

THE CANON

SPRING 2009

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE'S
MEMBER AND ALUMNI MAGAZINE

CONSERVATISM
AND THE CULTURE

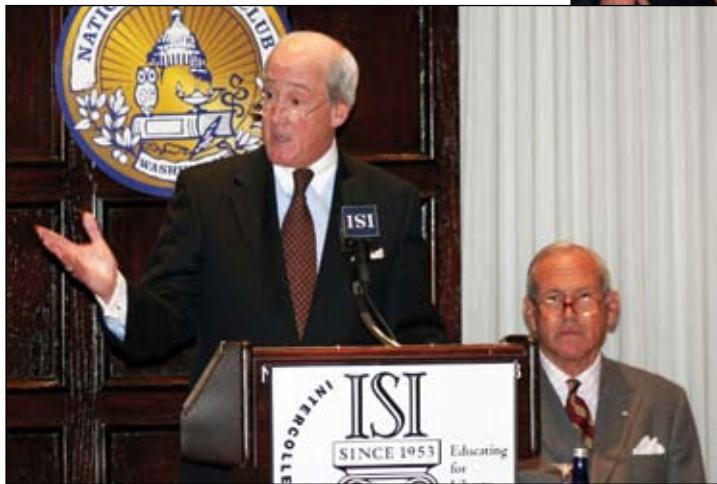
Robert H. Bork

MAKE LOVE, NOT WAR: HOW
THE ACADEMY BATTLED AGAINST
MILITARY HISTORY... AND WON

John J. Miller

ISI AT A GLANCE

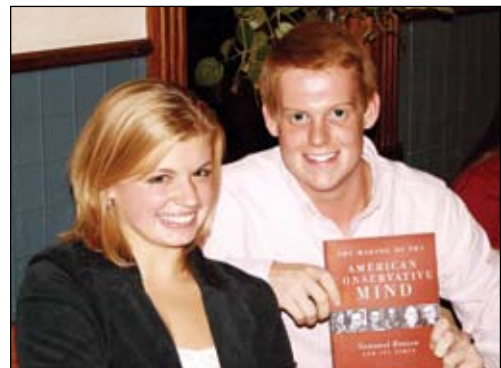
Right: In October, New York Times bestselling author Dinesh D'Souza spoke on "Technology, the Market, and the Virtue of Prosperity" at the University of the Pacific as part of an ongoing lecture series funded by the Cortopassi Family Foundation. Earlier in the month, he also debated with political activist Ward Churchill at Stanford University (see page seven). Below: Former U.S. deputy secretary of education Eugene Hickok spoke at the press conference for ISI's third annual study on American civic literacy, Our Fading Heritage: Americans Fail a Basic Test on Their History and Institutions (see page thirty-eight).



Right: Larry Kudlow, the host of CNBC's Kudlow & Company, spoke on economic liberty at ISI's 2008 Templeton Enterprise Awards Dinner at the University Club of New York City in November (see page six). On the cover: McMahan Hall at the Catholic University of America.



Above: ISI supporters, alumni, and student and faculty members gathered at the Drake Hotel in Chicago in September for an evening reception and lecture by Lt. General Josiah Bunting III.



Above: ISI student members at Grove City College receive free ISI publications during a mentoring visit from an ISI program officer.





THE CANON · SPRING 2009

THE INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE

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PUBLISHER
T. KENNETH CRIBB JR.

SENIOR EDITOR
JEFFREY CAIN

EDITOR, DESIGNER
KELLY COLE

COPY EDITORS
ABIGAIL CLEVENGER
SCOTT RUBUSH
DOUG SCHNEIDER

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On January 31, 2006, Justice Alito was sworn in as the 119th member of the United States Supreme Court. A graduate of Princeton University and Yale Law School, Alito was nominated by President George H. W. Bush to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit in 1990, where he was unanimously confirmed by the U.S. Senate and served for over fifteen years until his nomination to the Supreme Court by President George W. Bush.

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A TIME FOR LEADERSHIP: ADVANCING THE IDEALS THAT UNITE US AS A NATION

As our country faces unprecedented political and economic challenges, there is a real need to renew a broad popular understanding of the ideals that not only unite Americans as a people, but which are so vital to our survival as a free society: principles such as limited government, individual liberty, personal responsibility, the rule of law, free enterprise, and traditional values. Because our colleges are failing our young people right at the moment when they are making up their minds about ultimate questions, we face a real danger that the next generation of American leadership will take the reins without a proper understanding of our nation's identity and core ideals. Indeed, opinion leaders from Washington to Sacramento are seeing the results in poorly educated applicants for key entry-level positions in the world of affairs.

At their fall board meeting, ISI's trustees concluded that ISI must respond vigorously to this threat and address this "teachable moment" by redoubling ISI's efforts to transmit the principles of freedom to young people around the country. Thus, ISI is deploying a powerful new American Ideals and Institutions Resource Center which offers four interrelated websites to provide comprehensive, online answers to the most critical needs of students learning about our heritage:

- CollegeGuide.org to help students select the right college and navigate the undergraduate experience to get the very best that each school has to offer.
- FirstPrinciplesJournal.com, a new web journal which also features six online courses to help our college youth (and anyone else that is interested) study the core concepts of Western civilization. These include "Western Civilization: Our Tradition," "The American Experience," "Free Markets and Civil Society," "America's Security," "Higher Education and the Liberal Arts," and "Conservative Thought."
- AmericanCivicLiteracy.org, which is generating *demand* for improved college courses by transmitting ISI's scientific research results on the civic value-added by a college education. Hundreds of thousands are already visiting this site to learn the details of ISI's explosive findings about higher education's failure to teach America's history and institutions and to participate in a growing movement



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to ensure our young people are prepared for lives as active and engaged citizens (read more on page thirty-eight).

- Lehrman.isi.org, which is generating a *supply* of improved college courses through an online faculty workshop about course design and implementation. This site deepens the impact of a faculty development program deployed by ISI's Lehrman American Studies Center, which to date has yielded sixty-two new college courses on America's heritage and free institutions at schools ranging from the University of Virginia to Williams College. An additional eighty-eight courses are in various stages of implementation, with more to come (read more on page forty).



Over the longterm, ISI's American Ideals and Institutions Resource Center will become a "go-to" destination for hundreds of thousands and even millions of people seeking a deeper understanding of the ideals that unite America as a nation. This effort will complement ISI's time-tested on-campus programming. While our countrymen watch the real-world consequences of failed civic teaching unfold before their eyes as the cable news networks and Internet transmit the latest headlines from Washington and Wall Street, ISI is taking action and building upon our firm foundation of over fifty-five years of "Educating for Liberty" on college campuses.

As we undertake these exciting new initiatives, your support is more important than ever before. ISI is working to make sure that America has the leadership it needs to build a stronger and more prosperous tomorrow. I remain ever grateful for all that you have done and will do to assist us in this endeavor, especially in these difficult economic times.

Sincerely,

T. Kenneth Cribb Jr.
ISI President

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ISI IN ACTION

TIMOTHY CARNEY WINS \$50,000 TEMPLETON ENTERPRISE AWARD

In November, ISI awarded its \$50,000 Templeton Enterprise Book Award to Timothy P. Carney, editor of the *Evans-Novak Political Report* and a columnist for the *Washington Examiner*. Carney was recognized at a dinner at the University Club of New York for his title



ISI President T. Kenneth Cribb Jr., left, and Dr. John M. Templeton Jr., right, presented Carney, center, with the \$50,000 award.

The Big Ripoff: How Big Business and Big Government Steal Your Money. ISI's Culture of Enterprise Initiative annually recognizes scholars under forty who have produced the best books and articles in the field of humane economics and culture.

The first place article award went to Matthew Crawford, a post-doctoral fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture at the University of Virginia. His winning article, "Shopclass as Soulcraft," was published in the *New Atlantis* in the summer of 2006.

For more information about the Templeton Enterprise Awards, please contact Richard Brake at (302) 524-6123 or rbrake@isi.org.

ISI BOOKS NAMES NEW EDITOR IN CHIEF

ISI welcomed Jed Donahue as vice president of publications and editor in chief of ISI Books in

November. Prior to joining ISI, Donahue served as senior editor of Crown Forum Publishing in New York, Random House's conservative publishing imprint. During his time at Crown, he published seventeen *New York Times* bestsellers and worked with such notable conservative authors as M. Stanton Evans, Edwin J. Feulner, and Robert Novak. Before moving to New York, he spent six years as an editor with Regnery Publishing, where he worked with William F. Buckley Jr., among many other authors, and he also served as a research assistant for George F. Will while attending Georgetown University. "I'm delighted to be joining ISI Books," Donahue says, "having always admired its publishing list. I'm equally pleased to have the opportunity to work on the *Intercollegiate Review*, *Modern Age*, and ISI's other prestigious publications."

CANADIAN PHILOSOPHER AWARDED HENRY PAOLUCCI/WALTER BAGEHOT BOOK AWARD

Canadian author and philosopher Charles Taylor was awarded the 2008 Henry Paolucci/Walter Bagehot Book Award in October for his most recent title, *A Secular Age*. Taylor gave a lecture at the Greenville Country Club in Delaware, where he was awarded \$5,000 in prize money. Taylor is a professor emeritus



Charles Taylor, right, was awarded ISI's 2008 Henry Paolucci/Walter Bagehot Book Award by Dr. Anne Paolucci, center, and ISI Vice President for Academic Affairs Mark Henrie, left.

of philosophy at McGill University and the author of numerous essays and more than a dozen other books.

The Paolucci/Bagehot Book Award recognizes and advances the scholarly and journalistic achievements of these two men of letters by annually honoring a book that embodies their humane and scholarly spirit. For more information about the award, please visit www.isi.org.

ISI REGIONAL AMBASSADORS PROGRAM INTRODUCED AT KIRK CENTER

The weekend of October 3 marked the beginning of ISI's Regional Ambassadors Program, which is developing a pipeline of educational programming and student recruitment within eight strategically selected regions of the country. The inaugural summit—held at the Russell Kirk Center for Cultural Renewal in Mecosta, Michigan—brought together nine committed ISI student members for field training, intellectual stimulation, and fellowship.

ISI Faculty Associates Gary Gregg and Richard Gamble introduced the students to ISI's animating ethos, impressing upon them the enduring importance



The inaugural conference for ISI's Regional Ambassadors Program was held at the home of Russell Kirk in Mecosta, Michigan. Nine of ISI's most active students attended lectures by ISI Faculty Associates as well as several staff members.

of the effort to educate for liberty. ISI staff imparted to each student a comprehensive understanding of the institutional history of ISI as well as the “nuts and bolts” of its work, programs, and publications. Perhaps most importantly, students explored how to communicate that mission effectively and make ISI's dynamic resources available to peers and educators across the nation. Through a variety of techniques—including e-campaigns, literature drops and information tables, get-to-know ISI functions, membership recruitment drives, group-building activities, phone banks, and more—ISI expects to see at least 1,000 new members recruited per ambassador. For more information, please contact Kenneth Cribb at kennethcribb@isi.org.

ISI HOSTS DEBATE BETWEEN CONSERVATIVE AUTHOR DINESH D'SOUZA AND FORMER UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO PROFESSOR WARD CHURCHILL

Over 120 students, faculty, and community members attended an October debate at Stanford University between author Dinesh D'Souza and political activist Ward Churchill. “Western Civilization: Oppression or Emancipation?” was the topic discussed as part of ISI's Cicero's Podium Debate Series. Cosponsored by the *Stanford Review*, a Collegiate Network newspaper, it was one of two debates and eleven lectures that ISI hosted in Northern California last fall through the generous support of the San Francisco-based Koret Foundation. For more information about the Cicero's Podium Debate Series, visit www.isi.org.



The debate between Dinesh D'Souza, left, and Ward Churchill, right, focused on Western civilization and was moderated by ISI's Executive Director of Academic Affairs Douglas Minson, center.

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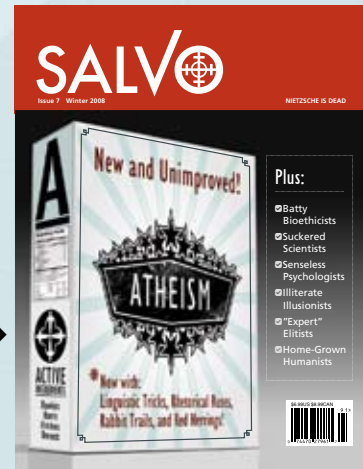
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Members of The President's Club play a vital role in the battle of ideas taking place on college campuses today. As the Institute's most devoted and generous benefactors, members not only fund many of our core programs, but they encourage others, by example, to establish a pattern of strong annual giving.

In recognition of the essential role that The President's Club members play in ISI's mission of "Educating for Liberty," the Institute offers special acknowledgment and member-only benefits, including: invitations to private VIP dinners and regional events where members personally meet with ISI's leadership, top students, faculty associates, leading philanthropists, and some of today's foremost scholars and authors; special publications and discounts on titles published by ISI Books that articulate the principles of the free society; and annual national recognition through ISI's premier member and alumni publication, *The Canon*.

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ing benefits begin with a \$10,000 pledge over ten years and culminate with a lifetime membership that includes total giving of \$250,000 or greater.

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Total giving of \$250,000 or greater

For further details about The President's Club membership levels and benefits, please call executive secretary Abigail Clevenger at (302) 524-6146 or e-mail presidentsclub@isi.org.

INTERCOLLEGIATE STUDIES INSTITUTE
2009 NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

FREEDOM
AND VIRTUE:
Prospects in a
Time of Economic
Crisis

Saturday, April 18, 2009

The Columbia Club ♦ Indianapolis, IN

The global financial crisis has prompted Americans to question the very foundations of our nation's economic system. Politicians, academics, and voters who had previously stood as stalwart defenders of the free market and limited government are now lobbying for massive economic solutions which place the federal government at the center of the nation's recovery.

Join ISI in Indianapolis on April 18 to discuss conservative reaction to the crisis and the viable solutions available. How do free markets fit into a broader conservative understanding of man and society? How does the present situation compare with past recessions? Can short-term government intervention be followed by a return to market freedom, or has an increasing reliance on federal intervention been at the core of the problem? What is the role of citizens in the recovery, and what adjustments must be made for free markets to flourish again?

The 2009 ISI National Leadership Conference is made possible by the generous support of Lilly Endowment, Inc.

Attendance is free and open to the public.
To RSVP, please visit <http://indy.isi.org>,
e-mail indy@isi.org, or call (302) 524-6122.



FROM COAST TO COAST

ISI STUDENTS AND FACULTY EXPLORE
CENTRAL ISSUES OF OUR TIME

★ AMERICA IN THE CLASH
OF CIVILIZATIONS
Stanford University

THE NEXT AMERICAN
CONSERVATISM? ★
Yale University

“As a newcomer to ISI, I cannot help but feel compelled to go back. Few other organizations could provide such a spirited and thought-provoking debate on one of the most critical topics of our time: who are we as a civilization, and what must we do to save ourselves from collapse?”

—Brian Runion, U.S. Coast Guard,
after attending ISI’s Stanford University conference

For over fifty years, ISI has been articulating and defending the ideas of a free society on the American college campus. One of the key components of this educational programming is the daylong conference. For many students and faculty, participation in an ISI conference is a major highlight of their intellectual and professional growth. Not only do these conferences provide them with access to leading scholars who discuss and debate a variety of ideas often not addressed in academia today, but they also

offer a unique opportunity for students and faculty from around the country to meet one another and engage in a critical assessment of perennial concerns.

On November 8, over 100 students, faculty, and community members gathered on the Stanford



John Joseph Shanley, left, ISI’s Honors Program and conference director, discusses the many facets of ISI’s educational programming with a student.



At Yale, Anthony Esolen of Providence College examined the question “Is Culture a Thing of the Past?”—considering the extent to which conservatives require extra-political methods to renew culture. Audience members flooded him with questions after the lecture.

University campus for an ISI regional conference on “America in the Clash of Civilizations.” At the same time, over 200 friends of ISI assembled roughly 3,000 miles away at Yale University for another regional conference discussing “The Next American Conservatism?” Dozens of colleges and universities were represented at each event, and audience members were treated to thought-provoking lectures by some of ISI’s most talented speakers.

At Yale, the day’s focus was on the state of conservatism in America. ISI author Allan Carlson of the Howard Center for Family, Religion, and Society opened the conference with a lecture titled “Learning from Conservative History: Main Trails... and Less-Travelled Paths,” which provided an overview of conservative history since 1945 and offered an explanation of how the various strands of conservatism have historically related to each other.

ISI author Anthony Esolen of Providence College then examined the question “Is Culture a Thing of the Past?”—discussing the extent to which conservatives require extra-political methods to renew culture. This conversation was complemented by Richard Gamble of Hillsdale College, whose lecture “Should Conservatism Actually Be a ‘Movement?’” set out his ideas about the true nature of conservatism and the manner in which it should interact with the outside world. Each lecture was followed by a question-and-

answer session, which continued robustly during the refreshment breaks.

The event concluded with a panel on the future of conservatism in the United States comprised of Patrick Deneen (Georgetown University), James Kalb (author, *The Tyranny of Liberalism*), Daniel Larison (University of Chicago), and Ross Douthat (the *Atlantic*). Each panelist offered a fifteen minute presentation outlining his vision for conservatism in the post-Bush administration era. The panel then entertained questions from attendees. During and after the event, ISI staff were on hand to discuss ISI programs and membership opportunities.

Annette Kirk, widow of conservative author Russell Kirk, said of the conference: “It was one of the best conferences I have ever attended because of the audience participation, the content of the speakers’ talks, and ISI’s excellent organization.”

In Stanford, the audience ranged from homeschooling parents and high school students to professionals and undergraduate and graduate students. The conference examined the role of the U.S. in the world and the challenges and opportunities confronting America and a new presidential administration.



ISI author Bruce Thornton, a classicist from Fresno State University, discussed “The Roots of American Exceptionalism” at the Stanford conference.

ISI author Bradley C. S. Watson of St. Vincent College started off the conversation with his lecture “The American Founding Vision and the Trajectory of Western Civilization.” Watson explored differing and competing understandings of the founding principles of the American experiment and how they shape the interpretation of the Constitution. ISI author Daniel J. Mahoney of Assumption College then lectured on “America and Her Western Neighbors,” followed by Bruce Thornton from Fresno State University who discussed “The Roots of American Exceptionalism.”

Bart Jan Spruyt, founder of the Edmund Burke Foundation (Netherlands), then spoke on “Religion and Cultural Conflict in Europe.” Citing his own personal experiences and the challenges confronting his country in particular, Spruyt cautioned Americans to take note of what has happened in Europe, especially in matters of social and cultural identity, in order to avoid similar pitfalls and perils.

Spruyt was followed by Ted McAllister of Pepperdine University, whose presentation, “The Acids of Modernity: Can the West Defend Itself?” examined the thought of the eminent twentieth-century journalist and social critic Walter Lippmann. The day concluded with a panel of all of the speakers, which also provided additional time for a question-and-answer period.

Both these events highlight ISI’s unique role in American higher education—and, indeed, American public discourse. By drawing on the perennial insights of the architects of Western civilization and applying them to our contemporary circumstances, ISI remains true to its mission of “Educating for Liberty.”

JOIN THE DISCUSSION
 Read and comment on the
 lectures from Yale at
<http://yale08.isi.org>

“THANKS SO MUCH FOR EVERY-
 THING, ISI—I HAD A REALLY
 TREMENDOUS TIME AND
 BENEFITTED A GREAT DEAL BOTH
 INTELLECTUALLY AND SOCIALLY.”

–ISI Honors Fellow, Providence College,
 after attending the Yale University conference



Sarah Perkins, left, a sophomore at Smith College and ISI’s New England Regional Ambassador, pauses for a photo with Annette Kirk, center, and ISI Program Officer Michelle Huntley, right.



Over 200 ISI students, faculty, and supporters participated in the Yale conference while over 100 guests attended the daylong seminar in Stanford.



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 provides firsthand accounts of some of the events that CN journalists have been covering on their campuses.

Trying to Clamp Down on Conservatism at Cornell

By Eddie Herron

Earlier this year a group of activists at Cornell University tried to silence the voice of the *Cornell Review*, a publication that has been a banner of conservative thought on a notoriously left-wing campus for the past twenty-five years.

The *Review* published an article questioning the usefulness of the university's racially motivated "program houses," dedicated to serving the African-American and Hispanic communities on campus. We



nell" from its title because we "do not represent the university's values and beliefs." Ignoring the principle of non-contradiction, one supporter of the resolution wrote a letter to the *Cornell Daily Sun* asking, "How can Cornell be an open and accepting place if we allow the *Cornell Review* to exist?"

Other detractors held an unsanctioned protest at one of our recruiting events, yelling on loudspeakers that we were "racist bigots" and handing out libelous fliers with quotes that took our words out of context.

In the end, the *Cornell Review* did not have to change its name, but that does not mean we are safe from our enemies. At the student assembly meeting one of the members stated, "If we cannot succeed in changing their name, then maybe we should look into taking away their funding." Luckily, the *Cornell Review* receives no money from Cornell University, something that would definitely not be the case if we did not have the support of the Collegiate Network and the Intercollegiate Studies Institute.

Thus, I would like to thank the donors to these two fabulous organizations for their generosity. Without this support, we would be subject to unfair funding policies that would prevent one of the few moderate, reasonable voices on Cornell's campus from being heard.

LUCKILY, THE CORNELL REVIEW RECEIVES NO MONEY FROM CORNELL UNIVERSITY, SOMETHING THAT WOULD DEFINITELY NOT BE THE CASE IF WE DID NOT HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE CN AND ISI.

took the stance that these houses are segregationist and against the university's policy of fostering diversity.

A miniscule but vocal group of students responded to this article by proposing a resolution to Cornell's student assembly that the *Review* drop the word "Cor-

EDDIE HERRON, originally from Syracuse, New York, is a senior at Cornell University majoring in industrial and labor relations. Eddie is editor in chief of the CN publication the *Cornell Review*.



Setting the Record Straight at Vanderbilt

By Kate Snowden

The *Torch*, Vanderbilt's conservative and libertarian magazine, affirms that journalistic integrity should be expected at any level of publication, including partisan college newspapers.

In the fall of 2007, Vanderbilt's "progress voice," the *Orbis*, published an article entitled "Behind Closed Doors: Animal ethicists cite Wilson Hall's research lab." *Orbis*, which has close ties with PETA, essentially resurfaced a 2006 controversy surrounding the primate-testing laboratories of Dr. Jeffrey Schall, who uses monkeys for behavioral research on the decision-making process. The *Orbis* article discussed in detail PETA's allegations that the lab was carrying out craniotomies on awake, unanesthetized animals, but gave absolutely no mention of the conclusion of the massive investigation that followed: Dr. Schall was cleared of all charges. As it turns out, the accusation was false and was based on a misrepresentation of a series of e-mails reminding the labs of animal protocols.

In fact, over a year before the *Orbis* article was written, Vanderbilt Dean Richard McCarty published a response to the charges stating: "A sub-committee of the Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee has completed an exhaustive investigation of these allegations. After conducting more than sixty interviews... the review committee found absolutely no evidence of wrongdoing by Professor Schall. This report has been sent to officials at the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the National Institutes of Health."

Thus, the *Torch* reported on *Orbis*'s poor journalism and rectified the controversy surrounding the indispensable faculty and noteworthy research being done at Vanderbilt.



KATE SNOWDEN, a staff writer for the *Vanderbilt Torch*, is a senior double majoring in French and medicine, health, and society, with a minor in acting.

CN HOSTS EASTERN AND WESTERN DIVISION EDITORS CONFERENCES FOR OVER 130 STUDENT JOURNALISTS



In November, the Collegiate Network held two editors conferences for over 130 student journalists representing more than sixty colleges and universities nationwide. Students attended sessions aimed at improving their reporting, production, design, and management skills. The conferences also featured

a variety of speakers of national prominence, including John J. Miller, national political reporter for *National Review*; author M. Stanton Evans, a contributing editor at *Human Events*; and David Rhodes, then-vice president of FOX News (and currently vice president of Bloomberg).



Amanda Yasenchak, director of the Collegiate Network, presented staff members of the *Virginia Informer*, a *CN* publication at the College of William and Mary, with the *CN*'s paper of the year award.

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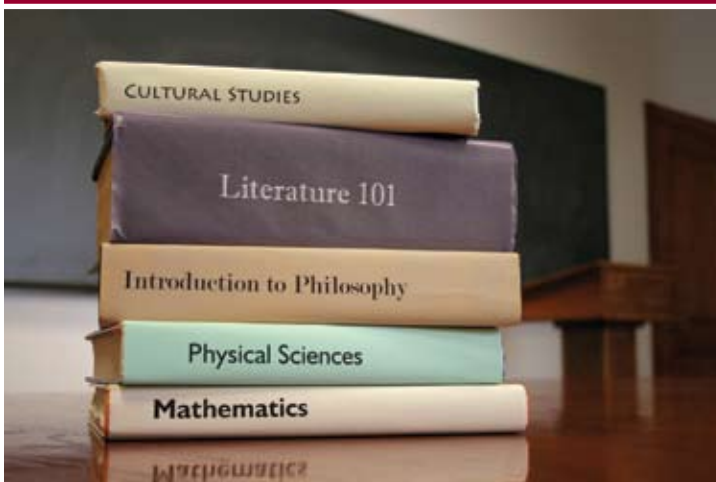
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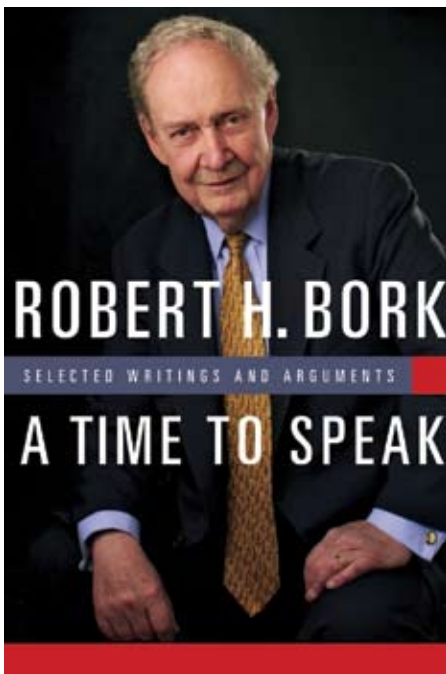
CONSERVATISM

AND THE CULTURE

by **ROBERT H. BORK**

Published in *A Time to Speak* (ISI Books, 2008)

Since at least 1971, when he published a seminal article on constitutional interpretation in the Indiana Law Journal, Robert Bork has been the legal and moral conscience of America, reminding us of our founding principles and their cultural foundation. The scourge of liberal ideologues both before and after Ronald Reagan nominated him for the Supreme Court in 1987, Bork has for fifty years unwaveringly exposed—and explained—the hypocrisy and dereliction of duty endemic among our nation’s elites, the politicization and adversary activism of our courts, and the consequent degradation of American society. The following essay is excerpted from A Time to Speak, which ISI Books had the honor of publishing in late 2008.



This address, published in A Time to Speak (ISI Books, 2008), was delivered upon acceptance of the Henry Salvatori Prize during the Intercollegiate Studies Institute’s 45th anniversary celebration on November 5, 1998.

IN MOMENTS OF DESPAIR, when I think America is indeed slouching towards an unfashionable address, when I contemplate the apparent indifference of the public to corruption and perjury in high places, I am consoled by one thing. Conservative thought and conservative intellectuals must be gaining ground or the liberals would not be constantly lecturing us on the meaning of “true conservatism.” They would admire us, they claim, if we would return to that philosophy. But there is, as one might suspect, a catch. “True conservatism,” it turns out, is that form of conservatism that liberals find congenial. Today’s conservatives simply fail to measure up. That is the measure of our success. We know we have arrived when liberal lecturing moves from the pages of liberal opinion magazines of small circulation to the pages of the *Sunday New York Times Magazine*.

It turns out that conservatives should emulate the optimism and good cheer of Ronald Reagan. You may have some difficulty recalling that the liberals admired Reagan all that much when he was in office. Now, however, a heavily revised version of the man is the standard by which liberals judge conservatives, and, not surprisingly, find us wanting. “Reagan’s view of America,” we are informed by Andrew Sullivan, “was never bleak, and he was careful to stay away from the front lines of the cultural wars.... Moralism, for him, was always a vague but essentially positive construct.... And it was far more in touch with the center of American culture.”

“True conservatism,” we are informed, requires that we be at the center of American culture. That would be a liberal panacea. If their opponents are careful to stay in the center while liberals pull from the left, the center will continually move left and “true conservatives” will, by definition, be bound to move with it. This is a liberal ratchet and a recipe for the destruction of any effective conservatism. I wonder how Mr. Sullivan, formerly editor

of the *New Republic*, would react to the suggestion that “true liberalism” means staying at the center of American culture while conservatives are free to tug the center to the right.

The major themes of 1980s conservatism are said to be economic freedom, smaller government, and personal choice. Opposed to this sunny outlook, today’s conservatism is accused of being “inherently pessimistic,” returning to older themes of cultural decline, moralism, and the need for greater social control.

But this is not a true opposition. The conservatism of the 1990s is not opposed to the conservative themes of the 1980s. Rather, the new stress on morality complements the stress on freedom to make one whole and complete conservative philosophy. Thus, conservatives favor free markets as by far the best way to create wealth for all Americans. But we also recognize that wealth and individual pleasure are not everything, that society requires moral standards, and that it is not moral to allow everything on the market.

Liberals and libertarians tend to shy away from the subject of traditional morality, but it is obvious that neither the free market nor limited government can perform well without a strong moral base. The free market requires men and women whose word can be trusted and who have formed personal traits of self-discipline, prudence, and self-denial or the deferment of gratifications. Smaller government requires many of the same qualities so that individuals will not constantly turn to a powerful state to offer them complete security and a cornucopia of favors bought with other people’s money.

The need for smaller government is obvious and urgent. “It is a commonplace,” Pierre Manent writes, “that totalitarianism is defined as the absorption of civil society by the state.... One of the sources of the totalitarian project is found in the idea that it is possible for man to model society in accordance with his wishes, once he occupies the seat of power and possesses an exact social science and employs adequate means for this task.” Nazism and communism are the obvious examples.

There are, however, slower, less well-marked roads to totalitarianism that are more acceptable to a demo-



cratic people. Rather than being actuated by an exact social science or an explicit desire to remake society, the impelling force is a set of quite amorphous, but urgent, ideas about social justice coupled with a sense of moral superiority.

Tocqueville sounded the warning about government that “covers the surface of society with a network of small complicated rules, minute and uniform, through which the most original minds and the most energetic characters cannot penetrate to rise above

THE FREE MARKET requires men and women whose word can be trusted and who have formed personal traits of self-discipline, prudence, and self-denial or the deferment of gratifications. Smaller government requires many of the same qualities so that individuals will not constantly turn to a powerful state to offer them complete security and a cornucopia of favors bought with other people’s money.

the crowd. The will of man is not shattered, but softened, bent, and guided.... Such a power... stupefies a people, till each nation is reduced to nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd.”

As government regulations grow slowly, we become used to the harness. Habit is a powerful force, and we no longer feel as intensely as we once would have constrictions of our liberties that would have been utterly intolerable a mere half century ago.

We are all too familiar with heavy governmental regulation of private property and economic activity, as well as federal, state, and local taxation that takes well over half the earnings of many people. Statutes

AS GOVERNMENT regulations grow slowly, we become used to the harness. Habit is a powerful force, and we no longer feel as intensely as we once would have constrictions of our liberties that would have been utterly intolerable a mere half century ago.

pour out like the Americans with Disabilities Act, the Occupational Safety and Health Act, and the Endangered Species Act. Agencies with the zealotry of the EPA turn environmentalism into a pantheistic religion, while medical care is made less effective by a web of bureaucratic controls. Our bureaucracies grind out 70,000 pages of new regulations a year. Common law tort actions increasingly control product designs and the delivery of services. Useful and harmless products have been driven from the market altogether by the costs of litigation.

Economic freedoms are not all that is under assault, however. In other areas, the force of government is augmented, and in many ways surpassed, by that of private institutions and communities enforcing new and destructive moralisms. Government, businesses, and universities practice affirmative action or quotas for ethnic groups and for women. Corporations, universities, and even primary and secondary schools police speech and attitudes to prevent expressions that might offend various newly sensitized and favored groups. Multiculturalism, which attacks America's

traditions as well as its European heritage, insists that all cultures are equal. A person who offends this new morality, even inadvertently and tangentially, may be sentenced to sensitivity training—America's version of Maoist reeducation camps.

Radical feminism both exercises a virulent form of censorship and thought control and damages indispensable institutions. Organizational discipline may be applied for even referring to a woman's dress or attractiveness.

A major corporation for which I have done legal consulting requires all employees to attend training sessions designed to root out sexist attitudes. One of the topics is the vexed question of whether it is insulting for a man to remove his hat when a woman gets on an elevator. A man approaching an office building heard the sounds of high heels behind him. He opened the door and held it to let the woman go first. She kicked him in the kneecap. These are the more amusing manifestations of feminism's power. There are less amusing aspects. Feminism is rife in education where it teaches antagonism toward men and provides debased education by distorting such subjects as literature, history, and law. In the armed forces standards of performance are lowered to allow a pretense of physical equality.

The new liberal morality demands freedom from restraints in ways that produce moral anarchy. The facts are familiar: the sexual revolution, births out of wedlock, drug use, crime, popular entertainment reliant on sex and violence. Softcore pornography is everywhere and the hardcore variety is not far behind. More ominously, what John Paul II calls the "culture of death," the practice of killing for convenience through abortion and now assisted suicide, which rapidly becomes euthanasia, is gaining ground. Quite recently some of these social pathologies, which have had a spectacular rise since the 1960s, have declined, albeit rather modestly. This has led to claims that America has turned a corner. Those claims, to say the least, are premature.

The pathologies are still far more common than they were just a few decades ago. There may be a pendulum effect in such matters, but that does not mean the pendulum arm will swing all the way back.

It seems more likely that the nadir of the swing will move steadily in the direction of social disorder.

We will be faced shortly with the ability to clone human beings, to design individuals through genetic manipulation, and to grow human bodies for the harvesting of organs. It is at best an open question whether the superficial utility of such actions will not overbear any moral qualms. Science, heretofore regarded as benign, may pose the most serious moral crises of the twenty-first century.

In the meantime, we already have more than enough to worry about in our culture. Roger Kimball wrote of the depth and power and devastation wrought by the cultural revolution that has swept America:

[T]he radical emancipationist demands of the 1960s [have] triumphed throughout society. They have insinuated themselves, disastrously, into the curricula of our schools and colleges; they have dramatically altered the texture of sexual relations and family life; they have played havoc with the authority of churches and other repositories of moral wisdom; they have undermined the claims of civic virtue and our national self-understanding; they have degraded the media and the entertainment industry, and subverted museums and other institutions entrusted with preserving and transmitting high culture. They have even, most poignantly, addled our hearts and innermost assumptions about what counts as the good life.

We are now two nations. These are not, as Disraeli had it, the rich and the poor, or, as presidential commissions regularly proclaim, whites and blacks. Instead, we are two cultural nations. One embodies the counterculture of the 1960s, which is today the dominant culture. Their values are propagated from the commanding heights of the culture: university faculties, journalists, television and movie producers, the ACLU, and major segments of the Democratic Party. The other nation, of those who adhere to traditional norms and morality, is now a dissident culture. Its

spokesmen cannot hope to match the influence of the dominant nation. The dissident culture may survive by withdrawing, so far as possible, into enclaves of its own. The home-schooling movement is an example of that, an attempt to keep children out of a public educational system that, in the name of freedom, all too often teaches moral relativism and depravity.

Are there any solutions? For the problem of increasing economic regulation, we can recover the classical liberal philosophy, which is the conservatives' birthright: any proposal for government regulation is to be examined under a presumption of error. That is not an absolutist or extreme libertarian position. It merely holds that those who would decrease our freedoms in any area should bear the burden of proof.

The reformation of our culture, or more precisely, the recapture of what has been best in our cultural history, requires a different approach, for here the problem is not too little individual freedom but too



MULTICULTURALISM, which attacks America's traditions as well as its European heritage, insists that all cultures are equal. A person who offends this new morality, even inadvertently and tangentially, may be sentenced to sensitivity training—America's version of Maoist reeducation camps.

much. Law may have a role to play here but it is strictly a secondary role, because without a fairly widespread public consensus laws will not be enacted or enforced. How is such a public consensus to be formed and maintained?

In an era of moral decline, a reversal probably depends on a revival of biblical religion. I have not been religious for most of my life, and I come to this conclusion not out of piety but through observation.

The role of religion—traditional, biblical religion—is crucial to cultural health. I commend to you Gertrude Himmelfarb’s article “From Clapham to Bloomsbury.” Clapham was a district in London inhabited by intensely religious and moral people. Bloomsbury you know about. When religion faded in England, the next generation insisted upon the strict demands of morality, not realizing that they were living on, and using up, the moral capital left behind by prior religious generations. Gradually, the imperatives of morality faded. We have entered a period in which morality is privatized. We are entering Bloomsbury.

A journalist I know has travelled our country inquiring about public attitudes toward our president’s indiscretions. The usual response ran along the lines of “What he has done is wrong, but who am I to judge?” Religion, where it has not been subverted by

religion of secular humanism. Is that serious? There is reason to think so. The late Christopher Lasch, a man of the Left, asked, “What accounts for [our society’s] wholesale defection from the standards of personal conduct—civility, industry, self-restraint—that were once considered indispensable to democracy?” He answered that a major reason is the “gradual decay of religion.” Our liberal elites, whose “attitude to religion,” Lasch said, “ranges from indifference to active hostility,” have succeeded in removing religion from public recognition and debate.

According to James Q. Wilson: “In the mid-nineteenth century England and America reacted to the consequences of industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and affluence by asserting an ethos of self-control, whereas in the late twentieth century they reacted to many of the same forces by asserting an ethos of self-expression.”

The difference between the two centuries was the presence in the last century of religion and church-related institutions that taught morality. This suggests that a society deadened by a smothering network of laws while finding release in moral chaos is not likely to be either happy or stable.

This is not a counsel of despair. There is no iron law that bad trends must continue in a straight line forever. Perhaps we will stop the seemingly inexorable growth of government control of our lives. There are signs of a religious revival in the recent growth of the evangelical churches as well as in the apparent growth of orthodoxy in all our major religions—among Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and Mormons.

Taking back the culture will not be easy, but religion rejects despair. The four cardinal Christian virtues, paralleled in other religions, are, after all, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance. These are quite enough to take back the culture. In our current cultural wars, perhaps the most important of the virtues for conservatives is fortitude—the courage to take stands that are not immediately popular, the courage to ignore the opinion polls.

Otherwise, we will never change the polls. That is what true conservatism means, or it means nothing.

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the culture, is an antidote, perhaps the only antidote, to that variety of moral nihilism. Religion insists that there is right and wrong, and that the difference is knowable and comes with sanctions attached.

Yet the American public is now erroneously taught by the courts that religion is dangerous, that the First Amendment itself establishes a public religion—the



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Blind Spot: When Journalists Don't Get Religion
Paul Marshall, Center for Religious Freedom, Claremont Institute

March 4 • Stanford University • Palo Alto, CA
The Gathering Storm of the 21st Century
Hon. Rick Santorum, Ethics and Public Policy Center

March 19 • Concordia University • Montreal, Canada
Conservatism as Conservation
Patrick Deneen, Georgetown University

April 1 • Georgetown University • Washington, D.C.
Cicero's Podium Debate:
Economic Freedom and Moral Virtue: Does the Free Market Produce Captive Souls?
David Schindler, John Paul II Institute, vs. Doug Bandow, Competitive Enterprise Institute

April 1 • University of Colorado–Boulder • Boulder, CO
Cicero's Podium Debate: *The Federalism/Anti-Federalism Debate*
Bill Kauffman, author of *Forgotten Founder, Drunken Prophet: The Life of Luther Martin*,
vs. Jack Rakove, Stanford University

April 18 • Columbia Club • Indianapolis, IN
Freedom and Virtue: Prospects in a Time of Economic Crisis
ISI National Leadership Conference*

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SHELBY CULLOM DAVIS: FUELING THE FLAMES OF OUR FREE SOCIETY

When Shelby Cullom Davis's children asked their father for a swimming pool, he agreed—but only if they committed to the family project of digging it. “My father taught us the value of hard work. Nothing was a hand out,”



Shelby Cullom Davis



Kathryn Wasserman Davis

states his daughter, Diana Davis Spencer, noting that he gave her only \$500 for a six-week European spree after her graduation from college in 1960. “Fortunately, my friends and I were guided by the book *Europe on Five Dollars a Day*.” A self-made millionaire, Davis never gave up the motto that a penny saved is a penny earned.

But as much as he was frugal on the one hand, Davis was extremely generous on the other, establishing the Shelby Cullom Davis Foundation in 1961 and awarding millions of dollars in the years since to organizations and causes that promote free enterprise, traditional American values, and global understanding—including the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. “Through the foundation, he hoped to fuel the flames of our free society,” states Diana, president of the Kathryn W. Davis Foundation. “My father often argued that ‘democracy is something you don’t take for granted.’”

In 2008, the Shelby Cullom Davis Foundation split into two successor foundations, the Kathryn W.

Davis Foundation and the Shelby Cullom Davis Fund. “The name on the door has changed, but we remain a family foundation,” says Davis’s granddaughter, Abby Spencer Moffat, who is vice president and chief operating officer of the Kathryn W. Davis Foundation and a member of ISI’s board of trustees. “Our mission and guiding principles have not changed.”

Shelby Cullom Davis died in 1994, but his wife, Kathryn, who will turn 102 this year, continues to be a leader in global initiatives and philanthropy. They both embraced the principles that still guide the foundation: discipline, a strong work ethic, patriotism, and the importance of education.

Davis was born in 1909 in Peoria, Illinois. Proud of his heritage, he could trace his roots back to the Mayflower. His great uncle, Shelby Moore Cullom, was a Republican U.S. senator, representative, and governor of Illinois who oversaw the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and rode the train with President Lincoln’s remains back to Illinois in 1865.

In the early 1920s, Davis left the Midwest to attend Lawrenceville School and then Princeton University. In 1930, on a train headed for Geneva, Switzerland, he met Kathryn Wasserman, a Philadelphia native and Wellesley College graduate; they were both representatives of their colleges at the Zimmerin

BOTH EMBRACED THE PRINCIPLES THAT STILL GUIDE THE FOUNDATION: DISCIPLINE, A STRONG WORK ETHIC, PATRIOTISM, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION.

International Institute in Geneva. They married two years later after both earned a master's degree in international relations from Columbia University.

As the newlyweds traveled across the Atlantic to each pursue a doctorate degree in international relations at the University of Geneva, Davis met Frederick William Wile, a well-known CBS radio correspondent, and was soon employed as his assistant, covering the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva while also attending classes. Having completed their Ph.D.s, Shelby and Kathryn returned to New York in 1934, where both freelanced for magazines such as the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Reader's Digest*. Shelby also joined his brother-in-law's investment firm in Philadelphia and authored the book *America Faces the Forties* before joining Thomas E. Dewey's presidential campaign in 1937 as an economic adviser and speech writer. Meanwhile, the family grew to include son, Shelby, and daughter, Diana.

After Dewey's election loss, Davis authored two more books and purchased a seat on the New York Stock Exchange. During World War II, unable to serve because of poor eyesight, he joined the War Production Board. In 1944, Dewey, then-governor of New York, appointed Davis first deputy superintendent of insurance. In this post, Davis discovered a wealth of undervalued assets, and in 1947, he left the government and bought controlling interest in Frank Brokaw and Company, the oldest specialists in insurance stocks. He renamed the company Shelby Cullom Davis and Company, and with a disciplined investment strategy and a keen eye for analyzing insurance companies, he built a niche portfolio with \$50,000. Less than five years later, he was a millionaire.

Despite his financial success, Davis did not lose his sense of frugality. "Saving money was a game to him," recalls Abby. "He wore his thirty-year-old walking shoes repaired with tape and carried a battered briefcase. I can't imagine he would be thrilled by today's trillion-dollar bailouts, deficits, and stimuli."



Shelby and Kathryn Davis with former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher.

In the 1960s, Davis turned his attention to Japanese insurance companies, again with fantastic results. Having established his fortune, he accepted the position of United States Ambassador to Switzerland from 1969–75. "He met many high-profile and influential leaders and politicians during his years as ambassador,"

“DON'T SIMPLY LEAVE YOUR
ALMA MATER IN YOUR WILL AND
HOPE FOR THE BEST. MAKE SURE
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recalls Diana. "He felt very strongly about making friends and influencing people. The Swiss felt a real kinship for my parents."

Although his portfolio dropped by more than half during the bear market of this time, he returned to the U.S. and successfully refocused his efforts, earning himself a spot in the 1988 *Forbes 400* listing with a portfolio of \$427 million. When he died in 1994, Davis left almost \$900 million in trusts to further his well-established pattern of philanthropy.

"You could say that my grandfather was a value investor in philanthropy, too," says Abby. "He was an early supporter of the Heritage Foundation in the 1970s, long before there was anything remotely fashionable about conservatism." The foundation also gave its first gift to ISI in the late 1970s. "My father was very upset to see American higher education take



Abby Spencer Moffat, left, and her mother, Diana Davis Spencer, right, with FOX News's Sean Hannity.

a turn to the left and started the Concerned Alumni of Princeton, hoping to get alums to push the administration for a more balanced curriculum,” Diana recalls.

“Education is crucial,” says Abby. “It is rudimentary to have a solid education in Western civilization and to understand what it means to be an American, to have the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence. Most students do not understand this and that was of great concern to my grandfather.”

Today, Davis would have been most interested in ISI’s funding of independent student newspapers and the Institute’s collegiate debate series, which covers topics not typically addressed in academia. “Professors too often influence students politically, and the papers are a wonderful way for students to have a voice outside of the classroom,” says Abby.

Diana advises: “Don’t simply leave your alma mater in your will and hope for the best. Make sure your values are supported.” Abby adds, “My grandfather liked to quote Bishop Bayne of Washington, who said, “There is no such thing as moral neutrality. The person who does not stand firmly in behalf of that which is right, stands effectively in behalf of that which is wrong.”

The Kathryn W. Davis Foundation feels strongly that ISI has a great return on investment. As donors leading the foundation, Diana and Abby believe that ISI should be a longterm “core holding”—an investment fundamental to freedom.



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ISI: AN INTELLECTUAL HOME AWAY FROM HOME FOR WEAVER FELLOW DAVID J. BOBB

ISI's educational programs have been an intellectual home away from home for me for almost half of my life," explains David J. Bobb, an ISI student member turned ISI Weaver Fellow turned ISI faculty lecturer. Now the director of Hillsdale College's Allan P. Kirby, Jr., Center for Constitutional Studies and Citizenship, Bobb learned of ISI as a freshman at



Bobb has lectured at each of ISI's Lehrman American Studies Center Summer Institutes since the inaugural conference in 2005.

Hillsdale over fifteen years ago. "Since that very first introduction by professor of political science Dr. Robert Eden, I have been profoundly grateful for ISI," says Bobb. "Their excellent publications and programs have been an invaluable part of my undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate work and aspirations."

A native of Minnesota, Bobb went to a private K-12 school before deciding to attend Hillsdale College for his undergraduate studies. "That decision was motivated very much by my interest in the liberal

arts and a liberal arts framework for the study of politics," Bobb recalls. Although he knew at the time that he wanted to study politics, he says that he didn't know "that I would make it my vocation." However—after graduating third in his class with majors in political science and history and minors in philosophy and classical studies—Bobb continued his academic career at Boston College, where he earned a Ph.D. in political science with emphases in political theory and American politics.

Throughout his days as an undergraduate and graduate student, ISI was always close at hand. While

at Hillsdale, Bobb attended several ISI seminars; served as a writer (and for one year as editor in chief) of *CAMPUS*, ISI's national membership magazine; and read "with great interest" ISI books and journals. "ISI's outstanding array of books have informed my intellectual pursuits. From my appreciation of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (I taught a course on Solzhenitsyn a few years ago) to my interest in natural law, ISI books have

"ISI'S EXCELLENT PUBLICATIONS AND PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN AN INVALUABLE PART OF MY UNDERGRADUATE, GRADUATE, AND POSTGRADUATE WORK AND ASPIRATIONS."

provided a wealth of wisdom," says Bobb. Additionally, he credits ISI as a "forum for meeting not only new ideas, but new friends as well."

When Bobb decided to pursue a Ph.D., he applied for and was awarded one of ISI's Richard M. Weaver Fellowships, established in 1964 to support aspiring college professors committed to teaching in the tradition of the liberal arts. Somewhat ironically, on the first day of his first class at Boston College, the late theologian Fr. Ernest Fortin, who was teaching "Dante's Political Philosophy," handed out copies of an ISI publication. "It was a fitting start to my studies at Boston College," recalls Bobb.

In 2001, he accepted an invitation to return to Hillsdale as a lecturer in political science and as the founding director of the Charles R. and Kathleen K. Hoogland Center for Teacher Excellence, a national

civic education program for middle and high school teachers. Through intense academic seminars, the center seeks to reinvigorate the teaching of American history, government, and economics with the spirit of the American founding. Bobb has brought ISI to this work as well, passing out hundreds of copies of ISI's Guides to the Major Disciplines to public, private, and homeschool teachers throughout the country.

While still serving as director of the Hoogland Center, Bobb recently has been named the director of Hillsdale's new Allan P. Kirby, Jr., Center for Constitutional Studies and Citizenship in Washington, D.C. Through a variety of means—including producing materials aimed at increasing the understanding of the Constitution and holding seminars and other educational events—the Kirby Center works to enhance Hillsdale's educational efforts for its students who are interning in Washington, D.C., as well as to extend the college's outreach to those in leadership roles in government and the general public. Through teaching the principles and practices of American constitutionalism, the center seeks to inspire all Americans to act worthy of the blessings of liberty. "Hillsdale is in Washington not to lobby for particular policy positions or ask for handouts for higher education, but rather to teach all who are interested in learning about the enduring principles of our Constitution," explains Bobb.

With his work for Hillsdale aligning so closely with the ISI mission of "Educating for Liberty," Bobb has remained involved with ISI in a variety of capacities. He has been published in *Modern Age*, ISI's quarterly journal for conservatism's preeminent thinkers; lectured on public policy research at an ISI conference on the free society; and spoken on humility to ISI's Young Alumni Association in Washington, D.C.

Perhaps most importantly, Bobb has participated in each of ISI's Lehrman American Studies Center Summer Institutes, going back to the inaugural two-



Bobb, left, has attended scores of ISI events since he first learned about ISI as a freshman at Hillsdale College in 1993.

week conference in 2005. "Having attended scores of ISI events since 1993, it was my great pleasure to help with the launch of the Summer Institute in 2005," states Bobb, who led the group's discussion for five seminar sessions on the connection between civic education and liberal learning and teaching. "These themes—civic education and liberal learning and teaching—are among those in which ISI is a leading voice in America. ISI's outstanding alumni and faculty have taught me so much about the inextricable con-

"I LOOK FORWARD TO
WORKING WITH ISI TO
'EDUCATE FOR LIBERTY' FOR
A LONG TIME TO COME."

nection between liberal education and civic education," he continues. "I look forward to working with ISI to 'Educate for Liberty' for a long time to come, and I hope that all ISI alumni will find ways in which they can continue to be involved with carrying ISI's message to future generations of young citizens and scholars."

THE CANON HELPS LEAD ISI ALUMNUS TO ACTON SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

ISI alumnus Nathanael Yellis has had an entrepreneurial itch since he was twelve. Now, instead of selling books on eBay for his classmates, he's taking his entrepreneurial drive to the next level at the Acton School of Business, thanks, in part, to ISI.

"I was eating lunch with one of my professors at Patrick Henry College, and he had heard that I wanted



*Nathanael Yellis, a graduate of Patrick Henry College, enrolled in Acton's MBA program after a professor showed him an ad about it in *The Canon*.*

to go to business school," Yellis explains. "He was giving me a hard time—really denigrating the whole idea of getting an MBA—when he gave me a copy of Acton's ad in *The Canon*. 'This,' he said, 'this is the place to go if you don't want to lose your soul,'" Yellis remembers.

"Acton stood out at first because it was so different from traditional MBA programs," recalls Yellis. "Then, as I researched it more, I realized it met the criteria I wanted in a business school. Acton is a one-year program, instead of two, and is taught by successful entrepreneurs. It also has more of a holistic approach," he explains. "I like that they make three promises—that we will learn how to learn, learn how to make money, and learn how to live a life of meaning. They're not just training me to be a middle manager somewhere in corporate America."

Yellis was also drawn to Acton because of its free-market roots. "The fact that Jeff Sandefer, one of

Acton's cofounders, had been profiled in *The Canon* really gave the program more philosophical credibility," Yellis explains. "As an entrepreneur, I want to use the market, not only to make a profit, but also to help society. I don't want to just sit around and question the fundamentals of capitalism."

These days, Yellis spends 100 hours per week standing in the shoes of successful entrepreneurs as he analyzes hundreds of real-life business cases. These cases have connected Yellis' past business experiences to his future ambitions. "Before Acton, I worked in nonprofit management. Our most vexing challenge was getting the staff to execute our strategy. In every case in Acton's 'People' course, I get to tackle the same problem, learning the methods other successful businesspeople have used." He continues, "After I graduate in May, I look forward to using these lessons to bring value to a real company."

Immediately after Acton, Yellis plans to get a consulting job in the alternative energy industry. "I see that job as a chance to continue building the skills necessary to run my own business," he explains. "My dream is to build my own company and then use it as a platform for impacting my community through local politics."

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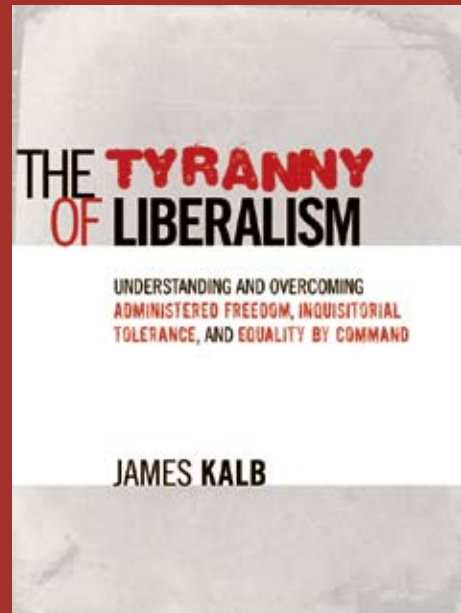
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Make Love, Not War

How the Academy Battled Against Military History... And Won

by John J. Miller

The first historians were military historians. Herodotus described the Greek wars with Persia and Thucydides chronicled the Peloponnesian War. “It will be enough for me,” wrote Thucydides nearly twenty-five centuries ago, “if these words of mine are judged useful by those who want to understand clearly the events which happened in the past and which (human nature being what it is) will, at some time or other and in much the same ways, be repeated in the future.” The Marine Corps certainly thinks Thucydides is useful: He appears on a recommended-reading list for officers. One of the most important lessons he teaches is that war is an aspect of human existence that can’t be wished away, no matter how hard the lotus-eaters try.

In the modern academy, however, military history is dying off. Where it isn’t dead and buried, it’s under siege. Although the field remains incredibly popular among students who fill lecture halls to learn about Saratoga and Iwo Jima and among readers who buy piles of books on Gettysburg and D-Day, on campus it’s making a last stand against the shock troops of political correctness. “Pretty soon, it may become virtually impossible to find military-history professors

“I don’t believe it is possible to treat military history as something entirely apart from the general national history,” said Theodore Roosevelt to the American Historical Association in 1912.

who study war with the aim of understanding why one side won and the other side lost,” says Frederick Kagan, a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute who taught at West Point for ten years. That’s bad news not only for those with direct ties to this academic sub-discipline, but also for Americans generally, who may find that their collective under-

standing of past military operations falls short of what the war-torn present demands.

Although the keenest students of military history have often been soldiers, the subject isn’t only for them. “I don’t believe it is possible to treat military history as something entirely apart from the general national history,” said Theodore Roosevelt to the American Historical Association in 1912. For most students, that’s how military history was taught—as a key part of a larger narrative. After the Second World War, however, the field boomed as veterans streamed into higher education as both students and professors. A general increase in the size of faculties allowed for new approaches, and the onset of the Cold War kept everybody’s mind focused on the problem of armed conflict.

Then came the Vietnam War and the rise of the tenured radicals. The historians among them saw their

John J. Miller is a writer for *National Review*, which published an earlier version of this article.

field as the academic wing of a “social justice” movement, and they focused their attention on race, sex, and class. “They think you’re supposed to study the kind of social history you want to support, and so women’s history becomes advocacy

for ‘women’s rights,’” says Mary Habeck, a military historian at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Washington, D.C. “This makes them believe military historians are always advocates of militarism.” Other types of historians also came under attack—especially scholars of diplomatic, intellectual, and maritime history—but perhaps none have suffered so many casualties as the “drums and trumpets” crowd. “Military historians have been hunted into extinction by politically active faculty members who think military history is a subject for right-wing, imperialistic warmongers,” says Robert Bruce, a professor at Sam Houston State University in Texas.

At first glance, military history appears to have maintained beachheads on a lot of campuses. Out of 153 universities that award doctorates in history, ninety-nine of them—almost 65 percent—have at least one professor who claims a research interest in war, according to S. Mike Pavelec, a military historian at Hawaii Pacific University. But this figure masks another problem: Social history has started to infiltrate military history, Trojan Horse–style. Rather than examining battles, leaders, and weapons, it looks at the impact of war upon culture. And so classes that are supposedly about the Second World War blow by the Blitzkrieg, the Bismarck, and the Bulge so that they may celebrate the proto-feminism of Rosie the Riveter, condemn the national disgrace of Japanese-American internment, and ask that favorite faculty-lounge head-scratcher: Should the



Mural of War by Gari Melchers, Library of Congress, Thomas Jefferson Building

United States have dropped the bomb? “It’s becoming harder and harder to find experts in operational military history,” says Dennis Showalter of Colorado College. “All this social history is like *Hamlet* without the prince of Denmark.”

Consider the case of Steve Zdatny, a history professor at West Virginia University. On his website, he lists World War I as one of his “teaching fields.” But he’s not expert in trench warfare or aerial dogfights. Here’s how he describes his latest scholarship: “Having recently finished a history of the French hairdressing profession... I am now in the opening stages of research on a history of public and personal hygiene, which will examine evolving practices and sensibilities of cleanliness in twentieth-century France.” His body of work includes journal articles with titles such as “The Boyish Look and the Liberated Woman: The Politics and Aesthetics of Women’s Hairstyles.”

Not that there’s anything wrong with that. But when fashion history begins to crowd out military history, or even masquerade as it, the priorities of colleges and universities are clearly out of whack. “The prevailing view is that war is bad and we shouldn’t study bad things,” says Williamson Murray, a former professor who is now at the Institute for Defense Analysis. “Thank goodness cancer specialists don’t have that attitude.”

Another reason for the shortage of scholars is that military historians have been shut out of the *American Historical Review*, the most prestigious

“The prevailing view is that war is bad and we shouldn’t study bad things,” says Williamson Murray, a former professor who is now at the Institute for Defense Analysis.

academic journal for history professors. John A. Lynn of the University of Illinois recently surveyed the 150 issues of the *AHR*, which comes out five times annually. During this thirty-year period, he couldn't find a single article that discussed the conduct of World War II. Other ignored wars included the American Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. There was a single article on the English Civil War, dealing with atrocities committed therein. Lynn located precisely two articles on the U.S. Civil War. One of these also dealt with atrocities. "I guess military atrocities are attractive to the editors," he says. The only article on World War I focused on female soldiers in the Russian army. "I suspect the editors liked it because it was about women, not because it was about war." The lead article in one issue of the *AHR* is about wigs in eighteenth-century France.

Military history still clings to a few fortified positions. The service academies continue to teach it; cadets at West Point, for example, must take two semesters of military history during their senior year.



Lancers, detail from the archers' frieze in Darius' palace in Susa. c. 510 B.C.

ROTC students are also required to pass a course in military history, though the quality of these classes can vary dramatically. "We prefer a member of the regular faculty to teach them, and for these courses to include battle analysis," says Army Lt. Col. Gregory Daddis, the ROTC battalion commander at the University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill. "But not every campus has a faculty that can handle this." When a school can't satisfy

this requirement—or doesn't want to—the instruction is left to ROTC officers. Elsewhere, students may take "military history" courses that are more likely to concentrate on the quilting patterns of Confederate war widows than Stonewall Jackson's flanking maneuver at Chancellorsville.

Even though they're embattled, military historians have a not-so-secret weapon: the public's love for their area of expertise. When history departments actually offer military-history courses, students flock to them. "My classes max out right away," says Bruce. "I like to think it's because I'm a good teacher, but this material simply sells itself." A surefire way for a history department to boost its enrollment figures—and per-

haps win funding that's tied to the number of bodies it packs into classrooms—is to offer a survey course on a big American war.

The refusal of many history departments to meet the enormous demand for military history is striking—the perverse result of an ossified tenure system, scholarly navel-gazing, and ideological hostility to all things military. Unfortunately, this failure is more consequential than merely neglecting to supply students with the electives they want. "Knowledge of military history is an essential prerequisite for an informed national debate about security and statecraft," says Michael Desch, a political scientist at the Bush School of Government and Public Service in Texas.

Anybody who has studied the history of war knows that it's possible to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat—it happened at Shiloh, when a Confederate attack nearly routed the Union army, only to have General Ulysses S. Grant drive them off the field of battle the next day. Perhaps military historians can stage a similar comeback. In their efforts to do so, they will be wise to remember something that Grant didn't know back in 1862: An awful lot of brutal fighting lies ahead.

When history
departments actually offer
military-history courses,
students flock to them.
"My classes max out right
away," says Bruce.



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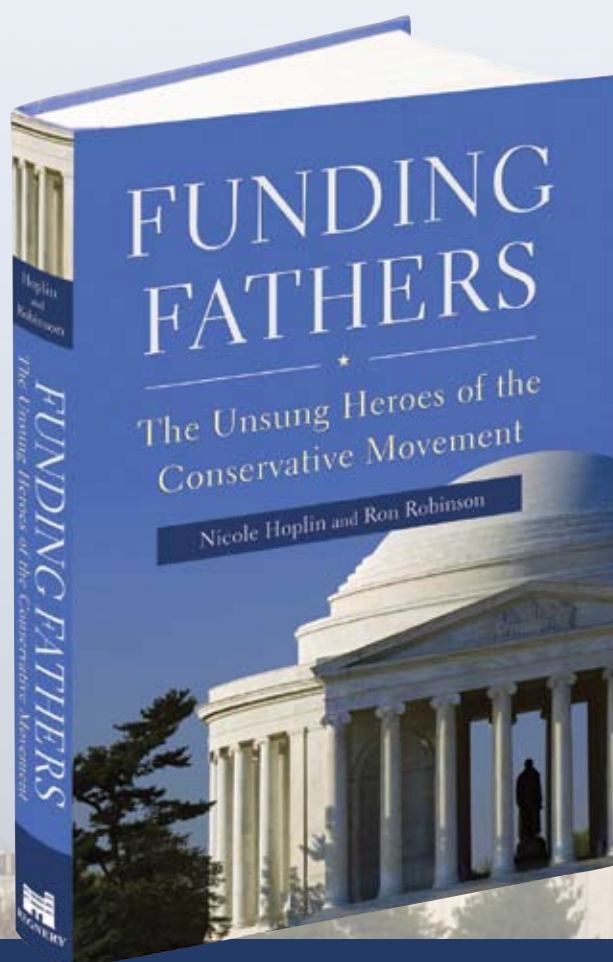
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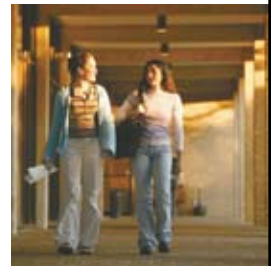
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OUR FADING HERITAGE: NEW ISI REPORT HOLDS COLLEGES ACCOUNTABLE

Americans are forgetting their national heritage. This sad fact was further substantiated with the release of *Our Fading Heritage: Americans Fail a Basic Test on Their History and Institutions*, a report on ISI's third major study of civic literacy

in the United States, which was released at a November news conference at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.

In 2006 and 2007, ISI published the first-ever scientific surveys of civic learning among American college students. Each year, approximately 14,000 freshmen and seniors at fifty schools nation-

wide were given a sixty-question multiple-choice exam on basic knowledge of America's history, government, international relations, and market economy. Both years, the students failed. The average

In conjunction with Dr. Kenneth Dautrich of the University of Connecticut and Braun Research, Inc., ISI administered a test consisting of thirty-three basic questions about America's history and institutions to a random sample of 2,508 American adults, ranging from those without high school diplomas to those with advanced degrees. Respondents were also asked about their participation in various civic activities, their attitudes about perennial issues of American governance, and other behaviors that may or may not contribute to civic literacy.

The results were run through multivariate regression analysis, allowing ISI to compare the independent impact of college with other societal factors on a respondent's score. The key findings were:

FINDING 1: AMERICANS FAIL THE TEST OF CIVIC LITERACY

Seventy-one percent failed the test and the overall average score was 49%. A majority could not even name all three branches of government.

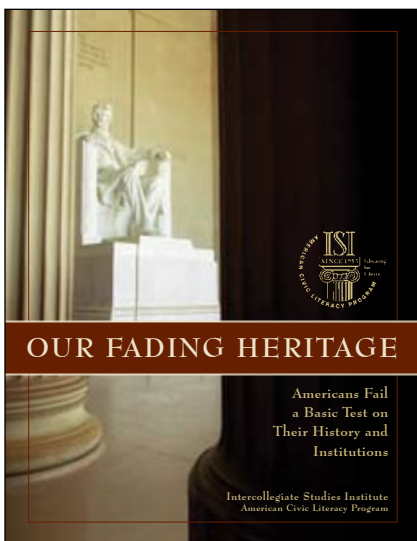
FINDING 2: AMERICANS AGREE: COLLEGES SHOULD TEACH AMERICA'S HERITAGE
Seventy-two percent agreed that colleges should prepare citizen-leaders by teaching America's history, key texts, and institutions.

FINDING 3: COLLEGE ADDS LITTLE TO CIVIC KNOWLEDGE

Earning a college degree does little to increase civic knowledge. The typical bachelor-degree holder failed with a 57%. Respondents gained about one correct answer on the test for each year spent in college.

FINDING 4: TELEVISION—INCLUDING TV NEWS—DUMBS AMERICA DOWN

When all other factors were held constant, a person's test score dropped in proportion to the time he or she spent using certain types of passive electronic media, including talking on the phone, watching



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freshman scored 51.7% the first year and 50.4% the next. The average senior scored 52.7%, then 54.2%.

This year, ISI sought to learn more about the real-world consequences of this collegiate failure by crafting a study to measure the independent impact of college on the acquisition and maintenance of civic knowledge over a lifetime.

owned or rented movies, and monitoring TV news and documentaries. While earning a bachelor's degree increased civic knowledge more than any other single factor, the combined gain in civic knowledge from engaging in frequent conversations about public affairs, reading about current events and history, and participating in more involved civic activities was greater than the gain from a bachelor's degree alone.

FINDING 5: WHAT COLLEGE GRADUATES DON'T KNOW ABOUT AMERICA

Pre-college education tends to increase knowledge of themes from twentieth-century American history at the expense of economics and pre-twentieth-century themes (including core constitutional principles). Colleges begin to reverse this trend, but not enough to close significant gaps in these crucial categories of civic knowledge.

News of ISI's groundbreaking report has penetrated every major U.S. media market through television, radio, print, and online coverage, reaching a total estimated audience of more than 407 million people (based on audited circulation numbers). ISI spokesmen have been interviewed on national television programs including CNN's *American Morning*, C-SPAN's *Washington Journal*, and FOX News's *Fox & Friends*. Print and radio interviews have included Scripps News Service, CNN Radio, the USA Radio Network, and many nationally syndicated radio shows. ISI's study has also been covered in over 330 print and online publications, including *USA Today*, the *Washington Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Boston Herald*.

Perhaps most impressive, though, is that this media coverage has generated over 1,500,000 visits to www.americancivilliteracy.org, where over 560,000 people have taken the thirty-three-question survey.

For more information about the 2008 report or to have a copy sent to you, please contact Patrick Ford at pford@isi.org or (302) 524-6117.

COLLEGE GRADUATES' ECONOMIC ILLITERACY

In light of the current economic crisis facing our nation, the question of whether or not college graduates are prepared to deliberate wisely on the free market and public policy is more timely than ever. These figures detail how graduates did on some fundamental economics questions, and includes the most popular incorrect answer for each.

Which of the following is a policy tool of the Federal Reserve?

- 56.5% answered correctly
- 20.7% selected the incorrect answer:
Increasing or decreasing government spending

Free enterprise or capitalism exists insofar as:

- 53.5% answered correctly
- 13.4% selected the incorrect answer:
Government implements policies that favor businesses over consumers

Which of the following fiscal policy combinations would a government most likely follow to stimulate economic activity when the economy is in a severe recession?

- 43.0% answered correctly
- 35.2% selected the incorrect answer:
Decreasing both taxes and spending

Free markets typically secure more economic prosperity than government's centralized planning because:

- 16.9% answered correctly
- 40.8% selected the incorrect answer: *More tax revenue can be generated from free enterprise*

NATIONAL CIVIC LITERACY BOARD MEMBER AWARDED NATIONAL HUMANITIES MEDAL

Thomas A. Saunders III, the latest member of ISI's National Civic Literacy Board, and his wife, Jordan Horner Saunders, were awarded the prestigious National Humanities Medal by President George W. Bush in November 2008 for their stewardship of our country's greatest cultural and artistic traditions. ISI is pleased to recognize this extraordinary accomplishment and their ongoing work championing American education and history.

BUILDING A PARTNERSHIP: CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT UNIVERSITY AND ISI'S LEHRMAN AMERICAN STUDIES CENTER

*Phillip Hamilton is associate professor and chair of the department of history at Christopher Newport University. His book *The Making and Unmaking of a Revolutionary Family: The Tuckers of Virginia, 1752–1830* was published by the University of Virginia Press in 2003 with a paper edition published in 2008. His work has also appeared in the *William and Mary Quarterly* and *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. He is currently writing a comprehensive history of Christopher Newport University to be published in 2010.*

During the past twelve years, Christopher Newport University (CNU), a four-year public institution of 4,800 students in eastern Virginia, has undergone a significant transformation. In



Phillip Hamilton

the mid-1990s, CNU was a commuter college with a local student body and open admissions. In 1996, however, former Senator Paul Triple became the university's fifth president, and under his leadership, CNU has become a leading liberal arts institution educating highly talented students from throughout Virginia and the nation. With a focus on small classes, dynamic teaching, and close interaction between students and professors, the university aims not only to prepare young men and women for meaningful careers and lives, but also seeks to instruct them about the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship within our republic.

In recent years, ISI's Lehrman American Studies Center (LASC) has greatly assisted Christopher Newport University in this mission. The LASC's Summer Institutes, cosponsored by the James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions, have been especially important. Between 2005 and 2008, four Christopher Newport faculty members (including myself) have participated in the two-week institutes held annually at Princeton University. Each of our ex-

periences has been extremely beneficial. The institute's scholarly lectures, discussions, and workshops dealing with all aspects of academic life have provided us with essential tools in fulfilling our university's larger academic mission.

One of the most exciting recent endeavors on our campus—spearheaded by two past Summer Institute fellows—has been the establishment of CNU's Center for American Studies and Civic Leadership (CASCL). The center was the idea of Nathan Busch, associate professor of government, and Elizabeth Kaufer-Busch, assistant professor of American studies, both of whom are now its codirectors. After attending the institute in 2006 and 2007, respectively, they created the center in order to foster a greater awareness among our students about our nation's history, its founding principles, and its unique culture and heritage. The center examines, moreover, America's role in today's wider global community in order to better prepare CNU students to engage and contribute to our nation's larger society upon graduation.

With an advisory committee of professors from throughout CNU, Busch and Kaufer-Busch have created an ambitious program of events, speakers, and colloquia designed to illuminate the role of liberty and self-government in American life. CASCL annually sponsors, for example, a major conference to examine some aspect of the American experience. The inaugural conference, held in October 2007, focused on the theme "Founding the American Experiment." The keynote speaker was John Agresto, former president of St. John's University—Santa Fe and former head of the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research in Iraq.¹ Agresto spoke about the challenges facing America as it

seeks to aid other nations in establishing lasting democratic institutions. The theme for the second CASCL conference to be held this February is “Democracy and Democratization: America and the World” and will feature panels on “Liberty, Enlightenment Ideals, and the World” and “The Prospects and Challenges for Emerging Democracies.” The keynote address will be given by William Kristol, op-ed columnist for the *New York Times* and founder of the *Weekly Standard*.

The center, furthermore, has established a post-doctoral fellowship that will permit Christopher Newport to bring to its campus talented scholars who are at the early stages of their careers. While in residence, fellows will present their research in public talks and teach several courses during the academic year. Finally, the center is currently organizing a series of workshops for public school teachers throughout eastern Virginia. Led by CNU faculty members, the workshops will enhance teachers’ understanding about the founding of the United States. Designed to help public school teachers recertify their teaching licenses, the workshops will consist of lectures, seminar discussions, and field trips to nearby historical sites such as Jamestown, Yorktown, and Colonial Williamsburg.

The importance and potential of the Center for American Studies and Civic Leadership was confirmed last fall when the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) awarded it a \$500,000 “We the People” challenge grant. Bruce Cole, chairman of the NEH, noted that the leading scholars who reviewed CNU’s proposal were greatly “impressed by the work of the Center for American Studies and Civic Leadership in exploring the meaning of liberty and the tools and sacrifices needed to protect it.” The award to CASCL, moreover, has a direct link to the Lehrman Summer Institute. In 2006, Tom Lindsay of the NEH presented a workshop on grant writing attended by Nathan Busch. It was at this workshop that Busch learned about both the “We the People” grant and the particulars of writing an effective proposal.



The new Paul and Rosemary Tribble Library on the Christopher Newport University Campus in Virginia.

Joseph Prud’homme, an assistant professor of government, is another CNU faculty member who has participated in the Lehrman Summer Institute and who is putting what he learned to good use. A student of Princeton professor Robert George (a Summer Institute fixture), Prud’homme attended the institute in 2005 and has since initiated a program designed to explore the contribution of religion to the preservation of free institutions of government. Toward this end, Prud’homme organized a distinguished speaker series in 2007–8, which brought to campus eight notable scholars, all of whom gave lectures addressing the crucial role that religious

FOUR CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT
UNIVERSITY FACULTY MEMBERS
HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE
TWO-WEEK SUMMER INSTITUTES
[AND] EACH OF OUR EXPERIENCES
HAS BEEN EXTREMELY BENEFICIAL.

faith plays in sustaining the American republic. For instance, Lucas Morel, professor of politics at Washington & Lee University, delivered a lecture to students and faculty about Abraham Lincoln’s religious faith during the Civil War. Prud’homme has recently secured a book contract to publish expanded

LASC ONLINE HAS BECOME A FUNDAMENTAL PART OF MY TEACHING.

versions of these scholars' talks. To assist him, he is utilizing CNU undergraduates who are helping to organize and edit the essays. Thus, these students not only are gaining a deeper understanding of the role of religion in American life, but are having a direct hand in producing outstanding scholarship.

The LASC has influenced my own work, particularly with regard to teaching. As a historian of the Revolutionary and Early Republican eras, I found the Summer Institute to be both helpful and thought-provoking. Its scholarly sessions allowed me to speak with some of the leading scholars in my field and to profit from their insights. Furthermore, LASC Online, which I first learned about at Princeton, has become a fundamental part of my teaching. It is one of the most significant teaching innovations I have seen in my career. It puts a vast array of important historical sources

at my fingertips, many of them available online. LASC Online also allows me to access an extensive database of syllabi and teaching modules uploaded by colleagues from across the country. This database permits me to learn how other professors approach certain topics, develop assignments, and select readings. By integrating the best ideas and sources into my own classroom, it helps keep my teaching fresh and up-to-date with contemporary scholarship.

Over the past three years, the Lehrman American Studies Center has had a significant impact on Christopher Newport University. Indeed, the LASC has greatly assisted CNU in its mission to provide outstanding instruction and to help students appreciate our nation's heritage and place in the world. We hope and expect this successful collaboration to continue well into the future.

¹ Agresto wrote about his experiences in his bestselling book *Mugged by Reality: The Liberation of Iraq and the Failure of Good Intentions* (New York: Encounter Books, 2007).

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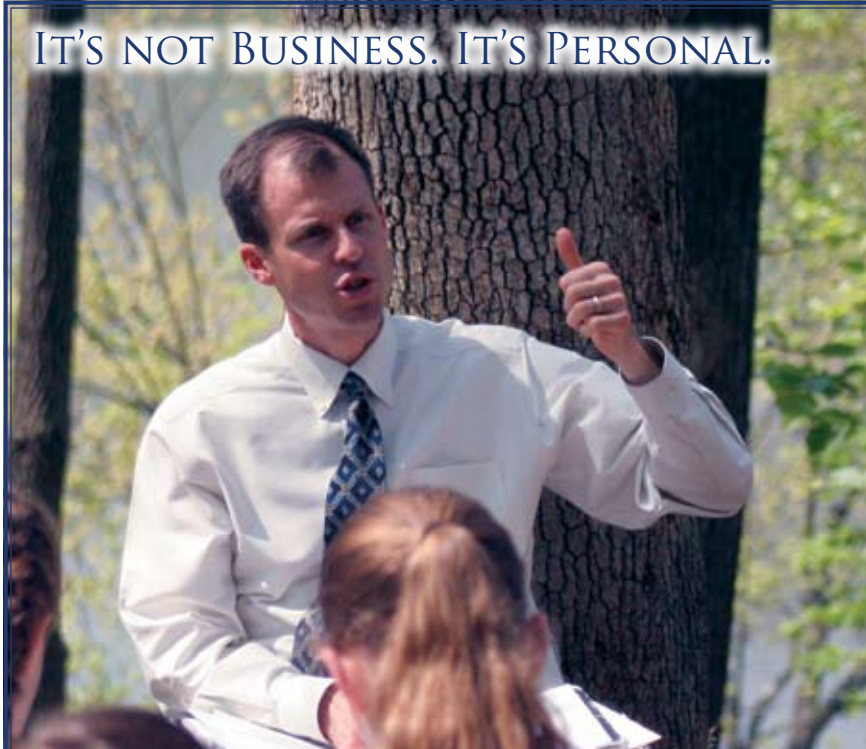
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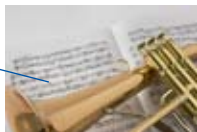
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THE LAST WORD

by Mark C. Henrie, ISI Vice President for Academic Affairs

As a junior at Dartmouth in the mid-1980s—a budding young conservative intellectual staggering under a mountain of *Weltschmerz*—I had become dissatisfied with the policy debates that are the stuff of a political science department. I wanted something more, something deeper. I wanted some way of understanding more philosophically “what’s



Mark C. Henrie

wrong with the world”—for I knew then already that a conservative’s first feeling is one of discontent with the world as it is, in contrast to a better, remembered past. I took to the library, and found a book with a very promising title: *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945*, by

George H. Nash. Nash’s beautifully written book tells the story of the rise of America’s conservative intellectuals through the prism, primarily, of the pages of *National Review*. I devoured the book in two days, and as a result found that I had a heap of reading to do—reading which was, over the remaining semesters at Dartmouth, in many ways my real college education.

I also read in the book’s pages about a peculiar organization named, improbably, the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. The description indicated that ISI was just what I had been looking for: a home for high-theoretical

reflection by broadly traditionalist-leaning conservative scholars. So I wrote a letter, to whom it may concern at ISI, saying that I had read about the Institute in the pages of Nash’s book and concluded, “These are my people!” Send me things, I implored; I’ll do anything for you. There was no reply. But quite promptly, for ISI—two and a half years later, that is—I received out of the blue my first copy of the *Intercollegiate Review*. ISI’s efficiency has improved a bit since then.

Nash’s book was originally a Ph.D. dissertation in intellectual history written at Harvard in the early 1970s and published in 1976. And in the thirty years since—in an academic age utterly devoted to historical revision—there have been no serious attempts to challenge his thesis. This is a testament to his unbiased care, accuracy, and thoroughness: So well was the work done that there is simply nothing to revise. Conservatives of every description have been able to read Nash’s book and recognize themselves in its pages. And as a result, his story of how William F. Buckley managed to orchestrate common intellectual ground between cantankerous libertarians, traditionalists, and anti-communists has become a touchstone of the received tradition of conservative self-understanding.

Because of the scholarly integrity of George Nash’s work, I have no doubt that *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945* will remain for generations the indispensable historical account of its subject matter. His book is, itself, a conservative classic.

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—Thomas Sowell, nationally syndicated columnist



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