

MARC BLOCH: A LIFE IN HISTORY

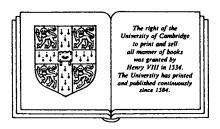
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MARC BLOCH: A LIFE IN HISTORY

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TO STEFAN HAROLD FINK
AND JOLIE FINK



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Preface

A biography should begin with two explanations, for the choice of the subject and for its treatment. Marc Bloch was one of this century's most brilliant historians. He was also a patriot and a Jew, a soldier and a leader of the Resistance. As the co-founder of an influential scholarly journal and a prolific author and teacher he would no doubt still be remembered. But his character and fate also placed him in history itself, in the struggle to liberate France, for which he paid with his life.

Here is an ideal subject for a historian of contemporary Europe, a figure who lived in important and tumultuous times, from the Dreyfus Affair to the Holocaust, through two world wars and the Nazi occupation. Bloch's life had a poignant symmetry: He spent his first and last year in Lyon, began and ended his teaching in Montpellier, and spent seventeen years in his ancestral homeland, Alsace, before returning to a Paris much changed since his youth. The unifying thread was France, the patrie that had emancipated and educated his forebears and given him the opportunity to serve, the proud republic of 1906 and 1918 that he watched falter and collapse in 1940, the main subject of his broad research and the object of his last efforts. Marc Bloch's strong sense of national identity was not uncommon in his generation in France and in the Western world. What makes him extraordinary were the added qualities of humanism, liberalism, and cosmopolitanism and the intelligence, wit, and imagination that enabled him to transcend the narrow barriers of time and place and become one of those individuals we rightly call heroes.

This first biography of Marc Bloch, based largely on unpublished materials, is an intellectual and political study that seeks a coherent picture of the man, his ideas, and the world he inhabited. No doubt my effort to achieve a human balance has occasionally resulted in



overemphasis on certain elements and neglect of others. This study draws on insights from several disciplines, but there is no grand theory behind it. In faithfulness to my subject, I have sought to separate the real Marc Bloch from the legends, to render his reality in its proper texture and contours, to revive his voice and his milieux, and to relate the life of a complex, courageous intellectual who though killed four and a half decades ago is remembered and esteemed even outside the halls of academe.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my gratitude to those who have aided and sustained the writing of this book. In 1986-87 I was honored by a fellowship at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, a splendid workplace and stimulating scholarly environment, wonderfully near the National Archives and the Library of Congress. As the first occupant of the Cardin Chair in the Humanities at Lovola College in Maryland in 1987-88, I had the privilege of gaining time to write, together with the opportunity to teach two courses as a guest member of the History Department. I thank the University of North Carolina at Wilmington for granting me a two-year leave. I have also been the grateful recipient of research awards from the American Association of University Women, the American Philosophical Society, the Inter-University Centre for European Studies in Montreal, and the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, and travel-to-research-collection awards from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Southern Regional Educational Board.

My work has been enriched by the opportunity to read papers before the following organizations: the Association of Historians of Eastern North Carolina, the Southern Historical Association, the American Historical Association, and the international colloquium held in Paris in 1986 to commemorate the centenary of Marc Bloch's birth; and to present lectures on Marc Bloch at Brown University, Brandeis University, Harvard University Center for European Studies, New York University, Vassar College, the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, the University of Göttingen, the Catholic University of America, Georgetown University, the University of Maryland, and the Woodrow Wilson Center.



> Finally I should like to express my thanks to a number of individuals who have made special contributions to this daunting but deeply satisfying study. First to Etienne and Gloria Bloch, with profound appreciation for their warmth and generosity. To my former teachers Hsi-Huey Liang and the late Hans W. Gatzke for their inspiration. To my friends and colleagues Denise Artaud, Rebecca Boehling, John Day, Hilda Godwin, Ruth Gratch, Waltraud Heindl, Peter Kilby, Roberta Knapp, Melton McLaurin, David Marwell, and Evelyn Schnetz, for many kinds of support and comradeship. To Peter Loewenberg and Rudolf Binion for sharing their insights on biography. To Diane de Bellescize for her helpful suggestions and kind hospitality in Paris. To Professor Dr. Karl Ferdinand Werner for his enthusiastic endorsement. To Maurice Aymard for making important materials available to me. To William Harris for his excellent maps. To Snežana Cockburn and Tim Nix for their able assistance at the Wilson Center. To my former students Richard Rayburn, Juanita Slaughter, and Andrea Tyndall, my most avid questioners and supporters. To the reference department of Wilson Library at UNC-Chapel Hill for their patience with my abundant requests, and to the library staffs of UNC-Wilmington, the Wilson Center, and Loyola College for their efficiency and helpfulness. To Terry Benjey and John Dysland for helping me overcome the complications, and experience the benefits, of using a computer. To Frank Smith, who has been a most congenial and perceptive editor and Jane Van Tassel, a very skillful and tactful copy editor. To Seymour Fink for his loyal attachment to this work. And to the two to whom this is dedicated, my love and high hopes.

Wilmington, North Carolina

C.F.



Acknowledgments

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Abbreviations

For fuller descriptions, see the Note on Sources.

ADBK	Archives Départementales du Bas-Rhin, Strasbourg

Armand Colin, 1974)

AHES Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale (1929-38)

AHR American Historical Review

AHS Annales d'Histoire Sociale (1939-41, 1945)

AN Archives Nationales, Paris

BN Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

BNUS Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire,

Strasbourg

Carnet Marc Bloch, Carnets de guerre, 1914–18, Etienne

Bloch Collection (EBC)

CdF Archive of the Collège de France

CDJC Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine,

Paris

CP Les Cahiers Politiques (1943-45)

EBC Etienne Bloch Collection, La Haye, France

ED Marc Bloch, L'étrange défaite: Témoignage écrit en

1940, 2d ed. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1957)

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> Historique "Historique du 72e régiment d'infanterie," in Bloch's file "Souvenirs de guerre" ("SG"),

EBC

Letters of Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre to Henri HP Pirenne, Courtesy of Professor Bryce Lyon, Brown University, Providence, R.I., and Count Jacques-Henri Pirenne, Hierges,

France

HRF Marc Bloch, Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale

française, new ed. (Paris: Colin, 1952)

IF Archive of the Institut de France, Paris

JM Journal de marche, 272e régiment (1914–15), 72e

> régiment (1915-18), Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Château de Vincennes

(SHV)

MHMarc Bloch, Mélanges historiques, 2 vols. (Paris:

S.E.V.P.E.N., 1963)

MHS Mélanges d'Histoire Sociale (1942-44)

NARS National Archives and Records Service,

Washington, D.C.

Germany AA T-120: Captured records of the German Foreign Ministry, Series T-120

oss: U.S. Office of Strategic Services USDS: U.S. Department of State

RACEP Records of the American Council for Emigrés in

> the Professions, Library of the State University of New York at Albany

RBLetters of Marc Bloch to Robert Boutruche.

courtesy of Mme. Boutruche, Montpellier

RFA Rockefeller Foundation Archives, Tarrytown,

N.Y.

RHRevue Historique

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RS	Marc Bloch, Rois et serfs: Un chapitre d'histoire capétienne (Paris: Champion, 1920)
RSH	Revue de Synthèse Historique (1900–30) (superseded by Revue de Synthèse (1931–)
RT	Marc Bloch, Les rois thaumaturges: Etude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre, new ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1983)
SF	Marc Bloch, <i>La société féodale</i> , 2 vols. (Paris: Albin Michel, 1939–40)
SG	Marc Bloch, Souvenirs de guerre, 1914–1915 (Paris: Armand Colin, 1969)
"SG"	Marc Bloch file, "Souvenirs de guerre, 1914–1918," EBC
SHV	Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Château de Vincennes