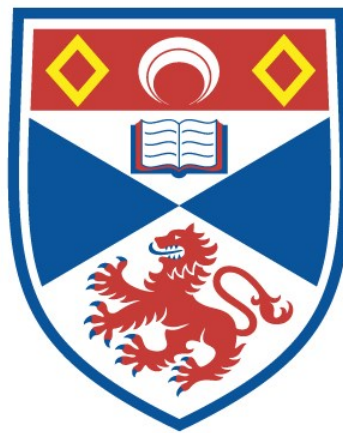


**AGAINST THE TIDE  
RESISTANCES TO 'ANNALES' IN ENGLAND, FRANCE,  
GERMANY, ITALY AND THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1970**

**Joseph Tendler**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



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# Against the Tide

Resistances to *Annales* in England, France, Germany,  
Italy and the United States, 1900-1970

Joseph Tendler

Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,  
University of St Andrews, March 2011.

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## Abstract

*Against the Tide* investigates systematically for the first time how resistances to methodologies advanced by historians belonging to the *Annales* School, one of the most influential twentieth-century schools of historical thought, came to exist in England, France, Germany, Italy and the United States between 1900 and 1970. It defines ‘methodology’ in broad terms as the practice of history and poses a series of questions about resistances: who or what created them? What constituted them? Did they centre on a particular methodology, *Annales* historian or the *Annales* School as a whole? And what did opposition to methodologies incorporate: technical debates in isolation or wider issues such as politics, religion and philosophy? The dissertation uses an interdisciplinary conceptual framework, drawing together ideas advanced in the history of science, sociology of education and knowledge, and comparative history, in order to answer these questions. The responses offered refer to and draw on a selection of sources: one hundred and nine scholars’ private archives, the articles, books, critical reviews and published letters of a variety of historians and segments of the growing literature both about the *Annales* School and about the institutions within which the historical discipline operated during the twentieth century. They suggest that resistances played an important part in the international dissemination of *Annales* historians’ methodologies, that resisters held different ideas about the *Annales* School from those of its creators and divergent methodological commitments, but that they like *Annales* historians often sought to enhance historical research and sometimes worked on the same subjects but in different and occasionally equally inventive ways. Overall, the findings illustrate a limited but important part of *Annales*’ own history and thereby help to cast the School in new light on terms other than its own by placing it in the transnational context of twentieth-century transatlantic historiography.

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My greatest debt remains that owed to my parents for their unflinching support of my studies.

## Note on the Text

I have translated all quotations in the body of the text that originate from foreign-language publications into English. The emphasis in each replicates the original, unless indicated otherwise. Anything appearing between square brackets has been added or altered by me, and original words are included where they have proven difficult to render in English. Responsibility for changes in punctuation and diction necessary to make the sense clear, and for every error, rests on my shoulders. In addition, I use sentence-style capitalization for foreign-language titles, obeying conventions to capitalize common nouns in German where necessary, but I capitalize the names of all institutions.

The references observe certain conventions. I have given the complete page references followed by the particular page from which quotations originate when referring to articles in learned journals. I give the page numbers for the entire article only if I signal its total content. When archival collections are cited, I refer to the collection using labels detailed in the bibliography. Scholars wishing to consult the letters in the Braudel and Cantimori archives should assume that they can be found in the folder bearing the surname and first name, in that order, of the correspondent to whom, or from whom, the letter is addressed, or received. All papers from the Leuilliot archive are contained in two catalogued boxes marked 'Archive des Annales.' The remainder of that archive consists in uncatalogued press cuttings.

The following abbreviations in the footnotes refer to dictionaries, newspapers and periodicals:

AAAG	<i>Annals of the American Association of Geographers</i>
AAAPSS	<i>Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences</i>
AAP	<i>Atti della Accademia Pontaniana</i>
ABI	<i>Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia</i>
ANB	<i>American National Biography</i>
AÉSC	<i>Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations</i>
AfK	<i>Archiv für Kulturgeschichte</i>
AfSS	<i>Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik</i>
AG	<i>Annales de Géographie</i>
AHés	<i>Annales d'Histoire économique et sociale</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AhRf	<i>Annales historiques de la Révolution française</i>
AHs	<i>Annales d'Histoire sociale</i>
AJFS	<i>Australian Journal for French Studies</i>
AM	<i>Atlantic Monthly</i>
APH	<i>Acta Poloniae Historica</i>
ARAHA	<i>Annual Report of the American Historical Association</i>
ARf	<i>Annales de la Révolution française</i>
As	<i>Année sociologique</i>
Asi	<i>Archivio storico italiano</i>
AsMO	<i>Archivio sardo del Movimento Operaio contadino e autonomistico</i>
AsSi	<i>Archivio storico di Svizzera italiana</i>
B	<i>Belfagor</i>
BAAAS	<i>Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences</i>
BB	<i>Berliner Borienszeitung</i>
BÉC	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes</i>
BGHI	<i>Bulletin of the German Historical Institute (Washington D. C.)</i>
BJSE	<i>British Journal of Sociology of Education</i>

<i>BSfP</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société française de Philosophie</i>
<i>BSSRC</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Social Science Research Council</i>
<i>BW-G</i>	<i>Berichte zur Wissenschafts-Geschichte</i>
<i>C</i>	<i>Comparativ</i>
<i>CCrh</i>	<i>Cahiers du Centre de recherches historiques</i>
<i>CdS</i>	<i>Corriere della Sera</i>
<i>CEH</i>	<i>The Journal of Central European History</i>
<i>CHR</i>	<i>The Catholic Historical Review</i>
<i>CaHR</i>	<i>Canadian Historical Review</i>
<i>CI</i>	<i>Critical Inquiry</i>
<i>CM</i>	<i>Civiltà Moderna</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>The Cambridge Review</i>
<i>CS</i>	<i>Critica Storica</i>
<i>CSSH</i>	<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i>
<i>D</i>	<i>Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences</i>
<i>Dbi</i>	<i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>DUJ</i>	<i>Durham University Journal</i>
<i>E</i>	<i>Encounter</i>
<i>Econ</i>	<i>Economica</i>
<i>EcHR</i>	<i>The Economic History Review</i>
<i>Éf</i>	<i>Éducation et formations</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EL</i>	<i>European Legacy</i>
<i>ERH</i>	<i>European Review of History</i>
<i>ES</i>	<i>Economia e Storia</i>
<i>Es</i>	<i>Esprit</i>
<i>FAZ</i>	<i>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
<i>FH</i>	<i>French History</i>
<i>FHS</i>	<i>French Historical Studies</i>
<i>FP</i>	<i>Foundations of Physics</i>
<i>G</i>	<i>Genèses</i>
<i>GG</i>	<i>Geschichte und Gesellschaft</i>
<i>Gi</i>	<i>Il Giornale</i>
<i>GR</i>	<i>Geographical Review</i>
<i>GWU</i>	<i>Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht</i>
<i>H&amp;T</i>	<i>History and Theory</i>
<i>HAHR</i>	<i>The Hispanic-American Historical Review</i>
<i>HEI</i>	<i>History of European Ideas</i>
<i>HHEA</i>	<i>History of Higher Education Annual</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal</i>
<i>HM</i>	<i>Hommes et Mondes</i>
<i>HT</i>	<i>The History Teacher</i>
<i>HW</i>	<i>History Workshop Journal</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>Isis</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>International Affairs</i>
<i>IC</i>	<i>International Conciliation</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Il Giornale</i>
<i>IN</i>	<i>Italia Nuova</i>



<i>IRSH</i>	<i>International Review of Social History</i>
<i>JAH</i>	<i>Journal of American History</i>
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of British Studies</i>
<i>JCH</i>	<i>Journal of Contemporary History</i>
<i>JEC</i>	<i>Journal of Economic History</i>
<i>JFH</i>	<i>Journal of Family History</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
<i>JNS</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie und Statistik</i>
<i>JPPSM</i>	<i>Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods</i>
<i>L</i>	<i>Le Livre</i>
<i>LC</i>	<i>La Critica: Rivista di storia, letteratura e filosofia</i>
<i>Le</i>	<i>Leonardo</i>
<i>L'H</i>	<i>L'Histoire</i>
<i>LM</i>	<i>Le Monde</i>
<i>LQ</i>	<i>The Literary Quarterly</i>
<i>LRB</i>	<i>London Review of Books</i>
<i>L'UI</i>	<i>L'Università Italiana</i>
<i>Md'His</i>	<i>Mélanges d'Histoire sociale</i>
<i>MÉfR</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée</i>
<i>MHR</i>	<i>Mediterranean History Review</i>
<i>Ms</i>	<i>Le Mouvement social</i>
<i>MVHR</i>	<i>Mississippi Valley Historical Review</i>
<i>NA</i>	<i>Nuova Antologia</i>
<i>NR</i>	<i>Die neue Rundschau</i>
<i>NRS</i>	<i>Nuova Rivista Storica</i>
<i>NYHT</i>	<i>New York Herald Tribune</i>
<i>NYT</i>	<i>The New York Times</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>ÖZG</i>	<i>Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften</i>
<i>P</i>	<i>Ponte</i>
<i>PAAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society</i>
<i>P&amp;P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>PMHS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>Passato e Presente</i>
<i>PSM</i>	<i>Popular Science Monthly</i>
<i>PSQ</i>	<i>Political Science Quarterly</i>
<i>PT</i>	<i>Philosophy Today</i>
<i>PWSFH</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Western Society for French History</i>
<i>QdC</i>	<i>Quaderni della 'Critica'</i>
<i>Qs</i>	<i>Quaderni storici</i>
<i>R</i>	<i>Review</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Africaine</i>
<i>Ra</i>	<i>Rinascita</i>
<i>RbPH</i>	<i>Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire</i>
<i>RcHL</i>	<i>Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature</i>
<i>Rd'A</i>	<i>Revue d'Allemagne</i>
<i>RDD</i>	<i>Revue des Deux Mondes</i>
<i>RÉi</i>	<i>Revue des Études italiennes</i>
<i>RfS</i>	<i>Revue française de Sociologie</i>
<i>RfSP</i>	<i>Revue française de Science Politique</i>

<i>RGL</i>	<i>Revue de Géographie de Lyon</i>
<i>RHés</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire économique et sociale</i>
<i>RHm</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire moderne</i>
<i>RHmc</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine</i>
<i>RHpc</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire politique et constitutionnelle</i>
<i>RI</i>	<i>Rassegna d'Italia</i>
<i>RiE</i>	<i>Revue internationale de l'Enseignement</i>
<i>RMM</i>	<i>Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale</i>
<i>RNI</i>	<i>Rivista delle Nazioni latine</i>
<i>RP</i>	<i>Review of Politics</i>
<i>Rp</i>	<i>Revue philosophique</i>
<i>RS</i>	<i>Revue de Synthèse</i>
<i>RSC</i>	<i>Rivista di Studi Crociani</i>
<i>RSh</i>	<i>Revue de Synthèse historique</i>
<i>RSI</i>	<i>Rivista Storica Italiana</i>
<i>RSSM</i>	<i>Rivista di Storia della Storiografia Moderna</i>
<i>RTASmp</i>	<i>Revue des Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques</i>
<i>RV</i>	<i>Rheinische Vierteljahrschriftsblätter</i>
<i>S</i>	<i>Società</i>
<i>SAQ</i>	<i>Southern Atlantic Quarterly</i>
<i>SdS</i>	<i>Storia della Storiografia</i>
<i>SHPS</i>	<i>Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science</i>
<i>Sp</i>	<i>Speculum</i>
<i>SPAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Studi Storici</i>
<i>TLS</i>	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
<i>TM</i>	<i>Les Temps Modernes</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>TT</i>	<i>The Times (London)</i>
<i>VfSW</i>	<i>Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte</i>
<i>VfZ</i>	<i>Vierteljahrschrift für Zeitgeschichte</i>
<i>VN</i>	<i>Vita Nuova</i>
<i>VS</i>	<i>Vingtième Siècle</i>
<i>WeG</i>	<i>Werkstatt Geschichte</i>
<i>WG</i>	<i>Die Welt als Geschichte</i>
<i>WMQ</i>	<i>William and Mary Quarterly</i>
<i>ZfAA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Agrargechichte und Agrarsoziologie</i>
<i>ZSSR</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte</i>

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# Introduction

## I.1 The Subject

Cursory inspection of its title suggests that this is too short a dissertation for a large subject – the *Annales* School, ‘the most influential such school in twentieth-century historiography.’<sup>1</sup> It is, however, neither so vast a field of inquiry nor such a limited format in view of the specific task here undertaken. The dissertation’s point is to provide a synoptic not comprehensive investigation of a specific aspect of *Annales* historiography: the ways in which resistances to methodologies advanced by historians belonging to the *Annales* School during its pre-history and ascent to international prominence between 1900 and 1970 emerged in Western European and North American nations. Its intention is not, therefore, exhaustively to analyze all the features of the School.

It is unmistakable that the *Annales* School had already gained international recognition by the time a majority of historians in America began to follow it after 1970, if not before. The *International Handbook of Historical Studies* of 1979 testifies to the extent of recognition because it included more references to *Annales* than to any other subject except Marx and Marxism, as Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt and Margaret Jacob pointed out.<sup>2</sup> Historians looking back thereafter remarked that ‘it [was] at that time that we entered the era of the School of French historiography’, discussed the rise of a ‘paradigm’ or the nature of a historiographical ‘current’, and catalogued the bibliography of an ‘Annales movement.’<sup>3</sup> Recognition of a ‘‘new history’ (social and economic) now spreading from its centre in France in

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<sup>1</sup> John Burrow, *A History of Histories. Epics, Chronicles, Romances & Inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth Century* (London, 2007), 478; see also Gustav Seibt, ‘Erzähler der Langsamen. Französische Historiographie im 20. Jahrhundert’, in Verena von der Heyden-Rynsch, ed, *Vive la littérature! Französische Literatur der Gegenwart* (Munich, 1988), 234-37.

<sup>2</sup> Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History* (New York, 1994), 83.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Schöttler, ‘Zur Geschichte der *Annales*-Rezeption in Deutschland (West)’, in Matthias Middell and Steffen Sammler, eds, *Alles gewordene hat Geschichte: Die Schule der ANNALES in ihren Texten, 1929-1992* (Leipzig, 1994), 40; Lynn Hunt, ‘French History in the Last Twenty Years: The Rise and Fall of the *Annales* Paradigm’, *JCH*, 21 (1986): 209-24; Christian Delacroix, ‘Le moment de l’histoire-science sociale des années 1920 aux années 1940’, in Christian Delacroix, François Dosse and Patrick Garcia, eds, *Les courants historiques en France, XIX<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 2005), 200-95; Jean-Pierre V. M. Herubel, ‘‘The Annales Movement’ and Its Historiography: A Selective Bibliography’, *FHS*, 18 (1993): 346-55.

‘revolutionary’ conquests throughout the intellectual world’ in this way captured historians’ attention.<sup>4</sup>

But it is equally clear that ‘*la nouvelle histoire*, as it has sometimes been called, is at least as famous, as French, and as controversial as *la nouvelle cuisine*.’<sup>5</sup> Paolo Renzi, for example, reported that a conference on French and Italian historiography held at the *École Française de Rome* concluded that historians in Italy felt that their counterparts in France had overstated the importance of *Annales* to Italian historiography.<sup>6</sup> Others working in England’s universities levelled similar accusations with regard to English historiography, and sometimes became enraged by, in the case of Geoffrey Elton, the ‘meaningless verbiage’ that they thought *Annales* historians portended.<sup>7</sup>

Controversy of this kind makes preeminent the perennial scientific demand for a suitable analytical overview of a complex matter. The choice is problematic. Yet the dissertation’s titular imagery, resistances to an *Annales* tide, has its own logic because it is suggested by the primary and secondary material on the subject. *Annales* is used as shorthand to refer to the intellectual forbears of, and the contributors and institutional complex centring on, the *Annales d’histoire économique et sociale*, created in 1929 by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, and incarnate thereafter as *Annales d’histoire sociale* (1939-41), *Mélanges d’histoire sociale* (1942-44), *Annales d’histoire sociale* (1945) and *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* (1946-93). The idea of an *Annales* ‘tide’ draws together varied depictions of *Annales* as a ‘movement’, ‘paradigm’ or ‘current’, which all contain imagery comparable in symbolism to that of a powerful motion created by the sea swelling.<sup>8</sup> In addition, Robert Mandrou, an *Annales* secretary, used a similar notion when he characterized hostility to

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<sup>4</sup> Garrett Mattingly, review of Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II*, *AHR*, 55 (1950): 349-51, 350.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School, 1929-89* (Stanford, 1990), 4, 1.

<sup>6</sup> Paolo Renzi, ‘Degli incontri marginali di un nuovo tipo, ovvero le ‘Annales’ e la storiografia italiana’, *NRS*, 63 (1979): 635-67, 636.

<sup>7</sup> Geoffrey Elton, ‘Historians Against History’, *CR*, 18 Nov. 1983: 203-205, 203.

<sup>8</sup> Delacroix, ‘Le moment de l’histoire-science sociale’ places *Annales* as one amongst several other currents.

*Annales* in a letter to Fernand Braudel in 1952 as ‘anti-*Annales* currents of thought’.<sup>9</sup> Febvre deployed the tragedy of Bloch’s execution by German soldiers in 1944 for collaboration with the *Résistance intérieure française* to cross-fertilize *Annales*’ own image as a combatants’ review, which fought what he called ‘resistances’ from ‘traditional’ history.<sup>10</sup> And Fernand Braudel discussed historiography in terms of ‘the tides of history.’<sup>11</sup> So *Annales* is envisaged here as a tide of thought encountering resistances out of respect for its originators’ understanding of their enterprise and its progress.

*Annales* historians’ emphasis on their transformation of the practice of history in turn directed the dissertation’s focus toward methodology. Henri Berr, central to the pre-history of the *Annales* School, insisted that he ‘had tried to set out a theory that articulated in a positive fashion the work of historians.’<sup>12</sup> Bloch famously described ‘how and why a historian practises his *métier*’ in response to his son’s questions about history.<sup>13</sup> Febvre characterized history as a ‘science of man in time’, in pursuit of which historians used a ‘critical method’ incorporating the theories and techniques advanced by all academic disciplines.<sup>14</sup> Braudel highlighted method as the ‘only guarantee of certitude’, and indicated that from his perspective it constituted ‘a collection of *métiers* and points of view.’<sup>15</sup> Charles Morazé added that ‘the concern to understand rather than to know is the golden rule of the *Annales* as it is of

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<sup>9</sup> Mandrou to Braudel, 28 Dec. 1952, Braudel MSS.

<sup>10</sup> On Bloch’s republicanism, see Massimo Mastrogregori, ‘Due ‘Carnets’ inediti di Marc Bloch (1917-1943): *Quelques notes de lecture e Mea*’, *RSI*, 110 (1998): 1005-44, and, on the relationship between Bloch’s republicanism, *Résistance* activities and his love of France and her history, see Peter Schöttler, ‘Marc Bloch, die Lehren der Geschichte und die Möglichkeit historischer Prognosen’, *ÖZG*, 16 (2005): 104-25 and Peter Schöttler, ‘After the Deluge: The Impact of the Two World Wars on the Historical Work of Henri Pirenne and Marc Bloch’, in Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, ed, *Nationalizing the Past. Historians as Nation Builders in Modern Europe* (Basingstoke, 2010), 424-25; Lucien Febvre, ‘Marc Bloch: Dix ans après’, *AÉSC*, 9 (1954): 145-47, 146.

<sup>11</sup> Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949), 17.

<sup>12</sup> Henri Berr, *L’Histoire traditionnelle et Synthèse historique* (Paris, 1921), 55.

<sup>13</sup> Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l’histoire, ou métier d’historien*, edited by Étienne Bloch (Paris, 2007; originally published in 1949), 43.

<sup>14</sup> Lucien Febvre, ‘Vers une autre histoire’, *RMM*, 63 (1949): 225-47, 233, 229.

<sup>15</sup> Fernand Braudel, ‘Présence de Lucien Febvre’, in Fernand Braudel, ed, *Éventail de l’histoire vivante: Hommage à Lucien Febvre offert par l’amitié d’historiens, linguistes, géographes, économistes, sociologues, ethnologues* (2 vols; Paris, 1953), i. 21; Fernand Braudel, ‘Histoire et science sociales: La longue durée’, *AÉSC*, 13 (1958): 725-53, 734.

the *Revue de Synthèse*.<sup>16</sup> In specific terms, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie also spoke of *Annales* historians' 'silent, mathematical resurrection of an entire past' in contrast to the 'resounding, action-packed history of the nineteenth century.'<sup>17</sup> Names and variations could be added to the list, but even in its abbreviated form it discloses that methodology, broadly-defined, presented a central issue in the work of the *Annales* School.

Methodology is used here, therefore, as a rubric not a prescriptive definition. It is conceived of as signifying the actions that historians carry out in the conception of, research towards and presentation of the relevant data resulting from, research projects about the past. Because historians associated with the *Annales* School engaged numerous techniques in their careers, the dissertation does not seek to restrict attention to misreceptions of one in particular. Rather it is concerned to expose the way in which the variety of techniques advanced by *Annales* historians synchronically have encountered criticism and provoked debate from multifarious sources in different countries at certain moments, as well as diachronically, across time. The dissertation thus probes the complex connection between the practice of history and the community of historians responsible for it. In other words, the 'social praxis', in Michel De Certeau's words, or what Karl Mannheim described as 'the conditions of collective life' out of which 'new forms of knowledge, in the last analysis, grow.'<sup>18</sup>

The conceptual scope ascribed to 'resistances' will also remain open to question. The substantive noun is used, following Febvre's deployment of the term, for the breadth of meaning it summons, from doubt and debate through opposition and contention to obstruction and intransigence. Such synonyms shall appear, therefore, throughout the dissertation in order precisely to evoke the resistances at work in particular cases. The use of a plural-

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<sup>16</sup> Charles Morazé, 'Lucien Febvre et l'Histoire vivante', *RH*, 217 (1957): 1-19, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Le Carnaval de Romans: De la Chandeleur au mercredi des Cendres, 1579-1580* (Paris, 1979), 223.

<sup>18</sup> Michel de Certeau, *L'écriture de l'histoire* (Paris, 1975), 49-56; Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, translated by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (London, 1936; originally published in German in 1929), 259.



substantive noun also indicates *a priori* that obstacles encountered by *Annales* historians' methodologies are not assumed to exhibit any co-ordination, unity or homogeneity in nature, intention or scope. On the contrary, the analysis seeks to answer questions about resistances. First amongst them are those concerning agency: who or what created resistances – individuals, groups or impersonal factors? To which generation did individuals or groups belong? For what reasons did obstructions arise? And with what results? Enquiries about substance will feature: what constituted resistances? Did they find expression in textual, oral or other forms? Or did dissent on cultural, ideological, linguistic, national, class, gender or ethnic grounds create tensions by impairing historians' comprehension of methodologies that *Annales* historians proposed? How specific were resistances? Which procedures encountered hostility? Did confrontations occur over methods used only by *Annales* historians or instead because of 'family resemblances' between them and other historians' approaches formulated outside the School?<sup>19</sup> Is it possible to generalize about or categorize resistances? And finally, analysis of content will occur: did hostility to or rejection of *Annales* historians' methods suffuse resistances, or did obstruction accompany critical appropriation of particular proposals? Did debate respond to explicit aspects, the 'conceptual' content, or to perceived implications, the 'symbolic' element, of techniques associated with the *Annales* School?<sup>20</sup> Or did historians' expression of reservation simply test the durability of inventive techniques out of respect for a belief in the essential contestability of intellectual inquiry?

Efforts to study resistances with these questions in mind as complications, not blemishes or damnation of the *Annales* School, are undertaken here in order to demonstrate the complexity of receptions accorded to *Annales* historians' methodological proposals, and,

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<sup>19</sup> I borrow Wittgenstein's term, in Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, translated by G. E. M. Anscombe (Oxford, 2001; originally published in German in 1953), §66-77, 27-31.

<sup>20</sup> Ricoeur makes this distinction between concepts, 'primary, literal, manifest meaning', and symbolic expression, 'inferences', in Paul Ricoeur, *De l'interprétation, essai sur Freud* (Paris, 1966), 8-9.

to borrow Tocqueville's words, 'is written to favour no particular views, and with [...] no design of serving or attacking any party.'<sup>21</sup>

## I.2 The Problem: *Annales* and Western Historiographies

The scope of the problematic, resistances in England, France, Germany, Italy and the United States, resembles that of Maurice Aymard's work, which studied the 'impact' of *Annales* in a variety of Mediterranean countries, and of an article by Peter Burke that examined *Annales* in a 'global context.'<sup>22</sup> The task attempted, however, is to investigate oppositions as part of what Aymard calls 'a complex network of multilateral exchanges', not, as does Burke, 'to ask the question 'How new is the new history?''<sup>23</sup>

### (a) The Choice of Countries

A justification for studying the difficulties encountered by *Annales* historians' methodological formulations in England, France, Germany, Italy and the United States both requires that the case to study them in multinational perspective be stated and demands an explanation of the rationale behind the selection of those nations in particular.

The existing literature on the *Annales* School suggests the need further to study the transmission of its methodologies across borders. Three important books, which have gained international readerships, demonstrate that *Annales* methods have been investigated. Traian Stoianovich's monograph, *French Historical Method: The Annales Paradigm*, provided an early exploration in 1976, 'limited for the most part to the period after 1946', and concluding that *Annales* constituted 'an inquiry into how one of the systems of a society functions or how a whole collectivity functions in terms of its multiple temporal, spatial, human, social,

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<sup>21</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique* (4 vols; Paris, 1848), i. 26.

<sup>22</sup> Maurice Aymard, 'The Impact of the *Annales* School in Mediterranean Countries', *R*, 1 (1978): 56-64; Peter Burke, 'The *Annales* in Global Context', *IRSH*, 35 (1990): 421-32.

<sup>23</sup> Aymard, 'The Impact of the *Annales*', 56; Burke, 'The *Annales*', 421.

economic, cultural, and evenemental dimensions.’<sup>24</sup> Over a decade later, Massimo Mastrogregori examined *Annales* methodologies with reference to the work of Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, but, instead of a singular paradigm, found a plurality of formations, some of which he has since investigated further.<sup>25</sup> André Burguière’s intellectual history of the *Annales* School dissects a particular method, collective representations, and its cosmology. Burguière, like Stoianovich before him, affirms the continued relevance of the enterprise, explaining ‘we can still cite Marc Bloch today.’<sup>26</sup> So without naming or analyzing all analogous investigations of this sort, *Annales* methodologies continue to attract attention.

Although scholars have begun to investigate how multinational recognition for *Annales* historians’ techniques grew as part of international *Annales* receptions, they focus on one or two national contexts; rarely several, unlike Aymard’s aforementioned synopsis of the Mediterranean countries’ responses. The resultant works form a large literature on receptions, not described here other than in relation to disputes and misreceptions. Paolo Zocchi reported in 1981 the ways in which the ‘varied work’ of *Annales* scholars became a central reference point for historian’s ‘epistemological reflection’ in an ‘ongoing debate’ in Italian historiography.<sup>27</sup> And John L. Harvey set national-institutional alongside intellectual receptions in a ‘microhistory’ of Bloch and Febvre’s efforts between 1920 and 1926 to secure American funding for their journal, in order to ‘reveal how scholars who crafted modern historiographical practices actually executed the abstract principles of organization, research, and thought.’<sup>28</sup> Lutz Raphael and Peter Schöttler’s work on *Annales* receptions in turn incorporated a range of intellectual, institutional, personal and collective exchanges and

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<sup>24</sup> Traian Stoianovich, *French Historical Method. The Annales Paradigm* (London, 1976), 20, 236.

<sup>25</sup> Massimo Mastrogregori, *Il Genio dello storico. Le considerazioni sulla storia di Marc Bloch e Lucien Febvre e la tradizione metodologica francese* (Naples, 1987), 28.

<sup>26</sup> André Burguière, *The Annales School. An Intellectual History*, translated by Jane Marie Todd (Cornell, 2009; originally published in French in 2006), 258, 1-2.

<sup>27</sup> Paolo Zocchi, ‘La Discussione sulle ‘Annales’ fino al 1960’, *RSSM*, 2, 2-3 (1981): 101-27, 112, 101-102.

<sup>28</sup> John L. Harvey, ‘An American *Annales*? The AHA and the *Revue internationale d’histoire économique* of Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch’, *JMH*, 76 (2004): 578-621, 580.

comparisons, with reference to Franco-German transfers.<sup>29</sup> The need still exists, however, to colligate national investigations into a multinational study of *Annales*, in order to extend understandings of the global impact of its methodologies, using extant scholarly contributions as a basis.

To this general justification for multinational study of *Annales* methodologies must be added specific elucidation of this dissertation's rationale. First, why focus on resistances? The immediate response is that challenges to *Annales* historians' methods have not received a systematic comparative examination. It would be glib to suggest that they have been ignored – they have not – and Burke and Georg Iggers, for example, record and analyze particular *Annales* opponents' critical responses, especially in the period after 1960.<sup>30</sup> Opponents have also sometimes been confronted in the name of an (albeit declared) allegiance to *Annales* as Bernard Bailyn notes with respect to Stoianovich's defence of certain of Braudel's ideas: chapter four of *French Historical Method*, Bailyn notes, discusses 'Braudel's three levels or rhythms of history, [...] a notion that Braudel himself has now qualified almost out of existence but which is here stoutly defended'.<sup>31</sup> This dissertation, by contrast, offers a concerted study of resistances in order to examine *Annales* methodologies on terms other than their own, and, therefore, to add nuance and breadth to the School's history. It not only enhances understanding of oppositions, but realization that misreceptions played a part in *Annales* receptions which have changed the historical discipline. In this endeavour, the author has a personal advantage in that, unlike Stoianovich and Burgière, he is not 'intimately involved' with *Annales*.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Lutz Raphael, *Die Erben von Bloch und Febvre. Annales-Geschichtsschreibung und nouvelle histoire in Frankreich 1945-1980* (Stuttgart, 1994); Schöttler, 'Zur Geschichte der *Annales*-Rezeption'. The many other works on the topic by both authors find inclusion hereafter.

<sup>30</sup> Burke, *French Historical Revolution*, 112-30; Georg Iggers, 'Die 'Annales' und ihre Kritiker. Probleme moderner französischer Sozialgeschichte', *HZ*, 219 (1974): 578-608.

<sup>31</sup> Bernard Bailyn, review of Stoianovich, *French Historical Method*, *JEH*, 37 (1977): 1028-34, 1031.

<sup>32</sup> Timothy Tackett, foreword to Burgière, *The Annales School*, x.

The second explanation concerns the choice of particular national historiographies. England, France, Germany, Italy and the United States are all western nations, geographically at least. But the dissertation does not claim to study resistances to the *Annales* School in the West because it omits many countries. Spain and Portugal are absent, and beyond them Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian states are excluded. Nor does the dissertation seek comprehensiveness of the sort that a study of confrontations between *Annales* and detractors throughout the West would yield. Instead it examines them in important national historiographies in which scholars have focused principally on receptions rather than contentions. The decision to include Italy is in this sense unprecedented because Italian-language literature on the *Annales* reception has not attracted considerable attention outside Italy – Aymard’s article on Mediterranean perspectives remains one of the few attempts by a non-Italian scholar to comment on *Annales* and Italy. Yet in Italy emerged an array of misconceptions about *Annales* historians’ methodologies, so it is included here.

Two further qualifications concerning the countries chosen present themselves. The first concerns Germany. Resistances in the German Federal Republic (F.R.G.) provide the focus for the period after 1945 until 1970 because of personnel and institutional continuity in the historical discipline there from the pre-1945 period that Jan Eckel has shown.<sup>33</sup> Continuity was not straightforward – a younger generation did begin to fill the ranks of the professoriate –, but the introduction of markedly different historical practices in the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R.) would compromise the synoptic character of the seventy-year long comparison undertaken here.<sup>34</sup> G.D.R. historiography will not be totally excluded from the period 1945-1970, therefore, but it will not be central to it either.

The second qualification relates to the inclusion of the United States, an apparent anomaly in a selection of European historiographies. Gabriele Lingelbach’s conclusion that

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<sup>33</sup> Jan Eckel, *Geist der Zeit. Deutsche Geisteswissenschaften seit 1870* (Göttingen, 2008), 90-93.

<sup>34</sup> Notker Hammerstein, ‘Universities and War in the Twentieth Century’, in Walter Rüegg, ed, *A History of the University in Europe* (4 vols; Cambridge, 1992-2010), iii. 666.

nineteenth-century appropriations of styles of institutionalization originating in France, not direct borrowings from Europe, played the decisive role in American historiography makes this a singularly odd feature because it suggests the imperviousness to European developments of universities in America.<sup>35</sup> But the choice has historical precedent given the connection of American and European intellectual élites that both struck twentieth-century commentators and captures the attention of historiography's students. Certain English historians perceived a transatlantic arc, which sidelined the influence of their work: 'Ever since I came to America I have been impressed at the influence, organized and unorganized, that Germany is exercising in America', 'and what is very amazing is the way Germany has officially cultivated this difference.'<sup>36</sup> A secondary literature confirms contemporary impressions.<sup>37</sup> And German influences are not the only European stimuli in the American historical discipline, which has also borrowed professional concepts from England as well as France and Italy, facilitated in part by the arrival of migrant scholars dispossessed by the two World Wars.<sup>38</sup> This transatlantic connection brought popularity for *Annales* scholarship in America, particularly after the English translation of Fernand Braudel's *La Méditerranée* appeared in 1972-73 simultaneous with the printing of 'the famous December 1972 *Journal of Modern History* issue on Braudel' and the inaugural conference of Immanuel Wallerstein's Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economics, Historical Systems, and Civilizations in 1977.<sup>39</sup> In addition, the development of European historiographies examined here benefited

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<sup>35</sup> Gabriele Lingelbach, *Klio macht Karriere: Die Institutionalisierung der Geschichtswissenschaft in Frankreich und den USA in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 2003), 625-85.

<sup>36</sup> Harold Laski to H.A.L. Fisher, 20 Jan. 1917, Murray MSS 133/5.

<sup>37</sup> Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: 'The Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 21-46; see also important general studies, Jürgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship* (Ithaca, 1965), Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago, 1965), 125-33 and a case-study, Paul Bernard and James Turner, 'The 'German Model' and the Graduate School: The University of Michigan and the Origin Myth of the American University', *HHEA*, 13 (1993): 69-83.

<sup>38</sup> Jonathon R. Cole, *The Great American University: Its Rise to Preeminence, Its Indispensable National Role, Why It Must be Protected* (New York, 2009), 77-85.

<sup>39</sup> It had also already arrived, untranslated, before 1972, see John A. Marino, 'The Exile and his Kingdom: The Reception of Braudel's *Mediterranean*', *JMH*, 76 (2004): 622-52, 624.

from substantial United States aid, making the twentieth on that count an American century. The difficulties their ‘colleagues [experienced] in securing adequate equipment and recent scientific works published in the English language’ compelled historians in the United States to secure financial assistance for Europeans.<sup>40</sup> So European and American receptions of, and therefore resistances to, *Annales* for these reasons require synchronized analysis.

### (b) The Choice of Period

Because antagonisms encountered by *Annales* methodologies in multinational perspective during its pre-history and history to 1970 form the subject of the dissertation and because no concerted or comparative analysis of resistances already exists, the events of *Annales*’ own history determine the dissertation’s chronological limits.

Henri Berr founded the *Revue de Synthèse historique* in 1900, the point of departure here. Scholarly consensus regards this deed as inaugural for *Annales*’ pre-history. And, consensus further hints, thereafter ensued an important period of intellectual formation for Bloch and Febvre requiring attention in order to understand their foundation of *Annales* itself.<sup>41</sup> Berr is, with the sociologist Émile Durkheim and the geographer Vidal de la Blache, customarily taken as an important inspiration to the *Annales* project, as François Dosse and others have shown.<sup>42</sup> But the importance of Berr is, according to Burgière, greater to the *Annales* founders than that of Durkheim or Blache for ‘biographical’ and ‘intrinsic’ reasons: Bloch and Febvre enjoyed Berr’s confidence and friendship. And Berr’s assembly of like-minded individuals, who shared intellectual aspirations to reorganize accepted understandings

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<sup>40</sup> Douglas Johnson to W. D. Johnston, 29 Apr. 1925, Leland MSS 39/5.

<sup>41</sup> Stoianovich, *French Historical Method*, 194; Luciano Allegra and Angelo Horre, *La Nascita della storia sociale in Francia dalla Comune alle Annales* (Turin, 1977), 79-84, 95-101, 119-25; Stuart Clark, ‘The *Annales* Historians’, in Quentin Skinner, ed, *The Return of Grand Theory in the Human Sciences* (Cambridge, 1985), 181; Georg Iggers, *New Directions in European Historiography* (London, 1985), 51-56; Mastrogregori, *Il Genio dello storico*, 45-80, 97-124; Morazé, ‘Lucien Febvre’, 3; Lutz Raphael, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Zeitalter des Extreme. Theorien, Methoden, Tendenzen von 1900 bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 2003), 100-101; Burgière, *The Annales School*, 13-22.

<sup>42</sup> François Dosse, *L’Histoire en miettes: Des ‘Annales’ à la ‘nouvelle histoire’* (Paris, 1987), 3; Burke, *French Historical Revolution*, 11, 109-10; Peter Schöttler, ‘Henri Berr et l’Allemagne’, in Agnès Biard, Dominique Bourel and Eric Brian, eds, *Henri Berr et la culture du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1997), 189-203.

of the project of history in the *belle époque*, appealed more to them than Durkheim's desire that sociology should lead all other human sciences – diverse disciplines, ranging from anthropology through ethnology to linguistics, devoted to the study of any aspect of human as opposed to natural or extra-terrestrial life.<sup>43</sup> Letters exchanged between Bloch, Febvre and Berr render Burguière's appraisal cogent.<sup>44</sup> So the legitimacy of 1900 as beginning of a movement is imposing, and, in order to examine resistances that that movement confronted, it must here too serve as a point of departure.

The occurrences between which it stands recommend 1970 as *terminus ad quem*. An argument exists for taking 1975 as an end date because the Sixth Section of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* that Lucien Febvre directed after 1947 became an independent *grand établissement*, entitled by law to award degrees.<sup>45</sup> That, however, looks like a new beginning, which Braudel himself associated with the government's response to demands that students made in May and June 1968 for participatory academic governance, encapsulated in the *Loi Faure* and a finance bill of 4 June 1969.<sup>46</sup> These laws achieved much of what *Annales* scholars had proposed about interdisciplinary group research. 1968, therefore, also presents itself as a moment of closure. Indeed Braudel felt that *Annales* scholars 'were heretics until almost 1968 [...] compelled, willy-nilly, to fight ceaselessly for each concession.'<sup>47</sup> He also stepped down in that year as editor of the journal *Annales* lending further weight to the case for 1968. But change had been afoot at *Annales* since the late 1950s when the editorial committee planned reform and a 'new style' for the 1961 issues.<sup>48</sup> After 1968, and into the 1970s, such a variety of techniques and research specialisms congregated around the *Annales*

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<sup>43</sup> Burguière, *The Annales School*, 80.

<sup>44</sup> Jacqueline Pluet and Gilles Candar, eds, *Lucien Febvre. Lettres à Henri Berr* (Paris, 1997); Jacqueline Pluet-Despatin, ed, *Marc Bloch. Écrire La Société féodale: Lettres à Henri Berr 1924-1943* (Paris, 1992).

<sup>45</sup> Jacques Revel and Nathan Wachtel, 'Une école pour les sciences sociales', in Jacques Revel and Nathan Wachtel, eds, *Une école pour les sciences sociales. De la VI<sup>e</sup> Section à l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* (Paris, 1996), 23-24.

<sup>46</sup> Antoine Prost, *Histoire de l'enseignement et de l'éducation* (Paris, 2004), 352.

<sup>47</sup> Fernand Braudel, preface to Stoianovich, *French Historical Method*, 16.

<sup>48</sup> Robert Mandrou to Fernand Braudel, 18 Jul. 1960, Braudel MSS.



School, and *Annales* historians came under intense criticism from François Dosse and Hervé Coutau-Bégarie amongst others for allegedly fracturing the coherence of the past by analyzing its parts anatomically, that Braudel's retirement as editor could equally well mark the end of an era.<sup>49</sup> So it is difficult to discern from *Annales*' chronology where to draw the line in a study of resistances. 1970 falls in the midst of an important juncture just before world-wide pre-eminence had been consolidated and after acceptance in France in the advent of 1968. For this reason it offers a provisional chronological hypothesis in the first extended study of resistances.

The analytical terms reflect these chronological dimensions. *Annales* historians will be designated as proto-*annalistes* and *annalistes*. 'Proto-*annaliste*' connotes historians, and less frequently certain geographers or sociologists, associated with Henri Berr during the period of *Annales*' pre-history from 1900 until 1929. '*Annalistes*' are historians associated with the journal and/or affiliated institutions from 1929 until 1970, but who may also have been proto-*annalistes*. Bloch and Febvre's career exemplifies such an overlap.

### I.3 The Approach: Comparative Historiography

A historiographical investigation of resistances follows hereafter. A specific, not general, understanding of historiography orients the approach: it is not envisaged as analysis of competing philosophies of history animating disputes. Nor will it attempt to practice the philosophy of history by, for example, relating resistances to large-scale often intangible forces in the way that Hegel charts the unfolding of world history.<sup>50</sup> Nor does it place historiography under the auspices of intellectual history as, for example, Isabel Noronha-

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<sup>49</sup> Matthias Middell, 'Die unendliche Geschichte', in Middell and Sammler, eds, *Alles gewordene hat Geschichte*, 16; Dosse and Coutau-Bégarie do not, however, deploy comparable lines of argument, see Dosse, *L'Histoire en Miettes* and Hervé Coutau-Bégarie *Le Phénomène 'nouvelle histoire': Grandeur et décadence de l'école des 'Annales'* (Paris, 1989).

<sup>50</sup> Theodor Litt, ed, *Georg Hegel, Philosophie der Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1961).

DiVanna does in her recent book on French historiography.<sup>51</sup> The dissertation instead understands historiography in James Westfall Thompson, Harry Elmer Barnes or Michael Bentley's sense as the history of historical writing or the 'history of historiography', which does not necessarily provide original readings of historians' work but strives to connect and compare them in an original manner.<sup>52</sup> It refuses to restrict its enquiries to disciplinary history alone because, in Georg Igger's words, 'science, and this includes historical science, can never be reduced to a series of disembodied processes of thought internal to the discipline.'<sup>53</sup> It also does not seek exhaustively to analyze and comment upon the secondary literature relating to past historians' published books and articles. Instead the history of historiography engages with secondary material where it relates explicitly to points under consideration.

For these reasons, factors internal and external to the historical discipline require assessment. A tripartite method capable of investigating debates within the discipline, contextualizing them within the institutional-cultural context of the particular country in which they occur, and comparing them in multi or transnational perspective is therefore required in order to avoid the temptation to under-contextualize processes attendant on the spread of concepts that Christoph Conrad and Sebastian Conrad identified as characteristic in some studies of comparative historiography.<sup>54</sup>

#### (a) The Historical Discipline: Methodological Traditions

Philosophers of science have provided ways of understanding the processes governing scientists' work, broadly conceived as the activity of any researcher involved in creating

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<sup>51</sup> Isabel Noronha-DiVanna, *Writing History in the Third Republic* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2010), 6.

<sup>52</sup> James Westfall Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing* (2 vols; New York, 1942), i. viii; James T. Shotwell, *The History of History* (2 vols; New York, 1939), i. viii-ix; Michael Bentley, *Modern Historiography. An Introduction* (London, 1999), x.

<sup>53</sup> Georg Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge with a New Epilogue* (Middletown CT, 2008), 18.

<sup>54</sup> Christoph Conrad and Sebastian Conrad, 'Wie vergleicht man Historiographien?' in Christoph Conrad and Sebastian Conrad, eds, *Die Nation schreiben: Geschichtswissenschaft im internationalen Vergleich* (Göttingen, 2002), 42.

organized bodies of knowledge thereby including historians. Thomas Kuhn's characterization of research as determined by a ruling 'paradigm' had an 'enormous impact', and Stoianovich and others used it in their work on *Annales* methodologies.<sup>55</sup> Stoianovich showed that events of the post-1945 period conformed to a Kuhnian argument about change in historical practice: *Annales* historians cast doubt on the value of extant approaches to history, 'normal science', by showing that historians only investigated limited aspects of past populations' lives. 'Anomalies' between evidence historians used and the theories their *Annales* colleagues formulated about what history ought to be in this way arose; rules determining standards of evidence and interpretation thus became fragmentary, so an era of chaos or 'crisis science' ensued as historians became unsure how to prosecute their investigations – in Kuhn's words, the paradigm's interpretive power declined; finally, new *Annales* methodologies provided fresh insight, both attracting historians in a moment of 'revolutionary science' and inaugurating a period during which the historical profession accepted an *Annales* paradigm.<sup>56</sup> The new paradigm, like any according to Kuhn, changed what historians 'see and do' because its adoption changed the way they construed the external world.<sup>57</sup>

Kuhn's work, however, has attracted criticism, and Larry Laudan's work on 'research traditions' has since provided a way to conceptualize scientific activity that captures its diversity. Laudan objected to Kuhn's work because dominant paradigms do not tolerate competitors; they either rule or fall.<sup>58</sup> Laudan argued instead that plural research traditions co-exist and direct research at any time, both in 'scientific and other forms of intellectual inquiry' such as history.<sup>59</sup> Research traditions are, Laudan added, enterprises from which a variety of theories and techniques arise. A historian's practice does not necessarily attach her to one

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<sup>55</sup> Paul Hoyningen-Huene, *Reconstructing Scientific Revolutions: Thomas S. Kuhn's Philosophy of Science* (Chicago, 1993), 12. Other scholars who use 'paradigm' include Delacroix, 'Le moment de l'histoire-science sociale', 241, Dosse, *L'Histoire en miettes*, 128-62 and Hunt, 'French History in the Last Twenty Years', 209-24.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962), 52, 43, 66-76, 90.

<sup>57</sup> Kuhn, *The Structure*, 110.

<sup>58</sup> Larry Laudan, *Progress and its Problems. Toward a Theory of Scientific Growth* (Berkeley, 1977), 4.

<sup>59</sup> Larry Laudan, *Beyond Positivism and Relativism: Theory, Method and Evidence* (Oxford, 1996), 85.

tradition either, because investigating or ‘pursuing’ certain methodologies does not signal ‘acceptance’ of one tradition to the exclusion of others. Scholars take up particular methods for their problem-solving capacities and the resultant ‘high rate of progress’ they yield for the study of particular objects.<sup>60</sup> The tradition always for that reason relates to the research specialism within history.

Laudan is not alone in responding to Kuhn and has himself been the subject of criticism, but this does not detract from the assistance his concept of research traditions can provide to historiographical analysis of resistances. The basic idea of Laudan’s research traditions resembles Imre Lakatos’s ‘research programme’, also formulated in response to Kuhn.<sup>61</sup> But Lakatos’s research programmes have a hard core and a soft outer edge, and changes in them arise from alterations in the outer edge not the core.<sup>62</sup> This precludes the idea of a total methodological change because the enduring centre implies essential continuity, whereas Laudan’s theorization of traditions allows both for total and partial adjustments. The work of Bruno Latour and Stephen Woolgar in *Laboratory Life: The Constitution of Scientific Facts*, published two years after Laudan’s book *Progress and its Problems*, also questioned the importance of Laudan’s proposal. Latour and Woolgar envisioned a research community as an autonomous body which constructs the facts of the discipline in which it works. Subjects become, therefore, conflicts of different fact constructions in which the winning version becomes immune to challenge from rival scholars’ contentions not ‘true’ with recourse to research objects.<sup>63</sup> Latour and Woolgar thus broke the connection between a real object of investigation external to researchers, data and conclusions based on it because they ascribe scholarly outcomes to scholars’ agency. Laudan’s idea of research traditions, by

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 84-85.

<sup>61</sup> Imre Lakatos, ‘Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programmes’, Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave, eds, *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge* (Cambridge, 1970), 92.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 133-38.

<sup>63</sup> Bruno Latour and Stephen Woolgar, *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts* (Beverly Hills, 1979), 114-29.

contrast, preserves researchers' role in determining knowledge as part of the sequence of examining and evaluating independent objects of study, demonstrating David Bloor's point that it is possible to insert sociological relations into an understanding of academic practice without suggesting that they are its sole determinants.<sup>64</sup> In short, despite the growing awareness of the sociological determinants of research, scholars still think of themselves as making truth-claims.<sup>65</sup>

Laudan's nuanced theorization of academic research is, therefore, useful for studying resistances because it provides the conceptual framework through which to consider *Annales* historians' methods as co-existing with alternatives which both receive and rival them, and as responsive to objects of research independent of scholars. It also accommodates historians who may practise but not accept techniques emanating from the *Annales* School. Research traditions, or what I shall call methodological traditions, in this way avoid a monolithic conceptualization of historical research by capturing the variety and vitality extant in the profession between 1900 and 1970.

#### (b) The University Field: Élités, Institutions and Hierarchies

To contextualize disciplinary debates about method in their national and transnational spheres, the work of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu on field theory offers instruction. Contextualization both avoids a danger that Sebastian Conrad has identified, abstracting method either from what historians said in their work or the context in which they formulated its tenets, and facilitates an assessment of the connection between intellectual-disciplinary debates and the national-institutional context in which they took place.<sup>66</sup> A note of caution prefaces this part of the approach because use of a sociologist's work would not necessarily

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<sup>64</sup> David Bloor, 'Anti-Latour', *SHPS*, 30 (1999): 81-112, 99, 104.

<sup>65</sup> Karl Maton, 'Languages of Legitimation: The Structuring Significance for Intellectual Fields of Strategic Knowledge Claims', *BJSE*, 21 (2000): 147-67, 154, 163-64.

<sup>66</sup> Sebastian Conrad, *The Quest for the Lost Nation: Writing History in America and Japan in the American Century*, translated by Alan Nothnagle (Berkeley, 2010; originally published in German in 1999), 8.

meet with *Annales* historians' approval: in the 1980s, for example, Braudel openly criticized Bourdieu for using 'sociological', by which he inferred 'general', ideas to explain specific events, whilst others questioned the extent to which history constituted a 'social construction.'<sup>67</sup> Other historians have, however, already used field theory as a tool with which to investigate academic developments with useful results. Christophe Charle deployed it in a book published in 1994 in order to analyze French university education and its relationship with sources of political, economic and social power.<sup>68</sup> In another publication of that year, Raphael used field theory to conceptualize the historian's *milieu*, the *Historikerfeld*, and the cultural field.<sup>69</sup> In both books, fields are evaluated in part through the use of statistics to profile, for example, the age of professors and the number of theses produced in particular subjects. Here, by contrast, because the dissertation focuses on resistances, the field contextualizes the competition of methodological traditions within their institutional context rather than presenting an object of study requiring original statistical research in itself; existing literature provides sufficient data.

Fields signify social spaces, and Bourdieu first utilized the term in an article entitled 'Champ intellectuel et projet créateur', about the work of two literary scholars, Roland Barthes and Raymond Picard.<sup>70</sup> Bourdieu's work since that article developed their main characteristics. First, fields are pervious; individuals are involved in several and move freely across them.<sup>71</sup> Second, people can acquire different forms of capital from their activities in a field. There are four types of capital on offer: economic (money and assets), cultural (forms of knowledge and aesthetic-cultural preferences), social (connexion through family, religious, cultural and other social networks) and symbolic (credentials, including educational

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<sup>67</sup> Dosse, *L'Histoire en miettes*, 88; Lutz Raphael and Pierre Bourdieu, 'Über die Beziehungen zwischen Geschichte und Soziologie in Frankreich und Deutschland', *GG*, 26 (1996): 62-89.

<sup>68</sup> Christophe Charle, *La République des universitaires, 1870-1940* (Paris, 1994), 291-342.

<sup>69</sup> Raphael, *Die Erben*, 48-49, 243-94, 147-49.

<sup>70</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, 'Champ intellectuel et projet créateur', *TM*, 246 (1966): 856-906.

<sup>71</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, 'Some Properties of Fields', in Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociology in Question*, translated by Richard Nice (London, 1993; originally published in French in 1984), 72.

qualifications that can be exchanged for other types of capital).<sup>72</sup> The greater the amount of capital possessed, the more power one has in a field. Third, every field has its own rules or unquestioned ‘shared beliefs’, *doxa*, whether explicitly stated or not.<sup>73</sup> So involvement with a particular field, whether through professional or avocational activity, produces a distinctive habitus, ‘a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination.’<sup>74</sup> It is therefore possible to say of a scientist that (s)he, ‘is a scientific field made flesh, an agent whose cognitive structures are homologous with the structure of the field.’<sup>75</sup> Fourth, fields are relational in so far as exchanges between them frequently occur: for example, the type of employment attained in the job market may relate to educational qualifications, or, within a field, the views of one individual with a particular portfolio of economic capital resemble those held by a similarly capitalized person.<sup>76</sup> And fifth, all fields are related to and shaped by a ‘field of power’, which determines *doxa* and desirable incarnations of each form of capital. All fields have as a result ‘distinction’, *avante garde* elite versus popular tastes that correlate loosely with notions of social class.<sup>77</sup>

Resistances to *Annales* historians’ techniques accordingly will be contextualized in university systems because proto-*annaliste* and *annalistes* practised their profession in that world, or in what Bourdieu called a ‘cosmos.’<sup>78</sup> University systems in each country, parts of the university field, represent social spaces occupied by university teachers. The university field also contains within it the sum of all disciplines, but the focus here remains on history departments the discipline of history. But it preserves the possibility that historians may on

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<sup>72</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, ‘The Forms of Capital’, in Hugh Lauder, Phillip Brown, Jo-Anne Dillabough and A. H. Halsey, eds, *Education, Globalization and Social Change* (Oxford, 2006), 105-106.

<sup>73</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations*, translated by Richard Nice (London, 2000; originally published in French in 1997), 96-97.

<sup>74</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Esquisse d’une théorie de la pratique: Précédé de trois études d’ethnologie kabyle* (Geneva, 1972), 175.

<sup>75</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Esquisse pour une auto-analyse* (Paris, 2004), 52.

<sup>76</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *La Distinction. Critique sociale de jugement* (Paris, 1979), 31-36.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17.

<sup>78</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Les Structures sociales de l’économie* (Paris, 2000), 5-7.

occasion take inspiration from colleagues in other disciplines when opposing *Annales* historians' methodologies or that non-historians may contribute in some way to resistances. This captures the reality of historical work, which, as Jack Hexter argued, is conducted in 'the society of professional historians', but not always only professional historians.<sup>79</sup> Because university systems provide context they will be referred to as part of the investigation of a given instance of resistances within the historical discipline.

Care will be taken to avoid compromising 'historically specific' resistances by treating them as 'formally similar,' a criticism of Bourdieu's sociology made by sociologists and philosophers alike. Craig Calhoun, a sociologist, argued that field theory does not allow for the exercise of individual will because it insists on the primacy of environmental factors in determining a person's habitus and resultant actions.<sup>80</sup> Jacques Rancière added that in principle, from his perspective as a philosopher, this prevents people from changing their circumstances because they are trapped by conditions beyond their control, as Charlotte Nordmann has shown.<sup>81</sup> So, without detailing the arguments either Calhoun or Rancière advance, one can say that experts qualified to analyze Bourdieu's theory express concern about field determinism, which the dissertation aims to mitigate by counterbalancing aspects of the field and historians' agency in creating resistances.

The use of field theory will, finally, require a consideration of the role of the field of academic power in creating oppositions.<sup>82</sup> This is important because Braudel claimed that *Annales* historians were treated like 'heretics' before 1970, so a consideration of resisters' connections with leading university élites will prove poignant. It also impinges because 'national questions' dealt with by political groups to whom historians were sometimes close

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<sup>79</sup> J. H. Hexter, *Doing History* (London, 1971), 81.

<sup>80</sup> Craig Calhoun, 'Habitus, Field, Capital: The Question of Historical Specificity', in Craig Calhoun, Edward LiPuma and Moishe Postone, eds, *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives* (Cambridge, 1993), 71.

<sup>81</sup> Charlotte Nordmann, *Bourdieu/Rancière. La politique entre sociologie et philosophie* (Paris, 2006), 107, 187. Nordmann, however, criticizes both Bourdieu and Rancière for arguing in favour of 'immovable systems', *ibid.*, 207, 209, 223, 225.

<sup>82</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus* (Paris, 1984), 18.



may feature as one constituent amongst others of challenges to *Annales* methodologies as they have in other aspects of twentieth-century historical scholarship.<sup>83</sup> Such issues often emerged in relation to the ways in which historians organized their written histories, for example as national history, which is important in many ways, as Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz's *The Contested Nation* demonstrates.<sup>84</sup> But, because methodology provides the focus here, the overriding aim of the analytical connection between the historical discipline and the university field remains throughout to probe how interrelations between truth-claims and intellectual debates shaped resistances in combination with elements of sociological, institutional and political reality.

The university systems in question constituted a coherent field between 1900 and 1970. Such systems do not here encompass associated institutions equivalent in function or level of qualification awarded, such as England's Further Education Colleges or the United States' Community Colleges, which provide vocational training as an alternative to university qualifications. Across universities in the countries concerned, worked a growing number of historians: in England, 201 men and 40 women occupied positions in 1928 rising to 406 men and 68 women by 1955; in France, 121 men and one woman in 1928 grew to 234 men and ten women in 1955; in Germany, 157 men and two women at work in 1928 expanded to 312 men and 24 women in 1955; and in Italy in 1928, 67 men and one woman contrasted with 90 and three in 1955.<sup>85</sup> Women occupied a minor role on the face of the figures, but behind the scenes, as researchers for their husbands, as translators and interpreters and as editors and guardians of dead historians' posthumous publications and private archives, they continued throughout the twentieth century to exert an important influence on the profession, as Bonnie

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<sup>83</sup> Glenda Sluga, 'The Nation and Comparative Imagination', in Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, eds, *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective* (London, 2004), 31.

<sup>84</sup> Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, eds, *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (Basingstoke, 2008); see also Conrad and Conrad, 'Wie vergleicht man Historiographien?', 45.

<sup>85</sup> Ilaria Porciani and Lutz Raphael, eds, *Atlas of European Historiography: The Making of a Profession 1800-2005* (Basingstoke, 2010), 169, 135, 162, 118.

G. Smith has shown they had until 1914.<sup>86</sup> Student populations also expanded.<sup>87</sup> And, as time went on, students' socio-economic provenance diversified: by mid-century in America, for example, 27% originated from the households of white-collar professionals or executives, 21% from those of people employed in small business or technical occupations, 11% from families of clerical, sales or service industry employees, 14% agricultural and only six per cent unskilled.<sup>88</sup>

Informal hierarchies, classifying universities by scientific standing, ossified across the period. In England, Oxford and Cambridge followed by the University of London, both as an examination and teaching university, dominated.<sup>89</sup> In France, where selective *Grandes Écoles* coexisted with public-funded non-selective universities, the most prestigious institutions of both sorts were congregated around the Île de France region in and outside Paris.<sup>90</sup> Berlin, closely followed by Munich and Leipzig, stood at the top of the pyramid in Germany.<sup>91</sup> Rome, Naples and Pisa occupied pre-eminent positions in Italy amongst a group of leading universities including Bologna, Cagliari, Genoa, Padua, Palermo, Pavia and Turin.<sup>92</sup> And in America 12 universities stood out by mid-century: California-Berkeley, California Institute of Technology, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Illinois, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Michigan, Princeton, Wisconsin and Yale.<sup>93</sup>

A growing demand for secondary school teachers of the subject in part stimulated the increase in numbers enrolling for degrees in history, but the expansion of access to and funding for historical research also played a part. The diversification of research is evident in the fact that the number of historical journals listed by the catalogue of the Library of

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<sup>86</sup> Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Harvard, 1998), 6-8, 213-15.

<sup>87</sup> Hartmut Kaelble, *Soziale Mobilität und Chancengleichheit im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1983), 200-202.

<sup>88</sup> Bernard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States* (New York, 1960), 133.

<sup>89</sup> Robert Anderson, *British Universities Past and Present* (London, 2006), 84-85.

<sup>90</sup> Fritz Ringer, *Education and Society in Modern Europe* (London, 1979), 124.

<sup>91</sup> Matthias Middell, 'Germany', in Porciani and Raphael, *Atlas*, 162.

<sup>92</sup> Giuseppe Ricuperati, 'Per una storia dell'università italiana da Gentile a Bottai: Appunti e discussione', in Ilaria Porciani, ed, *L'università tra Otto e Novocento: I modelli europei e il caso italiano* (Naples, 1994), 324.

<sup>93</sup> Berelson, *Graduate Education*, 280-81.

Congress in 2000 stood at 6,500.<sup>94</sup> But nowhere did ‘mass’ higher education arrive until after the Second World War, if not 1960. The Robbins Report in England in 1963, the *Loi Faure* in France in 1968, the liberalization of university access in Italy in 1969 and in Germany since 1945 extended what the Veterans’ Bill of 1944 had begun in England and what already had happened in America by the end of the 1950s as a result of the ‘G-I Bill’ that hypothecated tax revenues to fund war veterans’ university studies.<sup>95</sup> The launch of *Sputnik* in 1957 also added to impulses in America to diversify and extend university research first in science, but across the range of disciplines too, in order to maintain what politicians considered an intellectual pre-eminence befitting a Western Superpower.<sup>96</sup>

Similarity cannot, however, mask the variation in speed and detail of developments. The ministries of education in France, Germany and Italy selected and remunerated historians, who thus became civil servants.<sup>97</sup> In England and America, by contrast, universities retained almost complete autonomy over appointments.<sup>98</sup> England’s University Grants Commission, founded in 1919, set university budgets, but did not direct allocations, whereas in France the *Caisse nationale de la recherche scientifique*, founded in 1924, only funded projects that ministry-allotted university budgets could not support.<sup>99</sup> The existence of private universities in the United States presented a greater departure from ‘European *dirigisme*’ in academic

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<sup>94</sup> Matthias Middell, ‘Vom allgemeinhistorischen Journal zur spezialisierten Liste im H-Net. Gedanken zur Geschichte der Zeitschriften als Elementen der Institutionalisierung moderner Geschichtswissenschaft’, in Matthias Middell, ed, *Historische Zeitschriften im internationalen Vergleich* (Leipzig, 1999), 16.

<sup>95</sup> Anderson, *British Universities*, 113; Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, 156; Guido Martinotti and Alberto Giasinti, ‘The Robed Baron: The Academic Profession in the Italian University’, in Philip G. Altbach, ed, *Comparative Perspectives on the Academic Profession* (New York, 1977), 24-26; Hartmut Boockmann, *Wissen und Widerstand: Geschichte der Universität* (Berlin, 1999), 262; Gérard Chaix, ‘De la fascination allemande à l’ouverture européenne. Die französische Geschichtsschreibung im 20. Jahrhundert’, in Heinz Ducchardt, ed, *Nationale Geschichtskulturen – Bilanz, Ausstrahlung, Europabezogenheit* (Mainz, 2006), 115; Roger Geiger, ‘Research, Graduate Education, and the Ecology of the American Universities: An Interpretive History’, in Sheldon Rothblatt and Björn Wittrock, eds, *The European and American University Since 1800: Historical and Sociological Essays* (Cambridge, 1993), 248; Martin Trow, ‘Comparative Perspectives on British and American Higher Education’ in *ibid.*, 298.

<sup>96</sup> Geiger, ‘American Universities’, 253.

<sup>97</sup> Porciani and Raphael, eds, *Atlas*, 131, 162, 118.

<sup>98</sup> Ringer, *Education and Society*, 248.

<sup>99</sup> Anderson, *British Universities*, 113.

affairs.<sup>100</sup> The figures suggest decline between 1900 and 1958, from 93% to 48%, in the proportion of students educated at privately-funded institutions in America, but the expansion of public-sector universities offsets any real decrease in student numbers.<sup>101</sup> In addition, American universities ‘could look to a regular, recurrent source of support for the expenses of conducting organized research’ from philanthropists’ foundations and less often private industry after 1920, unparalleled in Europe except by German companies such as Volkswagen and their efforts to support academic research after 1945.<sup>102</sup>

Variations also emerge from the point of view of history curricula. William Stubbs and J. R. Seeley made it possible to take a history degree in England by the 1870s; the doctorate gained currency around 1919 mainly to attract foreign students, and remained a prerequisite only for the lower social orders until mid-century.<sup>103</sup> In Italy, by contrast, the *Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche*, founded by the Fascist government in 1923, failed to corral professors’ divergent research enterprises into a coherent programme on which to base a teaching schedule. Indeed, no official doctoral programme existed there until legal reforms took effect between 1978 and 1980.<sup>104</sup> Schools or departments of history also had no monopoly of historical teaching and research: across the countries in question, law departments and professors directed research in legal history, for example, often in isolation from economic historians working in departments of economics or ecclesiastical historians in theological faculties. Professional guilds and associations mitigated such divisions in varying degrees. The historical profession in Germany held regular historians’ meetings, *Historikertage*.<sup>105</sup> But, in America, outside the American Historical Association, professional

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<sup>100</sup> Trow, ‘British and American Higher Education’, 298.

<sup>101</sup> Berelson, *Graduate Education*, 95.

<sup>102</sup> Geiger, ‘American universities’, 248.

<sup>103</sup> Ringer, *Education and Society*, 217.

<sup>104</sup> Mauro Moretti and Ilaria Porciani, ‘Italy’, in Porciani and Raphael, eds, *Atlas*, 119, 121.

<sup>105</sup> Matthias Middell, ‘Die ersten Historikertage in Deutschland, 1893-1913’, *C*, 5-6 (1996): 21-43.

bodies uniting historians working in one or more research specialism remained underdeveloped, reliant in greater measure on personal efforts.<sup>106</sup>

The overriding structure, direction and professionalization process exhibited by each university system confirms, however, the practicability of using a unifying theory like field theory as a conceptual tool with which to situate resistances to *Annales* methodologies. The chapters that follow will illustrate the extent to which these university systems within the university field are not simply similar and different but in fact interrelated through personnel, institutions and intellectual agenda running throughout the historical profession. National variations and transnational processes thus underpin the university field.

#### (c) The Discipline and the Field in Comparative Perspective

The potential for comparison also exists in Bourdieu's field theory. *Homo Academicus* and *La noblesse d'état: Grandes écoles et esprit de corps*, published in 1984 and 1989 respectively, both show how it can expose the inner workings of university systems, in both cases in France. They also suggest that field theory can compare the 'historical tradition' of one university system with that of another, or others, by revealing 'systematic transfers' between systems across the field.<sup>107</sup> Derek Robbins later echoed Bourdieu, adding that Bourdieu's work on the French education system has not received significant attention from British sociologists of education when it is, he insisted, possible to apply its analytical framework to educational contexts other than in France.<sup>108</sup> And educational sociologists have used it more recently as a 'thinking tool' useful to study universities in different countries. Rajani Naidoo's study of South African universities thus vindicates the feasibility of Bourdieu and Robbins's

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<sup>106</sup> Trow, 'British and American Higher Education', 282-283.

<sup>107</sup> Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, xvi.

<sup>108</sup> Derek Robbins, 'The Transcultural Transferrability of Bourdieu's Sociology of Education', *BJSE*, 25 (2004): 415-40, 426, 428.

suggestion.<sup>109</sup> So Bourdieu's field theory is suited both to connecting disciplinary resistances to *Annales* with their national-institutional determinants and as a basis for multinational comparison.

The outlined approach as a result achieves the four 'varied functions' required of a comparative analytical framework, as outlined by Jürgen Kocka. It identifies 'units of comparison': resistances to *Annales* historians' methods. It makes it possible to identify the idiosyncrasies of each unit by contextualizing them according to chronology, context and detail; in doing so it 'explains' their origins, nature and results; and it is a determinate sort of comparison because it thinks across time and space.<sup>110</sup> By restricting its focus to methodology, the comparison also heeds Rolf Torstendahl's prescription that 'when we compare historiography of all sorts between countries it has to be the presuppositions they are constructed from that are compared' because of the complexity of historiographical investigation in general.<sup>111</sup>

Unqualified comparative methodology would, however, be unwise in view of recent scholarship. Two examples of historian's recent remarks imply that the technique continues to refine itself. Jürgen Kocka outlined in 2004 that, although comparison has provided historians with descriptive, analytical and paradigmatic tools, it has also attracted criticism from those emphasizing mutual influence between phenomena over taxonomies of similarities and differences.<sup>112</sup> This echoes Charle's warning with regard to the comparative history of intellectuals that multilateral comparison is crucial both 'to avoid creating simplistic antitheses' and to reflect the multi or transnational horizons within which intellectuals

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<sup>109</sup> Rajani Naidoo, 'Fields and Institutional Strategy: Bourdieu on the Relationship Between Higher Education, Inequality and Society', *BJSE*, 25 (2004): 457-71, 468.

<sup>110</sup> Jürgen Kocka, 'Historische Komparistik in Deutschland', in Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Jürgen Kocka, eds, *Geschichte und Vergleich: Ansätze und Ergebnisse international vergleichender Geschichtsschreibung* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1996), 56.

<sup>111</sup> Rolf Torstendahl, 'Assessing Professional Developments: Historiography in Comparative Perspective', in Rolf Torstendahl, ed, *An Assessment of Twentieth-Century Historiography. Professionalism, Methodologies, Writings* (Stockholm, 2000), 9.

<sup>112</sup> Jürgen Kocka, 'Comparison and Beyond', *H&T*, 42 (2003): 39-44, 41-42.

worked.<sup>113</sup> Hartmut Kaelble's distinction between different types of historical comparison reinforces both Charle and Kocka's precision by elucidating that comparison has different applications yielding analysis, explanation, understanding or identification.<sup>114</sup>

The dissertation assumes a transnational comparative approach in light of these admonitions by adopting a particular structure. The first chapter profiles the *Annales* School, providing a representative survey of their methodological discourses between 1900 and 1970 in order to present the objects in counteraction of which resistances occurred. The subsequent five chapters examine difficulties encountered by *Annales* historians' methodologies within historical disciplines contextualized in the university systems of England, France, Germany, Italy and the United States throughout the period 1900 to 1970, paying heed to chronological change, continuity and discontinuity. Integrated case-studies will demonstrate the way in which historians' pursuits of various methodological traditions, development of specialisms in certain areas of historical research and institutional affiliations interacted with disciplinary debates and transnational discourses to generate different forms of dispute and misreception. A concluding chapter will then assess the impact of disciplinary, national and transnational factors in determining the nature of resistances to *Annales* in a more 'hemispheric perspective', looking thematically at processes and cultural tendencies that feature in the national chapters.<sup>115</sup> This both allows sustained comparison designed, according to Kaelble's typology, to 'understand' the nature of resistances, as well as facilitating detection of 'entanglement' whether by transnational debates or professional associations, to use Michael

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<sup>113</sup> Christophe Charle, 'L'Histoire comparée des intellectuels en Europe. Quelques points de méthode et propositions de recherche', in Michel Trebitsch and Marie-Christine Granjon, eds, *Pour une histoire comparée des intellectuels* (Paris, 1998), 58.

<sup>114</sup> Hartmut Kaelble, *Der historisch Vergleich. Eine Einführung zum 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1999), 48-92.

<sup>115</sup> Alan Greer, 'National, Transnational, and Hypernational Histories: New France Meets Early American History', *CaHR*, 91 (2010): 695-724, 718.

Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann's vocabulary, or 'mutual influence', to use that of post-colonial theorist, Robert J. C. Young.<sup>116</sup>

This reflexive comparison does not seek to provide incontrovertible or uniform understanding of resistances, just as it does not aim exhaustively to analyze all disputes occurring between 1900 and 1970. It, therefore, follows Franz Boas's admonition not to seek universality by engaging comparative approaches.<sup>117</sup> The dissertation's interdisciplinary method nevertheless strives to guarantee 'a tenable grounding' for the comparison, a necessity Donald Kelley highlighted.<sup>118</sup>

#### I.4 The Sources

A composite source-base, designed to prevent the historiographical investigation falling into a 'history of ideas' mode in which ideas become detached from their contexts, forms the factual basis of the investigation.

It concentrates on the monographs, articles and textbooks produced between 1900 and 1970 by proto-*annalistes* and *annalistes* as well as historians opposing them in some way. The selection began by examining *Annales* historians' statements about methodology, focusing on sentiment expressed in their written histories more than in theoretical arguments, then investigated books and articles in which resistances became perceptible, so as to assess methods as they gained application and were debated rather than as articulations of abstract principles. Not all of the historians whose work is considered would today meet the scientific criterion of scholarly history. In their own life time they in some way did and for this reason they have been included.

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 64; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, eds, *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée* (Paris, 2004), 24; Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism. An Historical Introduction*, as cited in Kocka, 'Comparison', 41.

<sup>117</sup> Franz Boas, 'The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology', in Franz Boas, *Race, Culture and Language* (Chicago, 1940), 270-80.

<sup>118</sup> Donald R. Kelley, 'Grounds for Comparison', *SdS*, 39 (2001): 1-17, 17.



Research proceeded by scrutinizing book reviews found in academic periodicals to refine an understanding of responses to *Annales* in this sphere. The *English Historical Review*, *Revue historique*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, *Rivista Storica Italiana* and *The American Historical Review* formed the principal objects of inquiry. Learned journals provided important formal channels for international communication between scholars in the period before 1970, after which the publication of periodicals entered a period of crisis, ‘because of their inability to use existing information systems and the bibliographical apparatus for the identification and retrieval of their content to accommodate the growing volume [of submissions].’<sup>119</sup> As Lingelbach remarked of the *American Historical Review*, furthermore, it ‘[was] the central organ of the profession for the methodological and thematic standardization of the profession, especially through review procedure’; Edoardo Tortarolo also highlights the importance of book reviews for the transnational communication of knowledge and ideas across the pages of the *Rivista Storica Italiana*.<sup>120</sup> So analysis of international evaluations of *Annales* historians’ work allows some assessment of the extent to which *Annales* publications reached an international audience. It also permits partial evaluation of whether or not established methodological traditions associated with, and propounded by, flagship journals excluded scholarship produced by members of the *Annales* School.

One hundred and nine private archives then provided an understanding of the extent to which resistances varied between published, or external, verbal discourses in books, textbooks and journals and scholars’ private, or internal, discourses in correspondence and diaries.<sup>121</sup> The archival element to the research in this way preserves something of the variety, as well as deepening an analytical understanding, of oppositions to *Annales* methodologies. Archives came into play when they contained deposits from identified individuals whose published

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<sup>119</sup> Margaret Steig, *The Origin and Development of Scholarly Historical Periodicals* (Alabama, 1986), 16.

<sup>120</sup> Gabriele Lingelbach, ‘Die *American Historical Review*. Gründung und Entwicklung einer geschichtswissenschaftlicher Institution’, in Middell, ed, *Historische Zeitschriften*, 52; Edoardo Tortarolo, ‘Die *Rivista Storica Italiana* 1884-1929’, in *ibid.*, 88-90.

<sup>121</sup> Louis Althusser, ‘Ideology and the State’, in Louis Althusser, *Essays on Ideology* (London, 1984), 56-57.

work contained traces of oppositional thinking. There is inevitable numerical disparity in the number of archives consulted for each country, but this is not significant in the broader picture.<sup>122</sup> Disparities are in part explained by the fact that some historians' archives simply do not exist: for example, there is no Gabriel Monod archive, but multiple holdings of other scholars' papers in France and elsewhere contain significant portions of his papers. It has also not always been possible to see archival material: major parts of Hermann Heimpel's archive are, for example, closed by law until 21 December 2018.<sup>123</sup> Unfinished catalogues precluded examination of the majority of Walter Maturi and Gioacchino Volpe's archive.<sup>124</sup> Cataloguing in progress complicated consultation of Lucien Febvre's archive.<sup>125</sup> And minimizing these setbacks by using publications of archival documentation is not always possible given the state of the literature.

Finally, the findings of a significant portion of the secondary literature on *Annales* have also received attention in parallel with this tripartite undertaking. The dissertation draws on the secondary literature in places where it seeks to complement and extend the existing state of knowledge about the *Annales* School. Consultation of the secondary sources proved decisive in representing *Annales* methodologies in chapter one because this is a subject well-documented by other scholars.

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<sup>122</sup> 21 American, 22 English, 33 French, 17 German and 14 Italian archival deposits were probed.

<sup>123</sup> Bärbel Mund, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, electronic correspondence with the author, 10 Apr. 2008.

<sup>124</sup> Emanuele Faccenda, Biblioteca del Museo Nazionale del Risorgimento Italiano, electronic correspondence with the author, 3 Jul. 2008; Pier Angelo Fontana, Biblioteca Comunale 'Antonio Baldini', electronic correspondence with the author, 24 Jun. 2008.

<sup>125</sup> Ségolène Barbiche, Archives nationales françaises, epistolary correspondence with the author, 22 May 2008.

## 1. The *Annales* School, 1900-1970

This preliminary chapter provides a representative survey of the methodologies advanced by members of the *Annales* School between 1900 and 1970. It incorporates the work of a variety of historians but, whilst each has his or her particular interest, attention is directed towards an overview of *annalistes*' methodological proposals in order to understand the range and depth of their techniques, some of which met with resistances as subsequent chapters will show. The chapter does not, therefore, offer an exhaustive account of all *Annales* historians' methodologies nor a general history of the School, which other scholars have already attempted. It lays bare the construction of an *Annales* methodological tradition, which relates as much to disciplinary as institutional contexts issuing from the French university system. And it pays attention to the way in which proto-*annalistes* and *annalistes* have constructed a version of their own history because this autodefinition, as Matthias Middell and Raphael noted, reveals the way in which they disseminated the idea that they had changed historical methodology.<sup>1</sup>

'School' is used here in reference to *Annales* as a collective noun signifying a group of historians formulating methodological proposals as a community, whether by referring to each others work or striving together to complete research as a group, not as a suggestion of uniformity. *Annalistes* did not claim to act as a school. Berr never founded one in any sense, and Febvre conceived of *Annales* as a journal with related institutions all open to new methods and ideas.<sup>2</sup> Braudel suggested that neither Bloch nor Febvre had wished to create a school.<sup>3</sup> Armando Sapori, a friend to Febvre, and Braudel's acquaintance, Hugh Trevor-Roper, both described *Annales* as an 'esprit' in order to lend nuance to the idea of an '*Annales*

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<sup>1</sup> Middell, 'Die unendliche Geschichte', 19-20; Raphael, *Die Erben*, 17-22.

<sup>2</sup> Martin Fugler, 'Fondateurs et collaborateurs, les débuts de la *Revue de synthèse historique (1900-1910)*', in Biard, Bourel and Brian, eds, *Henri Berr*, 188.

<sup>3</sup> Fernand Braudel, 'Les *Annales* continuent...', *AÉSC*, 12 (1957): 1-2, 1.

School.’<sup>4</sup> But, in the 1930s, historians perceived that *annalistes* constituted a ‘social school.’<sup>5</sup> Mention of a ‘school of French historians’, ‘the school of Lucien Febvre’ or ‘Lucien Febvre’s school’ and ‘the refined methods of a school of French scholars’ also appeared scattered amongst international reviews of, and books concerning, French historiography after 1950.<sup>6</sup> Reviewers suggested that *annaliste*’s work ‘brings honour to the whole French historical school.’<sup>7</sup> And *Annales* historians do exhibit continuity in elements of ‘the language they have used and the concepts they have employed’, as Georg Iggers argues.<sup>8</sup> Method is central to this cohesion, as Stoianovich, Mastrogregori and Burgière’s aforementioned books show.<sup>9</sup> It is for those reasons fitting to think of an ‘*Annales* School’ in a dissertation about its methodology.

The chapter has four sections. The first examines proto-*annaliste* historians’ methods and the second undertakes the same with regard to *annalistes*’ procedures. Section 1.3 considers the institutions peopled by *Annales* historians in order to demonstrate how they shaped methodological debates. And the fourth addresses *Annales*’ role in the print media and its popularity amongst the educated reading public in France, the wider resonances of *Annales* methodologies. Throughout, method is examined as historians applied it in books and articles, not as the axiomatic proposals of any methodological treatise in isolation. Probing of historical practice can in this way avoid assuming coherence where none exists as, for example, in the case of Marc Bloch his work made statements about method but his coherent

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<sup>4</sup> Armando Sapori, ‘Necrologio: Lucien Febvre 1878-1957’, *Asi*, 65 (1957): 131-132, 131; Hugh Trevor-Roper, ‘Fernand Braudel, the *Annales* and the Mediterranean’, *AHR*, 44 (1972): 468-479, 468.

<sup>5</sup> Philippe Sagnac, ‘Sur la Révolution: 2<sup>ème</sup> leçon’, in unpublished notebook, ‘Cours et leçons 1936-37’, Sagnac MSS AB/XIX/3526.

<sup>6</sup> Beatrice F. Hyslop, review of Bloch, *Apologie pour l’histoire*, *AHR*, 55 (1950): 866-868, 868; A. J. P. Taylor, review of Renouvin, *Histoire des Relations Internationales*, *EHR*, 70 (1955): 503-504, 504; A. J. P. Taylor, review of Schieder, *Staat und Gesellschaft*, *EHR*, 76 (1959): 754; Hermann Heimpel, *Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft in unsere Zeit* (Göttingen, 1959), 20; Robert Forster, review of Ladurie, *Les Paysans de Languedoc*, *AHR*, 72 (1967): 596-597, 596.

<sup>7</sup> Henri Lapeyre, review of Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville et l’Atlantique (1504-1650)*, *RH*, 218 (1957): 370-74, 374; Harold Perkins, review of Labrousse, ed, *L’Histoire Sociale*, *EHR*, 85 (1970): 216.

<sup>8</sup> Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, 51-52.

<sup>9</sup> See Introduction, §I.ii.a.

account on the subject, *Apologie pour l'histoire*, appeared only after his death.<sup>10</sup> The transnational diffusion of *annalistes'* methodologies, which became widespread between 1950 and 1970 but began during the pre-history of the *Annales* School in 1900, is in this chapter only hinted at; the national chapters that follow make it clearer still.

### 1.1 Pre-history: Sciences of Society, Nature and Economics, 1900-1928

The *Annales* School's pre-history extends from 1900 until 1929. Proto-*annalistes* came from a range of disciplines and their activities centred on Paris. Berr, Émile Durkheim and Vidal de la Blache inspired their efforts to improve the practice of history and showed how historical methodologies could cross-fertilize techniques found in all the human sciences from anthropology to psychology. These debates both established the precepts of an *Annales* methodological tradition and informed Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre's early work.

Proto-*annaliste* debates related to historians' efforts to professionalize the study of history after 1860. Alphonse Aulard, Numa Denys Fustel De Coulanges, Charles-Victor Langlois, Ernest Lavisse, Gabriel Monod and Charles Seignobos argued that history's scientific status 'depend[ed] on a method to produce correct results' in contrast to the work of amateur historians, many of whom were women, writing history for the wider public in the spirit of the Enlightenment – mixing literary elegance with a casual attitude toward factual correctitude.<sup>11</sup> Their concern to formulate a singular 'méthode rigoureuse' earned this group of historians the appellation *methodique*, which captures the spirit but not the individual differences amongst a group comprising varied dispositions.<sup>12</sup> Their attempt to 'scientize'

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<sup>10</sup> Massimo Mastrogregori, 'Il genio dello storico: Gli scritti teorici di Marc Bloch a Strasburgo', *RSI*, 99 (1987): 51-80, 74.

<sup>11</sup> DiVanna, *Writing History*, 239; Smith, *Gender of History*, 71-83; Novick, *Noble Dream*, 40-46.

<sup>12</sup> Scholars disagree both about the extent and degree to which *methodique* method arose from historians' political and religious commitments. A selection of views are found in, William R. Keylor, *Academy and Community. The Foundation of the French Historical Profession* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1975), 68-74, 172-73; Guy Bourd , 'L' cole methodique', in Guy Bourd  and Herv  Martin, eds, *Les  coles historiques* (Paris, 1983), 181-214; Charles-Olivier Carbonell, *Histoire et historiens: Une mutation id ologique des historiens fran ais, 1865-1885* (Toulouse, 1976), 409-18; Antoine Prost, *Douze le ons sur l'histoire* (Paris, 1996), 93; Patrick

history, thus they hoped lending its results cogency, in the thirty years from 1880 until 1910, aimed to ensure that history could rival the scientific status both of natural science, which commanded respect in the age when Claude Bernard's experimental medicine improved personal health, and the perceived pre-eminence of German historical practice after 1871.<sup>13</sup> They also believed that method legitimized historical education, which historians and politicians in the French Third Republic hoped would foster a 'cultural revolution' by presenting France's future generations with incontrovertible evidence of the historic importance of French republicanism.<sup>14</sup>

The Dreyfus Affair brought public recognition for a form of historical method, but also damaged its claim to ideological neutrality. Monod, Seignobos and Lavissee overcame their initial reluctance to participate in the Affair and, between 1894 and 1906, examined evidence presented in court using the principles of impartial documentary analysis.<sup>15</sup> Public notoriety popularized history: one third of all doctoral dissertations submitted to the *Sorbonne* came from history students, each hopeful of obtaining a secure career in a *lycée* or university.<sup>16</sup> And the emphasis on method spread throughout Parisian scientific institutions, reaching their summit when the Marquis Arconati-Visconti inaugurated a chair devoted to it at the *Collège de France* in 1905.<sup>17</sup> But, as the twentieth century progressed, *méthodique* historians' involvement with Dreyfus made their practice look 'totally outdated and harmful' to proto-*annalistes* because it appeared to serve politics.<sup>18</sup> Proto-*annalistes* regarded it in Alice Gérard's words as 'the emblem of the rationalist camp', used against those who

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Garcia, 'Le moment méthodique', in Delacroix, Dosse, and Garcia, eds, *Les courants historiques*, 96-199, 172-76; DiVanna, *Writing History*, 1-8.

<sup>13</sup> Gabriel Monod, 'Les études historiques en France', *RiE*, 18 (1889): 571-94, 588.

<sup>14</sup> Paul Bert, 'Rapport sur le conseil supérieure de l'instruction publique', as cited in Claudine Wolikow, 'Centenaire dans le Bicentenaire: 1891-1991. Aulard et la transformation du 'cours' en 'chaire' d'histoire de la Révolution française à la Sorbonne', *AhRf*, 286 (1991): 431-58, 444.

<sup>15</sup> Madeleine Rebérioux, 'Histoire, historiens et dreyfusisme', *RH*, 518 (1976): 407-32, 407-409.

<sup>16</sup> Gérard Noiriel, 'Naissance du métier d'historien', *G*, 1 Sep. 1990: 58-85, 63.

<sup>17</sup> Carbonell, *Histoire et Historiens*, 418-35.

<sup>18</sup> Febvre to Berr, 3 Dec. 1930, in Pluet-Despatin and Candar, eds, *Lettres à Henri Berr*, 410.

‘mourned the passing of the *ancien régime*’ in order to extol the virtues of liberal democracy.<sup>19</sup>

Berr’s proposal of historical synthesis built on *méthodique* debates. The foundation of the *Revue de Synthèse historique* provided the main forum in which proto-*annalistes* contemplated ‘rescuing’ human sciences and their method from impoverishment through the reduction of research hours by the ‘routine and empiricism’ of teaching demands and ideologization.<sup>20</sup> In it, Berr welcomed *méthodique* historians’ works: he, for example, heralded Alphonse Aulard’s *magnum opus*, the *Histoire politique de la Révolution française*, as equivalent to the ‘probing and fertile model of science’ for the revolutionary era as Seignobos’s *Histoire politique de l’Europe contemporaine*.<sup>21</sup> Proto-*annalistes* did not attack historical method for its hyper-scientism in the manner of conservative scholars associated with *Action française*; instead they disparaged the dislocation of the community of scholars by excessive research specialization.<sup>22</sup> Berr had encompassed synthesis in his doctoral dissertation and further developed the idea in *La Synthèse en histoire*, which defined it as a form of ‘philosophical reflection’, a way ‘to understand life’ by drawing together knowledge in full awareness of its historical evolution, and in that way to ‘situate the individual within Humanity, the totality of the Real.’<sup>23</sup> Human sciences must, he added, adopt the ‘axiological neutrality’ of natural sciences and use a variety of methods in order to assess the multiplicity of reality.<sup>24</sup> And Berr practised the interdisciplinarity implied by his vision through his ‘volontarist editorial strategy’, the appeal to and inclusion of articles by scholars working in

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<sup>19</sup> Alice Gérard, ‘À l’origine du combat des Annales: Positivismes historique et système universitaire’, in Charles-Olivier Carbonell and Georges Livet, eds, *Au berceau des Annales: Le Milieu strasbourgeois, l’histoire en France au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Toulouse, 1983), 82; Lavisso to Ferdinand Lot, 2 Oct. 1912, Lot MSS 3708/506.

<sup>20</sup> Henri Berr, ‘Sur notre programme’, *RSH*, 1 (1900): 1-8, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Henri Berr, review of Aulard, *Histoire politique de la Révolution française*, *RSH*, 2 (1902): 243-51, 251.

<sup>22</sup> Jean Capot de Quissac, ‘L’Action française à l’assaut de la Sorbonne historique’, in Carbonell and Livet, eds, *Au berceau des Annales*, 170.

<sup>23</sup> Henri Berr, *La Synthèse en histoire* (Paris, 1911), 308.

<sup>24</sup> Delacroix, ‘Le moment de l’histoire-science sociale’, 235.

any and every discipline.<sup>25</sup> Contributor numbers attested to Berr's success: historians wrote 43%, philosophers 19% and *littéraires* 17% of the articles included between 1900 and 1910.<sup>26</sup>

François Simiand's contributions attested to Berr's editorial generosity. Simiand, unlike Berr, criticized Seignobos and other historians for focusing on individual rather than general facts, which, Simiand argued, revealed the past by exposing the beliefs on which communities built shared 'representations' of their world, an idea Simiand found in Émile Durkheim's treatise on sociological method.<sup>27</sup> Simiand proposed a universal method designed to be widely used, which, as Gérard Noiriel points out, was not merely Durkheimian.<sup>28</sup> According to Simiand, sociology created general explanations using a historical method: the discernment of facts through reading documents.<sup>29</sup> But, unlike historians, sociologists then generated and tested hypotheses constructed out of recovered information; historians, by contrast, assumed that they must examine political facts, narrowly construed as individual people and events, and construct specific understandings of transient occurrences. So sociologists unlike historians used historical method with scientific precision.<sup>30</sup> And their empirical examinations of groups of people and other collectives, including assessments of similarity and difference between phenomena across time and place in order to offer causal laws as explanations, extended still further their scientific advantage over historians.<sup>31</sup> Nor did sociologists' formulation of abstract hypotheses pose the problem of arbitrary subjectivity, which troubled historians because it confounded their claims of objective technique: it

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<sup>25</sup> Burgière, *The Annales School*, 79.

<sup>26</sup> Fugler, 'Fondateurs et collaborateurs', 182.

<sup>27</sup> Émile Durkheim, *Les règles de la méthode sociologique* (Paris, 1895), vii-viii, 5-19.

<sup>28</sup> Gérard Noiriel, *Penser avec, penser contre: Itinéraire d'un historien* (Paris, 2003), 69.

<sup>29</sup> François Simiand, 'Méthode historique et science sociale: Étude critique d'après les ouvrages récents de M. Lacombe et de M. Seignobos', *RSH*, 2 (1902): 1-22; 128-77, 1.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 144; François Simiand, *La méthode positive en science économique* (Paris, 1912), 57, 80-81.

<sup>31</sup> François Simiand, 'La causalité en histoire', *BSfP*, 6 (1906): 247-74, 252; on Simiand's empiricism, see also Massimo Mastrogregori, 'Note su Simiand metodologo: Esiste una terza via tra storicismo e empirismo?', *RSI*, 101 (1989): 237-50, 243.



constituted a realistic way, given the quotidian commitments of academic life, for ‘objective’ social scientists to apply ‘well-reasoned method.’<sup>32</sup>

Sociologists’ ideas about method played an important part in the thought-world of historians in these years. Simiand’s analytical vocabulary, ‘histoire historisante’, which signified a dated methodology, gained acceptance.<sup>33</sup> Paul Lacombe argued that scientific history should base itself on methods renewed by sociology.<sup>34</sup> Berr too criticized historians’ errors – specifically those of Eduard Meyer and Arvid Grotenfelt –, in the process distinguishing as historical two related tasks: ‘erudition’, the collection of facts, and ‘science’, the colligation of individual and collective social facts into a ‘genetic process.’ Executed in tandem, the procedures both replicated past realities and confirmed the reciprocity of history to sociology because they revealed the interrelation of collective and individual phenomena.<sup>35</sup> He saw, therefore, no reason for Meyer to have focused on the individual personalities of political history or for him to have denied that history could be scientific.<sup>36</sup> But Berr’s critique stopped at the point of demonstrating how sociology and history should co-exist. He did not, like some Durkheimians, propose that sociology would eventually ‘replace’ history, which would one day have retrieved all information stored in documents, because only sociologists could interpret facts.<sup>37</sup>

Method for Durkheim in fact derived from the study of institutional history.<sup>38</sup> Institutions, he alleged, comprised ‘all beliefs and all modes of behaviour instituted by the

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<sup>32</sup> Simiand, ‘Méthode historique’, 3, 143-44.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 140; the name echoes Taine’s identification of ‘raison raisonnée’ as the revolutionary Jacobin cast of mind, detached from reality and destructive, in Hippolyte Taine, *Les Origines de la France contemporaine* (3 vols; Paris, 1875-93), iii. 250.

<sup>34</sup> Paul Lacombe, *De l’histoire considérée comme science* (Paris, 1894), 354.

<sup>35</sup> Henri Berr, ‘L’‘ancienne’ et la ‘nouvelle école’ en Histoire d’après M. Arvid Grotenfelt’, *RSH*, 8 (1904): 380-87, 383; he made the same point in Henri Berr, ‘Histoire traditionnelle et synthèse historique’, *RSH*, 23 (1911): 121-30, 122.

<sup>36</sup> Henri Berr, review of Meyer, *Zur Theorie und Methodik der Geschichte. Geschichtsphilosophische Untersuchungen*, *RSH*, 6 (1903): 371-76, 373.

<sup>37</sup> Berr to Durkheim, 10 Jul. n.d. 1910?, Berr MSS BRR2/G1-01.3-60.

<sup>38</sup> Émile Durkheim, *De la division du travail social* (Paris, 1893), 360.

collectivity. Sociology can, therefore, be defined as the science of institutions.’<sup>39</sup> Fustel, who taught Durkheim at the *École Normale Supérieure*, inspired the definition, and the preface to the *Année sociologique* confirmed sociologists’ interest in historical methodologies, mentioning no other discipline besides history and sociology.<sup>40</sup> Like Simiand, Durkheim attacked ‘traditional’ history, particularly Gaetano Salvemini’s work, as harmful because it claimed that historians analyzed individual facts.<sup>41</sup> Instead, Durkheim argued, any scientific method should investigate what he and Marcel Mauss called the social fact, a particular community’s world revealed by detached scholarly analysis of custom, ritual and other ‘simple and elementary forms of an institution.’<sup>42</sup> This had a radical animus, though Durkheim insisted that his ‘method [was] not revolutionary.’<sup>43</sup> Durkheim wanted to reveal the creative evolution of mankind rather than to emulate his *méthodique* forbears’ preference to trace a linear dissent from 1789 to the Third Republic.<sup>44</sup> And, like Georges Sorel, he and his circle used sociology in order to show that existing social histories did not represent the total experience of French society and that consequently social inequalities and iniquities had become inscribed in French law.<sup>45</sup> Some sociologists thus aimed to stimulate democratic legal reform. They also grappled with French versions of contemporary transatlantic problems such as the need to incorporate industrial workers into a mass society in order to socialize industry, to integrate it into extant social configurations.<sup>46</sup> Durkheim’s disciples Henri Hubert, Robert Hertz and Céléstin Bouglé promoted this reformist research, arguing that ‘all sociology

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<sup>39</sup> Durkheim, *Les règles*, 137-38.

<sup>40</sup> Émile Durkheim, ‘Préface’, *As*, 1 (1896): iv-vii.

<sup>41</sup> Émile Durkheim, review of Salvemini, *La storia considerata come scienza*, *As*, 6 (1901): 123-25, 125.

<sup>42</sup> Marcel Mauss and Henri Hubert, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*, translated by W. D. Halls (London, 1964; originally published in French in 1899), 7.

<sup>43</sup> Durkheim, *Les règles*, vi.

<sup>44</sup> Émile Durkheim, ‘Quid Secundatus politicae scientiae instituendae’, *RHpc*, 1 (1937): 405-63.

<sup>45</sup> Émile Durkheim, ‘Les principes de 1789 et la sociologie’, *RiE*, 19 (1890): 450-56; Georges Sorel, ‘Essai sur la philosophie de Proudhon’, *Rp*, 17 (1892): 622-38.

<sup>46</sup> Rod Kedward, *La vie en bleu: France and the French Since 1900* (London, 2005), 30-31.

requires a historical preparation' in order to give its theories spatio-temporal determination, without which they floated 'in the air.'<sup>47</sup>

Febvre's book, *Martin Luther: Un destin*, drew on sociological approaches proposed by proto-*annalistes* to provide not a biography but a 'judgement on Luther.'<sup>48</sup> It stands in near-total isolation in French-language historical literature on Luther between 1900 and 1970, to the extent that Febvre did not revise it prior to re-edition in 1944 or 1951.<sup>49</sup> Luther appeared in it as a man in time, not in the past, acting under certain 'daily conditions' and societal factors encountered by married men. His voice became one amongst others of its *milieu*, competing with an array of alternatives issuing from the 'the *Zusammenhang*' of social discourse. It in that way appeared in context, in a new light, rather than as that of an intellectual detached from his world.<sup>50</sup> Febvre hoped thereby to remind scholars, 'not to impoverish excessively by brutal simplifications the nuanced richness of an oeuvre that was not melodic, but [...] polyphonic.'<sup>51</sup>

Bloch also investigated the interaction of social customs and psychologies investigated together as a collective *mentalité*, a recurring object in *Annales* historians' work that dated back to the age of Voltaire and that Michel Vovelle later introduced to the general public.<sup>52</sup> *Les rois thaumaturges*, which followed the publication in 1920 of an abridged version of his doctoral dissertation, *Rois et serfs. Un chapitre d'histoire capétienne*, shared Febvre's interest

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<sup>47</sup> Robert Hertz, 'Contribution à une étude sur la représentation collective de la mort', *As*, 10 (1905): 48-137, 49-50, 104; Henri Hubert, *Les Celtes depuis l'époque de la Tène et la civilisation celtique* (Paris, 1932), 156, 248; Céléstin Bouglé, review of Paul Mantoux, *Histoire et sociologie*, *As*, 8 (1903): 162-64, 163; Céléstin Bouglé, *Qu'est-ce que la sociologie?* (Paris, 1939), 1-2.

<sup>48</sup> Lucien Febvre, *Martin Luther: Un destin* (Paris, 1928), i.

<sup>49</sup> Henri Strohl, *Luther jusqu'en 1520* (Paris, 1962), 17.

<sup>50</sup> Lucien Febvre, 'Une question mal posée: Les origines de la Réforme française et le problème général des causes de la Réforme', *RH*, 161 (1929): 26-27. Febvre's approach resembles Fyodor Dostoevsky's treatment of fictional characters in his novels, as identified by Mikhail Bakhtin in the same year as Febvre's article appeared in print. See, Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, translated by Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis, 1984; originally published in Russian in 1929), 6, 45-6, 98, 156.

<sup>51</sup> Febvre, *Martin Luther*, vii.

<sup>52</sup> Michel Vovelle, *Idéologies et Mentalités* (Paris, 1982).

in the way in which collective representations disclosed past realities.<sup>53</sup> Bloch found that the English and French populace believed in the idea that their monarchs had miraculous healing powers because they felt miracles to be a necessary feature of life: ‘that which created faith in the miracle was the idea that there must necessarily be a miracle.’<sup>54</sup> Here were ‘psycho-social phenomena’, which necessitated the use of an ‘analytical method that by analysis extends to scientific synthesis’, designed to understand the past construed as a ‘collection of experiences.’<sup>55</sup> The impetus came from war-time experiences of human psychology in the trenches, where, interrupting his ascent through the ranks of *lycée* teachers, Bloch observed how memory and anguish formed knowledge in the absence of information, thus fostering his interest in social mechanisms.<sup>56</sup> The emergence of psychoanalysis in the 1930s which further refined psychology also extended Bloch’s awareness of the possibility to transform social psychology into a sub-category of historical investigations.<sup>57</sup> Bloch, therefore, followed Fustel and Durkheim’s sociological method, like them considering himself an ‘historian of institutions.’<sup>58</sup> He also privately paid homage in 1921 to this tradition, as it was then practised by a teacher who had facilitated Bloch’s early career, mediaeval historian Ferdinand Lot.<sup>59</sup>

Alongside sociologists, geographers also shaped proto-*annalistes*’ methods. Paul Vidal de la Blache demonstrated the importance of geographical techniques in the *Tableau de la géographie de la France*, which Ernest Lavisse commissioned. According to Blache, man’s use of a place transformed it into one type of geographical entity not otherwise extant ‘in advance, courtesy of nature’ nor the result of ‘simple considerations of climate and

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<sup>53</sup> Febvre praised the project, see Lucien Febvre, ‘Politique royale ou civilisation française? La conquête du Midi par la langue française’, *RSH*, 38 (1924): 37-53, 51.

<sup>54</sup> Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, translated by J. E. Anderson (London, 1973; originally published in French in 1924), 243.

<sup>55</sup> Marc Bloch, ‘Méthodologie historique’, unpublished notes, n.d. 1920s? Bloch MSS AB/XIX/3849.

<sup>56</sup> Marc Bloch, ‘Reflexions d’un historien sur les fausses nouvelles de la guerre’, *RSH*, 33 (1921): 13-35; Ulrich Raulff, *Ein Historiker im 20. Jahrhundert: Marc Bloch* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1995), 72-73.

<sup>57</sup> See also, Peter Schöttler, ‘Mentalitätengeschichte und Psychoanalyse: Lucien Febvres begegnung mit Jacques Lacan 1937/38’, *ÖZG*, 11 (2000): 135-46.

<sup>58</sup> Marc Bloch, *Rois et serfs: Un chapitre d’histoire capétienne* (Paris, 1920), iii.

<sup>59</sup> Bloch to Lot, 25 Aug. 1921, Lot MSS 7306/346.

geology.<sup>60</sup> Blache in this way replaced Friedrich Ratzel's geographical determinism, which assimilated human activity to its geographical context, with a 'level-headed determinism.'<sup>61</sup> His students then disseminated this vision of human geography: Albert Demangeon its relevance to regional history in a series of monographs and Lucien Gallois directed the *Annales de géographie*, which Blache and Marcel Dubois founded in 1891, whilst contributing with Louis Raveneau to the *Bibliographie géographique*.<sup>62</sup> A school of thought emphasizing man's power to determine geography therefore emerged at the same time as French politicians and intellectuals demanded that their country's fortunes would improve once colonial expansion had taken place.<sup>63</sup>

Geography both became history's equal in the *agrégation d'histoire et géographie* and its principles shaped proto-*annaliste* historians' methods.<sup>64</sup> Febvre's work exemplified the point. His doctoral supervisor, Monod, deemed space an indispensable explanatory category.<sup>65</sup> Before the First World War, Febvre followed suite first by writing a history of France's regions, then, in his doctoral dissertation, defining a region as a 'political individuality', 'less as a certain region at a specific date than at a determinate moment in its evolution as a collective historical personality,' from the investigation of which he sought to 'find contemporary conditions of existence.'<sup>66</sup> Political history impinged only because it resulted from, and therefore revealed, deeper geographical and material factors determining popular experiences.<sup>67</sup> Febvre's co-authorship with Lionel Bataillon of *La terre et l'évolution humaine: Introduction géographique à l'histoire* took geographical approaches to a wider audience. Febvre had long considered communication between geographers and historians, 'a

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<sup>60</sup> Paul Vidal de la Blache, *Tableau de la géographie de la France* (Paris, 1903), 20.

<sup>61</sup> Vincent Berdoulay, *La formation de l'école française de géographie (1870-1914)* (Paris, 1981), 217.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 66-67.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-60.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 106-108.

<sup>65</sup> Gabriel Monod, *La Méthode en histoire* (Paris, 1910), 42.

<sup>66</sup> Lucien Febvre, *Les Régions de la France* (Paris, 1905), *Notes et documents sur la Réforme et l'Inquisition en Franche-Comté* (Paris, 1911) and *Philippe II et la Franche Comté: Étude d'histoire politique, religieuse et sociale* (Paris, 1912), 1, i.

<sup>67</sup> Febvre, *Philippe II*, 1.

relationship [...] difficult to realize', so the book presented 'simply a critical discussion' of competing methodologies.<sup>68</sup> It evaluated sociologists' conceptions of geography, which understood geographical facts as constituents of social morphology, as well as 'the error of Ratzel' that Blache had displaced.<sup>69</sup> It rejected Simiand's retribution of Demangeon for geographical determinism on the grounds that Simiand attacked an 'image of geography he had in mind' rather than his victim's emphasis of the mutual reciprocity of elements of human and natural worlds.<sup>70</sup> And it dismissed Simiand's argument that geographical features determined one aspect of peoples' representations of their world. Febvre and Bataillon instead emphasized chance in man's relations with the earth, created by 'the idea' of their natural environment that people came fortuitously to hold.<sup>71</sup> With co-author Demangeon, Febvre later explained how such 'collective imaginings' could even transform the Rhine from mere valley into a border region – a potentially poignant observation at a time when the Third Reich sought to alter the Versailles settlement of 1918.<sup>72</sup>

Bloch used a variant geographical technique. He regretted that Febvre and Bataillon's book did not include a chapter on 'geographical pseudo-necessities', features people misperceive as something they are not: Febvre was right to argue that a river is not a natural frontier but he should have added that it could be if people thought of it thus.<sup>73</sup> Bloch by implication understood geographical unity as 'anthropogeographic' cohesion, his own definition of a 'region.'<sup>74</sup> As he had in his first book, *Île de France: Les pays autour de Paris*, Bloch insisted that Simiand had reason to assert that geographers ought to investigate

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<sup>68</sup> Febvre to Pierre Caron, 4 Oct. 1928, Caron MSS AB/XIX/4404; Lucien Febvre and Lionel Bataillon, *La terre et l'Évolution humaine: Introduction géographique à l'histoire* (Paris, 1922), 419.

<sup>69</sup> Febvre and Bataillon, *La terre*, 79, 80-84.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 101-105.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 257, 425.

<sup>72</sup> Lucien Febvre and Albert Demangeon, *Le Rhin: Problèmes d'histoire et d'économie* (Paris, 1935), x, 126-50, 293.

<sup>73</sup> Marc Bloch, review of Febvre, *La Terre et l'Évolution humaine*, *RH*, 145 (1924): 235-40, 238.

<sup>74</sup> Bloch, review of Febvre, *La terre*, 239.

sociological in tandem with geographical aspects of a region.<sup>75</sup> The point resounded with Henri Sée, socio-economic historian marginal to proto-*annaliste* discourse, who agreed that Bloch's 'observations on L. Febvre's book appeared very fair [...] Basically, history (economic and social history above all) must sidle up more to sociology than to geography; and the sociological method, which Durkheim defined, is in large part a historical method.'<sup>76</sup>

Bloch in his turn formulated a comparative methodology, useful both to economic and social history. He conceived of it during work on the mediaeval economy, and its genesis attested to his intellectual proximity to Henri Pirenne. The latter had spoken of the need for a comparative method both because the 'growing amount of historical literature' endangered any possibility of synthetic conclusions without comparison and because it proved indispensable in his research concerning the relationship between Renaissance mercantilism and mediaeval towns.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, at the Brussels congress of 1923, Pirenne had not only endorsed this part of their method but also promoted Bloch and Febvre's effort to found an international journal for economic history.<sup>78</sup> Bloch's understanding of comparison resembled Fustel's: they both thought it helpful for determining the constants of human nature so long as scholars avoided creating a false analogy between different chronological periods.<sup>79</sup> Bloch therefore used comparison to explain agrarian processes in different regions of Europe studied at the same moment in time.<sup>80</sup>

## 1.2 Two Generations of Scholars and Studies, 1929-1970

Bloch and Febvre's foundation of a review for socio-economic history in 1929 marked the end of the proto-*annaliste* period in the history of the *Annales* School and the beginning of the

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<sup>75</sup> Marc Bloch, *Île de France: Les pays autour de Paris* (Paris, 1913), 69.

<sup>76</sup> Sée to Bloch, n.d. 1924? Bloch MSS AB/XIX/3849.

<sup>77</sup> Henri Pirenne, *De la méthode comparative en histoire* (Bruxelles, 1923), 12-13; Henri Pirenne, *Les villes du Moyen-Âge: Essai d'histoire économique et sociale* (Brussels, 1927), 126-28, 135.

<sup>78</sup> Olivier Dumoulin, *Marc Bloch* (Paris, 2000), 92.

<sup>79</sup> Numa Denys Fustel de Coulanges, 'Questions romaines', in Numa Denys Fustel de Coulanges, *Questions historiques*, edited by Camille Jullian (Paris, 1893), 418.

<sup>80</sup> Marc Bloch, 'Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes', *RSH*, 46 (1928): 15-50, 23-24.

*annaliste* period. This section examines in profile the first two ‘generations’ of *Annales* historians’ methodologies. This categorization divides the period from 1929 to 1970 in two: the first generation, centred on Bloch and Febvre, dominated between 1929 and 1947, and the second generation centring on Braudel, Ernest Labrousse and Pierre Goubert led until the end of the period considered in this dissertation. Scholars have suggested that generational categorizations such as these are both ‘uncertain and somewhat ridiculous’, but they are used here in the interest of clarity rather than conclusively to classify *Annales* historians.<sup>81</sup> The analysis explains both generations’ methods in terms of their economic, social and civilizational content, a framework mindful of their expressions of interest in these areas through their journal between 1929 and 1970.

Historians of the first generation adopted Simiand’s hypothesizing method by posing questions. They formulated problems about the past ‘as a function of Humanity’s present needs’; without problems they insisted, history ceased to exist, and, as a result, *Annales* historians de-emphasized the differences between the past and the present.<sup>82</sup> Questions such as ‘when’, ‘why’ ‘how’ and ‘to what extent’ organized their work, and they saw this as a way of escaping the only two options available to earlier historians: either to sketch a static *tableau* of a given event or to create a dynamic but event-centred narrative. Articles in *Annales* concerning price history and the economic depression of the 1930s based on statistical assessments in the style of Earl J. Hamilton as well as the special issue on Germany in 1937, which precipitated the break in relations with Armand Colin, signalled the power of problem-led history to explain the present as well as the past.<sup>83</sup> It is not possible, however, to accept

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<sup>81</sup> Burgière, *The Annales School*, 9.

<sup>82</sup> Lucien Febvre, ‘À nos lecteurs, à nos amis. Face au vent: Manifeste des *Annales* nouvelles’, *AÉSC*, 1 (1946): 1-8, 4, 8; Febvre, ‘Vers une autre histoire’, 244; Lucien Febvre, ‘Propos d’initiation: Vivre l’histoire’, *MHS*, 3 (1943): 5-18, 8; on the de-emphasis of past-present relations, see Lutz Raphael, ‘The Present as a Challenge for the Historian: The Contemporary World in the ‘*Annales E. S. C.*’, 1929-1949’, *SdS*, 21 (1992): 25-44.

<sup>83</sup> Lucien Febvre, ‘Le problème des prix’, *AHés*, 1 (1929): 67; Lucie Varga, ‘Le genèse du national-socialisme. Note d’analyse sociale’, *AHés*, 9 (1937): 529-46 – Armand Colin, a conservative publishing house in the 1930s, objected to Varga’s overtly anti-Nazi lead article. Febvre and Bloch in any case referred to Nazi Germany as a forum of ‘rationalized fanaticism’, see Peter Schöttler, ‘Rationalisierter Fanatismus, archaische Mentalitäten:



Johann Heilbron's suggestion that economic crisis after 1929 provided the sole *raison d'être* because the journal also continued sociologists' efforts to make society a historical category, something that appeared necessary at the time given the contingency of social structures revealed by the Russian Revolution of 1917, as René Pillorget has shown.<sup>84</sup> So Seignobos, along with Julian Benda, came under critical examination from Febvre: Benda for falsely alleging that past people always wanted to form a nation; Seignobos for writing national history with an unjustified organizational structure – political events first, population and society next and only then economics.<sup>85</sup> *Annales* historians also criticized Berr's son-in-law, Louis Halphen, for omitting 'concrete realities' such as society altogether, as well as other scholars' faults such as imposing value judgements.<sup>86</sup>

*Annales* historians also engaged economic methods to investigate 'the entire unity' of the real in order to create a 'universal history.'<sup>87</sup> Bloch and Febvre rejected Marxist economic materialism as formulated by philosophers Georges Friedmann and Henri Wallon because they suspected it of reducing multifarious phenomena to singular material causes. They preferred that method should remain 'positive', mindful of 'real facts', in the tradition of pioneer historians of economic history in France, Georges d'Avenel and Natalis de Wailly.<sup>88</sup> *Annaliste* economism followed Simiand's lead by tempering economic analysis with sociological investigation of 'psychological tendencies' that both responded to and were

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Marc Bloch und Lucien Febvre als Kritiker des nationalsozialistischen Deutschland', *WeG*, 14 (1996): 5-21; Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1934).

<sup>84</sup> Johann Heilbron, 'Les métamorphoses du durkheimisme, 1920-1940', *RfS*, 26 (1985): 203-37; René Pillorget, 'From a Classical to a Serial and Quantitative Study of History: Some New Directions in French Historical Research', *DUJ*, 149 (1976-77): 207-16, 208.

<sup>85</sup> Lucien Febvre, 'Entre l'histoire à thèse et l'histoire manual; deux esquisses récentes d'histoire de France: M. Benda, M. Seignobos', *RS*, 5 (1933): 205-36; Lucien Febvre, 'Une histoire politique de la Russie moderne: Histoire-tableau ou synthèse historique', *RS*, 7 (1934): 29-36.

<sup>86</sup> Marc Bloch, 'Manuals ou synthèses', *AHés*, 5 (1933): 67-71, 70; Lucien Febvre, 'Pro domo nostra: À quoi sert la critique?', *AHés*, 8 (1936): 54-56, 55; Lucien Febvre, review of Camille Desmoulins, *Le vieux Cordelier*, *AHés*, 8 (1936): 394-95; Marc Bloch, review of Germaine Lebel, *Histoire administrative, économique et financière de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis, étudiée spécialement dans la province ecclésiastique de Sens, de 1151 à 1346*, *AHés*, 9 (1937): 80-85.

<sup>87</sup> Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, 'Au bout d'un an', *AHés*, 2 (1930): 1-4, 3.

<sup>88</sup> Pillorget, 'Some New Directions', 207; Henri Sée, *Matérialisme historique et interprétation économique de l'histoire* (Paris, 1927); Lucien Febvre, 'Techniques, sciences et marxisme', *AHés*, 7 (1935): 615-23, 617, 622.

determined by the material constraints on peoples' existence.<sup>89</sup> It meant using the methods of class analysis but in order to establish how social *milieu*, 'power, authority and the means to action in a given society', interacted with and shaped other developments.<sup>90</sup> So first-generation historians likened *Annales* to the *Nuova Rivista Storica*, which economic historian Corrado Barbagallo founded in 1917, because both reviews strove to construct a history made universal at once by its sensitivity to economics and its ecumenical attitude.<sup>91</sup>

Bloch's economic research exemplified these methods. *Les Caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* explored the state of French agriculture that resulted in the delay of France's agrarian revolution until the eighteenth century. It included comparative elements, investigating French, English and German regions in order to reconstruct France's field system.<sup>92</sup> *La Société féodale*, which explained how feudal bonds related to personal relations created manorialism and how forms of government that defined the feudal regime through class structure evolved, presented an analogous achievement.<sup>93</sup> It focused on the personalized 'vassal bond' as an integral determinant in the feudal economy.<sup>94</sup> And it did so in order to embellish the notions created by historians whom Bloch omitted to name that feudalism had been 'an event that arrived once in the world' by indicating that in fact a feudal 'phase' occurred, characterized by types of social formations that future scholars should seek to compare across countries around the globe.<sup>95</sup>

Economic analysis also informed the statistical methods developed by historians belonging to the second-generation. Pierre and Huguette Chaunu, like Braudel and Romano, produced collaborative investigations of mercantilism. They re-affirmed Bloch's comparative

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<sup>89</sup> Marc Bloch, review of Simiand, *Le Salaire, évolution sociale et la monnaie: Essai de théorie expérimentale*, *RH*, 153 (1934): 1-31, 25.

<sup>90</sup> Marc Bloch, review of Simiand, *Cours d'économie politique*, *RSH*, 51 (1931): 253-56, 256.

<sup>91</sup> Marc Bloch, 'Problèmes d'Europe', *AHés*, 35 (1935): 471-80, 473; Lucien Febvre, 'Tours d'horizons mondiaux ou européens', *AHés*, 41 (1936): 580-82, 581; Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, 'À nos lecteurs', *AHés*, 54 (1938): 481-82, 481.

<sup>92</sup> Marc Bloch, *Les Caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (Paris, 1931), 21-65.

<sup>93</sup> Marc Bloch, *La Société féodale* (2 vols; Paris, 1939-40), i. 223-50, ii. 79-116.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 6-11.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 252.

perspective that ‘there is no such thing as purely local history’ by demonstrating how the international economy connected regions and related reciprocally to social structures and their mental climates in a way in which past people could not have detected. Annual series of statistics could, they believed, convey these deep realities.<sup>96</sup> Chaunu’s serial history constituted more than straightforward quantitative history, which Chaunu felt – as a convinced Christian – failed to represent the total life of man if it restricted itself to numbers alone; it sought exhaustive reconstruction of all processes pervading past lives.<sup>97</sup> In another direction, Georges Duby’s mediaeval researches complemented Jacques Le Goff’s because, by studying the western mediaeval economy as a whole, he concluded that in fact stagnant Carolingian society gave way around 1000 A.D. to a rapidly expanding new economy, in which military élites exploited both resources and peasants.<sup>98</sup> Duby’s book, like Le Goff’s *Marchands et banquiers du moyen âge*, also exerted widespread influence on students because it formed one in a series of textbooks, which historian of Byzantium Paul Lemerle commissioned.<sup>99</sup> In addition, Labrousse developed statistical techniques (and models) through his work on the French Revolution in *La Crise de l’économie française à la fin de l’ancien régime et au début de la Révolution*, which went to press in 1944. But, unlike Bloch and Febvre, Labrousse’s economic techniques responded in a ‘critical’ way to Simiand’s, as Maria Novella Borghetti has shown.<sup>100</sup> Economic trends, Labrousse alleged, formed revolutionary society by creating gaps in wealth and the expectations that generated social relations and political choices, both over how political figures responded to situations and how public opinion responded to

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<sup>96</sup> Pierre and Huguette Chaunu, *Séville et l’Atlantique (1504-1560)* (12 vols; Paris, 1955-59), i. 6-11; Fernand Braudel and Ruggiero Romano, *Navires et marchandises à l’entrée du port de Livourne (1547-1611)* (Paris, 1951).

<sup>97</sup> Pierre Chaunu, ‘Une histoire religieuse sérielle’, *RHmc*, 1 (1965): 5-34, 31.

<sup>98</sup> Georges Duby, *L’économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l’Occident médiéval* (2 vols; Paris, 1962), i. 133-37.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 7-8.

<sup>100</sup> Ernest Labrousse, ‘Le prix du blé en France dans la seconde moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle d’après les états statistiques du Contrôle Général’, *RHés*, 19 (1931): 133-211; Maria Novella Borghetti, *L’œuvre d’Ernest Labrousse: Genèses d’un modèle d’histoire économique* (Paris, 2005), 117-23.

political action.<sup>101</sup> He for that reason investigated how growth and progress occurred without lapsing into economic materialism, and this made his work acceptable to scholars who, in the era of Cold War France, tried to navigate a path between Marxist theory and Walt Rostow's distinctly non-Marxist five-stage modernization model.<sup>102</sup> The statistical verification of Labrousse's proposals created a cohort of twenty-one doctoral students working between 1960 and 1970 to test their teacher's findings for each of France's regions.<sup>103</sup> Braudel encouraged them, appreciative of the 'fruitful' mathematical certainty provided by processing annual data-series.<sup>104</sup> As a result, along with Jean Meuvret, Pierre Vilar and Maurice Lombard, *Annales* historians dominated the research in, and teaching of, economic history after 1945.<sup>105</sup>

Sociological procedures also featured. Febvre defended them as part of the ideal of a 'human history, total and articulate, both synthetic and alive', a 'history of social structural phenomena', and, for him, there was only 'history that is entirely social, by definition.'<sup>106</sup> Febvre's method, building on Durkheim's calls to investigate collective representations, hypothesized that past people represented their world using 'mental material' or 'tools' such as language, music and images that historians must dissect in order to understand past people.<sup>107</sup> Febvre accordingly combined Wallon and Charles Blondel's psychology with Antoine Meillet's comparative linguistics because he accepted that words signified constellations of beliefs that could be evaluated.<sup>108</sup> But this did not amount to a structuralist reading of history: economic, social and intellectual interactions created the impressions of

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<sup>101</sup> Ernest Labrousse, *La Crise de l'économie française à la fin de l'ancien régime et au début de la Révolution* (Paris, 1944).

<sup>102</sup> Walt Rostow, *The Stages of Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge, 1960).

<sup>103</sup> François Dosse, 'L'histoire sociale à 'la française' à son apogée', in Delacroix, Dosse, Garcia, *Les courants historiques*, 324-25.

<sup>104</sup> Braudel to Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, 2 Jan. 1957, Braudel MSS.

<sup>105</sup> Lutz Raphael, 'Le Centre de recherches historiques de 1949 à 1975', *CCrh*, 10 (1993): 19.

<sup>106</sup> Febvre, 'Pro domo nostra', 55; Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, 'Un nouvel institut d'histoire sociale?', *AHés*, 44 (1937): 194; Lucien Febvre, 'Propos d'initiation', 6.

<sup>107</sup> Lucien Febvre, 'Une vue d'ensemble: Psychologie et histoire', *Encyclopédie française*, (22 vols; Paris, 1937-66), viii. as cited in Lucien Febvre, *Combats pour l'histoire* (Paris, 1952), 249, 258-60.

<sup>108</sup> Febvre, 'Une vue d'ensemble', 250, 252, 257, 259.

cohesive forms, but Febvre also asserted ‘Structures? It is a fashionable term, I know. It has spread out all over the *Annales*, too much so for my taste.’<sup>109</sup> His Renaissance history trilogy demonstrated instead that sociological analysis demanded subtle localization of past peoples’ mental tools in their ‘worlds’, their ‘manners of thinking and living.’<sup>110</sup> The results were surprising: examination of Rabelais’ oeuvre as part of sixteenth-century theological discourse precluded calling him an atheist; situating the *Cymbalum mundi* amongst reformist and spiritualist tracts of the 1530s circumscribed its radicalism; and unless historians decoded Marguerite of Navarre’s vocabulary using sixteenth-century definitions, Febvre protested, nobody could really understand what she had said.<sup>111</sup>

Second-generation *annalistes* added demographic to sociological analysis after 1950.<sup>112</sup> The addition paralleled work by Peter Laslett, the only ‘Annalist’ in England in his own opinion, to reconstruct the structure of society prior to the Industrial Revolution and compare its units such as the village community and its birth, marital and funereal customs with twentieth-century constellations.<sup>113</sup> The intention to divest readers of misapprehensions about the past in order to better understand the present fuelled the enterprise.<sup>114</sup> *Annales’ enquêtes collectives*, re-started in 1961 by Braudel, also studied anew demographic issues, the ‘complicated themes’ of a ‘history of material life’ complete with ‘biological factors’ in order to bring historical perspective to notions concerning the social functions and habits of bygone ages.<sup>115</sup> Pierre Goubert’s doctoral dissertation, *Beauvais et la Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730* and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie’s *Paysans de Languedoc*, published in 1959 and 1960

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<sup>109</sup> Lucien Febvre, preface to Chaunu and Chaunu, *Séville*, i. xi.

<sup>110</sup> Lucien Febvre, *Histoire de Franche Comté* (Paris, 1912), vii.

<sup>111</sup> Lucien Febvre, *Le problème de l’incroyance au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: La religion de Rabelais* (Paris, 1942), 455-63; Lucien Febvre, *Origène et des Périers ou l’énigme du ‘Cymbalum Mundi’* (Paris, 1942), 7-131; Lucien Febvre, *Autour de l’Heptaméron, amour sacré, amour profonde* (Paris, 1944), 7-13.

<sup>112</sup> A bibliography of works in this direction is contained in Pierre Guiral, René Pillorget and Maurice Agulhon, *Guide de l’étudiant en histoire moderne et contemporaine* (Paris, 1971), 127-34.

<sup>113</sup> Professor John Rogister, electronic correspondence with the author, 15 Oct. 2010.

<sup>114</sup> Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (London, 1965), 275-76.

<sup>115</sup> Fernand Braudel, ‘Retour aux enquêtes’, *AÉSC*, 16 (1961): 421-24, 423; Fernand Braudel, ‘La démographie et les dimensions des sciences de l’homme’, *AÉSC*, 15 (1960): 493-523, 499.

respectively, disclosed the methodological continuities thus bolstered. Ladurie explained that quantitative history provided a framework, but ‘presented with the formidable obstacle of *mentalités* [he] guessed at invisible spiritual frontiers that were more constraining than any others.’ He preserved first-generation historians’ attempts to recover a social morphology.<sup>116</sup> Goubert, by contrast, described his methodology as statistical analysis of demographic as well as economic and social ‘fluctuations’ based on data rather than ‘a case of theory.’<sup>117</sup> So between Ladurie and Goubert sociological procedure developed through the use of statistical method, but also continued to observe Durkheimian insights about the unmeasurability of beliefs.

Anthropologists prompted members of the second-generation to justify, and therefore bolster, their methodological tradition.<sup>118</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss presented a representative grievance. He rejected any ‘methodological parallelism’ demonstrative of difference between history and ethnography and preferred instead to allege that both history and anthropology investigated the structures of collective life. But, he added, historians purveyed a mythical understanding of the past by using evidence as a trace existing in, and so connecting it to, the present. Lévi-Strauss, by contrast, thought of past and present as discontiguous.<sup>119</sup> Braudel replied: ‘sociology and history are one and the same adventure of the mind’, but, because anthropological methodology analyzed facts over a short time span, it resembled microsociology – incapable of factual explanation because it did not contextualize its objects of study in the *longue durée*.<sup>120</sup> The republication in 1966 of *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II* reminded scholars what Braudel meant. Historical method, according to Braudel, investigated three mutually-inclusive durations: the long, of

<sup>116</sup> Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Les Paysans de Languedoc* (2 vols; Paris, 1966), i. 11.

<sup>117</sup> Pierre Goubert, *Beauvais et la Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730* (2 vols; Paris, 1960), i. 13.

<sup>118</sup> Lucien Febvre, ‘De la Revue de Synthèse aux Annales: Henri Berr ou un demi-siècle de travail au service de l’histoire’, *AÉSC*, 7 (1952): 289-93, 291.

<sup>119</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, ‘Histoire et ethnologie’, re-print of 1949 article in Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie structurale* (2 vols; Paris, 1958), i. 28; Claude Lévi-Strauss, *La Pensée sauvage* (Paris, 1962), 345.

<sup>120</sup> Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, 31; Fernand Braudel, ‘Histoire et sociologie’, in Fernand Braudel, *Écrits sur l’histoire* (2 vols; Paris, 1969), i. 105; Braudel, ‘Histoire et sciences sociales’, 735-38.

geographical and geological structures; the medium, of socio-economic fluctuations or conjunctures; and the short duration of political events.<sup>121</sup> Braudel thereby claimed that historical methods examined structures, but, unlike what Lévi-Strauss called ‘structural anthropology’, he did not make structure an end in itself.<sup>122</sup> He in fact responded to structural analysts like Lévi-Strauss and Georges Gurvitch by pluralising historical time into three layers and showing how *Annales* historians’ economism and sociological procedures were apposite tools for the investigation of the different phenomena found in each. The argument both defended the power of historical approaches to provide universal explanations and grounded the claim that history could provide the ‘corridor’ between all the social sciences.<sup>123</sup>

These developments prepared the way for *Annales* historians to use their methodologies to study civilizations between 1946 and 1970, at the moment a younger generation followed Braudel’s dictum that history is ‘a collection of crafts’ designed to execute the task.<sup>124</sup> Charles Morazé and Jacques Le Goff in their studies of western civilization in the modern and mediaeval period respectively, as well as Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie’s history of climate since 1000 A.D., demonstrated second-generation *annalistes*’ concern with civilization. Morazé argued that the West no longer held first place amongst its continental competitors and had become ‘one civilization amongst others’ having since the Industrial Revolution ‘lost its authority’ to rivals with a younger population and better-developed technological complex.<sup>125</sup> He then used his findings in order to argue the case for internationalism through human solidarity, an extension of Durkheim’s democratic dialogue.<sup>126</sup> Le Goff described the West as an economic ‘system’, which progressed from subsistence to growth between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, structured by time and

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<sup>121</sup> Lucien Febvre, ‘Un livre qui grandit’, review of Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II*, *RH*, 203 (1950): 216-24, 218.

<sup>122</sup> Lévi-Strauss, *Anthropologie structurale*, i. 37-63, especially 56.

<sup>123</sup> Braudel, ‘Histoire et sciences sociales’, 752.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 734.

<sup>125</sup> Charles Morazé, *Essai sur la civilisation de l’Occident* (2 vols; Paris, 1950-67), i. vii, ix.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 236.

geography but animated by the material world and *mentalités*.<sup>127</sup> Ladurie's compilation of climatic data cut across national boundaries too, formulating hypotheses about the possible connections of human activity and fluctuations in meteorological patterns.<sup>128</sup> These civilization analyses brought a global focus to the study of total history urged by members of the first generation, and it also reflected a post-war mood in which world war and the Cold War prompted historians in the West to think about why their civilization had produced such conflicts, whilst stimulating recognition of the growing power of non-western civilization.<sup>129</sup>

Preoccupation with civilization became widespread in the 1960s just as the *Annales* tide rolled onto American shores and onward to complete global recognition: *Annales* historians' books and articles on *Annales*' own history from this period imply that their methodological innovation was complete. Febvre's preparation for publication in 1949 of Bloch's *Apologie pour l'histoire, ou métier d'historien* posthumously associated Bloch's name and historical method with their new thinking. Braudel's argument deployed against Lévi-Strauss that only beginning with the long duration could understanding a particular phenomenon become possible drew on François Simiand's critique of Seignobos's preoccupation with short-term political events in and after 1903. So Braudel's choice to re-publish Simiand's article in 1960 to help young researchers 'better understand this dialogue between history and the social sciences' was poignant in both timing and content.<sup>130</sup> Equally, Braudel's essay for *Annales*' thirtieth anniversary described a continuity of purpose since Berr to unite history and neighbouring human and social sciences at the high-point of the confrontation with anthropology.<sup>131</sup> And Braudel on Febvre after his death, like Febvre on

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<sup>127</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *La Civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1964), 1-7.

<sup>128</sup> Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire du climat depuis l'an mil* (2 vols; Paris, 1967), i. 216-37.

<sup>129</sup> Bentley, *Modern Historiography*, 128-30.

<sup>130</sup> François Simiand, 'Méthode historique et science sociale', *AÉSC*, 15 (1960): 83-119, 83.

<sup>131</sup> Fernand Braudel, 'Les *Annales* ont trente ans (1929-1959)', *AÉSC*, 14 (1959): 1-2.



Berr at the time of his passing, commemorated ‘father figures’ of the *Annales* enterprise.<sup>132</sup> Indeed, Febvre’s compilation of essays, published as *Combats pour l’histoire* in 1952 (the year of Berr’s death), categorized his interventions as: ‘Professions of faith at the outset’, ‘Those for and against’, ‘Alliances and supports’, ‘The neighbours’ views, or brothers who ignore’, ‘Individuals and souvenirs’, ‘Hopes on arrival.’ Here is the journey metaphor, and sympathetic scholars encountered along the way appear as patrons of a collective enterprise.

*Annales* historians’ presentation of a distinct version of their methodologies’ history also created and consolidated their place in international scholarly discourses, as Middell has shown. They not only distinguished themselves from intellectual rivals retrospectively. Their work in fact disclosed that amongst their interpretive and analytical frameworks lay strategic means to highlight their own credentials. Interdisciplinarity readily translated to intellectual hegemonization of other subjects in the same way as Braudel’s claims that history should unite and lead all social sciences.<sup>133</sup> If collective representations meant that historians collaborated with colleagues in neighbouring disciplines, it also gave them the initiative in directing research projects. Similarly, Febvre and Braudel’s editorial manifestos in *Annales* exemplify the logic of continuity that they advanced in the 1950s when they evoked their own scholarly journey. Braudel signalled the continuity of post-war with inter-war *annaliste* scholarship in 1957.<sup>134</sup> Febvre, too, had hinted at durability of the *Annales* animus in 1946.<sup>135</sup> But in both instances continuity went hand-in-hand with inclusivity, and that also implied exclusion. Attacks on the work of ‘traditional’ historians exemplified the point. So too did proto-*annalistes* and *annalistes*’ efforts to attract international collaborators in order to overcome the parochialism they alleged that some rival historians prolonged.<sup>136</sup> *Annales*

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<sup>132</sup> Fernand Braudel, ‘Lucien Febvre et l’histoire’, *AÉSC*, 12 (1957): 177-82; Lucien Febvre, ‘Un deuil des *Annales*’, *AÉSC*, 10 (1955): 1-3, 1.

<sup>133</sup> See also, Middell, ‘Die unendliche Geschichte’, 19.

<sup>134</sup> Braudel, ‘Les *Annales* continuent...’, 1-2.

<sup>135</sup> Febvre, ‘Face au vent’, 1-8.

<sup>136</sup> See also Middell, ‘Die unendliche Geschichte’, 19-20.

historians thus implied that they alone continued their intellectual forbears' work and that they co-operated with like-minded scholars in other disciplines as well as abroad by virtue of their internationalism. Successive generations including *Annales* scholars such as François Furet, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Marc Ferro continued to invoke a legacy of some sort in this way after 1970.<sup>137</sup> So this limited but important strategic dimension to *Annales* historians' conduct suggests that their methodological innovations, albeit that in the spirit of experimental scepticism they never guaranteed their fruitfulness, went hand in hand with behaviour necessary to gain a foothold in France's university system.

### 1.3 Institutions

Institutionalization accompanied the growing number of historians and publications purporting *Annales* methodologies. In general, proto-*annaliste* historians gathered in organizations outside the university field, whilst *annalistes* peopled both existing and new establishments, which helps explain how *Annales* historians came to exert influence on French higher education and the general public.<sup>138</sup> In fact between 1929 and 1970 *annalistes* competed with and replaced intellectual patrons, who 'wielded power in the form of influence on appointments, in the supervision of theses, and in getting articles placed in prestigious journals', and took up posts within the university system throughout France.<sup>139</sup>

Proto-*annalistes* gathered on the periphery of the university field and did not have financial or other support from the Ministry of National Education. Pim Den Boer argues that, although he remained a *lycée* teacher throughout his career, Berr's six-hour teaching schedules and his marriage to Cécile Halphen, which brought him private wealth, enabled him to undertake intellectual projects that qualified him as a 'patron' of the proto-*annaliste*

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>138</sup> Burke, *French Historical Revolution*, 25-31; Raphael, *Die Erben*, 150-205.

<sup>139</sup> Pim Den Boer, *History as a Profession: The Study of History in France, 1818-1914*, translated by Arnold J. Pomerans (Princeton 1988; originally published in Dutch in 1987), 248; Terry N. Clark and Priscilla P. Clark, 'Le Patron et son cercle: Clef de l'université française', *RfS*, 12 (1971): 19-39, 38.

methodological tradition in 1910.<sup>140</sup> Indeed the *Revue de Synthèse historique* had connections to the *Centre International de Synthèse*, an organization which Berr had created in 1929. It consisted of four sections: one for historical synthesis directed by Berr to whom Febvre deputized; a second for natural science directed by Abel Rey; a third for the history of science directed by Paul Langevin and then Aldo Mieli; and a fourth for general synthesis over which Abel Rey also presided.<sup>141</sup> Berr also purposely intensified interaction with natural science by founding a journal, *Science*, in 1936. This formalized connections between history and natural science fostered by proto-*annaliste* historians, amongst others, that resulted in the use of scientific metaphors by Bloch, for example, who spoke of the need to ‘rely on the laboratory’, or Febvre, who insisted that scientific method meant constructing hypotheses and posing problems; Bloch and Febvre’s personal interest in the splitting of the atom and the ‘drama of relativity’ also explained *Annales*’ scientific orientation.<sup>142</sup>

Federalism characterized Proto-*annaliste* institutions. They facilitated meetings of like-minded scholars, such as Berr’s *semaines de synthèse*, but they did not deliver formal education to students or the public. Yet many proto-*annalistes* besides Berr, including Durkheim, Bouglé, Febvre and Bloch, felt shunned by what they perceived as the university system’s self-perpetuating internal selection-committees.<sup>143</sup> Or, more precisely, they felt excluded from Parisian institutions, which formed the top layer of the university hierarchy for resources, salaries, public prestige and quality of students, all compounded by the university ‘palaces’ not found outside the capital.<sup>144</sup> The minister called Durkheim to the *Faculté des Lettres* in Paris only fifteen years before his death in 1917; Bouglé fared better, becoming a

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<sup>140</sup> Boer, *History as a Profession*, 304.

<sup>141</sup> Michel Blay, ‘Henri Berr et l’histoire des sciences’, in Biard, Bourel and Brian, eds, *Henri Berr*, 132.

<sup>142</sup> Bloch to Febvre, 18 Jun. 1938, in Bertrand Müller, ed, *Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre et les Annales d’Histoire économique et sociale: Correspondance* (Paris, 1994-2003), iii. 29; Febvre, *Combats pour l’histoire*, 38-39; Lucien Febvre, ‘Sur Einstein et sur l’histoire: Méditation de circonstance’, *AÉSC*, 10 (1955): 305-12; Burgière, *The Annales School*, 22-24; Blandine Barret-Kriegel, ‘Histoire et politique ou l’histoire, science des effets’, *AÉSC*, 28 (1973): 1437-63, 1442.

<sup>143</sup> Charle, *République des universitaires*, 39-41; Marc Bloch, *L’Étrange Défaite* (Paris, 1946), 192.

<sup>144</sup> Paul Gerbod, ‘Resources and Management’, in Rüegg, ed, *History of the University*, iii. 103.

Sorbonne appointee aged only thirty one; both Febvre and Bloch remained at the University of Strasbourg until they were in their fifties. Bloch and Febvre, like Braudel, had a certain cultural capital deriving from their paternal connections to the professoriate: Bloch's father, Gustave, was an ancient historian but at a provincial university (Lille) for much of his career; Febvre descended from a *lycée* teacher, but his father-in-law, Paul Dognon, professed geography at the University of Toulouse; and Charles Braudel was a mathematician.<sup>145</sup> They were all 'oblates' in Bourdieu's vocabulary, the sons of teachers and professors whose lives thereafter centred on the education system.<sup>146</sup> But this did not speed up the promotion process, and they found provincial universities resembled 'antechambers to the Sorbonne' where their slow promotion progress frustrated them.<sup>147</sup>

First-generation *annalistes*, however, did find position and recognition in the top echelon of the university system whilst contributing to *Annales*. Febvre's call to the chair of modern civilization at the *Collège de France* installed him in a group of socialist professors including Charles Andler, Victor Basch, Maurice Halbwachs, Henri Focillon, Mario Roques and François Simiand.<sup>148</sup> *Annales* historians occupied that chair thereafter because Braudel succeeded Febvre in 1949, and it fell in 1973 to Le Roy Ladurie.<sup>149</sup> Duby joined Braudel at the *Collège* in 1970, becoming the first mediaevalist sympathetic to *Annales* to achieve such a nomination. Bloch succeeded Henri Hauser in the chair of economic history at the *Sorbonne* in 1936. And in the aftermath of *annalistes'* ascent to the capital, their efforts to attract a national audience for their socio-economic history through *Annales*, thus lifting them out of provincial employment in Strasbourg, paid dividends. Publication of their books in Berr's

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<sup>145</sup> Olivier Dumoulin, 'Bloch, Marc', in Christian Amalvi, ed, *Dictionnaire biographique des historiens français et francophones: De Grégoire de Tours à Georges Duby* (Paris, 2004), 28; John M. Burney, *Toulouse et son université: Facultés et étudiants dans la France provinciale du 19 siècle*, translated by Philippe Wolff (Paris, 1988), 278; Giuliana Gemelli, *Fernand Braudel*, translated into French by Brigitte Pasquet and Béatrice Propetto Marzi (Paris, 1995; originally published in Italian in 1990), 30-31.

<sup>146</sup> Bourdieu, *Homo academicus*, xxv.

<sup>147</sup> Christian Pfister to Gustave Cohen, 20 Sep. 1925, Cohen MSS 59/AP/3.

<sup>148</sup> Charle, *République des universitaires*, 306.

<sup>149</sup> Coutau-Bégarie, *Phénomène 'nouvelle histoire'*, 293.

series, 'Évolution de l'Humanité', had also contributed to national recognition. So professional aspiration and intellectual commitment went together. Febvre's increasingly moderate polemics against Seignobos after 1932 confirm that connection because it discloses that once Febvre had the *Collège* position he wanted, one of greater symbolic worth than Seignobos's *Sorbonne* teaching post too, it allowed him to divert his energies from the justification of *annaliste* methodology to its practice.<sup>150</sup>

*Annalistes* also accomplished an 'essential step' in modernizing economic history, which few institutions taught before 1947.<sup>151</sup> Owing to the neglect of economic history in the early-twentieth century, prospective contributors at first hesitated or refused Bloch and Febvre's suggestion of co-operation because they felt that their historical education had not prepared them for the demands of *Annales* socio-economic history.<sup>152</sup> Bloch felt that French economic history looked underdeveloped compared with the state of the subject in Austria and England, noting, 'faced with the *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, and the review recently founded by the English, we have nothing serious to offer.'<sup>153</sup> His reference to the English *Economic History Review*, of which the first issue appeared in 1927, does not detract from the centrality of the *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* and Vienna as 'a centre for social and economic history' and inspiration to *Annales* and its title.<sup>154</sup> Henri Hauser shared Bloch's concern: he noted that although a number of economic histories reached publication, the number of chairs devoted to the subject totalled two in France: his own in Paris and Paul Masson's at Aix-Marseille.<sup>155</sup> Apart from them, economic historians spent the majority of their careers at provincial

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<sup>150</sup> Delacroix, 'Le moment de l'histoire-science sociale', 225.

<sup>151</sup> Jean-Pierre Poussou, 'Les fondements de l'histoire économique française: Henri Hauser et Henri Sée', in Séverine-Antigone Martin and Georges-Henri Soutou, eds, *Henri Hauser (1866-1946): Humaniste, historien, républicain* (Paris, 2006), 83-93.

<sup>152</sup> F.-L. Ganshof to Febvre, 10 Jun. 1928; R. H. Tawney to Febvre, 14 Jun. 1928; K. Asakawa to Bloch, 20 Nov. 1930, Leuilliot MSS.

<sup>153</sup> Bloch to André Siegfried, 29 Jan. 1928, Leuilliot MSS.

<sup>154</sup> Steig, *Origin and Development*, 106.

<sup>155</sup> Henri Hauser, 'Histoire économique et sociale (1928-1929)', *RH*, 161 (1929): 333-68, 339.

universities: Henri Sée at Rennes, Marcel Blanchard at Montpellier, Prosper Boissonnade at Poitiers, while Albert Mathiez and Gustave Glotz worked in Paris but not as historians of economies.<sup>156</sup> Economists did not share these concerns in 1929 and Monod's son-in-law, Charles Rist, who later joined the *Annales* editorial board, advised Felix Alcan that no need existed for them to consider printing another economic history review in addition to the *Revue d'histoire économique* printed by publisher Marcel Rivière.<sup>157</sup>

Institutional prominence came in the wake of the Second World War during an age of economic expansion and buoyant public finances. Marc Bloch's death brought Ernest Labrousse to the chair of economic history at the *Sorbonne*. Fernand Braudel became Febvre's deputy as director of *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, and in 1947 assumed full control with Charles Morazé, Georges Friedmann and Paul Leuilliot on the editorial committee. Thus Bloch and Febvre had successfully used a multidisciplinary methodology developed by proto-*annalistes* outside the university system in order to create a tradition, which had become accepted by *méthodique* historians as 'scientific.'<sup>158</sup> Monod's encouragement of Febvre's historical facility and Bloch's admiration for Langlois's scientific method are cases in point.<sup>159</sup> Once inside the university field and installed in the top layer of France's university system, second-generation *Annales* historians peopled the institutions that first-generation *annalistes* had created, founded their own adjoining centres and transmitted the tradition.<sup>160</sup> The Sixth Section of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* and the *Centre de Recherches Historiques*, which hosted group research projects not organized to the same extent in neighbouring European countries, appeared in 1947 and 1949; later, in 1972 and 1975, the *Laboratoire de Démographie Historique* and the *Fondation Maison des Sciences de*

<sup>156</sup> Bourdé, 'Le moment de l'histoire-science sociale', 265.

<sup>157</sup> Febvre to Publisher Félix Alcan, 1 Jun. 1928, Leuilliot MSS.

<sup>158</sup> See also Peter Schöttler, 'Eine spezifische Neugirde: Die frühen *Annales* als interdisziplinäres Projekt', *C*, 2 (1992): 112-26, 123.

<sup>159</sup> Marc Bloch, 'Nouvelles personelles', *AHés*, 1 (1929): 583-584; Monod to Febvre, 27 May 1907, in Pluet and Candar, eds, *Lettres à Henri Berr*, 4.

<sup>160</sup> Noiriél, 'Naissance du métier', 85; Charle, *République des universitaires*, 456.

*l'Homme* followed.<sup>161</sup> The editorial stability characteristic of *Annales*, the long stays of Febvre then Braudel as editor-in-chief and their retention of board members, assured the concurrence of institutional development and intellectual movement.<sup>162</sup> 1945 for these reasons signalled a turning point in *Annales*' history.<sup>163</sup>

The Sixth Section played the central role in the period until 1970. It assembled members of the established Parisian university system by appealing to their desire to preserve (and increase) time for research by reducing teaching demands. It had sufficient financial and intellectual support from politicians by 1975 that it earned the right to grant its own degrees. A new generation of professional historians joined the second generation, employed by the new Sixth Section, which Pierre Auger, Director of Higher Education, and Charles Morazé founded and Febvre directed from the autumn of 1947: Robert Mandrou, Marc Ferro, Pierre Goubert, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Jacques Le Goff all started their careers there.<sup>164</sup> Lévi-Strauss and Braudel confronted each other on the relationship between history and social sciences from within its walls, the former a young scholar in his second post, a chair for the study of comparative religions in illiterate communities, invited by Febvre, and the latter only six years his senior.<sup>165</sup> Both of their research capacities benefited from the Sixth Section's large budgets, which comprised significant portions of international donors' money including the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, both of which supported a variety of French scholars' work to develop empirical and quantitative research in the social sciences, as well as funds from the French government.<sup>166</sup> The funding attested to politicians' hopes in the 1950s and 1960s, the period that Jean Fourastié called the *trente glorieuses*: armed with high taxation

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<sup>161</sup> Lutz Raphael, 'Orte und Ideen der kollektiven Geschichtsforschung: Einer vergleichenden Blick auf die ersten Jahrzehnte des Centre de recherches historiques und die Praxen in Westdeutschland (1945-1975)', in Matthias Middell, Gabriele Lingelbach and Frank Hadler, eds, *Historische Institut im internationalen Vergleich* (Leipzig, 2001), 378.

<sup>162</sup> Coutau-Bégarie, *Phénomène 'nouvelle histoire'*, 273.

<sup>163</sup> Raphael, *Die Erben*, 91.

<sup>164</sup> Brigitte Mazon, *Aux origines de l'EHESS. Le rôle du mécénat américain* (Paris, 1988), 87; Raphael, *Die Erben*, 43.

<sup>165</sup> Denis Bertholet, *Claude Lévi-Strauss* (Paris, 2008), 26-41.

<sup>166</sup> Mazon, *Aux origines de l'EHESS*, 44.

revenues from an expanding economy, the French like the American government became interested in modernization theory and saw the social sciences as an investment because they believed that their findings would contribute to the development of industrial society.<sup>167</sup> It also gave the Sixth Section a scholarly voice because the Minister for National Education provided a limitless credit account with the national publisher, *Service d'Édition et de Vente des Publications de l'Éducation Nationale*.<sup>168</sup>

Growing financial support from government added to *Annales*' momentum after 1930. Ministerial endorsement for Febvre's editorship of the *Encyclopédie française* in 1936 came from Anatole de Monzie and Gaston Berger's support as Minister of National Education between 1953 and 1960 for the Sixth Section also played a part. Berger hoped to improve the position of the social sciences because in 1955 there existed five chairs for sociology, three for ethnology, still only two for economic history, one for statistics and none for demography despite the fact that members of the *Annales* School all used their methods. Uniting the Sixth Section, the *Faculté de Droit*, the *Faculté des Lettres* and the *Institut d'Études des Sciences Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po.)* appeared to Berger to solve the problem, but Braudel and Febvre wanted the Sixth Section to act as the intermediary between the other three.<sup>169</sup> The Sixth Section's budget grew as a result by increases of 280% in 1953, 80% in 1954 and 100% in 1955 and 1957.<sup>170</sup> This embodied an organizational equivalent to Braudel's proposition that history and sociology shared the same methods and objects, but that sociology required history and its focus on the long duration in order to function. And students welcomed developments, enrolling at the Sixth Section in numbers superior to those of the Fourth Section, devoted to history and philology, leading to 41% of all doctoral dissertations

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid., 115; Jean Fourastié, *Les trente glorieuses ou la révolution invisible de 1946 à 1975* (Paris, 1979).

<sup>168</sup> Coutau-Bégarie, *Phénomène 'nouvelle histoire'*, 280.

<sup>169</sup> Mazon, *Aux origines de l'EHESS*, 318.

<sup>170</sup> Coutau-Bégarie, *Phénomène 'nouvelle histoire'*, 280.



submitted after 1965 focusing on socio-economic histories.<sup>171</sup> Braudel, furthermore, assumed the presidency of the *Jury d'agrégation* between 1950 and 1955, so *Annales* methodologies thus became central both to research and teaching. *Annales* historians thus acted as 'rational reformers', using the existing research degrees for aspiring professors, the *thèse d'état*, and the teaching system, entrance to which the *agrégation* guaranteed, to reproduce and disseminate their historical methodologies.<sup>172</sup>

By 1970 successive generations of *annalistes* occupied a range of posts in the university system, and this re-enforced and contributed to the methodological and historiographical revision examined in Sections 1.1 and 1.2. *Annales* historians oversaw a process of professionalization after 1930, which *méthodique* historians had begun with their debates about the status of 'science.' *Annalistes* consolidated their version of professional history in the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* and certain sections of the *Collège de France*. Members of a second generation finally abandoned the *École des Chartes* that historians in the Third Republic avoided because of its personnel's aristocratic-monarchist convictions, and that became possible because the the *Annales* School now had its own well-funded Sixth Section in which to host research teams and grant degrees.<sup>173</sup> After 1970 this minority of *annaliste* institutions changed the balance of authority and so challenged the desirability of a *Sorbonne* or *Sciences Po.* education. And *Annales* historians' students contributed through their own work to the dissemination of challenging methodologies throughout France: Maurice Agulhon, Georges Duby, Paul Veyne and Michel Vovelle all taught at the University of Aix, Adeline Daumard taught at Amiens and Pierre Lévêque and Guy Bois at Besançon. This incomplete but suggestive list confirms what Febvre inferred in the early 1950s and Braudel suggested throughout the 1960s: *Annales* had arrived.

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<sup>171</sup> Jean Glénisson, *La recherche historique en France de 1940 à 1965* (Paris, 1965), lxiii.

<sup>172</sup> See also, Lutz Raphael, 'Organisational Frameworks of University Life and their Impact on Historiographical Practice', in Rolf Torstendahl and Irmline Veit-Brause, eds, *History-Making. The Intellectual and Social Formation of a Discipline* (Stockholm, 1996), 158.

<sup>173</sup> Noiriël, 'Naissance du métier d'historien', 61; Gérard, 'À l'origine du combat des Annales', 87-88.

## 1.4 Wider Resonances

Second-generation *Annales* historians also drew in an audience that outnumbered that attracted by earlier generations of the School both in size and diversity. They contributed to public debates through the print media more frequently after 1945; contributions to a variety of journalistic publications, including newspapers, weekly magazines and book-series addressed to the educated public, facilitated the change which became noticeable by 1960. A media presence supplemented the scientific reputations of members of the *Annales* School inside the historical discipline and academy and stimulated an effort in the 1970s to return to ‘well-written’ history in the style of the *méthodiques* from which the general public could benefit, as well as television programmes by Braudel on the Mediterranean, Duby about European Cathedrals, interviews on Bernard Pivot’s show, *Apostrophes*, broadcast from 1975 until 1990 and documentaries on ‘the new history’ into the 1980s.<sup>174</sup>

*Annalistes’* contributions to the national print media consolidated their public reputation and directed public opinion on historical research and France’s past through book reviews. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie took over responsibility for some, later all, ‘chroniques historiques’ of *Le Monde*, the leading left-centre liberal newspaper, in 1969. He succeeded André Latreille who had not provided recognition for *Annales* because, as a member of the *Comité consultatif des universités* between 1945 and 1974 and as a political historian, he was closely connected to the scholars controlling traditional university institutions with which *Annales* competed.<sup>175</sup> Pierre Chaunu joined Ladurie in writing for a national newspaper: he began at *Les Informations* before undertaking a weekly column for *Le Figaro*. But this right-wing alignment is exceptional. Younger historians in the 1970s grouped around the centre-left *Nouvel Observateur*, with André Burgière, François Furet, Jacques Julliard, Pierre Nora,

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<sup>174</sup> Philippe Carrard, *Poétique de la Nouvelle Histoire* (Paris, 1998), 131; Coutau-Bégarie, *Phénomène ‘nouvelle histoire’*, 305; Hervé Hamon and Patrick Rotman, *Les Intellocrates. Expédition en Haute Intelligentsia* (Paris, 1981), 109-10.

<sup>175</sup> Jean Louis-Clément, ‘Latreille, André’, in Amalvi, *Dictionnaire biographique des historiens français*, 180.

Jacques and Mona Ozouf and Denis Richet amongst their number.<sup>176</sup> In this way, precursors to Braudel's series of critical reviews in weekly two-page spreads in *Le Monde* and several pages in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, entitled 'Civilisation matérielle, Économie, Capitalisme', appeared, beginning in 1980. Details such as these re-enforce Bourdieu's findings that the Sixth Section had strong links to journalism after 1968.<sup>177</sup>

National radio also provided a forum for *Annales* historians before 1970. Jacques Le Goff's direction and production for *France Culture* from 1968 of 'Lundis de l'histoire', a weekly historiographical review broadcast, remains today a prominent reminder. Discussions of *Annales* work, their renovation of the human sciences and critical assessment of historical research not usually discussed outside university circles form the substance of the weekly one-and-a-half hour programmes. And Le Goff's personal involvement in them for many years is suggestive of the media personalism behind *Annales*' popular image.

Wider *Annales* resonances also came through the multiplication of pocket editions and book-series, which multiplied in the 1960s. These *genres*, Philippe Carrard argues, addressed themselves to large audiences because they both appealed to the educated public through their scientific attributes, footnotes and the impersonal clause constructions, as well as to the general public through event-centred sub-titles that appealed to a social sensibility satisfied by inquiring into other peoples' quotidian lives.<sup>178</sup> Whether or not this is accurate, it seems feasible from the engagement of *Annales* historians after 1960 in writing and directing historical *vulgarisations*. Philippe Ariès's work on the private sphere can stand for others. In *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, he argued that the idea of childhood was a modern inheritance from the eighteenth century resulting from a psychological

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<sup>176</sup> Louis Pinto, *L'intelligence en action: Le Nouvel Observateur* (Paris, 1984), chapter 2; Coutau-Bégarie, *Phénomène 'nouvelle histoire'*, 305.

<sup>177</sup> Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, 112, 324.

<sup>178</sup> Carrard, *Poétique de la nouvelle histoire*, 135-42.

*bouleversement*.<sup>179</sup> It gained publication in 1960 when the problems of family planning, abortion and teenagers' behavioural psychology filled the newspapers, and, although, according to Ariès, Braudel, Le Goff and Ladurie did not give it whole-hearted welcome, it implies that Carrard's analysis of *Annales* popularity has some force. Such public endorsement increased markedly in the 1970s, as Raphael has shown.<sup>180</sup> Duby, Michel Serres and Jean-Claude Pecker also popularized *Annales* history through their work on the editorial committee for the *Nouvelle bibliothèque scientifique*; Denis Richet directed the collection *L'histoire vivante*; Marc Ferro *Questions historiques*; and Pierre Nora's founding of the collections *Bibliothèque des Sciences Humaines* and *Bibliothèque des Histoires* in his role as editor at Gallimard helped a variety of *Annales* historians secure publication for their work, which publishers Hachette, Fayard and the Presses Universitaires de France chose not to print.<sup>181</sup> The difference in tone and approach from that of rival series such as *Histoires sociales*, comprising volumes written by historians publicly connected with the Communist Party, further hints at the distinctiveness of *Annales* history.<sup>182</sup> This selection comprises only some of the leading published collections in France of the second half of the twentieth century, but it illustrates acquired publishing prominence.

Agreement with Romano becomes possible, therefore, that between 1929 and 1970 continuity of methodological innovation suffused the *Annales* School, and that by 1970 it had an institutional base in France from which it had already disseminated its message internationally.<sup>183</sup> But it can be added that in 1929 such a project dating from 1900, if not before, was already taking shape. Proto-*annalistes* extended nineteenth-century historians'

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<sup>179</sup> Philippe Ariès, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1960), 23-41.

<sup>180</sup> Patrick Hutton, *Philippe Ariès and the Politics of French Cultural History* (Amherst, 2004), 95-97; Philippe Ariès, 'Entretien avec Michel Winock', *L'H*, 19 Jan. 1980; Lutz Raphael, 'Die "Nouvelle Histoire" und der Buchmarkt in Frankreich', *HZ*, Supplement 42, (2006): 123-37.

<sup>181</sup> Coutau-Bégarie, *Phénomène "nouvelle histoire"*, 300; Olaf Blaschke, 'Publishers and Historians In and Around 1980', in Porciani and Raphael, eds, *Atlas*, 51.

<sup>182</sup> Patryk Pleskot, 'Marxism in the Historiography of *Annales* in the Opinion of its Creators and Critics', *APH*, 96 (2007): 183-205, 204.

<sup>183</sup> Ruggiero Romano, *Braudel e noi: Riflessioni sulla cultura storica del nostro tempo* (Rome, 1995), 61-62.

debates to incorporate multidisciplinary perspectives principally from sociology, geography and economics but also from anthropology, demography, linguistics and psychology. Ideas of science played an important role therein because proto-*annalistes* wanted human sciences to make truth-claims with authority equal to that commanded by the natural sciences. Some of them also aimed indirectly to stimulate political reform and democratization by demonstrating the disparities in French society using both social theory and history. The First World War did not result in a shift of the vocabulary or the force of these debates, though it did precipitate personal trauma that pushed conscripts like Bloch and Febvre towards recognition for the urgency of comparativist, geographical and sociological methods. First-generation *annalistes* drew on proto-*annalistes*' multidisciplinary methodologies, which they applied to history with their own distinctive understanding of economic and sociological techniques. They also continued to show how the results of their research could instruct contemporary behaviour through collective enquiries, in this way preserving a moderate version of certain sociologists' politically-reformist intentions. Second-generation *annalistes* developed these procedures after the Second World War, and, in an age of growing prosperity and having constructed institutional networks within the university system, they were able to use statistical methods in order to undertake histories of civilizations, which sometimes coexisted and communicated with but never resembled or recreated an internationalist and Marxist agenda; Marxism proved in that sense both precursor to an extent but crucially also as a rival to *Annales* history.<sup>184</sup> The *Annales* School thus changed the 'spatial frameworks' of historical debate from a national to a European, and, after 1947, a global vision.<sup>185</sup> Its institutionalized academic credentials re-enforced its public reputation, and popular recognition likewise added to its symbolic capital within the academy, strengthening Braudel's argument that history

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<sup>184</sup> See also Stoianovich, *French Historical Method*, 152-53; Coutau-Bégarie, *Phénomène 'nouvelle histoire'*, 243; Guy Bois, 'Marxisme et nouvelle histoire', in Jacques Le Goff, Roger Chartier and Jacques Revel, eds, *La nouvelle histoire* (Paris, 1978), 375-93; Carrard, *Poétique de la nouvelle histoire*, 177-78.

<sup>185</sup> 'Spatial frameworks' is Lorenz's term, see Chris Lorenz, 'Double Trouble: A Comparison of the Politics of National History in Germany and Quebec', in Berger and Lorenz, eds, *Nationalizing the Past*, 50-51.

could unite all human sciences. *Annales* historians at the same time used methodologies designed to investigate ordinary lives in a way that captured the reading public's imagination in France, which gave them a powerful voice in the French media. They also produced textbooks that completed first-generation *annalistes'* attempt to change the methodological principles deemed appropriate to a historical education. By 1970, the *Annales* School had secured the conditions for perpetuating its methods.

## 2. Resistances to *Annales* Methodologies in England, 1900-1970

Like the four that follow it, this chapter examines varieties of resistances to *Annales* methodologies within parts of the university field between 1900 and 1970. Examination of contentions in England, France, Germany, Italy and the United States will proceed in chronological sub-sections that explain disciplinary moods characterizing reactions to the practice of history that historians associated with members of the *Annales* School as well as characteristics of each university system that shaped responses. Periodization of national historiographies may not always relate to *Annales* own chronology because resistances arose from historians' personal predispositions as well as debates unique to their own countries in addition to *annaliste* and other transnational discourses.

### 2.1 History Without Sociology, 1900-1929

*The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* by Lewis Namier appeared in 1929, and it marked the end of a first period in which to examine obstructions of *Annales* in England because it intimated a series of new departures in methodology that coincided with Bloch and Febvre's creation of *Annales*.<sup>1</sup> Namier believed that 'political ideas are the rationalizations men used to mask their interests and that it is only by studying the lives of individual MPs that we can understand why events took shape as they did.'<sup>2</sup> This prosopographical method, by which he 'Namierized' eighteenth-century political history in a way other historians emulated for other periods, came after three decades in which historians divested themselves of growing amounts of energy in the refinement and expansion of the techniques they used to investigate political history, and, inadvertently, history *sui generis*.<sup>3</sup> 'There [had] been not only a growth of knowledge but a change in perspective of historians, who, as a result, wanted

<sup>1</sup> See also, Michael Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism 1870-1970* (Cambridge, 2005), 142-43.

<sup>2</sup> Burrow, *A History of Histories*, 472 – *OED* describes the verb as 'now rare'; Noel Annan, *The Dons: Mentors, Eccentrics and Geniuses* (Chicago, 1999), 96.

<sup>3</sup> Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), vii; A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris, eds, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (3 vols; Cambridge, 1971-92).

to spend more time on ‘economic and social matters and the history of ideas and of the arts’ than on political and constitutional history in isolation.<sup>4</sup> Changes in teaching and research habits accompanied these shifts in focus, making 1900 until 1929 a coherent era in which to consider resistances encountered by proto-*annaliste* historians’ methodologies.<sup>5</sup>

Prevailing approaches to history combined deductive and inductive methods borrowed from natural science in order to interpret constitutional, legal and political sources before 1929. Deductive reasoning impinged in a Baconian sense, signifying the collection of facts and erection upon the evidence they disclosed of general hypotheses, which explained why events occurred. Deduction also implied a version of induction: generalizing about, for example, feudal institutions on the basis of specific factual constellations acquired by studying one such institution.<sup>6</sup> Historical method thus conceived could, according to historians such as J. B. Bury, F. W. Maitland, R. L. Poole, J. R. Seeley, J. H. Round and T. F. Tout, counter the appearance of ‘prejudice’ by providing standards of ‘objectivity which is at the same time impartiality’, ‘the material for political and social science’, ‘the methods of the observational sciences’ or an ‘An Historical Laboratory’ comparable to the *École des Chartes* which many historians in England admired.<sup>7</sup>

These historians’ aims overlapped with proto-*annalistes*: they all in some way studied institutions and wanted to ensure the rigour of their practice, in the process enriching the material supporting history teaching. But the models used in England came from other methodological traditions. C. H. Firth pleaded with Oxford dons to adopt the ‘historical teaching of history’, which, he thought, followed Leopold von Ranke in using

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<sup>4</sup> G. N. Clark to Frank Stenton, 27 Aug. 1929, Stenton MSS 8/12.

<sup>5</sup> Reba Soffer, ‘The Development of Disciplines in the Modern English University’, *HJ*, 31 (1988): 933-46, 937.

<sup>6</sup> F. W. Maitland, ‘The Body Politic’, in H. A. L. Fisher, ed, *The Collected Papers of Frederic William Maitland* (3 vols; Cambridge, 1911), iii. 285.

<sup>7</sup> Round to Sir Francis Palmer, 29 May 1916, Round MSS 924/832; Seeley to Charles Edmund Maurice, 8 Feb. 1879, Seeley MSS 903/1B/18; J. B. Bury, *An Inaugural Lecture: The Science of History* (Cambridge, 1903), 16; T. F. Tout, ‘An Historical Laboratory’, *Standard*, 3 Jan. 1910, in F. M. Powicke, ed, *Collected Papers of Thomas Frederick Tout* (Manchester, 1932), 79; Poole wanted England to have ‘a real *École des Chartes*’, see P. B. M. Blaas, *Continuity and Anachronism: Parliamentary and Constitutional Development in Whig Historiography and in Anti-Whig Reaction Between 1890 and 1930* (The Hague, 1978), 61.



*Hilfswissenschaften* such as numismatics and philology. This, he thought, would instruct students in how to become historians capable of seeing through the ‘truth veil’ of their contemporary circumstances to decipher past realities.<sup>8</sup> The vehemence of some of Firth’s arguments detracted from reception of his message because college tutors opposed professorial interference in pedagogy. Firth did convey, however, the effort at Oxford to introduce students to source criticism and evaluation, designed to nurture their preparedness for historical research.<sup>9</sup> Historians also practised this style of scientific history at the University of London. Tout, for example, praised Albert Pollard for developing ‘the teaching of historical science further at Univ[ersity] College [London] than in any other British University.’<sup>10</sup> Sales of Pollard’s textbooks written for that purpose ‘steadily grew’ during the period.<sup>11</sup> But Pollard himself looked to historians in America for inspiration in his task.<sup>12</sup>

Methods advanced by historians in England also rested on variations of descriptive principles and, because they sought to reveal and describe the past, conservative commitments in a way that conflicted with proto-*annaliste* attempts to nurture interdisciplinarity. Responses to proto-*annaliste* works revealed the divergence. *La Terre et l’évolution humaine* was felt to be ‘depressing’ because it appeared to make history geographical by ‘revivifying’ its sources rather than refining its method.<sup>13</sup> Marion Newbiggin, a geographer and biologist of Berr’s generation, felt that Febvre and Bataillon undermined the assumption that history could, like biological science, explain natural evolutions; she failed to elaborate why she drew such a conclusion.<sup>14</sup> Bloch’s social interpretations of political history attracted a similar critique: allegations suggested that *Les rois thaumaturges* contained insufficient analysis of the ceremonial institutions of state, kingship and popular literature to justify the conclusion that

<sup>8</sup> C. H. Firth, ‘In memoriam. Peter Hume Brown’, draft n.d., Firth MSS 924/566/5.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Slee, ‘Professor Soffer’s ‘History at Oxford’’, *HJ*, 30 (1987): 933-42, 936.

<sup>10</sup> Pollard to parents, 2 Jun. 1918, cited in Bentley, *Modernizing England’s Past*, 196.

<sup>11</sup> Pollard to parents, 16 Mar. 1909, Pollard MSS 860/40.

<sup>12</sup> The principal ‘con’ on Pollard’s list, dated 22 Feb. 1924, of the pros and cons of working at Oxford University read, ‘out of touch with America.’ Pollard MSS 860/40.

<sup>13</sup> M. I. Newbiggin, review of Febvre, *La Terre et l’Évolution humaine*, *GR*, 60 (1922): 308-309, 309.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 308.

the populace felt miracles to be necessary.<sup>15</sup> Bloch's method for that reason fell short of achieving a complete scientific reconstruction of popular attitudes to the monarchy, according to Newbigin.

Other scholars detected incompleteness in the proto-*annaliste* idea of synthesis. Berr's proposal that it created a 'modern method' for the humanities had, according to H. W. C. Davis, 'the defects of [Berr's] qualities; there is too much of mere erudition, and too little of logical synthesis.'<sup>16</sup> Davies implied that Berr's definition of synthesis rested on a collection of principles not conjoined by a coherent theory. Erudition without interpretation attracted critique from Davis and Albert Goodwin as it had from Berr when he discovered it in Grotenfelt and Meyer's work: Goodwin described synthesis as 'naturally subjective, not to say egotistic.'<sup>17</sup> Davis felt that the technique only sought to find internal consistencies in human thought rather than to uncover the facts of the circumstances to which past peoples' cognition responded. He thereby implied that Berr's intuitionist approach was little suited to the study of history in England, where historians pieced together a morphology of events from archival fragments of testimony.

An irony appeared in these rebukes. Newbigin and Davis's remarks implied that, because historical research should base itself on inductive and deductive procedures, history could not use geographical or sociological methods in the way that proto-*annaliste* historians had. On one hand, these scholars thought that history should emulate natural science. But, on the other hand, Davis actually regretted that, besides Stubbs and J. R. Green, few in England took inspiration from Durkheimian sociology.<sup>18</sup> Here existed a tension between openness to the methods of certain but not all disciplines. But this was not purely an intellectual tension. The pre-eminence of natural science that prevented geography or sociology from providing a

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<sup>15</sup> E. F. Jacob, review of Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges*, *EHR*, 40 (1925): 267-70, 268.

<sup>16</sup> H. W. C. Davis, review of Berr, *La Synthèse en histoire*, *EHR*, 27 (1912): 181-182, 181.

<sup>17</sup> Albert Goodwin, review of Berr, *L'histoire traditionnelle*, *EHR*, 37 (1922): 477.

<sup>18</sup> Davies, review of Berr, 182.

model for history to emulate resulted from the development of disciplines in England which complicated the reception of proto-*annalistes*' multidisciplinary methods.

The fortunes of sociology illustrate the problem. Davis felt the proximity of sociology to history because both subjects investigated human personality as a 'fixed datum', recurrent throughout the history of mankind.<sup>19</sup> But sociology only became a mainstream university subject in England in the 1950s. Until the 1930s, a small group including L. T. Hobhouse, Edward Westermarck, E. J. Urwick, A. C. Haddon and Morris Ginsberg taught it at a modest selection of academic institutions: Bedford College, the London School of Economics and the Universities of Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool and Nottingham. The University of Cambridge, meanwhile, refused to accept Rockefeller money for a chair devoted to the subject in 1925.<sup>20</sup> In addition, English sociologists pursued their investigations in the style of 'enlightened conservatives': they offered no 'vital' ideas such as those arising from a Durkheimian critique of social inequality because they shared historians' views that their techniques should emulate natural science methods in using only descriptive-explanatory procedures to reconstruct not interpret a phenomenon, as Soffer has shown.<sup>21</sup> Victor Branford's letters to Berr confirm the point: in them, Branford explained that 'from the point of view of theory and tradition [English Sociology] may be described as combining (a) the historical method and spirit of Auguste Comte, (b) the geographic method and spirit of Frederic Le Play with, (c) an evolutionary philosophy of life which bears close resemblance to that of Bergson, though worked out in independence.'<sup>22</sup> Frederic Le Play's sociology, like Durkheim's, emphasized its intellectual relation to the history of institutions and was amongst the first to identify corporativism as the pre-eminent type of institutional behaviour. But Le

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<sup>19</sup> H. W. C. Davis, draft copy, 'The Meaning of History', *The University Review*, n.d. Jun. 1907, Davis MSS Top. Oxon/E432.

<sup>20</sup> Reba Soffer, 'Why Do Disciplines Fail? The Strange Case of British Sociology', *EHR*, 97 (1982): 767-802, 780-81.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 782, 801.

<sup>22</sup> Branford to Berr, 19 May 1914, Berr MSS BRR2/G1-02.2-35.

Play shared the political conservatism expressed in Comte's later work: they both argued in favour of benign dictatorship.<sup>23</sup> Comte and Le Play situated their work in that way in a counter-revolutionary tradition. A former Conservative prime minister, Arthur Balfour, accordingly acted as secretary to the Sociological Society, which biologist Patrick Geddes had founded at the University of Edinburgh. And the organization sought to ameliorate society through charitable deeds not wholesale legal reform.<sup>24</sup>

History did, however, borrow techniques from political science, and, to a lesser degree, social theory and geography, but these were piecemeal disciplinary appropriations. Davis's own career makes this point. A. L. Smith had taught Davis at Balliol College, Oxford, along with a generation of young conservative historians, Namier, Maurice Powicke, Keith Feiling and G. N. Clark. Smith's 1905 Ford Lectures, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, suggested his predilection for institutional history concerned amongst others with what he called the 'greatest institution in history, the Papacy.'<sup>25</sup> But Smith was an Anglican and a liberal. His liberalism compelled him to write social history not in the manner of Durkheim or Mauss but instead to help educate the working and labouring classes through establishments peripheral to the university field such as the Workers' Educational Association. He wanted to improve society through private effort animated by Christian morality.<sup>26</sup> Davis also encountered liberal Anglicanism of this sort through Herbert Hensley Henson, later the bishop of Durham, and John Simon, liberal politician, as a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, between 1895 and 1902. And Davis's adherence to similar beliefs shaped the only mediaeval history he wrote about how the Carolingian and Holy Roman Empire 'owed their strength to

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<sup>23</sup> Comte's authoritarianism arose from his critique of parliamentary democracy in Auguste Comte, *Système de politique positive, ou traité de sociologie, instituant la religion de l'humanité* (4 vols; Paris, 1851-54), i. 18-24.

<sup>24</sup> Branford to Berr, 19 May 1914, Berr MSS BRR2/G1-02.2-35.

<sup>25</sup> A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1913), 1, 213.

<sup>26</sup> Reba Soffer, *Discipline and Power: The University, History and the Making of an English Elite 1870-1930* (Stanford, 1994), 139-42.

the craving for the visible realization of Christian unity.’<sup>27</sup> At All Soul’s Davis also befriended Charles Grant Robertson who, like Lavissee, admired by both men, created a geographical survey of European history.<sup>28</sup> As incumbent after 1925 in Manchester’s chair of Modern History, Davis also edited the essays presented to R. L. Poole, an expert in diplomatic history, on his seventieth birthday.<sup>29</sup> Established specialisms and their methodological habits in this way eclipsed thoroughgoing interest in proto-*annaliste* techniques.

Davis’s connection to the then-new University of Manchester directs attention to a case-study of resistances from which it becomes clear that proto-*annaliste* methodologies could not find supporters both because of the organization of the English university and because they did not inform disciplinary debates about the history of England. Manchester historians developed the methods of legal and constitutional history as part of a transnational discourse between historians in the United States, France and Germany. Pioneers of method such as Davis, Vivian Galbraith, Jacob, Powicke, James Tait and T. F. Tout, as well as Mary Bateson, Helen Cam, Hilda Johnstone and Eileen Power who followed in their footsteps, were very often educated at Oxford and Cambridge. Yet the historians working in France who interested them were not associated with the *Annales* School.

Tout’s work became central in founding and sustaining the Manchester School. He worked in the spirit of Fustel’s institutional history to dispel erroneous interpretations circulating about mediaeval England. Tout, like Maitland and Durkheim, believed that ‘whether we like it or not [...] before we can get at the social or economic kernel of ancient times, we must often peel off a legal husk.’<sup>30</sup> He consequently felt that they must finish peeling because lawyers, whose interpretations drew on ‘evidence’ that was ‘not evidence to

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<sup>27</sup> H. W. C. Davis, *Charlemagne. The Hero of Two Nations* (London, 1900), 208.

<sup>28</sup> J. R. H. Weaver and A. L. Poole, *Henry William Carless Davis: A Memoir* (London, 1933), 14, 144-45; J. C. Bartholomew and C. G. Robertson, eds, *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe from 1789 to 1922* (London, 1915).

<sup>29</sup> H. W. C. Davis, ed, *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole* (Oxford, 1927).

<sup>30</sup> F. W. Maitland, ‘The Laws of the Anglo-Saxons’, *Quarterly Review* (1904), in Fisher, ed, *Collected Papers*, iii. 459.

historians', had misconstrued English constitutional history by forming a narrative out of judgements and legislation taken as manifestations of a self-determining principle.<sup>31</sup> And William Stubbs, from an unrivalled position of importance at Oxford, had created and taught outdated versions of it. Stubbs believed that people of German descent began continuous constitutional development in mediaeval England, thereby founding the English nation.<sup>32</sup> He justified the notion by arguing that a process from which complete political liberty resulted unfolded through 'the development of principles' in local institutions.<sup>33</sup> Individuals unaffected by their contexts, Stubbs thought, displayed the state of these developments at a given moment. He shared the view with H. R. von Gneist, and, because it read the past as leading directly to the present, it fits the whig interpretation.<sup>34</sup>

Tout, by contrast, emphasized mechanism, arguing that the routine of government explained the development of the mediaeval state. He did so in collaboration with Charles-Victor Langlois, the legal historian Paul Viollet and Achille Luchaire.<sup>35</sup> Tout's conclusions related to his critique of Stubbs's interpretation. Stubbs, Tout alleged, failed to investigate 'a regular tradition of government amongst the clerks and knights of the court', which, according to him provided '*the only true interpretation of the facts.*'<sup>36</sup> No individual presided over a unitary development of England, and for that reason Stubbs's narrative appeared to Tout to reduce complex events to a scheme. Tout showed instead that even the king had to operate a 'balancing act' in order to govern, for example, in the case of Richard II: 'The three officers of state, chancellor, treasurer, and privy seal, were matched by the three chamber knights who

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<sup>31</sup> J. H. Round to G. Woods Wollaston, 6 Jun. 1912, Round MSS 683/5/1.

<sup>32</sup> William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England in its Origins and Development* (3 vols; Oxford, 1873-78), i. 11.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 519.

<sup>34</sup> See Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London, 1931); Blaas, *Continuity and Anachronism*, 173.

<sup>35</sup> Viollet to Tout, 24 Oct. 1906, Tout MSS 1/1228/1; Langlois to Tout, 9 May 1889, Tout MSS 1/660/1; Langlois to Tout, n.d. 1890? Tout MSS 1/660/2.

<sup>36</sup> T. F. Tout, review of Langlois, *Le Règne de Philippe II le Hardi*, *EHR*, 4 (1889): 364.

were Richard's special favourites.'<sup>37</sup> So comparative investigation of the 'similar and synchronic' constituent offices of state and the royal household – administrative history – appeared to Tout as one scientific method *sans pareil*.<sup>38</sup>

Tout promoted administrative history to enhance the University of Manchester's scientific reputation as a research centre as well as for its own merits.<sup>39</sup> He worried that historical research in England lagged 'behind' American equivalents, and, consequently, wanted to train young historians to use English archives more often visited by American, French, German and Russian than English researchers.<sup>40</sup> The University of Manchester was a comparatively new institution at which the innovation could be attempted in order to acquire the scientific capital necessary to rival existing centres, thus attracting students and government funding. Innovation also occurred there precisely because Manchester's university had none of the routines and formalities of England's oldest universities, thus putting Tout at liberty to direct his own training programme.<sup>41</sup> With Tait and George Unwin, Tout organized students into seminar groups of five or six, 'put under the direction of a teacher who has already made the subject his own.'<sup>42</sup> The results were promising: between 1905 and 1914, 80 students passed through this 'apprenticeship' and six became professional historians.<sup>43</sup> Manchester in this sense provided a favourable institutional setting for new departures, but, despite methodological innovations there, the Manchester School ignored proto-*annalistes'* work, instead confining themselves to interactions with the techniques advanced by constitutional historians.

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<sup>37</sup> T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Small Seals* (6 vols; Manchester, 1920-1933) v. 54.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, i. v.

<sup>39</sup> The emphasis on research over teaching is another superficial resemblance with proto-*annalistes'* calls for reform. See Slee, "History at Oxford", 941.

<sup>40</sup> Powicke, ed, *Collected Papers*, 83-84; Langlois to Tout, 9 May 1889, Tout MSS 1/660/1.

<sup>41</sup> Peter Slee, *Learning and a Liberal Education: The Study of Modern History in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester, 1800-1914* (Manchester, 1986), 159.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>43</sup> Powicke, ed, *Collected Papers*, 77.

Changes in constitutional history instigated at Manchester also followed from transatlantic debates. James F. Baldwin, Charles H. McIlwain, Wallace Notestein and later William A. Morris, historians working in America, added greater nuance to England's constitutional past and present by questioning the separation of the legislature and executive. McIlwain first asked the question in a way that suggested the growing importance of political science questions: he wondered whether the Supreme Court's combined power to create and monitor legislation descended from a precedent established in mediaeval England, and, if it did, what constitutional history should involve if government and the law interlocked so flawlessly. McIlwain's answer suggested that parliament became a sovereign representative institution of state in the seventeenth century.<sup>44</sup> London's Pollard appropriated the thesis and provided its explanation: the 'efficiency' of royal government in legislating for and policing the country formed the nation; Henry II laid the ground work and Henry VIII capitalized on it.<sup>45</sup> So, at the moment when Asquith's government attempted to get the People's Budget through the House of Lords, Pollard accepted that the state could act as a 'weapon of progress.'<sup>46</sup> Morris's later studies of the 'complex problem' posed by the daily function of institutions scrutinized both mediaeval prefigurations of central government and their purpose in the depths of another national crisis: the Second World War.<sup>47</sup> The Anglo-American debate about constitutional history in this way added to a research specialism within England that, combined with the nature of the university system, produced a historical method not opposed to proto-*annalistes'* techniques, nor open to them either.

## 2.2 Society, Economy and the People, 1930-1952

Socio-economic narratives gained full expression in England after 1930, emerging from confinement within institutional histories. Work in that direction multiplied rapidly, gaining

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<sup>44</sup> Charles H. MacIlwain, *The High Court of Parliament and its Supremacy* (New Haven, 1910), viii.

<sup>45</sup> A. F. Pollard, ed, *The British Empire* (London, 1909), 27.

<sup>46</sup> A. F. Pollard, *The History of England: A Study in Political Evolution* (London, 1912), 246.

<sup>47</sup> William A. Morris, *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336* (3 vols; Cambridge [Mass.], 1940), i. v.



its own periodical in 1952 when historians founded *Past and Present*, a journal conceived in ‘the tradition of the late Marc Bloch and his associate, Lucien Febvre.’<sup>48</sup> Yet the activity of socio-economic historians provides an insight into obstructions of the *Annales* tide in this period because it suggests the lingering authority that extant methodological traditions formed before 1929 exerted in determining work in new specialisms; this despite the fact that some historians in England and members of the *Annales* School pursued similar lines of inquiry. Knowledge transfers did occur between *Annales* historians and their colleagues in England, but resistances shaped them.

A shift in focus to the modern period sustained mounting interest in social and economic history in an era of social dissonance provoked by economic depression. That in itself resembled the presentism of *histoire problématique*. And, by the time *The Structure of Politics* gained publication, debates about British constitutional history centred more on the early-modern than the mediaeval period, thanks to the work of the Manchester School and constitutional historians in America. Namier’s use of prosopographical methods further added to the prominence of the modern period as a testing ground for methodological innovation. Moves in England to teach ‘contemporary history’, the study of the post-1870 past, almost forty years after Alfred Rambaud began to teach the history of France after 1789 also whetted appetites for interpretations of recent events.<sup>49</sup> F. J. C. Hearnshaw and Pollard put it on the University of London curriculum by 1949, and already in 1928 students could study aspects of it as part of the Cambridge History Tripos.<sup>50</sup>

Literary histories brought the general public into contact with the new pre-occupation – a ‘second-order elite’ consisting in ‘teachers, clergymen, lawyers, bankers, local

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<sup>48</sup> John Morris and E. J. Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction’, *P&P*, 1 (1952): i-iv, i.

<sup>49</sup> Wolikow, ‘Centenaire dans le Bicentenaire’, 435-36.

<sup>50</sup> Reba Soffer, *History, Historians, and Conservatism in Britain and America: From the Great War to Thatcher and Reagan* (Oxford, 2009), 54.

councilmen, magistrates and other professionals' thus learned about recent events.<sup>51</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, Arthur Bryant and C. V. Wedgwood all wrote with this audience in mind. They came from families of historical importance, authorizing them to act as public figures: Trevelyan was Lord Macaulay's grandson, Bryant's father had been the Prince of Wales's chief clerk and Wedgwood found amongst her ancestry the renowned potter, Josiah Wedgwood, and biologist, Charles Darwin.<sup>52</sup> Their work provided an alternative to scientific histories written by professional historians – one that Braudel later appreciated.<sup>53</sup> It also sought to peel off the legal husk of history in order to penetrate to its social aspects. Trevelyan, introducing *English Social History*, revealed the sensitivity this compelled: 'in political history one King at a time reigns; one Parliament at a time sits. But in social history we find in every period several different kinds of social and economic organization going on simultaneously in the same country, the same shire, the same town.'<sup>54</sup>

Fresh interpretations of political history had already gained academic recognition in the 1920s. Economic historians congregated after 1926 around the Economic History Society and its journal, the *Economic History Review*. Its two co-editors had obtained degrees from leading English universities, R. H. Tawney at Balliol College, Oxford and Ephraim Lipson at the University of Cambridge.<sup>55</sup> But Lipson's success in securing positions at Oxford or Cambridge remained limited, and, until he departed for Boston University in 1932, he financed his own research; Tawney found employment in London.<sup>56</sup> A professor at the Harvard Business School, N. S. B. Gras, Eileen Power (to whose memory Trevelyan devoted

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<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>52</sup> *DNB*.

<sup>53</sup> Braudel met Wedgwood in November 1973 at Brooks's Club, London. Wedgwood afterwards sent him copies of her books, Wedgwood to Braudel, 26 Jan. 1974, Braudel MSS. Braudel expressed his admiration for her 'literary style' in an undated reply to Wedgwood. If Braudel's interest in Wedgwood's prose echoes his generalized interest in that direction, then it may contribute to Hans Kellner's argument that *La Méditerranée* satirized historians' literary habits. See Hans Kellner, 'Disorderly Conduct: Braudel's Mediterranean Satire', *JMH*, 63 (1991): 341-53.

<sup>54</sup> G. M. Trevelyan, *English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries from Chaucer to Queen Victoria* (London, 1941), x.

<sup>55</sup> Ross Terrill, *R. H. Tawney and His Times: Socialism as Fellowship* (London, 1974), 21-28.

<sup>56</sup> David M. Lewis, *The Jews of Oxford* (Oxford, 1992), 61-62.

*English Social History*), Arthur Redford and George Unwin stood beside Tawney, Lipson and others in the enterprise, and Pirenne and Sée appeared amongst a host of international contributors. The L.S.E., where Lilian Knowles held the first post in the subject created in 1904, provided one amongst others of the institutional foci for the new departure.

Other academic organizations also supported the endeavour. The University of Birmingham formed a hub: J. D. Chambers taught there with Herbert Heaton, W. H. B. Court and the ‘doyen of economic historians in the 1920s’, W. J. Ashley, who had contacted Pirenne and Febvre about his idea to found an economic history society in England.<sup>57</sup> The University of Cambridge employed certain historians whose economic history, and activities at the Ministry of Economic Warfare throughout the Second World War, heightened recognition of the emergent discipline. J. H. Clapham introduced Cambridge students to the subject after he left the University of Leeds in 1908, and in 1928 he became the first professor in the subject employed by the University of Cambridge.<sup>58</sup> Munia Postan joined Clapham in 1938, having made his professional reputation at University College London and the L.S.E.

These historians deployed some elements of *annaliste* methodologies. Postan regarded Bloch as a member of the ‘intellectual aristocracy’ of the Third Republic and *Annales* as the new ‘clearing house’ for European economic and social history, replacing the *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*.<sup>59</sup> Young historians such as Eric Hobsbawm learnt about first-generation *Annales* historians’ work through Postan and his wife, Eileen Power, before later going on to found *Past and Present*.<sup>60</sup> Clapham also admired Bloch’s use of comparison in order to achieve synthesis and to ‘illuminate every aspect of the story.’<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Theo Barker, ‘The beginnings of the Economic History Society’, *EcHR*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 30 (1977): 1–19, 5–6.

<sup>58</sup> G. N. Clark, ‘Sir John Harold Clapham, 1873–1946’, *PBA*, 32 (1946): 339–52, 345–46.

<sup>59</sup> Munia Postan, ‘Marc Bloch: An Obituary Note’, *EcHR*, 14 (1944): 161–62, 161, 162.

<sup>60</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Interesting Times: A Twentieth-Century Life* (London, 2002), 282–83.

<sup>61</sup> J. H. Clapham, review of Bloch, *Les Caractères originaux*, *EHR*, 47 (1932): 655–57, 657.

Postan and Clapham's efforts owed a debt, however, to Stubbs's generation. The latter built on the work of Knowles and William Cunningham in *An Economic History of Modern Britain*, and he admitted that their books 'no doubt say many things which I also have said [...] But none of them has the scale or the plan adopted here.'<sup>62</sup> He aimed to provide an exhaustive account of an area of research rather than an inventive method. Clapham accordingly felt that before 1940 economic historians in England had 'never put a backbone into economic history, only turning to it when it seems it could offer an answer where pol[itical] hist[ory] has none.'<sup>63</sup> This, Gras made clear, contrasted with the efforts of 'a younger band coming over the hill' in the late 1940s and early 1950s.<sup>64</sup>

Before that new generation arrived, the L.S.E. functioned as an important location in which to discern instances of imperviousness to *Annales* historians' methodologies because of the work on economic history that Tawney and Power conducted there in which Bloch participated. Political affinities united the three scholars: of all three it could be said that they stood on 'the Left without being a doctrinaire Marxist.'<sup>65</sup> Tawney taught future Labour politicians such as Evan Durbin and Hugh Gaitskell, and Power socialized with labourite and liberal colleagues Harold Laski, Bronislaw Malinowski and Charles Webster. They all harboured contempt for appeasement and the Third Reich in the 1930s, and, after 1945, surviving members of the circle pressed for the state to guarantee social justice and the democratic distribution of resources.<sup>66</sup> A shared radical political commitment thus directed their interest to socio-economic history.

Power, Tawney and Bloch's collaboration operated on an intellectual and professional level.<sup>67</sup> Bloch admired English economic and social history, especially Ada Elizabeth Levett's

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<sup>62</sup> J. H. Clapham, *An Economic History of Modern Britain* (3 vols; Cambridge, 1926), i. 1.

<sup>63</sup> N. S. B. Gras, draft speech, 'After Twenty-five years', 1940, Economic History Society MSS 0/1.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> David Thomson, review of Bloch, *L'Étrange défaite*, *IA*, 23 (1947): 412-14, 413.

<sup>66</sup> Terrill, *R. H. Tawney*, 62-63, 113, 244-45.

<sup>67</sup> Maxine Berg, *A Woman in History: Eileen Power, 1889-1940* (Cambridge, 1996), 208-17.

work on the English manorial system.<sup>68</sup> He claimed that he had discovered agrarian history during his student days from Frederic Seebohm, whose *The English Village Community* he read in the *Sorbonne* library, and admired Maitland, ‘the greatest of all historians of law because he was the more attentive to life.’<sup>69</sup> Bloch also contributed articles that ‘charmed and enlightened so many readers’ to the *Cambridge Economic History*, which Power edited with Clapham.<sup>70</sup> Tawney in turn had sent his ‘warmest congratulations’ to Bloch in 1929 upon reading the first issue of *Annales*, which he felt would be ‘most valuable.’<sup>71</sup> And Bloch saw similarities between his own, Tawney and Power’s work. During his trip to London in 1934, Bloch attended a conference at the L.S.E. on mediaeval and modern economic history where he spoke of his and Febvre’s hope to procure for *Annales* ‘the help of our British fellowworkers [*sic.*]’; according to Carol Fink, he also lamented French universities’ poverty in comparison with ‘the charms and comfort of English university life’ during that trip.<sup>72</sup>

Interest in comparative methodology strengthened the connection between Bloch, Tawney, Power and others. Power and Tawney believed in the necessity of, in Power’s lexicon, ‘analytical history’, that did not restrict itself to formal analysis of an event abstracted from its context, and aimed at ‘histoire intégrale’, taking in ‘the economic foundation’, ‘political superstructure’ and the ‘dynamic of ideas.’<sup>73</sup> They hoped not to compromise the ‘charm’ of history that Trevelyan had cultivated, but, on the other hand, they wanted to avoid rigid inductive theorization, what Power termed ‘Kantian’ or ‘Hegelian twaddle’ in relation to Max Weber and Werner Sombart’s work.<sup>74</sup> Tawney and Power thereby sought to recover English economic history from the grip of historians working in Germany such as Lujo

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>69</sup> Marc Bloch, untitled notes for a speech in London, n.d. 1934?, Bloch MSS AB/XIX/3834/III<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Tawney to Clapham, n.d. 1940?, Tawney MSS 25/1.

<sup>71</sup> Tawney to Bloch, 13 Feb. 1929, Bloch MSS AB/XIX/3844.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*; Carol Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life in History* (Cambridge, 1989), 179.

<sup>73</sup> Postan to C. K. Webster, 10 Oct. 1940, Webster MSS 22/43; R. H. Tawney, ‘The Study of Economic History’, *E*, 39 (1933): 1-21, 18, 20.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 15; Eileen Power, ‘On Medieval History as a Social Study’, *E*, 1 (1934): 13-29, 15.

Brentano, Georg von Schanz and Friedrich Held as well as Weber and Sombart.<sup>75</sup> This had a political dimension because Tawney and Power were, like local historian W. G. Hoskins, ‘profoundly on the side of the small man’ against an over-mighty state; they felt that historians in Germany over-estimated the importance of state economic policy to the exclusion of the view from below of the people.<sup>76</sup> This transnational dimension of the debate also meant that Bloch and Pirenne’s comparative economic method was not new to historians employed by England’s universities. Work on economic history by Karl Knies, Wilhelm Roscher, Gustav Schmoller and Friedrich Tenbruck had already proposed in the 1890s that comparative ‘procedures’ were capable of organizing ‘the formless mass of data’ that ‘did not permit an ordering by the traditional methods because what was at issue was a concern with overall conditions.’<sup>77</sup> This idea of comparison aimed to secure exhaustive statistical pictures of topics of study. Alfred Marshall and J. M. Keynes in collaboration with Henry Sidgwick first attempted it. They believed that ‘the collection of complete statistics by expert workers’ as part of the radical project operated by members of the Grote club at the University of Cambridge could harness scientific analysis to direct social-improvement projects to those most in need.<sup>78</sup>

Bloch, Power and Tawney wanted economic history to be scientific without depending exclusively on German historical methods. They all used the scientific vocabulary of ‘variables’, ‘factors’ and ‘hypotheses’ in terms of which Thomas Ashton taught students as Power’s successor.<sup>79</sup> Power and Tawney also added that historians could learn from sociologists without using a sociological method. By that, they like *Annales* historians meant

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<sup>75</sup> Tawney, ‘The Study of Economic History’, 7.

<sup>76</sup> Hoskins to Tawney, 7 May 1957, Tawney MSS Vyvyan/14; Tawney, ‘The Study of Economic History’, 8; Power, ‘On Medieval History’, 18-19.

<sup>77</sup> Friedrich Tenbruck, ‘Max Weber and Eduard Meyer’, in Theodor Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammel, eds, *Max Weber and His Contemporaries* (London, 1987), 236.

<sup>78</sup> Frederick Haverfield, ‘Theodor Mommsen’, *EHR*, 19 (1904): 80-89, 89; Reba Soffer, *Ethics and Society in England: The Revolution in the Social Sciences 1870-1914* (Berkeley, 1978), 85-88.

<sup>79</sup> ‘The vital statistics of the eighteenth century have yet to be assembled and sifted’ explained T. S. Ashton in *Economic Fluctuations in England 1700-1800* (Oxford, 1959), 1-26.

to imply that historians could refine their research technique by attempting to understand the theoretical interpretations of socio-economic problems that sociology offered.<sup>80</sup> Power delivered the view in her Ford Lectures, affirming the need ‘to investigate the picture in detail, seeking not to establish an ideal type, but to seize something of the infinite variety of the reality.’ That meant that because it operated in international markets, the mediaeval wool trade required comparative investigation. Unlike Tout’s researches, this actually confirmed that Stubbs had been right to connect England’s constitutional development to the genesis of the wool trade even though the late Bishop of Oxford misunderstood how an emergent middle class had fuelled it – and caused the fourteenth-century financial crisis – through ‘speculation.’<sup>81</sup>

Power and Tawney’s reception of Bloch’s work does not mask accompanying failures to realize its part in a wider *Annales* programme. ‘Pirenne and Bloch and their books (as well as their conversation) played a very important part in [...] the Ford lectures’, however, ‘in a different way, and even more profoundly, was [Power] affected by Tawney. She very much admired his philosophical habit and was much influenced by it.’<sup>82</sup> Tawney’s ‘philosophical habit’ was produced by Idealism that he absorbed as a student: the broad-church conviction of an Old Rugbeian combined with Anglican notions of self-improvement propounded by his friend William Temple, later Archbishop of Canterbury, and Benjamin Jowett and T. H. Green’s philosophical Idealism.<sup>83</sup> Tawney was part of A. L. Smith’s Edwardian generation that regarded continental Marxism with suspicion, and, although he visited China as Power had too, Tawney observed the Maoism as well as Soviet Communism with scepticism.<sup>84</sup> Like Smith, Tawney did much for the Workers’ Educational Association not because he was a

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<sup>80</sup> Tawney, ‘The Study of Economic History’, 19; Power, ‘On Medieval History’, 13-14.

<sup>81</sup> Eileen Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (Oxford, 1941), 1, 8, 18, 123.

<sup>82</sup> Postan to Webster, 10 Oct. 1940, Webster MSS 22/43.

<sup>83</sup> Terrill, *R. H. Tawney*, 22, 58-59, 200, 122.

<sup>84</sup> R. H. Tawney, *Land and Labour in China* (London, 1932); Berg, *Eileen Power*, 99-107.

militant socialist, but because he, like the founders of the L.S.E. Beatrice and Sidney Webb, followed Fabianism.

Doubts about *Annales* historians' techniques arose from this philosophical habit. Tawney's political radicalism led him to see French economic history as a product of the professional study of the French Revolution, as part of which socialist politician and historian Jean Jaurès had founded the *Commission de recherche et de publication des documents relatifs à la vie économique pendant la Révolution française* in 1903. Tawney and Jaurès accepted that 'economic policy does not develop *in vacuo*', and abstracted economic facts failed to interest either man because they 'become a dynamic only when passed through human minds and emotions.' To study the economic dimensions of the French Revolution, therefore, one must investigate 'the unrivalled energy and charm of French thought.'<sup>85</sup> But this did not lead Tawney to take an interest in *Annales* historians' work on collective representations. Nor did Tawney accept that he worked like a sociologist owing to his rejection of this part of sociological theory.<sup>86</sup> He instead pursued a narrower version of economic history. His contribution to the 'gentry debate', for example, analyzed seventeenth-century society as the rise of a gentry class, wealthy from their purchase in the previous century of church lands and their entrepreneurship, able to challenge an aristocracy drained of resources and energy.<sup>87</sup> Capitalism had, accordingly been born at the moment when the church proved powerless to guide society.

Tawney's Christian morality constrained his openness to the *Annales* School's rationalism. The 'aura of sanctity' colleagues detected around him arose from his public professions that Christian commitment consisted in faith both in God and (as a result) in

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<sup>85</sup> R. H. Tawney, untitled lecture notes on French economic history, n.d. 1930s?, Tawney MSS 1/21; R. H. Tawney, 'Six Lectures on Agriculture', 28, n.d. 1940s?, Tawney MSS 12/6.

<sup>86</sup> Peter Linges to Tawney, 23 Mar. 1945, Tawney MSS 24/2.

<sup>87</sup> R. H. Tawney, 'The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640', *EcHR*, 11 (1941): 1-38.



human equality.<sup>88</sup> For him method, as it had for Power, came from ‘conscientiousness’ in the service of truth mediated by Christianity. Examples of his moralizing creed abound: Tawney, for example, denounced ‘obsession with economic issues’ as being ‘as local and transitory as it is repulsive and disturbing.’<sup>89</sup> An emergent consumer society constituted his target. He criticized not capitalists and capitalisms in general, but ‘Englishmen in their power of sustained practical activity, and their characteristic vice: a reluctance to test the quality of that activity by reference to principles.’<sup>90</sup> Tawney thus participated in an English liberal tradition of historiography that did not seek to make global claims about economic history in the *annalistes*’ sense of *histoire totale*.

Neither Power nor Tawney interacted with the *Annales* School in its wider sense either. In Power’s case, the trail ended with her untimely death in 1940. Tawney’s career, by contrast, yields clues. In the 1950s both the director of the Institute of Historical Research, Goronwy Edwards, and Marjorie Plant wrote to Tawney proposing that Braudel be elected a corresponding member.<sup>91</sup> But Tawney was unsure who exactly Braudel was, and, in a memo attached to the letters, scribbled, ‘Who is Braudel??’<sup>92</sup> Tawney’s confusion in that respect matched Arnaldo Momigliano’s surprise when Noel Annan asked him whether or not the University of London ought to award the historian of the *longue durée* an honorary degree: ‘the secrecy of academic affairs is real: a week ago Lord Annan asked me whether Braudel would be the suitable man for a London degree.’<sup>93</sup> The situation arose because Tawney retained into the 1950s close links with a circle of economic historians in France whom he had met through Paul Mantoux, a man whose method trod a course analogous to that of Henri

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<sup>88</sup> An unnamed colleague’s observation, see Adam Sisman, *Hugh Trevor-Roper: The Biography* (London, 2010), 73; J. M. Winter and D. M. Joslin, eds, *R. H. Tawney’s Commonplace Book, ECHR*, Supplement 5 (1972): 54.

<sup>89</sup> R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society* (London, 1937; originally published in 1921), 241.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>91</sup> J. G. Edwards to Tawney, 16 Jan. 1954; Marjorie Plant to Tawney, 4 Feb. 1954, Tawney MSS Vyvyan/14.

<sup>92</sup> Tawney MSS Vyvyan/15.

<sup>93</sup> Momigliano to Isaiah Berlin, 5 Feb. 1970, Berlin MSS 185/126.

Sée – an economic historian peripheral to proto-*annaliste* and *annaliste* circles.<sup>94</sup> Mantoux's doctoral dissertation, which examined the Industrial Revolution in England, had caught Tawney's attention.<sup>95</sup> Tawney continued to read Mantoux's books, as well as those of Élie Halévy.<sup>96</sup> And this prompts few surprises because Halévy studied subjects close to Tawney's: the popular Christian content of England's past, paying particular attention to the role of Methodist self-improvement and the genesis of an entrepreneurial middle class.<sup>97</sup>

### 2.3 Ideology and Method, 1953-1970

Efforts to improve the social and economic interpretation of political history continued from the founding of *Past and Present* until 1970 amid hardening ideological attitudes. 'Circa 1950' moreover, 'things were no longer quite as they had been' precisely because administrative and economic history now rivalled the place of constitutional history.<sup>98</sup> The recent past still occupied a growing proportion of the history curriculum, even at Oxford and Cambridge. Debate in Senate meetings at the latter in 1966, for example, centred on E. H. Carr, George Kitson Clark and Joseph Needham's proposals that historians ought to devote more time to teaching the modern period.<sup>99</sup> The editorial board of *Past and Present* also taught or had been educated at these universities: Geoffrey Barraclough, R. R. Bretts, V. G. Childe, M. H. Dobb, J. E. C. Hill, R. H. Hilton, A. H. M. Jones, Hobsbawm, Morris and D. B. Quinn. The connection through them to *Annales*, and changing curricula at leading universities, suggests that by 1953 the *Annales* tide had gained recognition. A significant increase in reviews of *Annales* work highlighted the growth in receptions: 30 evaluations, two

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<sup>94</sup> On Sée, see Chapter 1, §1.1 and Chapter 3, §3.2.

<sup>95</sup> Paul Mantoux, *La Révolution industrielle au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1905).

<sup>96</sup> Tawney to J. G. Edwards, 12 Jun. 1957, Tawney MSS Vyvyan/14.

<sup>97</sup> Élie Halévy, *History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*, translated by Edward Ingram Watkin and Dalgairns Arundel Barker (5 vols; London, 1924-34; originally published in French between 1912 and 1932), iii. 130-82.

<sup>98</sup> David Knowles, 'Some Trends in Scholarship in the Field of Mediaeval History', *TRHS*, 5<sup>th</sup> series, 19 (1969): 139-57, 149, 146.

<sup>99</sup> Jonathan Haslam, *The Vices of Integrity: E. H. Carr 1892-1982* (London, 1999), 209-10.

or more sides in length, appeared in the *English Historical Review* between 1953 and 1970 compared with fewer than ten between 1900 and 1929.

A time-lag inhered in this reception inasmuch as critical reviews focused on first not second-generation *Annales* historians' work, and with acts of reception came hints of scepticism. Perceptions of *annalistes'* ability to portray the diversity of human experience using a variety of 'empirical' methods attracted the attention of leading Oxford historians, who detected shared intent.<sup>100</sup> Members of the history department at the University of Lancaster saluted *Annales* historians' social histories as one of the many 'new kinds of history at levels beneath the reach of traditional historians', whose 'irrational fear of sociology' had apparently prevented them from straying far outside the realm of political facts.<sup>101</sup> But frustration also became obvious. Alun Davies, by his own proclamation Bloch's last student, regarded the Braudelian idea of *conjoncture* as an 'obsession' for social historians who often failed to provide a clear definition of its meaning. As so often occurred, the author offered no names or examples substantiating his point, leaving an impression that only the books under review merited the contention.<sup>102</sup> Criticism also singled out *annalistes'* attribution of economic developments to the cyclical life of systems. The vocabulary of phases prompted concern because critics believed it to imply that a static cache of variables determined events.<sup>103</sup> This did not resonate with notions of historical realism in England, which associated supra-individual causality and patterns with biological science.

A special issue of the *Times Literary Supplement*, 'New Ways in History', offered further evidence of resistances-within-receptions in 1966. Ideas that the *Annales* School exhibited detachment, or 'insularity', from the work of 'outsider' historians provoked

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<sup>100</sup> F. M. Powicke, review of Bloch, *La société féodale*, *EHR*, 55 (1940): 449-451; Michael Wallace-Hadrill, review of Bloch, *Feudal Society*, *EHR*, 78 (1963): 116-121, 117.

<sup>101</sup> Harold Perkins, review of Labrousse, ed, *L'Histoire Sociale*, *EHR*, 85 (1970): 216; Harold Perkins, review of Bergeron, *Niveaux de culture et groupes sociaux*, *EHR*, 85 (1970): 594-597, 594.

<sup>102</sup> Alun Davies, review of Gouhier, *Port en Bessin*, *EHR*, 79 (1964): 414; Alun Davies, review of Caillard, *A Travers la Normandie*, *EHR*, 81 (1966): 836.

<sup>103</sup> Helmut Georg Koenigsberger, review of Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, *EHR*, 76 (1961): 675-81, 678; Rodney Hilton, review of Ladurie, *Les Paysans de Languedoc*, *EHR*, 82 (1967): 791-95, 792.

concern: historians in England both thought that their *Annales* colleagues simply ignored other scholars' work and that their books contained such 'quirks of [literary] style' as to be unintelligible to the 'uninitiated' – again, examples of the supposed shortcoming did not abound.<sup>104</sup> Richard Cobb even classified the School as a 'cult', which was both 'over-exclusive and almost hysterically sensitive to any form of criticism from outside.'<sup>105</sup> Closer inspections of *Annales* historians' methodologies produced more nuanced conclusions than general assessments concerned to decry 'tribalism.' Historians construed members' of the *Annales* School calls for total history to mean the 'piecing together of [the] multifarious activities and attitudes' of past societies.' They rejected the aim because it sounded too ambitious to achieve alongside the teaching demands and incipient pressure to publish regularly.<sup>106</sup> But with dismissal came delineation of other methodological sensibilities; historians evoked their idea of the requisite qualities practitioners must have in order to undertake historical research: 'sense of the past, sense of the ridiculous and just plain common sense'; 'there is no need to be nervous of numbers, of sociology of economics of machines or of anything else.'<sup>107</sup> It thus became clear that intuition and eclecticism prevailed, and the sentiment that historians could now experiment with other subjects' techniques yet still practice history.

Sociology and machines featured in that list because these reservations also directed themselves at American cliometrics which critics lumped together with *Annales* methods. Cliometricians used quantification to assess features of past human behaviour revealed by

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<sup>104</sup> David Thomson, review of Duby and Mandrou, *Introduction à la France moderne*, *TLS*, 7 Apr. 1966: 291; David Thomson, 'The French Way of Research', review of Comité français des sciences historiques, *Vingt-cinq ans de recherche historique*, *TLS*, 8 Sep. 1966: 811; J. S. Bromley, review of Poitrineau, *La Vie rurale en Basse-Auvergne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1726-1780)*, *EHR*, 84 (1969): 804. Evans reiterated this argument in Richard J. Evans, 'Cite Ourselves!', review of Burgière, *The Annales School*, *LRB*, 31 (2009): 12-14.

<sup>105</sup> Richard Cobb, 'Annalists' Revolution', *TLS*, 8 Sep. 1966: 819.

<sup>106</sup> Louis Bergeron, 'The Pattern of Ideas', *TLS*, 8 Sep. 1966: 805.

<sup>107</sup> Thomson, 'The French Way', 811.

models constructed by sociologists, demographers and anthropologists.<sup>108</sup> Americans such as Robert Fogel and Stanley Engermann acted thus in the 1950s and 1960s in order to study the nature and organization of slavery in the United States.<sup>109</sup> But Gilbert Shapiro's less famous project at the University of Washington statistically to analyze six hundred *cahiers de doléances* with the help of forty sociologists formed the target in the *Times Literary Supplement* special edition.<sup>110</sup> Cobb captured Oxbridge moods about the undertaking when he referred to it as time-consuming history that would not 'further historical knowledge.'<sup>111</sup> Postan and his students, unlike Joan Thirsk at Oxford, also shied away from quantitative history because it appeared to them to underpin efforts to formulate timeless theories.<sup>112</sup> Historians' doubts about methodologies associated with the *Annales* School in this instance arose from an elision between American and French dimensions of 'new history' debates.

The combative stance assumed by scholars associated with the University of Cambridge compounded the contradictory transnational pressures pushing historians to swim against an *Annales* tide. Debates about the relevance of impersonal factors to historical causality had already erupted between a Cambridge graduate, E. H. Carr, whose much-read *What is History?* popularized methodological reflection, and Isaiah Berlin.<sup>113</sup> The argument resembled the criticisms reviewers had levelled against Chaunu and Ladurie's work on economic cycles: Berlin, contradicting Carr, maintained that human accident must feature in causal analysis and that, as a result, method should not aim to uncover progenitors

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<sup>108</sup> Robert W. Fogel and Geoffrey Elton, *Which Road to the Past? Two Views of History* (New Haven, 1983), 24; Fritz Redlich, 'New' and 'Traditional' Approaches to Economic History and Their Interdependence', *JEH*, 25 (1965): 480-95, 481.

<sup>109</sup> Robert W. Fogel, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (London, 1974).

<sup>110</sup> The resultant book: Gilbert Shapiro, Timothy Tackett, Philip Dawson and John Markoff, eds, *Revolutionary Demands: A Content Analysis of the Cahiers de Doléances of 1789* (Stanford, 1998).

<sup>111</sup> Cobb, 'Letters to the Editor', 82.

<sup>112</sup> Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past*, 132-33.

<sup>113</sup> Isaiah Berlin, 'The New Scepticism', *TLS*, 9 Jun. 1950; E. H. Carr, 'Progress in History', *TLS*, 18 Jul. 1952; Isaiah Berlin, *Auguste Comte Memorial Lecture no. 1: Historical Inevitability* (London, 1954); E. H. Carr, 'History and Morals', *TLS*, 17 Dec. 1954. On the private debate, see Haslam, *Vices of Integrity*, 198-204; E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (London, 1990; originally published in 1961), 151.

determining all events.<sup>114</sup> But Carr had paid little attention to *annalistes* unlike one of Chaunu and Ladurie's critics, Hilton, who followed *Annales* with fellow-mediaevalist Peter Sawyer at the University of Birmingham, to which they invited Duby to lecture.<sup>115</sup> Carr knew about Lévi-Strauss's work on structural anthropology. He had read enough to think of it as 'conservative in the sense that it examines a static condition' thus contributing to the conservatism of social sciences, which, Carr thought, legitimized existing social inequalities through their scientific explanation rather than challenging injustice.<sup>116</sup> And when he responded to the work of his admirer Quentin Skinner, Carr admitted that he could not comment on Skinner's argument that Braudel's idea of total history was 'the most discredited form of inductivism in smart sociological disguise' because he knew nothing about it or the *Annales* School.<sup>117</sup>

Skinner's reservations about Braudel's 'inductivism' gained expression in his own project to use philosophy of language in order to alter the history of political ideas. Skinner identified empiricism as a methodological hallmark of historians in England, who 'have sometimes gloried in presenting themselves as straightforward empiricists for whom the proper task [...] is simply to uncover the facts about the past and recount them as objectively as possible.'<sup>118</sup> Indeed, the Cambridge historian whom Skinner had in mind, Geoffrey Elton, confronted *Annales* for exactly those reasons. Elton, who 'despised nearly all branches of history that were not concerned with the politics of power in past societies', did not accept that *annaliste* methods provided any useful function to working historians.<sup>119</sup> His dismay surfaced in an examination of Ladurie's 'breezy treatment of epidemics': Elton perceived in it

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<sup>114</sup> Isaiah Berlin, 'Mr Carr's Big Battalions', *New Statesman*, 5 Jan. 1962.

<sup>115</sup> Professor John Rogister, electronic correspondence with the author, 15 Oct. 2010.

<sup>116</sup> Carr to Gareth Stedman-Jones, 18 Jun. 1968, as cited in Haslam, *Vices of Integrity*, 212.

<sup>117</sup> Carr to Skinner, 22 May 1974, as cited in *ibid.*, 215; Quentin Skinner, 'The Role of History', *CR*, 15 Mar. 1974: 102-103. Haslam suggests that Carr remained unfamiliar with *Annales* because his history of Russia consumed all his time and energy. Professor Jonathon Haslam, electronic correspondence with the author, 1 Sep. 2010. Carr's friend, Perry Anderson, neither contradicts nor suggests an alternative to this view. Professor emeritus Perry Anderson, epistolary correspondence with the author, 24 Jan. 2011.

<sup>118</sup> Quentin Skinner, 'Sir Geoffrey Elton and the Practice of History', *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> series, 7 (1997): 301-16, 301.

<sup>119</sup> Annan, *Dons*, 94.

a ‘playful but habitual evasion of the duty to explain’ and ‘the pompous elaboration of the obvious in geography.’<sup>120</sup> His critique thus defended the autonomy of historians’ methods when confronted with alternatives from France. Elton also shared Hilton and others’ dismay at the assumptions of stasis they thought remained implicit in quantitative methodologies, which he saw as history *per enumerationem simplicem* without interpretation.<sup>121</sup>

Ideology animated Elton’s contestation of *annaliste* methodologies. He was a conservative who had little patience with the student movement of 1968 and supported Margaret Thatcher’s governments after 1979.<sup>122</sup> He could not accept Skinner’s suggestion that history should provide the data social scientists evaluated.<sup>123</sup> Like Peterhouse fellow, Maurice Cowling, Elton found in Braudel’s histories ‘the reductionist belief that sociological, demographic or geographical history is the *ne plus ultra* of historical thinking.’ Cowling, who liked privately to announce that ‘*Annales* is balls!’, and Elton both agreed that ‘it is not from these old bones that living history will arise in the coming decades.’<sup>124</sup> Their defiance did not form an *ad hominem* attack: they admired Braudel’s education and knowledge and, like a conservative historian at the University of St Andrews, Norman Gash, appreciated Braudel’s books ‘for their own sake.’<sup>125</sup> But that was no compliment either.

Cowling’s perception of Braudel responded not to *Annales* but to a letter from fellow of Christ’s College, J. H. Plumb, in which Plumb had suggested that Braudel deserved a Nobel Prize for his historical research.<sup>126</sup> Plumb himself, shortly before his retirement from Cambridge in 1974, had also written of his admiration for *Annales* historians, though not in triumphal tones: he admired Bloch, Febvre and Lefebvre’s work because he thought it ‘open

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<sup>120</sup> Elton, ‘Historians Against History’, 205.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.* 204.

<sup>122</sup> Haslam, *Vices of Integrity*, 208.

<sup>123</sup> Skinner, ‘The Role of History’, 103.

<sup>124</sup> I owe this information to Professor Michael Bentley who knew Cowling well; Maurice Cowling, ‘A View of History’, *TT*, 14 Jan. 1983.

<sup>125</sup> Gash used this phrase in a letter to Braudel expressing gratitude for his copy of *La Méditerranée*, sent after they met in St Andrews during the summer of 1977. Gash to Braudel, 24 Aug. 1977, Braudel MSS.

<sup>126</sup> J. H. Plumb, review of Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce*, *TT*, 6 Jan. 1983.

to new scholarly disciplines' and because its interdisciplinarity assisted discovery of 'new frontiers' in historical territory. But he saw Braudel's work as a high-water mark of the School's achievements because, for all the erudition of *La Méditerranée*, Plumb insisted that history, 'is and must be narrative' of 'events in politics, in social and economic development which have made our world what it is'; 'explanation which links with our own time.'<sup>127</sup>

As this Cowling-Plumb difference of opinion suggests, Carr, Cowling, Elton, Hilton, Plumb and Skinner's circumspection of *Annales* after 1970 had internal connections, rather than relating directly to *Annales* itself, that grew up between 1952 and 1970. Both Cowling and Elton wrote political histories. Cowling's sought to show the 'unacceptable' assumptions requiring 'destruction' on which rested the work both of political scientists and the father of English liberal thought, John Stuart Mill.<sup>128</sup> The Peterhouse tutor used that as the foundation for a trilogy of political histories that rendered politics as the contingent product of interactions within a ruling élite, a collection of personalities acting within institutional and social systems.<sup>129</sup> Elton developed throughout the 1950s and 1960s an interpretation of the English Reformation as a necessary evil fostered mainly by Thomas Cromwell.<sup>130</sup> They both opposed their political approach to Marxist historians' investigation of sub-structural material factors in order to explain the past. Maurice Dobb, Hobsbawm, E. P. Thompson as well as Hilton and other Cambridge graduates were on their radar, so the construction of a detailed interpretation of leading élites' actions as decisive in past events not only made for political

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<sup>127</sup> J. H. Plumb, review of Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, *NYT*, 31 Dec. 1972. Plumb's nuanced view contrasted with the prevailing tone of critical reviews, which, in various ways, hailed Braudel's work as a 'masterpiece', see Marino, 'The Exile', 623.

<sup>128</sup> Maurice Cowling, *The Nature and Limits of Political Science* (Cambridge, 1963), *Mill and Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1963), 97-105, 161.

<sup>129</sup> Maurice Cowling, *1867: Disraeli, Gladstone and Revolution* (Cambridge, 1967), *The Impact of Labour, 1920-1924: The Beginnings of Modern British Politics* (Cambridge, 1971) and *The Impact of Hitler: British Politics and British Policy, 1933-1940* (Cambridge, 1975).

<sup>130</sup> Geoffrey Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (Cambridge, 1953), *England under the Tudors* (London, 1955) and *Policy and Police* (Cambridge, 1972).



history but a political statement.<sup>131</sup> Hilton, by contrast, ridiculed it as the ‘meanwhile-at-the-Winter-Palace version of history.’<sup>132</sup> Context, 1950s and 1960s confrontations of East and West over Suez, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Cuba, added to the perceived urgency of ideology. Marxist historians’ interest in *Annales* approaches also in part explains why conservative historians in England tended sometimes to equate *Annales* and Marxist approaches to the past when in fact the two remained distinct.

Right-wing Cambridge historians also opposed liberal colleagues such as Carr, Plumb and Skinner. Carr’s history of Soviet Russia and publicly pro-Soviet sentiment made his political and historical interests unattractive to conservatives.<sup>133</sup> Plumb’s oeuvre also mixed social, cultural and political history in way that under-emphasized politics and politicians from Cowling and Elton’s high-politics perspective. Yet Plumb’s social history did not follow the class analysis of Thompson’s *Making of the English Working Class*. It contributed to a ‘liberal descent’ by taking up Trevelyan’s history-without-the-politics social history, and, like Carr, Plumb affirmed the essential progress of freedom and political liberty revealed by histories of society.<sup>134</sup> Skinner’s position differed. He, like Plumb tutored at Christ’s College. But inasmuch as his work on political ideas sought to develop a sophisticated theoretical understanding of the nature and implication of discourse rather than Cowling’s scrutiny of agency he did not study political history *tout court*.<sup>135</sup> Although Skinner did not adopt Plumb’s whiggish insistence on progress and rejected Braudel’s total history, he did use the social sciences in tandem with philosophy to deepen the reach of historical methods. He did not, however, play a part in Peter Laslett and Edward Wrigley’s Cambridge-based Group for

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<sup>131</sup> Maurice Dobb, *Political Economy and Capitalism: Essays in Economic Tradition* (London, 1937); Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution in Europe 1789-1848* (London, 1962); E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963); Rodney Hilton, *Social Structure in Rural Warwickshire in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1950).

<sup>132</sup> Hilton’s remarks came at a Royal Historical Society dinner, Professor John Rogister, electronic correspondence with the author, 15 Oct. 2010.

<sup>133</sup> Haslam, *Vices of Integrity*, 208, 203.

<sup>134</sup> John Burrow, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past* (Cambridge, 1981), 1-7.

<sup>135</sup> Cowling, *Impact of Labour*, 1-12.

the Study of Population and Social Structure that sought to use in the history of population statistical techniques originating from sociology and anthropology.<sup>136</sup>

Cambridge historians' criticisms of *Annales* methodologies disclosed a feature of their fortunes in England between 1900 and 1970. The techniques employed by certain proto-*annalistes* and *annaliste* historians entered transnational debates within English historiography, but resistances often unfolded during disagreements with another, often indigenous, flavour. That taste related to the 'canon' of English history with its institutional-political and Christian commitments as well as its practitioners' liberal sensitivity to a changing but present need to include the lower-orders in their stories.<sup>137</sup> Truth-claims about the English past – and implicitly the past in general – hinged on the development of this canon. English historiography's predispositions also resonated throughout the Manchester School's failure to receive *Annales*, Tawney's limited acknowledgement of Bloch's part in the *Annales* School's programmatic achievements and historians' seeming similarity of purpose with proto-*annalistes* and *annalistes* often became complicated by questions surrounding the history of England, of Anglican morality or British conservatism. Just as challenges did not always focus directly on *Annales* historians' methodologies themselves, opposition did not always arise on technical grounds. Davis's contempt for what he perceived to be Berr's metaphysical project, Elton's scorn for the stasis of quantitative history and Plumb's doubts about what he called the 'neo-positivism' of Braudel's books could not mask growing acceptance of 'new ways' in English history. But debates in England's universities suppressed widespread recognition of similarity. It would not be possible to understand Tawney's lack of interest in *Annales* without citing the Anglicanism he acquired at school or the Idealism he gleaned from Oxford more generally. But, at the same time, his innovations undertaken at the L.S.E. in its place as a new institution seeking to make its scientific reputation by using the

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<sup>136</sup> D. R. Woolf, 'The Writing of Early Modern Intellectual History, 1945-1995', in Michael Bentley, ed, *Companion to Historiography* (London, 1997), 315.

<sup>137</sup> Bentley, *Modernizing England's Past*, 96.

inventive methods of socio-economic history to improve understandings of England's past owed a partial debt to *annalistes*. Receptions *and* resistances to *Annales* historians' methodologies in this sense unfolded in a complex fashion in England, neither wholly determined by nor completely insensitive to techniques formulated by historians in France, never completely closed to their message nor entirely open to it either.

### 3. Resistances to *Annales* Methodologies in France, 1900-1970

Analysis of misreceptions accorded to *Annales* methodologies in France differs inasmuch as *Annales* exists not as a transnational but national phenomenon. The chapter deals, therefore, with a subject dissimilar from the others because it analyzes obstructions within a university system in which *Annales* historians themselves operated. This does not render its findings incomparable to those of the other national chapters. But it does indicate *a priori* that *Annales* and the riptides it encountered may be in direct relation, unlike some of those identified elsewhere.

#### 3.1 The Modernizing of Historical Inquiry, 1900-1929

Several modernizing tendencies existed in France before 1929. The *méthodique* historians created one and Bergsonian philosophers another. Members of the *Société des professeurs d'histoire et géographie* exhibited a third. Many historians' activities contributed to the discourses issuing from one or more of these groups in the period until Bloch and Febvre founded their journal in 1929. And, whilst they are not the only three assemblages, *méthodiques*, Bergsonian philosophers and members of the *Société* shared proto-*annalistes*' concern to improve historical methodologies. Their approaches, however, often competed with proto-*annaliste* historians' techniques.

*Méthodique* doubts arose from allegations about the practicalities confronting working historians. Seignobos's arguments against Simiand's understanding of methodology demonstrate the content of reservations. The reality that historians did not have available all the facts relating to their chosen research topic, according to Seignobos, rendered Simiand's ideas inapplicable to historical research. Simiand's proposal that historians could establish causes of past events through the exhaustive analysis of all their economic, psychological and

other factors accordingly failed to convince Seignobos.<sup>1</sup> He and Langlois instead insisted that ‘the practical means of knowledge which begins with imperfect real materials’ provided only fragmentary traces of the past.<sup>2</sup> ‘Practical means’ meant documents: ‘history is nothing other than the *mise en oeuvre* of documents. As a result, the subjects covered by written history depend on a series of fortuitous accidents that determined whether or not records survived or perished.’<sup>3</sup> Historians, they added, executed ‘the science of facts relating to living men in *society* during the succession of past times.’<sup>4</sup>

Three types of hermeneutic analysis substantiated a methodology apposite to this situation. First, external evaluation of all sources: assessment of their composition and provenance; classification into types by genre or subject; and establishment of the factual data they contained.<sup>5</sup> Then internal criticism: an assessment of how one document corroborated another’s content; listing what the author did not reveal about the events of which (s)he wrote; and compilation of individual facts such as dates and names.<sup>6</sup> Facts then required organization into chronologies that could be narrated for the reader.<sup>7</sup> The last two procedures were synthetic operations because they colligated the previous stages’ results.

*Méthodiques* insisted on the rationality and, therefore, Frenchness of this approach.<sup>8</sup> An educational concern loomed because politicians and historians wanted sciences such as they assumed history was one to lead a rehabilitation of ‘French knowledge’ after defeat by Prussia in 1870, which spiritual fragility had supposedly caused.<sup>9</sup> That context also stimulated attempts to restore the autonomy of French university education, which had been designed to

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Seignobos, ‘L’inconnu et l’inconscient en histoire’, *BSfP*, 8 (1908): 217-247, 219.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Seignobos, ‘Les conditions pratiques de la recherche des causes dans le travail historique’, *BSfP*, 7 (1907): 261-99, 263.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Seignobos and Charles-Victor Langlois, *Introduction aux études historiques* (Paris, 1898), 253.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Fawtier, ed, ‘La dernière lettre de Charles Seignobos à Ferdinand Lot’, *RH*, 210 (1953): 1-12, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques*, 71-122.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 123-74.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 191-206.

<sup>8</sup> Numa Denys Fustel de Coulanges, ‘De la manière d’écrire l’histoire en France et en Allemagne depuis cinquante ans’, *RDM*, 101 (1872): 241-51.

<sup>9</sup> Olivier Dumoulin, ‘Histoire et historiens de droite’, in Jean-François Sirinelli, ed, *Histoire des droites en France* (3 vols; Paris, 1992), ii. 327; Robert Tombs, *France 1814-1914* (London, 1996), 52-53.

compete with German universities at which *méthodiques* other than Aulard had studied.<sup>10</sup> Aulard and Antonin Debidour's work disclosed the products of these aspirations. They explained in their secondary-school textbook, *Histoire de France* that, 'the rational and just work of the French Revolution is here deservedly glorified, and the principles on which our institutions rest are hereby justified by the very lesson of events.'<sup>11</sup> Lavissee also felt that 'history teaching must be regenerated by the deeper study of history: it is a work of public necessity' because history recorded that nature 'has written on the map of Europe the destiny of certain regions.'<sup>12</sup> For that reason, *méthodiques* and other historians also spent the period between 1914 and 1918 writing about French education and the reasons for which France should oppose perceived German aggression.<sup>13</sup>

These circumstances impaired but did not block recognition for proto-*annaliste* techniques in the *Revue Historique*. Christian Pfister misinterpreted Febvre's history, *Philippe II et la Franche-Comté*, as a 'Tableau' rather than an analysis because *méthodiques*' colligatory operations and Berr's idea of synthesis both consisted in organizing facts into interpretations. Pfister as a result thought that Febvre traced, like his supervisor, Monod, the institutional formation of the state.<sup>14</sup> Bloch's work aroused analogous confusion. Reviewers alleged that it merely reformulated in an 'elegant style' questions about why and how French and English people came to believe in the royal touch.<sup>15</sup> Bloch '[had] not been able, despite his research and hypotheses, to establish with any certainty the *origins* [of the royal touch]: the *circumstances* that assured its initial success remain unknown.'<sup>16</sup> Commentary of this order did not detect the novelty of problem-led history, which assessed psychological, social

<sup>10</sup> Pierre Nora, 'Lavissee, instituteur national. Le 'Petit Lavissee', évangile de la République', in Pierre Nora, ed, *Les lieux de mémoire* (3 vols; Paris, 1984), i, 245-49; Charle, *République des universitaires*, 21-59.

<sup>11</sup> Alphonse Aulard and Antonin Debidour, *Histoire de France* (Paris, 1894), 3.

<sup>12</sup> Ernest Lavissee, 'L'enseignement historique en Sorbonne et l'éducation nationale', *RDM*, 15 Feb. 1882: 870-97, 894; Ernest Lavissee, *Vue générale de l'histoire politique de l'Europe* (Paris, 1890), vii.

<sup>13</sup> Sergio Luzzatto, 'Les tranchées de la Sorbonne: Les historiens français et le mythe de la Guerre révolutionnaire (1914-1918)', *SdS*, 20 (1991): 3-27, 16-22.

<sup>14</sup> Christian Pfister, review of Febvre, *Philippe II et la Franche-Comté*, *RH*, 109 (1912): 404-408, 406.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Guignebert, review of Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges*, *RH*, 148 (1925): 100-103, 102.

<sup>16</sup> My italics, Paul Fournier, review of Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges*, *BÉC*, 86 (1925): 192-94, 193.

and institutional factors. Instead Paul Fournier described in pejorative terms Bloch's perceived lack of attention to the circumstantial origins of his subject. That stemmed from the form in which Bloch chose to present his research: thematic accounts not narratives of events, 'origins' and 'circumstances' in Fournier's vocabulary, which Langlois had taught him were yielded by the study of documents.<sup>17</sup>

Bergsonian philosophers' theory of history advanced a new theorization of facts themselves. Their inspiration, Henri Bergson, had argued that perceptions of the world were 'at once both identical and changing', and called this *durée* – the principal constituent of human experience.<sup>18</sup> The Roumanian-émigré philosopher, Alexandre-Dmitrie Xénopol, provided a formulation of the precept applicable to history: two types of fact, Xénopol suggested, provided the object and substance of all historical research; *faits de succession*, distinct human actions such as decisions, and *faits de répétition*, recurring processes found in the natural and material world.<sup>19</sup> Historians should as a result maintain an awareness that deeds resulted from different forms of activity: 'Historical acts [...] intended to preserve the memory of a fact or themselves something which is a historical fact: charts, awards, treaties, notarial deeds, *procès-verbaux*' and 'non-historical acts' that 'do not preserve memories of the past for the future but are purely practical: laws, legal axioms, judgements, accounts, inventories, letters, sermons.'<sup>20</sup> Acceptance of a Bergsonian understanding of history for that reason created the formal contradiction in *méthodique* historians' attitude: that they must investigate change, but that they saw the past as a continuum.<sup>21</sup>

Adherence to Bergsonian theory galvanized empirical practice in history. The attempt to avoid the reduction of events in the style of Marxist and socialist historians to a stage in dialectical development, or to distinguish their research from the politicized arguments they

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<sup>17</sup> Marc Bloch, 'Nouvelles Personelles', *AHés*, 1 (1929): 583-84.

<sup>18</sup> Henri Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience* (Paris, 1889), 76.

<sup>19</sup> Alexandru Dimitrie Xénopol, *Théorie de l'histoire* (Paris, 1908), 1-11.

<sup>20</sup> Gabriel Monod, *De la méthode dans les sciences* (Paris, 1909), 177.

<sup>21</sup> DiVanna, *Writing History*, 85, 148-49, 194, 222.

thought that socialist and syndicalist sympathizers advanced, rather than hostility to proto-*annalistes*' work informed the endeavour.<sup>22</sup> But the proximity of Bergsonian philosophy to erudition that proto-*annalistes* rejected created tension between the two traditions. It did so in as far as Bergsonian philosophy theorized a so-called 'historical science'; philosophy thus continued until the inter-war period to invest historians' methods with authority.<sup>23</sup> Proto-*annalistes*, by contrast, sought to base their method on a variety of disciplinary procedures including those emanating from the social sciences. But *sciences sociales* remained a term without a referent, according to sceptics faithful to philosophy such as, in this period, Hauser.<sup>24</sup> Assessments suggested that for this reason fashion not scientific credibility attracted scholars to them. Pursuit of social science methods, others added, resembled an act of faith: 'research of the *social* in history has produced results as monstrous as the theological preoccupations of a bygone era.'<sup>25</sup> Publishers aired similar concern in letters to Bloch and Febvre, noting 'you have included sociology in your programme: this science, still in formation, has until now been rather unsure of its methods, and, following the temperaments of its authors, oscillated more or less completely towards militant political agenda.'<sup>26</sup> Social sciences could therefore not match the scientific capital that philosophy and natural science commanded before 1929.<sup>27</sup> Therein lay a problem in disciplinary evolution that indirectly conflicted with proto-*annalistes*' methodologies.

Members of the *Société des professeurs d'histoire et géographie*, by contrast, hindered acceptance of Berr and his circle's work because they worried that it would disrupt professional routines. From its foundation in 1910, the *Société* formed a leading organization

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<sup>22</sup> Kedward, *La vie en bleu*, 30-43; Xénopol, *Théorie*, 297, 305.

<sup>23</sup> See Christophe Charle, 'The Intellectual Networks of Two Leading Universities: Paris and Berlin 1890-1930' in Christophe Charle, Jürgen Schriewer and Peter Wagner, eds, *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (New York, 2004), 445.

<sup>24</sup> Henri Hauser, *L'enseignement des sciences sociales. État actuel de cet enseignement dans les divers pays du monde* (Paris, 1903), 220.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>26</sup> Max Leclerc to Febvre, 6 Mar. 1928, Leuilliot MSS.

<sup>27</sup> Morazé, 'Lucien Febvre', 4.



to which history professors in schools and universities belonged.<sup>28</sup> Its constitution defended members' 'moral and pedagogical freedom' and its central committee strove to guarantee teaching quality.<sup>29</sup> The organization in short defended existing methods practised by its members in established academic institutions. Febvre and Bloch subscribed from 1919 until 1932, and Demangeon represented higher education issues on the Board.<sup>30</sup> Febvre even drew fellow-members' attention to Berr's synthetic method, suggesting that it would interest historians 'curious to reflect on the theory of a discipline still hardly assured of its intentions let alone its methods' despite, he implied, but also because of notions circulated by the 'chattering philosopher', Xénopol.<sup>31</sup> Henri Busson's review of Febvre and Bataillon's *La Terre et l'évolution humaine* hinted at the frustration Febvre thereby provoked. Busson criticized the book's authors for providing critical discussion rather than original research, and added that they damaged human geography's credibility by attributing geographic classifications to human ideas, simply ignoring realities like the inhospitability of deserts. It read like the work of polemicists, and, like Berr on synthesis, it could only breed further polemic in Busson's opinion.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Demangeon's cautionary reminder to Febvre that, even before his and Bataillon's work, 'the sanctuary [of human geography] was already well-guarded' testified to the way in which established boundaries between the professions of history and geography could divide personal friends such as Demangeon and Febvre even when each thought they strove toward the same end.<sup>33</sup>

The work of Alphonse Aulard and his circle epitomized the way in which emergent professional habits and competing attempts to professionalize history intersected to exclude proto-*annalistes'* approaches to the past. Aulard befriended, both at school and as a student at

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<sup>28</sup> Suzanne Citron, 'Positivism, corporatism and power in the Société des professeurs d'histoire de 1910 à 1947', *RfSP*, 27 (1977): 691-716, 691.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 692.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 716, 709.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 714.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 714-15.

<sup>33</sup> Albert Demangeon, review of Febvre and Bataillon, *La Terre*, *AG*, 32 (1923): 165-70, 167.

the *École Normale*, men who became prominent republican politicians and journalists such as Georges Clemenceau, Alexandre Millerand and Camille Pelletan – all part of the generation before that from which issued many proto-*annaliste* historians.<sup>34</sup> Aulard shared his friends' commitment to republican politics, which flourished in what then constituted the longest period of continuous parliamentary democracy in France since the Revolution.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, his Jacobin contacts secured his appointment as director of a course on revolutionary history at the *Sorbonne* in 1886, part of the Paris Municipal Authority's effort to publicize the French Revolution before the centenary celebration of 1889, as well as his election to the first National Chair for the History of the French Revolution in 1891.<sup>36</sup>

Aulard acquired thereafter a reputation, along with academic historians such as Arthur Chuquet, Jules Flammeront, Charles Seignobos, Ernest Lavisse and Louis Madelin and independent historians such as Pierre Champion, for working to rehabilitate revolutionary history as an object of scientific study within universities.<sup>37</sup> Ministers of Education also appointed him to national organizations which determined the subjects of historical research throughout France, such as the *Comité des travaux historiques et scientifique*.<sup>38</sup> Aulard's career for these reasons testified to the close connection between the academy and the field of political power. Its Parisian focus also corroborated proto-*annalistes'* understanding that Paris remained the centre of the university system during the Third Republic, as it had been in the Second Empire and would continue to be even under the Vichy regime.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> James Friguglietti, 'Alphonse Aulard: Radical Historian of the Radical Republic', *PWSFH*, 14 (1987): 239-48, 244.

<sup>35</sup> Alphonse Aulard, *Polémique et histoire* (Paris, 1904), 1-140.

<sup>36</sup> Wolikow, 'Centenaire dans le Bicentenaire', 431.

<sup>37</sup> Hans Glagau, 'Geschichte der Revolution in demokratischer Beleuchtung', *HZ*, 91 (1903): 233-54, 248-51, 243, 245-46, 237.

<sup>38</sup> Édmond Speller to Aulard, 31 Jan. 1894, Police MSS F/17/17136.

<sup>39</sup> Gary Kates, ed, *The French Revolution: Recent Debates and New Controversies* (London, 2002), 2; on the continuity of academic life in Paris between 1940 and 1944, see Lutz Raphael, 'Die pariser Universität unter deutsche Besatzung 1940-1944', *GG*, 23 (1997): 507-34.

Aulard's circle developed a 'scientific' historical method in part designed to defend these ideological beliefs through the creation of political histories.<sup>40</sup> Like other *méthodiques*, Aulard himself used method to ground claims that his teaching adhered to impartial principles. He formulated 'ten commandments of historical method', circulated 'on the threshold of the academic year' to students who attended new *fermé* courses, open only to matriculated students.<sup>41</sup> The attachment to technique came from a reaction to Auguste Comte's work, an inspiration Charles-Olivier Carbonell claimed connected all *méthodiques* without showing that any of them read Comte.<sup>42</sup> Aulard had discovered Comte from his writings on the Girondin hero of the Revolution, Danton, and as a result attended meetings of the *Société Positiviste de Paris*.<sup>43</sup> He only accepted, however, the part of Comte's writings that outlined scientific procedure: verifying facts and deducing the causes of events from them.<sup>44</sup> His positivism for that reason resembled Simiand's in the qualified sense that they both formulated hypotheses that their research tested. But Aulard never went so far as Simiand to posit explanatory laws. Taine's assertions that all Jacobins possessed a 'classical mindset', which followed strictly rational arguments, 'raison raisonnée', regardless of their implications for the French, met for that reason with Aulard's disapproval.<sup>45</sup> It looked to the revolutionary historian like 'sociological typologizing' that fitted details to an interpretive framework regardless of their correlation.<sup>46</sup> On those grounds as well, Aulard admonished his son-in-law, sociologist Albert Bayet, that sociology 'needed to take a historical bath' before its methods could elucidate past problems.<sup>47</sup> He instead admired Madelin's revolutionary

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<sup>40</sup> See also, Smith, *Gender of History*, 128-29.

<sup>41</sup> Georges Belloni, *Aulard: Historien de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1949), 22-23.

<sup>42</sup> Carbonell, *Histoire et Historiens*, 436-51.

<sup>43</sup> Alphonse Aulard, *Danton* (Paris, 1884), v.

<sup>44</sup> Alphonse Aulard, 'Auguste Comte et la Révolution française', in Alphonse Aulard, *Études et leçons sur la Révolution française*, 2<sup>nd</sup> series (Paris, 1898), 25, 30-31.

<sup>45</sup> Alphonse Aulard, *Taine, historien de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1907), 53, 124, 145, 326.

<sup>46</sup> Pierre Caron, review of Cochin, *La Crise de l'histoire révolutionnaire*, *RHmc*, 13 (1909): 90-91.

<sup>47</sup> Albert Bayet, preface to Belloni, *Aulard*, xi.

histories, in which the analysis and synthesis ‘never [lost] sight of the overall picture.’<sup>48</sup> And reading Madelin’s history assured others that ‘[their] history continued to be practised’; Aulard persisted accordingly to focus his own research on the institutional and constitutional aspects of the French Revolution.<sup>49</sup>

This methodological tradition, institutionalized at the *Sorbonne*, mitigated the creation of proto-*annaliste* histories of the Revolution. There is an argument that Aulard’s student, Albert Mathiez, radically departed from his master’s political interpretation of the Revolution in *La vie chère et le mouvement social sous la Terreur*, which demonstrated how Parisians’ standard of living improved more rapidly during the Terror than at any other time in the Revolution.<sup>50</sup> Aulard and Chuquet’s dismissal of Georges d’Avenel’s economic history of modern France from the history section of the *Comité* on the basis of Seignobos’s criticisms seems to confirm that Aulard defended a documentary method, focused narrowly on political events.<sup>51</sup> But Aulard, like Mathiez, provided economic interpretations: he showed that no rural revolt against feudal measures taken by the revolutionary government had occurred.<sup>52</sup> And both Mathiez and Aulard narrated their economic interpretations as adjuncts of political events.

Divergent political commitments evident in their historical outlook in fact constituted the major difference; whereas Aulard empathized with liberal-Girardin, Danton, Mathiez admired the radical *Enragés*, centring on Jacques Roux.<sup>53</sup> Febvre himself thought of the two men as similar in scientific terms, considering their work as ‘totally outdated and harmful’

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<sup>48</sup> Henri Bergson to Louis Madelin, 16 Dec. 1934; Bergson to Madelin, 7 Sep. 1938, Madelin MSS AP/355.

<sup>49</sup> Philippe Lauer to Lot, 21 Nov. 1940, Lauer MSS AB/XIX/3408; Alphonse Aulard, *Histoire politique de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1901), vii-viii.

<sup>50</sup> For example, Kates, ed, *French Revolution*, 2-3. Albert Mathiez, *La vie chère et le mouvement social sous la Terreur* (2 vols; Paris, 1927), i. 13; ii. 242.

<sup>51</sup> Charles Seignobos, review of d’Avenel, *Histoire économique*, *RcHL*, 41 (1896): 106-18; Aulard to Chuquet, 25 Mar. 1896, Chuquet MSS N.A.F./13688/77; Avenel to Chuquet, 10 Apr. 1896, Chuquet MSS N.A.F./13691/1.

<sup>52</sup> Alphonse Aulard, *La Révolution française et le régime féodale* (Paris, 1919), iii, 220-22, 242-44.

<sup>53</sup> Mathiez, *La vie chère*, i. 87-92, 194-96, ii. 185-86, 223-26.

because politicized.<sup>54</sup> He felt that, owing to Mathiez's lack of economic training, Aulard's student's economic interpretations exhibited flaws and fuelled critiques made by the Left of government policy during the economic downturn of the 1920s rather than the precepts of disinterested study.<sup>55</sup> Aulard's monopolization of revolutionary history nevertheless created an official revolutionary history excluding, and undesirable in the opinion of, proto-*annalistes*.

A wish to rehabilitate the French Revolution as a subject for historical research also animated transnational discourses which informed developments in France. Historians admired Aulard, alleging that his 'supremacy lies in his vast erudition; he probably knows more about the French Revolution than any man living.'<sup>56</sup> Seignobos concluded that Aulard's *Histoire politique de la Révolution française* constituted 'the first scientific study' of that event, a view endorsed outside France by 'new' historian of society, James Harvey Robinson.<sup>57</sup> Crane Brinton and others, by contrast, urged in spite of Robinson's approval that 'the newer historian may find it too exclusively political.'<sup>58</sup> Fred Morrow Fling followed Aulard's work as part of his own effort to build a school of historians studying the Revolution in America; he singled out the critique of Taine as particularly interesting because it confirmed suspicions long-held by historians in the United States that revolutionary historiography required invigilation.<sup>59</sup> H. A. L. Fisher affirmed that Aulard's 'work is scholarly' after airing anxieties about republican political 'theories' and anti-clericalism appearing in *Le Culte de la raison* and in *Sorbonne* lectures.<sup>60</sup> Aulard's sentiment that one

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<sup>54</sup> Febvre to Berr, 3 Dec. 1930, in Pluet and Candar, eds, *Lettres à Henri Berr*, 410.

<sup>55</sup> Lucien Febvre, 'Albert Mathiez, un tempérament, une éducation', *AHés*, 4 (1932): 573-76, 575.

<sup>56</sup> Frederick Crossfield Happold, *Modern Historians of the French Revolution* (London, 1928), 26.

<sup>57</sup> Charles Seignobos, review of Aulard, *Histoire politique de la Révolution française*, *RU*, 10 (1901): 125; James Harvey Robinson, 'Aulard's Political History of the French Revolution', *PSQ*, 26 (1911): 133-41, 136.

<sup>58</sup> Crane Brinton, review of Aulard, *Christianity and the French Revolution*, *AHR*, 43 (1928): 297-99, 297. On the 'new' history in America, see Chapter 6, §6.1.

<sup>59</sup> Fred Morrow Fling, 'La Révolution française et la période napoléonienne', *RSH*, 29 (1919): 263-70, 263, 269; Fred Morrow Fling, review of Aulard, *Taine*, *AHR*, 13 (1908): 577-78, 578.

<sup>60</sup> H. A. L. Fisher, review of Aulard, *Le Culte de la raison*, *EHR*, 8 (1893): 798-801, 799; H. A. L. Fisher, review of Aulard, *Études et leçons*, *EHR*, 23 (1908): 172-73. Moody suggested that, in his 'professional writings',

must love the French Revolution in order to study it also alarmed Fisher, yet historians in England entertained similar feelings: Henry Morse-Stephens admitted, ‘my book on the Revolution was written out of love for the subject’ – but he kept his sentiment private.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, Hans Glagau tempered his praise for the *Histoire politique* with still graver criticism: the monograph, useful for its narratives of institutional and party-political developments, presented ‘distorted conclusions’ owing to its excitatory *parti pris*, which had resulted in selective documentary research, a failure to consider the role of European war from 1792, no analysis of prominent actors’ behaviour and the misleading argument that most French people held anti-Catholic attitudes.<sup>62</sup>

With all these nuances, the transnational reception of new studies on revolutionary history suggested the importance historians attached to Aulard’s project. From Aulard’s case it is possible to detect that disciplinary habits entrenched in leading Parisian institutions debarred the adoption of proto-*annaliste* historians’ methods. But it did not prevent an attempt to study the same social and economic sources as members of the *Annales* School. It cannot be said, therefore, that in this case disciplinary habits and institutional systems prevented an intellectual resemblance, however superficial, between two quite different styles of historical practice.

### 3.2 France and the World? International Collective Consciousness, 1930-1958

*Annales* receptions within France grew between 1930 and 1958, as Chapter One has shown; so too did concerns some historians working at universities across France voiced about the swelling tide. In substance, anxieties produced three challenges. The first form of disquiet prompted demands made of *annalistes* to justify a perceived incapacity of their methods to analyze documents. The second attempted to undermine *Annales* historians’ claims that their

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Aulard demonstrated his capacity ‘to keep his [anti-clerical] prejudice in check’, see Joseph N. Moody, ‘The Third Republic and the Church: A Case History of Three French Historians’, *CHR*, 66 (1980): 1-15, 9.

<sup>61</sup> Morse-Stephens to Arthur Chuquet, 15 Feb. 1892, Chuquet MSS N.A.F./13668/24/76.

<sup>62</sup> Glagau, ‘Geschichte der Revolution’, 248-51, 243, 245-46, 237.

methods could produce total histories. A third objection reprised defences of narrative circulating earlier in the period in defiance of explanatory techniques associated with the *Annales* School. Diplomatic historians studying the place of France in a world shaken by economic depression and ideological strife in the 1930s, the Second World War, decolonization and Cold War after 1945, indicated the way in which these debates combined to create an intellectual fissure between some historians and their *Annales* colleagues. The coincidence in 1958 of the publication of the last volume of Pierre Renouvin's study of international relations and the election to the presidency of Charles De Gaulle and his subsequent attempt to recover French *Grandeur* provide in this context a symbolic end-date to a discrete period of disagreements over *Annales* methodologies.<sup>63</sup>

Concerns about the importance attributed to documents by Bloch, Febvre and others found expression in articles published by international periodicals. Sée raised them by reiterating the notion that documents posed the problems that historians studied by compiling, classifying and verifying evidence.<sup>64</sup> The implication suggested that problems came from the past itself, so *Annales* historians' notion that researchers should create historical problems looked misconstrued to Sée.<sup>65</sup> Algerian-born Hauser, Bloch's predecessor at the *Sorbonne*, endorsed this position.<sup>66</sup> Yet certain of both his and Sée's contributions to the study of economic history commanded limited respect within France. Sée's study of French economic history, *Französische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, appeared thanks to a Jena-based publisher. Hauser's work on modern French capitalism looked equally marginalized despite its author's membership of the *Annales* editorial board. It probed 'how in fact [Richelieu] thought, why he thought in that way, how he tried to act and what resulted from his efforts, the causes of his

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<sup>63</sup> Pierre Renouvin, *Histoire des relations internationales* (8 vols; Paris, 1954-58).

<sup>64</sup> Henri Sée, 'Interprétation d'une controverse sur les relations de l'histoire et de la sociologie', *AfSS*, 65 (1931): 81-100, 84.

<sup>65</sup> Sée, review of Berr, *En marge de l'histoire universelle*, 158.

<sup>66</sup> Henri Hauser, review of Sée, *Französische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, *RH*, 178 (1936): 123-26, 126.

successes and failures' with regard to economic reform.<sup>67</sup> Hauser drew no parallel to the economic reforms in 1930s France nor to the Vichy régime's own economic policies, but symbolism abounded: politicians of France's right-wing for whom Richelieu became a hero endured an era of disarray; they had created the Matignon reforms in response to 1930s industrial unrest, but, because the legislation inaugurated a forty-hour week and paid holidays, they added to employers' wage bills and investors consequently withdrew from France.<sup>68</sup> The *Front populaire* won the parliamentary elections of 1936 as a result. Sée and Hauser also felt that *histoire historisante* acted as a rhetorical device rather than referring to a style of thought, but this too became a minority reply to Simiand and those *Annales* historians he had inspired.<sup>69</sup> However small the opposition, scepticism about *Annales* procedures existed in this form at the *Sorbonne* and the University of Rennes where Hauser and Sée worked.

These published commentaries resembled art historians' private fears. Doubts about problem history and documentation joined with a suspicion of group-research on large topics after the Second World War because 'the whole past collapses' when 'texts are no longer the basis of studies.'<sup>70</sup> Brière made these remarks in private correspondence with Pierre Caron. He suspected that collective enquiries sought to uncover hidden causes, 'the influences of an *imagined* background, *literary* connections [...], and, in books, a concerted effort to reveal the *geometric* lines of composition', thus extending analysis of conceptual features of the investigated phenomenon without establishing its 'real', or recorded, context.<sup>71</sup> The search for mechanical determinants issued, Brière thought, from an emergent conception of research: the organization of scholars into teams with calculating equipment, the machinery of an arithmetic method also harnessed for the modernization of French society. It applied the

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<sup>67</sup> Henri Hauser, *La pensée et l'action économique du cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris, 1944), 9.

<sup>68</sup> Kedward, *La vie en bleu*, 188; Jessica Wardhaugh, *In Pursuit of the People: Political Culture in France, 1934-39* (Basingstoke, 2009), 109-10.

<sup>69</sup> Henri Sée, review of Berr, *En marge de l'histoire universelle*, *RH*, 175 (1935): 157-58, 157.

<sup>70</sup> Gaston Brière to Pierre Caron, 18 May 1949, Caron MSS AB/XIX/4404/1/18; Brière to Caron, 24 Oct. 1948, Caron MSS AB/XIX/4404/1/3.

<sup>71</sup> My italics; Brière to Caron, 24 Oct. 1948, *ibid.*



principles of the division of labour in order to maximize efficiency and raise intellectual productivity – ‘Taylorism.’<sup>72</sup> Brière worked, however, at the edge of the university field as a museum conservationist. Caron by contrast had been an expert on the Terror, and joined proto-*annaliste* calls for historians to ‘envison the masses.’<sup>73</sup> Both of them had retired by the time they exchanged concerns, so their apprehension perhaps hinted at the views of a generation leaving prominent university positions in the late 1940s.

Revolutionary historians also continued to mollify the impact of *Annales* methodologies in their specialism. The work of conservative-republican, Philippe Sagnac, and Marxist, Georges Lefebvre, the two immediate successors to Aulard’s chair, exemplified the point. Both historians followed the imperative of documentary analysis in order to provide explanatory overviews: ‘analysis first, but to arrive at synthesis.’<sup>74</sup> Sagnac held that historical method remained unitary, but used different tools depending on its application to religious, social, economic or political facts.<sup>75</sup> He used the statistical methods developed by Russian historians such as Ivan Loutchisky to document the numbers of compliant and refractory priests after the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 12 July 1790.<sup>76</sup> Lefebvre also deployed statistical and synthetic methods, which he thought social interpretations of the French Revolution required: ‘individually the documents are of mediocre interest: it is the overall result that counts.’<sup>77</sup> Lefebvre and Sagnac thus pursued socio-economic interpretations that borrowed methods taken from statistics, sociology and economic history. But they did not ally themselves with any one methodological tradition. Lefebvre had met Sagnac and been taught by one of Aulard’s circle, Flammeront, at the University of Lille. Aulard had helped

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<sup>72</sup> Brière to Caron, 18 May 1949, *ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Burgière, *The Annales School*, 270.

<sup>74</sup> Philippe Sagnac, unpublished notebook, ‘Cours et leçons 1936-37’, Sagnac MSS AB/XIX/3526.

<sup>75</sup> Philippe Sagnac, ‘De la méthode dans l’étude des institutions de l’ancien régime’, *RHmc*, 6 (1904-1905): 5-21, 5-6.

<sup>76</sup> Philippe Sagnac, ‘Étude statistique sur le clergé constitutionnel et le clergé réfractaire en 1791’, *RHmc*, 8 (1906-1907): 97-115.

<sup>77</sup> Georges Lefebvre, ‘Les recherches relatives à la répartition de la propriété foncière à la fin de l’ancien régime’, *RHm*, 3 (1928): 103-30, 104.

Lefebvre's professional ascent by securing publication for his research.<sup>78</sup> Bloch and Febvre also furthered Lefebvre's career, supporting his appointment to the University of Strasbourg. So it is not possible to follow Paul Leuilliot's interpretation of Lefebvre's work as part of a purely *annaliste* tradition.<sup>79</sup> *Méthodique* and *annaliste* methods with all their variety in fact coexisted and competed in this instance.

Mediaevalists' ideas in another manner challenged *Annales* historians' notions of 'total history.' Charles-Edmond Perrin considered Bloch an institutional historian, and, for Perrin, the history of national organizations displayed all the features of a period. Bloch in that sense already wrote total history before *Annales* historians had proposed the concept, so far as this mediaevalist could see. Perrin also insisted on Bloch's positivism inasmuch as Bloch verified and colligated facts found in the sources, and so he saw *Annales* as a latter-day *Revue critique* because the editorial line of both journals rejected historical methods founded on instinct over reason.<sup>80</sup> Perrin's account placed Bloch's approach to history in the context of French historiography more generally.<sup>81</sup> It also reflected his first-hand experience: Perrin recorded that he had acted as a 'buffer' between the 'impudence' of Halphen and the 'insolence' of Bloch during their arguments at the *Sorbonne* in the 1930s about feudalism when the latter described it as a period of distinct social behaviour and styles of government in opposition to the former's insistence that it amounted to a series of political events.<sup>82</sup> In private, Perrin aligned his and Bloch's historical method with that of Robert Fawtier and Ferdinand Lot. He even alleged that Fawtier had been brought to the *Sorbonne* to 'add spice to the spectacle', deepening the complexity of the controversy by using his prosopographical

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<sup>78</sup> Stéphane Buzzi, 'Georges Lefebvre (1874-1959), ou une histoire sociale possible', *Ms*, 200 (2002): 177-95, 190.

<sup>79</sup> Paul Leuilliot, 'L'œuvre de Georges Lefebvre et quelques travaux d'histoire économique et sociale', *AÉSC*, 13 (1958): 339-48.

<sup>80</sup> Charles-Edmond Perrin, 'A propos d'une ouvrage récent', review of Bloch, *La Société féodale*, *RH*, 194 (1944): 23-41; 114-31, 122-23; Charles-Edmond Perrin, 'L'œuvre historique de Marc Bloch', *RH*, 199 (1948): 161-88, 178.

<sup>81</sup> Perrin, 'L'œuvre historique', 179.

<sup>82</sup> Perrin to Ferdinand Lot, 3 Nov. 1939, Lot MSS 7309/476.

methodology to display the array of vested interests entrenched in feudal government, and to teach, ‘whilst [Bloch and Halphen] killed each other.’<sup>83</sup>

Fawtier, Lot and Perrin, by contrast with *Annales* historians, sought to provide total history *de haut en bas*. They commenced by investigating the established organs of government and justice and arrived at the communities and social interrelations thereby created. Their work thus upheld the pre-eminence of state authority in the 1950s and early 1960s, when the Fourth and Fifth French Republics planned centrally France’s post-war industry-led reconstruction.<sup>84</sup> It also continued Luchaire’s work to make the subject accessible ‘to teachers and their students’, whilst breaking the limits of its chronology to encompass the entire Middle Ages as opposed to the Capetian era alone.<sup>85</sup> Fawtier’s circle, like the Manchester School, claimed to recover institutional history from lawyers and legal historians, whom they alleged had ‘ruined’ it by assimilating the histories of multiple institutions to general maxims of governmental evolution.<sup>86</sup> Fawtier and Lot inverted, therefore, Febvre’s critique of legal historians: whereas Febvre claimed that they studied individuals rather than their general social function, Fawtier and Lot criticized their overworking of generalizations.<sup>87</sup> But Fawtier, Lot and Perrin had not sought to discover collective representations.

Fawtier’s study of Philip the Fair exemplified this distance. It sought comprehensively to investigate all aspects of Philip’s reign through painstaking investigation of the connexion and vested interests possessed by officers of state.<sup>88</sup> Difference also became evident in Febvre’s criticism of Fawtier and Lot’s associate, Henri Jassemin. Fawtier and Lot praised Jassemin for elucidating for the first time how the *chambre des comptes* originated and

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> See Edgar Faure, ‘Il n’y a pas de politique générale valable sans soubassement technique solide’, 23 Feb. 1955, in Sabine Jansen, ed, *Les Grands discours parlementaires de la IV<sup>ème</sup> République: De Pierre Mendès France à Charles De Gaulle* (Paris, 2006), 197-203.

<sup>85</sup> Robert Fawtier and Ferdinand Lot, eds, *Histoire des institutions françaises au Moyen Âge* (3 vols; Paris, 1957-62), ii. vi.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., i. xi.

<sup>87</sup> Lucien Febvre, ‘Quelques réflexions sur l’histoire du droit: Étude sociale ou biographique?’, *AHs*, 1 (1939): 43-46.

<sup>88</sup> Robert Fawtier, ‘Le Roi’, in Fawtier and Lot, eds, *Histoire des institutions*, ii. 9-96.

functioned.<sup>89</sup> Febvre, by contrast, ridiculed Jassemin's work because it rehearsed the 'origins and development' procedure of *histoire événementielle* without justifying the procedure or elucidating the complexities of institutional behaviour with the tools of sociological theory.<sup>90</sup> The argument demonstrated a procedural tension, but also renders unpersuasive Seignobos's perception in 1941 that historians had discarded his precepts for the investigation of 'real nature': Fawtier, Jassemin, Lot and Perrin actually considered themselves preservationists of ideas of a *méthodique* practice of history outlined by Seignobos and Langlois against contrasting *annaliste* alternatives.<sup>91</sup>

Narrativist refusal of *Annales* historians' explanatory techniques also matured in this period. The case for narrative history, or the rejection of *annalistes*' thematic expositions, ran in several directions. One emphasized that research to construct 'rigorous knowledge' required a chronological mode of representation in order to show how one series of colligated facts yielded to or caused another. To present creative evolution to the reader in this way made the past intelligible because audiences could recognize in it the universal experience of time passing. History in that sense had 'an existential thrust.'<sup>92</sup> Variations reiterated the power of narrative to display the anatomy of the past: '1. Incoherence exists but is exceptional. 2. The personal/individual factor tends to be drowned out by the communal. 3. Chance plays a very important role.'<sup>93</sup> Other voices added that narrative provided a necessary literary device from the point of view of readership: histories had to make pleasurable reading if they were to sell; that in turn required that the vocabulary of science be softened in favour of elegance.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Henri Jassemin, *La Chambre des Comptes de Paris au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1933); Fawtier and Lot, eds, *Histoire des institutions*, ii, 99.

<sup>90</sup> Lucien Febvre, review of Jassemin, *Chambre des Comptes*, *AHés*, 6 (1934): 148-53, 149.

<sup>91</sup> Fawtier, ed, 'La dernière lettre', 10.

<sup>92</sup> Henri-Irénée Marrou, 'Le nouvel esprit historique', *LM*, 12 Jul. 1946: 14.

<sup>93</sup> André Siegfried, 'Cours sur la géographie du Languedoc méditerranéen. Résumé de la méthode à employer. I.ii: Peut-on donc expliquer?', unpublished, n.d., Siegfried MSS 8SI13/Dr 4.

<sup>94</sup> Georges Bourgin, review of Gabriel Le Bras, *Introduction à l'histoire de la pratique religieuse*, *RH*, 194 (1944): 272-74, 272.

Others proposed that narrative history provided students with a digestible curriculum, which firmly displayed an outline of events uncompromised by surfeits of detail.<sup>95</sup>

Henri-Irénée Marrou, Roland Mousnier and André Siegfried mounted these narrativist defences from university positions that put them in direct competition with historians of the *Annales* School. Marrou and Mousnier had in common their Roman Catholicism, about which both spoke in public. Marrou, however, did not share Braudel's intellectual catholicity. He wrote widely on Christian history from his *Sorbonne* chair in the subject. His most influential work on Augustine took the form of a biography, which as a genre contrasted with *Annales* historians' *longue durée* analyses.<sup>96</sup> He used biographical accounts to show how individuals' work attested to eternal Christian truths. The medium in that way reinforced Marrou's message and his insistence that *annalistes* relativized truth by attributing human action to geographical and conjunctural factors rather than to God.<sup>97</sup> Mousnier, by contrast, spent most of his academic career at the University of Strasbourg. The *Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l'Europe Moderne*, which he founded, provided the institutional basis from which his approach to social history could compete with *Annales* versions. His narratives of early-modern history directly conflicted with *Annales* historians' work on the period: *La vénalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XII* provided a touchstone of that difference. The work traced the development of a royal bureaucracy and the resultant tensions with nobles of warrior-descent that it generated.<sup>98</sup> The book, published in 1945, already hinted at the breadth of Mousnier's sociological orientation, which borrowed Bernard Barber's theories of social stratification in order to show how the structure of society determined events in its past.<sup>99</sup> He used quantitative analysis to display relevant correlations, and, like Bloch, he believed that

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<sup>95</sup> Roland Mousnier, 'Note sur la thèse principale d'histoire pour le doctorat ès lettres', *RH*, 234 (1965): 123-29, 123.

<sup>96</sup> Henri-Irénée Marrou, *Saint Augustin et l'augustinisme* (Paris, 1955).

<sup>97</sup> Pierre Riché, *Henri Irénée Marrou: Historien engagé* (Paris, 2003), 175.

<sup>98</sup> Roland Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XII* (Rouen, 1945), 7-10.

<sup>99</sup> For a consolidated statement of Barber's work in this direction, see Bernard Barber and Elinor Barber, *European Social Class: Stability and Change* (New York, 1965).

comparison could reveal hidden aspects of one social stratum through inductive reasoning prompted by findings in another layer.<sup>100</sup> Mousnier's multidisciplinary resembled, therefore, *Annales* historians' interdisciplinarity since Berr. The only difference came over explanatory procedures. André Siegfried, unlike Mousnier or Marrou, had informally socialized with atheistic politicians such as Gambetta since his childhood, so he too absorbed radical-republican impulses provided by *Annales* forefathers such as Durkheim.<sup>101</sup> He went on to occupy between 1933 and 1959 the Chair of Economic and Political Geography at *Sciences Po*. There Siegfried devoted his energies to political history that the *Annales* School had criticized since 1900. He pioneered electoral sociology with François Goguel, Maurice Duverger and Gabriel Le Bras in order to explain how natural-geographical, local, political and religious factors determined electorates' *tempéraments politiques*.<sup>102</sup> And Siegfried situated modern democracies in the context of evolving world history like his *Annales* counterparts, but he insisted on the necessity to narrate.<sup>103</sup> These divergences over presentation thus connected a variety of intellectual interests and commitments. But their proponents objected to a specific part of *annaliste* practice despite the variety and inventiveness of their own techniques.

Jacques Droz's work as professor at the University of Clermont Ferrand exemplifies the way in which documentary, total-history and narrativist contentions combined to produce professional rivalries. It appears here, therefore, to display the morphology of wider oppositional moods within the historical discipline that found expression in provincial universities before 1958, thereby suggesting that oppositions to *Annales* historians' methods spread to academies throughout France in tandem with tides of reception.

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<sup>100</sup> Mousnier, *La véralité*, 529.

<sup>101</sup> André Siegfried, *Tableau des Partis en France* (Paris, 1930), 2, 4.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 221.

<sup>103</sup> André Siegfried, *La Civilisation occidentale* (Oxford, 1945), 11, 21.

Droz became professor of history at Clermont Ferrand in 1948, then in 1957 Dean before his call to the *Sorbonne* in 1963.<sup>104</sup> As Dean, he transformed the university's *Faculté des Lettres*, long in the shadow of its scientific counterpart, in an age when a stable professoriate strove to accommodate growing student numbers.<sup>105</sup> 'Le doyen Droz', as colleagues monickered him, progressed the task with some success: the *faculté* welcomed future intellectuals such as René Remond, Michel Serres, Albert Soboul and Pierre Vilar. Droz's own scientific reputation complemented his faculty position. A member of Braudel's generation, Droz did not, as a social democrat, hold extreme political views, nor, as a comparative historian of socialism, anti-fascism and the labour movement, did his work conform to ideas advanced by any one school.<sup>106</sup> But he did exercise a strong influence on the history curriculum. His textbooks for the *Que sais-je?* series appeared in many reprints; the *Histoire de l'Allemagne* (1945) carried a formidable list of editions – 1948, 1958, 1964, 1967, 1970, 1975, 1985, 1991, 1994 and 2003.

Droz nevertheless criticized the *Annales* School to the extent that Klaus Schüle identified him as a leader of its opponents.<sup>107</sup> And *Annales* historians recognized Droz's hostility. He participated in the regional branch of the *Société des professeurs d'histoire* and, like all its members, practised a 'devilishly *événementielle*' history, according to Mandrou; more perplexing still, Droz '[could not] think of anything other than winning control of the *jury d'agrégation* [from Braudel] and it concern[ed] [Mandrou] that he hopes to direct apprentice-researchers.'<sup>108</sup> From Droz's point of view, *Annales* historians' proposal to consider all facets of history seemed 'completely reasonable', but 'it [was] not exactly

<sup>104</sup> Joseph Tandler, 'Jacques Droz, 1909-1998', in Philip Daileader and Philip Whalen, eds, *French Historians 1900-2000: New Historical Writing in Twentieth-Century France* (Oxford, 2010), 168-69.

<sup>105</sup> Antoine Prost, *L'École et la famille dans une société en mutation (depuis 1930)* (Paris, 1981), 301-309; Anna Guagnini, 'Technology', in Rüegg, *History of the University*, iii. 630.

<sup>106</sup> Tandler, 'Jacques Droz', 162-63.

<sup>107</sup> Klaus Schüle, 'Die Tendenzen der neueren französischen Historiographie und ihre Bedeutung. Ein Überblick', *GWU*, 19 (1968): 229-33, 231.

<sup>108</sup> Mandrou to Braudel, 25 Aug. 1951, Braudel MSS.

new.<sup>109</sup> The wish for a perfect ‘resurrection’ of the past as it developed over long periods constituted an original claim, to Droz’s mind.<sup>110</sup> But he thought *Le Méditerranée* a self-defeating fulfilment of the aspiration because it appeared to him to present a mass of details, not marshalled by strict temporal logic as in a narrative, nor any other fathomable organizational principle, implying that Droz thought the *longue durée* insufficiently explained.<sup>111</sup> Febvre and Braudel’s argument that ‘traditional historians’ ignored social and economic history also struck Droz as a *trompe l’oeil* because Seignobos had made clear that cultural, economic, intellectual and social dimensions provided important parts of narratives obtained by archival exegesis.<sup>112</sup>

The work of competing diplomatic historian Pierre Renouvin provoked Droz’s remarks. Droz argued that what he thought of as a form of *Annales* ‘economic determinism’ characterized Renouvin’s argument that financiers’ speculative activities in 1914 had contributed to lessening trust between national leaders.<sup>113</sup> A climate of suspicion resulted, which, according to Renouvin, created conditions for war through a series of misunderstandings.<sup>114</sup> But for Droz government action, not systems of material provision, played the decisive role.<sup>115</sup> He insisted that to understand the origins of the First World War required that historians explain politicians’ acceptance of the ‘the cult of violence’ – an imperialist idea that war provided a legitimate means by which to ‘determine European affairs.’<sup>116</sup> So, although politicians responded to a range of socio-economic factors, their opting to wage war explained the origins of the First World War. Droz’s interest in the role of

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<sup>109</sup> Jacques Droz, ‘Hauptprobleme der französischen Forschungen zur neueren Geschichte’, *WG*, 14 (1954): 109-18, 112.

<sup>110</sup> Jacques Droz, ‘Gegenwärtige Strömungen in der neueren französischen Geschichtschreibung’, *GWU*, 3 (1952): 177-81, 177-78, 181.

<sup>111</sup> Droz, ‘Hauptprobleme’, 111.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 112-13, 118.

<sup>114</sup> Pierre Renouvin, ‘La politique des emprunts étrangers aux États-unis de 1914 à 1917’, *AÉSC*, 6 (1951): 289-305.

<sup>115</sup> Droz, ‘Hauptprobleme’, 113.

<sup>116</sup> Jacques Droz, *Les Causes de la Première Guerre mondiale* (Paris, 1973), 177-78.



statesman thus brought the Fischer controversy to his attention; Fritz Fischer assessed, for the first time in Germany, how domestic and foreign policies related to economic interests.<sup>117</sup> Droz re-iterated throughout the 1950s and 1960s, in rebuttal, that the attribution of anthropoid to economic behaviour only elucidated environmental features of the explanation of war aims, which ultimately related to political actors' motives and aims, clearly decipherable from state and personal papers.

A transnational community of diplomatic historians joined Droz in insisting on his narrow conception of diplomacy as the interplay of politicians' autonomous actions. Federico Chabod constructed his study of Italian diplomatic history in the twenty-seven years after unification solely out of a dissection of statesmen's decisions and psychology. He denied the primacy of any other approach, and argued that certain historians he omitted to name confused 'petty gossip with the moral and spiritual reconstruction of a personality', 'falling back on pure doctrines, structures or the latest marvels of recent historiography: statistical tables, percentages, mediums, graphs.'<sup>118</sup> He offered instead a portrait of Italy's ruling class as a social group commanding, not responding to, its environment.<sup>119</sup> A. J. P. Taylor interpreted Renouvin's editorial voluntarism in the *Histoire des relations internationales* as intellectual centrism with: 'the school of Lucien Febvre [for which read Braudel] at one elbow and the Marxists at the other.'<sup>120</sup> He thus perceived the differences between *Annales* history and dialectical materialism, as well as, in his own work, remaining a 'plain narrative historian' who 'never belonged to a school of history, whether Marxism or Les Annales.'<sup>121</sup> Taylor's textbook, *The Struggle for the Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918*, pursued Chabod and Droz's methods of scrutinizing archive repositories in order to establish leading individuals' impact

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 7-10.

<sup>118</sup> Federico Chabod, *Storia della politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896* (3 vols; Bari, 1951), i. xiii.

<sup>119</sup> Gian Paolo Ferraioli, 'Federico Chabod Storico, la Francia e la politica estera italiana dal 1870 al 1896', *NRS*, 94 (2010): 555-618, 597.

<sup>120</sup> A. J. P. Taylor, review of Renouvin, *Histoire des relations internationales*, *EHR*, 70 (1955): 503-504, 504.

<sup>121</sup> A. J. P. Taylor, *A Personal History* (London, 1983), 274.

on events.<sup>122</sup> He recorded in his introductory remarks facts and figures about population growth, state expenditure on armaments and psychological phenomena such as fear of revolution. But thirty four pages in, disclosed his reason for doing so: 'We must now translate these figures' in order to shed light on 'the calculations that the statesmen of Europe stumbled on in their process of muddle and improvised decision.'<sup>123</sup> Siegfried Kaehler, retired by 1953 from the University of Göttingen, also stressed the importance of corporate government psychology. He expressed sadness at the poverty he perceived in new revelations offered by contemporary research in diplomatic history and distrusted the economic schematism that he saw in Renouvin's work. He turned consequently to re-examine Kurt Borries's style of diplomatic history, and became convinced that it would contribute to a better understanding of national problems as he saw them because it examined the way in which the individuals of state responded to spontaneous international events.<sup>124</sup> The importance of psychoanalysis and the mind in this came to Kaehler from the German tradition of philosophical Idealism beginning with Alexander von Humboldt, of whom he duly wrote a biography.<sup>125</sup>

Droz, Chabod, Taylor and Kaehler in this way aimed to recover something of the way in which a collective consciousness operated throughout diplomatic crises. This brought their interest close to Bloch and Febvre's work on *mentalité*. But the examples of Droz, Taylor and Kaehler show that collective consciousness remained for them the life of ideas given credence by an assembly of ruling personalities, not obedient to a multifaceted context but having their own logic. The written word remained important to these historians because state and private papers formed the basis on which they built an evaluation of motives and perceptions. The study of diplomatic and political minds in this way provided for diplomatic historians the path

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<sup>122</sup> A. J. P. Taylor, *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848-1918* (Oxford, 1971), xxii.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxiv.

<sup>124</sup> Kaehler to Rassow, 27 Apr. 1961, in Siegfried Kaehler, *Briefe 1900-1963*, edited by Walter Bussmann and Günther Grünthal (Boppard, 1993), 63.

<sup>125</sup> Kaehler to Friedrich Meinecke, 14 Jun. 1912, in Kaehler, *Briefe*, 134; Siegfried Kaehler, *Wilhelm von Humboldt und der Staat* (2 vols; Göttingen, 1963).

to a total history. Narrative explanation in turn showed how ideas produced by a range of factors accumulated over time informed governments' foreign policies.

### 3.3 Demography, Psychology and Statistics, 1959-1970

Confrontations with *Annales* historians on methodological issues changed in nature and tone in De Gaulle's France. Historians had questioned and debated their *Annales* counterparts' methodologies between 1930 and 1958 as part of a contested-reception process. But thereafter 'internal' oppositions arose in debates amongst the *Annales* School's own ranks, as intellectual plurality grew under Braudel's guidance.<sup>126</sup> Methods borrowed from demography, psychology and statistics caused controversy. Historians who used multidisciplinary methods without pursuing the *Annales* tradition also displayed intransigence 'external' to the School. They sought to differentiate their techniques on grounds other than methodology. The resultant debates centred less, therefore, on the content than perceived ideological undertones of *Annales* methodologies.

*Annales* historians' growing prominence within the academic world generated internal resistances. They welcomed each other's work in the *Revue Historique*, speaking in terms of the 'renewal of traditional accounts.'<sup>127</sup> Members of the *Annales* School hailed their colleagues' capacities to particularize, not generalize, on the basis of an array of evidence whilst presenting a vibrant overview.<sup>128</sup> They also signalled their growing interest in the history of historical writing.<sup>129</sup> The *Revue Historique* in this way became a 'friend' to the School.<sup>130</sup> French sociologists such as Jean Stoetzl, for whom the Minister created a *Sorbonne* chair in 1958, also appreciated *Annales* sociological techniques. Admiration originated from the pages of his *Revue française de sociologie* for Bloch's work on the royal

<sup>126</sup> Burke, *French Historical Revolution*, 64-65; Raphael, *Die Erben*, 400-404.

<sup>127</sup> Jean Vidalenc, review of Leuilliot, *La Première Restauration*, *RH*, 223 (1960): 171-72, 171.

<sup>128</sup> Pierre Léon, review of Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle et capitalisme*, *RH*, 239 (1968): 429-33.

<sup>129</sup> Robert Mandrou, review of Febvre, *Pour une histoire à part entière*, *RH*, 232 (1964): 209-12.

<sup>130</sup> Febvre, 'Un livre qui grandit', 224.

touch, which it became possible in the 1960s both to describe as ‘sociological’ and as offering a social theory of mediaeval society.<sup>131</sup> *Annales* methods thus achieved recognition both for themselves and as part of the incorporation of the social sciences into university curricula.

Plurality characterized the *Annales* enterprise precisely because its historians and their methodologies became more numerous. Raymond Aron’s theoretical work on international relations joined Renouvin’s diplomatic history in prompting debate. Their argument qualifies as ‘internal’ because Aron worked, in a Durkheimian tradition, ‘to know political action in its relation to the social context and ultimate philosophical option’; Renouvin’s investigations of the context for diplomacy also borrowed from sociology, identifying collective psychology as the most important ‘deep force’ alongside demographic and economic changes.<sup>132</sup> Both Aron and Renouvin felt the presence of *Annales* historians at the *Sorbonne* where they were all colleagues. But Aron insisted in *Paix et guerre entre les Nations* that a historical understanding of international relations rested on individualizing studies of events that he felt the *Annales* School had discouraged.<sup>133</sup> Renouvin made pleas in parallel to examine the ‘entire complex of forces and sentiments.’<sup>134</sup> The problem of war, peace and political theory forcibly impinged against the backdrop of what Aron called the thermo-nuclear era begun by the atom bombs used by the American air force against Japan in 1945 and continued by the possibility of nuclear war throughout the period, especially over Cuba.<sup>135</sup> The call to ‘reintegrate diplomatic and political history – the domain of ripples, refuge of passions, free judgements and description – into the outline of scientific historical research’ accordingly provoked debate across the pages of *Annales*, especially in 1963.<sup>136</sup> Aron did not accept that

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<sup>131</sup> M. Matarasso, review of Bloch, *Les Rois thaumaturges*, *RfS*, 3 (1962): 446-48, 446.

<sup>132</sup> Raymond Aron, Fernand Braudel, François Châtelet, Annie Kriegel, Victor Ledruc, Pierre Renouvin and Alain Touraine, ‘Pour ou contre une politicologie scientifique’, *AÉSC*, 18 (1963): 119-37; 475-99, 491; Pierre Renouvin, ‘L’Histoire contemporaine des relations internationales: Orientation des recherches’, *RH*, 211 (1954): 233-55, 253.

<sup>133</sup> Raymond Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations* (Paris, 1962), 16-20.

<sup>134</sup> Renouvin, *Histoire des relations internationales*, i. xv.

<sup>135</sup> Kedward, *La vie en bleu*, 321-48.

<sup>136</sup> Aron, ‘Pour ou contre une politicologie scientifique’, 119.

concealed variables could explain fully 'inter-state relations' which 'specific human actions' produced.<sup>137</sup> Diplomats took, according to Aron, the 'reasonable' course of action as they detected it not the rational option suggested by John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern's game theory.<sup>138</sup> Yet the political-science debate found no decisive resolution before 1970: the *Annales* School continued to devote limited energy both to study of international relations and events.

Internal resistances to quantitative analysis emerged in Mandrou and Duby's work in the 1960s. Mandrou criticized second-generation *Annales* historians for neglecting to explain because of their preoccupation with measuring proportions rather than the qualitative aspects of social history, the way in which people perceived, and felt about, their world; he wanted to remind *annalistes* that logarithmic curves only referred to the past in so far as historians used them to demonstrate a hypothesis, thus making them as prone to subjectivity and incertitude as *Annales* historians had alleged descriptive history to be.<sup>139</sup> Mandrou instead professed his commitment to first-generation studies of *mentalités*. He explained why in *Introduction à la France moderne*: 'every reconstitution of perceptions of the world incorporates a range of human facts and deeds, not just their words; it has the characteristics of general history embracing the whole range of human activities.'<sup>140</sup> This claim to total history drew inspiration from Febvre's work, and Mandrou, joined by Duby, re-iterated it in an edition published in 1968. Mandrou applied to the study of past communities the observational techniques of psychology, yet the written record still provided the source of observed ideas as well as the evidence from which to draw conclusions.<sup>141</sup> But Mandrou inferred that *mentalité* reflected the many conditions acting on people. He and Duby in this way proposed the investigation of

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<sup>137</sup> Aron, *Paix et guerre*, 332-38.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 764-70.

<sup>139</sup> Robert Mandrou, 'Mathématiques et histoire', *CS*, 1 (1962): 39-48, 47-48.

<sup>140</sup> Robert Mandrou, *Introduction à la France moderne (1500-1640). Essai de psychologie historique* (Paris, 1961), x.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28, 30.

a *mentalité* as a way to write a general history. By implication it detracted from the importance of quantitative techniques to reveal the hidden forces acting on people because it alleged that they only quantified what acted behind, and could not be explained except in terms of, recorded representations.

Methodological divergences resulted in personal disruption in the *Annales* School. Duby pursued the line that both he and Mandrou had taken in the *Introduction*. His book, *Le Dimanche de Bouvines (27 juillet 1214)*, developed the theme of his inaugural lecture at the *Collège de France*, delimiting the importance of economic history by arguing in terms reminiscent of Berr that it formed only a subset of social history, itself a fraction of historical synthesis.<sup>142</sup> ‘The history of material civilization and the history of collective attitudes will converge’ in social history, Duby added.<sup>143</sup> The account he wrote of the Battle of Bouvines showed that thirteenth-century writers in fact attached little significance to the conflict, and the only reason he thought it worthy of exploration centred on the fact that it compounded mediaeval cultural realities.<sup>144</sup> The conception undermined Braudel’s complex *longue durée* and arithmetic approaches because it separated social from material history, whereas Braudel thought of both as aspects of the *conjoncture*.<sup>145</sup> Braudel as a result felt betrayed, particularly by Mandrou. So he dismissed the long-serving secretary of *Annales*, informing him that ‘the moment has come to suspend our collaboration, pursued for the last two or three years often without profit or joy.’ He added that ‘*Annales* needs a climate of intellectual and moral trust’, and that after his ‘most recent article [on history and mathematics]’ Mandrou should develop his thought ‘outside the traditionally-imperious editorial line of our review.’<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Georges Duby, ‘Les sociétés médiévales: Une approche d’ensemble’, in Georges Duby, *Hommes et structures du Moyen Âge: Recueils d’articles* (Paris, 1973), 361-79.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 377.

<sup>144</sup> Georges Duby, *Le Dimanche de Bouvines (27 juillet 1214)* (Paris, 1973), 100-44.

<sup>145</sup> Fernand Braudel, ‘La démographie et les dimensions des sciences de l’homme’, *AÉSC*, 15 (1960): 493-532, 498.

<sup>146</sup> Braudel to Mandrou, 4 Jun. 1962, Braudel MSS.

Disagreements between Braudel and Louis Chevalier exemplified confrontations internal to an *Annales* research specialism but undertaken by a critic external to the School. Tensions arose over the extent to which statistical, or quantitative, depictions of demographic history portrayed past peoples' lived experience as part of their *milieu*, the qualitative aspect of demography. Chevalier guarded his independence from any methodological tradition, and was Braudel's junior by nine years. Election brought them to the *Collège* in 1952 and 1949 respectively. Chevalier's book, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses à Paris dans la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, confirmed its author's interest in demographic history. It adopted the Durkheimian proposition that population forces constituted the biological basis of all life, and outlined connections between demography and history. Chevalier accepted in it Chicago-based sociologists' ecology thesis, which alleged that living conditions in a city partly determined different types of deviant behaviour, but he did not test the notion because he thought that neither the records for the period before 1800 nor the results made sustained quantitative analysis of the Parisian case feasible.<sup>147</sup> Chevalier also convinced himself that concurrent examination of different cities often highlighted similarities that are 'differences misinterpreted out of ignorance of the history of urban formations and their inhabitants.'<sup>148</sup> Chevalier thus turned away from any effort to harness social science methodologies for urban history that he had made between 1945 and 1952 during his career at the *Institut National d'Études Démographiques*, yet he remembered the theoretical insights that his brief engagement with American sociology had yielded. From 1952, Chevalier instead criticized historians such as Braudel whom he called 'moderns' and became an *Annales* opponent.<sup>149</sup>

Confrontation with Braudel focused on intellectual disagreement. Braudel had reviewed Chevalier's *Classes laborieuses* alongside the work of Ernst Wagemann and Alfred

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<sup>147</sup> Louis Chevalier, *Les Parisiens* (Paris, 1967), 11.

<sup>148</sup> Louis Chevalier, 'Du rôle de l'histoire dans l'étude contemporaine de Paris', *RTASmp*, 110 (1957): 1-8, 5.

<sup>149</sup> Louis Chevalier, 'A Reactionary View of Urban History', *TLS*, 8 Sep. 1966: 832.

Sauvy, as important to understanding urban *conjonctures*.<sup>150</sup> He found Part One, ‘Le Thème criminel’, anomalous owing to its preoccupation with literary sources. Braudel agreed with Chevalier that documentation provided an important ‘qualitative’ dimension to historical research, but insisted that the discussion felt too literary, insufficiently detached to constitute a scientific consideration of the book’s subject.<sup>151</sup> Chevalier, by contrast, believed that ‘the Parisians of the 1950s and the 1960s [...] are essentially unchanged in body and soul from their predecessors’, so a literary basis could in his opinion provide important evidence: ‘what good would it do to cite figures, to litter [the book] with statistics or to call upon the elucidations supposedly offered by sociologists?’<sup>152</sup> Chevalier also rejected *histoire problème*: ‘under the guise of posing new problems [members of the *Annales* School] are striving – vainly – to give reality to notions invented more or less recently, or even quite simply to play around with words.’<sup>153</sup> Part Three, ‘Le crime, expression d’un état pathologique, considéré dans ses effets’, also received mixed review. Braudel found that Chevalier did not quantify from his ‘exemplary compilation of figures’ the extent of criminality. Had he done so, Braudel noted, Chevalier could then have compared Paris to French cities and other European capitals.<sup>154</sup> The *Annales* editor found, consequently, that Chevalier failed to obtain the measure of crime’s demographic determinants. The *étude conjoncturelle* fell short of providing probing analysis.

Chevalier’s private correspondence reveals that the debate also possessed personal dimensions in a struggle to control prevalent methodological orientations in the *Collège*. Chevalier criticized Braudel’s review procedure. Regret surfaced that ‘sentencing and encyclicals are part of [Febvre’s] bequest.’<sup>155</sup> It also took shape in Chevalier’s related

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<sup>150</sup> Braudel, ‘La démographie’, 523.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 519.

<sup>152</sup> Chevalier, *Les Parisiens*, 11.

<sup>153</sup> Chevalier, ‘A Reactionary View’, 832.

<sup>154</sup> Braudel, ‘La démographie’, 522.

<sup>155</sup> Chevalier to Braudel, 3 Jun. 1960, Braudel MSS.



remarks: ‘If I wanted anything for you, it is not to lose so many precious years like this, but to talk to me and many others in person.’<sup>156</sup> It remains unclear who these ‘others’ were, but correspondence between Lévi-Strauss and Aron reveals that Chevalier led a ‘faction’ at the *Collège de France*: ‘a group of about 25 people, difficult to identify, who are known and plan to hold a quasi-automatic majority at elections.’ ‘Louis Chevalier’, Lévi-Strauss added, ‘plays an important role in this majority faction.’<sup>157</sup> Here arose a contest for power to direct the university system.

Chevalier supported Aron’s nomination for election to the *Collège*, and this discloses that Chevalier’s politics pitted him against Braudel.<sup>158</sup> After 1947, the urban historian frequented Daniel Halévy’s apartment in Paris. He met there a group of conservative intellectuals, who, like Aron, used sociology and other disciplines inspirational to *Annales* for paternalistic not liberating ends. Philippe Ariès, who would later claim that *Annales* historians had shunned his work because of his royalist ‘truly reactionary’ commitments, encountered Chevalier in this setting.<sup>159</sup> They both shared a belief that demographic forces lay concealed in the sources, but they asserted that the qualitative effects they exerted on peoples’ lives found better expression by prose evocation than numerical modelling. Siegfried and Chevalier also made each other’s acquaintance *chez Halévy*. They both adhered to a brand of social conservatism, which, after 1960, revealed itself in theirs as well as Aron’s impatience with the *Parti socialiste*, Daniel Cohn-Bendit and the ‘illusions’ in the name of which they alleged that students protested in the Latin Quarter in 1968.<sup>160</sup> Braudel, by contrast, returned from Chicago that year in order to address the students.<sup>161</sup> He also supported for nomination to the *Collège* François Perroux, an economist who shared his and Pierre and Huguette Chaunu’s

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<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Lévi-Strauss to Aron, 26 Feb. 1969, Aron MSS N.A.F./28060/208.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ariès, ‘Entretien’, 86.

<sup>160</sup> Brian Anderson, *Raymond Aron: The Recovery of the Political* (Oxford, 1997), 167-74; Jonathon Bourg, *From Revolution to Ethics: May 1968 and Contemporary French Thought* (Montreal, 2007), 29.

<sup>161</sup> Paule Braudel, handwritten note, n.d., Braudel MSS.

concerns to base economic theory on the realities of the *conjoncture*. Perroux's work, like that of the *Annales* School, received governmental endorsement: politicians saw in Perroux 'one of the thinkers most appreciated by the French state', according to publicist of the far-right, Henri Coston.<sup>162</sup> Chevalier in this sense led an intellectual reaction against modern-liberal orthodoxies that he perceived threatened to assume hegemonic proportions both in the field of political power and in the field of university power, the *Collège*. It remained for that reason a parochial confrontation without international participation.

Resistances to the *Annales* School between 1900 and 1970 in France owed a debt to a series of institutionally ingrained historical modernisms that historians created within the historical discipline. *Annales* historians' methods constituted one effort to deepen, refine and professionalize the scientific research and teaching of history. But they ran in parallel to those advanced by historians mindful of the collection of axioms about method advanced in different ways by various *méthodiques*, by Bergsonian philosophers and by guardians of the profession at the *Société des professeurs d'histoire et géographie* or, after 1959, by conservative-republican historians. The continued presence of *méthodique* ideals through the work of mediaevalists Fawtier, Lot and Perrin calls into question the cogency of Carbonell and DiVanna's conclusion that they disappeared in the 1920s.<sup>163</sup> It confirms, by contrast, Henk Wesseling's suggestion that varieties of *méthodique* and *annaliste* historiography coexisted, or Jonathon Dewald's argument that in fact Febvre and those whom he criticized 'shared more common ground' on the need to incorporate histories of society into notions of the history of all periods than became obvious from positions outlined by both sides in print.<sup>164</sup> Resistances directed at *Annales* methodologies did not always take the form of

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<sup>162</sup> Henri Coston, *Dictionnaire de la politique française* (Paris, 1967), 835.

<sup>163</sup> Carbonell, *Histoire et Historiens*, 459; DiVanna, *Writing History*, 238.

<sup>164</sup> Henk Wesseling, 'The *Annales* School and the Writing of Contemporary History', in Henk Wesseling, *Certain Ideas About France* (London, 2002), 153-55; Lutz Raphael, 'Epochen der französischen Geschichtsschreibung', in Wolfgang Küttler, Jörn Rüsen and Ernst Schulin, eds, *Geschichtsdiskurs* (5 vols;

oppositions à *outrance*, either in debates about ideas or institutional appointments. Historians of the French Revolution did not consciously exclude proto-*annalistes* from their specialism. Equally, between 1930 and 1958, *Annales* historians' did not disrupt the professional routines observed by their colleagues working at provincial universities and specializing in areas such as diplomatic history. The clashes at the *Collège de France* in the 1960s, like the work of Droz and Siegfried before them, in turn are suggestive of a general methodological reorientation across the discipline. Historians critical of their *Annales* colleagues themselves used multidisciplinary techniques to construct electoral, international and urban histories, but chose not to align themselves with the *Annales* School. This point presents itself with some force in the extent to which Braudel and Chevalier defended different approaches to demographic history. Historians airing doubts also paid scant attention to the divergent generations of the *Annales* School. They did not, or perhaps would not, differentiate proto-*annaliste* from first- or second-generation *annalistes*' methodologies. In this they resembled sceptics identified in England. In fact, convictions unrelated to method more often emerged at the forefront of debates. Method became a symbolic issue in arguments in which politics, religion and professional rivalry featured more prominently than contestation of technicalities. Matters of principle did not go unnoticed, however, but disputes about *Annales* methodologies in France rarely restricted themselves to that subject in isolation.

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Frankfurt-am-Main, 1993-99), i. 131-32; Jonathon Dewald, 'Lost Worlds: French Historians and the Construction of Modernity', *FH*, 14 (2000): 424-442, 441; see also Middell, 'Die unendliche Geschichte', 11.

## 4. Resistances to *Annales* Methodologies in Germany, 1900-1970

### 4.1 *Der Obrigkeitsstaat, die Weltpolitik* and Historist Method, 1900-1930

In a manner and on a scale unknown in England or France, politicians in Germany interfered in an unprecedented fashion with the university curriculum around 1930. The Thuringian minister of culture and member of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (N.S.D.A.P.), Wilhelm Frick, created a chair for the study of 'Race Science' despite faculty protest at the University of Jena, and appointed F. K. Günther its first occupant.<sup>1</sup> *Völkisch* student groups' demands to add the examination of Germans' racial characteristics to the curriculum had been realized.<sup>2</sup> The symbolism of the event captured attention: prominent scholars concluded that an era of 'unfreedom' approached, threatening the mind and spirit, the *Geist*, of their guild, the *Zunft*.<sup>3</sup> The age of Hitler thus came to the university in 1930, which, for that reason provides a terminus to the period beginning in 1900 in which to examine resistances encountered by *Annales* historians' methodologies.<sup>4</sup> Continuity in professional development characterized the period.<sup>5</sup> No professors joined the N.S.D.A.P. before 1930.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the end in 1918 of the *Kaiserreich* and the beginning of the Weimar Republic had not altered university organization, and the efforts of a right-wing cohort to study the *Volk*, particularly obvious at the 1924 Frankfurt Historians' Meeting, in protest against the republicanization of the nation during the Weimar period only gained institutionalization after 1930.<sup>7</sup> Ascent to full professorship, membership of the *Ordinariat*, required that men (women

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Dietrich Bracher, *Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik. Eine Studie zum Problem des Machtverfalls in der Demokratie* (Villingen, 1964), 146-49.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Stephen Steinberg, *Sabers and Brown Shirts: The German Students' Path to National Socialism 1918-1935* (Chicago, 1977), 102-103.

<sup>3</sup> Ernst Robert Curtius, *Deutscher Geist in Gefahr* (Stuttgart, 1932), 111; Karl Jaspers, *Die geistige Situation der Zeit* (Berlin, 1932), 101.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Grüttner, Rüdiger Hachtmann, Konrad H. Jarausch, Jürgen John and Matthias Middell, eds, *Gebrochene Wissenschaftskulturen: Universität und Politik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2010), 11; Boockmann, *Geschichte der Universität*, 227.

<sup>5</sup> Iggers, *New Directions*, 85-87.

<sup>6</sup> Fritz Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890-1933* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1969), 437.

<sup>7</sup> Matthias Middell, 'Germany', in Porciani and Raphael, eds, *Atlas*, 163.

such as Hedwig Hintze only exceptionally occupied positions) be ‘distinguished both personally and by his research.’<sup>8</sup> That meant exhibiting the characteristics of a ‘good chap’, *ein Kerl*.<sup>9</sup> Conservatism abounded amongst practitioners of the relatively young historical discipline: it took the form of respect for the authoritarian state, the *Obrigkeitsstaat*; endorsement of Germany’s search for a place in international politics through colonial expansion, *Weltpolitik*, before and after 1918; and an aspiration to understand Germany’s past using impartial techniques – the precepts, in other words, of the historicist and *Verstehen* traditions.<sup>10</sup> Professors proved their intellectual calibre in the *Habilitation*, a second dissertation supervised, ‘controlled’ even, by an *Ordinarius*.<sup>11</sup> Recruitment continued in this manner into the 1920s when many professors subscribed publicly to republican principles without accepting them in their professional or personal lives.<sup>12</sup>

Networks of Franco-German communication nevertheless fostered exchanges in this period, assisted by the fact that French remained before 1914 the second language of most historians in Germany.<sup>13</sup> Berr included articles by Kurt Breysig, Hans Delbrück, Friedrich Meinecke and Ernst Troeltsch in his *Revue*.<sup>14</sup> These historians and philosophers expressed a degree of dissent about the authoritarian state because they wanted to reform it: they formulated an argument with Friedrich Naumann that the House of Hohenzollern should actively seek the support of the new industrial working class produced by Germany’s

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<sup>8</sup> Max Braubach to Gerhard Ritter, 4 Nov. 1955, Ritter MSS N1166/344.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Lambert, ‘Generations of German Historians: Patronage, Censorship and the Containment of Generation Conflict, 1918-1945’, in Mark Roseman, ed, *Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany 1770-1968* (Cambridge, 1995), 166.

<sup>10</sup> Josef Engel, ‘Die deutschen Universitäten und die Geschichtswissenschaft’, *HZ*, 189 (1959): 223-78, 231; Falko Schnicke, ‘Deutung vor der Deutung. Hermeneutische und geschlechtergeschichtliche Aspekte historiographischer Epochenbildung’, *BW-G*, 32 (2009): 159-75, 163-65; Oscar Hammen, ‘German Historians and the Advent of the National Socialist State’, *JMH*, 13 (1941): 161-88, 170.

<sup>11</sup> Iggers, *New Directions*, 83.

<sup>12</sup> William Carr, *A History of Germany 1815-1990*, fourth edition (London, 2010), 265.

<sup>13</sup> Stefan Berger and Peter Lambert, ‘Intellectual Transfers and Mental Blockades’, in Stefan Berger, Peter Lambert and Peter Schumann, eds, *Historikerdialoge: Geschichte, Mythos und Gedächtnis im deutsch-britischen kulturellen Austausch 1750-2000* (Göttingen, 2003), 31.

<sup>14</sup> Henri Berr, ‘Théoriciens allemands: Quelques réflexions sur le mouvement théorique actuel’, *RSH*, 10 (1905): 369-72; Schöttler, ‘Berr et l’Allemagne’, 198; Chaix emphasizes the importance of this form of exchange in 1929, see Chaix, ‘Die französische Geschichtsschreibung’, 113.

transition to an industrial society in the style of the ‘New Course’ policies of social inclusion introduced in the 1890s by Georg Leo von Caprivi in the interests of the monarchy’s longevity.<sup>15</sup> Bloch and Febvre also took an interest in historical research conducted in Germany. Bloch had attended history lectures at Berlin and Leipzig in 1908-1909.<sup>16</sup> He expressed surprise, however, at the part he perceived Germany had played in beginning the First World War as is clear from his personal disagreements with Fritz Kern, a legal historian at the University of Bonn, whose pupil, Walther Markov, later connected history to sociology, geography and psychology with explicit reference to the *Annales* School.<sup>17</sup> Febvre had not visited German lecture halls, but read German-language literature. Both Bloch and Febvre’s education in that way attests to the international attraction of German historical education before 1918.<sup>18</sup>

Exchange failed to mollify rejections of synthetic orientations. Historians in Germany deployed the state and nation as principal analytic concepts in their research; any other framework seemed to some of them arbitrary, ‘the realm of *Dilettantismus*’, with no ostensible purpose to contemporary civilization.<sup>19</sup> Idealism from G. W. F. Hegel, Alexander von Humboldt, J. G. Droysen and Ranke’s work exerted its influence here: Hegel, Humboldt and Ranke had all argued that the state acted as an intermediary between God and the individual, and, after 1871, most prominent historians committed to a Protestant deity. History charted the unfolding in a rational manner of ideal universal forces that shaped individuals

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<sup>15</sup> David Calleo, *The German Problem Reconsidered: Germany and the World Order, 1870 to the Present* (Cambridge, 1978), 19; Werner Schubert, ‘Das Abzahlungsgesetz von 1894 als Beispiel für das Verhältnis von Sozialpolitik und Privatrecht in der Regierungszeit des Reichskanzlers von Caprivi’, *ZSSR*, 102 (1985): 103-67.

<sup>16</sup> Fink, *Marc Bloch*, 40.

<sup>17</sup> Bloch to Kern, n.d. 1922?, Bloch MSS AB/XIX/3849/III.D.1; Walter Markov, ‘Vom Nutzen der Historie’, in Manfred Kossok, ed, *Kognak und Königsmörder* (Berlin, 1979), 21-24; Walter Markov, *Wie viele Leben lebt der Mensch: Eine Autobiographie aus dem Nachlaß* (Leipzig, 2009), 267.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Schöttler, ‘Geschichtsschreibung in einer Trümmerswelt: Reaktionen französischer Historiker auf die Historiographie während und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg’, in Peter Schöttler, Patrice Veit and Michael Werner, eds, *Plurales Deutschland* (Göttingen, 1999), 301.

<sup>19</sup> Friedrich Meinecke, ‘Geleitwort zum 100. Bande der Historische Zeitschrift’, *HZ*, 100 (1908): 1-10, 6.

through the agency of the German-Lutheran not the Roman-Catholic Church.<sup>20</sup> Because Idealists and Lutherans agreed on the possibility of detecting God's will, historians justified their manner of making truth-claims against a Christian standard: the course of events could be accurately reconstructed and narrated from archival materials because the immediacy to God of both the historian and the past age which (s)he analyzed prevented the incursion of subjectivity into historical research.<sup>21</sup> The idea of historical synthesis, by comparison, appeared to historians in Germany to predicate its importance on the need to recover objective truths by stripping back past scholars' subjective interpretations. The 'modern synthetic tendency' seemed to historians in Germany to juxtapose scholarship and objectivity – a claim rejected by the editorial line of the *Historische Zeitschrift*.<sup>22</sup>

Historist traditions also proved resistant to proto-*annaliste* understandings of collectives. Whereas Berr criticized Meyer's definition of historical practice as individualizing technique, recovering 'the sequence of causes or the facts', analysis of groups came in Meyer and Meinecke's history through the nation.<sup>23</sup> Meinecke maintained the importance of political history without making it narrowly *événementielle* by narrating the genesis of the national idea that exerted influence on political élites perception of their world.<sup>24</sup> Meyer wrote in a similar fashion by dissecting the ancient period in terms of a series of state formations and spiritual beliefs.<sup>25</sup> Here emerged a foundational incompatibility between proto-*annalistes'* methodologies and the historian tradition.

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<sup>20</sup> Hugo Frey and Stefan Jordan, 'National Historians and the Discourse of the Other', in Berger and Lorenz, eds, *Contested Nation*, 201; Helen P. Liebel, 'Philosophical Idealism in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1859-1914', *H&T*, 5 (1965): 316-330, 317.

<sup>21</sup> Leopold von Ranke, *Geschichte der römischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514* (Leipzig, 1885), v; Leopold von Ranke to his brother, spring 1820, in Walter Peter Fuchs, ed, *Das Briefwerk* (Hamburg, 1949), 18; Leopold von Ranke, *Weltgeschichte - Die Römische Republik und ihre Weltherrschaft* (2 vols; Leipzig, 1886), i. ix.

<sup>22</sup> Friedrich Meinecke, 'Kausalitäten und Werte in der Geschichte', *HZ*, 137 (1927): 1-27, 21.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 6; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (5 vols; Stuttgart, 1907), i. 198.

<sup>24</sup> Meinecke to Goetz, 30 Jul. 1915, in Peter Klassen and Ludwig Dehio, eds, *Friedrich Meinecke: Ausgewählter Briefwechsel* (Stuttgart, 1962), 63; Friedrich Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat: Studien zur Genesis der deutschen Nationalstaates* (Berlin, 1908).

<sup>25</sup> Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, i. 3-181.

Incommensurability of this order contrasted with enthusiasm for *méthodique* historiography. Ernst Bernheim provided a forerunner to Seignobos and Langlois's methodology textbook.<sup>26</sup> Lavissee's *Histoire de France* also occupied a prominent position in cognisance of French historiographical innovations because it redressed the 'more than slight embarrassment' encountered by scholars eager to instruct themselves on the 'overall picture of French history.'<sup>27</sup> Some of its claims – that, for example, French popular intransigence to bureaucracy originated with opposition to Roman Gaul and the 'arid' tone with which Philippe Sagnac addressed the controversial subject of revolutionary history – aroused disbelief.<sup>28</sup> But Blache's geographical history of France appeared to reviewers in the *Historische Zeitschrift* to provide an exemplary theoretical basis, 'clearly written and free from abstractions' on which to ground national history.<sup>29</sup> Work by Halphen and Seignobos also gained recognition as a 'consistent account of *Staatengeschichte*, intellectual, economic and social history.'<sup>30</sup>

The association with historical materialism that opponents imposed on Lamprecht's *Kulturgeschichte* further deterred attention to proto-*annaliste* historians' work. Lamprecht had criticized his colleagues' exclusion of social and psychological factors from political history, their inference through extended narratives that German history exhibited unfettered continuity and their assertions that the historicist tradition possessed 'scientific' standing.<sup>31</sup> He instead framed a cultural history of Germany, which pursued social and psychological explanations of regional and nationwide customs and organizations.<sup>32</sup> This brought Lamprecht

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<sup>26</sup> Ernst Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie* (Leipzig, 1889); see also Hans Schleier, 'Ernst Bernheims Historik in seinem "Lehrbuch der historischen Methode"', in Wolfgang Küttler, ed., *Das lange 19. Jahrhundert: Personen, Ereignisse, Ideen, Umwälzungen* (Berlin 1999), 275-292.

<sup>27</sup> Alexander Cartellieri, review of Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, *HZ*, 88 (1902): 136-39.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 138; Adalbert Wahl, review of Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, *HZ*, 127 (1923): 141-44, 141.

<sup>29</sup> Cartellieri, review of Lavissee, 138.

<sup>30</sup> Willy Andreas, review of Seignobos, *Histoire politique de l'Europe contemporaine*, *HZ*, 142 (1930): 584-87, 586; Bernard Schmeidler, review of Halphen and Sagnac, *La fin du Moyen-Âge*, *HZ*, 142 (1930): 171-73.

<sup>31</sup> Karl Lamprecht, *Alte und neue Richtungen in der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Berlin, 1896).

<sup>32</sup> Karl Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte* (12 vols; Berlin, 1894-1909), i. 26; see also Karl Lamprecht, 'Über der Begriff der Geschichte und über historische und psychologische Gesetze' [1906], in *Ausgewählte Schriften: Zur*



greater, but still limited, esteem abroad than in Germany, where historians of different persuasions rejected *Kulturgeschichte* because it seemed, by incorporating material about the mass of the German population, to represent the historiographical equivalent of democratic or socialist political thought.<sup>33</sup> What to sociologists and historians in France resembled probing innovation looked to historians in Germany, therefore, like an ideological affront or crisis, as Raphael has shown.<sup>34</sup> Reluctance to consider material factors contaminated responses to Febvre's work. Critical opinion during the First World War demonstrated the point: Febvre's *Philippe II et la Franche-Comté* appeared to reviewers for German-language periodicals to 'foreground material factors' to the detriment of a coherent analysis of religious undertones to the reign and the area.<sup>35</sup> The book convinced historians of Febvre's scholarly ambition, but left them repulsed by its alleged 'rhetorical ornamentation' – an unnecessarily prolix writing style, according to them.<sup>36</sup> After 1918, as allegations of war guilt and French occupation of the Ruhr hardened anti-French attitudes in Germany, reviews of Febvre's work increasingly emphasized its literary qualities, highlighting suspicions that style trumped substance producing impressions of a 'lack of sustained analysis'; they also expressed scepticism about the scientific foundation of the specialism, 'political geography', to which they thought *La*

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*Wirtschafts- und Kulturgeschichte und zur Theorie der Geschichtswissenschaft*, edited by Herbert Schönebaum (Aalen, 1974): 131-145.

<sup>33</sup> Luise Schorn-Schütte, 'Nachwirkungen der Lamprechtschen Geschichtschreibung. Rezeptionen im Ausland und in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft und Soziologie', in Gerald Diesener, ed, *Karl Lamprecht weiterdenken: Universal- und Kulturgeschichte heute* (Leipzig, 1993), 272-94; Lamprecht's influence remained limited in France, see Ursula A. Becher, 'Die Bedeutung Lamprechts bei der Neuorientierung der französischen Geschichtswissenschaft um die Jahrhundertwende', in Horst Walter Blanke, ed, *Transformation des Historismus: Wissenschaftsorganisation und Bildungspolitik vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg, Interpretation und Dokument* (Waltrop, 1994), 95-111, but Berr published Lamprecht's articles, see Karl Lamprecht, 'La Science moderne de l'histoire: Quelques mots de réponse', *RSH*, 10 (1905): 258-60; Karl Lamprecht, 'Du développement actuel des sciences en general. Des sciences morales en particulieres; idee d'une reforme universitaire', *RSH*, 21 (1910): 124-60. On opponents, see Iggers, *New Directions*, 80-85; Hans-Heinz Krill, *Die Ranke Renaissance: Max Lenz und Erich Marcks* (Berlin, 1962), 141.

<sup>34</sup> Lutz Raphael, 'Historikerkontroversen im Spannungsfeld zwischen Berufshabitus, Fächkonkurrenz und sozialen Deutungsmustern: Lamprecht-Streit und französischer Methodenstreit der Jahrhundertwende in vergleichender Perspektive', *HZ*, 251 (1990): 325-63.

<sup>35</sup> For example, Dietrich Schäfer, *Das deutsche Volk und der Osten* (Dresden, 1915), 35; Paul Herre, review of Febvre, *Philippe II*, *HZ*, 114 (1915): 181-82, 182.

<sup>36</sup> Albert Elkan, review of Febvre, *Notes et documents sur la Réforme*, *HZ*, 109 (1912): 657; Herre, review of Febvre, 181.

*Terre et l'évolution humaine* contributed.<sup>37</sup> A perceived 'overemphasis on *natura*' and failure to differentiate individual actors in Febvre's evaluation of the Reformation echoed critiques of *La Terre et l'évolution humaine*. 'Method [was] the problem' one reviewer wrote without further elucidation of his meaning; on an issue such as the Reformation, important to the Protestant tradition in which historians in Germany worked, the elusiveness of the remark implied that contemporaries recognized a meaning in what looks opaque to later readers.<sup>38</sup>

The *Lamprecht-Streit* also cast a long shadow over early-*Annales* socio-economic history.<sup>39</sup> Gustav von Schmoller had rejected that economic theory could provide general and timeless explanations for any historical event, insisting instead that such occurrences be considered in relation to the social order so as to avoid abstracting them from their origins.<sup>40</sup> Like constitutional historian Otto Hintze, Schmoller demonstrated the relationship between developments of state and socio-economic trends using a typological and comparative approach.<sup>41</sup> Both Schmoller and Hintze worked thus from chairs at the Frederick-William University, Berlin, where they pioneered their approaches through the seminar system of teaching small groups of undergraduates. But both encountered opposition from hostile colleagues convinced that they presented a Left Liberal critique of the *Reich* rather than a legitimate evaluation of its material circumstances.<sup>42</sup> Neo-Kantian philosophers Wilhelm Dilthey, Heinrich Rickert and Wilhelm Windelband as well as Weber encouraged suspicions

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<sup>37</sup> Walter Vogel, 'Literaturbericht: Politische Geographie', *HZ*, 130 (1924): 465-73, 471, 473; journalists reported that 'the French and their political foot soldiers' ridiculed German historians' support for the *Kaiserreich* in 1914 at historians' meetings in Brussels and Oslo, see *BB*, 29 Sep. 1928: 55.

<sup>38</sup> Walter Köhler, review of Febvre, 'Une question mal posée', *HZ*, 141 (1929): 429.

<sup>39</sup> Harald A. Wilsche, '...wie es eigentlich 'geworden ist': Ein wissenschaftsphilosophischer Blick auf den Methodenstreit um Karl Lamprechts Kulturgeschichte', *AfK*, 87 (2005): 251-83, 264-68.

<sup>40</sup> Karl Heinrich Kaufhold, 'Gustav von Schmoller (1838-1917) als Historiker, Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitiker und Nationalökonom', *VSWG*, 75 (1988): 217-52, 241-45.

<sup>41</sup> Otto Hintze, 'Typologie der ständischen Verfassungen des Abendlandes', *HZ*, 141 (1930): 229-53, 'Wesen und Wandlung des modernen Staates', *SPAW* (1931): 790-910 and 'Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen der Repräsentativverfassungen', *HZ*, 143 (1931): 1-47.

<sup>42</sup> Jürgen Kocka, 'Otto Hintze' in Hans-Ulrich Wehler, ed, *Deutsche Historiker* (5 vols; Göttingen, 1971-1972), iii. 275-98; Pavel Kolář, 'Nährboden fachlicher Innovation? Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte im Seminarunterricht an der Berliner, Wiener und Prager Deutschen Universität im Zeitalter des universitären Großbetriebs (1900-1930)', in Gabriele Lingelbach, ed, *Vorlesung, Seminar, Repetitorium: Universitäre geschichtswissenschaftliche Lehre im historischen Vergleich* (Munich, 2006), 101.

because they asserted that economic and cultural processes remained ‘inconceivable except on the basis of the *meaning* that the reality of life, which always takes on individualized forms, has for us in specific individual relationships.’<sup>43</sup> Matters of class stratification, population divisions and what Bloch called relations between men became secondary in this analytical framework. And so Bloch’s contributions to debates about the social origins of serfdom, for example, struck historians in this context as useful as it was a limited part of the study of kingship.<sup>44</sup>

Georg von Below’s career at the University of Freiburg substantiates foundational incompatibilities of proto-*annaliste* and historicist traditions. Below’s activities require attention for their apparent contradictions. On one hand, Bloch publicly criticized his German colleague in an obituary, commenting that Below saw in historical research the basic operation of *histoire problème* but lamented that he failed to expose the nature of daily life in urban history.<sup>45</sup> Below, on the other hand, edited the *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* between 1903 and 1927, placing him and fellow editors, the political economist, Stephan Bauer, and fellow mediaevalist, Ludo Moritz Hartmann, in a project to promote socio-economic history, to foster a transnational venture to display the ‘economic conditions and developments of all times and peoples’ and to decentre the nation in history in favour of a Europeanist perspective, all of which suggest proximity in interest to members of the *Annales* School.<sup>46</sup> Bloch’s scorn for Below’s technique is for that reason surprising, but so are Below’s historical interests: he came from a family of land-owning army officers, yet showed little interest in military history and instead focused on urban and constitutional

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<sup>43</sup> Max Weber, ‘Die ‘Objektivität’ sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis’, in Johannes Winckelmann, ed, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre von Max Weber* (Tübingen, 1951), 180.

<sup>44</sup> Robert Holtzmann, review of Bloch, *Rois et Serfs*, *HZ*, 126 (1922): 150-52, 152.

<sup>45</sup> Marc Bloch, ‘Économistes, historiens, hommes d’action. Un tempérament: Georg von Below’, *AHés*, 12 (1931): 553-59, 555-56.

<sup>46</sup> Georg von Below, ‘Allmende und Markgenossenschaft’, *VSWG*, 1 (1903): 120-23, 123.

history.<sup>47</sup> For all the modernity of his specialism, however, Below belonged to Lamprecht's generation born in the 1850s, who had seen Prussian armies overrun France and could remember the elderly Ranke.<sup>48</sup> The last part of Below's career, furthermore, played out between 1905 and retirement in 1924 at the University of Freiburg, a well-established seat of learning in Germany that had escaped foreign control, even from France during the Napoleonic wars.<sup>49</sup>

Below's oeuvre displayed the characteristics both of academic conservatism and the historicist tradition. He studied mediaeval constitutional history to discern the type of 'legal state' that had existed in mediaeval German-speaking territories.<sup>50</sup> The resultant book incorporated an analysis of the way in which the king interacted with the *Stände* and concluded that although the monarch remained a directing force in legal history, the popular personality of the *Reich* grew appreciably.<sup>51</sup> Below also devoted attention to the relationship of constitutional to economic history, which he believed formed part of an effort to reconstruct fully past 'national thought.'<sup>52</sup> That connection doubtless resounded in the early years of the Weimar Republic in which constitutional and material issues dominated. But it also conformed with Below's own opinion, itself evocative of Maitland's, that political economy was the 'daughter' of legal history. The growing availability within the academy of documents relating to economic, administrative and constitutional history symbolized by the foundation in 1881 of the *Gesellschaft für rheinische Geschichtskunde* had accelerated that development.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Below wrote, however, a history of First-World-War submarine warfare with von Tirpitz, Below to Tirpitz, Jan. 1918, Tirpitz MSS N253/125 and draft manuscripts, Tirpitz MSS 253/106.

<sup>48</sup> Hans Cymorek, *Georg von Below und die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft um 1900* (Stuttgart, 1998), 31.

<sup>49</sup> Christophe Charle, 'Patterns', in Rüegg, ed, *History of the University*, iii. 34.

<sup>50</sup> Georg von Below, *Der deutsche Staat des Mittelalters: Ein Grundriß der deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1914), vii.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 190.

<sup>52</sup> Georg von Below, *Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung von den Befreiungskriegen bis zu unseren Tagen. Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1916), 168; Georg von Below, *Vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Bilder aus der deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1924), 122.

<sup>53</sup> Below, *Die deutsche Geschichtsschreibung*, 92.

Below's later work related, however, to his intensive study of urban history. This preoccupation placed him in the transnational debate led by Pirenne about the history of mediaeval towns.<sup>54</sup> But Below's urban history did not resemble Pirenne's. Politics impinged because Below, and others in the field, constructed and shaped the identity of the urban middle class from which he had originated through the research specialism.<sup>55</sup> On politics, Below also posited the possibility to write a universal history: 'it [was] impossible for historians' historical depictions to incorporate the entirety of human history', he announced, so they 'look[ed] in the mirror of political history to discern what is made knowable.'<sup>56</sup> Knowability related mediaeval to modern states by a determinist turn of mind that emphasized the contemporary resonance of the past.<sup>57</sup> That disposition, absorbed from the work of Heinrich von Treitschke and Heinrich von Sybel, limited the scope for proto-*annalistes'* multidisciplinary methodologies to enter into Below's thought-world.<sup>58</sup> Instead, any branch of history other than the political took on a secondary importance in the series of books that Below wrote; consequently, Bloch presumed that Below found town governance more absorbing than urban communities.<sup>59</sup>

The distance between Below's 'ultra-conservative' approach and sociological alternatives also became obvious inasmuch as he defended the historicist commitment to study the relations enjoyed by individuals, whether in groups or with regard to their cultural *milieux*, as manifestations of the *Volksgeist* or other Romantic notions such as the *Zeitgeist*, the spirit of a people or an epoch. His defence of these orientations put him at loggerheads in 1919 with

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<sup>54</sup> Henri Pirenne, review of Below, *Der Ursprung der deutschen Stadtverfassung*, *RcHL*, 26 (1892): 353-67.

<sup>55</sup> Karl Kroeschell, *Rechtsgeschichte Deutschlands im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1992), 12-14, 83-93.

<sup>56</sup> Below, *Geschichtsschreibung*, 117.

<sup>57</sup> Werner Rösener, *Staat und Krieg: Vom Mittelalter bis zur Moderne* (Göttingen, 2000), 42-43; Hans Cymorek, 'Wir urteilen sicherer über die Fragen des Tages': Georg von Below als Agrarhistoriker zwischen Politik und Wissenschaft', *ZfAA*, 47 (1999): 50-58, 50-51.

<sup>58</sup> Hans Schleier, *Sybel und Treitschke: Antidemokratismus und Militarismus im historisch-politischen Denken grossbourgeoiser Geschichtsideologen* (Berlin, 1956), 133-75; Helmut Seier, 'Heinrich von Sybel' in Wehler, ed, *Deutsche Historiker*, ii. 24-38.

<sup>59</sup> Georg von Below, *Der Ursprung der deutschen Stadtverfassung* (Düsseldorf, 1892), *Das ältere deutsche Städtewesen und Bürgertum* (Bielefeld, 1898) and *Territorium und Stadt* (Munich, 1923).

Carl Heinrich Becker, the education minister whom Berr admired.<sup>60</sup> Becker wanted professors to teach sociology in order better to engage with contemporary social problems but Below did not: he felt that the Western Enlightenment had overestimated the power of the individual to rationalize the complex processes of human perception. In Germany, he thought, the *Ordinariat* could rely on its own *Verstehen* tradition, which had always connected the individual to the general or universal through its Idealist-Christian reasoning.<sup>61</sup> Below's ideas also contrasted with Lamprecht's understanding of the need for cultural history, to which he first rallied but later objected.<sup>62</sup> In addition, Below maintained a 'respectful distance' from sociologists such as Sombart, Weber and Karl Bücher.<sup>63</sup>

The Freiburg historian's approach sat between that of the majority *Ordinariat* and the *méthodiques* on one side and proto-*annalistes* on the other: he observed the aspiration to reconstruct the national past, paying attention to powerful groups such as Germany's middle classes, but he also helped to propagate a fuller account of a bygone era from new angles without abandoning historicist methods. Contextual pressures of perceived societal 'crisis' originating from socialist demands to democratize industry and the dismantling after 1918 of the *Kaiserreich* may account for Below's retreat from Lamprecht's radical interpretation of the task of methodological development.<sup>64</sup> Here was a historian, nevertheless, only five years older than Berr and well-equipped to adopt and practice proto-*annaliste* methodologies, who failed to interact significantly with *Annales*. That occurred because his habitus, and the features of the German university system it embodied, diverged from those available to proto-*annaliste* historians.

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<sup>60</sup> Schöttler, 'Henri Berr', 198.

<sup>61</sup> Ringer, *German Mandarins*, 228-29.

<sup>62</sup> Cymorek, 'Wir urteilen sicherer über die Fragen des Tages', 54; Herbert Schönebaum, 'Karl Lamprecht: Zur 100. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages (25.II.1856)', *AfK*, 37 (1955): 269-305, 274-77.

<sup>63</sup> Georg von Below, *Soziologie als Lehrfach* (Munich, 1920); Georg von Below, 'Zum Streit um das Wesen der Soziologie', *JNS*, 24 (1926): 218-42; Georg von Below, *Probleme der Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1926), i-xx.

<sup>64</sup> Ernst Troeltsch, 'Die Krisis des Historismus', *NR*, 33 (1922): 572-90.

## 4.2 Monarchy and the People in the Age of *Volksgeschichte*, 1931-1949

The separation here of the period after 1931 until 1949 does not imply that it formed an aberration in German historiography. In fact, historians who remained in Germany after 1931 felt that their position of authority had been saved from *völkisch* students' and politicians' incursions by the mid-1930s. Yet after Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, the effects of the Nazi regime on historical research in Germany cannot escape recognition. Between the beginning of National Socialist government and the foundation of the F.R.G. on 11 October 1949, conflict occurred with *annaliste* methods on racial and patriotic grounds. The insertion by National Socialist politicians of racial problematics into the curriculum and their investigation by certain scholars working in new institutions alongside the universities helped create tensions. Ministers established in 1935 the Berlin *Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des Neuen Deutschland*, which Walter Frank directed; Wilhelm Grau set up in 1936 the *Forschungsabteilung Judenfrage* in Munich; and Alfred Rosenberg organized another centre in Frankfurt.<sup>65</sup> A group of researchers including Eugen Fischer, Günther, Rosenberg and Otmar Baron von Verschuer featured prominently in these establishments. Their work reinforced the anti-Semitic and 'racist basis' of public doctrine developed by Hitler and N.S.D.A.P. politicians.<sup>66</sup> The connection between the proliferation of racial theory and the misreception of *Annales* historians' methodologies arose because conservative historians did not always detach themselves from similar developments in historical research. Many did not participate: Meinecke and Hintze lost their positions because of their moderate criticisms of the regime, and conservative-Jewish historians such as Hans Rothfels, Hans Herzfeld and

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<sup>65</sup> Helmut Heiber, *Walter Frank und sein Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des neuen Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1966), 258-65; Patricia von Papen, 'Schützenhilfe nationalsozialistischer Judenpolitik: Die 'Judenforschung' des Reichsinstituts für Geschichte des neuen Deutschland 1935-1945', in Andreas R. Hofmann, ed, *Beseitigung des jüdischen Einflusses. Antisemitische Forschung, Eliten und Karrieren im Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1999), 17-42; Dieter Schiefelbein, *Das Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage, Frankfurt am Main: Vorgeschichte und Gründung 1935-1939* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1993), 25-41.

<sup>66</sup> Lutz Raphael, 'Radikales Ordnungsdenken und die Organization totalitärer Herrschaft: Weltanschauungseliten und Humanwissenschaftlicher im NS-Regime', *GG*, 27 (2001): 5-40, 38.

Hans-Joachim Schoeps left Germany in order to escape racial persecution only to face the difficult process of reintegration after 1945.<sup>67</sup> Otto Becker, Heinrich Dannenbauer, Fritz Hartung, Adolf Helbok, Barthel Huppertz, Walther Kienast, Kleo Pleyer, Paul Wentzcke and Eugen Wohlhaupter provide examples of historians who, by contrast, at least upheld their teachers' conservative values and in some cases empathized with, even admired, the Nazi regime, out of conviction or the will to survive. Their work variously exalted the superiority of German over all other historical methods. And *Volksgeschichte* – the interpretation of the racial basis of the past analyzed through the investigation of interlocked variables such as population, farming communities, geography and nature – ran in parallel to racial theorists' projects.<sup>68</sup> But, whilst the situation produced various resistances, it did not destroy altogether Franco-German historiographical exchanges.

Misleading resemblances between *Annales* and *Volksgeschichte* did not disguise their differences. Hermann Aubin, Max Hildebert Boehm, Helbok, Huppertz and Pleyer used, to varying degrees, a multidisciplinary method. Pleyer, for example, hoped to create a 'new total science' by co-ordinating history, sociology and ethnology's analytical techniques; he argued that the *Volk* pre-dated the state and, therefore, demanded scientists' first attentions as a foundational life force. His vision never went unchallenged, even in the Nazi era when many still believed Pleyer embodied what Carr called the 'lunatic fringe' of fantasy rather than intellectual rigour.<sup>69</sup> But Pleyer's view that revision of historians' practice fell to Germans found echoes with other N.S.D.A.P. supporters. Eugen Wohlhaupter told conference delegates on 5 May 1942 that, as 'the first scientific people on the earth', Germans seemed to him better

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<sup>67</sup> Meinecke and his circle had studied the war-guilt question for the *Historische Reichskommission*, see Lambert, 'Generations of German Historians', 171, but Nazi politicians dismissed and separated them in 1935, see Peter Walther, 'Die Zerstörung eines Projektes: Hedwig Hintze, Otto Hintze und Friedrich Meinecke', in Gisela Bock and Daniel Schönplflug, eds, *Friedrich Meinecke in seiner Zeit: Studien zu Leben und Werk* (Stuttgart, 2006), 120-21; Gabriela A. Eakin-Thimme, *Geschichte im Exil: Deutschsprachige Historiker in der Emigration nach 1933* (Munich, 2005), 161-62, 248, 117. On reintegration, see Andreas Kossert, *Kalte Heimat: Die Geschichte der deutschen Vertriebenen nach 1945* (Berlin, 2008).

<sup>68</sup> Willi Oberkrome, *Volksgeschichte: Methodische Innovationen und Völkische Ideologisierung in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft 1918-1945* (Göttingen, 1993), 102-105.

<sup>69</sup> Heiber, *Walter Frank*, 393-95; Carr, *History of Germany*, 192, 237.



suited than any other people to complete the task.<sup>70</sup> Aubin urged reform throughout his career, continuing what he felt had been his attempt to challenge prevailing conceptions of political history by charting the popular past.<sup>71</sup> He even endorsed in 1939 the *Reich* plans to Germanize Poland.<sup>72</sup> Aubin and Pleyer meant their transformations of technique to magnify the heroic image of the German *Volk*, and they both enjoyed career success throughout this period: Aubin (though not a member of the N.S.D.A.P) at Breslau, where he established a chair in racial research, and Pleyer at Königsberg.<sup>73</sup> Günther Ipsen and Hans Freyer also transformed Lamprecht's Institution for Cultural and Universal History into a centre for ethnic history, which, with Pleyer in Königsberg, Aubin in Bonn then Breslau and the work of historians at the Universities of Innsbruck and Vienna, formed a network.<sup>74</sup> But this did not mirror Bloch or Febvre's calls to construct total history, incorporating the range of human experiences through economic, geographical and sociological techniques. The call instead echoed official policies about *Lebensraum* and the need for the German race to secure the resources it needed for its own development.<sup>75</sup> This distinguished the focus and intentions of *Volksgeschichte* from *Annales* historians' comparative approach to European regional history.<sup>76</sup>

*Völkisch* oppositions to *Annales* School approaches that critics expressed in the *Historische Zeitschrift* confirmed these antagonisms. Work by Bloch, Demangeon, Febvre

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<sup>70</sup> See Hans Hattenhauer, ed, *Rechtswissenschaft im NS-Staat: Der Fall Eugen Wohlhaupter* (Heidelberg, 1987), 99.

<sup>71</sup> Hermann Aubin, 'Zwischen Altertum und Neuzeit und Vielfalt im Aufbau des mittelalterlichen Abendlandes', in Walther Hubatsch, ed, *Schicksalswege Deutsche Vergangenheit. Beiträge zur geschichtlichen Deutung der letzten hundertfünfzig Jahre* (Düsseldorf, 1950), 15, 17; Lambert, 'Generations of German Historians', 165.

<sup>72</sup> Aubin, 'Aufbau des mittelalterlichen Abendlandes', 20; Hartmut Lehman and James Van Horn Melton, *Paths of Continuity: Central European Historiography from the 1930s to the 1950s* (Cambridge, 1994), 7.

<sup>73</sup> Eduard Mühle, *Für Volk und deutschen Osten. Der Historiker Hermann Aubin und die deutsche Ostforschung* (Düsseldorf, 2005), 83-126; Ernst Klee, *Das Personenlexikon zum Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 2007), 20-21, 465.

<sup>74</sup> Oberkrome, *Volksgeschichte*, 151-54.

<sup>75</sup> Michael Burleigh, *Germany Turns Eastwards: A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 1988), 32-42.

<sup>76</sup> Irmeline Veit-Brause, 'The Place of Local and Regional History in German and French Historiography: Some General Reflections', *AJFS*, 16 (1979): 447-478, 454; Peter Schöttler, 'Marc Bloch und Deutschland', in Peter Schöttler, ed, *Marc Bloch: Historiker und Widerstandskämpfer* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1999), 34; Raulff, *Ein Historiker*, 452-59.

and Pirenne attracted hostile attention. Febvre's book on the Rhine proved contentious, like the subject of post-1918 borders in general.<sup>77</sup> But it prompted as much admiration as disdain from Gottfried Pfeiffer: commendation of Febvre's powers of argumentation; contempt because Pfeiffer thought it a justification of French incursions into 'German' territory – the Versailles settlement of Germany's border with France became legitimate if one argued that collective representations legitimized the Rhine as a border region.<sup>78</sup> Reviewers agreed with Pfeiffer on the eve of the Second World War that Febvre for that reason misrepresented the 'facts' of geography. They also asserted that Febvre appeared to them to substitute 'witticisms' for 'sound judgements.'<sup>79</sup> Pirenne's work elicited contradictory reactions. The Belgian mediaevalist had pursued comparative methods because he wanted to 'unlearn' the nation-centric historicist tradition after the First World War.<sup>80</sup> Reviewers regretted the consequent 'pushing into the background of the nationality issue', but, in the same breath, praised Pirenne's adoption of the *Verstehen* approach that provided an explanatory overview of modern Belgium's past. More circumspect reviewers insisted that Pirenne ought to have examined opinions he perhaps never held such as why German-speaking territories 'proved the more suitable territory for Carolingian pre-eminence in the Middle Ages', or justified his attribution of disproportionate influence to English over Germanic constitutional history; but interest in Pirenne's synthesis of a variety of intellectual, cultural and political facts as well as his 'fertile' economic analysis expressed itself in the form of regret that historicist traditions had underestimated its uses.<sup>81</sup> These conflicted voices disclosed the divergent intellectual

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<sup>77</sup> On the subject, see Peter Schöttler, 'Le Rhin comme enjeu historiographique dans l'entre-deux-guerres. Vers une histoire des mentalités frontalières', *G*, 14 (1994): 63-82, in particular 77.

<sup>78</sup> Gottfried Pfeiffer, review of Febvre and Demangeon, *Le Rhin*, *RV*, 6 (1936): 96.

<sup>79</sup> Paul Wentszcke, review of Febvre and Demangeon, *Le Rhin*, *HZ*, 160 (1939): 161-62, 162.

<sup>80</sup> Henri Pirenne, *Ce que nous devons désapprendre de l'Allemagne* (Gent, 1922); Pirenne did not dismiss German historiography altogether, only the primacy of national-interpretive frameworks, see Peter Schöttler, 'Henri Pirenne, historien européen entre la France et l'Allemagne', *RbPH*, 76 (1998): 875-83.

<sup>81</sup> Robert Holtzmann, 'Verschiedenes: Henri Pirenne', *HZ*, 153 (1936): 451-52, 451; Walther Kienast, review of Pirenne, *Histoire de l'Europe*, *HZ*, 157 (1937): 527-37, 534; Heinrich Zeiß, review of Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, *HZ*, 158 (1938): 348-51, 350-51.

attitudes of this period that, although not co-ordinated, sounded hostile to the *Annales* School in certain registers.

Recognition for *Annales*, however, grew. Political refugees from Germany such as Robert Eisler and Lucie Varga joined the journal's staff.<sup>82</sup> Historians working in Germany such as cultural historian, Walter Goetz, and political scientist, Gerhard von Schulze-Gävernitz, continued to co-operate with Berr's *Centre*. And the work of Hermann Wopfner exemplified the extent to which the German-speaking *Ordinariat* became cognisant in the 1930s and 1940s of *Annales* historians' activities. Wopfner's study of French agrarian history offered an example of full-scale engagement with *Annales*, largely isolated besides Bloch and Dopsch's friendship.<sup>83</sup> The *Institut für geschichtliche Siedlungs- und Heimatkunde der Alpenländer*, which Wopfner founded at Innsbruck University, fed into the ethnographic preoccupations both of racial theorists and *Volksgeschichte*, even before the *Anschluss* conjoined Austria-Hungary to the Third Reich. But Wopfner admired Bloch's creation of a coherent exposition of French agricultural history in *Les Caractères originaux*.<sup>84</sup> The book fell short of comprehensive analysis in the same way that Lamprecht's *Deutsche Geschichte* did not fully integrate agrarian into national history, Wopfner asserted. But Bloch's comparative study of field-formation without ascribing recovered facts to racial issues, the connection of *Gemeinschaft* to *Gemeinschaftsbewußtsein* and explanation of legal interpretations of 'freedom' and 'indenture' all struck Wopfner as efficacious historical interpretations, which, with Sée's German-language history of the French economy, provided authoritative guides to the topic.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Schöttler, 'Henri Berr', 198; Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Women and the World of the *Annales*', *HWJ*, 33 (1992): 121-137, 122-24.

<sup>83</sup> Peter Schöttler, 'Die *Annales* und Österreich in den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren', *ÖZG*, 4 (1993): 74-99, 75-81.

<sup>84</sup> Hermann Wopfner, 'Zur französischen Agrargeschichte', *HZ*, 149 (1933): 82-97, 82.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 86-87, 93, 96.

Bloch's personal connections with historians in Germany exemplify, however, the limits of these acknowledgements. Steffen Kaudelka has shown that Bloch conducted personal correspondence with Robert Holtzman, Walther Kienast, Alfons Dopsch, Gustav Meyer and Heinrich Sproemberg.<sup>86</sup> In all cases the channels of communication did not produce scientific collaborations even though Holtzmann, for example, sat on the International Historical Bibliography Commission.<sup>87</sup> Even Bloch and Sproemberg, a young researcher for the Sachsen-Anhalt Historical Commission interested by the ideas economists advanced for historical interpretation, failed to establish lasting ties; this despite Bloch's admiration of scholarly rigour promoted by universities in Germany.<sup>88</sup> They ceased to exchange letters in 1937 because Bloch found his German colleague too much a nationalist *érudit*.<sup>89</sup> But Sproemberg, hardly a nationalist, joined Meinecke in regretting that 'the situation of France and of its science' had come under 'the narrow influence of Henri Pirenne's school alone for guidance.' To Meinecke and Sproemberg, this '[appeared] to be sad and the result of the realities of war experiences.'<sup>90</sup> Here Sproemberg lamented the recession of Franco-German exchanges, which he tried to redress after the war during his career in the G.D.R. He did not deny the international importance of Pirenne's mediaeval history, but his openness to *Annales* placed him ahead of his time. In 1948, as Sproemberg expressed these views, a new wave of agrarian and economic historians inspired by Bloch, Wilhelm Abel, Günther Franz and Friedrich Lütge, had yet to reach maturity. The *Zunft* completely ignored Abel's economic and urban histories until the 1960s.<sup>91</sup> And Franz's history of the *Bauernkrieg* also met with opposition from Gerhard Ritter, who ridiculed its supposed interpretive inconsistency in provocative terms: at some points Franz apparently

<sup>86</sup> Steffen Kaudelka, *Rezeption im Zeitalter der Konfrontation: Französische Geschichtswissenschaft und Geschichte in Deutschland, 1920-40* (Göttingen, 2003), 166-71.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>88</sup> Peter Schöttler, 'Marc Bloch et l'Allemagne', *Rd'A*, 33 (2001): 413-30, 419-22.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 171; Veit Didczuneit, Manfred Unger and Matthias Middell, *Geschichtswissenschaft in Leipzig: Heinrich Sproemberg* (Leipzig, 1994), 31, 65.

<sup>90</sup> Sproemberg to Ferdinand Lot, 19 Oct. 1948, Lot MSS 7310/89.

<sup>91</sup> Iggers, *New Directions*, 115.

described the farmers' insurrections as 'reactionary', arguing that they aided the emergence of an authoritarian state, yet at others termed them 'progressive', eroding the acquired privileges of the rural economy guarded by aristocratic government.<sup>92</sup> Franco-German transfers in this way occurred, but the political tone of the discipline and its institutions curtailed them before 1949.

The situation of legal history crystallizes that situation. Febvre and Bloch had both sought to redress the individualizing techniques of legal history. Both *Annales* editors' work in this sense related to the constitutional histories written in this period by Walther Kienast, Meinecke's successor as editor-in-chief of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, and Percy Ernst Schramm. Bloch's work presented a 'parallel' because of overlaps in content concerning the study of forms of government and their implications.<sup>93</sup> But Kienast and Schramm rejected Bloch's findings yet both belonged to the next generation to Bloch and Febvre's. Each constitutional historian occupied a prominent professional position, Kienast at Berlin (until he moved to Graz in 1939) and Schramm at Göttingen, a university distinguished by its scholars' development of methods used to study of legal history.<sup>94</sup>

Schramm refuted the conclusions Bloch had presented in *Les Rois thaumaturges*.<sup>95</sup> He argued that little uniformity in notions of the Royal Touch could be found, either in their geographical spread from the Roman and Germanic territories into France, or through the course of time after 1000 A.D. He suggested, therefore, that Bloch's conclusion that people believed in the necessity of miracles paid insufficient attention to the diversity of popular reactions to Germanic and Roman curing-scrofula. Indirectly Schramm questioned the extent to which Bloch's multidisciplinary method represented without homogenizing the variety of

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<sup>92</sup> Ritter to Franz, 23 Jan. 1935, Ritter MSS N/1166/486.

<sup>93</sup> David Thimme, *Percy Ernst Schramm und das Mittelalter* (Munich, 2003), 467-69; Kaudelka, *Rezeption*, 195-97.

<sup>94</sup> Georg Iggers, 'The University of Göttingen 1760-1800 and the Transformation of Historical Scholarship', *SdS*, 2 (1982): 11-37.

<sup>95</sup> See also, Kaudelka, *Rezeption*, 188-203.

public responses to a feature of kings' symbolic powers.<sup>96</sup> This hinted at Schramm's sensitivity to the histories of different European peoples, exemplified by his participation in transnational debates about them throughout the period until the Eighth International Congress for the History of Religions in Rome, which Raffaello Pettazzoni organized in 1955.<sup>97</sup> But Schramm's interpretations before 1945 followed dominant patriotic tastes in historical discourses in Germany inasmuch as they alleged that regional and temporal diversity of beliefs arose from peoples' roots, the geographic and community constituents of race.<sup>98</sup> His active war service and continued commitment to the N.S.D.A.P. suggested that therein lay the equivalent historiographical commitment to the Nazi's will to assert German influence over foreign lands.<sup>99</sup>

Kienast remained even further than Schramm from the *annaliste* effort to write total human histories. He pursued agrarian and legal history as embodied in *Deutsche Agrargeschichte*, published between 1967 and 1970: an explanatory method analyzing constitutional, administrative and legal history periodized according to reigns of monarchs. Kienast described the way in which German leaders submitted to French kings until the reign of Philip the Fair in relation to the development of the modern European state system, citing Pirenne but no *Annales* historians.<sup>100</sup> Schramm also interrogated the territorial objectives of Holy Roman emperor Otto III and successors Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VII as a deliberate attempt to recover the western sections of the Roman Empire as part of the

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<sup>96</sup> Percy Ernst Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich: Das Wesen der Monarchie vom 9. zum 16. Jahrhundert. Ein Kapitel aus der Geschichte des abendländischen Staates* (2 vols; Weimar, 1939), i. 152-55, ii. 75.

<sup>97</sup> Percy Ernst Schramm, 'Sacral Kingship and Charisma', *CSSH*, 5 (1963): 357-60.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 152.

<sup>99</sup> Frank R. Hausmann, 'Bonner und Kölner Romanisten angesichts der nationalsozialistischen Machtergreifung im Jahr 1933: Zwei vergleichende Fallstudien', in Frank R. Hausmann, Ludwig Jäger and Bernd Witte, eds, *Literatur in der Gesellschaft: Festschrift für Theo Buck zum 60. Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 1990), 276.

<sup>100</sup> Walther Kienast, *Die deutschen Fürsten im Dienste der Westmächte bis zum Tode Philipps des Schönen von Frankreich* (2 vols; Leipzig, 1924-31), i. 1-41.

*renovatio imperii romanorum*.<sup>101</sup> Parallels *avant la lettre* with the *Führerprinzip* became obvious in elements of both these works. The assumptions of *Volksgeschichte* appeared because Helbok had also alleged that, although the racial foundation of the nation lay in the people, the monarchy had secured and united the state.<sup>102</sup> That is not necessarily to say that political motivations took priority; the idea of a *renovation imperii romanorum* outlived Schramm. But the contemporary echoes and the personal-political affiliations of these two legal historians put their work fundamentally at odds with, and made it impervious to, the radically different objectives that *Annales* historians pursued. Mediaevalists such as Schramm and Kienast continued in a narrower sense than members of the *Annales* School to reformulate their methods and to investigate neglected phenomena.<sup>103</sup>

#### 4.3 New Directions and Debated Traditions, 1950-1970

After the foundation of the F.R.G. historians of different generations dissembled the nation as an organizing concept.<sup>104</sup> Werner Conze felt that it had become irrelevant in a global ‘atomic age.’<sup>105</sup> Hermann Heimpel perhaps tried to speak for the *Zunft* when he wrote, ‘we experience the release from an overbearing historical tradition’ and alleged ‘that the era of a historical perspective based purely on the nation-state has come to an end.’<sup>106</sup> Ritter also wrote to Ludwig Dehio, editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, that, in a letter about Febvre’s Luther biography, ‘German historians’ choice of topics is no longer national-historical, but, for some

<sup>101</sup> Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des Karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit* (2 vols; Leipzig, 1929), i. 9-43.

<sup>102</sup> Adolf Helbok, *Grundlagen der Volksgeschichte Deutschlands und Frankreich. Vergleichende Studien zur deutschen Rassen-, Kultur- und Staatsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1937), 642.

<sup>103</sup> Klaus Schreiner, ‘Wissenschaft von der Geschichte des Mittelalters nach 1945. Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten der Mittelalterforschung im geteilten Deutschland’, in Ernst Schulin and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner, eds, *Deutsche Geschichtsschreibung nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg (1945-1965)* (Munich, 1989), 90.

<sup>104</sup> See also Lutz Raphael, ‘Von der Volksgeschichte zur Strukturgeschichte: Die Anfänge der Westdeutschen Sozialgeschichte 1945-1965’, *C*, 12 (2002): 7-11.

<sup>105</sup> Werner Conze, *Die Deutsche Nation* (Göttingen, 1963), 156.

<sup>106</sup> Hermann Heimpel, ‘Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft’, *VfZ*, 5 (1957): 1-17, 8; Heimpel, *Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft*, 22.

time, has been European.’<sup>107</sup> The use made by the N.S.D.A.P. of ‘nation’ as a conceptual apparatus may in part account for these perceptions. Conze, Heimpel and Ritter all at least conformed to the Nazi regime, though Ritter – too old to fight – stands in isolation for his involvement with the Goerdeler circle’s attempt to assassinate Hitler.<sup>108</sup> Between the three historians, new preoccupations did emerge: Conze resembled other young historians such as Justus Hashagen, Hans Rosenberg, Klaus Schüle, Hans-Ulrich Wehler and Karl Ferdinand Werner who rejected the neo-Kantian argument that social-science concepts do not reflect reality and engaged with *Annales* historians in their strides to create critical social histories of Germany.<sup>109</sup> Ritter and Heimpel, however, tried to reinvigorate the methodological orientation that they alleged had died. Sebastian Conrad characterized the situation as a ‘renaissance of the nation’; ‘all pleas for European, universal, or world history notwithstanding, the nation [...] continued to function as the frequently unacknowledged centre of gravity of historical interpretation.’<sup>110</sup> This ‘renaissance’ accompanied unforgiving contempt for *Annales* historians’ methodologies in some cases, to the extent that Christopher Cornelißen described Ritter’s response as a ‘campaign’ against them.<sup>111</sup> And because Ritter and Heimpel became two of the most prominent working historians in this period, their responses suggest the contours of post-war resistances.

Ritter and Heimpel’s exposure to the *Annales* School occurred through interactions mainly with its second generation. Braudel and Febvre’s work preoccupied Ritter, whereas

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<sup>107</sup> Ritter to Dehio, 11 Jan. 1952, as cited in Kaudelka, *Rezeption*, 137.

<sup>108</sup> Christoph Cornelißen, *Gerhard Ritter: Geschichtswissenschaft und Politik im. 20. Jahrhundert* (Düsseldorf, 2001), 362-69.

<sup>109</sup> Gerhard A. Ritter, ‘Die emigrierten Meinecke-Schüler in den Vereinigten Staaten. Leben und Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Deutschland und der neuen Heimat: Hajo Holborn, Felix Gilbert, Dietrich Gerhard, Hans Rosenberg’, *HZ*, 284 (2007): 59-102, 96-97; Schüle, ‘Die Tendenzen’, 229-33; Hans-Ulrich Wehler, ‘Hans-Ulrich Wehler e la ‘neue Sozialgeschichte’’, *PP*, 13 (1987): 139-43, 142-43; Karl Ferdinand Werner, ‘Hauptströmungen der neueren französischen Mittelalterforschung’, *WG*, 13 (1953): 187-97.

<sup>110</sup> Conrad, *Quest for the Lost Nation*, 2; Thomas Etzemüller, ‘Auf der Suche nach den ‘haltenden Mächten’: Intellektuelle Wandlungen und Kontinuitäten in der westdeutschen Geschichtswissenschaft nach 1945’, in Ulrich Pfeil, ed, *Die Rückkehr der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft in die ‘Ökumene der Historiker’: Ein wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Ansatz* (Munich, 2008), 48.

<sup>111</sup> Cornelißen, *Gerhard Ritter*, 476-83.



Heimpel spoke against Robert Boutruche, who worked – like Bloch – on mediaeval society. International historians' congresses formed one context for Ritter and Heimpel's encounters: the Paris and Rome meetings, held in 1950 and 1955, as well as Vienna in 1965. For younger socio-economic historians in Germany, *annalistes'* contributions to these congresses provided a source of interest evident from their subsequent reviews. Acknowledgement of the importance of the Sixth Section, for the 'powerful' analytical tools provided by Braudel's ideas of *conjoncture* or material civilization, for the importance of Bloch and Febvre's understanding of social realities as combinations of ideas and societal frameworks and for Duby's explanation of the mediaeval economy of the West, which historians thought superior to Clapham and Tawney's research, stood out.<sup>112</sup> Concern about scholarly insularity and the extent to which the considerable factual research undertaken by *Annales* historians endangered Berr's synthetic method also ran through certain receptions.<sup>113</sup> But the resounding tone remained positive.

Ritter and Heimpel, on the other hand, detected in *Annales* histories the 'peculiar foreign character' of Germany's scientific enemies.<sup>114</sup> Heimpel objected to Boutruche's analysis of *seigneurie* and *féodalité* using anthropological, sociological, psychological and cultural categories because he believed both to be legal-political concepts. Heimpel did not object to multidisciplinary conceptualizations, indeed his later study of family history in mediaeval Strasbourg suggested the opposite, but he could not accept the explanatory de-

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<sup>112</sup> Werner Conze, 'Bericht über das Schrifttum: Hommage à Lucien Febvre', *HZ*, 181 (1956): 593-96, 593; Wilhelm Abel, review of Ladurie, *Les Paysans*, *HZ*, 206 (1968): 178; Wolfgang Zorn, review of Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle*, *HZ*, 215 (1972): 404-407, 404; Otto Brunner, 'Das Problem einer europäischen Sozialgeschichte', *HZ*, 177 (1953): 469-95, 473-74, 477; Walther Maas, review of Duby, *L'Économie rurale*, *HZ*, 196 (1963): 656-59, 656.

<sup>113</sup> Justus Hashagen, review of Febvre, *Combats*, *HZ*, 178 (1954): 149; E. Seidl, review of Berr, *En marge de l'histoire universelle*, *HZ*, 181 (1956): 197-99, 198; Heinz-Otto Sieburg, review of Berr, *La montée de l'esprit*, *HZ*, 183 (1957): 335-37, 336-37.

<sup>114</sup> Hermann Heimpel, 'Frankreich und das Reich', *HZ*, 161 (1940): 229-43, 232.

centring of state-formation processes.<sup>115</sup> His response to Boutrouche also betrayed its author's revanchist feelings; as a youngster, Heimpel became contemptuous of France and the French because he perceived that, with American, British and Russian support, they had damaged Germany's inter-war progress.<sup>116</sup> There emerged a nationalist flavour in the views of this railway engineer's son, whose ascent to the *Ordinariat* owed a debt to economic prosperity and the social mobility of the 1930s, in spite of Nazi attempts to reverse both.<sup>117</sup> An ideological intransigence also presented itself: when historians in Germany such as Heimpel expressed doubt about *Annales* historians' methods as simplifying complex reality, a 'soziologisch-wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Richtung', they often envisaged themselves unmasking a materialist historical interpretation in disguise.<sup>118</sup>

Heimpel's opposition also related to his fear of a resurgent *Kulturgeschichte*. He believed that the Lamprechtian *genre* would compromise the Bismarckian conception of the state, which Heimpel admired, by disrupting the historical legitimacy of its power hierarchies. After the Second World War, cultural history, in tandem with social histories, appeared to Heimpel to pose the prospect of a Spenglerian 'cultural pessimism' unique to Germany because questions about the domestic past before and after the Fischer controversy asked to what extent German actions had caused world wars.<sup>119</sup> Heimpel proposed instead to restore the analysis of individual agency, and with it the apologetic idea of human frailty, to what he thought of as its rightful prominence.<sup>120</sup> With this came the necessity of an empirical history

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<sup>115</sup> Hermann Heimpel, *Die Vener von Gmünd und Straßburg 1162–1447* (3 vols; Göttingen, 1982), i. 23-61; Robert Boutrouche, 'Moyen Âge', in *IX<sup>e</sup> Congrès Internationale des Sciences Historiques* (2 vols; Paris, 1950), i. 129-133; Hermann Heimpel, 'Internationaler Historikertag in Paris', *GWU*, 1 (1950): 556-59.

<sup>116</sup> Michael Jeismann, *Das Vaterland der Feinde. Studien zum nationalen Feindbegriff und Selbstverständnis in Deutschland und Frankreich 1792-1918* (Stuttgart, 1992), 334-38.

<sup>117</sup> Ralf Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany* (New York, 1967; originally published in German in 1965), 63-125; David Schoenbaum, *Hitler's Social Revolution* (New York, 1966), 300-301; Ernst Schulin, *Hermann Heimpel und die deutsche Nationalgeschichtsschreibung* (Heidelberg, 1998), 26-43.

<sup>118</sup> Heinz-Otto Sieburg, 'Literaturbericht über französische Geschichte der Neuzeit', *HZ*, Sonderheft 2 (1965) 277; see also Heinz-Otto Sieburg, review of Berr, *La montée de l'esprit*, *HZ*, 183 (1957): 277-427, 335-7.

<sup>119</sup> Heimpel, 'Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft', 8.

<sup>120</sup> Hermann Heimpel, *Der Mensch in seiner Gegenwart* (Göttingen, 1954), 69, 125, 149.

of facts from which Heimpel alleged Febvre had attempted to escape.<sup>121</sup> Any evasion of that duty resulted, in Heimpel's opinion, in the total collapse of basic standards in historical research, and, with them, any claim to scientific accuracy.

Ritter occupied an intellectual world analogous to Heimpel's. He followed French historiography with 'great interest.'<sup>122</sup> His public reaction to *Annales* came at the International Congress in Rome in 1955 after the events of the Paris Congress in 1950, which, 'so heavily influenced by the French historians' had prompted a debate at the 1951 Marburg *Historikertag* about the historical uses of sociology.<sup>123</sup> Ritter defended political history as part of the outline of his renovated understanding of the specialism: he used 'political history' as an umbrella term for a collection of techniques. 'Political history that isolates itself, that merely speaks of 'events' fails to recognise its historical prerequisites: natural (for example, geographic) facts, and the inevitable economic and social dimensions, the world of ideas, the higher spiritual life – so abstracted a *histoire des faits politiques* would have no scientific worth', he explained.<sup>124</sup> Ritter thus inferred that members of the *Annales* School had attacked a straw man since 1900, not *his* understanding of political history.<sup>125</sup> He added that without a guiding political narrative historians could not justify, either from the point of view of contemporary relevance or readership, any other selection-criteria for the objects they chose to investigate. So the prospect of a renewed universal cultural history also alarmed Ritter because it presented topics so large that he thought professional historians could not feasibly

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<sup>121</sup> Heimpel, *Geschichte und Geschichtswissenschaft*, 20.

<sup>122</sup> Ritter to Berr c./o. Éditions Albin Michel, 7 Dec. 1953, Ritter MSS N1166/341.

<sup>123</sup> Winifred Schulze, 'Der Neubeginn der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft nach 1945: Einsichten und Absichtserklärungen der Historiker nach der Katastrophe', in Schulin and Müller-Luckner, eds, *Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft*, 33; Karl Dietrich Erdmann, *Towards a Global Community of Historians: The International Historical Congresses and the International Committee of Historical Sciences, 1898-2000*, translated by Alan Nothnagle (Oxford, 2005; originally published in German in 1987), 220.

<sup>124</sup> Gerhard Ritter, 'Leistungen, Probleme, und Aufgaben der Internationalen Geschichtsschreibung zur neueren Geschichte (16.-18. Jahrhundert)', in *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze storiche* (7 vols; Rome, 1955), vi. 307.

<sup>125</sup> Cornelißen, *Gerhard Ritter*, 476.

research them whilst fulfilling their teaching commitments.<sup>126</sup> History for Ritter still served a public purpose no longer directly related to present politics but informative for a reading public interested to understand their nation's fortunes.<sup>127</sup>

These views informed Ritter's private arguments with Braudel. His attempt to apologize for Germany's role in the First World War itself cast historical method in the singular as responsive to a particular understanding of the past: history 'forever moves on the border-line where human will and capacity collides with superhuman forces, with the powers of destiny, which often defy control.'<sup>128</sup> Ritter participated in transnational diplomatic history debates, for example, opposing (with Jacques Droz) Fischer's interpretation of the origins of the First World War and editing history textbooks acceptable to historians in both France and Germany.<sup>129</sup> The Freiburg historian also 'fought the Marxists' at international conferences, alongside imperial historians William Langer and Gerald S. Graham, because he felt that Marxists 'tended to dominate proceedings along with the French.'<sup>130</sup> His view hinted that he shared Heimpel's habit of mistakenly homogenizing Marxist and French historians in general. And, because of the strength of Ritter's convictions, confusion characterized his reaction to Braudel's three-duration understanding and resultant methodology: 'I cannot detect the essence of the selection principle in your historical writing', he wrote to Braudel in 1958 after reading his colleague's *Collège de France* inaugural lecture. Ritter saw in Braudel's work only 'circumvention' of the role for humanity by the extensive statistical and factual evidence required in order to understand the *conjoncture*.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Gerhard Ritter, 'Zum Begriff der 'Kulturgeschichte.' Ein Diskussionbeitrag', *HZ*, 171 (1951): 293-302, 295.

<sup>127</sup> Gerhard Ritter, 'Gegenwärtige Lage und Zukunftsaufgaben Deutscher Geschichtswissenschaft', *HZ*, 170 (1950): 1-22, 1, 8.

<sup>128</sup> Gerhard Ritter, *Staatskunst und Kriegshandwerk: Das Problem des Militarismus in Deutschland* (4 vols; Munich, 1954), i. 12.

<sup>129</sup> Gregor Schöllgen, 'Fischer-Kontroverse' und Kontinuitätsproblem. Deutsche Kriegsziele im Zeitalter der Weltkriege', in Andreas Hillgruber and Jost Dülffer, eds, *Ploetz: Geschichte der Weltkriege. Mächte, Ereignisse, Entwicklungen 1900-1945* (Würzburg, 1981), 169; Gerhard Ritter, 'Vereinbarung der deutschen und französischen Historiker', *WG*, 12 (1952): 145-148, 146.

<sup>130</sup> Ritter to Graham, 25 Sep. 1965, Ritter MSS N1166/354.

<sup>131</sup> Ritter to Braudel, 16 Dec. 1958, Ritter MSS N1166/348.

Conze's response to Braudel's work mirrored the disorientation evident in Ritter's letters. As a leading historian in the Heidelberg *Arbeitskreis für moderne Sozialgeschichte* along with Reinhart Koselleck and Otto Brunner, Conze's interests in the methods of social organization and structure ostensibly overlapped with Braudel's.<sup>132</sup> But Conze's review remained muted, saying little besides signalling the future importance of Braudel's work.<sup>133</sup> This restraint issued from the comparative youth of Conze's social-analysis projects, which drew on a de-Nazified form of *Volksgeschichte*. It also found echoes in Hermann Aubin's perplexity: Aubin never accepted Braudel's invitations to visit the Sixth Section, despite suggestions that their projects could provide reciprocal inspiration.<sup>134</sup> Braudel's complex vision of history and its past in that sense existed beyond the limits of thinkable conceptualizations available in the history discipline in the F.R.G.

The university system also shaped Ritter's response. Erich Hassinger, Ritter's colleague, had joined Braudel in emphasizing the importance of the *longue durée* in terms of both length of period and geographical scale. He made the sixteenth century a test-case in German-language literature, and it caused a 'huge sensation' in France, attracting praise from Braudel himself.<sup>135</sup> Hassinger shared Braudel's feeling that 'the long duration had far too often been ignored' in Germany, but added 'I did not make it alone clear', inferring that he like Braudel also framed short- and medium-term events.<sup>136</sup> Ritter did not oppose Hassinger's work nor object to Hassinger personally, but Hassinger provided for Ritter another point of contact with *Annales*. Yet Hassinger's oeuvre remained within the broad mainstream constitutive of the renaissance of 'nation' in Germany at this time: it considered the sixteenth century from European and worldwide perspectives, and this arose from the international

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<sup>132</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, 'Werner Conze: Tradition und Innovation', *HZ*, 245 (1987): 529-43, 537; Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, 'Deux cultures historiographiques en concurrence', *VS*, 34 (1992): 106-12, 107.

<sup>133</sup> Werner Conze, review of Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, *HZ*, 172 (1951): 358-62, 361.

<sup>134</sup> Braudel to Aubin, 16 Aug. 1962, Aubin MSS NL179/4.

<sup>135</sup> Erich Hassinger, 'Die Weltgeschichtliche Stellung des 16. Jahrhunderts', *GWU*, 2 (1951): 705-18; Max Braubach to Ritter, 4 Nov. 1955, Ritter MSS N1166/344.

<sup>136</sup> Hassinger to Braudel, 14 May 1953, Hassinger MSS C54/6.

flavour of Ranke's universal history as well as *Annales*' total or civilizational approaches.<sup>137</sup> Like Theodor Schieder, Hassinger accepted that historians must connect economic, social and institutional 'structures' to individual and collective 'agency.'<sup>138</sup> He also understood the subtleties of Braudel's system and so refrained from asserting that structuralism constituted its central precept.<sup>139</sup> Hassinger thus appropriated the *longue durée* for his own purposes.

The disciplinary hierarchy at Freiburg problematized Hassinger's openness to *Annales*. As a historian, Hassinger wrote *longue durée* history from within the Philosophical Faculty. His less francophile colleagues, by contrast, maintained the connection of history to philosophy, a subject hostile to social or human sciences in the way it had been in France. Ritter, for example, attended the funeral of phenomenologist philosopher Edmund Husserl; he also enjoyed the friendship of Husserl's student, Martin Heidegger.<sup>140</sup> Heidegger and Husserl had tolerated the N.S.D.A.P. (Heidegger had even engaged the Nazi vocabulary of 'national renewal' in his rectorial inaugural at Freiburg in 1933), and worked within a *Verstehen* tradition of hermeneutic criticism.<sup>141</sup> Both philosophers and Ritter affirmed that existential questions about human life provided scholarship's leading questions. Had Heidegger and Husserl directly responded to *Annales* historians, they may well have done so in the manner of Heidegger-inspired proponents of French existentialism such as Jean-Paul Sartre, who criticized Braudel's conception of the *longue durée* because it seemed to entrap humans in a world of geographical, geological, climatological, social and economic processes beyond their

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<sup>137</sup> Erich Hassinger, *Brandenburg-Preußen, Schweden und Russland 1700-1713* (2 vols; Munich, 1953) and *Das Werden des neuzeitlichen Europa, 1300-1600* (Braunschweig, 1959). 'To trace the sequence of those great events which link all nations together and control their destinies is the task undertaken by the science of universal history.' Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, ix.

<sup>138</sup> Theodor Schieder, 'Strukturen und Persönlichkeiten in der Geschichte', *HZ*, 195 (1962): 265-96, 296.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 276.

<sup>140</sup> Rüdiger Safranski, *Martin Heidegger: Between Good and Evil*, translated by Ewald Osers (Cambridge [Mass.], 1998; originally published in German in 1994), 258.

<sup>141</sup> Heidegger's programmatic statement of his and his teacher's method is in Martin Heidegger, *Sein und Zeit* (Tübingen, 2001; originally published in 1927), §7, 27-39.

control.<sup>142</sup> Braudel had already insisted, however, in his inaugural lecture at the *Collège de France* that ‘to challenge the enormous role that has sometimes been assigned to certain outstanding men in the genesis of history is by no means to deny the stature of the individual as individual and the fascination there is for one man in poring over the fate of another.’<sup>143</sup> But the connection of history to philosophy in Germany had perhaps obscured this point.

Ritter and Heimpel also disseminated their conservative visions throughout the profession from positions of power. Konrad Adenauer’s government appointed Ritter to re-organize the existing provision of teaching in addition to his role as chair of the Historians’ Association.<sup>144</sup> Heimpel participated in the direction of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* between 1945 and 1988 and thus supervised a large part of late-mediaeval historiography.<sup>145</sup> He also featured amongst a group of Göttingen historians including the older Prussian conservatives, Kaehler, Schramm, Richard Wittram, Alfred Heuß and the orientalist, Hans Heinrich Schaeder, all of whom commanded public respect and wrote histories in Heimpel’s conservative mode.<sup>146</sup> As chair from 1954 of the *Westdeutschen Rektorenkonferenz*, Heimpel also invigilated curricula and grading at all degree-granting universities.<sup>147</sup> So his suspicions of Marxism at the mention of sociology and multidisciplinary may owe something to his position of authority. Just as Gerd Tellenbach saw the Sixth Section as a ‘hot-bed’ of Marxist thought, Heimpel may well have feared the encirclement of the F.R.G. in the east by socialist

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<sup>142</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, ‘Questions de méthode: Existentialisme et marxisme’, *TM*, 139-140 (1957): 1-37; this and the developed argument are in Jean-Paul Sartre, *Critique de la raison dialectique* (Paris, 1960). Klingenstein referred to it as Braudel’s ‘morose’ tendency, see Greta Klingenstein, ‘Kultur- und universalgeschichtliche Aspekte in strukturaler Sicht’, review of Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle et capitalisme*, *AfK*, 52 (1970): 280-96, 288.

<sup>143</sup> Fernand Braudel, ‘Positions de l’Histoire en 1950’, in Braudel, *Écrits*, 21.

<sup>144</sup> Bärbel Kuhn, ‘Historische Bildung als Welt- und Menschenkunde?’, in Wolfgang Hasberg and Manfred Seidenfuß, eds, *Modernisierung im Umbruch: Geschichtsdidaktik und Geschichtsunterricht nach 1945* (Berlin, 2008), 368.

<sup>145</sup> Schulin, *Hermann Heimpel*, 37.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>147</sup> Klee, *Personenlexikon*, 239.

academies and *Annales* historians who sometimes cited Marx without being Marxists in Paris during the First Cold War.<sup>148</sup>

Yet, by 1970, objections to *Annales* methodologies had not come full circle, despite an appearance of intellectual continuity since 1900. Methodological traditions pursued in Germany proved long-lived. But they also kept pace with the innovations for which conservative and liberal historians in both England and France took responsibility. Even Ritter and Heimpel, like Chevalier and Droz, Elton and Plumb, did not separate history from neighbouring subjects' methods. Resistances enacted by historians in Germany originated from approaches possessing a variety of distinctive and, in Jorn Rüsen's words, 'implicit' political and religious determinants.<sup>149</sup> Diversity complicates discussion of oppositions in chronological terms of a historicist or positivist epoch, originally defended but ultimately conceding to an *Annales* hegemony.<sup>150</sup> That is not to say that this conceptualization is unhelpful, but the complexity of reservations expressed in Germany about *Annales* precludes it from providing any more than a prolegomenon to understanding. The *Annales* School managed to find an audience in Germany from the beginning of the period in question. The prevalence of nationalistic conservatism from the outset did not outlaw similar interests between historians in Germany and their *Annales* colleagues across the Rhine, even amongst von Below's older generation. But that conservatism made neither democratic nor emancipatory claims. Even throughout the so-called 'German Revolution' between 1918 and 1922 sufficient national consensus about the worth of defending Germany's acquired unity encouraged the resultant professional habitus pre-occupied by a politics-led account of the past, which only the generation responsible for the 1968 protests finally disturbed around 1980.<sup>151</sup> Throughout the 1930s and into the 1950s younger and older generations alike built

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<sup>148</sup> Hon.-Prof. Dr Peter Schöttler, electronic correspondence with the author, 14 Jan. 2008.

<sup>149</sup> Jorn Rüsen, *Historische Vernunft: Die Grundlagen der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Göttingen, 1983), 24.

<sup>150</sup> Raphael, 'Epochen der französischen Geschichtsschreibung', 131.

<sup>151</sup> Carr, *History of Germany*, 366.



their scientific reputations on established academic standards in universities that remained for the most part unchanged in structure by political turbulence, unlike the curriculum or the racial theory institutes erected with the National-Socialist state's blessing. These facts made German universities hostile places for *Annales* methodologies. But historians continued to observe French historiography, including *Annales* contributions. Even scholars who pursued and/or accepted *Volksgeschichte* (whether for self-preservation or out of belief in Nazi doctrines) did so. In a qualified way, therefore, *Volksgeschichte* did exhibit a coincidental openness (but no resemblance in content and aims) to *Annales* methods; but it is more accurate still to suggest that isolated individuals such as Wopfner tolerated *annaliste* approaches.<sup>152</sup> That many professional historians took the time throughout this period to reject and oppose *Annales* methodologies should overall be taken as tacit admission that they perceived something in the *Annales* School worth opposing. In itself, this signifies the importance of resistances to methodologies advanced by *Annales* historians to the *Annales* School's own history.

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<sup>152</sup> This statement echoes Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Gilbert Ziebura, eds, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Frankreich seit 1789* (Gütersloh, 1975), 16 and Georg Iggers, 'Geschichtswissenschaft in Deutschland und Frankreich 1830 bis 1918 und die Rolle der Sozialgeschichte. Ein Vergleich zwischen zwei Traditionen bürgerlicher Geschichtsschreibung', in Jürgen Kocka, ed, *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert: Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich* (3 vols; Munich, 1998), iii. 175-99.

## 5. Resistances to *Annales* Methodologies in Italy, 1900-1970

That historians ‘often felt the need to line up behind set versions of history dictated by political considerations’ aggravated *Annales*-receptions in Italy as it had in Germany.<sup>1</sup> Historical interpretations formed an important part of a ‘battle for control and direction of the political and civil conscience of the Italian people’, not simply the work of specialists free from political interference, as in England.<sup>2</sup> And universities, the loci of history teaching after 1870, became the scenes of conflicts between professors circulating divergent interpretations.<sup>3</sup> ‘Science [was] a vehicle for politics.’<sup>4</sup> Resistances to *Annales* historians’ methodologies for that reason loosely fall into moments corresponding to political regimes in Italian history between 1900 and 1970: the liberal-constitutional monarchy until 1922; the Fascist era, including Italy’s second war against the Germans after 1943; and, from 1946 until 1970, the republican age.

### 5.1 Different Paths to Concrete Historical Realities, 1900-1922

The First World War transformed attitudes to France and her historical techniques. A change in alliance partners in 1915, from the Triple Alliance with Germany and the Habsburg Monarchy to the *Entente Cordiale* with Britain, France and Russia, heralded the transition.<sup>5</sup> Anti-French sentiment once promulgated in the newspapers and by those who remembered the Franco-Italian tariff war of 1887-1897 dissipated, and scientific exchange intensified. Where previously the academies and institutes in which scholars debated their research-findings had focused on regional histories of Italian-speaking areas, after 1915 they became cognisant of the degree to which French history – the Revolution in particular – had informed their own ‘national’ revolution, the *Risorgimento*; new efforts to study in tandem the two

<sup>1</sup> John Foot, *Modern Italy* (Basingstoke, 2003), 2; Marcello Mustè, *La storia: Teoria e metodi* (Urbino, 2005), 102-111.

<sup>2</sup> Rosario Romeo, ‘La storia oggi’, *G*, 23 Dec. 1978: 4.

<sup>3</sup> Salvatore De Luca Carnazza, *La questione universitaria, studi e proposte* (Catania, 1891), 27.

<sup>4</sup> Gaetano De Sanctis to Mikhail Rostovtzeff, 5 Jul. 1919, Sanctis MSS N.706.

<sup>5</sup> Christopher Duggan, *The Force of Destiny: A History of Italy Since 1796* (London, 2007), 462.

Latin countries emerged as Guglielmo Ferrero and Julien Luchaire's *Rivista delle Nazioni latine* testified.<sup>6</sup> Events of this order stimulated historical research, which in this period focused amongst other things on questions about how to evoke a correct or 'concrete' likeness of the past, often with one eye on the realities of Italian life after 1870.

Debates about method exhibited a plurality greater than in England, France or Germany. Italians described as a philological science what Davies or Berr had called erudition. Many of Italy's most prominent historians before 1920 examined the structure, evolution and relationships of language and word-formations in order to decipher and publish archival documentation, conceived as a complex syntactic entity revelatory of the past. The mediaevalist, Giacinto Romano, showed that the idea of an Italian nation had appeared in 'popular' and 'official language', which connected *res publica* to *cives romana* – a nascent idea of modern Italy.<sup>7</sup> Amadeo Crivellucci also deployed the technique in order to publish modern versions of antiquarian texts.<sup>8</sup> Like the men of the *École des Chartes*, philological historians emerged from aristocratic backgrounds: Carlo Cipolla exemplified this social trait, hailing from a family of Venetian counts and becoming an expert in the paleography and diplomatic history of the Italian city-states.<sup>9</sup> Corrado Barbagallo, admired by Bloch and Febvre, Raffaello Morghen, Romolo Caggese and Bernadino Barbadoro, by contrast, all tried to overcome the parochialism resulting from the dominant philological tradition, emphasizing that it had produced 'the terminal decline of Italian history into superficiality.' These historians wrote interpretive accounts of particular periods, examining socio-economic facts or developing political with institutional history in the manner of contemporaries such as Tout, Luchaire and Hintze for several Italian-speaking provinces.<sup>10</sup> Gioacchino Volpe,

<sup>6</sup> Antonino de Francesco, 'La Révolution hors de France: Quelques perspectives de recherche sur l'historiographie italienne entre XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *AhRf*, 334 (2003): 105-18, 113.

<sup>7</sup> Giacinto Romano, *Le dominazione barbariche in Italia (395-888)* (Milan, 1907), 3.

<sup>8</sup> See, for instance, Amadeo Crivellucci, ed, *Landolfi Ssagacis Historia romana* (2 vols; Rome, 1912-13).

<sup>9</sup> *Dbi*.

<sup>10</sup> Raffaello Morghen, 'La crisi degli studi medievali e l'opera dello Stato', *ABI*, 1 (1927): 15-19, 15.

Gaetano Salvemini, Michelangelo Schipa, Niccolo Rodolico, Roberto Palmarocchi and the legal scholar Dionisio Anzilotti tried in another way to connect into a coherent interpretation the dates and events constitutive of 'Italian' history, which affixed the constitutional state of liberal Italy to an economic narrative whose force appeared in contemporary expansion in industrial output and discontent during the syndicalist agitation of the *biennio rosso* of 1919-1920.<sup>11</sup> Catholic and Marxist historians in turn provided alternatives by emphasizing the transcendental unity or the dialectical evolution of past life on the Peninsula.<sup>12</sup>

Disagreement over university reform matched the variation in methodological positions alluded to above. The Casati law, decreed in Piedmont and Lombardy in 1859 and applied universally in unified Italy, formed the principle point of reference in the debate because it entrusted on behalf of the state a monopoly of education to a Ministry of Public Instruction.<sup>13</sup> Problems arose and remained unchecked until legislation at the outset of the Fascist period, despite student protests against university governance and the recommendations of the *Commissione Reale* that Luigi Ceci, a professor in comparative history of classical languages, led between 1910 and 1914.<sup>14</sup> Professors expressed concern about politicians' manipulation of appointments after 1900.<sup>15</sup> Dissenters also raised moral questions: they thought the peripatetic junior *libero docente* ill-prepared to teach students, whose first degree, the *laurea*, became devalued as fast-growing numbers of graduates competed in a low-growth job market.<sup>16</sup> Academics also obstructed the creation of teaching 'routines', preferring to lecture on their research interests, thus making curricula and examinations difficult to standardize.<sup>17</sup> Disdain for perceived injustice arose, too, in

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<sup>11</sup> Walter Maturi, 'La crisi della storiografia politica italiana', *RSI*, 47 (1930): 1-29, 4-5.

<sup>12</sup> Nick Carter, *Modern Italy in Historical Perspective* (London, 2010), 8-12, 28.

<sup>13</sup> Angelo Semeraro, *Il sistema scolastico italiano* (Bologna, 1976), 20.

<sup>14</sup> Mauro Moretti, 'La questione universitaria a cinquant'anni dall'unificazione. La Commissione Reale per il riordinamento degli studi superiori e la relazione Ceci', in Porciani, ed, *L'università tra Otto e Novocento*, 308.

<sup>15</sup> Tina Tomasi and Luciana Bellatalla, *L'Università italiana nell'età liberale (1861-1923)* (Naples, 1988), 179.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 144-49; Duggan, *Force of Destiny*, 462.

<sup>17</sup> Gaetano De Sanctis, 'L'istruzione obbligatoria e lo Stato', in Nino Cortese, ed, *I partiti e l'educazione della Nuova Italia* (Turin, 1970), 17.

suggestions that ‘a handful of powerful professors’, *baroni*, ‘controlled’ universities.<sup>18</sup> Aristocrat-scholars in turn argued for a university nobility, in which ‘few but good’ students enjoyed personal tuition from specialists.<sup>19</sup> That vision, often conjoined to a preference for philological research, disclosed that in Italy scholarly élites emulated the conservatism of the German university model to the regret of some who preferred French alternatives.<sup>20</sup>

The resultant responses to proto-*annaliste*’ methods are well-demonstrated by three of the period’s leading historians, whose careers and oeuvre exemplify the contextual complexity and stylistic differences between French and Italian methodological traditions. Ancient historian Gaetano De Sanctis, modern historian and philosopher, Benedetto Croce, as well as Guglielmo Ferrero, merit attention both because of their cognisance of transnational discourses with, and personal connections to, French scholars.

Research specialisms brought Sanctis, Croce and Ferrero into contact with France’s academic life. Ancient historians such as Jérôme Carcopino, later the director of the *École Française de Rome*, and Gustave Glotz admired Sanctis and his students’ work on the Roman Republic, a subject that Sanctis, Ettore Pais and Karl Beloch rescued from replacement in the curriculum by Imperial Rome.<sup>21</sup> Gabriel Monod in turn spoke as highly of Ferrero’s ‘true talent’ in analyzing the sources of Roman history as Aulard did of Ferrero’s ability to evoke ‘deep connections between ideas and events.’<sup>22</sup> Ferrero himself admired Albert Sorel’s ‘critical eye’ in the latter’s observations about Julius Caesar, and participated in the *Association Italo-française d’expansion économique*, an organization designed to publicize

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<sup>18</sup> Carlo Ottolenghi, ‘Per la morale universitaria’, *L’UI*, 15 (1916): 1-8, 4.

<sup>19</sup> Tomasi and Bellatalla, *L’Università italiana*, 39-41.

<sup>20</sup> Angelo Mosso, ‘L’Istruzione superiore in Italia’, *NA*, 139 (1886): 693-709; Carlo Formichi, *Il tarlo delle università italiane* (Pisa, 1908), 22.

<sup>21</sup> Carcopino to Sanctis, 26 May, 1928, Sanctis MSS N.129; Henry Stuart Jones, review of Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, *EHR*, 133 (1919): 93-96, 93.

<sup>22</sup> Monod to Joseph Reinach, 25 Mar. 1905, Reinach MSS N.A.F./24882/374; Aulard to Ferrero, 26 Feb. 1917, Ferrero MSS, Catalogue box.

the benefits to Italy of French investment.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, a historian of classical philosophy, Émile Boutroux, followed the work of Croce and his friend (before the rise of Fascism), Giovanni Gentile.<sup>24</sup> Croce for his part paid attention to Berr's journal, which he felt 'had been bound to appear at some time or another' to counteract growing specialization. He contributed to it short articles, and expressed delight that Berr had published a special issue devoted to Italian philosophy.<sup>25</sup> But Croce's explicit engagement with Berr did not last, nor did his work attract widespread attention in France.<sup>26</sup>

Differences in objects of study imposed immovable limits on interests in proto-*annalistes'* historical practice. Sanctis's *Storia dei Romani*, for example, synthesized information into a 'complete narrative.'<sup>27</sup> To Sanctis, this narrative synthesis meant an exhaustive factual account attentive to 'social conditions' and economic developments that, in total, made his project analogous to Carcopino's later attempt to analyze Roman daily life or Clapham's economic history of Great Britain.<sup>28</sup> Sanctis worked in this manner to convey transcendence: he envisaged history as a record of expanding and improving civilizations.<sup>29</sup> His Catholicism led him to believe that history resulted from an accumulation of 'historical, aesthetic and mystical experiences' and platonic Idealism mixed with the fact-verifying positivism of Johann Friedrich Herbart that suffused school curricula left Sanctis with the

<sup>23</sup> Ferrero to Sorel, 9 Jul. 1902, Sorel MSS AB/XIX/3084; the Caesar book is volume two of Guglielmo Ferrero, *Grandezza e decadenza di Roma* (5 vols; Milan, 1901-1907); Hauser to Ferrero, 18 May 1920, Ferrero MSS Catalogue box; French investment became the largest source of foreign direct investment in Italy after 1900, see Carter, *Modern Italy*, 28-33.

<sup>24</sup> Gentile to Croce, 1 May 1900, in Simona Giannantoni, ed, *Giovanni Gentile: Lettere a Benedetto Croce* (5 vols; Florence, 2004), i. 275.

<sup>25</sup> Croce to Berr, 6 Jul. 1909, Berr MSS BRR2/G1-01.4-63. Benedetto Croce, 'Notizie', *LC*, 1 (1903): 13; Benedetto Croce, 'Les études relatives à la théorie de l'histoire en Italie durant les quinze dernières années', *RSH*, 5 (1902): 257-69; Benedetto Croce, 'L'attitude subjective et l'attitude objective dans la composition historique', *RSH*, 6 (1903): 261-65.

<sup>26</sup> Jacques Revel, 'Le moment Berr', in Biard, Bourel and Brian, eds, *Henri Berr*, 167; Graziella Pagliano, 'Ricerche sulla fortuna di Benedetto Croce in Francia', *RÉi*, 10 (1964): 272-301; Robert Paris, 'Benedetto Croce en France', *AÉSC*, 20 (1965): 273-301.

<sup>27</sup> Gaetano De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* (5 vols; Milan, 1907-65), i. v.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 530-46, iv.2.i. 1-182 and the entirety of iv.ii.ii; Jérôme Carcopino, *La Vie quotidienne à Rome à l'apogée de l'Empire* (Paris, 1939). On Clapham, see Chapter 2, §2.2.

<sup>29</sup> Gaetano De Sanctis, diary entry, 24 Dec. 1917, in Silvio Accame, ed, *Gaetano De Sanctis: Il diario segreto 1917-1933* (Florence, 1996), 139.

impression that history sought first to decipher these ‘vital intuitions’ from written sources with the help of archaeological and palaeographical findings in order to discern the essence of past realities.<sup>30</sup> Sanctis’s orientation also took inspiration from the work his German teacher, Beloch, an expert philologist and demographic historian of European populations.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, such became Sanctis’s reputation for philological antiquarianism, that, after 1923, he shared with Augusto Rostagni the editorship of the prestigious *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*.

Sanctis worked outside the confines of a *purely* philological method both to release history from what Barbagallo called the ‘shallowness of educated Italians’ and to ‘evoke’ past but historically-immanent realities.<sup>32</sup> His interpretations moved further from statist ‘Prussianism’ towards the facts of collective cultural life in the volumes of the *Storia* that appeared after First World War.<sup>33</sup> This reflected both war-time changes in professional tastes and Sanctis’s aspiration to guarantee the ‘unity of historical education’, wholeness that is in terms of chronological divisions and content.<sup>34</sup> Only in that way could history teaching demonstrate progress in history, a reality Sanctis thought that European nation’s recent colonial acquisitions, a symbol to him of the worldwide spread of civilization, confirmed.<sup>35</sup> The civic aim required that a variety of methods had to replace an ‘unchanged method’ like the philological one because history, in his student Aldo Ferrabino’s words, ‘[rested] more or less on problems’ arising from the past itself.<sup>36</sup> But Sanctis did not follow Ferrabino’s later legitimization of the ‘necessity’ of suspending personal freedoms in ancient Greece in a way evocative of Fascism. He not only refused to swear the Fascist oath of allegiance in 1931, but

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<sup>30</sup> Gaetano De Sanctis, *Ricordi della mia vita* (Florence, 1970), 50-52, 236; Tomasi and Bellatalla, *L’Università italiana*, 29.

<sup>31</sup> See Karl Julius Beloch, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Italiens* (3 vols; Berlin, 1937-61).

<sup>32</sup> Barbagallo to Sanctis, 16 Aug. 1909, Sanctis MSS N.11.

<sup>33</sup> Stuart Jones, review of Sanctis, 96; Arnaldo Momigliano, ‘In memoria di Gaetano De Sanctis (1873-1957)’, *P*, 13 (1957): 1068-72, 1071.

<sup>34</sup> Cipolla to Sanctis, 12 Feb. 1909, Sanctis MSS N.160.

<sup>35</sup> Silvio Accame, ‘Il ‘colonialismo’ di Gaetano De Sanctis’, *CS*, 21 (1984): 97-104, 98, 104.

<sup>36</sup> Ferrabino to Sanctis, 15 Aug. 1912, Sanctis MSS N.289; Sanctis to Rector (University of Rome), 20 Nov. 1931, in Sanctis, *Ricordi*, 236.

believed, despite his membership of the Catholic Popular Party, his position at Turin's Catholic University and his firm Catholic faith, that scholars should guard their intellectual freedom.<sup>37</sup>

Croce defended a liberal-historical understanding. Liberalism appeared not just in the sense of incorporating into narratives a plurality of stories, but extended to a philosophical justification for historians' apparent preference independently to work on their chosen research projects in contrast to proto-*annaliste* historians' interdisciplinary research. Croce's theory of history remained distinct from those circulated previously within the university system, and, in that sense, it resembled Croce's own position: he never occupied a university post, instead developing his oeuvre and teaching informally in his family seat, the *Palazzo Filomarino*, Naples. This changed in 1946, when he founded the *Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici*, which, in tandem with Croce's journal *La Critica: Rivista di letteratura, storia e filosofia*, added to Croce's pre-eminence among Italy's intellectuals.<sup>38</sup>

Crocean historical method differed in implication from proto-*annalistes'* propositions. Croce sought not to discredit Berr's work but to create a coherent system of historical understanding directed against what he saw as the dessicating effect of historical materialism. As expounded by Antonio Gramsci, that philosophical doctrine formed the intellectual basis for criticisms of liberal Italy's 'structural weaknesses' – the failure of holistic national revolution owing to the disenfranchisement of rural and urban workers through northern hegemony over the south during the 'bourgeois *Risorgimento*' – and consequent failures to modernize and democratize.<sup>39</sup> The *sinistra storica* advanced similar arguments.<sup>40</sup> Croce, by contrast, corroborated claims from Prime Minister Giolitti's *destra storica* that Italian

<sup>37</sup> Aldo Ferrabino, *La dissoluzione della libertà nella Grecia antica* (Padua, 1929); Jürgen Charnitzky, *Die Schulpolitik des faschistischen Regimes in Italien (1922-1943)* (Tübingen, 1994), 257-60; Sanctis, *Ricordi*, 61-62.

<sup>38</sup> Daniela Coli, *Croce, Laterza e la cultura europea* (Bologna, 1983), 184.

<sup>39</sup> Antonio Gramsci in Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, eds, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (London, 1971), 90.

<sup>40</sup> Nino Valeri, *La lotta politica in Italia* (Florence, 1998), 219-244.



liberalism in fact remained active and, therefore, that ‘history is the story of liberty.’ Tracing the dialectical development of liberty – and of its enemies – became, therefore, the historian’s principal task, according to Croce.<sup>41</sup> He formulated an approach that he called ‘ethical-political history’, which, distancing it from German-idealist forms of national, universal and *Staatengeschichte*, Croce’s pupil Nino Cortese described ‘as embracing what is outside the State’, ‘the formation of all moral institutions in the broadest sense, inclusive of religious institutions, revolutionary factions, the people’s feelings, habits, fancies and myths bearing upon practical life.’<sup>42</sup> Here the focus remained thought-worlds of particular peoples in context, ‘the historical situation of the universal spirit in each instant of time’, ‘because the individual and the situation are together one.’<sup>43</sup>

Ferrero’s understanding of historical methodology added a third variant, centred on the ‘coming imperium’ of the social sciences.<sup>44</sup> Like the Marxist Sorel whom he admired, Ferrero entertained close-personal relationships with Barbagallo, the sociologist Vilfredo Pareto, as well as reading Comte’s sociology. He upheld a conception of history as a science alongside other social sciences – a view Pasquale Villari, head of the prominent *Istituto Storico Italiano* in Rome, had held, and which Croce had opposed on grounds that history dealt with thought whereas social sciences investigated secondary products of the actions to which contemplation led.<sup>45</sup> Ferrero admired, therefore, the work on sociology undertaken by historians in Paris, ‘which’, he felt, ‘remain[ed] always the great intellectual centre of Europe, its brain and its spirit.’<sup>46</sup> He and Henri Moysset, a constitutional and economic historian, discussed visions of forming a ‘school of history’ devoted to societies past, and Lavis

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<sup>41</sup> Benedetto Croce, *Storia d’Europa nel secolo decimonono* (Bari, 1933), 9-25.

<sup>42</sup> Croce to Girolamo Vitelli, 25 Nov. 1917, in Benedetto Croce, *Epistolario I: Scelta di lettere curate dall’autore 1914-1935* (Naples, 1967), 167; Nino Cortese, ‘Storia politica d’Italia e storia del regno di Napoli’, *RSI*, 43 (1926): 229-48, 231, 236, 240, 243-44.

<sup>43</sup> Benedetto Croce, *Filosofia della pratica. Economia ed etica* (Bari, 1957), 63.

<sup>44</sup> Ferrero to Barbagallo, 8 Aug. 1912, Ferrero MSS box 4.

<sup>45</sup> Pasquale Villari, ‘La storia è una scienza?’, *NA*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 31 (1891): 209-25, 409-36, 609-36; Benedetto Croce, ‘La storia ridotta sotto il concetto generale dell’arte’, *AAP*, 23 (1893): 13-32.

<sup>46</sup> Ferrero to Henri Moysset, 17 Apr. 1906, Ferrero MSS box 5.

helped Ferrero pursue research into the economic and administrative life of seventeenth-century France.<sup>47</sup>

Ferrero's turn to consider the place of the French Revolution in Italian history disclosed his reformism. The founder-editor of the *Rivista Storica Italiana*, Costanzo Rinaudo, and his successor, Pietro Egidi, had long shown an awareness of the importance to *Risorgimento* history of France's *Grande Révolution*.<sup>48</sup> Croce had shown less sensitivity: Aulard's work seldom gained mention in *La Critica*; and, although Croce saw 1789 as a victory for liberalism that had ramifications on his side of the Alps, he felt able to endorse the centenary celebration of the Neapolitan Republic in 1899 as a commemoration of the Italian unification movement without contradicting his belief in the *Risorgimento's* Franco-Italian origins.<sup>49</sup> Ferrero saw the Revolution, in contrast, as a drift towards Napoleonic dictatorship, in condemnation of which he cited Taine.<sup>50</sup> Citing Taine, however, neither suggested that atheist-democrat Ferrero adhered to the idea that monarchy could co-exist with democracy nor that he shared opinions expressed by Cesare Lombroso, sociologist and father-in-law to Ferrero, that the Revolution had been a political event; instead Ferrero observed an interpretive habit begun by a fellow-democrat, Carlo Tivaroni, who saw Taine as a heroic enemy of the Jacobin Terror rather than as a monarchist opponent of the Revolution *en bloc*.<sup>51</sup>

Subsequent career paths confirmed the direction and content of Ferrero's methods. Ferrero's *magnum opus*, *Grandezza e decadenza di Roma*, set the pattern for his later attention to history *de bas en haut*. The study of the Roman Empire became not only a matter of Roman thought, but evaluated the mechanics by which social organizations functioned; of Roman Gaul, for instance, Ferrero explained, 'a well-balanced and homogenous people was

<sup>47</sup> Ferrero to Moysset, 3 Nov. 1906, Ferrero MSS box 30; Lavissee to Ferrero, 24 May 1915, *ibid*.

<sup>48</sup> Costanzo Rinaudo, review of Aulard, *Études et leçons*, *RSI*, 27 (1910): 60-61, review of Madelin, *La Révolution*, *RSI*, 29 (1912): 54-55, review of Hazard, *La Révolution française*, *RSI*, 29 (1912): 55-57 and review of Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, *RSI*, 37 (1920): 76-79; Pietro Egidi, review of Halphen, *Études critiques*, *RSI*, 41 (1924): 38-42.

<sup>49</sup> Francesco, 'La Révolution hors de France', 111.

<sup>50</sup> Guglielmo Ferrero, 'La Crisi morale dell'Italia', *RNI*, 2 (1918): 97-98.

<sup>51</sup> Carlo Tivaroni, *Storia critica della Rivoluzione francese* (3 vols; Turin, 1881), ii. 851-54.

thus formed, chiefly devoted to industrial and mercantile pursuits, but at the same time supplying the large contingents of cavalry and infantry to the Roman Empire.’<sup>52</sup> Ferrero’s interest in demographic questions also extended to the study of women, as his collaboration with Lombroso in the 1890s suggested and in turn reflected the importance of female audiences produced by a growing number of women gaining university admission after unification.<sup>53</sup> But Ferrero’s advancement of social democracy through this form of historical research both put him at odds with the Fascist regime’s authoritarian leanings and distinguished his work from that of proto-*annaliste* historians, who studied socio-economic factors in conjunction with socio-economic theories, not just as an empirical exercise designed to describe historical events, material factors and thought-worlds. Ferrero’s research on the French Revolution thus resembled Hedwig Hintze’s in Weimar Germany inasmuch as it responded to liberal-democratic and empirical impulses from Aulard and Mathiez not the early *Annales* School.<sup>54</sup>

The cases of Sanctis, Croce and Ferrero indicate that intransigence in Italy before 1922 to techniques pioneered by Berr’s circle issued from the specificity of Italian debates, thus taking the form of habitus, not intentional responses, determined by field and contextual factors. The imperviousness of methodological discourse to proto-*annaliste* innovation did not arise from a lack of momentum on the part of historians in Italy to look to future changes in their discipline; indeed the Futurist movement, which first published its manifesto in France, strove to abrogate the past like Fascist ‘action squads’, but not by repressing opposition after parliamentary elections in 1919.<sup>55</sup> Sanctis, Ferrero and Croce sought to incorporate, by contrast, different perspectives into their work in order to move toward a liberal-democratic

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<sup>52</sup> Ferrero, *Grandezza e decadenza*, v. 352.

<sup>53</sup> Guglielmo Ferrero and Cesare Lombroso, *La donna delinquente: La prostituta e la donna normale* (Rome, 1893); Tomasi and Bellatalla, *L’Università italiana*, 156-59.

<sup>54</sup> Antonino de Francesco, ‘Discorsi interrotti: Guglielmo Ferrero, Corrado Barbagallo e la critica della Rivoluzione francese’, *NRS*, 87 (2004): 147-84, 181; Kaudelka, *Rezeption*, 327-336.

<sup>55</sup> Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, eds, *Art in Theory 1900-2000* (Oxford, 1992), 146.

future; the philological tradition provided basic critical principles for an array of competing efforts in this direction, not only a knot to burn having lit a fire, a *testa di turco*, for a young-reformist generation of historians, ‘an unthinkable vision, skewed by youthful intemperance.’<sup>56</sup> Those emergent traditions did not refer to or resemble proto-*annalistes*’ because of the dual (platonian and German) Idealism that pervaded Italian thought and educational institutions. This lack of recognition also attested to the strength of personal preference as a determinant in Italian scholarship, suggested by the prominence of Catholicism in Sanctis’s work, of the connection between individualizing method and an aristocratic position in Croce’s liberal vision and the reformist-democratic political message Ferrero offered. The roots of opposition to *Annales* historians’ techniques lay in Italy in the field of political power, which related directly to historical method because of the political dimensions of past and present historical realities historians set about to uncover with its help.

## 5.2 Becoming Fascist, European and Nationalist, 1922-1945

Amidst lamentations such as Ermanno Amicucci’s, ‘we still lack a Fascist educator’, and raillery, that swearing the oath of allegiance to the *Partito Nazionale Fascista* came from devotion to another P.N.F., *Per Necessità Familiare*, the Fascist government changed the university system between 1922 and 1945, mainly by assuming control of the research institutions that provided the material for university teaching.<sup>57</sup> The libertarian instincts evident in Sanctis, Croce and Ferrero’s work thus became sidelined. On an intellectual level, this meant retreat in Italian Idealism; institutionally, it resulted in the ideas associated with the Fascist ethical state and the work of supposed ‘super-men’ like the *Duce* becoming active constituents in historical thought, particularly after 1935. Taken together, government

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<sup>56</sup> Pietro Egidi, *La storia medioevale* (Rome, 1922), 35.

<sup>57</sup> Tracy H. Koon, *Believe, Obey, Fight: Political Socialization of Youth in Fascist Italy* (Chapel Hill, 1985), 86; Duggan, *Force of Destiny*, 463.

interference heightened hostility within the academy (but not necessarily that of individual historians) to methodologies formulated by *Annales* historians.

The university system became less open to transnational-scientific developments. The Minister for Education took control of research institutions directly in 1935, when the holder of that office automatically became president of the *Giunta centrale*. The *Giunta* controlled all aspects of the management and financing of the *Istituto Storico per il Medioevo*, the *Istituto Storico per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea*, the *Comitato Nazionale per la Storia del Risorgimento* (itself Gentile's personal creation) and the new *Scuola* and *Istituto Storico per la Storia Antica* – institutions covering the entire chronological range of historical research.<sup>58</sup> Whether or not these developments embarrassed historians, and it may be too early to say decisively, the fact remained that historical research came under the direct control of central government.<sup>59</sup> Officially-disseminated ideas of an ethical state thus seeped into the committee discussions of research institutions. Those notions idealized Italy's rural economy and natural fecundity, also alluded to in the Fascist national anthem, the *Giovinezza*, as well as incorporating a belief in Italians' racial superiority, especially in contrast to the Jewish peoples; the need for an assertive foreign policy in order to demonstrate Italy's moral authority, as the occupation of Corfu in 1923 and the invasion of Abyssinia in 1935 disclosed; corporatist economic policies to strengthen paternalistic government; and certain Catholic precepts, legitimized by the Lateran Pacts of 1929, including the necessity to show how successive generations – a communion of the living and the dead – had affirmed their Italian identity.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Armando Saitta, 'L'organizzazione degli studi storici', in Brunello Vigezzi, ed, *Federico Chabod e la nuova storiografia italiana, 1919-1950* (Milan, 1984), 516.

<sup>59</sup> Momigliano suggested that Fascism embarrassed Gentile, in Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Appunti su F. Chabod, storico', *RSI*, 72 (1960): 643-57, 643-44 and Sasso that Volpe failed to influence Chabod, see Gennaro Sasso, 'Gli studi di storia delle dottrine politiche ed di storia delle idee', in Vigezzi, *Chabod*, 596; Turi highlighted widespread collaboration, in Gabriele Turi, *Il Fascismo e il consenso degli intellettuali* (Bologna, 1980).

<sup>60</sup> Mabel Berezin, *Making the Fascist Self: The Political Culture of Interwar Italy* (London, 1997), 202-203; Michele Sarfatti, 'Characteristics and Objectives of the Anti-Jewish Racial Laws in Fascist Italy 1938-1943', in Joshua D. Zimmerman, ed, *Jews in Italy under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945* (Cambridge, 2005), 71-80;

Divisions over Fascism also left the profession introverted. Supporters of the regime such as Adolfo Omodeo, Gioacchino Volpe and the education minister, Gentile, signed the *Manifesto degli intellettuali fascisti*. Croce, Sanctis, Guido De Ruggiero, the exiled Salvemini and others responded with the *Manifesto degli intellettuali antifascisti*.<sup>61</sup> Fault lines also emerged about the efficacy of Gentile's reforms, which continued to provide the basis for university education in Italy even after 1970.<sup>62</sup> Matriculating students became fewer in number – reduced by 10,000 to 42,000 in the period 1918 to 1928; Gentile also restricted funded school places in the hope of preserving 'high-quality' education and in the process a large workforce. Students now arrived at university with particular ideas about Italy's history, which a state textbook projected as the story of 'the primacy and excellence of Italian genius.'<sup>63</sup> Gentile's reforms in that way sought to replace Herbart's positivism with his own 'actual idealism', an elision of history and philosophy, which transformed history into the history of philosophy and demoted physics and mathematics in the hierarchy of scientific taste.<sup>64</sup>

Methodological developments promulgated by Volpe, 'the Fascist regime's official historian', suggest the anatomy of resultant hostilities to *annaliste* methodologies.<sup>65</sup> Volpe's work requires attention not only because of its testimony to the thought-world of a Fascist supporter, a *fiancheggiatore*, but because of its presentation of the themes that his students and their colleagues expressed in responses to *Annales* historians' work. From 1906 until 1910, Volpe had pioneered a legal-economic approach to history that self-consciously followed the lead of Ludo M. Hartmann, known to Volpe since their meeting at the first

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Mario Casella, *L'Azione Cattolica alla caduta del regime fascista: Impegno sociale e pluralismo politico (1942-'45)* (Rome, 1984), 33-60.

<sup>61</sup> Mauro Forno, *La Stampa nel ventennio: Strutture e trasformazioni nello stato totalitario* (Soveria Mannelli, 2005), 44.

<sup>62</sup> Martinotti and Giasinti, 'The Robed Baron', 24.

<sup>63</sup> Koon, *Believe, Fight, Obey*, 71.

<sup>64</sup> Eugenio Garin, *Intellettuali italiani del XX secolo* (Rome, 1974), 154-55.

<sup>65</sup> Carter, *Modern Italy*, 93; Edward R. Tannenbaum, 'Gioacchino Volpe', in Hans A. Schmitt, ed, *Historians of Modern Europe* (Louisiana, 1971), 316.

International Congress for the Historical Sciences in 1903.<sup>66</sup> The ‘economic-juridical’ method analyzed Italian regions in terms of their legal and economic origins, and sought to examine legal history as a product of social stimuli prompting legislation and their attendant economic antecedents and consequences.<sup>67</sup> The method brought Volpe into Gaetano Salvemini’s orbit. Together the two men discussed a related project, which their teacher, Amadeo Crivellucci, had mooted to found a periodical devoted to economic and legal history.<sup>68</sup> Salvemini and Volpe accepted the view that the factual content of history emanated from ‘remains and records’, and that historical methods uncovered and explained non-recurring facts because ‘in the world of human action [...] the events which have peculiar features of their own are the rule, and of them we say, therefore, that they *do not recur*.’<sup>69</sup> But he also recommended that historians should open their minds to the ‘social sciences’ in order to learn how aspects of the material world – the goods and services, engineered constructions, demographic fluctuations and so on – could provide pieces of the puzzle.

Scepticism about French methodologies originated in Volpe’s rejection of openness to social science. Volpe agreed with Gentile that the act of thinking equated to perception, not creation, of reality, and insisted that abstract thought could therefore disclose historical realities.<sup>70</sup> Volpe wanted, therefore, a ‘history of ideas’, not Salvemini’s ‘history of facts.’ As editor of the *Rivista Storica Italiana* at the behest of the *Istituto Fascista di Cultura di Torino*, Volpe expressed the desire: he wanted a ‘non-materialistic, non-sociological, non-schematic, neither formalist nor abstract, nor schematic historiography [...] that sees in the state the greatest motivating force [...] and that understands historical life as a synthesis of

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<sup>66</sup> Gioacchino Volpe ‘Per la storia giuridica ed economia del Medio Evo’, in Gioacchino Volpe, *Medioevo italiano* (Florence, 1925; originally published in *Ss* in 1905), 3-54 resulted from reading Ludo M. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter* (3 vols; Leipzig, 1897).

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 21; Mustè likens this to Bloch’s work, in Marcello Mustè, *Politica e storia in Marc Bloch* (Rome, 2000), 11.

<sup>68</sup> Volpe to Salvemini, n.d. Dec. 1905, Salvemini MSS S.91.

<sup>69</sup> Gaetano Salvemini, *Historian and Scientist* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1939), 37-45, 91.

<sup>70</sup> Maturi to Cantimori, 1 Jun. 1950, Cantimori MSS.

action and thought, culture and politics.’<sup>71</sup> He also practised this ‘history of ideas’ approach in his defence of Italy as a historically-legitimate nation, arguing that Italian identity, ‘not only in towns but on the part of parties without geographic determination or limits in the form of walls or territories’ had existed since the fifteenth century when, in the past before 1870, either ‘foreign’ occupiers, city- or Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples had controlled the Italian Peninsula.<sup>72</sup> Volpe’s interpretation for that reason dissented from Carl Neumann and Kurt Breysig’s, which suggested that ethnic Germans had prevailed.<sup>73</sup> And appointment to the University of Rome, where he remained from 1924 until 1940, ministerial allocation of funds to enable the organization of an institute for the study of modern and contemporary Italy and election in 1925 as editor of the *Enciclopedia Italiana* until 1937 all attested to the extent of official endorsement bestowed on Volpe personally and intellectually, making him an epitome of ‘official’ history.

A cohort of young scholars’ debates about *Annales* historians’ work developed under Volpe and his colleagues’ supervision against a backdrop of government-sponsored anti-French and anti-British sentiment, particularly around the time of the Abyssinian campaign. Michelangelo Schipa’s student, Walter Maturi, whom Volpe appointed in 1935 to work with him at Rome, described Henri Sée’s book, *Évolutions et Révolutions*, as exemplary of the ‘typically sociologizing French historical mentality.’<sup>74</sup> Maturi did not dismiss Sée’s work, but suggested that the link Sée described between historical determinism and causal explanation neither impeded social history’s progress nor found reconciliation in more rigorous empirical methods.<sup>75</sup> He instead emphasized that the epistemological traditions behind determinism and

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<sup>71</sup> Gioacchino Volpe, ‘Ai vecchi e nuovi collaboratori’, *RSI*, 52 (1936): i-iii, ii.

<sup>72</sup> Volpe, *Medioevo*, ix.

<sup>73</sup> Gioacchino Volpe, review of Neumann, ‘Bizantinische Kultur’, *LC*, 3 (1905): 57-58; Innocenzo Cervelli, *Gioacchino Volpe* (Naples, 1977), 507; Umberto-Massimo Miozzi, *La scuola storica romana (1926-1943)* (2 vols; Rome, 1982-84), i. 59.

<sup>74</sup> Walter Maturi, review of Sée, *Évolutions et Révolutions*, *RSI*, 40 (1931): 432-33, 432; the *NRS* not the *RSI* followed closely French historiography, see Antonio Casale, *Storici italiani fra le due Guerre: La Nuova Rivista Storica 1917-1943* (Naples, 1980), 159-60.

<sup>75</sup> Maturi, review of Sée, 433.



causation theories merited investigation in themselves as answers to a problem that Maturi implied rested on personal preference in the practice of history. Maturi's alignment of methodological tradition and implicitly-political opinion mirrored his assimilation of intellectual and national developments in an article on the *Risorgimento*.<sup>76</sup> For Maturi, the *Risorgimento* founded Italian liberalism and in so doing both conformed to and vindicated Croce's historical understanding and resultant methodology.

Chabod also discovered Braudel's early articles, making him perhaps the first historian in Italy to do so.<sup>77</sup> The encounter came in Simancas, where Chabod, a researcher for Pietro Egidi, and Braudel had met each other in the archives.<sup>78</sup> Chabod read Braudel's analysis of Spanish diplomacy, and found it 'interesting.' To Chabod's mind, it simply clarified the historical problems presented by the period: why the Spanish government had never established nor pursued a coherent policy towards North Africa, despite favourable circumstances, rather than adding to historical knowledge by presenting previously unknown information.<sup>79</sup> Chabod's interaction remained, therefore, momentary because he did not appreciate that *Annales* historians' formulation of historical problems could serve to uncover new data through, for example, comparison. His pre-occupation by political science – Chabod worked in a department devoted to it at the University of Perugia – also accounted for his impatience because matters of state interested Chabod whilst Braudel questioned their centrality to historical understanding.<sup>80</sup> Diplomatic histories, which nationalized the Italian

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<sup>76</sup> Walter Maturi, 'Risorgimento', in *Enciclopedia Italiana* (36 vols; Rome, 1936), xxix. 434-52.

<sup>77</sup> See also Gennaro Sasso, *Il Guardino della storiografia: Profilo di Federico Chabod e altri saggi* (Naples, 2002), 138. Scant recognition came for Braudel's early articles outside France at that time: in *EHR*, for example, only orientalist David Margoliouth paid them any attention, see David Margoliouth, review of Jean Alazard, ed, *Histoire et historiens*, *EHR*, 189 (1933): 143.

<sup>78</sup> Fernand Braudel, 'Après de Federico Chabod', *RSI*, 72 (1960): 621-24, 622; Federico Chabod, 'In memoria di Pietro Egidi', *RSI*, 46 (1929): 353-66, 364; Sasso, *Guardino*, 139.

<sup>79</sup> Federico Chabod, review of Braudel, 'Espagnols et l'Afrique', *RSI*, 49 (1932): 96-97, 96.

<sup>80</sup> Gian-Paolo Ferraioli, *Federico Chabod e la Valle d'Aosta tra Francia e Italia* (Rome, 2010), 49.

past by alluding to versions of Italian exceptionalism even before 1870, instead occupied Chabod's time as they did Volpe's, Pietro De Silva's and Romolo Quazza's.<sup>81</sup>

Carlo Morandi's response to *Annales* historians' techniques demonstrated greater engagement and subtlety. Morandi belonged to the generation old enough to remember the First World War.<sup>82</sup> Anzilotti taught Morandi in the economic-juridical tradition. Morandi then went on to teach at Rome between 1920 and 1924, to lecture in *Risorgimento* history at the *Scuola Normale di Pisa*, and, from 1939 until 1950, modern history at the University of Florence.<sup>83</sup> Morandi's work prompted some adulation for its ability to show the foundational elements of Italy's changing, often fractious, political parties and national movements.<sup>84</sup> This political historian's Catholic faith also re-inforced the conviction behind Morandi's oeuvre: that a need existed 'to Europeanize the historical consciousness of a larger public, not comprised of specialists alone.'<sup>85</sup> The desire to create a European historical epistemology also hinged upon Morandi's discovery of the 'novelty' of the Europeanism purveyed by French historians, both those accepting elements of, or pursuing wholesale, *Annales* methodologies.<sup>86</sup>

Connecting economic to political history first drew Morandi towards French scholarship. Morandi believed that 'although politics is apparently nothing more than linear and continuous, it corresponds in reality with an interior logic and deep motives, which, in order to be understood, must be reconstructed as part of the internal evolution (moral, political and economic) of the Italian nation and the multiple events of the international situation.'<sup>87</sup> The reconstruction relied on 'critical examination and comparison' both of information in the 'sources', taken as Salvemini's records and remains, and of the competing 'principal currents

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<sup>81</sup> Gioacchino Volpe, *Momenti di storia italiana* (Florence, 1925); Pietro Silva, *Il mediterraneo dall'unità di Roma all'unità d'Italia* (Milan, 1927); Romolo Quazza, *Preponderanza spagnola 1559-1700* (Milan, 1938).

<sup>82</sup> Miozzi therefore called Maturi and Morandi 'Siamese twins', see Miozzi, *Scuola*, i. 193.

<sup>83</sup> *Dbi*.

<sup>84</sup> Angelo Tamborra, 'Come nacquero in Italia la 'destra' e la 'sinistra'', *IN*, 5 May 1946.

<sup>85</sup> Carlo Morandi, review of Sée, *Capitalismo moderno*, *RSI*, 50 (1933): 511-12, 512.

<sup>86</sup> Ernesto Sestan to Morandi, 18 May 1941, Morandi MSS S.1.

<sup>87</sup> Carlo Morandi, 'Lezioni di storia moderna', 1939-1940, Morandi MSS S.4/Lezioni.

of [historical] interpretations.’<sup>88</sup> So far as economics went, Morandi accepted that historians did not yet have an available terminology – he thought it ‘imprecise’ by comparison with that of legal history and physics – to deal with economic history other than on a local scale that antiquarian historians had investigated in the nineteenth century.<sup>89</sup> But this did not constitute a reaction against economic history in general, rather a reason to study it further. His argument distinguished Morandi’s intentions from those of contemporary historians working in Italy to discredit modern forms of capitalism, distrusted by Fascist politicians as hyper-technological and individualistic.<sup>90</sup>

Morandi’s discovery of a ‘European’ epistemology and economic analysis came through his readings about the European Reformation, particularly about Jean Bodin.<sup>91</sup> Hauser’s work made an impression on him in 1929. The *Sorbonne* historian’s ‘rigorous methodology’ – the analytical deconstruction of legal institutions and social structures as well as local customs – attracted Morandi’s attention. But so too did Hauser’s ‘demonstration of the links that connect economic reality and all other series of human facts [...Hauser], in agreement with Ranke’s pupils, confirms that as in the first half of the nineteenth century many of the historical considerations and ideas of political history arise from economic history ‘sans le savoir, sans le dire’.<sup>92</sup> The idea of a universal history also brought Febvre’s Reformation scholarship to Morandi’s notice as it had to Massimo Petrocchi, who turned to consider Febvre as a historian in 1943 after reading *Martin Luther: Un destin*.<sup>93</sup> Religious content aside, Morandi asked in a review article whether in view of the magnitude of the task it would be possible to research and verify Febvre’s understanding of the Reformation as a European social change rather than a series of national events precipitated by Protestant

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Carlo Morandi, unpublished review of Barbagallo, *Capitale e lavoro: Disegno storico*, n.d., Morandi MSS S.7/1.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Carlo Morandi, marginalia, Morandi MSS 8/appunti e note.

<sup>92</sup> Carlo Morandi, review of Hauser, *Travailleurs et Marchands*, *CM*, 2 (1930): 8.

<sup>93</sup> Massimo Petrocchi, ‘Misure di Lucien Febvre’, *CM*, 14 (1943): 1-13.

'heroes', as Ranke and Émile Doumergue had argued.<sup>94</sup> Both Morandi and Petrocchi also highlighted the thought that Febvre managed to reconstruct a humane past with a multi-dimensional context.<sup>95</sup>

Critical engagement did not end there. Morandi's personal papers suggest that his knowledge of the European perspectives offered by historians in France took in work by Georges Weill, Émile Bourgeois and Sagnac as well as Paul Hazard's books, which Gentile sent him.<sup>96</sup> In addition, notes preserved in his archive show that Morandi read Febvre's polemical articles about Seignobos's and Benda's political histories.<sup>97</sup> And his correspondence with Delio Cantimori expressed frustration at the difficulties associated with acquiring French-language material in Italy: 'imagine that even in Florence neither the Revue d'histoire moderne nor the Bulletin de la Société exists!'<sup>98</sup>

The results of critical engagement of this sort are difficult to discern. Morandi's insistence to students that the *Risorgimento* projected 'the concept of 'nationality' as a historical-moral unity, and not as an ethnic and linguistic unity' suggests that Morandi shared some of the ecumenism of *Annales* historians' inclusive total history as opposed to the racial and chauvinistic impulses prevalent in state-sponsored history textbooks. His readings of French histories focus on books that argued in the first instance that there existed such a thing as European consciousness, and, in the second, that it entered a phase of crisis in the early twentieth century owing to the interaction of the Russian Revolution, world economic depression, population growth and urbanization in an industrial era. Sée's work on the origins

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<sup>94</sup> Leopold von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (7 vols; Berlin, 1839-47); Émile Doumergue, *Jean Calvin* (5 vols; Lausanne, 1899-1917); Carlo Morandi, 'Problemi storici della Riforma', *CM*, 1 (1929): 669-74, 670, 673.

<sup>95</sup> Morandi, 'Problemi', 674; Petrocchi, 'Misure', 8.

<sup>96</sup> Georges Weill, *L'Europe du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et l'idée de nationalité* (Paris, 1938), Morandi MSS S.3/2; Émile Bourgeois, *Manual historique de politique étrangère* (4 vols; Paris, 1892-1926), Morandi MSS S.11/IV/1; Alexandre de Saint-Léger and Philippe Sagnac, *La prépondérance française: Louis XIV 1661-1715* (Paris, 1935), Morandi MSS S.8; Paul Hazard, *La Crise de la conscience européenne* (Paris, 1935), Morandi MSS S.5/1/175.

<sup>97</sup> Febvre, 'Entre l'histoire', 205-36; Febvre, 'Une histoire politique', 29-36, Morandi MSS, S.5/1, S.8.

<sup>98</sup> Morandi to Cantimori, 7 Dec. 1940, Cantimori MSS.

of capitalism in the Middle Ages, social classes of the eighteenth century, the working classes and the nature of financial systems attracted for that reason widespread review interest and not just from Morandi, particularly because they did not depart radically from the prevailing consensus that explanation had a narrative core.<sup>99</sup> Early-economic formations in the Roman Empire leading to modern capitalism meant that Pirenne's book, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, found favour equal to Sée's work; they both provided intellectual stimulation to historians, like Morandi, who assessed the meaning of early-modern periods for contemporary (political) history.<sup>100</sup> But Morandi's interest focused on the factual content disclosed not the techniques used to by *Annales* historians. That he never took up a theorized approach to economic history, preferring instead to remain focused on high politics, suggests the limits of his interaction with French methodologies.

### 5.3 Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment, 1946-1970

The Reformation continued after 1945 to bring historians in Italy into contact with *Annales* historians and their work. Early-modern subjects disliked by the Fascist government for their perceived individualism and scientism also returned as objects of research, particularly Renaissance and Enlightenment histories. This enlarged inroads that Volpe had created into these areas, rather than breaking with earlier traditions altogether, and historians' methods still combined techniques both inherited from Italian traditions as well as engagements with the work of *Annales* historians. This resulted from a definitive turn away from German scholarship, completing a trend begun at the time of the First World War. Changing methodological taste became still more prominent after 1960, when Franco Venturi replaced

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<sup>99</sup> Francesco Lemmi, review of Sée, *Vie économique*, *RSI*, 46 (1929): 199-200; Federico Chabod, review of Sée, *Origines du capitalisme*, *RSI*, 46 (1929): 200; Carlo Morandi, review of Sée, *Origini ed evoluzione del capitalismo moderno*, *RSI*, 50 (1933): 511-12.

<sup>100</sup> Paolo Brezzi, review of Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, *RSI*, 55 (1938): 129-35.

Chabod as editor of the *Rivista Storica Italiana*.<sup>101</sup> Parochial perspectives as well as nominalist and transcendent traditions then retreated as the *Rivista* stopped claiming to represent the entire profession and a growing number of Italian-language history periodicals appeared.<sup>102</sup> But notions of the centrality of history and philosophy to civic education remained. A higher-education commission re-examined but left unchanged that association of ideas in 1963. In France, meanwhile, the social sciences had become the motor of civic education. Contextual and institutional differences between France and Italy thus demonstrate both pre-Fascist continuities and the extent of institutional problems abounding in Franco-Italian historiographical transfers.<sup>103</sup>

Delio Cantimori's career at the *Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* displays the dimensions of resultant complications. He and his oeuvre stand out in the context of resistances because Cantimori's awareness of the *Annales* School lasted for many years, and, owing to his importance in the post-war re-orientation of historical studies in Italy, it furnishes realization of the complex manner in which *annaliste* methods entered Italian methodological discourses.

Cantimori's professional activity resembled Chabod, Giorgio Falco and Venturi's: it transformed the epistemological horizon of historical practice.<sup>104</sup> The metamorphosis sought to escape previous confrontations between Crocean and Gentilian Idealism and Marxist materialism.<sup>105</sup> The problems with both originated in their Romantic Idealism in which 'concepts, buzzwords and thoughts' provided the substance of historical reality. Cantimori cited *Medioevo italiano* by Volpe as demonstrative of this 'liberal-national' Idealism.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Adriano Viarengo, 'L'Assunzione della direzione della *Rivista Storica Italiana* da parte di Franco Venturi', *RSI*, 116 (2004): 493-527, 496, 519.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 519.

<sup>103</sup> Semeraro, *Sistema scolastico*, 131-34, 162-27.

<sup>104</sup> Mario Del Treppo, *La libertà della memoria: Scritti di storiografia* (Rome, 2006), 13.

<sup>105</sup> Furio Diaz, 'La nuova storiografia fra impegno politico e ricerca scientifica: Momenti e problemi 1945-1950', in Vigezzi, ed, *Chabod*, 635-41.

<sup>106</sup> Delio Cantimori, 'Nelle ombre di domani', preface to Johan Huizinga, *La crisi della civiltà*, translated by Barbara Allason (Turin, 1966; originally published in Dutch in 1935), ix; see also Carlo Antoni, 'La lotta contro

Implied ‘naturalism’ posed the greatest danger according to Cantimori: if abstract ideas became real historical events, then, owing to the nature of idealist dialectics, the past became deterministic.<sup>107</sup>

Cantimori felt compelled to respond but not by transforming history into a collection of all historical and social-science periodicities and techniques.<sup>108</sup> Reading Braudel’s *magnum opus*, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen*, which he came across because he advised Einaudi on their publication strategy, confirmed Cantimori’s conviction. He saw Braudel’s book as evacuating the concreteness of the past through ‘empty neo-positivism and neo-sociologism laden with allusions, recollections, evocations, significations, suggestions and points of suspense [...] it makes us *feel* the complexity of history: but just as certainly it is not enough to *feel it* and be left open-mouthed: that runs the risk of remaining on the surface and never penetrating to what lies beneath.’<sup>109</sup> Cantimori focused on the results of, more than the theory behind, Braudel’s work inasmuch as he discerned either a decade before Braudel explained both in his article, ‘Histoire et sciences sociales.’ He saw only superabundant factual material and sociological theory, the value of both of which he doubted because he believed that their deployment had made the past ‘become like parsley’ – ‘finely chopped’ or fragmentary.<sup>110</sup>

Cantimori looked instead to philosophy as a source of methodological renewal. He thought that philosophy considered universal concepts and in that way could overcome the *impasse* into which he thought Italian-idealist and Braudelian approaches to the past had led

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la ragione’, *AsSi*, 18 (1943): 128-30; Carlo Antoni, review of Croce, *Considerazioni su Hegel e Marx*, *Ra*, 3 (1946): 174-81; Carlo Antoni, review of Omodeo, *Il senso della storia*, *Ra*, 5 (1948): 422-28.

<sup>107</sup> Delio Cantimori, report on Braudel, *Civiltà e imperi*, 22 May 1949, in Luisa Mangoni, ed, *Delio Cantimori. Politica e storia contemporanea: Scritti 1927-1942* (Turin, 1991), 796.

<sup>108</sup> Delio Cantimori, preface to Gerhard Ritter, *I cospiratori del 20 luglio 1944*, translated by Enzo Collotti (Turin, 1966; originally published in German in 1954), ix.

<sup>109</sup> Cantimori, report on Braudel, 796; Cantimori met Braudel in Venice in 1955, see Paolo Simoncello, *Renzo De Felice: La formazione intellettuale* (Florence, 2001), 121, however, Cantimori’s classified diaries suggest that his opinion of Braudel’s work remained unchanged, Dr Milletta Sbrilli, interview with the author, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, 4 Jul. 2008.

<sup>110</sup> Delio Cantimori, *Studi di Storia* (3 vols; Turin, 1959), i. xix.

historical theory.<sup>111</sup> Cantimori also insisted that the history of philosophy advanced methodological prerequisites for historians: ‘rationality’ and ‘complexity [*problematicità*].’<sup>112</sup> In addition, philosophy avoided Salvemini’s renewed scientization of history on his return to Italy in 1949. Cantimori and Maturi agreed that the old understanding of the ‘history of facts’ as a method posed the danger of ‘overbalancing the equilibrium’ against ‘the history of ideas as undertaken by Chabod [...] or Franco Venturi’, thus of circumscribing human intelligence.<sup>113</sup> Cantimori’s friend Armando Saitta suggested accordingly that Mandrou’s arguments against the quantification of the past had as much relevance to the renovation of Italian historical method as in France because of their and their circle’s rejection of Braudel’s *magnum opus*.<sup>114</sup>

The methodological inclination also had political undertones. Cantimori had, until the late-1930s, supported radical republicanism and anti-clerical politics, issuing from his family background, as well as Fascist anti-capitalism; he also shared Fascist contempt for France as home to a ‘positivist-materialist mentality’, hostile to Idealism since the Enlightenment.<sup>115</sup> But his militant-communist wife, Emma Mezzomonti, combined with perceptions of Bolshevism’s emancipatory characteristics persuaded Cantimori of the virtue of the Italian Communist Party, of which he became a member in 1948.<sup>116</sup> This, and Cantimori’s translation with his wife of *Das Kapital*, signalled his intellectual curiosity about Marxist theory as well as contemporary feelings of its importance to understandings of ‘historiography’s own work’ in Italy.<sup>117</sup> But Cantimori’s interest did not extend to belief. Instead the views he adopted

<sup>111</sup> Treppo, *Libertà della memoria*, 13.

<sup>112</sup> Gennaro Sasso, *Delio Cantimori: Filosofia e storiografia* (Pisa, 2005), 227.

<sup>113</sup> Maturi to Cantimori, 1 Jun. 1950, Cantimori MSS.

<sup>114</sup> Editorial note, in Mandrou, ‘Mathématiques’, 39; Cantimori’s circle invited Mandrou to the *Scuola Normale* in 1960, but regretted (for intellectual and budgetary reasons) Alberto Tenenti’s invitation to Braudel, see Saitta to Cantimori, 13 Feb. 1960, Cantimori MSS; Saitta to Cantimori, 15 Jan. 1960, *ibid*.

<sup>115</sup> Delio Cantimori, ‘Fascismo, rivoluzione e non-reaione europea’, *VN*, 7 (1931): 3-6; Francesco Vitali, ‘Cantimori e il concetto di nazione in *Vita Nova*’, *NRS*, 93 (2009): 111-52, 130-31, 144.

<sup>116</sup> Sasso, *Cantimori*, 198-199. Cantimori allowed his membership to lapse in 1956 in protest at party-secretary Palmiro Togliatti’s support for Soviet military action in Hungary.

<sup>117</sup> Diaz to Cantimori, 17 May 1962, Cantimori MSS.



having engaged with Marxism resembled Venturi's. In exile in the 1930s, Venturi participated in debates at the *Collège de Sociologie* about concepts of liberty, human emancipation and orthodox Marxism, studied Diderot and followed debates inside Communist and Socialist movements.<sup>118</sup> Venturi became by the early 1940s an exponent of a libertarian Socialism, which, he thought, had historical precedent in the European Enlightenment, traceable to a class of *philosophes* who had sought social and intellectual reform in eighteenth-century Italian-speaking communities.<sup>119</sup>

The 'civil-political nature' of history that Venturi proposed also formed the basis for Cantimori's work on Italian reformers.<sup>120</sup> The original book on fifteenth-century heretics, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento*, 're-composed' the thought of heretical individuals and groups, thus resembling Bloch and Febvre's technical decipherment of *mentalité*.<sup>121</sup> But Cantimori's explanatory method deployed narratological devices: a controlled chronological encounter in turn with individual heretics, assessing their individual work in the context of one of the many towns and cities in which they found shelter. The procedure emphasized how reformer-heretics preserved an Italian identity despite their peregrinations: Celio Curione, for example, is shown attacking pre-destination then translating into Latin Guicciardini's history of Italy.<sup>122</sup> The 'originality and fecundity of [Cantimori's] research, above all in the field of ideas and religious and social movements' in turn distinguished it from contributions to transnational debates because Cantimori sought to show the meaning of the reformist movement as a whole, not just its parts.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Edoardo Tortarolo, 'L'esilio della libertà. Franco Venturi e la cultura europea negli anni trenta', in Luciano Guerci and Giuseppe Ricuperati, eds, *Il coraggio della ragione: Franco Venturi intellettuale e storico cosmopolita* (Rome, 1998), 93-95.

<sup>119</sup> Franco Venturi, *Settecento Riformatore* (5 vols; Turin, 1969-90), i, 54-59.

<sup>120</sup> Girolamo Imbruglia, 'È difficile vivere in epoca di Rivoluzione: Franco Venturi e la politica dello storico', *SdS*, 40 (2001): 67-90.

<sup>121</sup> Delio Cantimori, *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* (Florence, 1939), 24-28.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 264-65.

<sup>123</sup> Gentile to Cantimori, 16 Dec. 1942, Cantimori MSS; Emmanuel Rodacanachi, *La Réforme en Italie* (2 vols; Paris, 1920); Frederic Cross Church, *The Italian Reformers 1534-64* (New York, 1932); George Kenneth Brown, *Italy and the Reform to 1550* (Oxford, 1932).

As had Venturi on the Enlightenment, Cantimori in the process came across Febvre's work thanks to Morandi's article about the limits of the idea of a 'Catholic Reformation.'<sup>124</sup> But only after the war did Cantimori fully engage with Febvre, and that fact recalls a trend of delays in *Annales*-receptions in Italy. Discovery of the School came in the inter-war period, but publications about discovery only emerged during and after the Second World War. Venturi himself had written about Sardinian enclosures in a way that resembled Bloch's comparative historical analysis of field systems; he also advised Einaudi to print Bloch's *Métier d'historien*.<sup>125</sup> Gino Luzzatto discovered Bloch's work in the 1930s, but wrote about it in the 1950s.<sup>126</sup> And Febvre's personal friendship with Armando Sapori only became public knowledge through the obituary Sapori devoted to him.<sup>127</sup>

Institutional incompatibility accounted in part for deferred receptions. Sapori worked, for instance, not in a history department, which, as part of the Faculty of Letters, offered a home to the majority of historians and no recognition for social-science approaches to history, but in a *Magistero* or economics and trade department.<sup>128</sup> History and geography enjoyed no connection in the Italian curriculum, either, thus making an understanding of Febvre and Bataillon's or Simiand's work in that direction difficult to appropriate.<sup>129</sup> Sapori developed, with Franco Borlandi, Federico Melis and Aldo de Maddalena, Italy's own multidisciplinary historical methodologies, taking in perspectives from economics, demography and anthropology late by comparison with French scholars.<sup>130</sup> Only in 1969 did they secure an

<sup>124</sup> Delio Cantimori, *Prospettive di storia ereticale italiana del Cinquecento* (Bari, 1960), 20; Venturi to Paul O. Kristeller, 15 Mar. 1948, Kristeller MSS box 8.

<sup>125</sup> Massimo Mastrogregori, *Il manoscritto interrotto di Marc Bloch: Apologia della storia o mestiere di storico* (Pisa, 1995), 86-87; Antonello Mattone, 'Franco Venturi e la Sardegna. Dall'insegnamento cagliaritano agli studi sul settecento riformatore', *AsMO*, 48 (1950): 303-55, 312.

<sup>126</sup> Gino Luzzatto, 'La storia economica e sociale della Francia rurale', *NRS*, 17 (1933): 502-505 and 'Les noblesses. Les activités économiques du patriciat vénétien (X<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *AHés*, 9 (1937): 25-57.

<sup>127</sup> Armando Sapori, 'Lucien Febvre: Uno storico e un uomo', *NRS*, 11 (1956): 549-79.

<sup>128</sup> Mauro Moretti, 'Storici accademici e insegnamento superiore della storia nell'Italia unita. Dati e questioni preliminari', *Qs*, 82 (1993): 61-98, 66; Aymard, 'Annales School', 303.

<sup>129</sup> Mastrogregori, *Manoscritto*, 61.

<sup>130</sup> Franco Borlandi, *Per la storia della popolazione della Corsica* (Milan, 1942); Mario Del Treppo, 'Presentazione delle 'opera sparse' di Federico Melis', in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed, *Produzione e commercio*

institutional home for their approach, but the *Settimani di Studi* and its host organization, the *Istituto Datini*, existed as research not teaching institutions and could not alter curricula in this period.<sup>131</sup> Amintore Fanfani also played an important part in signalling the work of leading *Annales* historians in a new journal, *Economia e Storia*.<sup>132</sup>

Cantimori's interest in Febvre's historical research, by contrast, concerned the relationship of method to understanding.<sup>133</sup> Cantimori became interested in *Autour de l'Heptaméron*: he rejected Febvre's contention in it that historians had misinterpreted the sixteenth century as 'modern' because they failed to examine the sources on their own semantic terms. Cantimori felt that Febvre thereby signalled the separation of past and present: 'the enclosure of history like the oceans, the mountains, or, as one says, like the seasons and skies.'<sup>134</sup> A friend of Cantimori, theologian Roland H. Bainton, voiced Cantimori's own interpretation that thought both produced and responded to the facts of history.<sup>135</sup> 'Historical recollection (*rievocazione*)' became, therefore, a necessary cognitive function.<sup>136</sup> The commonality of that driving force both to the historian and to past agent made past and present mutually-constitutive. The belief resembled that expressed in Croce's theory of historiography that Gennaro Sasso described as 'persistent rankeanism' owing to its historicist echoes.<sup>137</sup>

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*della carta e del libro al XVI secolo* (Florence, 1992), 19; Aldo de Maddalena, *Prezzi e aspetti di mercato in Milano durante il secolo XVII* (Milan, 1950).

<sup>131</sup> Aymard, 'Annales School', 299; P. J. Jones, 'Per la Storia agraria italiana nel Medio Evo: Lineamenti e problemi', *RSI*, 76 (1964): 287-348, 293-94.

<sup>132</sup> Amintore Fanfani, review of Bloch, *Esquisse d'une histoire monétaire*, *ES* (1955): 100; Michelangelo Cariselli, review of Duby, *L'Économie rurale*, *ES* (1963): 530-31; Amintore Fanfani, review of Hauser, *Modernité du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *ES* (1963): 633-35; see also Claudio Rotelli, review of Ladurie, *Paysans de Languedoc*, *ES* (1967): 267-69; Giorgio Borelli, review of Duby, *Sviluppo economico*, *ES* (1970): 573.

<sup>133</sup> Cantimori's limited attention to economic history may reflect prevalent attitudes amongst members of the Italian Communist Party, which had few popular economic policies in an era of rising Gross Domestic Product and consumerism, see Duggan, *Force of Destiny*, 553; Carter, *Modern Italy*, 192-95.

<sup>134</sup> Delio Cantimori, review of Febvre, *Autour de l'Heptaméron*, *S*, 1 (1945): 261-73, note 3.

<sup>135</sup> Roland H. Bainton, 'Michael Servetus and the Trinitarian Speculation of the Middle Ages', in Bruno Becker, ed, *Autour de Michel Servet et de Sébastien Castellion* (Haarlem, 1953), 29-46.

<sup>136</sup> Cantimori, review of Febvre, 271.

<sup>137</sup> Sasso, *Delio Cantimori*, 196 c.f. Jan Van Der Dussen, ed, *R. G. Collingwood: The Idea of History* (Oxford, 1993; originally published in 1946), 190-204.

When Cantimori again considered heretical reformers in lectures delivered during the 1950s and 1960s the tone of his project had changed.<sup>138</sup> The focus shifted away from Italian identity and political coherence, the foci of Chabod's work on the Reformation.<sup>139</sup> Now the heretics' lack of nationality became the source of interest because of their detachment from 'official doctrines of the states to which they moved' and because they formed a 'prism' through which to analyze problems of a social life, which state history could not represent.<sup>140</sup> Cantimori looked again in chronological order at the heretics' cultural world, not just their theological proposals.<sup>141</sup> By analyzing the social impulse of political action, he marked his interpretive dissent from the idea of 'Catholic Revolution', advanced in the 1950s by Paul Kristeller. Cantimori instead endorsed Armando Saitta's conviction: that, in order to understand Protestantism, scholars should assess the extent to which heretics dissented from orthodoxy and its varied sources.<sup>142</sup> In this way, Cantimori gravitated towards a theoretical proposition he had outlined in the 1930s: that history is 'founded upon the experience of facts and upon theoretical reflexion on political events.'<sup>143</sup> Post-war explanations of it could legitimately focus on social or cultural histories in order to strengthen the precept.

A partial reconciliation with Febvre accompanied Cantimori's new direction. Signs of disagreement – about the separation of past from present and accusations that Febvre evacuated the theological import of Luther's life in *Martin Luther* – disappeared in the reception of *Au Coeur religieux du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*.<sup>144</sup> Cantimori spoke in congratulatory tones of Febvre's methodological innovations: the reconstruction of the Reformation both 'as a

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<sup>138</sup> Cantimori, *Prospettive di storia ereticale*, 6.

<sup>139</sup> 'Political and religious protests are born together', see Federico Chabod, 'Per la storia religiosa dello Stato di Milano. Note e documenti', in Federico Chabod, *Lo Stato e la vita religiosa a Milano nell'epoca di Carlo I* (Turin, 1971), 302; Cantimori described Chabod's work as 'first cosmopolitan, second national' in Delio Cantimori, *Storici e storia* (Turin, 1971), 327.

<sup>140</sup> Cantimori, *Prospettive*, 110.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 18, 27.

<sup>142</sup> Cantimori, *Studi*, 394-95.

<sup>143</sup> Delio Cantimori, 'Rhetoric and Politics in Italian Humanism', *JWI*, 1 (1937): 83-102, 85.

<sup>144</sup> Delio Cantimori, preface to Lucien Febvre, *Studi su Riforma e Rinascimento*, translated by Corrado Vivante (Turin, 1966; originally published in French in 1958), in Cantimori, *Storici*, 214.

European not narrowly national history' (Renaudet also received praised for this), as a feature of 'spontaneous life', re-enforced by the connection of economic, social, religious, intellectual and cultural life over the *longue durée* and the precision of the terminology used by Febvre in contrast with the inconsistent application of 'protestant' to recognized heretics and Church theologians alike by previous authors.<sup>145</sup> Cantimori on those counts compared Febvre's work to Abi Warburg's, whose self-styled '*daseinberechtigt* method' conveyed with equal richness the 'feeling of a general historical reality of a certain time.'<sup>146</sup>

But doubt acquired during Cantimori's youth lingered. Echoing Chabod's diction in response to Braudel's articles on North Africa, Cantimori found Febvre's use of comparison 'interesting' despite his suspicion of the technique. Cantimori attributed that mistrust to his school education, which had instilled in him a lingering predilection for specificity and incomparability through the cadences and expressions of rote-learning reigns of kings and dates of battles, so it attests to the institutional barriers to Franco-Italian co-operation.<sup>147</sup> In addition, the procedure could not be used in Italy because, according to Cantimori, the scarcity of documentary desposits and publications relating to the Reformation compared with France precluded the need for comparative techniques because these preparatory compilations of sources had not yet been made ready in Italy.<sup>148</sup> 'Rich and varied suggestions of a methodological character' interested Cantimori nevertheless, despite the fact that *Au Coeur religieux du XVIe siècle* did not in his opinion 'add much from the point of view of knowledge properly-speaking.'<sup>149</sup> The persistent problem as Cantimori put it remained that the 'cultural environment in Italy is different from that in France.'<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Delio Cantimori, review of Febvre, *Coeur religieux*, *AÉSC*, 15 (1960): 556-68, 557-58, 560; Delio Cantimori, 'Testimonianza per A. Renaudet', *RSI*, 71 (1959): 9-19, 18; the *longue durée* informed Cantimori's division of the past into culturally-uniform 'moments', see Mario Mirri, 'Il Risorgimento', in Vigezzi, ed, *Chabod*, 144-45.

<sup>146</sup> Warburg to Seligman, 1 Nov. 1927, Seligman MSS box 38; Cantimori, review of Febvre, 558.

<sup>147</sup> Cantimori, review of Febvre, 561.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, 564; see also Venturi, *Riformatore*, i. xvii.

<sup>149</sup> Cantimori, review of Febvre, 567.

<sup>150</sup> Delio Cantimori, 'Il mestiere dello storico', in Delio Cantimori, *Conversando di Storia*, edited by Francesco Rossi (Bari, 1967), 64.

If in the modern combination of Latin *cultura* and German *Kultur* Cantimori meant differences in the state of intellectual development, then his remark is incisive and not simply a statement of the obvious. Cantimori's fatal heart-attack in 1966 prevented realization of his intended multi-volume work on heresy. Nevertheless it is possible to see that methodological discourses to which Gaetano De Sanctis and Volpe as well as Cantimori contributed disclosed historians' pressing concerns about how holistically to recover the past and the identity of an 'Italian' history (particularly in the Fascist era). Politics remained prominent in this framework throughout, even in Cantimori's oeuvre, because of a combination of disciplinary, field and national factors: the longevity of Idealist and philology-inspired methodological traditions; platonic Idealism inscribed in what became after 1923 a rarefied and, after 1935, a controlled university system and with lingering epistemological vagueness about the contours of an Italian past and its contemporary and future political ramifications. Just as in Germany questions about nationhood became implicit after 1945, so in Italy historians like Cantimori and Venturi 'dissembled' Italy as part of questions about cultural development, but without co-operating with a fully-fledged sociological discipline, because before 1970 one simply did not exist in the Peninsula.<sup>151</sup> Proto-*annalistes'* proposal of synthetic and multidisciplinary approaches to historical knowledge attracted limited attention because they appeared to historians in Italy to ignore the political import of historical knowledge when Sanctis, Ferrero and Croce insisted on the subjectivity of historical research and when proponents of a history made by a 'science of facts' intended individualizing methods comparable with English traditions. Neither idealist nor scientific traditions shared, therefore, proto-*annaliste* historians' aspirations, and therein lay the rationale for perceptions in post-1970 Italy that *Annales* historians had not had the impact there that Braudel later claimed they

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<sup>151</sup> Giuseppe Gargallo Di Castel Lentini, *Storiografia e sociologia* (Rome, 1971), 91; Aldo Monti, 'La Storia d'Italia Einaudi, Gramsci e le *Annales*: Elementi di riflessione per un rapporto fra storiografia e società civile', *QS*, 32 (1976): 729-65, 733.

had in an article-series in the *Corriere della Sera*.<sup>152</sup> First-, not second-, generation *Annales* historians' work made an impact in the period after 1923, particularly after 1929. Their methodologies encountered support as well as debate. The conceptual tools of *mentalité* provided efficacious techniques to historians already keen to eschew historical *étatisme*, but not, as Venturi alleged Braudel did, to abandon the civil-political basis of history.<sup>153</sup> Defences of the historians' craft and its autonomy had for that reason roots in Italy both older and more deeply entangled with political concerns than in France or even Germany. But historians there did not ignore the work of French scholars, nor the transnational debates surrounding the topics of *Risorgimento*, Reformation and Enlightenment on which amongst others they worked. Resistances in Italy appeared in that sense both more complex and more individual, because more political, than elsewhere in Western Europe.

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<sup>152</sup> Renzi, 'Incontri marginali', 634; Fernand Braudel, 'Sul mare della 'lunga durata'', *CdS*, 12 Dec. 1982.

<sup>153</sup> Professor Edoardo Tortarolo, electronic correspondence with the author, 13 Dec. 2009.

## 6. Resistances to *Annales* Methodologies in the United States of America, 1900-1970

As local historical societies opened their special collections to visitors around 1900, history teaching and research expanded in the United States as it had simultaneously in England, France, Germany and Italy.<sup>1</sup> John Franklin Jameson presided over the American Historical Association, edited the *American Historical Review*, directed the Department for Historical Research at the Carnegie Institute – otherwise devoted entirely to the natural sciences – and founded the Historical Manuscripts Commission. He did more than anybody to lead developments.<sup>2</sup> Jameson, aided by several other historians, in that way created the professional practice of history, which worked out of ‘love of civil and religious liberty’ to train historians who would create extensive documentary resources that subsequent generations could interpret.<sup>3</sup> Closure of the Carnegie Department and the end of Jameson’s career in 1928, as well as an Association review of history teaching four years later, signalled change: an end to monopolization by a small number of historians of syllabi and a change in interpretive frameworks.<sup>4</sup> The coincidence of these alterations with the transition to the first generation of *Annales* historians provides, therefore, an apposite time-frame in which to examine resistances to proto-*annalistes*’ methodologies in America.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas L. Haskell, *The Emergence of Professional Social Science: The American Social Science Association and the Nineteenth-Century Crisis of Authority* (Urbana, 1977), 172; Deborah L. Haines, ‘Scientific History as a Teaching Method: The Formative Years’, *JAH*, 63 (1977): 887-914, 893; John Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship in America* (Baltimore, 1965), 5, 11-13, 17; Arthur S. Link, ‘The American Historical Association, 1884-1984: Retrospect and Prospect’, *AHR*, 90 (1985): 1-17, 10; Novick, *Noble Dream*, 58; Arthur E. Bestor Jr, ‘The Transformation of American Scholarship, 1875-1917’, *LQ*, 23 (1953): 164-79, 175.

<sup>2</sup> Morey Rothenberg and Jacqueline Goggin, eds, *John Franklin Jameson and the Development of Humanistic Scholarship in America* (3 vols; Athens [Georg.], 1993), iii. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> John Lothrop Motley quoted in Novick, *Noble Dream*, 45-46. Vann describes this group as an ‘Old Boy network’, see Richard T. Vann, ‘No King of Israel? Individuals and Schools in American Historiography’, in Torstendahl, ed, *Twentieth-Century Historiography*, 182.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, William L. Langer, Charles W. David, William S. Ferguson, Guy Stanton Ford, Carlton J. H. Hayes and Dexter Perkins, *Historical Scholarship in America: Needs and Opportunities* (New York, 1932), i-iii, 11-13.



## 6.1 Histories of ‘American’ Experiences, 1900-1932

Acknowledgement of the professionalization of disciplinary history in France abounded in the *American Historical Review*. *Méthodique* historians’ organization of archives and palaeographical research prompted American efforts in the same direction, because, as Frank Maloy Anderson suggested, historians in America thought that it produced ‘the admirable skill which almost invariably marks French historical writing.’<sup>5</sup> Yet the multiplication of sources and their analysis by Blache and Febvre met with concern from Mark Jefferson, a leading geographer, who admired Blache’s conceptual vocabulary but lamented both the ‘somewhat confusing’ style and ‘veiled irony’ with which Febvre and Bataillon relayed it and that they neglected non-Francophone secondary literature on the topic.<sup>6</sup> Jefferson agreed with André Allix that events determined settlement patterns more often and in greater measure than features of the landscape, but felt that *Annales* historians sometimes ignored that fact.<sup>7</sup> The founder of the Chicago School of Sociology, Robert E. Park, disagreed – he felt that Febvre’s simultaneous description of geographical environments and comparison of social strata responded to questions about social integration that the growth in industrial labour forces had prompted.<sup>8</sup>

Intellectual and social issues examined by Pirenne and Berr also aroused interest. Ruth Putnam, one of the first graduates of the all-female Sage College, Cornell, and mediaevalist Theodore Collier singled out the ‘fair-minded Belgian scholar’ for his investigation of the industrial and societal development of contemporary Belgium and the way in which he

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<sup>5</sup> Frank Maloy Anderson, review of Seignobos, *France contemporaine*, *AHR*, 27 (1921): 560-62, 560; Charles Homer Haskins, review of Seignobos, *Méthode historique*, *AHR*, 7 (1902): 390-91; Charles Homer Haskins, review of Langlois, *Manuel de Bibliographie*, *AHR*, 10 (1904): 768-70; James T. Shotwell, ‘The École des Chartes’, *AHR*, 11 (1906): 761-68.

<sup>6</sup> Mark Jefferson, review of Blache, *Principes*, *AHR*, 13 (1923): 144-46; Mark Jefferson, review of Febvre, *La Terre*, *GR*, 13 (1923): 147-48, 148; Mark Jefferson, review of Febvre, *La Terre*, *AHR*, 28 (1923): 291-93.

<sup>7</sup> André Allix, ‘Géohistoire, Méditerranée et Géographie’, *RGL*, 26 (1951): 45-52, 51.

<sup>8</sup> Robert E. Parks, review of Febvre, *La Terre*, *AJS*, 32 (1926): 486-90, 488.

analyzed the world-view and intellectual influences operating on its leaders.<sup>9</sup> James Harvey Robinson admired Berr's work combining 'erudite' fact collection and 'philosophical history', emphasizing the value in Berr's outline of the origins of social consciousness.<sup>10</sup> But Robinson also predicted that few historians in America had patience enough to pay attention to a 'philosophical' approach.<sup>11</sup> Fred Morrow Fling, an admirer of Aulard, joined Berr in announcing the importance of synthesis as the missing concept in notions about whether or not historians should make laws about facts, following the hard sciences. He suggested that both human and natural sciences synthesized the products of their research but in different ways: history arranged individual 'will-acts' into complex narratives, structured by but not reducible to the causes and intentions of individual phenomena; natural science outlined general laws on the basis of particular rules, which they tested and modified as experimentation incorporated a wider range of objects.<sup>12</sup> In other words, according to Fling, historians practised methodological holism and natural scientists explanatory reductionism.<sup>13</sup>

Bloch's international reputation also reached America. His work placed feudalism in its 'proper context', the combined political, social and economic environments determining the organization of mediaeval society, according to constitutional and mediaeval historian, Charles H. Taylor.<sup>14</sup> Contextualization itself informed the study of constitutional history, considered by 1930 as a political science – in the United States, an interdisciplinary approach to political history mindful of the findings of sociology, economics, psychology and psychiatry.<sup>15</sup> It required that scholars examine 'civil processes as the biologist examines living

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<sup>9</sup> Ruth Putnam, review of Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, *AHR*, 17 (1912): 367-368, 368; Theodore Collier, review of Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, *AHR*, 27 (1921): 294-96, 295.

<sup>10</sup> James Harvey Robinson, review of Berr, *Synthèse en Histoire*, *AHR*, 17 (1912): 643-44, 644.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 643.

<sup>12</sup> Fred Morrow Fling, 'Historical Synthesis', *AHR*, 9 (1903): 1-22, 3, 21; Fred Morrow Fling, *The Writing of History* (New Haven, 1920), 187-90.

<sup>13</sup> Laird Addis, 'Methodological Holism', in Robert Audi, ed, *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1999), 566.

<sup>14</sup> Charles H. Taylor, review of Bloch, *Caractères originaux*, *AHR*, 37 (1932): 736-37, 736.

<sup>15</sup> James Garfield Randall, 'The Interrelation of Social and Constitutional History', *AHR*, 35 (1929): 1-13, 1.

cells; and [...] observe critically and study objectively civil and governmental data.’<sup>16</sup> Bloch’s work also struck Charles W. David as path-breaking because it suggested the current view that Capetian kings had granted enfranchisement to indentured slaves between 1315 and 1318 not out of ‘pious motives’ but because the fee paid for the privilege garnered up government revenues.<sup>17</sup>

Beyond attention in reviews, a range of blockages prevented widespread appropriation of proto-*annalistes*’ work; older leading historians’ style of historical research posed the first of them. ‘Gentlemen historians’ such as Henry C. Lea, Henry Adams, George Bancroft, William H. Prescott, Herbert Putnam and Francis Parkman created history syllabi charting the decline of old-world imperial powers such as Spain and the rise of modern America.<sup>18</sup> Their ‘conservative-evolutionist’ histories highlighted the institutional genesis, ‘the fortunes’ of ‘[their] land’, exhibiting in the process social harmony and divine sanction.<sup>19</sup> Interpretive frameworks emphasized that America originated from a European past: Baxter Adams’ ‘germ theory’ showed, for example, how the *Markgenossenschaft* underpinned all Western institutions and cultures.<sup>20</sup> James Garner, Walter Fleming, Joseph-Grégoire de Roulhac Hamilton, Clara Mildred Thompson and Charles Ramsdell joined their teacher William A. Dunning in disseminating theories that the American constitution had its origins in English law, and, therefore that even at the time of the First World War ‘some special fiat of God and nature enjoins enduring peace among those whose blood or language or institutions or

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>17</sup> Charles W. David, review of Bloch, *Rois et Serfs*, *AHR*, 26 (1921): 758-59, 758. For the current view, see Morris Bishop, *The Middle Ages* (New York, 2001), 296.

<sup>18</sup> Richard L. Kagan, ‘Prescott’s Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship and the Decline of Spain’, *AHR*, 101 (1996): 423-47, 426-28.

<sup>19</sup> Higham, *History*, 158-60; Novick, *Noble Dream*, 72; George Bancroft, *History of Colonization of the United States* (3 vols; Boston, 1837), i. 4 and iii. 467: ‘God chose Americans.’

<sup>20</sup> Herbert Baxter Adams, *The Germanic Origins of New England Towns* (Baltimore, 1882). But Adams also supported Lamprecht’s *Kulturgeschichte*, see Raymond J. Cunningham, ‘The German Historical World of Herbert Baxter Adams: 1874-1876’, *JAH*, 68 (1981): 261-75, 263.

traditions or all together, go back historically to the snug little island of Britain!’<sup>21</sup> It founded claims to scientific status on the recovery of truths through scrutiny of evidence related to whole sections of the past – what Henry Adams called the ‘equilibrium’ of ‘forces at work.’<sup>22</sup> History necessarily remained ‘a vast collection of facts’, but historical writing required their ‘clever handling’ in order to ensure their metamorphosis into a readable narrative, conveying ‘truthful impressions.’<sup>23</sup>

Limited public esteem for historical work presented a second circumstantial barrier to widespread interest in any historiographical innovation. Until the rise of the ‘serious writer’ in the 1920s and 1930s no significant public audience for history existed, mainly because public opinion held that it fulfilled no ‘practical use.’<sup>24</sup> Limited university enrolments also impeded historical training: Henry Brook Adams complained as early as 1887 that a ‘lack of historical training in our secondary schools is the great cause of weakness in this department of college work.’<sup>25</sup> Still, Turner told Arthur Meier Schlesinger, ‘Historical Mindedness’ [was] among the most important elements needed in modern civilization.’ But he did ‘not feel that in the past schools accomplished much in this direction’ in 1922.<sup>26</sup> Teaching nevertheless expanded: the total number of doctoral degrees conferred grew from 394 in 38 different institutions around 1908 to 8492 offered in 175 universities and affiliated colleges in 1958.<sup>27</sup> But regional differences persisted because what ‘meet the needs of Southern people’ could offend northerners, especially with regard to popular ‘Contemporary Civilization’ courses, which began with the Civil War and extended to the present day.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> William A. Dunning, *The British Empire and the United States: A Review of Their Relations During the Century of Peace Following the Treaty of Ghent* (New York, 1914), 371.

<sup>22</sup> Henry Adams, ‘The Tendency of History’, *ARAHA* (1894): 17-23, 21.

<sup>23</sup> James Ford Rhodes to Albert Bushnell Hart, 4 Nov. 1906, Hart MSS H.U.G./448/35/11; Edward Channing, ‘The Present State of Historical Writing in America’, *PAAS*, 20 (1910): 427-40, 430.

<sup>24</sup> Waldo G. Leland, ‘Concerning Catholic Historical Societies’, *CHR*, 11 (1917): 386-99, 387, 386.

<sup>25</sup> Adams to Hart, 28 Apr. 1887, Macmillan MSS box 42.

<sup>26</sup> Turner to Schlesinger, 22 Oct. 1922, Schlesinger MSS H.U.G./4769/305/7.

<sup>27</sup> Berelson, *Graduate Education*, 95.

<sup>28</sup> Channing to Brett, 30 Jul. 1903, Macmillan MSS box 41.

Disciplinary problems arising from history's association with literature detracted from recognition of the theoretical import of proto-*annaliste* historians' vision.<sup>29</sup> Many members of the general public '[liked] to think that they [studied] history when they [were] being entertained.'<sup>30</sup> Both students and educated readers did not, therefore, associate history and philosophy. At the time when Woodrow Wilson led post-war peace initiatives, popular with historians in France such as Aulard, Berr told Boston publishers at Little, Brown & Co. that he 'wished personally to contribute to fostering closer intellectual relations between the United States and France' by increasing collaboration with Americans.<sup>31</sup> French-émigré and historian of literature at Columbia University, George Chinard, for that reason invited Berr to contribute to a cycle of conferences in New York City; mediaeval historian Charles Homer Haskins also expressed his interest but no partnership followed.<sup>32</sup> Berr's work had most impact, however, in philosophy departments just as Robinson had suspected. Philosopher Woodridge Riley confirmed that, and detected that in fact Europeans looked at American intellectual developments with more assiduity than *vice versa*, noting the 'considerable curiosity in Europe [...] in regard to our philosophical speculations.'<sup>33</sup>

Historiographical innovation in America also competed with methodological traditions inaugurated abroad. Philosophical pragmatism, the tenets of which William James and Charles S. Peirce outlined before the First World War, sought to emphasize the vitality, contingency and diversity of human experience, perceived as forming a continuum: 'continuities and the discontinuities are absolutely co-ordinate matters of immediate feeling. The conjunctions are as primordial elements of 'fact' as are the distinctions and

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<sup>29</sup> Émile Coornaert, *Destins de Clio en France depuis 1800. Essai* (Paris, 1977), 129-31.

<sup>30</sup> Channing to Brett, 12 Nov. 1903, Macmillan MSS box 41.

<sup>31</sup> Berr to Little, Brown & Co., 1 Aug. 1919, Berr MSS BRR2/G1-03.2-55.

<sup>32</sup> Chinard to Berr, 11 Jul. 1919, *ibid*; Haskins to Berr, 7 Aug. 1919, *ibid* BRR2/G1-03.2-101.

<sup>33</sup> Riley to Berr, 15 Feb. 1921, Berr MSS BRR2/G1-03.1-40.

disjunctions.<sup>34</sup> New experiences could co-exist with a sense of past-time. And sociologists outlined the ‘pragmatic’ function of teaching, as well. They argued that ‘knowledge is inchoate action inchoately directed to an end; [...] all knowledge is ‘functional’, that it is of the nature of use.’<sup>35</sup> Pragmatic connections between past, present and action likewise featured in transnational reflections on the foundations of historical knowledge because of their similarity to those posited to attach mind to experience by philosophical Idealism, thus feeding into the thought-world of Americans who had often undertaken their doctoral research in Germany.<sup>36</sup> Florentine academics also deployed pragmatism in order to provide historical legitimacy to their socialist and syndicalist cause without referring to dialectical materialism, the detail of which a busy industrial workforce struggled to master.<sup>37</sup> Berr’s friend, the philosopher André Lalande, even hoped that pragmatism would reveal ‘concrete realities’ because it aligned knowledge with experience, thus bringing certainty to history.<sup>38</sup>

The Beards and Robinson took up pragmatic philosophy, which, combined with their ‘progressive’ political commitments and admiration for Frederick Jackson Turner’s oeuvre, inspired their ‘new’ history.<sup>39</sup> Each, excepting New-Yorker Robinson, hailed from the rural Mid-West or North-Western United States, did not possess the older generation of historians’ urbane customs and distrusted wealth in its many forms, especially the rise of large-scale financial speculation that in part produced a series of depressions in 1904, 1907, 1913 and more seriously in 1929.<sup>40</sup> Their universities, in Wisconsin, Chicago and New York City, existed in states represented by politicians who supported President Theodore Roosevelt’s

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<sup>34</sup> Charles S. Peirce, ‘How To Make Our Ideas Clear’, *PSM* (1878), 1-16; William James, ‘The Thing and Its Relations’, *JPPSM*, 2 (1905): 29-41, 30.

<sup>35</sup> Thorstein Veblen, *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization and Other Essays* (New York, 1919), 21.

<sup>36</sup> Novick, *Noble Dream*, 21-24, 48, 50, 66, 113; Burleigh Taylor Wilkins, ‘Pragmatism as a Theory of Historical Knowledge: John Dewey on the Nature of Historical Inquiry’, *AHR*, 64 (1959): 878-90, 879.

<sup>37</sup> Adolfo De Carolis, Giovanni Costetti, Giovanni Papini and Giuseppe Prezzolini, ‘Il Pragmatismo messo in ordine’, *Le*, 3 (1905): 45-48, 46; Edmund E. Jacobetti, ‘Hegemony before Gramsci: The Case of Benedetto Croce’, *JMH*, 52 (1980): 66-84, 73.

<sup>38</sup> André Lalande, ‘Pragmatisme et pragmatisme’, *Rp*, 61 (1906): 121-146, 144.

<sup>39</sup> On the personal networks facilitating this, see Novick, *Noble Dream*, 150.

<sup>40</sup> Higham, *History*, 181.

campaign to ameliorate living conditions for America's new-urban and impoverished-rural populations.<sup>41</sup> Turner's work at Wisconsin, a 'laboratory of democracy' under Senator Robert La Follette, rose to prominence for associated methodological reasons: his techniques produced the 'frontier theory' and the 'sectional approach', both of which focused minds on the progress of American society. The first insisted that American civilization acquired democratic-cosmopolitan traits because of the early settlers' encounters with frontier wilderness during westward expansion.<sup>42</sup> The 'sectional approach' investigated how 'vast physiocratic provinces of the country', with all their local issues, steered federal political activity by influencing the opinions and policies enacted by elected representatives.<sup>43</sup>

Beard and Robinson responded to the 'sectional approach' inasmuch as their history examined social phenomena.<sup>44</sup> They demonstrated the dynamism of historical events as products of hard-fought campaigns for change. Beard, more radical than the moderate Turner, challenged conservative-evolutionary interpretations of American institutions by re-examining the Constitution as a product of the Founding Fathers' vested-economic interests, just as Bloch had dispelled myths about emancipation in fourteenth-century France.<sup>45</sup> The methodological precept, 'to sacrifice historical disquisitions and theories of government to the great problem of how things are actually done', resembled Fustel's and sought to distinguish history from political science.<sup>46</sup> Robinson explained the general intention of the progressive project, insisting that he and Beard '[furnished] at the same time the best, perhaps the only, means of cultivating that breadth of view, moral and intellectual perspective, and enthusiasm

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<sup>41</sup> Thomas C. Reeves, *Twentieth-Century America* (New York, 2000), 28-31.

<sup>42</sup> Frederick J. Turner, *The Rise of the New West* (New York, 1906), 3-6, 67-83; Frederick J. Turner, 'Social Forces in American History', in Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921), 311.

<sup>43</sup> Frederick J. Turner, *The Significance of Sections in American History* (New York, 1932), *The United States 1830-1850: The Nation and Its Sections* (New York, 1935), 1-3 and Turner, *New West*, 6.

<sup>44</sup> James Harvey Robinson, *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (New York, 1912), 100.

<sup>45</sup> Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (New York, 1913), i-vii.

<sup>46</sup> Beard to Brett, 3 Sep. 1907, Macmillan MSS box 40.

for progress which must always come with a perception of the relation of past and present.’<sup>47</sup> The First World War only heightened the contemporary resonances of past struggles, adding to progressive-pragmatic historians’ scepticism about modern civilization.<sup>48</sup>

New historians resembled proto-*annaliste* counterparts because they became involved in disagreements with Jameson and other senior academics. Conflict with President of Columbia University, Nicholas Murray Butler, drove Beard and Robinson to resign their posts and found the New School for Social Research in 1919.<sup>49</sup> At the American Historical Association, members of a generation including Beard, Arthur Meier Schlesinger and Harry Elmer Barnes born in the 1870s criticized the incumbent ‘nobility’: William Dunning, Albert Bushnell Hart, Charles McLaughlin and John Franklin Jameson.<sup>50</sup> They reprised complaints made in 1915 that a clique monopolized appointments in historical institutions, and they alleged that the ‘old boys’ had outlived their usefulness because they ‘ignored so much information on the very surface of the materials’, though details about which information went unspoken.<sup>51</sup> The older generation, born in the 1850s, replied that ‘there [existed] some tendency to classify historical scholars particularly rigidly, as of old and new schools [...] as if there had been a sharp transition.’<sup>52</sup> Jameson maintained privately his commitment to professional individualism, stressing ‘that most of the solid and fruitful work in history can be and will be done by means within the power of the separate nations, if not of separate individuals.’<sup>53</sup> And Dunning added his own faith that ‘new history’ could not read into the past ‘to affect the thoughts and deeds of the generations who knew not the reality’ of

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<sup>47</sup> Robinson, *New History*, 153.

<sup>48</sup> Ernst A. Breisach, *American Progressive History: An Experiment in Modernization* (Chicago, 1993), 117-29.

<sup>49</sup> Roger Steed, ‘History Professor Quits at Columbia’, *NYT*, 6 May 1919; Peter M. Rutkoff and William B. Scott, *New School: A History of the New School for Social Research* (London, 1986), 8.

<sup>50</sup> Beard to Schlesinger, 16 Jan. 1918, Schlesinger MSS H.U.G./4769/320/63.

<sup>51</sup> Ray Alan Billington, ‘Storm in Clio’s Teapot: The American Historical Association Rebellion of 1915’, *AHR*, 78 (1973): 348-69, 350-51; Harry Elmer Barnes to Schlesinger, 6 Oct. 1922, Schlesinger MSS H.U.G./4769/320/100; Beard to Schlesinger, 30 Jun. 1915, Schlesinger MSS H.U.G./4769/320/1.

<sup>52</sup> Jameson to Beard, 10 Aug. 1926, in Elizabeth Donnan and Leo F. Stock, eds, *An Historian’s World: Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson* (Philadelphia, 1956), 319.

<sup>53</sup> Jameson to Waldo G. Leland, 24 Mar. 1924, in *ibid.*, 298.



historians' new theories and findings.<sup>54</sup> Neither party questioned seriously, however, the scientific character of historical inquiry that the older generation had established.

Even Europeanists tended to favour professional individualism. Fred Morrow Fling knew better than most the situation of historical scholarship in France, thanks to his research on and teaching of the French Revolution, 'the most widely taught topic of modern Continental History.'<sup>55</sup> But Fling's sympathies for Rickert's individualising-scientific rationale and distinction of sociology as a natural history of society from the story of human events, hinted that his contributions to Berr's journal arose more from Berr's effort to acquire international contributors and editorial tolerance than genuine consensus between the two men.<sup>56</sup> Just as Ranke symbolized to historians in America the individual scholar collecting unconnected facts, Berr appeared to Fling to promote debates about historical theory, which became an important element of discourse in American historiography before 1932.<sup>57</sup> Yet, as Ernst A. Breisach suggested repeatedly in his study of progressive history in America, 'once more, the French developments in the 1920s [...] had no influence on American historians; that despite a fully wartime-inspired suspension of German influence.'<sup>58</sup>

The progressive-pragmatic tradition as well as the attitudes of an older generation, actually accounted for the difficulties proto-*annaliste* historians faced in penetrating American historiography. Explicit combinations of reformist philosophical and political attitudes in 'new' historical approaches to the past arose from American circumstances and changed the position of Europe in historians' thought-world. Europe's struggles and destinies now resembled America's, so the study of European institutions, for example, became

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<sup>54</sup> William A. Dunning, 'Truth in History', *AHR*, 19 (1914): 217-29, 228-9.

<sup>55</sup> Channing to Brett, 5 Jul. 1903, Macmillan MSS box 41.

<sup>56</sup> Fling, *Writing of History*, 131.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 17; Georg Iggers, 'The Image of Ranke in American and German Historical Thought', *H&T*, 2 (1962): 17-40, 18-22.

<sup>58</sup> Breisach, *Progressive History*, 122.

necessary as a prefatory training required to study any institution.<sup>59</sup> Barnes, Carl Becker, Beard, Robinson and Schlesinger emphasized in a series of books the contours of the experiences felt by the ‘great many’ in America’s ‘Great Society’ rather than the ‘great men’ of Providence-directed politics.<sup>60</sup> And with those convictions, plus interventions from Albert Pollard in England, came recognition that the collective experiences of Americans related to autonomous conditions within the United States *as well as* European legacies.<sup>61</sup> Here emerged a pan-American context for which proto-*annalistes* had not intended their scholarship. But, by the 1920s, America had in any case become a difficult place in which to propagate reform, as Thomas C. Reeves has shown: politicians once again announced the mutual benefits of free-market economic policies and individualism; the Klu Klux Klan conducted their affairs unobstructed; the rise of socially-conservative fundamentalist Christianity and the allure of a consumer culture and freedom of expression for a growing number of men and some women drowned out American- and French-progressive voices alike almost entirely.<sup>62</sup>

## 6.2 Manifest Destiny and Historical Reality, 1933-1957

From 1933, however, responses to *Annales* methodologies followed a logic suggestive of the extent to which historians working in a variety of analytical modes shared basic assumptions, established by 1932, that experiential certainty guided historical practice.<sup>63</sup> Agreement shaped the reception of French scholarship, and produced distinctive reactions to it. 1957 provides the end date to a period of oppositions comparable in style because it is the year in which appeared an article by Edward R. Tannenbaum about French historiography that exemplified

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<sup>59</sup> James Harvey Robinson, *The Ordeal of Civilization: A Sketch of the Development and World-Wide Diffusion of Our Present Day Institutions* (New York, 1926), 4-5.

<sup>60</sup> Graham Wallas, *The Great Society: A Psychological Analysis* (New York, 1914); Arthur M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1922), viii.

<sup>61</sup> A. F. Pollard, ‘New Birth of Our Soil’, in A. F. Pollard, *Factors in American History* (Cambridge, 1925), 130-175; Bernard Bailyn, ‘The American Academy and American Society: A Bicentennial Discourse’, *BAAAS*, 34 (1980): 29-31, 30.

<sup>62</sup> Reeves, *America*, 98-99.

<sup>63</sup> See also Breisach, *Progressive History*, 207.

the range of circumspect as well as positive attitudes expressed since the 1930s.<sup>64</sup> Although it is the work of one scholar, it compounded the variety of attitudes and interpretive tendencies historians in America articulated with reference to *Annales* methodologies.

From the point of view of American historiography, the period 1933 until 1957 in fact witnessed manifold developments. Progressive historians theorized the relativity of historical work, leaving behind earlier conceptions of history as a story of conflict of the 'is' with the 'ought' of human affairs. Whereas before 1933 progressive-pragmatic and conservative-evolutionary historians alike believed history to have scientific qualities, now it became an 'act of faith', 'the selection and organization of facts by the processes of thought' within 'borders arbitrarily established', and historians' told 'useful myths' efficacious to the present not 'true' of an autonomous past.<sup>65</sup> Céléstin Bouglé's contention that 'the social frameworks of memory' within which historians operated influenced the development.<sup>66</sup> Croce's notion that 'it [was] necessary constantly to renovate [historiography] and confer on it the energy that originates from new needs' also played a part.<sup>67</sup> After the Second World War, however, another type of history concerned with 'consensus' grew up as Daniel J. Boorstin, Louis Hacker, Louis Hartz, Richard Hofstadter, David Potter and Arthur Meier Schlesinger Jr emphasized the strength and harmony of a liberal-democratic 'American political tradition' as a universal force, perceptible thanks to the United States' new-found status as a world power and economic expansion, her manifest destiny.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Edward R. Tannenbaum, 'French Scholarship in Modern European History. New Developments Since 1945', *JMH*, 29 (1957): 246-52.

<sup>65</sup> Charles A. Beard, 'Written History as an Act of Faith', *AHR*, 39 (1934): 219-31, 231; Carl Lotus Becker, 'Everyman His Own Historian', *AHR*, 37 (1932): 221-36, 223.

<sup>66</sup> Charles A. Beard and Alfred Vagts, 'Currents of Thought in Historiography', *AHR*, 42 (1937): 460-83, 481.

<sup>67</sup> Croce to Beard, 18 May 1933, in Croce, *Epistolario I*, 133.

<sup>68</sup> Douglas Tallack, *Twentieth-Century America: The Intellectual and Cultural Context* (London, 1991), 235-36; Reeves, *America*, 170; J. Rogers Hollingsworth, 'Consensus and Continuity in Recent American Historical Writing', *SAQ*, 61 (1962): 40-50; manifest destiny 'meant expansion, prearranged by Heaven, over an area not clearly defined', see Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation* (New York, 1963), 24, 60.

Against this background, Tannenbaum, a specialist in Italian history at Rutgers University, explained that intensified interest in economic history, including social and demographic aspects, the study of mental and behavioural habits considered as cultural history and the campaign for 'co-operative projects' formed the three principal innovations in France.<sup>69</sup> In the United States, the American Historical Association had also enacted openness to the 'social science approach.'<sup>70</sup> Appointed representatives from the Association even participated after 1925 in meetings held by the Social Science Research Council, creation of Bearsley Ruml, director of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.<sup>71</sup> That organization worked for 'cross-fertilization' between the social sciences and the humanities, amongst which it shared out scholarships for junior researchers along with the American Council of Learned Societies, to which the Association also adhered after 1919.<sup>72</sup> The progressive agenda thus gained fulfilment, so that what would have looked like a 'new' history of life for the populace in general in the 1920s became 'simply history' because 'now, the battle [had] been won, 'new' history is simply history.'<sup>73</sup>

Other historians held Tannenbaum's view that *annalistes* purveyed a social-science approach to the past through their 'review of orientation, of mutual assistance, a medium of contact between Parisian and provincial workers.'<sup>74</sup> They singled out Braudel's work on Mediterranean history, particularly because it informed a debate in America about the origins of modernity: whether or not modern civilization 'began' in the twelfth century – a keenly-debated topic, according to Haskins – or whether in fact short-term human experience not Braudel's 'history of tall waves' detached itself from earlier epochs.<sup>75</sup> Febvre's oeuvre also stood out because his name, alongside Bloch and Braudel's, formed a group known to

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<sup>69</sup> Tannenbaum, 'French Scholarship', 247.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>71</sup> Higham, *History*, 118.

<sup>72</sup> Herbert Heaton, *A Scholar in Action: Edwin F. Gay* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1952), 206-209.

<sup>73</sup> Alfred Northrop, review of Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism 1871-1900*, *NYHT*, 18 Jan. 1941.

<sup>74</sup> Georges Debien, 'Marc Bloch and Rural History', *AHR*, 21 (1947): 187-89, 189.

<sup>75</sup> Dietrich Gerhard, 'Periodization in European History', *AHR*, 61 (1956): 900-913, 904-905, 913.

historians throughout America. And Europeanists such as Leo Gershoy confirmed the extent of Febvre's reputation in the *American Historical Review*, calling him 'the great renovator of history in France.'<sup>76</sup>

Before the 1950s, mediaevalists pioneered Europeanists' awareness of *Annales*' scholarship. Charles M. Andrews, L. J. Paetow, Charles Homer Haskins, George Burton Adams, Charles H. McIlwain, Dana C. Munro and Lynn Thorndike demonstrated their ability to absorb a range of scholarship related to their own research specialisms, and, like Francis Parkman, found ways of affording expensive archival visits to Europe.<sup>77</sup> In so doing they encountered *Annales* historians: particularly, Marc Bloch, Georges Duby, Charles Morazé and Roland Mousnier. Definitional debates about feudalism, which proved a subject of lively debate in their work, became a leading issue in reviews of *Annales* historians' work. These encounters subjected interpretive tools such as 'synthesis' or 'generalization' and 'context' to intense scrutiny. Yet, in the study of America's own past, a professor at New York University insisted, 'fifty years of rapid growth in the social sciences have had surprisingly little effect on the general content and and synthesis of American history [...] the old skeleton of wars, presidential administrations, and the westward movements still holds the edifice together.'<sup>78</sup>

Mediaevalists, by contrast, expressed their tolerance of methodological innovation. Insights derived from *Annales* historians work strengthened their resolve not to separate feudal society from its political governance. According to Bloch, feudalism referred to 'a subject peasantry; widespread use of the service tenement instead of a salary [...]; the supremacy of a class of warriors, ties of obedience and protection [...]; fragmentation of authority.'<sup>79</sup> Bloch did not rule out other forms of familial and state association, but the description appeared, as historians in America had long hoped, 'to make the body of evidence

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<sup>76</sup> Leo Gershoy, review of Braudel, ed, *Éventail de l'histoire vivante*, *AHR*, 60 (1955): 577-78, 578.

<sup>77</sup> Haskins, 'European History', 219; Leonard Krieger, 'European History in America', in Felix Gilbert, John Higham and Leonard Krieger, *History* (Englewood, 1965), 256.

<sup>78</sup> Thomas C. Cochran, 'The 'Presidential Synthesis' in American History', *AHR*, 53 (1948): 748-59, 748.

<sup>79</sup> Marc Bloch, *Société féodale*, 249-50.

on mediaeval institutions coherent.’<sup>80</sup> Bloch’s definition, for example, disrupted Haskins’s evaluation that the ‘Anglo-Norman state’ merited researchers’ interest because of ‘the extent and cohesion of its territories’ or the ‘centralized authority of its rulers.’<sup>81</sup> It also proved topical because its author alleged that feudalism prefaced the birth of modern capitalism.<sup>82</sup>

The implication of defining a system of governance by its social consequences incited debates within the context of which localized doubts emerged. Bloch’s ‘good synthesis’ of factors in their ‘proper setting’ attracted admiration; the business historian, N. S. B. Gras, estimated that Bloch’s ‘instructive generalizations’ about feudalism raised new questions without settling them, and could, therefore, act as a ‘stimulus not a guide for others.’<sup>83</sup> Historians at Yale, Stanford and Princeton also joined the review response: Eva M. Sanford suggested that ‘sympathy tempered by common sense’ had prompted the ‘internationally known authority’ to reconstruct feudal society; William A. Morris appreciated the ‘synthesis’ of social, economic and cultural conditions, whilst Joseph R. Strayer exemplified the post-Second World War recognition for Bloch as both ‘master of the comparative method’ with regard to his work on Anglo-French manorial systems and practitioner of history renewed by the varied sources it exploited.<sup>84</sup> Duby’s work, reviewers felt, complemented Bloch’s after 1945 because it analyzed the role of class as a historical category explicative of social transformations, whilst Morazé’s studies of western civilization attracted praise as the counterparts both to Bloch and Duby’s technical and factual reconstructions of aspects of the

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<sup>80</sup> Frederic Cheyette, ‘Some Notations on Mr Hollister’s ‘Irony’’, *JBS*, 5 (1965): 1-14, 12.

<sup>81</sup> Charles Homer Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1918), 3.

<sup>82</sup> Bloch, *Métier d'historien*, 88.

<sup>83</sup> Charles H. Taylor, review of Bloch, *Caractères originaux*, *AHR*, 37 (1932): 736-37; N. S. B. Gras, review of Bloch, *Caractères originaux*, 8 (1933): 396-97, 397; James Lea Cate, review of Bloch, *Caractères originaux*, *AHR*, 5 (1933): 517-518, 518.

<sup>84</sup> Eva M. Sanford, review of Bloch, *Société féodale*, *Sp*, 15 (1940): 234-35, 234; William A. Morris, review of Bloch, *Société féodale*, *AHR*, 45 (1940): 855-56, 855; Joseph R. Strayer, review of Bloch, *Seigneurie française*, *AHR*, 36 (1961): 459-60, 460; Joseph R. Strayer, preface to Marc Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft*, translated by Peter Putnam (New York, 1953; originally published in French in 1949), ix, xi.

past, as well as new tendencies toward quantitative history propagated in the United States.<sup>85</sup> Historians thought that Morazé, like Roland Mousnier, provided a ‘broad interpretation of history’, a ‘necessary counterpart of fact-finding research’, with ‘calm objectivity’ making him one of the finest ‘general historians’ of the 1950s.<sup>86</sup>

Preference of holism through synthesis in the 1930s and post-war admiration of French-language world histories paralleled American efforts to write exhaustive expositions. Historians in America recognized the perspicacity of Bloch’s consideration of the relationship between historical methodologies and historians’ personal experience, summed up by his remark ‘nearly every man understands the world as he pleases.’<sup>87</sup> They detected the self-reflexive relativism that both shattered American hopes of a historical science equal in rigour to biology or physics and pushed historians to think harder about how to guarantee the fixity of their conclusions after 1939.<sup>88</sup> Bloch’s determination to defend history’s pre-eminence amongst the social sciences, which, Francophile and historian of France, Beatrice F. Hyslop, explained, had come into question in America before scholars debated the matter in France, therefore appealed to historians in America as a new way to highlight Clio’s scientific capital.<sup>89</sup> Historians in America and France asked about the place of history in relation to its neighbouring subjects, but historians in America saw their discourse as the more advanced; ‘national strategies’ accordingly continued to shape historical methodologies in the United States.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Beatrice F. Hyslop, review of Morazé, *Trois Essais*, *AHR*, 55 (1950): 866-68, 868; Rushton Coulborn, review of Morazé, *Civilization d’Occident*, *AHR*, 60 (1955): 57-58, 58.

<sup>86</sup> Coulborn, review of Morazé, 58; John B. Wolf, review of Mousnier, *Progrès de la civilisation européenne*, *AHR*, 60 (1955): 58-59, 59.

<sup>87</sup> Marc Bloch, *Apologie*, 89; on the relation of experience and science in Bloch’s work, see Massimo Mastrogregori, ‘The Search for Historical Experience’, *EL*, 9 (2004): 439-53.

<sup>88</sup> Roy F. Nichols, ‘Postwar Reorientation of Historical Thinking’, *AHR*, 54 (1948): 78-89; Bert James Loewenberg, ‘Some Problems Raised by Historical Relativism’, *JMH*, 21 (1949): 17-23; Willson H. Coates, ‘Relativism and the Uses of Hypotheses in History’, *JMH*, 21 (1949): 23-27; Charles A. Beard, John H. Randall, George Haines IV, Howard K. Beale, Sidney Hook and Ronald Thompson, *Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography* (New York, 1946), i-xi.

<sup>89</sup> Hyslop, review of Morazé, 867.

<sup>90</sup> Harvey, ‘An American *Annales*?’, 621.

Many mediaeval historians in America, therefore, defined feudalism differently from Bloch and from another transnational voice in the debate, François-Louis Ganshof – Pirenne's successor at the University of Ghent. Ganshof thought of feudalism as an exchange of services between free men: vassals offered military service to a lord in return for a fief.<sup>91</sup> But vassals never exercised powers of jurisdiction.<sup>92</sup> Joseph R. Strayer, Haskins's student and chair of Yale's History Department from 1941 until 1961 and two years Braudel's junior, disagreed, however, both with Bloch and Ganshof in a way that betrayed certain of his colleagues' attitudes. He insisted that the 'private exercise of public power' associated with the disintegration of central authority constituted feudalism's defining characteristic.<sup>93</sup> Adding 'social and economic conditions' to Ganshof's 'narrow, military definition of feudalism', Strayer argued, resulted in definitional vagueness: Bloch's list of features, he alleged, could apply to a variety of non-feudal societies too, so it 'in fact defined nothing.'<sup>94</sup> Social history thus made Strayer nervous in the same way that it had provoked hostility in Charles M. Andrews, who had referred to it as 'a disorganized mass of half truths', 'dealing as it does with a sort of chaos of habits and customs, ways of living, dressing, eating and the performance of duties of existence.'<sup>95</sup> The twelve-volume *History of American Life* that Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox had edited, criticized by new historians and traditionalists alike for circumscribing politics altogether throughout the period 1928 until 1943 in which it gained publication, had not helped matters.<sup>96</sup> But Strayer's own definition of feudalism also incorporated social as well as institutional characteristics after 1963, when he wondered whether his original conception had become 'too narrow.' He nevertheless reiterated

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<sup>91</sup> François-Louis Ganshof, *Qu'est-ce que la féodalité* (Brussels, 1944), xv.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, xv-xviii, 141-43.

<sup>93</sup> Joseph R. Strayer, 'Feudalism in Western Europe', in Rushton Coulborn, ed, *Feudalism in History* (Princeton, 1956), 16; Joseph R. Strayer, 'Two Levels of Feudalism', in Robert S. Hoyt, ed, *Life and Thought in the Early Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 1967), 52-53.

<sup>94</sup> Strayer, 'Two Levels of Feudalism', 52.

<sup>95</sup> Charles M. Andrews, 'On the Writing of Colonial History', *WMQ*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 1 (1944): 27-48, 31-33.

<sup>96</sup> On this episode, see Novick, *Noble Dream*, 178.



narrowly-legal definitions in lectures printed in 1968, implying that, although he chose to use political terms, he recognized that alternatives existed.<sup>97</sup>

Reverence for institutions both as entities for reform and guardians of harmony placed Strayer's feudal history within a consensus mode, led by Samuel Eliot Morison; like Strayer, consensus historians emphasized the continuity from the past of political traditions and relationships. This Boston aristocrat inherited the conservative-evolutionary preference to study institutional developments, which he thought pointed ultimately to the role that America would play in the future of the world.<sup>98</sup> Morison described his commitment to historical truth in terms illustrative of Iggers' description of the American image of Ranke: 'the present investigation,' said Ranke in the preface to his first volume, published in 1824, 'will simply explain the event as it happened.'<sup>99</sup> Consensus historiography explicitly connected future happiness of American citizens, as inscribed in the Constitution, to the exceptional progress of the United States by using this supposedly impartial method. Morison's history did so with a view to fulfilling Dexter Perkin's promise that all members of the American Historical Association, of which college instructors remained the greatest proportion, 'shall gladly teach.'<sup>100</sup> He wanted students to have an open-minded 'internationally-oriented' account of American history, both in the 1930s, when depression eroded the attraction of America's individualist and entrepreneurial heritage, and in the 1950s, when it made many Americans proud to hear of their contribution to the defence of freedom against Communist countries.<sup>101</sup> Like William Langer and Sarell Everett Gleason, Morison defended Franklin Roosevelt's decision to take America into the Second World War as 'the expression of the popular understanding and the popular will' against Beard's arguments that isolationism and domestic

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<sup>97</sup> Joseph R. Strayer, 'The Tokugawa Period and Japanese Feudalism', in John W. Hall and Marius B. Jansen, eds, *Studies in the Institutional History of Modern Japan* (Princeton, 1968), 3.

<sup>98</sup> Bernard Bailyn, 'Morison. An Appreciation', *PMHS*, 89 (1977): 112-23, 114.

<sup>99</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, 'Faith of a Historian', *AHR*, 56 (1951): 261-75, 263 c.f. Iggers, 'Image of Ranke', 18.

<sup>100</sup> Dexter Perkins, 'We Shall Gladly Teach', *AHR*, 62 (1957): 291-309, 308.

<sup>101</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Growth of the American Republic* (2 vols; Oxford, 1930), i. v, 382-3; Krieger, 'European History', 273; Reeves, *America*, 155.

transformation befitted Americans.<sup>102</sup> Likewise, Boorstin emphasized that ‘national well-being is in inverse proportion to the sharpness and extent of the theoretical differences between our political parties’, to which Arthur Meier Schlesinger Jr added that liberalism, ‘constantly reconstructing itself, never fixed on any one principle’ rather than ‘nostalgic sentimentalism’ held the key to America’s future.<sup>103</sup> Even Richard Hofstadter, educated under Beard’s tutelage, accepted the ‘absence of conflict’ in the post-Civil War past. But he felt that the lack of dispute suggested ‘conformity’: ‘belief in the rights of property, the philosophy of economic individualism, the value of competition; [political struggles] have accepted the economic virtues of capitalist culture as necessary qualities of man.’<sup>104</sup>

Reservations about *Annales* historians’ methodologies thus emerged in the case of mediaeval history over contested definitions. Historians working in progressive, relativist and consensus modes adhered to comparable procedures, which resembled first- and second-generation *Annales* historians’: recoverability of the past, interpretive holism, usually through synthesis of different research specialisms’ findings, and analytical heterodoxy, the dissection of cultural and social as well as political and economic factors. Consensus history expressed the liberal-political import of these assumptions just as in France the *Annales* School tended to political centrism when alternative innovations in electoral sociology, the history of political ideas and exhaustive investigations of republican institutional history related at least partially to their authors’ conservative-republican commitments. Resistances to *Annales* methodologies in America arose on grounds related to the pre-eminent role assigned to institutions in past and present life because of that historico-political consensus, which in any

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<sup>102</sup> William L. Langer and Sarell Everett Gleason, *The Challenge to Isolation: The World Crisis of 1937-40 and American Foreign Policy* (2 vols; New York, 1952), ii. 776; Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of the United States Naval Operations in World War II* (15 vols; Boston, 1945), i. x, xviii; Charles A. Beard, *A Foreign Policy for America* (New York, 1940).

<sup>103</sup> Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Genius of American Politics* (Chicago, 1953), 3; Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr, *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* (Boston, 1949), 170; John Fairbanks to Schlesinger Jr, 19 Aug. 1949, Houghton Mifflin MSS f.11.

<sup>104</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Have Made it* (New York, 1974), xxxvi-xxxvii.

case is a term used ‘as a correction of or revolt against the kind of oversimplified progressive historiography that preceded it.’<sup>105</sup> In fact the premises of American historiography remained stable until Tannenbaum’s investigation of French historiography, and, as a result, so too did basic ‘ruling ideas in the past’, which, as Boorstin himself recounted, ‘cuts short the academic game of comparing ‘isms’ and ‘movements.’’<sup>106</sup> Historical research still aimed in 1957 to elucidate for readers in America what had been ‘manifest’, or perceptible, in their past.<sup>107</sup>

### 6.3 Methodological Pluralism, 1958-1970

Debates about feudalism continued into the 1960s and beyond. But Braudel and Chaunu’s work as well as Febvre’s essays stimulated other oppositional acts as the 1950s subsided into the 1960s. Curiosity about it in America confirmed that the *Annales* School gained international esteem at the moment of its institutionalization in France. Interest also resulted from methodological diversification in America’s own historiography, which itself related to the changed position of the United States in the transatlantic intellectual community: now historians at established universities such as Merle Curti at Wisconsin celebrated ‘the give and take between Europe and America.’<sup>108</sup> The Second World War contributed to mutual-recognition, building on transatlantic ties formalized by the Marshall Plan, and, in the university field, increases of book-supplies and financial resources.<sup>109</sup> Historians exiled from the countries of their birth also contributed to the variety of historical approaches deployed in America; German émigrés such as Dietrich Gerhard, Hajo Holborn, Alfred Vagts and the children of refugees such as Fritz Stern and Klaus Epstein, amongst other immigrants,

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<sup>105</sup> Hofstadter to Boorstin, 27 Jun. 1968, Boorstin MSS box 28.

<sup>106</sup> Boorstin to Jacques Barzun, 11 Dec. 1953, Boorstin MSS catalogue box.

<sup>107</sup> See also Bernard Bailyn, ‘The Challenge of Modern Historiography’, *AHR*, 87 (1982): 1-24, 9.

<sup>108</sup> Curti to Schlesinger, 8 Mar. 1959, Schlesinger MSS H.U.G./4769/309/22.

<sup>109</sup> Devereux C. Joseph, Waldo G. Leland and Luther H. Evans, unpublished copy, ‘Report on Visit to Europe, October-December 1946’, Leland MSS box 101.

contributed to re-adjustments.<sup>110</sup> Cliometrics, behavioural- and psycho-histories exemplified the variety of fresh approaches initiated and popularized by historians.<sup>111</sup> Amidst this 'academic boom', resistances to *Annales* historians' methodologies became diffuse and more random than ever in equal measure to the array of techniques on offer in which *Annales* methodologies offered one of many options in the world's largest university system.<sup>112</sup>

Consideration of Febvre and Braudel's work came from historians of France, and Europe generally. Manoel Cardozo examined the Chaunu's transatlantic shipping analyses as 'a special kind of history, 'interdisciplinary' in nature, which relies heavily on geography, economics and statistics.'<sup>113</sup> A professional pioneer, Clarence Henry Haring, had studied the same subject, but 'he was more juridically minded', so the story of shipping resembled a study of the accounting methods it produced rather than wider ramifications.<sup>114</sup> Cardozo appreciated the work because it explored the Atlantic economy, which fed into his own research on Portugese-speaking peoples' cultural, literary and immigration histories, and, behind that, his personal experience as a Brazilian immigrant to California in 1915 who later presided over the history department at the Catholic University of America in Washington D.C. between 1961 and 1971.<sup>115</sup> Historians of France such as Orest Ranum, Palmer Throop, Elizabeth Eisenstein and Robert Forster also considered the techniques deployed by Febvre,

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<sup>110</sup> Philipp Stetzel, 'Working Towards a Common Goal? American Views on German Historiography and German-American Scholarly Relations During the 1960s', *CEH*, 41 (2008): 639-71, 640; Gerhard A. Ritter, ed, *Friedrich Meinecke. Akademischer Lehrer und emigrierte Schüler: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen 1910-1977* (Munich, 2006), 105-112; Rutkoff and Scott, *New School*, 128-29.

<sup>111</sup> William O. Aydelotte, 'Quantification in History', in Don Karl Rowney and James Q. Graham, eds, *Quantitative History: Selected Readings in the Quantitative Analysis of Historical Data* (Homewood, 1969), 3-22; Roy F. Nichols, *A Historian's Progress* (New York, 1968), 132; Philip Pomper, *The Structure of Mind in History: Five Major Figures in Psychohistory* (New York, 1985), 1-19.

<sup>112</sup> Henry Hunt Keit, 'Manoel da Silveira Cardozo (1911-1985)', *HAHR*, 66 (1986): 767-69, 767; Middell, 'Gedanken zur Geschichte der Zeitschriften', 15.

<sup>113</sup> Manoel Cardozo, review of Chaunu, *Séville et l'Atlantique*, *AHR*, 68 (1963): 436-38, 437.

<sup>114</sup> C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation Between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1918); Cardozo, review of Chaunu, 437.

<sup>115</sup> Keit, 'Cardozo', 768.

Labrousse and Ladurie.<sup>116</sup> Ranum perceived a ‘national bias’ in Febvre’s work, which he felt focused narrowly on French history.<sup>117</sup> In 1960s America, this appeared ‘old-fashioned’ because historians there focused on subjects across the whole spectrum of world history, inspired by the presence in America of different nationalities and enabled by the availability of library resources.<sup>118</sup> Throop observed Febvre’s ‘abiding trust in the humanistic aims of history’ to deliver self-knowledge and to foster rational thought, but felt that ‘une histoire à part entière’ aroused ‘a weary smile, not made more cheerful by fulminations concerning the vague delimitations and definitions of history.’<sup>119</sup> Yet Throop’s own doctoral dissertation, which examined public opposition to the Crusades in Old French and Provençal literature, testified to its author’s comparable desires for a history of collective representations through research into public opinion.<sup>120</sup> Forster, a professor at Johns Hopkins University who studied social history as an account of daily life including eating habits, held Ladurie’s Languedoc history in higher esteem because of the unexplored sources – fiscal records, price series, notarial registers as well as private archives – from which its author drew his findings.<sup>121</sup>

Responses to Braudel’s work also exhibited a combination of admiration and exasperation. Garrett Mattingly had subjected *La Méditerranée* to an extended review when it first appeared. A leading diplomatic historian at Columbia University born in the 1900s like Braudel himself, Mattingly understood the animus of his French counterpart’s work, identifying it as ‘the result of [a] revolt against ‘traditional’ history and [an] enthusiastic adherence to the ‘new history’’, which Mattingly described as ‘social and economic.’<sup>122</sup> But

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<sup>116</sup> Orest Ranum, review of Febvre, *Histoire à part entière*, *AHR*, 68 (1963): 1096-97; Palmer Throop, review of Febvre, *Combats*, *JMH*, 35 (1963): 162-63; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, review of Labrousse, ed, *L’Histoire sociale*, *AHR*, 73 (1967): 154-46; Robert Forster, review of Ladurie, *Paysans de Languedoc*, *AHR*, 72 (1967): 596-97.

<sup>117</sup> Ranum, review of Febvre, 1097.

<sup>118</sup> Higham, *History*, 39-40; W. Stull Holt, ‘Historical Scholarship’, in Merle Curti, ed, *American Scholarship in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1953), 101, 107.

<sup>119</sup> Throop, review of Febvre, 163, 162.

<sup>120</sup> Palmer Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study in Public Opinion and Crusade Propoganda* (Philadelphia, 1940), ix.

<sup>121</sup> Forster, review of Ladurie, 596.

<sup>122</sup> Mattingly, review of Braudel, 349, 350.

the interpretations that Braudel offered disappointed this American reader: ‘the chief one offered’, Mattingly suggested, ‘as if it were revolutionary, that the Mediterranean was not a dead sea devoid of commerce and economic life after the Portuguese reached India, hardly seems worth so much insistence. Nobody today would disagree. Did anybody ever?’<sup>123</sup> Braudel had made two mistakes, according to Mattingly, that related to the mode of explanation employed. First, he had offered a thematic dissection of his subject, evident in the division of the work into three parts. This, Mattingly supposed, second, created a repetitious account because the author had to refer repeatedly to the same set of factors as *durées* were, by Braudel’s own account, interconnected.

Mattingly’s appraisal of Braudel’s book occupied a hinge-point, balanced between scepticism and admiration. It rehearsed his argument that narrative provided an unparalleled explanatory method because it colligated manifest and recondite historical processes into a unified explanation of events.<sup>124</sup> But Mattingly did not seek to ‘delay’ receptions of Braudel’s work as Marino has shown activities perpetrated by members of the Economic History Association such as Bernard Bailyn, Earl J. Hamilton and Frederic C. Lane did in order to obstruct potential competitors of their own entrepreneurial business history.<sup>125</sup> Bernard Bailyn’s derision of Braudel’s different durations, described as ‘an exhausting treadmill’ suggestive that Braudel ‘[had] mistaken a poetic response to the past for a historical problem’ because ‘there was no problem Braudel wished to examine’ exemplified their attitudes.<sup>126</sup> Richard A. Newhall, ‘a rather cynical, hard-bitten, tough-minded empiricist’ according to

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<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 350.

<sup>124</sup> Garrett Mattingly, ‘Some Revisions of the Political History of the Renaissance’, in Tensley Hilton, ed, *The Renaissance* (Madison, 1961), 3-23.

<sup>125</sup> Marino, ‘The Exile’, 634. After 1970, economists’ quantitative approaches brought the *longue durée* to America as it did to Germany, see Manfred Thaller, ‘Praktische Probleme bei der Interdisziplinären Untersuchung von Gemeinschaften ‘langer Dauer’’, in Gerhard A. Ritter and Rudolf Vierhaus, eds, *Aspekt der historischen Forschung in Frankreich und Deutschland: Schwerpunkt und Methoden* (Göttingen, 1981), 172-89.

<sup>126</sup> Bernard Bailyn, ‘Braudel’s Geohistory – A Reconsideration’, *JEH*, 11 (1951): 277-82, 281.

Bailyn, also felt that Braudel posed more questions than he answered.<sup>127</sup> Although these economic historians had worked with *annalistes* in France or spent time studying in Paris, they now had to compete with them for resources and prestige.

In addition, Mattingly's genuine intellectual concern about narrative and chronology found parallels in Jack Hexter's writings. A professor of Tudor history at Washington then Yale University, Hexter aired doubts about Braudel's work that demonstrate the extent to which Mattingly had uncovered an issue under consideration in American historiography in the work of men Braudel's own age. Hexter's circumspection also revealed that diplomatic historians did not monopolize the debate about chronology, or historical time, thus indicating why Mattingly's reactions are not comparable with those of diplomatic historians such as Jacques Droz. Hexter had gleaned from arguing against Tawney and Hugh Trevor-Roper in the 'gentry debate' that 'historical storytellers' time is not clock-and-calendar time; it is historical tempo', and, more seriously, the 'problems involved in reasonably accurate determination of historical tempo have never been systematically studied, although results of the disaster of not studying them strew the historiographic landscape.'<sup>128</sup> That so-called disaster took form in arguments about the English Civil War that Tawney advanced and Hexter thought misguided: that an impoverished aristocracy fell prey to a gentry in search of social status, empowered economically by their purchase of church lands after the English Reformation.<sup>129</sup>

Braudel, who knew about Hexter's polemical articles through his personal friendship with Trevor-Roper, disseminated interpretations analogous to Tawney's, according to

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<sup>127</sup> Richard A. Newhall, review of Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, *JMH*, 22 (1950): 365; A. Roger Ekirch, 'Sometimes an Art, Never a Science, Always a Craft: A Conversation with Bernard Bailyn', *WMQ*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, 51 (1994): 625-58, 627.

<sup>128</sup> J. H. Hexter, 'Historiography: The Rhetoric of History', in David Sills, ed, *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (13 vols; New York, 1968), vi. 378.

<sup>129</sup> J. H. Hexter, 'Storm over the Gentry', *E*, 10 (1958): 22-34.

Hexter.<sup>130</sup> *La Méditerranée*, Hexter insisted, might well rest on an original investigative procedure and complex historical epistemology taking in a range of time-spans or ‘waves of various lengths’, but its prose amounted to a ‘turbid and opaque mess.’<sup>131</sup> Hexter based his point on two issues. First he believed with Keynes that, as he confessed to Braudel, ‘in the long run we are all dead.’<sup>132</sup> The implication held that *La Méditerranée* disregarded ‘subjective temporal orientations towards action’ through its pre-occupation with processes that outlived human lives; it appeared to Hexter in that sense to analyze periods of natural not human history.<sup>133</sup> Second, because Hexter believed that different durations obfuscated basic chronological development, periodization of successive events would have better communicated Braudel’s findings.<sup>134</sup> The logic of this particular argument, therefore, also defended narration. And for that reason the objections that Mattingly and Hexter advanced anticipate the poles of debates about narrative and language that Hayden White, Dominick LaCapra, Paul Ricoeur and Lawrence Stone later developed rather than a confrontation over the role of social sciences in history.<sup>135</sup>

Periodization itself provided the substance of Mattingly’s second objection to Braudel’s work. ‘Like other aesthetic judgements’, Mattingly proposed, ‘a scheme of periodization must depend for its viability and duration, on the amount of agreement and the length of time it can command.’<sup>136</sup> Braudel’s title indicated to Mattingly that he accepted the proposition – the book covered Mediterranean history in the epoch of Philip II of Spain. But the analysis did not fulfil the promise. The sticking point arose because Mattingly defended a

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<sup>130</sup> Trevor-Roper to Braudel, 14 Oct. 1954, Braudel MSS.

<sup>131</sup> J. H. Hexter, ‘Fernand Braudel and the *Monde Braudélien*’, *JMH*, 76 (1971): 480-539, 530, 532.

<sup>132</sup> Hexter to Braudel, 24 Sep. 1974, Braudel MSS.

<sup>133</sup> John R. Hall, ‘The Time of History and the History of Times’, *H&T*, 19 (1980): 113-131, 119.

<sup>134</sup> Hexter, ‘*Monde Braudélien*’, 538.

<sup>135</sup> Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Literary Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, 1973); Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca, 1983); Paul Ricoeur, *Temps et Récit* (3 vols; Paris, 1983-85); Lawrence Stone, ‘The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History’, *P&P*, 85 (1979): 3-24. Hexter accepted the relevance to history of social science findings, see J. H. Hexter, *The History Primer* (London, 1972), 115.

<sup>136</sup> Garrett Mattingly, unpublished essay, ‘Burckhardt and the Renaissance’, n.d., Mattingly MSS 1/26-39.



different understanding of historical method from Braudel. Braudel championed history as the corridor connecting the social sciences, just as Italian commentators on pragmatic philosophy defended it as the hallway between the rooms of human experience; history, 'a collection of all techniques', possessed scientific rigour and theoretical insight through interdisciplinarity.<sup>137</sup> But Mattingly saw historical processes as a 'fight about the relative validity of conflicting systems of ideas', which provided, for example, the stimulus for the despatch of Spanish fleets to destroy Protestant England in 1588.<sup>138</sup> The thrust of that argument went against Braudel's manner of historical interpretation, but Mattingly also had in mind the legacy of Alfred Thayer Mahan, whose naval histories written in the late-nineteenth century had influenced directly colonial-naval strategies.<sup>139</sup> Mattingly objected in both instances to the over-estimation of vested economic interests as determinants of historical events.

Other historians in America engaging fresh approaches to the past shared Mattingly's outlook. Young political historians such as Lee Benson and Richard McCormick tested Beard's thesis that class conflicts determined political interests and parties. Economic historians who worked in economics departments and used the theories of economists and the statistical models of statisticians with whom they came into daily contact provided inspiration, as historians and social scientists agreed that their methods could provide mutual assistance.<sup>140</sup> They made and tested hypotheses about historical phenomena over long periods, including the issue of railway development and America's rise to material pre-eminence.<sup>141</sup> Benson and McCormick showed, however, that ethnic, religious and local allegiances played a more important part in political development than Beard or Robinson's idea of class war.

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<sup>137</sup> Braudel, 'Histoire et sciences sociales', 734.

<sup>138</sup> Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston, 1959), v.

<sup>139</sup> A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power on History 1660-1783* (Boston, 1890) and *The Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution and Empire 1793-1812* (2 vols; Boston, 1892).

<sup>140</sup> Elizabeth Francis, 'History and the Social Sciences: Some Reflections on the Reintegration of Social Science', *RP*, 13 (1951): 354-74, 365-66.

<sup>141</sup> Robert W. Fogel, *The Union Pacific Railroad: A Case in Premature Enterprise* (Baltimore, 1960); Douglass C. North, *The Economic Growth of the United States 1790-1860* (Englewood, 1961).

They also emphasized the evolution of ideas as constitutive of the substance of social history.<sup>142</sup> And they went so far as to posit that nineteenth-century American voters shared ‘broad and deep agreement’ on central issues.<sup>143</sup> Social historians followed their colleagues in political history to create family histories of the sort Pierre Goubert later brought to America when political history went ‘out of fashion’, but the research effort only began in the mid-1960s.<sup>144</sup> As it began, Mattingly’s students such as Herbert H. Rowen appeared amongst the ranks of those interested in Braudel’s work on material factors in history, remarking that ‘the material factor in civilization has long been postulated by historians, but it has generally meant little more to them than a crude economics.’<sup>145</sup> Along with the work of Roy F. Nichols to insert behaviourists’ theories into historical analysis, historians in America developed a range of procedures that appropriated the theoretical insights of the social sciences as a guideline rather than an ahistorical organizing tool in deciphering the meaning of their data.<sup>146</sup> These efforts resembled but borrowed less from Braudel and other *Annales* historians’ approach to social history, heeding instead domestic calls such as Mattingly’s to preserve historical contingency through narration and its coherence through periodization.<sup>147</sup>

Hans-Ulrich Wehler’s discovery of the *Annales* School in America confirmed the extent of American historiography’s plurality. Wehler’s *magnum opus*, designed to create an integrated and comparative history of society incorporating structures, groups and institutions inside and outside politics, grew in part from the intellectual heterodoxy he had encountered

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<sup>142</sup> See also Ernst Schulin, ‘German ‘Geistesgeschichte’, American ‘Intellectual History’ and French ‘Histoire des mentalités’: A Comparison’, *HEI*, 3 (1981): 195-214, 205.

<sup>143</sup> Richard P. McCormick, ‘Suffrage Classes and Party Alignments: A Study in Voter Behavior’, *MVHR*, 46 (1959): 397-410, 397, 409; Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, 1961), 275.

<sup>144</sup> Higham, *History*, 249; Pierre Goubert, ‘Family and Province: A Contribution to the Knowledge of Family Structures in Early Modern France’, *JFH*, 2 (1977): 179-95; Gordon A. Craig, ‘Political History’, *D*, 100 (1971): 323-38, 324.

<sup>145</sup> Herbert H. Rowen, review of Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle*, *AHR*, 73 (1967): 766-67, 767.

<sup>146</sup> ‘The literature on social mobility in contemporary America is abundant, but social scientists have made few efforts to examine the problem in historical depth.’ See Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1964), 1.

<sup>147</sup> Mattingly taught Rowen that ‘the hardware’ (material conditions), ‘the program’ (ideology) and ‘the X factor’ (chance) determine daily life, see Garrett Mattingly, unpublished MS, ‘The Hardware, the Program, the X Factor’, Mattingly MSS box 1.

in Turner's homeland, the American Mid-West, in the 1960s. First, the Fulbright Commission (then the American Council of Learned Societies) funded Wehler's doctoral and post-doctoral research at Ohio University, Athens, in the late 1950s and early 1960s.<sup>148</sup> America's symbolic attraction to his generation, with memories of United States' help in ending the Second World War and support in establishing the German Federal Republic, accounted in part for the desire to study there. Wehler absorbed the combination of source-criticism and theoretical sophistication purveyed by Benson and McCormick's younger generation of historians in the contextual background to which the work of the *Annales* School played a limited part. Such approaches provoked accusations of 'leftism' from the dominant-older generation of historians in the German Federal Republic led by Gerhard Ritter and Hermann Heimpel.<sup>149</sup> But Wehler nevertheless engaged freely with a variety of methodological traditions new and old in order to recapture the 'complexity of historical reality' in his multi-volume history of German society, which began to appear in the 1980s, and this distilled certain elements of the varied practice of history that he encountered in the United States.<sup>150</sup> *Annales'* and American liberalism's reformism thus entered German historiography in part through transatlantic channels.

Since 1970, historians in America have considered the work of *Annales* historians in a variety of ways that relate to reactions and resistances enacted prior to 1970. Samuel Kinser insisted on the 'inspiring suggestiveness' of Braudel's 'geo-history', whilst noting that subsequent historians such as Ladurie had refined its focus in order to bring greater clarity to Braudel's 'deliberately vague' definitions of structure.<sup>151</sup> Lynn Hunt pointed to the methodological

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<sup>148</sup> Andreas Daum, 'History in Transatlantic Perspective: Interview with Hans-Ulrich Wehler', *BGHI*, 26 (2000): 117-25, 119.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>150</sup> Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte* (5 vols; Munich, 1987-2008), i. 10, 28-30.

<sup>151</sup> Samuel Kinser, 'Annaliste Paradigm? The Geohistorical Structuralism of Fernand Braudel', *AHR*, 86 (1981): 63-105, 103, 88.

importance of *Annales* historians' researches but highlighted her own concern that, because they shared no common research specialism, their divergent interests threatened to compromise the coherence of their output.<sup>152</sup> Indeed, François Furet even wrote in contrast to Jacques Le Goff about a need he perceived to end the banishment of political and narrative history for an American audience after 1970.<sup>153</sup> Yet historians working in the United States seldom spoke of an *Annales* School before 1970, until which point, as Marino has shown, only specialists read its members' un-translated works.<sup>154</sup> And a majority of them contributed in some manner to an American tradition of European history. Resistances to *Annales* methodologies occurred principally on matters of explanatory and interpretive technique because of the conclusions they produced despite the 'unmistakeable' resemblance in kind if not type of methodological traditions established by historians in America.<sup>155</sup> This suggests the extent to which in 1900 historians in the United States had already taken steps away from a data-driven conception of historical methodology toward a hypothesis-driven model in which present circumstances and theories combined with a self-reflexive minimization of relativism to stimulate historical research. That combination mirrored, of course, the direction in which *synthèse historique* and *histoire problème* extended under proto- and first-generation *annaliste* historians' tutelage, but historians in America configured their alternatives largely in isolation. Resistances to Braudel's generation of *Annales* historians thereafter centred on a commitment to a liberal-consensual historiography, which differed little from French alternatives on methodological grounds, but provoked opposition on interpretive matters. Again, historians in the United States and of the *Annales* School both ultimately developed hybrid methodologies, appropriating analytical models drawn from a communion of all the

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<sup>152</sup> Hunt, 'Annales Paradigm', 212-13.

<sup>153</sup> François Furet, 'Beyond the Annales', *JMH*, 55 (1983): 389-410; Jacques Le Goff, 'Is Politics Still the Backbone of History', *D*, 100 (1971): 1-19.

<sup>154</sup> Marino, 'The Exile', 627.

<sup>155</sup> Conrad and Conrad, 'Wie vergleicht man Historiographien?', 19-20.

disciplines.<sup>156</sup> But the fresh approaches that economic and political historians in America pursued emphasized the populist preoccupations of their narratives, the personal rather than the geological or geographical, and consequently some historians in America considered that their *Annales* colleagues over-emphasized the place of determining 'systems' to the detriment of a consideration of contingency. Throughout the seventy years in question, the diversity and size of America's university system meant that, unless *Annales* historians undertook a concerted effort to saturate American historiography with their work, both receptions and resistances would never assume anything other than the status of one amongst many methodological traditions. Before 1970, the historiographical contexts examined in America and linguistic barriers encountered in trans-atlantic passages precluded that from happening. Plurality thus encouraged as much as it impeded the dissemination of *Annales* historians' methodologies in America.

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<sup>156</sup> Eugène Weber, 'Les études aux États-unis: Une histoire sans histoires', *RH*, 225 (1961): 341-59, 356.

## Conclusion

The debates and oppositions examined in the preceding chapters facilitate certain responses to the preliminary questions posed about resistances at the outset. Those questions enquired about the agency behind resistances, what constituted obstructions, to what extent oppositions formed isolated examples of conflicting points of view and on what bases historians grounded objections. Answers offered here reflect the limitations of the material examined, prominent amongst which is the frequency with which resisters felt their comments to be self-evident inasmuch as they provided few examples illustrative of their meaning. They are, therefore, provisional findings, valid in connection with the evidence presented rather than any global understanding of *all* resistances *everywhere*; that would require further research on an extended geographical scale. Allusions to cases presented in the chapters are illustrative, not conclusive vindication, of the points raised.

A selection of agents enacted resistances. Nothing suggested that ‘groups’ of two or more historians co-ordinated their activities to any significant extent. Readers may allege that conservative historians of English politics working at Cambridge University in the 1950s and 1960s acted as a ‘mafia’, which tried to prevent the reception of Braudel’s work.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the same could be said in response to John Marino’s examination of the actions taken by several members of the Economic History Association in the United States.<sup>2</sup> But scant collective unity existed behind several scholars’ actions. Elton and Cowling or Bailyn and Hamilton each expressed doubts about Braudel’s work in particular, but they each had their own set of concerns. Their responses formed clusters of similar resistances formulated by distinct individuals working in large institutions, which attested to similarity in kind of responses prompted by *Annales* historians’ work inside that local ‘interpretive community.’<sup>3</sup> Suspicions

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<sup>1</sup> Sisman highlights Hugh Trevor-Roper’s perceptions that Cowling, for example, also conducted his college affairs in Cambridge thus, see Sisman, *Hugh Trevor-Roper*, 456-61.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 6, §6.3.

<sup>3</sup> See Horst-Walter Blanke, *Historiographieggeschichte als Historik* (Stuttgart, 1991), 62.

may also surface that historians older respectively than Berr's, Bloch and Febvre's or Braudel, Goubert and Ladurie's age-cohort opposed each generation of the *Annales* School. Tawney, Aulard, Brière, Caron and Kaehler were each older than the proto-*annalistes* and *annalistes* whom they criticized. But equally Kienast and Schramm were younger than Bloch and Febvre, and Cantimori and Venturi, Hexter, Mattingly and Strayer were, for example, of the same generations as the *annalistes* whom they criticized. All of this suggests that audiences responding to methodological proposals associated with the *Annales* School comprised a collection of active and distinguishable interpreters not united except in a limited sense, by the general direction of their oppositions.<sup>4</sup>

Scepticism expressed in resistances also had clear limits in motivation, aim and focus. Historians made objections most often in defence of their own *modus operandi*, which, because that related to their research specialism, confirms Laudan's characterization that scholars take up different methodological traditions for the high 'rate of progress' they yield for the study of particular objects.<sup>5</sup> Debates over the definition of feudalism in the United States at mid-century or between Heimpel and Robert Boutruche testify to that. In both instances, historians defended a legalistic approach to defining and explaining a form of government, which, they maintained, existed in a sphere independent of its social consequences. Issues besides historians' defence of their own approach also motivated oppositional stances, as well as determining their aims and focus. R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power's isolated interaction with Bloch, for example, suggested the role of personal relations: they admired Bloch in particular and chose to work with him. But their limited acknowledgement of Bloch's part in a wider *Annales* project discloses the non-convertibility of that social capital to an interest in the School as a whole.

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<sup>4</sup> See also, Stuart Hall, 'Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse', in Stuart Hall, ed, *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-79* (London, 1980), 136-38.

<sup>5</sup> Laudan, *Beyond Positivism*, 84-85.

Assessment of what constituted obstructions focuses attention, by contrast, on the interaction of historians and features of the university field. If historiography detached historians' work from its authors and their contexts, then a conclusion that resistances all took a textual form through which authors consciously challenged members of the *Annales* School and their methodologies might prove cogent: here a letter, there an inaugural lecture or a conference paper, in that year a book. Indeed, historians communicated doubts or arguments through such media, and articles as well as letters have repeatedly come under investigation. Less frequently, criticisms contained in review articles published in *Annales* such as Cantimori's and conference papers like those at the 1950 and 1955 International Congresses for Historical Science, forms of 'transnational resistance' inasmuch as it took place outside their author's working environment, also appeared. They emerged, however, only after 1950. And that owes much to the growing efforts for international co-ordination by professions in different countries aided by improvements in travel and communication in the growing use of aeroplanes, telephones, typewriters and eventually computers.<sup>6</sup> Some historians, however, enacted inadvertent resistances. They prevented receptions of *Annales* historians' methodologies because they had not encountered or chose not to engage with them in their own work rather than intentionally expressing reservations. These two resistances are categorically different: one is conscious, the other unconscious. But they both resulted from the habitus created by the university field in which historians worked; in short, they are habitus cognates. Case-studies revealing that different individuals such as Davis, Tout or Georg von Below avoided proto-*annalistes*' methodologies actually resemble others analyzing how Benedetto Croce's contemporary and superficial engagement with Berr related to his own subjective-aesthetic approach to history because each reveals the way in which

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<sup>6</sup> Pierre Daix, *Braudel* (Paris, 1995), 11; Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (London, 1983), 109-30; Erdmann, *International Historical Congresses*, 3-4.



historians embodied prevalent tastes hostile to interdisciplinarity and Berr's understanding of synthesis.

Demographic forces acting on the historical profession contributed to field pressures. Each nation's profession remained of modest size until the 1950s, all rarefied in terms of ethnicity, gender and socio-economic background. It became, however, less unusual to find the son of a railway engineer like Heimpel with his Francophobe predisposition in the profession after 1945 than it had been before that date, when men like Dietrich Schäfer, the son of a dockworker, presented an exception.<sup>7</sup> Ethnicity, by contrast, played little apparent role in creating misreceptions. Robert Fawtier's Algerian origins, for example, are not remarkable from the point of view of resistances because no group of Algerian émigrés enacted comparable opposition to the *Annales* School. Diversification of socio-economic backgrounds from whence issued historians working in the history departments, schools and faculties, on the contrary, contributed most to strengthening competition for jobs and, as a result, for scientific capital, often by stimulating increasingly original research projects and distinctive approaches.<sup>8</sup> This in part contributed to the multiplication of rival methodological traditions. Nowhere do the results of this pluralization for the international communication of *Annales* historians' work become clearer than in the United States, where the size of the university system and the diversity of methodological traditions became both a source of receptions and resistances to *Annales* methodologies.

Gender's function amongst these factors remains unclear. Female historians besides a handful of names such as Mary Bateson, Helen Cam, Beatrice F. Hyslop, Hilda Johnstone, Lilian Knowles, Elizabeth L. Levett, Dana C. Munro, Marion Newbiggin, Eileen Power and Clara Mildred Thompson have not featured prominently in relation to the resistances

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<sup>7</sup> Charles E. McClelland, *The German Historians and England: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Views* (Cambridge, 1971), 205; Raphael charted the diversification in *Annales* historians' fathers' backgrounds, see Raphael, *Die Erben*, 576-78.

<sup>8</sup> See also Matt Klinge, 'Teachers', in Rüegg, ed, *History of the University*, iii. 134.

examined. That owes in part to their minority public role in the historical profession throughout the period, and to the fact that male historians controlled the formulation of methodologies and award of the qualifications required by a discipline professionalized on ‘gendered’ or masculine lines – after all, ‘historical science was tantamount to the group that practiced it.’<sup>9</sup> But it does not preclude the possibility that further research might reveal gendered arguments at work in the predominantly masculine resistances studied here given the growing recognition for male *and* female input in struggles over methodology conducted in private.<sup>10</sup> The fact that so many women, such as Millicent Todd Binghamton, Bianca Maria Cremonesi, Lily Grove Frazer, Siân Reynolds, Mary Sloan and Janet Sondheimer, played a role in transmitting work by *Annales* historians by translating it, highlights the point. But Ilaria Porciani’s initial research on the case of Italy suggests that female input in Italy may, nevertheless, be restrained by women’s predominant interest in nineteenth-century history – a period on which *Annales* historians seldom worked.<sup>11</sup>

Interactions between the university field and historians cannot, however, obscure the localization of resistances, in terms of the methodologies criticized and *Annales* historians concerned. A larger proportion of doubts and debates focused on definite parts of individual *Annales* historians’ methodologies than those directed at the School as whole. The historical theorist, Alexandru-Dmitrie Xénopol, referred to Paul Lacombe’s work in order to refute its conception of history as a science more often than he did to Berr’s. Gerhard Ritter counterposed his own vision of political history as an ‘umbrella-term’ to the Febvrian notion that historians of politics wrote only about events jumbled together into narratives. Herbert H. Rowen accepted a narrative approach to political history, the absence of which in Braudel’s work he regretted, but took an active interest in *Annales* historians’ study of material life because he felt it improved understanding of a previously ill-defined concept. In each

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<sup>9</sup> Smith, *Gender of History*, 155.

<sup>10</sup> Ilaria Porciani, ‘Les historiennes et le Risorgimento’, *MÉfR*, 112 (2000): 317-57, 332.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 356.

example, historians did not envisage a systematic rebuttal either of one approach, such as collective representations, or of the variety of methodologies pioneered and disseminated by *Annales* historians, either at one moment or across time. Instead they expressed cognitive dissonance, discomfort at certain techniques advanced by one or other *Annales* historian. Nor would they have recognized the analytic division of the *Annales* School between 1900 and 1970 into three generations. Chapter One used the classificatory scheme in observance of the scholarly consensus advanced across the secondary literature concerning the School studied in isolation. But questions rarely arose about the affiliation of one or more *Annales* historians to a particular generation, and exceptionally observed their membership of a group of scholars referred to here as the *Annales* School before 1970. Resistances thus tended to underemphasize any coherence between the work of the *Annales* historians that they questioned and other *annalistes* advancing comparable methodological proposals.

Recurrent themes featured in the host of oppositions considered, suggesting another sense in which resistances operated within certain bounds. The variety of arguments counterposed by Gaston Brière, Raymond Aron and Pierre Renouvin as well as Garrett Mattingly and Jack Hexter all opposed *Annales* historians' theorization of analytic and explanatory methodologies. They alleged that *annalistes* broke the document-fact-event-chronology nexus, a conceptual relation which conjoined the past to the present because it stipulated that the documentation, whether written, statistical or otherwise, yielded facts revelatory of events when colligated according to a temporal logic, from an earlier to a later time. Its importance apparently rested on the fact that it compounded what historians thought of as the crucial foundations of their practice. Brière, Meyer and von Below, for example, attached this significance to it in debates played out at the beginning of the twentieth century when they and proto-*annaliste* historians divided amongst themselves over whether or not to transform history into a natural science based on methodological individualism. The

widespread acceptance of the modern idea of history in advance of the turn to neo-classical conceptions of collections of *histories* about different parts of social and other phenomena made the idea of a singular historical method palatable at that time.<sup>12</sup> But Cantimori, Chevalier, Cobb, Elton, Heimpel, Mandrou, Mattingly and Ritter later invoked the document-fact-event-chronology nexus because they perceived in the growing popularity of social sciences at universities and the emergence of covering laws and statistical methods in history the undesirable epiphenomena of *fin-de-siècle* debates.<sup>13</sup>

Notions of quality and uniqueness also served to defend this historical aestheticism. When Chevalier defended the value and singularity of oral testimony and Cantimori suspected the incomparability of apparently similar phenomena belonging to different times and places, both men implicitly argued in favour of history as a series of unrepeatable sequences against the static impressions that quantification and comparison created. They thought that the quantities and comparability of given historical phenomena only provided a useful guide by which the historian could assess the importance of facts, but could not substantiate conclusions. The argument that *Annales* historians had made against narrative thus found its inversion: where *annalistes* had argued that narrative lacked taxonomical rigour because it mixed facts together without a clear conceptual structure, proponents of qualitative analysis and critics of comparison implied that statistical and comparative techniques intermingled protean facts without recognising their inherent distinctions in favour of arguing that they corresponded to recondite processes. H. W. C. Davis exemplified early in the period how such oppositional sentiment could become an argument against perceived determinism when he rejected the view that history formed ‘a connected tale; the unfolding of a gigantic plan, the record of a progressive evolution.’<sup>14</sup> A cleavage thus formed where reconciliation might have

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<sup>12</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, translated by Keith Tribe (New York, 2004; originally published in German in 1979), 102-103.

<sup>13</sup> On ‘explanatory reductionism’ and ‘methodological holism’, see Chapter 6, §6.1.

<sup>14</sup> Davis, ‘Meaning of History’, Davis MSS Top. Oxon/E432.

emerged given that Chevalier and Braudel as well as Cantimori and Febvre saw their techniques as enhancing historical practice and indeed both pairs of scholars worked in similar areas.

Specific notions of methodological holism also distinguished opponents' arguments. Friedrich Meinecke, Gioacchino Volpe and Cantimori exemplified a cognitive register characteristic of a Romantic-Idealist commitment to the view that ideas contained the total sum of events and attitudes of a given epoch, preserving at once the interrelation of the whole and its parts. They perceived that *Annales* historians, as proponents of analytical techniques such as collective representations or the *longue durée*, wanted to interpret the past as a collection of trans-temporal mechanical factors which directed human history without attributing any causal responsibility to individual agency. This, they thought, compromised the existing structure of history as a study of a whole but periodized past. On other occasions, Brière and Jameson, for example, feared the results of this change in emphasis: they disliked the idea of 'group research', which, they suspected, or perhaps feared, might supersede established professional research rhythms formed by historians working mainly in isolation, perhaps interrupted by occasional contact with colleagues in their departments or through friendships as well as with international specialists at conferences. The problem with group research, they thought, arose from the loss of overall perspective facilitated by one individual's command of a variety sources. It also related to anxiety of an ascetic order about the industrialization of intellectual activity that betrayed a particular set of attitudes unfavourable to the creation of mass society and consumption that Brière, for example, held. Roland Mousnier also expressed comparable, but isolated, concerns about the results for research when he lamented the dramatic increase from 400 to 3,000 pages in the length as well as the amount of work required by the *thèse d'état* that he attributed to a precedent set by *Annales* historians. Like Brière and Jameson, Mousnier feared that historical research would

become too unwieldy to complete. He also perhaps stood in isolation as a critic of *Annales* historians' teaching habits.<sup>15</sup>

Resistances also arose against methodological proposals that historians thought *annalistes* shared with scholars working in other methodological traditions. Elision by commentators in the *Times Literary Supplement* special issue, 'New Ways in History', of Chaunu's serial history and the cliometric approach to the history of the French Revolution pioneered by historians in American universities exemplified the problem of 'family resemblances.' Comparable difficulties emerged in Germany. Historians' reactions against Karl Lamprecht's cultural history, with its socio-economic and psychological dimensions, contributed to the hardening of attitudes against the *Annales* School. They either ignored it, enacting the hostile qualities of the field, or rejected its intellectual reformism and the intimated connection to political leftism they thought that that compounded. The association of *Annales* historiography with Marxist equivalents by, for example, Gerd Tellenbach after 1945 represented another incidence. The situation of *Annales* institutions in Paris played a part in creating such fallacies because of that city's reputation for providing shelter to radical-political exiles.<sup>16</sup> A misreading of the social-science content of *Annales* methodologies as a total conversion to a materialist reading of the past, something no *Annales* historians in the period offered, also encouraged the misapprehension. Marxism did offer certain insights to *Annales* historians at one time or another, but the openness of the *Annales* School to a variety of intellectual impulses including Marxism cannot be confused with acceptance of any of them, least of all doctrinaire Marxism.<sup>17</sup> Few detractors, by contrast, either situated or criticized *Annales* historians' methodologies within debates about 'structuralism' except for Theodor Schieder, who thought that structure had assumed 'mythic proportions' in French

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<sup>15</sup> Roland Mousnier, 'Note sur la thèse principale d'histoire pour le doctorat ès lettres', *RH*, 234 (1965): 123-29, 123, 126.

<sup>16</sup> Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900-1940* (Austin, 1986), 4, 5-23; Colin Jones, *Paris: Biography of a City* (London, 2006), 443-89.

<sup>17</sup> Pleskot, 'Marxism in the Historiography of *Annales*', 204.

historiographical discourses.<sup>18</sup> This contrasted to discussions of structuralism amongst *Annales* historians after 1945 (raised in Chapter One with regard to Febvre's dislike of the term and Braudel's arguments against structural sociologists Georges Gurvitch and anthropologist Lévi-Strauss) as well as the importance of *Annales*' economist allies, such as François Perroux, whose work further stimulated debate of the issue after 1945.<sup>19</sup> The problems posed, or not, by family resemblances, therefore, became active constituents of resistances in combination with the prevailing preferences, or doxa, in each university system combined with the personalities of the historians working within them.

Discursive resistances in which historians explicitly wrote or spoke against *Annales* methodologies did, however, understand *Annales* historians' own conception of their projects. From Davis' idea of Berr's synthesis to Bailyn, Hexter and Mattingly's doubts about Braudel's *longue durée*, recognition came for the context and animus of these *annalistes*' methodologies. But more often resistances issued from premises related to what historians thought *annalistes*' proposals heralded, not literally what they described. In those instances, historians responded to the symbolic element of *annaliste* arguments, or what Ricoeur would call a 'surplus of meaning': the idea that, from the audience's point of view, itself driven by the 'dynamic of interpretive reading', forms of human expression convey more than their authors realized or intended.<sup>20</sup>

Rival theories of history arose in these misreceptions. Certain historians objected to the conception of 'the past' implied by *Annales* historians' methodologies. Droz and Cantimori's objections to Febvre and Braudel's work exemplified the point. They both thought that Febvre criticized historians such as Seignobos for neglect of the past as a whole, the past including the spectrum of facts and events from politics to culture. Both Droz and Cantimori later rejected Braudel's idea that historians should probe particular types of facts in

<sup>18</sup> Schieder, 'Strukturen und Persönlichkeiten', 265-96.

<sup>19</sup> François Dosse, *Histoire du Structuralisme* (2 vols; Paris, 1992), i. 202-203.

<sup>20</sup> Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth, 1976), 74.

each of three time-spans of the *longue durée* because that broke the complex ‘maze of events’ or ‘chopped up’ the past as a chef would shred parsley. In a narrow sense here, two historians working in different contexts made a similar procedural point that apparently centred on empirical grounds – *nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu* – or, more specifically, that in their experience of examining the evidence, the past formed a perceptibly singular entity which scholars should not ultimately separate.<sup>21</sup> But the basis of their point referred not to the epistemology of history proposed by *Annales* historians, the historical knowledge that Febvre or Braudel had claimed their techniques could garner up; it questioned *annalistes*’ methodologies given what Droz and Cantimori assumed formed the ‘actual structure’ of the past.<sup>22</sup> Neither *Annales* historian had, however, claimed that their analytical methods responded to any notion of the past’s ‘actual structure’, what might be called an ‘historical ontology.’ Indeed, Droz and Cantimori, like Febvre and Braudel, used ‘the past’ and ‘history’ interchangeably to refer to the other, a terminological habit also prevalent, for instance, in England.<sup>23</sup> So it becomes possible to agree with Mannheim that new forms of knowledge, and equally resistances, ‘do not need to be first legitimized by epistemology.’<sup>24</sup> In fact resisters often defended implicit ontological considerations about what they thought the past was without addressing the issue at any length or in depth.

Theory lingered in a second surplus of meaning relating both to accessibility of ‘the past’ and truth-claims. Historians who defended the document as the origin of historical knowledge also defended a ‘verificationist’ understanding of historical truths without using that terminology.<sup>25</sup> They weighed up facts that they had uncovered by exegetical methods in order to verify that they corresponded to evidence found elsewhere in the documentation.

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<sup>21</sup> Saint Thomas Aquinas’s phrase, adopted by philosophers of empiricism, ‘nothing in the intellect has not first arisen in the senses.’ See Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gentiles*, edited by Joseph Kenny (2 vols; New York, 1955-77), §7 i. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Peter Strawson, *Individuals: An Essay in Descriptive Metaphysics* (London, 1959), 155-56.

<sup>23</sup> Bentley, *Modernizing England’s Past*, 208.

<sup>24</sup> Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, 259.

<sup>25</sup> The terminology of verification is borrowed from J. L. Austin, *Philosophical Papers* (Oxford, 1970), §36, 92.



They considered the written word as an echo, or ‘vibration’ in Croce’s terminology, of past events themselves.<sup>26</sup> Frustration expressed by M. I. Newbigin or Henri Busson with Febvre and Bataillon’s examination of the theoretical issues arising from the relationship of history to geography centred on its lack of ‘original research’, the ‘certain materials hitherto unknown’ to which Ranke had made it *de rigueur* to refer if historical knowledge was to make progress.<sup>27</sup> Behind this criticism, therefore, lay disdain for a perceived movement away from verificationist understandings of truth toward ‘coherence’ theories: Newbigin and Busson disliked the idea that developments in theoretical understandings of phenomena alone could provide explanatory certitude by rendering coherent extant knowledge. Frederic Cheyette’s wish ‘to make the body of evidence on mediaeval institutions coherent’ by finding representative ways of explaining it also spoke to the idea of coherence.<sup>28</sup> The perceived threat posed by such theories of truth coherence also found expression as a rejection of relativism with historians like Henri-Irénée Marrou, who defended biography as an explanatory genre designed to convey vital transcendence, ‘the absolute worth of the human person’, against his understanding that Morazé saw history as tracing an evolution of knowledge and the ability to manipulate the natural world, ‘the genesis of our own science and our contemporary technology.’<sup>29</sup> But *Annales* historians did not necessarily reject correspondence theories of truth; as Chapter One showed, they valued painstaking research as much as their detractors and predecessors. In fact, they created a hybrid theory of truth, combining data-driven with hypothesis-driven approaches to subjects. In America, historians had also developed this technique early in the period, but, in isolation from developments in France, with recourse to a Jamesonian pragmatic understanding of research: that the findings of one hypothesis should spur formulation and testing of another. As cosmologists now posit

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<sup>26</sup> Benedetto Croce, *Storia come pensiero e azione* (Bari, 1943), 6.

<sup>27</sup> Leopold von Ranke, *Die römischen Päpste: Ihre Kirche und ihr Staat im sechszehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (3 vols; Berlin, 1844-45), i. xi.

<sup>28</sup> Cheyette, ‘Mr Hollister’s ‘Irony’’, 12.

<sup>29</sup> See Riché, *Henri-Irénée Marrou*, 174.

that they can express the universe's *raison d'être* in a series of mathematical equations, *Annales* historians' ideas of hypothesis-driven historical methods productive of coherent truths may unsettle fewer historians than they did before 1970.<sup>30</sup> But this is a movement of mind that historians examined here could not have foreseen.

Linguistic misunderstandings also generated surpluses of meaning. The issue cut two ways: on one hand certain resisters rejected *Annales* historians' methodologies in favour of hermeneutic-documentary methods designed for the tasks of national history or refused to deploy tools such as comparison and cultural regions designed to underpin research in European and global history; at the same time, they used linguistic differences in order to criticize *Annales* historians' work on stylistic grounds. Tawney, Meinecke, von Below, Ritter, Heimpel and Volpe all worked towards a historical understanding with a clear national identity inasmuch as it focused on English-, German- or Italian-speaking regions, reinforcing the view that 'national master narratives in historical writing in Europe have been extraordinarily successful in subsuming its potential Others.'<sup>31</sup> Their efforts, driven by a habitus incorporating characteristics of the field and its national context, obscured and circumscribed elements of *Annales* Europeanist and global methodologies. But stylistic typecasting also resulted from this national instinct, and featured *en passant* in the course of reviews. The charges are familiar, and a small number illustrate that they were both facile and far-reaching in implied meaning: historians accused Febvre of 'national bias' towards French-language literature and of the 'substitution of witticisms for analysis', recalling Mark Jefferson's feeling that Febvre's 'veiled irony' failed to convey his meaning to an 'English reader.'<sup>32</sup> Others went further, suggesting that 'journalistic bravado' tainted Febvre's work.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Max Tegmark, 'The Mathematical Universe', *FP*, 38 (2008): 101-50.

<sup>31</sup> Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, 'Conclusion: Picking Up the Threads', in Berger and Lorenz, *Contested Nation*, 531.

<sup>32</sup> Paul Wentzcke, review of Febvre and Demangeon, *Le Rhin*, *HZ*, 160 (1939): 162; Jefferson, review of Febvre, *La Terre*, 148.

<sup>33</sup> H. O. Evennett, review of Febvre, *Au Coeur religieux*, *EHR*, 73 (1958): 523-24, 523.

Bloch's name, too, became embroiled in comparable critiques. Of a posthumously-published tract on economic history, Edward Miller assumed that 'although it was very French (rhetorical, literary, circuitous), it probably presented a solid analysis that made a useful contribution to historical science.'<sup>34</sup> Charles Morazé's analyses of Western Civilization were condemned for their stylistic shortcomings as well: 'the text struggles with too heavily distilled content and labours under the burden of unfortunate embellishments', and, more pressing from the perspective of an interested reader, 'the style [was] not quite elegant enough to carry off the implicit sense of urgency, originality, and importance.'<sup>35</sup> Reviewers failed to provide illustrative examples, so the criticisms in that sense testify to the circulation of tacitly-accepted notions of style in each of the university systems examined, as well as the limited sensitivity of reviewers to international variations in modes of historical writing. But they also betray hostility to perceived sophistry, even obfuscation, inherent in a form of literary ornamentation that they surmised must be inherently French. This minor constituent of certain evaluations stemmed from and contributed to the reproduction of a superficial habit of international review procedure that Klaus Schüle and other young historians in Germany in the 1960s rejected when they suggested that 'many a misunderstanding could be resolved if historians ventured to undertake a comprehensive analysis of French historiography, in the process making sure they did not simply present a mere list of publications.'<sup>36</sup> Historians comparable in age and latitude of interests and methodologies might well have shared Schüle's sentiment. But it is also worth recalling that periodicals carried reviews of the books and articles containing methodological proposals originated by members of the *Annales* School throughout the period. The numbers and depth of analysis undoubtedly grew as 1970

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<sup>34</sup> Edward Miller, review of Bloch, *Esquisse d'une histoire monétaire*, *ECHR*, 9 (1956): 158 c.f. Edward Miller, review of Bloch, *La France sous les derniers Capétiens*, *EHR*, 74 (1959): 521.

<sup>35</sup> Edward W. Fox, review of Morazé, *La Logique de l'histoire*, *AHR*, 74 (1968): 100.

<sup>36</sup> Schüle, 'Die Tendenzen', 232.

neared, but the evidence here does not indicate that leading journals operated a total exclusion of *Annales* histories in the countries investigated.

Contested political implications also complicated resistances in a twofold fashion. In one sense historians of politics exhibited varying levels of hostility to *Annales* methodologies, particularly with regard to the uses of sociology. Droz, for example, did not reject sociology out-of-hand; he looked instead to André Siegfried and Gabriel Le Bras's electoral sociology, itself comparable in import and direction to the work of Lee Benson and Richard McCormick, because it assessed voter affiliation and its electoral results. He also admired Emmanuel Beau De Loménie's work because it deployed social analysis in order to reveal the way in which France's *bourgeois* class had usurped the privilege of royal governments but presented their behaviour to the public as the product of democratic scruples.<sup>37</sup> Morandi, by contrast, found interest in European perspectives on political history rather than a specific methodology, but Cowling and Elton dismissed Braudel and Ladurie's methodologies specifically on grounds of alleged hyper-positivism. So some historians of politics opposed some methodologies, but it is not possible to say they all adhered to a singular line with regard to the nature of historical research, nor that they all opposed *Annales* historians on the same issues.

The political undertones of *Annales* historians' work created, however, greater tensions. Aulard's deployment of limited economic analysis as a result of his choice to focus on narrative-political histories of the revolutionary era as a moment in the burgeoning of liberal democracy in France meshed well with his circle's defence of Third-Republic conservative-republicanism that contrasted to certain proto-*annalistes*' social reformism. Chevalier's defence of qualitative demographic analysis fed into his urban histories, which exhibited nostalgia for the Paris of a bygone era that existed before the architects and

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<sup>37</sup> Emmanuel Beau de Loménie, *Les responsabilités des dynasties bourgeoises* (5 vols; Paris, 1948-73), i. 10-12; Loménie defended events against perceived neglect by *Annales* historians, notably Febvre, in a way evocative of Aron and Renouvin's arguments for their re-instatement, see Emmanuel Beau de Loménie, 'L'Histoire non événementielle', *HM*, (1955): 187-202; 393-402.

construction companies erected the *Forum des Halles* and the *Centre Pompidou*.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, for Schramm, Ritter and Heimpel, as for Volpe and Cantimori, varieties of historiographical nationalism, as a search to historicize national identity or to maintain the indigeneity of historical practice by opposing ‘foreign’ methodologies, haunted the explanatory apparatus that they used and testified to the intellectual support politicians could acquire for their ideas of paternalistic-nationalist government in the Germany and Italy in the 1930s and 1940s. Venturi also defended the lingering supposition of history’s civil-political nature in Italy in opposition to Braudel’s apparent apoliticization of it by undervaluing political narratives. Arguments over the connection between the administration of justice and the institution of feudal government in America also, for example, resonated with twentieth-century notions held in the professoriate that the United States’ tradition of liberal government and free markets rested on a European institutional legacy that remained intact but did not direct or guide social and economic life, instead providing the legal framework within which entrepreneurship could flourish. Political commitments thus fed into resistances ostensibly about methodology.

The extent of disruption posed by rival political ideas, supposed or in fact present, owes a debt to the transnational repercussions of events between 1900 and 1970. In the approach to 1914, Sanctis and Vidal de la Blache’s work referred to colonial debates widespread in the field of power, and A. L. Smith’s attitudes, for example, distinguished the liberal-Christian vision of a self-improving society exported by European empires. The two World Wars affected all countries concerned, with personal implications for Bloch and Febvre, ramifications for new historians’ arguments that the United States should remain in isolation and many others besides. The resurgence of right-wing political parties in the United States, France and Germany of the 1920s and the global economic depression, inflation and

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<sup>38</sup> Claude Dubois, ‘Louis Chevalier’, *LM*, 9 Aug. 2001.

ideologization of the 1930s reverberated with similar force, producing histories more responsive to material conditions. The ideological polarization of the post-1945 reconstruction era and emergent consumerism coupled with the scientific and military tensions of the Cold War until 1970 also played out in historiographies, for example, in Cowling and Elton's choice to emphasize specificity and politicians against Dobbs, Hilton and Hobsbawm's investigation of classes and material facts. The list is abbreviated, but its suggestion of common experiences for historians across borders renders unsurprising the fact that *Annales* methodologies became embroiled, and often suffered collateral damage, in debates with an ideological twist. They also complicate evaluation of the extent to which different national settings exerted decisive influence on the nature of resistances to *Annales* historians' methodologies.

Surpluses of meaning relating to institutions matched political tensions in their affects on resistances. Practitioners of institutional history such as historians of the Manchester School and French mediaevalists Ferdinand Lot, Charles-Edmond Perrin and Robert Fawtier ignored or doubted, respectively, the applicability of *Annales* historians' technical proposals, despite the connection established in Chapter One between Durkheimian sociology and institutional history. But historians' different methodological positions also related to their institutional affiliations. Rejections of sociology by Oxford and Cambridge Universities before the 1950s, the Fabian associations of Tawney's London School of Economics, the role of French universities as part of republican 'state apparatus', the separation of political history in Germany's Philosophical Faculties from legal and economic history in other departments and the sheer diversity of American institutions problematized the decoding and application of *Annales* methodologies by scholars without the same training or research paths open to

*Annales* historians in the institutions they had created.<sup>39</sup> Yet *Annales* historians had never envisaged or intended such consequences.

Only a series of different answers can respond, therefore, to questions about the content of resistances. Not all resistances rejected every or indeed any *Annales* methodology; some qualified, mitigated or neutralized their relevance to the study of history in subjects or territories little frequented by *Annales* historians. The responses of diplomatic historians like Chabod, Kaehler and Taylor exemplified subject-specific neutralization. The dis-orientation of Otto Hintze faced with the radicalism – by prevailing standards in Germany – of Braudel's *longue durée* suggested that difficulties arose in the passage of *Annales*' methodological ideas between two parts of Western Europe. Yet France and Germany formed part of one 'historical region' or 'meso-region which over a long period of time is characterized by an individual cluster of social, economic, cultural and political structures and which is larger than a single state yet smaller than a continent.'<sup>40</sup> Others stated criticisms in stronger terms, but historians who might have labels such as 'traditional' or 'conservative' attached to them, names ranging from Cowling through Morandi to Ritter, rarely confronted all *Annales* methodologies. So the will to discomfit did not characterize many resistances, least of all those in which features of the field produced habitus intransigent to *Annales*' techniques. Nor can it be said that conservatism of various political and professional sorts, or traditionalism, animated the majority of resistances. An equal range of individuals and clusters from Davis through Croce, Mattingly and Venturi entertained commitments distinctively liberal in tendency.

In total, these findings deliver a kinetic understanding of resistances, one that does not confine itself to a rigid or singular conception but moves between a variety of ideas, acts and styles of resistances. This is not because 'resistances' is a term unfit for purpose; it is in fact because of

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<sup>39</sup> For 'state apparatuses', see Althusser, *Ideology*, 24.

<sup>40</sup> Stefan Troebst, 'What's in a Historical Region? A Teutonic Perspective', *ERH*, 10 (2003): 173-88, 173.

its suitability. The dissertation addressed a range of oppositions and debates throughout the period and they exhibited variety, imagination and a certain level of persistence in the form of challenge they posed; that necessitated terminological flexibility allowed by the breadth of meaning signified by ‘resistances.’ The limited degree of recurring styles of resistances also suggests that, just as the period of *Annales* pre-history, from 1900 until 1929, aided an understanding of the *Annales* School after 1929 in Chapter One, the analysis of resistances since 1900 has in turn provided insight into parallel developments of a diversity equal to those disseminated by *Annales* historians. But that does not indicate a form of underlying intellectual or other co-ordination between resisters and resistances. It points instead to an uneven and discontinuous movement of methodological traditions toward plurality in focus, theoretical sophistication and interdisciplinarity throughout the twentieth century, inside and outside the *Annales* School.

The variety of resistances to *Annales* methodologies also prevents decisive resolution of whether disciplinary, national or transnational factors dominated. The array of methodological traditions, individual predispositions, field features and the dynamism exposed as part of receptions of *Annales* methodologies by international audiences as well as colleagues within France suggests that, whilst to some ‘the twentieth century is a French one’ with hindsight, a variety of inventive techniques multiplied in the work of resisters too; and at a high-rate between 1900 and 1970.<sup>41</sup> *Annales* historians’ methodologies commanded the attention of a host of historians, who debated them for multifarious reasons. Where this resulted from an intention to engage and oppose *Annales* historians’ own methodological propositions, resistances suggest that the *Annales* School constituted something worthy of the time and effort to tackle even from the point of view of its detractors. This discloses that a resistor was not simply an *éminence grise*, but in fact considered their actions as necessary for

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<sup>41</sup> Seibt, ‘Erzähler der Langsamen’, 234.



the maintenance of standards as they perceived them in historical research. That those standards may no longer appear palatable, in part thanks to the *Annales* School itself, is not reason to disregard debates in which resistances arose because they themselves explain a limited but important part of the history of the *Annales* School. Nor did resistances always occur in isolation from receptions in the university field. In fact, the historical disciplines in the respective countries examined exhibited traces of interrelation, especially through personal friendships and private communication, which, combined with growing international collaboration through the International Committee for Historical Sciences, highlights the extent to which transnational field processes facilitated both receptions and resistances to *Annales* historians' methodologies. The cross-fertilization of disciplinary traditions, to which geographically-mobile Americans in the early-twentieth century and émigré scholars fleeing dictatorships in inter-war Europe contributed, advanced this international fluidity. Nor can the prominence of features of university systems in shaping and skewing understandings of *Annales* methodologies be considered as a purely national phenomenon because of the transnational echoes between instances of institutional blockages occurring across the university field. Indeed, transnational processes could not exist without the extant geopolitical national formations acting as hosts to the historical profession and discipline as well as university systems. So, as far as the evidence presented here is concerned, the unity of disciplinary, national and transnational factors active in generating resistances to *Annales* methodologies stand together, each inalienable from the other.

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*Note* The bibliography has two sections: Section A lists all primary sources – categorized as archive collections, published correspondence, selected critical reviews and printed monographs or articles – and Section B records secondary material. For the purposes of classification, printed monographs and articles in Section A encompass autobiographies and edited papers of historians considered in the text, even if they gained publication after 1970; secondary material includes studies of historiography, education and contextual factors related to the analysis of resistances to the *Annales* School published before 1970 if they are not the work of an scholar analyzed in the dissertation. The author has consulted all the materials during the preparation of the dissertation and cites a portion of them in the footnotes.

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## B. SECONDARY SOURCES

### B.1 MONOGRAPHS AND ESSAYS

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