



AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS & SCIENCES

WWW.AMACAD.ORG

# Bulletin

SPRING 2018  
VOL. LXXI, NO. 3



## From Enrollment to Excellence: New Opportunities for American Undergraduate Education

*Vartan Gregorian, Nicholas Lemann, Gail O. Mellow,  
and Michael S. McPherson*



## Jefferson, Race, and Democracy

*Peter S. Onuf and Annette Gordon-Reed*

ALSO: The Public Face of Science  
*Dædalus* explores “Indigenous Ways of Knowing for the Twenty-First Century”  
Remembrance

# Upcoming Events

---

## MAY

### 3rd

American Academy  
Cambridge, MA

*Songs of Love and Death: Sonnets by Petrarch and others set by Cipriano de Rore in "I madrigali a cinque voci" (Venice, 1542)*

Featuring: **Jessie Ann Owens** (University of California, Davis), the vocal ensemble **Blue Heron**, and an introduction by **Jane Bernstein** (Tufts University)

### 4th

Yale University  
New Haven, CT

*New Haven Program Committee Luncheon Discussion*

*The Evolution of Beauty*

Featuring: **Richard O. Prum** (Yale University)

### 7th

University of California, San Diego  
La Jolla, CA

*San Diego Program Committee Discussion and Reception*

*Politics in the Facebook Age: Social Media, Censorship, and Citizen Participation*

Featuring: **James Fowler** (University of California, San Diego); **Margaret E. Roberts** (University of California, San Diego); **Michael Cole**, moderator (University of California, San Diego)

### 11th

American Academy  
Cambridge, MA

*Friday Forum*

*The City in Film*

Featuring: **Ezra Haber Glenn** (MIT Department of Urban Studies & Planning)

### 30th

University of Washington  
Seattle, WA

*How to Make Citizens*

Featuring: **Eric Liu** (Citizen University)

## JUNE

### 4th

The Century Association  
New York, NY

*Reception for New York Area Members and Guests*

*Welcome Newly Elected Members*

Featuring remarks from **Jonathan F. Fanton** (American Academy of Arts and Sciences) and **Stephen Heintz** (Rockefeller Brothers Fund)

### 13th

American Academy  
Cambridge, MA

*Book Talk*

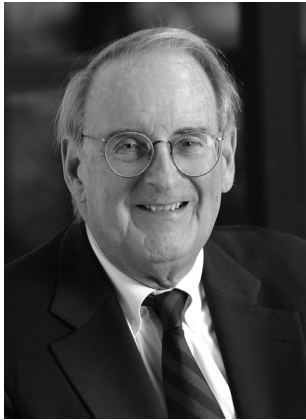
*Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations About Race*

Featuring: **Beverly Daniel Tatum** (Spelman College)

---

For updates and additions to the calendar, visit [www.amacad.org](http://www.amacad.org).

## From the President



**Jonathan F. Fanton**

In 2015, the Academy established The Exploratory Fund to support Members who wish to look over the horizon for issues and opportunities not well understood, to think of problems in a fresh way, and to search for connections between research and policy that advance the common good. To date, the Academy has supported eighteen exploratory meetings on a wide range of topics from Making Justice Accessible and The Responsibility to Protect Cultural Heritage to The Future of Public Media and Moving Towards Equality: Mapping Women's Achievements and Challenges.

More than four hundred leading scholars and practitioners representing a wide range of disciplines, career stages, backgrounds, and experiences have participated in exploratory meetings. The opportunity for Members and others to work together and bridge differences in training, background, and perspective is part of what makes The Exploratory Fund an important contribution to the life and work of the Academy.

Although exploratory meetings are not expected to produce particular outcomes, they often generate meaningful contributions to scholarly debates and policy questions. Two exploratory meetings, Understanding the New Nuclear Age and Making Justice Accessible, have been developed into full Academy projects. Five have inspired issues of *Dædalus*, among them are Science and the Legal System and The Future of Jazz in American Life. Several more have gone on to produce external publications and projects at other institutions, and still more may lead to new collaborations and research projects that inform scholarly and public dialogue beyond the Academy.

In February 2018, the Academy partnered with the Royal Society and U.K. Science and Innovation Network to hold a meeting on Technology and the Future of Work. The participants represented more than one dozen disciplines and professions and the program was designed to stimulate conversations that were exploratory in nature. This is the kind of forward-thinking conversation envisioned when The Exploratory Fund was established nearly three years ago, and Academy Members can feel proud of how these meetings have addressed critical questions facing our country and the world.

The Exploratory Fund expands upon the programmatic work of the Academy, which includes a wide range of longer-term projects and publications that advance useful knowledge and shape civil dialogue. I encourage you to read about the first report from the Public Face of Science project, *Perceptions of Science in America*, and the presentations given at two recent Stated Meetings on "New Opportunities for American Undergraduate Education" and "Jefferson, Race, and Democracy." You will also enjoy reading about the spring issue of *Dædalus* on "Unfolding Futures: Indigenous Ways of Knowing for the Twenty-First Century," which emerged from a 2016 exploratory meeting on Native Americans and Academia.

Over the coming year, I hope to connect with many of you and hear your ideas about issues that might be addressed through The Exploratory Fund. A full and productive year lies ahead, and I look forward to making common cause with you.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Jonathan F. Fanton". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

## Projects and Publications

---

- 3 The Public Face of Science
- 6 *Dædalus* explores “Indigenous Ways of Knowing for the Twenty-First Century”

## Presentations

---

- 10 *Morton L. Mandel Public Lecture*  
From Enrollment to Excellence: New Opportunities for American Undergraduate Education  
*Vartan Gregorian, Michael S. McPherson, Gail O. Mellow, and Nicholas Lemann*
- 17 Jefferson, Race, and Democracy  
*Peter S. Onuf and Annette Gordon-Reed*

## Update on Members

---

- 26 Noteworthy
- 28 Remembrance

## The Public Face of Science

The American Academy's effort to understand the complex and evolving relationship between scientists and the public is beginning its third year. The project has brought together representatives from a number of different fields – including social scientists, scholars of science communication, representatives from science centers, and science communicators – to examine public perceptions of science and how the public encounters and engages with science in its everyday life. In the first two years of the project, the Academy has hosted two workshops and ten roundtables to gather feedback from Academy Members and content experts that will shape the project's final reports.

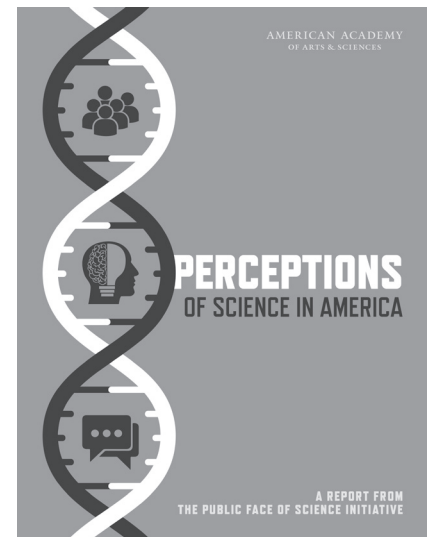
In February, the Academy published the first in a series of reports that will be released in the coming year. *Perceptions of Science in America* offers an in-depth examination of the current state of trust in science among Americans. The data paint a picture of a heterogeneous public whose perceptions are dependent on context and values. The report underscores the need for additional studies on the influences on attitudes toward science, as well as how those attitudes impact both personal decisions and public support for evidence-based policy. Since its release, *Perceptions of Science in America* has already been used in classrooms and in science communication trainings.

Over the next year, the forthcoming project reports will seek to build on the discussion *Perceptions of Science in America* started among science communicators, advocates, and researchers. The second report focuses on informal science engagement and information sources, including news outlets, museums, and social media. The report will use a mix of quantitative data, research studies, and anecdotes to discuss science engagement online, at informal

science venues, and in art and literature. The goal is to develop a resource on the topic of science engagement for practitioners, researchers, and funders. The final report will focus on improving the practice of science communication and engagement, drawing on ideas generated during project workshop discussions in June 2017.

In addition to these three major project publications, the Public Face of Science initiative has recently commissioned a study comparing public values of science around the world. This report will include a correlative analysis of the effect of country-specific indicators, such as economic development, level of democratic freedom, and degree of inequality on attitudes toward science.

More information about the Public Face of Science initiative may be found at [www.publicfaceofscience.org](http://www.publicfaceofscience.org). Copies of the project reports may be requested by emailing [sciencepolicy@amacad.org](mailto:sciencepolicy@amacad.org). The Academy gratefully acknowledges support from the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, the Rita Allen Foundation, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, and the Hellman Fellows Fund.



**In a recent *Scientific American Observations* essay “The Complex Interface between the Public and Science,” Cary Funk, Director of Science and Society Research at the Pew Research Center and a data advisor to the Public Face of Science initiative, highlights the top three takeaways of the *Perceptions of Science in America* report. The essay is reprinted below with permission.**

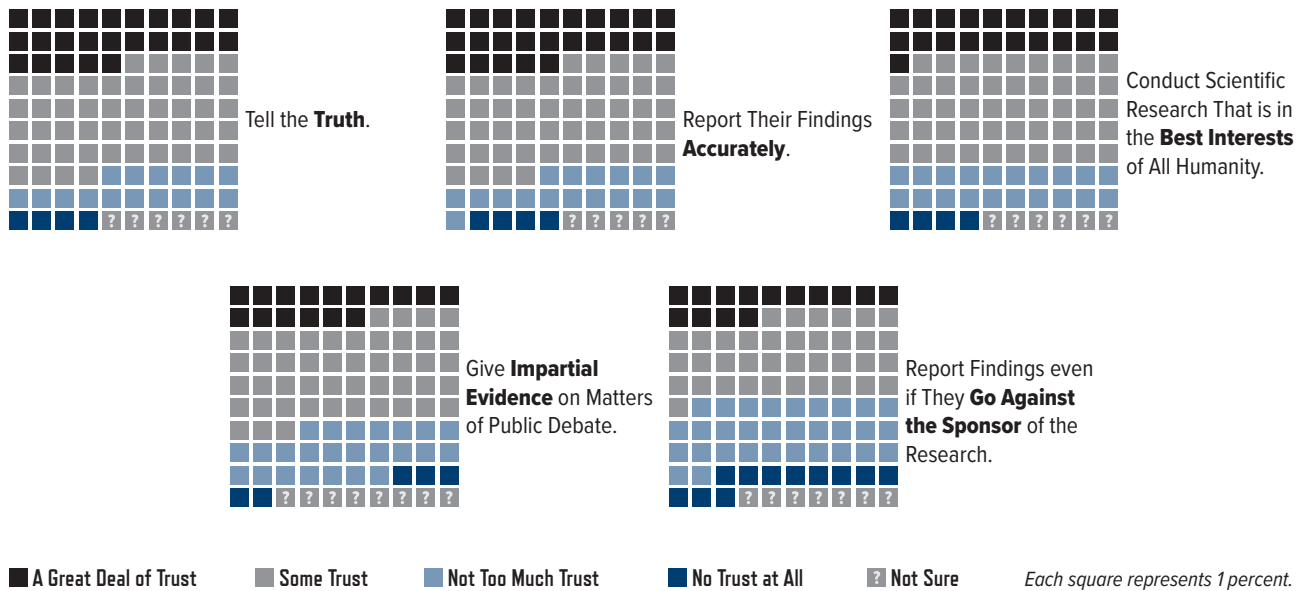
There's a new resource in town for science advocates, communicators, researchers and others with an interest in understanding what the public thinks about science. The compendium from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences pulls together data from public opinion surveys on public trust in science and scientists to highlight three key points that are often forgotten or misunderstood.

First, in contrast to views of other institutions, public confidence in scientific leaders has remained stable since the 1970s, according to data from the General Social Survey conducted by the NORC at

the University of Chicago. But the breadth of the scientific enterprise and the lack of consensus about the boundaries of science often lead to a more complicated portrait of public opinion. For example, an exploratory market research survey from ScienceCounts, a non-profit aiming to enhance public support for federally funded scientific research, finds a sizeable minority of the public (42 percent) has no trust or not too much trust that scientists will report findings even if the findings go against the sponsor of the research.

Second, time and again in surveys, there are important differences among subgroups of the public in the degree to which they trust

Percentage of Respondents Who Trust Research Scientists to:



Source: ScienceCounts, unpublished data from “Raising Voices for Science: Exploratory and Benchmarking Survey” (survey conducted October 2015).

science and support scientific research. The scientific community would do well to remember that “the public” is not monolithic – age, race and ethnicity, political viewpoints and levels of education influence people’s opinions. Just one example from the 2016 General Social Survey conducted on behalf of the National Science Board, fully 94 percent of Americans with a postgraduate degree think the benefits of scientific research outweigh the harmful results compared with about half (52 percent) of those who have not completed high school.

Third, there is no single “anti-science” demographic group. While more research is needed to better understand what drives skepticism among some in the public about scientific evidence or scientific consensus, past studies have shown no single background factor such as politics, education, age, race/ethnicity, gender or region consistently predicts who among the public is more skeptical of prevailing scientific consensus.

On climate and energy issues, people’s views are strongly connected with their political identities but views about the measles, mumps and rubella vaccine and eating genetically modified foods are not, according to Pew Research Center studies. And people’s group identities – whether rooted in politics or some other iden-

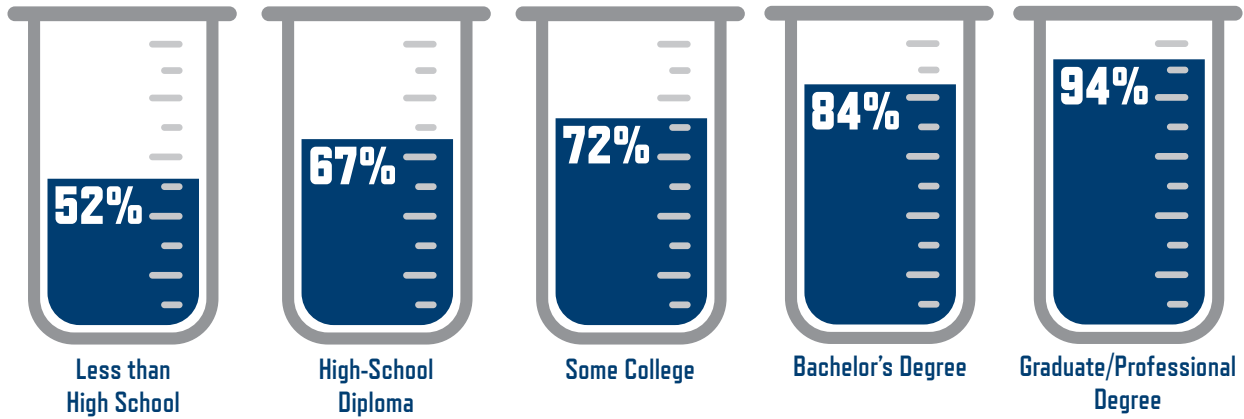
tity – can influence how people integrate knowledge and understanding about science into their beliefs. The next generation of research on these topics hopes to better understand how and why this occurs.

The American Academy embarked on this report with a stellar steering committee and a range of advisers to address what they describe as the “complex and evolving relationship between scientists and the public.” The Academy plans to delve into how people encounter science in their daily lives and offer recommendations for science communication and engagement down the road. Until then, *Perceptions of Science in America* offers a rare synthesis of current understanding about public perceptions of science as well as the gaps in that understanding.

One thing is already clear from this roadmap. Those wishing to better grasp public thinking about science need to look beyond trust in “science” writ large to see how people make sense of the science issues and domains which connect with their lives – such as childhood vaccines, genetically modified foods, and climate change – and think beyond one “public” to the reasons for pockets of support and resistance to scientific evidence among the populace. ■

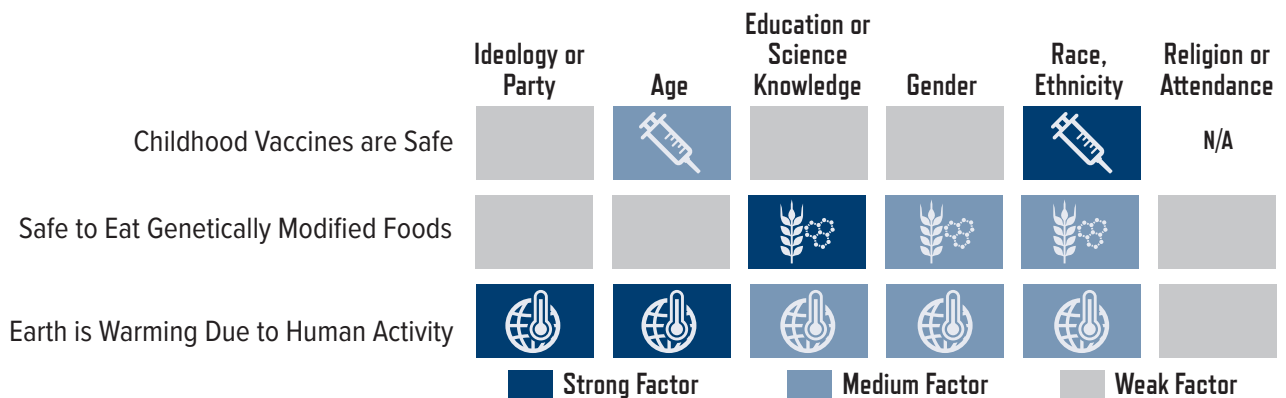


Percentage of People Who Say that the Benefits of Scientific Research Outweigh the Harmful Results, by Educational Level:



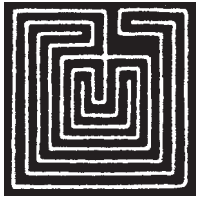
Source: National Science Board, *Science & Engineering Indicators* (2018).

Relative Strength and Statistical Significance of Factors Influencing Views on Controversial Issues



Source: Cary Funk and Lee Rainie, *Americans, Politics and Science Issues*, Pew Research Center (July 1, 2015; survey conducted August 2014).

Reprinted with permission. “The Complex Interface between the Public and Science,” Pew Research Center, Washington, DC (February 26, 2018).



## *Dædalus* explores “Indigenous Ways of Knowing for the Twenty-First Century”

The Dakota Access Pipeline protests raised the visibility of Native peoples in the United States to levels not seen since the takeover of Wounded Knee in 1973. But a profound lack of awareness of the unique, sovereign, and central role that Native Americans play in the United States persists; and there is little recognition of how the knowledge of Indigenous people can contribute to a better shared future.

The Spring 2018 issue of *Dædalus*, “Unfolding Futures: Indigenous Ways of Knowing for the Twenty-First Century,” offers Native and non-Native voices on subjects ranging from political movements, adaptive leadership, and representational politics to the production of scientific knowledge, the ethics of bioscience, and language preservation. The essays in the volume are informed by the authors’ shared goal of addressing two questions: What have we learned from the past? And how can we better the future?

The issue is guest edited by Philip J. Deloria (Harvard University), K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Arizona State University), Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy (Arizona State University), Mark N. Trahan (*Indian Country Today*), Loren Ghiglione (Northwestern University), Douglas Medin (Northwestern University), and Ned Blackhawk (Yale University).



*Darkfeather, Bibiana and Eckos Ancheta, Tulalip Tribes, 2014*  
© Matika Wilbur, Project 562.

### *Inside the Issue*

In the introduction to the volume, guest editors Philip J. Deloria, K. Tsianina Lomawaima, Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, Mark N. Trahan, Loren Ghiglione, Douglas Medin, and Ned Blackhawk describe how, despite being written out of much of contemporary life, Indigenous peoples are crafting a new environmental-social-political alliance and new strategies for political action. The editors note that the *Dædalus* issue, begun at the height of the protests at Standing Rock, aims to understand the contemporary dynamics of this modern racism; to create positive change in academia, the legal system, the intellectual and cultural life of the nation, and among government and nonprofit actors; to make “unknown unknowns” visible to non-Native audiences; and to speak to the unique status, honest challenges, and achievements of contemporary Indian people.

In “Nenabozho Goes Fishing: A Sovereignty Story,” Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiiik Stark (University of Victoria) and Kekek Jason Stark (Tribal Attorney for the Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians), drawing on the experiences of the Lake Superior and Mississippi Bands of Ojibwe, explore how sovereignty has been debated and defined, from treaty-making prac-

tices with the United States to subsequent struggles for recognition of sovereign authority. The authors find that the courts and Congress have oscillated between protecting and diminishing Indigenous nations’ abilities to exercise sovereignty and argue that, rather than a rights-based approach to sovereignty, a relational paradigm foregrounds responsibilities to one another and to creation, sustaining us all.

Amy E. Den Ouden (University of Massachusetts Boston), in “Recognition, Antiracism & Indigenous Futures: A View from Connecticut,” notes that the early 1970s were a moment of particular historical significance in Connecticut’s tribal nations’ centuries-long struggles to assert sovereignty and defend reservation lands. The racialization of Native peoples in Connecticut informed the state’s management of “Indian affairs,” and its antirecognition policy reflects a long history of institutionally embedded racist policies and practices. Den Ouden uses Connecticut as a case study to call for politically engaged, antiracist research that is concerned with understanding the complexities of tribal sovereignty in local contexts in which governmental control of Indian affairs reproduces and validates White-supremacist ideology.



In “Alaska’s Conflicting Objectives,” Rosita Kaahāni Worl (Sealaska Heritage Institute) and Heather Kendall-Miller (Native American Rights Fund) note that the treaty-making period between the U.S. government and Native peoples ended in 1871, four years after the United States purchased Alaska from Russia. Thus, Alaska Natives did not enter into treaties recognizing their political authority or land rights, nor were they granted the same land rights as other federally recognized tribes. Rather, Congress created the Alaska Native Corporations in 1971 to manage reserved lands. Worl and Kendall-Miller explore the unique legal status of these corporations: though created to settle land claims and assimilate Alaska Natives, Alaska Native cultures and governance structures persisted and evolved and, today, many are reasserting the inherent authority of sovereign governments.

In “Making ‘Aha: Independent Hawaiian Pasts, Presents & Futures,” Noelani Goodyear-Ka’ōpua (University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa) and Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada (Native Hawaiian Network of Schools) discuss that in 2014, hundreds of Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) came forward to assert unbroken Hawaiian sovereignty and reject a U.S. Department of Interior proposal that paved the way for federal recognition of a reorganized Native Hawaiian governing entity. Using Hawaiian methods of knowledge production to weave together contemporary and historical instances of Kānaka political resistance to U.S. imperialism and settler colonialism,

## In the last century, Native nations, communities, parents, and students have fought to maintain heritage languages and cultures through Indigenous education.

Goodyear-Ka’ōpua and Kuwada situate testimonies from these hearings within a longer genealogy of Kānaka assertions of *ea* (sovereignty, life, breath) against the prolonged U.S. military occupation of Hawai‘i.

Genetic ancestry tests have been used to verify or dispute family stories about ancestors, to seek belonging with a particular tribe or community, and to identify genetic variants across populations in medical research. But assumptions about genetic testing – and the very idea of a “genetic” identity – pose challenges for communities defined in terms of political, social, and cultural identities. In “Genetic Ancestry Testing with Tribes: Ethics, Identity & Health Implications,” Nanibaa’ A. Garrison (Seattle Children’s Hospital and Research Institute; University of Washington) explores the potential implications of ancestry tests for Native American tribes and

## Indigenous peoples are crafting a new environmental-social-political alliance and new strategies for political action.

communities and concludes that, while their scientific and recreational use continues to increase, limitations of consistency across platforms and the generalizability of knowledge remain.

Arianne E. Eason (University of Washington), Laura M. Brady (University of Washington), and Stephanie A. Fryberg (University of Washington), in “Reclaiming Representations & Interrupting the Cycle of Bias Against Native Americans,” note that representations of Native Americans are largely negative, antiquated, and limiting. The prevalence of such portrayals and a comparative lack of positive ones foster a cycle of bias perpetuating disparities among Native Americans with respect to other populations. The authors illustrate how the legal system, the media, and education can be leveraged to promote positive conceptions of Native Americans, creating more equitable outcomes. The actions of some contemporary Native Americans to reclaim their Native American identity and create accurate ideas of who Native Americans are and what they can become provide a blueprint for leveraging cultural change to interrupt the cycle of bias and to reduce disparities.

In “Why Don’t More Indians Do Better in School? The Battle between U.S. Schooling & American Indian/Alaska Native Education,” Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy (Arizona State University) and K. Tsianina Lomawaima (Arizona State University) argue that American Indian/Alaska Native education has been locked in battle for centuries with colonial schooling.

Settler societies have used schools to “civilize” Indigenous peoples and to train them in subservience while dispossessing them of land. In the last century, Native nations, communities, parents, and students have fought to maintain heritage languages and cultures through Indigenous education and have demanded radical changes in schools. Brayboy and Lomawaima demonstrate that contemporary models of educators braiding together Indigenous education and Indigenous schooling better serve Native peoples to provide dynamic and productive possibilities for the future.

Cheryl Crazy Bull (American Indian College Fund) and Justin Guillory (Northwest Indian College) discuss in “Revolution in Higher Education: Identity & Cultural Beliefs Inspire Tribal Colleges & Universities” that public institutions are accountable to the taxpayer and thus demonstrate their return on investment by mea-

sureing graduation rates, cost per student, job placement rates, and income. But Tribal Colleges and Universities (TCUs) are indebted to and inspired by the revolutionary vision of their founders, who believed that higher education rooted in tribal sovereignty, identity, systems, and beliefs would ensure the survival and prosperity of their people. Cheryl Crazy Bull and Justin Guillory assert that TCUs are advancing Native student access and completion, developing community-based research, and promoting economic and entrepreneurial development in tribal communities.

In “The New World of the Indigenous Museum,” Philip J. Deloria (Harvard University) argues that museums have long offered simplistic representations of American Indians, even as they served as repositories for Indigenous human remains and cultural patrimony. He indicates two critical interventions – the founding of the National Museum of the American Indian (1989) and the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990) – that helped transform museum practice. The decades fol-

lowing this legislation saw an explosion of tribal museums and an increase in tribal capacity in both repatriation and cultural affairs. The National Museum of the American Indian, for one, explicitly argues for Native peoples’ centrality in the American story and insists not only on survival narratives, but also on Indigenous futurity.

Mark N. Trahant (*Indian Country Today*), in “The Story of Indian Health is Complicated by History, Shortages & Bouts of Excellence,” observes that one of the primary goals of the United States’ entry into health care was to protect soldiers by isolating and inoculating tribal populations from infectious disease. When tribes signed legally binding treaties, the United States promised doctors, nurses, facilities, and basic health care. Yet this promise has never been fully funded by Congress. Trahant asserts that the Indian Health Service, which includes tribal and nonprofit health agencies, has largely failed American Indian and Alaska Native patients; yet it has also achieved remarkable innovation and excellence, offering a model for other resource-starved health systems.

“Unfolding Futures: Indigenous Ways of Knowing for the Twenty-First Century”  
Spring 2018 issue of *Dædalus*

*Unfolding Futures: Indigenous Ways of Knowing for the Twenty-First Century* by Philip J. Deloria, K. Tsianina Lomawaima, Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, Mark N. Trahant, Loren Ghiglione, Douglas Medin & Ned Blackhawk

*Nenabozho Goes Fishing: A Sovereignty Story* by Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark & Kekek Jason Stark

*Recognition, Antiracism & Indigenous Futures: A View from Connecticut* by Amy E. Den Ouden

*Alaska’s Conflicting Objectives* by Rosita Kaaháni Worl & Heather Kendall-Miller

*Making ‘Aha: Independent Hawaiian Pasts, Presents & Futures* by Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua & Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada

*Genetic Ancestry Testing with Tribes: Ethics, Identity & Health Implications* by Nanibaa’ A. Garrison

*Reclaiming Representations & Interrupting the Cycle of Bias Against Native Americans* by Arianne E. Eason, Laura M. Brady & Stephanie A. Fryberg

*Why Don’t More Indians Do Better in School? The Battle between U.S. Schooling & American Indian/Alaska Native Education* by Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy & K. Tsianina Lomawaima

*Revolution in Higher Education: Identity & Cultural Beliefs Inspire Tribal Colleges & Universities* by Cheryl Crazy Bull & Justin Guillory

*The New World of the Indigenous Museum* by Philip J. Deloria

*The Story of Indian Health is Complicated by History, Shortages & Bouts of Excellence* by Mark N. Trahant

*Indigenous Leadership* by Gary Sandefur & Philip J. Deloria

*Critical Investigations of Resilience: A Brief Introduction to Indigenous Environmental Studies & Sciences* by Kyle Whyte

*If Indigenous Peoples Stand with the Sciences, Will Scientists Stand with Us?* by Megan Bang, Ananda Marin & Douglas Medin

*Hear Our Languages, Hear Our Voices: Storywork as Theory & Praxis in Indigenous-Language Reclamation* by Teresa L. McCarty, Sheilah E. Nicholas, Kari A. B. Chew, Natalie G. Diaz, Wesley Y. Leonard & Louellyn White

In “Indigenous Leadership,” Gary Sandefur (Oklahoma State University) and Philip J. Deloria (Harvard University) note that non-Native conceptions of Indian leadership are often marked by positive misunderstandings, negative misunderstandings, and general ignorance. Sandefur and Deloria discuss the challenges surrounding American Indian leadership in the contemporary world, considering leadership issues in institutional settings such as academia, tribal governments, pan/inter-Indian organizations, public interest and NGO groups, and global Indigenous structures, and suggest ways in which non-Native organizations can better recognize, respect, and partner with American Indian leaders.

In his essay, “Critical Investigations of Resilience: A Brief Introduction to Indigenous Environmental Studies & Sciences,” Kyle Whyte (Michigan State University) discusses that Indigenous peoples are among the most active environmentalists in the world, working through advocacy, educational programs, and research. The emerging field of Indigenous Environmental Studies and Sciences (IESS) is distinctive, investigating social resilience to environmental change through the lens of how moral relationships are organized in societies. Whyte examines IESS research across three of these moral relationships – responsibility, spirituality, and justice – and argues that IESS can support Indigenous peoples’ struggles with environmental justice and political reconciliation; make significant contributions to global discussions about the relationship between human behavior and the environment; and speak directly to Indigenous liberation as well as justice issues that impact everyone.

In “If Indigenous Peoples Stand with the Sciences, Will Scientists Stand with Us?” Megan Bang (University of Washington), Ananda Marin (University of California, Los Angeles), and Douglas Medin (Northwestern University) argue that Indigenous sciences – based in relationships, reciprocity, and responsibilities – constitute distinct perspectives on and practices of knowledge creation and decision-making that not only have the right to be pursued on their own terms, but may also be vital in solving twenty-first-century challenges. “Science,” and Western science in particular, is often treated as if it were a single entity, free of cultural influences and value-neutral. Bang, Marin, and Medin argue for engagement with multiple perspectives on science and share empirical examples of how Indigenous sciences, sometimes in partnership with Western science, have led to new discoveries and insights into human learning and development.

Teresa L. McCarty (University of California, Los Angeles), Sheila E. Nicholas (University of Arizona), Kari A. B. Chew (University of Arizona), Natalie G. Diaz (Arizona State University), Wesley Y. Leonard (University of California, Riverside), and Louel-

**Language reclamation is about voice, encapsulating personal and communal agency and the expression of Indigenous identities, belonging, and responsibility to self and community.**

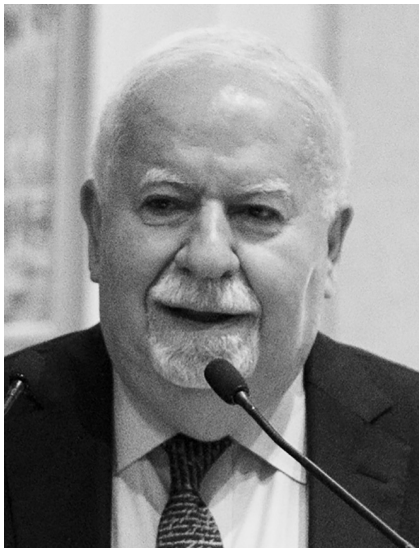
lyn White (Concordia University), in “Hear Our Languages, Hear Our Voices: Storywork as Theory & Praxis in Indigenous-Language Reclamation,” show how storywork – first-hand narratives through which language reclamation is described and practiced – provides data and insight on the meaning of language reclamation in diverse Indigenous communities. They argue that language reclamation is about *voice*, encapsulating personal and communal agency and the expression of Indigenous identities, belonging, and responsibility to self and community. The authors use their own storytelling to show that language reclamation simultaneously *refuses* the dispossession of Indigenous ways of knowing and *re-fuses* past, present, and future generations in projects of cultural continuance.

Academy Members may access a digital version of the issue by logging into the Academy’s website and visiting the Members page. For more information about *Dædalus*, please visit [www.amacad.org/daedalus](http://www.amacad.org/daedalus). ■

*Morton L. Mandel Public Lecture*

# From Enrollment to Excellence: New Opportunities for American Undergraduate Education

**O**n November 28, 2017, at the Century Association in New York City, **Vartan Gregorian** (President of Carnegie Corporation of New York), **Gail O. Mellow** (President of LaGuardia Community College), **Michael S. McPherson** (President Emeritus of the Spencer Foundation), and **Nicholas Lemann** (Joseph Pulitzer II and Edith Pulitzer Moore Professor of Journalism and Dean Emeritus of Columbia University’s Graduate School of Journalism) participated in a discussion about new opportunities for U.S. undergraduate education. Much of the conversation focused on the Academy’s Commission on the Future of Undergraduate Education and its recently published report *The Future of Undergraduate Education, The Future of America*. The program, which served as the Morton L. Mandel Public Lecture and the 2063rd Stated Meeting of the Academy, featured welcoming remarks from **Jonathan F. Fanton** (President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences). The following is an edited transcript of the presentations.



## Vartan Gregorian

*Vartan Gregorian has served as President of Carnegie Corporation of New York since 1997. He was elected a Fellow of the American Academy in 1989.*

**H**igher education is the primary vehicle for social progress in the United States. But it cannot perform in this role without a functional K–12 education system to feed it.

## Higher education has served as a mechanism for individual progress since at least the founding of the public university system in the United States.

That doesn’t come easy. Our nation’s struggles in K–12 were largely the subject of the 1983 report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk*, and I remember a great line from its opening: “If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war.” That was how lousy things were. Since 1983, we’ve worked hard to improve K–12 education. But unfortunately, we have not fully succeeded yet, and the reasons are many.

Higher education has served as a mechanism for individual progress since at least the founding of the public university system in the United States. In 1862, in the middle of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln signed the Morrill Act, providing federal lands for the establishment of public universities in the United States. Imagine if somebody proposed that now: “It’s too expensive;” “we

cannot do this.” But Lincoln knew that after the great tragedy that befell the nation, it would need hope, to rebuild, and a major new instrument to meet the scientific and labor demands of the Industrial Revolution. And he succeeded. Imagine, the very next year, Lincoln created the National Academy of Sciences to serve as an independent adviser to the government on questions of science and technology.

The second major revolution in postsecondary education took place during World War II. Vannevar Bush proposed to President Roosevelt the National Defense Research Committee. Roosevelt recognized the technological challenges of defense mobilization, as well as the broader need to prepare America for a new age of science, and approved Bush’s agenda, later expanding it to the Office of Scientific Research and Development. As a result, in addition to winning the war, we got the National Science



**The nation cannot prosper, nor even survive,  
if increasing numbers of students exit the  
U.S. education system unskilled, unemployed,  
uneducated, and often overwhelmed by debt.**

Foundation, which Truman signed into existence, and the bond of trust between government and university researcher took the form of nuclear accelerators, which the government entrusted to universities to run.

At the same time, the GI Bill prevented many of the twelve million service members seeking to reenter the civilian workforce from becoming unemployed. It enabled them to attend America's universities, and in turn dramatically improved our nation's collective education and, according to Andrew Carnegie's belief that democracy needs an educated citizenry, our representative government.

But since these revolutions, we have been wavering. Unsure of where to go, what to do, and how to do it as a nation, we have lacked the kind of vision our system of higher education needs. So we sponsored the Academy's Commission on the Future of Undergraduate Education with the hope that our nation's leaders will understand the need for reformation in our education system; we need a new public commitment to providing education and opportunity to all Americans. The nation cannot prosper, nor even survive, if increasing numbers of students exit the U.S. education system unskilled, unemployed, uneducated, and often overwhelmed by debt. These young people need opportunity, but there is no opportunity without science, technology, and education; and there is no education and research

enterprise without national purpose, inspiration, leadership, and vision.

My hope is that this distinguished Commission, led by Mike McPherson and Roger Ferguson, will put before the nation the tools that will serve our public well – not in the South, not in the North, not only for the upper or middle classes, because we're still one nation, one country, and one community. That is my hope. And that was one concern of ours with this Commission: How much attention do we give to different demographic groups? What about community colleges versus traditional four-year schools? Public versus private universities? Women's colleges versus vocational schools? What about the Big Ten? The Ivy League? Postsecondary institutions have been compartmentalized by competition, pitting them against each other, often fighting for the same inadequate funding. Navigating these competing interests in the service of all students was a fundamental challenge of the Commission. But this is also part of what makes the U.S. system of higher education wonderful and worth fighting for: it is diverse yet complementary. As my friend Professor Henry Rosovsky warned me, "Don't mess it up." And so this Commission does not mess it up, it doesn't tear it down, but points to how to rebuild it. I hope our nation will benefit from it and express its gratitude to this Commission, as I do.





## Michael S. McPherson

*Michael S. McPherson is President Emeritus of the Spencer Foundation. He was elected a Fellow of the American Academy in 2014 and cochairs the Academy's Commission on the Future of Undergraduate Education.*

Thank you, Vartan, for your steadfast leadership, and for your continuing reminders that the fate of the nation is in our hands.

This is a very important week in the lives of the members of this Commission. After two years of work, we are releasing our report, *The Future of Undergraduate Education, The Future of America*, and we will be spending the next three days beginning the task of introducing its ideas and recommendations to the nation. And we hope we can count on you for help as we engage with new audiences and spread our message. In an important sense, the work of the Commission begins now.

The Commission resolved to take into account all of higher education, as Vartan suggested; not this piece or that piece, but the whole of it. And even those of us who have spent our careers studying higher educa-

**We care about the experience of college. We care about student success by the measure of obtaining a degree or certificate, but we also care about the quality of teaching and learning and the value of what is learned.**

tion, we have been continually reminded of the infinite variety of institutions, student backgrounds, student aims, student capacities, and student preparation that makes for an amazing tabloid of American life. There is always more to learn.

From the outset, we determined that our focus was on students: on how well they were prepared by existing systems, on the paths they found through education, and on what contributions they were going to make to our future society. Of course, it became clear that our system of education works far better for some groups of students than for others.

We also knew from the outset that we weren't going to focus only on credentials and jobs, which is in many ways what the popular conversation about education has been reduced to. We cared about the experience of college. You'll notice that the title of this evening's program is "From Enrollment to Excellence" – we care about student success by the measure of obtaining a degree or certificate, but we also care about the quality of teaching and learning and the value of what is learned.

Two of the major themes in our report are college completion and college affordability. In our first encounters with these subjects, we perceived them as two distinct topics. But we came to understand that they are actually very closely linked. Let me explain to you what I mean by that.

This is not a new story, but college completion performance in our country is unsatisfactory. Low completion rates matter

more than ever because college success has become more vital not only to the success of our professional lives, but also to our personal and civic lives. In the United States, we are actually doing quite well on initial access to higher education. More than 90 percent of Americans who graduate from high school have some college experience by the time they are thirty years old. That is unprecedented in our history. But the fact is that among students who attend four-year colleges, about 40 percent drop out before they get a degree, and in community colleges, more people drop out than attain any kind of credential, whether a degree or a certificate. More disturbingly, this problem is concentrated among students from low-income families, students who are the first in their family to attend college, and students who belong to minority groups.

So there is a powerful equity agenda, but it's not only a matter of equity: we need the brainpower and the capacities of the people who are not now finding success in college. The Commission examined what options exist for improving completion performance and found that better advising about both where to go to college and how to make your way through college is critical. Additionally, better tracking of students once they are enrolled in college can help keep students on course, as well as empower advisors and student services professionals to intervene rapidly and effectively when students are showing signs of struggle. We have seen this at work at Georgia State and through CUNY's ASAP program at the com-

munity college level, and it has proven to be a powerful strategy. It is analogous in many ways to process reengineering in the industrial world.

We also need to recognize that investing in the institutions that serve these young people, and older people as well, pays off. We engaged Moody's Analytics, a top investment and analysis firm, to study the idea of investing a substantial amount of money over a twenty-year period in improving college completion rates. Moody's showed that over a period of thirty or forty years, the increase in productivity in the U.S. economy would be sufficient to more than pay for the investments. This is very much like invest-

ate's degree, or certificate program. Graduates receive all kinds of benefits from their studies, including material benefits that are, in most cases, sufficient to pay off their loans. College dropouts are much more likely to struggle with debt. Nine percent of students who get degrees and borrow ultimately default on their loans, while 24 percent of students who did not complete their programs will default. And it is not the people who borrow the most who are the most vulnerable; it's students who borrow even a small amount but get nothing in return for their brief time in college. They take on debt with nothing to show for it, and end up worse off.

**Radically streamlining the federal student loan system and further simplifying the Pell Grant system are important steps toward making college more accessible. States also need to renew their investments in higher education. And our education institutions need to play their part and concentrate resources on what serves students best.**

ment in physical infrastructure, except people tend to outlive road improvements.

Now how is this related to affordability? Concern about undergraduate affordability tends to center around the issue of borrowing money to attend college. And we've seen how spiraling college debt follows many students, including employed graduates, for years. Students can easily leave college worse off than when they entered. The decision to borrow can wreck lives. This is not what college is for.

What connects these subjects – college completion and borrowing – is that college debt is less of a problem for students who complete their bachelor's degree, associ-

There's more we can do than simply raise completion rates. Our Commission emphasized that we need to concentrate on putting money where it will do the most good: at the institutional level, at the state level, and at the federal level. It is also very important that we make our federal programs more accessible and understandable than they are now. There are six different programs through which you can borrow money from the federal government to go to college. They have different interest rates attached, different repayment expectations attached, and different loan forgiveness options. It is shockingly and needlessly complicated.

Radically streamlining the federal student loan system and further simplifying the Pell Grant system are important steps toward making college more accessible. The federal government needs to run its shop a whole lot better than it does now. But states also need to renew their investments in higher education. And our education institutions need to play their part and concentrate resources on what serves students best, and step away from programs and commitments that aren't effective.

Finally, we have to come to grips with the fact that the substantial majority of undergraduate teaching is not delivered by professors, but by faculty in various kinds of adjunct or non-tenure track contingent roles, in which they are very poorly supported, very poorly paid, and do not have working and living conditions conducive to doing good work. If we are to improve teaching and learning in higher education, which will improve completion rates and lower the risks of borrowing, it is essential for colleges and universities individually and for the nation collectively to focus on addressing this problem.



## Gail O. Mellow

*Gail O. Mellow is President of LaGuardia Community College. She is a member of the Academy's Commission on the Future of Undergraduate Education.*

Before we could do much else, the Commission had to understand who is going to college. Because it is no longer the elite of the elite, the top 1 or 2 percent whose parents have the resources to make it happen; nor is it only students who are so extraordinarily brilliant, like the panelists here beside me, that any school would give them a full scholarship. Rather, a college education has become the entrance to life in America. You have to have something beyond a high-school diploma if you're going to survive in this world. And that shows in student demographics. My students in Queens come from 160 different countries and speak 110 different languages. They actually just represent the Queens community.

Increasingly, student populations are not white and upper class, but are black and brown and poor. And you might be surprised to learn that most undergraduate students do not live on a college campus. About

**Increasingly, student populations are not white and upper class, but are black and brown and poor. . . . If we are going to restructure our higher education system, it has to meet the needs of the people who actually enter it.**

30 percent are over the age of twenty-five, and they are knitting together their family lives, work lives, and student lives at college. Many work while they attend school and, especially among low-income students, some work full time. These students, including those who are homeless or food-insecure, are less concerned with writing the perfect essay than figuring out how they can manage to afford a MetroCard and lunch. It's a very different kind of student population. And we knew that for the Commission to be effective, its analyses and recommendations had to be grounded in the realities of the lives of these students. If we are going to restructure our higher education system, it has to meet the needs of the people who actually enter it.

I tend to be a crazy community college person. But rather than resorting to fisticuffs, like Vartan suggested, to ensure representation of my world, I was impressed by the wonderful conversations the Commission had about the transformative power of the community college system. We understood that when community college students are well educated – not well trained but well educated – it is absolutely possible for them to take the next step and go to a Williams College, to a Columbia College. Raj Chetty, an economist at Stanford, has examined social mobility and found that places like the City University of New York and Cal State propel more people into the top fifth of the income strata than all the Ivies put together. We talk about transfer in the Commission's report, the process of go-

ing from a community college to a four-year college, or switching from a four-year program to a two-year degree; there's a lot of swirling going around. We can't repair the American higher education system without really understanding it, and these are key pieces.

The second thing I wanted to talk about is technology. We are all besotted with technology, right? It's so wonderful, it's so exciting, it's so intimidating, and it will fix everything. We imagine we're in Star Trek: We'll ask, "Can I have a cup of Earl Gray tea?" And it will beam into existence in front of us, and life will be perfect. Well there is great power in using the facilities of technology to teach. But not everyone is going to learn that way. In fact, what we've found is that the students who I teach at LaGuardia and other low-income students and students of color across the nation tend not to respond well to technology-based lessons as the only college teaching strategy. Technology approaches may be asking too much of students: for a certain amount of quiet in your home, for you not to be hungry after school, for you to be able to get online easily. These are challenges for many students. So technology is clearly part of what we should be thinking about, but it's not a magic pill.

The report makes this point very powerfully, and argues that we have to rethink how we educate college teachers to teach better. Before the Internet, before you could look up everything on your phone, faculty knew things that you didn't. They read the books that you haven't, and if you wanted

that knowledge, you would have to go to the library and invest a lot of your time. Now you just Google: when did Alexander the Great stop in Egypt, and why was he there? It's so easy, right? But it isn't easy, because that's a story, not a real education. Education is deeper, it is synthesis, it is critical thinking, it is analysis, it is putting things together and drawing connections. So how do teachers teach those skills while embracing, not being undermined by, technology?

So as we face dwindling resources, particularly for public higher education – which educates 80 percent of all undergraduates in the United States! – we need to understand how we can train college teachers to use new technologies in ways that contribute to a deeper education, while doing more with less financial support. The Commission report gets this exactly right: technology is part of the, but not the entire, answer, and that includes professors understanding data about student outcomes to learn what works well for them personally. This is just one example of the new vision for higher education that the Commission proposes.



### Nicholas Lemann

*Nicholas Lemann is the Joseph Pulitzer II and Edith Pulitzer Moore Professor of Journalism and Dean Emeritus of Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism. He was elected a Fellow of the American Academy in 2010 and is a member of the Academy's Commission on the Future of Undergraduate Education.*

Let me say first, more openly, what has been somewhat implicit up until now. There is an expectation that a Commission of this kind, with this topic, would end up making the argument, roughly speaking, that higher education in the United States is fabulous, but needs two things: more funding and less regulation. And I want to stress that this is not what our report does. We worked hard, Mike McPherson and Roger Ferguson especially, to produce something that doesn't use the apocalyptic language of the *Nation at Risk* report that Vartan quoted from, but is nonetheless quite critical of undergraduate education in America. The report paints a picture of a higher education system that, as others have noted, has become a mass system – which is good – but it arguably does not work for many or even

most of its students. When you read the report, you realize quickly how critical it is of our existing system, and how much of a call to arms it is. But it doesn't just call on outside actors to treat us better, it is self-reflective and self-critical, calling on higher education itself to do a better job. And as Gail mentioned, the report avoids the popular bromides of the moment, such as the \$1.2 trillion that MOOCs are supposedly going to save us, and is instead based on solid, rigorous research and thought.

As a journalist, I am used to the idea that you have to write your own materials. Well the great thing about being on a Commission is that you don't. So I want to take this moment to thank our lead drafts person, Francesca Purcell, who managed the Commission from the Academy and did a fantastic job transforming a bunch of meetings and conversations into a wonderful publication.

I'm going to focus my time on another of the most prominent bromides about higher education today: that it must be skills-oriented, almost exclusively, or else it's a rip-off of students. The report pushes back against that assumption, and treats what you might call a "liberal education" or an education for citizenship as an essential part of the higher education system. Vartan mentioned the historic Morrill Act, which is great in every way except maybe one: embedded in it is something of an assumption that the then-new public universities would be mostly skills-oriented, while the elite universities, it went without saying, were in those days completely un-skills-oriented.

So while this has long been true of public universities, it has been a big change in recent years for the elites to have become so much more skills-oriented. An incredibly depressing graphic ran last week in *The Harvard Crimson* about trends in degree/majors distribution at Harvard, though the trend really spans all the Ivies. Harvard today has



**One of the most prominent bromides about higher education today is that it must be skills-oriented, almost exclusively, or else it's a rip-off of students. The Commission's report pushes back against that assumption, and treats what you might call a "liberal education" or an education for citizenship as an essential part of the higher education system.**

the lowest percentage of humanities majors since the university's founding. Harvard has only four undergraduate African American studies majors, for example. The Commission takes a broader view of the promise of higher education, arguing forcefully for liberal education for all, including students at elite universities like Harvard and community colleges like LaGuardia.

But it's an incredibly seductive argument – that if you're going to put so much time and effort and money, which may be borrowed, into getting an education, at least let it be useful. Just about every week, in my part of the academy, we get a new screed about the problem with journalism education: it is not skills-oriented enough,

set of job skills is not going to serve you well in the long term. It is much more important to learn how to think, how to put things in context, how to analyze, how to learn to deal with people who are different from yourself and have different assumptions from yourself, how to locate reliable information. These make up the core of an education, and they make you a more empowered and responsible and active citizen; and the data show that they empower you economically as well. So we are fighting against an unstated class system in education, insisting that the mission is not only college completion, not only high-quality teaching, but true education for all. It cannot be skills education for most, and true education for the few.

learn to write effective business letters. You will learn to make impressive PowerPoint presentations. You might even get a job in the oil industry." That is the kind of defensive language that advocates of the humanities have been forced to adopt in this current atmosphere of utility and professionalization. I would urge all of us to resist it, and do what the report does: pitch the argument at a higher level. Because that is what education for all – which is one of the great distinctive features of American society, on its better days – is all about. ■

---

© 2018 by Vartan Gregorian, Michael S. McPherson, Gail O. Mellow, and Nicholas Lemann, respectively

**We are fighting against an unstated class system in education, insisting that the mission is not only college completion, not only high-quality teaching, but true education for all. It cannot be skills education for most, and true education for the few.**

and the skills that are covered aren't cutting-edge enough. I've had a ringside seat for how wrong that argument is, and the data support this too. I've seen what were considered essential skills for journalists become completely irrelevant and useless, leaving many of my friends unemployed. Especially as the economy changes and people have to reinvent themselves professionally over and over, learning a very specific

I'll close with this. I am from Louisiana. Several years ago, the dean of the humanities and social sciences at LSU told me that the legislature was cutting the university's budget again, so they were putting on a conference on the use of the humanities. And could I come speak in their defense? I said sure. Well, it was really depressing. "If you study the humanities, you will learn to be a better business communicator. You will

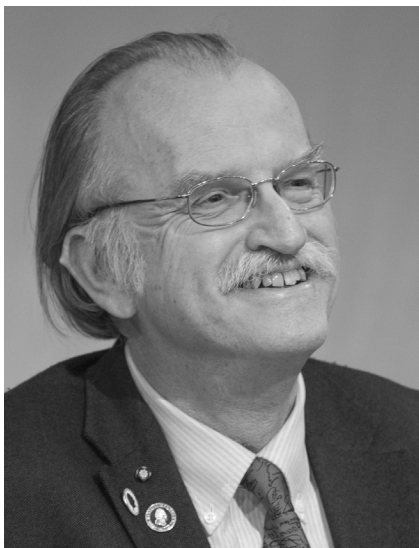


To view or listen to the presentations, visit <https://www.amacad.org/enrollment-excellence>.



# Jefferson, Race, and Democracy

On February 6, 2018, Annette Gordon-Reed (Charles Warren Professor of American Legal History at Harvard Law School and Professor of History at Harvard University) and Peter S. Onuf (Mellon Distinguished Scholar in Residence at the American Antiquarian Society and Thomas Jefferson Foundation Professor of History Emeritus at the University of Virginia) participated in a discussion on “Jefferson, Race, and Democracy,” drawing from their recent book, *“Most Blessed of the Patriarchs”: Thomas Jefferson and the Empire of the Imagination*. The program, which served as the Academy’s 2065th Stated Meeting, featured welcoming remarks from Jonathan F. Fanton (President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences). The following is an edited transcript of the discussion.



## Peter S. Onuf

*Peter S. Onuf is Mellon Distinguished Scholar in Residence at the American Antiquarian Society and Thomas Jefferson Foundation Professor of History Emeritus at the University of Virginia. He was elected a Fellow of the American Academy in 2014.*

Our plan for this evening is to talk about how scholars today think about Jefferson, particularly on the question of race. We will draw from our book, *“Most Blessed of the Patriarchs”: Thomas Jefferson and the Empire of the Imagination*, but range widely from it. We hope to discuss the current state of Jefferson’s reputation and then move on to an assessment of history and memory more

**Jefferson has been an enormously controversial figure. There are many Jeffersons out there in the national imaginary. Can we construct out of the best available evidence a Jefferson who seems right for his times?**

broadly and how we think and rethink race today. We do not have to stick with Jefferson. He is the springboard for us. Annette has played a leading role at Harvard Law School about how we remember or try to erase slavery, and this is the great challenge for us right now: how we remember, what we forget, and what we can learn and take from the past. I think a simple way to put it is this is the era of fake news and of alternative universes. Is there some solid grounding that historians and proper historical understanding can provide us in this era?

The first order of business is to talk a little bit about Jefferson, race, and slavery and a nice way to begin is to explain why we chose the title of our book and how that might provide a way of getting into the problems of race and slavery. Our agenda in writing this book was to put Jefferson together using the different images of Jefferson: the Jefferson who wrote the Declaration with the Jefferson who was the loving grandfather with the Jefferson who owned human beings. Are they the same person? Do we call him schizoid? The fashionable thing to do

is simply call him a hypocrite so that we can take the parts that we like. But we thought that was not the way forward. He has been an enormously controversial figure. There are many Jeffersons out there in the national imaginary. Can we construct out of the best available evidence a Jefferson who seems right for his times? What then does he say to us, metaphorically speaking, once we have put him back together?



## Annette Gordon-Reed

Annette Gordon-Reed is Charles Warren Professor of American Legal History at Harvard Law School and Professor of History at Harvard University. She was elected a Fellow of the American Academy in 2011 and serves as a member of the Academy's Council.

We grew tired of the idea of a compartmentalized Jefferson with parts that do not speak to one another. Dumas Malone published six volumes' worth of a biography of Jefferson and left many things out. Then we entered the era of "Jefferson and . . ." Jefferson and slavery, Jefferson and the press, Jefferson and . . . We wanted to get away from that approach. Our notion of putting Jefferson back together comes from the sense that he had been separated out and he seemed to be a strange character in lots of ways; someone who was not very approachable, not human, not someone we could understand why he became the person that he did. How did he have such influence? How did he manage to demand such loyalty? He was president and then he had acolytes, people who were loyal to him from the time that he left public life and up until we get to John

Quincy Adams. And that included Jackson, whom Jefferson was not overly fond of, and yet Jackson considered himself to be a Jeffersonian. We have never again had that kind of political influence from one person over that number of years. So it is inexplicable as to why people followed him, why he was an attractive figure.

People have asked us about the title of our book, *"Most Blessed of the Patriarchs": Thomas Jefferson and the Empire of the Imagination*. If you notice, "Most Blessed of the Patriarchs" is in quotes. It was a controversial issue. Our editor said that we do not put quotes on the cover of books.

### Peter Onuf

Because then there would have to be a footnote.

### Annette Gordon-Reed

Exactly. We did not want people thinking that we were calling *him* most blessed of the patriarchs. That is how he described himself in a letter to Angelica Schuyler, who everybody knows now because of the mu-

He writes to her, telling her about his life, what he is going to do now that he is leaving the government. Of course, he does not mention why he is leaving. He does not mention that her brother-in-law was the source of all the angst and the reason that he was departing the Cabinet.

And he writes to her that I have one daughter who's married and I have another and if she comes to live near me I will consider myself as blessed as the "most blessed of the patriarchs." There is another famous line: I have my fields to form, and he talks about watching for the happiness of those who labor for mine; that is to say, enslaved people. And that is the title of a book about Jefferson's attitude about slavery by our friend, Cinder Stanton, *Those Who Labor for My Happiness*. Putting these things together, a person who is considered to be the apostle of liberty, an avatar of freedom, a devotee of the French revolution, Jefferson was seen as a Jacobin, as a revolutionary, by people during his time period. When talking about himself, he describes himself as a patriarch. A couple of years later, he describes himself

## How did Jefferson have such influence? How did he manage to demand such loyalty?

sical *Hamilton*. There is no night about the Founders that is safe without a mention of *Hamilton*, the musical. And I don't mean that in a pejorative sense. I love it.

When we started writing this book we had no idea that anybody would know who she was because there was not any reason for anybody to know who she was. And then the musical comes along and she's one of the Schuyler sisters so everybody gets who she is.

Jefferson is writing to her in 1793. He has lost the battle for Washington's favor in the Cabinet and he is going back to Monticello.

as living like an antediluvian patriarch in Monticello among my family, my children, and my farms.

When you think of a patriarch, you might think of someone religious, someone ancient. And to pair that with a person who is an Enlightenment figure, we thought that would be an interesting thing to explore, thinking about Jefferson as he saw himself.

### Peter Onuf

One way to begin to put Jefferson back together is to recognize the fractures or divisions that he proclaimed in his own life. One was family, domesticity, home, and the nascent world of politics. That is a distinction that he keeps making: “Oh, I can’t tell you how I long to be home,” and when he gets home, of course, all his political friends show up and he never gets to spend time in the bosom of his family with his beloved daughters, when they are both alive, and his grandchildren. Instead, he is a political animal, but he has constructed an idea of himself as a private self. In fact, the word *self* is very important in our understanding of him.

There is something interesting about how Jefferson imagines patriarchy, how he thinks about it. In terms of looking out for the happiness of those people who are dependent on him, who labor for him, and are within his patriarchal domain, he thinks he can make them happy. This is the person who tells us to pursue happiness – the dynamic quest for some ever-receding imagined perfect state, a kind of neurotic excitement that defines all our lives. It is that notion of the patriarchal domain, the division between public and private. So we wanted to get into Jefferson’s house, metaphorically speaking, into his private life in order to get a new perspective on what Jefferson thought about the world beyond his house.

### Annette Gordon-Reed

This notion of making people happy, this is something that grates on us because Jefferson clearly sees himself as a benevolent patriarch and that is something that is difficult for us to wrap our minds around. We see the oppression of it, and he sees himself with responsibilities. And those responsibilities take power away from other people. No matter how nice you think you are to others and how reasonable you think you are, to remove agency from them, to remove their

own power to pursue their own happiness, to prevent them from playing their chosen role in the world is the tragedy of slavery. We have been looking at things from the perspective of the people whom Jefferson is acting upon, and that is important to do, but we thought that it might be time, at least for a book, to come back and to take him seriously on his own terms. What is it that he

**A person who is considered to be the apostle of liberty, an avatar of freedom, a devotee of the French revolution, Jefferson was seen as a Jacobin, as a revolutionary, by people during his time period.**

thinks he is doing? And if you do that you get a better sense of what other people at the time saw in him that made him an attractive figure, a figure worth following, someone people trusted to remake American society in a particular image.

So the idea was to look at his letters to his family and the letters between members of his family to try to get a picture of who he really was and to reconstruct that person. And to do this in a thematic way that included his home, Virginia, and all the things that made him who he was. Who influenced him and made him into the person who thought that he could actually act in the world.

### Peter Onuf

What would give Jefferson that idea about himself in the first place? This is the unattractive reality we have to grapple with. Why would somebody in a monarchical world, where all men are created unequal, where Anglo-Americans had been subjects of King George III, imagine that they could govern themselves? We just take that for granted and we universalize it as we think Jefferson did. But it is almost commonsensical to suggest that there has to be a sense of power,

a sense of responsibility, a sense of agency, and that comes to people who own their own property, who have civic independence, who can see themselves as makers, as people who can change the world, who can do things. In other words, to some extent Jefferson gets his sense of the power of the citizen and the power of citizens collectively by the real power he exercises in his own household.

### Annette Gordon-Reed

Yes, and he had that power from the time that he was a young man. He was born into the highest level of society. His father was more of a self-made man, but his mother’s family was an old family in Virginia.

He is the eldest son when that mattered at the time. He was well educated, with the best type of education then. He did not travel as a young man to England, but he had a good education in Virginia. He was an intelligent person. He was tall at a time when that was important. He was white, he was male, and he owned other people. So in a sense you have a person who has this idea about what an individual can do based on a life unlike that of ordinary people. He extrapolates this notion of power. Only somebody who had had that kind of privilege could take his own understanding of what could be done and extrapolate that across the common white man to certain ends.

### Peter Onuf

That extrapolation is an important point. You could say that democracy is based on universalizing the aristocracy. As Jefferson likes to say in his first inaugural address,

why can't everybody have a household economy? Why can't all the patriarchs, all the white men, not be like me, but be farmers. Farmers would be better than planters. He understands that the existence of slavery is an immanent contradiction, as we might say today. He is discomfited by it, but he doesn't lose sleep over it because he feels that at that place and time he has other, more pressing responsibilities.

So there is a great hopefulness in Jefferson. He is a progressive. But one of the reasons he is progressive is that he thinks future generations will move beyond the kinds of conditions that exist for Virginia's planters. One of the nice ways to get into the problem of race and slavery with Jefferson is to talk about how he imagines

so important to have separation of church and state. Organized religion kept people back; it kept them believing in superstitions, as he would call them. He had a notion that there would be progress and it was the next generation that would carry the ball forward. Now, that is unsatisfactory to us because you always want people to be working toward something that is right. But he actually did believe that it was for the next generation to advance things.

#### Peter Onuf

Jefferson had a plan. He spelled it out in *Notes on the State of Virginia* and he repeated it several times throughout. The solution is to take the problem of slavery and to recognize the injustice of enslaved people, who

#### Annette Gordon-Reed

Interestingly enough, we talked about this in my class today. Who are "the people" and how do African Americans belong in "the people"? Part of Jefferson's understanding and his answer to that was no, they could not belong because slavery had destroyed or would destroy any black person's possibility of loving this country. How do you love a country where you have been treated the way you have been treated? How can white people believe that black people who have been so degraded are equal to them? We will never give up our prejudices, which is basically what he says. And there will be a state of war. Slavery was that state of war. Jefferson accepted the Lockean notion of slavery as a state of war that would continue, giving us unending conflict. And the truth is we have had a war: at the end of slavery, we have lynching, Jim Crow, and police suppression of people in urban areas. It has not been easy and we like to think we are beyond all of that, but we really are not.

One of the things I was saying in my class today is that Jefferson's real problem was that he wrote things down. He was seriously thinking about how to incorporate African Americans into a community. If the nation is a compilation of families to communities up to the national government, how can you be equal citizens if you cannot be in families with one another? How do you say that we are equal but we cannot marry each other, we cannot have children together? Family formation was a problem. He did not think that there could be such a thing as first-class or second-class citizenship. And so we ended up with a republic that has tiers of citizenship and for him it was you are either a citizen or not, and black people are not going to be citizens. They need to be in a country where they can be full citizens because it is not going to happen here.

## There is something interesting about how Jefferson imagines patriarchy, how he thinks about it. In terms of looking out for the happiness of those people who are dependent on him, who labor for him, and are within his patriarchal domain, he thinks he can make them happy.

that happening. How could we get beyond the existence of widespread ownership of human beings in Virginia with 40 percent of the population enslaved at the time of independence?

#### Annette Gordon-Reed

Well, he believed in progress. He believed that things were going to get better, and that is difficult for us to imagine.

But he actually thought that things would get better and better. He extrapolates – we have that word again. He thought of the world in terms of science and what he had seen of science. Scientific advancements opened people's minds. That is why it was

had been denied any civic existence. How do you solve the problem? With emancipation. Slavery is a contradiction in terms for somebody who believes in civic equality.

So how do you get to the next stage? For Jefferson the boundary between the races – between the white nation, the owners, the masters, and the enslaved captive nation – was a belligerent frontier, one that had been policed by the institution of slavery. If you abolish slavery that frontier disappears, but the two peoples are still there. The only solution, therefore, is expatriation or what came to be known as colonization, a favorite panacea of right-minded white politicians up through the Civil War.



**Peter Onuf**

If you were a Federalist, you were very comfortable with the fact of social inequality. Now, John Adams is a good democrat, with a small d. He is not going to say anybody should be deprived of the vote, but he would say that aristocracy is natural. In fact, he did say it. He said that there would always be an elite, and they would always exercise power. If you see the world in those terms, and those are realistic terms, you say there is a place at the bottom for you. Now, that is not the usual American promise, but it does mean that you could be part of this thing and you could imagine an underclass. And then maybe even in the long term you could imagine a gradual rising up, maybe through education, maybe through some conservative process that would not disrupt things.

I am going to quarrel with you a little bit, Annette, because it always livens things up. Jefferson, you say, should not have written things down.

**Annette Gordon-Reed**

The perils of a written record. But, of course, he should have written things down or we would not be sitting here.

**Peter Onuf**

Jefferson writes things down that can be – in fact have to be – read in two different ways. For example, take his strongest argument for democracy, one that political theorists who do not know much history get very excited about today. It is his notion of the word republic and his elaboration of this idea in 1816. He writes a series of letters that draws on his experience and his aspirations. He says, “Let’s imagine a federal system that just doesn’t begin with the states. It begins with these little village republics.” He has New England envy. He wishes that Virginia were not made of these oligarchical counties where there was no real democratic government. Let’s start with the ward, or maybe

**Jefferson clearly sees himself as a benevolent patriarch and that is something that is difficult for us to wrap our minds around. We see the oppression of it, and he sees himself with responsibilities.**

with the farm or the plantation. And the citizen, the patriarch: that is the first stage in his democratic vision. As Annette suggested, it goes all the way from the village to the county to the state to the union . . . and to the whole world. You build up. This is the strongest statement, the inspirational statement, of his conception of democracy. Nobody knows better how to govern his own farm or plantation than the farmer or the planter. Is that commonsensical, my fellow Americans? And what am I saying when I say that? I am saying don’t mess with my slaves.

**Annette Gordon-Reed**

That is the idea of control and mastery over your own domain and that is the problem that we have with Jefferson today. It is interesting to talk about the changing fortunes. I taught a freshman seminar this year on Hamilton and Jefferson with twelve students, two of whom you could call Jeffersonian. The rest were Hamiltonians. We are all Hamiltonians now. It is an interesting turn of events that has happened.

**Peter Onuf**

Jefferson is black now.

**Annette Gordon-Reed**

Well, Jefferson is black now. I have a friend who took her daughter to see *Hamilton* and then afterwards she was reading a child’s book about Madison Hemings and slavery. She looked up at her mother and she said, “Thomas Jefferson was white?” This notion of a multiracial society makes him a hard

sell even though there are so many other aspects of his life, of his theories, that are in fact useful.

**Peter Onuf**

This is why I insisted on the double reading of Jefferson. To say that democratic theory is simply a cover for slavery, that is reductive. There is a lot more to everything Jefferson has to tell us. And I think that is the challenge, and this is maybe a nice time to segue into Jefferson’s standing today.

We had many conversations at Monticello. Annette and I go there often to give advice about how Monticello should engage with the problem of race as well as slavery in the wake of what happened in my hometown last August: the idea that Jefferson is the ur-racist because he insisted on a distinction between black and white and did not envision a multiracial or a biracial republic. Maybe he is the problem and maybe it is time to put him down yet again. How do we deal with the notion that Jefferson stands for something we need to repudiate? That is a logical conclusion that we can understand. But it is not going to get us anywhere. Jefferson is a richer resource than that. In the moment we are now in, we know Jefferson is a complicated character.

**Annette Gordon-Reed**

I wrote something about this to try to flesh out the very thing that you are saying here, this notion of how you have this person who is so much a part of the American sto-



ry that you really cannot write him out of it. It might be a comfortable thing to do—in Communist China you could tell who was out of favor or in favor by whether or not they got airbrushed out of the picture.

But we cannot do that because Jefferson had his hand in so many aspects of the founding. In a sense, it is like dealing with the contradictions of the country itself. There are the strong points and the

tion of liberty that we now see racialized; we understand its historical context and we reject it. But the modern idea of liberty, the modern idea of rights, and the modern idea of democracy all draw on Jefferson. We need to be aware of how we both differ from Jefferson and how we are indebted to him and that is another way of saying we have to come to grips with the fact that we are Americans.

antiracist sentiment was loose in Virginia at that moment.

### Peter Onuf

It wasn't voiced.

### Annette Gordon-Reed

People say Madison was not a racist or Washington was not racist, but was Jefferson? Is it better to be somebody who is not a racist but can hold people in bondage nevertheless or to be someone who has to rationalize this behavior? I think a lot of it is rationalizing behavior. Virginia's culture was racist. Jefferson was born in 1743, and we are sitting here in 2018 and many people have similar ideas. This is a tough nut to crack.

## To some extent, Jefferson gets his sense of the power of the citizen and the power of citizens collectively by the real power he exercises in his own household.

weak points; there is the issue of race and religion. Putting them away is not going to solve the problem and make it seem like it never happened. And that is the real challenge and why it is so difficult for some people to do that today. Either he has to be the devil or he has to be God.

At Monticello they are trying to find the right balance because people are asking questions that they might not have asked ten or fifteen years ago. It is a different story that is being told. There are more voices and more people who are interested in trying to make sense of all of this. So the project was a chance for us to work together and try to explicate the life of somebody we think is indispensable to understanding the country and ourselves.

### Peter Onuf

About every idea that we think is crucial in our modern day political toolbox has a Jeffersonian genealogy, for example, democracy and rights. How does rights thinking emerge in the United States? It emerges through the strong voice of Jefferson and the Jeffersonians. It is based on a concep-

### Discussion

#### Question

The thing that puzzles me about Jefferson is that unlike other people who are so immersed in a way of thinking that they cannot even imagine anything else, Jefferson was an independent thinker. His views of religion were very independent minded. He was not the creature of his circumstances in the way that Madison was. Madison was a much more conventionally religious person. Jefferson was not conventional in many respects, whether it is religion or science. And yet he did not do a very good job in rising above the question of race. There were others who did better. And that may be why people are so taken with Hamilton because Hamilton was not encapsulated in that view.

### Annette Gordon-Reed

Hamilton apparently believed that to the extent that there were any problems with African Americans, with blacks, it was because of slavery. He saw slavery as something that negatively affected blacks. Now, we do not want to exaggerate how much

### Peter Onuf

I think the problem is that Jefferson disappoints us. He lets us down. Why do we think that he should have anticipated the kind of world we are responsible for making now? He could not imagine the future. He could pray, and we argue that he did pray, that it would be better and he was imagining a way out of the dilemma of slavery, the injustice of it, but it would take generations. First he said, "Well, maybe more than my lifetime, maybe an age." Jefferson had a genius for abstraction, for drawing from the world he lived in to the kinds of principles that Enlightenment thinkers drew about moral sense, about human capacity, about human nature, and about how a great country could be based on a continent open to new settlement. He had no idea of what was going to happen to the economy, to capital, to the kind of world that we live in now.

And here's my clinching argument. Jefferson said that one day every young man in America would be a Unitarian. Now that is a prophetic statement! My point is that it is up to us to know how to make use of our history not to find role models or people who happen to say the things that please us right

now, but to see where we are now, where we were then, and how progress was made that we cherish as our American story. And it was partly because people followed Jefferson's ideas. It was the idea of progress. It was the idea that at some point justice would be done. It is almost a religious faith. One thing that we are desperately in need of today is a civic religious faith in the prospect or possibility of creating the kind of society in which we have had the unique opportunity in world history to create but which we are putting into jeopardy.

Jefferson is both the source of much that is good – our sense of possibility, our sense of the power and the goodness of people – but he is also responsible for much that we think is bad. It is up to us to read him well for our own purposes and not to distort him, to make him into somebody who would be serving our purposes.

### Question

One of the things that has always intrigued me was Jefferson's relationship to money.

### Annette Gordon-Reed

Jefferson was not a good manager of his affairs. He spent a lot of time in public life away from the farm. One of the points that we make in the book is that people think of him as the great agriculturalist and he was interested in the farm at a basic level, but he was much more interested in building, much more interested in the mechanics of those things rather than agriculture. Debt was a way of life for farmers, then and now. He had a memorandum book in which he kept all of his accounts and daily transactions. There was an illusion: he was wealthy by the measures of the eighteenth-century with land and, for Virginia, enslaved people, but what really happens to him in the end is that the economy changes.

There was a depression and he lent money to people. He was interested in getting

money to pay debts. There is no sense that he wanted to gather up money just for the sake of gathering up money.

He did not pay attention to these things, and one of the points we make is that the patriarch, the person who is going to watch out for the happiness of people, ends up dependent upon his grandson who was much better with money and a much better man-

**Jefferson had a plan. The solution is to take the problem of slavery and to recognize the injustice of enslaved people, who had been denied any civic existence. How do you solve the problem? With emancipation.**

ager and steward of the farm than Jefferson. He was an intellectual. He lived the life of a writer. The notion of moneymaking for the sake of it or managing it eluded him and it was not something that he spent his time on; that just was not his passion.

### Peter Onuf

Well, the mark of a good master, of a good planter, was keeping families together, of running a profitable plantation enterprise that would not have to be liquidated. If we keep in mind that, of course, plantation slavery was vitally important to the spread of capitalism in the modern world and of course to the wealth of the United States of America, that was the criterion. And ultimately it became the foundation and justification for pro-slavery arguments. Remember this about Jefferson. Living as long as he did – and I have always said he lived too long – he had to know that slavery was not going to disappear. You could tell that by just checking out the price of slaves at the Richmond slave market. The price goes up and up. So the idea that somehow the rising generation of Virginians would say, “Well,

you know, this is not an efficient way to deploy our capital, let's be more like Pennsylvania” is not realistic. I think Jefferson had Pennsylvania envy as well as New England envy. His poor management was because he was looking beyond all this and he imagined that things would get better and what is saddening for him and for us about his life is how it just does not happen.

### Question

What was in Jefferson's thinking in trying to ship slaves back to Africa? In his mind, what was the American Colonization Society?

### Annette Gordon-Reed

He never joined the American Colonization Society. He never thought that they were really serious.

### Peter Onuf

Jefferson never joined it, but Madison did.

### Annette Gordon-Reed

There was no real plan for the idea of shipping back blacks. Blacks could not be incorporated into the society as part of the people; they had to find their own place where they could be citizens in a black country.

### Question

Did Jefferson have any notion about that?

### Annette Gordon-Reed

Jefferson had a gigantic map of Africa in the hallway at Monticello and he had chess pieces with African players and African people.

### Peter Onuf

He was very interested in what the British were doing in West Africa with Sierra Leone. Maybe that would be a place to send freed people, or criminals in the case of Gabriel's rebellion. The idea was that African Americans were a captive nation with no claim on the land. Property rights were very important, then and now. The British and Euro-American settlers owned the land. So colonization and expatriation would give a landless people a land of their own.

### Annette Gordon-Reed

There are the people who came here voluntarily, like the European settlers and even indentured servants, versus the people who were captured and brought here. If you were captured and brought here, why

we would emancipate these enslaved individuals and then send them someplace, who knows where, and declare them a free and independent people. It is of course a perversion and reversal of the Declaration of Independence. They are people who are being declared independent. But the vision is one of the ultimate national self-determination of people who had been unjustly captured in war.

### Question

What did Jefferson understand by happiness? He was a highly educated man whom I am sure had read Aristotle, who said that happiness was the ultimate aim of everybody. Was this a conventional statement that Jefferson was repeating or was it something more personal to him?

## About every idea that we think is crucial in our modern day political toolbox has a Jeffersonian genealogy, for example, democracy and rights.

would you want to stay? How could you love this country when you had been treated this way? I end two books talking about the fact that Jefferson frees five people in his will and then he petitions the legislature and says they need to stay in Virginia because this is where their family and their connections are.

Family and connections to a particular land were important so that is why they get to stay here. But thinking about what is happening on a national level in terms of the policy of the United States is very different than on the personal level.

### Peter Onuf

I think the most striking statement in Jefferson's writings is in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, query 14, where he talks about his plans for colonization. He talks about how

### Annette Gordon-Reed

Well, there is some indication that Jefferson got this from James Wilson. It is not happiness in the way we think about it. It is not licentiousness, but the pursuit of a life of usefulness, a life of virtue. That would be his understanding of it.

### Peter Onuf

And he would draw on the classics, the ancient philosophers. It is about achieving balance.

Fulfillment and flourishing are a favorite term of art. The word happiness obviously has multiple meanings. We talked about the pursuit of happiness. The other idea that we have also mentioned is in the unquoted part of the title of our book, which is drawn from political economy. It refers to how a whole society is functioning. Its

happiness would be measured by personal welfare, by the availability of a plentiful subsistence, by a high rate of reproduction. It has more to do with keeping bodies alive and healthy and promoting people's welfare. A manager and owner of human beings would tend to think in those terms about his people.

### Question

What was your writing process like? Were you like Lennon and McCartney? And then how did that differ, Professor Gordon-Reed, from your Hemingses book, which must have been a very solitary process?

### Annette Gordon-Reed

We started out talking a lot about what we wanted to do before we started to write. Then we started Skype sessions. Peter was going to retire and I thought that we should do a book to keep him from retiring.

Our editor, Bob Weil, did not want a book in which one person writes a chapter, another person writes a chapter, and you have two different voices. So as much as we could we tended to write sections that were not too long so no one became wedded to what they had written, and then we sent it to the other person.

### Peter Onuf

And we talk about it.

### Annette Gordon-Reed

Yes, we talked it through. The sentences are the melding of our ideas. There are a few instances in which we could say oh, that might be him, that might be me, but for the most part there are not many sentences that we have not both messed with.

### Peter Onuf

We are very proud of the fact that most of our readers tell us it is a single voice.

**Question**

As you mentioned, Jefferson is a man of contradictions, and many of his ideas on race were driven by the culture in Virginia and by his self-interest. I am wondering what did he think about this Enlightenment idea of ending the slave trade and emancipation.

**Annette Gordon-Reed**

He was very proud of the fact that he was involved in that. We say ending the slave trade was not an anti-slavery provision. But at the time it was thought of as an anti-slavery measure. As a young man Jefferson copied in his memorandum books a part of a poem by William Shenstone that talks about a person ripped from his native homeland, brought and forced across the ocean to labor for someone else. This is when he is in his twenties, even before he is Thomas Jefferson. So as a young man he sees himself as progressive. This was one of the things that was fixated in his mind as something that could in fact be an anti-slavery measure.

**Question**

Peter admitted that Jefferson had New England envy and so John Adams's idea of everyone rising is an idea that I think Jefferson at his best actually shared, along with the ideas of James Wilson. The question I want to ask you is about a statement that came out of both the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians, the two professional organizations of our guild. Both statements called for the taking down of Confederate monuments, and the argument was that if you look at the time in which these monuments were erected it was the height of Jim Crow. They were put in place explicitly and self-consciously to make clear to African Americans that despite the Civil War amendments, white male supremacy was still in place and that every moment that an African American

**Jefferson is both the source of much that is good – our sense of possibility, our sense of the power and the goodness of people – but he is also responsible for much that we think is bad. It is up to us to read him well for our own purposes and not to distort him, to make him into somebody who would be serving our purposes.**

saw those monuments that power discrepancy was reinscribed. I find that a persuasive argument, but I would be curious to know how you feel about it.

**Peter Onuf**

I agree with it very strongly. The implementation is something else. Our good friend, Ed Ayers, is on the commission in Richmond that is going to deal with Monument Avenue. If you can imagine a challenge: drive down Monument Avenue and you see one horse after another until you get to Arthur Ashe, which is a bit of a contradiction.

What I think is important is to evoke a Jeffersonian idea of progressive public opinion or let's just say practical enfranchisement to allow through democratic processes local communities to deal with their landscape. The first step, I think, is to educate everybody: what the monuments mean, why they are there, and what they have done. In Charlottesville, it is just finally becoming clear that having Stonewall Jackson right in the middle of town is an insult to everybody.

**Annette Gordon-Reed**

I agree with that as well. It is time to rethink this question of why the monuments were put there.

**Question**

I have a question based on what you said about Thomas Jefferson's thoughts on the future of the races, of mixing the black and white races. In particular, is there any indication of how, if at all, his child with Sally Hemings had any effect on his thinking?

**Annette Gordon-Reed**

Children were white by Virginia law. Seven-eighths white made you a white person. Jefferson wrote in a letter to a man named Francis Gray, who had asked him when could a black person become white, that is, how many crossings did it take, and he said at the end, "When such a person is freed they are a free white citizen of the United States." When his children are emancipated they are free white citizens of the United States as far as he is concerned. Now, the one-drop rule is what most people think of, but that comes much later. He would have thought of them as white people. ■

© 2018 by Peter S. Onuf and Annette Gordon-Reed



To view or listen to the presentations, visit <https://www.amacad.org/jefferson-race-democracy>.



## Select Prizes and Awards to Members

**Rakesh Agrawal** (Purdue University) received the 2017 Alpha Chi Sigma Award for Chemical Engineering Research. He also delivered the 2017 Peter V. Danckwerts Lecture at the 10th World Congress of Chemical Engineering in Barcelona, Spain.

**Angela Belcher** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) was elected to the National Academy of Engineering.

**Alexander Beilinson** (University of Chicago) was awarded the 2018 Wolf Prize in Mathematics. He shares the prize with **Vladimir Drinfeld** (University of Chicago).

**Bruce A. Beutler** (University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center) was elected to the American Association for Cancer Research Academy.

**Jeff Bezos** (Amazon.com) was elected to the National Academy of Engineering.

**Edward Boyden** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) is the recipient of the 2018 Canada Gairdner International Award. He shares the prize with Peter Hegemann (Humboldt University of Berlin) and Karl Deisseroth (Stanford University).

**Timothy Bresnahan** (Stanford University) is the recipient of the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in Economics, Finance, and Management. He shares the award with **Ariel Pakes** (Harvard University) and **Robert Porter** (Northwestern University).

**Chi Van Dang** (Ludwig Institute for Cancer Research; The Wistar Institute) was elected to the American Association for Cancer Research Academy.

**Jennifer A. Doudna** (University of California, Berkeley) delivered the 14th AACR-Irving Weinstein Foundation Distinguished Lecture.

**Vladimir Drinfeld** (University of Chicago) was awarded the 2018 Wolf Prize in Mathematics. He shares the prize with **Alexander Beilinson** (University of Chicago).

**Jeffrey Eugenides** (Princeton University) has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

**Paul Falkowski** (Rutgers University) was awarded the 2018 Tyler Prize for Environmental Achievement. He shares the award with **James J. McCarthy** (Harvard University).

**Jack H. Freed** (Cornell University) received the Albert Nelson Marquis Lifetime Achievement Award, given by Marquis Who's Who.

**Gary Gilliland** (Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center) was elected to the American Association for Cancer Research Academy.

**Laurie H. Glimcher** (Dana-Farber Cancer Institute; Harvard Medical School) was elected to the American Association for Cancer Research Academy.

**Gabriela González** (Louisiana State University) is the recipient of the Southeastern Universities Research Association's 2018 Distinguished Scientist Award.

**Harry Gray** (California Institute of Technology) was awarded Caltech's 2018 Richard P. Feynman Prize for Excellence in Teaching.

**David Haussler** (University of California, Santa Cruz) was elected to the National Academy of Engineering.

**John L. Hennessy** (Stanford University) and **David A. Patterson** (Google) are the recipients of the 2017 ACM A.M. Turing Award.

**Tony Hunter** (Salk Institute for Biological Studies) is the recipient of the 21st Pezcoller Foundation-AACR International Award for Extraordinary Achievement in Cancer Research.

**David Jerison** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) was awarded a Simons Fellowship in Mathematics.

**John A. Katzenellenbogen** (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) is the recipient of the 12th AACR Award for Outstanding Achievement in Chemistry in Cancer Research.

**Maxine Hong Kingston** (University of California, Berkeley) has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

**Richard D. Klausner** (Juno Therapeutics; GRAIL) was elected to the American Association for Cancer Research Academy.

**Roger D. Kornberg** (Stanford University School of Medicine) was elected to the American Association for Cancer Research Academy.

**Robert P. Langlands** (Institute for Advanced Study) was awarded the Abel Prize by the Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters.

**Frank Thomson Leighton** (Akamai Technologies; Massachusetts Institute of Technology) is the recipient of the 2018 Marconi Prize.

**Arthur D. Levinson** (Calico Life Sciences) was elected to the American Association for Cancer Research Academy.

**George Lewis** (Columbia University) has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

**Scott W. Lowe** (Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center) received the 58th AACR-G.H.A. Clowes Memorial Award.

**Jane Lubchenco** (Oregon State University) is the recipient of the 2018 Vannevar Bush Award, given by the National Science Board.

**Alexander Lubotzky** (Hebrew University of Jerusalem) was awarded the 2018 Israel Prize by the Israeli Ministry of Education.

**Lynne Maquat** (University of Rochester) was awarded the 2018 Wiley Prize in Biomedical Sciences.

**James J. McCarthy** (Harvard University) was awarded the 2018 Tyler Prize for Environmental Achievement. He shares the award with **Paul Falkowski** (Rutgers University).

**Sir Paul McCartney** (London, United Kingdom) was awarded the 2018 Wolf Prize for Music. He shares the prize with Adam Fischer (Austro-Hungarian Haydn Orchestra).

**David Morrison** (University of California, Santa Barbara) was awarded a Simons Fellowship in Theoretical Physics.

**Lynn Nottage** (Columbia University) has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

**Ariel Pakes** (Harvard University) is the recipient of the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in Economics, Finance, and Management. He shares the award with **Timothy Bresnahan** (Stanford University) and **Robert Porter** (Northwestern University).

**David A. Patterson** (Google) and **John L. Hennessy** (Stanford University) are the recipients of the 2017 ACM A.M. Turing Award.

**Robert Porter** (Northwestern University) is the recipient of the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in Economics, Finance, and Management. He shares the award with **Timothy Bresnahan** (Stanford University) and **Ariel Pakes** (Harvard University).

**Gene Robinson** (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) was awarded the 2018 Wolf Prize in Agriculture.

**Alexander Rudensky** (Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center) was awarded the 2018 Vilcek Prize in Biomedical Science.

**George Saunders** (Syracuse University) has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

**Joan Wallach Scott** (Institute for Advanced Study) was named a Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur of France.

**David Seidman** (Northwestern University) was elected to the National Academy of Engineering.

**Pamela Soltis** (University of Florida) is the recipient of the Southeastern Universities Research Association's 2018 Distinguished Scientist Award.

**Cass Sunstein** (Harvard Law School) was awarded the Holberg Prize.



## New Appointments

**Lawrence S. Bacow** (Harvard Kennedy School) has been named the 29th President of Harvard University.

**Michael R. Bloomberg** (Bloomberg L.P.) has been appointed UN Special Envoy for Climate Action.

**Mary C. Boyce** (Columbia University) has been appointed to the Board of Directors of Altair.

**Andrew Delbanco** (Columbia University) has been named President of the Teagle Foundation.

**Susan Desmond-Hellmann** (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation) has been appointed Chairman of the Galien Foundation's Prix Galien Awards Committee.

**Brian Druker** (Oregon Health and Science University School of Medicine) has been appointed to the Scientific Advisory Board of Aileron Therapeutics.

**Roger Falcone** (University of California, Berkeley) was named the 104th President of the American Physical Society.

**Walter Isaacson** (Aspen Institute) has been elected to the Board of Trustees of The Rockefeller Foundation.

**Takeo Kanade** (Carnegie Mellon University) has been appointed as a Strategic Advisor to JingChi.

**David King** (University of Cambridge) has been named a Non-Executive Director of the Board of Emergex Vaccines Holding Limited.

**Dan Littman** (New York University) has been elected to the Board of Directors of Pfizer Inc.

**Diane Mathis** (Harvard Medical School) has been appointed to the Scientific Advisory Board of Pandion Therapeutics.

**Ernest Moniz** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Nuclear Threat Initiative) has been appointed to the Advisory Board of Terrestrial Energy.

**Erin K. O'Shea** (Howard Hughes Medical Institute) has been elected to the Board of Directors of the Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation.

**Penny Pritzker** (PSP Capital Partners) has been elected Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

**Carol Prives** (Columbia University) has been appointed to the Scientific Advisory Board of Aileron Therapeutics.

**Daniela Rus** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) has been appointed to the Board of Advisors of Piaggio Fast Forward.

**Thomas C. Südhof** (Stanford School of Medicine) has been appointed to the Board of Directors of Abide Therapeutics, Inc.

**Mark Trahant** (University of North Dakota) has been named Editor of *Indian Country Today*.

**Billie Tsien** (Tod Williams Billie Tsien Architects) has been elected President of the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

**Amanda Woodward** (University of Chicago) has been appointed Dean of the Division of the Social Sciences at the University of Chicago.

## Select Publications

### Poetry

**Ha Jin** (Boston University). *A Distant Center*. Copper Canyon Press, April 2018

### Nonfiction

**Madeline Albright** (Albright Stonebridge Group). *Fascism: A Warning*. HarperCollins, April 2018

**Gregg Easterbrook** (*The Atlantic*). *It's Better Than It Looks: Reasons for Optimism in an Age of Fear*. PublicAffairs Books, February 2018

**John Lewis Gaddis** (Yale University). *On Grand Strategy*. Penguin Press, April 2018

**Margaret Gilbert** (University of California, Irvine). *Rights and Demands: A Foundational Inquiry*. Oxford University Press, May 2018

**Stephen Greenblatt** (Harvard University). *Tyrant: Shakespeare on Politics*. W.W. Norton, May 2018

**Alan Lightman** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology). *Searching for Stars on an Island in Maine*. Pantheon, March 2018

**Nell Painter** (Princeton University). *Old in Art School: A Memoir of Starting Over*. Counterpoint, June 2018

**Francine Prose** (New York, NY). *What to Read and Why*. Harper, July 2018

**Elizabeth Barlow Rogers** (Foundation for Landscape Studies). *Saving Central Park: A History and a Memoir*. Knopf, May 2018

**Michael J. Ryan** (University of Texas at Austin). *A Taste for the Beautiful: The Evolution of Attraction*. Princeton University Press, January 2018

**Richard Sennett** (London School of Economics) *Building and Dwelling: Ethics for the City*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, April 2018

**Paul Theroux** (East Sandwich, Massachusetts). *Figures in a Landscape: People and Places*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt/Dolan, May 2018

We invite all Fellows and International Honorary Members to send notices about their recent and forthcoming publications, scientific findings, exhibitions and performances, films and documentaries, and honors and prizes to [bulletin@amacad.org](mailto:bulletin@amacad.org). ■

# Remembrance

*It is with sadness that the Academy notes the passing of the following Members.\**

Stuart Allen Altmann

Aharon Appelfeld

Ben A. Barres

Francis Michael Bator

Gunter Klaus-Joachim Blobel

Raymond Boudon

Ronald Charles David Breslow

John T. Cacioppo

John Cairns Jr.

Alan D. E. Cameron

Ronald Elliot Cape

Emery Neal Castle

L. Ross Chambers

Carolyn Cohen

Alfred Worcester Crosby

Roy G. D'Andrade

John Felstiner

Jerry Fodor

Milos Forman

William Howard Gass

Lawrence Irwin Gilbert

Stephen William Hawking

Geoffrey Cornell Hazard, Jr.

Jaakko J. Hintikka

Pierre Claude Hohenberg

Janelle Huttenlocher

Vyacheslav Vsevolodovich Ivanov

Fotis C. Kafatos

Isabella Lugoski Karle

Morris John Karnovsky

William Klemperer

Bertram Kostant

Robert Edwards Lane

Otto Ludwig Lange

Richard Sully Leghorn

Barbara Kiefer Lewalski

Edwin Niblock Lightfoot, Jr.

Charles Edward Lindblom

Donald Lynden-Bell

Robert Nathaniel Mann

J. D. McClatchy

William J. McDonough

Arjay Miller

Kurt Martin Mislow

James Newton Morgan

Arno Gunther Motulsky

Linda Nochlin

Ruth Sonntag Nussenzweig

Peter G. Peterson

Joseph G. Polchinski

Vincent J. Scully

Charles Pence Slichter

Neil Joseph Smelser

Richard E. Taylor

Anne Treisman

Alan Cyril Walker

Hans Felix Weinberger

Hayden White

*\*Notice received from October 26, 2017, to April 18, 2018*

AMERICAN ACADEMY  
OF ARTS & SCIENCES

Norton's Woods, 136 Irving Street, Cambridge, MA 02138  
telephone 617-576-5000, facsimile 617-576-5050,  
email [aaas@amacad.org](mailto:aaas@amacad.org), website [www.amacad.org](http://www.amacad.org)

**BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

Nancy C. Andrews, *Chair of the Board*

Jonathan F. Fanton, *President*

Diane P. Wood, *Chair of the Council; Vice Chair of the Board*

Alan M. Dachs, *Chair of the Trust; Vice Chair of the Board*

Geraldine L. Richmond, *Secretary*

Carl H. Pforzheimer III, *Treasurer*

Kwame Anthony Appiah

Louise H. Bryson

Ira Katznelson

Nannerl O. Keohane

John Lithgow

Cherry A. Murray

Venkatesh Narayanamurti

Don M. Randel

Larry Jay Shapiro

Natasha Trethewey

Pauline Yu

Louis W. Cabot, *Chair Emeritus*

*Bulletin* Spring 2018

Issued as Volume LXXI, No. 3

© 2018 by the American Academy of Arts & Sciences

*The Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences* (ISSN 0002-712X) is published quarterly by the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, 136 Irving Street, Cambridge, MA 02138. Periodicals rate postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Bulletin*, American Academy of Arts & Sciences, 136 Irving Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

The views expressed in the *Bulletin* are those held by each contributor and are not necessarily those of the Board of Directors and Members of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

**PHOTO CREDITS**

Richard Howard Photography page 1

Wendy Barrows Photography pages 10, 12, 14, 15

Martha Stewart pages 17, 18

**COMMITTEE ON STUDIES AND PUBLICATIONS**

John Mark Hansen, *Chair*; Bonnie Bassler, Rosina Bierbaum, Marshall Carter, Gerald L. Early, Carol Gluck, Linda Greenhouse, John G. Hildebrand, Philip S. Khoury, Arthur Kleinman, Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot, Rose McDermott, Nancy C. Andrews (*ex officio*), Jonathan F. Fanton (*ex officio*), Diane P. Wood (*ex officio*)

**EDITORIAL STAFF**

Phyllis S. Bendell, *Director of Publications*

Peter Walton, *Associate Editor*

Heather M. Struntz, *Senior Editorial Associate*

Emma Goldhammer, *Senior Editorial Assistant*

Scott Raymond, *Creative Lead*

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS & SCIENCES

Norton's Woods

136 Irving Street

Cambridge, MA 02138-1996 USA

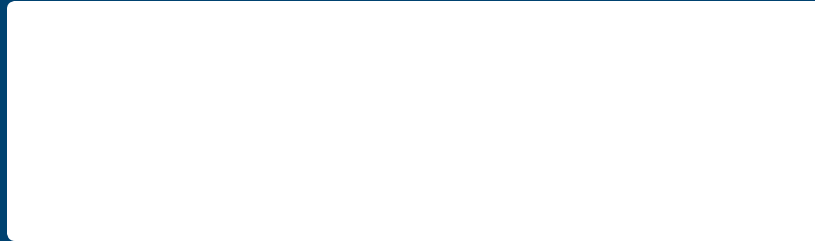
*telephone* 617-576-5000

*facsimile* 617-576-5050

*email* [aaas@amacad.org](mailto:aaas@amacad.org)

*website* [www.amacad.org](http://www.amacad.org)

 [@americanacad](https://twitter.com/americanacad)



---

AMERICAN ACADEMY  
OF ARTS & SCIENCES