

The background of the cover is a photograph of a grand, ornate interior space, likely a library or a hall. It features several large, white marble columns with intricate capitals. The ceiling is high and decorated with colorful murals and frescoes, including a prominent one of a figure in a circular frame. The lighting is warm, highlighting the architectural details and the rich colors of the artwork.

THE CANON

FALL 2008

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE'S
MEMBER AND ALUMNI MAGAZINE

REMEMBERING
SOLZHENITSYN

Jeremy Beer

THE VICTORY AT
WILLIAM AND MARY:
HOW AN OLD CROSS
SURVIVED A RADICAL
NEW PRESIDENT

Amanda J. Yasenach

THE LOST LIBERALITIES
OF LEARNING

David M. Whalen

ISI AT A GLANCE

Right: On July 1, ISI held its fifth annual summer barbecue at its Wilmington, Delaware, headquarters. Author Charles Murray, the W. H. Brady Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, spoke about education reform to an audience of over 200 ISI supporters, staff, faculty, and student members. Below: ISI president T. Kenneth Cribb Jr. and Fred Barnes of the Weekly Standard talk with several alumnae of ISI's Collegiate Network student journalism program at an alumni and friends reception in Washington, D.C., this June.



Right: This summer, ISI conducted daylong seminars in Rancho Santa Fe, San Francisco, and Seattle. ISI donors and local philanthropists enjoyed the opportunity to hear ISI faculty discuss topics ranging from Europe and Islam to the reform of American higher education. They also met ISI staff, student, and faculty members and—as is shown here—were able to browse and purchase ISI books and journals.



Fifty of the nation's brightest undergraduate students kicked off ISI's 2008–9 Honors Program with a weeklong retreat in Quebec City, Canada, in July. ISI author and Faculty Associate Bradley C. S. Watson of Saint Vincent's College lectured at the conference and also is serving as a faculty mentor for the yearlong program.



On the cover: The ceiling of the great hall at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.



THE CANON · FALL 2008

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE

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THE CANON

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COMBATTING SOCIALISM THROUGH THE GENERATIONS

As students return to campus this fall, it is important to remember that the battle for our colleges—and ultimately for the young people who attend them—has been brewing for decades. In fact, the seeds of campus radicalism were sowed more than 100 years ago when the doctrines of socialism found their first adherents in the United States.

In 1905, two prominent novelists—Jack London and Upton Sinclair—founded a group called the Intercollegiate Society of Socialists (ISS), with the goal of “awaken[ing] an interest in socialism among the educated men and women of the country.” Author and journalist M. Stanton Evans described their success in his 1961 book, *Revolt on the Campus*. “[ISS] has succeeded beyond all expectations,” wrote Evans. “It so effectively spread its doctrines among ‘the

“WHAT THE SOCIALISTS
HAVE DONE CAN BE
UNDONE, IF THERE IS
A WILL FOR IT.”

—FRANK CHODOROV,
FOUNDER OF ISI, IN 1953

educated’ that today it can claim among its alumni some of the most powerful opinion makers in the United States,” including Max Lerner, Walter Lippmann, journalists James Weschsler and Joe Lash, and government officials Ralph Bunche and Paul Porter.

This movement became especially well entrenched during the years of the Great Depression, when its leaders—in an effort to recruit new members—exploited the general discontent with the institutions of free enterprise. Meanwhile, Franklin Roosevelt staffed his administration with alumni from ISS clubs. These alumni became

the architects of the New Deal and the modern welfare state. They also became the foreign policy “experts” whose strategy of appeasement emboldened Hitler—and whose postwar strategy of “containment” consigned millions of people to a fifty-year prison term in the police states of the Soviet Empire.

By 1953, the year of Stalin’s death, a writer named Frank Chodorov had seen enough. Writing in the pages of the conservative newspaper *Human Events*, Chodorov discussed “A Fifty-Year Project to Combat Socialism on the Campus.” He wrote:

If socialism has come to America because it was implanted in the minds of past generations, there is no reason for assuming that the contrary idea cannot be taught to a new generation. What the socialists have done can be undone, if there is a will for it.



FRANK CHODOROV
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Academic Affairs

Others were expressing a similar concern for the state of academia. One such figure was a young William F. Buckley Jr., whose best-selling book *God and Man at Yale* had burst onto the scene in 1951.

“By analyzing allegedly lopsided courses and textbooks... Buckley tried to prove ‘the net influence of Yale... to be thoroughly collectivistic,’” wrote George Nash in his history of *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945*. As Nash explains, Buckley and Chodorov would soon join forces to combat the influence of ISS:



One result of this ferment was Chodorov’s founding, in 1953, of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (ISI)—with William F. Buckley Jr. as president. Intended as an antidote to the Intercollegiate Society of Socialists of an earlier generation, ISI reflected Chodorov’s personality and interests. There was virtually no organization, no salesmanship, and no fanfare. All materials were free upon request; all members were self-elected. It was, indeed, in Chodorov’s own words, “an organization of ideas”—and a reflection of his expectation that the Remnant would find him.

The founding of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists—known today as the Intercollegiate Studies Institute—constituted the first organized response to the socialist threat since its arrival on America’s shores. And from day one, ISI had its work cut out for it.

But we have come a long way since 1953. Today, ISI’s educational program counts members on nearly every campus in America, with over 65,000 student and faculty members advancing the cause of liberty on their respective campuses. Still—as you will read in these pages—we have a great deal of work to do. Your support of our student and faculty members makes all the difference, and I am grateful to each one of you for joining me in this noble cause.

With thanksgiving,

T. Kenneth Cribb Jr.
ISI President

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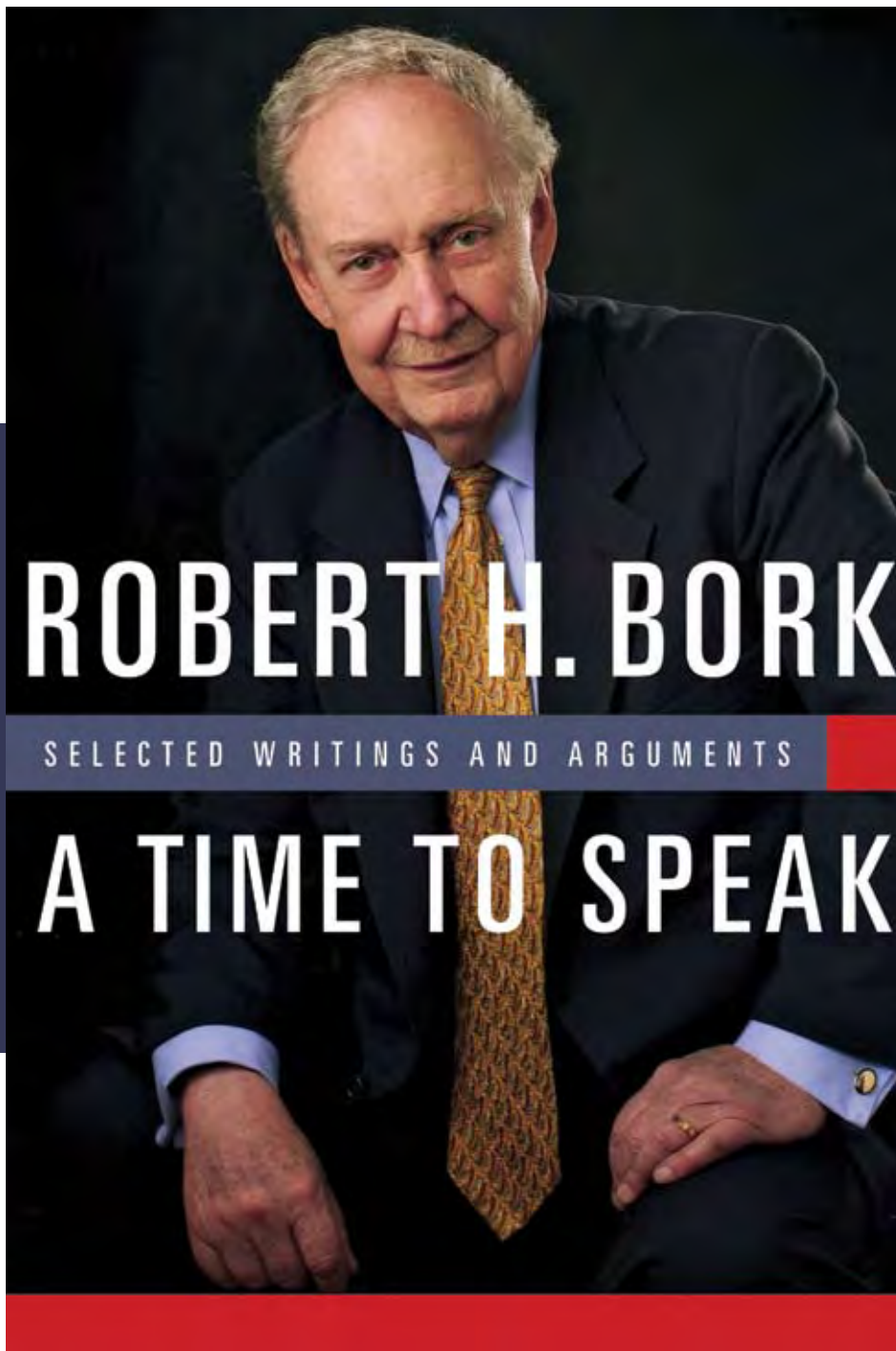
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AMERICA

in the Clash of Civilizations

ISI REGIONAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

November 8, 2008

8:30 a.m. • Registration and Continental Breakfast
9:00 a.m. – 4:30 p.m. • Conference (Including Lunch)

Stanford University
The Stanford Faculty Club
439 Lagunita Drive • Palo Alto, California

SPEAKERS INCLUDE:

Bradley C. S. Watson, Saint Vincent's College
The American Founding Vision and the Trajectory of Western Civilization

Daniel J. Mahoney, Assumption College
America and Her Western Neighbors

Bruce Thornton, Fresno State University
The Roots of American Exceptionalism

Bart Jan Spruyt, Edmund Burke Stichting
Religion and Cultural Conflict in Europe

Ted McAllister, Pepperdine University
The Acids of Modernity: Can the West Defend Itself?

FOR MORE INFORMATION OR TO REGISTER,

call Miriam Keim at (800) 526-7022 ext. 147, e-mail stanford08@isi.org, or visit
the website below. The event is complimentary, but an RSVP is required.

<http://stanford08.isi.org>



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FOUNDATION

ISI IN ACTION

ISI BOOKS PUBLISHES ANTHOLOGY OF THE *INTERCOLLEGIATE REVIEW*

Since 1965, ISI's flagship journal, the *Intercollegiate Review*, has chronicled the intellectual movement of American conservatism. With a wide range of topics—including political theory, philosophy,

economics, literature, cultural criticism, and government—the *IR* has educated thousands in the ideas that sustain our free society.

Now, the most noteworthy of its essays can be found in *Arguing Conservatism: Four Decades of the Intercollegiate Review*. Published this fall by ISI Books and edited by ISI Vice President for Academic Affairs Mark C. Henrie, *Arguing Conservatism*

spans almost 1,000 pages and contains essays by dozens of eminent thinkers, including Robert Bork, Ludwig von Mises, Roger Scruton, Leo Strauss, and Eric Voegelin. Its scholarly and reflective essays encompass both the history of ISI and of the conservative intellectual movement. For more information, or to order your copy, please visit www.isibooks.org or call (800) 621-2736.

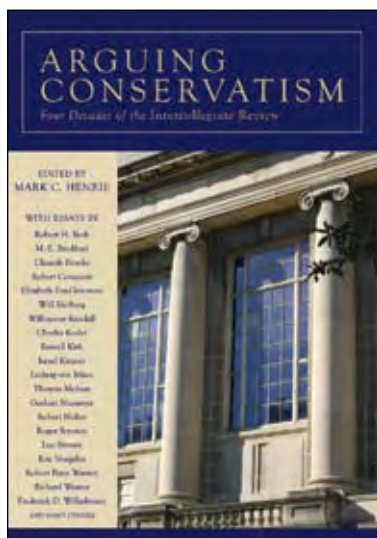
ISI ESSAY CONTEST OPEN TO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS NATIONWIDE

ISI is sponsoring an essay contest on George Washington and the formation of the American character for high school students across the country. All entrants will receive a free copy of the ISI Books title *Patriot Sage: George Washington and the American Political Tradition* and a free subscription to the *Intercollegiate Review*. Cosponsored by the George Washington Society and the CiRCE Institute, the contest boasts a first-

place award of \$1,000 cash. Each student is asked to consider at least two central elements of Washington's public or private life that found expression in the American identity. Essayists are encouraged to consider how those characteristics have been weakened or strengthened over the past two centuries and what this suggests about the American character. Essays are to be between 1,200 and 1,500 words long and must be postmarked or e-mailed by January 23, 2009. For additional details, please e-mail essaycontest@isi.org, call (800) 526-7022 ext. 119, or visit www.isi.org.

LEE EDWARDS LECTURES ON COMMUNISM AT ISI HEADQUARTERS

Dr. Lee Edwards, distinguished fellow in conservative thought at the Heritage Foundation, addressed a standing-room-only crowd at ISI's F. M. Kirby Campus on July 31 on the topic "Coming to Terms with Communism." The lecture was part of the National Friedman Legacy for Freedom Campaign held in partnership with the Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice. From depicting the horrors of



Lee Edwards spoke on communism at ISI in July as part of the National Friedman Legacy for Freedom Campaign.

twentieth- and twenty-first century communism—and the ways in which the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation is remembering the millions murdered in the name of the ideology—Edwards proceeded to discuss its major competing school, the free market economy, and its tireless defender, Milton Friedman.

ISI AWARDS PRESTIGIOUS GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS FOR 2008–9

This fall, ISI awarded ten Richard M. Weaver Fellowships to assist future professors who are dedicated to advancing ordered liberty through their teaching at the college level. ISI also awarded two Western Civilization Fellowships to assist graduate students in their dissertation work related to the study of our Western patrimony.

This year's Weaver Fellows are Nathanael Blake (political theory, Catholic University of America), Brian Boyd (philosophy and theology, Oxford University), Keegan Callanan (political theory, Duke University), Alexander Jech (philosophy, University of Notre Dame), Peter Brickey LeQuire (social thought, University of Chicago), Sean Gordon Lewis (English and rhetoric, Catholic University of America), Matthew Mendham (political theory, University of Notre Dame), Melinda Nielsen (English, University of Notre Dame), Stephen Adam Seagrave (political theory, University of Notre Dame), and Kevin Stuart (government, University of Texas). ISI's Western Civilization Fellows are Lee Cole (philosophy, Villanova University) and Matthew Wright (political theory, University of Texas).

Additionally, ISI awarded a Salvatori Fellowship, which supports graduate work related to the American founding, to Matthew Sitman (government, Georgetown University).

For more information about ISI's fellowship program, contact David Landow at (800) 526-7022 ext. 128 or visit the fellowships page at www.isi.org.



Over sixty leading scholars, young faculty, and advanced graduate students gathered at Princeton for ISI's Lehrman American Studies Center Summer Institute.

LEHRMAN AMERICAN STUDIES CENTER HOLDS FOURTH SUMMER INSTITUTE

ISI's Lehrman American Studies Center (LASC) hosted its fourth annual Summer Institute in June in partnership with the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions at Princeton University. More than sixty of the nation's leading scholars, young faculty, and advanced graduate students gathered for the twelve-day program, which included seminars on the perennial issues of American history together with practical career advice about curricular and professional development.

One of the immediate practical aims of the Summer Institute is to encourage the development and adoption of intellectually serious, compelling, and philosophically engaging courses that deal with the foundational principles of the American Republic. By the end of the Summer Institute, participants emerged with a renewed sense of purpose and armed with the resources needed to effectively teach our nation's heritage to the rising generation as they returned to the colleges and universities at which they teach. One professor remarked that "it was truly the most inspiring academic experience I have ever had."

To find out more about ISI's Lehrman American Studies Center programs, contact Kelly Hanlon at khanlon@isi.org or (800) 526-7022 ext. 135.

Supporting the Next Generation of College Professors

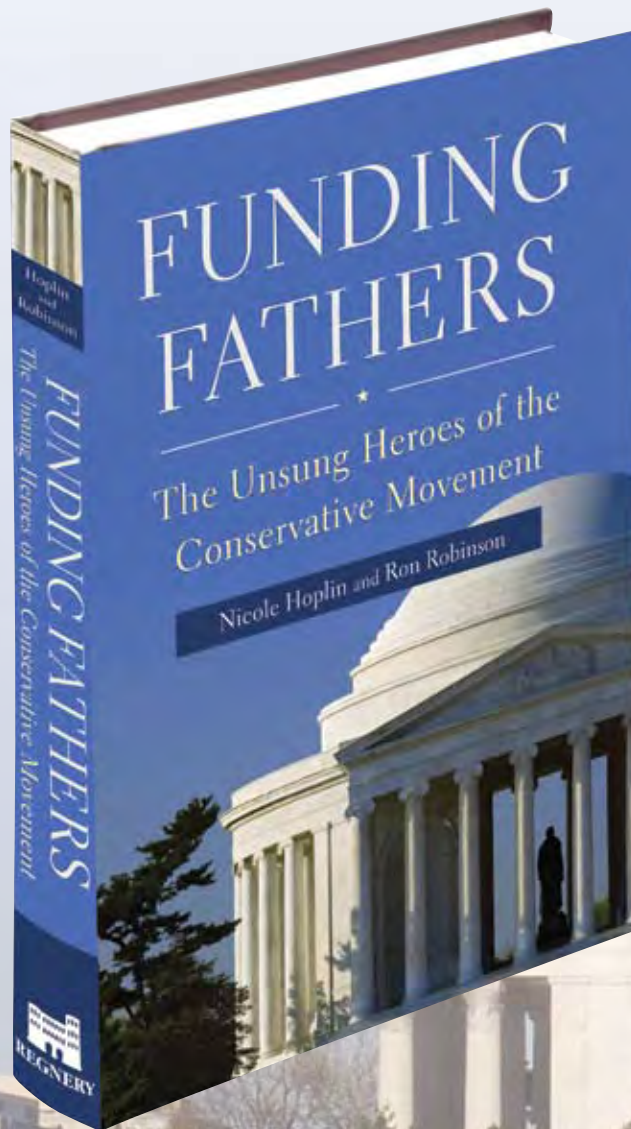
ISI GRADUATE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Visit www.isi.org for more information on how to apply for ISI's Richard M. Weaver, Western Civilization, and Salvatori Fellowships for graduate students. Application deadline: January 16, 2009.

★

Meet the Unsung Heroes Behind the Conservative Movement

★



We all know about Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan, but who knows about Holmes Tuttle, Henry Regnery, and Antony Fisher?

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ISI ACROSS THE NATION

Calendar of Upcoming Events



October 28 • The College of William and Mary • Williamsburg, VA
Modern Conservatism and the 2008 Election
Alfred Regnery, author of *Upstream: The Ascendance of American Conservatism*

October 30 • Greenville Country Club • Wilmington, DE
*A Secular Age**
Charles Taylor, recipient of ISI's 2008 Henry Paolucci/Walter Bagehot Book Award

November 8 • Yale University • New Haven, CT
The Next American Conservatism?
ISI Regional Leadership Conference*

November 8 • Stanford University • Palo Alto, CA
America and the Clash of Civilizations
ISI Regional Leadership Conference*



November 10 • Messiah College • Grantham, PA
Religion and Eugenics
Christine Rosen, *The New Atlantis*

November 12 • University of Tulsa • Tulsa, OK
Humane Alternatives to Feminism
Jennifer Roback Morse, Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty

November 20 • National Press Club • Washington, D.C.
*ISI's Third Annual Civic Literacy Report to the Nation**
Featuring David Brooks, *New York Times* columnist

November 20 • Mercer University • Atlanta, GA
The Classical Traditionalism of the American Founding
E. Christian Kopff, University of Colorado–Boulder

November 20 • Baylor University • Waco, TX
Solzhenitsyn: The Soul and Barbed Wire
Edward Ericson Jr., Calvin College

For additional information
or to RSVP for any of the
events listed here, please
visit www.isi.org or call
Abigail Clevenger at
(800) 526-7022.

* *RSVP required*

*Templeton Enterprise Awards Dinner**

November 18, 2008 • The University Club • New York, NY
Featuring Fr. Richard John Neuhaus, editor in chief of *First Things*
Honoring this year's winners of the Templeton Enterprise Awards for the top three books and articles written by under-forty scholars in the area of humane economics and culture.

The **William E. Simon Fellowship for Noble Purpose** recognizes graduating college seniors who are pursuing lives dedicated to and distinguished by **honor, generosity, service, and respect**. The Simon Fellowship is a **\$40,000 unrestricted cash grant**

awarded to a **college senior** who demonstrates passion, dedication, a high capacity for self-direction, and originality in pursuit of a goal that will **strengthen civil society**. In addition, two \$5,000 cash awards are made to two other outstanding students.

For application details, visit **www.isi.org**

Applications must be postmarked by January 16, 2009.



Examples of how recipients may use the award include: engaging directly in the civic life of the community; working to create opportunities for others, such as new jobs; advancing their personal expertise; or funding the ultimate realization of their noble purpose. The William E. Simon Fellowship is funded by the John Templeton Foundation, created by renowned investor Sir John Templeton to encourage a fresh appreciation of the importance of the moral and spiritual dimensions of life for all peoples and cultures.

CN Collegiate Network Wire

REPORTING FROM CAMPUSES NATIONWIDE

The Collegiate Network (CN), established in 1979, supports over 100 conservative and libertarian publications at leading colleges and universities around the country. By providing financial and technical assistance, professional training, and paid internships to student journalists, the CN seeks to promote the free exchange of ideas on campus and to bring much-needed balance to the mainstream media. The CN Wire, a new feature to the Canon, provides firsthand accounts of some of the events that CN journalists have been covering on their campuses.

CLAREMONT MCKENNA COLLEGE

Student's Investigation Leads to Professor's Resignation

By Elise Viebeck

Jonathan Petropoulos, a professor of European history at Claremont McKenna College and, until recently, head of the campus Holocaust Center, is also an expert on Nazi art looting—the systematic process by which the Gestapo raided vacant Jewish homes for artwork after the families had been deported to concentration camps. As such, he consults for art restitution cases in which Jewish descendants attempt to find and lay claim to their families' lost art.

One of Petropoulos's cases has received significant mention in the international press. Camille Pissarro's painting "Quai Malaquais, Printemps"—worth \$6.7 million—was taken from the childhood home of Gisela Bermann-Fischer in 1938 after she and her family escaped the Nazi Anschluss. Now a resident of Zurich, Bermann-Fischer spent years looking for the lost painting, and was eventually introduced to Petropoulos, who, along with an art dealer from Germany, asked for an 18 percent finder's fee. While he has claimed that his motives were innocent, the nature of his dealings

with Bermann-Fischer as he found and attempted to return the painting to her has subjected him to heavy criticism in the art world and instigated a blackmail investigation of one of his associates in Munich.

Having read about Petropoulos's possible extortion in an European art publication, I decided to investigate further by using sources both within the art world and in Claremont. After five months of research (in three languages) and sixty interviews, I reported on my findings in a cover story of the *Claremont Independent* newspaper in March 2008. On campus, the story had its own implications for the CMC administration, which had been criticized for the way in which it handled both the news from Europe and the concerns of faculty members. One month after the story was published, Petropoulos resigned from his directorship of the Center for the Study of the Holocaust, Genocide, and Human Rights.

The piece was also noticed outside of Claremont. Having been widely circulated in the art blogosphere, it was eventually picked up by the *Los Angeles Times*.



ELISE VIEBECK, a senior at Claremont McKenna, served in 2007–8 as editor of the *Claremont Independent*, a Collegiate Network member newspaper. She interned through the CN at *National Review's* Washington bureau this past summer. Her investigation into Petropoulos's work earned her NewsCorps's annual Eric Breindel College and University Journalism Award. The *Independent* now counts two Breindel winners among its former editors. John Wilson, a 2007 Claremont McKenna alumnus, won the award last year. He is now an editorial writer for the *New York Post*.

THE MICHIGAN REVIEW
THE JOURNAL OF CAMPUS AFFAIRS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In First Amendment Case, Students Pressure University Administration... and Win

By Jonathan A. Slemrod

In January 2008, the *Michigan Review* got word that university administrators were considering an internal policy that would have led the University of Michigan down a slippery slope of regulating First Amendment rights on campus. The proposal was going to require that student publications apply on a “first-come-first-served” basis to the Board of Student Publications for the right to distribute materials; the university would have “the right to limit the number of times per academic term and/or per year in which a recognized student organization will be granted permission to distribute publications,” including newspapers, flyers, and signs. Material with university-defined “discrimination” and “harassment” would be prohibited, as would summer distribution.

The university’s rationale for the policy was laughable at best: the danger caused by “clutter and litter” on the floors of university facilities, according to Robert Johnston, the director of facilities and operations for the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts.

Outside groups noted the policy’s absurdity; the Foundation for Individual Rights in Education (FIRE) called it “strikingly harsh.” The *Review* immediately mounted an informational campaign on the policy. As the next issue of the paper was not due for another week, the *Review*’s staff

handed out stacks of a quickly printed one-page edition to students explaining the details and dangers of the policy. “FREE SPEECH REPRESSED,” read the

THE UNIVERSITY WANTED TO
 REPRESS FREE SPEECH ON CAMPUS
 BECAUSE OF THE DANGER CAUSED
 BY “CLUTTER AND LITTER.”

headline in bold. State blogs quickly picked up on the story. Even the *Michigan Daily*, the university-funded campus newspaper, blasted the policy, calling it an “unconstitutional suppression of free speech.”

In early March, *Review* editor in chief Michael O’Brien received a short e-mail from the university stating that the policy had been “withdrawn from consideration.” As officials refused to comment further, the *Review* claimed victory. We had, for now, persuaded the university that the existence of “litter” is not a legitimate justification for trampling on constitutional rights. Surely, similar policies will rise from the dead. But students and staff can rest assured knowing that when it does, the *Review* will do whatever it takes to bury them once again.



JONATHAN A. SLEMROD is a junior at the University of Michigan and serves as editor at large and associate publisher of the *Michigan Review*. He has interned at the Cato Institute and Citizens Against Government Waste, and he works for Students for a Free Economy, a project of the Mackinac Center for Public Policy.



BOSTON COLLEGE

Student Journalists Expose Radical, Taxpayer-Funded Agenda

By Michael Reer

When the Global Justice Project, a far-left campus group that the Boston College *Observer* has been tracking for some time, expressed a desire to expose public high school students in the Boston area to their radical, anti-Semitic agenda at the expense of the taxpayer, we felt the need to alert the greater community. While most of our readership consists of Boston College students, we strive to make ourselves applicable to the greater community as well.

The Global Justice Project (GJP) was formed at the infamous “Battle of Seattle”—the violent protest during the 1999 World Trade Organization conference. According to the group’s website, it seeks to join “liberals and radicals” in an effort to create a just and democratic world. The GJP, which is well known on Boston’s campus for its vulgarity and brashness, routinely condemns the campus police department, the board of trustees, and even service organizations. The group is perhaps most famous for the fact that several of its members have visited a Mexican Zapatista rebel enclave, a known safe spot for terrorists. The group is also very exclusive, making headlines when it removed

Jewish students from meetings on the basis of their religion. Ironically, the GJP’s website says that “if you consider yourself a member of the GJP, then you are a member.”



MICHAEL REER, a senior, is managing editor of the *Observer*, the Collegiate Network member publication at Boston College. A native of Poughkeepsie, New York, Reer also serves as the editor in chief of *CAMPUS Magazine Online*, a national web magazine produced by the Collegiate Network.

When the *Observer* learned that a teacher at Jeremiah Burke High School—who was also a Boston College graduate student—was planning to expose his students to GJP’s agenda, I contacted the school and requested an interview with the principal. My repeated phone calls to her secretary were never returned, but once we were able to confirm our source, we felt that it was important to move forward with the story.

After the article was published, the effort to introduce GJP’s agenda into Boston public high schools was put on hold. We were told by one source, which we were never able to confirm, that if it became public knowledge that a teacher actually exposed his students to this radical organization, he risked losing his job.

Shortly after, a senior GJP member contacted me and requested to meet. During our meeting, I explained why the *Observer* staff was concerned about high school students being exposed to such a radical political agenda. I was able to explain our point of view in a way that this fellow student had rarely heard before, and he truly appreciated the fact that I was willing to explain my own beliefs and listen to his. Although we can never be sure that the GJP has completely scrapped the plan, through careful monitoring, we hope that we will be able to learn about any plan of action before it is implemented in a high school environment.



BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY

Professor Hired after Students Expose Unfair Interview Scheme

By Sarah Schubert

Were it not for the reporting of the *Counterweight*, the Bucknell administration might have recently deprived students of an excellent and experienced professor for the sake of “fairness” and “equality.”

In the chemistry department’s search for a new tenure-track biochemistry professor, the administration consented to interviews with two of the three candidates short-listed by the department’s search committee. The third candidate was not allowed to interview because he had more experience than the other candidates; the administration felt it was “unfair” to compare him to the two other applicants.

The potential biochemistry professor had five years of full-time teaching experience. Neither of the other two short-listed candidates had any such experience, and both were much less qualified.

If hired, the candidate would have left a position at a largely graduate institution for Bucknell. His interest in the position indicated a strong desire to teach in the less illustrious undergraduate environment. Although the position was advertised as “entry-level,” this particular candidate applied anyway, despite already having a tenure-track position at another university.

Additionally, the candidate would have brought a \$250,000 grant from the National Institutes of Health to continue his research here at Bucknell, largely with undergraduate

students. Yet, the administration chose to dismiss this opportunity for its students, because they felt it would be unfair to the other candidates to compare them with this more experienced applicant.

After the initial rejection of the candidate, the search committee immediately appealed the administration’s decision. The chair of the committee even requested to speak with Bucknell’s president, as the decision to reject this candidate ultimately lay with him. Nonetheless, the administration of the College of Arts and Sciences—in consultation with President Mitchell and other senior administrators—again refused the candidate an interview. The search committee was directed to find a “replacement” interview candidate—one with less experience as a fulltime professor. Chris Zappe, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, maintained that the university must strictly enforce “efforts to promote fairness” in the hiring of new faculty members.

When this story was first reported in the *Counterweight* article “Hindered Hiring,” outraged students and alumni complained to the administration. With so many people aware of—and upset with—the administration’s hiring policy, the previously passed-over candidate was offered the position... which he accepted.

Unfortunately, this was only an exception, as the established hiring protocol is still in place, but the *Counterweight* will continue to do its part to make the greater community aware of absurdities such as these.



SARAH SCHUBERT is a junior at Bucknell, where she is double majoring in biochemistry and political science. She is editor in chief of the *Counterweight*, rides on the equestrian team, performs research in the chemistry department, and serves as the community service chair of her sorority. In 2007, she represented the *Counterweight* at the CN’s Editors Conference in Scottsdale, Arizona.



THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Collegiate Network's *Irish Rover* Alums See Success

By Thomas Bounds

With its famous tag line “It behooves a watchdog to bark. Good, Rover,” Notre Dame’s Collegiate Network paper the *Irish Rover* has spent five years defending the school’s faith and honorable traditions.

This Herculean effort on the part of the *Rover*’s staff is not without its rewards, however. A combina-

“The *Rover* was a big part of my academic success, and I am quite grateful for ISI’s Weaver Fellowship as I continue my studies at Oxford,” says Brian Boyd, managing editor in 2007–8.

Other *Rover* editors have gone on to Collegiate Network fellowships at the *Weekly Standard*, *USA Today*, and the *American Spectator*; nonprofit work at the National Right to Life Committee, the Heritage Foundation, and the Hill County Institute; and financial work at Bank of America. Two former *Rover* editors interned at *U.S. News & World Report*, and one former writer is currently a producer at FOX News.

Perhaps the most dramatic rewards of this paper, though, are not to be found in the professional world. Since its founding, relationships formed around press deadlines and late night debates have resulted in one vocation to the priesthood and three *Rover* marriages. Writes recently married 2008–9 publisher Dan Amiri, “If it weren’t for the *Rover*, I don’t think [my wife and current editor in chief] Rachel and I would have as strong of a bond as we do now.”

As 2007–8 politics editor Brad Duffy writes, “My experience at Notre Dame, and with the *Rover* in particular, prepared me for life after college in ways I could have never imagined. The people I met and the challenges I faced will serve me well in the workplace and wherever I end up in life.”

Good, Rover.

“MY EXPERIENCE AT NOTRE DAME, AND WITH THE *ROVER* IN PARTICULAR, PREPARED ME FOR LIFE AFTER COLLEGE IN WAYS I COULD HAVE NEVER IMAGINED.”

tion of intellectual ability, work ethic, and ISI’s faculty and alumni network has enabled members of the *Rover* to achieve a variety of postgraduate successes.

“Three of our six editors got into Harvard Law my senior year,” notes 2006–7 editor in chief Tommy

Forr, “and a fourth got into Harvard Divinity School.” Forr himself is in his second year of law school at the University of Pennsylvania.



THOMAS BOUNDS is a junior at the University of Notre Dame, where he is majoring in mathematics and philosophy. He serves as the religion and ethics editor of the *Irish Rover*. Hailing from Wilmington, Delaware, he has participated in multiple ISI events, including the annual Russell Kirk conference in Mecosta, Michigan.



Collegiate Network

MEMBER PAPERS 2008

- Arizona State University — *Choice Magazine*
Bates College — *The John Galt Press*
Berry College — *Areté*
Binghamton University — *The Binghamton Review*
Boston College — *The Observer at Boston College*
Boston University — *Sam Adams Review*
Bowdoin College — *The Bowdoin Patriot*
Brandeis University — *The Concord Bridge*
Brown University — *The Brown Spectator*
Bucknell University — *The Counterweight*
California State Univ.–East Bay — *The California Statesman*
Catholic University of America — *Battle Cry*
Christendom College — *The Rambler*
Claremont College — *The Claremont Independent*
Clemson University — *The Tiger Town Observer*
Colgate University — *The Colgate Review*
College of the Holy Cross — *The Fenwick Review*
College of William & Mary — *The Virginia Informer*
College of William & Mary — *The William & Mary Standard*
Columbia University — *The Columbia Citadel*
Cornell University — *The Cornell Review*
Dakota Wesleyan University — *The Naked Truth*
Dartmouth College — *The Dartmouth Review*
Davidson College — *The Davidson Reader*
DePaul University — *Lincoln Park Statesman*
Duke University — *New Right Review*
Eastern Washington University — *The Eastern Republic*
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Georgetown University — *The Georgetown Federalist*
Georgetown University — *Utraque Unum*
George Washington University — *The GW Patriot*
Gonzaga University — *The Gonzaga Witness*
Harvard University — *The Harvard Ichthus*
Harvard University — *The Harvard Salient*
Hillsdale College — *The Hillsdale Forum*
Illinois State University — *The Illinois State Patriot*
Indiana State University — *The Watchman*
James Madison University — *The Madison Review*
Johns Hopkins University — *The Carrollton Record*
Kenyon College — *The Kenyon Observer*
Lehigh University — *The Lehigh Patriot*
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University of North Carolina — *The Carolina Review*
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Univ. of Wisconsin–Milwaukee — *The University Standard*
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Vanderbilt University — *The Vanderbilt Torch*
Villanova University — *The Villanova Times*
Wabash College — *The Wabash Commentary*
Wabash College — *The Phoenix*
Wake Forest University — *The Old Guard*
Washington & Lee University — *Washington and Lee Spectator*
Washington University — *The Washington Witness*
Wayne State University — *The Wayne Review*
Yale University — *Light & Truth*
Yale University — *The Yale Free Press*

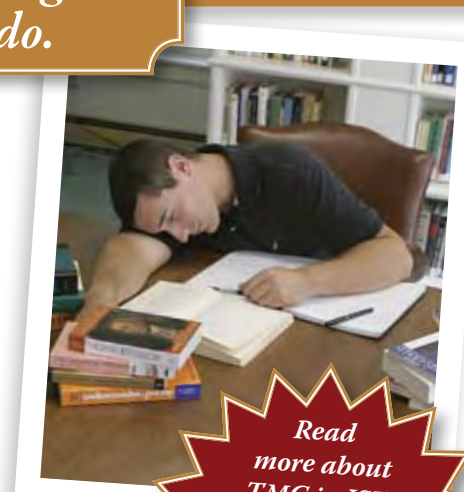
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Anthony Esolen, Providence College

SHOULD CONSERVATISM ACTUALLY BE A "MOVEMENT"?
Richard Gamble, Hillsdale College

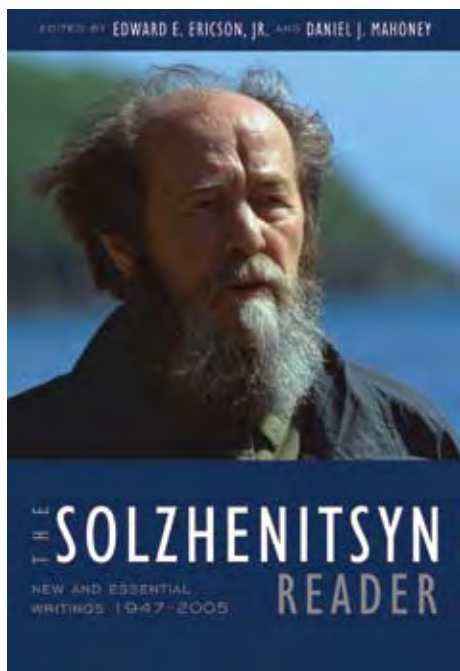
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REMEMBERING SOLZHENITSYN

JEREMY BEER

Consulting Editor, ISI Books



He was the
greatest-souled writer
ever to make his adult
home in the United States...
and no one who mattered
seemed to care.

It's hard when a prophet dies. For one thing, it makes even less tolerable than usual our shallow infotainment culture. To see the man's death become just another item on the ticker, juxtaposed against the latest developments in the “unretirement” of Brett Favre or the fascinating Paris Hilton/John McCain contretemps. To endure some dimwitted anchor's mangling of the few “facts” about his life on file in the newsroom (“Solzhenitsyn was awarded a Nobel Prize last year,” reported Headline News, mistaking 2008 for 1971). To see his legacy reduced to predictably “neutral” journalistic synopses (“some thought him a hero, but others spied a dangerous fanatic”).

No! It was all so unworthy of the great Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. He devoted his life to struggling against not just the lies of communism but, more fundamentally, the peculiarly insidious lies of secular, “anthropocentric” modernity, of which communism was one of the most ugly—because most ruthlessly logical—manifestations. And so, not surprisingly, in the last three decades of his life, when he was not mocked, ridiculed, or misrepresented, the perversely uncooperative Solzhenitsyn was almost entirely ignored by the news and culture industry. The tasty morsel of his death provided—finally!—some usable Solzhenitsyn-related material. It even provided an opportunity for genuine gratitude: despite your many faults, thank you, Solzhenitsyn, for helping us overcome so unprofitable a system as communism!

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Fortunately, as he once said of himself in another context, Solzhenitsyn has proved indigestible. He was not a man given to compromises. With the astonishing worldwide success of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* in 1962, and as the famously courageous author of *The First Circle* (1968), *Cancer Ward* (1968), and *The Gulag Archipelago* (1973–6), after his exile from the Soviet Union in 1974 Solzhenitsyn could have had his choice of publishers for the rest of his working life. All he had to do was not deviate too much from the pattern that the West had set out for him. Had he just played the game a *little* bit—moderate this, mute that, and could you give us something a little bit shorter?—all would have been fine. Who could have blamed him for going along?

But Solzhenitsyn was a man of conviction and calling. Already, in *August 1914* (1971), Christian themes had become more important in his work; this discomfited his secular Western audience, and the “problem” of Solzhenitsyn’s profoundly Christian outlook would only deepen over time. Mistrusting and feeling betrayed by the liberal (and, to his mind, unpardonably stupid) Western media after his exile, he rarely gave interviews after his emigration to the United States. Then, in his Harvard commencement address of June 8, 1978, he remarked at length upon the West’s self-satisfied and lazy misuse of its freedom and prosperity, “its cult of material well-being” and manifold other sins. “No, I could not recommend your society as an ideal for the transformation of ours,” confessed Solzhenitsyn.

Through deep suffering, people in our country have now achieved a spiritual development of such intensity that the Western system in its present state of spiritual exhaustion does not look attractive.... After the suffering of decades of violence and oppression, the human soul longs for

things higher, warmer, and purer than those offered by today’s mass living habits, introduced as by a calling card by the revolting invasion of commercial advertising, by TV stupor, and by intolerable music.

Uh-oh. This was not the dissident that the West had ordered up. When the speech was published, liberals spat, rinsed, and—except for occasional scurrilous asides—moved on. But many conservatives also kept their distance. For a while, Solzhenitsyn was valuable as a hammer in the Cold War toolbox, but after 1989 the American Right, too, had little use for his counsel. Not only was he a critic of our wealthy (he would say materialistic)

He devoted his life to
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logical—manifestations.

liberal democracy, which was bad enough, but he was a principled advocate of local self-government and a Russian patriot to boot—none of which was on-message with the End-of-History, America-as-the-Universal-Nation conservatism that became predominant in the 1990s.

He was the greatest-souled writer ever to make his adult home in the United States—not excluding Hawthorne, Melville, Faulkner, or any other American figure you might name—and no one

who mattered seemed to care. Frightened by his unorthodox Orthodoxy and the blasted seriousness of his work, American publishers gradually lost interest. No one picked up *March 1917* or *April 1917*, the last two “knots” of *The Red Wheel*. After

Solzhenitsyn’s spirit was stiffened beyond human breaking by the gulag. He didn’t just tell the truth; he refused to be implicated in lies, and he made no exception for the happy-face, tantalizingly plausible lies that we Westerners, in particular, like to tell ourselves about man, and the divine, and nature.

lengthy consideration, at least one major university press turned down *Two Hundred Years Together*, Solzhenitsyn’s scholarly history of the troubled relationship between ethnic Russians and Jews. Everyone passed on *Russia in Collapse*. No one even thought to ask about the short stories published by Solzhenitsyn in the 1990s, or the lyrical prose poems



Solzhenitsyn’s two youngest sons—Stephan, left, and Ignat, right—joined ISI in November 2006 to celebrate the release of *The Solzhenitsyn Reader*.

known as “miniatures,” or *A Minute a Day*, or any of the other works that appeared in Russia, France, and elsewhere after his return to Moscow.

When I became an editor at ISI Books eight years ago and began to make inquiries about Solzhenitsyn’s oeuvre, I was astonished to learn how much had yet to be translated into English. After a couple of false starts, I engaged Solzhenitsyn scholars Edward Ericson Jr. and Daniel Mahoney to compile *The Solzhenitsyn Reader*, which included almost 200 pages of previously untranslated material, including poems, short stories, miniatures, and excerpts from books such as *Russia in Collapse*, *Two Hundred Years Together*, *The Red Wheel*, and the full, ninety-six-chapter version of *The First Circle*. Thanks to David Remnick’s personal interest in Russian literature and history, *The First Circle* material was excerpted in *The New Yorker*. That got the attention of the slumbering HarperCollins, which after years of neglect suddenly remembered that it owned the rights to the book, asserted those rights forcefully, and finally announced last month that it would publish the full, newly translated version in 2009.

ISI Books will publish the first volume of Solzhenitsyn’s two-volume memoir of his life in the West in 2009—the title’s literal translation is something like “The Little Grain Fell between Two Millstones,” which gives some indication of the author’s sense of underdog isolation—and there are plans to publish additional Solzhenitsyn works in the future. So perhaps a renaissance has begun.

But the truth is we shouldn’t have needed a renaissance.

Soon after Aleksandr’s exile from the Soviet Union, the Solzhenitsyns bought a property near Cavendish, Vermont. Having considered several other options, did they know that, from a cultural standpoint, in New England they had chosen the perfect place to settle? Imagine Solzhenitsyn in the Midwest, with pies being delivered every day and obliging folks directing inquirers his way with

a smile, just sure that he could use the company. Vermonters understood Solzhenitsyn in their bones. Did he have a peculiar kind of stubborn cussedness about him? Maybe. But Solzhenitsyn wasn't a grump. He was just focused—intensely—on what he knew to be his life's work. It was extensive, and he didn't have much time.

That life work, he always believed, revolved around what might be called an imaginative but entirely accurate literary history of the events leading up to the Russian Revolution. *The Red Wheel*, as a consequence, commanded the majority of his time during his twenty-year sojourn in the U.S. But however history finally judges that massive work, the short stories and miniatures published after his return to Russia are perhaps more revealing of Solzhenitsyn's reflective, rooted, humane traditionalism. In "Rooster Song," for example, he writes:

With the depopulation, abandonment, and extinction of our villages, we have forgotten, and younger generations have never even heard, the many-voiced rooster roll call of midday. In sunny summertime, from one yard to the next, across the street, and farther, beyond the village outskirts, how marvelous is this chorus of triumphant life.

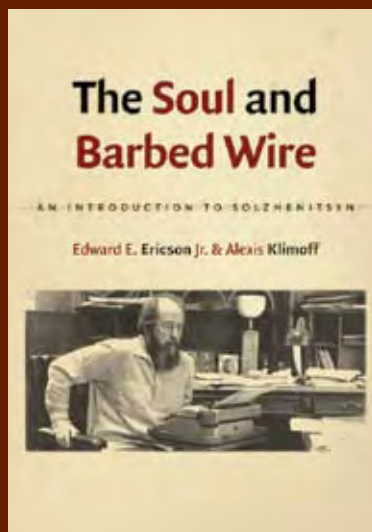
Little else can bestow such tranquility upon the soul. Not drowned out by any

noisy bustle, this vivid, vibrant, succulent, stalwart cry conveys to us that throughout these parts there reigns a blessed peace, an untroubled calm. That's how today has unfolded so far, and why shouldn't it continue? Carry on, everyone, your benign pursuits.

Now he is gone, sixty-three years after he was sentenced to the labor camps, fifty-five years after he was left for dead in an Uzbekistan cancer ward, forty-six years after the spectacular publication of *One Day*, nineteen years after the fall of the Wall, fourteen years after his triumphant return to the Russia he loved.

For reasons even his biographers have not been able to pinpoint, Solzhenitsyn's spirit was stiffened beyond human breaking by the gulag. He didn't just tell the truth; he refused to be implicated in lies, and he made no exception for the happy-face, tantalizingly plausible lies that we Westerners, in particular, like to tell ourselves about man, and the divine, and nature. His battle against late-modern anthropocentrism, his unshakable integrity, is what made Solzhenitsyn different from you and me, and it is why, after his death, so many have felt such a terrible sense of loss.

Let us pray for Aleksandr Isayevich Solzhenitsyn. Aleksandr Isayevich Solzhenitsyn, pray for us.



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Co-written by Edward E. Ericson Jr. and Alexis Klimoff

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SELECTIONS FROM SOLZHENITSYN

Excerpted from The Solzhenitsyn Reader

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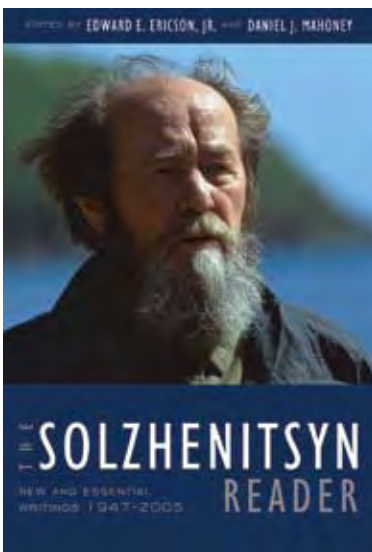
Editor's Note: Solzhenitsyn's June 8, 1978, commencement address at Harvard was the most controversial and commented upon public speech he delivered during his twenty-year exile in the West. His remarks on that occasion challenged many of the pieties that were dear to the contemporary intellectual clerisy. Like Tocqueville, Solzhenitsyn insisted that he spoke as a "friend, not as an adversary," of American democracy. He defended liberty under God and the law even as he criticized soulless legalism and lamented the growing "tilt of freedom toward evil" in the contemporary world. Far from defending political authoritarianism, as his critics sometimes claimed, Solzhenitsyn recommended "freely accepted and serene self-restraint" as the wisest and most prudent course for both individuals and societies. At the conclusion of his searching diagnosis of the modern crisis, Solzhenitsyn announced that the world had reached a "major watershed in history," one that required nothing less than an ascent to a new "anthropological stage" that would reconcile

the legitimate claims of the human soul and the physical nature of man. Solzhenitsyn's first tentative effort to sketch a morally serious and politically responsible "postmodernism" obviously has nothing in common with the nihilist currents that typically claim that name. In fact, Solzhenitsyn pointed out how vulnerable liberal humanism is to cooptation by more

consistent and radical currents of modern thought. Moderate liberalism gave way to radicalism, radicalism to socialism, and socialism soon found itself powerless before communism's claim to embody the "full logic of materialistic development." For Solzhenitsyn, the inherent vulnerability of humanism to "the current which is farthest to the Left" goes some way toward explaining the shameful indulgence of many intellectuals to communism in the twentieth century. In 1978 Solzhenitsyn's philosophical reflections on the crisis of modernity were overshadowed by his warnings about the imminent global threat posed by totalitarian communism. But now that Solzhenitsyn's principled opposition to totalitarianism has been fully vindicated, it is easier to embrace his claim that human freedom needs sturdier foundations than those provided by an "anthropocentric humanism" that refuses to defer to a "Superior Spirit" above Man. There was indeed a "measure of bitter truth" contained in Solzhenitsyn's powerful 1978 address. But far from being inspired by hostility to the West, Solzhenitsyn refuses to break faith with a civilization still capable of drawing intellectual and spiritual sustenance from "the moral heritage of Christian centuries with their rich reserves of mercy and sacrifice." Following are three sections from his address.

THE DIRECTION OF FREEDOM

Today's Western society has revealed the inequality between the freedom for good deeds and the freedom for evil deeds. A statesman who wants to achieve something important and highly constructive for his country has to move cautiously and even timidly; thousands of hasty (and irresponsible) critics cling to him at all times; he is constantly rebuffed by parlia-



ment and the press. He has to prove that his every step is well-founded and absolutely flawless. Indeed, an outstanding, truly great person who has unusual and unexpected initiatives in mind does not get any chance to assert himself; dozens of traps will be set for him from the beginning. Thus mediocrity triumphs under the guise of democratic restraints. It is feasible and easy everywhere to undermine administrative power, and it has in fact been drastically weakened in all Western countries. The defense of individual rights has reached such extremes as to make society as a whole defenseless against certain individuals. It is time, in the West, to defend not so much human rights as human obligations.

On the other hand, destructive and irresponsible freedom has been granted boundless space. Society has turned out to have scarce defense against the abyss of human decadence, for example, against the misuse of liberty for moral violence against young people, such as motion pictures full of pornography, crime, and horror. This is all considered to be part of freedom and to be counterbalanced, in theory, by the young people's right not to look and not to accept. Life organized legalistically has thus shown its inability to defend itself against the corrosion of evil. And what shall we say about the dark realms of overt criminality? Legal limits (especially in the United States) are broad enough to encourage not only individual freedom but also some misuse of such freedom. The culprit can go unpunished or obtain undeserved leniency—all with the support of thousands of defenders in the society. When a government earnestly undertakes to root out terrorism, public opinion immediately accuses it of violating the terrorists' civil rights. There are quite a number of such cases. This tilt of freedom toward evil has come about gradually, but it evidently stems

["Death—not as chasm"]

Death—not as chasm, but death as a crest,
A ridge onto which has ascended the road.
Up in the black sky that shrouds my deathbed
Gleams the White Sun of God.

Turning about I see in its white rays
Russia, my Russia, to her polar wreaths;
View her with that otherworldly gaze
Carved out on stelae¹ by wise ancient Greeks.

I see you clearly, no rancor or spite:
Your lows. And your glory. And daily life's fight.

No more shall I see you thus: crucified;
No more shall call Resurrection t'your side. . . .

¹ stela \Ste'la, n.; pl. Stel[ae]. (Gr. Antiq.) A small upright stone slab, used as a graveside monument by the ancient Greeks. It typically had a vertical line dividing the slab in half. On one side were depicted the dead person's loved ones, while on the other was shown the dead man himself, gazing immutably, powerlessly, across the line he could not cross.

...

Editor's Note: This poem was written on December 2, 1953, in Dzhambul, a regional center in southern Kazakhstan. Solzhenitsyn's doctors had just told him that he had two weeks to live. Leaving the clinic, he composed this poem as he walked down the street. The poem conveys the pathos of a dying man grieving less for himself than for a still "crucified" Russia. The Russian writer approaches death stoically but with deep love of country informing his "otherworldly gaze." Although he would live for another fifty years and more, this would turn out to be the final poem which he would write.

from a humanistic and benevolent concept according to which man—the master of this world—does not bear any evil within himself, and all the defects of life are caused by misguided social systems, which must therefore be corrected. Yet strangely enough, though the best social conditions have been achieved in the West, there still remains a great deal of crime; there even is considerably more of it than in the destitute and lawless Soviet society. (There is a multitude of prisoners in our camps who are termed criminals, but most of them never committed any crime; they merely tried to defend themselves against a lawless state by resorting to means outside the legal framework.)

Hastiness and superficiality—these are the psychic diseases of the twentieth century and more than anywhere else this is manifested in the press. In-depth analysis of a problem is anathema to the press; it is contrary to its nature. The press merely picks out sensational formulas.

THE DIRECTION OF THE PRESS

The press, too, of course, enjoys the widest freedom. (I shall be using the word “press” to include all the media.) But what use does it make of it? Here again, the overriding concern is not to infringe the letter of the law. There is no true moral responsibility for distortion or disproportion. What sort of responsibility does a journalist or a newspaper have to the readership or to history? If they have misled public opinion by inaccurate information or wrong conclusions, even if they have contributed to mistakes on a state level, do we know of any case of open regret voiced by the same journalist or the same newspaper? No; this would damage sales. A nation may be the worse for such a mistake, but the journalist always

gets away with it. It is most likely that he will start writing the exact opposite to his previous statements with renewed aplomb.

Because instant and credible information is required, it becomes necessary to resort to guesswork, rumors, and suppositions to fill in the voids, and none of them will ever be refuted; they settle into the readers’ memory. How many hasty, immature, superficial, and misleading judgments are expressed every day, confusing readers, and are then left hanging? The press can act the role of public opinion or miseducate it. Thus we may see terrorists heroized, or secret matters pertaining to the nation’s defense publicly revealed, or we may witness shameless intrusion into the privacy of well-known people according to the slogan “Everyone is entitled to know everything.” (But this is a false slogan of a false era; far greater in value is the forfeited right of people not to know, not to have their divine souls stuffed with gossip, nonsense, vain talk. A person who works and leads a meaningful life has no need for this excessive and burdening flow of information.)

Hastiness and superficiality—these are the psychic diseases of the twentieth century and more than anywhere else this is manifested in the press. In-depth analysis of a problem is anathema to the press; it is contrary to its nature. The press merely picks out sensational formulas. Such as it is, however, the press has become the greatest power within the Western countries, exceeding that of the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. Yet one would like to ask: According to what law has it been elected and to whom is it responsible? In the Communist East, a journalist is frankly appointed as a state official. But who has voted Western journalists into their positions of power, for how long a time, and with what prerogatives? There is yet another surprise for someone coming from the totalitarian East with its rigorously unified press: One discovers a common trend of preferences within the Western press as a whole (the spirit of the time), generally accepted patterns of judgment, and maybe common corporate interests, the sum effect being not competition but unification. Unrestrained freedom exists for the press, but not for the readership, because newspapers mostly transmit in a forceful and

emphatic way those opinions which do not too openly contradict their own and that general trend.

A FASHION IN THINKING

Without any censorship in the West, fashionable trends of thought and ideas are fastidiously separated from those that are not fashionable, and the latter, without ever being forbidden, have little chance of finding their way into periodicals or books or being heard in colleges. Your scholars are free in the legal sense, but they are hemmed in by the idols of the prevailing fad. There is no open violence, as in the East; however, a selection dictated by fashion and the need to accommodate mass standards frequently prevents the most independent-minded persons from contributing to public life and gives rise to dangerous herd instincts that block successful development. In America, I have received letters from highly intelligent persons—maybe a teacher in a faraway small college who could do much for the renewal and salvation of his country, but the country cannot hear him because the media will not provide him with a forum. This gives birth to strong mass prejudices, to a blindness which is perilous in our dynamic era. An example is the self-deluding interpretation of the state of affairs in the contemporary world that functions as a sort of a petrified armor around people's minds, to such a degree that human voices from seventeen countries of Eastern Europe and Eastern Asia cannot pierce it. It will be broken only by the inexorable crowbar of events.

I have mentioned a few traits of Western life which surprise and shock a new arrival to this world. The purpose and scope of this speech will not allow me to continue such a survey, in particular to look into the impact of these characteristics on important aspects of a nation's life, such as elementary education, advanced education in the humanities, and art.

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BREATHING

There was rain in the night, clouds are drifting over the sky, and there is still an occasional sprinkle.

I stand under an apple tree that is losing its blossom—and I breathe. The apple tree and the grass around it are saturated with moisture, and there is no name for the sweet and heady smell that intoxicates the air. I draw it deep, deep into my lungs, my whole chest tingles with the fragrance. I breathe and breathe again, shutting my eyes, opening my eyes—I don't know which way is best.

This perhaps is the freedom, the only freedom but the most precious one, of which prison deprives us: the freedom to breathe like this, to breathe in this place. No food on earth, no wine, not even a woman's kiss is sweeter to me than this air, this heady, blossom-scented, rain-fresh air.

So what if it is only a tiny garden hemmed in by five-storied buildings like cages in a zoo? I no longer hear the backfiring motorcycles, the howling radiograms, the crackling loudspeakers. So long as I can stand under an apple tree after rain and just breathe—it is possible to live.

...

Editor's Note: Solzhenitsyn's miniatures provide the strongest reminder that his literary output is not restricted to the long works on which his acclaim primarily rests. And the label of prophet is too one-sided to capture the range of his genres. Although initially known in English as prose poems, these Krokhotki (the Russian title) are literally "tinies," or miniatures. Solzhenitsyn composed a series of them, including the above, in 1958–60. A couple of years later, he penned "A Prayer," which he views as belonging to the same genre. Then, as he has remarked, he simply could not write in this genre again until after he returned to his native soil in the mid-1990s.

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THE VICTORY AT WILLIAM AND MARY: How an Old Cross Survived a Radical New President

BY AMANDA J. YASENCHAK

The steps of the president's house at the second oldest university in America were littered with flowers and notes. The scene might have been touching, but for the obscenities spray-painted on the academic building next door, demonstrators with red arm bands shouting at passersby, and professors refusing to teach classes in protest of the president's departure.

The career of Gene R. Nichol, the controversial twenty-sixth president of the College of William and Mary, had come to a not-so-quiet end.

In the realm of American higher education in the twenty-first century, "victories" are few for conservative students, faculty, and alumni. Most universities are run by a liberal majority that places little or no value in the basic tenants of Western civilization. Many schools openly reject and even explicitly criticize our nation's Judeo-Christian heritage. But not so at William and Mary. With thousands of persistent students and alumni, donors who withheld or withdrew their financial support of the institution, and a media frenzy that would not die thanks to the efforts of the campus's independent

student newspaper, William and Mary's radical president ultimately was held accountable for his extremist decision-making.

In October of 2006, Nichol earned national attention for taking the Christian cross out of the historic campus chapel, wanting to make it "less of a faith-specific space." Few observers would then have dared to imagine the drama that would unfold: that a liberal university president could lose his job for doing something that academia's liberal majority would generally agree with.

When Nichol was hired as president in 2005, his radical views were well-known and well-documented in his previous position as dean of the University of North Carolina Law School and in his unsuccessful bid for senator in Colorado. Conservative students on campus had reason to be apprehensive of the man. Yet, many were reassured when Nichol committed himself to fighting the National Collegiate Athletic Association's mandate that William and Mary remove its American Indian-related athletic logo. This was a culture war battle that nearly all students on campus—conservative or liberal—wanted to fight. He also made a good initial impression by presenting himself as something of a celebrity on campus, always stopping to pose for photos with students at football games and other public events.

As editor of the only independent student newspaper on campus, the Collegiate Network-sponsored *Virginia Informer*, I had reservations about Nichol that were not so easily set aside. Our staff was keeping a close eye on "Big Nick," and when the shoe finally dropped, we were the only ones paying attention.

The two-foot tall brass cross that Nichol ordered removed from the Wren Chapel had been on display for at least seventy years. The chapel—located in

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DECISION-MAKING.

the Wren Building, the oldest academic building in continuous use in the United States—regularly held religious services, weddings, and memorial services. It also provided a place for private reflection.

Nichol's decision was a radical change in policy. Before October 2006, the cross was on display every day. If a group or individual came in to use the space and did not want the cross on the altar—whether for non-Christian religious services, secular meetings or lectures, or even private reflection—they simply had to ask an employee or student volunteer and the cross would be removed, no questions asked. Nichol reversed the situation: the cross would remain in the closet until someone requested it. This change initially was communicated only to the student tour guides of the building, but it leaked to the media before any sort of official announcement was made.

Nichol was proud of his decision. He thought his desire to make the chapel less "faith-specific" was completely understandable, as he was uncomfortable with the idea of religion having *any* role at a public university. He even told another campus

Amanda Yasenchak is a 2007 graduate of the College of William and Mary, where she earned a bachelor of arts degree in history with a minor in anthropology. While at William and Mary, she founded and served as editor in chief of the Collegiate Network paper, the Virginia Informer. In May 2007, Amanda received ISI's Richard and Helen DeVos Freedom Center Award for Student Leadership. A native New Yorker, Amanda now lives in Delaware, where she is the deputy program director of ISI's Collegiate Network.

newspaper that he was “anxious” about the annual holiday tradition of the Yule log ceremony, where the president dresses up as Santa Claus and recites *How the Grinch Stole Christmas*, after which representatives from all faiths on campus share their holiday story with the student body before lighting the Yule log and enjoying warm cider and cook-



The scenic Crim Dell bridge at William and Mary.

ies together. In defense of his decision to remove the cross from daily display, the former American Civil Liberties chapter president argued that non-Christian prospective students were leaving campus tours immediately after being led through the Wren Chapel and seeing the cross. Yet his evidence was scant—he was able to provide only a single letter written in opposition to the status quo.

Nichol was praised for his decision by the college’s left-wing faculty, and the overwhelmingly liberal student senate voted in his favor as well, leading some outside of the William and Mary community to think that Nichol was held up as a hero. But on campus, it was not a clear right/left divide. Religious students on both sides of the political spectrum were confused by Nichol’s decision. Even some progressive students thought Nichol had gone a step too far.

While he chose for the most part to ignore these unhappy students on campus, a growing group of dissenters could not be so easily overlooked. A coalition of alumni and students set up a website,

SaveTheWrenCross.org, disputing Nichol’s decision. They collected over 18,000 signatures on a petition arguing for the return of the cross to the chapel.

Through the end of the fall semester, the students and alumni behind SaveTheWrenCross.org and the *Virginia Informer* worked to keep the world aware of Nichol’s *faux pas*. While alumni wrote letters to the editor in local and national newspapers, the *Informer* continued to investigate every aspect of the decision, creating the most comprehensive set of articles about the proceedings to date.

In December, as students finished final exams and left for winter break, Nichol announced that he had “acted too quickly and should have consulted more broadly.” Thus, he issued a compromise: the cross would be displayed on Sundays. In addition, a plaque honoring the college’s Anglican roots would be placed in the chapel. But for many students and alumni, this was not enough. And even though the drama by this point was being discussed on national evening news shows, the administration was unwilling to discuss the issue any further.

When classes resumed in early 2007, the *Informer* took it upon itself to bring a debate to campus; more specifically, to the Wren Chapel itself. On February 1, the fate of the Wren cross (and of religion in a public institution anywhere) was de-

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Photo courtesy of the *Virginia Informer*.



Conservative author Dinesh D'Souza, above, and William and Mary religious studies professor David Holmes debated whether or not the brass cross belonged on display in the Wren Chapel.



The debate, which was part of ISI's Cicero's Podium Debate Series, can be viewed through ISI's John M. Olin Online Lecture Library by searching for "Wren cross" once on the page www.isi.org/lectures/lectures.aspx.

bated in the historic chapel while the cross was on display. The *Informer* organized the event with the help of the Collegiate Network and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, which annually hosts the Cicero's Podium Debate Series. The intent was to have author Dinesh D'Souza debate Nichol himself, but Nichol ignored several invitations until finally confronted, at which point he claimed he would be out of town. William and Mary religious studies professor David Holmes stood in for Nichol.

In one of the largest events held on campus that year, filling the historic chapel and the neighboring Great Hall to capacity, D'Souza handily outperformed Holmes. Holmes focused primarily on church history and the fact that when the chapel was built, Anglican tradition dictated that no cross be on the altar at all. D'Souza, on the other hand, argued that the cross was harmless: "A two-foot cross sitting in a Christian chapel violates the rights of no one and constitutes no establishment whatsoever." D'Souza also tore down Nichol's main justification for removing the cross—the idea that the cross had no place in a public school. D'Souza eloquently criticized Nichol's unilateral decision-making process: "Yes, he is the president, but one day he will be gone, and the institution will still be here." Such lines drew explosive applause from the audience, which at the beginning of the evening seemed quite evenly divided between those who were in favor of the removal of the cross and those who were against it. But as the night went on, Holmes noticeably drew

less and less applause while D'Souza gained more and more.

D'Souza may have won the debate against Holmes, but on campus, the debate was far from over. Nichol drew more attention from the media—and criticism from conservatives—on Valentine's Day, when he allowed the "Sex Workers Art Show" to

"A TWO-FOOT CROSS
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VIOLATES THE RIGHTS OF NO
ONE AND CONSTITUTES NO
ESTABLISHMENT WHATSOEVER."

—DINESH D'SOUZA

come to campus. The event featured "performances" by topless women, former prostitutes, and current strippers—all in an effort to "empower" sex workers. Hundreds of people packed the college's University Center to witness such acts as a stripper with a sex toy in her mouth undressing to the strains of *Ave Maria*. Twelve hundred dollars in student funds were used to subsidize the event, and some 100 students enrolled in women's studies and performance art courses were required to attend. When a handful of professors objected to the show citing studies that

show that pornography provokes sexual violence, Nichol defended his decision, stating: “I don’t like this kind of show and I don’t like having it here. But it’s not the practice and province of universities to censor or cancel performances because they are controversial.” Apparently, however, this practice of not censoring didn’t apply to Christian symbols on William and Mary’s campus.

Soon after, it was revealed that a multi-million dollar donor with a building named after him on campus had withdrawn a \$12 million pledge from the college’s capital campaign. Smaller donations were also being withdrawn, and regular annual supporters were refusing to contribute to the college.

Nichol also had announced that he would no longer fight the NCAA’s decree that the college remove all American-Indian related imagery from

“IT’S NOT THE PRACTICE AND PROVINCE OF UNIVERSITIES TO CENSOR OR CANCEL PERFORMANCES BECAUSE THEY ARE CONTROVERSIAL,” SAID NICHOL. APPARENTLY, HOWEVER, THIS PRACTICE OF NOT CENSORING DIDN’T APPLY TO CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS ON WILLIAM AND MARY’S CAMPUS.

its athletic logos—despite the generous offer from wealthy alumni to pay for the legal battle and Nichol’s initial dedication to putting up a fight. Hitherto, Nichol’s biggest concern seemed to have been that William and Mary would be forever associated with a battle to retain its green and gold feathers on the athletic logo. In the politically correct world of academia, there was great fear that such “fights for feathers” would tarnish the school’s reputation. As it turned out, the logo drifted out of the public

eye, and instead William and Mary became known nationwide not as the college of four presidents, not as the school that taught Thomas Jefferson, not as one of the “public Ivies,” but as the college with the “cross problem.”

Bowing slightly to the pressure, Nichol announced the creation of a Committee on Religion in the University, composed entirely of his own appointments. Eager to move past this public relations fiasco, the committee decided by its second meeting in March of 2007 to return the cross to the chapel, but in a glass case at the front of the chapel and not on the altar. For some this was a victory. The cross would again be on permanent display; now you could not get rid of it even if you wanted to. For others, it was a defeat. Some viewed the glass case as a coffin—feeling as though the symbol of one of the world’s largest religions was now relegated to the status of a museum relic, an artifact to be studied rather than to identify a living faith. To Nichol, this was clearly a defeat. He strongly believed that the chapel was no place for the cross, and now every time he entered the building, he would be face to face with the cross he tried to put aside and lock up.

Thus ended the cross controversy, but Nichol was still in the hot seat. There were other smears on his presidency, such as the Gateway Program, which sought to force William and Mary to diversify its student body by offering free tuition to low-income students. This was a nice gesture, and a less-generous version of a program that Ivy League schools now offer, but unfortunately William and Mary could not afford it, and other budgets were slashed in order to provide for Nichol’s pet project.

By this time, I had graduated. Despite organizing the debate that embarrassed Nichol and overseeing an independent investigation of the cross controversy, I still received my diploma. In July, I began working for ISI as a program officer for the Collegiate Network. Yet while traveling around the country visiting other independent student journalists, I kept an eye on what was going on at my alma mater.

In September 2007, just shy of a year from Nichol’s decision to pull the cross, the Board of

Visitors announced that Nichol's performance as president would be reviewed prior to the renewal of his contract. It became clear that despite one's feelings on whether or not a chapel is a proper place for a cross, Nichol's presidency had been questionable. In addition to failed initiatives and a displaced emphasis on diversity, William and Mary had fallen in the *U.S. News & World Report* rankings, from thirty-first to thirty-third, and the college's prestigious Marshall-Wythe School of Law fell from twenty-ninth to thirty-second. Even more disheartening, William and Mary had only a modest bump in applications for incoming classes, while sister schools like the University of Virginia and Virginia Tech were receiving all-time record numbers. And most painful, donations were still down.

The Board of Visitors deliberated for months. The longer the review went on, the more Nichol had to fear. The new editorial board at the *Informer* wrote editorials calling for Nichol's contract not to be renewed. "The only way for the college to escape this downward spiral is for the [Board of Visitors] to announce that we want to move on with a new leader and allow Nichol to finish out his last year, if he so chooses," announced one editorial. "The next president should be an alumnus, or, in the least, someone much more closely connected to the college.... He or she needs to be someone who understands the community and the traditions at William and Mary. Nichol's deficiencies are clear, and it is now time to part ways with him, or suffer the further decline of our beloved and illustrious college." The paper's editorials were excerpted by several media outlets, including the *Richmond Times Dispatch*, *WorldNetDaily.com*, and *National Review Online*.

Another alumni group started a website, *ShouldNicholBeRenewed.org*. And while Nichol was well-liked on campus by many students, these supporters did not act to save their president until it was too late. It was rumored that the board would make an announcement at their February meeting, and only just before this were there rallies in support of the president. But in the end, no rally could save Nichol.



William and Mary students organized a sit-in in the University Center to protest the Board of Visitors's decision not to renew Nichol's contract and his subsequent resignation from the presidency.

On February 12, 2008, it was all over. In a spiteful e-mail sent out to all students, faculty, and alumni, Nichol resigned while blasting the Board of Visitors and his conservative critics. The board had decided not to renew his contract, and according to Nichol, "serving the college in the wake of such a decision is beyond my imagining," despite being offered a generous severance package and being allowed to continue to serve as president through the end of the school year. He also would have continued to draw his high salary (\$339,172 annually), as would his wife, Glen George, a professor at the law school, until the two secured other positions. All Nichol was expected to do in return was to leave quietly at the end of his term in June. Instead, he acted like a petulant child. He complained that his severance package was hush money and lamented that not everyone thought his progressive ideas were as great for the college as he did.

Immediately following the announcement, chaos erupted on campus. Angry and confused students and faculty insisted that Nichol had been fired, calling the Board of Visitors the "Board of



Students and faculty members staged protests following Nichol's resignation.

Dictators” (which was spray-painted all over campus). Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences Carl Strikwerda sent an e-mail to the faculty stating that he was deeply saddened by Nichol’s resignation, as “Nichol was a passionate advocate for the values of liberal arts education, diversity, and free inquiry.” He proceeded to explain his decision to devote his class time to offering something of a therapy session for students, while also tacitly supporting faculty who chose to cancel their classes in protest. He wrote:

A number of faculty members have indicated that they plan to not meet classes on

TAKE HEART. THE
FORWARD PROGRESSION OF
TODAY’S LEFTIST ACADEMIES IS
NOT INEVITABLE, AND IT IS
POSSIBLE TO STEM THE TIDE AND
RETURN TO TRADITIONAL VALUES.

Wednesday and Thursday in protest of the decision of the Board of Visitors. This is a difficult time for students and faculty. All of us have to deal with our emotions and our need to share our opinions in the way that we judge best. As it happens, I will

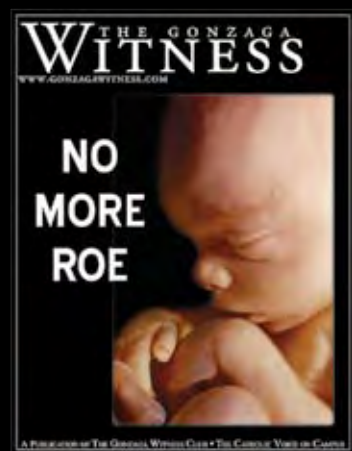
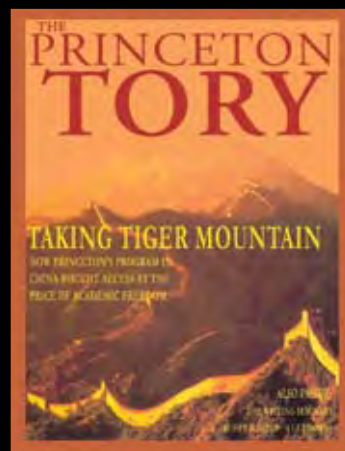
be meeting with my students in my class tomorrow morning, but neither I nor my co-instructor will lecture. We will explain the situation on campus to the students and ask them to share their thoughts, feelings, and questions. I trust that each of you will make the appropriate decision for yourself about whether or not to hold regular classes or allow your students to discuss the situation with you and their classmates.

Other students and faculty organized drum circles and interpretive dances in the main quad in response to the resignation. Some went so far as to intimidate and shout down *Informer* staffers as they handed out the latest issue, which announced in a bold headline: “NICHOL RESIGNS.” There were candlelight vigils and flowers lain at the president’s house doorstep. Photos of hysterically crying students hugging “Big Nick” in a final farewell appeared on blogs and the local news.

And so it ended. Nichol served the second shortest term in the college’s 315-year history.

But there is hope for William and Mary yet. Current president W. Taylor Reveley, the former dean of William and Mary’s law school, is trying to rebuild the bridges Nichol oh-so-gleefully burned.

And there is also hope for other universities who have faced or are facing such challenges. The return of the Wren cross to the chapel and the decision not to renew Nichol’s contract both demonstrate the influential power of a concerned and watchful alumni group, of donors who pay attention to what their money is supporting and stop their support as necessary, and of students who stand up for right and wrong. In my small role in the fiasco, I also learned that having an independent newspaper is so important on today’s college campuses. The *Informer* served a vital role in bringing the truth of Nichol’s presidency to light, for those both on and off the Williamsburg campus. Take heart. The forward progression of today’s leftist academies is not inevitable, and it is possible to stem the tide and return to traditional values.



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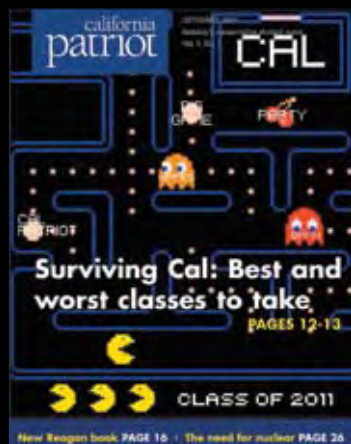
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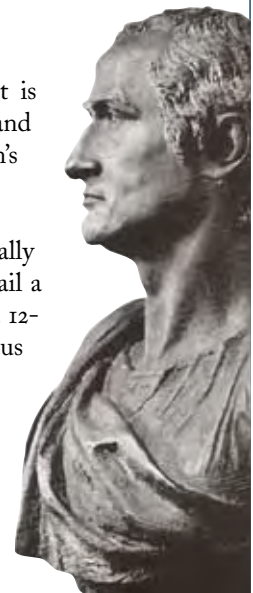
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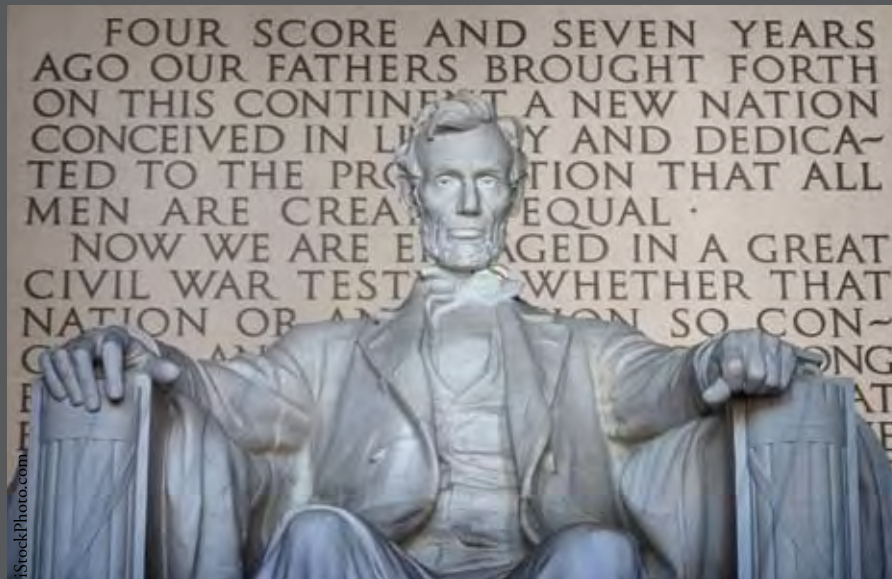
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The Gettysburg Address is chiseled into marble at the Lincoln Memorial, but it is not chiseled into America's memory.

Only 21% of Americans can identify that the phrase "Government of the people, for the people, by the people" comes from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

NOVEMBER 20, 2008

ISI's Third Annual Civic Literacy Report to the Nation

THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, WASHINGTON, D.C.

10:00 a.m. PRESS CONFERENCE
Chair: Lt. Gen. Josiah Bunting III, ISI

12:00 p.m. LUNCHEON SPEECH
David Brooks, *New York Times* columnist

PANEL DISCUSSION

Higher Education Reform: A View from the States

Moderator: Dr. Richard Brake, ISI

Panelists: Steve Bowen, Maine Heritage Policy Center

Jane Shaw, Pope Center for Higher Education Policy

Charles Mitchell, American Council of Trustees and Alumni

Don Racheter, Public Interest Institute of Iowa



For more information or to RSVP for this complimentary event, please contact Patrick Ford at (800) 526-7022 ext. 117 or pford@isi.org

FROM THE CLASSROOM TO THE COURT: ISI HONORS FELLOW HEATH TARBERT DEFENDS THE PERMANENT THINGS

Oxford University. The University of Pennsylvania. The Supreme Court of the United States. The White House. These are just a few of the distinguished institutions that one notices during a glance through Heath Tarbert's resume. The 1995–6 ISI Honors Fellow has achieved one notable accomplishment after another—from earning four advanced degrees to clerking in the nation's highest

court. All the while, he has not stopped studying or advancing what Russell Kirk refers to as the “permanent things”—those ideas and values that have sustained Western civilization and our Judeo-Christian heritage through the centuries.

A graduate of Calvert Hall High School, a private Catholic school in Baltimore, Maryland, Tarbert knew even before entering college that he wanted to study law. “I always wanted a career that

would provide an intellectual challenge while enabling me to help solve the practical problems of real people,” he says. “I have also always had a keen interest in America's founding principles and the Constitution, especially as they represent the ‘permanent things.’”

Late in his high school career, a guidance counselor suggested he apply for a scholarship at Mount St. Mary's University, a Catholic liberal arts college in Emmitsburg, Maryland. Although he previously had not considered attending “the Mount,” he was impressed by the school's “dedication to the search and transmission of all truth,” its rigorous core curriculum, and its adherence to the fundamentals of the Catholic faith. Today, he doesn't hesitate to assert that “Attending the Mount was one of the best decisions I ever made. It was a terrific place to grow academically, socially, and spirituality.”



Upon arriving at Mount St. Mary's in 1994, Tarbert discovered ISI through *CAMPUS*, which at the time served as ISI's membership magazine—keeping students apprised of ISI activities and publications and examining themes central to ISI's mission, such as the liberal arts, Western civilization, and ordered liberty. “Before I arrived, ISI had a dormant presence on campus,” Tarbert recalls. But with the assistance of seminary professor Fr. J. Michael Beers, who had

“THE ISI HONORS PROGRAM
WAS AMONG THE MOST
REWARDING ENDEAVORS OF
MY COLLEGIATE YEARS.”

been a longtime ISI faculty member, “it was quite easy to recruit and build a chapter.” Tarbert signed up so many students for ISI membership that he won first place in ISI's national recruitment contest in 1995.

He also was accepted into ISI's Honors Program during his sophomore year. “The ISI Honors Program was among the most rewarding endeavors of my collegiate years,” he says. “ISI introduced me to ideas that have profoundly shaped my intellectual development. Some of those ideas had an immediate impact, while I have come fully to appreciate other principles only with time. Indeed, as the years go by, I find myself continuing to revisit the works of Burke, Hayek, von Mises, Kirk, and others—each time further sharpening my understanding of the intellectual underpinnings of Western civilization and our great republic.”

After graduating at the top of his class in 1998 with a double major in international business and accounting, Tarbert proceeded to earn four advanced degrees in the next seven years. First, there was a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania, where he was president of the Penn Law Class of 2001 and an

editor of the *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*. Next, he earned a master of studies degree in legal research from Oxford University and a doctor of juridical science from the University of Pennsylvania. Finally, he earned his doctor of philosophy in comparative law back at Oxford.

Why so many advanced degrees? “I completed them mainly with an eye toward entering academia one day,” explains Tarbert. “I now realize that the academy is not my vocation, but hey, I get to be called ‘Dr.’ every now and again,” he jokes. “In all seriousness,” he continues, “they were an enjoyable challenge from a purely intellectual standpoint and they refined my legal reasoning and writing skills.”

Since completing his final degree from Oxford, Tarbert has served as a law clerk for Chief Judge Douglas H. Ginsburg in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit; worked as an attorney-advisor in the Department of Justice’s Office of Legal Counsel; and clerked for Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. Of his clerkship with Justice Thomas, which concluded this past July, he states: “It was an amazing year. It was an honor to work at the Supreme Court and for Justice Thomas in particular. He is the most ardent defender of the Framers’ Constitution and my respect and admiration for him only grew stronger as a result of serving as his clerk.”

In August, Tarbert added another impressive post to his resume: Associate Counsel to the President of the United States. The White House Counsel’s Office is responsible for advising the president and the White House staff on legal questions arising in connection with their official duties. The office also assists with executive appointments and judicial selection, presidential pardons, review of pending legislation, and congressional requests for executive branch information.

Amid all of this, Tarbert hasn’t lost touch with ISI. While a graduate student at Oxford, he was a guest at an ISI Honors conference held at Oriel College. He attended ISI’s forty-fifth and fiftieth anniversary galas and ISI’s Dinner for Western Civilization. Back in D.C., he has participated in activities organized by ISI’s Young



In 2007, Heath Tarbert was awarded ISI’s M. Stanton Evans Alumni Award by ISI President T. Kenneth Cribb Jr. and ISI supporters Helen and Richard DeVos.

Alumni Association. In 2007, he was awarded ISI’s M. Stanton Evans Alumni Award at the Richard and Helen DeVos Freedom Center Awards Luncheon, and he has also become a financial supporter of the institute.

“The great thing about ISI is that you really never outgrow it,” he explains. “I continue to read and re-read many of the books I learned about as an ISI member in college as well as many of the new books that ISI publishes each year. With each new

“THE GREAT THING ABOUT ISI IS THAT YOU REALLY NEVER OUTGROW IT. I CONTINUE TO READ AND RE-READ MANY OF THE BOOKS I LEARNED ABOUT AS AN ISI MEMBER IN COLLEGE AS WELL AS MANY OF THE NEW BOOKS THAT ISI PUBLISHES EACH YEAR.”

book and lecture, I refresh and expand my knowledge of ISI’s core principles, as listed in its mission statement—limited government, individual liberty, personal responsibility, the rule of law, the market economy, and moral norms. Ideas undoubtedly have consequences, and ISI continues to ensure that the concept of ‘ordered liberty’ endures in the hearts and minds of university students with each generation.”



The LOST LIBERALITIES *of* LEARNING

DAVID M. WHALEN

Professor of English and Associate Provost, Hillsdale College

“I love the old questions,” says the nostalgic antihero of Samuel Beckett’s bitterly nihilistic play, *Endgame*. “Ah the old questions, the old answers, there’s nothing like them!” Thus does Beckett dismiss the Western intellectual tradition with palpable sarcasm. Bemused contempt from the stage is one thing, but what has happened to this tradition in the universities is worse. There, in an institution created by the tradition and dedicated in large part to its perpetuation, much of it is now set aside. Instead of the old questions, the contemporary university now occupies itself largely with elaborate schemes of career training. It has sold the liberal education of its birthright for a mess of vocational pottage.

Rooted in classical and medieval learning, the university was once a place in which “the old questions” were asked vigorously and with a seemingly audacious confidence in their value. These bold questions concerned the largest possible matters: the nature of man; God, society and politics; culture and the cosmos. University students read widely and deeply in what had become a great heritage of contemplation upon ultimate realities. Poetry, philosophy, history, theology, mathematics—for generations these constituted a common language of thought and understanding in which something essentially human was liberated and cultivated. This liberal education was curiously paradoxical in being both audacious and modest. Its reach was the real grasp of transcendent truths, and yet its pillars were argument, a presumption of fallibility, a habit of reconsideration and wonder. Traditional liberal education constituted both a rich body of knowledge and a deep habit of mind, a set of disciplines and a set of practices, one leavening the other, to the creation of intellectual culture and the ennobling of Western culture at large.



Today, the culture of liberal education strikes many as romantic nonsense at worst, irrelevant at best. Some institutions and professors perpetuate the tradition, but in far too many universities and colleges genuine intellectual skepticism holds sway. Our attitude toward inquiry into ultimate realities ranges in temper from edgy cynicism to dull despair. Under a “dictatorship of [intellectual] relativism,” the animating principle of learning is lost while the vigor of intellectual inquiry is sapped. The mind does not now pursue truth, but twiddles its intellectual thumbs in endless exercises of diversion and curiosity. In part, this is why university education has shouldered the mantle of merely professional, vocational training. Competence in the affairs of the world or business used to be the welcome by-product of inherently valuable learning, but now that wisdom is despaired of, vocational training has become the object. The pressing academic questions of our day, at least as reflected in the lay and academic press, are, “How shall we render people fit

confine itself to a specific academic subject, but it means comprehension of things at their root or principle. It means understanding what things are, how they operate and how they relate to each other. This understanding goes beyond possessing a mere supply of information or data, for it includes a habit of synthesis, a proclivity to push thought toward the vision of causes and relations. It reaches for connections, pulling together knowledge into a broad and integrated “view” of reality.

Of course, such “views” are not always well conceived, especially where the education has been specialized, incomplete, or restricted in scope to one kind of learning. But our minds are made to draw connections, so we will do so almost inevitably. As John Henry Newman remarks in the greatest single discussion of liberal education, *The Idea of a University*, “We cannot do without a view, and we put up with an illusion when we cannot get a truth.” Herein, of course, rests one of the great and enduring qualities of liberal education. It answers to

This understanding goes beyond possessing a mere supply of information or data, for it includes a habit of synthesis, a proclivity to push thought toward the vision of causes and relations. It reaches for connections, pulling together knowledge into a broad and integrated “view” of reality.

for jobs?” and, “How shall we render the romping of late adolescents minimally dangerous?” Transcendence indeed. As the poet Wordsworth says, “We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon.” But what manner of liberty and culture does liberal education develop, and why is this learning relevant after all?

In itself, a liberal education raises the learner to a high order of understanding and philosophic wisdom. “Philosophic” here does not necessarily

something natural in man—the desire to know and to understand at the deepest levels, and the desire to construct these integrated understandings and views.

This habit of mind liberates the knower not only from ignorance, but from the tyranny of accidental conditions. That is, an understanding formed through liberal education is not utterly dependent upon the accident of one’s birth, one’s geographical location, one’s particular era. While a

good and noble rootedness in man's experience connects him to such specific times and places, there is also a provinciality that binds and blinds him unless he is liberated through an education predicated on seeing things (insofar as we can) whole. The sphere of liberty proper to a being who can think, know, and execute acts of the will is a broad one, and the grasp of this is one of the greatest and most consequential features of Western intellectual and cultural history.

A liberal education does not merely produce a philosophic habit of mind in persons; it is a social

the needs of the day—the workplace, contemporary events and politics, the latest in scientific discovery. Instead, they read, digest, and debate the ideas, contexts, and animating spirits that have given birth to succeeding generations of living Western culture. History, philosophy, theology, science, mathematics, and literature all have seminal texts or works the study of which is both a good in itself and constitutes an “architecture of thought” as important to a coherent understanding of the world as is the architecture of a building to its construction and use. In addition, one's imagination and intelligence

The sphere of liberty proper to a being who can think, know, and execute acts of the will is a broad one, and the grasp of this is one of the greatest and most consequential features of Western intellectual and cultural history.

institution that also creates a “class” of people with a common intellectual and cultural background. In this respect, Newman explains, the task of liberal education is “training good members of society. Its art is the art of social life, and its end is fitness for the world.... [A] University training is the great ordinary means to a great but ordinary end; it aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of private life.” Thus the habits of thought and modesty cultivated in the university common room create a body of persons whose shared experience rises to a high order of culture and through whom political and social liberties can be protected by both understanding and convention.

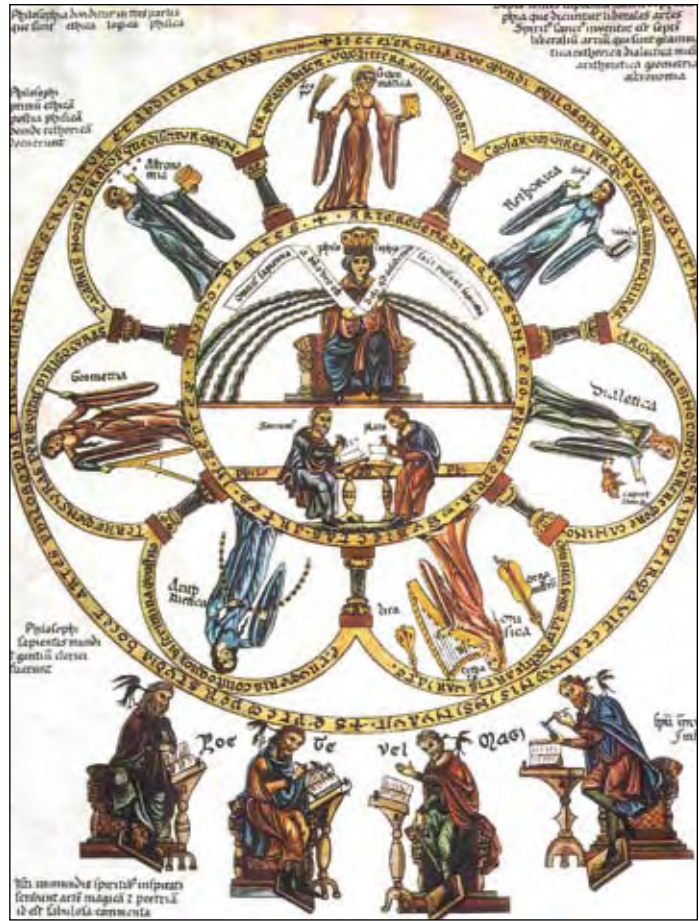
The means of achieving these individual and social goods are time-honored and, to modern eyes, a bit puzzling. They seem to pay little attention to

is shaped by works of pure, stupendous achievement—works that rise up as instances of almost superhuman intellectual or aesthetic perfection. Lastly, liberal education achieves its great intellectual and social goods by forming its students through the study of languages (including the languages of number), logic, rigorous applications of method, and the trained skills of rhetoric. These confer far more than “skills,” though at a minimum they inculcate skills in spades; they teach students how to learn and, more importantly, the differences between good and bad reasoning, strong and weak probabilities, and the way our minds and imaginations are influenced by language. Such strengths are eminently needful in a world of rather poor thought, shallow argument, and imaginative stupor.

Something else occurs as well while the “matter” of liberal education is underway. It happens unself-consciously, without direct apprehension of the process. Both the material engaging the mind, and the institution in which this engagement naturally occurs, “conspire” to pass on significant intellectual and cultural traditions of Western culture. There

is a patrimony of sorts here, and liberal education is the agent of its inheritance. The patrimony rests in the books that “everyone” has always read, yes, but just as importantly it rests in the relationships between students and professors, in the customs of institutions that bind its members from generation to generation, and in the experiences of greatness in art and thought that it lovingly hands to the young. These cultural traditions—some laden with the symbolism of institutional ritual, others implicit in the very acts of reading, writing, conversation, and correction—are part of the great work of liberal education. They habituate the educated class to connections and responsibilities to both past and future generations, connections to both the dead and those yet to be born.

If liberal education answers to something permanent in man and the human condition, if it addresses directly and through its traditions everything from the great, animating ideas of civilization to the high responsibilities of learning, little argument need be made for its relevance in any particular age. Indeed, how could such a thing fail to be relevant? Nevertheless, liberal education in our times has become all the more needful precisely as it avoids or counters a number of notions and practices that bedevil our world and undermine much that is valuable. This is no mere “complaint” against modernity. Every age, of course, has its intellectual and cultural liabilities. Yet thinkers ranging from Shakespeare, Jonathan Swift, and Newman to Edmund Burke,



The seven liberal arts as pictured in the medieval manuscript of Herrad von Landsberg.

tion penetrates in surprisingly deep ways many of the peculiar misconceptions of our day, illuminating and correcting them.

As Josef Pieper understood, one of the consequences of an industrial and later technological society is a growing tendency for man to be thought *homo faber*—man the maker or producer.

The practices of liberal education themselves cultivate habits of sustained thought and reflection, goods not readily reducible to the tangible measures of productivity.

John Ruskin, and Alastair McIntyre all remark upon the degree to which modernity has “gone off the rails,” and is haunted by an illiberal, inhumane spirit. Our cultural “heart,” as Wordsworth noted, has been lost. While well short of an antidote for all the ills that plague the modern world, liberal educa-

Of course, man is a maker, but the difficulty enters when the activity of production is thought to be the purpose or end of human life itself. While few might declare that this is indeed the ultimate end of human life, for many years now the character and practices of Western culture seem animated by

just such a principle. Without necessarily reflecting on the matter, we are prone to regard work and especially economic “productivity” as the chief measure of personal and national value. Liberal education acts as a check upon such a “spirit of the

specialization in education. This is not a difficulty because specialists “know less” than those who are broadly learned; indeed, the specialist often knows a good bit more, though in a limited range. Rather, the difficulty lies in both the inability and disin-

Even as the United States developed into a commercial republic, it was widely recognized that liberal education was necessary in order to achieve that rich understanding of humanity and the world prerequisite to successful republican rule.

age,” in part simply by being deeply reflective. The practices of liberal education themselves cultivate habits of sustained thought and reflection, goods not readily reducible to the tangible measures of productivity.

The conditions of modern life in the West also have made available an unprecedented supply of pleasant diversions, enjoyable pursuits and distractions, occasions and objects of amusement. This too has had an unintended consequence: the rise of *homo voluptarius*—man the pleasure-seeker. Of course seeking pleasure is nothing new, nor is the idea that such seeking fundamentally defines us. But in our day the sheer availability of ready amusement gives the idea, again, a currency unwarranted by serious, thoughtful reflection. The idea also enjoys a kind of pseudo-legitimacy as advocated by those who attempt to think philosophically upon a foundation almost entirely derived from the biological sciences. But a liberal education in both practice and principle underscores the fundamental feebleness of this idea and challenges its students to give themselves to a life of higher goods—goods “pleasant,” to be sure, in their own way—but transcendent in meaning and superior in kind to the comparatively shallow amusements amongst which we drown.

Another dubious contemporary leaning is towards hyper-specialization in all things. The integrated vision or “view” achieved by the liberally educated mind becomes a rarity when, as now, a capacious understanding is forsaken for this narrow

clination of the specialist to see things whole, to rise from facts to knowledge and wisdom. Richard Weaver remarks that the specialist, “buried in his little province of phenomena, imagines that fidelity to it exempts him from concern with larger aspects of reality—in the case of science, from consideration of whether there is reality other than matter.” The mere specialist, then, will have a decidedly distorted “view” of reality. Even as the United



Clio, muse of heroic poetry and history, painted by Pierre Mignard.

States developed into a commercial republic, it was widely recognized that liberal education was necessary in order to achieve that rich understanding of humanity and the world prerequisite to successful republican rule.

Common modern ills—hyper-specialization, *homo faber*, *homo voluptarius*—are exacerbated by the eclipse of liberal education in favor of university training that is narrowly focused and intent upon career preparation. Other evils as well that plague the modern world can find a robust corrective in liberal education—the relativism and skepticism that, alas, has so often poured out of illiberal universities and into the wider culture; the loss of wonder consequent upon a merely instrumental view of the world; the reduction of knowledge to mere information; the reduction of wisdom to expertise.

Finally, however, the ultimate good of liberal education is found not in the ways it can be of service to a particular era. These “stealth practicalities,” real though they are, are consequences or ancillary benefits that attach to what is its deepest good. This good, rather, is the power to expose and scrutinize the meaning available to us in experience. Robert Browning’s “This world’s no blot for us, / Nor blank; it means intensely, and means good:/To find its meaning is my meat and drink” may be taken as the mission and object of liberal education everywhere. No amount of distraction can rid the thoughtful mind of its natural desire to know, its persistent itch to understand not just the mechanisms of things but their purposes and import as well. No amount of practical or purely technical learning can annul the need, as Matthew Arnold says, to relate “what we

Liberal education endows its students with habits of mind that are enormously “useful” in conducting the affairs of the world, in spite of liberal education’s apparent disregard for such practicality.

Liberal education tends to check such errors, and tends as well to protect liberty from the predations of specialized bureaucratic rule. It even endows its students with habits of mind that are enormously “useful” in conducting the affairs of the world, in spite of liberal education’s apparent disregard for such practicality. Given its capacity to address so many and deeply rooted needs of our day, then, liberal learning is clearly the mode of education most required in our times.

have learnt and known to the sense which we have in us for conduct, to the sense which we have in us for beauty.” No amount of urgency can raise the merely immediate and passing affairs of the day to the high order of Eliot’s permanent things. These are and have been the objects of liberal education. No surprise, then, that the “old questions” are still our questions, and still move their students to verities, beauties, and goods before which the soul is elevated in wonder.

Dr. David M. Whalen is professor of English and associate provost at Hillsdale College. He is a longtime ISI Faculty Associate and has lectured at numerous ISI events, including ISI’s Honors Program, where he also has served as a faculty mentor. A contributor to the ISI title Doomed Bourgeois in Love, he is the author of The Consolation of Rhetoric: John Henry Newman and the Realism of Personalist Thought. He also has published articles and essays on Chaucer, Shakespeare, Dickens, and liberal education.

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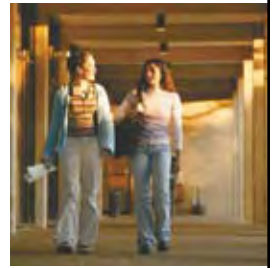
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We thought the seminar was *wonderful*. We're still reeling from it. Thank you," commented one California couple at the conclusion of an ISI seminar on "Islam and the West" this summer. For several years now, ISI has hosted a series of daylong seminars to provide ISI friends and supporters with a firsthand experience of ISI's educational programming—the same programming that is offered to students and faculty nationwide during a variety of events each year. Participants can also introduce their family and friends to the organization; meet ISI students, faculty, and staff; and purchase ISI publications at each event.



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Bruce Thornton, Fresno State University

AMERICA'S JUDEO-CHRISTIAN HISTORY
Brad Birzer, Hillsdale College

WAR AND FREEDOM:
AMERICA'S MILITARY HISTORY
Victor Davis Hanson, Author*

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Mark C. Henrie, Intercollegiate Studies Institute

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Rancho Santa Fe, CA
Saturday, June 6

The Crisis of Western Education

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE EDUCATED
Richard Gamble, Hillsdale College

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN
AND THE IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY
Mark C. Henrie, Intercollegiate Studies Institute

CHRISTOPHER DAWSON AND
THE CRISIS OF WESTERN EDUCATION
Brad Birzer, Hillsdale College

THE FAILURE OF AMERICAN
PUBLIC EDUCATION
Bruce Thornton, Fresno State University

ALTERNATIVE MEANS OF EDUCATION
R. V. Young, North Carolina State University



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Seminar highlights include the opportunity to browse and purchase ISI publications, above, and to speak directly with the day's lecturers and to ISI faculty and student members, such as Faculty Associate Andrew Tadie, left.

San Francisco, CA

Saturday, June 13

Islam and the West

ISLAM: AN INTRODUCTION
David Forte, Cleveland Marshall School of Law

THE UNIQUENESS OF THE WEST
Bruce Thornton, Fresno State University

THE WEST AND THE REST
Roger Scruton, Author*

EUROPE AND ISLAM
Bart Jan Spruyt, Edmund Burke Foundation

FAITH AND REASON: ISLAM
AND THE REGENSBURG ADDRESS
Daniel J. Mahoney, Assumption College

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Saturday, June 20

Five Forgotten Conservatives: What They Can Teach Us Today

EDMUND BURKE
Gerald Russello, Seton Hall University

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE
Peter Lawler, Berry College

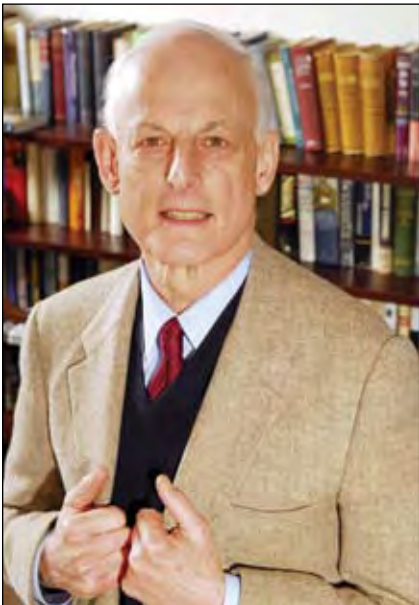
T. S. ELIOT: CULTURE AND ANARCHY
James Matthew Wilson, Villanova University

RICHARD WEAVER:
THE LANGUAGE OF CONSERVATISM
David Whalen, Hillsdale College

ROBERT NISBET:
THE QUEST FOR COMMUNITY
Patrick Deneen, Georgetown University

LEWIS E. LEHRMAN: REINVIGORATING THE TEACHING OF AMERICA'S FOUNDING PRINCIPLES

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, teacher Duncan Campbell took his students to the Gettysburg battlefield where North and South fought the great battles of July 1–3, 1863. There, the Civil War conflict came alive for Lewis Lehrman, stimulating his lifelong study of



American history. A high school teacher would add another dimension to Lew's scholarship. "Facts and circumstances, I learned from Garrett Greene, are the stuff of ideas and decisions," recalls Lehrman. Ever since, Lehrman's storied career has been guided by this critical synthesis between theory and practice, principle and statesmanship.

At Yale University, Lew's education was refined by a collection of scholars who "turned my thoughts to the role of culture, institutions, and war in the making of America. They caused me to reflect upon what was unique in the American common culture." It was that grounding in American history and its culture that led Lehrman four decades later to the doorstep of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute, founding his Lehrman American Studies Center (LASC) at ISI in 2005. Under its auspices, some of the finest young professors and instructors gather each summer for two weeks at Princeton University to reconnect with the principles of America's Founding.

Lehrman served as a Carnegie Teaching Fellow at Yale, later receiving an M.A. in history from Harvard as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow. Most of his adult life, however, has been spent in the business world.

He did take a sabbatical from business, however, in 1982 to run for governor of New York, losing narrowly to Mario Cuomo. And throughout, public policy and its historical antecedents have been quite important to Lehrman; in 1972 he founded the Lehrman Institute in New York City to bring diverse scholars together to study and discuss economic and foreign policy from an historical perspective. Lehrman pioneered the idea for such gatherings outside the university setting, establishing a much-needed counterweight to the politicized American academy. He also developed his own monetary theory—following in the footsteps of the French financial statesman and economist Jacques Rueff.

In the late 1980s, Lehrman began to work with a longtime friend, philanthropist Richard Gilder, on a series of initiatives to reform the study of American history. Their first effort was the Gilder Lehrman Collection, which now includes over 60,000 American historical documents and manuscripts on deposit at the New York Historical Society. Together with Gettysburg College professor Gabor Boritt, they founded the Lincoln and Soldiers Institute, which annually presents the Lincoln Prize to the best work on Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War. Similarly, the Frederick Douglass Prize is annually

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awarded by the Gilder Lehrman Center on Slavery, Resistance and Abolition at Yale University; and the Washington Prize is given each year to the best work on the American founding.

A clear highlight of this close and valuable collaboration is the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (GLIAH), which works to improve the teaching of American history in elementary and secondary schools as well as colleges. GLIAH sponsors teacher and student programs including traveling exhibitions, forty-two history high schools, and weeklong summer institutes at major universities—in which 6,000 educators have participated. According to Barnard College professor James Basker, who directs the institute's work, "The institute was the brainchild of Lew Lehrman and Richard Gilder. From small pilot projects, it has grown over twelve years to a point where we have programs in all fifty states, serve more than 3,000 teachers every year, and, through them, reach an estimated three million students annually."

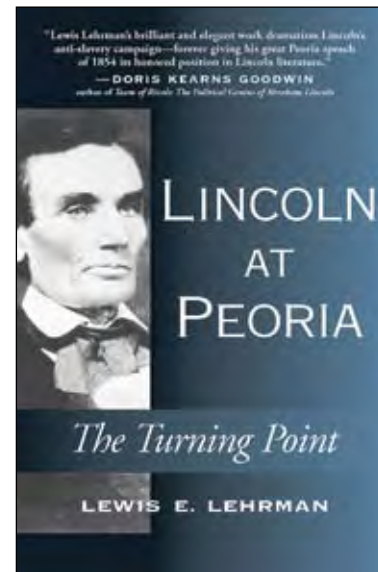
Since the 1970s, Lehrman personally has focused his scholarly attention on the study of Abraham Lincoln, writing articles and teaching about him at Gettysburg College. The Lehrman Institute spawned the Lincoln Institute (www.abrahamlincoln.org), specifically devoted to the study of America's sixteenth president. Among its work are seven websites devoted to aspects of Lincoln's life which annually attract more than three million website visits.

Lehrman had closely read earlier in his life the eight volumes plus two supplementary volumes of Lincoln's writings, edited by Roy P. Basler. He was drawn in particular to a speech Lincoln delivered against the Kansas-Nebraska Act on October 16, 1854. The so-called "Peoria Speech" was one of several Lincoln delivered during that campaign—three in direct response to speeches given by the chief sponsor of the Kansas-Nebraska legislation, Illinois senator Stephen A. Douglas. The content of these 1854 debates foreshadowed the more

famous series of seven debates that Lincoln and Douglas would hold four years later when in 1858 Lincoln challenged the more nationally recognized Douglas for his Senate seat.

Lehrman completed *Lincoln at Peoria: The Turning Point* during two decades of work, writing when his "day job" permitted. Released this summer, the book focuses on Lincoln's defense of the Declaration of Independence—particularly the clause that declared "all men are created equal." Lehrman notes: "Unlike Stephen A. Douglas, Lincoln insisted that the equality principle applied to blacks as well as whites. At Peoria and thereafter, Lincoln made the case against slavery's expansion and for its ultimate extinction. The moral and political principles Lincoln defined at Peoria form the basis of his thinking and actions until his death in 1865." And as Lehrman keenly observes, "Getting right with the Declaration of Independence was a driving passion of Mr. Lincoln as he fought his way back into state and national politics in 1854. Armed with the 'sheet anchor of American republicanism,' he was determined to set right the historical record and America's future, as he was given to see it."

Lehrman credits the work of many other historians and political scientists for his insights. "One of the personal benefits of my collaboration with Dick Gilder," claims Lehrman, "has been the ability to get to know some of the great historians of America's founding and the reformulation of the founding by Abraham Lincoln. Many of these same historians teach in summer institutes we sponsor for high school history teachers—who thereby gain new insights and inspiration." Says Basker: "Schoolteachers cherish the opportunity to work



closely with great historians —scholars such as Jim McPherson, Allen Guelzo, Eric Foner, Gordon Wood, Jim Horton, Drew Gilpin Faust, and David Blight—who in turn give generously of their time and energy. The ultimate testimony to the power and popularity of the teacher seminars is that we received 3,000 applications for 1,000 places this year, and the numbers are growing rapidly.”

“I learned at Yale how much can be gained from the close interaction of students with historians,” observes Lehrman. “We have tried to replicate that model at the Lehrman Institute, at the Gilder Lehrman Institute, and most recently with the Lehrman American Studies Center at ISI. At the LASC Princeton Institute each June, our faculty includes some of America’s finest professors and our fellows are budding young scholars.” Together, according to new LASC president Lt. General

in the Reagan Administration; and Lehrman had already worked closely with ISI trustee and former chairman Edwin Feulner during the 1970s when Lehrman served on the board of the Heritage Foundation. “I knew of ISI’s work from its earliest days



ISI president T. Kenneth Cribb and Lew Lehrman converse following a lecture at the Lehrman American Studies Center summer institute at Princeton University.

“LASC GRADUATES ARE CREATING THE KIND OF MOMENTUM NECESSARY FOR A RETURN TO THE TRADITIONAL TEACHING OF THE AMERICAN FOUNDING THAT IS SO DESPERATELY NEEDED TODAY ON AMERICA’S COLLEGE CAMPUS.”

—Lt. General Josiah Bunting, LASC president

Josiah Bunting III, longtime friend and colleague of Lew Lehrman, “LASC graduates are creating the kind of momentum necessary for a return to the traditional teaching of the American founding that is so desperately needed today on America’s college campuses. This is a high achievement, one that Lew Lehrman deserves a great deal of credit for promoting.”

In the 1980s, Lew had come to know ISI president Ken Cribb when Cribb was working

in the late 1950s,” wrote Lehrman, “and I knew it was just the kind of serious intellectual site for my American studies program.”

Lehrman strongly believes that collaboration is the key to intellectual success. “My work with Ken Cribb and his team has been rewarding because it focuses on excellence. We can already see the impact of our scholars’ work on college campuses as they introduce new courses that illuminate the American founding as amended.” Their collaboration is, says Lehrman, “the kind of work Mr. Lincoln would have appreciated. As Doris Kearns Goodwin has written, Lincoln’s cabinet, though a team of rivals, was harnessed to collaborate on a great cause. We would like to follow in Lincoln’s footsteps.”

FOR MORE INFORMATION about ISI’s Lehrman American Studies Center, contact Kelly Hanlon at khanlon@isi.org or (800) 526-7022 ext. 135 or visit <http://lehrman.isi.org>.



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EDUCATING THE MILLENNIAL GENERATION

This article, by Dr. Gerson Moreno-Riaño, is the first of a series of articles written by college faculty who have participated in ISI's Lehrman American Studies Center Summer Institute. This series provides firsthand accounts of the challenges professors face on today's campuses and the assistance that ISI provides. Moreno-Riaño holds the department chair of government at Regent University. His published works include four authored or edited books and numerous articles and chapters in academic journals. He has two forthcoming books, the co-authored Prospect of Internet Democracy (Ashgate, 2009) and co-edited A Companion to Marsilius of Padua (Brill, 2009). In 2007, Moreno-Riaño was the runner-up in ISI's Templeton Culture of Enterprise contest for his article "Natural Law and Modern Economic Theory."

Education is the task of crafting the souls of students. It is never simply about conveying information so that students can enlarge their body of knowledge. While education should indeed contribute to a student's basic knowledge of facts, education is ultimately about cultivating a particular kind of human being. Leo Strauss suggested that education of a liberal sort was an education "in culture or toward culture;" education, for Strauss, was not about information sharing or "indoctrination" but rather about cultivating beauty and "liberation



Dr. Gerson Moreno-Riaño

from vulgarity."¹ Strauss's approach to education required much patience, humility, and discipline. It presupposed not only that there was such a thing as human nature but also that one could learn what it meant to be a human being. A similar view of education can be found in the works of the great British political theorist Michael Oakeshott. In *The Voice of Liberal Learning*, for example, Oakeshott argued that education is about "learning to become human;" it is a discipline of mind and heart and a release from all that is slavish and circumstantial.²

Both Strauss and Oakeshott understood that education presupposed an understanding of human nature and of the human condition. In essence, it required teachers who at the core were philosophers.

But, perhaps even more important, it required teachers who had an intimate understanding of their pupils and of the culture in which they existed. Education could not ignore the context in which students lived, the circumstances in which they were maturing, the society into which they would eventually be released. This observation was not original with Strauss or Oakeshott. One can find the same concern as early as in Socrates' discussion with Thrasymachus, Glaucon, and Polemarchus in the *Republic* and perhaps even more directly in the discussion between Socrates, Gorgias, and Callicles in the *Gorgias*. Those who are engaged in the high calling of education—and it is indeed a high calling—must be fully aware of the cultural milieu of their audience and its influence on their souls.

The current audience of students in university campuses across the United States is composed primarily of what has been called Millennials. Millennials are students who have been born between 1980 and 2000. They are a part of the first digital generation, human beings who were born in the age of computers, the Internet, and information communication technologies (ICTs). The world of the Millennials is distinctly different than that of Generation X, the Baby Boomers, and Veterans. And thus, their upbringing and socialization have been radically different than that of most, if not all, of their university professors. This difference accounts for what may be called the cultural gap between university faculty and their students—a sense that our students just "don't get" the meaning of a true education and, conversely, a sense on the part of our students that faculty just "don't get" what it means to be a young person in the twenty-first century.

Who are these Millennials that fill the classrooms of today's universities? What has shaped their upbringing and identity? Consider the following important characteristics.³ Millennials have been deeply affected by the intersection between technology and globalism. Today's students have grown up in a world less affected by geographical boundaries, one which can be connected to and downloaded at the click of a mouse. They are technologically savvy and their personalities and behaviors have been shaped by an environment that knows no boundaries. This interconnectivity has fostered the Millennials' belief in the importance of community and inclusivity. They do not define themselves in terms of boundaries and borders. Rather, they want to include the other as well as work within environments that are collaborative in nature.

Millennials have also grown up in an era of terrorism, heroism, patriotism, and civic engagement. Beginning with the 1983 Beirut Marine barracks bombing to the first bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993 to the horrific attacks of September 11, 2001, and to the other domestic acts of terrorism in Oklahoma and at Columbine and Virginia Tech, terrorism has been one of the most defining and common experiences for today's students. As such, terrorism has also tempered the Millennial generation's value of community and inclusivity. It is clear that real and deadly threats exist not only against their generation, but more importantly against the very community in which they have been raised. For some Millennials, the threat of terrorism is a reminder of the importance of community and inclusivity. For others, it is an important reminder of the need for patriotism and heroism. Millennials have witnessed the heroism of American servicemen and servicewomen as they give their lives for their country. The self-sacrifice of the hero-servant and the love of country, of one's own community, have left an indelible mark on their generational conscience. Regardless of how



In 2007, Moreno-Riaño, pictured here with John Templeton Jr. and T. Kenneth Cribb Jr., was a winner in ISI's Culture of Enterprise article competition.

Millennials have responded to terrorism, all are civic-minded and seek not only to participate in but to contribute to civic life. Millennials exhibit a strong social conscience. Not only do they volunteer at high rates but they also expect companies to be socially and environmentally responsible. Today's university students want to help in making their world a better place.

The generational characteristics of Millennials provide educators with a tremendous opportunity to shape and nurture future citizens of high caliber. Rather than beginning with the assumption that a

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cultural gap exists between students and faculty, today's professors need to start with an understanding of how the Millennials' generational characteristics actually provide some of the moral and intellectual capital on which to build a culture of civic engagement; a society that defends truth and right principles; a nation that is strong ethically, financially, and politically; and a world that is full

of optimism, opportunity, and balanced realism. Millennials exhibit a high degree of confidence and hope. They want their opinions to be respected but also want to be challenged. Today’s students don’t want to be dismissed as ignorant, privileged, or hopeful know-nothings.

The Intercollegiate Studies Institute is an invaluable resource in assisting university faculty to educate today’s students—the Millennial Generation. With its mission to “educate for liberty,” ISI’s programs

conservative thought helps to educate students and faculty regarding the importance of hope, optimism, and a balanced realism.

One of the most exciting resources deployed within ISI’s educational portfolio is the Lehrman American Studies Center (LASC). It is this program that explicitly connects faculty, students, and the educational programs of ISI for the purpose of fostering sound pedagogy and educational substance. From its yearly two-week faculty program at Princeton University to its curriculum development website, the LASC is on the cutting edge of empowering faculty with the needed educational and pedagogical tools to foster the moral and intellectual growth of today’s students. LASC’s innovative and entrepreneurial approach is helping to build a community of scholars motivated by student learning and excellent scholarship. This will have a tremendous effect not only on today’s students but also tomorrow’s students and faculty.

The opportunities university educators face today are unique and monumental. Next year will exhibit one of the largest numbers of university applicants in recent years. Thousands of Millennials will be pursuing a university education. Faculty need to be prepared to understand this generation as well as to provide sound and timely educational content delivered by appropriate pedagogical means. The Intercollegiate Studies Institute has been and will continue to be a partner in this exciting endeavor.

ISI’S PROGRAMS ARE
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are essential in connecting the characteristics and desires of the Millennials to the economic, political, and spiritual values that not only sustain a free and humane society but also further the Millennials’ desire for a better world. ISI’s Western civilization and American experience initiatives are intimately related to the Millennial emphasis on community, inclusivity, and patriotism. The free markets and society program, along with ISI’s Culture of Enterprise initiative, provide the needed academic resources for students and faculty to consider the importance of liberty for social and economic development and improvement. And ISI’s emphasis on liberty and

¹ Leo Strauss, “What Is Liberal Education?” in S. E. Bronner (ed.) *Twentieth Century Political Theory*. New York: Routledge, pp. 100-105.

² Michael Oakeshott, *The Voice of Liberal Learning*. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, pp. 103-104.

³ An excellent source for information on the Millennial Generation, one to which I am indebted in the following analysis, is found in Claire Raines’s article “Managing Millennials,” an excerpt from her book *Connecting Generations: The Sourcebook* (Crisp Learning, 2003). The article can be found online at www.generationsatwork.com.

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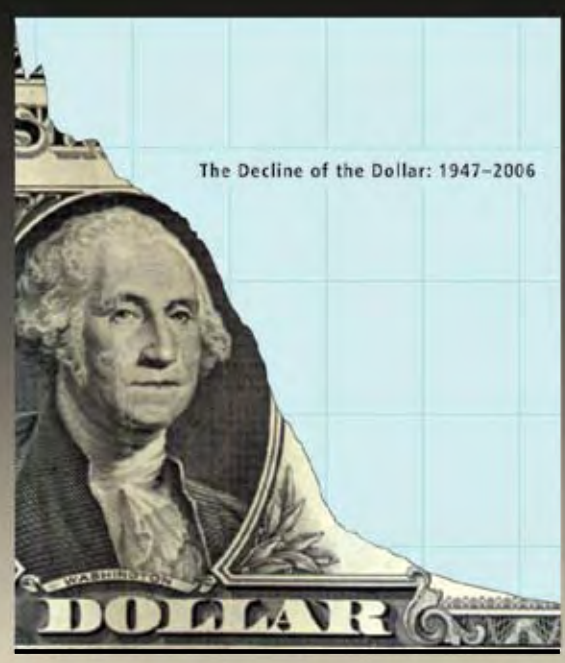
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THE LAST WORD

by T. Kenneth Cribb Jr., ISI President

We often talk here at the F. M. Kirby Campus—ISI’s national headquarters—of an “ISI family,” because those who work here advancing the ideas of liberty on America’s college campuses labor together like a family. But unlike a natural family, we get to choose those



Douglas C. Mills

who become a member of our ISI family. And we are very selective.

We have to be. Our mission isn’t for everyone. Because we are a national organization, our leadership and our program officers spend many nights on the road, visiting supporters and working with students and faculty from California

to Maine, from Florida to Alaska. This puts a great demand on individuals and their families.

Further, the nature of ISI’s work, educating for liberty, requires that each member of the ISI family possess a general knowledge and enthusiasm for the principles of a free society. ISI is an advocacy organization, working to advance ideas that are essential to our nation’s well being, even if they have fallen out of fashion. This necessitates a staff that is 100 percent dedicated to those principles.

We are not only stewards of our Western patrimony, we are administrators of a 14.5-million-dollar budget, over 65,000 members, more than sixty full-time staff, and a nationwide educational program. As such, ISI needs a first rate and highly experienced day-to-day manager to ensure that we stay on-plan and on-budget.

This July, I had the pleasure of welcoming Douglas C. Mills to do just this as ISI’s executive vice president and chief operating officer. A 1974 graduate of Hillsdale College, where he studied business and the liberal arts, Doug established a successful career in banking and financial services before returning to Hillsdale in 1990 as the director of development funds. In 1996, he was hired as the executive vice president at the Media Research Center, a nonprofit media watchdog organization just outside of Washington, D.C. After twelve years there, he found this opening at ISI to be a sterling opportunity to get back into the battle for the minds of the rising generation.

Not only is Doug an exceptionally talented and experienced administrator and strategic planner, he has lived a life dedicated to the ISI mission, to its principles, and he has a keen knowledge of the conservative movement and a close familiarity with higher education. For these reasons, I am very pleased to welcome Doug to the ISI family.

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