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Leopold von Ranke, His Library, and the Shaping of Historical Evidence

BY EDWARD MUIR

Syracuse University has long nourished a special memory of the great nineteenth-century German historian, Leopold von Ranke, the father of modern history. Ranke is to historians what Darwin is to biologists and Freud to psychologists, the revered author of the discipline’s methods and the presiding personality from an age when science promised so much for the betterment of humanity. During the last century earnest American students who hoped to elevate American intellectual life to European standards flocked in particular to Germany so that they might come into contact with the most advanced learning. The German influence, in fact, decidedly altered American education from \textit{garten für kinder} to post-graduate professional training.

For Americans interested in history there was only one goal—the Berlin seminar presided over by Ranke. There, Ranke and his students carefully poured over original sources from Europe’s past in the pursuit of documentary criticism. They avoided chronicles and contemporary histories, which were riddled with error and marred by bias, and concentrated on government charters and decrees, bureaucratic files, and especially diplomatic dispatches and reports. With these documents, it was thought, historians could write true ‘scientific’ histories.

The historical methods Ranke taught in his seminar offered an alternative to the ancient standard set by Thucydides. In the introduction to his \textit{The History of the Peloponnesian War} (bk. 1, sec. 1), the Greek historian (trans. Richard Crawley) wrote:

\begin{quote}
The absence of romance in my history will, I fear, detract somewhat from its interest; but I shall be content if it is judged useful by those inquirers who desire an exact knowledge of the past as an aid to the interpretation of the future,
\end{quote}
which in the course of human things must resemble if it does not reflect it. My history has been composed to be an everlasting possession, not the showpiece of an hour.

This humanist view about the moral utility of history goes back at least to Euripides and is preserved in our own time by Santayana's famous aphorism, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it".

Ranke saw the role of history differently. To him such sentiments made history a branch of moral philosophy where rhetorical form and ethical maxims subordinated the pursuit of simple accuracy. Ranke announced his alternative goal for history as early as 1824 in the preface to his Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1535 in a passage that was, in effect, a response to Thucydides:

You have reckoned that history ought to judge the past and to instruct the contemporary world as to the future. The present attempt does not yield to that high office. It will merely tell how it really was. ["Wie es eigentlich gewesen."]

"How it really was" became the clarion call of Ranke's followers who sought the truth about the past by finding and analyzing the directly-recorded deeds and thoughts of history's great personalities.

Based on the model of the Berlin seminar, students of Ranke established America's first Ph.D. program in history at The Johns Hopkins University. Another veteran of Ranke's seminar, Charles W. Bennett, became the first professor of history at the new university founded in 1870 at Syracuse. In its early years the fledgling university tried to do everything at once: raise money, recruit well-trained faculty, start teaching students, provide classrooms, equip laboratories, and acquire a library collection. The last was a very pressing need. During the 1880s when benefactors offered to help build up the library, Bennett returned to Berlin and began negotiations with his old mentor to purchase at Ranke's death the extraordinary personal library the historian had assembled in developing his method and writing his books. Ranke called the sources in his collection the 'lumber' he used to build his own works. Although Ranke had wished for his carefully-selected library to remain in Prussia as a personal
Leopold von Ranke. This oil portrait, by H. G. Herrmann after J. Schrader, Berlin, 1883, hangs in the George Arents Research Library.

monument to his labors, bureaucratic red tape and political infighting after his death in 1886 kept the Prussian government from taking up its option to purchase the library. On 22 April 1887 Ranke’s son sold the entire collection to Syracuse University.¹

Box after box containing some 17,000 books, 4000 pamphlets, and 430 manuscripts arrived in Syracuse and were stored for several years in the basement of the building we now call the Hall of Languages. Eventually, Ranke’s library had its own home, at first in the turreted red-brick building (now used by the University’s administration), the fortress-like strength of which is echoed in the architecture of Bird Library, the present home of the collection. It has taken

many years to bring the Ranke Library up to modern standards of accessibility for research scholars, students, and the public. Various efforts over the years at cataloguing and preserving the collection culminated in the Ranke Cataloguing Project, which began in 1977 under the partial sponsorship of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the direction of Donald C. Anthony, Director of Libraries, and James M. Powell, Professor of History. Syracuse University Press published in 1983 a complete catalogue of the manuscripts in the collection.\(^2\) Finding aids are now available for the pamphlets, and most of the books have been entered into an on-line database used by research libraries throughout the country.

The year 1986 was the centenary of Ranke's death. To commemorate his contribution to the historical profession and the modern consciousness of the past, Syracuse University organized an international conference held on campus in October. The American Historical Association, which elected Ranke as its first honorary member, joined Syracuse as a co-sponsor. The conference, "Leopold von Ranke and the Shaping of the Historical Discipline", brought together over forty participants from the United States, Canada, Great Britain, East and West Germany, and Italy. Papers ranged from the provocative "Ranke the Reactionary" by Peter Burke of Cambridge University to the specialized "Ranke's Historical Method in the Views of Droysen, Lorenz, and Bernheim" by Hans Schleier of the Akademie der Wissenschaften of the German Democratic Republic.

The papers that related most directly to the collections in Ranke's library were by two colleagues from the University of Venice, Gino Benzoni, who spoke on "Ranke's Favorite Source: The Relazioni of the Venetian Ambassadors", and Ugo Tucci, who presented a paper on "Ranke and the Venetian Document Market". These are the papers published in this issue of the Syracuse University Library Associates Courier.

Among the 430 manuscripts that Ranke collected, by far the largest number consists of Venetian ambassadors' dispatches and reports. These documents date from the early sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century and contain accounts that ambassadors

sent back to the Venetian Senate from their posts in Turin, Milan, Mantua, Monferrato, Urbino, Naples, Rome, the Holy Roman Empire, France, Prussia, Spain, England, Scotland, the United Provinces, Poland, Russia, Turkey, and Egypt. There are, in addition, reports from Venetian colonial administrators on the Dalmatian coast and in the Greek isles.

When a Venetian ambassador returned from his term abroad, he was required to read a final report of his activities to the Senate. These reports, or relazioni, came to have a standard format in which the ambassador discussed the geography, climate, economy, military capacity, and political institutions, as well as court gossip of the country he had visited. As early as the sixteenth century the informational value of these reports was recognized, and Venetians and foreigners alike began to collect and sometimes even to publish them. Venice’s efficient diplomatic service was often given credit for the fact that the city somehow survived as an independent republic during the great age of absolutist monarchies, and so the writers of the relazioni came to have a European-wide reputation for exceptional sagacity and insight.

In 1797 Napoleon finally crushed the Republic of Venice, and in the post-Napoleonic peace congress in Vienna, Venice was further humbled, becoming a subject province of the Austrian Empire. Without an independent government concerned to preserve its secrets, the Venetian archives were opened to the world at a time when virtually no other state archive in Europe permitted full access. At the same time, the scions of Venice’s noble families were desperately short of cash and many were forced to sell off palaces, paintings, furnishings, books, and private papers that in many cases included copies of relazioni that distant ancestors had delivered to the now defunct Senate.

Such was the situation in 1825 when the thirty-year-old Leopold Ranke (he had not yet earned his honorific von) arrived in Venice for a research trip. From a bookseller named Adolfo Cesare he bought some one hundred bound manuscripts that had once been owned by the Nani and Da Ponte families. Through Cesare and Ranke’s friend Francesco Francesconi, a historian at the University of Padua, the young German scholar picked up on this and subsequent trips manuscripts from the Dandolo, Soranzo, Gradeno, and Tozzetti family
libraries. He rounded out his collection with official copies of relazioni from the state archives. With these materials he rebuilt the edifice of European historiography, treating the relazioni that he had acquired as the supporting timbers of his work, as privileged sources of information collected without bias by ambassadors from neutral Venice.

The Venetian relazioni, Ranke thought, liberated him from the tyranny of a priori assumptions, which had marred the accuracy of the humanist histories of Thucydides and his successors, and made it possible for him to apprehend past facts in order to form a posteriori conclusions. Professor Benzoni’s paper, however, helps us to understand that Ranke’s assumption about the character of the relazioni was an illusion.

Ranke’s so-called liberating method was in fact his unwitting mental prison: the ‘facts’ found in the Venetian relazioni were neither pure nor neutral. They were instead the artifices of a self-absorbed, intellectually closed-off ruling caste. The conservative world-view of the Venetian nobles has been analyzed in recent decades by many historians, most importantly by Italian American scholars, who have discovered how singularly isolated Venetian rulers were from the mainstream of European thought, especially after the sixteenth century. Venetian patricians were, as a result, remarkably myopic in judging their own affairs, not to mention those of others. One of the leading Venetian patrician intellectuals of the mid-eighteenth century, Marco Foscarini, wrote a study, On the Perfection of the Venetian Republic, which assumed that the last word in political thought came from the Venetian writer Gaspare Contarini, who had lived two centuries before. Neither Machiavelli nor Hobbes, Locke nor even Vico, let alone Voltaire, entered into Foscarini’s evaluation. When the men from Foscarini’s ruling class went on diplomatic missions, they saw, as Benzoni shows, not so much the actual conditions

abroad as the distorted mirrors of Venice. Their famous *relazioni*, moreover, were highly rhetorical exercises designed to tell the senators what they wanted to hear, and some of the lazier ambassadors were prone to copy from the report of a predecessor.

But Professor Benzoni also raises more profound questions. Are there such things as pure historical facts? Can history ever be anything more than an account of past points of view or at best a comparison of past and present views? These questions present the problem of meaning. Without an interpretive context, a fact, in and of itself, means nothing and in different contexts could mean different things. Even if we assume we could isolate unadulterated facts, the selection of the sources of our facts—which Ranke taught is the historian’s first and most critical task—and the connection of one fact to another are themselves acts of interpretation.

The *relazioni*, however, have not necessarily lost their value, but they can no longer be understood in Ranke’s terms. The *relazioni* are primarily catalogues of past perceptions and are particularly valuable because in them Venetian civic republicanism confronts the very different world of kings and nation states. In such meetings the contours and limits of Venetian mental horizons may become most brilliantly evident.

Professor Tucci’s paper reveals that the problem of Ranke’s famous sources is even more vexing than the fact that they were the product of the special local concerns of the Venetian patriciate. The availability of the *relazioni* to Ranke was largely the effect of the forces of the antiquarian market, forces that took little account of the potential value of documents as historical sources. Such forces were governed by economic laws rather than by any rational process of selectivity. Ranke may have given priority to the *relazioni* as sources primarily because they were available to him, and they were available because at the Congress of Vienna the major powers chose not to restore the Republic of Venice. He apparently wrote his history of the Venetians in the Peloponnesus, for example, not because of the vitality of the problems the subject presented but because he possessed the necessary Venetian sources.

Drawn by forces that were independent of reasoned criteria of selectivity, Ranke and many historians since have tunneled into the past following the accidents of documentary survival and availability.
All historians, nevertheless, can only rely on what is available to them. The trick is to keep from being trapped by these accidents of fate, to avoid the moral posturing of Thucydides, and to be cautious about the naive empiricism of Ranke.
Ranke's Favorite Source: The *Relazioni* of the Venetian Ambassadors

BY GINO BENZONI

In committing himself to the study of history, Leopold von Ranke most certainly gave thought to the historian's duty not to indulge in fantasy. Indeed, his dismay upon reading Sir Walter Scott brought him to affirm that historical truth is infinitely richer, more interesting, and more beautiful than the most exciting of imaginary events. He maintained that a historian should not view factual knowledge through a screen of preconceived notions, but must examine afresh each new appearance on the world scene. He must take account of specificity against a broad historical context. In that way single events can be perceived in a dynamic relationship of constraint and freedom, and made to emerge vividly both in the characteristics that make them unique and in the reciprocal influences that make them depend one upon the other.

Ranke also warned that individuals, whole generations, and peoples sink out of sight if they are immersed in a predetermined current that absorbs everything into a deceptive, triumphal march. Epochs cannot be dealt with in terms of steps upward in a supposedly unarrestable climb toward progress. Every extraneous insertion on the part of the historian will distort the harmonious development of an idea. Every subordination to a supposed unified, predescribed, predesignated plan is illegitimate. One can reach a true understanding only by giving facts the opportunity to speak for themselves; and not by sacrificing their originality to an imposed structure. Even though he was no stranger to the contemplation of great historical trends and even though he eventually affirmed that historiography was useful in the last analysis, Ranke was always conscious that universal history is, first and foremost, the knowledge of facts. Facts, he believed, deserve love and respect; they should not be assaulted with value judgments or obscured by generalizing, theoretical discourses. They should be understood in their precise sequence through a diligent
and scrupulous reconstruction. Ranke’s conception of history is severe, almost priest-like in its approach. In order to render the facts accurately, he felt, the self (that is, the subjectivity of the narrative historian) should be extinguished—a proposition that gave rise to Georg Simmel’s ironic observation that the dissolution of the self would involve the annulment of the subject that should be comprehending the non-self.

But Ranke was too preoccupied with protecting factual truth; too zealous in defending the purity of history from contamination, from philosophical manipulation in general and from historical philosophy in particular; too interested in establishing a clean division between philosophical knowledge (which should deal with the abstract) and historical knowledge (which should restrict itself to the precision of single facts)—too wrapped in all of these pursuits to be disturbed by doubts or perplexities. With unshakable confidence he urged that events, however complex, be considered objectively. Unlike his contemporary Edward Hallett Carr, who believed that Divine Providence imparted broad significance to occurrences, Ranke felt that the historian’s essential task was the assessment of facts.

In any case Ranke distrusted the philosophy of history, with its practice of prefiguring developments and its a priori constructions. In 1823 he wrote to his brother: “I want to eliminate the a priori method. . . . All of my conclusions”, he insisted, “are a posteriori”. Even in the earliest stages of his vast output of work, he proclaimed his conviction that historiography must concern itself with the impartial search for real facts. Already in 1824, in the preface to his Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514, Ranke declared his detachment from the notion that the historian’s task was
to judge the past and instruct the present for the benefit of the future. Also, he announced his intention of recording everything as it actually happened. Thus, from the very beginning Ranke assumed the celebrated principle demeaned by so many of his students and in turn by their students. It was a principle which would fall out of favor along with the myth of objectivity and be considered in time even banal—wie es eigentlich gewesen: recount things as they actually occurred. For Ranke, this alone was the job of the historian.

Ranke's tenet reflected, on the one hand, his personal conviction and constituted, on the other, a challenge to all philosophers of history. Here it would be legitimate to observe that Ranke, if not a philosophical historian, acted as a theological historian when he wrote that every epoch is individually endowed with its own worth, its own consistent self-sufficiency, significance, flavor (and hence fascination), and has a direct relationship to God.

Spurred on, then, by his desire to obtain objective truth, Ranke went to Berlin, anxious to put his theory into practice by searching out and studying all available documents. In his opinion, documents recorded events as they actually happened. During his stay in Berlin, this young and promising scholar began his systematic hunt for documents. In the Royal Library, which he visited assiduously, he made his monumental discovery of a large collection of Venetian ambassadorial relazioni and immersed himself in reading them with great energy. His burst of enthusiasm was more than justified. In these reports, composed immediately after the completion of each mission, the ambassador presented a concise and well-thought-out panoramic survey of the environmental, demographic, social, economic, and, in particular, the political and institutional characteristics of the state where he had been stationed. These authentic documents, rich with information concerning great events of the past, became Ranke's principal source. In his anxiety to retain them for his own personal use, he bought up all the copies he could on the antiquarian market. One need only scan the Catalogue of Rankean manuscripts prepared by Edward Muir to realize that the major part of his collection consists of the relazioni of the Venetian ambassadors, especially those dealing with Rome, France, the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, England, and Turkey. All of those subjects, of course, were of great interest to Ranke.

Already in 1810 the importance of these reports had been instinc-
tively recognized by Johannes von Müller, an author who had exerted some degree of influence on Ranke's formation as a scholar. But Ranke had far surpassed Müller. It was one thing to point out the existence of a possible source, and another to use it systematically, to consult it continually, to incorporate information from it into other historical works, and to convince contemporary as well as later scholars of its indispensability. In this light Ranke should be regarded as the authentic discoverer of the *relazioni*, and their supreme sponsor. Thanks to him, all modern historians consult these reports, which were judged to be accurate and systematic by the historian and diplomat Alfred von Reumont, who, it is worth noting, dedicated a sympathetic obituary to Ranke.

But Ranke's affection for these *relazioni* was unique. Besides furnishing him with facts and details, at times they also appear to provide his greatest inspiration, the spark that fired his narrative release. This is not an exaggeration. In the preface to *Die römischen Päpste in den letzten 4 Jahrhunderten*, Ranke himself asserts that it was only because he had been able to see and use the *relazioni* (usually in their original versions) of the diplomats returning from Rome that he had found the inspiration, purpose, and courage to write this great work in an uninterrupted draft. *Die römischen Päpste* is regarded by some (Delio Cantimori, for example) to be his first mature effort, while others (such as Carlo Antoni), in disagreement with the majority opinion, consider *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* to be Ranke's early masterpiece.

Ranke with laudable pride collected forty-eight *relazioni* dating from 1500 to 1783. Of these, nineteen date from the sixteenth century, twenty-one from the seventeenth century, and eight from the eighteenth century. If we consult *Le relazioni a stampa di ambasciatori veneti* (Padua, 1939), so diligently assembled by Francesca Antonibon, we find that a total of sixty-five pertain to Rome. For approximately forty-two of these, Ranke's summaries are cited in the bibliography; and for three, Ranke's are the only references provided. Of the sixty-five in Antonibon's list, twenty-nine belong to the sixteenth century, twenty-four to the seventeenth, ten to the eighteenth, and two to the end of the fifteenth century (for which only the summaries in Marino Sanudo's *Diarii* are given). On the basis of these figures it is clear that Ranke was not able to study all the Venetian *relazioni* concerning the Holy See and the pontifical state. It is equally evi-
Quel giorno auspiciò alla nostra maniera migliorare l'opera di presentare da qua parte all'Altissimo il nostro credito, per la
missione dei Maggioni e per i principi con quali si stava riunendo; ma qui condotta aveva del sperare di buon quadro il rimanente
a inclinar la reputazione digerendola abbandonandola quel uguale
o quale venivano che dai perdutissimi avverti fecero a noi desideri
vinto un qualche titolo di sapere. Nell'assumere pertanto il
legame costituire, del quale ha veduto l'Authority Rutinostro
si avvicinò alla corta di credere per noi Dampante l'inginocchiato
insinuò di significare la sua esaltazione verso il presente
Venarzi Giorgio 3° per la felice sua situazione al Trono della
Gran Bretagna. Ci serve da noi esigere con tutte quelle mani
che vogliamo a istituire la vera estatica della Lega per un
tanto ovunque, a tener coltivare la buona corrispondenza con
quelle Nazioni, di a vendere con giusto dire le inclinazioni verso
il pubblico oggetto, come presso introdurre la difficoltà, ed avere
la combinazione del tempo presente, proponendo per conseguire un
tal fine qualche ben visibile riflessivo della privata nostra...
dent, however, that Ranke gave a vigorous boost to the study of these documents, one that led to the eventual increase of their use and survival, not only of the Roman examples, but of all the relazioni.

The published history of the relazioni began at the end of the sixteenth century with a badly done anthology called the Tesoro politico . . . and continued in the seventeenth century with the Tesori della corte romana . . . , compiled by the writer-adventurer Gregorio Leti. Not much was done with these materials during the eighteenth century for two reasons: the intellectual atmosphere in the Age of Reason was not conducive to studies of ‘reason of state’; also, Venice’s loss of reputation diminished the general interest in the opinions and outlook of its patriciate. In the nineteenth century, however, partly as a result of Ranke’s teaching, the relazioni began to speak brilliantly for themselves. The Piedmontese historian Luigi Cibrario published three of them, staggered over time, concerning the Duchy of Savoy; Louis Prosper Gachard brought to light those dealing with Charles V and Philip II; and Niccolò Tommaseo, those relating to sixteenth-century France; Joseph Fiedler and Alfred Armeth, those of the Venetian aristocrats on their return from Vienna and Prague; Eugenio Alberi, all the sixteenth-century examples; and Niccolò Barozzi and Guglielmo Berchet, all those of the seventeenth century. This fervor of publication continued into the twentieth century with the editions prepared by Petrus Johannes Blok, Arnaldo Segarizzi,
Carlo Morandi, Ruggero Moscati, Giovanni Comisso, Franco Gaeta (in French translation), James C. Davis (in English)—and, most recently, with a partial re-edition of Segarizzi’s collection edited by Angelo Ventura and rendered especially valuable by its vigorous introduction and by Ventura’s philological scrupulousness in restoring the original reading to the text. Finally, a monumental photo-offset edition by Luigi Firpo, which is nearing completion, will enable scholars to consult the Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al senato, tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente.

The publication of these relazioni not only has enlarged their reading public, but has also generated an intensified use of them in modern historical studies. Some books are based almost entirely on them, sometimes citing them extensively, sometimes summarizing them. Such is the case in La vita economica degli stati italiani nei secoli xvi, xvii, xviii (secondo le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti) (Catania, 1938) by Alfredo Pino-Branca, and in El siglo xvi a la luz de los embajadores venecianos by Orestes Ferrara (Madrid, 1952; French edition, Paris, 1954; and Italian edition, Milan, 1960). Occasionally, the relazioni themselves constitute subjects for study and contemplation. Friedrich Meinecke finds the idea of ‘reason of state’ easily traceable in them, and Federico Chabod notes that they contain political ideas. From Armand Baschet to Willy Andreas, from Basilio Cialdea to Myron P. Gilmore, from Garrett Mattingly to Constantin Antoniade, the study of these documents has become focalized and more probing. The relazioni are now recognized as the essence of the diplomatic wisdom of the Venetian Republic; they provided the source for Donald E. Queller’s definitive account of their medieval genesis and Renaissance development.

But let us return to Ranke and attempt to understand why he staked his scholarly reputation on the choice of the relazioni as his pre-eminent source. Almost certainly it resulted from his admitted passion for Venice, for he spent a feverish period of study in that city from late 1827 until 1831, returning twice (in 1858 and 1863) to continue his archival and bibliographical pursuits and to follow the more relaxing ones of a tourist. Another important factor was Ranke’s desire to write for the German cultural elite a comprehensive history of the Republic, a desire only partly fulfilled by the three essays on Venetian topics: the conspiracy of 1618, the Venetian presence in the Peloponnnesus, and sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-
century Venice—all of which were included in a volume of his Opera Omnia. Although not a large state, Venice, in Ranke’s opinion, was a remarkable one.

Among the many outstanding aspects of Venice, according to Ranke, were these relazioni, which inspired him as a collector and sharpened his desire for verstehen. Forming a continuous sequence from the 1400s to the 1700s, they can be read both vertically, that is, to follow in chronological succession the events of a single political entity, and horizontally, to study simultaneously Europe and the Mediterranean. Many of Ranke’s ideas were suggested to him through his reading of the relazioni: for example, the cause and effect of religion on politics. Here we are reminded of Ranke’s belief that the often antagonistic relationship of Church and State is a constant element in modern history. Other themes inspired by the relazioni are: the internal reinforcement of royal power (derived from the sixteenth-century relazioni); the Spanish withdrawal (from seventeenth-century examples); the majesty of French monarchic grandeur; the surprising ascent of Holland; the robust vitality of England. Ranke would later elaborate these embryonic ideas in his large-scale narratives.

There are two advantages to reading the relazioni as sources: they bear witness to an event, and they stimulate historical verstehen. Ranke regarded the relazioni as primary evidence, superior in status to the spurious documentation constituted by the mass of so-called narrative sources, that is, the entire body of historiographical versions contemporary or slightly posterior to the facts in question.

Ranke states this opinion clearly in Französische Geschichte in his judgment of Enrico Davila, the author of the Storia delle guerre civili di Francia (Venice, 1630) and himself an eyewitness of the last phase of that war. While Ranke esteems Davila’s work and considers it to be much more valuable than Jacques Auguste de Thou’s Historiae, he warns against accepting its veracity. Ranke believes that Davila’s fundamental approach (evident even in the work’s title, in which religious wars become ‘civil’ wars) distorts his interpretation of single incidents and induces him to downgrade religion to a ‘pretext’, a ‘color’, in a ruthless struggle for power. All narrative and literary sources, Ranke believed, were artificial precisely because their elaborateness introduces yet one more modification to obfuscate their documentary value.
Ranke was intent upon penetrating the thoughts of the protagonists of historical events, anxious to enter into the complexity of their ideas and emotions in order to understand them thoroughly. He was not delighted by the fact that he was often preceded in this respect by narrative sources, especially sixteenth-century versions which, following in the wake of Francesco Guicciardini, tend towards psychological description. As a historical narrator, Ranke is conscious of the weaknesses found in previous accounts, but nevertheless regards them as rivals to his own, even in those cases where the narrative version of the event dominates the occurrence itself, an area for which he cites Davila as a transgressor. We see a particularly eloquent example of the dominating narrative in Paolo Sarpi's *Istoria del Concilio tridentino*, which, though it was written after the fact, contains much information derived from interviews with participants in the council. If, as Sarpi suggests, the Council of Trent produced the same epic reverberations as the sacking of Troy, then Sarpi himself can be looked upon as its reproving Homer; for the event as described is unthinkable without the author. Thus, from Sforza Pallavicino to Hubert Jedin, every successive historian of the Council has taken upon himself to demolish or at least correct Sarpi's version, as if to separate surgically one from the other—the Council itself, that is, from its historical misrepresentation.

According to Ranke it is deceptive to learn about a fact only from narrative or literary versions, which he considers to be secondhand knowledge. Instead, Ranke insists, historical knowledge should be based on firsthand information. Once the screen of literary and narrative sources has been removed, we should be led to a direct understanding of how things really occurred. Pure knowledge, based only
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on documents and uncluttered by ideologies, is essential to Ranke's goal of scientific historiography.

Admittedly, this is an idealistic goal, especially on Ranke's part. Is not his tenet "Everything is an individual and universal life" a form of ideology? Is it not ideological to claim that historical knowledge is the province of scholars and scholarly institutions, of specialized periodicals that are at once official and officious? While historical knowledge certainly is increasing, it is also confined to the realm of academics, regimented and subordinated to the state, and made to conform to the directives issued by 'Herr Professor'. The fact that Ranke was a Prussian functionary was undeniably an influential factor in the formation of his ideas. When he discussed historical trends of long duration, even though he did not present his ideas as concepts, he ideologized more than he thought he did. It is amusing to note that François Furet, in his recent defense of his own analysis of deep-seated trends, introduces as an analogy Ranke's attempts to identify such trends. Furet, however, does not participate in Ranke's cult of documents.

Ranke was not comfortable with all kinds of documents. He felt the need to know the person who was pronouncing the words of the past. He did not like dry, minute documents such as accounts and inventories, customs records of payments and expenditures, contracts, lists of deceased persons, or similar types of records—these he considered of little importance. In Ranke's works, preference is given to the writings of great diplomats—and in the present case, Venetian diplomats—for they are more consistent with his natural inclination to perceive history through the study of interstate relationships in which force plays a central role. Diplomats serve as sentinels posted to discern elements of strength and weakness. A reading of all their reports (scarce for the Middle Ages and abundant for the modern age, for which reason Ranke preferred modern to medieval history) reveals who is the strongest and why. Ranke resorted systematically to the most continuous, compact, and homogeneous corpus of diplomatic reports, the Venetian relazioni, for which no equivalents exist. But is it wholly legitimate to consider that corpus as a faithful record of how things actually occurred? Is this group of documents entirely immune from all the biases evident in contemporary historiographic works? Ranke was so overwhelmed by his own enthusiasm for these documents, congenial as they were to his own vision of
history, that he took from them the inspiration for his own prolific writings. From the very beginnings of his scholarly career, Ranke seems to have placed his trust in these documents in direct proportion to the doubt that he accorded other forms of history. In sum, he attributed to the *relazioni* the same value merited by more immediate and spontaneous testimonies.

Yet, the *relazioni* are highly filtered, deeply pondered texts, and they are not spontaneous in the least. There are many explanations for this: they were composed after the fact, elaborated and rewritten with caution and attention, carefully gauged to conform to obvious stylistic conventions and to serve the manifest literary ambitions of their authors. The *relazioni* are not simple writings, but premeditated essays. “Sind Werke eines Geistes . . . Kunstwerke einer politischen Kultur” (They are the product of a mind, masterpieces of a political culture), Willy Andreas observed in 1908.

Not only do the *relazioni* lack freshness and candor, they are overburdened with sophistication, with the specious addition of artifice. One need only scan the biographies of the authors of these *relazioni* to ascertain their sense of commitment to the composition of their reports. Conceived as an occasion for demonstrating the intellectual acuteness and writing skill of its author, the *relazione* as a literary form became in time an arduous test of compositional dexterity in which factual knowledge was taken for granted. It provided an opportunity for the aristocrat to distill the essence of his own diplomatic experience by adopting a method of interpretive synthesis in order to submit his reflections on the public authority of the state to which he was assigned. In it, he might include as much as was deemed ‘worthy’ of the Serenissima’s ‘cognition’.

Since Venice was only a medium-sized state (and not a great power), it required—to maintain its autonomy—a sophisticated diplomacy that would enable a rapid evaluation of the strengths of other states. Following this principle, Venetian foreign diplomacy in the sixteenth century acquired a special aura of success and wisdom, while in the seventeenth century it appeared to be very much modified, and in the eighteenth it could no longer conceal its impotence. The *relazioni* illustrate that this essentially neutral diplomatic policy was pursued almost uniformly, with the exception of alliances formed during the struggle against Turkey.

But the *relazioni* do not only refer to the importance and specific
natures of the states that deal with Venice. Often the author apparently needs to emphasize the excellence of his own deeds, as well as to justify them, especially when his actions have not been free from criticism. If in his relazione he praises a particular procedure practised abroad, this constitutes a veiled criticism of the absence of that procedure in Venice and an implicit suggestion for its adoption. In more than one relazione, it can be observed that to understand the affairs of other states ("intender li fatti di altri") means to understand Venetian affairs. This conflation of foreign and internal political policies accentuates the manipulative aspect of the relazioni. The Venetian ambassadors do not describe current events in their relazioni, but rather in their incessant (and sometimes daily) correspondence.

If any immediacy exists in any diplomatic records, it is found in letters and dispatches. Whereas the relazioni are by necessity selective, the correspondence recounts facts minutely in a continual stream of fresh details about what really took place. There was literally no time to revise these missives. For example, if we compare the subsequently printed relazione, which Paolo Paruta submitted at the end of 1595 after his return from Rome, with his dispatches sent during his mission and also subsequently printed, the results of the differing approaches are evident. In the dispatches, Paruta describes in detail all that happens to him, what he hears, sees, or experiences; in the relazione Paruta measures, composes, judges, self-justifies, reprimands indirectly, criticizes implicitly, and above all, synthesizes and interprets the same information.

Since interpretation and synthesis are the prevailing methods in the relazioni, details are drastically reduced towards that end. Marco Foscarini, the author of the Storia della letteratura veneziana (Padua, 1752), correctly assessed them as 'historical essays'; if read both synchronically and diachronically, the relazioni constitute an enormous and overwhelming history of Europe and of the Mediterranean in the modern age. While nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians, Ranke in primo, use the individual relazioni as isolated documents, the entire corpus does also give the overall impression of a continuous militant view of history on the part of an entire ruling class. There are hundreds of relazioni written in different times, by different hands, concerning different countries. And yet they are all similar to one another to the extent that they seem almost to be the work of a single author. One reason for this is that they all follow the
same general format: first the site and the quality of the territory is discussed, then the inhabitants, including their customs and activities, and lastly the court or government. A further unifying factor that transforms the separate relazioni into so many chapters of a single collective history is their insistently Venetian-centered perspective. The external world may be varied, different, and contradictory, but the telescope through which it is viewed remains fixed on the lagoon. Venice is the observatory from which the relazioni are external projections.

Although the Venetians traveled, came to know diverse peoples, and ventured into distant lands, they inevitably compared everything to their own city and made all judgments according to domestic standards. For example, Angelo Legrenzi, physician and author of Il pellegrino in Asia (Venice, 1705), having arrived at Shiraz in Persia, admired the ‘whiteness’ of the local glass. He compared it to the same quality found in Venetian glass and at the same time advanced the suspicion that such high quality must be due to Armenian industrial espionage. Ambassador Leonard Donà, who later presided as doge at the time of the interdict of 1577, admitted with obvious disappointment that the bell tower of the Viennese cathedral was “just as tall as our campanile of San Marco”. With respect to the Venetians away from Venice, the words of the twentieth-century poet Giorgio Caproni are particularly apt: “In my travels I have always stayed at home”.

Whatever his destination—Madrid, London, Paris, Vienna, Prague, Milan, Turin, Rome, or Constantinople—the ambassador kept Venice engraved in his memory as he carried out the instructions of the Senate, the body which continued to direct him during his entire tour of duty. Although he had kept the Senate informed daily by letter, upon his final return to Venice the ambassador presented the Senate with a concise report. The relazione, then, provided an account of a foreign state, but one nevertheless seen from a Venetian point of view, always leading back to the concerns of Venice, and evaluated according to Venetian criteria. When, for example, Alvise Contarini, the future mediator at Münster, depicted Holland in 1626, he noted with pleasure that Amsterdam, furrowed with waterways in which the houses were reflected, bore some similarity to Venice. Yet, at the same time he was astonished at the intensity of navigation, of the trading at the docks. But his amazement was soon surpassed by
his desire to understand the intricate working of such an active commerce in order "to derive very profitable inspirations thereof" that might lead to reviving "the bloodless commerce of this city".

Thus the relazioni so dear to Ranke constitute a singular type of source. Saturated with the Venetian outlook, overly subjective in their reflected opinions of the Venetian aristocracy, they represent more an elaboration of the viewpoint of the Republic than exact documents serving the interests of pure history. They constitute a series of chapters of a history written by the ruling class, one that can be viewed as consistent with Ranke's dual conception of history: first, as a science which promotes the collection and the intellectual penetration of precise facts; and second, as an art in that the historiographer, in his attempt to represent, both molds and re-creates.

The ambassador in his relazione produced a synthetic elaboration of the same information amassed in the dispatches, though on an intentionally higher stylistic level. Thus, the relazione served not only as a government statement, but in a certain sense, as a literary form or (as defined by Marco Foscarini) a historical composition as well. While the relazioni show the Venetian patrician's understanding of his position as a member of the ruling class, their limitations are equally evident. They are less perceptive than the works of other Venetian historians like Davila, as demonstrated by his observation that "the qualities of the monarchy are more appropriate and suitable to those who aspire to territorial expansion and to great conquests". In one breath he both alludes to the potential expansion of France's boundaries and implicitly reveals the reasons for the absence of this policy in Venice.

In the final analysis, the relazioni say only what the Senate permits to be said. As the writings of the ruling class, they reveal the symptoms of self-indulgence. When the doge Niccolò Contarini employs a ruthless form of self-criticism in his Istorie veneziane, he displays a greater comprehension of the Turkish world than is found in all the reports of the ambassadors returned from Constantinople. It is superfluous, however, to acclaim the greatness of Contarini's work. Ranke, in his own time, was well aware of it and had acquired a copy in manuscript—the same copy that is preserved here at Syracuse University.
The personality of Leopold von Ranke as historian and teacher cannot be summed up from a study of his method of critical evaluation of historical sources, although the influence that his method had on the historiography of the last century—an influence sometimes annoyingly exaggerated in his less able imitators—exceeds that of all his other ideas. A very important role in the development of his Quellenkritik must certainly be assigned to his education in the techniques of classical philology and also to the perplexity aroused by his reading of Francesco Guicciardini and Paolo Giovio. Their works, once they were compared with original contemporary evidence, appeared to be based on secondary sources and were hence barely reliable. I am convinced, however, that Ranke's method came to full maturation because of the particular conditions in the archives and the libraries of the time, as well as the opportunities for access to Venetian documents, whose distinctive features immediately appeared to him the most likely to satisfy his need to know wie es eigentlich gewesen.

Ranke's opinion on these privileged sources was shared by other historians who were particularly appreciative of ambassadors' reports. As is well known, Ranke viewed those reports as direct contacts with the men who were politically involved, that is, with the small circle of responsible protagonists in the life of the Venetian states. He had known of those reports when he was in Germany. Later, he went to Vienna, where he expected to find the entire Venetian archive. He was not planning to use it in research limited to the history of Venice, but thought of it rather as securing an undiscovered history of Europe. The abundance of diplomatic documents in the archive and the data it provided substantiated Ranke's developing concept of what is important for the historian whose task binds him to "that part of life that is preserved in writing".
In Vienna he did not find the archives of the Republic, but was able to examine many other Venetian materials of various origins. He was hampered in his handling of documents by the numerous restrictions of one sort or another, even though his work had the support of Clemens von Metternich and Friedrich von Gentz. In order to complete his researches, he felt that it was necessary to go to Venice and Rome, for otherwise the picture that he was putting together would be too fragmentary. In Venice he found very good working conditions at the Marciana Library, but infinite limitations at the recently established State Archives, which had not yet organized and still lacked an inventory. Furthermore, scholars there were denied many documents on the grounds that secrets might be exposed or that state security or the honor of the ruling house might be threatened, any of which would have incurred heavy criminal penalties. There was a pervasive climate of mistrust, especially in contacts with foreigners. After the episodes of public violence and looting during the democratic period and after the embezzlements and requisitions that had occurred repeatedly during the French and Austrian domination, the archivists sought to reveal as rarely as possible the treasures entrusted to them, so that they might better protect them in case of emergency. The Austrian government gave Ranke a very generous authorization, which excluded only the reports for the period after the French Revolution. It did, however, stipulate that all the copies and notes he made be certified by the director.

All these precautions and pettinesses, however, were absolutely useless. In contrast to the restrictions applied in the public archives, numerous private owners opened their doors readily to historical research. Also, in Rome, in Venice, and to some extent in other places, a market for manuscripts flourished undisturbed. It should be noted as well that already, by 1713, some of the most secret relazioni (ambassadorial reports) had been sold openly in Rome. Before the fall of the Republic in 1797, others had quietly been published.

Venice was by tradition an important center of the antiquarian trade in books, prints, and manuscripts. It had flourished since the first part of the eighteenth century, thanks to the great scholarly reawakening that in Venice was directed primarily towards local history. There were numerous bookshops, frequented both by the city's nobility and by foreigners who used them as places to meet and converse. The book market also drew the attention of government au-
authorities, who had acquired in 1794 a part of the very rich collection left by the bookseller Amadeus Schweyer, because they feared that amongst his holdings there might be secret manuscripts. It was a market richer than that of any other Italian city in that it was nourished and replenished locally by materials which represented an exceptionally flourishing cultural tradition.

The abundance of material became massive after the fall of the Republic. The archives of many old offices were for all intents and purposes deserted and those items that at first glance seemed the most precious were removed piecemeal, either in good or bad faith, under the pretext of keeping them safe from being looted by the mob. Where new offices took over from old ones, many documents that were considered cumbersome or useless were sent to be pulped or sold. It had happened in the same way in France at the time of the Revolution, when public archives disposed of enormous quantities of vieux papiers.

An even more outstanding quantity arrived on the antiquarian market after the suppression of the ecclesiastical corporations that had been ordered by the Napoleonic government. Also at that time, chronicles, histories, and very rare manuscripts were rescued from requisition by the religious establishment, and only in part did they return to their original site at the time of the Restoration. Many had been dispersed in secret sales of separate documents during the time when religious communities, destitute of every resource, were seeking the means to survive. Official figures offer only a general estimate of the size of the displacement, without giving any idea of the historical or antiquarian value of the individual specimens that were disposed of so hastily. The library of the Convent of San Michele in Murano alone had at least 2300 manuscripts and an uncertain number of books. A part of that collection was sent to Rome and the rest was, in so far as was possible, hidden or sold. The thirty thousand volumes of the library of the religious corporation, the Somaschi, at the Salute, were sold to a bookdealer. But, before the delivery the friars took away the more valuable items and divided them among themselves, while the other books and manuscripts ended up in the hands of fishmongers and spice vendors. All this is without taking into account the fact that, when the Republic fell, the library of the Convent of San Giorgio Maggiore was ravaged by people who went by boat in order to loot its precious collections.
Private archives and libraries were not expropriated, but they too contributed to the antiquarian market. Wars, misfortunes, bankruptcies, real estate taxes, ordinary and special levies, and a style of life out of proportion with income, signaled the rapid ruin of many noble families. In straitened circumstances, they put up for sale everything that they could, particularly books and manuscripts—for these things rendered no income, yet required personnel and space that could no longer be provided. It should be kept in mind that with the fall of the Republic many manuscripts had in some way lost their value for their owners since they had been preserved, as Ranke informs us, both as memoirs and as instructional material for the young members of the family who were preparing to serve in the highest levels of the State. Ranke gained access to quite a few of these family archives, but “an infinitely greater number” escaped him through their having been destroyed in the catastrophic fall of the Republic and in the years that followed. There is ample testimony concerning the vicissitudes of the libraries and collections of documents belonging to the noble Venetian families.

If we look at the matter from a purely economic point of view, setting aside the cultural implications, we could say that the amount of material on the market was quite in excess of demand. Numerous booksellers governed the market. The catalogues that they published periodically give us a measure of the value of the material put up for sale. It was generally regretted that the buyers were for the most part foreigners, who by their purchases were tragically despoiling Venice of her treasures for their own benefit. But it would have been difficult


One of the oldest extant Venetian ambassador’s reports, this relazione was read before the Venetian Senate after Giustinian returned from a three-year-and-four-month tour of duty as ambassador to France. King of France, Francis I, had been an erratic and vacillating sovereign, who had been captured in battle in 1525 and was imprisoned for a time in Spain. During Giustinian’s tenure as ambassador, however, Francis appeared more resolute in that he ended the toleration of French protestants and instituted the royal lectures, which became the basis for the famed Collège de France.
Relazione di Francia di M. Maron Juntinian 1535.

Il Re, per commender l'armi alle fazioni cristiane, e di avvicinare le parti, ha scritto al Papa, e alla Chiesa, che ha invocato la Santa Sede per una legale decisione della cosa. Il Papa, ammalato di vecchiaia, ha deciso di inviare un ambasciatore, per esaminare le questioni relative alla pace. L'ambasciatore ha visitato la Francia, ed è stato ricevuto con cortesia dalla corte di Parigi. Il Re ha ordinato che le armi fossero sospese, e che le trattative si facessero in pace. L'ambasciatore ha riferito al Papa le condizioni proposte dal Re, e il Papa ha deciso di accettare la pace. Il trattato è stato firmato a Parigi, e la pace è stata dichiarata stabile.
to place goods of such a particular nature with a predominately local clientele in a city that was both demographically and economically in full decline, with numerous houses abandoned and in ruins and with the quality of life vastly reduced. The new rich were not so interested in old papers, but preferred either to deal in the real estate market, which was flooded with offerings of land and buildings from the patrimony of the suppressed religious orders, or to invest in paintings, statuary, or antique artifacts—objects that could be put on display as a mark of their rising status. But in this area the market was already very active before the fall of the Republic. Entire libraries and archives were often sold together with the accompanying paintings, antiques, and orientalia. A substantial number of items were retailed not only in bookshops but on little stands all over the city, where they were displayed together with prints and other things. The relatively modest prices attracted a heterogeneous clientele of scholars, collectors, dilettanti, and the curious. Ranke himself, though he was often worried by his scant economic means, was in a position to make very large acquisitions of manuscripts which in other times would have been beyond the expectations of a university professor.

Greater circulation and accessibility introduced a taste for the antiquarian book and manuscript in a public that never before had had a chance to know them well. Thus, the circle of collectors expanded noticeably to include (besides the usual churchmen) doctors, civil servants, butchers, and other merchants of new wealth. Many of them were bibliophiles, and they looked for incunabula, Aldines, sixteenth-century editions, language texts, first editions, and erotica. In their hunt for manuscripts, they were attracted by those that were beautifully illuminated and decorated, or those that contained chronicles, relazioni, diaries, memoirs, treatises, literary or philosophical works—texts, in sum, of a certain completeness—as well as autographs of illustrious people. They were not interested in the gray administrative and judicial papers, contracts, wills and the like that, instead, were sold by weight as wrapping paper.

Historical research is indebted to these keen lovers of books and manuscripts for the preservation of a patrimony that otherwise would have been lost. But, unfortunately, their collecting passions often degenerated into a mania that drove them to extend their searches to public libraries and archives. Hence, the market was replenished by thefts carried out by librarians and by scholars themselves, who
were aided by the insufficient surveillance and also by the difficulty of exercising adequate control over the newly acquired materials. Among those who performed such culpable deeds, let us remember Baron Pietro Custodi, who published a large collection of classical writers in political economics, and Guglielmo Libri, author of a highly acclaimed *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie*, who stole with impunity in France and in Italy. It was he who put together the famous collection that was later acquired in good faith by Lord Ashburnham, who in turn passed it on to the governments of England, France, and Italy for their libraries.

Ranke was not a bibliophile and, if we find some Aldines in his library at Syracuse University, it is because he acquired them, when he happened upon them, for their content rather than for the quality of the edition. And he certainly did not steal manuscripts from the libraries or public archives where he worked, because (apart from his moral integrity), as a historian who based his writings on new and original documents, he had every interest in seeing that they remained where he had cited them as being. He made his first acquisition of Venetian *relazioni* in Gotha and, in 1829 in Padua, he bought about one hundred more at a cost of a Prussian thaler each. He purchased other books and manuscripts in Florence and still others (of which there still survives a list in the Venetian State Archives) he acquired just before returning home. The greater part of the Venetian manuscripts were obtained from Abbot Daniele Francesconi, a former professor of law and later librarian at the University of Padua, who was a discerning bibliophile, more casual and ingenuous than avidly business-like. In particular, Ranke bought from him the manuscripts from the library of Da Ponte, which form the essential core of the Syracuse University collection.

It is not easy to establish whether in his purchases Ranke was driven by precise choices or by market opportunities. However, when the list of manuscripts that he bought is examined and compared with that of the copies made by him in the State Archives, it is apparent that the determining factor was the offering of the market, within a fairly well defined range of preferences. Essentially, he bought chronicles and *relazioni*. As for the other papers, however diverse they may seem to be, one can trace a connection of interests. In these purchases Ranke did not especially have in mind a history of Venice. We know, in fact, that he considered the material that he
took back to Berlin insufficient for the undertaking of such an endeavor.

There are numerous chronicles that Ranke particularly valued because they offered him a basic order of the events, recorded around the time in which they took place, and because they were especially useful for the centuries preceding the sixteenth, for which the historian heretofore had not had diplomatic sources at his disposal. For a scholar like Ranke, who saw in the history of the states the determining action of the international political situation rather than of the internal forces, an interest in the chronicles was certainly not limited to the history of Venice. But a great deal of the material was of a different nature, the most important being the dispatches and *relazioni* from diplomatic representatives. These not only cast light on the international relations of the Republic of Venice, but also on the internal affairs of various states, with descriptions of their rulers, ministers, and resources.

In Rome, consultation with numerous family collections left Ranke with a multitude of impressions and rewarded him with a deeper understanding of specific problems, though without necessarily enabling him to enlarge his vision. The *relazioni* of the Venetian ambassadors at the pontifical court inspired him with the courage to write a complete history of the popes, for they afforded him a vast amount of new information “drawn from direct observations which were no longer obtainable after the death of the observers”, and therefore, in his opinion, not to be found elsewhere. Although the collection preserved in the Republic’s archives was incomplete, Ranke succeeded, nevertheless, in putting together a series of events with only occasional gaps, by adding materials from the imperial archives in Vienna, from other collections, and from what he could find in the antiquarian market. He was convinced that he could not have attempted such a work without this material.

Nobody would want to believe that Ranke was induced to confront “the period in which the political and religious power of the papacy rises again, rejuvenates, is profoundly modified, progresses and decays” simply because of the availability of the forty-eight Venetian *relazioni* about Rome. But the choice of a topic such as *Die Venezianer in Morea* appears directly bound to the opportunity of access to such a specific nucleus of documents as these. We know how this work was received with little favor by critics because of its servile
subordination to such sources, and how a similar reaction was set in motion about his studies on the Spanish monarchy.

Of course, it would not have been easy to ignore the suggestion of completeness and accuracy offered by those sources. They presented a clear and immediate narrative plot and expanded upon the actions and sentiments of the people involved in such a way that one could effectively identify with them. There was no reason to doubt the direct observations of these skillful government officials. In the era when Ranke made his trip to the south (1827–31), it was generally believed that the action of social forces was less important than the performance of those men who were influential and had the responsibility of power and whose personalities, in point of fact, left their imprint on both national life and international affairs. Actually, these official observations perfectly satisfied the exigencies of historical research, which was directed by instinct to the State and therefore to the governments that best represented it. For indeed, recent upheavals had brought about certain political positions that needed support in the lessons of history. Also, the crises of many of the old institu-

Leopold von Ranke's apartment and library were on the second floor of this building, 24a Luisenstrasse, Berlin. From the engraving by E. Hilpert.
tions (crises that were menacing despite the restoration) led to the thought that a historical cycle was ending. This situation was particularly true in Venice, where a foreign domination with a radical change in structures and priorities succeeded an aristocratic government that nobody thought could ever be exhumed. Now, these institutions could be the object of a complete historical analysis aimed at discovering their essence and mechanisms. There was no historiographic interest in extending the research to the masses, for it was the very time in which the processes of democratization were beginning and showed their most worrisome aspects. Moreover, new economic structures and forms of social relations that were bound up with the industrial revolution were in the process of determining a cleaner break between the initiatives of a restricted governing group and the working classes who were instrumental to its endeavors. The relazioni, dealing as they did with politics and diplomacy, represented history in its dynamic element, while life in the broad strata of the population appeared static and hence less rewarding for anyone wishing to follow its development and record it. And it would not have been an easy task anyway. Mass trends were not documented in writing, and records of social and economic conditions were dispersed in an infinite number of documents amassed in public archives, for the most part unexplored and inaccessible, or neglected by the families responsible for them, or, as we have seen, rejected by the antiquarian market.

It has been written that the pervasive political character of nineteenth-century historiography was the price that it has had to pay for the progress achieved through scientific research tools and rigorous methods. One must take into account also the belief that the whole truth was thought to reside in the authenticity of documentation. We are sure that his visit to the immense and practically untouched deposits of the Venetian State Archives, described in Die Verschwörung gegen Venedig im Jahre 1618, must have given Ranke the feeling that, once the restrictions were dispensed with, the historian would be able to find there precise answers to all his questions. Certainly, the fact that an incomparably greater number of documents was available than in the past was a very effective stimulus to revise the traditional historiography. The enthusiasm for the discovered documents was so high towards the end of the century, when the paths of research had already been amply trodden, that works
like that of Vladimir Lamansky, which appeared on the market with the intriguing title of Secret d'État de Venise (1884), found a good reception.

Since, for the reasons mentioned before, the public archives were of relatively little use, they did not transmit all their documentary richness. Therefore, private collections and the antiquarian market became extremely important for research—the market perhaps more than the collections, which were not always opened to researchers. Because of the continuous and copious flow of supplies from various sources—private, religious, and, as we have seen, also public—the quantity of manuscripts that the antiquarian Venetian market offered was outstanding and the choice, vast. It was not difficult to find there the very same material that gruff 'custodes rerum secretarum' withheld from view at the State Archives (for example, the relazioni of ambassadors, which, made precious by literary ambitions and by the elegance of political rhetoric, circulated in several copies from the time of their compilation). Nor was it difficult to find the dispatches by the same diplomatic representatives, or by military or naval authorities, who often kept the first draft for themselves. Generally speaking, documents were not unrelated, but came in somewhat organic groups that were complete as to a specific subject, whether literary, historical, legal, or, as was most often the case—especially in those materials coming from the collections of families that had for centuries constituted the governing class—political. And a notable portion of these documents had filtered down through the years, selected because of a certain recognized or attributed value that rendered them most choice indeed.

I believe I am stating the truth when I say that, until public collections were opened up and made to be convenient, the antiquarian market offered the greatest contribution to historic research. Ranke revealed it in the choice of his topics, in his preference for certain lines of inquiry, in the structure of his narrative, in his enthusiasm for the details, and in the space that he devoted to critical observations on the sources. Ranke's evolution towards more concrete and detailed historical work would certainly have run a different course if he had not been favored by the easy availability of Venetian documents, with their distinctive characteristics. According to Theodor Wiedemann's Erläuterungen, Ranke constantly used those documents that he had carried with him to Berlin, even when he was not work-
ing on Venetian history. Without their help, Ranke's method of writing history based on documents contemporary to the action would have been perhaps less innovative and the imprint of his strong personality as a historian, less lively.

ABOVE: Tailpiece from Nicolaus Schaten's *Annalium Paderbornensium*, volume 1 (Neuhusii: Sumptibus Christophori Negelii . . . , 1693), from the library of Leopold von Ranke, at Syracuse University, which holds the only copy recorded in North America.
The Imperishable Perishable Press

BY TERRANCE KEENAN

It has been a good deal more than a century since hand-printed, hand-crafted books became the specialist's domain, to be sought after by the knowing and handled with delectation. The concept of text, paper, and print all having some aesthetic unity is one that the average modern reader has not been educated to appreciate. Fortunately, however, there have been bookmakers and designers—William Morris or Bruce Rogers, for example—who have managed to keep the notion alive for the interested few. But today, in the face of paper costs, high-speed printing, and the massive publishing industries, the individual craftsman is easily overwhelmed. Unless he has a will and a voice for hawking his skills, he will not survive.

Walter Hamady, Professor of Art at the University of Wisconsin and the founder of the Perishable Press, Mt. Horeb, Wisconsin, is a noisy, determined, but also consummate, craftsman. The George Arents Research Library holds better than half of the more than one hundred books that the Perishable Press has produced in the last twenty years. At the time that these volumes were acquired, the Library was not actively collecting fine printed materials, but instead, specific authors of the 1960s and 1970s—Toby Olson, Joel Oppenheimer, and Diane Wakoski, among others—who, as it happened, were being published by the Perishable Press. Syracuse is doubly fortunate in obtaining these books since many of the Perishable editions were very small: one hundred copies or less, many of which were dispersed to authors or friends—a feature which accounts for their severely limited availability.

The Hamady colophon is a trademark of the Press. Normally, one expects to find only print and publishing information in the colophon and the colophon itself on the last printed page. In a Hamady book the colophon may appear first, or in varying places near the beginning or near the end. The original and frequently unconventional formatting of the books determines the final positioning; but
Dear reader, the pieces in this book were written over 1969–1970 mostly as a result of telling my wife stories about the good life with my grandfather. The book is limited to 98 copies & all have been taken by subscription. This new type-face is Sabon Antiqua designed by Ian Tschichold, Hon. R.D. I., who is still friends with Elizabeth Kner, the bookbinder who, with her assistant, Britte A. Buitor, has given a housing to these sheets. The exquisite marbled papers were made specially for this book by our friend Norma Rubovits on paper made in our basement on new water-marked moulds (W&M) hand-made by Edwin Amies & Son in Maidstone, Kent. The title-page drawing is by Jack Beal whose work we love very much. The press-mark floating above was just sent by Sulayman Almuddin from Beirut. My wife cheerfully distributed the type and read the proofs. In short, this book has been made by friends.

Walter Hamady
Good Friday 1971
sometimes, it is sheer whimsy. The information divulged is never
dull. The type, papers, binding, and press run are described, of course,
but so are the circumstances of the making of the book, the weather,
and even the mood in the printing shop. These details draw the
reader into the core and spirit of the book. They alert him that the
book he is handling is itself a work of art.

Some sample excerpts of Hamady colophons from the George Ar-
ents Research Library follow:

. . . The type is hand set Palatino printed on Shadwell pa-
pers made in the basement. The folding and sewing, the
wrapping & shipping were done upstairs within sight of Blue
Mounds before, during & on Sadie Hawkins Day . . . (W.
S. Merwin, Chinese Figures, second series, 1971)

Published between the full Sturgeon moon & the Perseid
meteor showers at Minor Confluence in Driftless Wisconsin.
. . . (Harry Mark Petrakis, “Chapter Seven”, from The Hour
of the Bell, 1976)

Work on this book began back in February & here it is the
middle of July on the Full Buck Moon & its penumbral eclipse.
all [sic] of these various Japanese text papers were used be-
cause 1) we were not in production of our own Shadwell at
starting time & 2) it was very difficult to get any good hand-
made in quantity . . . (Jerome Rothenberg, A Poem of Bea-
vers, 1973)

In Sight of Blue Mounds is so-entitled because our life is lived
in such close interaction to these outliers within the driftless
area of s.w. Wisconsin. The book serves several functions:
. . . [among which are] to use up all the different papers
that came from trying to reduce our supply of old towels,
ties, jeans, sheets & shirts—so you could say our friends have
slept on & worn this book. . . . (Walter Hamady, In Sight
of Blue Mounds, 1972)

Hamady’s views on the making of books and paper form a special
philosophy that can be appreciated by anyone who loves books. The
advice he gives is not, perhaps, entirely practical for the business-
man; but if practicality had been his major concern, then none of these books would have come into existence. In all he says on the subject there shines a wonderful ethical sense. In the introduction to his retrospective catalogue Two Decades of Hamady and the Perishable Press Limited (1984), Hamady expounds:

... the book is perhaps the most personal form an artist can deal with. It encompasses a multiple and sequential picture plane, it is tactile, and to be understood it must be handled by the viewer, who then becomes a participant. The participant is an individual, not public by display but private by means of one-person-at-a-time revelation. ... The book is not something that needs to be described for the catalogue in thirty-eight words or less! It is a living dynamic possibility—a meeting place for whole worlds of divergent elements of human expression to melt and flow, to meld into excess beyond the limits of its parts. It is not merely bound pages to be sold and shelved and checked out.

To understand the structure of [a] book, one must understand seeing, that is, know how to see. The book is a drawing in that it is organizing shapes in space, shapes with space, space and elements, such as line/texture/color/harmony/balance, and so on. But the book is sculpture too; physically it must be held and manipulated by the viewer—but the viewer remains controlled by the intent of the artist. The artist reveals to the viewer as the gourmet chef reveals courses in color/texture/flavor complements—with true elegance, that is, completely free from awkwardness. ... Still people ask, why make your own paper, why make paper by hand? Well, why make spaghetti sauce from scratch and cook your pasta al dente instead of grabbing it out of a can ready to go? Why grind your own grains and bake your own bread when there are bakeries everywhere?

The answer, simply, is because it is better! This assumes a few things, such as that you are a damn good cook, that you are thoroughly experienced in tasting every kind of bread made on the planet, that you love to consume the most simple/complex paradoxes of the world, that you have a gift, or knack, and that you have the ability to see clearly with body
Poem by Ken Mikolowski; illustration by Ann Mikolowski in Thank You Call Again by Ken Mikolowski (Perishable Press, 1973). Photograph shows the various text papers and the map used as a wrapper.

and mind well enough to provide/perform-the necessary aesthetic craftsmanship. . . . A sheet of handmade paper has a wonderful sensual touch, and, as the oriental rug people say, it has a lot of hand, like the Bijar or the Daghestan, different and subtle.

Irregularity, unevenness, and uniqueness are qualities the machine is not interested in at all. A dented deckle. A folded-over corner. The out-of-square sides. That fortuitous red thread underlining a random word, that lace-wing insect preserved forever in the corner of the title page, that crater, the vatman's drops, the vatman's tears, a circle between title and text. The irregularity signifies: here, humanity, here is a sign that a human being did this! The eye and hand were here! . . .

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Books begin with a text, then a typeface design that will be harmonious with the meaning of the text. Then the text is set in type and is printed on paper. So the paper really carries this configuration. What could be more basic? The flour to the dough. The rag to the pulp, the pulp to the sheet, the sheet to the page, the page to the book, the parts to the sequence, the sequence giving over the meaning.

None of this tells about the variety of Hamady products, the tip-ins, the embossings, nor the humor he employs for surprising effects. Particularly notable in this respect is the volume from whose wrapper pocket a silhouetted face emerges, as though drowning in the water-like swirls of marbled paper. Ken Mikolowski's book of poems called Thank You Call Again (1973) is another interesting publication. It is printed on five different types of paper that are sewn into survey maps (in our case a United States National Ocean Survey nautical chart), and it contains illustrations by Ann Mikolowski of particular finesse and beauty.

When art and meaning come together so effectively, when craft and purpose meld so well, something precious emerges. Of the many one-of-a-kind things in the world, few have a memorable identity. In the work of Walter Hamady the art of bookmaking explores new terrain. The finished product is not a candidate for the museum or the gallery. It holds something for the eye and the mind both, something that was created by human hands to be held by human hands. Often beautiful, always different and provocative, the books of the Perishable Press are durable reminders of the creative spirit at work and play—thriving against the odds.
Freak Show Images from the Ron Becker Collection

BY ROBERT BOGDAN

During the period 1840 to 1940, Americans witnessed the rise and fall of freak shows—the formally organized public exhibitions, for amusement and profit, of people with real and alleged physical, mental, or behavioral differences. By 1840 'human curiosities', who up to then traveled and were exhibited independently, were joining burgeoning amusement companies, such as circuses and dime museums. In the early 1840s P. T. Barnum, the major figure in the nineteenth-century popular entertainment business in the United States, took over the American Museum in New York City. This Disneyland of Victorian America featured human curiosities.

The last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth constituted the era when freak shows were most popular. They were to be found at city, county, state, and world fairs, amusement parks, circuses, dime museums, and carnivals. By the hundreds they traversed the country, affording viewers ample chance to gawk at people we would now call disabled, as well as people who were abnormally tall, or short, or fat, or thin; people who swallowed swords, charmed snakes, performed any sort of novelty act; people who marked their bodies with strange tattoos; and people from the non-Western world who were presented as savages.

By 1940 economic hard times, technological and geographic changes, competition from other forms of entertainment, the medical correction of human abnormalities, and changed public taste resulted in a notable decline in the number and popularity of freak shows. Although they continued through the 1950s and 1960s (and vestiges exist even today), by 1940 they were in rapid decline.

I would like to thank Ron Becker, whose research on Charles Eisenmann and Frank Wendt is used in this paper.

All photographs accompanying this article are from the Ron Becker Collection in the Syracuse University Libraries.
In one way or another, every exhibit was a fraud. This is not to say that 'freaks' were without physical, mental, or behavioral anomalies. Many had profound imperfections (severe disabilities in today's terminology); but, with very few exceptions, every person exhibited was somehow misrepresented. In order to enhance their appeal to patrons, showmen misrepresented or exaggerated the nature of their condition and fabricated the circumstances of their backgrounds and current lives.

The Davis brothers are a case in point. Extremely short as well as mentally retarded, they were exhibited from 1852 until 1905 as the 'Wild Men of Borneo'—although they actually grew up on a farm in Ohio. Their employers claimed that after a desperate struggle they had been captured in the 'distant Pacific' and finally domesticated. Similarly, the five-year-old, Connecticut-born Sherwood Stratton became the eleven-year-old, English-born Tom Thumb when Barnum
The Davis brothers with manager, photo by W. S. Warren, ca. 1872.
first exhibited him. Stratton later married Lavinia Warren. Although they never had children, they were displayed with a baby that was presented as theirs. A baby Thumb, it was hoped, would stimulate business.

Starting in the 1860s and continuing throughout the history of the freak show, the exhibited personalities sold their own photographic portraits as a way of promoting their careers and supplementing their incomes. These images were carefully posed, and employed backgrounds and props that were consistent with the fraudulent presentations that the showmen concocted. It is these photographs that offer the most complete record of the freak show in America.

The Ron Becker Collection, a new addition to the George Arents Research Library and one of the largest holdings of freak show souvenir photographs in the United States, is comparable to the extensive collections at the Harvard Theatre Collection; the Ringling Circus Museum in Sarasota, Florida; the Circus World Museum in Baraboo, Wisconsin; and the Hertzberg Collection in San Antonio
Currier and Ives lithograph celebrating the wedding of Tom Thumb and Lavinia Warren, ca. 1863.

Public Library. The Becker Collection has images of all the sideshow greats, including P. T. Barnum, the father of the freak show, and his famous star Tom Thumb, as well as such notables as Jo-Jo the Dog-Faced Boy; the Wild Men from Borneo; Annie Jones, the Bearded
Lady; Anne Leake Thomson, The Armless Wonder; Isaac Sprague, the Human Skeleton; and Fiji Jim, the Island Cannibal.

Mr. Becker started amassing his unusual collection of American popular-culture artifacts over a decade ago while on vacation with his wife in New England. In a small, out-of-the-way antique shop in Maine, he happened by chance to open the drawer of a night table. There, looking up at him, was a nineteenth-century, cabinet-style photograph showing a woman with a large snake wrapped around her neck. He bought it. Later, at another antique shop, he found a second freak image and bought that. By the end of his holiday he had purchased about a dozen images and had committed himself to collecting this genre of photograph.

Though he was not indifferent to the subject matter of the pictures, Ron Becker’s specific interest lay in the photography involved, most particularly in that of two late-nineteenth-century photographers, Charles Eisenmann and his colleague Frank Wendt. The collection as it now stands contains 403 images that can be attributed to Eisenmann (between ca.1875 and 1903) and 147 marked with the logo of Wendt (from ca.1890 to 1905). The work of these two photographers makes up the core of the collection, but there are 452 images by other photographers as well, many of whom had their shops in the entertainment districts of New York City. In addition, there are over 100 items of sideshow memorabilia.

Charles Eisenmann, like so many of his nineteenth-century photographer contemporaries, left few traces for a biographer to work with. Born in 1850, he was one of the many German immigrants who flocked to New York City, where, never straying far from the German tenements, he was granted his naturalization papers in 1868. As a young man he learned the skills of a printer as well as those of a photographer. First listed in the New York City business directory as a photographer in 1876, he opened his first studio in 1879. The following year he married and became the father of a daughter. The photography work evolved into a family business with his wife, Dora, an active participant in the enterprise. In census reports of the period she is listed as a photographer herself. Beginning in 1881 the Eisenmann gallery was located at 229 Bowery. It was in this studio, in the heart of the city’s entertainment district, that he produced most of his work.

The area around Eisenmann’s studio was bustling with beer gar-
Annie Jones, the Bearded Lady, photo by Eisenmann, ca. 1885.
dens, inexpensive photographic studios, dance halls, and dime museums from where so many of his clientele came. These dime museums were fashioned after P. T. Barnum’s American Museum, which had exhibited various human curiosities as well as many unusual scientific exhibits. Freaks who were playing the dime museums or were in town with one of the many traveling circuses came to Eisenmann’s studio to pose for their promotional souvenirs, which they sold in conjunction with their professional appearances. Why this clientele was attracted to Eisenmann or why Eisenmann was attracted to them is unknown. In any case, these people became his specialty, the main source of his income, and it was Eisenmann who left the most complete record of them.

The wet-plate albumen process was the preferred method of photography during the 1870s and 1880s. Albumen prints were beautiful sepia-toned images. Working in both the 2¼” x 3½” carte-de-visite and the 4” x 6” cabinet formats, Eisenmann was a master at this craft, producing prints that were sharp, clear, and well posed.

Eisenmann could not have been in a better place or lived at a better time to practise his specialty. In the 1880s both pictures and actual exhibits of human curiosities were extremely popular. Photographing both the famous and the obscure, he quickly established himself as the premier photographer of freaks. As his subjects took to the road with their touring companies, they sold the images that he had taken, and in cities and towns across the country, even today, Eisenmann images still turn up.

In 1890 Eisenmann moved from the Bowery on the Lower East Side to West 190th Street. He remained there for seven years, but this was not a period of photographic productivity. In 1899 he moved to Plainfield, New Jersey, and although he continued as a photographer, the quality and number of images that he produced never approached those of his 1880s period. Of the over 400 Eisenmann photographs in the Becker Collection, only eight are from Plainfield and none of these are of freaks. There is no record of Eisenmann after 1903, when he disappears from the Plainfield directory.

The biography of Francis Frank Wendt is even more difficult to establish than Eisenmann’s. He first appears in the New York City directory in 1892. He was listed as a photographer whose place of work was West 190th Street near Eleventh Avenue, which was probably the shop Eisenmann ran after leaving the Bowery. The follow-
Anne Leake Thomson, 'The Armless Wonder', with husband and son, photo by Eisenmann, ca. 1885. On the back of this carte-de-visite is written: “Hands deprived / Toes derived / Anne L. Thomson / Born without arms / Dec. 23, 1839 Ga. [Georgia]”. 
ing year and through 1897, his address was listed as 229 Bowery, Eisenmann’s old location. The nature of the business arrangement between the two men is unknown. Wendt might have worked for Eisenmann, or in some other way come to have taken over Eisenmann’s business. However it happened, Wendt continued to deal with the clientele of freaks. Toward the end of Wendt’s Bowery days, he married Eisenmann’s daughter.

After 1897 Wendt moved to Boonton, New Jersey, where he completed the bulk of his work with freaks. It is not known what percentage of the images bearing Wendt’s logo were actually taken by him. Some seem to be reprints of other photographers’ images.

Wendt’s photographs are fascinating but inferior in craft to Eisenmann’s. Their composition and quality of printing do not measure up. Unfortunately, the major part of Wendt’s work, done with the gelatin dry plate and albumen paper, has suffered from sulfiding deterioration, resulting in the familiar gelatin green tone with poor contrast.

While Eisenmann and Wendt were the most prolific photographers specializing in freaks, there were others who were popular too. In New York M. B. Brady, C. D. Fredricks, E. Anthony, J. Gurney, Obermuller, Ollivier, J. Mora, A. Bogardus, and Kern made photo cards for human exhibits to sell. Sword in York, Pennsylvania, Rich in Chicago, and Morris in Pittsburgh, as well as others across the country, included freaks among their clients. The Ron Becker Collection also contains examples of freak images by these photographers.

Scholars in many fields will find the Becker Collection important. In addition to its relevance to the history of photography, the images help to document the development of popular culture in the United States. Since human exhibits were displayed at a wide range of amusement enterprises, the collection is a valuable resource in understanding the growth and nature of those organizations. For sociologists, the collection provides a rich quarry for the study of the relationship between popular culture and evolving attitudes towards people with disabilities.

* Dr. Bogdan’s book, *Freak Show: Sociological Encounter with History*, which will be richly illustrated with images from the Becker Collection, is scheduled for publication in the spring of 1988 by the University of Chicago Press.
Men will not be content to live every man for himself. In work, in art, in study, in trade—in all life, indeed—the children of God, called by a Savior's voice, will wish to live in the common cause. They will live for the common wealth,—this is the modern phrase. They will bear each other's burdens,—this is the phrase of Paul. They will live in the life of love. —Edward Everett Hale.

William A. Hinds lived for more than sixty years in the Oneida Community. His choice of this quotation for the title page of the 1908 edition of his American Communities well expressed his own commitment to communistic and cooperative living.

Born in 1833 and apprenticed to John Humphrey Noyes' brother-in-law, John Miller, at age fourteen in Putney, Vermont, Hinds became a part of the Perfectionist Putney Community in its earliest years. He remained associated with the Oneida Community, the successor community, through its entire existence as a communistic society. When the Community was reorganized as a joint-stock company in 1881, Hinds was chosen to be a member of the first board of directors. He afterwards filled the offices of secretary and treasurer, and president of Oneida Community Ltd., a position he held from 1903 until his death in 1910.

A member of the Oneida Community, Hinds played a prominent role as contributor to and editor of the Oneida Circular, as frequent superintendent of the Community's principal industries, and,

*Mark F. Weimer is Rare Book Librarian in the George Arents Research Library for Special Collections at Syracuse University, and Editor of the Oneida Community Papers.
throughout, as a leading member of the governing committees. At the advanced (for that time) age of thirty-four, he entered the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale and graduated with honors in 1870. A lifelong disciple of John Humphrey Noyes, Hinds was said to have committed to memory, on a wager for one dollar, the whole of Noyes’ argument for “Salvation from Sin in this World”, as printed on about forty octavo pages. His remarkable energy, inquisitiveness, and memory were cited often by his contemporaries.

The study of the history of American communistic societies was largely initiated in the Oneida Community as a result of Noyes’ interest in communicating with other groups through the exchange of visitors and by the publication of reports in the Community’s newspapers. In 1870 Noyes published his History of American Socialisms (Philadelphia: Lippincott), a survey of forty-seven communities deriving from the researches of A. J. MacDonald. MacDonald’s manuscripts,¹ the result of extensive travel to communities and correspondence with founders and members of numerous groups between 1842 and 1854, had passed into Noyes’ hands and provided him with rich primary sources for his study.

Journalist Charles Nordhoff issued in 1875 his Communistic Societies of the United States (New York: Harper & Brothers). That work was based on the author’s visits to communities and offered a more current and somewhat more detached view of communal societies than Noyes’ work. Nordhoff was generally sympathetic toward these communal undertakings, seeing in them alternatives to the labor-oriented socialism that was gaining strength in his native Germany.

The year after the appearance of Nordhoff’s work, Hinds was dispatched by the Oneida Community to visit many of the same communist and socialist societies and report his findings in the American Socialist, the Community’s last serial publication. These findings were collected in 1878 and issued under the title American Communities (Oneida: Office of the American Socialist). Hinds’ work was not intended to compete with the work of Noyes and Nordhoff; rather, he suggested that “thousands who might be glad to acquaint themselves with the results of practical Communism in this country can-

not afford to purchase these large and comparatively expensive works” and that the availability of his book would possibly stimulate demand for those more comprehensive studies.

While not broadly distributed, Hinds’ work was, nonetheless, well received. Following the breakup of the Oneida Community, Hinds devoted his energies toward the business concerns of Oneida Community Ltd. However, he remained committed to the principles of communistic living and was most active in developing community organizations and structures to supplant those lost by the dissolution of the old Community. He also continued to gather information to revise and expand *American Communities*. Using the structured survey approach of a twentieth-century social scientist, Hinds contacted as many colonies as he could identify to bring his work “down to date”. Fortunately, a copy of this questionnaire survives in the Collection and is presented below. While most of the respondents were not systematic in providing answers to each question, the document
is both revealing of Hinds' own orientation and special interests and suggestive of the type of material that he received in reply.

American Communities Questionnaire

1. Name of the communistic or cooperative society described.
2. When and where was this society started?
3. How many members are there of each sex; also how many children under 15 years of age?
4. What was the nature of the site chosen?
5. What property does the society own, and what is its valuation?
6. Is the society in debt? If so, to what extent?
7. Has the society received help from outside sources?
8. Is the society incorporated?
9. What are the requirements for admission into the society?
10. What nationalities are represented in the society?
11. What are the industries of the society?
12. What are the hours of work?
13. Do they employ outside help?
14. What are the regulations respecting the distribution of the products?
15. What comprises the executive head of the community, and what is the form of government?
16. Do all members, male and female, have equal rights and privileges?
17. What are the rules of discipline?
18. Is the society on a religious basis? If so, what is the form of their belief?
19. If they are not on a religious basis, what is their attitude toward religion?
20. What is their attitude toward the relation of the sexes?
21. Has the society met with any losses, either from dishonesty in management, or from any other causes?
22. Can I obtain a copy of the constitution or of any other document which will help me to understand the principles of the society?
23. If the society has disbanded, please state as fully as possible
the reasons for the action. Was there disagreement, or lack of funds?

24. Further remarks may be made on the other side of this sheet.

In 1902 Hinds published a new edition (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr), which he again expanded as the "second revision" in 1908. These extensions of his work, based on the results of his correspondence and survey of communities, enlarged its coverage to more than 140 communistic enterprises and secured its place as an authoritative primary source for information on American communistic societies before 1908. Other surveys have been prepared in this century carrying on the tradition established through the seminal work of MacDonald, Noyes, Nordhoff, and Hinds.²

In 1982 the Oneida Community Historical Committee transferred to the Syracuse University Libraries the extant records of the Oneida Community including thirteen archival boxes of original research files developed by William Hinds for the revised editions of his American Communities. These files include his correspondence with individuals and communities, together with those documents which he received in connection with his questionnaire. A list of communities for which there is material is appended. This collection is an important and largely untapped resource available to those interested in the history of nineteenth-century communistic societies in America.

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Adonai Shomo Corporation, or Community of Fullerites (1861–1897), Petersham, Worcester County, Massachusetts
Altruist Community (1907–1911), Sulphur Springs, Jefferson County, Missouri
  including:
  Mutual Aid Community (1883–1887)
Amana Society, or the Society of True Inspiration (1843–1932), Ebenezer, Erie County, New York; and Amana, Iowa County, Iowa
Aurora Community (1856–1881), Aurora, Marion County, Oregon
Bayside Communistic Colony, Bayside, Long Island, New York
Bethel Community (1844–1880), Bethel, Shelby County, Missouri
Bishop Hill Colony (1846–1862), Bishop Hill, Henry County, Illinois
Brook Farm (1841–1847), West Roxbury, Norfolk (now Suffolk) County, Massachusetts
Brotherhood of the New Life (1851–1900)
  including:
  Mountain Cove Community (1851–1853), Mountain Cove, Virginia (now West Virginia)
  Amenia Community (1863–1867), Amenia, Dutchess County, New York
  Brocton Community (1867–1881), Brocton, Chautauqua County, New York
  Fountain Grove Community (1876–1900), Fountain Grove, Sonoma County, California
Buena Vista Colony, or Great Western Co-operative Home-Building Association (1901?–1919), Buena Vista, Colorado
Celesta (1852–1864), Celesta, Sullivan County, Pennsylvania
Christian Commonwealth Colony (1896–1900), Commonwealth, Muskegee County, Georgia
  including:
  Right Relationship League, Chicago, Illinois
Christian Cooperative Association (1898–1902?), Clay Center, Clay County, Kansas
Christian Social Association (1899–1904), Sarona, Wisconsin
Civic Brotherhood Church, Washington, D.C.
Colorado Cooperative Company (1894–1910), Nucla, Montrose County, Colorado
Co-operative Association of America (1900–1906?), Lewiston, Androscoggin County, Maine
Co-operative Brotherhood, or Burley Colony (1898–1908), Burley, Kitsap County, Washington
Co-operative Christian Federation (1902), Christadelphia, Benton County, Oregon
Cooperative Commonwealth of Idaho (1898?)
Cooperative Industrial Colony (1899?–1901?), Milner’s Store, Camp Creek, Georgia
Co-operative Union (1901), Ocala, Florida
Cosme Colony (1901–1902?), Paraguay, South America
Dansville Sanitarium—see: Our Home on the Hillside
Davisite Kingdom of Heaven (1867–1881), near Walla Walla, Walla Walla County, Washington
Doukhobor (1899– ), Transcaucus, Russia; and Manitoba, Canada
Eclectic Phalanx—see: Virginia Phalanx
Eden Society (1907–1908), Baxter Springs, Cherokee County, Kansas
Ephrata Colony, or the Solitary Brethren of the Community of the Seventh Day Baptists (1732–1770), Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania
Equality, or Brotherhood of the Cooperative Commonwealth (later reorganized as Freeland) (1897–1907), Equality, Skagit County, Washington
Equality Industrial Association (1899?–1901?), Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma
Esoteric Fraternity (1893?–1907), Applegate, California
Fairhope Industrial Association (1895–present), Fairhope, Baldwin County, Alabama
Farist Community (1870?), Monticello, Minnesota
Farmers and Mechanics Co-operative Association (1870?), Missouri
Farmers’ Incorporated Co-operative Society (1889–1902?), Rockwell, Iowa
Freedom Colony (1897–1905), Fulton, Bourbon County, Kansas
Freeland Association (formerly Equality, or Brotherhood of the Cooperative Commonwealth) (1901–1907), Whidby Island, Island County, Washington
Friendship Community (1872–1877), Buffalo, Dallas County, Missouri
Fullerites—see: Adonai Shomo Corporation
Gibbs Cooperative Colony (1901–1905?), Gibbs, Santa Cruz County, California
Golden Life Community (1904?), Independence, Minnesota
Great Western Co-operative Home-Building Association—see: Buena Vista Colony
Harmony Co-operative Industrial Association (1906?), East Assiniboia, Canada
Harmony Society (1805–1814), Harmony, Butler County, Pennsylvania
including:
  New Harmony, Posey County, Indiana
Helicon Hall Colony (1906–1907), Englewood, Bergen County, New Jersey
Holy Band (1903?), Maysville, Brown and Adams counties, Kentucky
Home Employment Co-operative Company (1894–ca.1906), Long Lane, Dallas County, Missouri
Home Industrial College (1901), Devers, Liberty County, Texas
Hopedale Community, or Fraternal Community, No. 1 (1842–1867), Milford, Worcester County, Massachusetts
House of David (1903–1928), Benton Harbor, Berrien County, Michigan
Hutterite communities
Icarian Community (1847–1895), Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois, and Iowa
Industrial Brotherhood (1898?), Maine
Jerusalem, or the Society of Universal Friends (1788–1820), Jerusalem, Yates County, New York
Kaweah Co-operative Commonwealth (1885–1891), Tulare County, California
Kinderfarm—see: Ozark Kinderfarm
Koreshan Unity—Estero (1888–present), Chicago, Cook County, Illinois; and Estero, Lee County, Florida
Labadist Colony (1683–1727), Cecil County, Maryland
Labor Exchange Colony—see: Freedom Colony
League of Brotherhoods (1900), Syracuse, Onondaga County, New York
Le Claire Village (1890–1918?), Edwardsville, Madison County, Illinois
Life Culture Society (1904), Los Angeles, California
Martha's Vineyard Cooperative Colony (1906?), Vineyard Haven, Massachusetts
Mennonite and Moravian communities
Model City Colony (1899?), St. Joseph, Berrien County, Michigan
Mutual Home Association, or the Home Colony (1898–1921), Carr Inlet, Pierce County, Washington
New Harmony—see: Harmony Society
New Jersey Cooperative Association (1901–1904?), Campgaw, Bergen County, New Jersey
Newllano Co-operative Colony (1917–1938), Newllano, Vernon Parish, Louisiana
Niksur Co-operative Association (1899), Lawrence (now Wahkon), Mille Lacs County, Minnesota
Northampton Association of Education and Industry (1842–1846), Broughton’s Meadows (now Florence), Massachusetts
Oneida Community (1848–1881), Oneida, Madison County, New York including:
   Putney Community and other Perfectionist branch communes
Ora Labora Community, or Christian German Agricultural and Benevolent Society of Ora Labora (1862–1868), Bay Port, Huron County, Michigan
Our Home on the Hillside, Dansville, Livingston County, New York
Ozark Kinderfarm (1901?–1906?), Licking, Texas County, Missouri
Point Loma, or the Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society—see: Theosophists
Rappists—see: Harmony Society
Reunion Community, or the True Family (1866–1870), Oronogo, Jasper County, Missouri
Right Relationship League—see: Christian Commonwealth Colony
Rochdale Cooperative Association of Missouri (1900?), St. Louis, Missouri
Roycrofters (1900–1915), East Aurora, Erie County, New York
Ruskin Cooperative Association (1894–1899), Tennessee City, Dickinson County, Tennessee
St. Nazianz Colony (1854–1874), St. Nazianz, Manitowoc County, Wisconsin
Shalam (1884–1901), near Dona Ana, Dona Ana County, New Mexico
Skaneateles Community (1843–1846), Mottville, Onondaga County, New York
Snow Hill Nunnery, or Seventh Day Baptist Church of Snow Hill (1798–1870), Snow Hill, Franklin County, Pennsylvania
Social Reformers Cooperative Emigration Society (1843)
Society of Women in the Wilderness (1694), Pennsylvania
Southwestern & Western Co-operative Farm, Manufacturing, and Transportation Colony (1901?), Star, Nebraska
Spirit Fruit Society (1899–1908), Lisbon, Columbiana County, Ohio; and Ingleside, Lake County, Illinois
Straight Edge Industrial Settlement (1899–1918), New York, New York
Theosophists (1898–1942), Point Loma, San Diego County, California
Topolobampo Bay Colony (1884–1894), Topolobampo Bay, Mexico
Trappists
United Family (1896?), Worcester, Worcester County, Massachusetts
Vegetarian Colony (1901?), Highland, New York
Virginia Phalanx (1845–1850?), Gilmer County, Virginia
Wisconsin Co-operative Union
Wisconsin Phalanx (1844–1850), Ceresco, Fond du Lac County, Wisconsin
Women's Commonwealth, or the Sanctificationists (1874–1906), Belton, Bell County, Texas; and Washington, D.C.
Zion City (1893–1906?), Chicago and Zion City, Lake County, Illinois
Zoar, or Society of Separatists of Zoar (1817–1898), Zoar, Tuscarawas County, Ohio
Syracuse University has been awarded $3.7 million by the Kellogg Foundation to develop over the next four years an electronic archive for its Adult and Continuing Education Research Collection, located in the George Arents Research Library. The center of the experimental project will be an optical-digital disk system that will enable scholars to access, and add to, materials concerning the origins and development of the continuing education movement.

The George Arents Research Library holds nearly seven hundred linear feet of adult and continuing education materials collected over thirty-eight years, largely by Dr. Alexander N. Charters, Professor Emeritus. This collection is really a gathering of smaller collections of the complete papers and records of some of the individuals and organizations key to the discipline (A. A. Liveright, for example; or the Fund for Adult Education; or the very active Laubach Literacy International, which continues to produce materials used worldwide).

The potential for the compact digital storage of this collection and, later, of others is enormous. Actual facsimiles of pictures and written texts could be made available to the researcher and made compatible with personal computers. But complex, even universal, questions concerning indexing, coding, copyright, and privacy have not yet been fully resolved. The Library of Congress is attempting to set guidelines, which Syracuse University will be studying closely, in this new area of library work.

While the School of Education is responsible for acquiring this substantial grant, the Kellogg Project—as it has come to be known—will also involve the University Libraries, the School of Information Studies, the School of Computer and Information Science, and other parts of the University community. Terrance Keenan is the new li-
brarian responsible for developing processing procedures and collection strategies for continuing education material.

The Kellogg Project is unusual in its interdisciplinary role, and Syracuse University is one of the first major universities in the United States experimenting on such a scale with this important technology.

NEW GRANVILLE HICKS MATERIAL ACQUIRED

In the latter part of 1986 the Manuscripts Division purchased nearly two hundred Granville Hicks letters, which will supplement the already considerable collection of Hicks papers held in the George Arents Research Library. These letters represent Hicks' side of a long-standing correspondence (1957–72) with his friend and literary agent Henry Volkening. The matters they discuss include work in progress as well as proposed projects, some of which never came to fruition, and they refer frequently to well-known contemporary figures.

During this period Hicks became the acting director of Yaddo, the artists' and writers' colony in Saratoga Springs, New York. It was a position of considerable influence on the American literary scene, providing him opportunities of great excitement. “My job gets more and more fascinating by the day. If things keep on this way, I'll have to stop writing letters altogether.” (7 January 1970)

Fortunately, however, Hicks found it impossible to cease writing and continued to correspond with his friend. In 1972, while working on a book in journal form about country living, he wrote: “Why anyone over seventy, unless he’s a Thomas Mann, should go on writing books is not clear to me, but I'm sure there are worse vices”.

Sadly, Hicks, who died in 1982, was not able to finish this project, the one which had given him particular pleasure in his last years.

Carolyn A. Davis
Manuscripts Librarian

DANIEL BERKELEY UDPIKE AND THE MERRYMOUNT PRESS

The work of scholar-printer Daniel Berkeley Updike (1860–1941), presented under his Merrymount Press imprint from 1896 to 1941, is
some of the most distinguished in the history of typography in America. Updike brought to this country the revival of fine printing that is associated with William Morris in England, but extended it beyond the simple return to craftsmanship. In his own words, Updike “practiced a trade in the spirit of an art” and in this effort he advanced the trade not only by returning it to its traditions but also by developing it to meet the changing technology of the twentieth century.

At the age of thirty-three and after twelve years in the employ of Houghton, Mifflin & Co. and their subsidiary, The Riverside Press, Updike struck out on his own. Leasing two rooms in a building at the corner of Boston’s Beacon Street and Tremont Place, he announced his availability to the printing trade for typographic design and the supervision of production. Without the usual type and presses of a printing establishment and at a time of severe economic depression in the country, Updike nonetheless felt that he could attract those clients interested in improving the appearance of their printed work. He engaged other printers to undertake the composition and presswork under his direction.

His first announcement issued in 1893 and addressed “To the Trade” was recently acquired by the Syracuse University Libraries with support from the Library Associates. Included with this incunabulum of the Merrymount Press were three examples of Updike’s earliest independent productions and a letter presenting these specimens to officials of the Chauncy Hall School in an effort to secure business for his new firm.

In Updike’s own “Notes on the Merrymount Press & Its Work” he writes: “Perhaps the reason that I survived, in spite of mistakes, was that a simple idea had got hold of me—to make work better for its purpose than was commonly thought worth while, and by having one’s own establishment, to be free to do so”.

The text of Updike’s letter to the Chauncy Hall School under a letterhead which announced DECORATIVE PRINTING AND BOOK-MAKING illustrates his efforts to find customers for printing that would be “attractive and striking” and his commitment “to do common work well”. The letter, in a secretarial hand, carries Updike’s corrections and signature.
TO THE TRADE

R. D. B. UPDIKE, FOR THE
PAST TWELVE YEARS WITH
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN, & CO.
of Boston and of The Riverside
Press, Cambridge, has now severed
his connection with that firm, and
has opened an office of his own at number six Beacon
Street, Boston.

When with Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, Mr.
Updike had charge of the preparation and arrange-
ment of the catalogues, holiday bulletins, general cir-
culars, advertising pages, posters, and other decorative
printing, as well as of some of the books issued by
that house. He is now prepared to undertake for
such of the trade as desire it the same class of deco-
orative printing and book-making. Typography and
design in its relation thereto have long been Mr.
Updike's special study, and he has also a practical
knowledge of the commercial necessities of the work
in which he is engaged. The following detailed state-
ment of the various kinds of work that he undertakes
may be of interest to Publishers, Booksellers, and
Printers.

Prospectus (1893), printed in red and black with ornamental border by J. E. Hill.
The first publication of the nascent Merrymount Press.
July 23, 1894

Messrs. Ladd & Daniell,
Chauncy Hall School
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sirs:

It has occurred to me that in issuing catalogues, prospectuses, etc., for the coming season, you may feel that it would be wise to employ a style of printing which should give them an attractive and striking appearance. At the present day the very persons to whom you are likely to send these papers receive such a multiplicity of similar matter that unless they are prepared in some striking and tasteful manner they are not apt to command attention.

Some work which came to me unasked, from educational institutions, has led me to believe that others might wish to avail themselves of my service.

I send you herewith one or two pieces of decorative work. They illustrate the kind of work that I undertake. I enclose also a circular, primarily addressed to the Trade, but which gives some details as to different sorts of work. Experience has shown me, however, that I am obliged to estimate upon each piece of work separately, so that the prices which are given upon the circular should not be regarded.

The enclosed Appeal which was printed for the diocese of Michigan, cost ten cents apiece for one thousand copies. I supplied everything except the architect’s pen-and-ink sketches. The plates for these sketches and everything else connected with the book were included in the sum named.

Yours truly,
[signed] D. B. Updike

Updike enclosed his prospectus, “To the Trade”, and copies of some minor pieces which he had done in that first year of business, including An Appeal in Behalf of the Memorial to the Late Rt. Rev. Samuel S. Harris (1894), the 1894–95 catalogue of Grace Church’s
Chorister’s School, and Boston’s Trinity Church Lenten service program (1894).

Updike found that he had to make his profit over and above the charges of those printers whom he employed. Consequently, he was obliged to charge prices that were higher than those of his competition. That same competition attempted to copy his typographic designs so that he soon found it necessary to acquire his own type, ornament, and presses and become his own printer. With that transition in 1896 he established the Merrymount Press.

More than 20,000 separate pieces were issued by the Merrymount Press under Updike’s direction: books, broadsides, catalogues, pamphlets, as well as such job printing as letterheads, billheads, announcements, and programs. In the nearly fifty years of his connection with the Press, Updike set and maintained the highest standards, not only in book design and production but also in the more routine work.

The acquisition of these earliest publications of Daniel Berkeley Updike strengthens a collection numbering more than 300 Merrymount titles in the George Arents Research Library and provides a glimpse of America’s foremost printer in his firm’s first year of business.

Mark F. Weimer
Rare Book Librarian

POST-STANDARD AWARD CITATION, 1987,
FOR MELVIN A. EGGERS

Chancellor Melvin A. Eggers has an unclouded appreciation for the crucial role that a library plays in the making of a great university. Over the years—as a faculty member, as chief academic officer, and as Chancellor—he has taken a professional and personal interest in the growth and development of the Syracuse University Libraries. On a national level he served three years as chairman of the Research Libraries Committee of the Association of American Universities, an experience that added to his deep interest in library concerns.
Chancellor Eggers receives the Post-Standard Award (Photo: Steve Sartori).

Dr. Eggers seeks to make the Syracuse University Libraries among the finest in the nation, for he knows that the intellectual climate and the scholarship of faculty and students depend upon the high quality of such a resource.

A hallmark of the Eggers chancellorship is his openness and availability to members of the academic community. Those who work in the library, both staff and researchers, know that he is willing, indeed eager, to be informed of problems and opportunities and that he will take heed. His assistance has ranged from finding funds for additions to the Stephen Crane Collection to working towards resolving the vexing problem of student decorum in the library.

For his continuing support and his sustaining interest, the 1987 Post-Standard Award for Distinguished Service to the Syracuse University Libraries is presented to Dr. Melvin A. Eggers.
PROGRAM FOR 1987–88

The Syracuse University Library Associates program for the academic year 1987–88 will be as follows:

October 1, 1987, 4 p.m.  David Woodward, Professor of Geography, University of Wisconsin
A WORLD OF MAPS:
A HISTORY OF THE HISTORY

October 29–31  Book Sale, co-sponsored by the Library Associates and the Syracuse University Libraries

November 19, 1987, 4 p.m.  Paul Archambault, Professor of French, Syracuse University
THE FRENCH COLLECTION AT SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

December 1987  Chancellor's Reception

February 18, 1988, 4 p.m.  Antje Bultmann Lemke, Professor Emeritus, Syracuse University
GABRIEL NAUDE, SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SCHOLAR-LIBRARIAN OF MAZARIN

March 24, 1988, 4 p.m.  Leonard Gold, Dorot Chief Librarian of the Jewish Division and Bibliographer in Jewish Studies, New York Public Library
THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREW BOOK

April 22, 1988, at noon  Spring Luncheon and Annual Meeting
David H. Starn, University Librarian, Syracuse University
WHY LIBRARIES MATTER
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATES, founded in 1953, is a society whose efforts are devoted to the enrichment of the Syracuse University Libraries and especially the rare book and manuscript collections. The Associates' interests lie in strengthening these collections through the acquisition of unusual books, manuscripts, and other research materials which are rare and often of such value that the Libraries would not otherwise be able to acquire them.

The Associates welcome anyone to join whose interests incline in the direction of book collecting or the graphic arts. The perquisites of membership include borrowing privileges and general use of the Syracuse University Libraries' facilities and resources, as well as invitations to exhibitions, Associates-sponsored lectures, and special events of the University Libraries. In addition, members will receive our incidental publications, typographic keepsakes, and the Syracuse University Library Associates Courier, a semiannual publication which contains articles related to unusual and interesting aspects of the Libraries' holdings and, in particular, to the holdings of the George Arents Research Library for Special Collections.

SUGGESTED MEMBERSHIP CONTRIBUTIONS are as follows: Benefactor, $500; Sustaining member, $200; Individual member, $50; Faculty and staff of Syracuse University, $30; Senior citizen and student $20. Checks, made payable to Syracuse University Library Associates, should be sent to the Secretary, 100 E. S. Bird Library, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13244-2010. For further information about the programs and activities of the Library Associates, telephone (315) 423-2585.

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