

and of Nature's God" in its first sentence and ended with the assertion of "a firm Reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence."

Jefferson said just enough good things about religion for the Moral Majority and throngs of born-again Christians to cite him in support of their claim that America was founded as a Christian nation. Former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich even included the Jefferson Memorial on his Christian tour of the District of Columbia, where he pointed out on the inner dome the inscription, "I have sworn upon

Jefferson tried harder than any other Founding Father to remove religion definitively from the political life of the new nation.

the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Reconciling Jefferson's words with his beliefs requires context, writes Allen, author of several books, including *Moral Minority: Our Skeptical Founding Fathers*. When Jefferson's polite nods to the prevailing religious beliefs of his day are examined in situ, they reveal his views to be consistent and supportive of a strict "wall of separation between Church and State" (in Jefferson's own phrase).

Jefferson introduced the "wall of separation" concept in a letter to a committee of the Danbury Baptist Association in 1802: "Believing with you that religion is

a matter which lies solely between man and his God. . . . I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should 'make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' thus building a wall of separation between Church and State."

Jefferson's phrase "upon the altar of God" actually came as part of a "characteristically Jeffersonian explosion against priests and clergymen," Allen writes. Mocking the clergy in his presidential campaign in 1800, Jefferson said they all hoped to have their own sect enshrined as the established church. But he said he had sworn eternal hostility upon the "altar of God" to religious tyrants who jockeyed for power and money.

Other religious-sounding invocations, such as the phrase "Laws of Nature and of Nature's God" in the Declaration of Independence, were standard language used, not by conventional Christians, but by deists in the 18th century. The declaration's phrase "firm Reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence" was added by Congress.

Allen says that the efforts of modern political figures to establish that Thomas Jefferson was a good Christian who really didn't mean what he said about the separation of church and state are flimsy and smack of desperation.

"Jefferson," Allen writes, "tried harder than any other Founding Father to remove religion definitively from the political life of the new nation."

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

Smart and Smarter

THE SOURCE: "Presidential IQ, Openness, Intellectual Brilliance, and Leadership: Estimates and Correlations for 42 U.S. Chief Executives" by Dean Keith Simonton, in *Political Psychology*, August 2006.

ANYBODY WHO HAS EVER been to an American high school knows that intelligence doesn't always equal success either in the adolescent world or in life. A new study of the intelligence quotients (IQs) of the 42 U.S. presidents is similarly confounding. Our smartest president, John Quincy Adams, was defeated after only one term and spent the rest of his life in the House of Representatives. Our dullest, Ulysses S. Grant, according to the study, won the Civil War.

Dean Keith Simonton, a psychologist at the University of California, Davis, estimated the IQs of the presidents based on their writings, early developmental milestones, openness to ideas, and other traits generally associated with intelligence. Simonton also drew on previous studies by other researchers. Biographical profiles of each president, stripped of identifying factors, were prepared, and traits such as "inventive," "curious," and "sophisticated" were assessed. Missing values were imputed using standard statistical techniques. All the presidents scored at least 130, in the top 2.2 percent of the population. The average IQ is 100.

Simonton found that John Quincy Adams, son of President

Presidential Smarts



All 42 presidents have had IQs in the top two percent of the population; above, some of the smartest.

John Adams and the nation's sixth president, had an estimated IQ of 175. Other top scorers were Thomas Jefferson, 160; James Madison, 160; John F. Kennedy, 159.8; and Bill Clinton, 159. The lowest, Grant, scored 130 on a measurement of his IQ. Next lowest was President George W. Bush, at 138.5.

Simonton writes that although George W. Bush's estimated IQ is below average when compared to those of other chief executives, he is "certainly smart enough to be president of the United States." Bush's scores were dragged down by his lack of "openness"—to aesthetics, feelings, actions, ideas, and values—and something called "integrative complexity," a gauge of the ability to integrate multiple perspectives on an issue into a coherent point of view.

Simonton acknowledges that intellect is not by any means the only predictor of good presidential leadership, but says that, "the conclusion remains, however tentative at this point in time, that Bush's

intellect may be more a liability than an asset. . . . His strengths most likely lie elsewhere."

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

Waikiki, North

THE SOURCE: "Extreme Makeover" by Alan Ehrenhalt, in *Governing*, July 2006.

MOST CITIES WOULD KILL TO HAVE Vancouver's problems. Exquisitely set near both mountains and the sea, the Canadian city is dominated by a glamorous downtown full of residential apartments, bustling with pedestrian traffic, and populated by people with money to spend. Municipalities in the United States consider themselves lucky to

Vancouver may be in danger of becoming a resort, a Waikiki or Miami Beach, with mild winters—and an inadequate tax base.

entice five percent of their residents to move downtown. In Vancouver, the figure is 20 percent and rising, according to Alan Ehrenhalt, executive editor of *Governing*. But condonization is beginning to generate a backlash. The hundreds of green glass towers that have sprung up on less than five square miles have shut out commercial development. Critics are beginning to use the dreaded "R" word, according to Ehrenhalt. Vancouver, they fear, is in danger of becoming a *resort*, a Waikiki or Miami Beach, with mild winters—and an inadequate tax base.

The transformation began quietly in the summer of 1991 as recession moved across North America and flattened the market for office space in Vancouver. Without fanfare, the city council enacted a zoning change—just to see if the market would respond—that loosened up limits on apartments in commercial areas. "Overnight, we got these huge condo towers," says a city council member. Fifteen years later, nearly one in five residents of Canada's third-largest city lives in one of the slender high-rise towers in the downtown center. And these newcomers include members of that urban endangered species, the family with young children.

The "Living First" program has worked too well, some people in Vancouver are saying. Developers seized the chance, making a return on investment in condominiums that has been five times as high as the return on office space. And though business has not fled central Vancouver, the percentage of metro-area jobs located there keeps shrinking.