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PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY



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FOR THE
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both sides of the aisle

JUNE 7, 2017
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A N N U A L
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PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY

An editorially independent magazine by alumni for alumni since 1900



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Royal seal of Queen Elizabeth II, page 14

The Tiger Caucus	23	A Conservative's Conservative	32
After a topsy-turvy election, alumni on both sides of the aisle contemplate the future of our two major political parties. <i>By Mark F. Bernstein '83</i>		In his columns for <i>National Review</i> , Ramesh Ponnuru '95, a staunch Reaganite, focuses on policies, not personalities. <i>By Mark F. Bernstein '83</i>	

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Kyle Lang '19

Crossing the Country

Watch Kyle Lang '19 train and prepare for his 2,967-mile run across the United States this summer. He plans to run an average of 40 to 45 miles per day, from Washington state to Coney Island, N.Y.

Free Falling

Jean (Woestendiek) Letai '87 recalls the terror and exhilaration of her first skydive.

Thick and Thin

How do Princetonians become so devoted? Gregg Lange '70 counts the ways.



Reunions 2017

View a slide show of the P-rade and other Reunions festivities.

Top: Ricardo Barros; from left: Mary Hui '17; Katherine Elgin '13 GS

Free Speech at Princeton

Vigorous argument is the lifeblood of learning and scholarship. For that reason, I agree emphatically with a statement adopted by our faculty in 2015 that reaffirmed Princeton's commitment to guarantee "all members of the University community the broadest possible latitude to speak, write, listen, challenge, and learn." This freedom extends to the expression of ideas that may be "unwelcome, disagreeable, or even deeply offensive."

Many people worry about the state of campus speech today, and understandably so. Higher education has been embarrassed by appalling incidents such as the one at Middlebury College, where protestors shouted down Charles Murray and some physically assaulted him and his host, Professor Allison Stanger. Princeton's own Professor Peter Singer was interrupted repeatedly when he tried to speak with an audience at the University of Victoria in Canada.

If one were to judge by media reports, one might assume that the events at Middlebury or Victoria were windows into the prevailing attitudes of college students today. I think that is quite wrong, on college campuses generally and at Princeton in particular. Disruptions are widely reported; civil discussions and peaceful protests are not.



Peter Singer talks with students at a dinner sponsored by the *Princeton Journal of Bioethics*.

Few people beyond our campus noticed, for example, when the *Princeton Tory*, the Princeton College Republicans, and the American Whig-Cliosophic Society co-hosted a speech by former Senator Rick Santorum on April 18. More than 100 Princeton students attended. Santorum spoke for about 30 minutes. Our students then asked sharp, tough questions, and Santorum defended his position vigorously.

When the event ended, Santorum thanked Princeton's students for being "very polite" and "respectful." "This is what should happen on college campuses," he said. Students responded with applause. Santorum then added, "I don't agree with you on some things, you don't agree with me on some things. Hopefully you learned some things, I learned some things. That's good: it's iron sharpening iron."

My conversations with Princeton students convince me that most of them appreciate and respect the importance of free speech to an academic community. To be sure, a

few students have told me they would like the University to suppress views they find offensive, but the vast majority of students with whom I have spoken value Princeton's fundamental commitments both to free speech and to inclusivity. They seek not to avoid vigorous argument, but to practice it while also showing respect for each other, especially for fellow students who are personally affected by claims about topics such as gay marriage, immigration, racial equality, or religious freedom.

It is especially challenging for campuses to find ways to respond appropriately to speakers like Milo Yiannopoulos who seem deliberately to incite audiences or offend listeners. Even such professional provocateurs have a right to state their views without censorship—but protecting that right can be difficult, particularly when they attract or bring outsiders spoiling for a fight.

When a controversial speaker comes to campus, members of the community have several acceptable choices about how to respond: they may attend the event and try to question the speaker; they may simply stay away from the event; they may criticize the decision to invite the speaker; or they may protest the speech without disrupting it. So long as the speaker is allowed to proceed and be heard, all of these options are consistent with the requirements of free speech: a peaceful protest is an exercise of free speech, not a renunciation of it.

Some students and faculty protested quietly when Charles Murray spoke at Princeton a little more than two months before his Middlebury appearance. As the lecture began, a group of students and faculty walked out silently to indicate their opposition to his work. The response to the protest on campus was mixed: some people argued that it would have been better if the protestors had listened to Murray's lecture and challenged his views.

Challenges to decisions to invite speakers come from both ends of the political spectrum. For example, in 2014, when Princeton's Department of English sponsored a lecture by Richard Falk, an emeritus professor and vehement critic of Israel, the *Wall Street Journal* published an editorial condemning the selection of Falk as a cause for "shame" and urging academia to "shun" the controversial speaker.

I respect the choices made by those who peacefully protest or criticize the selection of a speaker whose views they find offensive, provided they do not attempt to disrupt or suppress the speech. Peaceful protest that respects the right of others to listen or engage is not an interference with free speech; on the contrary, it is itself an exercise of free speech.

I am glad, however, when I witness events where students, faculty, and outside speakers engage vigorously but civilly across political and ideological lines. Those interactions can require courage, but they also generate the kinds of opportunities for learning we aim to provide. They are, as Rick Santorum said, an essential part of "what should happen on college campuses."

Inbox

FROM PAW'S PAGES: 6/16/1915

To Princeton on Nothing but Feet

Newark, N. J., June 19, 1915.

Editor of The Alumni Weekly,
Dear Sir: It may interest some of the alumni to hear of the feat (business of ducking) performed by Dr. William H. Vail, 70 years young, in walking 50 miles to Princeton to attend the fiftieth reunion of the Class of 1865.

Dr. Vail left Newark at half-past five Friday morning and walked 35 miles to Somerville, where he spent Friday night. He resumed his journey at 7 o'clock Saturday morning, intending to cover the 17 miles to Princeton, with a stop for lunch, by 12 o'clock. Being delayed slightly while nearing Princeton by a notice reading "Slow down to 15 miles per hour," he reached the front campus at 1 o'clock, in time to march down to and around the field with his classmates.

He was much chagrined, however, at the outcome of the game, as there was no snake dance, in which he would have gladly participated, singing the while, "Yale, Yale you can't play ball!" On Sunday he spent a quiet day walking about Princeton, covering about fifteen miles, and says he feels no ill effects of his jaunt.

His story is attested by numerous automobilists who offered him a lift at different points along the journey, but Dr. Vail declined any assistance, and even suggested to the owners of several stranded machines that he would help tow them out of the mud.

His companion on the trip, an athletic graduate of the Class of 1912, who is here unnamed, looked longingly at every machine that passed, and finally had to be helped into Princeton by his young companion. Nor was he observed to march in the Alumni Pee-rade.

Dr. Vail made no preparation for his trip—wearing ordinary clothes and low shoes, and carry a stick cut by his father seventy years ago; nor had he trained for it in any way. He ascribes his ability to making this journey without fatigue to the fact that he has always lived the simple life.

Yours truly,
J. E. C. '01.

more reason to admire this piece by Walter, who gives the facts, the preppy context, but leaves the relationship to stand within a personal and necessary ambiguity.

Gary Walters '64 *76
Hastings, Ontario, Canada

CLIMATE-CHANGE CONSENSUS

I greatly enjoyed "Science Under Attack" by Seth Shostak '65 (feature, March 22),
continued on page 5

JFK'S LOYAL FRIEND

I got to know Lem Billings '39 (cover story, April 12) in my Princeton days through my wife's cousin Francis McAdoo '38, a close friend of Lem's and JFK's at Princeton. When Lem learned that I was getting my Ph.D. in art history, he launched into an animated account of his senior thesis on Tintoretto. When I found and read it in Marquand Library, I was nonplussed. I had expected Lem's unbridled enthusiasm but not the solid scholarship, the elegant, passionate prose, and the depth of art historical insights. It might have been written by a young Bernard Berenson.

Lem had marshaled all his critical powers to establish Tintoretto's primacy among Venetian painters (move aside, Titian!). Most poignant was his intimate identification with the old Tintoretto, through whose paintings Lem conjured up the inner thoughts, aspirations, and spiritual resonance of the artist approaching death.

Like Merlin, Lem lived his life backwards. As he himself grew old and frail in health, Lem grew ever younger in spirit and outrageous in behavior, playing Falstaff to a succession of Prince Hals with the surname Kennedy. Yet as a youth he had revealed an uncanny insight into the soul of an aging master. For Lem, both youth and age were fused in a man of extremes who reveled in contradictions — a man too complex to be fully understood. But for me, a hint of an explanation came through his early self-revealing portrait of Tintoretto, who

was a master of chiaroscuro — of shadows and light.

Charles Scribner III '73 *77
Mountain Brook, Ala.

What a shocker. And what a pity that David Pitts' book attracted little attention when it was released. Perhaps it now will. At Princeton in the fabled '60s, the consequences of coming out were as described in David Walter '11's article. But as always, the rules were easily circumvented, though with some risk. On the day of the Dallas shooting, a friend and I were staying at the Biltmore in New York and saw that tragedy televised as we made love. Where was Lem Billings on that particular day and place?

Lem was the one person with whom Jack could actually be honest about sex, it would seem, and without censure. I don't agree with Mr. Walter, however, when he writes, "it figures that Jack's closest relationship of all would be with a man unburdened by the demands of married life or fatherhood ... a closeted, unmarried homosexual like Lem." I think, as the ever-more-complex history of gay love is revealed, that this was a love affair of the very sort we find in ancient Greece and elsewhere: Male bonding with or without sex, an understood intimacy and an absolute loyalty, particularly in fights, not to be found with female friends or lovers — or not then.

In this regard, times have changed. The media can't leave anything alone. The delicate, the intimate, and the private are eviscerated. All the

PAW TRACKS



TRY, TRY AGAIN: Charlie Buttrey '81 ran for class president three times, finally winning on his third attempt. After all that door-to-door campaigning, he knew a little something about nearly everyone in the Class of '81. Listen to Buttrey's story at paw.princeton.edu.



Charlie Buttrey '81

'ACROSS NASSAU STREET': VOICES OF PRINCETON'S BLACK COMMUNITY
 READERS RESPOND



The April 26 cover story on how an oral-history project introduced Princeton students to residents of the town's proud black community drew a number of letters from alumni. Here is a sampling; more can be found at PAW Online.

"Across Nassau Street" brought back many memories of my years at Princeton.

When I was preparing to leave Wisconsin for Princeton in the fall of 1957, an aunt inquired: "Are there any black students at Princeton?" I told her that I did not know. When I arrived on campus, there were no black seniors. There were also no black juniors. There were two black sophomores. One was a student from Chicago, who was mentioned in PAW not too long ago. Unfortunately, he left at mid-year. The other was a very light-skinned fellow who made it quite clear he did not want to socialize with me. There were two freshmen, me (of course) and another guy who was passing for white.

There were many white students who made it clear to me they thought I did not belong. There wasn't any physical abuse or outright taunting, but they refused to speak to me or made comments under their breath that they did not approve of me sullyng their white school. I soon learned that Princeton was referred to as the northernmost of the Southern schools.

Fortunately, there were several other Wisconsin classmates who remembered me from Badger Boys State, where I had been elected to statewide office, although I was the only minority present. Additionally, there were other classmates who simply did not demonstrate any racial animus.

That first year, there was one black faculty member. One day as I was walking across campus, our paths crossed. He stopped me and said he knew I expected him to invite me to his house for a conversation. Without pausing, he said he was not going to do that and as far as he was concerned, I was on my own. His attitude really cut me. After that, I made a special effort to show him that I belonged.

I found comfort crossing Nassau Street and venturing into the local community. As much as I enjoyed the music from the Chapel organ, I found solace in the First Baptist Church of Princeton, just a few blocks across Nassau on John Street. I recall telling the congregation one Sunday morning that I really appreciated the choir's versions of the spirituals I had listened to while growing up in Wisconsin. The church members made me feel right at home.

As much as I enjoyed music from the Chapel organ, I found solace in the First Baptist Church of Princeton, just a few blocks across Nassau on John Street.

It was through that church I learned of a black barbershop several blocks down on Witherspoon. I went to that barbershop for four years and engaged in free-flowing conversations about what Jackie Robinson had done, what Henry Aaron was doing, and other typical barbershop topics. Through the church, I made contacts that allowed me to poll black Princeton teenagers on race relations for my junior independent work, which was very well received. A young lady who was very interested in my study provided valuable assistance in getting her fellow students to respond to my questionnaire. When my parents traveled to Princeton in June 1961 for Commencement Week, they stayed in her parents' home on Maclean Street.

Because of these experiences, it was 20 years before I returned for

a reunion. Experiences during the reunions I have attended and Princeton football games in San Diego have taken the edge off many of the experiences mentioned above. It is more common now for classmates to approach me, recall that they didn't speak to me much while we were undergraduates, and then apologize for that treatment of me. They have grown, and that makes my memories so much easier to bear.

Princeton, as expected, was challenging academically. Socially, there were many problems. Emotionally, it was a devastating experience. Time heals all wounds, however. The California license plate on my car reads, simply, "61Tiger."

Philip L. Johnson '61
Rancho Palos Verdes, Calif.

My years at Princeton began in the fall of 1956. From the beginning, needing to know more about the civil-rights movement, I began my exploration. When bicker occurred, I did not participate. I did not want "the Street"; I did not want the clubs; I did not want the elitism that all of that represented, even though my dad was head of Tiger Inn when he graduated in 1927. He wanted me to participate; I refused, because I had discovered an entirely different life down Witherspoon Street.

Bennett Griggs' restaurant was my home, my eating place, my community, for me and my friends who felt as I did. The civil-rights era was beckoning; he and his extraordinary family invited me/us into the neighborhood. In upperclass years, I was spending so much time out of Princeton — in New York City, running a summer-stock company — that the Street



Griggs' Imperial Restaurant

From left: Ricardo Barros; Historical Society of Princeton

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was irrelevant. But learning about the black community and its culture would form my core forever. This perspective, the gift of the community to the University students, should be included in a follow-up to that original story.

Dale Bell '60**Santa Monica, Calif.**

"Across Nassau Street" brought back memories of my senior year. Because of unpleasant experiences during the troubled 1958 bicker, when it came time for me to participate in the 1959 bicker, I declined. However, I was told that I could not remain a member of the club if I didn't help recruit the next class, so I and two of my roommates resigned. Breakfast and lunch were easy; we had a refrigerator in the room, and I generally had cereal in the morning and made soup or a sandwich for lunch.

Dinner was more of a problem, particularly financially. We solved that by eating at Griggs' restaurant on Witherspoon Street at least five nights a week, usually a large hamburger served on white bread, with some home fries, generally brought to our table by Mr. Griggs himself. On our last night there, he brought us a steak, on the house. My recollection is the meal cost a little over a dollar each evening. That allowed us to splurge one night every week or two at one of the smorgasbords at either the Nassau Inn or the old Princeton Inn, with all the roast beef you could eat for \$2.50 or \$3.50, respectively.

Richard J. Lederman '60**Shaker Heights, Ohio**

My father, Warrant Officer Herman Archer, attached to the Princeton ROTC, unmarried at the time, living in the barracks just north of the ROTC stables, desegregated Griggs' restaurant, at the corner of Witherspoon and Hulfish (now Griggs Corner). That would be before 1928, when he married. They were good friends and met often until we left for the Philippines in 1937. In 1945, when my father returned from a Japanese prison camp, Mr. Griggs invited our family to a grand steak banquet at his restaurant. He was a grand man.

Herman Archer Jr. '53**Kingwood, Texas***continued from page 3*

but was surprised to see an erroneous statement in the first paragraph. The percent of climate scientists who dispute that climate change is occurring and is due to human activities is much lower than 13 percent. It is in the low single digits, maybe 3 percent or less. A 97 percent agreement of climate scientists is given by NASA in its assessment of this question (see <https://climate.nasa.gov/scientific-consensus/>). NASA quotes a 2016 paper by Cook et al. in *Environmental Research Letters* that examines this in detail, affirming the overwhelming consensus represented by 97 percent agreement among climate scientists that climate change is occurring and is mainly caused by human activities.

Wharton Sinkler '83**Des Plaines, Ill.**

Editor's note: Seth Shostak agreed that the percentage of climate scientists who dispute that climate change is largely caused by humans should have been reported as 3 percent, based on the NASA report. He added that an analysis by James Powell, published in Skeptical Inquirer magazine in December 2015, argued that "due to selection effects," the actual percentage "is at least 99.9 percent."

FOR THE RECORD

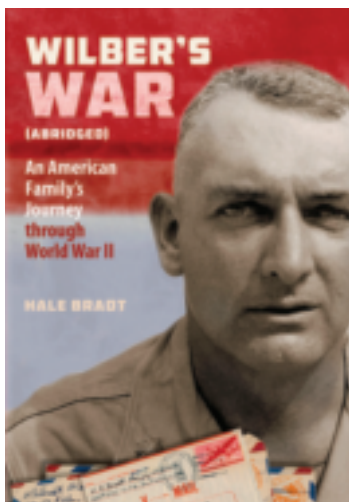
Francis S. Collins, a noted geneticist and the director of the National Institutes of Health, was misidentified as a Nobelist in a letter in the April 26 issue.

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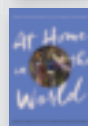
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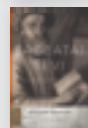
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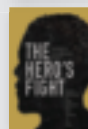
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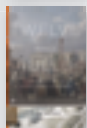
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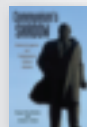
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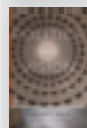
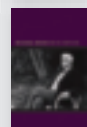
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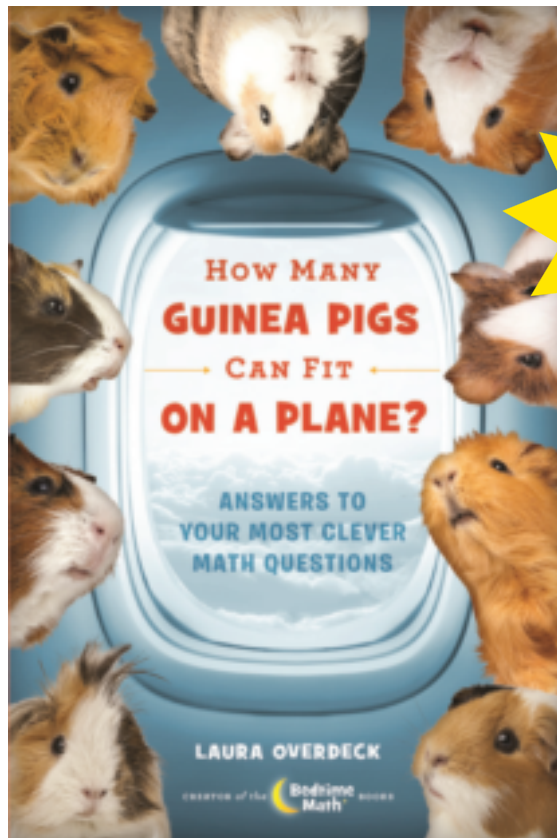
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Viviana A. Zelizer

With a foreword by Nigel Dodd

How many bees make a jar of honey?
How many spots would a me-sized ladybug have?
How much gum could stick me to the wall?
**Find out the answers yourself—
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By Laura Bilodeau Overdeck '91
Creator of Bedtime Math



www.bedtimemath.org

On the Campus



Kwanzan cherry tree blossoms turned this allée between Eno Hall and McCosh Health Center into a river of pink in early May. Photograph by Ricardo Barros

Professors Bess Ward, Michael Celia, and Lars Hedin with Guyot Hall's Allosaurus.



On the Move

As student interest surges, new home planned for environmental studies

Princenton's environmental-science programs are about to get a big boost.

Officials announced in April that the University is moving forward with plans for a new building for environmental studies and more resources for ecology and evolutionary biology (EEB), geosciences, and the Princeton Environmental Institute (PEI).

"The issues of the environment and our place in nature are [among] the most vexing and most urgent challenges for the current generation, but even more so for the next generation of leaders and thinkers and members of society," said EEB department chair Lars Hedin. "This is exactly the kind of societal problem where Princeton can offer unique forms of leadership."

The announcement followed the report of a task force, chaired by Hedin, which examined the natural sciences at Princeton and around the world and

offered recommendations on how the University should invest in and develop the disciplines.

Geosciences department chair Bess Ward said faculty members have been requesting new equipment and building renovations for years. "In geosciences, you understand that things take time," she said. "It's been a consultative and interactive development of ideas, and I'm happy to see where it's going."

Propelled by the importance of studying the environment as the globe continues to warm and as student interest expands, the task force's most ambitious recommendations were the creation of

Interaction between environmental studies and other departments on campus is a core feature of the University's strategic planning.

an expanded environmental institute and construction of a new building for the environmental-studies programs.

Hedin said the building will be designed to bring faculty and students in the three programs together for frequent collaboration and greater innovation. "It's a natural intellectual marriage," he said.

The number of students in each of the programs has been rising over the last 10 years. Geosciences, which studies the Earth, atmosphere, and oceans, has 16 graduating seniors. EEB, which studies organisms and ecosystems, has 48. And PEI, which studies environmental issues across disciplines, awards an environmental studies certificate to about 45 students each year. Geosciences and EEB have about 40 faculty and 70 graduate students combined, and PEI has 126 faculty and associated faculty members.

Environmental-studies classes have been attracting students from a variety of academic majors, Ward said.

Interaction between environmental studies and other departments on campus is a core feature of the University's strategic planning. The Andlinger Center for Energy and the Environment is focused primarily on

studying the environment in conjunction with engineering and technology, and the proposed expansion of PEI would link the natural sciences, the humanities, and public policy.

“Princeton is uniquely structured to put together these kinds of interdisciplinary teams, given the University’s small size and lack of institutional barriers,” said Professor Michael Celia, who will become PEI’s faculty director in July and who is part of a working group planning the future of the institute. “PEI serves as the natural home to these kinds of broad efforts.”

Kathy Hackett, PEI’s executive director, said taking the lead on environmental issues “is consistent with the University’s commitment to be in the nation’s service and in the service of humanity.”

The early-1900s-era Guyot and Eno halls are “ill-suited” for the departments’ laboratory needs, President Eisgruber ’83 and Dean of the Faculty Deborah Prentice said. “The situation is unsustainable; the scientists must have the facilities they require to continue to do first-rate work and collaborate effectively,” they wrote in response to the task force’s report.

Eisgruber said land along Ivy Lane and Western Way is a “promising” location for the environmental-studies building, though he said more consultations are needed before a final site is selected. After that, an architect would be selected and fundraising would begin.

Future plans for Guyot and Eno — and for the 25-foot-long Allosaurus in Guyot’s main hall — have not been announced.

While a new home would be the most visible investment in environmental studies, the University also has committed to expanding funding for undergraduate and graduate research on campus and abroad.

Princeton’s expanded commitment to environmental studies comes at a time when President Donald Trump has rescinded executive orders from the Obama administration designed to combat climate change, and environmental-protection programs are being curbed. Ward said she and her colleagues feel “a responsibility to the public good” in their research at this time.

◆ By Anna Mazarakis ’16

IN SHORT



A scene from
*Frankenstein:
The Musical*

Princeton got a head start on the 2018 bicentennial of the publication of Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* with last month’s performances of **FRANKENSTEIN: THE MUSICAL** in Chancellor Green Rotunda. The production, a collaboration between the Princeton University Players and the English department, was based on the script of an 1823 play and featured new songs and a score by Evan Gedrich ’18. The score will be used in productions next year in Rome and at the University of Notre Dame. Shown in the foreground above are, from left, Angel Fan ’18 as Ninon, Manny Ramirez ’20 as Fritz, and Paul Schorin ’19 as Dr. Frankenstein.

The **SPENDING PACKAGE** that will keep the federal government running through September generally continues current funding levels or provides small increases for key agencies that support research at Princeton, University officials said. The agreement includes increases over the previous fiscal year of 6.2 percent for the National Institutes of Health, 3.4 percent for oceanic and atmospheric research at NOAA, 3.1 percent for science funding at NASA, 2.2 percent for the domestic fusion-energy program, and 1.3 percent for the National Endowment for the Humanities.

“The agreement indicates that members of Congress from both parties continue to recognize the importance to the country of the federal investment in basic research, even at times when budgets are tight,” said Robert K. Durkee ’69, vice president and secretary of the University. He said the impact on Princeton depends partly on how well faculty members compete for funds, adding that “for many years, our faculty have competed very successfully in an increasingly competitive environment.”

The Pace Center, Women’s Center, University Library, and *The Princeton Progressive* have collected more than 100 photos, posters, and signs to document recent **STUDENT ACTIVISM**. The “First 100 Days” begins with photos from student demonstrations after the November presidential election and ends with items from the People’s Climate March at the end of April. The exhibit follows earlier efforts by the University Library to capture, document, and preserve a record of activism on campus following student involvement in the #BlackLivesMatter movement and the sit-in in Nassau Hall in November 2015. It can be viewed on the Pace Center YouTube channel at: <https://youtu.be/5qChNXmKQkE> ◆



“When I came to Princeton, it was unusual for there to be another woman in a meeting.”

— Joan Girgus

academic things besides tutoring. We had actually been worrying in the dean’s office: All of freshman year, by and large, and much of sophomore year didn’t provide students any opportunity for any kind of academic experience except big lectures, precepts, exams. So we started to think about having freshman seminars where the topics would be narrow, students would deal with primary material, and faculty would be able to offer courses that were not standard curricular courses. I wrote a proposal for the Ford Foundation, and it funded the first freshman seminars. Those are three things that have made a difference.

How do you view efforts to achieve gender diversity on the faculty?

We would love to be more diverse than we are, especially in the faculty. There has been a fair amount of change.

I think I was the eighth tenured woman faculty member, and we had potluck suppers every time a woman got tenure. And one year it was too many women; we just couldn’t do it anymore. ... I said to somebody the other day, I cannot remember the last time I was at a meeting where I was the only woman. When I came to Princeton, it was unusual for there to be another woman in a meeting. It’s that stark a change.

Adolescent depression has been a subject of your research. What are your thoughts on student stress levels and mental health?

Forty years ago, admitting you were depressed, admitting you needed to talk to someone, was very hard — impossible, really — for some students. That’s not as true anymore. I can easily imagine that students feel more stressed. I have a sense that students are voracious: It’s about “so many things that I want to study, so many things I want to be involved in, and every time I find a spare minute, I get involved in something else.” ♦ *Interview conducted and condensed by W.R.O.*

Q&A: JOAN GIRGUS

Fostering Change

For four decades, helping to improve the experiences of students, faculty

Joan Girgus came to Princeton 40 years ago as a psychology professor and dean of the college. She chaired the psychology department when Green Hall was renovated and cognitive neuroscience was launched. Since 2003 she has served as special assistant to the dean of the faculty, focusing on dual-career faculty issues and family-friendly University policies. Girgus, who will retire June 30, spoke with PAW last month.

What was it like for you when you arrived as dean of the college?

I fully expected *The Daily Princetonian* to have a headline that said, “Woman Appointed Dean of the College.” It did not: The headline read, “Outsider Appointed Dean of the College.” And that told me something about how people thought about the University. ... It was at the height of CAP [Concerned Alumni of Princeton]. CAP wrote a letter to the freshman parents in which they described me as a woman, which I am; as Jewish, which I am; as having

been educated at and taught at a series of liberal schools — Sarah Lawrence, New School for Social Research, The City College of CUNY — and of never having been in an Ivy League school, which is true. I think the letter even asked: Do you want your child in a college led by someone with these characteristics? It wasn’t those words, but that was the gist.

What were some of the significant changes you were part of as dean?

The residential colleges, which changed everything out of the classroom for freshmen and sophomores, started while I was dean. What was women’s studies and is now gender and sexuality studies is another; it was a collaboration of Aaron Lemonick [*54, then dean of the faculty], Nancy Malkiel [later dean of the college], and me. The third is starting the freshman seminar program — and here I give credit to Stan Katz, who then was the master of Rockefeller College. He said Harvard had seminars in the houses, and he thought the residential colleges would benefit from having classroom

Taking Science Into the Community

CLASS CLOSE-UP: Geochemistry of the Human Environment

Teacher: Assistant professor of geosciences John Higgins

Focus: Students first studied the scientific basis for understanding how humans have altered Earth's environment and how those changes affect society. During the second half of the course, students teamed up with Isles, a Trenton, N.J.-based nonprofit, to test for lead in the water, paint, and soil of homes in the city. Students visited 14 homes, and 13 tested positive for lead paint. People living in the homes that tested positive for lead and who have a qualifying income are eligible for federal funds that support remediation work by Isles.

Background: Higgins was motivated to create the course in part by the crisis in Flint, Mich., where lead seeped into the drinking-water supply, causing a major public-health problem. He also wanted to expose students to some of the practical skills used by geochemists that

are not usually taught in undergraduate-level courses.

On the syllabus: Scholarly articles on topics ranging from the history of lead in the environment to how lead exposure relates to changes in IQ and violent crime.

Who should take the course: "I'd like it to be a class where non-experts can think deeply about a different kind of problem," Higgins said. Students' majors include ecology and evolutionary biology, civil and environmental engineering, and comparative literature.

Key takeaway: "The role that humans have played in the environment — this is another case where the human imprint is very clear, and we can use science to identify it," Higgins said. "And while it is a very science-y class, I think there is immense value in having the students going out and interacting with the community."

Establishing trust in scientists: "Some segments of the population have either never developed or don't have a strong trust of science and government," Higgins said. "I think there's an important role for academic institutions to actively engage in the community to develop that trust." ♦ By A.W.



Maricela Coronado '18 uses a handheld X-ray fluorescence unit to measure lead concentration in the soil of a backyard in Trenton, N.J.

Tori Repp

Your life, your wishes

Make your choices now
and take the burden
off of your family.

You have a will,
an estate plan,
and life insurance,
but you are probably
missing a key piece
of your life's plan.

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that your life is celebrated
the way you want it to be.



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King Henry VIII is shown on the Great Seal of the Court of Common Pleas, affixed to a 1536 court document



Great Seal of the Realm of Queen Victoria, attached to an 1852 royal patent



Royal seal of Queen Elizabeth I, with a design first used in 1586

HISTORY SHAPED IN WAX

At Firestone, a Panoply of British Royal Seals

The University Library's collection of British royal and personal seals, described as the largest and most comprehensive in North America, documents the workings of the English government dating back eight centuries.

The collection was amassed by Bruce C. Willsie '86, who since 2003 has donated more than 125 royal seals and nearly 100 metal matrices used to mold wax seals.

The seals were used to authenticate documents, according to Don Skemer, curator of manuscripts in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. The most important items are royal charters on parchment that were issued under the Great Seal of the Realm, which in Willsie's collection date back to the reign of King John (1199-1216). Two-sided pendant seals usually were attached to their documents by a braided silk cord or a parchment tag.

The collection also includes royal charters and seals of Queen Elizabeth I, Oliver and Richard Cromwell, and Queen Victoria.

The documents illustrate the "day-to-day business" of English government, Skemer said, such as confirmations of land tenure, rights and privileges, and judicial decisions. While official "record copies" were retained centrally in locations like the Tower of London, the documents in the Willsie collection were personal copies to be kept by the recipients. ♦ By W.R.O.



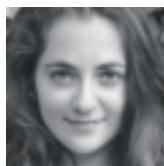
Charter attached with a braided silk cord to the seal of King John, dated Oct. 9, 1199



STUDENT DISPATCH

Amid Controversy, Shkreli Pays a Visit

By Iris Samuels '19



Former hedge-fund manager and drug-company CEO Martin Shkreli may have been described as “the most hated man in

America” in 2015 after raising the price of the infection-fighting drug Daraprim 5,000 percent. But students listened respectfully and laughed at his one-liners during an April 28 campus talk.

When Shkreli spoke at Harvard in February, students protested outside and set off a false fire alarm. A planned January talk at Princeton was canceled after the E-Club withdrew its invitation. But the student Corporate Finance Club stepped in with its own invitation, and tickets for all seats in McDonnell Hall’s lecture hall were reserved in advance.

Why sponsor Shkreli’s appearance, whose trial on federal securities-fraud charges was scheduled to start in June? He is “well-versed in the pharmaceutical investment industry,” club president Benjamin Lei ’18 explained. “We wanted to hear his thoughts on drug-pricing and business strategy.”

Shkreli began his speech by presenting a geometry proof and promising to pay the tuition of any student who could solve it. Numerous students handed their solutions to Shkreli, who said he would have the responses reviewed by a math professor.

Shkreli said he hoped to dispel “myths” about him, adding that “a lot of people think that I just woke up one day and decided to be the world’s worst person.” He argued that his business

decisions are part of his belief that high drug prices reflect the usefulness of medications. “The more utility something provides you, the more expensive it should be,” he said.

Then it was the students’ opportunity to ask questions: Why does he place higher prices on drugs than other pharmaceutical companies do? Why does he spend so much time on social media? Why did he purchase hip-hop group Wu-Tang Clan’s music album for \$2 million?

Shkreli’s responses were a mix of humor, self-aggrandizement, condescension, and occasional defensiveness. Asked if physicians are as important as pharmaceuticals, he replied, “I think that 90 percent of doctors don’t need to exist.” At the end, following applause, he invited students to join him for a beer at a local pub.

Not all students were pleased by the event. The day before the talk, *The Daily Princetonian* published an opinion piece by Crystal Liu ’19 headlined “Disinvite Shkreli (again).” Liu said the issue was not free speech, but Shkreli’s morally questionable practices. “Whether you agree or disagree with Shkreli, engaging him indirectly supports him and his views,” she said. Shkreli responded in *The Prince* that Liu’s argument was “as intellectually bankrupt as a Trump casino.”

After attending the talk, Chiara Ficarelli ’19 said Shkreli “came off very arrogant. There’s value to bringing diverse speakers that represent different thoughts, but I don’t think we should bring someone who’s being charged with a crime. It doesn’t represent the kind of moral and intellectual thought we value at Princeton.” ♦

IN MEMORIAM



Professor emeritus of economics and senior economist **WILLIAM BAUMOL** died May 4 in New York City. He was 95. Baumol joined the faculty

in 1949 and retired in 1992. One of the leading economists of the 20th century, he was best known for the idea called Baumol’s cost disease: that rising productivity in some

sectors, such as manufacturing, pushes up wages in labor-intensive industries, such as services, making them more expensive each year.

Trustee emeritus and philanthropist **LLOYD E. COTSEN ’50** died May 8 in Beverly Hills. He was 88. The former CEO, president, and chairman of Neutrogena Corp., Cotsen donated his collection of more than 40,000 children’s books — dating from the 15th century to the present —



to Princeton in 1994. Three years later, the Cotsen Children’s Library opened its doors in Firestone Library. His numerous

contributions to the University supported teaching innovation and the humanities, including a gift to launch the Society of Fellows in the Liberal Arts. ♦

MEN'S LACROSSE

Looking Up

After glittering debut season, Sowers '20 eyes future success

Michael Sowers '20 is a budding legend.

Jerry Price, who directs Princeton's athletic communications office and has covered Tiger men's lacrosse for more than 30 years, compares Sowers to all-time Princeton greats like Jesse Hubbard '98, Kevin Lowe '94, Ryan Boyle '04, and recent grad Tom Schreiber '14, last year's Major League Lacrosse MVP.

"He is similar to Schreiber in a lot of ways," Price says. "They both have great field vision. They both can use their left hand as well as their right hand. They both make everyone around them better. So you're comparing him to Schreiber, and right now it's very likely that Schreiber is the best player in the world."

Sowers set Princeton's program record with 82 points on 41 goals and 41

assists in his first year. He is on pace to break Lowe's 247 career-points record.

"It's pretty cool," Sowers says. "I think that just to be mentioned in the same sentences as some of those guys, who are probably some of the greatest to ever pick up a stick, it's truly an honor. Those guys did things that will never be matched in the program."

Only twice before had Princeton players managed 30 goals and 30 assists in a season. Only four other Ivy League players have had a 40-40 season, and just one other freshman in the country has had a 40-40 season.

"We as a coaching staff aren't super-surprised with how well he's done because we see it on a day-to-day basis," says Tigers head coach Matt Madalon. "How he operates in practice, how he operates in the weight room and film sessions,

and outside of all that stuff — he's a very humble and prepared individual."

Sowers is 5-foot-8 and weighs 170 pounds, but he has remarkable toughness on the field, instilled by playing football in high school. His quick change of direction and field vision stand out. He elevated Princeton's attack from averaging 10 goals per game last year to 14.7 this year. Gavin McBride '17 had 50 goals in the previous two seasons combined before setting the program's single-season record this year with 54.

"What impressed me most is his ability to make people around him better," Madalon says of Sowers. "His ability to feed the ball is impressive. A lot of guys can score goals, and you can score goals in a lot of different ways. But in order to be able to feed the ball and truly quarterback an offense, there's a level of understanding and lacrosse IQ that you have to have."

Sowers had seven points in his college debut. A month later, when Yale held him to two assists, he pointed teammates to openings that led to 13 goals. Against Penn, the Ivy's second-ranked defense, he scored five goals and had four assists.

Sowers credits his high-scoring teammates, including McBride, Zach Currier '17, and Austin Sims '18, for his success this year. "[A defense] can only cover so many people," Sowers says. "When you're worried about those guys ... stretching the defense, it kind of spreads the attention out, and it allows things to open up more."

Sowers, the Ivy Rookie of the Year and a first-team All-Ivy selection, is focused on improving his athleticism in the offseason, and he's adamant about improving the Tigers' team results. Princeton jumped from 5-8 in 2016 to 9-5 and a second-place tie in the Ivy standings this spring, but missed out on the NCAA Tournament after falling to Brown in the Ivy Tournament semifinals May 5.

Speaking of the Princeton greats who came before him, Sowers says, "A lot of those guys won a national championship and a lot of those guys won Ivy League championships. As a player, that's the greatest thing you can accomplish — to be a part of something bigger than yourself." ♦ *By Justin Feil*



Michael Sowers '20 helped Princeton raise its scoring average by more than four goals per game.

Beverly Schaefer

WOMEN'S LACROSSE

Ivy-Champion Tigers Advance in NAAs

In three of the biggest games of its season, Princeton women's lacrosse faced off against Cornell. The Tigers won all three, including one in the NCAA Tournament, and advanced to the national quarterfinals for the second time in three years.

The Princeton-Cornell trilogy started in Ithaca April 22, where the Tigers' Olivia Hompe '17 scored with three seconds remaining to force overtime. Two minutes into the second overtime period, Colby Chanenchuk '18 broke the tie, lifting Princeton to a 12-11 victory and, eventually, a share of the Ivy League title. Princeton, Cornell, and Penn each finished the season with 6-1 league records.

Cornell would host the Tigers again in the Ivy Tournament final May 7. Princeton surged ahead early, led 10-3 in the second half, and held on for a 12-9 win. Hompe scored seven goals, raising her season total to 70 (a school record).

Princeton earned a first-round bye in the NCAA Tournament, and Cornell won its opening-round game against Notre Dame to set up the third Princeton-Cornell matchup May 14. The Tigers led for most of the contest, but the Big Red rallied to tie the game, 9-9, with 4:27 remaining. Elizabeth George '19 responded with two goals in the next two minutes, including one scored during a driving rainstorm, and the Tigers won, 11-9.

Results from Princeton's May 21 NCAA quarterfinal game against Penn State were not available for this issue. ♦
By B.T.



SOFTBALL

Princeton Tops Harvard for Title Repeat, Returns to NCAA Tourney

Princeton softball swept Harvard, 1-0 and 13-4, in the Ivy League Championship Series May 6, capturing its second straight league title and a return trip to the NCAA Championships, where the Tigers were slated to open against Florida State May 19 (results were not available for this issue).

In the Ivy series, pitcher Claire Klausner '17 was stellar in the opener, allowing six hits while striking out eight in the shutout victory. In the second game, Princeton jumped ahead 6-0 before the Crimson clawed back, narrowing the gap to 6-4 in the bottom of the fifth. But the Tigers rallied with seven runs in the final two frames to win the title. Megan Donahey '20 and Keeley Walsh '19 each had three hits, while Kaylee Grant '19 drove in four runs. ♦ By B.T.

SPORTS SHORTS

WOMEN'S OPEN ROWING won its second consecutive Ivy League championship, outpacing Brown and Yale in the varsity eight final May 14 on the Cooper River. The Tigers' top boat was undefeated heading into the NCAA Championships May 26-28 at Mercer Lake in nearby West Windsor.

MEN'S HEAVYWEIGHT ROWING finished third, behind Yale and Harvard, at the Eastern Sprints in Worcester, Mass., May 14. **WOMEN'S LIGHTWEIGHT ROWING** also won bronze at the Eastern Sprints, and **MEN'S LIGHTWEIGHT ROWING** placed fifth.

At the Ivy Outdoor Heptagonal Championships in New Haven, Conn., May 6-7, **MEN'S TRACK AND FIELD** edged Cornell by seven points, 156-149. The

contest came down to the final event, the decathlon, in which a pair of Princeton freshmen — Harry Lord and Justice Dixon — placed third and fifth, respectively, pushing the Tigers ahead. **WOMEN'S TRACK AND FIELD** placed third in the team standings, and Julia Ratcliffe '17 won her fourth Ivy Heps hammer-throw championship, becoming the first athlete to win the event four times.

Maya Walton '20 of the **WOMEN'S GOLF** team birdied the final three holes of the NCAA Regional at the University of Georgia May 8-10, climbing the leaderboard to tie for fifth place and earn an individual bid to the NCAA Championships. Princeton placed 11th among 18 teams competing in the regional tournament. ♦

Life of the Mind

COMPUTER SCIENCE

Reprogramming Bias

As imperfect creators, can humans keep prejudice out of artificial intelligence?

One goal of artificial intelligence (AI) is to make computers better able to imitate human reasoning and tasks — but there are downsides to teaching machines to mimic humans too closely, according to a paper published in *Science* in April by Princeton researchers Aylin Caliskan, Joanna Bryson, and Arvind Narayanan. The team of computer scientists drew from billions of sentences taken from sources across the internet to analyze

how human biases about gender, race, and other characteristics might appear when these sentences are used to train a machine. They found that many of the biases observed in humans could be transferred to AI technologies and algorithms that learn from these bodies of text. The findings have implications for a machine's ability to objectively perform language-based tasks such as web searches, translations, and automated résumé scanning.

For the study, the researchers used a word-association tool called the implicit association test (IAT). For nearly two decades, psychologists have measured implicit biases with IAT, a method in which people are presented with two different categories — for instance, African American and European American, or pleasant and unpleasant — and are then asked to sort names, words, or photos that appear into each category in rapid succession. The results of these tests have been used to demonstrate a variety of biases, including that most Americans have an implicit preference for white versus black faces, young versus old people, thin versus fat bodies, and straight versus gay people, based on the words and images they associate with positive categories.

The Princeton researchers designed a similar test to run on a large body of pre-existing text drawn from across the web to reveal whether biases appeared in the language. They developed a word-embedding association test (WEAT) to measure how closely different words found online were associated with one another based on whether those words were used in similar contexts near the same kinds of language elsewhere online. When they ran their test, the researchers found that the associations between different words online mirrored eight common IAT results, including a preference for European American names versus African American names, and an association of math and science with males and the arts with females.

“Many people have the common misconception that machines might be neutral or objective, but that is not the case because humans are teaching the machines,” says Caliskan, a postdoctoral researcher at Princeton and the lead author of the paper.

Having replicated several human biases with WEAT, the researchers then tested whether they could also



Andy Martin



“Many people have the common misconception that machines might be neutral or objective, but that is not the case because humans are teaching the machines.”

— Aylin Caliskan, visiting professor

reproduce statistics from the data. For instance, they looked up the percentage of women and men employed in different occupations and found that the degree of association between each of those professions and male and female words in their test sample of online text was very closely correlated to how male- or female-dominated each profession actually was.

“It’s astonishing how accurately these models are able to capture the world — the human biases and also statistical facts,” Caliskan says.

Joanna Bryson, a co-author of the paper and a professor at the University of Bath, currently visiting at Princeton, says the results have important implications for people working in AI and for how we understand the role of language in passing on prejudices.

“Parts of our brains may just be picking up these biases directly from the language we’re exposed to, and other parts of our brains are consciously choosing what beliefs and biases to accept and reject,” Bryson says. She’s interested in trying to extend the work by applying WEAT to foreign languages to see if the associations vary, depending on different cultures.

“Some people think AI should be better than human intelligence,” Bryson adds. “Our work shows some of the reasons that that can’t be — because it’s bounded by us.” ♦ *By Josephine Wolff* ’10

IN SHORT

Common colds and viruses are known to roost in schools, and a paper published by researchers from Princeton, in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* in November, has concluded that schools could help fuel **MAJOR EPIDEMICS**. Using historical data from a 1904 measles outbreak in 18 schools in London, the team — including ecology and evolutionary biology graduate student Alexander Becker and professor Bryan Grenfell — found that each child transmitted measles to an average of 27 people. Extrapolating the model to today’s schools, they found that only near-total rates of vaccination could check another epidemic.



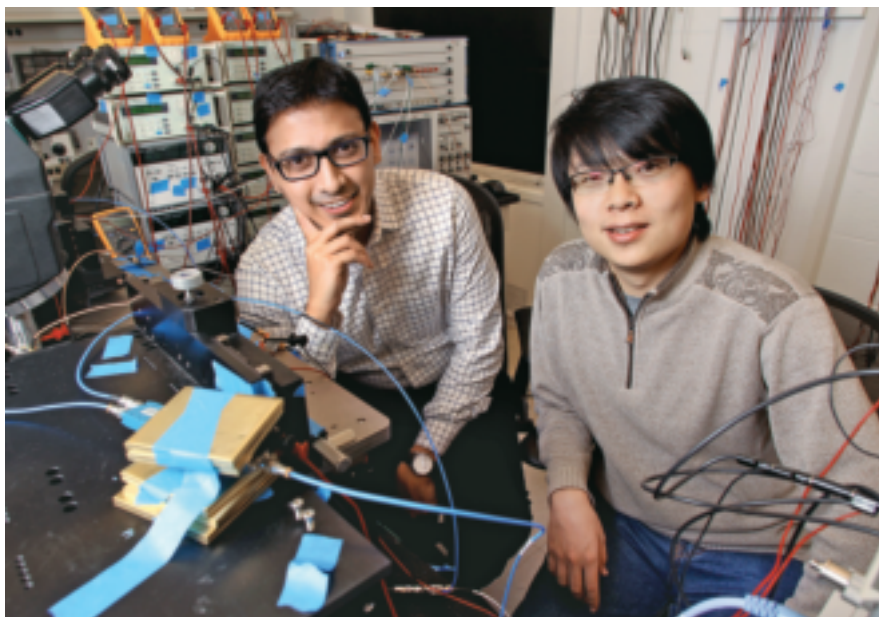
About 80 percent of ammonia released into the atmosphere comes from farming with ammonium-nitrate fertilizer, leading scientists to believe that **SMOG IN CITIES** is caused by that practice. Researchers led by civil and environmental engineering professor Mark Zondlo, however, have found a more likely cause: a city’s cars. Using tailpipe monitors, they determined that although cars release lower amounts of ammonia gas, they do so along with nitrogen oxides, which, when combined with

ammonia, creates smog. They found that cars are particularly apt to emit ammonia during cold weather, when agriculture is dormant but smog levels peak. The study, published in *Environmental Science and Technology* in November, could bolster efforts to curb automobile emissions.

People’s faith in the “American Dream” depends upon their belief in **SOCIAL MOBILITY**, according to a study by psychology professor Susan Fiske and former Princeton postdoctoral research associate Martin Day, now a professor at Memorial University of Newfoundland. They studied the views of 500 people: Some read a passage about the United States as a country of high social mobility, while others read a description of low social mobility or no change at all. Those prepped with the first passage tended to be more supportive of the “system” and defended the status quo. Published in *Social Psychological and Personality Science* in November, the authors’ findings were consistent across the political spectrum from liberals to conservatives.

Police often show leniency with speeding drivers by writing down a lower speed (e.g., 9 mph over the limit instead of 10 mph) to let the driver avoid a steep jump in the fines. In a March working paper, economics Ph.D. candidates Felipe Goncalves and Steven Mello reported significant **RACIAL BIAS** in doling out that leniency. Analyzing tickets written by the Florida Highway Patrol between 2005 and 2015, they determined that about 20 percent of the officers were less likely to show leniency in ticketing to black and Hispanic drivers. In general, the researchers found that bias was lower among younger, female, and college-educated officers. ♦ *By Michael Blanding*

Photo: courtesy Aylin Caliskan; illustration: Peter Ankle



“Just a few years ago, it was unthinkable we could have communications at 30 to 50 gigahertz — and this is more than 10 times that.”

—Engineering professor
Kaushik Sengupta

Kaushik Sengupta, left, an assistant professor of electrical engineering, and Xue Wu GS have published two papers describing their seminal findings on how to efficiently tap into the terahertz gap.

measures spectroscopic signatures of the molecules vibrating around them, extrapolating from the molecules the frequency and characteristics of the terahertz wave.

“Imagine you are looking into a soundproof room where someone is talking and you [can’t hear], but there is a plant whose leaves are vibrating from the sound,” explains Sengupta. “By taking these vibrations, and measuring them closely, you could re-create the vibrations of the person’s speech.” In the same way, the billions of transistors can extrapolate the vibrations of the terahertz waves, eliminating the need for the bulky spectroscopic equipment.

So far, Sengupta and fellow researchers have measured terahertz waves on the lower end of the terahertz gap, but theoretically there is no limit to how far up the spectrum the new technique can go. “We really have to reinvent the way we think about terahertz research,” he says. “Instead of working to create the best device, we need to take a step back and think how we can apply a systems framework to leverage the incredible abilities of silicon” — doing that can help open up the heretofore unexplored part of the electromagnetic spectrum to new pioneers. “Just a few years ago, it was unthinkable we could have communications at 30 to 50 gigahertz — and this is more than 10 times that,” says Sengupta. Advancements in this technology, he says, could enable incredibly fast rates of communication in our cellphones. “We are expanding into the wild, wild West, and we will discover what lies out there.”

◆ By Michael Blanding

ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING

Unused Territory in the Electromagnetic Spectrum Is Ripe for Harvest

Just like an unexplored region of the Earth, there’s a gap in the electromagnetic spectrum. Between the microwaves — used for wireless communication — and the infrared light on the edge of the visible range, exists a band of waves between 0.3 and 10 terahertz (300–10,000 GHz) that has long stymied scientists’ attempts to exploit it. “This terahertz gap is one of the least explored parts of the range,” says Kaushik Sengupta, assistant professor of electrical engineering. “It’s like the wild, wild West in the electromagnetic spectrum.”

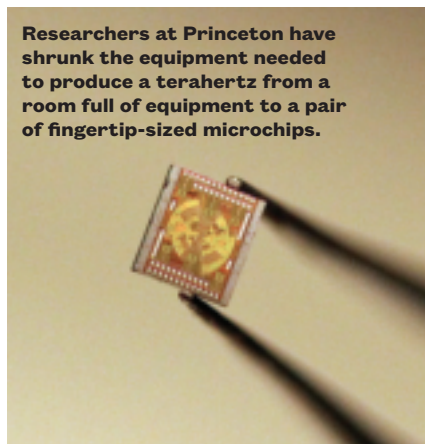
In a pair of papers recently published in the *IEEE Journal of Solid-State Circuits*, Sengupta and grad student Xue Wu trailblaze a new technique for measuring this range, which could potentially open it to new breakthroughs in electronics, particularly in cellphones. Their major insight was to tackle this area not from the top of the range down using light-based technology like lasers, but from the bottom up, using silicon technology more commonly used for communications.

Terahertz waves could have amazing technological applications. With one terahertz 1,000 times larger than a gigahertz, these waves could wirelessly convey mountains of data across high bandwidths at lightning speeds. The

waves also have the ability to penetrate opaque surfaces — for example, scanning luggage — at much higher resolutions than are currently possible. And many biological chemicals also have spectroscopic signatures at this range, allowing for easier identification of chemicals in biotechnology applications.

The bulky array of gear currently used to measure terahertz waves, however, is clunky and expensive, making it impractical outside of a lab. The technique developed by Sengupta and his colleagues takes low-cost silicon and amplifies its power with billions of nano-sized transistors. Instead of measuring the terahertz waves, the technology

Researchers at Princeton have shrunk the equipment needed to produce a terahertz from a room full of equipment to a pair of fingertip-sized microchips.





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THE TIGER CAUCUS

Whither the Republicans? Wither the Democrats?



ILLUSTRATIONS BY VICTOR JUHASZ

Barack Obama left office in January with his reputation burnished but his party decimated. During his eight years in office, the Democrats lost 11 seats in the Senate and 69 in the House, relinquishing control of both chambers. Add to that a loss of 13 governorships and nearly 1,000 state legislative seats around the country — and now, of course, the White House. By those measures, the Democrats are politically weaker than at any time since the Coolidge administration.

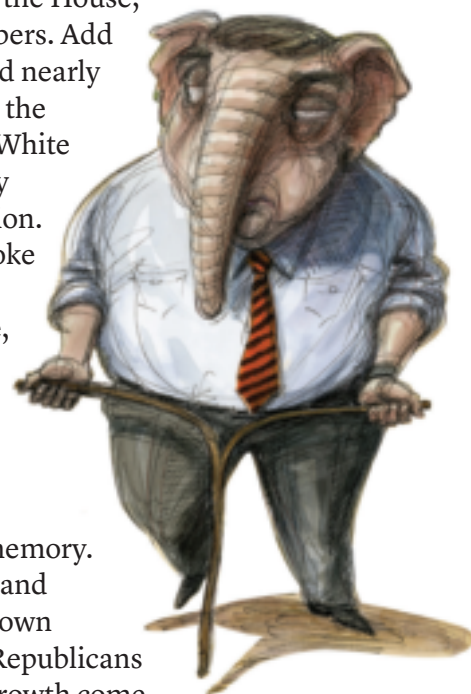
Lest the Republican Party get too cocky, though, it woke up the morning after Election Day like someone who had visited a Las Vegas wedding chapel the night before, gotten hitched to a near stranger, and found “Make America Great Again” mysteriously tattooed across their lower back.

What in the name of the *Federalist Papers* is going on?

Observers from across the ideological spectrum have pronounced this the most chaotic political universe in memory. Deep divisions wrack both parties, Freedom Caucusers and Bernie Sandernistas often as angry at members of their own party as they are at legislators across the aisle. Can the Republicans reconcile deficit discipline and a strategy of economic growth come hell or high water? Will the Democrats ever cross the aisle, or will they stick to a policy that seemed to work well enough for the GOP during the Obama years — a policy of “no”?

In an attempt to make sense of this, over several weeks this winter and spring (before the appointment of Robert Mueller '66 to oversee the Russia investigation) PAW's Mark F. Bernstein '83 asked for the perspectives of more than a dozen alumni and one faculty member from both parties, in and out of government and in and out of Washington. We asked Republicans to talk about the GOP and Democrats to talk about the Democratic Party, and two *Washington Post* writers who cover politics to chime in as well.

Here's what they said.



THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

SETTING THE SCENE:

Juliet Eilperin '92

Washington Post senior national-affairs correspondent

“The Republican Party is much more ideologically diverse than the Democrats. There are economic nationalists. There are Christian conservatives. There is a very strong small-business wing. There are free-market conservatives. And most people in the Republican Party belong to more than one of these wings.”

—KEN BUCK '81



ALTHOUGH their rolls are somewhat fluid, the House Republican caucus can broadly be divided into three main groups. At the furthest right, you have the Freedom Caucus, which has a few dozen members. They are so safe in their districts that the leadership has very little leverage over them. They can afford to take very conservative positions, even if they are at odds with what the leadership wants, and not face the consequences.

Their polar opposite is the group of moderates known as the Tuesday Group. They are also the smallest wing numerically. These folks used to be more influential within the party, but many of the seats that were once held by moderate Republicans, particularly in the Northeast, are now held by Democrats.

Finally, you have a significant chunk of the Republican conference that is more aligned with Speaker Paul Ryan. They are ideologically conservative, to be sure, but because they also understand the need to produce viable legislation, they are more inclined to make compromises. Even so, while they may be considered pragmatists compared with the Freedom Caucus, their views are still not aligned with Donald Trump's.

This helps explain why the Republicans, at least in the House, have such difficulty reaching consensus. The only group that is at risk of losing their seats and thus is sensitive to voters is the Tuesday Group. As a result, you don't see that push toward the center that is historically a part of any legislative compromise. They might be susceptible to pressure if Trump were to campaign against them, but they are not his biggest problem. It's the much more numerous Freedom Caucus members, who could probably be re-elected even if Donald Trump campaigned against them.

I covered Republicans back in the 1990s and early 2000s when, in many ways, they were at the top of their game. Back when Denny Hastert was speaker and Tom DeLay was majority leader, they had unbelievable discipline and were able to use it to get what they wanted legislatively. I was frankly amazed that the current House leadership couldn't pass the health-care bill in their first attempt.

Recently I was talking with someone who is in contact with the White House, and this person emphasized that nobody on Trump's team had ever served in the White House before. That is stunning, and I think you can't overstate what happens when there is no muscle memory of either forging compromises within one party or working to forge bipartisan compromises with the minority, which is certainly something this majority has shown no interest whatsoever in doing.

Ken Buck '81

U.S. representative from Colorado

THERE IS a battle for the party going on right now. I believe in a small federal government and in federalism, so I am a more traditional conservative than a lot of Republicans. Many of my colleagues want to be only a little bit better than the Democrats, and that's the challenge that we have. Are we going to be a conservative party or a Democrat-lite party?

This president, to me, is a populist. He has conservative tendencies, but he also has nationalist tendencies. If you look at the people he has surrounded himself with in his Cabinet, they're certainly conservatives. The same is true of his Supreme Court nominee.

The Republican Party is much more ideologically diverse than the Democrats. There are economic nationalists. There are Christian conservatives. There is a very strong small-business wing. There are free-market conservatives. And most people in the Republican Party belong to more than one of these wings. I represent an

agricultural district. The hardest thing to do is to get farmers and ranchers to agree on something, so in that sense I think Republicans are very similar to rural Americans, in that we vote our conscience. We're not on Team Republican; we're on Team America. We're much more willing to go our own way. I think this president, given his background, did a masterful job in winning the nomination against 16 other very qualified candidates. But I think the Republican Party is a very difficult party to build a coalition around.

Nan Hayworth '81

U.S. representative from New York, 2011-13; ophthalmologist

PRESIDENT TRUMP ran on the Republican line but did appropriate several significant themes from the Democrats, particularly regarding trade and the way we address entitlements. It was a very different approach from Mitt Romney's, and it succeeded. All of us as Republicans have to consider how we honor the goals of the party, most importantly fiscal conservatism.

If we want to advance fiscally conservative principles, we have to bring people along. People have to understand why it's important, and I think Donald Trump brings a couple of advantages to doing that. One, he's not an ideologue. He is a pragmatist. He is a doer. So he will work to get stuff done. Also, he likes to consider himself a success. That is good for all of us, because it means he will stay focused on getting these changes accomplished, but not in an ideological way where we lurch too far in the opposite direction too fast.

It is crucial that we engage the public and not just our base. We haven't had real fiscal conservatism for a long, long time, but it's only going to happen if folks comprehend the benefits. We have to make that case as Republicans because we face a lot of opposition from the entertainment industry and the media. There is a big megaphone that says if you want to be compassionate, you have to use government mechanisms to administer people's lives. But you don't.

James A. Baker '52

Former U.S. treasury secretary and secretary of state

EVERY TIME one party is out of power, that party is seen as extraordinarily impotent. We occupied that position for the last eight years, and now the Democrats have it. And if you look at what's happening in elections around the country, you would have to conclude that the Republican Party is alive and well. We are winning elections everywhere — and we have been winning over the course of the last several years. It wasn't all Trump.

We are going to find out if President Trump is truly a conservative, but basically, yes, I think he is. He nominated a conservative justice for the Supreme Court, he is working to cut back on the proliferation of regulations, and he is staffing the government with conservatives.

I suspect that he is going to moderate some of his positions that are not conservative. In fact, he has already begun to do that, for example, on our relations with NATO. When he asked to see me last May [2016], one of the things I suggested was that he take a second look at what he had been saying about NATO and understand that it has, by and large, been an extraordinarily successful security alliance. He should focus his criticism on the fact that our allies are not paying their fair share of the freight. And he has done that.

On trade, I have to tell you that I still worry. I believe in free trade and its benefits. I believe it is important that America remain engaged abroad, because when we're engaged abroad, we're a force for good, for peace and stability. I think this administration needs to show that America can lead again. That was one of the biggest deficiencies of the Obama administration. American leadership withered, and we need to get that back. But America can lead without sending in the 101st Airborne. We can lead politically, economically, and diplomatically.



“We haven’t had real fiscal conservatism for a long, long time, but it’s only going to happen if folks comprehend the benefits.”

— NAN HAYWORTH '81



“There is going to be a banquet on Capitol Hill for four years as Republicans eat the words they have spoken for 40 years.”

— GEORGE F. WILL *68

George F. Will *68

Nationally syndicated columnist

WE'RE GOING to learn what the country misses when conservatism is missing. Donald Trump said during the campaign that it's not called the conservative party; it's called the Republican Party — which was part of his campaign to drain the conservatism from the Republican Party, something he is doing with great speed. He essentially rented the Republican Party.

So Mr. Trump is comprehensive in his — I won't say “rejection” of conservatism, because that would mean that he had thought about it and rejected it — it's just his indifference to it. He is indifferent to ideas; he is indifferent to the great arguments that have animated American politics.

The defining principle of a republican form of government, said James Madison of the great Class of 1771, is representation, which means the people do not decide issues, they decide who will decide issues. Mr. Trump is having none of that. Trump has a more plebiscitary view of our government. In that sense he is a Jacksonian, claiming an unmediated, almost mystical relationship with The People. Now, The People in this case turns out to be the 46 percent who voted for him and not the 48 percent who voted for his opponent, but ... details.

Trump's rise certainly says that the kind of conservative I am — limited government, rule of law, congressional supremacy, a judiciary actively engaged in supervising the excesses of democracy — is a smaller tribe than we thought it was, that a lot of our friends are rhetorical conservatives but operationally something else. They are rhetorical conservatives with a bad case of cognitive dissonance because they don't want to touch Medicare, Social Security, or the tremendous redistributive activities of the federal government.

Trump presents himself as a nationalist. “Make American Great Again.” It's America the cowering. Protect us from Mexican products; protect us from all those cheap goods that China keeps sending us because Americans want to buy them. Conservatives who embrace him haven't faced up to all that protectionism entails. You have embraced the idea that government should pick winners and losers. You are embracing vast executive discretion because Congress, in its slapdash way, has given the president vast discretion to impose tariffs even before he declares a national emergency, which he is also empowered to do. You are saying the government should decide what Americans should consume, in what quantities, and at what prices. Therefore, you are embracing central planning and a whole apparatus of statism, which is why I say that there is going to be a banquet on Capitol Hill for four years as Republicans eat the words they have spoken for 40 years.

Another consequence of Mr. Trump is that liberals are going to become reacquainted with some sensible anxieties. They are going to become acquainted with the perils of an unfettered executive and the virtues of federalism. Well, good, let them discover federalism again! This is going to be a four-year seminar for liberals in the virtues of the Madisonian constitutional architecture.

Ted Cruz '92

U.S. senator from Texas

WE ARE poised for this to be the most productive Congress in decades. There are four big items on the agenda. Number one is repealing Obamacare. Number two, I think we are likely to see significant regulatory reform. Reducing the regulatory burden on small businesses and job creators can unleash a torrent of economic growth. Number three is tax reform and along with that, I hope, repeal of Dodd-Frank. And number four [was] confirming a strong conservative to replace Justice Scalia on the Supreme Court. If we accomplish all four, 2017 will be a blockbuster year. If we mess them up, 2017 will be a historic missed opportunity.

I think the policies that we have seen from President Trump so far have, by and large, been conservative policies. Much of the media's attention has focused on a passing statement here or a late-night tweet there. I try not to focus on that noise.

It's easy to be distracted by the circus, and that is one of the media's favorite games. My focus is on the substance. Look at his Cabinet appointments; this is the most conservative Cabinet we have seen in decades. His early executive actions have also reflected conservative principles, such as green-lighting the Keystone XL pipeline, cutting regulations, freezing civilian hiring, directing the Border Patrol to enforce our laws, and ending taxpayer funding for overseas abortions.

The week after the election, I flew to New York and went to Trump Tower. I spent four and a half hours with the president and vice president and all of his senior team, and the message I conveyed to them was, we have been given an extraordinary opportunity to do a great deal of good. It is rare in the annals of history for Republicans to have control of the White House, of every executive agency, and of both houses of Congress. We shouldn't waste this historic opportunity.

Robert P. George

McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence and director of the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions

DONALD TRUMP is not a classical conservative. In fact, I can think of no meaningful sense in which he is a conservative at all. There is a question whether the Republican Party will or won't be Trumpified, but unless President Trump is forced out of office or removed, I think the odds are pretty strong that it will. As for the conservative movement, will they abandon conservatism in favor of Trumpism? That is more of an open question.

Assuming he remains in office, I suspect there will be some conservatives, like [Speaker of the House] Paul Ryan, who will have a transactional relationship with the president, allying on some issues but not others. Some conservatives, like [journalist] Bill Kristol, will continue to have an adversarial relationship with him. Others will just snuggle up to power. They will continue to claim to be conservatives, but they will have abandoned conservative values to Trump in any cases where those values conflict with his, such a free trade, limited government, and some important moral-values issues.

Conservatives never really controlled the Republican Party; they had a transactional relationship with the Republican establishment. So Trump didn't so much wrest control of the party from the conservatives as from the establishment. He came in and, like Michelangelo perceiving David in the stone, saw something that everybody else had missed, which was the disaffection of working-class Americans in places like Appalachia, where I grew up. These were people who felt betrayed by both parties. For a while they made their way into the Republican Party as Reagan Democrats, but after a few decades they decided that the Republican establishment had abandoned them, too. They never had a strong tie to conservatism. They were union people. Their link to the conservative movement was social issues.

Dan Schwartz '72

Nevada state treasurer

I AM a conservative, but we have a special situation here. Our governor, Brian Sandoval, has sort of divorced himself from the Republican Party, which was squarely for Trump. When I go out and speak to groups I ask, "Who's a conservative?" And everybody raises their hand. I ask, "Who's a constitutionalist?" Again, every hand goes up. But we're here to govern, not to be ideologues. So all of the conservative-versus-liberal talk ... people are more pragmatic. Here in Nevada, we have been promoting education-savings accounts; we have taken action against payday loans. Our brand of conservatism is more focused on results and real problems.

I don't think it really matters if Trump is or isn't a conservative. I've seen no consistency in his positions. He's not going to build a wall. He's not going to stop immigration — in Reno, contractors are six months behind on their construction schedules because they can't find enough workers. But he has put a stop to Elizabeth

“Here in Nevada, we have been promoting education-savings accounts; we have taken action against payday loans. Our brand of conservatism is more focused on results and real problems.”

— DAN SCHWARTZ '72



Warren, Bernie Sanders, and Nancy Pelosi, and that's the most important thing. You've had 20 or 30 years of Washington inserting itself into people's lives, and it has gummed up the works.

A lot of people without college degrees are politically engaged, and they don't like what the Democrats have done. Hillary Clinton and Mitt Romney made the same mistake of ignoring the white working class. That's writing off half the American population — you can't do that. Trump spoke to them. But this view of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* that he was backed solely by an army of illiterates is not true. I have been surprised by the number of college-educated professionals who voted for him, too.

The Republican Party does need to become more inclusive. But the counter-argument is that the Democrats can't just have a give-away economy. That's not how this country was built.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

SETTING THE SCENE:

Catherine Rampell '07

Nationally syndicated columnist for The Washington Post

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY is relatively hollowed out. They don't have a deep bench when it comes to the next presidential election. Beyond that, it's not clear that they have a strategy for mobilizing newly energized voters. There is a lot of anger at the grassroots level, but it is not clear if the party has figured out how to harness it and promote its own agenda.

Can the Democrats defeat the Trump agenda by just being the Party of No? Well, it seemed to work for Republicans. They ran for six years on repealing Obamacare without developing a viable replacement for it. Maybe Democrats can just try to block everything. Their tools are going to be limited.

People I have spoken to in the state parties did not feel that President Obama worked to connect the national party organization to the state and local parties, who are the ones knocking on doors, organizing, and recruiting candidates for the down-ballot offices. There is also the schism within the Democratic Party itself, between the so-called establishment, who supported Hillary Clinton and free trade or market-based solutions to economic problems, against this rising socialist tide, particularly among younger people, that was very enthusiastic for Bernie Sanders. Who now leads the party when these two major factions do not agree on some very basic issues?

“Democrats are increasingly concentrated in cities and along the coasts. They have become a party of groups: African Americans, Latinos, Jews, gays.”

— MARK MELLMAN '78



Mark Mellman '78

President and CEO, The Mellman Group; longtime Democratic pollster

THINGS ARE not good for the Democrats, but they're not as bad as they look. When you have a president in power for eight years who brought a lot of new people into office with him, you're going to lose some of that over time. But as a practical matter, we don't control any key institutions, and that's a problem for a party that wants to govern.

There's a whole set of people the party is not talking to. Hillary Clinton won 19 states; if the Democrats only win Senate seats in states that she won, they're stuck in the minority. She won 205 congressional districts; if they only win those, they don't get to a majority. So they have to be able to speak to people who were not spoken to in a persuasive way during the last presidential race.

There were three aspects to Clinton's loss that speak to some of the party's current problems. One is economic. Democrats have some great plans, but people don't understand their theory of the economy because they haven't presented one. Republicans do present a clear theory: Cut taxes, get rid of regulations, and business will grow. That may or may not be true — that's not the point — but it's understandable.

Second, there is a cultural problem. Democrats are increasingly concentrated in

cities and along the coasts. They have become a party of groups: African Americans, Latinos, Jews, gays. That makes it hard to connect with small-town America. Obviously, we have to be true to our values, but we have to do a better job of emphasizing our interest in there being one nation and one people.

Finally, there is an emotional piece. Many of Trump's less-educated white, working-class voters are people who feel that something has been taken away from them in our changing society. These are people who thought that people like them were economically central, culturally ascendant, and politically potent — and that the gains of other groups, especially racial minorities, have come at their expense. That also is something that Democrats have not spoken to well.

Since the election, people have been expressing their opposition to Trump's policies in the streets and in town halls, and I think that's great. But if the Democrats form what some have called a Tea Party of the Left, and go to war against other Democrats, that's more problematic. If senators such as Heidi Heitkamp in North Dakota [a Mellman client] or Joe Manchin in West Virginia don't have some freedom to take positions out of the party mainstream, that is going to be bad for the party. If we demand ideological purity on the left, we are not going to have a majority.

Eric Johnson '03

Texas House of Representatives and member of the national Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee

I'M NOT happy with how the last election turned out, but there is a bigger problem that has not gotten as much attention — and that is the structure of the Democratic Party at the state and local level. Over the last eight years, we have taken it on the chin in state legislatures across the country.

I wouldn't blame it on Barack Obama directly, but I would say that the national party has not prioritized state candidates and office holders. We have not viewed state legislatures as farm teams for our next crop of congressional or gubernatorial candidates. Republicans have done that very well. On the Democratic side, to be frank, people are obsessed with presidential politics. It's sexier. But you pay a price for putting so much focus on the highest office in the land to the exclusion of getting folks elected to offices that aren't as exciting, like state legislatures or even county offices.

Texas is moving toward becoming a purple state. It's the rate at which it is moving that people disagree on. I think it is overstated how quickly demographics will get us there. There is a theory that as the state becomes more brown, it will become more Democratic. But there is no evidence that Latino voters will be as loyal to the Democratic Party as, say, African American voters have been.

What will turn Texas purple sooner than identity politics is issues. When more people move to Texas, they see how bad Republicans are at actually governing. When you hand them the reins of power, they give you an education system that is ranked in the bottom five, wage stagnation, and low-paying jobs. At some point people will say, can we see what the opposition party looks like, maybe give them a chance?

Terri Sewell '86

U.S. representative from Alabama

ELECTIONS have consequences, so I think our party has taken this defeat seriously. We truly believe that our policies are in the best interests of the country, and we must rededicate ourselves to delivering that message everywhere. We are a big-tent party and always have been.

In recent elections, we have seen the rise of the Tea Party, the far right, and now the alt-right. This country still has a problem with race, and I would not be honest if I didn't say that I thought that had a lot to do with it. Trump's theme, Make America Great Again, and a lot of his rhetoric have been quite divisive. People want jobs, better opportunities for their children, and affordable health care. They want to be heard and matter. But somewhere along the line, the Rust Belt, the Deep South, and white



“We have to promote jobs, jobs, jobs . . . There are ways to promote equal opportunities as well as economic opportunities.”

— TERRI SEWELL '86



“There is a cyclical tide. Either the people who lost get fired up, or the people who won get disillusioned, or the people in the middle get fed up ...”

— HERMAN QUIRNBACH *83

labor felt neglected, and Trump took advantage of that.

Democrats have to win back our traditional base of workers, because we’re the ones defending collective bargaining and making sure that fair-labor standards are met. We have to promote jobs, jobs, jobs, and there is a way to have jobs, jobs, jobs without discrimination in the workplace. There are ways to promote equal opportunities as well as economic opportunities.

Herman Quirnbach *83

Iowa state senator

AT THE state level, the critical election was 2010. It was a Republican wave election, which is not unusual when the presidency is controlled by the opposite party, but the Republicans were particularly strategic by taking control in a lot of state legislatures and then using their power to redistrict them in a way that has really tipped the table in their favor. So we need to win some elections.

Barack Obama was very popular here in 2008 and 2012, but there is a cyclical tide. Either the people who lost get fired up, or the people who won get disillusioned, or the people in the middle get fed up, so you have this swing back and forth. After two terms of a Democratic president, one would have predicted a Republican win for the presidency. What can Democrats do to get the pendulum swinging the other way? I think it already is. You can see it in the town-hall meetings.

We have a base of enthusiasm to build on. Some of the issues that Republicans have been able to manipulate have died away. Same-sex marriage is now a settled issue, especially among young people. They care about the environment and education. A lot of them, though, are skeptical toward all political parties, the Democrats included. There is a group here called the Ames Progressive Alliance. Some of us in the local Democratic Party would like to bring them into the fold, but there is resistance. They want to keep the focus local and they don’t necessarily want to line up with either party. So we have to build credibility with those folks. We also need some new leadership that encourages people to run for local office. Those offices are not only stepping-stones — it was for me — but they are offices where you can get a whole lot done.

In the short term, we have to focus on the governorships. If we can take enough governorships in 2018, we will have a voice in the reapportionment process after the 2020 census. If we don’t make substantial progress, Republicans will gerrymander the districts again and Democrats will be stuck for another decade.

Josh Marshall ’91

Editor and publisher of the website Talking Points Memo

IT’S SOMEWHAT overstated how bad a position the Democrats are in. On the one hand, they have been devastated at the state level. Having said that, in the last three presidencies, the “in” party — the presidential party — has been devastated at the congressional and local level. It happened with Clinton, it happened with George W. Bush, and it happened with Obama. Over the last 20 years, we have had big wave elections, in both directions. Democrats are in a deep hole, but this is an era when holes get filled quickly.

Still, during the Clinton and Bush eras, there was a kind of centrist Democrat that just doesn’t exist anymore. This race for chair of the Democratic National Committee was a good illustration of this. Tom Perez and Keith Ellison are both pretty progressive, though the contest was portrayed as a stark battle between the Hillary and Bernie wings of the party. To a certain extent it was, but their differences are nothing like the policy differences among Democrats in the ’90s.

One of the critiques that came out of the 2016 election was that Democrats had nothing to say to declining industrial towns in the Midwest. I think that is greatly overstated. They had a lot of things to say, and most of the things in Trump’s platform were things that Democrats can’t and won’t say: that immigrants have taken your jobs or that we should be kicking ass around the world because people have hurt

us. But there were a lot of voters who voted for Obama in 2012 and voted for Trump four years later. You can motivate people to vote by more inclusive politics or by xenophobia. Obama did one, Trump did the other.

For the midterms, I think the Democrats need to paint a big picture of how society ought to be run and identify three or four big things they would do if they were in power. They need to articulate a policy agenda that gets people to consistently vote year after year because they believe it will improve their lives. That's complicated. One of the problems for the Democrats is that policy doesn't matter that much unless it is built into a politics. Democrats often fool themselves that they have the issue agenda covered because they have the policies. But if it's not woven together into a politics, it doesn't matter.

Jeff Merkley '82

U.S. senator from Oregon

OVER THE last four decades, virtually all the new income in America has gone to the top 10 percent. I grew up in a blue-collar community, and I saw the great economic leap forward in my parents' generation. People anticipated that it would continue, but something went terribly wrong in the mid-'70s, and part of it is that we created a tilted playing field for American manufacturing. We gave enormous advantages to our competitors. We have to address that, and take into account that automation is another emerging threat to middle-class jobs.

Democrats have to do a much better job connecting with rural America. I come from rural America; I have seen the impact on small towns of the changing economy. But rural America has benefited enormously from the Affordable Care Act. Nearly one out of three rural Oregonians is on the Oregon health plan, so eliminating the expansion of Medicaid is going to have a profound impact on their health care and peace of mind. Democrats have been standing up for rural America, but we need to strengthen that connection.

Jared Polis '96

U.S. representative from Colorado

WE'RE AT a record-low number of governors and state legislative bodies. We still got 3 million more votes for president, but in many ways that was due to the weakness of the Republican candidate. We are competitive in the House, other than the fact that the districts favor the Republicans. So the nation is divided now. Neither party is very popular.

I think that one of the ways Donald Trump was able to win was to distance himself from the traditional Republican brand. Now, of course, the Democrats are uniformly in opposition, which certainly makes it easier from an intellectual perspective and a marketing perspective to pick and choose the least popular policies that Trump pursues and market ourselves as the alternative.

Barack Obama's personal charisma and integrity didn't transfer to other office-seekers. You can't rely on one person to move a party forward. We always want to build our county and state parties. There are a lot of new, enthusiastic people who have joined the party. Transforming their excitement is going to be a big part of the challenge for all party leaders at all levels.

When I entered Congress, we had Democratic representatives from North Dakota, South Dakota, even Idaho. We need to run candidates with a compelling local story who can compete in every state. There's a different coalition to be built in every district, though.

Republicans are more comfortable being out of power. They like to attack and complain. That's what the Freedom Caucus does, and they're very good at it. Democrats actually like to be governing. ♦

Mark F. Bernstein '83 is PAW's senior writer.



“We need to run candidates with a compelling local story who can compete in every state. There’s a different coalition to be built in every district.”

— JARED POLIS '96

ike most of his fellow columnists, Ramesh Ponnuru '95 failed to predict the rise of Donald Trump. As far back as March 2016, he wrote for *Bloomberg Politics* that a Trump presidency “would be a rupture, and the party’s definition would be up for grabs.” It was, and it is, and so in the months since the election, Ponnuru has attempted to defend traditional Burkean conservatism from the Breitbart-fed invaders who have overrun the citadel.

Those who have not regularly read Ponnuru, a senior editor at *National Review*, can find him hard to pin down, but he has resisted marching lockstep with the White House agenda to #MakeAmericaGreatAgain. As he frequently noted during the early primaries, he had allegiances to his old Princeton friend Ted Cruz '92, to fellow Indian-American Bobby Jindal, and to Jeb Bush, for whom his wife worked. In November, he voted for independent candidate Evan McMullin, and he has made no secret of his disdain for the new president’s temperament and many of his policies.

**IN STYLE AND
PHILOSOPHY,
COLUMNIST
RAMESH
PONNURU '95
IS BUCKING
THE CROWD**

A Conservative’s Conservative

But Ponnuru enjoys his work. He quotes a friend who told him, “The thing about journalism is, you’re not paid all that much but your psychic income is much higher than your nominal income because it’s not that hard, you get to see your name in print, and you get to criticize people who annoy you.”

Close, but not quite. In person and in print, Ponnuru is mild and soft-spoken. Vitriol might be the last word one would use to describe his style. Ponnuru is a staunch Reaganite, to be sure, but in a hyperpartisan age what stands out about his work is his focus on policy rather than personalities.

In addition to his columns for *National Review* and *Bloomberg*, Ponnuru is a visiting fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. Add to that frequent tweets, blog posts, and appearances on CNN and the Sunday talk shows, and he is certainly prolific. He is also something of a prodigy, who entered Princeton just a few weeks after his 17th birthday and became a full-fledged columnist at 25.

Ponnuru grew up in the Kansas City suburbs, the son of two pediatricians. His father, who was Hindu, and his mother, who was Lutheran, met in India; Ponnuru’s older brothers were born there before the family immigrated to the United States and Ramesh was born. His youthful politics were more libertarian, but he turned towards traditional conservatism, writing for the *Princeton Sentinel*, a small publication that, he

BY MARK F.
BERNSTEIN '83



explains, tried to be more provocative and current than the staid *Princeton Tory*. While the *Tory* attracted writers who imagined themselves the next George F. Will *68, Ponnuru suggests that the *Sentinel* attracted those who aspired to be the next P.J. O'Rourke.

Still, the circle of campus conservatives was small and he made a name for himself, which he discovered in a startling way. Entering a dorm bathroom one day, he glanced at an ongoing graffiti war scrawled on the door to one of the stalls. Several students had been arguing over some contentious political issue, and one of them had prefaced an argument with, "I'm no Ramesh Ponnuru, but ..."

Professor Robert P. George, who advised Ponnuru on his thesis about abortion in 19th-century America, calls him "a true superstar," one of the top five students he has taught during his 31-year teaching career. What set Ponnuru apart was his willingness to challenge his own assumptions and then reason his way forward to a conclusion. "He's his own best critic," the professor says, "so his work is rigorously argued because of his willingness to take seriously and to meet counterarguments." He graduated *summa cum laude*.

him, for example, to oppose capital punishment.

In 2014, *Politico* named the Ponnurus to its list of 50 Washington power brokers, calling them leaders of the "reformocon" movement seeking to redirect Republicans back toward Reaganism from their wandering in the post-Bush wilderness. That movement, as events have unfolded, has not fared very well.

In a *mea culpa* published in May 2016, Ponnuru set out some of the things he had gotten wrong about Trump's candidacy, misjudging his appeal to moderate Republicans. "Perhaps my most fundamental mistake," he wrote with unaccustomed bitterness, "was to overestimate the will to live among Republican elites."

Withstanding considerable pressure to back the Republican nominee, including a barrage of racist tweets and emails, Ponnuru announced shortly before the election that he would vote for McMullin, a former CIA operative, instead. "You have no obligation to choose between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump," he wrote in Bloomberg. "If you vote for one of the less prominent candidates ... no lightning bolt will fell you and no policeman will knock on your door."

WHAT'S A CONSERVATIVE COLUMNIST TO DO? "I AM OBVIOUSLY GOING TO KEEP CALLING THEM AS I SEE THEM AND ADVOCATING WHAT I CONSIDER TO BE GOOD IDEAS."

Deferring admission to law school, Ponnuru instead took a job as a reporter for *National Review*, where he had interned after his junior year. His reporting soon drew attention from other conservatives, including Cruz, who had become a policy aide for George W. Bush's nascent presidential campaign. "Ramesh was the journalist to whom we would most often turn with a really complicated story," Cruz recalls, "with a story that involved significant policy nuance and complexity and that needed a reporter who could understand byzantine details."

One lodestar of Ponnuru's philosophy is his opposition to abortion. His first book, published in 2006, carried an uncharacteristically provocative title, *The Party of Death: The Democrats, the Media, the Courts, and the Disregard for Human Life*. In it he assails the above-named groups for supporting euthanasia and assisted suicide, as well as abortion. "*Roe* [v. *Wade*] should be overturned as an affront to the Constitution, justice, and democracy," he declared in his opening chapter. *The Party of Death* received rave reviews from talk-radio stalwarts Rush Limbaugh, Mark Levin, and Ann Coulter, and also from William F. Buckley Jr., who predicted that Ponnuru's book "will be accepted almost immediately as the seminal statement on human life."

The book appeared shortly after Ponnuru's decision to join the Catholic Church with his wife, April, now a senior adviser to the Conservative Reform Network, a nonprofit organization. They had been attending Mass for some time, he says, and having "loitered at the gate," finally decided to join. Although the Catholic doctrine on abortion fit Ponnuru's own views, he acknowledges that his faith has also shaped his politics, leading

Still, Trump's victory left Ponnuru, like many traditional conservatives, doing a lot of soul-searching. "I think we fell into the bad habit of overestimating our reach with the general public," he acknowledges. "So we have to start from an accurate assessment of where we are. We also need an accurate assessment of this president, who is not fundamentally a philosophical person and whose instincts and impulses are not ours." He believes conservatives should adopt more of a "transactional relationship" with Trump, working with him where it suits both their interests without fearing to oppose him when they disagree.

What's a conservative columnist to do? "I am obviously going to keep calling them as I see them and advocating what I consider to be good ideas," he insists, "but in this climate, it is particularly important to keep a level head." So far, he has supported several of Trump's Cabinet appointments, as well as his nomination of Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court. He opposes Trump's immigration ban, saying that it "has looked more like an attempt to make good on an ill-considered campaign promise than to figure out a sensible way of protecting our national security."

An open question is whether more seasoned figures in the administration, with a sounder grasp of policy, will control the new president's worst impulses.

"I think we all have to hope that," Ponnuru says. "But I just think that at the end of the day, he is the president. The presidency has not, as far as I can recall, ever worked great wonders in improving somebody's character."

Mark F. Bernstein '83 is PAW's senior writer.

PRINCETONIANS



Mark Stehle/AP Images

THE REALIST: Stefan Kruszewski '73 finds inspiration for paintings in surprising places — including PAW. A photo by Zachary Ruchman '10 that appeared in these pages seven years ago served as the basis of the snow-Pac-Man painting behind him. The large work in front, an “activist painting,” depicts homeless people warming themselves under a bridge in Harrisburg, Pa., where he lives. Kruszewski, a forensic neuropsychiatrist, has been painting since kindergarten and finds time to paint every day. ♦



PWN members in the San Diego living room of Jena Joyce '85 during a Thanksgiving volunteer effort. Back row, from left: Susan Mariscal Glockner '85, Joyce, Beverly Randez '94, Tania Homonchuk Swain '74, Elaine Vuong '90, Allie Liu '88, and Carol Hasson '76; front row, from left: Katy Atlas '03, Kathy Lacey '94, Susan Detwiler '87, and Ha Nguyen '86.

ESSAY

WOMEN IN THE SERVICE OF HUMANITY

Jolanne Luchak Stanton '77



Jolanne Luchak Stanton '77 is the chair of the Alumni Council Committee on Alumnae Initiatives.

In my Seattle-area dining room, nine Princeton women in classes ranging from 1977 to 2008 chatted last fall as their hands flew, stuffing colorful tote bags with food, gift cards for Thanksgiving turkeys, as well as toys, books, and games to brighten the holiday for families of women in crisis.

Earlier last fall, the Alumni Council Committee on Alumnae Initiatives hatched an idea designed to help Princeton women serve their communities: Princeton Women's Networks (PWN) in the Service of Humanity, an effort to create regional projects to benefit women and children. Alumnae answered the call, and in the following weeks we worked together from our far-flung cities to pull it off.

In Seattle, we each brought donations for Childhaven, a local nonprofit that

helps children of families suffering from abuse. That same month, about 150 alumnae in nine regions gathered to help women and children in their communities. Our first PWN service project was underway.

In Philadelphia, alumnae brought personal-care items to a homeless shelter, and in the Boston area, alumnae ran a clothing drive for under-resourced women seeking to enter the workforce. Women in New York; Washington, D.C.; Portland, Ore.; Princeton; San Diego; and northern California held similar events.

The Thanksgiving theme struck a chord with the Seattle PWN. We thought about the many times we had planned our own holiday dinners, never worrying if we'd have enough food on the table. Now we talked about women in very different situations, often precipitated by a patch of bad luck.

Princeton women make deep connections and find inspiration in these gatherings.

Mentoring conversations tend to crop up in a room of women from several generations, and the sharing goes both ways. Often, younger women are eager to learn from the experiences of their elders: "How did you juggle it all?" Younger women also advise older alumnae, sharing advice about the ever-changing workplace, for example.

Princeton women make deep connections and find inspiration in these gatherings. "She Roars," the landmark Princeton women's conference in 2011, gathered almost 1,300 alumnae and guests for lectures, seminars, and meals, and many alumnae found magic in it. Since then we've helped alumnae start PWNs as part of regional associations around the country and the world. Our homepage offers online resources for volunteers, including a guide on how to start a PWN group, ideas for easy events, and tips for attracting volunteers and developing leadership.

While working together last fall, we forged relationships and discussed what's next. Many of the nine PWNs expressed interest in making PWNs in the Service of Humanity an annual event. Our efforts did not go unnoticed by Princeton; in May, it was announced that PWN would receive the Alumni Council Award for Community Service for encouraging and inspiring acts of service.

The Alumnae Initiatives Committee is using this model for a variety of PWN events in the future: We help identify women leaders throughout the world, we gather them around a unity of purpose while honoring a variety of approaches, and we create an ongoing community of support for their work. So we'll gather again and again — for friendship, support, and fun. And we'll gather again, as we did last fall, in the service of humanity. ♦

On the web: alumni.princeton.edu/women

READING ROOM: JONATHAN TAPLIN '69

CREATIVE DESTRUCTION OR DESTRUCTIVE CREATION?



Whatever might be said about 21st-century monopolists, they get much better press than their 19th-century predecessors. Where John D. Rockefeller and Andrew

Carnegie were denounced as robber barons, Facebook's Mark Zuckerberg, Amazon's Jeff Bezos '86, and Google's Eric Schmidt '76 are generally revered.

That might be because the modern moguls own many of the media platforms, but Jonathan Taplin '69 insists that those companies, along with other tech giants, are just as great a threat to America as the plutocrats' trusts were more than a century ago. That is one of the themes of his new book, *Move Fast and Break Things: How Facebook, Google, and Amazon Cornered Culture and Undermined Democracy* (Little, Brown).

Once upon a time, the internet was touted as the great democratizer, and Taplin, director emeritus at the University of Southern California's Annenberg Innovation Lab, insists that it still can be. Contrary to popular mythology, though, many tech innovators espouse a libertarian or objectivist ethos perhaps best expressed by PayPal founder Peter Thiel, who once declared, "Competition is for losers."

Most importantly, though, the internet giants have become monopolies because they can, and both political parties have acquiesced by rarely acting against them. "[I]nequality is not the inevitable by-product of technology and globalization or even the lopsided distribution of



What he's recently read: *Louis Brandeis, A Life* by Melvin Urofsky. "Brandeis has been the most consequential jurist of the last century. His thinking on monopoly shows that outsized corporate power poisons democracy. He embraced federalism in a way progressives seemed to have abandoned. ... I think a new progressive federalism needs to be embraced in the age of Trump."

genius," Taplin writes. "It is a direct result of ... policymakers [acting] as if the rules that apply to the rest of the economy do not apply to internet monopolies. Taxes, antitrust regulation, intellectual-property law — all are ignored in regulating the internet industries."

Although it might not be immediately apparent, the consequences for consumers and society have been dire. Taplin cites an old business adage: If you're getting the product for free, you're the product. Google and Facebook seem free, but users' private data is mined and sold to advertisers, who are charged exorbitant monopoly rates. Amazon uses its leverage to drive down what it pays authors and publishers, who cannot survive without their book on the site.

More people than ever are consuming books, music, and movies, but less money than ever is going to the artists.

"The internet is very good at creating winner-takes-all scenarios," Taplin observes in an interview.

In 1965, Taplin got backstage at the Newport Folk Festival, where he met Albert Grossman, manager for Bob Dylan; Peter, Paul and Mary; Janis Joplin; and others. Grossman hired Taplin, while still a student, to be road manager for the Jim Kweskin Jug Band and Judy Collins. Taplin later managed Dylan, Levon Helm, and The Band, among others. Later, he produced two Martin Scorsese films and several acclaimed PBS documentaries. He later was an investment banker for Merrill Lynch, and in 1996 founded Intertainer, the first internet video-on-demand service.

Taplin proposes several internet reforms, such as declaring Google a natural monopoly and regulating it like the phone and electric companies. He also posits that authors, musicians, or filmmakers could form cooperatives to negotiate with YouTube or Google for fairer distribution prices.

Taplin advocates against "techno-determinism," the belief that the internet simply represents the natural order of the universe. He cites self-driving vehicles, which could put tens of thousands of truck drivers out of work while making companies such as Google or Tesla rich.

"There is no reason to believe that just because Larry Page or Mark Zuckerberg think something should be a certain way, that that is the way the world should go. That is a decision that we as a society should make," he says.

"I am not a Luddite. I believe in technology," he says. "I'm just saying that the way they're currently set up is wrong, and we have to rethink it. And then we can go forward again." ♦ *By M.F.B.*

NEW RELEASES



Walk the Trails In and Around Princeton University (Princeton University Press) by **Sophie Glover '87** is a pocket-friendly spiral-bound guide that shows readers 16 different walking paths around Princeton. Along with maps and photos, the book has 16 full-color postcards.



Geek Girl Rising (St. Martin's Press) by **Samantha Walravens '90** and Heather Calbot gives voice to the female engineers, entrepreneurs, investors, and innovators in the tech world. These women are busting the "brogrammer" stereotype and becoming the role models for the next generation. ♦



Who's Next?

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Tiger of the Week



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archives, and
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READING ROOM: WILL BARDENWERPER '98

THE CAPTIVATING CAPTIVE



In 2006, a group of young soldiers headed off to war in Iraq. They didn't go to the front lines, however. Instead, they were assigned to guard an important prisoner. They had to watch him closely, tend to him every day, and, slowly, they got to know him. He was friendly, and soon they found themselves liking him. When one soldier was urgently called home, he went to the prisoner's cell to say he wouldn't be coming the next day. Years later, the soldiers still puzzle over their feelings about him. Because this prisoner was not a good man — he was Saddam Hussein.

The question of how the soldiers developed a relationship with a notoriously ruthless dictator drives Will Bardenwerper '98's new book, *The Prisoner in His Palace* (Scribner), which portrays the weeks leading up to Hussein's execution through the eyes of his guards.

"They expected to meet Hannibal Lecter, this diabolically evil killer, but that's not the person they experienced," Bardenwerper says in an interview. "They encountered a kindly, charming,



What he's recently read: "*Two and Two: McSorley's, My Dad, and Me* by Rafe Bartholomew, about the iconic bar I used to live near — and occasionally frequent — in the East Village."

avuncular older man who reminded a lot of them of their grandfathers."

Bardenwerper, an Army veteran, discovered this story after he had left the military and was working for a *New York Times* reporter researching a book on the Iraq War.

The soldiers' reactions to Hussein echoed Bardenwerper's own experience as a young officer whose idealistic notions about the Iraqi conflict were quickly challenged by those he encountered in Iraq.

"We would meet these local leaders



A soldier stands in the cell where Saddam Hussein was detained for three years before being hanged in 2006.

From top: Tim Coburn; Ali Al-Saadi/AFP/Getty Images

who had ties to the insurgency, [and] they would seem perfectly charming,” Bardenwerper says. “But we also knew that they were either indirectly or directly related to insurgent activity and some very bad things.”

The Prisoner in His Palace is an unusual war story. It takes place far from the battlefield, but it nevertheless bumps up against the themes underlying many stories of war: the gradual loss of innocence and the discovery that war is a complicated, confusing affair.

The unit’s superiors had given strict orders that the prisoner be treated with care; the Bush administration didn’t want a repeat of the notorious Abu Ghraib scandal, and they believed Hussein’s death sentence would pave the way for reconciliation among Iraq’s highly fragmented populace.

But mere moments after Hussein’s body swung from its noose, his executioners — members of the Shia community, which had suffered greatly under the dictator — began abusing his body. Steve Hutchinson, one of the guards, had seen his role “as participating in an ugly, but noble, mission,” Bardenwerper says. Hutchinson was disillusioned by how quickly the goal of peace devolved into sectarian violence. “What that experience basically illustrated to him was: ‘What was this all for? Why did I work so hard to do the right thing, only to see it all evaporate?’” Hutchinson, a seasoned combat veteran, ultimately quit the Army because of his experiences.

Bardenwerper makes no judgments about the guards’ relationship with the cruel dictator who had terrorized his own people, nor does he believe Hussein ever repented his actions. Rather, Bardenwerper believes Hussein remained convinced his iron-fisted leadership had been necessary to keep Iraq stable.

“On more than one occasion he told interrogators and the guards, essentially: ‘You guys don’t know what you’re getting into. ... You will wish you had me back,’” Bardenwerper says. “This was, of course, all a part of his extreme narcissism, but at the same time the last 14 years haven’t exactly proven him wrong.” ♦ *By E.B. Boyd ’89*

Newsmakers



FRANK DEFORD '61, who in 2012 won a National Humanities Medal

for changing how we think about sports, has delivered his final NPR commentary — for a total of 1,656 during his 37 years on the job. You can read his farewell here: <http://npr/2pd3MHB>.



ALE HAKALA '03 was named in January by President Obama

as a recipient of the Presidential Early Career Award for Scientists and Engineers — the highest honor the government bestows on scientists in the early stages of their careers. Hakala is a Pittsburgh-based geochemist at the U.S. Department of Energy’s National Energy Technology Laboratory.

BARBARA KRAUTHAMER '00 was named dean of the Graduate School at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Krauthamer is an associate



professor of history and is widely considered a leading historian

of African American slavery and emancipation. She has been on the UMass Amherst faculty since 2008. ♦

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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](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 1940



Jacob Curtis Lamp '40

Curt died Dec. 12, 2015, quietly at home in Bryn Mawr, Pa.

Born in McKeesport, Pa., he came to Princeton from Atlantic City (N.J.) High School.

At Princeton he majored in chemistry, rowed on crew, was in Whig-Clio, and took his meals at Campus Club. His senior-year roommate was Bob Westlake.

After Princeton he earned a medical degree at Jefferson Medical School in Philadelphia and served in the Army Medical Corps. He embarked on a career in plastic and maxillofacial surgery, chiefly at Bryn Mawr Hospital, but also at Children's Hospital of Philadelphia, Temple University, and the Alfred I. DuPont Institute Hospital for Children, among others.

In his private life Curt was a sailor, captaining the yachts *Curtanna Too* and *Enhancer*.

Curt is survived by his sons, William and Robert; daughters Ali, Tracey, and Heather; and several grandchildren.

THE CLASS OF 1944



John T.H. Johnson '44

Jerry died April 3, 2017, in Baltimore, Md.

He prepared for Princeton at Gilman and Kent schools.

At Princeton he majored in biology, played varsity lacrosse, was in Colonial Club, and roomed with George Chester. In February 1943 he went to Johns Hopkins Medical School, and he became a captain in the Army with a surgical specialty.

Jerry married Eleanor Boyd in 1946, and they had three children. He became chief of orthopedic surgery at several hospitals, and consulted for hospitals in England and Africa. He and his wife were active in garden and nature groups in Baltimore and on Sanibel Island, Fla.

Jerry loved Princeton and attended seven major reunions. His father was a member of the Class of 1912, and there were six other Princeton relatives of that period.

After Ellie died, he married Patricia Dixon. They traveled extensively and were bird

watchers and nature lovers. He retired in 1990 and lived near Baltimore.

He was predeceased by Patricia. Jerry is survived by children Polly Bayrd, Bill Johnson, and Anne Befort; seven grandchildren; three great-grandchildren; two step-great-granddaughters. Another great-granddaughter is expected in June.

THE CLASS OF 1945

Charles D. Towers Jr. '45

On April 30, 2015, the class lost one of its more colorful members when Charlie passed away. Charlie, who was larger than life and always wonderfully gregarious with his classmates and others, entered Princeton from The Hill School in the footsteps of his father, a member of the Class of 1916, and ahead of his brother, William B. Towers '48. Accelerating his studies, he earned a degree in politics in 1944, after playing both freshman and varsity football and joining Cottage Club.

Following service as a Navy amphibious officer — seeing combat in the Pacific and being awarded the Silver Star — he joined his father's law firm in Jacksonville, where he remained for a lifetime of accomplishment. In 1950 he married Louise "Beezie" DeVore, and they had five daughters. Charlie was very active in his community and church, serving as an elder in the First Presbyterian Church and chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and United Way.

After more than 40 years of marriage to Beezie, he lost her to leukemia and married Katy Warren. She survives him along with his daughters, Cathy Hardage, Morley Towers, Susan Dennard, Sally Ragsdale, and Margaret Towers; and 11 grandchildren. The class expresses its sympathy to his family. We were privileged to participate with them in the retirement of the clapper, which Charlie had taken from the tower of Nassau Hall.

THE CLASS OF 1948

C. Donald Little '48

Don was born in Millville, N.J., but grew up in and was a lifelong resident of Wildwood Crest, N.J.

His Navy service of 12 years was spent nearby, probably out of the Lakehurst Naval Air

Station, as a blimp pilot and in other aircraft off the New Jersey shore, defending Atlantic coastal shipping against German submarines.

While still in Navy service he was at Princeton, probably as part of the V-5 program. After college he had a 33-year career in banking at Union Trust Co., later renamed PNC Bank, retiring as senior vice president.

He served as a volunteer fireman and on the staff as a building inspector in Wildwood Crest. At home he enjoyed woodworking and other crafts, his pets, crossword puzzles, and soup-making.

Don died March 6, 2017, at age 92. He is survived by his wife, Barbara; sons Harry, Donald, and James; daughter Patti; and eight grandchildren.



C. William Neuhauser '48

Bill was born and grew up in Washington, D.C. He was a founder and leader of companies in both investment securities and ocean shipping.

After two years at Princeton in the Navy V-12 program, he graduated from George Washington University in 1949 and joined the Marines. He joined our classmate George Ferris in his family firm in Washington, D.C.

Early in the 1950s he left Ferris to be the founding partner of his own investment firm. In the 1960s he became president of Industrial Opportunity, a subsidiary of Sea-Land Services. At Sea-Land he was instrumental in helping several other companies launch both manufacturing and distribution operations in Puerto Rico.

In 1970 Bill became a vice president of Sea-Land, then an executive in several other ocean shipping organizations, and for two years he was chairman of the shipping industry's National Maritime Council. He also was a longtime faculty member at the Maine Maritime Academy.

Bill and Joan, his late wife of 46 years, had two children, Charles W. '74 and Anna L. Neuhauser, and a grandson. Upon marriage to his second wife, Marie, who survives him, Bill became a stepfather of four and step-grandfather of eight. He died March 9, 2017, at an assisted-living facility in Bethesda, Md. He was 91.



Francis F. Rosenbaum '48

Pete died March 29, 2017, in New York.

Born Nov. 26, 1926, in New York City, he attended Taft School, was on active Navy duty in the North Atlantic during World War II, and was an honors graduate of what is now the Woodrow Wilson SPIA.

Pete's father, Francis F. 1920; son Michael '81; and granddaughter Erin '11 all were

coxswains for their year's varsity crew. A longtime member of our class executive committee, Pete was also a perennially leading Annual Giving campaigner.

We remember him as one of the most loyal and conscientious leaders of our class. He was a partner in his family's and other Wall Street firms and a leader in New York-area philanthropy and volunteering. He served as president of the Baron de Hirsch Fund of the Buttonwood Foundation and treasurer of the Jewish Guild for the Blind, and was a leading supporter of the Jewish Home for the Elderly, located in Fairfield, Conn., near the Rosenbaum country home. Pete was on the board of governors of the Princeton Club of New York and was a trustee of the Princeton Rowing Association.

Pete and Joyce were married Aug. 9, 1957. She survives him, as do two sons, two grandsons, and two granddaughters.

THE CLASS OF 1951



W.E. Brown '51

Bill was born March 26, 1930, in Little Falls, N.J., to William H. and Helen Krieg Brown.

At Princeton he majored in civil engineering, was active in Dial Lodge, and roomed with Jack Moran and Ed Spencer. He served in the Navy's civil engineering corps for three years. He and Sally Hammond were married in 1956.

After six years with Raymond International, he made a major career change in 1961 and went to Ford Motor Co. to work on long-range product planning. In 1971 Ford sent Bill to Washington, D.C., as its director of regulatory and technical affairs to interface with the government agencies dealing with vehicle safety and auto emissions. He retired from Ford in 1988.

He logged many years of outstanding service to Princeton and to '51, culminating with his role as our class president from 1991 to 2001.

Bill died Sept. 23, 2015, in Hilton Head Island, S.C. He was predeceased by his uncle, Edward Brown '30; and is survived by his wife, Sally; son Bill Jr. '83; and grandsons William Jacob '14, Nathaniel Thomas, and Luke Austin.

Contributions in his memory to the National Parkinson Foundation, 200 SE First St., Suite 800, Miami, FL 33131 would be most appreciated.



D.A. Hill '51

David was born Aug. 19, 1927, in Syracuse, N.Y., to Allen and Esther Hagenbucher Hill.

He graduated from Syracuse Central High School in 1945 and served in the First Cavalry Division in Japan before coming to Princeton.

At Princeton he was a physics major,

belonged to Cannon, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He was awarded the Kusaka Prize, graduating *summa cum laude*. He roomed with Bill Babson and Harry Emlet. He earned a Ph.D. in high-energy physics from MIT in 1954. His was a life dedicated to nuclear science.

After his time on the MIT faculty, he went on to senior research positions with General Electric, Vitro Corp., and Thompson Ramo Wooldridge, concentrating on isotope separation. Active in developing isotopes used for medical imaging, he held five patents and was elected a fellow of the American Physical Society.

For recreation, he first sailed his wooden ketch on Chesapeake Bay and later a 35-foot sloop on Caribbean waters.

David died June 23, 2015, at home in Tarzana, Calif. Services were held at the First Presbyterian Church in Bel Air, Md. He is survived by his wife, Elaine; three children; two stepchildren; 10 grandchildren; and their families. His brothers John and Robert predeceased him.



William M. Iler '51

Bill was born Nov. 13, 1926, in New York City to Alexander and Gladys Borden Iler.

He attended St. Paul's School. At Princeton he was an economics major, belonged to Cottage Club, rowed, and was in ROTC. He roomed with Charlie Beattie, Peter Fleming, and Roby Harrington.

He served in the Army in the Korean War. After three years of military service, he followed his maternal forebears, the Bordenes of Fall River Iron Works, and worked in the textile industry in New York and then in Boston until his death. Bill married Edith "Deedie" Devens, daughter of Charlie Devens, a one-time pitcher for the New York Yankees in the Babe Ruth era and later president of Putnam Investors Fund.

He was a member of the Union Boat Club of Boston, where he served for many years on the executive committee and participated in the 1959 crew that raced at Henley.

Bill died peacefully Aug. 23, 2015, in Beverly, Mass., and is survived by Deedie, children Edith Wiedemann, Matthew, Samuel, and Alexander, their families; and his brother Alexander.

Services were held at St. John's Episcopal Church in Beverly Farms, Mass. Donations to Princeton in his memory would be most appreciated.

K.S. Marechal '51

Kelsey was born June 16, 1929, in Dayton, Ohio, to Greer and Harriet Herschler Marechal.

At Princeton he was active in the band, WPRU, Theatre Intime, and Prospect Club. He earned his bachelor's degree later at Columbia.

Kelsey initially lived in Greenwich Village, where he was active in politics and became a supporter and close friend of Ed Koch, later the mayor of New York. In the 1960s he was proprietor of the Limelight, a restaurant and pub on Sheridan Square in the Village and a well-known nightspot for folk singers and civil-rights activists.

He began spending time in the Hamptons and eventually moved to Sagaponack, a village in the town of Southampton, Long Island. He renewed his childhood love of horses and plunged into the equestrian world. He rode with the Smithtown (N.Y.) Hunt and became a technical delegate for the U.S. Equestrian Federation.

In the 1980s he went into real estate; his last affiliation as an associate real-estate broker was with Sotheby's in Bridgehampton.

Kelsey died Dec. 1, 2015, in Southampton Hospital. He was 86. He was predeceased by his brother, Greer Marechal Jr. '43, and his stepbrother, George S. Heyer Jr. '52. He is survived by his step-nephew, William M. Heyer '88.



R.R. McCampbell '51

Nipper was born Oct. 25, 1929, in Binghamton, N.Y., to Richard and Sarah English McCampbell.

Nipper prepared at the Breck School in Minneapolis, Minn. At Princeton he was active in the Glee Club and St. Paul's Society, belonged to Cap and Gown, and played 150-pound football and lacrosse.

After two years in the Navy he worked for the Valley National Bank in Phoenix. By 1965 he had moved to the Marquette National Bank in Minneapolis, where he was director of marketing.

Toward the end of his banking career, Nipper became seriously interested in rugs. By around 1990 he was fully occupied in trading rugs woven in the Caucasus regions of Azerbaijan, Dagestan, and Armenia that were generally 80 to 100 years old. He didn't buy knotted carpets, but rather *soumaks*, a woven kilim with embroidery covering 100 percent of its surface. In one trip he examined more than 1,000 rugs before picking the 21 that he purchased. He used to go to Turkey three or four times a year, sometimes spending the winter there.

Nipper died Oct. 1, 2015, at home in Tofte, Minn., and is survived by his wife, Perihan; children Sarah, Duncan, and Duff "Stuart"; and two grandchildren.

Stephen B. Wiley '51

Steve was born June 21, 1929, in Morristown, N.J., to J. Burton and Katherine Pellett Wiley.

At Princeton he was a politics major, graduated *cum laude*, was active in the Student Federalists, and belonged to Charter. He roomed with Bill Cobb and Cliff Starrett.



He married Judith Alexander in 1953, graduated from Columbia Law School in 1954, and served in the Army from 1954 to 1956.

Steve was co-founder of the law partnership Meyner and Wiley and later a founding partner of Wiley, Malehorn, Sirota & Raynes. He also established First Morris Bank & Trust, now Provident Financial Services; and Morris Cablevision, now part of Cablevision.

Steve served in the New Jersey legislature from 1972 to 1977 as the first Democratic senator from Morris County in 60 years and later ran for the Democratic nomination for governor in 1985. While in the legislature, he chaired the education committee.

Steve died Oct. 8, 2015, at home in Shelburne, Vt. He was predeceased by a son, Matthew; brothers Jack and Andrew '45; and his sister, Margaret Anderson.

At the time of his death, he was survived by his wife, Judith, who died March 11, 2017; and his brother Joseph, who died Feb. 21, 2017. He is survived by children Jonathan, Katharine Laud, and Benjamin, and five grandchildren.

THE CLASS OF 1952



Robert E. Field '52

Bob came to Princeton from Messick High School in Memphis, Tenn. He was a regional scholarship holder and majored in philosophy. He

joined Prospect, where he was chair of the house committee and on the bicker committee. Other connections were the Glee Club, Students for Democratic Action, French Club, and Orange Key schools committee. He was manager of the calendar committee. Bob roomed with Davis Roach, Dan Wilkes, and John Thompson.

After graduation he earned a Fulbright scholarship to study French literature in Paris. He married Mary Ann Brown, and they had two boys, Scott and Jonathan.

Bob worked for Procter & Gamble for some years, then taught math for two years in a Memphis independent school before taking up work in accounting for Holiday Inn. All of this happened before our 25th reunion.

We hadn't heard from him since, but we just learned that he died May 9, 2012, in Tucson. His gravestone bears the words "Proudly served his country in the Korean War, Germany 1953-1955."

THE CLASS OF 1953

Donald K. Conover '53

Don was born in Brooklyn and came to Princeton from Poly Prep Country Day School. He majored in basic engineering, joined Dial Lodge, and was an officer of the Outing Club and Mountaineering Club.

Don spent most of his professional life in the



Bell system, first with Western Electric and then with AT&T.

After spending time at MIT in 1964 and 1965 with a Sloan Fellowship and earning a master's of science degree in industrial management, Don's career focused increasingly on the relationship between an organization and its personnel.

He was interested in the way corporate education shifted from teaching people how to fit into a smoothly working process to a concern for the way an individual confronts personal change "to be effective in a world of ambivalence and ambiguity."

Don always enjoyed travel and exploration, and in retirement he and his wife, Patti, traveled abroad on a regular basis. He cultivated a lifelong interest in bullfighting and contributed reviews and articles to *Taurine Bibliophiles of America*.

Don died peacefully March 28, 2017, near his home in Newtown, Pa. He is survived by his wife, Patti; sons Malcolm and Paul '80; and Paul's two children, Catherine and Matthew.



Jervis Finney '53

Jervis, a greatly respected figure in Maryland law and politics for half a century, died April 9, 2017, of congestive heart failure at his home in the Charlesbrook

neighborhood of Baltimore County, Md. He is survived by his wife of 42 years, Patricia Jane Voneiff; two sons; and four granddaughters.

Jervis came to Princeton from Phillips Academy and majored in politics in the American civilization program. He was a member of Ivy Club, active in the Student Christian Association, and he served as a chapel deacon.

After graduation, Jervis served in the military as a paratrooper. He graduated from Harvard Law School in 1958 and began a lifelong association with the firm of Ober, Kaler, Grimes & Shriver in Baltimore.

Jervis started his political career with the Robert A. Taft campaign of 1952. He was elected to the Baltimore County Council in 1962 and to the Maryland State Senate in 1966. After a failed campaign for Baltimore County executive, President Gerald R. Ford named Jervis U.S. attorney for Maryland in 1975.

His term in that position was dominated by the political corruption trial of former Gov. Marvin Mandel and several other public officials. When those trials ended in convictions in 1978, Jervis stepped down as U.S. attorney and returned to his law firm. Former Maryland Gov. Robert Ehrlich '79 said of him, "He was one of the best lawyers in the country and a dominant figure in Maryland politics for 50 years."

In his spare time, Jervis and his partner won a Canadian and U.S. squash doubles

championship in 1997 for 55-year-olds. He was inducted into the Maryland State Squash Hall of Fame in 2005.



Howard McClure Jr. '53

Howard was born in Lancaster, Pa., and came to Princeton from Middletown High School. He was on the freshman and sophomore council and was executive secretary and vice chairman of the Undergraduate Council. He served on the Honor Committee and the Elections Committee, and was director of the Campus Blood Drive.

After graduation Howard earned a medical degree from the University of Rochester School of Medicine and then was a student fellow in the department of pathology. He was an intern and resident at the V.A. Hospital and Parkland Memorial Hospital in Dallas, Texas, from 1958 to 1961.

After serving as a research fellow in the department of physiology at Dartmouth, Howard went into private practice in internal medicine and cardiology in Dallas. He was an honorary member and past president of the Texas Heart Association.

Howard died March 30, 2017. He is survived by his wife, Wynona; three children; nine grandchildren; and nine great-grandchildren.

THE CLASS OF 1954



Earle E. Baruch Jr. '54

After a brief illness, Earle died April 5, 2016, at Stuart Meyer Hospice House in Flagler, Fla. Born in Philadelphia, he graduated from Kent School.

At Princeton he was a member of Tiger Inn, played varsity golf, and majored in politics. He subsequently graduated from Temple Law School and joined Pepper, Hamilton & Scheetz in Philadelphia. He ultimately settled on a career as an international management consultant. He retired at age 50 to focus on his investments and real estate.

Earle was a lifelong golfer with membership in many prestigious clubs. He was chairman of the 1971 U.S. Open and served on the financial board of the United States Golf Association. However, his greatest love was his family.

The class sends condolences to his wife of 63 years, Macy; daughter Lyn; sons Earle and Philip; eight grandchildren; and one great-grandchild.



Hugh G. Hardy '54 *56

Hugh died March 16, 2017, from a cerebral hemorrhage resulting from a fall in New York City.

Born in Majorca, Spain, where his father was writing a novel, he attended Deerfield Academy. Hugh was an architecture major at Princeton and a member of Cloister Inn. He designed

sets for Theatre Intime and the Triangle Club and also earned a master of fine arts degree at Princeton. He then spent a tour of duty in the Army Corps of Engineering as a drafting instructor. He began his professional career in New York City, working with the theatrical and set-lighting designer Jo Mielziner.

Hugh's career was legendary. He redesigned the Majestic Theater in downtown Brooklyn, the New Victory Theater, the Central Synagogue on Lexington Avenue, the information center in Central Park, the Rainbow Room at Rockefeller Center, the Windows on the World in the World Trade Center after the first bombing, and the Claire Tow Theater on top of the Vivian Beaumont Theater at Lincoln Center, to name a few. His work in the city was diverse and vibrant. He was the kind of architect who could use "pizzazz" in a sentence without irony.

Hugh headed three architectural practices during his career. "Good morning, sunshine" was one of his greetings. "Happy day" was another, but the best exclamation that summed up his six-decade career was "Onward!"

He is survived by his wife, Tiziana, and their children Sebastian '89 and Penelope. The class extends condolences to them in their loss.



THE CLASS OF 1955

George F. Bernardin '55

George, born July 8, 1933, in Andover, Mass., died Feb. 18, 2017, after a sudden illness at St. Vincent Hospital in Worcester, Mass. He graduated from Phillips Academy, Princeton, and Harvard Law School.

A dedicated counselor, George also served as director of corporate purchasing and transportation at Saint-Gobain until his retirement in 1991. He ran a private law practice in Worcester for 20 years after retirement.

Known for service to the community, George lent his expertise in planning, law, and finance to help organizations thrive. Signal in this community service was the dedication of the George F. Bernardin Oxford House, a residential facility for at-risk teenage boys.

George treasured his time spent with family every summer at Rye Beach, N.H., and maintaining extensive gardens at home.

A gifted gardener, he contributed to the transformative growth of the Tower Hill Botanical Garden in Boylston from its inception through its development into a regional and state treasure, serving as honorary trustee.

George lent his leadership to protecting and preserving open spaces. With his wife, Barbara, he embraced travel adventures to far-flung locales: from Antarctica to Petra, Jordan; to St. Petersburg to South Africa. Barbara survives him, as well as daughter Susan '88 and son John.



Peter S. Birk '55

Peter was born Jan. 20, 1934, in Wurzburg, Germany. He died Oct. 17, 2016, in Silver Spring, Md. He lives in memory as the individual who informed

anyone willing to listen that "German is a spitting language."

Coming from Lincoln High School in Jersey City, N.J., he joined Terrace Club, majored in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, and wrote his thesis on the "Diplomatic History of the Confederacy."

Peter was a caring husband, loving father, beloved Oppa, kind step-grandfather, and cherished physician. He is survived by his wife, Rebecca; children Jennifer Shirah Birk Goldschmidt, Dr. Daniel Meier Birk, and Aaron Jacob Birk; grandchildren Isaac Ari Lev Goldschmidt, Amelie Ruth Goldschmidt, and Bella Esther Birk; and step-grandchildren Lauren and Lilly Serpan. Peter left many in sorrow. To his survivors, the class offers condolences.



Joseph O. O'Brien '55

Joseph was born March 11, 1933, in Memphis, Tenn., to Florence Orgill and Thomas John O'Brien. He died March 29, 2017, at the King's Daughters

and Sons Home in Bartlett, Tenn.

He was a graduate of Pentecost Garrison School for Boys in Memphis and the Taft School in Watertown, Conn. He graduated from Princeton with a degree in mechanical engineering.

In 1958, he joined T.J. O'Brien Engineering, founded by his father in 1922. Joseph was president and CEO from 1958 to 2002, and sold the business in 2002. He continued doing engineering work with BeaconMedaes, a global supplier of medical air and vacuum equipment, for local and regional hospitals.

Joseph was past president of the Memphis chapter of the American Society of Heating, Refrigeration, and Air Conditioning Engineers. He was a member of the American Society of Chemical Engineers, St. John's Episcopal Church, the Rotary Club, and the Memphis Country Club. Joseph was a past president of the Princeton Alumni Association and a member and former president of the Memphis Hunt and Polo Club. He was actively involved on the advisory board of the King's Daughters and Sons Home, where he raised money for more than 25 years.

Joseph is survived by his wife, Leonora Horgan O'Brien, and son Edward Orgill O'Brien.

James B. Owens '55

Jim was born May 16, 1933, in Tientsin, China, to Lillian Braswell Owens and A. Bingham Owens. He died March 14, 2017, from complications of multiple myeloma. He was 83.

At Princeton, Jim rowed on the varsity crew,



earned a bachelor's degree in chemical engineering, and joined Quadrangle Club.

His first career was in the computer industry and included work at IBM and General Electric. He began a second career in commercial and industrial real estate when he joined Kidder, Mathews & Segner in 1976, where he advanced to principal and worked until he retired in 1997.

He participated in a mission to Ethiopia to administer polio immunizations. Jim was named Rotarian of the Year in 2004 for his work in the Belleview Breakfast Rotary Club as charter member and president and in the Rotary Foundation.

Music was a big part of his life. He sang barbershop and enjoyed entertaining friends with his harmonica. Jim's love of sailing started as a young man; he spent many happy sailing vacations with his family.

Jim was predeceased by his brother, Bingham. He is survived by his wife of 53 years, Katie; sons Bingham and Craig; daughters-in-law Valerie and Katy; grandchildren Nell and Charlie; and sisters Duval and Laura.



Glenn D. Paige '55

Glenn was born June 28, 1929, and he died Jan. 22, 2017, in Honolulu.

He originally entered Princeton with the Class of '51, but postponed his education for four years of military service. He came to us from Phillips Exeter Academy. At Princeton he majored in politics and his thesis was titled "The Decision to Intervene in Korea — 1950."

Glenn taught at Seoul National University, Princeton University, and the University of Hawaii. His journey took him from combat veteran and Cold War strategist to visionary founder and leader of the Center for Global Nonkilling, founded in 1994. He was a renowned scholar of nonviolence, political leadership, and international relations, authoring several seminal books.

Among his many honors were the Princeton Class of 1955 Award in 1987 and the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation's Distinguished Peace Leadership Award in 2010. Glenn will be remembered for his unique vision of promoting change toward the measurable goal of a killing-free world in reverence to life presented in his path-breaking book *Nonkilling Global Political Science*, published in more than 30 languages. The book has inspired affiliates throughout the world, including a Glenn Paige Nonkilling School in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Glenn is survived by six children from his first marriage, 10 grandchildren, eight great-grandchildren, three great-great-grandchildren, and brother Kent Paige of Massachusetts.



Paul H. Potter '55

Paul was one of three generations of Princetoniens, part of a medical family, a sailor, and an adventurer. The son of Milton Potter 1919, Paul was born Jan. 23, 1933, and died March 13, 2017, in his native Buffalo, N.Y.

One of three brothers who comprised the sixth generation of physicians in the family, he was a decorated Vietnam veteran and was much loved by Navy Seals because he would chopper to wherever they were injured to treat them in the field. With his brother, M. Grosvenor Potter, he practiced medicine for more than 40 years in Buffalo and Orchard Park, N.Y.

Among Paul's many adventures were trips over the Alps in a hot-air balloon, one of which ended in a crash and two nights spent on a snow-covered mountain before being rescued. An accomplished sailor, he sailed throughout the Caribbean with family and friends.

In retirement, he lived more than half of each year on Cliff Island, Maine, where he had summered as a child. There he sailed the coast extensively on the *Banshee*, a boat shared with his brothers.

Known for his generosity and kindness, he supported others but preferred to remain behind the scenes and deflect credit.

He is survived by his sister, Molly, and 10 nieces and nephews.

THE CLASS OF 1959



George Beall '59

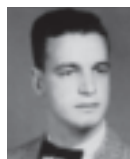
George died Jan. 15, 2017, of brain cancer at his home in Naples, Fla., where he had retired. Before he retired, he had extended an exceptional family legacy in the state of Maryland.

The Bealls arrived in the colony of Maryland in the 17th century and never ceased to participate and contribute to public life. George's father and brother both served in the U.S. Senate. George was the U.S. attorney for Maryland, whose prosecution of a political-corruption case resulted in the resignation and felony conviction equivalent of former Maryland Gov. and United States Vice President Spiro T. Agnew, giving George, in the words of *The Washington Post*, "a national reputation as a fearless political big game hunter." Tiring of the limelight, George moved to the law firm of Hogan & Hartson, where, among other accomplishments, he was to shepherd the relocation of the Baltimore Ravens football team from Cleveland to Baltimore.

George came to Princeton from Phillips Exeter Academy, majored in history, dined at Ivy, and competed on the soccer and lacrosse teams, all in preparation for his exceptional life.

The class extends its sympathy to his wife, Carolyn; daughter Rebecca; stepchildren Jamie,

Nicholas, and Tobey; 16 grandchildren; and his great-granddaughter.



Thomas R. Frey '59

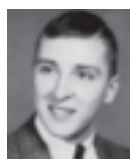
Tom died Feb. 11, 2017, in Rochester, N.Y. He had been diagnosed with pancreatic cancer the previous fall and chose to forgo the debilitating ordeal of chemotherapy to better enjoy his remaining days.

Born in Corning, N.Y., he attended Corning Free Academy, where he was senior-class president. Two years in the Marine Corps preceded his entry to Princeton. He majored in history, was active in Orange Key, joined Cannon Club, and was elected its vice president.

Following graduation, Tom earned a law degree from the University of California, Berkeley (Boalt Hall). Returning to Rochester, he joined the Harris, Beach & Wilcox law firm and began a long public-service career, serving on the Rochester school board, in the New York State Assembly, as director of state operations for Gov. Hugh Carey, and on the state Board of Regents.

In 1987 he was elected Monroe County executive, the only Democrat ever to do so. He expanded the Rochester airport and Monroe Community College and began the county recycling program. Later he chaired the local New York Civil Liberties Union chapter, worked for better funding for low-income school districts, and volunteered with the Genesee Land Trust to create an urban greenway, which was recently renamed in his honor.

Tom is survived by his wife, Jacqueline Cady; children Matthew, Kathryn, Jennifer, and Sarah; and four grandchildren. We have sent condolences.



William C. Widenor '59

Bill died Jan. 13, 2016, at his home in Champaign, Ill. At Princeton, Bill joined Prospect Club, where he spent as much time at the bridge table as he did at the dining table. However, the diversion did not prevent him from graduating with honors in history. He went on to Harvard Law School but succumbed to the lure of adventure with the State Department and withdrew after a year to enter the Foreign Service. He served as a consular officer in Munich and Zurich, where he met Mary Helen Barrett. They married in 1964, and divorced in 1973.

Bill left the Foreign Service in 1968. He moved to California to pursue a Ph.D. in history at the University of California, Berkeley, earning a doctorate in 1975. He joined the faculty of the University of Illinois, where he was to become not only a popular professor, but chair of the history department. He is best remembered academically for his history

of Henry Cabot Lodge, which was awarded the Frederick Jackson Turner Award by the Organization of American Historians and nominated for the Pulitzer Prize.

Bill was predeceased by his son, Geoffrey. The class extends its sympathy to his daughter, Victoria, who fondly remembers trading books, discussing foreign policy, and spending time at the lake with her father.

THE CLASS OF 1961



H. Keith H. Brodie '61

Keith died Dec. 2, 2016, at Duke University Hospital. He was born in Stamford, Conn., and was raised in New Canaan.

He came to Princeton from Milton Academy. At Princeton he majored in chemistry and was a member of Savoyards, Theatre Intime, the Student Christian Association, and the Pre-Med Society. He took his meals at Campus.

After earning a medical degree at Columbia University, Keith embarked on a distinguished career in psychiatry and education. After a stint as a clinical associate at the National Institute of Mental Health, he taught at Stanford for five years, then moved to Duke in 1974 as the James B. Duke Professor of Psychiatry. In 1992 he became Duke's chancellor and served as president from 1985 to 1993, after which he continued to teach and see patients. As president, he is credited with significantly expanding Duke's national reputation as a research university.

He is survived by Brenda, his wife of 49 years and sister of Bob Barrowclough '61; daughter Melissa Hanenberger '92; sons Cameron, Tyler, and Bryson, and their families; and four grandchildren.



Harry J. Pinto '61

Harry died June 13, 2016, at home in Mendham, N.J., only weeks after losing his wife, Adrienne after 35 years of marriage.

Born in Morristown, N.J., Harry came to Princeton from Delbarton School. At Princeton he majored in mathematics and was a member of the Math Club, the Pre-Law Society, and the Aquinas Foundation. He took his meals at Court Club.

After earning a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania, Harry practiced law in Morristown for his entire career. A longtime member of the Rotary Club of the Mendhams, he served two separate terms as its president. He was also an amateur historian and such a proud Princetonian (and regular reunion attendee) that his reunion blazer and many reunion photos were on display at the funeral-home visitation.

He is survived by daughter Stephanie, son Joe, a sister, a brother, and their families.

THE CLASS OF 1962**Richard Bowen '62**

Rich died Jan. 16, 2017, in Bedford, Mass.

Rich graduated from St. Christopher's School in Richmond, Va., where he played football, was editor of the school newspaper, and was active in dramatics.

At Princeton Rich majored in history, rowed on freshman crew, and was active in Whig-Clio, serving as senate president his senior year. He was a member of Key and Seal, and his senior-year roommates were Alex Sutherland, Rick Abbott, and Jim Todd.

Following graduation he worked in finance and sales management for more than 50 years, with Citibank in New York City and then with several Boston-area technology firms.

He was a very active member of the community of Bedford, Mass., holding leadership positions at Youth and Family Services, and the Bedford Finance Committee, among others.

Rich was an ardent history buff, enjoying visiting Revolutionary and Civil War battlefields. He enjoyed long mountain hikes with friends and family. In 1998 and 2004 he, along with classmate Jack Pearsall, orchestrated mini-reunions with fellow Tigers from Laughlin Hall.

The class extends condolences to his widow, Joan; his children, Ami '94, Charles, and Catherine; his brother, Harry; and his grandchildren.

**William P. Kosmas '62**

Bill died in London April 1, 2017, after a period of ill health.

Bill came to us from Southwest High School in Minneapolis, Minn. He majored in English, graduated *magna cum laude*, and won the Class of 1879 Junior Prize. He dined at Quadrangle and roomed with Clark Montgomery, Jay Gerber, and Mike Bortman. He was active in the Campus Fund Drive, St. Photios Foundation, and the Chapel Choir.

He chose law rather than medical school at Harvard, having been accepted at both. After earning a law degree, Bill joined the same New York City firm as Bob Poster '62. He switched from an admiralty/maritime firm to one in publishing/arts, soon becoming a solo practitioner in these areas. In 1986 Bill moved his practice to London.

Bill's clients included choreographer Twyla Tharpe, writer Jeff Moss '63 (of *Sesame Street*), Federico Garcia Lorca's estate, and Broadway conductor/musical director Paul Gemignani. Bill was executive director of Volunteer Lawyers for the Arts in New York City during the 1970s.

Bill collected artist books and works on paper, had a Persian rug/furniture importing business, helped establish a cooking school in Paris, and enjoyed Shakespearean tragedies

and classical music. He loved France, and he had planned to build a retirement home near Giondas.

The class extends its condolences to his brothers, John and James, and to their families.

THE CLASS OF 1963**Charles F. Cook '63**

Chap — actuarial whiz, church deacon, and lay preacher — died Jan. 28, 2017, in Shelburne, Vt., of cardiovascular disease.

Raised in Bethlehem, Pa., at Princeton Chap majored in math, ate at Key & Seal, and was active in WPRB and the *Tiger*. He was in the yacht and rifle clubs, led evening prayer, and substituted for broadcasters at football games. After he and Barbara married in 1962, they lived off-campus.

Earning an MBA from St. Mary's of Texas, he held executive posts at American International Group (AIG) and United Services Automobile Association (USAA). In 1988 he founded MBA Actuaries, a successful consultancy, which he sold in 2011.

He credited Princeton's thesis requirement for research and writing skills he used throughout his career. Junior year, rooming with Fred Brandt '64 and David Miller '64, he ran the Grinder Agency, later saying the experience provided "as valuable an education as the MBA I earned years later."

Besides Barbara, survivors include daughters Melanie Tupaj '90, Cynthia Coach, and Tammy Moshier; brother John M. '59; and six grandchildren. His father, John '28, and son Thomas predeceased him.

Barbara's favorite quote from Chap: "I want to live my life so that when I wake up in the morning, Satan sends an email to all his demons saying, 'Look out! He's up again!'"

THE CLASS OF 1972**Thomas Austin Finch III '72**

Austin died March 3, 2015, in Sapphire Valley, N.C.

A native of Thomasville, N.C., Austin came to Princeton from Woodberry Forest School, as had his father, Thomas A. Finch Jr. '44.

He was a member of Cap and Gown and spent many evenings there mastering the finer points of billiards, backgammon, and friendship. His Princeton roommates included Jon Buchan, Wink Cline, Jesse Davidson, and Wilson McWilliams. He graduated *magna cum laude* in economics.

After earning an MBA from the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, he joined Kidder Peabody and Co. in New York City as an investment banker. His keen business mind later led him to Salomon Brothers, where he became a partner and vice president. After retirement, he lived in New York City for many years before dividing his time between Sea

Island, Ga., and Sapphire Valley. He enjoyed sailing, scuba diving, foreign travel, and the intricacies of baseball statistics.

He is survived by his wife, Jill Meredith Finch; his mother, Meredith Person Michener; brothers John Lambeth Finch, David Slane Finch, and Sumner Slane Finch; and his sister, Meredith Kempton Finch.

GRADUATE ALUMNI**David A. Booth '58**

David Booth, retired vice provost of Williams College, died Sept. 5, 2016. He was 84.

Fatherless at age 7 and raised by a single mother, Booth rose above poverty and succeeded through hard work. In 1954, he earned a bachelor's degree from Northwestern University. He served in the Army from 1954 to 1956, and earned a master's degree in politics from Princeton in 1958.

From 1958 to 1960, Booth attended the Graduate School for Foreign Students in Copenhagen, Denmark. He spent the next 38 years at Williams, retiring in 1998 as vice provost and lecturer in political science. He had chaired the experimental and cross-disciplinary studies program from 1995 to 1998.

In the provost's office, Booth's primary responsibility was institutional research. He also served as director of data systems in the early years of academic computing. For 24 years, he represented Williams on the Consortium on Financing Higher Education, also serving as chair and board member.

He is survived by his wife of 56 years, Hanne; two children; and two grandchildren.

Henry R. Ohlen '60

Henry Ohlen, a retired geologist, died Aug. 24, 2016, at age 84.

Ohlen graduated from Texas Christian University (TCU) with a bachelor's degree in geology in 1954, and earned a master's degree there in 1956. After serving in the Naval Reserve, he earned a Ph.D. in geology from Princeton in 1960. He spent his career as an oil and gas-exploration geologist, which took him to New Mexico, Mississippi, and Colorado, and worked with Shell Oil in Louisiana.

In addition to achieving academic honors, Ohlen played center on his Texas high school basketball team that was undefeated (24-0) in 1949 and was the state champion. He went to TCU and played on two Southwest Conference championship teams, which twice went to the NCAA Tournament.

Ohlen is survived by his wife, Vilma, whom he married in 1991 and with whom he traveled extensively to Europe, South America, and Canada. He is also survived by three children, nine grandchildren, and one great-grandchild.

Graduate memorials are prepared by the APGA. This issue contains an undergraduate memorial for Hugh G. Hardy '54 '56.

Classifieds

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Paris, Marais: Elegant, 2 bedroom, 2 bath apartment, vibrant Pompidou museum/sidewalk café quarter on 13c pedestrian street, full kitchen, w/d, AC, cable. desaix@verizon.net, 212-473-9472.

France, Paris-Marais: Exquisite, sunny, quiet one-bedroom apartment behind Place des Vosges. King-size bed, living/dining room, six chairs, full kitchen, washer, dryer, weekly maid service, WiFi, \$1350 weekly. max@gwu.edu

Ile St-Louis: Elegant, spacious, top floor, skylighted apartment, gorgeous views overlooking the Seine, 2 bedrooms sleep 4, 2 baths, elevator, well-appointed, full kitchen, WiFi. 678-232-8444. triff@mindspring.com

Italy/Todi: Luxurious 8BR, 7.5BA villa, amazing views, infinity pool, olives, lavender, grapes, vegetable garden, housekeeper, A/C, Wi-Fi. Photos/prices/availability: VRBO.com, #398660. Discount — Princetonians. 914-320-2865. MarilynGasparini@aol.com, p'11.

Paris, Tuileries Gardens: Beautifully appointed, spacious, 1BR queen, 6th floor, elevator, concierge. karin.demorest@gmail.com, w*49.

Paris 7th: Fifth floor, quiet, studio sleeps 3. Balcony. View Eiffel Tower. www.parisgrenelle.com, 207-752-0285.

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Provence: Delightful five-bedroom stone farmhouse, facing Roman theater. Pool, WiFi. 860-672-6608. www.Frenchfarmhouse.com

Nice, France Promenade-des-Anglais: Spacious renovated 2BR/2.5BA apartment. Secured parking. WiFi. www.nicehomesitting.com/splendid-flat-panoramic-view, k'91, '92.

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Wellfleet: 4 bedroom beachfront cottage with spectacular views overlooking Cape Cod National Seashore. 609-921-0809 or warrenst@aol.com

Maine: Acadia National Park; Bar Harbor/Ellsworth area. Lakefront cottage, kayaks, canoe, rowboat. \$800/wk. 207-671-2726. Sandraquine@yahoo.com, https://www.facebook.com/pg/Quine-Molasses-Pond-853961801392921/about/

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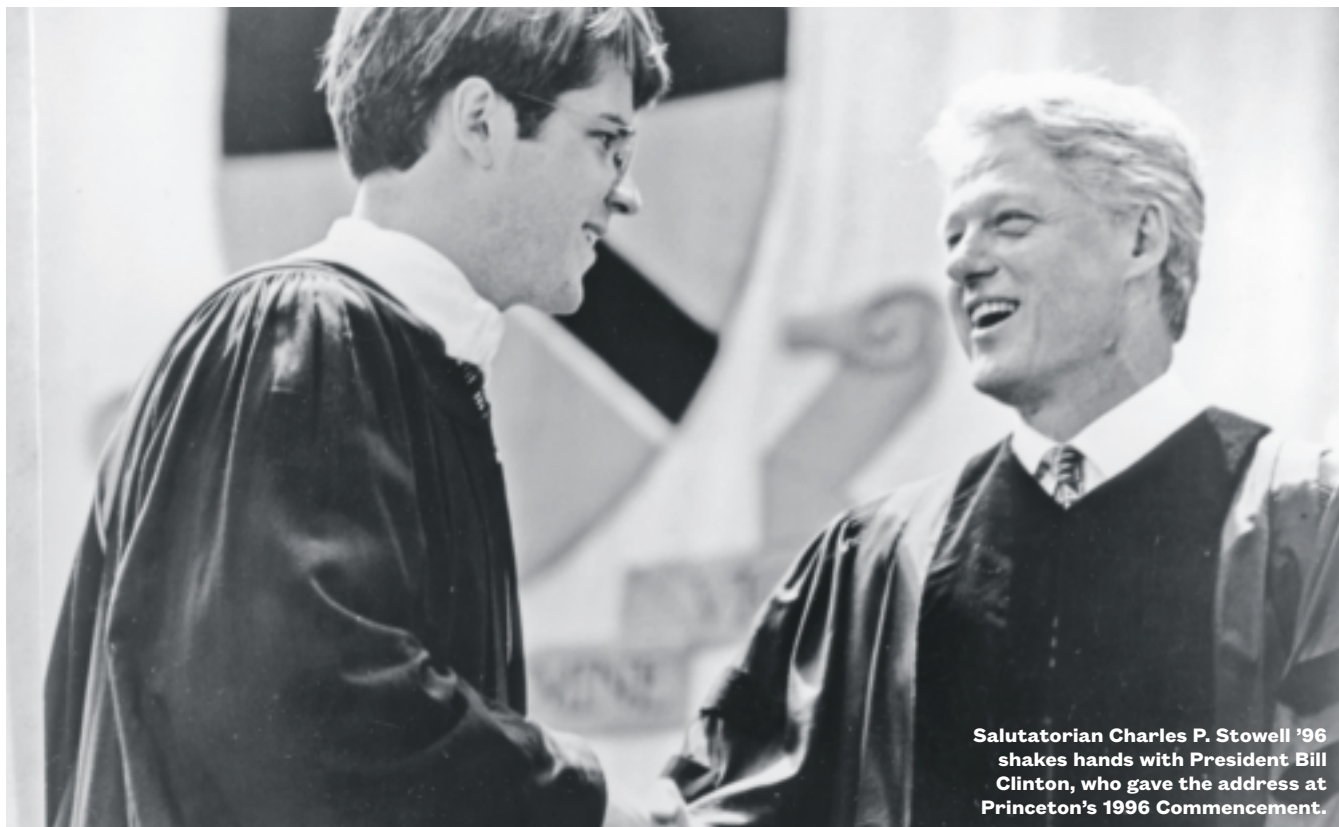
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Salutatorian Charles P. Stowell '96 shakes hands with President Bill Clinton, who gave the address at Princeton's 1996 Commencement.

A Special Guest in Princeton's Bubble

John S. Weeren

When President Bill Clinton marked Princeton's 250th anniversary by speaking at Commencement and accepting an honorary degree, he traveled in what *Town Topics* called a "bubble of security." On June 4, 1996, road closures, flight restrictions, police cordons, metal detectors, and a 30-vehicle motorcade, including "at least one Chevy Suburban carrying men armed with assault rifles," were the order of the day. Even FitzRandolph Gate and adjacent fences were lined with sheeting to thwart unfriendly eyes, together with the public's.

Ticket holders had a better view, but only after being cleared by Secret Service agents. "We envision lines upon lines of people waiting to be cleared," noted one Commencement organizer, whose headaches included the "impossible logistics of how to handle confiscating umbrellas as people enter and getting them back to their rightful owner afterwards" in the event of rain. The *Princeton Weekly Bulletin* reported that some faculty and graduating students, "stymied by temporary fences and uniformed guards, had to back-track, grumbling and consulting their watches."

Despite such annoyances, Clinton was warmly cheered when the time came for him to deliver a 31-minute address on expanding access to higher education, exercising a speaking privilege normally reserved to Princeton's president.

Clinton's visit demonstrated how much things had changed since another June day when another president, known to his classmates as Tommy, returned to Princeton to celebrate his 35th reunion. Declining any form of official recognition, Woodrow Wilson 1879 arrived with a handful of companions and "several Secret Service men," walked from the station to his class headquarters in 1879 Hall, and marched with his class in the P-rade. "Nation's Chief Executive ... Is Jostled About by Crowd," proclaimed one headline; "President Is Just 'Tommy' for a Day," declared another.

It is hard to imagine that any latter-day incumbent of the White House would not be envious. ♦

John S. Weeren is founding director of Princeton Writes and a former assistant University archivist.



JULY 1—SEPTEMBER 17, 2017

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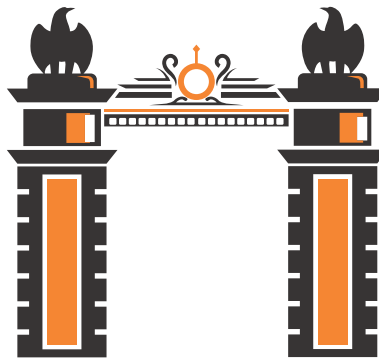
Samuel Cooper. *Thomas Alcock* (detail), ca. 1650. Black chalk heightened with white on paper. Image © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

This exhibition has been organized by the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, in association with the Princeton University Art Museum.

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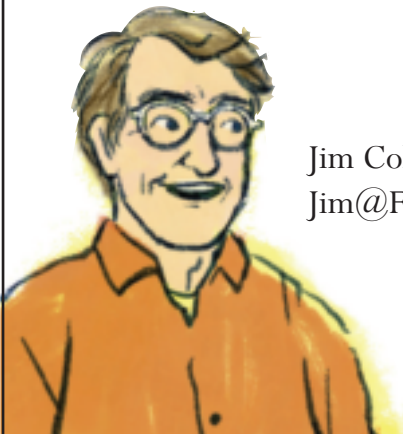
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