

local elections at the 1985 annual meeting in New Orleans. His best known book is *Proportional Representation* (with Clarence Hoag), first published in 1926, which has appeared in several editions and was reprinted in 1969. This book provides a history of the use of P.R. in municipalities in the United States and arguments for STV as a system fostering fair and effective representation of all groups in the electorate. His last published research on P.R. appears in Lijphart and Grofman (eds.), *Choosing an Election System*, Praeger, 1984.

His dedication to the public service and sage counsel will be greatly missed by his many friends.

Joseph J. Zimmerman
State University of New York at Albany
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Bernard Hennessy

On September 26, 1985, Bernard Hennessy died in San Francisco after a long struggle with multiple myeloma, a blood and bone cancer. Undaunted by the debilitating effects of the disease, Bernie maintained the vigorous, active life almost to the end: a trip to England, lengthy motorcycle trips, tennis, his study of courthouses in the United States. At the very last, his ability to do these things was limited to what he called his "bonus days" spent at his desk.

For those of us who knew Bernie, we were given "bonus" days, months, or years of association with one of the truly vibrant, warm, humane, witty and wonderful members of our discipline. Bernie brightened our days, elevated our spirits, and inspired our efforts in manifold ways, whether it was in a scholarly panel, attending a baseball game, or enjoying dinner and drinks together.

Bernie was one of those autonomous individuals who followed his own star or

perhaps it was his own set of stars. To change the imagery, he did not necessarily follow a different drummer but he heard the beat that many of us hear but interpreted its meaning in his own way and by his own set of values. Who else as a New Jerseyite would see justice and try to solve New York's crisis by *voluntarily* writing a check for \$195 in lieu of a computer tax that others were violently resisting?

Bernie was a fine scholar who wrote (with Cornelius Cotter) an excellent study of the national party committees, *Politics Without Power* (1964). His textbook, *Public Opinion*, has become the standard in the field and is now in its fifth edition. In addition, he published numerous articles that appeared in prestigious journals, principally dealing with political attitudes, public opinion and its measurement, party organization and related topics.

But his principal strength and interests lay elsewhere. Bernie's impact on the profession is nowhere more notable than his influence on the careers of dozens of young scholars who entered the profession through their experiences as fellows of the National Center for Education in Politics. Between 1960 and 1966 he placed 105 graduate students in state and local offices throughout the country. The NCEP program was an experiment built on a faith that both politics and academic research would profit from the involvement of young academics in the political process. Bernie fervently believed in and promoted that faith and the result was found in the lives of numerous academics and in the burgeoning programs of a similar nature throughout the country. It is a legacy that he has left the profession and for which we must eternally be grateful.

As associate director and then director of the center, he stimulated the intellectual development and the professional acumen of these young men and women in political arenas all over the country. His enthusiasm, his zest for politics in its myriad forms, his sense of irony and the absurd—but tempered by his wit and boundless sense of humor (one of his colleagues termed it his "engaging craziness") made these experiences mar-

velous introductions to practical politics as well as to mature understanding of the political process. As Chuck Jones recently wrote, "his own optimism about political scholarship and participation infected all around him—especially the young people with whom he loved to work."

Bernie was a professional political scientist in a very special way. He combined a professional ardor and Puckishness that was nowhere better displayed than in a thorough and memorable review of a book by Jameson Doig of Princeton and myself. He concluded by writing, "Mann is professor of political science at Santa Barbara. Doig is, of course, Mann's best friend." Thus, he could mock our foibles, our occasional self-importance and incredulities, but he believed in the profession and what we are about. He found it important and his obligation to it important. He could be found in almost any convention participating in innumerable large and small, formal and informal ways. And where he was, there was usually a gathering of those who shared his passion for the profession and found sustenance in his commitment. Abe Bargman, who knew him best from their involvement with the United World Federalists, recalled recently a conversation in which Bernie said, not with pride in himself but with pride in the profession, "I am one of the best political scientists." A sentiment with which those of us who knew him well would agree.

Bernie's ideal institutional arrangement would have been a "permanent visiting professorship," a permanent arrangement by which he could visit a different institution each semester or each year. He never quite achieved it although his frequent visiting professorships made it almost possible. His long-term affiliations were with the University of Arizona, New York University Law School, Pennsylvania State University, and California State University, Hayward, but his permanent visiting chair took him to the University of Rhode Island, Stanford, the University of California, Santa Barbara, and Northern Kentucky University.

In this sense, Bernie was a colleague, not to individuals in institutions, but rather to the profession and to the professionals in political science, as demonstrated by my

own collegial relationship that went back to a brief period of years in the mid-1950s at the University of Arizona. As with so many others, a brief encounter developed into a lasting relationship that deepened despite long intervals of not seeing or even hearing from each other. Even after only brief encounters, one sensed being different and being indebted to him for new perspectives, for renewed pleasure in studying politics, and for greater appreciation of what a worthwhile life was all about. After recounting Bernie's manifold passions in life, Maureen Drummy, his close friend and colleague at NCEP, recently recalled, "He was always on the move. Though in every place he left something vital. For me it was a new meaning of the word 'friend.'"

He was an active professional in the more formal sense as well. He served on numerous editorial boards, reviewing panels for granting agencies, and advisory groups on policy issues. He was president of the Western Political Science Association in 1976-77 and subsequently served as book review editor for the *Western Political Quarterly*. And in the latter capacity, I was again impressed with the sensitivity and yet toughness with which he approached his obligations to the discipline.

His teaching meant a great deal to him. He did it well but he was demanding of his students, the best of whom gained measurably under his tutelage. His intellectual influence was felt well beyond his own classroom, however. One of his students, Kevin Mulcahy, said it this way: ". . . Bernie was always an inspiration to his students, both in how to be a good political scientist, and how to live the good life—which is to say, an examined life." In addition to the influence he had on students who faced him directly, he influenced innumerable students through his own text but also through his nurturing and bringing to maturity a long line of texts and other more specialized books for Wadsworth and Duxbury Presses. Bob Gormley, his publisher and close friend, warmly recalled Bernie's role as a broad-gauged social scientist who helped guide their publications program through his connections with scholars, particu-

larly young scholars, in political science and other disciplines.

But perhaps more than any of those characteristics was Bernie's concern for the human condition, both individually and collectively. One of his NCEP colleagues, Rhoten Smith, wrote recently, "He was one of the most genuinely caring men I have ever known, sensitive to the large ills of the world, but also—what is rarer—sensitive to the well-being and the pain and problems of individual human beings with whom he interacted." And to quote Chuck Jones again, "Bernie was one of those people you looked forward to seeing—particularly if things weren't going well. He just plain made folks feel better about themselves."

Bernie's political preferences shifted substantially over the years, from those of a traditional liberal-internationalist to those of a more conservative nature. But he remained consistent in his underlying and personal values. One of these was his iconoclasm—his penchant for puncturing pomposities and for mocking cant and prejudice. Another was his conviction that much could be done with little and that small enterprises were usually better than big. But unquestionably most important and enduring was his humanism. A non-believer in the religious sense, he was a true believer in the worth of human souls and the transcendent value of human betterment.

Not that he believed that he or society in general had the obligation in every case to solve the problems or carry the burdens of others, but that all should be given the tools to achieve the best that was in them. No one, for example, could be more sympathetic with or appreciative of the Iranian people than Bernie—based on the year he spent there—but neither was there anyone who could be more indignant with or hold them more accountable for their own failures to resolve their internal and external problems. At the individual level, he maintained a consistent perspective. Failures there were but the most saddening were the failures of the human spirit.

This stance was, for Bernie—and for his wife Erna as well—not an idle or abstract posture but an active motivating force in

their lives. To know their children, Mike, Steve, and especially Heidi, and to know Bernie's and Erna's relationship to them was to know tenderness, devotion, and commitment to self-realization. It was nowhere better seen than in their relationship to Heidi. Their unceasing efforts, without patronizing, made possible a life full of opportunities for expression, for intellectual and emotional growth, for independent judgment, and for personal fulfillment.

Finally, one of the delights of knowing Bernie was that one almost always got to know both Bernie and Erna. Erna was wife, collaborator but most of all a person who shared with Bernie his verve for life, his humor and his love of good friends. Each time my wife and I came away from being with them we remarked how they truly enjoyed each other, respected each other's opinions, rejoiced in each other's accomplishments, shared common understandings. Their relationship was of such richness that most of us could only admire and strive to emulate it.

Perhaps there may be no more fitting conclusion to this brief memoriam than the conclusion written by the Hennessys at the time of Bernie's passing, "... a certain zest has gone out of our lives. But his memory is going to be our companion and we intend to live as he did, with kindness, and with what was equally important to him, curiosity."

Dean E. Mann

University of California, Santa Barbara

With contributions from
several of Bernie's friends

Philip Meranto

On May 30, 1985, the political science profession and the progressive political community lost a special friend and colleague, Philip Meranto, who died of a heart attack at the age of 47. Phil Meranto was nationally recognized for his scholarly work in urban politics. Of the four books he published in this area, *Electing Black Mayors* (co-authored with William E. Nelson), is widely regarded as a leading study of black electoral politics.