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PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY

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An editorially independent magazine by alumni for alumni since 1900

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Raising Voices

As a novelist and book editor, Tiger of the Week Rakesh Satyal '02 brings marginalized voices to the forefront. And as a former Nassoon, sometimes he sings.



First Lady

On this month's PAWcast, author David Michaelis '79 talks about his new biography of Eleanor Roosevelt.

Historical Resilience

Gregg Lange '70 ponders resilience at Princeton: people like Dr. Joe Schein '37, buildings like Nassau Hall, and the service ethic that endures.

op: Sierra Murray; from left: Melisa Melling '02; Nancy Steiner

Twenty Years Later: Princeton's Visionary Financial Aid Program

wenty years ago this month, on January 27, 2001, Princeton made history. Spurred by the vision of President Harold Shapiro *64 and propelled by support from generations of loyal alumni, Princeton replaced loans with grants, enabling its students to graduate debt-free and opening its gates to talented young people who would previously have found the University unaffordable.

People recognized immediately that Princeton had done something extraordinary. "Princeton to Replace Loans with Student Scholarships," declared the *New York Times*. The *Times* story noted that Princeton had simultaneously increased its support for graduate fellowships, substantially increasing stipends, summer support, and healthcare benefits.

It was, however, the bold undergraduate aid policy that captured national attention. The *Times* quoted Arthur Levine, then president of Columbia Teachers College, who declared, "Every Ivy

League university is going to have to try to match this if they want to compete for the best of the middle-class students."

That was part of President Shapiro's plan. "Our hope," he told the *Princeton Alumni Weekly* on the 10th anniversary of the no-loan program, "was that [peers] would follow us,



not that we would have a competitive advantage."

And follow they did. "No loan" has become a defining benchmark for financial aid programs in American education. At least 20 colleges and universities now meet 100 percent of need for admitted undergraduates without requiring them to incur debt. A much larger number are "no loan" for students below certain income thresholds.

Princeton's 2001 announcement had an impact across higher education. It also changed our own University. Affordability and access have become signature commitments for Princeton, and we have attracted spectacular students who would not otherwise have studied or flourished here.

The numbers are stunning. In 2001, about 41 percent of Princeton undergraduates were on financial aid. For last year's incoming class, that number was 62 percent. The average annual grant was over \$56,000, which exceeds Princeton's tuition price (the average is higher than tuition because some grants also cover all or part of room and board). The aid policy assists low-income families, middle-income families, and upper middle-income families: for example, last year 100 percent of aid-applicant families making \$180,000 or less qualified for financial aid.

As a result, 83 percent of Princeton students graduate debt free. Nobody is required to take out a loan, but some do so on a discretionary basis. For those who choose to borrow, the average debt at graduation is around \$9,400. That's one of the lowest such averages in the country, even if you look only at the students with debt and ignore completely the 83 percent who graduate with zero debt.

From the outset, President Shapiro and the Princeton trustees extended this remarkable financial aid program to international students. That choice was unprecedented in 2001 and remains rare today: only five colleges and universities have followed Princeton's lead. Many colleges rely on the tuition dollars provided by international students; Princeton's policy allows us to focus on the talent and creativity brought to campus. We benefit, and our country benefits, from our ability to attract the best students in the world.

Princeton continues to push the envelope. As we seek ways to ensure that all of our students have the financial support they need to flourish on this campus, Provost Deborah Prentice and I are fortunate to have had the counsel of Princeton's legendary Director of Financial Aid, Robin Moscato. Robin, who will retire at the conclusion of this academic year, joined the financial aid office in 1983 and became its director in 2006.

In my experience, Robin can answer almost any question about financial aid at Princeton. Provost Prentice and I have regularly relied on her to tell us whether Princeton is being true to the goals that Harold Shapiro and the trustees identified in 2001, and what steps she might recommend to support our students better.

For example, in 2019 Princeton announced that it would restructure aid packages by consolidating summer earnings and campus job expectations into a single, smaller contribution amount. As Provost Prentice said at the time, the change will provide students with "more flexibility to pursue academic, internship, and service opportunities between and during academic years."

Our financial aid budget will grow again when our new residential colleges open in fall 2022, allowing us to admit 125 additional students per year. We are committed to meeting the full financial need of every student in the expanded class. Raising funds for that purpose is a major goal of the University's capital campaign.

I am profoundly conscious that Princeton's alumni and friends were the driving force behind the 2001 decision to go "no-loan" and the tremendous good that has followed from that change. By paying it forward to new generations of students, you have improved their lives, enhanced our University, and raised the aspirations of institutions throughout our country. I am deeply grateful for what you have done for Princeton and for our students.

Tutoph Berguha

Inbox



INTELLIGENCE PIPELINE

Elyse Graham '07's article, "The P Source" (December issue), more than caught my eye; it jolted me. She leads off with reference to a generic note in 1961 from the dean of students, William Lippincott '41, inviting an undergraduate to have a chat. This was an entry to suggest to the student that he might entertain working for the CIA.

In the spring of 1961, one morning at around 7 a.m. I was awakened by a phone call to my dorm room. I groggily picked up the receiver and a voice said, "John?" Yes, I replied. "This is Dean Lippincott. Could you drop by my office? I have an important matter to discuss with you." "Of course, sir," I replied. My blood ran cold.

My parents had gone on a trip and allowed me to use their car. Unbeknownst to them I left the car with friends in Princeton who lived near the campus, violating University rules. I assumed that Dean Lippincott had found me out and was about to expel me.

He welcomed me and said, "John you recently took the qualifying exam for the CIA, and you did very well. You have been studying Arabic since your

freshman year. You are facing military service when you graduate." (This was the era of the Berlin blockade and the depths of the Cold War.) "What would you think of two years of military service, one year of special forces training, and then an option to join the CIA?"

I was so happy not to be expelled that I said I would give it serious thought. I did, but shortly after, I was awarded a Fulbright scholarship to study Arabic in Cairo. I accepted the fellowship and an academic career in Middle East studies ensued. I returned the car to its home garage ASAP.

John Waterbury '61 Princeton, N.J.

Editor's note: Waterbury is the William Stewart Tod Professor of Politics and International Affairs, emeritus, and a former president of the American University of Beirut.

"The P Source" is a very interesting article but a bit too U.S.-centric. The British intelligence system depended greatly on graduates, students, or faculty of Oxbridge, the UK's closest counterpart of the Ivy League. We are fortunate that our own scholar-intelligence agents seem to have included no counterparts of the notorious Cambridge Five, all of whom were recruited to pass secret information to the Soviet Union and did so during World War II until their activities were discovered during the early years of the Cold War.

Peter Suedfeld *63 Vancouver, Canada

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BAIL REFORM

Regarding "How New Jersey Made a Bail Breakthrough," in the November issue, while the end of cash bail for minor offenses is good (New York state has also adopted bail reform), it continues to be plagued by a simple and fixable problem: the profit motive. The U.S. and the Philippines are the only developed countries that permit bail bonding to be a profit-making enterprise. U.S. courts (one of which I served as court clerk in 2012-13) are capable of handling pretrial bonds just as courts around the world do now. Or they could be turned over to a not-forprofit system funded by forfeitures.

While the end of cash bail for minor offenses is good ... it continues to be plagued by a simple and fixable problem: the profit motive.

Unless the profit is removed from the system, all efforts at reform will always be muddied by businesses whose primary motivation may not be justice, but rather continuing to service larger and larger incarcerated populations. Cash bail is being replaced by ankle monitoring, another expensive and profitable proposition. Flight risk and threat to commit violence should be the primary factors for the level of bail that is set by a judge, and too often the current system of punitive arrest has failed families and communities — especially those of color — by impoverishing those arrested but not convicted.

Ruth Walter '88 Bronxville, N.Y.

Editor's note: The letter writer is a county legislator in Westchester County, N.Y.

DIMENSIONS OF EVICTION

I read with great interest the story about the Eviction Lab and Matthew

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Inbox

Desmond's work on the possible consequences of the pandemic for families that are living on the margin (On the Campus, November issue). Given my own research on homelessness, there can be no question at all about the impact of the end of the eviction moratorium on both the numbers of evictions and the resulting increase in homelessness across the country. One researcher has indicated the possibility of a 40 to 50 percent increase in homelessness come January if the moratorium is lifted.

I wanted to add a bit more to this narrative. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities in their mid-October COVID Watch Update, there are 7 million to 11 million children who now live in a household where the children did not get enough to eat because the household couldn't afford it. To make matters worse, Black children were almost three times as likely to live in such households as white children. thus reinforcing the discrimination that continues to exist in this country. In addition, some 11 million adult renters were not caught up on September rents; again, this was true of a disproportionate number of Black and Latino renters. Finally, some 77 million adults, one in every three in the country, reported difficulty in covering usual expenses in the past seven days.

In short, the pandemic has wreaked even greater havoc on poor families than existed before the virus landed on our shores. We must take steps to counteract this tragedy.

Donald W. Burnes '63 Westminster, Colo.

Do scholars ever actually interview landlords who pay property taxes and for local licenses, maintenance, and repair, not to mention the cost of capital (mortgages) so that they can own a decent property and make it available to tenants? Nowhere in the Eviction Lab's one-sided analysis is a prediction of what will happen to property owners, and the taxes they pay to local governments, if tenants stop paying rent.

I know many small-time landlords who rehab and offer modest, livable homes to tenants by spending \$50,000-\$70,000 of their own (and a lender's) money per

housing unit. Renting these properties out at a market rate can lead to modest profit over the cost of capital if everything goes well. This kind of investment has turned many blocks of otherwise blighted Trenton into sustainable, affordable taxpaying housing.

If a tenant has a temporary problem, we try to work things out, as stability is in everyone's interest. It is only when there is damage and abuse to the property, and/or many months of nonpayment, that eviction is considered. For good reasons, it is not easy to accomplish.

Whether housing is a right or not (and who would pay for it) is beyond my letter. But I do know that this kind of research on the effects of eviction usually comes with recommendations that do not consider the investment and effort required to provide marketbased housing in the first place. The unintended consequences have previously been experienced in many cities, 40 to 50 years ago.

Douglas Rubin '81 Princeton, N.J.

NEW ART MUSEUM

While I have heard many concerns about the architecture for the new Princeton University Art Museum (On the Campus, November issue), I would like to draw attention to its site plan. Perhaps the most impressive aspect of Princeton's campus is not the architecture of its buildings but its parklike setting, crafted over centuries by carefully positioning each building in relation to its surroundings. This legacy dates back to Nassau Hall, whose expansive front lawn was so impactful that it prompted in 1774 the first recorded use of the word "campus." The result today is a whole greater than the sum of its parts, elevating separate pieces of architecture to a cohesive composition.

The design for the new museum threatens to break with this tradition and destroy a key part of our historic campus. PAW inaccurately states that the new museum will stand in the footprint of the existing museum. In fact, the museum will expand to take up the entirety of the existing Dod Courtyard, leaving Dod and Brown halls with little breathing room. Most importantly, longer vistas

towards other corners of campus will be compromised, disrupting the otherwise contiguous, flowing landscape that knits the campus together.

I admire Sir David Adjaye's work, and I have no doubt that the building as designed would be superbly executed. However, I implore the University and Adjaye to think like curators and recognize that the benefit of squeezing in one more piece of too-big art is not worth the cost of upending the coherence of an entire gallery.

Eric Shullman '15 Washington, D.C.

Regarding the new University Art Museum, I am overcome with admiration for Sir David Adjaye and Dr. James Steward. The new museum complex will be the best addition to Princeton in a hundred years. It will become a destination for students, professors, and tourists alike.



Rendering of the entrance hall and grand stairway of the new art museum

With its long, covered enfilades, sensitive appreciation of natural light, engaging horizontality, and Gothic-referential verticality, the new museum complex takes command of the campus with confidence and humility, two attributes that rarely go hand in hand in great architecture. Moreover, it provides a nucleus to a campus that despite its many physical virtues — beautiful trees and flowers, lovely climate, manageable scale, cute little town — always felt haphazard.

As an undergraduate in the early 1970s I spent lots of time walking to and fro, as one does, but I never found a spot in which I felt comfortable to stop, a place of relaxed congregation. The campus simply had no center, and that deficiency was genuinely alienating. The museum will become the heart and heartbeat of the school.

To my eye the true virtuosity in the

FROM THE EDITOR

Finding Resilience

When Princeton sent its students and staff home because of COVID-19 in March, I took the usual things from my office. My laptop. My copy of the AP Stylebook. A reference book about Princeton that I often use in editing. That was all. I assumed we'd be back in two weeks, if not days.

Nine months later, I'm still at the tiny desk in our guest room, the floor littered with old copies of PAW and alumni magazines from Cambridge and New Haven and Philadelphia; a pile of mail that I've picked up on brief weekly visits to campus; pencils, printouts, proofs. We've had to change how we do a few things so that PAW continues to land in your mailbox, which wasn't always easy. But we've adapted, and chances are, so have you.



Each year, we devote the January issue of PAW to one theme. This year, we chose the theme of resilience, an idea inspired by the pandemic but not constrained by it. Princeton alumni and students offer examples of personal resilience: Suleika Jaouad '10, in the life she built after cancer (page 42); Sophal Ear *97, in creating a stellar academic career tied to his early life as a Cambodian refugee (page 30); current undergraduates who offer their experiences coping with disappointment and imperfection

— and what it takes to bounce back (page 25).

We explore resilience of other kinds, too. Princeton professor Miguel Centeno writes about the planet's resilience and why it's so urgent (page 18); David Walter '11 contributes a story about the architecture alumni who are helping neighborhoods sustain themselves amid threats of climate change (page 34).

There are stories of resilience everywhere we look. Students will return in the spring to a changed environment, but one that continues to challenge their hearts and minds. Restaurants on Nassau and Witherspoon streets invested in heat lamps and outdoor dining; some have enjoyed a brisk takeout business. Labyrinth Books built up online ordering, scheduled in-person browsing, and moved its events online. Some of Princeton's oldest alumni have embraced Zoom, reaching classmates who were unable to travel to events even in good times. In the most difficult of seasons, these alumni made their community even stronger.

On page 22, Peter Severson '09, an alumnus of the Chapel Choir, writes about the loss of group singing. His essay is about music, but it seems to me that it's also about maintaining that sense of community, even as we sit each in our own guest room or den or kitchen. Peter includes a group song made by Chapel Choir alumni who couldn't gather for Reunions last spring, the members contributing their parts from their homes. It's worth hearing. The piece is beautiful, and not just for its musicality. It's the powerful, comforting sound of people who have come together and grown. Resilient. — *Marilyn H. Marks *86 h'88*

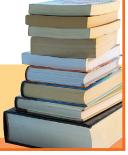
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buildings is their elegant functionality, their refusal to insist on the architect's personal statement. The stone exteriors will become tranquil backdrops to Princeton's thrilling trees and storybook Neo-Gothic.

I was particularly pleased to see the interior wood beams and brokenup ceilings that should provide nicely muffled acoustics. Inside and out, the museum will be a place to walk and to think. Isn't that what a campus is for?
Frederick Schultz '76
New York, N.Y.

I am writing, as an alumnus of the Department of Art and Archaeology and an architectural historian, to express my disappointment at the scant coverage of the plans for the new art museum and departmental complex in the November issue. The proposed project will be the

largest, most intrusive construction undertaken at the historic core of campus in the University's history. I believe that the beauty of Princeton's campus, particularly the central zone within sight of Nassau Hall, forms an important element of the fond memories and pride that many alumni hold. Yet, aside from PAW's brief column, there has been no information provided to the alumni as a whole that I am aware of, despite the regular addition of high-production-value booklets that arrive bundled with the PAW.

I urge all alumni to watch the presentation on the design of the new complex available on the Art Museum's website. You will find it a master class in sophistry, in which the proposed Brutalist superblock with its massive corrugated concrete facades is paraded as a series of "pavilions," and even likened to "follies." I have no particular love for the agglomeration of existing structures, but I do believe that our campus landscape and its sightlines deserve a more sensitive treatment and, to speak plainly, respect.

Sean Sawyer '88
Kinderhook, N.Y.

FROM THE RINK TO THE LAKE

Ice Skating Memories

Readers responded to our November From the Archives photo, featuring members of the Princeton Figure Skating Club, by sharing their own skating memories. Visit paw.princeton.edu for additional letters by Bill Goodman '73 and Wiz Lippincott '82.

My roommate, Robin Ward Puleo, and I came to Princeton in the Class of '74 as accomplished figure skaters. We wanted to continue our testing and competitive careers and were delighted a rink was so nearby. We were able to open up the rink (ourselves!) at 6:45 a.m., so that we could skate for a few hours before class. We also taught some basic figure skating classes there for the phys ed department. However, when we tried to sign up for the club ice hockey team we were informed that ice hockey for women was "too dangerous!"

Nancy V. Strahan '73 *Bαltimore, Md.*



Nancy V. Strahan '73, left, and Robin Ward Puleo '74 in the 1971 Princeton Figure Skating Club ice show

Each year when the Lake Carnegie ice was strong enough, the hockey players in the club would take us nonskaters down to the lake in front of the boathouse for some "tripod hockey." Goals were set up and we would play with brooms. If either of your legs or the broom came off the ice you would likely fall. Afterwards, we'd make a long, long skate to the King's Inn for burgers and beer.

Jack Doran '68 Bellevue, Wash.



Jessica (Baumgaertel) Thrussell *12 Coming from temperate western Washington state, I was thrilled when Lake Carnegie froze as smooth as glass my first winter at Princeton in February 2007. I bought a cheap pair of skates from somewhere south on Route 1 and spent every cool, crisp morning (and several evenings) for a week enjoying a tottering turn about the lake. While my skating steadily improved, it was somewhat at the expense of my left knee, which bore the brunt of a couple spectacular slips. To this day, occasional tingling in my kneecap if I kneel wrong reminds me of that giddy frigid week, and I smile.

Jessica (Baumgaertel) Thrussell *12 White Rock, N.M.

LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES

Ashley Lefrak '01's essay, "The Many Joys of Home Schooling" (Princetonians, November issue) is a very interesting article. It strikes me that it is not so much about home schooling as it is about creative teaching. The best of our school teachers seize on learning opportunities and individual interests in the classroom in the same way that the author does in her home.

I take several messages from this. One is that we need to recruit and retain highly creative young teachers into the profession. This is especially true as the large baby-boom generation continues to retire. We need to raise back up the status of the teaching profession, which has been disdained by some. It would also help if teaching paid more.

Another message is the importance of paying attention to individual students, and the key to that is smaller class sizes. Children are indeed unique individuals, but it is hard for a teacher to know those individuals when there are

Inbox

30 kids in her classroom.

I admire the dedication, effort, and sacrifice of home-schooling parents and the high-quality results they often get with their kids. I admire their results, but I am not surprised. Give any public school teacher the two advantages a home-schooling parent has — small class size and strong parental support — and that professional teacher can work wonders, too.

Herman C. Quirmbach *83 Ames, Ιοwα

Editor's note: The letter writer is an Iowa state senator and the ranking member and former chair of the Iowa Senate Education Committee. A longer version of the letter appears at paw.princeton.edu.

FEDERAL INVESTIGATION

In the November President's Page, "Our Highest Aspirations," President Eisgruber '83 hit the right note. My only cavil: In his position he must give the Department of Education the benefit of the doubt; thus his "most generous explanation," which is far too generous. I have no such restraints.

The department's investigation is solely inspired by politics and the Trump administration's efforts at the dumbing down of America. A part of this effort is attacking what are seen as "elite" establishments of education in an appeal to populist sentiment as reflected in America's anti-intellectual tradition. This is more dangerous than a mere misreading of President Eisgruber's Sept. 2 letter. It's part of the attack on science and, among others, experts, such as public health officials.

I hope the University can publicize this point in responding to the investigation, in addition to making the obvious substantive point that after ending past generations of systemic racism (in the seven classes that matriculated while I was at Princeton I recall seeing only two persons of color, none in my own class), which nobody is denying existed, it takes a little longer to eradicate the implicit bias that lingers on, often in less apparent ways. Princeton's efforts in this regard seem to me clear and should be also to any impartial observer.

Stephen W. Stein '59 New York, N.Y.





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On the Campus



n few students on campus in the fall, the flyers on this bulletin of at McCosh Hall were reduced to remnants. The University invited undergraduates back for the spring semester, so there be new notices to post — though events will remain virtual.



Bringing Back Students

Spring plan includes social distancing, testing, and more than 3,000 undergrads

hen Brennen Nishimura '23 woke up Nov. 24, his phone was buzzing with messages from friends. Residing at home in Hawaii, five hours behind Princeton time, he checked his email to see the news for himself: A letter from President Eisgruber '83 announced that all enrolled undergraduate students could return to campus for the spring semester.

"I was surprised," Nishimura said. He wasn't the only one. All the students PAW spoke to for this story said the same.

In the letter, Eisgruber explained how the decision was made. "During the fall term, we cultivated strong public health norms and practices on the Princeton campus; monitored and learned from experiences with the virus at Princeton and elsewhere; and established an on-campus testing laboratory," he wrote. "In light of that work, we have concluded that, if we test the campus population regularly, and if everyone on campus rigorously adheres to public health guidance about masking, social distancing and other practices, we can welcome a far greater number of

students back to Princeton."

Of the 4,700 enrolled undergraduates, about 3,400 indicated they plan to return to campus for the spring semester, according to Michael Hotchkiss, a University spokesman. A total of 1,200 will continue remote learning off campus, while 100 did not respond.

Although students will be returning to campus, Eisgruber's letter and subsequent town hall meetings for students and their families did not sugarcoat the restrictions all must follow to make a return successful. Most classes will remain virtual, but courses with an in-person component will be available for international students to comply with ICE restrictions. Some faculty have also expressed interest in teaching

"I am sure that I can be very isolated. I would be willing to stay in my room for weeks if that's what is called for."

— Brennen Nishimura '23

"We have to be sober about what things will be like, especially when students arrive on campus."

Jill Dolan, dean of the college

hybrid courses with in-person and virtual elements. Only approved seniors will be able to conduct research in campus labs.

All undergraduates will quarantine when they arrive on campus in mid-January and will be tested regularly during the semester (the University opened a COVID-19 testing laboratory in the Department of Molecular Biology). Eating clubs will be closed, and students must sign a social contract that prohibits parties, social gatherings, and hosting off-campus guests in their rooms, and requires them to remain in the Princeton area for the entire semester.

Graduate students were able to choose to live on campus in the fall and will continue to have that option in the spring. Most staff will continue to work remotely, but student-facing departments are developing resumption plans.

"We have to be sober about what things will be like, especially when students arrive on campus," Dean of the College Jill Dolan said during the Dec. 2 meeting for students and parents.

Students had about a week to say whether they planned to return for the spring. Nishimura chose to live on campus. "I am sure that I can be very isolated. I would be willing to stay in my room for weeks if that's what is called for," he said. Since classes went virtual he has felt less motivated, he said, so he hopes returning to the academic setting

Imane Mabrouk '21 also decided to return but said it was a difficult decision. She has been living with family in Atlanta, Georgia, but didn't want to miss her last opportunity to be on campus.

"If I had chosen to stay home I would have been sad because I wouldn't see campus," she said. "Now that I've chosen to go back to campus, it's scary." She said she is concerned about the quality of life for those returning. Will restrictions

eventually loosen? What happens if there is an outbreak?

Folarin Okulaja '22 was living with friends in an apartment near campus during the fall semester. He would like to arrange a similar setup for the spring. According to the University's website, students who want access to campus must abide by the social contract and limit guests in their homes.

Some students have opted to continue living at home or in pod arrangements with friends away from campus. Others are weighing ethical concerns, including what it means for Princeton's community if many students return.

In November and December, Princeton and other New Jersey towns were experiencing a rise in COVID-19 cases, according to local data. The town has been working with the University on plans to manage the spread, said Princeton Health Officer Jeffrey Grosser.

"I feel a lot better about it now than I would have felt about it back in August," Grosser said. "That's saying a lot considering where we are from the disease transmission perspective."

Even with restrictions in place, some students think the return is a bad idea. Daniel Duncan '24 is one of the roughly 215 students who has lived on campus since Princeton switched to remote learning. "There's less than 300 kids here and it's still kind of like prison," Duncan said. "Imagine bringing back thousands and now trying to keep enforcing all these rules. It just seems like it could go really wrong really fast."

Anna Hiltner '23 came to a similar conclusion after weighing what's best for the town, the students who need emergency campus housing, and herself. In the fall she lived with friends in an Airbnb in the California mountains and decided she will not return to campus for the spring. The experience just won't be the same, she said.

"The beauty of being on campus is being able to go to class in person or running into friends at libraries." She added, "When I was thinking about it, if we can't do anything in person other than being able to see some friends, I don't see much value in returning to campus." • By C.S.

ANTI-RACISM RESEARCH

Geoscientists Explore Scientific Racism in the Teachings of a Princeton Pioneer

Christine Chen '13 has many fond memories of Guyot Hall from her time as an undergraduate. She majored in geosciences at Princeton and said some of her favorite classes took place under the roof of the building named for Arnold Guyot, the man who began the University's program. That's why diving deeper into Guyot's history and finding scientific racism entwined in his teachings has been difficult, Chen said.



"Upon learning some of the darker history of Arnold Guyot more recently ... I have a lot of mixed feelings."

— Christine Chen '13

In 1850, Guyot published *The Earth and Man*, a book drawn from a series of lectures he gave to teachers and others across New England. In it, he links continent locations, topography, and climate to the superiority of certain races. He later taught these theories at Princeton, joining the faculty in 1854.

"Upon learning some of the darker history of Arnold Guyot more recently ... I have a lot of mixed feelings," said Chen, a postdoc at Caltech. "I would have preferred to have the whole truth so that I could have the chance to assess for myself whether or not this is the field I want to be in."

Chen, fellow Caltech postdoc Tamara Pico '14, and Wesley Wiggins '21 are part of a larger group creating college course

materials to give context to racism in the origins of geology. Wiggins found the project through the Princeton RISE (Recognizing Inequities and Standing for Equality) program, which partners students with projects related to their interest with a focus on anti-racism. The project has also received funding from RISE.

The idea came to light after #ShutDownSTEM day in June, which was created in response to and support of the Black Lives Matter movement. Chen, Pico, and friends discussed the role geology has played in issues of structural inequality and racism.

They began doing research and created materials that provide background about Guyot's theories in *The Earth and Man*. Guyot makes arguments to explain what he sees as the superiority of Europeans by tying geography to intelligence, physical ability, religion, and morality.

"He says as we move away from Europe, the distribution of the continents [in relation to Europe] is what determines the beauty of these different human races, and we can see beauty fall apart as we move away from Europe," Pico said. "Reading that, it just made me so mad." Pico said she suspects many geoscientists at the time developed theories by projecting beliefs about races onto the landscapes themselves.

It's difficult to say how lasting Guyot's influence has been, Pico added, but he was in conversation with geoscientists whose theories continue to be foundational for the field. In addition to Guyot, the free course materials unpack the theories of geologists G.K. Gilbert, Louis Agassiz, and Nathaniel Shaler, among others.

For Wiggins, this work has reignited his passion for geosciences. As a Black man, he wanted to be part of the racial-justice movement but felt there was no room for it in the sciences. This project has provided the opportunity to meld the two interests.

The group's work has just scratched the surface, Wiggins said. The researchers are sharing the course materials they have, and they hope starting this discussion will inspire others to create anti-racism teaching materials for all STEM disciplines.

The group presented its work at the American Geophysical Union's fall meeting in December. Pico said there was positive feedback from some interested in incorporating the materials in their teaching and others who would like to collaborate to create similar materials for their own areas of expertise. • By C.S.



Changing Course

Scholars adapt to disruptions in plans for international travel and studies

very September, the American Association of Rhodes Scholars ■ holds a send-off for its newest class, replete with all of the pomp and circumstance one might expect from the oldest and most prestigious international scholarship in the land. In addition to the usual distinguished speakers and alumni hobnobbing, 2019's three-day farewell included tickets to Hamilton. But in 2020, "Bon Voyage Weekend" took place over

Zoom. Instead of being wined and dined, the new Rhodies received gift cards for the British food-delivery service Just Eat.

Even the best-laid plans — laid by some of the brightest, most forward-thinking members of the Class of 2020 — have gone awry this year. The COVID-19 pandemic has forced recipients of prestigious international fellowships to adjust expectations. While most fellowship programs accepted applications this fall,

Princeton's Fellowship Advising office continues to warn applicants that the future is highly uncertain.

"Flexibility will be key, as will be continued understanding of situations that lie beyond our control," said Steven Gump, associate director of fellowship advising. "One constant, though, is that applicants to competitive fellowships and awards should always have alternative plans." It's a lesson that recent grads know well.

Sarah Hirschfield '20 received a Gates Cambridge Scholarship last spring to pursue an M.Phil. in philosophy, but the pandemic forced Cambridge to move lectures online and employ socialdistancing measures that Hirschfield believed would "dampen the liveliness of philosophical conversation." She deferred her travels to the UK to spend the year working at the Princeton University Investment Co. (Princo), virtually attending Cambridge lectures and conducting preliminary research for her master's program. She hopes that by next fall, social-distancing measures will have been relaxed enough for her to freely pursue the Gates Cambridge mission of building transnational relationships.

"I'm looking forward to meeting people of all different backgrounds and sharing in cultural experiences that you're not going to be able to get from reading a book in your room alone," explained Hirschfield. "The whole point is: Let's get people together. Let's have them living together, breaking bread together."

MAJOR SCHOLARSHIP WINNERS

Six Princeton seniors were awarded major scholarships in November and December.

One will study at Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar: SOPHIE LI '21 of Hong Kong is concentrating in politics and pursuing a certificate in journalism. Li plans to begin an M.Sc. in refugee and forced-migration studies at Oxford in September.

One Marshall Scholar will study at Cambridge: KIARA (KIKI) GILBERT '21 of Charlotte, North Carolina, is a concentrator in African American studies with a certificate in humanistic studies. At Cambridge,

Gilbert will pursue an M.Phil. in criticism and culture.

Four students were named Schwarzman Scholars and will study at Tsinghua University in Beijing:

ILENE E '21 of West Windsor, New Jersey, is a computer science concentrator pursuing certificates in visual arts and applied and computational mathematics. E plans to expand upon her interests in film and animation at Tsinghua.

ARJUN SAI KRISHNAN '21, who has lived in India and Singapore, is a concentrator in computer science with certificates in linguistics, applied and computational mathematics, and quantitative and computational biology. He plans to study policy and leadership at Tsinghua.

AUSTIN MEJIA '21 of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, is completing an independent concentration in computer science and public policy while pursuing certificates in entrepreneurship, dance, and information technology and policy. As a Schwarzman Scholar, Mejia plans to explore ways to address the climate crisis.

KARTHIK RAMESH '21, who was born in New York and raised in London and Mumbai, is concentrating in economics and pursuing a certificate in statistics and machine learning. While studying at Tsinghua, he wants to deepen his understanding of how policy, nonprofit initiatives, and the private sector can improve lives in the developing world. Φ

On the Campus / News

Caleb Visser '20, who last December received a Schwarzman Scholarship to study at Tsinghua University in Beijing, also deferred his fellowship — but not by choice. An Army ROTC graduate, Visser was obliged to begin four years of active-duty service. The Army typically grants service members permission to participate in select postgraduate fellowships while on active duty, yet it looked less favorably upon the Schwarzman Scholars Program this year after the program announced it would run fully remote. Visser learned just two weeks before virtual orientation weekend that his request to take part had been denied. Instead, he would report for active duty in southern Arizona.

"I was really excited about the prospect of getting to immerse myself in studying China's growing influence in the world, and to do that in a community of global scholars," said Visser, who said he nonetheless understands the Army's decision. The Schwarzman program has allowed him to defer his scholarship for two years.

Despite travel restrictions and suboptimal learning conditions, most scholarship recipients are forging ahead with coursework and research projects. Leora Eisenberg '20, who won both a Fulbright Scholarship and the Labouisse Fellowship to spend this year in northern Kazakhstan, researching how the Kazakh language is taught in Russian schools, now spends her days conducting Zoom interviews from an apartment in Philadelphia. (Her Fulbright program was canceled in November.)

Eisenberg said she is doing more interviews and speaking with a more dispersed network of interlocutors than she would have if embedded in a community in Kazakhstan. But she's also had to stretch her stipend and finds it disorienting to spend her days in front of a computer screen, far from the site of her research. "I don't feel very attached to Philly," she explained. "I feel much more like I live in Kazakhstan, because that's kind of where my head is."

When asked when she thinks she might be able to reach Kazakhstan, she sighed.

"I ask myself that question every



Pre-pandemic, engineering graduate students, from left, Daniel Suo, Niranjani Prasad *20, Ari Seff, and Karan Singh worked together to develop a software system to converse with humans on a variety of topics.

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PRINCETON UNIVERSITY





STUDENT DISPATCH

Princetonians, Past and Present, **Connect During a Pandemic**

By Jimin Kang '21



When my senior housemates and I decided to spend our virtual semester in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, we were convinced

we'd be the only Princetonians around for miles. After three years spent wading through the intricate matrix of campus life, however, we were admittedly relieved to escape the Orange Bubble once and for all.

Then we met the Princetonian living across the street.

When Bob Cavenagh '65 and his wife, Susan, opened their front door to four students holding a plate of pumpkin cookies in early November, nobody knew of our most salient connection. It only took a few questions for obliviousness to become incredulity, which soon become neighborly exchanges of bread, recipes, and stories of the school that tied us together in the first place.

"How often do you have five Princeton seniors on your doorstep offering cookies?" Bob asked me, weeks after we'd first met, as we sat by the heater on his back porch.

When undergraduates are on campus

for a normal academic year, not often at all. But by scattering students across the nation, the pandemic has unexpectedly created multigenerational connections outside the usual crossroads of Reunions and career searches.

When Julia Ilhardt '21, a Chicago-area native and SPIA concentrator, called a potential Airbnb host to inquire about a home in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, she explained she and her four housemates — also Princeton seniors — were not partiers, contrary to the collegiate stereotype, but rather "seniors just trying to write our theses."

"I get that," replied the host, who knew what the experience was like - because Anne Gordon '01 had also once written a senior thesis, as had her partner, Andrew Garland '01.

"As soon as they found out that we were Princeton students, they were really excited," said Ilhardt, who has spent the semester with a Princeton sticker above her headboard. Although she and her housemates have yet to meet Gordon and Garland in person, Princeton trinkets around the house like mugs and a book about the Nassoons - remind them of the home they share,

From left, Annalena Wolcke '20, Jack Aiello '21, Jimin Kang '21, Tilmann Herchenröder '21, Jordan Heinzel-Nelson '21 and their Carlisle, Pennsylvania, neighbors Susan and Bob Cavenagh '65

500 miles away.

Meanwhile in Princeton, Ethan Seide '22, an ORFE major from Bethesda, Maryland, has been living with another Princetonian as one would during a regular year - albeit one who graduated 50 years before Seide will.

Seide and his host, Fritz Cammerzell '72, have known each other since Seide's Pre-rade. When it was clear that most undergrads wouldn't be living on campus in the fall, Cammerzell — with whom Seide has kept in touch since his freshman year — offered to host the junior in his Princeton home, where Seide has since developed a friendship with Cammerzell's 18-year-old son, Henry, and has enjoyed weekly dinners in town with his host.

"He keeps me involved in what's going on," said Cammerzell of Seide, who in turn believes the pandemic has made the two "a lot closer" — "I really see Fritz as more of a friend rather than a Princeton alum," Seide added.

I know what he means. It's been great to learn about Princeton-specific traditions, especially those that are familiar in concept but foreign in practice, like typewritten theses. And of course, there are other things we can't imagine, like Princeton without women, or, as our Carlisle neighbors Bob and Susan experienced in 1965, a wedding in January of Bob's senior year.

But what will remain with us, beyond the fun anecdotes, is a friendship that was born from a semester in which we believed friendships — particularly with other Princetonians — would be hard to come by.

As our time in Carlisle comes to a close and we anticipate a spring back on campus, I'm sure that my conversations with Bob and Susan won't be the last. Perhaps we'll see them at Reunions. Maybe my housemates and I will visit them in Carlisle. Or perhaps we can expect serendipity to play its part: If there's anything this semester has proven, it's that coincidences can be found in all kinds of places. •

A Century of Intime

Student theater company has been shaped by future stars and dedicated amateurs

n the spring semester of 1920, a group of undergraduate thespians invited friends to Witherspoon Hall for a handful of performances. Their stage was a dorm-room floor, their curtain a blanket, and at times, the actors "outnumbered the spectators," as historian Edward W. Borgers wrote in a 1952 article for *Educational Theatre* Journal. But the upstart company, Theatre Intime — named for the French word for "intimate" - sparked a lasting tradition of student theater at Princeton.

Theatre Intime moved to Murray-Dodge Hall in 1921, and a century later, the 200-seat Hamilton Murray Theater (once a chapel for the Philadelphian Society) remains the company's home. The Friends of Theatre Intime hoped to gather there last fall to mark the centennial with a special reunion featuring student and alumni performances, panel discussions, social events, and a film festival. COVID-19 has put those plans on hold, but plans for a fall 2021 gathering are moving forward.

In late November, Intime's current students released their version of As You *Like It* as a radio play, working together remotely and pouring their energy into sound design and voice acting (listen at bit.ly/theatre-intime). Being away from Murray-Dodge has been difficult, said Eliana Cohen-Orth '21, the company's general manager, but the group has maintained its creative ambition. "What's special to me is how student-driven and how hands-on [Intime] is," she said.

From its early days, Intime has provided an "independent laboratory for students," according to Bill Charrier '69, longtime chair of the Friends of Theatre Intime. As the theatrical counterpart





From left: Larry Strichman '70, Jon Lorrain '69, and Fred Davis '70 in the musical Once Upon A Mattress, 1968. The stonework on the set was created by Daniel Massad '69.

to the irreverent musical comedy of the Triangle Club, the group drew on future stars like Jimmy Stewart '32, Jose Ferrer '33, and Josh Logan '31, all of whom performed on both the Intime and Triangle stages.

By the 1950s and '60s, Murray Theater was also home to the Princeton Community Players, and Intime itself "looked a lot more like a community theater," Charrier said. Actors from town, nearby colleges, and local high schools auditioned for roles. Intime members also launched Princeton Summer Theater, which counted Princeton High School student and future Tony winner Bebe Neuwirth as a cast member in the 1970s.

Like many student groups, Intime has endured financial fluctuations, and the Friends group, established in 1988, aims to provide a steadying hand, supporting major purchases such as upgrades to sound and lighting systems.

On a campus that has greatly expanded its artistic offerings in recent decades, Intime remains defined by its role as a student-run, independent theater. Alumnus Geoff Peterson '69 sees distinct value in the way that Intime students manage every aspect of a theatrical season. "There are lots of opportunities in this world for undergraduates to get their hands dirty in theater — in acting and directing," he said, noting that at Intime, students must be the producers as well. "You've got to raise the money, promote the tickets, sell concessions, and do everything that you have to do to make it profitable."

Perhaps that is why Intime alumni span such a diverse range of careers in the arts. Producers Roger Berlind '52, Geoff Rich '78, and Jordan Roth '97; playwrights Winnie Holzman '76, Richard Greenberg '80, Noah Haidle '01, and Branden Jacobs-Jenkins '06; actors John Vennema '70, Mark Nelson '77, Lorraine Goodman '83, Mark Feuerstein '93, Wentworth Miller '95, and Ellie Kemper '02; and Broadway music director Andrea Grody '11 all contributed their talents to Intime as undergraduates. But as Professor John V. Fleming *63 wrote in an essay for the group's 90th anniversary, Intime also has made an "enriching contribution to the life and experience of so many students who would never have anything to do with professional theater. The aim of the liberal arts has ever been education as opposed to vocational training, and Intime has made its contribution in those terms."

◆ By B.T.

IN SHORT



President-elect Joe Biden nominated CECILIA ROUSE, the dean of the Princeton School for Public and International Affairs, to chair the

Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) in the new administration.

"The U.S. needs to be positioned for the economy of the future so that everyone is able to partake in the growth we hope to have," Rouse wrote in a Nov. 30 letter to SPIA alumni. "I am humbled to help lead this charge."

Rouse, a labor economist and faculty member since 1992, served on the CEA during President Barack Obama's first term and worked at the National Economic Council during President Bill Clinton's administration. Biden also chose two alumni doctors, Eric Goosby '74 and Celine Gounder '97, to serve on his COVID-19 transition advisory board.

Former Google CEO Eric Schmidt '76 and his wife, Wendy, have endowed a new PROFESSORSHIP OF INDIGENOUS STUDIES, the

University announced Dec. 3.
President Eisgruber '83 said the
\$5 million gift "will strengthen
a crucial field of teaching and
scholarship." Princeton's Native
American and Indigenous Studies
Initiative currently lists 23 affiliated
faculty and staff. Native American
students and alumni have been
advocating in recent years for an
expansion of Indigenous studies
at Princeton.

The Ivy League canceled its WINTER ATHLETICS SEASON

because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Spring sports are also on hold through at least the end of February. "While these decisions come with great disappointment and frustration, our commitment to the safety and lasting health of our student-athletes and wider

communities must remain our highest priority," the Ivy presidents wrote in a joint statement.



IN MEMORIAM
THEODORE
ZIOLKOWSKI,
a former
Graduate School
dean and scholar
of German
and European

literature, died Dec. 5 in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, at age 88. Devin Fore, professor of German and department chair, described Ziolkowski as "a prolific scholar, an outstanding teacher, and a pillar of Princeton life in general." Ziolkowski, a faculty member for 37 years, led the Graduate School from 1979 to 1992, the longest term for a dean since Andrew Fleming West 1874. He also wrote 35 books, 20 of which were published after he transferred to emeritus status in 2001.

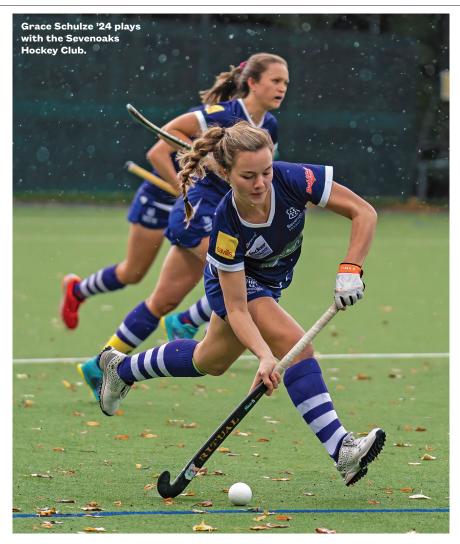
From left: Denise Applewhite/Office of Communications; Robert Matthews/Office of Communications



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FIELD HOCKEY

Training Abroad

Five field hockey freshmen spent the fall in Kent, England

n a normal fall, the Princeton field hockey players would advance through their postseason, making another bid to reach the NCAA Final Four. This year, however, the newest members have had a starkly different experience 3,500 miles from Bedford Field.

The team's five freshmen lived together in Kent, England, to play with the Sevenoaks Hockey Club, one of the district's largest competitive hockey organizations.

"Once we heard we [wouldn't] be coming back in the fall, we tried to figure out ways that we can be together and not



From left: Robyn Thompson '24, Grace Schulze '24, Bridget Murphy '24, Liz Agatucci '24, and Gracie McGowan '24

have to separate," said Robyn Thompson '24, who is from Kent and was unable to enter the U.S. due to COVID-19 travel restrictions. "We considered going to

other places like Australia. Then I had this idea: Why don't they just come here?"

Within a week of Thompson's invitation, four of her American classmates arrived: Liz Agatucci of Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Gracie McGowan of Lake Forest, Illinois; Bridget Murphy of Summit, New Jersey; and Grace Schulze of Greenwich, Connecticut. The four knew one another from previous training camps and tournaments, but none of them had met Thompson before.

"I was terrified," said Agatucci. "Not only was this my first time living on my own, we were navigating Princeton classes for the first time, managing a five-hour time difference, and training on our own."

Unlike in the U.S., where teams are divided by age group, British teams are open to all ages. On the Sevenoaks women's team they found retired professionals, including an Olympian, and budding players as young as 14 years old.

"I was shocked at how intense it was here," said Agatucci. "I wasn't really expecting that, considering it's a club for all ages, but the pace is so much faster."

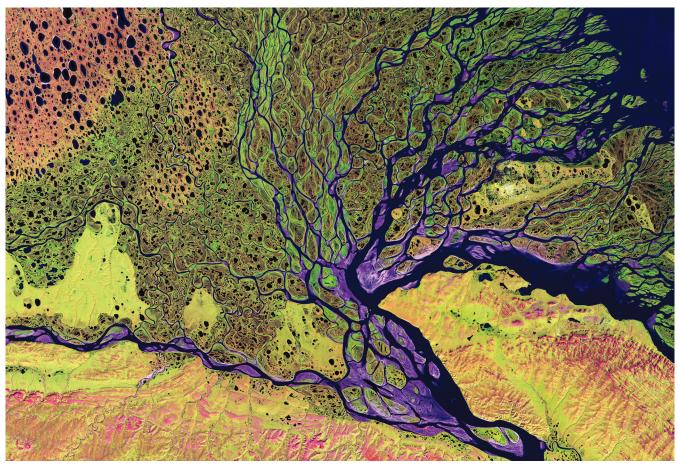
"Each player on the team taught us something new," said Murphy. The younger players showed passion, she said, and the older players "brought that IQ that just comes with time."

Schulze said she worried about being among the youngest on the team, but found that playing with the older women increased her confidence and technical skills.

Despite missing out on their first Princeton field hockey season, the five freshmen were able to celebrate a successful season of their own. This fall, their club team finished second in the Division 1 National League's regional tournament.

As they approached the end of their semester, the five were preparing to live on campus in the spring. Murphy said her parents told her that, especially as an athlete, she'll never get another experience like this time in Kent.

"We've all been talking about it," said McGowan. "When we're older, we're going to look back and tell our kids about our first semester abroad. What a weird, cool life experience." • By Yu Jeong Lee '22



'There Is, in Short, No Planet B'

By Miguel Centeno



Miguel Centeno is the Musgrave Professor of Sociology and vice dean of the School of Public and International Affairs.

He founded Princeton's Research Community on Global Systemic Risk at the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies.

What to do with all that milk? This is the question that thousands of dairy farmers asked themselves as COVID shut down the demand from some of their biggest customers. School districts were not buying, nor were large consumers such as Starbucks. For already stressed farms,

the crisis was existential. In New Jersey, small dairy farmers transformed their supply chains and began to sell directly to local consumers and restaurants. The transition was not easy, but for many it meant the difference between going broke and continuing in business.

Few PAW readers have had to deal with tens of thousands of gallons of surplus milk, but we have all had to make adjustments in the way we live and do business. If 2020 has taught us anything,

If 2020 has taught us anything, it is that we need to be ready for the unexpected.

This false-color composite image of the Lena River Delta allows us to visualize wavelengths that the human eye cannot see. Here it reveals the fragility of the delta, the most extensive protected wilderness area in Russia and an important refuge and breeding ground for many species of Siberian wildlife.

it is that we need to be ready for the unexpected. Wishing things will remain as they are is a common human trait, but it can also be a very dangerous tendency. This is especially true in our newly globally connected world, where taking care of your own business is not enough — we also depend on many others to take care of theirs. We live in a world where we have to worry not only about our own house catching fire, and our neighbor's house — but even a burning house thousands of miles away. Decisions made by people on other continents can affect the price of your home; choices made by total strangers will set the odds of whether you will catch a disease; and a seemingly small disruption in a warehouse can reduce the availability

From top: USGS EROS Data Center Satellite Systems Branch/NASA; Denise Applewhite/Office of Communication

of toilet paper.

So how do we face crises and challenges in an increasingly complex world? The concept of resilience has migrated from engineering and ecology into all disciplines. At its core, resilience refers to the capacity of any system — a human body, a city, a tropical forest, a building to recover from failures and/or continue functioning despite disruptions or shocks. That is, no matter how well something works, we also have to ask how well it could bounce back from or withstand challenges or unexpected changes.

Over the past few years, several faculty, representing a broad array of disciplines, have been working on the theoretical and practical aspects of resilience. Professors in ecology and evolutionary biology and partner disciplines have been studying how different ecological systems and coupled ecological-socioeconomic systems might respond to change, including the possibility of discontinuous and possibly damaging transformations.

Engineers have been working on designing infrastructure and machines that not only work better, but also can function in a variety of environments. Faculty in the School of Public and International Affairs have researched how globalization and interdependency have changed how societies need to govern. The University is now part of a network of institutions around the world studying the challenges we face in the 21st century and how systems can be made more resilient to deal with them. Several faculty members are collaborating with the Stockholm Resilience Centre, Humboldt University, the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research, and the University of Cambridge on resilience and risk in a range of fields.

For a fisheries biologist, resilience may mean the ability to maintain the size, quality, and variety of the annual harvest. A resilient marine system would be able to continue providing some rough equivalence of fish or return to normal after a significant drop. A historian of late antiquity might define the resilience of parts of the Roman Empire by the resources available and the capacity of

continues on page 20



A RESILIENT WORLD

Devising Resilient Systems

Climate change and other multifaceted global threats have motivated a new Princeton partnership with research institutions in Sweden and Germany, called the Earth Resilience and Sustainability Initiative. Researchers will seek to understand the qualities of complex systems that produce resilience.

Simon Levin, the James S. McDonnell Distinguished University Professor in Ecology and Evolutionary Biology, brought the initiative together in August 2019, drawing on earlier collaborations with the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research and the Stockholm Resilience Centre at Stockholm University.

"A lot of us are interested in taking a step back and developing general theoretical approaches to issues of resilience," Levin says. He explains that the initiative chooses topics not only because of their importance, but also to search for patterns that are significant in the design of resilient systems in general.

The team spans half a dozen fields from ecology to psychology, including Princeton's High Meadows Environmental Institute and the Andlinger Center for Energy and the Environment. Among the three partners about 40 researchers are involved, with Princeton contributing approximately \$1.5 million and the other institutions adding in-kind contributions of roughly \$1 million each.

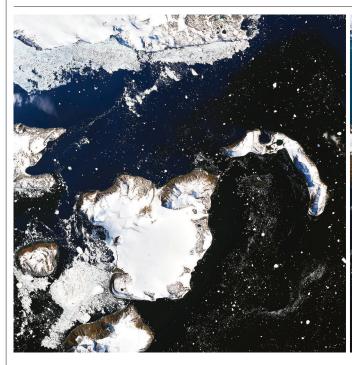
Ricarda Winkelmann, professor of climate system analysis at Potsdam, is looking at how tipping points in nature and social systems can cascade like dominoes to create rapid change. For example, human carbon emissions can drive snow and ice melt that in turn affects weather and agriculture. Understanding the linkages could help identify critical thresholds.

In addition to that sweeping scale, the initiative considers the local level, including the New Jersey milk market, says Dan Rubenstein, professor of zoology, who leads the initiative's Global Food and Agriculture Sustainability Project.

During the early pandemic, Rubenstein found that large producers accustomed to delivering milk to schools and restaurants could not switch rapidly to deliver to stores. But a positive system response developed as local farmers connected to one another and directly to consumers.

Rubenstein saw a pattern of resilience in those small, diverse linkages — a lesson that could be applied to other systems.

"How do you rewire networks to make them absorb shocks?" Rubenstein asks. "Now you have the aha moment." • By Charles Wohlforth '86





surviving institutions, or how much a region's lifestyle could be maintained during invasions and chaos. For engineers, resilience is the opposite of vulnerability, or how well a system is able to resist or recover from an extreme event.

Resilience is a combination of two general qualities: resistance or ability to remain the same; and flexibility, or the ability to change enough to survive even if in a different form. An example of the former would be building a dam to prevent flooding; that of the latter, the provision of boats in the case of a breach. From a military perspective, resilience could be either the ability to resist attack or changing and evolving in response to an assault. So, one can build walls and fortifications or hold back reserves to be sent to weak areas. With an infectious disease, we could focus on immunization or the provision of adequate health care. Finally, individual organisms, from bacteria to humans, can attempt to avoid crises altogether or come up with better mechanisms to deal with them when they occur.

The central difference between these two aspects of resilience might be best understood as the prevention of a crisis and the ability to bounce back from one. In regulatory terms, we can either try to prevent failures in our physical, infrastructural, economic, or

Resilience is a combination of two general qualities: resistance or ability to remain the same; and flexibility, or the ability to change enough to survive even if in a different form.

epidemiological systems, or we can design triage protocols to mitigate the damage.

Why not do both? The two qualities of resistance and flexibility are complementary, but also represent a series of tradeoffs; it helps to be strong and supple, but building resilience requires resources and you cannot maximize both. The ideal system design or evolution will weigh, balance, and combine these two qualities along some "golden mean" depending on preferences and contexts. It is in these tradeoffs and balances that we find the most challenging policy dilemmas.

When designing and operating a system, we must be aware of the costs and benefits involved; we need to choose how to navigate among risks. Most importantly (and this is often the most difficult step), one must determine the

Warm temperatures on Eagle Island, Antarctica, arrived Feb. 5 and continued until Feb. 13, 2020. These images, taken Feb. 4 and Feb. 13, show melting on the ice cap.

goals of resilience. The system may be resilient for different people, at different times, and at different levels. For example, faced with climate disaster, we can emphasize short- versus long-term consequences, privilege the status of the entire globe or just parts of it, and choose among a discomforting array of disasters. These choices have to occur at several levels: technological (keeping the system going), organizational (managing the system), and social and economic (who pays and how much).

Even if we could agree on the definition and distribution of benefits, there are human traits that can make the creation of resilience difficult. First, we don't know everything — and even if we did, we could not process how all things play a role, or have enough time to consider everything necessary to find the perfect solution. Second, we have a very difficult time predicting and planning for the future as events become more distant or uncertain. Third, we are very shortsighted in that we focus on present rather than future needs and on individual needs rather than the good of the collective. Finally, we exhibit status-quo bias: a preference

Landsat data from the U.S. Geological Survey NASA Earth Observatory images by Joshua Stevens, using Landsat da data from the Global Modeling and Assimilation Office at NASA GSFC

for things to stay the same even if alternatives might be better.

Consider the dilemmas facing policymakers who must confront the next epidemiological or financial crises. What percentage of people, banks, or IT systems can be infected before hitting a nonreversible, disastrous tipping point? How broad, deep, and long a quarantine? Who pays for the resulting costs of adjustment, and how do we determine the appropriate price and the distribution of costs and benefits? In the case of COVID, for example, our global supply chains and our health systems have been fairly resilient, but at the cost of thousands of lives of those on the front lines. The stock market has remained high, but unemployment and poverty have skyrocketed.

The contemporary world has made

it much more important that we have responses to systemic challenges. Living in the age of efficiency, we continuously strive to make things faster, better, and cheaper. This makes perfect sense unless you realize that every improvement, every increase in the number of interactions, every adaptation to the current situation means an increase in the fragility of systems to rapid or unexpected change. So, for example, we continuously try to reduce redundancy while increasing the economies of scale. But efficiency gains under some conditions may be counterproductive in others. Our global agricultural system produces more food than ever before; but monoculture, homogenization of seeds, dependence on chemicals, and reliance on vast transport networks make it ever harder to guarantee food security.

Relying on local food may be more boring, but it may also be both more sustainable and safer.

We are dependent on each other and can no longer ignore or run away from problems that have the potential for broad impact in an interconnected world. There is, in short, no Planet B.

If there is a positive side to the COVID pandemic as a learning opportunity, it's that it may serve as a warning of how the best plans can fail and that "unknown unknowns" are the price we pay for a possible better future. Designing our lives to be resilient may come at a price, but the alternative is too dark to ponder. •

Princeton professors Simon Levin, Daniel Rubenstein, and Elke Weber contributed to this essay.



A RESILIENT WORLD

Catch of the Day

The pandemic is bad for pretty much everyone, but people still need to eat. Talia Young is there to serve them.

A former Princeton postdoc in the lab of EEB professor Simon Levin, Young founded Fishadelphia two years ago as a community nonprofit that aims to bring affordable seafood to underserved communities in Philadelphia. She tries to connect lower-income people with seafood farms and fishermen along the Jersey shore.

Young, now a visiting assistant professor of environmental studies at Haverford College, was a high school biology teacher before earning her Ph.D., and students from two Philadelphia public high schools run many of Fishadelphia's day-to-day operations, such as bookkeeping, preparing orders, and responding to emails. In non-COVID times, Young would also take them to the shore and teach them about

fisheries and how to run a small business.

The project grew partly out of Young's postdoctoral work, where from 2016 until last winter she studied coastal ecosystems and the resilience of fishing communities. Analyzing logbooks to track the movements of fishing vessels, Young and other researchers found that large vessels that primarily fished two species — summer flounder and Atlantic croaker — generally followed the fish as ocean temperatures increased, moving from waters off the coast of North Carolina 20-plus years ago to waters off New Jersey today. Smaller vessels often adapted by diversifying their catch, the researchers found. "In this time of rapid environmental change, environmental and socio-cultural displacement is likely to become a common feature in communities dependent on natural resources," they wrote in 2019 in ICES Journal of Marine Science.

The inspiration for Fishadelphia, Young says, came at an academic conference in 2016 when a fisherman complained that Americans "only know how to eat cod and salmon fillets." From her experience growing up as a Chinese American in New York, Young knew that people in her community ate everything from jellyfish to eels. Fishadelphia, she thought, could help both consumers and the fishing industry as it worked to adapt to new conditions.

Fishadelphia customers receive deliveries of fish and shellfish caught off the New Jersey shore every other week. Fishadelphia delivers whatever type of catch the fishing boats happen to bring in at that time of year, from flounder to sea bass to bluefish. It's impossible to say ahead of time as Young jokes, your order hasn't been caught yet.

If nothing else, Young says, COVID-19 has been an exercise in resilience, for herself as well as the commercial fishing industry. "Boats are still fishing, people are still eating, and we've adapted dramatically to the challenging circumstances," she notes, by developing new ways of buying, selling, and distributing — just as fishing vessels have adapted to climate change. • By M.F.B.

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WHEN SONG IS SILENCED

WISTFUL FOR A RETURN TO CHORAL SINGING

BY PFTFR SFVFRSON '09

On my first Sunday morning

at Princeton, I roused myself from Buyers Hall early enough to get to the Chapel for worship. Some mixture of tradition, habit, and curiosity landed me in a pew near the back. I'd sat in a similar spot for Opening Exercises the week before, awestruck by the sheer size and improbability of the edifice in the middle of campus. Fifteen years on, I don't remember much about the service except the singing. The Chapel Choir sent sacred music aloft into the soaring stone arches, balm for an anxious freshman soul, and before the singers finished the first anthem, I'd resolved to try out. We sang Aaron Copland's "The Promise of Living" on my first Sunday as a new member of the bass section — a crisp fall morning for a celebration of the harvest - and four years later, on my last Sunday as a senior and choir president, Steven Sametz's "I Have Had Singing."

In the years before and after Princeton, choral singing has brought me gifts beyond counting: community, solace, joy, friendship, peace. I grew up singing in church, following the rich tradition of Lutheran music, and of late had found both sacred and secular ensembles to join in the surprisingly choirrich Denver area. Friends and I take every opportunity to sing together, too: pop songs in the car, old folk tunes on guitar around the campfire, and all manner of music for weddings, funerals, ordinations, and other occasions of great ceremony in life.

This was the rich tableau that accompanied my life, and the lives of millions of people in the United States and around the world, before the pandemic. Now, choral singing exists largely in a kind of suspended animation, an activity relegated to the very last pages of reopening plans. The very premise of ensemble singing is the collective intake and expulsion of air, the kind that can be described with most etymological accuracy as conspiracy: the act of breathing together. As the global pandemic drags on, it frays not only our nerves but the fabric of community itself. Whether it's singing in a choir or standing

next to someone on the train, we are now led to suspect our neighbor's very breath. Singing together safely is not possible now, and in my bleaker moments of despair, I can't help but wonder: Will we ever trust one another enough for it to be possible again?

The pandemic has been an unmitigated fountain of grief, touching virtually every person on Earth. There is the immediate pain of hundreds of thousands of lives lost in the United States alone, along with legions more sickened and chronically impaired. There is, too, the more insidious grief of disconnection: the severing of casual, spontaneous, serendipitous encounters between people. Some of us may have created a "bubble" of a few pared-down contacts with whom to maintain a connection, while others have faced down the pandemic's isolation largely alone. I can't help but have deep sympathy for those who clamor for reopening and a "return to normalcy." On most days, I'm one of them. We are so desperate for connection with one another that we will risk our lives to realize it. The pandemic has put me through the stages of grief a dozen times, cycling from depression, to anger, to bargaining, to acceptance, round again. As I contemplated what to write in my annual Christmas letter, I was tempted to state plainly that 2020 was the worst year of my life. It is a bitter comfort to know I'm not alone in that.

Perhaps it is cosmic irony that the last day my community choir would sing together for the foreseeable future was my birthday. I had gone skiing with a friend that day in early March, and I took care to return to the city in time to clean up and race down to the Presbyterian church where our choir, the Colorado Chorale, rehearsed. We had been planning for a 50thanniversary gala for the organization in April, and a concert that would bring together past members and conductors to launch us into the future. That evening, there was a little bit of nervous tittering about cases of the novel coronavirus popping





I HAVE ALSO BORNE WITNESS TO SMALL SIGNS OF **RESILIENCE. I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO SING A FEW TIMES** WITH FRIENDS WHO ARE IN **MY BUBBLE AND EVEN TO RECORD VIDEOS OF SONGS** FOR FRIENDS CELEBRATING **LIFE MILESTONES.**

up in Colorado, but otherwise, the rehearsal proceeded normally. I sang shoulder to shoulder with the placid confidence that there would be many more Tuesday-night rehearsals ahead.

Our artistic director, however, was evidently troubled. Around the time of our standard mid-rehearsal snack break, he informed us that we'd be heading home early. The executive board needed to meet to discuss the future of the season. We gathered in a circle around the perimeter of the entire room — no small feat for 80 singers — and sang one last anthem together: the old gospel anthem "Unclouded Day." We sang a song of joy and longing, oblivious to the looming inflection point in history. O they tell me of a home where no storm clouds rise: O they tell me of an unclouded day.

Musical organizations of all kinds came to a screeching halt in March: choirs, symphonies, theaters, operas. It's part of a broader social and economic impact on the arts, which have mounted up losses in billions of dollars in revenue this year. The Denver metro area is fortunate to have a special tax district to fund cultural arts, which mitigates some of the financial pain. But the social pain is incalculable. All over the world, people have felt the shock of losing access to a cornerstone of human culture. Artistic endeavors are woven into our community fabric, whether we experience them as performers, enthusiasts, or audience members. To be sure, there are slow signs of an emerging comeback: theaters staging plays on golf courses or film festivals converting to all drive-in. Choral

singing, however, remains a subjunctive endeavor. Especially as much of the U.S. endures the cold of winter, foreclosing outdoor spaces, it seems unlikely that ensembles can safely gather in person until a reliable vaccine is widely available.

Few gifts are given as freely as the gift of singing. I don't mean the precise, mellifluous notes of professionals, or even the practiced harmonies of good amateurs. I mean simply the capacity of virtually everyone born to produce sounds beyond speech. Singing can encompass everything from caterwauling in the shower to belting an aria at the Metropolitan Opera. It's something we do instinctually — children make up goofy songs, drivers hum along to the radio in their cars, the religious sing together in every manner of worship. Singing is a staple of our civic rituals, whether it's the National Anthem or anthems of protest in the streets.

Amid my own grief and despair, I have also borne witness to small signs of resilience. I have been able to sing a few times with friends who are in my bubble and even to record videos of songs for friends celebrating life milestones. In August, I snagged a ticket to watch the Colorado Symphony's strings play Mozart, Walker, and Tchaikovsky to a socially distanced crowd of 175 at Red Rocks, an outdoor venue that normally holds close to 10,000 people. And the Colorado Chorale is making a go of biweekly rehearsals on Zoom, which helped us to deliver several recorded pieces for our audience during the holiday season.

In a normal year, the boisterous revelry of Reunions would include a Princeton Chapel Choir Alumni Sing. I didn't know how fortunate I would be to participate in it during my 10th reunion in the year prior to the pandemic. Nonetheless, the exigencies of virtual Reunions in 2020 brought out the creative determination of the past and present members of the Chapel Choir, who organized a virtual choir to mark the occasion. I dutifully recorded my part, wearing my beer jacket, with a canvas print of the Chapel on my wall in the background. When we gathered over Zoom in late May, our organizers presented the whole choir, alumni and students, with the fruit of our collective efforts: a recording of more than 150 of us singing Stephen Paulus' achingly beautiful "The Road Home." (Listen online at bit.ly/pcc-road-home.) The lyrics speak to the same longing and hope to which all of us are still clinging in some measure, to enduring a grim season in history with forbearance while working toward a day when we will conspire again:

After wind, after rain, when the dark is done, As I wake from a dream in the gold of day, Through the air there's a calling from far away, There's a voice I can hear that will lead me home.

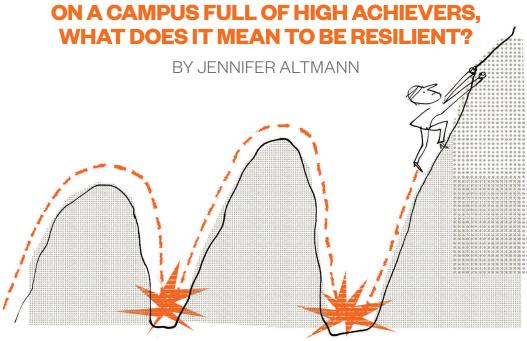
I have grieved the absence of my musical community for many months, as all of us have learned what it means to lose the very presence of others around us. Even as we face the long and arduous task of rebuilding a world put asunder by a virus transmitted by breath, we must remember that our breath is



also the very spark of life: In breath we speak, we cry out, we protest, we comfort, we celebrate ... and we sing. •

Peter Severson '09 is an advocacy director, writer, and musician living in Colorado. His creative work can be found at peterseverson.com.

FACING FAILURE



In the sprin his senior year,

Russell Dinkins '13 put on a brave face to hide something from his friends: He would not be receiving his degree because he had not finished his thesis.

"I was deeply ashamed and embarrassed," Dinkins wrote later in a Facebook post. "I felt utterly alone, inadequate, and unaccomplished."

Dinkins, who grew up in inner-city Philadelphia, was the first in his family to go away to college. Raised by a single mother, he had gained admission to a Massachusetts boarding school. Through scrappy perseverance, he became a topranked track star at a school with a middling track program, writing to the directors of track meets himself and traveling hours on his own so he could compete. But at Princeton, he began to doubt his abilities. "I struggled mightily with feelings of intense loneliness, bouts of depression, and an oftentimes paralyzing fear of failure," he wrote on Facebook.

That spring, he endured many sleepless nights staring at his computer screen, unable to make progress on his thesis for the sociology department. Back home for the summer, his mother confronted him. She told him he had to finish.

He returned to Princeton in the fall, rented a room off campus, got a job, and set to work on his thesis at night by altering his thinking. "I didn't let negativity invade my thoughts," he wrote. "I told myself that I was going to finish if I just kept working." Little by little, he chipped away at it. He turned in his 120-page thesis in the winter of 2014 and earned his Princeton diploma.

Dinkins posted an essay about the experience on Facebook because he wanted to convey that "it's OK to struggle," he

tells PAW. "It's incumbent on all of us not only to share when dealing with struggle, but also not to judge."

Confronting failure is a new experience for some Princeton students. Many arrive on campus having succeeded at everything they tried. Now they are in an environment where all their peers have been standouts, and some find themselves — for the first time — facing rejection at an audition, earning a bad grade, or being unable to keep up with their academic work. They start to doubt their abilities. But they are deeply reluctant to talk about those feelings - or admit to failure with their peers.

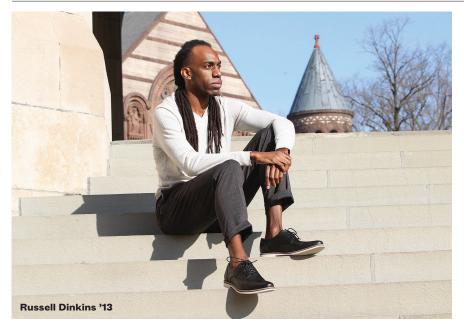
Pushing through those doubts and bouncing back from failure requires resilience. Dinkins demonstrated it by recommitting himself to his thesis and pushing ahead until he finished. Experts say resilience is essential for young people to develop in order to conquer the inevitable roadblocks they will face.

In the last few years, some Princeton students have begun to defy the taboos that often have kept the thrum of anxiety on campus under wraps. They are talking openly about failure and revealing that they think those around them are succeeding effortlessly. They are confessing to feeling like imposters.

onovan Cassidy-Nolan '21 was admitted to Princeton off the waitlist, so a sliver of self-doubt had already made its way into his psyche. Then he tried out for the Princeton University Orchestra and didn't get in. He had never before been rejected after an audition. Over the summer, he decided to learn a difficult piece, the first movement of Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto in D major, practicing for



Serge Bloch



hours every day. "I like the challenge of doing hard things. I'm very much a perfectionist," he says. "I'm trying to become a recovering perfectionist." He auditioned again for the orchestra in the fall of his sophomore year and was rejected again.

Cassidy-Nolan is passionate about music, but it is only a hobby for him. He is a molecular biology major who is applying to M.D.-Ph.D. programs.

After not making it into the orchestra, "I was dejected at first, but I realized that an activity is not the only thing that defines you, and an activity can still define you in a meaningful way without you being the best at it," he says. He ended up joining a less competitive orchestra, Princeton University Sinfonia, which he enjoyed. "I think it is a problem at Princeton that people are very scared of failure."

Cassidy-Nolan now is co-chair of the Princeton Perspective Project, a student-led initiative that promotes public discussion of failure to help students stop feeling ashamed of setbacks and learn how to develop resilience. The group also seeks to combat the illusion that students call "effortless perfection." "You're sitting in class and everybody else seems to be doing amazingly without seeming to put in the same amount of work you need to," he says. "That's clearly a myth, but it can be a bit dangerous. We want Princeton students to not be afraid of failing and afraid of talking about all the hard work, the hard parts of Princeton, and the rejection."

tudents are hungrier than ever for information about how to promote well-being for themselves," says Jane Gillham '88, a psychologist who designs programs that help develop resilience, particularly in young people, and a professor of psychology at Swarthmore College. In teenagers' lives, she points out, "so much of what they get feedback on is achievement, so it's very easy to get pulled into focusing on achievement."

Many students from well-off families have led lives in which they never were confronted with situations that required resilience, she points out. "When things have gone smoothly, one may not have the opportunity to develop resilience skills."

Adolescence is the peak time to develop depression, which is why it's so important to talk to young people about these issues, she says. She is the cocreator of the Penn Resilience Program, which she developed with fellow graduate students while earning her Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania. Her thesis adviser was Penn professor Martin Seligman '64, known as the founder of the field of positive psychology. Since 1997, the Penn Resilience Program has been presented to more than a million students in fifth through ninth grades, government employees, businesspeople, and others. Empirical studies have found it increases optimism and reduces anxiety, Gillham says.

One of the crucial ways to develop resilience is changing what Gillham calls "self-talk." "Many of us, late at night,

think of the things we didn't do well and beat ourselves up about that," she says. "We may be more pessimistic than we need to be, catastrophizing situations. 'I did poorly on that test. I'm never going to pass that class.' We conclude too much from setbacks and let it sap our motivation and make us feel bad." Another important element is accepting anxious or sad feelings as they occur instead of trying to fight them.

The programs designed by Gillham help students recognize destructive self-talk and give them tools to make a more accurate assessment of situations and adopt a more productive outlook. There are discussions of the way our bodies are wired to focus more on negative thoughts, a legacy of our survival instincts when we needed to look out for physical dangers. The programs also help students develop assertiveness so they can make changes in difficult situations. Research has shown that relationships — not casual ones, but close ones — also are important to developing resilience, according to Gillham.

There isn't a clear clinical answer to why some people develop resilience and others do not, but genetics likely plays a role, as does the way students hear parents and teachers address challenges, Gillham says. "If you struggle with spelling, does the teacher say, 'Here are strategies you can use to get better' or 'You just have a hard time with spelling'?" she says. (The first approach fosters resilience.) Influential research by

"WE TALK TO STUDENTS ABOUT WAYS TO DEFINE YOURSELF ACCORDING TO YOUR VALUES INSTEAD OF YOUR **ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS A WAY** TO CULTIVATE RESILIENCE."

CALVIN CHIN, DIRECTOR OF COUNSELING AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SERVICES AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY HEALTH SERVICES





"WE WANT PRINCETON STUDENTS TO NOT BE AFRAID OF **FAILING AND AFRAID OF TALKING** ABOUT ALL THE HARD WORK. THE HARD PARTS OF PRINCETON, AND THE REJECTION."

DONOVAN CASSIDY-NOLAN '21

Stanford professor Carol Dweck has found that one key aspect of rebounding from obstacles is adopting a "growth mindset" — believing talents can be developed through hard work - instead of a "fixed mindset," which sees them as innate. Having a growth mindset also makes it easier to ask for help.

Other key elements of resilience are determination and persistence, traits Joe Ort '21 demonstrated after failing to make the mock trial team during his first year at Princeton. At first, recalls Ort, who was captain of his high school team, "I was gutted. It really affected me for the next few months. I fell into a funk." But eventually he decided to get involved with the team as a volunteer, which involved staffing moot court events that took place at 8 a.m. on Saturdays. "It was humbling for me, because these were the people who rejected me." He made the team the next year, and today he is its president.

He likes to share his story of striking out at his first tryout with those who do not make the team. "Princeton has a culture of: If you fail, just pretend like it never happened. Shove it under the carpet." He wants to combat that perception, which is exacerbated by social media, where people invariably post news of achievements and upbeat moments, but rarely their setbacks. He tries to inoculate himself against the downsides of social media by using a long, complicated password, which deters him from logging in too frequently.

Princeton students are "extremely driven," Ort says. "They

place enormous amounts of pressure on themselves. Everyone is so intent on establishing themselves as the best," which creates a pressure-cooker environment that requires resilience to get through.

To build a bulwark against feelings of inferiority, Ort recommends that students pay more attention to clubs that don't require a tryout. "It's OK for some things you do to be low stakes," he says. But such clubs tend to have trouble generating interest on Princeton's campus. The noncompetitive public speaking club he joined "had a hard time getting more than five people to come to

a weekly meeting," he says. "Princeton is very much about getting into something that's selective."

Ort discussed his initial rejection from mock trial — and how he got over it — in a video that was played for all first-year students at the University's virtual orientation program in August. In it, several students recount how they faced feelings of inadequacy at Princeton and how they got through them.

"We talk to students about ways to define yourself according to your values instead of your accomplishments, as a way to cultivate resilience," says Calvin Chin, the director of counseling and psychological services at Princeton University Health Services. "You will inevitably encounter failure. It's a normal part of life. It's how you cope with failure that really makes a difference."

During that orientation session, Chin used Zoom's polling function to ask the almost 700 students online if they had ever felt like an imposter. The results quickly popped up on the screen: 98 percent said yes. "It was incredibly powerful to see that everybody else has felt insecure," he says. "What would it mean for our community if people were open to sharing that? What's universal is the struggle. What reinforces imposter syndrome is that no one talks about it."

The University has made cultivating resilience in the student body — and teaching students coping skills — a priority. It starts at orientation and carries through in resources ranging from assistance from Counseling and Psychological Services to tutoring at the McGraw Center for Teaching and Learning to programs that support first-generation, lower-income, veteran, nontraditional, and otherwise underrepresented students. It's especially important to normalize failure for first-gen students because of imposter syndrome. Often, when underrepresented students encounter an obstacle, such as negative feedback on an assignment, "they are more likely to read that as something that's wrong with them, rather than a normal experience or a structural issue," says Khristina Gonzalez, associate dean of the college and director of Programs for Access and Inclusion.

Though the University often reminds students of available

support systems, those who come from disadvantaged backgrounds may not be accustomed to relying on such help and "don't feel entitled to it," she says. "We tell students from the beginning: Asking for help is not a sign of weakness. This is a sign of strength." Talking to peers is one of the most effective ways students get support to cope with challenges, she has found. The Scholars Institute Fellows Program, a mentoring initiative that matches groups of eight to 10 first-gen, lowerincome students with upperclass students, has grown to 400 participants; this year it meets virtually.

Another tool the University has deployed is to present high achievers talking about their own failures. A lecture held on campus last March was billed as "Three Successful People. Three Great Epics of Failure." It featured two Princeton professors and one administrator discussing how they had failed on the road to success. In 2016, Princeton professor Johannes Haushofer published his "CV of Failures," which lists the academic positions and awards he didn't get and the academic journals that rejected his submissions.

A freshman seminar called "Failure: The Other 'F' Word: Success and Innovation's Sibling?" explores the interdisciplinary dynamics of failure in history, technology, politics, athletics, art, behavioral economics, psychology, and philosophy. (Alas, you may not take the class pass/fail.) Students keep a handwritten "failure journal" and undertake "failure forays," when they try something at which they think they will not succeed and keep track of what they learned. They have performed improv to conquer stage fright, committed to volunteering first in every class, and tried out for a sports team. "Understanding your failures makes you more likely to



"ADOLESCENCE **IS THE PEAK** TIME TO DEVELOP **DEPRESSION.**

WHICH IS WHY IT'S **SO IMPORTANT** TO TALK TO YOUNG **PEOPLE ABOUT** THESE ISSUES."

PSYCHOLOGIST JANE GILLHAM '88

develop resilience and get back in the game," says John Danner, a lecturer at the University's Keller Center, who teaches the class.

An annual Facebook campaign by the Princeton Perspective Project called "The Other Side of Me" asks students to post reflections about aspects of their lives that they don't usually reveal. Students have written about "crumbling under an immense amount of stress" and "the fear of not being good enough for Princeton."

ttending Princeton remotely because of the pandemic has made many of these issues more fraught. It's easier to feel imposter syndrome when you can no longer walk out of an exam and chat with your peers about how tough the test was. It's harder to turn to friends for comfort when they are in another state instead of down the hall.

Asking for help is a key tool of developing resilience, and students were doing just that over the summer, with visits to Counseling and Psychological Services up 95 percent, Chin says. This fall the number of visits has returned to more typical levels. "Students are experiencing isolation, feeling disconnected from their peers and frustrated by not being able to do things normally," Chin says. "So many students have shown tremendous resilience in the face of this. I've been impressed by how adaptable so many have been." Fewer students are seeking help for issues around their social lives, he says, but many are discussing stressful family situations now that they are living at home. Those with preexisting depression and anxiety may be finding their problems exacerbated, he says.

Several students have told Kauribel Javier '19, who works on campus as the program coordinator for the Whig-Cliosophic Society, that they are having a hard time with the pandemic. "They're tired; there's no way to sugarcoat it," she says. "I can see it on Zoom calls in their faces." During the first few months, especially, "I think there was a lot of loneliness," she says. When students reach out to talk about academic or personal difficulties, she reminds them that it's OK to take it easy on themselves.

The pandemic may be offering a key lesson in resilience: how to push on and get work done without being a perfectionist. While her fellow students are typically driven to excel, these days "I've heard 'completion' thrown around a lot," says Lauren Huff '22, co-chair, with Cassidy-Nolan, of the Princeton Perspective Project. "I think people are less engaged. We're doing it, it's getting done, but it's not the same level of academic pursuit."

Finding a reservoir of strength to push through adversity often provides other valuable lessons. Tiana Woolridge '15 went through periods when she doubted her abilities during her time at Princeton and in graduate school. She especially remembers self-doubt creeping in during her third year of medical school, when she was questioned during rounds by a senior doctor and didn't know the answer. "My mind would quickly jump to, 'You're not smart enough to be here.' As a Black woman in a predominantly white, male field, the stakes are even higher, and the pressure is higher. You feel like you have to be twice as good as everyone else to be perceived as half as competent."

When she received a score on a board exam that was below her high expectations, the doubts began again. But — using the tools she had learned from sessions with a counselor at Princeton — she began to push back on her self-criticism and instead asked herself: What type of medicine am I really passionate about practicing? The answer turned out to be pediatrics, not the specialty she had been considering. "If I had scored really high on that exam and hadn't really struggled with feelings of imposter syndrome, I may not have taken a step back and reevaluated," she says. "I learned more from failure than success." •

Jennifer Altmann is a freelance writer and editor.

A REFUGEE'S LESSONS

UNDERSTANDING SURVIVAL AND RESILIENCE

BY CONSTANCE HALE '79

Ask Sophal Ear *97 to tell you

about himself, and he will first tell you about his mother, Cam Youk Lim. She was born into an ethnic Chinese family in Cambodia in 1936, left school after fourth grade, and lived with 11 family members, maids, a chauffeur, and other servants in a sprawling mansion owned by her brother-inlaw in Phnom Penh. A quarter century of peace had ended in civil war in 1970, and in early 1975 the country was quickly moving from civil war to genocide. Then the Khmer Rouge, Pol Pot's revolutionary army, marched into town. Lim, her pharmacist husband, and their children were dispatched to the countryside, along with anyone else with eyeglasses or soft hands or other signs of middle-class life. "We had no food or water, and soon we realized we were walking toward oblivion," Lim recalled in 2005 — in a New York Times essay written with Sophal (pronounced "so-Paul"), her youngest son. "Sophal was an infant, and I could no longer nurse him. I tried to give him away so that he would have a better chance of survival, but everyone was as destitute and desperate as we were."

Two million people were driven from their homes. Lim and her family ended up in Pursat province, working the rice fields. "Having been raised in the city," she notes, "my husband and I knew nothing about farming." When her husband died of dysentery, Lim, then 39, was emboldened to try a novel escape strategy. The Khmer Rouge announced it would allow Vietnamese immigrants to return to Vietnam. Lim, who spoke a little Vietnamese, gave herself a new name, a new story, and a crash course in the language, helped by another woman fleeing Cambodia. For her interview with a Vietnamese official, Lim wrapped her children in blankets, made them pretend to be sick, and affected her best Saigon accent. Once across, she was given a can of milk to feed Sophal and sold her last ring to buy a pot of noodles and some pork fat. It was the family's first real meal in six months.

Within three years, the family was in France. A cousin living there found someone with the same last name, and a sympathetic Frenchman forged signatures declaring a family relationship. Lim sewed fancy tablecloths with embroidered flowers and sewed her family back together. Then, after seven years, she packed up her youngest children to start a new life in the United States, first in Richmond, California, where yet another sister lived. She worked again as a seamstress, making

wedding gowns for bourgeois brides and impressive outfits for her own children. She moved from Richmond to Oakland's Chinatown, then to an apartment behind a garage — or as her son Sophal calls it, a "shack" — on the edge of one of Oakland's leafy neighborhoods.

The life she lived is nothing like the life her son lives now. He is married, with four children, living the relatively comfortable life of an academic at Occidental College in Southern California.

But Cam Youk Lim and Sophal's native Cambodia are never far from his thoughts. Her history, and Cambodia's, inform the academic papers he writes and are woven through the speeches he has given at TED conferences and international agencies and economic groups. All his professional life he's been pondering the unexpected consequences that can follow when people with grand, abstract ideals - from the Maoist precepts of the Khmer Rouge to the big-bucks projects of China or Western democracies — try to impose those ideals on vulnerable countries, wreaking havoc on the lives of people like his mother.

ophal Ear is now an associate professor of diplomacy and world affairs at Occidental and a leading expert on Cambodia. He is an unlikely academic - a voluble introvert, a storyteller with a penchant for statistics, a professor as passionate as he is analytical, the son of a Buddhist who is proud of how far he's come.

The late Cam Youk Lim surely would not have seen her life as a parable of resilience. And yet her son has taken her story of instinct, grit, hard work — and some critical family and social connections — and applied it to the world of international affairs. His body of research examines the impact of foreign aid on post-conflict countries, arguing fiercely that donors can actually impede the success of developing nations.

Long before he became a professor, Lim's youngest son had developed his own version of his mother's survival instinct - though the nightmarish images of his mother's stories are replaced, in his, with self-deprecating humor. His earliest memory is of rolling around underneath the seats during the plane ride out of Vietnam to France, and he reports with glee that as a little boy he sang decent renditions of Vietnamese communist songs.





France invoked its own trauma for him, though. For two years, Sophal and his sister Sophie were taken in by separate French families and saw their mother only on weekends. He says his French family treated him like "the little prince," but the weekly partings from his mother involved bawling, hiding under beds, and desperate pleas.

Education became an instrument of his salvation. When he was 10 and leaving France, Ear's host family handed him an envelope. In it was a note and an old, medieval key, big enough, Ear says, "for a castle door." In fact, it was the key to one of the family's homes. The note said, "We love you and hope that you'll go to les grandes universités americaines. If anything happens, if you should somehow need to return to France, you'll always have a place back here."

"I never wanted to use it," Ear says. "I resolved to myself, no, I am not going back to France. I am moving forward in my life. I am going to go to the grand universities. I need to prove that I don't need that lifeline."

n Richmond, a lower-income suburb of San Francisco, Lim and her children moved in with her older sister. Ear entered school in the middle of seventh grade, as someone had determined — incorrectly — that it would match his grade level in France. He commuted to the city of Berkeley, more than an hour each way, alone, on BART trains and buses. "I went to Willard Junior High School, using a borrowed address and basically committing a crime," he jokes, then admits that the experience was searing: "I didn't speak English. I didn't have friends. Everyone was two years older than me. They were taking about things I knew nothing about, like sex."

The academics weren't the problem — math was familiar, at least. But he was barely 11, Cambodian, with little English, bad teeth, and a tense home life. "I made friends, but then it turned out that those friends were making fun of me. ... It's a kind of growing up that one has to do rather quickly."

By the time Ear entered the renowned Berkeley High School, Lim had found a job at Elegance Embroidery in

Oakland. "We were dirt poor," he recalls. "We went to a food pantry. It was cold in the winter in that shack and hot in the summers. I was ashamed. There were so many occasions where it felt as though we didn't have."

High school was less traumatic, though. He got braces, his brother Sam paying the monthly installments. Although the family couldn't afford to buy him an official school jersey with its yellow-jacket mascot, Lim embroidered facsimiles of the insect onto a jersey she designed for her son. "I felt like I was the bomb when I wore that," Ear says.

Although English 1A was grueling, something clicked in a government class. "We simulated the U.S. government, and I wrote to Sen. Orrin Hatch of Utah. He wrote me back, or at least somebody wrote me back with an auto pen." Ear started the Candid Republicans Club at school and joined the California Republican Party. "I wanted so much to fight communism at Berkeley High School," he says, the irony delighting him. "After all, the Khmer Rouge had risen to power because of communism"

He graduated with a 3.4 GPA ("nothing to write home about") and was rejected by the University of California, Berkeley. A Vietnamese counselor who had taken Sophal under his wing steered him to a meeting at Berkeley's Center for Southeast Asian Studies, where Ear met an administrator who wrote a letter of appeal. Ear entered Berkeley at 16.

He was a commuter — taking the bus from the "shack" to the university. Family pressure convinced him to be pre-med but he "barely dodged academic probation." He decided on a different course one day in the lab. He "deeply believed in the American system," he says. Political science appealed, and he added economics for a double major that seemed more respectable.

As a junior, he noticed a flyer for a summer program at the then-Woodrow Wilson School, which recruited people of color to address a diversity deficit in public policy. "I really wanted this experience," he says, recalling his envy of the Southern California kids with their dorm lives and their college jerseys. He went for it.

When he arrived, he recalls, "Everybody, no matter how rich or poor, was issued the same stuff. You arrive and you're all given textbooks, brand new. You're all given scientific calculators. It was like this experiment run by social scientists except that there was no control group." He fell in love with Princeton.

He returned to UC Berkeley to graduate and applied to the Woodrow Wilson School for a master's degree. He calls Princeton his "finishing school," though it was not the end

THE KHMER ROUGE ANNOUNCED IT WOULD ALLOW VIETNAMESE **IMMIGRANTS TO RETURN TO VIETNAM. LIM, WHO SPOKE** A LITTLE VIETNAMESE, GAVE HERSELF A NEW NAME, A NEW STORY, AND A CRASH COURSE IN THE LANGUAGE.

of his education: He went on to earn a master's degree in agricultural and resource economics and a Ph.D. in political science at Berkeley, after spending three years in the country of his birth, working on his dissertation, The Political Economy of Aid, Governance, and Policy-Making: Cambodia in Global, National, and Sectoral Perspectives.

That thesis was the beginning of a scholarly output that has been prolific. Ear now balances teaching, writing books, opining on Southeast Asia, walking seven miles a day, and being what his wife, Chamnan Lim, calls "an amazing dad" to his four children, ages 5 to 11. (Lim is also a Cambodian refugee.) Ear made the "Khmerican's Must Watch Top 12" in 2012 and "40 Under 40: Professors Who Inspire" in 2015. His documentary, The End/Beginning: Cambodia, won a gold medal at a film festival. He is a TED Fellow and a Young Global Leader of the World Economic Forum. For street cred in the practice of political science, he served on the Crescenta Valley Town Council, representing more than 20,000 residents in an unincorporated area outside Los Angeles.

Ear calls himself an "accidental professor." He prefers writing to speaking. "I'm an extremely introverted person who is forced to go on stage constantly," he explains, likening himself to a wind-up doll with a string that, when pulled, sets him to delivering his well-practiced lines.

ar applies lessons from Southeast Asia to developing nations around the world in his books, Aid Dependence in Cambodia and The Hungry Dragon, co-authored with Sigfrido Burgos Cáceres. (A new book, Viral Sovereignty and the Political Economy of Pandemics, is under review.)

Cambodia today is a society of haves and have-nots. Prime Minister Hun Sen and his ruling Cambodian People's Party have stilled the chaos of war but installed repression and corruption. Despite large GDP growth rates, Cambodia continues to experience high infant mortality, spiking corruption, and a widening gap in wealth inequality. In the city there is a growing middle class, but in the country, agriculture has not pulled farmers out of poverty, and unexploded ordnance continues to kill and maim rural citizens. Sublime beauty and brutality continue to coexist.

Cambodia's principal industries (textiles, shoes, bikes, and toys) have yet to be replaced by the manufacture of higher-value goods (electrical appliances, auto parts, and components). Potentially strong sectors in banking and finance have yet to blossom. Even Cambodia's recent growth in tourism, which has fueled a new middle class, comes at a cost. "We cannot all be busboys and concierges," Ear notes.

His prescription for Cambodia and similar small countries can be expressed in a list heavy on imperatives: Don't become aid-dependent, don't be seduced by autocracy, beware Kabuki democracy, invest in human development (health, education, nutrition, social protection), and be strategic about aid so that you are developing the industries you want to develop. If you're manufacturing products, produce the elements that go into those products (not just assembling them for sale) to maximize the benefit of exports. If you're an agrarian economy, invest in productivity.

Instead, in Cambodia, the government's infatuation with real-estate development, especially tall buildings owned by



Sophal Ear, front center; his mother Cam Youk Lim, back center; and siblings in Vietnam, circa 1978

foreigners (which Ear derides as a "phallic obsession"), means that resources are drained away from development that would benefit the general population. Cambodia has also become dependent on China for funding infrastructure like dams, roads, and factories, all of which has made China Cambodia's largest creditor, accounting for up to 44 percent of the \$19.2 billion in foreign direct investment between 1994 and 2014.

Ear focuses his wrath, and his analytical passion, on donors, maintaining that international aid distorts Cambodia's economy by preventing sustainable development, fostering corruption, and disrupting the link between taxpayers and their government. Assistance and investment from China, which Ear calls "the Hungry Dragon," carries particular risks, including financial reward for China and a tolerance of the authoritarian regime.

Echoing Ear, journalist Jon Swain sees China as "a hungry neighbor" and notes that "vast tracts of land have been corruptly sold off to Chinese businessmen for development and the proceeds pocketed by Hun Sen's cronies." Swain, in a 2020 essay on Cambodia in the book Imagine: Reflections on Peace, writes of the stark contrast between a sparkling new Chinese resort and a crowded Cambodian shantytown nearby. "The Chinafication of Cambodia looks unstoppable," notes Swain, calling such scenes "the latest example of how this small and weak country has been undermined by a powerful foreign state."

For his part, Ear has called Cambodia "a kleptocracy cum thugocracy" and has added that the international community, led by the UN, "is its enabler." The people don't pay enough taxes, what they do pay is stolen by a corrupt government, and the government doesn't listen to them. All of this has landed

Cambodia on lists of the most corrupt countries in the world. "What do you have? he asks. "Pretend democracy."

Ear's theories extend as well to public health. In his next book, about viral sovereignty, Ear examines how developing nations can avoid being at the mercy of developed nations, whose "rampant vaccine nationalism has created unsustainable and unethical practices." He looks at the example of the avian flu, where viral samples were extracted from Indonesia by other countries, to make vaccines for their own citizens and to sell them back to Indonesia at exorbitant prices. Developing countries, he argues, should collaborate and stand up to medical powerhouses like the U.S. and Russia. The COVID-19 pandemic acts as an alert; developing countries must build their own capabilities to create diagnostics, treatments, and vaccines.

ar's arguments are bound to his personal history. He understands vulnerability as deeply as he does success. His mother struggled through post-traumatic stress and was hospitalized in France; despite her support, his degrees, and his prestigious positions, Ear has grappled with self-doubt and depression. At almost every step, he says, he has felt in over his head and wracked with questions. "We refugees cannot seem to escape the idea that wherever we are, we better be ready for that knock on the door. Oh, my God, it's time to go. Be ready, nothing is as good as it seems."

Then, he says, "as I survive those first few months and nothing happens, I say, 'OK, I made it through. My mother and I and my siblings escaped the Khmer Rouge. So whatever happens after that cannot be anywhere near as bad, right?' It doesn't sound optimistic, but it certainly is what tells me that it's never as bad as it seems. That I can go on, that we will be fine."

Ear is fond of quoting the Talmud: "Whoever saves a single life is as if one saves the entire world." And he notes a related Chinese proverb: "Whoever saves a life is responsible for that life." He says he believes his late mother is responsible for all her children's and grandchildren's lives, and to cement that legacy, he wrote and narrated a documentary based on the eulogy he gave at her funeral, a letter to her grandchildren.

Although he initially feared that talking about his own experience would undermine his work — that refugees in particular might equate personal struggle with a loss of respect from colleagues — he has found talking about his past liberating. "I've embraced my inner Cambodian," he says, and he believes he can "show others that there is hope." He adds that as one of a small number of Cambodian academics with Western Ph.D.s, he has a responsibility to critique the regime there, even at some personal risk. He dreams of returning to Cambodia in an official capacity but has been singled out by Hun Sen for disparagement. For Ear, such attention precludes even visiting today.

"I have felt a calling," he says, both wistful and determined. "It is my duty, even as an academic, to comment about Cambodia, to do things to help Cambodia, even if I'm on the outside. You can take the boy out of Cambodia, but you can't take Cambodia out of the boy." •

Constance Hale '79 is a journalist in California and the author of six books, including Sin and Syntax, a primer on language and literary style.

BUILT TO LAST

IN ARCHITECTURE, **DESIGNING TO REDUCE SPRAWL** AND INCREASE RESILIENCE

BY DAVID WALTER '11

When chronicling the fame and impact

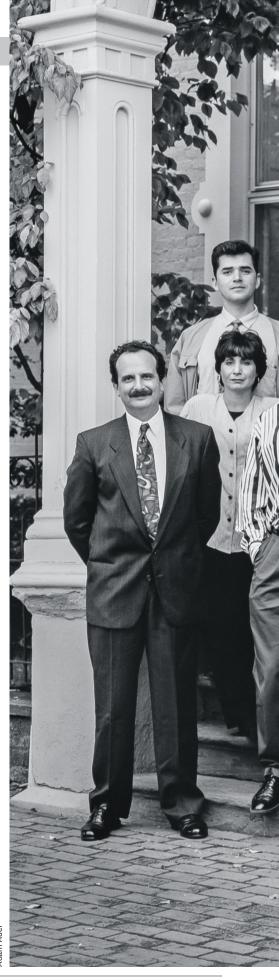
of Princeton alumni, we tend to focus on individual achievements: This man won an Oscar, that woman ran a Fortune 500 company.

It's rarer to find examples of collective achievement by Princeton alums: instances where Tigers have worked together as equals to launch world-changing projects. In this more collaborative realm, consider our New Urbanists, a group of Tiger-trained architects and friends who, across the past four decades, have joined forces to reduce suburban sprawl and increase environmental resilience.

In terms of sheer reach, New Urbanism is one of the most influential American architectural movements of the past half-century. And while today it counts some 3,000 firms and practitioners among its adherents, when the movement was officially incorporated in the early 1990s, it did so with just six founders — including four Princetonians. Its early history is inseparable from that of Princeton's architecture program during the 1970s and '80s, when traditional and modern approaches to design were newly combined to address social ills.

New Urbanism's founders included the husband-andwife team of Andres Duany '71 and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk '72 — as well as Elizabeth Moule *87 and Stefanos Polyzoides '69 *72, who are also married. (The others are the Yale-taught Peter Calthorpe, and Daniel Solomon, trained at Columbia and Berkeley.) The founders recruited several more Princeton alumni to became early leaders of the movement. These include environmentalist and architect Douglas Kelbaugh '67 *72, landscape architect Douglas Duany '75, and writer and educator Ellen Dunham-Jones '80 *83.

Today, these architects remain at the forefront of their fields, working to combine New Urbanist designs for sustainable "smart cities" with the new imperatives of resilient design. Where sustainable architecture has traditionally sought to mitigate climate change (by reducing emissions and promoting renewable energy, for example), resilient architecture acknowledges the limitations of that approach. Instead of mitigation, the New Urbanists' main focus is now





on adaptation: designing communities to withstand a range of extreme weather threats — threats that will increase under even the most optimistic climate-change mitigation scenarios.

rom the beginning, the New Urbanists' chief goal has been to combat the social, health, and environmental menace of sprawl. Sprawl is not something that "just happened," they argue. Instead, it arose logically from America's midcentury embrace of cars, cul-de-sacs, interstate highways, and parking lots.

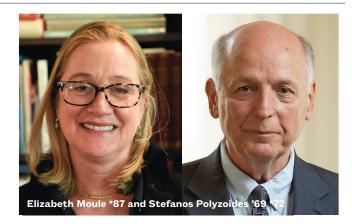
Today, the trends are starting to reverse. Have you noticed fewer McMansions being built in your area and more four- and five-story apartment complexes, perhaps featuring ground-floor restaurants and shops? Have you been thinking about building an accessory dwelling unit (ADU) in your backyard, to increase your property value or provide a nice place for Grandma to stay? These are architectural forms that have their roots in New Urbanist efforts to rewrite the code of American neighborhoods.

"New Urbanism is about changing the world not for the benefit of individual architects, but for everyone else. It's about reconstructing the city, and being responsible for something beyond individual buildings," says Polyzoides, adding: "Princeton taught us how to comport ourselves as citizens." Moule draws connections between their movement and the University's ethos of Princeton in the nation's service: "New Urbanism, unlike a lot of architectural or urban theories, is very service-oriented."

By the 1960s, urban theorists like Jane Jacobs had begun to bang the drum for dense, diverse urban neighborhoods. But on the ground, sprawl prevailed almost by default. In cities, urban planners and architects were bound by interstate-era zoning regulations that mandated plenty of space for cars and trucks. In the sprawling suburbs, meanwhile, developers were loath to invest in anything but subdivisions and strip malls — fearful, in part, that white home buyers would reject communities that recalled the much-demonized "inner city."

While "starchitects" focused on glitzy museum and skyscraper commissions, Princeton's New Urbanists took on the less glamorous work of figuring out how groups of buildings could harmonize to create a new kind of dense, walkable streetscapes. "For so long we kept reproducing sprawl because that's what the regulation required — in terms of parking requirements, zoning prohibitions on mixed use, and so on. We've finally gotten to the point where communities are truly trying to create walkable places," explains Dunham-Jones. In these efforts, New Urbanists have been influential twice over — today, they are often hired not only to design new living complexes, but also to rewrite a town's very zoning regulations.

To prove their bona fides, New Urbanists started out in the 1980s by designing model "New Towns" on virgin land across the country's Sun Belt. These were sweet, charming, neo-Traditionalist fantasias — full of verandas and gazebos and sandy walking trails - that critics compared to artificial film sets (one of them, Seaside, Florida, which turns 40 this year, did end up as the filming location for *The Truman Show*). But these communities — which came to include places like Kentlands, Maryland; Playa Vista, California; and Celebration, Florida — proved to developers that Americans would pay more to live in denser neighborhoods, so long as the styling



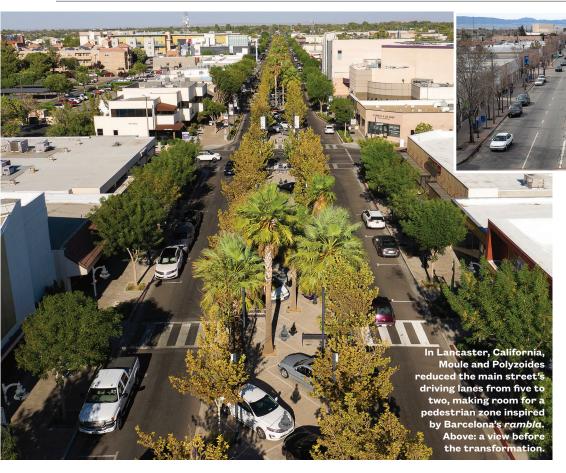
was right. Mayberry-esque they may have been, but these early New Urbanist communities helped suburban Americans to rediscover the pleasure of having neighbors, shops, and offices within a few minutes' walking distance.

Building on these early successes, Princeton's New Urbanists turned their attention to redesigning and repairing America's existing communities. Sometimes this involved rewriting planning and building codes for major American cities — the better to promote mixed-use zoning and walkability. In the 1990s, Moule and Polyzoides designed a plan for downtown Los Angeles. Among other things, the plan called for a pedestrian-friendly arts district — an area that, today, boasts city-defining institutions like Disney Concert Hall and the Broad Museum. Duany and Plater-Zyberk drew up similar pro-density plans for cities like Miami and Providence, Rhode Island.

Princeton's New Urbanists have also confronted the problems of sprawl on the level of the individual block and neighborhood, devising replicable strategies for turning "dead space" into walkable town centers. Thirty-five years ago, Duany and Plater-Zyberk's Mashpee Commons project in Cape Cod became the nation's first successful conversion of a strip-mall complex into a traditional town center. Their design transformed an asphalt wasteland into a dense thicket of apartments, stores, and offices — all of which are still in use today. Such designs gained more momentum after the Great Recession of 2008, which had led to empty malls and Main Streets across America.

Many of these street-level New Urbanist interventions have been chronicled in the writings of Ellen Dunham-Jones. With her writing partner June Williamson, Dunham-Jones has published seminal textbooks and articles on the challenge of "retrofitting suburbia." Their most recent book, Case Studies in Retrofitting Suburbia, was released by Wiley in late 2020. It includes the story of how Moule and Polyzoides put the city of Lancaster, California, on a "road diet" in 2010 and 2011. By reducing the town's main street from five driving lanes to two, the couple made room for a central rambla, a pedestrian zone inspired by Barcelona's leafy walkway.

By 2016, pedestrian-car collisions on the street had been reduced by 78 percent, while vehicular collisions fell by 38 percent — all thanks to a design that had also eliminated seven traffic lights from Lancaster's downtown core. Today, Lancaster stands as a demonstration of the ways that New Urbanists have fused health, safety, and aesthetics into a new kind of urban design.



ost histories of the New Urbanist movement begin in 1981, when Duany and Plater-Zyberk designed Seaside on the coast of the Florida Panhandle. The less official, but no less true, history of New Urbanism begins a few years earlier, at Princeton, where the School of Architecture — "a very intimate place, physically and intellectually," Kelbaugh recalls — was enjoying a golden age.

After years of fealty to High Modernist theory, architects in the 1970s and '80s were looking beyond the tenets of "form follows function," and reexamining more historical forms and decorations. "For a brief window, Post-Modern and Modern were in a kind of equivalence. This was a moment when everything was on the table. It was a very short period of extreme openmindedness, a unique educational experience," Duany says.

This new openness to historical forms was in large part spurred by Princeton faculty member Michael Graves. Graves had begun his career as a staunch Modernist, but in 1959 he won the prestigious Rome Prize, which came with two years' residency at the American Academy in the Ancient City. When that ended, Graves began teaching at Princeton.

"The lessons of Rome are the lessons of public space, of framed quads and courtyards and patios and streets, in symmetrical and asymmetrical configurations," Polyzoides explains. "Through this, you discover the space of the city, within and beyond city blocks. That [spatial sense] is one of the key ingredients for the regeneration of the 21st-century city. And Michael was crucial in showing the way toward that."

He continues: "The faculty was mostly Modernists, but what happened is they taught us how to read and write, and we went

deeper than they thought we would. When I was Graves' teaching assistant, I was pulling books from the library for him — books on French theory, the Ecole Des Beaux Arts — that hadn't been checked out since the 1920s."

The school's dean, Robert Geddes, made sure that the program made full use of Princeton's art history scholars. "Princeton's history faculty was full of giants," Polyzoides says. It included the archaeologist Richard Stillwell '21 *24, who discovered the ancient city of Palmyra, as well as David

Coffin '40 *54, the world's leading expert on Italian Renaissance landscape design. "While we were being fed stupid Modernist theory — the importance of building freeways, and the like — these people were talking about the root causes of architecture, with examples that were breathtaking: Renaissance palazzi, Greek temples, medieval cities."

At the same time, the upheaval of the Vietnam War had given rise to a new social consciousness. "We set up a people's workshop in New Brunswick, working with people directly on [design] projects," Polyzoides recalls, "There was a clear understanding of the social dimensions of architecture at that time, almost on the level of what's happening today."

Then, of course, there was the New Jersey factor. "In so many ways, New Jersey epitomized so much of what New Urbanism was reacting against," says Dunham-Jones. "I think anyone who spent time in Princeton couldn't help but notice that we were in this privileged, beautiful little bubble — but around that, you saw Trenton and New Brunswick become quite disinvested in, with all the new money going, instead, into extremely car-centric suburban enclaves. People ask why I got interested in retrofitting suburbia, and I say: I wanted to fix my state!"

Kelbaugh, for his part, completed his so-called "Kelbaugh Solar House" on Pine Street in Princeton in 1974. The project married Le Corbusier-style design cues with a passive solar heating Trómbe wall — the first Trómbe wall (named for French scientist Felix Trómbe) in the United States. It became a local tourist attraction, with passersby marveling at the then-far-out notion of a house heating itself.

Graduation scattered most of the future New Urbanists across the country — until the success of Seaside brought them back together. Seaside offered a subtly modernized update to the classic American small town. It was a place that felt open, neighborly, and optimistic. Chief architects Duany and Plater-Zyberk formulated a strong and unified "planning bible" to guard against suburban sprawl. Their planning codes called for narrow streets, smaller lots, and lots of walking paths. The architects integrated parks, storefronts, and civic buildings directly into the residential environment. Cars were allowed in Seaside, but at every turn their presence was decisively — yet politely! - minimized. Unlike earlier American "New Towns" like Columbia, Maryland, Seaside didn't create separate zones for homes, offices, and stores. Separate districts might have looked tidy on a map, but they led to unwalkable, sterile cityscapes. In Seaside, Duany and Plater-Zyberk placed many different types of buildings within easy walking distance of each other.

What's more, Seaside created this walkable "pedestrian pocket" using architectural language that was conceptually innovative, elegantly codified, and easily replicable. The firm Duany and Plater-Zyberk began, DPZ, created new formulas, ratios, and rules of thumb for walkable density — planning schemes that not only worked to make Seaside beautiful, but could be used by other architects hoping to achieve similar effects. Taken together, Seaside's design cues encouraged visitors and residents to abandon cars in favor of their own two feet. The town became a commercial hit — so much that it failed to achieve one New Urbanist goal: affordability. (Today, houses sell for millions of dollars.)

Seaside's success also created the conditions necessary to turn New Urbanist principles into a genuine movement. From early on, DPZ's method would be to assign themselves the oversight of a project's master plans and codes. Then, the firm would hand over design of a town's buildings and landscapes to like-minded colleagues. The core of these collaborations was always a weeklong planning workshop called a charette, at which the core tenets of New Urbanism were hashed out and refined.

As Duany and Plater-Zyberk were designing new types of town grids, their old friend Stefanos Polyzoides happened to be working on "repeating typologies" — that is, the question of what types of buildings, in what quantities and styles, should populate the streets and lots of a progressive "New Town."

"As one group was figuring out the town structure of future American urbanism, another was figuring out the typological structure. And then we all began to work on the third question, of what public shared space should look like," says Polyzoides. His wife, Elizabeth Moule, had studied at Princeton with a leading urban sociologist named Robert Gutman — and soon established herself as a leader in this social dimension of New Urbanism.

After Seaside, letters sent back and forth between Duany, Plater-Zyberk, Polyzoides, Moule, and Kelbaugh soon became face-to-face meetings to talk over the future of urban design. Planning charettes then turned into group retreats where the new New Urbanists could hash out a shared set of principles. And then, in 1993, those retreats became the full-blown Congress of New Urbanism.

Each of Princeton's early New Urbanist adopters put a unique stamp on the nascent movement. Kelbaugh had become

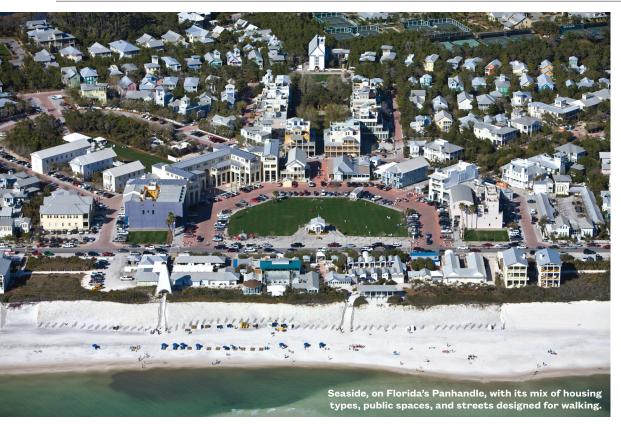


a leading environmentalist voice in architecture following the success of his solar house; he soon contributed important work on how New Urbanist communities were necessarily "greener" communities, because of the way they minimized car usage. Douglas Duany became a crucial link between the worlds of urbanism and landscape design. And Ellen Dunham-Jones has been a leader in making the case that reducing sprawl is the key toward building climate-resilient communities in the 21st century.

n recent years, the Princeton architects have turned with gusto to the challenge of climate-adaptive architecture. They have not had as much competition in this area as you might expect. Even today, the architecture industry's biggest "green design" awards and certifications reward buildings for conserving energy and reducing greenhouse-gas emissions. These are important goals, but New Urbanists have also begun to plan for the likelihood that humanity has reached a point of no return for climate change — that, as Andres Duany puts it, "the future is not going to be pleasant."

In the near future, New Urbanists believe, "climate conscious" architecture will mean rewriting cities' planning and building codes to provide incentives to minimize disaster risk and increase climate resilience. It will also involve strengthening individual buildings to withstand a wide range of extreme weather: from more frequent hurricanes and storm surges to fiercer droughts and heat waves.

To that end, Duany and Plater-Zyberk's Miami-based architecture firm has begun presenting prototypes for "climate resilient" communities to developers and city governments nationwide. These include plans for walled, courtyard-style compounds - several of which would then, in turn, form a ring to enclose a central green space. The individual compounds



would come with resilient adaptations like reinforced walls, backup generators, solar panels, and water-purification appliances. The community's central greens, meanwhile, could include features like mechanics' garages, fishing ponds, oneroom schoolhouses, and shared gardens.

The purpose of these reinforcements isn't to move residents entirely "off the grid." Rather, the goal is to help families to bounce back faster after a climate event, and live more or less comfortably in the weeks and months after a natural disaster — at which point, it's assumed, normal government services would resume.

"What I'm proposing for people who choose to live in the places we plan is: They will have better days for a generation or two." Only governments, he argues, can implement the kind of sweeping regulations needed to meaningfully lessen carbon emissions: "Mitigation happens at the highest levels."



The passive solar home Douglas Kelbaugh '67 *72 designed for Pine Street in Princeton became a tourist attraction.

Architects' biggest task, meanwhile, should be to ensure that people stay as safe and comfortable as possible in their immediate lived environments.

On the townand city-planning level, many climate-resilience best practices borrow a lot from good old New Urbanism - specifically, the movement's strategies for reducing sprawl and increasing population density. It's a lot easier, for instance, to build one big, unified

storm-protection system to shield a close-knit neighborhood — than it is to build lots of little storm barriers across a far-flung suburb.

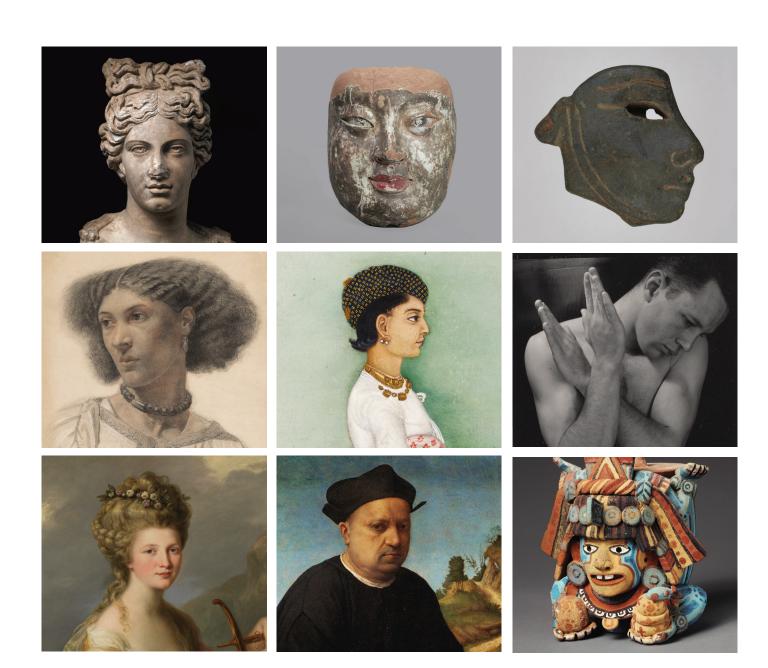
Cities, a part of the problem, can also be part of the solution, argues Douglas Kelbaugh in his 2019 book on climate and resilience, The Urban Fix: Resilient Cities in the War Against Climate Change, Heat Islands and Overpopulation. Worldwide, heat waves are some of the deadliest — and most common extreme climate events. Urban areas are "heat islands" that consistently are several degrees hotter than more open landscapes. Black surfaces are especially dangerous heat magnets — and cities are full of such surfaces, Kelbaugh points out, from black-painted roofs, to their many asphalt roads and parking lots.

Retrofitting our cities to withstand climate change will be an expensive job, he explains, yet it's a job worth doing. "Urban density, done well, has all kinds of benefits," he argues in the book: On average, people who live in "dense, walkable areas" are happier, healthier, and more productive; energy consumption is lower per capita than in the suburbs; and infrastructure costs less per capita as well.

His book, he writes, is "not so much about new or radical ideas," as about "how to connect, balance, and deploy effective antidotes as soon as possible." When there's an abundance of heat-sucking black roofs, for example, the solution is surprisingly simple: Launch programs, as many cities have, to paint roofs a sun-reflecting shade of white. From there: Plant more trees, and design nonlinear street patterns that can better dissipate heat.

And as for reducing cities' asphalt overloads: New Urbanism has 40 years' worth of strategies to do just that. Road diet, anyone? •

David Walter '11 is a freelance journalist in New York.



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Top (left to right); Roman, Antonine, Coloscal bust of a gooddess or personification, ca. 160-190. Museum purchase, Fowler McCormick, Class of 1921, Fund, in acknowledgment of the dedicated service, to the Advisory Council of the Princeton University Art Museum, of Kathleen Compton Sherered, Barry Munitz, Graduate School Class of 1962, and State Peld, Class of 1962, and State Peld, Class of 1962, howest (1963-907), Person Review McCormick, Class of 1921, Person Review McCormick, Class of 1921, Fund; Egyptian, New Kingdom, Amulet or Inlight, Face, 1550-1070 a.c. Gift of Edward Sampson, Class of 1914, for the Alden Sampson Collection. Middle (left to right): Walter Fryer Stocks (British, 1842-1915), Mrs. Fanny Eaton, ca. 1859. Museum purchase, Surdna Fund; Indian, Mana Lalji, ca. 1860. Museum purchase, Fowler McCormick, Class of 1921, Fund; Minor White (American, 1968-1976), Tom Murphy, San Francisco, February 1948. The Minor White Achieve, Princeton University Art Museum, bequest of Minor White. © Trustees of Princeton University, Bottom (left to right): Angelica Kauffmann (British, born Switzerland, 1741-1807), Portrait of Sarah Harrop (Mrs. Bates) as a Museu, 1780-18. Museum purchase, Surdna Fund and Fowler McCormick, Class of 1921, Fund; Franciabigio (Francesco di Cristofano Guidicis) (Italian, 1482/3-152), Portrait of a Jeweler, 1516. Museum purchase, Fowler McCormick, Class of 1921, Fund; Maya, Late Postclassic, Lidded effigy container in the form of a diving god, ca. 1500. Museum purchase with funds given by an anonymous foundations.

PRINCETONIANS



READING ROOM: SULEIKA JAOUAD '10

A WRITER'S JOURNEY FROM SICKNESS TO HEALTH



After Princeton, Suleika Jaouad '10 moved to Paris, where she was joined by a new boyfriend, worked as a paralegal, and dreamed of covering global conflicts

as a journalist. Her plans were disrupted by a different battle: At 22, she was diagnosed with a rare form of leukemia. Back in New York City, she underwent chemotherapy, a bone marrow transplant, and yet more chemotherapy. During four years of treatment, she was frail, bald, isolated, and often in excruciating pain.

Although she was given only about a one-in-three chance of survival, she is now cancer-free. Her story — of grief, hope, loss, resilience, and a search for community and meaning - is chronicled in her new book, Between Two Kingdoms: A Memoir of Life Interrupted (Random House). It is dedicated to friends "who crossed the river too soon."

"I feel very grateful to have attained the ranks of those who are cured," says Jaouad via Zoom, "although it doesn't come without its challenges. There's so much collateral damage that comes with illness, and the most treacherous is so often the invisible kind."

Her book's title borrows from a Susan Sontag essay, "Illness as Metaphor," describing, in Jaouad's words, "how we all have dual citizenship in the kingdom of the sick and the kingdom of the well." After her long illness, Jaouad says, "I hoped to be repatriated back to the kingdom of the well. But the distance that you have to travel between those two - that's often overlooked."

The book's subtitle refers to a column and Emmy Award-winning video series, "Life, Interrupted," that Jaouad produced for The New York Times. "I decided that I was going to report from a very different conflict zone — my hospital bed," she says. The project gave her purpose and elicited an overwhelming response



"Illness gave me a jeweler's eye. That clarifying effect when you're staring your mortality in the eye ... "

- Suleika Jaouad '10

from people whose own lives had been shadowed by mortality, including a high school teacher whose 26-year-old son had committed suicide and a convicted murderer on Texas's death row.

"Illness has a way of narrowing your world," Jaouad says, and the letters she received "blasted the world wide open."

But in the aftermath of treatment, she struggled. Her relationship with her boyfriend had collapsed. She felt "unsafe in my body" and "terrified of the outside world."

Between Two Kingdoms chronicles two distinct journeys: Jaouad's trek through sickness and the 100-day, 15,000-mile transcontinental pilgrimage, with her rescue dog Oscar, that she undertook in its wake. After learning to drive, she set out to meet some of her correspondents and learn how to reconstitute her life.

Jaouad's book proposal had focused on the love that helped save her. The book "is still about finding love," she says. "It's also about losing that love — and about loss in general, the loss of identity, the loss of a life as you knew it, the loss of fertility, and of a certain kind of invincible certainty.

"But it's also about how, when you have an experience where everything you knew to be true gets upturned, there's a kind of brutal discovery, when — in the aftermath of that loss — you have to figure out who you are and where you're heading."

She encountered strength, wisdom, and unexpected commonalities on the road. She learned, for instance, that she and Lil' GQ, her Texas death row correspondent, had both spent long hours of confinement playing Scrabble in his case, by using scraps of paper and calling out moves to other prisoners. "I was so awed by his creativity," she says.

Since her trip, Jaouad has had an active writing and speaking career, distilling lessons from her illness and recovery. In June, she earned an M.F.A. from Bennington College. She has launched a "community creativity" project, The Isolation Journals, which supplies weekly writing prompts to about 100,000 people. She also is developing a podcast, The Reckoning, about "moments of great reckoning, good and bad."

Jaouad lives in New Jersey with her partner, Jon Batiste, a renowned jazz musician whom she met at band camp when she was 13. Still immunocompromised, she stays semiisolated, socializing only with a small "quaranpod" of friends.

"We inherit resilience," she says. "Our ancestors had to survive all kinds of things for us to be here. But I also think of resilience as a muscle that you have to exercise. There were so many points in my illness when, for example, I found out I had to do more treatment or undergo some painful procedure, where I thought, 'I can't do that — not one more thing.' And yet I did. We're all, right now, because of the pandemic, having to exercise that muscle of resilience."

In her own life, she says, "everything is in technicolor. I say in the book that illness gave me a jeweler's eye. That clarifying effect when you're staring your mortality in the eye — as terrifying as it can be also forces you to refocus your gaze on what really matters when everything else is stripped away. And I wouldn't take that back." • By Julia M. Klein



READ an excerpt of Jaouad's *Between* Two Kingdoms at paw.princeton.edu



UPDATE, PAW, SEPT. 12, 2018: KERRY BRODIE '12

EMMA'S TORCH BURNS ON

As the pandemic rages, a restaurant that serves as a training ground for refugees forges on

In early 2020, Emma's Torch was thriving. The organization, founded by Kerry Brodie '12 in 2016, provided paid culinary-arts training to refugees, people granted asylum, and survivors of human trafficking. The program had 110 students and alumni and a revenuegenerating restaurant, cafe, and catering business in Brooklyn, New York, with plans for expansion. And then COVID-19 arrived.

"The good news is that we were in a very strong position," Brodie says. "While at the time, it was very, very frightening, we're fortunate that we're still around now."

Emma's Torch shut down all in-person operations the week of March 17. After the New York stay-at-home order was issued, the organization pivoted to online programming right away.

"A lot of [Emma's Torch alumni] were losing their jobs, and facing a ton of uncertainty," Brodie says. According to a New York State Comptroller report, the pandemic caused at least 200,000 restaurant-industry job losses in New

York state alone, and restaurant revenues in March 2020 were down 81 percent compared to the previous year.

To meet alumni needs, Emma's Torch held online classes on accessing resources like unemployment benefits and funding grants. The program also continued education for current students through virtual classes on cooking and English language.

The organization resumed some



Students, from left, Oumou, Fanta, and Li, prepare butternut squash for an autumn squash pasta with navy beans and pumpkin seeds for Emma's Torch's partnership with Rethink Food. The students prepare 600 meals per week for people facing food insecurity in Brooklyn.

"While it has certainly been a difficult time, I am motivated and uplifted by the resilience of our students and our community."

Kerry Brodie '12

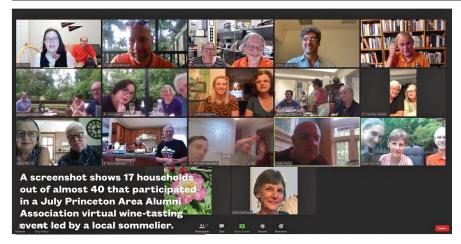
in-person programming in mid-October, when infection levels in New York were low. Current students are given inperson instruction in groups of three in the restaurant's repurposed dining room, and the restaurant is offering a limited menu for pickup and takeout only. Emma's Torch has also partnered with Rethink Food, a nonprofit, to provide 600 meals a week to the Nutrition Kitchen food-pantry program. "We're super excited that we can give back even as we're also trying to get back on our feet," Brodie says.

While the nonprofit's main revenue streams have been shut down, Brodie says it has been able to stay financially afloat: Community partners, foundations, and individual donors "have been really, really helpful in ensuring that we are in a position to reopen and that we are able to weather the storm."

New York eased restrictions on restaurant operations in the summer and fall, but given that there may be future shutdowns and restrictions, Brodie is looking to other revenue streams. There are plans to develop and produce packaged food products like cooking kits, and the restaurant collaborated with other nonprofits to create holiday gift boxes.

Brodie says that safety is the No. 1 priority. "We don't plan on having indoor dining for the foreseeable future," she notes. Going forward, she says, the program will to adapt as needed so it may safely continue.

"While it has certainly been a difficult time, I am motivated and uplifted by the resilience of our students and our community," Brodie says, adding: "Even when things are difficult, they are a constant reminder of the power of the human spirit, and they give me immense hope for what is possible." • By Nina Bahadur '12



GOIN' BACK ... FROM HOME

THE MANY WAYS ALUMNI ARE **STAYING CONNECTED, APART**

When class president Lew Miller '49 learned that Reunions would be canceled last spring, his first thought was: Zoom. "I had never set up a Zoom myself, but I'd been on a number of calls," says the 92-year-old, noting the importance of gathering as the number of living classmates has dipped below 90. "So I sent out a notice and said, 'if you never used Zoom before, even old people can use it." Since then Miller has attracted a following of around 15 in the three gatherings he has hosted.

As the United States shifted to remote learning and working, Tigers were not only busy canceling flights, setting up home offices, and home-educating children; they were also quick to find ways to keep meaningful connections.

Not surprisingly, their methods have been novel and diverse.

"Princetonians love to get together, and they're endlessly creative about it in person," says Erika Knudson, Princeton's director of advancement communications. "But the realities of the pandemic have allowed them to become even more creative, if that's possible."

A list of official class and regional clubs' online offerings compiled by the Office of Advancement runs longer than three single-spaced pages - and administrators believe there are plenty of informal events they're not aware of.

Virtual wine tastings seem to be a big hit, an idea first planned by the Princeton Association of New England in early May. Their lead was followed by 15

other Princeton groups, from the PAA of Nantucket Island, to the Princeton Club of Northern California.

Other popular online programming includes book clubs, trivia nights, and of course, simple chats. In late February, the Class of 2018 leadership anticipated the coming onslaught of virtual meetings and devised an old-fashioned penpal initiative, in which 66 classmates have been randomly paired for written correspondence. "So far the program is going smoothly," according to class president Victoria Adams '18, who is exploring bringing in other class years for the program's next iteration.

There have also been virtual receptions held by nine regional associations to welcome as alumni new 2020 grads, as well as an APGA toast for new graduate students.

Online gatherings have embraced educational opportunities, drawing on alumni and faculty expertise. In late October, four regional groups in Texas worked together to present a "Texas Tigers Event" called "Fiscal and Monetary Policy in a Pandemic" featuring Princeton economics and public affairs professor Alan Blinder '67. Similar gatherings have been centered around alumni to share wisdom and take questions from their peers.

Knudson adds that the virtual programming has opened up alumni gatherings that were once bound by geographic proximity, offering people a chance to connect "in really significant ways."

During one of Lew Miller's calls, the '49 Zoomers were joined by classmate Jack Smiley, a retired pastor who is in hospice. From his hospital bed at home, Smiley read Psalm 121, the last line of which reads:

The Lord will keep you from all harm he will watch over your life; the Lord will watch over your coming and going

both now and forevermore.

"That was very touching," says Miller. At their next meeting, Miller planned to discuss the places they all hope to travel post-pandemic. His destination? "I'd like to go to Seattle to see my grandson, his wife, and my two great-grandchildren, who are 3 and 1." • By C.C.

Alumni Day Canceled

The Alumni Day celebration held each February will not take place this year, due to the global pandemic. "As welcoming our honorees to campus, hearing them speak in person, and fostering interaction with students and their fellow alumni are such important aspects of conferring the Wilson Award and Madison Medal, we have determined we will not name recipients for those prizes in this exceptional year," according to an email from director of advancement communications Erika Knudson. The awards are the highest honors bestowed upon undergraduate and graduate alumni.

However, the annual Service of Remembrance recognizing alumni, faculty, and staff who died in the previous year will take place virtually Feb. 20 at 3 p.m. (see bit.ly/alumni-day-canceled for more details). At 8 p.m., a virtual tribute to alumni achievement is being planned with a special Forward Fest event (see bit.ly/forward-fest). 0

CLASS NOTES

Online Class Notes are password protected. To access, alumni must use their TigerNet ID and password. Click here to log in: http://paw.princeton.edu/class-notes

MEMORIALS

PAW posts a list of recent alumni deaths at paw.princeton.edu. Go to Reader Services on PAW's home page and click on the link "Recent Alumni Deaths." The list is updated with each new issue.

THE CLASS OF 1944



Howard S. Roberts III '44 Howard died Oct. 3, 2014. He was born in Lansdowne, Pa.,

He came to Princeton from Penn Charter, where he was

involved with student government, dramatics, and the Glee Club. He left Princeton to enter the Navy, where he finished as a lieutenant, junior grade.

Howard's career was with the Matthey Bishop firm, manufacturer of precious metals and chemicals. He and his wife, Guigui (Margaret), traveled the world as well as the United States.

He is survived by his daughter, Susan Marian. He is buried in the Willamette National Cemetery in Portland, Ore.

THE CLASS OF 1949

Robert J. Martin '49

We recently learned that Bob died May 3, 2018. He came to Princeton later than some '49ers, having served in the Army Air Force as a captain. He majored in art and archaeology and joined Cottage Club.

After leaving Princeton he studied art in Paris and joined the Economic Cooperation Administration. He subsequently worked for Guaranty Trust Co. and Time Inc. At our 10th reunion he was back in New York, with Knoll Associates. He reported that he was then divorced, with three children, Stuart, Robert '75, and Alastair '74.

We lost touch with Bob for a number of years. In our 50th-reunion yearbook he was listed as a retired farmer, living in Warren, Conn., with the same three children.

We believe that Bob may have had a challenging and interesting life, but the details are unfortunately not well known to us. We offer our sympathy to his friends and family.

Philip W. Williams '49

Phil, a native of Minneapolis, came to Princeton from the Blake School, following a year in the Navy. He majored in philosophy, joined Colonial Club, and was a member of the cross-country



and track teams. He was awarded the Fritz Rosengarten Trophy in cross-country. In June 1946 he married Nancy Cary Levis, and they lived off campus his senior year.

After graduation Phil and Nancy moved to Houston, where he went to work for Bemis Brothers Bag Co. In 1956 he joined Owens-Illinois in Toledo as a sales manager, and he, Nancy, and the children moved to Perrysburg, Ohio, their home for the next 30 years. Then Phil spent six years with the Williams Co. in Traverse City, Mich., and returned to Perrysburg, presumably at the time of his retirement.

We have little information about Phil and Nancy's later years. In 2014 they were listed as living in Montgomery, Ohio, in Hamilton County, near Cincinnati. Phil died May 25, 2020. He is survived by Nancy; their children, Lucy, Jud, Philip, and Christopher; and several grandchildren. We offer our sincere condolences to them all.

THE CLASS OF 1950



H. Fairfax Conquest '50 Fax died Feb. 21, 2020. He was a lifelong resident of Richmond, Va. He was a gifted surgeon whose patients valued his warm personal style and

dedicated follow-up.

Fax graduated from Episcopal High School in Alexandria, Va. At Princeton he majored in biology and belonged to Dial. After completing his degree at the University of Virginia Medical School and interning in Cincinnati, he served two years as a Navy lieutenant with the Marines at Camp Lejeune, N.C.

Leaving the service, he completed his residency in general surgery at the Medical College of Virginia. He then practiced surgery in Richmond for 21 years, where he also treasured his experiences teaching nursing students.

After retiring in 1985, he founded Drink A Poem, an enterprise specializing in custom poetry and creative glassware design. He

also fulfilled his passion for writing, creating poems and song lyrics. In 1994 he published a collection of his poems, Where The Wind Takes Me, the title from his poem that appeared in The Wall Street Journal years before. He enjoyed tennis and sailing, and treasured his family

Fax is survived by his wife of 66 years, Carroll; children Meredith, Christopher '84, and Carroll; and two grandsons. His eldest child, Carmelita; and his brother Ned '53 *67 predeceased him.



Cameron D. Neulen '50 Cam died July 1, 2020, at his

home in Tenafly, N.J. Upon graduation from Teaneck (N.J.) High School in 1944, he enlisted in the Navy,

serving for two years. At Princeton he was secretary-treasurer of Cannon and graduated with honors in psychology.

His first employer was Vick Chemical, but he soon joined McGraw-Hill Publishing selling advertising space. He worked for McGraw for 45 years, retiring as a district manager.

At our 10th reunion he reported that he golfed every weekend and had made about 65 Tiger football games in the past nine years. His "reason for these frivolities: Not married." His marital status changed in 1965 when he married Patricia Roe.

He honed his golf skills at Tenafly's Knickerbocker Country Club, where he was a longtime member and trustee. However, it was at the Westchester Country Club where his dedication to golf paid off when he shot a holein-one and carded 69. Though living all but a few years in New Jersey, he was a lifelong fan of the St. Louis Cardinals baseball team.

Cam is survived by his wife, Patricia; and an extended family. His daughter Pamela and brother John predeceased him.



John P. Scott '50

John died June 26, 2020, in London, where he had lived since 1957.

Born in London, he came to the States to study at Deerfield.

At Princeton he was chairman of the Nassau Lit and a member of the Undergraduate Council and the Memorial Insurance Committee. He belonged to Campus and majored in economics.

Following graduation he worked a year in New York as a stockbroker with Irving Trust. He received a direct commission in the Army and served most of his time in Bavaria, Germany. Upon discharge as a first lieutenant in 1953, he came back to New York, this time working with E.F. Hutton. Upon his father's death in 1957, he returned to England to take over the family publishing company.

PRINCETONIANS / MEMORIALS

John loved opera, classical music, ballet, and the theater. Regents Park was one of his favorite places, especially its rose garden. Always interested in politics and world affairs, he tested his memory and intellect daily by doing the New York Times crossword.

A devoted Princetonian, John kept us posted on fellow classmates who lived in the UK and Europe.

John is survived by his wife of 62 years, Elizabeth; two daughters, Deborah and Caroline; four grandchildren; and three greatgrandchildren.

THE CLASS OF 1951



Justin Towner Rogers Jr. '51 Jud was born Aug. 4, 1929, in Sandusky, Ohio, to Justin and Eloise Larkin Rogers. His greatgrandfather Earl Larkin was a member of the Class of 1841.

Jud was a politics major and president of Key and Seal, and graduated cum laude. He roomed with Bomanti, Fleming, Gibson, Gilbert, Lawson, Water Smith, Vrooman, and Wolfe.

In 1954 he earned a law degree from the University of Michigan Law School. After serving in the Army for two years, he did civil trial work with a Columbus law firm. In 1958 he went to work for the Ohio Edison Co. (now a subsidiary of First Energy) and moved to Akron. He was with the utility for 36 years, ultimately serving as president, then chairman, and finally as CEO.

Jud died April 10, 2019, in the Justin T. Rogers Hospice Care Center. He is survived by his wife, Jane Nichols Rogers; his children, Sarah, Anne, and Justin III; grandson Angus Warren; stepdaughter Christine Runyan and her family; and his former wife, Virginia. His sister, Barbara Rogers Lee, predeceased him. Memorial contributions to the Cleveland Clinic Justin T. Rogers Hospice Care Center, 3358 Ridgewood Road, Akron, OH 44333, would be most appreciated.



David Burton Van Vleck '51 Dutch, a biologist and science educator, was born July 11, 1929, to Joseph (a member of the Class of 1923) and Mary McLain Van Vleck

in Montclair, N.J.

He graduated from the Loomis School. At Princeton Dutch was a sociology major; played football, baseball, and basketball; and belonged to Cottage Club. He roomed with Jack Reydel, Chuck Weeden, and Stan Weiland.

He and Eunice Holt were married in 1951. After a period studying forestry at the University of Michigan, he served in the Navy as a meteorologist. Dutch spent five years teaching math and science at Loomis, five years earning a master's degree and a Ph.D. in

biology at Cornell, five years teaching at the University of Miami, three years teaching at Middlebury College, and 17 years teaching at Middlebury High School. Dutch retired from teaching in 1992 to the Van Vleck/Hodges farm, where he and Eunice grew dwarf apple trees and raised a herd of Black Angus cattle.

He died April 22, 2019, in Cornwall, Vt. Dutch is survived by his children, Carolyn, David, and Sarah; siblings Henry, Sarita, Mary, and Nancy; and all their families. His wife, Eunice, and brother Joseph predeceased him. Donations to Planned Parenthood, 1330 Exhange St. Suite 202, Middlebury VT 05753 or the Vermont Land Trust, 8 Bailey Ave., Montpelier, VT 05602 would be most appreciated.

THE CLASS OF 1952



Joseph Leo Bolster Jr. '52 Joe graduated from Pittsfield (Mass.) High School and went to serve for a year in occupied Japan. He returned to study for a term at The Hill

School. At Princeton he majored in history, was president of Charter, ran cross-country, and was captain of the track team.

Joe had a 39-year career at the University, beginning in the Bureau of Student Aid, then Admissions and, as secretary, the Alumni Schools Committee. He then joined to the Annual Giving Office for 26 years, 24 of them as director, as well as serving on important committees and coaching freshman cross-country and track teams.

His record of membership on community boards in the town and elsewhere is beyond our limits of space to report.

Joe died July 21, 2020, to join his dear wife, Tink. Joe is survived by their 14 (yes!) children: daughters Carrie, Jane, Mary, Martha, Libby, and Peggy; and sons Joe Jr., Jim, Andy, Michael, Tom, Charley, John, and Richard. To them we send our sympathies for the loss of their father, everywhere welcome among his classmates.



Henry Darby Houston '52

Darby joined us after graduating from the Albany Academy and a postgrad year at Hobart College. At Princeton, where his father, David, was a

member of the Class of 1912, Darby majored in religion and was a member of Cap and Gown. He played JV football and was in the Republican Club. His roommates were Tom Mangan, Pete Ross, and Morgan Firestone.

Serving in the Army until 1954, Darby earned an MBA at Cornell in 1956 and began working for Alcoa. In 1970 he started work for the U.S. government in the Office of Equal Opportunity and the Department of Commerce. With his wife he bought a greenhouse business and operated it from 1977 until 1993.

Restless in retirement, he took a job at Home Depot. Sadly, we have learned that he was our class's first victim of COVID-19. Darby died April 9, 2020. He is survived by his children Polly, Peter, and William. To them we send sincere condolences.

THE CLASS OF 1953



Edward J. McClain Jr. '53 Ted died Oct. 20, 2020, in Mt. Lebanon, Pa.

Ted was born in New Brighton, Pa., and came to Princeton from Valley Forge

Military Academy. He majored in biology and wrote his thesis on "The Problem of Cyclopia." Ted joined Tiger Inn and was the center on the varsity football teams of 1951 and 1952.

He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School and began his medical career at Geisinger Medical Center before spending two years in the Army taking care of paratroopers at Fort Bragg. Returning to the Pittsburgh area, Ted began the practice of orthopedic surgery, which he continued until his retirement in 1998. He served as a clinical professor of orthopedics at the University of Pittsburgh for many years and was given the Golden Apple Award in 1986 as the best teacher in the department.

Ted's wife, Nancy, died in 2010, after 54 years of marriage. Dolores Riddle, whom he married in 2013, survives him, as do his nine children, 35 grandchildren, and five greatgrandchildren.



John Welch Mills '53 John died Oct. 22, 2020, in Evanston, Ill.

He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and came to Princeton from University School in

Shaker Heights. He majored in the School of Public and International Affairs and wrote his thesis on "The Taft-Hartley Act." He was a member of Cannon Cub and president of the Pre-Law Society.

After graduation he served two years in the Army Artillery, stationed at Fort Devens in Massachusetts and in Germany. He graduated from Harvard Law School in 1958 and went to work for White and Case on Wall Street and then as an assistant U.S. attorney in the Southern District of New York. In 1964 Jack moved to Cleveland to serve with Republic Steel, and then in 1972 to Chicago to become vice president and general counsel for Maremount Corp. and later for Tenneco Automotive in Lincolnshire, Ill.

He was deeply involved in the Stephen Ministry at Kenilworth Union Church, offering confidential one-to-one care for people in the community experiencing life difficulties. He also tutored third-grade students after school at the Howard Area Reading Program in Chicago for 20 years.

John is survived by his wife of 57 years, Louise Connell Mills; their three children; and seven grandchildren.

THE CLASS OF 1954



George A. Page Jr. '54 Bud died Aug. 5, 2020. He attended Lyons Township High School in La Grange, Ill. At Princeton he majored in psychology, was

president of Campus Club his senior year, and was active in the Westminster Fellowship. After two years of service in the Army he earned a law degree at Harvard and an LL.M. at Boston University, where he taught for several years. He joined the Boston firm of Peabody & Arnold, and later Csaplar & Bok. Finally, he engaged in solo practice and served as an adviser and volunteer board member.

Avid sailors, Bud and his wife, Ellen, settled in Marblehead, Mass., in 1960, where they enjoyed racing, cruising their sloop Pageant, and skiing and hiking in Waterville Valley, N.H. Bud was known for his infectious laugh, coined the "Page laugh."

A lover of the arts and history, Bud was a member of the Society of Colonial Wars and a past president and member of the essay group the Whiting Club. Bud led Marblehead's first major land-preservation acquisitions as head of the Marblehead Conservation Commission. A parishioner of Marblehead's Our Lady, Star of the Sea Church, he chaired the committee to oversee its major restoration project. Bud was an enthusiastic Princetonian, actively involved in alumni events.

Bud is survived by his wife of 62 years, Ellen; sons William and Andrew '88; and five grandchildren.



F. Nelson Peters III '54

Pete died May 22, 2020.

He prepared at Evanston Township (Ill.) High School, where he participated in glee ${\rm club} \ {\rm and} \ {\rm band} - {\rm indicative}$

of interests that he continued to pursue at Princeton and throughout his life. He majored in mechanical engineering, sang in the freshman and senior glee clubs, and joined Campus Club. He married Sally Nelson June 25, 1954.

During two years in the Army he participated in nuclear-weapons testing in Nevada and the Pacific. After service he earned a master's degree in electrical engineering at RPI. He enjoyed a 36-year career with General Electric in development of a variety of electrical, electronic, and computer-driven projects, retiring in 1990 as vice president of engineering.

Pete was active in his church, and he and

his wife, Sally, enjoyed singing in choirs and choral groups. Pete developed an interest in playing organs and selling and repairing them in what became a small business of his own. He also had a passion for automobiles, having built his own in his teens, eventually collecting and maintaining them, and being active in the 7,000-member Cadillac LaSalle club.

He is survived by Sally; three children, Elizabeth '77, Nelson IV, and Andrew; three grandchildren; and five great-grandchildren. He was predeceased by his youngest son, Scott, in 2018.



Frank Poage '54

Frank died May 5, 2017. He prepared at Morristown (N.J.) High School, where he was active in basketball, dramatics, and the band. At

Princeton he majored in electrical engineering and was vice chairman of AIEE-IRE. He was assistant technical director of WPRU and a member of the marching band. He joined and became president of Court Club, where he roomed alone in his senior year.

Frank was an active volunteer in several community organizations and an elder at Morris Plains Presbyterian Church, where he served as business manager for a dollar a year. He and his wife, Catherine, were deeply involved in the life of the church.

At the time of Frank's death, he was survived by his wife of more than 50 years, Catherine; and two daughters, Katrina and Gretchen. Catherine died in 2019.

THE CLASS OF 1955



Thomas P. Gorter Jr. '55 Tom died Aug. 10, 2020, in Lake Forest, Ill., at age 87. Parkinson's had afflicted him for several years, and Jackie, his wife of 48 years, said Tom "had

fought the good fight."

Tom was born Jan. 22, 1933, in Baltimore, Md., the son of Swan and Thomas Gorter. His father, known by his middle name, Poultney, was a member of the Class of 1918; brother Jim Gorter was in the Class of '51, and his grandfather was also a Princetonian.

Tom attended Gilman School in Baltimore before moving with his family to Lake Forest in 1947 and graduating from Lake Forest Academy. At Princeton he joined Colonial Club and majored in classics.

His senior-year roommates were Spencer Nauman, George Wagner, George Carey, John Cooper, Henry King, Rollin Otto, Richard Willis, and Tom Parr. After graduation he served in the Army and then spent his career in real-estate management.

Tom is survived by Jackie and his brother,



Thomas M. Rust '55

Tom died Aug. 23, 2020, in West Bend, Wis., after a long illness following a stroke at age 87. We knew Tom as Joe when he was at Princeton.

Tom was born Jan. 5, 1933, in Wharton, Texas, son of George Q. Rust Jr. and Wilma Jean Thomas Rust. Before Princeton he attended Wharton High School, where he played right end on the team that won the Texas state championship in 1950.

At Princeton he joined Key and Seal, majored in English, and was active in 150-pound football and in IAA basketball, softball, and track. He was chair of his club's Bicker Committee. His senior year roommates were L.H. Werth and S.B. Brinckerhoff '56. After graduation he served in the Navy in Okinawa.

He is survived by his wife, Lynne "Binnie" Darling Rust, a Sarah Lawrence student from Milwaukee he met as she played piano at a club party at Princeton.

Tom founded an independent insurance agency and with Binnie raced sailboats and became involved in showing and breeding Appaloosa horses. Tom loved reading, studying science and history, writing poetry, and doing word games and crossword puzzles. He was also an avid fan of the Green Bay Packers. His interests included a deep love for animals, world travel, hunting, growing roses, carving beautiful walking sticks, and playing chess.

In addition to Binnie, Tom is survived by three daughters, Terry Rust Hausmann, Julia Ann Schulz, and Cynthia Rust Saiia; and four grandchildren.

THE CLASS OF 1957



Philip Felig '57

Phil Felig declared himself in our 50th-reunion yearbook the first Orthodox Jewish undergraduate at Princeton. Among the problems this

caused for him were observing Jewish dietary laws and arranging to take exams scheduled for Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, on another day. "The University administration could not have been more sensitive in providing support for my needs," Phil wrote. At Princeton Phil was a member of Prospect Club, the Glee Club, the Debating Society, and the Whig-Clio Speakers Bureau.

Attending Princeton "opened a whole new world for me, intellectually, culturally, and socially," he added.

This new world led to three careers: professor of medicine at Yale for 14 years, president of Sandoz (now Novartis) Research Institute for three years, and then, a private practice in endocrinology in Manhattan. He continued his practice until he couldn't, dying Aug. 16, 2020, at age 83 of Hodgkin's

lymphoma, survived by his wife, Florence, and a large family.

New York Magazine named Phil one of the "Best Doctors in New York" 10 times. His textbook Endocrinology and Metabolism was reprinted four times in several languages. Like some other classmate-physicians, he believed that, technological advances the past 50 years notwithstanding, listening to patients is as important as it ever was. He attributed "being a better person, husband, father, and grandfather, and physician" to having attended Princeton.

THE CLASS OF 1958



Arthur Yorke Allen '58 Arthur died Aug. 3, 2020, in Edgartown, Mass. He was 83.

He came to Princeton from the Kent School and was preceded at Princeton by his

grandfather Yorke Allen 1894, great-grandfather John Findlay 1858, uncle Yorke Allen Jr. 1936, and Archibald Irwin Findlay 1818.

At Princeton he was on varsity crew, a member of Colonial Club, and majored in history. He roomed with Jock Brooks, Chris Brookfield, Paul Hicks, Guy Pope, Phil Smith, Harry Rulon-Miller, Allan Rodgers, and George Bischof.

Arthur married Mary Stewart Hammond and they lived in Princeton from 1971 to 1979 before moving to New York City. His career was in New York City, managing money for people, except for a dozen years running a publishing company.

Arthur was one of the greats: unique, original, honorable, ethical, truthful, wise, compassionate, ornery, always considerate of others, an oldschool gentleman with a mind open to new ways of thinking and seeing, cranky, able to turn difficult situations into laughter with his erudition and quirky, quick wit. A gifted orator, he reveled in opportunities to conduct auctions to raise money for charities, or to toast friends and loved ones (occasionally in Latin or Greek). He loved languages, history, art, music, ballet, sailing, architectural preservation, and the preservation of this Earth. Wise and charming, he made people feel special and he never forgot a name.

Arthur is survived by Mary, their daughter, and two grandsons. The class extends its deepest sympathy to them all.



Alan L. Bisno '58

Alan died Aug. 10, 2020 in Miami, Fla. He was 83.

He came to Princeton from Memphis (Tenn.) Central High School, where he was a leader

of the school newspaper and a class officer. At Princeton he was on the Undergraduate Council and The Daily Princetonian. Alan majored in the Woodrow Wilson School and was a member of Prospect Club. He roomed with Irwin Kasser, Herb Sussman, and Sid Wolinsky.

Alan graduated from Washington University

School of Medicine, where he met and married Barbara Klearman. After residency he eventually returned to Memphis and became a member of the faculty of the University of Tennessee Medical School for 19 years, most of that time as chief of infectious diseases. From 1987 until retirement in 2003, he was professor and vice chairman of medicine at the University of Miami School of Medicine and chief of medical services at the VA Medical Center.

Alan devoted his career to the study of infectious diseases, to patient care, and to medical education. He was an international expert on streptococcal infections, published numerous articles and several books, and contributed chapters to each of the major medical textbooks in his field.

Alan is survived by his wife, Barbara; his children Susan and Joel Massel, and Neal Bisno '89 and Lisa Frank *90; and grandsons Nathan Massel and Sam Bisno '24. The class extends its deepest sympathy to them all.

THE CLASS OF 1959



Richard F. Puffer Jr. '59

Dick Puffer, a man of many talents, died May 8, 2020, of heart and lung disease at home in Concord, Mass. A Connecticut native, Dick came to Princeton

from South Kent School, where he played football and hockey, and sang in the chapel choir.

At Princeton, Dick played 150-pound football, sang in the chorus, ate at Cottage, and majored in architecture. After graduation he climbed into his MG and drove to Arizona, where he worked for several months in landscape architecture before seeking adventure by enlisting in the Marine Corps. After boot camp he was selected for OCS, and First Lieutenant Puffer steamed toward Cuba as a platoon commander in the 1962 missile crisis. After his hitch was up Dick got a master's degree in architecture, graduating magna cum laude from Syracuse University, where he met and married Margaret "Peggy" Griffin.

Dick started his career at the Architects Collaborative in Cambridge, Mass., where his commissions included a number of corporate, school, and college buildings. He became a member of the American Institute of Architects in 1980, and two years later opened his own firm specializing in residences, historic restoration, and apartment conversions. His leisure activities included painting, birding, sailing, and bridge.

Dick is survived by his wife, Peggy; a son; a daughter; and seven grandchildren. We have sent condolences.

THE CLASS OF 1961

Edwin Maxwell Fulcher '61

Ed lived in San Diego, Calif., where he died March 7, 2020, just one month from his 81st birthday.

He was born in Washington, D.C., and raised in Bethesda, Md. From Bethesda-Chevy

Chase High School, he entered Princeton, where he majored in electrical engineering, took his meals at Tower, and rowed lightweight crew. He roomed with John Cooper, Pete Finch, and Alan MacKenzie.

Ed left Princeton in his senior year and then graduated from the University of Maryland with an electrical engineering degree. His first job was with the Martin Co. working on a nuclear submarine, including some supervision from Cape Canaveral. Then Ed joined RCA, where he played a key role in the development of the first CMOS microprocessor. In 1970 he and his family moved to New Jersey, still with RCA, managing the semiconductor operations group. In 1983 Ed moved to San Diego to work for Burroughs, where he headed the memory systems and packaging department. In 1991 he and Barbara moved to Palo Alto, where Ed worked as director of packaging development at LSI Logic for 13 years, retiring in 2004.

He is survived by his wife of 35 years, Barbara; son Charles Fulcher; and daughter Mary K. Doughtie. Ed is deeply missed.



Richard H. Palmer '61

Rich, professor emeritus of theatre at the College of William & Mary, died March 15, 2020.

Born in Richmond, he came to us from Chattanooga High School. At Princeton he majored in English, rowed freshman and varsity heavyweights, and was a member of Orange Key, the St. Paul's Society, Tiger Magazine, the Intercollegiate Committee, and the Undergraduate Schools Committee. His junior and senior years he roomed with Doug Henley, JJ Keyser, Dick Mandell, and Frank Midgley in the Cap and Gown suite.

After a master's degree and a Ph.D. in theater and speech from the University of Iowa, Rich taught for 16 years at Washington University in St. Louis, creating the theatre department there along with classmate Sid Friedman. He began writing the first of six books: Tragedy and Tragic Theory, The Lighting Art 1 & 2, The Critics Canon, The Contemporary British History Play, and Theatre: A Visual History. In 1980 he joined the William & Mary faculty and embarked on a career of teaching and service to his discipline, the college, and the community. He was awarded the Phi Beta Kappa Teaching Award in recognition of his passion for teaching and his students.

He is survived by his wife of 58 years, Becky; children Virginia, Zachary, and Katherine '89; and eight grandchildren.

Stephen H. Polansky '61

Steve died Sept. 4, 2019, presumably in San Francisco, where he had lived for many years. Born in Lynn, Mass., he prepared for Princeton at Swampscott High School. At

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Princeton he studied at the then-Woodrow Wilson School and took his meals at Cloister Inn. He was a cheerleader and a member of Whig-Clio and the Orange Key. His junior- and

senior-year roommates were George Pidot, Donald Baraf '62, Robert Astarita '62, Bill Radebaugh, and others.

Steve earned a law degree from Harvard. He was a political science professor at the College of San Mateo in California from 1968 until his retirement in 2003. So far as we know he was never in touch with the University or the class.

According to Don Baraf, Steve had a brother, Michael, but we do not know where he is. Other than Michael, there are no other next of kin.



Gaylord Edwin Smith '61

Gay died Jan. 30, 2020, at his home in Columbus, Ohio. Born in Port Washington,

N.Y., and raised largely in LaPorte, Texas, he came to us

from Phillips Andover Academy. At Princeton he majored in geological engineering, rowed lightweights all four years, swam for three, and was a cheerleader. He took his meals at Colonial, and his senior-year roommate was Jim Beattie.

Three years in the Navy and service in Long Beach, Calif., followed Princeton, during which time he met and married Delores, the love of his life. He then joined Shell Oil in Louisiana, but early on he shifted careers, earning an MBA at Ohio State and going to work for Nationwide Insurance until 1990.

In yet another career move, he then joined the computer firm CBC Companies as a programmer, working there until 2013, when he retired. Throughout his life Gay was an avid aquatic athlete, competing in crew, swimming, and sailing. He also researched and repaired vintage Volvos, which he considered the perfect car.

Gay was preceded in death by Delores and is survived by daughters Marian, Polly Sipes, and Suzanne and their families, including a granddaughter.

CLASS OF 1962



Robert S. Dumper Jr. '62 The class was saddened to learn that Bob died Feb. 4, 2020, in Oakland, Calif. Bob came to us from the Hotchkiss School, where he

lettered in golf and wrote for the Hotchkiss Record. At Princeton he was on the golf team, a football manager, and a member of WPRB. Following graduation Bob earned an MBA at Stanford. He married Ellen Mason in 1964, with whom he had two children before they divorced in 1971.

After Stanford he joined Kaiser Industries in

Hawaii in its real-estate-development division, ultimately managing the large residential development known as Hawaii Kai. While there he also spent a couple of years evaluating new sites for Kaiser to develop elsewhere in Hawaii and the Pacific.

In 1976 Bob married Janet Kaminski and was moved by Kaiser to Oakland, where their son Adam was born in 1977. In California he worked developing commercial and industrial projects for Kaiser before retiring in 1987. He then became a private investor in real estate and other ventures. Throughout his life his love of golf was his major interest beyond his family and career.

Bob is survived by wife Janet; children David, Audrey, and Adam; and several grandchildren. The class extends its sympathy to all.



Donald M. Hayward '62

Don died May 25, 2020, in Beech Mountain, N.C., from complications of Parkinson's disease.

Don came to Princeton from Loveland, Colo., where in high school he lettered in football, wrestling, and track and was sports editor of the school newspaper.

At Princeton he majored in religion and was active with Orange Key, the Concordia Society, and crew.

After graduation, Don studied at the Duke Divinity School and then, when drafted, served in Army Intelligence at Fort Holabird, Md. By our 10th reunion he had found the passion of his life in environmental science. He obtained a Ph.D. in marine science from William & Mary.

In 1989 Don and Cathy were married and moved to Sarasota, Fla., where she taught at the New College of Florida and Don became the director of information technology at Mote Marine Laboratory. He retired from Mote in 2006 as a senior vice president.

Don and Cathy moved to Beech Mountain, where they nurtured each other in sickness and in health. Don was a prodigious birder and ecologist.

Don is survived by his wife, Catherine Stewart Elliott; and daughter Lauren Nicole Miller Hayward '05. The class offers condolences to his family.



David P. O'Brien III '62

Obie died Aug. 20, 2020. Coming from Louisville's Atherton High School, he majored in biology as a premed student. Obie dined at Cap

and roomed with Franklin Browne and Roger Hoit in the Lockhart Lair. He managed the freshman basketball team and was a catcher on the freshman baseball team, staying active in club intramural sports.

After University of Kentucky medical school, he served in Vietnam as a surgeon in a Marine

battalion. He overcame negative feelings about the war and went on to study urology at Emory University, where he taught and practiced for 27 years before entering private practice. A pioneer in kidney transplants and microsurgery, he received distinguished awards from Emory the Georgia Transplant Foundation.

Obie was a presence in our lives — always friendly and intensely supportive of Princeton. He served as class president for our 50th reunion, quietly coordinating the many tasks and preparation of the fantastic yearbook with classmates. He showed all of us how to manage in a quiet but affirmative manner, happy for classmates enjoying a major event.

Obie is survived by his wife of 31 years, Dr. Sue Kinsella; and his five children from his first two marriages. Our condolences go out to the family.



Thomas B. Stoel Jr. '62

Tom died July 17, 2020, after a year of declining health.

He grew up in Portland, Ore., and graduated from Lincoln High School. He

majored in mathematics at Princeton and went on to Harvard Law School, from which he graduated magna cum laude and served as an officer on the Harvard Law Review. It was at Harvard that he met Carol Frank, his future wife. Tom spent two years after law school on a Rhodes scholarship at Oxford, receiving a D.Phil. in law. On his return, he served as law clerk to Justice John M. Harlan on the U.S. Supreme Court.

In 1973 Tom joined the Natural Resources Defense Council as one of its founders. For the rest of his life, he worked to make the world a more habitable place. He initiated NRDC's first international programs and directed its international work for almost two decades, forming partnerships with environmental organizations in other countries and leading NRDC's efforts to restore the ozone layer and combat climate change. In later years, he served as a consultant on environmental policy issues for the United Nations and other organizations. His final law review article, published in 2020, advocated for a federal statute to authorize compensation for legally imposed segregation.

He is survived by Carol; their two children, Elizabeth '98 and Jonathan; and four grandchildren. The class sends its deepest sympathy to them all.

THE CLASS OF 1969

David C. Bruner '69

We note with sadness the passing of Dave Aug. 15, 2020. A Chicago native, he grew up in Racine, Wis., where he was president of his high school student council, an Eagle Scout, and recipient of letters in various sports. A

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member of Tower Club, he graduated from Princeton cum laude, majoring in history. His love of American history continued throughout his life. A medical corpsman at the

Philadelphia Naval Hospital, after his discharge he earned a master's degree in psychology from Roosevelt University in Chicago and a Ph.D. from the Illinois School of Professional Psychology. Much of his professional focus addressed psychological issues confronting military veterans. He served at the VA Cleveland Medical Center, providing counseling services to students as well. His career also included teaching at John Carroll University and Cleveland State University.

A lifelong bachelor, Dave is survived by brothers Henry, Phil '61, Stephen, and Robert. His was a life of significant service, and many will miss him.



Arthur Collins Hamm '69 Art died peacefully Aug. 5, 2020.

A graduate of Gonzaga College High School in Washington, D.C., he received

his Princeton degree in philosophy of religion. While teaching religion and economics at the Hotchkiss School, he attended Yale Divinity School, earning an M.Div. in ethics. He was with Chase Manhattan Bank for 16 years, both in New York City and overseas, and served as a senior vice president working on the bank's Middle Eastern African Development Initiative.

In 1989 he moved to Bethesda, Md., founding the Arthur C. Hamm & Associates firm, which provided assistance for corporate outplacement and career transition and counseled in job searches and career support.

Since childhood Art was an avid philatelist. He performed volunteer work not only for Princeton through Annual Giving but also for Covenant House.

Art is survived by sister Ellen and brothers William, Lawrence, and Peter, as well as many nieces and nephews. He served Princeton well and leaves many friends from our class.

THE CLASS OF 1972



Richard L. Cann '72 *78 Richard died Oct. 6, 2019, from amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS) at his home in Hopewell Township, N.J. He was 68. A Denver, Colo., native,

Richard followed his lifelong love of music at Princeton, eventually earning a Ph.D. from that department in 1978. He played lead guitar in the rock band Chappaqua (comprised of six fellow Princetonians) that performed at numerous club functions and several Class of 1972 reunions.

Richard worked in information technology with Abacus International and founded his own company, Black Diamond Systems. He was the IT director of the Atlantic Trading Co. from 2002 until his death. He was a member of the U.S. Chess Federation, the American Go Association, and the Recording Industry Associates of America.

Richard had a gift for teaching, whether it was a game, a musical instrument, or physics theory. He was known for his warmth, kindness, and sense of humor. On his many trips to his beloved Colorado, he enjoyed fishing, hiking, and skiing.

Richard is survived by his wife, Joanne Sheehan; daughter Caelen Cann and her husband, Kevin Callahan; stepsons Matthew and Casey Branham; daughters-in-law Laura Oliver and Toni Scott Branham; brother David C. Cann and his wife, Crisann; sister Susan C. Austin; and numerous grandchildren. The class sends condolences to his family.

THE CLASS OF 1973



Thomas D. Gorman '73

Tom died peacefully Sept. 11, 2020, with his family. He pursued a lifelong fascination with China and lived nearly all of his adult life in Hong Kong.

Tom came to Princeton from Lovola Academy in Wilmette, Ill., where he had already begun to study Chinese. At Princeton he ate independently and majored in East Asian studies. A year after graduation Tom made his way to Hong Kong, where he observed and participated in the extraordinary transformations of China and Hong Kong. He founded a company that specialized in publishing and translation services, and went on to become the founding publisher and editor of Fortune China. He served as chairman of the Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce and on other boards as well.

We remember Tom as a warm and caring friend and a consummate gentleman. In a farewell message, Tom said, "We don't get to choose the timing when we board the train of life or when we disembark. I am very grateful for my life, and especially that in the final part of my journey, I was at peace and accompanied by my loving wife, Jenny, and daughter Listen."

Tom was predeceased by his son, Jimmy. To Jenny and Listen, and to his brother Bob and sisters Nancy and Mary Beth, we extend our warm appreciation for his life and our heartfelt condolences.

THE CLASS OF 1975

Carl F. Frischkorn '75

Carl, a true Renaissance man, died peacefully Aug. 6, 2020. A native of Huntington, W.Va., he came to us from Tabor Academy. At Princeton he was an architecture major and a member of Ivy Club. His roommates included



classmates Walter Haydock, Bob Hermann, and David Page, and David Kelso '74.

Carl was an entrepreneur, environmentalist, philanthropist, and community supporter. A

mentor to young men and women, Carl organized numerous startups, established the West Virginia Young Presidents' Organization chapter, and founded the Catterton Group, a nationally recognized investment firm. The United Way and Boys & Girls Clubs were beneficiaries of his enormous generosity.

Flying, motorcycles, hiking, reading, and wine were passions. He met his beloved wife, Pattie Carbone Frischkorn, while on a mountain bike tour near their farm in Charlottesville, Va. A raconteur with no equal, spiced with a cringe-worthy, hilarious sense of humor, Carl challenged people's thinking with intellectual rigor. As a close friend remarked, "If I had a personal board of directors, I would want Carl as chairman. If he wasn't the smartest guy in the room, he was the wisest."

Carl and his first wife, Rebecca Trafton '75, had three children: Will Frischkorn, Virginia Frischkorn, and Frances Grace. He was devoted to them, and they described him as their rock. In addition to Pattie, Rebecca, and his children, he leaves five grandchildren (Holden, Huxley, Elizabeth, Zach, and Percy) and Pattie's children (Peter, Greg, Corinna, and Jack). He is also survived by two brothers, a sister, and nephews and nieces. A third brother predeceased him. Our class is much poorer with his untimely passing.



Thomas A. Troyer '75

Tom died Aug. 4, 2020, in Greencastle, Ind. He was born Feb. 3, 1947, in Seymour, Ind., to Merle and Margaret Walters Troyer. The family later moved

to Greencastle, where Tom spent most of his childhood. In high school he played basketball, excelled academically, and was class president.

After graduating from high school Tom attended Phillips Exeter Academy for a postgraduate year, then entered Princeton with the Class of 1969. He interrupted his studies to join the Army during the war in Vietnam. After completing his service, he returned to Princeton, joining our Class of 1975, but left before finishing his degree.

Tom and Claudette H. Neil Troyer '74 were married in 1975 and welcomed son Daniel in 1982 and daughter Stephanie in 1986. Tom pursued several career paths in his lifetime, ending with his work with the Indiana parks system.

Tom is survived by his wife, Claudette; his children, Daniel and Stephanie; and his granddaughter, Annette Troyer, who was born just six days before his passing. His kindness, wit, and love of conversation will be missed.

THE CLASS OF 1977

Joseph G. Vavricka '77

Joe died May 28, 2020, at the age of 67 from cancer complications.

Joe came to Princeton from Fort Lee, N.J., where he was a high school teammate of another Princeton basketball star, Ted Manakas '73. A member of Tiger Inn, Joe played varsity basketball for three years, the last two as a starter, where his corner jumper was his signature shot. He led Princeton to a key win over Columbia with a 16-point performance in the first half. He would occasionally take his roommates to Dillon Gym and gently demonstrate the vast gap in athletic talent that exists between high school jocks and D-1 college basketball players.

After Princeton Joe played pro ball in Spain and then worked as a gracious organizer at Club Med before settling into a career with IBM. His wife, Jane, was the first girl he ever kissed in seventh grade at a spin-the-bottle game. They never dated but at a 1999 high school reunion, Joe asked if she was still married. She wasn't, and six months later Joe and Jane were married.

He is survived by Jane, his two stepsons, several grandchildren, and his mother.

THE CLASS OF 1978



Dorothy Tien Shaffer '78 Dolly died peacefully Sept. 12, 2020, in her beautiful home, surrounded by her closest family. Her remarkable positive energy sustained her

and those around her through her three bouts of unrelated cancers, the last of which was only diagnosed in March. Lucid until almost the very end, she loved receiving messages of support from her classmates in her final days.

Born in Buffalo, N.Y., Dolly spent her formative years in Stamford, Conn. On campus she lived in Wilson College our freshman and sophomore years. Dolly joined Colonial Club and majored in comparative literature. After graduation she earned a doctorate in clinical psychology at Yeshiva University, and went on to serve families, couples, and individuals for decades with her insight, empathy, and indomitable spirit.

Dolly had a flair for dressing and jewelry, and she loved folk dancing, Celtic music and mythology, the Rolling Stones, and fantasy and science-fiction literature. A radiant beauty, fierce and passionate, she enjoyed lively debates on all subjects. Her joie-de-vivre brightened the lives of all who knew her.

At Dolly's wish, her family plans to celebrate her life in a year's time, which will hopefully be post-COVID. Our sympathies to Dolly's sons James and Nick Tien, her former husband and friend Stephen Tien, her sisters Deborah and Diana Shaffer, and their extended family.

THE CLASS OF 1980

Thomas C. Gluick '80

Tom was struck by a hit-and-run driver in Towson, Md., on New Years Eve 2019 and died 12 days later. He initially survived the accident, and was recovering (talking, lucid, even cracking jokes about how stupid it is to try to kiss a truck), despite seven surgeries, when he developed a clot in his lungs and suddenly died.

Tom was the oldest of three children and the first in his family to go to college. At Princeton he played on the freshman football team and majored in chemistry. After graduation Tom moved to Washington, D.C., where he worked for several years as a science-policy writer. He then earned a Ph.D. in biochemistry at the University of Montana, where among other accomplishments he learned how to drive, got married, and set an unofficial record for most overdue books at the library.

He was always torn between research and teaching, but his love of teaching (and his students) eventually won out, and he was a much beloved professor at Georgia Gwinnett College at the time of his death.

Tom is survived by his two sisters, his beloved ex-wife, many friends, and hundreds of students, all of whom he loved and who will miss him.

Valerie A. Winters '80

Valerie died July 3, 2020, in Smithfield, R.I. She was born in Westfield, N.J., and worked in Manhattan for Plenum Publishing and the American

Society of Mechanical Engineers. At Princeton she majored in biology.

Valerie's main passion was folk music and festivals, as well as contra and folk dancing. Famous in New England for her baking skills, she always arrived with one of her signature creations including blueberries in brownies.

As she slowly and surely lost her physical strength, she had a spirit and determination that made the life of everyone around her a little better.

Valerie was an avid reader and an active member of the Rhode Island Chapter of the Princeton Book Club, the East Smithfield Library Book Club, and the book club at Smithfield Woods Senior Living, where she resided. She also played baritone ukulele with the Rhode Island Strummers.

Valerie never stopped having fun. She was loved and admired by many. Love, as the songs and poets say, hurts. She is survived by a sister and a brother.

THE CLASS OF 1981

Jeffrey L. Mitchell '81

Jeff died Aug. 16, 2020, of cancer. In Jeff we lost one of the most positive, courageous, and thoughtful souls, one who showed deep dedication and love to his family, his patients,



and our class.

An early survivor of spina bifida surgery, Jeff was born in Trenton, N.J., and majored in religion. After earning a Ph.D. in clinical psychology from New

York University and studying psychoanalysis, Jeff moved to Yardley, Pa., and established a successful private practice while also working with community mental-health centers in Philadelphia and Bucks County.

An author, a regular speaker at area schools, and a creative soul, Jeff was also a fine musician on both guitar and piano.

Jeff co-chaired the Class of 1981's 25th reunion. For many years he also served on the board of Princeton ReachOut, a civic-service partnership of the '56, '81, and '06 classes. His persistent efforts led to the creation of a social-entrepreneurship mentoring website for undergraduates.

Making their home in Yardley, Jeff and his wife, Florence, raised twins, Henry and Julia. To them and to Jeff's sister, Deborah, the class extends our sympathies.

Terry S. Osborne '81

Terry died Sept. 7, 2020, after a hard-fought battle with cancer.

Terry grew up in Lake Forest, Ill. At Princeton he majored in English, captained the men's hockey team, and graduated cum laude. Terry roomed all four years with Kelly Doherty '81. Freshman year Terry met classmate Robin Bennett. They married in 1985 and raised two sons, Carry and Jacob.

After Terry earned a master's degree in English literature and American studies from the University of Chicago, he and Robin moved to Vermont. Terry joined the Dartmouth College community as a senior lecturer in the Environmental Studies Program and the Institute for Writing and Rhetoric.

In addition to teaching, Terry was a writer of articles, essays, and book reviews. His book, Sightlines: A View of a Valley Through the Voice of Depression, was published in 2001. Terry contributed enormously to the Dartmouth community and was a beloved educator. In 2017 he received the Dean of the Faculty Teaching Award and was chosen as one of three speakers for a farewell talk to graduating seniors.

Terry remarried in 2009 to Mary Kay "MK" Beach. He will be missed immensely by many family members and friends, including his 1981 classmates.

THE CLASS OF 1983

Gary A. Jenkins '83

Gary died March 29, 2020, of complications from COVID-19. Gary grew up in one of the first Black families in Valley Stream, Long Island, N.Y., and was a constant summer fixture in Oak Bluffs on Martha's Vineyard.

At Princeton Gary majored in psychology.

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"G-Divine" (his DJ name) combined his passion for people and his love for hip-hop music to form Sonic Sounds Productions, with "Funkmaster Charles" Anderson '83. Their

music mixology was a popular common denominator across campus, and Gary was instrumental in integrating the Princeton party scene, including at the eating clubs.

Graduating from Columbia Law School, Gary clerked for Judge Bernard Fuchs of the Kings County Supreme Court. In 1990 he was general manager of Uptown/MCA Records. His clients included world-renowned artists Mary J. Blige, Notorious B.I.G., Jodeci, Guy, Heavy D, and Al B. Sure. Later, Gary served as counsel for successful artists, producers, songwriters, and record labels that included Wu-Tang Clan, Mobb Deep, Doug E. Fresh, Kool G Rap, Jam Master Jay, Russell Simmons Music Group, DMX, and Ralph Tresvant. In 2018, Gary became the general counsel for Silicon Harlem, a technology-innovation hub, with his stated mission as working "to transform urban markets into economic growth engines."

Those who knew Gary will miss his huge heart, limitless sense of humor, engaging smile, gift of gab, and passion for life. He is survived by his wife, Maria; their two sons; brother Wallace Jenkins; mother Marie Jenkins; brother-in-law Michael Trice '82; and sister-inlaw Allison Trice Hixson '85.

THE CLASS OF 1990

Alexander Goldman '90

Alex died Aug. 17, 2020, in Normal, Ill. He was born in 1968 in Ukraine and immigrated to America with his family in 1980. In high school Alex was both a Pennsylvania and New Jersey state champion gymnast, attracting the attention of the Princeton gymnastics team. At Princeton Alex competed in gymnastics and was a member of Cloister.

Alex joined the Army in 1989, served in the 24th Infantry, and earned two achievement medals during the Gulf War. After leaving the Army he lived and worked in Colorado, then Princeton, before settling in Illinois, where he worked for State Farm as a data specialist.

In addition to his service to country, Alex was dedicated to his community, making both financial and personal-time contributions to organizations as varied as HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society), the Rocky Mountain Immigrant Advocacy Network, National Immigration Law Center, Equal Justice Initiative, International Refugee Assistance Program, Home Sweet Home Ministries - Midwest Food Bank, Equal Citizens, and Trenton, N.J.-based Isles.

Alex is survived by his parents, Isaak and Bela Goldman; his sister, Marina Goldman; his brother-in-law, Dimitri Markov; his niece, Jesse; and loving aunts, uncles, cousins, and friends.

THE CLASS OF 1995



Jared N. Gustafson '95 Jared died April 5, 2019, in Madison, Wis., after a courageous battle with metastatic colorectal cancer.

After growing up in Texas,

Arizona, and Oregon, he graduated from Clayton Valley High School in Clayton, Calif.

At Princeton Jared majored in politics, was a member of Tower Club, and was active in Orange Key and the Latter-Day Saints Student Association. Jared earned an MBA from Harvard Business School, which he attended with his wife, Susannah '94. He worked as a marketing executive at General Mills, Wizards of the Coast, Microsoft, and American Girl, and then as a marketing consultant.

Jared handed down his love of games, movies, and lifelong enthusiasm for all things Star Wars to his children and friends. He loved spending time with his extended family, and he loved his faith, which sustained him during his five-year journey with cancer.

In addition to Susannah, Jared is survived by his children Samuel, Gretchen, and Joshua; parents Carl '61 and Louise Gustafson; siblings Alex Gustafson (Rachel), Nephi Gustafson (Kristen), Rebekah Aidukaitis (Erik), Deborah Theobald (Daniel), Liahona Crompton '98 (Peter), Rachel Nelson (Erik); sister-in-law Shelli Gustafson; and 27 nieces and nephews. He was preceded in death by his brother Ammon.

GRADUATE ALUMNI

Finley Alexander Campbell *58

Finley Campbell died May 26, 2020, at the age of 93. Born in Kenora, Ontario, Canada, he attended Portland University on a hockey scholarship and studied pre-medicine. After returning to Canada to avoid being enlisted in the U.S. military, he continued his education at Brandon University and earned a bachelor's degree in 1950. He earned a master's degree in geological sciences from Queens University in 1956 and a Ph.D. in geology from Princeton in 1958.

Fin's first academic appointment was as an associate professor at the University of Alberta. In 1965 he moved to the University of Calgary where, as vice president of priorities and planning, he helped plan and coordinate the university's participation in the 1988 Olympics. He retired in 1988 but continued to work on many committees and advisory boards until his early 80s. Throughout his career Fin filled many leadership and executive roles at universities, at professional associations, and in the political community. In 2016 he attended the 50th anniversary of the University of Calgary and was honored as one of its founding professors.

Predeceased by his wife Barbara and son Glen, Fin is survived by son Robert, daughters Laurali and Cheryl, and five grandchildren.

James Edward Roper *63

James Roper died Oct. 16, 2020, in Holt, Mich., of esophageal cancer. He was 82.

Known for his deadpan humor and quick wit, he never shied away from sharing his views. A conversation with him was typically an amazing, entertaining, and educational experience: You just needed to make sure your afternoon was clear of scheduled activities before starting the conversation.

James graduated from George Washington University and earned a master's degree in philosophy from Princeton in 1963. He joined the philosophy department at Michigan State University in 1964. After a distinguished career of 54 years, James retired from teaching in 2018. While at MSU he founded the debate team and was the director and head coach from 1984 until 2000. MSU's nationally acclaimed debate team won multiple national championships and in 2005 was named the best debate team in the U.S. for the preceding 15 years.

He is survived by his wife of 60 years, Joan; children Daniel Roper and Michelle Kitze; grandchildren Camryn and Darcy Roper, Matthew and Stephen Kitze; step-grandchildren Jake and Drake Morse; and sister Sandy Kerr.

Douglas W. Mitchell *78

Douglas Mitchell, professor emeritus of economics at West Virginia University, died March 13, 2020, of complications from pancreatic cancer. Born in Buffalo, N.Y., Doug attended high school in South Carolina, earned a bachelor's degree in economics from Georgia Tech in 1974, and a Ph.D. in economics from Princeton in 1978.

He was on the Temple University faculty for four years, at the University of Texas at Austin for three years, and at West Virginia University from 1984 until his retirement in 2003. At West Virginia he played a leadership role in the economics doctoral program, including as graduate director. He published 58 refereed papers in economics and four in cryptology. His economics papers spanned a variety of areas: positive macroeconomics, optimal macro policy, optimal control, banking, econometric methods, optimal portfolios, utility functions and choice under uncertainty, public choice, public finance, and commodity markets.

After retiring he lived in a number of places, including St. Croix in the U.S. Virgin Islands. During retirement he published 13 refereed papers in elementary mathematics and did extensive editing of Wikipedia in a variety of subjects, especially math and economics.

Doug is survived by his wife of 18 years, Duo Zhang.

Graduate memorials are prepared by the APGA.

An undergraduate memorial appears for Richard L. Cann '72 *78.

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An Indian Agent Whose Work Got Him Fired

By Elyse Graham '07

In 1792, Leonard Shaw 1784 became a deputy agent authorized to act on behalf of the U.S. government for the Cherokee nation. "A due performance of your duty will probably require ... all your knowledge of the human character — the school will be a severe but interesting one," U.S. Secretary of War Henry Knox told Shaw upon his appointment.

The Cherokees had requested an Indian agent to work with. White settlers were building in Cherokee territory, and they, together with other Indigenous nations that had made (or not made) separate deals with the United States, produced a complicated political landscape that regularly witnessed skirmishes, murders, and all-out warfare. A Cherokee delegation had requested of Congress that white settlers leave their

territory and that "a person of reputation ... be commissioned to reside in the Cherokee nation, who should at once be their Counsellor and protector."

A New Jersey native, Shaw had belonged to the Whig Society while at Princeton. As an Indian agent, he would work in the Southwest Territory of the U.S. (now Tennessee). In a letter to William Blount, the governor of the territory, Knox described Shaw as a pliable youth on the rise: "This young gentleman is amiable and well informed and has been educated at Princeton college. He possesses a strong desire of being useful in the Indian department, and this opportunity has been given him for the exercise of his talents."

Knox instructed Shaw to broker goodwill: "to infuse into all the Indians the uprightness of the views of the President

He translated letters in place of the government's loyal interpreters. He married a woman from the Cherokee nation.

of the United States, and his desire to better the situation of the Indians in all respect." Shaw followed his instructions perhaps too well. Within months, he was warning the Cherokee not to make deals with Blount — who was investing in lands near their territory and pressuring them to cede more territory to the U.S. — but instead to deal with President George Washington directly. He translated letters in place of the government's loyal interpreters. He married a woman from the Cherokee nation.

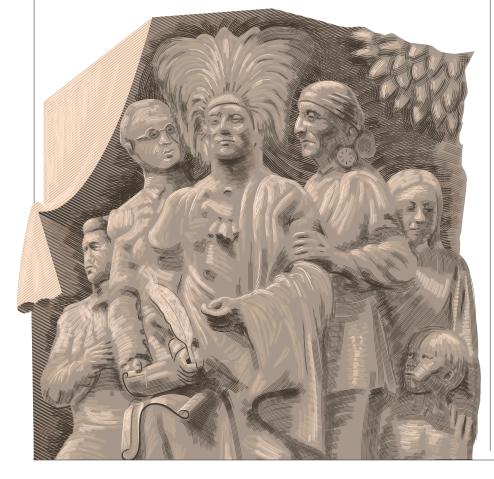
"You know I was sent here by your father the president, to do you justice, and justice you shall have, as far as in my power," he told the Cherokee, according to a government interpreter who wrote a frantic letter to Blount. "I will go to Congress, and recover your lands for you, to the old line."

His superiors were enraged. Washington's secretary wrote to Knox, "The President requests that Mr. Shaw's conduct may be critically scrutinized."

With Knox's permission, Blount fired Shaw in March 1793. The dismissal took Shaw by surprise, leaving him stranded some 250 miles from Cherokee territory without money or a horse. (He borrowed a horse to return to his wife.) In a confused, frantic letter to Blount, Shaw proposed to recover his good name by visiting the Creeks, who had hostile relations with the Cherokees, to broker peace. "My situation is distressing, to a degree you can form no idea of," he wrote. "I rush into danger to avoid disgrace and feel that sullen kind of courage that makes a person despise life, and ardently desire some honorable occasion to throw it away."

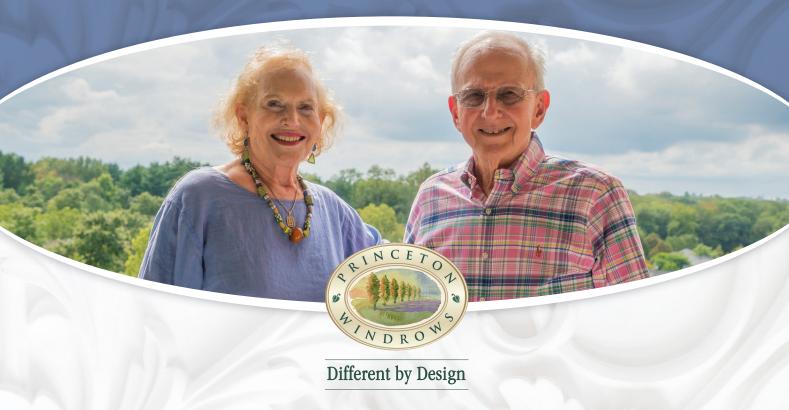
After events sank in, Shaw condemned Blount and vowed to take the Cherokees to the president so they could demand the return of their lands. This never happened. After 1793 Shaw disappears from the historical record, presumably passing the rest of his days with his wife and her family. •

This illustration, based on a statue in Knoxville, Tenessee, depicts the 1791 signing of the Treaty of Holston, which established that the Cherokees were to fall under the protection of the United States. The treaty was not lasting. In 1798, the Cherokees were made to cede lands illegally taken by white settlers within the established Cherokee nation boundaries.



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