

This past October, Heroes Are Gang Leaders celebrated the release of their second album, *The Avant-Age Garde I Ams of the Gal Luxury,* at the Bowery Poetry Club in New York City, which shares a space with a burlesque show and supper club. Sitting around candlelit tables covered in white cloth, the audience—socialized by other readings, perhaps, into polite reticence—didn't answer Ellis's "Good evening" loudly enough. "It means you're scared," he told them. "And if you're scared, we'll take you hostage." He wasn't

Photograph by Kwaku Alston

kidding. The cacophony was intended to confuse; it laid siege to preconceptions of how sound builds sense. Ellis waved his arms wildly like a conductor, mimed playing a violin, flung around a wooden clapper whose loud *crack* made everyone flinch. (The CD track of the same piece seems almost gentle by comparison, despite the vocalist's occasional yowls: the saxophone riffs wind through the words rather than battle them.)

Few writers devote themselves to making the "Assassin poems, Poems that shoot/guns" that Baraka called for in his iconic "Black Art," in which he enjoins, "Clean out the world for virtue and love,/Let there be no love poems written/until love can exist freely and/cleanly." Perhaps the Dark Room takes its cue, instead, from the imperative laid out in Brooks's "The Second Sermon on the Warpland": "This is the urgency: Live!/and have your blooming in the noise of the whirlwind." The group's internal diversity is innately political, because defiant freedom underwrites it, and that freedom is hard-won. A clue to how this connects to a larger project of black liberation might be found in the Collective's unofficial motto, the closest they come to a list of demands: "Total life is what we want."

Going on Tour, and Home

In 2013, the members marked their twenty-fifth anniversary with readings at literary hotspots in various American cities: the Associations of Writers & Writing Programs Conference, held that year in Boston; the Poetry Foundation in Chicago; Poets House and the Harlem Arts Salon in New York City. They took along commemorative buttons, their books, and a talisman—an imperfectly-round watermelon with "The Dark Room Collective Reunion Tour" Sharpied on its side. As in the old days, the events had live music, and reading order was determined by drawing names out of a hat.

The weekend after the tour kicked off, Smith was awarded the 2012 Pulitzer Prize for her third verse collection, *Life on Mars*—a stark, elegiac book drawing on sci-fi imagery to examine grief and God. In 2006, Trethewey had won the prize—also just as she turned 40, and also for her third book, *Native Guard.*

"If you told us in 1991, 'Two of you guys will win,'" says Young, it would not have seemed out of the question. "We might have *thought* that. But it was amazing to have that come true."

Later that April, the group gave their Washington, D.C., reading at the Lutheran Church of Reformation, on Capitol Hill. Every pew was filled. Then the writers and attendees (including several Cave Canem fellows) headed to the home of anesthesiologist and art collector Darryl Atwell, toasting the occasion with red and blue Solo cups and sharing a sheet cake with "2 Pulitzers" piped on it in icing. Ellis orchestrated a ceremony in which Trethewey presented Smith with a black statuette he dubbed the "Dark Room Pulitzer." A life-sized cutout of Langston Hughes, kidnapped from the local restaurant Busboys and Poets, presided; in another corner, the lucky melon was placed in the hands of a statue, held aloft like a stripey green jewel. In June, Trethewey would be named Poet Laureate.

These days, the members of the Dark Room Collective are scattered across the country, and call various universities home: Brown, Emory, Princeton, Rutgers, Spelman, CalArts, Washington University in St. Louis. The usual demands of adult life (students, children of their own) and the unusual ones of literary stewardship (judging prizes, editing journals) compete for attention. And foremost, there's the writing. In 2015 alone there was Keene's fiction collection *Counternarratives,* Smith's memoir *Ordinary Light,* and Jackson's *Roll Deep*; 2016 brings Lowe's *Leaving CLE,* and Young's volume of selected and uncollected poetry, *Blue Laws.* Amid the years of extraordinary productivity, the 2013 tour was an occasion for stock-taking.

"I'm absolutely humbled by everyone's growth on the page, and you can read the work quietly to yourself. But to see people grow into a comfort—everyone grown into their art, and what their sound is—that's humbling," says Jackson. It felt less like a reunion than "like going to a family home somewhere."

The final stop, in Santa Fe in December, afforded a last moment of public reflection. Of their founding, Ellis said to the audience, "Of course, we were having fun. And we were—you know, you need each other. You need other people who think like you, maybe, who read like you, maybe, who walk and breathe like you, maybe. You think you're adding something that's needed, that you don't see. There's something about that, that never ends, no matter who you are and where you are."

Later in the evening, he added, "The idea of collective changes, transforms. We're not a collective in the way we used to be, but"—his voice became mock-solemn—"We're honoring the paaaast with the possibility of the futuuuure."

In the recording of their appearance at Furious Flower, a 1994 conference at James Madison University, the Dark Room members are round-faced and un-grayed. They read their work with the kind of quiet that comes from confidence. When they stumble over their words, they smile. The narrator of the video, the last in an anthology

Dead Daddy Blues

The weather says
Listen
My mother says Pray
I walk around looking
for the light all day

God says nothing
The river Why
don't you stay
I wait around, wait
for the start of the rain

My feet say Forget you
My hands say Never
We look for him
by firefly light
like the supposed summer

Old grief can't protect you
New sorrow
sails your way
Lately it stays evening
almost all day

—Kevin Young

about African-American literature, calls them the "initiates"—bearers of a torch handed down by elders in the Black Arts Movement and beyond. It's tempting to describe their activity as a kind of literary renaissance, when in fact the Dark Room Collective placed themselves in a tradition with deep historical roots, an unbroken lineage that called for continuation, not rebirth. "Even in the nineteenth century, groups of African Americans got together and discussed the work," Jackson explains. "So I don't want to fashion the Dark Room Collective as trailblazers as much as a group of privileged, young, black aspiring writers who wrote work. We have to acknowledge that—that we benefited from the gains of the previous generations, writers who had to answer questions that we don't have to answer now."

Images from the 2012 reunion tour: (clockwise from above) Kevin Young, Major Jackson, and Nehassaiu deGannes in Chicago; Janice Lowe and Tisa Bryant in Washington, D.C.; Sharan Strange, Jackson, Natasha Trethewey, Young, Thomas Sayers Ellis, and deGannes in Chicago; and Ellis, John Keene, Jackson, and Tracy K. Smith in Chicago

The Dark Room provided a place for minds to crash freely into each other and spark. It nourished embryonic talents as they decided how they wanted to grow. With "safe space" now a watchword of campus activism, and Silicon Valley co-opting "incubator," both terms seem somehow inadequate to the phenomenon described by Ellis at the Santa Fe reunion. "At the Dark Room Series all those years ago," he said, "there was always that moment when the reading would reach that total togetherness, that place where, no matter who we were or where we were from...the moment of community would explode."

"Explode," but to where? Jackson puts it this way: "Each generation triggers the next generation into song and lyric." "We might think of tradition not just as inheritance but as devotion—one measured by fetish as well as by other religion—and even invention," Young suggests in *The Grey Album*. "Tradition is not what you inherit, but what you seek, and then seek to keep." As other Dark Room alumni have in the past, both will teach at Cave Canem next summer.

While its writers are mid career—and until some manuscript library gets acquisitive and ambitious—the Dark Room's material memory rests with various members who have the old photo negatives, videotapes, clippings, and flyers. And of course, there are the poems themselves, preserving youthful aspirations in amber. When Jackson is asked about some lines from his long sequence "Letter to Brooks," in *Hoops*—"This was the aim of the DRC,/To test the puddles of white supremacy..."—it takes him a moment to "play critic to Major Jackson," interpreting the original intent. "Puddles," he says. "That's interesting." Then: "Puddles evaporate, right?" He laughs. "With enough heat." ▽

A reader going on literary pilgrimage through this magazine might visit "The Rebellion of E.E. Cummings" (March-April 2005), "The Young T.S. Eliot" (July-August 2015), and "Extracting the Woodchuck" (January-February 2014) on Robert Frost, all by contributing editor Adam Kirsch; Shaun Sutner's brief profile of Kevin Young (September-October 2007); and our conversation (available online) with Tracy K. Smith from last April.

Sophia Nguyen is associate editor of this magazine.

Photographs by Rachel Eliza

Are Animals "Things"?

The law evolves.

by **Cara Feinberg**

Jeremy and Kathryn Medlen have two children, but with eight-year-old Avery around, it often felt like three. A beloved mixed-breed mutt with flopped-forward Labrador ears, Avery was a member of the family, welcome on the couch, included on vacations, a fixture in family photos. But in June 2009, the dog spooked at a thunderclap and fled the Medlens' Fort Worth, Texas, backyard. He ended up at a nearby shelter, where his overjoyed owners found him the following day. They lacked the cash to pay the required fees, however, so a "hold for owner" tag was placed on Avery's cage until their return. But when Jeremy Medlen arrived with the cash and his two children in tow, their pet had disappeared. Somehow, there'd been a mix-up, the Medlens were told. Avery had been put to sleep.

Devastated by the loss, the Medlens brought a lawsuit seeking damages for Avery's sentimental value from the shelter worker who'd made the tragic mistake. But in the Lone Star State, they learned, "loss-of-companionship damages" were available only for human plaintiffs who'd lost close human family members. In the eyes of American law, animals are considered property, and in Texas, this entitled the Medlens only to their "property's" market value. As an eight-year-old mutt, Avery had virtually no value at all, and the case was dismissed.

So the Medlens appealed the decision. In the past, Texas courts *had* awarded damages for the sentimental value of personal property with little or no market value—such as lost heirlooms like jewelry, pistols, and hand-made bedspreads—and the Medlens argued that Avery fit this category perfectly. The Texas Court of Appeals agreed, but the state's Supreme Court overturned that decision, ending the Medlens' quest for compensation.

Chris Green and Kristen Stilt in Austin Hall's Ames courtroom with Lola, Stilt's rescue dog from Egypt

Animals *were* property, the Supreme Court ruled, but they were *not* like other types of property. Although an heirloom is "sentimental,...an owner's attachment to a beloved pet is more: It is emotional...based...on the rich companionship it provides," the court found, and "cannot be shoehorned into keepsake-like sentimentality for litigation purposes."

The Medlens were stunned. If this were true, they argued, one could seek sentimental damages for the destruction of a "taxidermied" pet deemed an heirloom, but not for a euthanized animal. Furthermore, it trapped them in a Catch-22. "Loss of companionship" damages were not available because Avery wasn't human, yet the court also said that pets offered such "rich companionship," they could not be treated as things. It left the Medlens wondering: Did property law apply to animals, or didn't it? Was a lost heirloom, an inanimate thing, really more emotionally valuable than their beloved pet? And why, if judges believed an animal to be a special kind of property—"not a fungible, inanimate object like, say, a toaster," as the court wrote—was the law still so unclear?

These questions are at the center of a Harvard Law School (HLS) course on animal law. First offered in the spring of 2000, it was initially among a handful of its kind; today, more than 150 American law schools offer classes on the topic, a reflection of the growing interest in a young field whose scope and influence are still being defined.

These issues have also become increasingly compelling to practicing lawyers. In the United States, laws regulating the treatment of animals have been

Photograph by Stu Rosner

Dogs held in a U.S. shelter

CAMILLE TOKERUD/GETTY IMAGES

on the books since the early Colonial period, but "animal law" as a field is relatively new, and focuses increasingly on the interests of the animals themselves, rather than on their value to the humans who write and litigate the laws governing them.

As the role of animals in society and the economy has evolved, and more recently, as scientific research has revealed more about animals' cognitive abilities and social development, public sensibility has changed dramatically, often leaving outmoded law behind. As a result, lawyers worldwide have begun searching for innovative ways to make animals more visible to the law: strengthening and enacting new anti-cruelty statutes, improving basic protections, and, in some more radical cases, challenging animals' property status itself in an effort to grant them fundamental rights.

But even as legal advocates press toward the same goal—closing the gap between the way many people believe animals should be treated, and how the law actually treats them—their strategies can differ vastly. Sometimes, they clash outright.

"Animal welfare and animal rights are two different goals within the field of animal law," explains law professor Kristen Stilt, who teaches the animal-law survey class—an annual course typically oversubscribed on the first day of registration. The law divides everything in the universe into just two categories, she explains: "persons" and "property." Legal persons have rights, property doesn't—so all "animal laws" on the books are about protection and welfare, not about intrinsic individual rights.

Most lawyers interested in animal issues focus on animal welfare, she says, using the existing legal system to challenge, improve, augment, and enforce laws protecting animals. But the issue of whether animals should have legal rights—and which rights, and which animals should have them—is wide-open. If persons have rights and property doesn't, some scholars and practitioners argue, then legal "things" like animals remain mere chattel in the eyes of the law, subject to whatever use legal persons deem important. But if animals are no longer deemed property, many ask, where should law draw the line? Should primates have the same rights as humans? Should dogs? Should ants? What about animals in the wild, or those used in medical research, or the billions slaughtered for food?

At the moment, says Stilt, the law remains unwavering: animals are property—albeit with certain protections. But the people administering that law have become increasingly uncomfortable with that designation. The Medlens' case is a good example that she teaches in both her property and her animal-law courses. "Even the Supreme Court judge who wrote the opinion, before he ruled against [the Medlens], spent pages talking about how 'Texans love their dogs,'" she points out; he drew a clear distinction between animals and anvils.

According to Stilt, this is where things stand in 2016 in animal law—a discipline that, 40 years ago, formally didn't exist. "It's part of what makes this field fascinating," she says. "We know how law *doesn't* work for animals, but we have no clear idea yet about how it *should*."

Harvard's original animal-law class, taught over the years mainly by adjunct professors who are scholars and practitioners in the field, was a product of student demand. In 1995, law students founded a local chapter of the Student Animal Legal Defense Fund (SALDF), affiliated with the national Animal Legal Defense Fund,

a nearly four-decade-old organization dedicated to protecting animals from abuse through legislation and litigation. (SALDF members don't litigate; their mission is to educate the community about issues facing animals, and various avenues of reform.) Hosting and promoting more than 20 events per year, SALDF quickly became a strong voice on campus, and by 2000, HLS had acknowledged their appeals. A gift from Pearson Television in honor of game-show host and avid animal protectionist Bob Barker funded the original course. In the years since, both regional and national bar associations have established their own animal-law committees to support and shape the burgeoning field. That has, in turn, inspired Harvard to broaden its investment in the discipline.

This year, HLS added "Wildlife Law" to its curriculum. Taught by Jonathan Lovvorn, senior vice president and chief counsel at the Humane Society of the United States and an adjunct professor of law at Georgetown University, the class is one of several new courses Harvard plans to offer. A gift from Bradley L. Goldberg, founder and president of the Animal Welfare Trust, has underwritten a new Animal Law & Policy Program intended to expand the animal-law curriculum, establish an academic fellowship program, and foster future academic gatherings and scholarship.

"This is one thing most law schools have not done to date—to approach animal law in an integrated academic program as opposed to a one-off course," says Goldberg, who hopes his gift will help establish animal law as a recognized academic discipline. "My interest comes from believing that animal protection is a global social-justice movement…but unlike other social-justice movements such as women's rights or civil rights, animal rights goes almost totally unrepresented in academia."

Dean Martha Minow thinks the climate for animal-law growth is ideal. "Though treatment of animals has always been an issue, only recently has law begun to take it seriously," she says. "For anyone thinking about the purpose of law, the legal treatment of animals forces a confrontation with what law is actually about—'What are its purposes? What are its limits? Is law only about human beings?'" One way to understand legal history, she explains, is to trace "the ever-expanding circle of law—who's in and who isn't." Animal law is part of the newest expansion of that circle, and "there's an opportunity now to contribute to the development of law reform in a way that hasn't always been the case."

Many egg-laying chickens spend their lives in cages.

GERALD MARTINEAU/*THE WASHINGTON POST*/GETTY IMAGES

That opportunity and responsibility fall largely to Stilt, the faculty director of the new program, and Chris Green, its executive director, who must decide how to design a curriculum that covers a topic intersecting with all other areas of legal study. Cases involving animals range from civil suits (like the Medlens' pet-compensation case) to criminal trials (like football player Michael Vick's, for animal cruelty and dog fighting) to environmental lawsuits (protecting wildlife and its habitat), says Stilt—and "those are just the obvious ones." She ticks off a long list of other questions that have come before the courts, among them: Does the right to free speech apply to undercover videotaping of cruel animal practices? Should humans be able to patent an animal? Who gets the pet in a divorce? Should religious freedom outweigh animal-welfare concerns?

Stilt touches on many of these topics in her survey class, but says a single course can never do the field justice. Among the topics she and Green are considering for attention is comparative international animal law, a topic with which Stilt is quite familiar. Her own background is in Islamic law (she also directs Harvard Law School's Islamic Legal Studies Program, including its new Animals, Law, and Religion Project). Her interest and expertise in animal law began as a Middle Eastern history doctoral student living in Cairo, where she worked with a group of Egyptians who were starting the first modern animal-protection organization in the country. Animal issues became a focus of her scholarship, and she is currently working on a study of the recent inclusion of an animal welfare provision in the Egyptian constitution.

Chris Green's career in animal law, in contrast, began at HLS. After a year there in the early 1990s, he took a six-year leave of absence and planned to enroll in veterinary school; he credits Harvard's decision to offer that first animal-law class—and its engaging teacher, animal-protection lawyer and scholar Steven Wise—for helping him chart his professional life. Green eventually became an officer in the school's SALDF chapter and immersed himself in animal advocacy; he went on to publish on the subject and become a legal advocate for animals, serving as chair of the American Bar Association's animal law committee and, most recently, as the director of legislative affairs for the Animal Legal Defense Fund (ALDF). He also became a committed vegetarian—as are most animal lawyers; attorneys, quipped one practitioner, don't eat their clients.

Wise began that first class, recalls Green, with a seemingly simple question: "Why should a human have fundamental rights?" Wise, in a recent telephone interview, said he has raised that issue in every class he has taught since, and students have responded with several explanations: sentience, cognition, language, and spirituality. But according to Wise, "The only way to answer that question is: 'Because a person has the form of a human being.'" Consider the case of a baby born with only a brain stem—no consciousness, no sentience, only the ability to breathe and digest. Students would recoil, he said, when he'd ask why they couldn't experiment on that baby…or kill, or even eat, her.

Courts or legislatures may ultimately decide that it *is* "human form" that determines personhood, Wise told a *New York Times Magazine* reporter in 2014. But if they do make that decision, he

continued, "I'm saying that's irrational. Why is a human individual with no cognitive abilities whatsoever a legal person with rights, while cognitively complex beings such as [a chimp] or a dolphin or an orca are things with no rights at all?"

Some legal scholars answer the animal rights question very differently. Richard Epstein, a law professor at New York University, is an outspoken critic of Wise and of the notion of extending rights to animals. "You cannot prove that an animal has the capacities of a human being by proving that it's not a stone," he said in an interview. The issues that would come with rights, he argued, would cascade and snowball down a slippery slope. If a wild animal occupies land, can it own it? Can animals enter into contracts? Can they vote by proxy?

Even if the law awards animals just *one* right—the right to bodily liberty, as Wise advocates—the question, Epstein argued, becomes, "Which animals?" "We kill millions of animals a day for food," he pointed out. "If they have the right to bodily liberty, it's basically a holocaust."

Epstein pointed to the work of many animal-welfare lawyers—as well as to the work of Temple Grandin, an autistic professor of animal studies who designs farm-animal slaughter systems that take animal needs and fears into consideration—as shining examples of what animals need. "You can give animals protection without giving them rights," he said. "The two are separate things."

During the past few decades, animal protections have expanded exponentially. Various states now have laws banning unethical hunting practices. In 2013, California became the first state to ban the use of lead bullets for hunting (which not only kill their target, but poison the scavenger birds and animals who clean their carcasses). Many states outlaw steel-jawed leg-hold traps and cock- and dog-fighting (some, including Colorado and Massachusetts, ban bear-baiting). Florida, by ballot initiative, was the first state to forbid gestation crates (6-by-2-foot-wide metal crates in which breeding sows spend their entire lives, unable either to stand or turn around); eight states followed suit with similar protections. A 2016 Massachusetts ballot initiative proposes ensuring that breeding pigs, veal calves, and egg-laying hens can stand up, lie down, turn around, and extend their limbs by phasing out inhumanely small and crowded cages. Perhaps most notably, as of 2014, when South Dakota added a felony provision to its animal anti-cruelty laws, all 50 states can now prosecute violations of animal anti-cruelty laws as felony offenses.

Nevertheless, the scope of the protection afforded an animal often depends on where it lives and what "business" it's involved with. Many state anti-cruelty laws categorically exempt farmed animals or standard husbandry practices, such as de-horning, de-beaking, tail-docking, and castration without pain relief. There is no federal law protecting chickens from cruelty or abuse on a farm, for instance, and state anti-cruelty laws often exempt them from protection, says Jonathan Lovvorn—but if someone kills or injures a blue jay in the rafters of a chicken house filled with 10,000 laying hens crammed five or more to a crate, he "could be fined $15,000 and sentenced to six months in jail under the Federal Migratory Bird Treaty Act."

Steven Wise agrees that animal-welfare work is both valuable and necessary; he practiced it himself for years. To date, he points out, the Nonhuman Rights Project (NhRP), an organization he founded and now runs that protects the civil rights of animals, is the only group of lawyers practicing animal *rights* law, or *animal jurisprudence*, as he now calls it. "I practiced animal law," he says, "because that was the only law that existed." Although he now fights to address the larger question of legal personhood, he acknowledges that there are thousands of suffering animals that need legal protection *today*.

There is no federal law protecting chickens from abuse on a farm...but if someone kills or injures a blue jay in the rafters of a chicken house, he could be fined $15,000 and face months in jail.

His sights, though, are set squarely on removing animals from the category of "things," a goal he believes requires the construction of a new kind of law dealing with the rights of nonhuman animals. In 2013, he filed his first of three cases on behalf of chimpanzees, producing headlines such as "Should a Chimp Be Able to Sue Its Owner?" and "Are Chimps Entitled to Human Rights?" (Chimpanzees, says Wise, are just the first of many animals he hopes to help free. He settled on them because of the abundant research on their cognitive capacities; not only are they the closest nonhuman relatives, sharing 99 percent of humans' DNA, they also share the ability to think, feel, anticipate the future, and remember the past. More practically, he adds, if his team does achieve success, freed captive chimps can go to established sanctuaries; other large animals with high levels of cognition, like orcas, have no such option.)

Wise's strategy has been to file writs of habeas corpus (requests that a judge evaluate whether someone is wrongfully imprisoned) on behalf of chimpanzees. In the past, such writs have been issued only for persons, and no U.S. judge has yet broken that legal precedent. But personhood *has* been awarded to nonhumans in the past, Wise points out: corporations and ships have been classified as persons under the law. They don't enjoy all the rights that individual humans do, but in the case of corporations, for instance, the Supreme Court has ruled that businesses have the right to spend money in elections, and may in some cases, on religious grounds, refuse to cover birth control in employee-health plans.

Although he has not yet won a habeas claim on behalf of a chimp, Wise has gained significant ground with courts. When he began his work, no court had ever allowed a non-injured human to sue on behalf of an injured animal. But this past year, one judge did grant Wise "an order to show cause" (basically habeas

without a prisoner being called into court, he explains)—allowing him to argue on behalf of his chimpanzee client in front of a judge and the chimpanzee's owner. The judge did not rule the chimp a "legal person," but the mere granting of the hearing—an action historically reserved for humans—was, says Wise, a milestone in his multiyear effort. "I don't believe that animals' property status is the root of the problem," he explains. "I believe that being 'a thing' is."

His work for two chimpanzee clients, Hercules and Leo (used for research at Stony Brook University), may already be paying off. In 2013, he and NhRP filed a case against the university on the chimps' behalf. NhRP persisted through an appeal, and refiled the case in March 2015. A month later, Stony Brook indicated that it would no longer experiment on the chimps. Now, after months of negotiation with the chimps' owner, the New Iberia Research Center, NhRP has begun a public-pressure campaign to release the animals to the custody of a sanctuary.

In the past, when teaching her animal-law survey class, Kristen Stilt has devoted an entire segment to nonhuman primates and Wise's work. What he may not yet have achieved in the courts, she says, he has unquestionably achieved in the court of public opinion. Coverage of his work has brought the issue of animals in captivity—particularly chimpanzees—into general public conversation, raising questions among activists, scholars, and "people who simply had never given these issues thought."

This past May, Loeb University Professor and constitutional-law scholar Laurence Tribe submitted an amicus letter supporting NhRP's request for an appeal in one of its first chimpanzee cases. His procedural argument: that "the lower court fundamentally misunderstood the purpose of the common law writ of habeas corpus," which is simply to *consider* arguments challenging restraint or confinement ("the question of whether and when a court has authority to entertain a detainee's petition at all"), not to decide whether or not to award *relief* ("the question of what substantive rights, if any, the detainee may invoke, and what remedy…the detainee may properly seek").

Rabbits being used for testing by the cosmetics industry

Perhaps more significantly, Tribe also claimed that the court "reached its conclusion on the basis of a fundamentally flawed definition of personhood." The court reasoned that habeas corpus applies only to legal persons and assumed that chimpanzees could not qualify. But that line of reasoning, he wrote, relied on "a classic but deeply problematic—and at the very least, profoundly contested—definition of 'legal personhood' as turning on an entity's present capacity to bear 'both rights *and* duties." This definition, he argued, "would appear on its face to exclude third-trimester fetuses, and comatose adults…importantly [misunderstanding] the relationship among rights, duties, and personhood."

Denver University constitutional law professor Justin Marceau, J.D. '04, also filed an amicus brief on behalf of a group of fellow scholars, stating that "this may be one of the most important habeas corpus issues in decades and the lower court's resolution of the matter is in fundamental tension with the core tenets of the historical writ of habeas corpus."

Marceau recently attracted national attention for winning a landmark federal case in Idaho as the lawyer representing ALDF, an animal advocacy organization that, along with a diverse coalition of organizations, challenged a state statute criminalizing undercover investigations documenting animal welfare, worker safety, and food-safety violations at industrial-farm facilities. The court set a precedent, ruling that the statute violated both the First Amendment (regarding free speech) and the Fourteenth Amendment's equal-protection clause by enacting a statute motivated by "unconstitutional animus" against animal advocates. The decision may be a harbinger for other states that have enacted such agricultural gag ("ag-gag") laws. "Laws like the one in Idaho try to silence modern-day Upton Sinclairs—the whistleblowers of our time," says Marceau, "and a court has now ruled that's unconstitutional."

In law school, Marceau originally planned to focus solely on civil rights and the death penalty. But after taking the animal-law survey course, then taught by David Wolfson (a visiting professor, now a partner at Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy who devotes his pro-bono hours to animal-welfare law), he, like Chris Green, found a new passion. "The class absolutely changed the trajectory of my life," says Marceau. At the Sturm College of Law, he now holds the first animal-law chair in the country.

Support from scholars like Tribe and practicing lawyers like Marceau helps bolster Wise's work, Kristen Stilt explains, but the resulting news coverage is no less significant. "We've seen time and again that law follows a change in societal thinking," she says. *Obergefell v. Hodges*, the 2015 Supreme Court decision to allow gay marriage, and *Brown v. Board of Education*, the 1954 ruling to desegregate public schools, both followed significant shifts in public opinion.

Steven Wise's habeas corpus work is important, explains Stilt, but it is certainly not the only route toward legal change for animals, or even for chimpanzees used in research. Although he hopes to change a system of legal thinking from the ground up by fighting for individual chimps, other lawyers are navigating the existing legal system and fighting, perhaps more pragmatically, for the species as a whole.

For the past two decades, first as a private attorney, and then as chief counsel for the Humane Society, Harvard's current wildlife-law instructor, Jon Lovvorn, has done just that. "As an academic

SIQUI SANCHEZ/GETTY IMAGES

and intellectual matter, I think Steve Wise's work is fascinating," says Lovvorn. "But the bottom line is, it's not a practical use of time and resources, and I don't think it's feasible politically or legally." Instead, he urges lawyers to work within the existing legal framework: improving, enforcing, and drafting new laws and measures to protect animals *today*. Rather than pursuing a revolutionary change in legal thinking, he adds, "We need practical action to prevent animal suffering."

Consider the Animal Welfare Act, the federal law protecting animals in research facilities, breeding facilities, and places of exhibition like zoos and circuses. Passed in 1966, it is now the primary federal law regulating minimal standards of treatments for animals in human care, "and yet there are several loopholes," Lovvorn points out: the vast majority of animals used for research—rats and mice—and the billions of birds and livestock slaughtered for food each year fall outside its bounds.

But primates used in research do fall under the act's protections. In 1985, Congress passed an amendment requiring the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), which administers the law, to adopt standards promoting the psychological well-being of primates licensed and registered to research facilities. The USDA adopted the standards as mandated, but failed to set specific enforcement guidelines, requiring instead that research institutions set their own. For the next two decades, animal advocates filed lawsuits against the department, but none of their efforts produced the guidelines they sought.

The issue continues to be a legal battleground. Meanwhile, in the clash over protections for chimpanzees, Lovvorn's team has made progress on a much larger scale. Five years ago, they filed a petition requesting that captive chimps be reclassified as "endangered" under the Federal Endangered Species Act (ESA), as wild chimps already are. For years, the Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS), which administers the ESA, instead labeled captive chimps as "threatened," a classification, Lovvorn's team argued, that the government used to turn a blind eye to the use of the animals in medical research.

In 2011, while Lovvorn's group was still trying to change chimps' ESA classification, their argument was bolstered by a report from the National Academy of Sciences stating that chimps were no longer necessary for medical research. Two years later, the National Institutes of Health (NIH) agreed to phase out most government-funded chimp research and retire most of its chimps to sanctuaries. The NIH also implemented a list of stringent conditions for the psychological welfare of chimps used in future research for any lab seeking funding—exactly what the USDA had resisted doing for decades. These included a definition of an "ethologically appropriate environment" for chimps (dictating minimum standards for enclosure size and design, management tactics, and social conditions), and proof that the lab's research could not be done by any method other than by using chimpanzees.

In June 2015—five years after Lovvorn's team first filed their petition to reclassify captive chimps as endangered—FWS agreed to bring captive chimps under the same umbrella of protections their wild counterparts enjoyed.

That single ruling didn't dispense with chimpanzee research, Lovvorn explains; the change in practice had come incrementally from a multipronged, multiyear effort involving the courts, government agencies, Congress and state legislatures, and social advocacy. The result: any lab hoping to continue invasive work with chimps must now meet the NIH's stringent standards *and* apply for an ESA permit—permits that will be granted only for work that benefits or enhances survival of the species in the wild. Following the NIH's declaration and the reclassification of captive chimps as "endangered," no lab has applied for a permit to conduct research, suggesting the end of an era of invasive chimpanzee medical research.

Is the end of chimpanzee research in the United States at hand?

"For years it was believed that we would solve every other animal-welfare problem before we ever got chimps out of research labs," Lovvorn says. "It turns out, this will be one of our first."

Last fall, on the first day of Harvard's first new animal-law class in more than a decade, a group of students filed into a classroom in Wasserstein Hall for "Wildlife Law," with several lining up by Lovvorn's desk to see whether they had made it off the waiting list. Once the students were sorted, he began with a brief introduction and a PowerPoint presentation.

"For decades, there was a huge difference between this chimp in a cage, and this one here in the wild," Lovvorn told the class, pointing to two photos on a screen at the front of the room. Now a banner moment had arrived, "one we've been working on for more than 20 years." Four months after the Fish and Wildlife Service had designated captive chimps as endangered, the law had officially gone into effect, making that very day, September 14, 2015, the first day it became illegal to harm, harass, kill, or injure any chimp anywhere in the United States—in a cage, in a lab, or in the wild.

Journalist Cara Feinberg works in print and in documentary television. She can be reached at www.CaraFeinberg.com.

Caleb Strong

Brief life of an exemplary politician: 1745-1819

by RICHARD D. BROWN

In January 1745, Caleb and Phebe Lyman Strong, of Northampton, Massachusetts, brought their only son for baptism to their pastor, Jonathan Edwards—America's greatest theologian. For the baby, Edwards's touch symbolized transmission of a legacy of rectitude and humility. The boy, descended from church founders, became known locally as "Deacon"; his later titles included U.S. senator and governor of the Commonwealth.

His parents sent teenaged Caleb to York, Maine, to prepare for Harvard with an alumnus, Reverend Samuel Moody. After graduating in 1764, Strong served as temporary preacher in churches near his home, but then turned to the law, despite a bout of smallpox that left him nearly blind. Apprenticed to a leading attorney, he relied on family to read him law texts, becoming a great listener. In 1772, he earned admission to the bar.

That year he publicly declared his commitment to Christ, affirming his lifelong religious devotion. Northampton townsmen promptly elected the 27-year-old as a selectman—an unusual mark of trust that proved emblematic of Strong's career as one of the most reliable leaders in the independence movement.

When Britain's "Intolerable Acts" closed Boston in 1774, galvanizing the colony's resistance, Strong's popularity brought election to Northampton's Committee of Correspondence, Safety, and Inspection. Townsmen also sent him to the legislature and, in 1779, to the convention that wrote the state's constitution, where fellow delegates put him on the four-man drafting committee. But Strong declined election to the Continental Congress and the state supreme court; he needed to support his growing family by practicing law.

Appointed state prosecuting attorney in Northampton, Strong strengthened his reputation in the Commonwealth's largest county. He focused on property law—including defending people of color suing for their freedom. Like most attorneys, in 1786-87 he opposed Shays' Rebellion, a debtors' uprising to block foreclosures. After its suppression, legislators chose him for the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, where his support for the "Connecticut Compromise," whereby large states agreed to equal representation for all states in the Senate, helped break a critical impasse. But he left the Convention when his wife fell ill, never signing the Constitution.

When Massachusetts representatives convened to ratify or reject the Constitution in 1788, Strong provided crucial support for national government. A seaboard delegate told him, "You can do more with that honest face of yours than I can with all my legal knowledge." After ratification, state legislators elected him to the new U.S. Senate, where he helped shape the Judiciary and Naturalization Acts, and the national bank. Reelected in 1792—Vice President Adams declared, "[Massachusetts] cannot do better...he is an excellent head and heart"—he resigned in 1796 to resume legal practice.

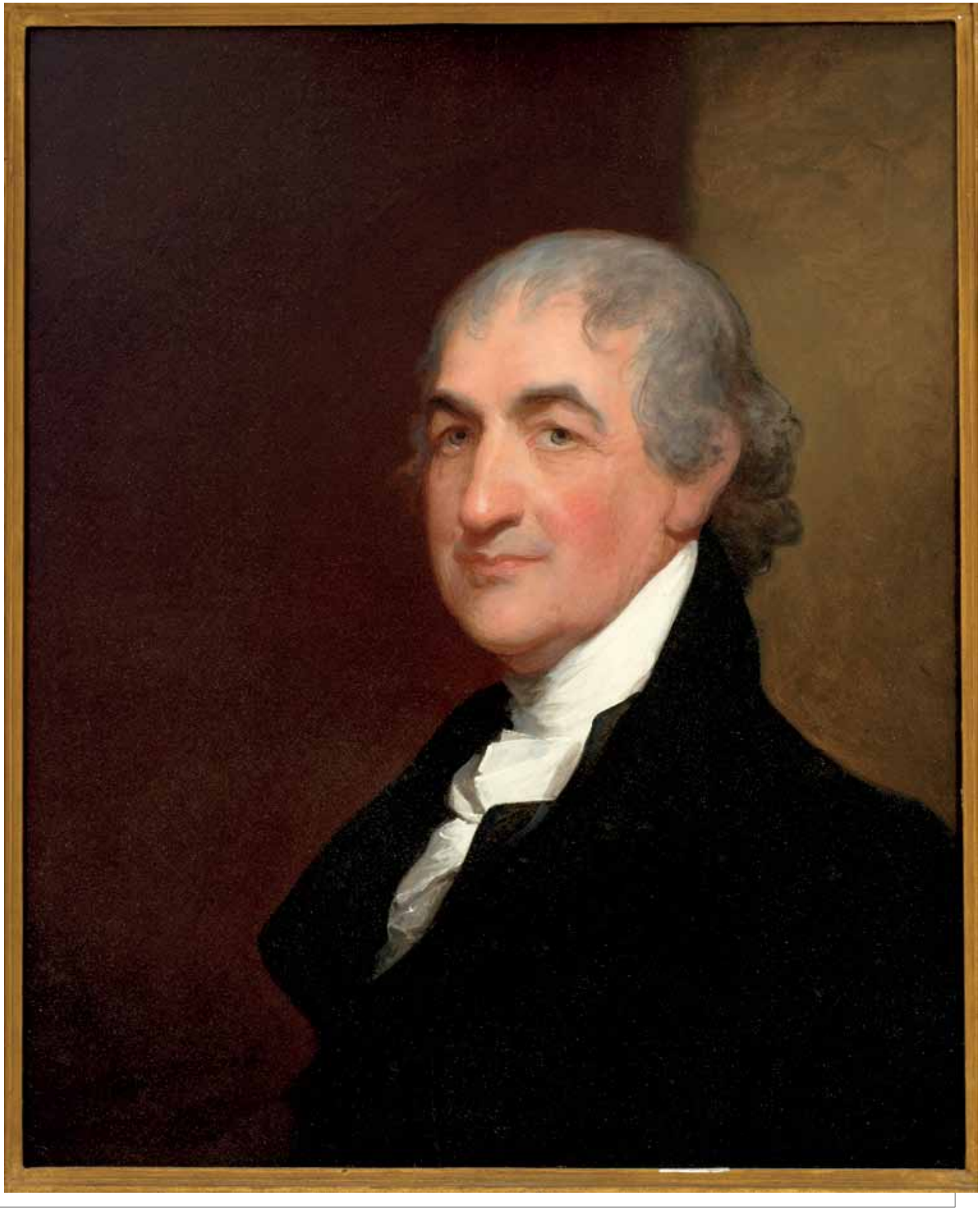
By now leaders throughout the state recognized Strong's capacity to inspire confidence among sharply divided men. In 1800, a fractured Federalist Party nominated him for governor, though some objected "to the choice of a man who lives a hundred miles from salt water, whose wife wears blue stockings, and who, with his household, calls hasty pudding luxury." He was "too frugal," and "rides down to Boston in the stage." But the eloquent partisan Fisher Ames ridiculed such "childish, tattling objections." Strong, he testified, "is a man of sense and merit, and made and set apart to be a Governor," notwithstanding his "modesty."

The contest against another Harvardian, Jeffersonian Elbridge Gerry, was decided by just 100 votes. (In Northampton, Strong won 268 to 2.) In victory, he was conciliatory: when, during his inaugural parade, he spied the Jeffersonian Samuel Adams standing at his doorway, Strong left his carriage and, removing his hat, walked over to shake the old revolutionary's hand. Strong's refusal to dismiss officials based on party won over some Jeffersonians; Federalists valued his staunch support for education and religion. Reelected annually until 1807, in defeat he returned to his practice.

His leadership resumed when Federalists called on him to block state support for President Madison's warlike policy toward Britain in 1812. After narrowly beating his old rival Gerry, Strong refused to cede control of the Massachusetts militia to the federal government for an attack on Canada, but allowed its use to defend the state against British raids. With the war's end in 1815, he retired for good.

Moderation, common sense, and an understanding of human frailties, not brilliance, distinguished Strong's leadership. He supported the death penalty, but as an attorney led an unprecedented popular petition campaign to spare an Irish immigrant client, convicted of sodomy, arguing the penalty was too severe. As governor he showed mercy by granting pardons or, when a young Hindu was to hang for rape, by deporting the youth instead. In an era of fierce partisanship—sometimes leading to fatal duels—Strong's modesty and understanding won the trust of leaders who did not trust each other. A senatorial successor, Henry Cabot Lodge, wrote that "though he was a leader in a very dogmatic party, he always expressed himself temperately, and in a fashion which gave offense to no man." Strong supported Federalist principles, but "never pushed them in practice to a dangerous distance."

Richard D. Brown, Ph.D. '66, is Board of Trustees Distinguished Professor of history emeritus at the University of Connecticut and author of the forthcoming Self-Evident Truths: Contesting Equal Rights from the Revolution to the Civil War.



Caleb Strong portrait by Gilbert Stuart, courtesy of Frederick Strong Moseley III '51

Harvard's Eugenics Era

When academics embraced scientific racism, immigration restrictions, and the suppression of "the unfit"

by **Adam Cohen**

In August 1912, Harvard president emeritus Charles William Eliot addressed the Harvard Club of San Francisco on a subject close to his heart: racial purity. It was being threatened, he declared, by immigration. Eliot was not opposed to admitting new Americans, but he saw the mixture of racial groups it could bring about as a grave danger. "Each nation should keep its stock pure," Eliot told his San Francisco audience. "There should be no blending of races."

Eliot's warning against mixing races—which for him included Irish Catholics marrying white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, Jews marrying Gentiles, and blacks marrying whites—was a central tenet of eugenics. The eugenics movement, which had begun in England and was rapidly spreading in the United States, insisted that human progress depended on promoting reproduction by the best people in the best combinations, and preventing the unworthy from having children.

The former Harvard president was an outspoken supporter of another major eugenic cause of his time: forced sterilization of people declared to be "feebleminded," physically disabled, "criminalistic," or otherwise flawed. In 1907, Indiana had enacted the nation's first eugenic sterilization law. Four years later, in a paper on "The Suppression of Moral Defectives," Eliot declared that Indiana's law "blazed the trail which all free states must follow, if they would protect themselves from moral degeneracy."

He also lent his considerable prestige to the campaign to build a global eugenics movement. He was a vice president of the First International Eugenics Congress, which met in London in 1912 to hear papers on "racial suicide" among Northern Europeans and similar topics. Two years later, Eliot helped organize the First National Conference on Race Betterment in Battle Creek, Michigan.

None of these actions created problems for Eliot at Harvard, for a simple reason: they were well within the intellectual mainstream at the University. Harvard administrators, faculty members, and alumni were at the forefront of American eugenics—founding eugenics organizations, writing academic and popular eugenics articles, and lobbying government to enact eugenics laws. And for many years, scarcely any significant Harvard voices, if any at all, were raised against it.

Harvard's role in the movement was in many ways not surprising. Eugenics attracted considerable support from progressives, reformers, and educated elites as a way of using science to make a better world. Harvard was hardly the only university that was home to prominent eugenicists. Stanford's first president, David Starr Jordan, and Yale's most acclaimed economist, Irving Fisher, were leaders in the movement. The University of Virginia was a center of scientific racism, with professors like Robert Bennett Bean, author of such works of pseudo-science as the 1906 *American Journal of Anatomy* article, "Some Racial Peculiarities of the Negro Brain."

But in part because of its overall prominence and influence on society, and in part because of its sheer enthusiasm, Harvard was more central to American eugenics than any other university. Harvard has, with some justification, been called the "brain trust" of twentieth-century eugenics, but the role it played is little remembered or remarked upon today. It is understandable that the University is not eager to recall its part in that tragically misguided intellectual movement—but it is a chapter too important to be forgotten.

Eugenics emerged in England in the late 1800s, when Francis Galton, a half cousin of Charles Darwin, began studying the families of some of history's greatest thinkers and concluded that genius was hereditary. Galton invented a new word—combining the Greek for "good" and "genes"—and launched a movement calling for society to take affirmative steps to promote "the more suitable races or strains of blood." Echoing his famous half cousin's work on evolution, Galton declared that "what Nature does blindly, slowly, and ruthlessly, man may do providently, quickly, and kindly."

Eugenics soon made its way across the Atlantic, reinforced by the discoveries of Gregor Mendel and the new science of genetics. In the United States, it found some of its earliest support among the same group that Harvard had: the wealthy old families of Boston. The Boston Brahmins were strong believers in the power of their own bloodlines, and it was an easy leap for many of them to believe that society should work to make the nation's gene pool as exalted as their own.

Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr.—A.B. 1829, M.D. '36, LL.D. '80, dean of Harvard Medical School, acclaimed writer, and father of the future Supreme Court justice—was one of the first American intellectuals to espouse eugenics. Holmes, whose ancestors had been at Harvard since John Oliver entered with the class of 1680,

had been writing about human breeding even before Galton. He had coined the phrase "Boston Brahmin" in an 1861 book in which he described his social class as a physical and mental elite, identifiable by its noble "physiognomy" and "aptitude for learning," which he insisted were "congenital and hereditary."

Holmes believed eugenic principles could be used to address the nation's social problems. In an 1875 article in *The Atlantic Monthly*, he gave Galton an early embrace, and argued that his ideas could help to explain the roots of criminal behavior. "If genius and talent are inherited, as Mr. Galton has so conclusively shown," Holmes wrote, "why should not deep-rooted moral defects...show themselves...in the descendants of moral monsters?"

As eugenics grew in popularity, it took hold at the highest levels of Harvard. A. Lawrence Lowell, who served as president from 1909 to 1933, was an active supporter. Lowell, who worked to impose a quota on Jewish students and to keep black students from living in the Yard, was particularly concerned about immigration—and he joined the eugenicists in calling for sharp limits. "The need for homogeneity in a democracy," he insisted, justified laws "resisting the influx of great numbers of a greatly different race."

Lowell also supported eugenics research. When the Eugenics Record Office, the nation's leading eugenics research and propaganda organization, asked for access to Harvard records to study the physical and intellectual attributes of alumni fathers and sons, he readily agreed. Lowell had a strong personal interest in eugenics research, his secretary noted in response to the request.

The Harvard faculty contained some of nation's most influential eugenics thinkers, in an array of academic disciplines. Frank W. Taussig, whose 1911 *Principles of Economics* was one of the most widely adopted economics textbooks of its time, called for sterilizing unworthy individuals, with a particular focus on the lower classes. "The human race could be immensely improved in quality, and its capacity for happy living immensely increased, if those of poor physical and mental endowment were prevented from multiplying," he wrote. "Certain types of criminals and paupers breed only their kind, and society has a right and a duty to protect its members from the repeated burden of maintaining and guarding such parasites."

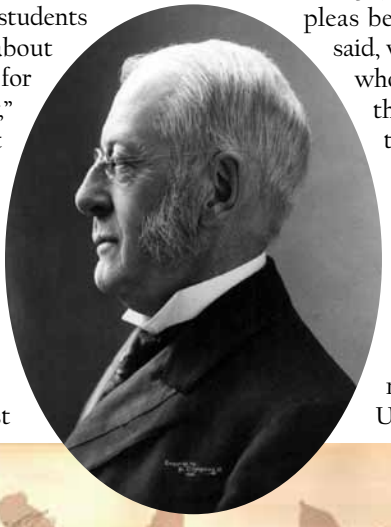
Harvard's geneticists gave important support to Galton's fledgling would-be science. Botanist Edward M. East, who taught at Harvard's Bussey Institution, propounded a particularly racial version of eugenics. In his 1919 book *Inbreeding and Outbreeding: Their Genetic and Sociological Significance*, East warned that race mixing would diminish the white race, writing: "Races have arisen which are as distinct in mental capacity as in physical traits." The simple fact, he said, was that "the negro is inferior to the white."

East also sounded a biological alarm about the Jews, Italians, Asians, and other foreigners who were arriving in large numbers. "The early settlers came from stock which had made notable contributions to civilization," he asserted, whereas the new immigrants were coming "in increasing numbers from peoples who have impressed modern civilization but lightly." There was a distinct possibility, he warned, that a "considerable part of these people are genetically undesirable."

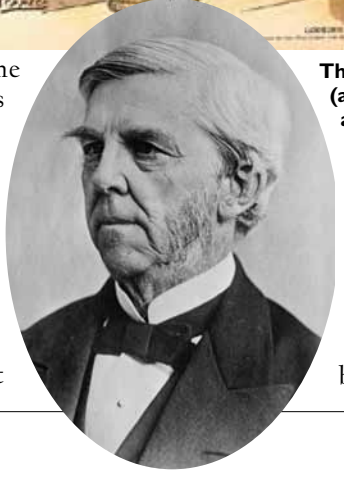
In his 1923 book, *Mankind at the Crossroads*, East's pleas became more emphatic. The nation, he said, was being overrun by the feebleminded, who were reproducing more rapidly than the general population. "And we expect to restore the balance by expecting the latter to compete with them in the size of their families?" East wrote. "No! Eugenics is sorely needed; social progress without it is unthinkable...."

East's Bussey Institution colleague William Ernest Castle taught a course on "Genetics and Eugenics," one of a number of eugenics courses across the University. He also published a leading textbook by the same name that shaped the views of a generation of students nationwide. *Genetics and Eugenics* not only identified its author as "Professor of Zoology in Harvard University," but was published by Harvard University Press and bore the "*Veritas*" seal on its title page, lending the appearance of an imprimatur to his strongly stated views.

In *Genetics and Eugenics*, Castle explained that race mixing, whether in animals or humans, produced inferior offspring. He believed there were superior and inferior races, and that "racial crossing" benefited neither. "From the viewpoint of a superior race there is nothing to be gained by crossing with an inferior race," he wrote. "From the viewpoint of the inferior race also the cross is undesirable if the two races live side by side, because each race will despise individuals of mixed race



PUCK, JANUARY 11, 1893

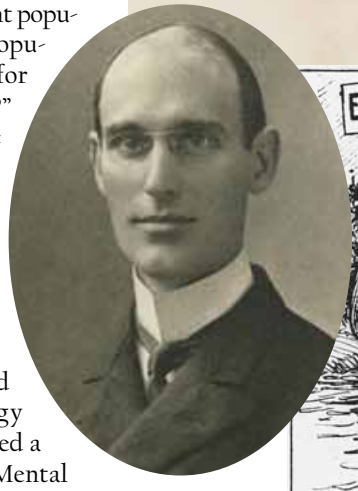


The views of Charles William Eliot (above) and Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. aided the descendants of immigrants in keeping out new immigrants, as depicted in Joseph Keppler's 1893 "Looking Backward," from *Puck*.

and this will lead to endless friction."

Castle also propounded the eugenicists' argument that crime, prostitution, and "pauperism" were largely due to "feeblemindedness," which he said was inherited. He urged that the unfortunate individuals so afflicted be sterilized or, in the case of women, "segregated" in institutions during their reproductive years to prevent them from having children.

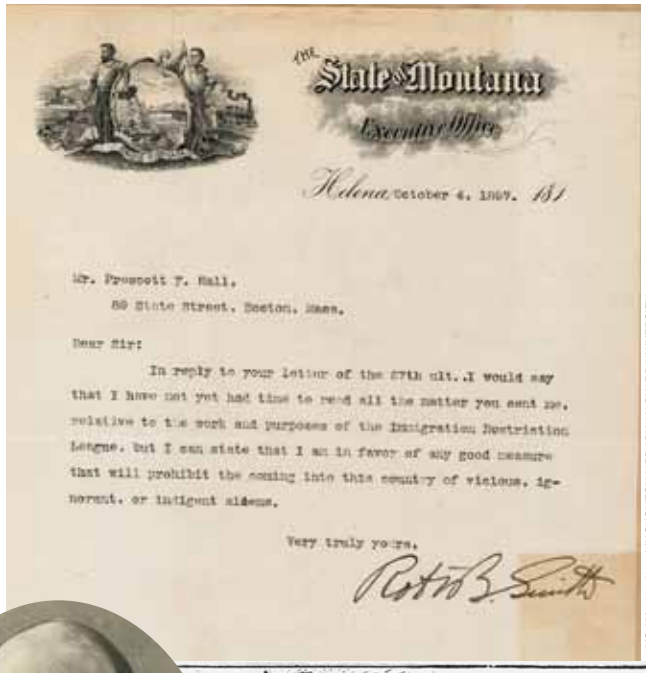
Like his colleague East, Castle was deeply concerned about the biological impact of immigration. In some parts of the country, he said, the "good human stock" was dying out—and being replaced by "a European peasant population." Would "this new population be a fit substitute for the old Anglo-Saxon stock?" Castle's answer: "Time alone will tell."



One of Harvard's most prominent psychology professors was a eugenicist who pioneered the use of questionable intelligence testing. Robert M. Yerkes, A.B. 1898, Ph.D. '02, published an introductory psychology textbook in 1911 that included a chapter on "Eugenics and Mental Life." In it, he explained that "the cure for race deterioration is the selection of the fit as parents."

Yerkes, who taught courses with such titles as "Educational Psychology, Heredity, and Eugenics" and "Mental Development in the Race," developed a now-infamous intelligence test that was administered to 1.75 million U.S. Army enlistees in 1917. The test purported to find that more than 47 percent of the white test-takers, and even more of the black ones, were feebleminded. Some of Yerkes's questions were straightforward language and math problems, but others were more like tests of familiarity with the dominant culture: one asked, "Christy Mathewson is famous as a: writer, artist, baseball player, comedian." The journalist Walter Lippmann, A.B. 1910, Litt.D. '44, said the results were not merely inaccurate, but "nonsense," with "no more scientific foundation than a hundred other fads, vitamins," or "correspondence courses in will power." The 47 percent feebleminded claim was an absurd result unless, as Harvard's late professor of geology Stephen Jay Gould put it, the United States was "a nation of morons." But the Yerkes findings were widely accepted and helped fuel the drives to sterilize "unfit" Americans and keep out "unworthy" immigrants.

Another eugenicist in a key position was William McDougall, who held the psychology professorship William James had formerly held. His 1920 book *The Group Mind* explained that the "negro" race had "never produced any individuals of really high mental and moral endowments" and was apparently "incapable" of doing so. His next book, *Is America Safe for Democracy* (1921), argued that civilizations declined because of "the inadequacy of the qualities of the people who are the bearers of it"—and advocated eugenic sterilization.


The State of Montana
Executive Office

Helena, October 4, 1917. 191

Mr. Prescott F. Hall,
89 State Street, Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of the 27th ult. I would say that I have not yet had time to read all the matter you sent me, relative to the work and purposes of the Immigration Restriction League. But I can state that I am in favor of any good measure that will prohibit the coming into this country of vicious, ignorant, or indigent aliens.

Very truly yours,

Robt B. Smith

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Prescott Hall sought supporters nationwide for the Immigration Restriction League, including the governor of Montana. The 1921 Emergency Quota Act cut annual immigration from any country to 3 percent of its nationals in the United States in 1910.

Harvard's embrace of eugenics extended to the athletic department. Dudley Allen Sargent, who arrived in 1879 to direct Hemenway Gymnasium, infused physical education at the College with eugenic principles, including his conviction that certain kinds of exercise were particularly important for female students because they built strong pelvic muscles—which over time could advantage the gene pool. In "giving birth to a child... no amount of mental and moral education will ever take the place of a large well-developed pelvis with plenty of muscular and organic power behind it," Sargent stated. The presence of large female pelvises, he insisted, would determine whether "large brainy children shall be born at all."

Sargent, who presided over Hemenway for 40 years, used his position as a bully pulpit. In 1914, he addressed the nation's largest eugenic gathering, the Race Betterment Conference, in Michigan, at which one of the main speakers called for eugenic sterilization of the "worthless one tenth" of the nation. Sargent told the conference that, based on his "long experience and careful observation" of Harvard and Radcliffe students, "physical education...is one of the most important factors in the betterment of the race."

If harvard's embrace of eugenics had somehow remained within University confines—as merely an intellectual school of thought—the impact might have been contained. But members of the community took their ideas about genetic superiority and

biological engineering to Congress, to the courts, and to the public at large—with considerable effect.

In 1894, a group of alumni met in Boston to found an organization that took a eugenic approach to what they considered the greatest threat to the nation: immigration. Prescott Farnsworth Hall, Charles Warren, and Robert DeCourcy Ward were young scions of old New England families, all from the class of 1889. They called their organization the Immigration Restriction League, but genetic thinking was so central to their mission that Hall proposed calling it the Eugenic Immigration League. Joseph Lee, A.B. 1883, A.M.-J.D. '87, LL.D. '26, scion of a wealthy Boston banking family and twice elected a Harvard Overseer, was a major funder, and William DeWitt Hyde A. B. 1879, S.T.D. '86, another future Overseer and the president of Bowdoin College, served as a vice president. The membership rolls quickly filled with hundreds of people united in xenophobia, many of them Boston Brahmins and Harvard graduates.

Their goal was to keep out groups they regarded as biologically undesirable. Immigration was "a race question, pure and simple," Ward said. "It is fundamentally a question as to...what races shall dominate in the country." League members made no secret of whom they meant: Jews, Italians, Asians, and anyone else who did not share their northern European lineage.

Drawing on Harvard influence to pursue its goals—recruiting alumni to establish branches in other parts of the country and boasting President Lowell himself as its vice president—the Immigration Restriction League was remarkably effective in its work. Its first major proposal was a literacy test, not only to reduce the total number of immigrants but also to lower the percentage from southern and eastern Europe, where literacy rates were lower. In 1896 the league persuaded Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, A.B. 1871, LL.B. '74, Ph.D. '76, LL.D. '04, to introduce a literacy bill. Getting it passed and signed into law took time, but beginning in 1917, immigrants were legally required to prove their literacy to be admitted to the country.

The league scored a far bigger victory with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924. After hearing extensive expert testimony about the biological threat posed by immigrants, Congress imposed harsh national quotas designed to keep Jews, Italians, and Asians out. As the percentage of immigrants from northern Europe increased significantly, Jewish immigration fell from 190,000 in 1920 to 7,000 in 1926; Italian immigration fell nearly as sharply; and immigration from Asia was almost completely cut off until 1952.

While one group of alumni focused on inserting eugenics into immigration, another prominent alumnus was taking the lead of the broader movement. Charles Benedict Davenport, A.B. 1889, Ph.D. '92, taught zoology at Harvard before founding the Eugenics Record Office in Cold Spring Harbor, New York, in 1910. Funded in large part by Mrs. E.H. Harriman, widow of the railroad magnate, the E.R.O. became a powerful force in promoting eugenics. It was the main gathering place for academics studying eugenics, and the driving force in promoting eugenic sterilization laws nationwide.

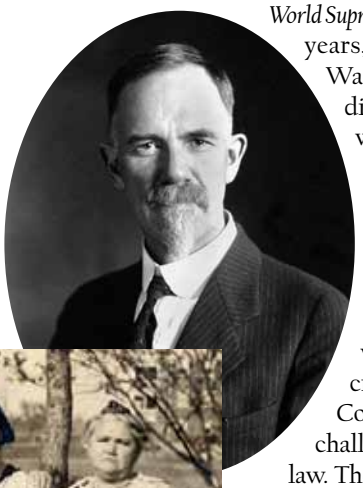
Davenport wrote prolifically. *Heredity in Relation to Eugenics,* published in 1911, quickly became the standard text for the eugenics courses cropping up at colleges and universities nationwide, and was cited by more than one-third of high-school biology textbooks of the era. Davenport explained that qualities like criminality and laziness were genetically determined. "When both parents are shiftless in some degree," he wrote, only about 15 percent of their children would be "industrious."

But perhaps no Harvard eugenicist had more impact on the public consciousness than Lothrop Stoddard, A.B. 1905, Ph.D. '14. His bluntly titled 1920 bestseller, *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy,* had 14 printings in its first three years, drew lavish praise from President Warren G. Harding, and made a mildly disguised appearance in *The Great Gatsby,* when Daisy Buchanan's husband, Tom, exclaimed that "civilization's going to pieces"—something he'd learned by reading "'The Rise of the Colored Empires' by this man Goddard."

When eugenics reached a high-water mark in 1927, a pillar of the Harvard community once again played a critical role. In that year, the Supreme Court decided *Buck v. Bell*, a constitutional challenge to Virginia's eugenic sterilization law. The case was brought on behalf of Carrie Buck, a young woman who had been designated "feebleminded" by the state and selected for eugenic sterilization. Buck was, in fact, not feebleminded at all. Growing up in poverty in Charlottesville, she had been taken in by a foster family and then raped by one of its relatives. She was declared "feebleminded" because she was pregnant out of wedlock, and she was chosen for sterilization because she was deemed to be feebleminded.

By an 8-1 vote, the justices upheld the Virginia law and Buck's sterilization—and cleared the way for sterilizations to continue in about half the country, where there were similar laws. The majority opinion was written by Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., A.B. 1861, LL.B. '66, LL.D. '95, a former Harvard Law School professor and Overseer. Holmes, who shared his father's deep faith in bloodlines, did not merely give Virginia a green

Davenport explained that qualities like criminality and laziness were genetically determined.



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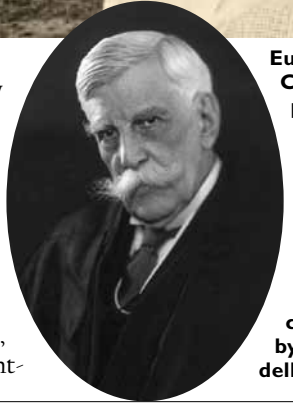

Eugenicist Charles Davenport (above) promoted ideas that led to the sterilization of Carrie Buck (shown with her mother the day before her trial), a decision supported by Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.

light: he urged the nation to get serious about eugenics and prevent large numbers of "unfit" Americans from reproducing. It was necessary to sterilize people who "sap the strength of the State," Holmes insisted, to "prevent our being swamped with incompetence." His opinion included one of the most brutal aphorisms in American law, saying of Buck, her mother, and her perfectly normal infant daughter: "Three generations of imbeciles are enough."

In the same week the Supreme Court decided *Buck v. Bell*, Harvard made eugenics news of its own. It turned down a $60,000 bequest from Dr. J. Ewing Mears, a Philadelphia surgeon, to fund instruction in eugenics "in all its branches, notably that branch relating to the treatment of the defective and criminal classes by surgical procedures."

Harvard's decision, reported on the front page of *The New York Times*, appeared to be a counterweight to the Supreme Court's ruling. But the University's decision had been motivated more by reluctance to be coerced into a particular position on sterilization than by any institutional opposition to eugenics—which it continued to embrace.

Eugenics followed much the same arc at Harvard as it did in the nation at large. Interest began to wane in the 1930s, as the field became more closely associated with the Nazi government that had taken power in Germany. By the end of the decade, Davenport had retired and the E.R.O. had shut down; the Carnegie Institution, of which it was part, no longer wanted to support eugenics research and advocacy. As the nation went to war against a regime that embraced racism, eugenics increasingly came to be regarded as un-American.

> "Our real purpose should be to segregate and to eliminate the unfit, worthless, degenerate and anti-social portion of each racial and ethnic strain. . . ."

It did not, however, entirely fade away—at the University, or nationally. Earnest Hooton, chairman of the anthropology department, was particularly outspoken in support of what he called a "biological purge." In 1936, while the first German concentration camps were opening, he made a major plea for eugenic sterilization—though he emphasized that it should not target any race or religion.

Hooton believed it was imperative for society to remove its "worthless" people. "Our real purpose," he declared in a speech that was quoted in *The New York Times,* "should be to segregate and to eliminate the unfit, worthless, degenerate and anti-social portion of each racial and ethnic strain in our population, so that we may utilize the substantial merits of its sound majority, and the special and diversified gifts of its superior members."

None of the news out of Germany after the war made Hooton abandon his views. "There can be little doubt of the increase during the past fifty years of mental defectives, psychopaths, criminals, economic incompetents and the chronically diseased," he wrote in *Redbook* magazine in 1950. "We owe this to the intervention of charity, 'welfare' and medical science, and to the reckless breeding of the unfit."

The United States also held onto eugenics, if not as enthusiastically as it once did. In 1942, with the war against the Nazis raging, the Supreme Court had a chance to overturn *Buck v. Bell* and hold eugenic sterilization unconstitutional, but it did not. The court struck down an Oklahoma sterilization law, but on extremely narrow grounds—leaving the rest of the nation's eugenic sterilization laws intact. Only after the civil-rights revolution of the 1960s, and changes in popular views toward marginalized groups, did eugenic sterilization begin to decline more rapidly. But states continued to sterilize the "unfit" until 1981.

Today, the American eugenics movement is often thought of as an episode of national folly—like 1920s dance marathons or Prohibition—with little harm done. In fact, the harm it caused was enormous.

As many as 70,000 Americans were forcibly sterilized for eugenic reasons, while important members of the Harvard community cheered and—as with Eliot, Lowell, and Holmes—called for more. Many of those 70,000 were simply poor, or had done something that a judge or social worker didn't like, or—as in Carrie Buck's case—had terrible luck. Their lives were changed forever—Buck lost her daughter to illness and died childless in 1983, not understanding until her final years what the state had done to her, or why she had been unable to have more children.

Also affected were the many people kept out of the country by the eugenically inspired immigration laws of the 1920s. Among them were a large number of European Jews who desperately sought to escape the impending Holocaust. A few years ago, correspondence was discovered from 1941 in which Otto Frank pleaded with the U.S. State Department for visas for himself, his wife, and his daughters Margot and Anne. It is understood today that Anne Frank died because the Nazis considered her a member of an inferior race, but few appreciate that her death was also due, in part, to the fact that many in the U.S. Congress felt the same way.

There are important reasons for remembering, and further exploring, Harvard's role in eugenics. Colleges and universities today are increasingly interrogating their pasts—thinking about what it means to have a Yale residential college named after John C. Calhoun, a Princeton school named after Woodrow Wilson, or slaveholder Isaac Royall's coat of arms on the Harvard Law School shield and his name on a professorship endowed by his will.

Eugenics is a part of Harvard's history. It is unlikely that Eliot House or Lowell House will be renamed, but there might be a way for the University community to spare a thought for Carrie Buck and others who paid a high price for the harmful ideas that Harvard affiliates played a major role in propounding.

There are also forward-looking reasons to revisit this dark moment in the University's past. Biotechnical science has advanced to the brink of a new era of genetic possibilities. In the next few years, the headlines will be full of stories about gene-editing technology, genetic "solutions" for a variety of human afflictions and frailties, and even "designer babies." Given that Harvard affiliates, again, will play a large role in all of these, it is important to contemplate how wrong so many people tied to the University got it the first time—and to think hard about how, this time, to get it right. ▽

Adam Cohen '84, J.D. '87, is the author of Imbeciles: The Supreme Court, American Eugenics, and the Sterilization of Carrie Buck, *published in March by Penguin Press.*

Montage

Art, books, diverse creations

Miller in his new theater, and (clockwise) scenes from recent productions: *Bonnie and Clyde, Hands on a Hardbody, Jerry Springer,* and *High Fidelity*

Meet Him in St. Louis

Scott Miller "saves shows from Broadway"

by MEREDITH REDICK

SCOTT MILLER '86 dreams of producing an absurdist musical called *Promenade.* The author, Maria Irene Fornés, recorded a series of nouns on index cards and then randomly selected from the stack to write each scene. "It's so bizarre," he says, grinning and leaning back against the show posters that line the walls of his home office. "Honestly, I'm terrified that no one would actually come to the show." The prospect of a theater devoid of patrons doesn't dull Miller's smile. The self-described "bad boy of musical theater" has earned a following in his hometown, St. Louis. And New Line Theatre, the nonprofit company he founded, recently celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary and moved into its first permanent home.

Miller began his career as a teenage usher at what was then the city's only professional musical-theater company. For eight consecutive summers, he guided patrons to their seats and listened to family-friendly productions of *Oklahoma!* and *Fiddler on the Roof.* Itching to tackle "more challenging, adult stuff," he arrived at Harvard ready to start a concentration in musical theater, only to learn there wasn't one. "It didn't even occur to me to ask," he says. He briefly considered transferring before learning that the College would fund student productions. Then he proceeded to stage what he calls "guerilla theater" in common rooms, libraries, and wherever else he could find space. "Because there was no theater department, there was no control," he says. "It was wild and really cool."

After graduation, Miller opted against

Portrait by Steve Truesdell, production photographs ©New Line Theatre

OPEN BOOK

The Mammalian Life Span

Pellegrino University Professor emeritus Edward O. Wilson has written with increasing urgency about mankind's disruption of the biosphere, and the heedless extinction of species. He continues the argument in *Half-Earth: Our Planet's Fight for Life* (Liveright, $25.95), with this vivid challenge to humans' self-perception, from the beginning of "History Redefined" (chapter 16):

History is not a prerogative of the human species. In the living world there are millions of histories. Each species is the inheritor of an ancient lineage. It exists in a point of space and time after a long journey through the labyrinth of evolution. Each twist and turn has been a gamble with the species' continued existence. The players are the many ensembles of genes in the population. The game is the navigation of the environment in which the population lives. The payout is the share of breeding individuals in the next generation. The traits prescribed by the genes that sufficed in past generations might in the future continue to do so, but might not. The environment is also changing. In new environments the genes may keep on winning, allowing the species to survive. Or not. Some of the variants of the genes, having arisen by mutation or forming new combinations, might even cause the species population to grow and spread. But at any time in a changing environment, the species could lose this game of evolution, and its population would spiral to extinction.

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Looking up: For all their evolutionary advantages, mammalian species have shorter life spans than ants and trees.

The average life span of a species varies according to taxonomic group. It is as long as tens of millions of years for ants and trees, and as short as half a million years for mammals. The average span across all groups combined appears to be (very roughly) a million years. By that time the species may have changed enough to be called a different species, or else it may have split into two or more species—or vanished entirely to join the more than 99 percent that have come and gone since the origin of life. Keep in mind that every surviving species (including us) is therefore a champion in a club of champions. We all are best of the best, descendants of species that have never turned wrong in the maze, never lost. Not yet.…

The human species, of course, has an evolutionary history, which reaches very far back in time beyond traditional recorded history. We, too, are the twig-end of a phylogeny. The multitudinous stories of human cultures are epics in the usual sense, but you will understand that the traits of human nature that have molded these stories are also products of evolution.…The two levels, biological and cultural, flow one into the other. This is the reason that history makes no sense without prehistory, and prehistory makes no sense without biology.

a move to New York, electing instead to launch his career away from the entrenched norms of Broadway. Partly because costs were lower, St. Louis was a "safe space" for the kinds of rule-breaking productions he wanted to stage. "If it's bad," he says, "it's bad in St. Louis." He founded New Line in 1991. The early years were challenging. Making money by writing and directing edgy theater in small venues across the city was almost impossible, but Miller became skilled in the financial acrobatics necessary to keep the company afloat: "We figured out we could do one show that might tank, like *Jerry Springer: The Opera*, and then something that was more secure financially, like *Bonnie and Clyde*."

Beginning in 2008, the company earned national attention for reviving Broadway flops. Miller became infatuated with the cast album for a new show called *High Fidelity*, adapted from Nick Hornby's novel. Curious to find out why it tanked on Broadway after just 13 performances, Miller dug up a bootleg video of the production, concluded that the "original director was just awful," and reached out to the composer and lyricist about getting the rights. They were surprised but thrilled that he wanted to resuscitate their show.

High Fidelity made its second debut in a raucous, pared-down production that sold out almost every night of its three-and-a-half-week run. Following that hit, New Line revamped two more shows with short-lived Broadway runs: *Cry-Baby*, adapted from the John Waters film, in 2012, and *Hands on a Hardbody*, about a Texas contest in which participants vie to win a truck, in 2014. Each of the re-crafted productions drew enough attention that directors all over the country began seeking his advice. "We've accidentally become this company that saves shows from Broadway," he says.

In the theater world, Miller's faithfulness to scripts is uncommon. Many directors cut chunks from shows—even from hits—to save time and hassle, or to broaden appeal. New Line's associate director, Mike Dowdy, says he's never seen Miller cut a line from a production. When something feels wrong, Miller scavenges for past versions of scripts, tracks down writers and lyricists, and scours the Internet for anything that helps provide useful context. He relied on the memoir of an addict in early 1990s New York City to shape his interpretation of *Rent*. For *Hair*, which

New Line has produced several times, he scrounged up a first-person account of an LSD experience to help his actors bring the psychedelic scenes to life. As Miller does more research, "he gets more and more excited, and that fuels us," Dowdy says. "He's really about creating a world for the actors to live in."

Miller's production choices strategically highlight each story's social relevance. His version of *Rent* offers one example. For the set's focal point, he requested a vast round platform painted to look like the moon. The platform represented everything from a table to a dance floor to a state of limbo for characters forced to navigate lives shattered by addiction and disease. He also cast unusually young actors, judging that the show's wrenching narrative was much sadder that way.

According to Miller, shows like *Rent*, which debuted in 1996, are part of a new age of musical theater created by writers and lyricists who spurn commercial norms and turn instead to productions focused on social and political issues. "People were writing these shows that felt like old-school musicals, but with new dark, ironic content," he says. "It was happening all around the country, but all the little pieces didn't know about each other."

New Line's 2014 production of *Rent*

New Line started as one of those pieces, a radical Midwestern theater lonely in its mission. But after two-plus decades operating out of church basements and college theaters, it finally has a permanent brick-and-mortar home. The Marcelle Theater is tucked inside a renovated warehouse on a gentrified street in the city center. Designed especially for New Line thanks to local philanthropists Ken and Nancy Kranzberg, the facility holds a black-box theater, rehearsal space, studios, and offices. New Line inaugurated the space in November with its sold-out production of *Heathers*. Next up is *American Idiot*, opening in March.

As for his dream production of *Promenade*? Well, Miller says, "We'll do that one when we have $20,000 in the bank."

Exact Changes

Musicians Damon & Naomi's many pursuits

by LYDIALYLE GIBSON

In 2002—the year the Argentine peso collapsed, eliminating half the scheduled shows in their South American tour—husband-and-wife bandmates Damon Krukowski '85 and Naomi Yang '86 flew to neighboring Brazil to play the rest of the dates. The trip was a risk; Brazil's economy was also faltering, and they knew they might not get paid. But they loved Brazilian music, they'd dreamed of seeing the country, and the promoter who invited them was, in Krukowski's words, "a lovely man." Other bands might have canceled, but, Yang says, "I think in general we're curious." They went.

In the end, the promoter couldn't pay. He'd guaranteed their fee in American dollars, and Brazil's soaring inflation put it out of reach. As the tour drew to a close and they headed for the airport, Krukowski asked the promoter to send him instead a classical guitar that had caught his eye in a São Paolo shop, a beautiful instrument with nylon strings and a luminous body. (He knew that the man, who happily agreed, could barter for it.) "And now," he says, "I have this marvelous Brazilian guitar. And it's changed how I play my other guitars, how I write songs."

That episode is not really so unusual for the couple in their plural pursuits. Krukowski is also an essayist and poet; Yang, the daughter of photographer John Yang '54, is also a photographer, as well as a graphic designer and filmmaker. Together they run a small press. Their modus operandi is curious more than cautious, headlong, willing to take a chance on the unknown.

The pair formed the influential indie-rock trio Galaxie 500 with fellow Harvard alumnus Dean Wareham '85 in 1987: Krukowki on drums (lacking a drum kit at first, he famously borrowed one from classmate Conan O'Brien), Yang on bass, and Wareham on guitar. They had been high-school friends in New York City, listening to punk, post-punk, and New Wave music:

Damon Krukowski and Naomi Yang

Photograph by Stu Rosner

Krukowski and Yang with their Galaxie 500 bandmate Dean Wareham in 1988, and a still from Yang's film, *Fortune*

COURTESY OF NAOMI YANG AND DAMON KRUKOWSKI

bands like the Velvet Underground and Joy Division. "When we started, it was the beginning of indie rock, before it got codified by major record labels," Yang says. "And it was an irresponsible thing to do—there wasn't any way you were going to make any money. It wasn't the popular form of the day; it was what the freaks did." At the time, both Krukowski and Yang were in graduate school at Harvard, studying comparative literature and architecture, respectively. They dropped out to give their full attention to the band.

Four years and three albums after it began, the Boston-based Galaxie 500, a pioneering influence on "slowcore's" dreamy sound, broke up abruptly in 1991, when Wareham left on the cusp of a major-label deal and what might have been mainstream stardom. "That was the path we were tentatively considering," Krukowski says, but "it fell apart amid all the pressures"—like a movie star dying young, offers Yang, with mystique intact.

Afterward, the couple, based in Cambridge, fanned out artistically. They began performing as Damon & Naomi. They launched their press, Exact Change, reviving out-of-print books focused on "Surrealism, Dadaism, Pataphysics, and other nineteenth and twentieth century avant-garde art movements," including works by Louis Aragon, Guillaume Apollinaire, Gertrude Stein—"basically," Yang says, "books Damon was reading in Widener Library and couldn't go buy his own copy....We wanted to make these available to people."

Meanwhile, Yang moved into filmmaking. "All of a sudden it was like being hit by lightning," she says. "It's a wonderful thing to discover, in mid life, something that you never thought you would do, and to find this passion for it. It's like, in a used bookstore, finding a whole other section." She's directed music videos for other artists, and in February 2015 released *Fortune*, a gorgeous and evocative 30-minute silent-film study of filial grief, laid over an original Damon & Naomi soundtrack. With a visual sensibility not unlike her musical one, Yang's videos are stylish and emotive, full of metaphorical possibilities.

For Krukowski, who's published two volumes of prose poems, a consuming interest is the digital shift that upended the creative worlds he and Yang inhabit: music and publishing. A fellow this year at Harvard's Berkman Center for Internet & Society, he is at work on a book of essays on that topic. The book's discussion, he says, reaches beyond the much-lamented economic fallout for musicians when listeners stopped buying albums and began streaming music online—though it covers

Chapter & Verse

Correspondence on not-so-famous lost words

Dan Jacobson asks if anyone can provide definitive attribution for the assertion, "From the music they love, you shall know the texture of men's souls." That line, he writes, is quoted in the 1949 movie *The Passionate Friends,* where the character played by Trevor Howard states, "I copied it out a book of Galsworthy's to impress you."

"a bad 15 minutes at the end" (January-February). Laurence Senelick replied: "The quotation seems to be a literal if awkward translation of the French catchphrase *un mauvais quart d'heure*. The notorious highwayman Cartouche (1693-1721) is supposed to have remarked, after he was sentenced to be broken on the wheel, "A mauvais quart d'heure is soon over!" It became proverbial very quickly. In his *Systeme de la nature* (1770), Baron d'Holbach extended it to the axiom that "Most criminals envisage death as merely un mauvais quart d'heure," and Cartouche's remark is quoted verbatim in Antoine Servan's *Le Soldat citoyen* (1780).

"My Little Papaya Tree" (January-February). Michael Saxton wrote, "Try Googling 'and a mynah bird in a papaya tree' to get a Hawaiian version of 'The Twelve Days of Christmas.' I heard this long ago on The Midnight Special, WFMT, Chicago." According to a 1979 article by Michael Scott-Blair of the Copley News Service, quoting UCLA folklorist Joan Perkal, the list runs: 12 televisions, 11 missionaries, 10 cans of beer, nine pounds of poi, eight ukeleles, seven shrimps a-swimming, six hula lessons, five big fat pigs, four flower leis, three dry squid, two coconuts, and…."

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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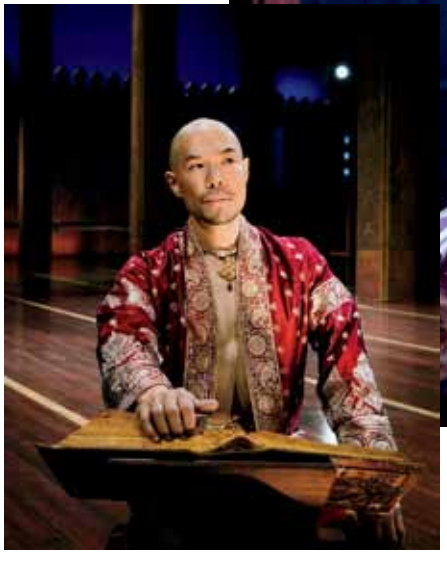
that, too. (In 2012, Krukowski created a stir by publicizing in the magazine *Pitchfork* his own meager streaming royalties.) But he also explores the social media channels that replaced fanzines, postcards, and mail-order record catalogs: "a sea change in how subcultures exist." And he is interested in how digital processing compresses sound, eliminating ancillary "noise"—sighs, breaths, the tension of inhabited silence—in order to transmit words. "The choice of what sound is meaningful is very serious and not obvious," he says, "and it's been made according to technological demands. A lot of sonic information gets lost."

Looking forward, Krukowski looks back. "We've always been very inspired by the 1920s in publishing," he says; Exact Change was meant to pay homage to the little magazines from that era. But the early modernist period just before World War II, he explains, was "actually a very unsettled moment for American media. A lot was changing, and some really curious forms came out, some interesting experimental work—and a lot of dead ends. But interesting dead ends." The current moment has similar cultural and economic confusions. He and Yang, he says, will keep trying things. And if someone offers them a ticket to perform in Brazil, they'll probably go.

The Man Who Has Been King

An actor's ascent

by SOPHIA NGUYEN



Lee (left) leaps down the stage (right) with co-star Kelli O'Hara in the show's iconic polka, "Shall We Dance?"

THREE TIMES, Hoon Lee '94 has been lord of all he surveyed on stage: as Ferdinand of Navarre in the Public Theater's *Love's Labor's Lost*; as Polixenes, sovereign of a petal-strewn Bohemia in *A Winter's Tale* at the Yale Rep; and most recently as Broadway's reigning King of Siam in *The King and I*. Each time, he's been alert to what makes the head that wears a crown lie so uneasily. Authority bumps up against mortal limits; grandeur flips, revealing foolishness as its opposing face. Lee has a knack for playing monarchs as men.

He didn't really plan on being an actor. At Harvard, he was president of the Din & Tonics—a 1991 review in *The Crimson* commends his "fetching solo" in their a cappella rendition of "Sam, You Made the Pants Too Long"—and did a few plays, but afterward pursued a job in tech. The industry burned him out. "At the tail of the first dot-com bubble," Lee recalls, "we were losing our minds, working way too hard." When he joined a production of a friend's musical touring Taiwan in 2001, the 28-year-old saw the gig less as an entry point than an escape. But a year later, he made his Broadway debut in *Urinetown*, and the year after that, his television debut in *Sex and the City*. Then he was recognized with a Theatre World Award in 2008 for his first lead role, in *Yellow Face*, David Henry Hwang's searching satire about race and reputation. Lee "has the ability to translate physically what he understands mentally," the playwright told the *Los Angeles Times*, "which is rare in actors."

"This is going to sound a little funny," Lee says, before admitting that he's only recently come to view acting as his vocation, and as a career that he could sustain and deepen over time. "I don't mean that I've been waffling," he continues. "It has more to do with a certain comfort level." For a while, he saw himself taking whatever opportunity was right in front of him, his talent too green to afford a longer view. Whatever the size of a given role, he felt like he was playing catch-up with his cast-mates.

That changed with the cable series *Banshee*, set in a small Amish town ridden with (surprisingly multinational) crime. The pulp thriller gave Lee his most prominent screen role so far: as Job, a fluidly gendered hacker and forger. The actor describes his experience on the show as having "people *around* the pool, and they've got life vests and rafts and stuff for you, but you're being plunged into the deep end, and that forces you to swim." He worked with the show's physical trainer and stunt team to condition himself for the role: "If you're a guy who's built like me, to play somebody who not only wants to wear women's clothes, but wants to appear powerful and beautiful in them—I thought this person would probably try to shape himself a certain way."

The work also had mental demands. In theatre, acting requires "managing your ability to concentrate over a long period of time, and to keep reinventing what you're doing, even if it's technically the same thing." Screen acting has other requirements: "to gather your energy toward execution on a take, to try to create a flash

Photographs by Paul Kolnik

Off the Shelf

Recent books with Harvard connections

The Annotated *Little Women,* by Louisa May Alcott, edited by John Matteson, J.D. '86 (W.W. Norton, $39.95). You've never seen a bigger *Little Women*. Alcott's Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer (*Eden's Outcasts*)—who combines a Columbia Ph.D. with his Harvard J.D., and now teaches English at John Jay College—covers the Alcotts' connection to the Marches, and provides more than you imagined anyone could know in hundreds of notes and illustrations (from Norman Rockwell to Elizabeth Taylor).

American Amnesia, by Jacob S. Hacker '94, G '02, and Paul Pierson (Simon & Schuster, $28). A reminder, by political scientists at Yale and Berkeley, respectively, that the default posture toward government and the public sector need not be dismissive loathing. The authors suggest that "It takes government—a lot of government—for advanced societies to flourish," through the public-private alchemy of the mixed economy.

Thoreau's Wildflowers, edited by Geoff Wisner '80 (Yale, $30). In time for New England spring (the official publication is timed for the vernal equinox), a selection of Henry David's botanical observations through the year, sensitively illustrated by Barry Moser's black-and-white illustrations that complement the texts without competing with them.

Smarter Faster Better, by Charles Duhigg, M.B.A. '03 (Random House, $28). The *New York Times*man sets out to make you more productive. His high-speed scan of the literature and of workplaces takes you through an eight-step process, from motivation and making up teams through innovation and dealing with data. If you are not inspired, embrace your slackerdom.

Models for Movers, by Íde B. O'Carroll, Ed.M. '91 (Attic/Cork University Press, $21 paper). At a time of migration crises and demonizing others, this twenty-fifth-anniversary edition of a book about Irish women moving to America in the twentieth century, based on oral histories at the Schlesinger Library, bears a simple message: they emigrated because they had to.

Shadow Cold War, by Jeremy Friedman, assistant professor of business administration (University of North Carolina, $32.95). At a time when many Americans would struggle to identify the contending interests in, say, Syria, a young historian looks at the *other* Cold War, the Sino-Soviet competition to champion revolution in the Third World while the main U.S.-U.S.S.R. competition was chilling the developed world. Being reminded that those rivalries echo still, alongside new ones, is a salutary first step to untangling the messy present.

Thomas Hart Benton: Discoveries and Interpretations, by Henry Adams '71 (University of Missouri, $50). The author, professor of art history at Case Western Reserve, collects his many essays on the artist whose work spanned everything from his iconic regionalist murals to his deep involvement with Jackson Pollock.

Thomas Hart Benton's *Roasting Ears*

Landscapes & Gardens, by George Hargreaves, M.L.A. '79. et al. (Oro Editions, $19.95 paper). A viewbook of projects by Hargreaves and co-principals in his eponymous landscape-architecture firm (he served as chair of the department at the Graduate School of Design). They are refreshingly unapologetic about their use of flowering perennials; the images of Stanford's science and engineering quad may prove trying for the inhabitants of New England schools during the winter.

The Planet Remade: How Geoengineering Could Change the World, by Oliver Morton (Princeton, $29.95). The briefings editor at *The Economist* examines the science and politics of intervening in the atmosphere to offset climate change—and puts into context the work of McKay professor of applied physics and professor of public policy David Keith, who was the subject of *this* magazine's July-August 2013 cover story, "Buffering the Sun."

A Passion for Society: How We Think About Human Suffering, by Iain Wilkinson and Arthur Kleinman, Rabb professor of anthropology and professor of psychiatry (University of California, $65; $29.95 paper). A moral argument and a critique of social science, aiming to move beyond the natural tendency to "see all human problems as those of individuals," and instead to broaden scholars' and citizens' field of view to encompass suffering on a social scale, and responses to it. Kleinman's essay "On Caregiving" appeared in the July-August 2010 issue.

Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City, by Matthew Desmond, Loeb associate professor of the social sciences (Crown, $28). Inequality and poverty extend beyond the obvious economic metrics (low income, absence of wealth) to the brutal struggle for the basics of daily living, like housing. Desmond, a young sociologist whose fieldwork in Milwaukee was the subject of "Disrupted Lives," this magazine's January-February 2014 cover article, here details several of those lives in painful, novelistic detail. But it is all fact—and all twenty-first-century American.

Lee as the outlaw Job in *Banshee*, a role he calls "liberating"

of lightning." And off the set, he notes, the role has subtly changed the texture of daily life: news articles about cybersecurity "ping a little differently" for him. "And on the lighter side, you find yourself by a store and kind of checking out a pair of thongs."

In an intensely physical show, Job stands out amid the hulking thugs. His work is basically invisible; his presence anything but. His intimidating glamor—featuring a wardrobe of wigs, stilettos, and the odd corset—is as essential to *Banshee's* aesthetic as its bravura action sequences. The character does join in the cartoonish carnage, swearing a blue streak through a glossily painted mouth. Lee seems to savor every syllable.

Last September, he returned to Broadway to take the title role in *The King and I*, Rodgers and Hammerstein's classic musical about an Englishwoman who arrives in Bangkok to tutor the children of the autocratic king of Siam, who is striving to modernize his country. The Lincoln Center revival clarifies the show's East meets West dynamics: the central characters' mutual incomprehension is foregrounded by a larger colonial drama, in which the kingdom tries to stave off foreign interference.

Past versions of the script were mined for material that brought out these politics. The king's first scene has him confer with his prime minister about Cambodia's fall to the French. "That creates a very different atmosphere in the kingdom," Lee says. Especially among the ensemble, "You see, in a sense, that they are looking to the king to guide them to safety, and to steward their nation." He continues, "The king on stage is really only as powerful as the others allow him to be. If the other people on stage do not greet him with deference, then the audience has no indication that they should feel that."

On paper, the character can be painfully oblivious—an object of occasional condescension for Anna (the "I" of the title), and thus the viewer. It would therefore be simple to play the king as a broadly charismatic blank, onto which these competing perceptions are projected. A theatergoer better acquainted with Yul Brynner's version (all eyebrows and spindly severity) might be struck by the richness of Lee's. At its center are deep reserves of humor, a joviality to match his petulance and pride. His wit complements the heroine's. It leads naturally to the sparring, startling chemistry that culminates in the famous "Shall We Dance?" scene. In seconds, through silent gesture—extended arm; turned cheek—a romance unfolds and is foreclosed. When *New York Times* theatre critic Ben Brantley revisited the show, urged by readers to see Lee opposite co-star Kelli O'Hara, he commented, "It's as if the spirits of Spencer Tracy and Katharine Hepburn have entered the royal palace."

But being alone on stage spotlights the king's self-awareness—especially in "A Puzzlement," in which he admits, "There are times I almost think/I am not sure of what I absolutely know." An oddity of the libretto is that he is the only major character who doesn't switch to unaccented, vernacular English in his lyrics. But Lee brings real conviction to the soliloquy. His big, resonant voice lends dignity, and tragedy, to the broken grammar. By the time he reaches the final, beseeching lines ("If my Lord in Heaven Buddha show the way/Every day I do my best for one more day"), sweat beads his forehead, and his chest heaves. There's surprising pathos in this scene of a man reckoning with his scale in the world. Here's a king grappling with his power—and a performer in total command of his own.

The "Little Republics"

Thomas Jefferson's "fractal" view of American self-governance

by SUSAN DUNN

"I AM GOING to Virginia," Thomas Jefferson wrote in November 1793, shortly before resigning as George Washington's secretary of state. He was anxious "to be liberated from the hated occupations of politics, and to sink into the bosom of my family, my farm and my books.... I shall imagine myself as blessed as the most blessed of the patriarchs."

What kind of patriarch did this American founder wish and imagine himself to be? ask two eminent Jefferson scholars. In their fascinating, subtle, and deeply insightful new book, Annette Gordon-Reed, Warren professor of American legal history at Harvard Law School and professor of history, and Peter S. Onuf, the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation professor emeritus at the University of Virginia, seek to understand, as dispassionately as possible, how

"Most Blessed of the Patriarchs": Thomas Jefferson and the Empire of the Imagination, by Annette Gordon-Reed and Peter S. Onuf (Liveright, $27.95)

Photographs by Gregory Shummon/Cinemax

Jefferson gave meaning to his existence, how he wished to be perceived by others, how he shaped his private and public lives, and how he reconciled in his own mind his status as a slave-owner with his immortal words that "all men are created equal."

Dispensing with a traditional chronological biography, Gordon-Reed and Onuf focus instead on fathoming Jefferson's own perspective and sense of self, carefully examining his home life in Virginia, his years in France, his many roles in American politics, his hospitality, and his artistic and intellectual interests—his observations of the natural world, his enthusiasm for music and books, his thoughts about religion.

ISTOCK

Jefferson's perspective and sense of self finally receive the close scrutiny required for understanding this complex Founder.

Monticello was the center of Jefferson's universe. Throughout his long life of public service—as a member of the Continental Congress, war governor of Virginia, American minister in Paris, secretary of state, vice president, and president—the mountaintop slave plantation he built always remained his lodestar, the home he longed for.

Home meant peace: discord and argumentation were excluded. Unlike the sophisticated salons he had frequented in Paris, Monticello demanded no dazzling displays of wit and tolerated no malicious gossip. And unlike the unruly world of politics, which Jefferson referred to as "Bedlam," Monticello was a domain over which he could exercise control. Overseers, workers, and slaves who did not fit into his "program of willed domestic tranquility" were cast out. Even members of his family "tried hard to live up to their

assigned roles," Gordon-Reed and Onuf remark. "I now see our fireside formed into a groupe," Jefferson wrote his daughter Martha in 1797, "no one member of which has a fibre in their composition which can ever produce any jarring or jealousies among us." Nothing seemed to matter as much to Jefferson as his idyll of sweet, warm, benevolent family life. Writing to his other daughter Maria as president in 1801, he remarked wistfully that "it is in the love of one's family only that heartfelt happiness is known."

Monticello, the domain of a loving patriarchal father, was also the elegant estate of a refined gentleman, whose visitors would partake of the most enlightened conversation America had to offer (and of the finest of French wines). House servants were mostly kept offstage by a clever arrangement of dumbwaiters and revolving service doors, but, as Gordon-Reed and Onuf point out, there was no way to hide the fact that Monticello was a slave plantation and that Jefferson was the master of numerous enslaved people whom he could purchase, punish, or sell as he wished. The privileged life of the man whose Declaration of Independence put human equality at the center of the

How did Jefferson live with the contradiction between the Declaration and slaveowning?

American Experiment was based on the subjugation and exploitation of a condemned race.

How, Gordon-Reed and Onuf ask, did Jefferson explain and live with this burning contradiction?

His solution, they believe, was to imagine a "reciprocal relationship" with his enslaved people, while declining to recognize that any degrading submission took place. They "did things for him. He, in turn, did things for them." Some guests were surprised that Jefferson treated his slaves as though they were members of his family (which some of them indeed were). "How gentle, how humble how kind" were the master's "manners," one friend exclaimed. "His meanest slave must feel as if it were a father instead of a master who addressed him, when he speaks." The authors cogently remark that, by convincing himself that it was possible to be a slaveholder and still have enslaved people's best interests at heart, Jefferson was in fact promoting the "proslavery fantasies of happy relations between masters and slaves on southern plantations."

Of course, we know that Jefferson often referred to slavery as "evil," but the aging patriarch persuaded himself that its eradication was a task best left to future generations. In a famous letter written to James Madison in 1789, he proposed that "the earth belongs always to the living generation" and that "the dead have neither powers nor rights over it." Gordon-Reed and Onuf suggest that this concept of generational sovereignty would permit Jefferson to wash his hands of slavery by withdrawing "from the noisy and contentious world of the 'living generation' into the 'tranquility' of retirement." The enterprise of abolishing slavery, Jefferson wrote in 1814, "is for the young; for those who can follow it up, and bear it through to its consummation. It shall have all my prayers, & these are the only weapons of an old man."

Although Jefferson never ceased idealizing Monticello as "a powerful counterweight to the strife and discord of political life," the pull of politics proved irresistible. His 1793 retirement lasted only until 1797, when he became vice president under John Adams. Those retirement years were as much ordeal as idyll. Writing to Maria in 1802, President Jefferson admitted that they were probably the most depressing of his life. It was a time when the young republic was struggling to define itself, and it did not suffice to live as a patriarch in the bosom of his family. Deeply committed to fostering democratic self-government, he longed to fulfill his role as republican patriot.

Yet, in Jefferson's imagination, the roles of patriarch and patriot were not disconnected; on the contrary, they were closely linked, as were their two abodes, home and nation.

The kind patriarch's well-governed family, knitted tightly together by tender attachments, was, in his mind, the bedrock of republican self-government. Domestic life, defined by the selfless and caring bonds among family members, was a school for virtuous, sociable citizens. The model of

the family, Gordon-Reed and Onuf write, "would radiate out to the community, the state, and the nation. The American nation would, in turn, become an example to the world of the capacity for relationships based on harmony, bonds of trust, and mutual interest to keep peace in the world."

Jefferson's famous prescription for republican government rested on what he called "ward republics." "Divide every county into hundreds, of such size that all the children of each will be within reach of a central school in it," he wrote in 1810. Each hundred was to elect all local officials, including jurors, and have civil officials "to manage all its concerns, to take care of its roads, its poor, and its police by patrols." These "little republics," he wrote, "would be the main strength of the great one." Ironically, Jefferson found the model for them in New England, not in Virginia. "These wards, called townships in New England," he wrote in 1816, "are the vital principle of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation." Indeed, the goal was to make "every citizen...an acting member of the government." He could only hope that "in the fulness of time" Virginians and the rest of the nation would follow the progressive example of the Easterners.

Jefferson's concept of a republican nation composed of self-governing states, counties, and "wards" which, in turn, were composed of family units, predated the groundbreaking discovery of fractals in 1975 by the mathematician Benoit Mandelbrot, an occasional visiting professor at Harvard. A form of geometric repetition, fractals are, as one writer described them, "smaller and smaller copies of a pattern successively nested inside each other, so that the same intricate shapes appear no matter how much you zoom in to the whole." Mandelbrot's favorite example was the cauliflower—"a single floret," he wrote, "looks like a small cauliflower. If you strip that floret of everything except one floret of a floret...it is again a cauliflower."

And so, as Gordon-Reed and Onuf demonstrate in their excellent book, Jefferson's self-fashioning as blessed family patriarch was inextricably and intimately tied to his vision of self-governing communities and a self-governing free nation. Monticello was what Jefferson wanted for himself—and, minus slavery, it was also a prescription for a free republican nation in which citizens could enjoy their inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In his imagination and in his mind, the mountaintop home over which he presided constituted an ideal model for the nation and the world. ▽

Susan Dunn, Ph.D. '73, McCoy professor of humanities at Williams College, is the author of many books, including Dominion of Memories: Jefferson, Madison, and the Decline of Virginia *(reviewed in the March-April 2008 issue, page 26) and* 1940: FDR, Willkie, Lindbergh, Hitler—The Election Amid the Storm.

ALUMNI

Mexico Debates Marijuana

A new tack on stemming drug-related violence

by LYDIALYLE GIBSON

JUAN FRANCISCO TORRES LANDA, LL.M. '90, a corporate attorney in Mexico City, has never used marijuana and doesn't plan to start now, even though he recently became one of only four people in Mexico granted the right to do so, after a legal battle that went all the way to the country's Supreme Court.

For him, the fight isn't about the freedom to grow his own pot or a desire to get high. It's about the catastrophic violence engulfing his country, fueled by drug traf-

Plaintiffs Pablo Girault, Armando Santacruz, and Juan Francisco Torres Landa show off the permits allowing them to grow and use marijuana.

Photograph by Alfredo Estrella/AFP/Getty Images

ficking—murders, kidnappings, torture, extortion—and the desperate search for some way, any way, to stop it.

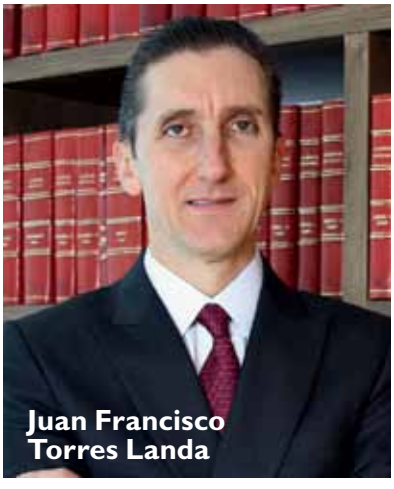
Between 2007 and 2014, according to data from Mexico's National Institute of Statistics and Geography, the country recorded more than 164,000 homicides, as many as half or more (estimates vary) attributable to drug violence—and no comprehensive count exists for the thousands of drug-related kidnappings. In 2011, at the height of the cartel wars, 27,000 people were killed. And this January, a newly elected mayor in the central city of Temixco, who had vowed to combat organized crime "frontally and directly," was shot to death at her home less than 24 hours after taking office. Days later, UCLA researchers released findings that the drug violence in Mexico was undoing a century's worth of gains in male life expectancy.

"It's a disaster," says Torres Landa. And Mexico's prohibitions against drugs, along with its ceaseless campaigns against traffickers, he argues, "have themselves created more damage than the damage they were supposed to mitigate."

Which is why, in 2013, he and Armando Santacruz, M.B.A. '87, whom he met through the Harvard Club of Mexico, along with two other plaintiffs, sued for the right to grow and consume their own pot. As members of the anti-crime organization México Unido Contra la Delincuencia (Mexico United Against Crime/MUCD), all four would like to see marijuana legalized outright.

On November 3, the Supreme Court ruled 4-1 in the plaintiffs' favor, declaring that the country's laws against the possession and use of the drug represented a violation of their fundamental human rights, specifically "the right to the free development of one's personality," enshrined in the Mexican constitution. (The ruling applies only to the four who brought the case, though; for it to become law, the Supreme Court would have to decide four more cases in the same way. And it may get the chance: since December, at least five other sets of plaintiffs have applied for permission to grow their own marijuana, the first step in filing suit.) With the lawsuit, the plaintiffs risk exposing themselves to danger—and indeed, they are careful never to call out a cartel by name, never to attack any specific person—but, Torres Landa says, "When you see damage being done, you cannot simply watch. You cannot stand by and say it's OK for people to be kidnapped and extorted. No."

American consumers are, by far, the prime market for Mexican drug traffickers, so legalizing marijuana in Mexico, where the drug is less popular, will not immediately undermine the drug cartels' business. But as Santacruz and Torres Landa hoped, the court decision did open a conversation that had remained stalled for years: about the effectiveness of Mexico's drug laws (some of the most severe in Latin America), and about the wisdom of its tough-on-crime approach.


Juan Francisco Torres Landa


Armando Santacruz

Since the ruling, President Enrique Peña Nieto, a longtime opponent of marijuana legalization, has said he welcomes a debate—though he hasn't changed his mind—and has promised to convene medical experts and sociologists to discuss possible reforms. A senator from Nuevo Leon, a state deeply scarred by drug violence, proposed legislation to allow the import of medicines made from cannabis. And Mexico City's mayor introduced a plan to potentially legalize medical marijuana nationwide. The city's archbishop, Cardinal Norberto Rivera, gave his and the Catholic Church's assent. "We have no problem," he told reporters, with the drug's medicinal use. Months later, Torres Landa says, "This topic has not faded. It is being discussed not only in the executive branch and the congress, but in offices, restaurants, and colleges. It is a true awakening."

After more than a decade, the country's American-backed "war on drugs" has imprisoned thousands of Mexicans but secured few lasting victories against organized crime, political corruption, and the flow of drugs and money throughout Mexico. "The cost to society" of drug-related incarceration, Santacruz says, "is huge; the destruction of lives is huge. This is a totally dismal, totally destructive policy."

Organized crime "is tearing the country apart," Mexican Supreme Court justice Alfredo Gutierrez Ortiz Mena, LL.M. '96, said during a December talk at Harvard on the role of the court in Mexico's democracy, and meanwhile, the issue of drug policy "had been pushed under the rug." He ruled in favor of the plaintiffs in November and in his talk compared the landmark case to the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* and *Brown*'s role in sparking an American conversation on civil rights. "If the court had not stepped in," he mused, "would the states have done something? Would the federal government?"

Torres Landa and Santacruz found themselves asking similar questions about Mexico's drug policy. The men seem unlikely antagonists in a fight over access to weed. Husbands, fathers, buttoned-down professionals, each has served as president of the Harvard Club of Mexico. Born in the state of Guanajuato, Torres Landa was raised in Mexico City and earned a law degree from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México and worked for several years at a firm in Mexico City before moving on to Harvard and six months in practice in Washington, D.C. He then returned home to the firm (which in 2014 merged with the international firm Hogan Lovells), where he is a partner.

Santacruz also grew up in Mexico City; he studied accounting at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México before attending Harvard Business School. He is co-founder and CEO of Grupo Pochteca, a raw materials, chemical, and paper-distribution company with operations in Brazil, Central America, and Mexico.

Both men remember a different, safer Mexico. As a child, Santacruz traveled

on the equivalent of a Greyhound bus to a family ranch in Chihuahua, some 800 miles from Mexico City: "When I turned 13, my mom allowed us to go there on our own." By the 1990s, however, things had turned "nasty," and in 1997 he and others started MUCD. Its lead founder—and one of the legalization plaintiffs—is Josefina Ricaño de Nava, whose son, Raul, had been kidnapped that May by a killer nicknamed "El Mochaorejas": The Ear Chopper. "He used to send them to the families to put pressure on them to pay up," says Santacruz. In the end, Raul was killed; a family member found his body at the morgue months later. And three years ago, Santacruz's own brother was abducted, although he was released unharmed. Torres Landa had a cousin who was kidnapped and killed. "And an uncle," he says, "whom I was able to recover."

In 2004 a MUCD-organized "Let's Rescue Mexico" march drew 250,000 people, all dressed in white, onto the streets of Mexico City, and the group has pushed for reforms in policing and criminal justice. But, Santacruz says, the group saw that such efforts "would always be overwhelmed by the power and the incredible force of the drug business." Torres Landa adds, "The drug policy we have lived with for many years has in fact generated tremendous availability and diversity of drugs, and in a way that the government exercises no control over whatsoever."

The lawsuit has its origin in MUCD, a citizens' group formed in 1997 to try to reduce crime.

Changes in drug policies among other countries in the region should bolster efforts in Mexico. In Colombia, personal marijuana use is legal, and Uruguay legalized cannabis in 2013. The following year Chile planted its first crop of medical marijuana, using 850 seeds imported from the Netherlands.

But public opinion in Mexico has solidly opposed legalizing pot. In part, say Santacruz and Torres Landa, that's because the drug, paradoxically, is little known locally. In a 2011 survey, about 2.5 percent of Mexicans reported having used marijuana during the past year, versus the 7.5 percent of Americans who report having used it in the *past month.* The Supreme Court ruling has been widely reported and "gives us a chance to spell out the real dangers," Santacruz says. "Look, pot is certainly dangerous....But it's not going to turn you into Godzilla. And if anyone you know smokes under regulated conditions—which is what we're proposing, that the government regulates it—we will all be better off than if people have to touch base with organized crime every time they need to get some dope."

Most pivotal in shrinking the Mexican marijuana trade are the evolving revisions of U.S. marijuana policies. "Honestly, it will be best for us when the U.S. fully legalizes," says Santacruz. "Legalizing locally here in Mexico, we can reduce some

of the problems, but we still will have the illegal export market." Some 40 percent to 70 percent of the pot consumed in the United States comes from Mexico (estimates vary among U.S. law enforcement groups)—enough to represent roughly 15 percent to 30 percent of the cartels' overall revenue. But in recent years, 23 states and the District of Columbia have legalized marijuana in some form, and Mexican suppliers, reportedly, are already being affected: between 2012 and 2014, Border Patrol seizures of Mexican pot fell by 23 percent, according to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA). And late last year, multiple news reports described how legal marijuana grown in the U.S. was driving down the price so sharply that some Mexican farmers had stopped planting it.

Those same reports, though, noted that some farmers are switching over to poppies. That tracks with the DEA's findings, too: seizures of heroin (and methamphetamines) along the Mexican border have risen. To truly disable organized crime, Torres Landa and Santacruz know, will require legalizing not just marijuana but those other, harder drugs. "In the long term, yeah," Torres Landa says. That's a tougher sell, but one that is also gaining traction around the globe. Last year, Brazil's Supreme Court began debating the decriminalization of marijuana, cocaine, and heroin, and Ireland announced plans to decriminalize heroine, cocaine, and marijuana possession. In Colombia and Peru, it is legal to cultivate and possess cocaine; in Germany and Switzerland, people caught with cocaine face fines instead of jail. Several countries, including Canada, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands, allow the medical use of cocaine or heroine—or both. Portugal decriminalized all drug use in 2001.

For now, Santacruz and Torres Landa are pursuing one small step at a time. "When people see that we don't become a zombie nation because marijuana is legal," Santacruz says, "then we can move on" to other drugs. "We know it's a long journey." Perhaps that's why, on December 11, when the plaintiffs picked up their permits from Mexico's federal health authority office and displayed them for news photographers waiting outside, the two men, half-smiling, looked not so much exultant as resolute.

A Special Notice Regarding Commencement Day

Thursday, May 26, 2016

Morning Exercises

To accommodate the increasing number of people wishing to attend Harvard's Commencement Exercises, the following guidelines are provided to facilitate admission into Tercentenary Theatre on Commencement Morning:

- Degree candidates will receive a limited number of tickets to Commencement. Their parents and guests must have tickets, which must be shown at the gates in order to enter Tercentenary Theatre. Seating capacity is limited; there is standing room on the Widener steps and at the rear and sides of the Theatre. For details, visit the Commencement office website (**http://commencement.harvard.edu**).

Note: A ticket allows admission, but does not guarantee a seat. Seats are on a first-come basis and can not be reserved. The sale of Commencement tickets is prohibited.

- A very limited supply of tickets is available to alumni and alumnae on a first-come, first-served basis through the Harvard Alumni Association (**http://alumni.harvard.edu/annualmeeting**). Alumni/ae and guests may view the Morning Exercises over large-screen televisions in the Science Center and at most of the undergraduate Houses and graduate and professional schools. These locations provide ample seating, and tickets are *not* required.
- College Alumni/ae attending their twenty-fifth, thirty-fifth, and fiftieth reunions will receive tickets at their reunions.

Afternoon Program

The Harvard Alumni Association's Annual Meeting, which includes remarks by its president, Overseer and HAA election results, the presentation of the Harvard Medals, and remarks by President Drew Gilpin Faust and the Commencement Speaker, convenes in Tercentenary Theatre on Commencement afternoon. For tickets (which are required, but free) visit the HAA website or call 617-496-7001.

—The Commencement Office

Overseer and HAA Director Candidates

This spring, alumni can vote for five new Harvard Overseers and six new elected directors of the Harvard Alumni Association (HAA).

Ballots, mailed out by April 1, must be received back in Cambridge by noon on May 20 to be counted. Election results will be announced at the HAA's annual meeting on May 26, on the afternoon of Commencement day. All holders of Harvard degrees, except Corporation members and officers of instruction and government, are entitled to vote for Overseer candidates. The election for HAA directors is open to all Harvard degree-holders.

Candidates for Overseer may also be nominated by petition if they obtain a prescribed number of signatures (201 this year) from eligible degree-holders. Lists of signatures for five potential candidates were submitted by the February 1 deadline; for more information, see page 22.

The HAA's nominating committee has proposed the following candidates.

For Overseer (six-year term):

P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale '74, Evanston, Illinois. Associate provost for faculty and Frances Willard professor of human development and social policy, Northwestern University.

Helena Buonanno Foulkes '86, M.B.A. '92, Providence, Rhode Island. President, CVS/pharmacy; executive vice president, CVS Health.

Karen Falkenstein Green '78, J.D. '81, ALI '15, Boston. Senior partner, Wilmer Cutler Pickering Hale and Dorr, LLP.

Ketanji Brown Jackson '92, J.D. '96, Washington, D.C. Judge, United States District Court.

John J. Moon '89, Ph.D. '94, New York City. Managing director, Morgan Stanley.

Alejandro Ramírez Magaña '94, M.B.A.

'01, Mexico City. CEO, Cinépolis.

Kent Walker '83, Palo Alto. Senior vice president and general counsel, Google Inc.

Damian Woetzel, M.P.A. '07, Roxbury, Connecticut. Artistic director, Vail International Dance Festival; director, Aspen Institute Arts Program, *DEMO* (Kennedy Center), and independent projects.

For Elected Director (three-year term):

Janet Nezhad Band '83, M.B.A. '89, J.D. '90, New York City. Development consultant to nonprofit organizations.

Rye Barcott, M.B.A.-M.P.A.'09, Charlotte, North Carolina. Managing partner and co-founder, Double Time Capital.

David Battat '91, New York City. President and CEO, Atrion Corporation.

Susan M. Cheng, M.P.P. '04, Ed.LD. '13, Washington, D.C. Senior associate dean for diversity and inclusion, Georgetown University School of Medicine.

Farai N. Chideya '90, New York City. Distinguished writer in residence, Arthur L. Carter Journalism Institute, New York University.

Trey Grayson '94, Fort Mitchell, Kentucky. President and CEO, Northern Kentucky Chamber of Commerce.

Victor Jih, J.D. '96, Los Angeles. Litigation partner, Irell and Manella LLP.

Eliana Murillo '10, San Francisco. Head of multicultural marketing, Google Inc.

Michael C. Payne '77, M.D. '81, M.P.H. '82, Cambridge. Attending physician, department of internal medicine, division of gastroenterology, Cambridge Health Alliance.

HAA Clubs and SIGs Awards

The citations, awarded at the HAA board of directors meeting in February, honor both alumni and groups that have organized exceptional programming.

E. Andrews Grinstead '97 of Mobile, Alabama. Having served as the HAA Alumni Leadership Conference co-chair, HAA director of southeastern states, and HAA director of general-interest SIGs, Grinstead has been an invaluable alumni leader, assisting numerous clubs and SIGs with organizational revitalization, engagement, transition, and development. In addition, he is a past president and vice president of the Harvard Club of the Mid-South and has been a schools and scholarships admissions interviewer.

Jeanne E. Gullahorn '54 of Naples, Florida. Gullahorn joined the board of directors of the Harvard Club of Naples in 2008 and reestablished the HAA's Summer Community Service Fellowship for Collier County, helping to raise funds to sponsor 22 positions for undergraduates. Subsequently, as club vice president, and now president, she has worked to coordinate internships for incoming freshmen, as well as organize winter-break internships for students.

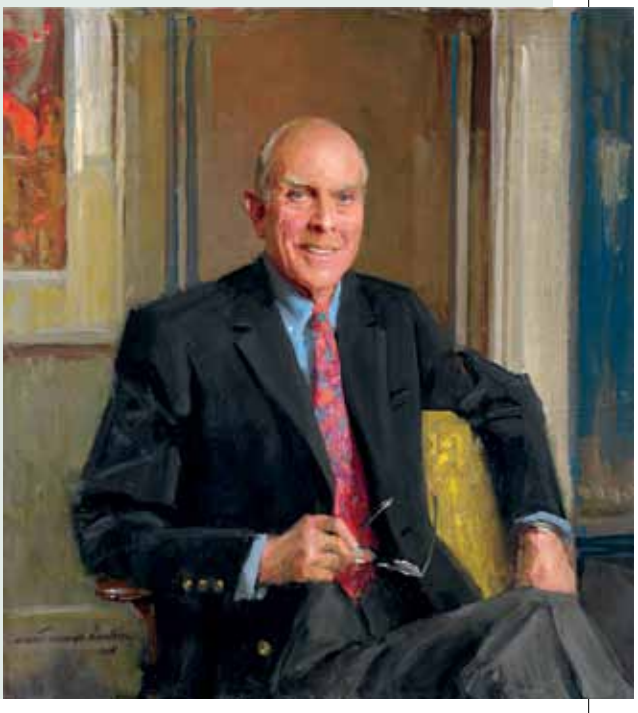
Timothy J. Pearson, M.P.P. '89, of Anchorage. As secretary of the Harvard Club of Alaska since 2006, Pearson has coordinated activities and events, built partnerships with other organizations, such as the Yale and Princeton clubs, and worked to get new club members involved with the community and the board. He has also bolstered bonds with the larger academic network in Alaska.

Since its founding in 2004, the **Harvard University Muslim Alumni (HUMA)** has grown to include more than 300 alumni. The shared interest group has helped bring together Harvard's Muslim community, with initiatives such as the Global Iftaars Program during Ramadan, which was held in numerous cities worldwide. Other initiatives include alumni mixers, mentoring programs for students, networking events, and the annual dinner in Cambridge, which has featured inspirational speakers who focus on the Islamic world. The HUMA Muslim Life Fund also supports Harvard's first paid Muslim chaplain.

The Harvard Club of Quebec (HCQ) has seen tremendous growth during the last three years, increasing membership from just eight to nearly 200. Under the leadership of club president Andre DuSault, M.P.A. '00, the club also established a board of governors, wrote a new constitution, and created a nomination committee for succession planning. As part of the HAA's Global Month of Service, HCQ collaborated with other local institutions, such as the U.S. consulate in Montreal, to organize meaningful events and initiatives. The club has also sponsored dozens of other gatherings, such as the popular Young Professional Speakers Series, to effectively engage alumni.

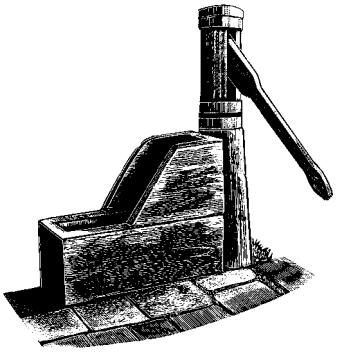
"*Our* John Harvard"

During its 150th-anniversary celebration in December, the Harvard Club of New York unveiled Everett Raymond Kinstler's portrait of John P. (Jack) Reardon Jr. '60. In accompanying remarks, club president Charles L. Brock, J.D. '67, AMP '79, a past HAA president, cited the highlights of Reardon's formal University service: director of undergraduate admissions, of athletics, and of the Harvard Alumni Association. (He also served on the club's board, and is a Harvard Medalist.) Brock then turned to address the man he called "our Jack of all trades. Our ace of Harvard clubs. Our king of countless Crimson hearts." Reardon's "rare wisdom, wit, and warmth" have been deployed as he has "counseled and cajoled presidents and provosts" and other members of the Harvard community. But more important, Brock said, Reardon is "the kind of person so many of us aspire to be," at the core of Harvard as a *human* institution: "Jack, you are *our* John Harvard."



Portrait by Everett Raymond Kinstler

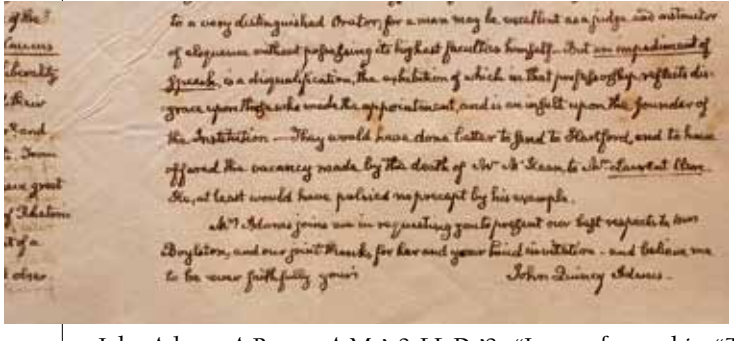
Harvard Politics



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

A feisty letter written in 1819 in the distinctive hand of John Quincy Adams, A.B. 1787, A.M. '90, LL.D. 1822, hangs today, framed, in the office of Harvard president Drew Faust. It offers outspoken candor about yesterday's faculty politics to anyone who happens to read it while standing around waiting for today's action to unfold. A snippet appears below; the entire letter may be read on this magazine's website.

Adams, who was then the nation's secretary of state, wrote tartly about a range of Harvard topics to his close friend, Ward Nicholas Boylston, a cousin of his father, John Adams, A.B. 1755, A.M. '58, LL.D. '81. "I speak the whole truth to you," he wrote, "because nothing less can do any good."



to a very distinguished Orator; for a man may be excellent as a judge and instructor of eloquence without possessing its highest faculties himself. But an impediment of Speech, is a disqualification, the exhibition of which in that professorship reflects disgrace upon those who made the appointment, and is an insult upon the founder of the Institution. They would have done better to send to Hartford, and to have offered the vacancy made by the death of Mr. M'Lean to Mr. Stewart (Dug.

He, at least would have profited no precept by his example.

Mr. Adams joins me in requesting you to present our best respects to Mrs. Boylston, and our joint thanks for her and your kind invitation. And believe me to be ever faithfully yours

John Quincy Adams.

Boylston was the nephew of the founder of the Boylston professorship of rhetoric and oratory, and John Quincy Adams had been the first to hold the post, serving for two years part-time starting in 1806, commuting from his Senate service in Washington, D.C., to Cambridge. After him came a minister, the Reverend Mr. Joseph McKean, as Jay Heinrich tells in his history of the professorship ("How Harvard Destroyed Rhetoric," July-August 1995, page 37). The concerns of the job, writes Heinrich, "gradually drifted away from oral address, political meaning, and anything remotely practical." In his letter to his friend Boylston, Adams bemoaned McKean's appointment.

"With regard to the professorship of rhetoric and oratory, I do most sincerely wish it could be given to a person capable of understanding its duties, and of performing them," he wrote. "To Mr. M'Kean [sic] it was a sinecure, given him for his wants and his vices, and not for any quality required by the place....But the corporation of Harvard University, though including some of the best men in the world, is and for many years has been more of a Caucus Club, than of a Literary and Scientific Society—Bigoted to religious liberality and illiberal in political principle—When they have a place to fill, their question is not, who is fit for the place, but who is to be provided for? and their whole range of candidates is a Parson, or a Partizan, or both."

Adams goes on to disparage clerics wholesale as candidates for the professorship. "The Pulpit is indeed one of the scenes of practical oratory," he writes, "but it is oratory of the lowest class. The Pulpit Orator has no antagonist. There may be triumph without a victory; but there can be no victory without a Battle. Now as in the days of Cicero, the great struggle and the most spendid theatre of eloquence is at the Bar."

For good politically incorrect measure, Adams opined, "an impediment of speech is a disqualification, the exhibition of which in that professorship reflects disgrace upon those who made the appointment, and is an insult upon the founder of the Institution."

HM Visit harvardmag.com to view the John Quincy Adams letter.

The letter is a gift to Harvard from David M. Rubenstein, a Harvard parent, graduate of Duke and the University of Chicago Law School, and co-founder and co-chief executive officer of the investment firm The Carlyle Group—a more than usually philanthropic billionaire who co-chairs the Harvard Campaign and the Kennedy School campaign.

On cats: The late Daniel Merton Wegner was the Lindsley professor of psychology in memory of William James, but "first and foremost, he was an inventor," write three of his colleagues in a memorial minute about him presented to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences last December. He started out in college studying physics and engineering, but switched to social psychology. "Although he ultimately became a widely celebrated *éminence grise* who won every major award his field could offer, he never stopped being the ten-year-old boy who sat in the attic of his house in East Lansing with an issue of *Popular Mechanics* and a chemistry set, trying to develop a formula that would turn the family cat into a family dog because, as he would maintain for the rest of his life, there is simply no good reason for cats." One hopes, piously, that no harm befell the cat in this attempted alchemy. —PRIMUS V

Photograph by Stephanie Mitchell/Harvard Public Affairs and Communications

Mesoamerican Notes

New music from ancient instruments

Inside one glass case sits a little round owl, its eyes staring straight ahead, its clay wings almost fluffy. Next to it stand what looks like a falcon, and a pair of monkeys with O-shaped mouths. Inches away, an alligator, an armadillo, and a flat-bodied frog. A smiling, seated man wears a hat and a heavy necklace. There are shells and fish and lizards and a squat chicken (bottom)—and stranger figurines too: a dog riding on the back of a cow, and a creature that looks half-anteater, half-pig (below).

"Each of these is a story and a sound," says Davíd Carrasco, the Divinity School's Rudenstine professor for the study of Latin America, who also teaches in the department of anthropology. The objects, some as small as a coach's whistle, others as large as a grapefruit, are ocarinas, Mesoamerican flute-like instruments dating back as far as 4,500 years, now on display at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. Once thought to be toys, ocarinas are, Carrasco explains, complicated musical instruments—some have multiple chambers and can sound more than a dozen notes—that played an important role in pre-Columbian religious rituals and domestic life. (Large enough to cover its player's face like a mask, the figure above right was probably used for parades.)

They offer a glimpse, he adds, into ancient Mesoamerican beliefs: for instance, that human and animal spirits could inhabit each other's bodies. "Some of these animals—they've been turned into a musical instrument, but it can only be played by a human. So the human breath possesses the animal."

The instruments in the Peabody exhibit, Ocarinas of the Americas: Music Made in Clay, were rediscovered in the museum's vaults a few years ago after a campus performance by musician and Latin American scholar José Cuellar (a San Francisco State professor emeritus also known as saxophonist Dr. Loco of the Rockin' Jalapeño Band). A curator recognized one of the instruments Cuellar played that day as an ocarina just like the hundreds boxed up in the basement. She told Cuellar about them, and when he returned to Harvard in 2012 as a Peabody Museum Hrdy Fellow, he opened up the ocarina boxes. "He laid them all out for the staff and played them, one after another, finding the tones, testing the ranges," Carrasco recalls. "It was a beautiful afternoon. People heard these instruments that had not made sounds for perhaps 1,000 years. He brought them back to life."

HM

Visit harvardmag.com/extras to see José Cuellar playing the ocarinas.

—Lydialyle Gibson

José Cuellar returns to Cambridge to give a lecture and ocarina performance on March 31. Visit www.peabody.harvard.edu/ancient-sounds for details.