

Interpreting the French Revolution



This book is published as part of the joint publishing agreement established in 1977 between the Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge. Titles published under this arrangement may appear in any European language or, in the case of volumes of collected essays, in several languages.

New books will appear either as individual titles or in one of the series which the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Cambridge University Press have jointly agreed to publish. All books published jointly by the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Cambridge University Press will be distributed by the Press throughout the world.

Cet ouvrage est publié dans le cadre de l'accord de co-édition passé en 1977 entre la Fondation de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme et le Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge. Toutes les langues européennes sont admises pour les titres couverts par cet accord, et les ouvrages collectifs peuvent paraître en plusieurs langues.

Les ouvrages paraissent soit isolément, soit dans l'une des séries que la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme et Cambridge University Press ont convenu de publier ensemble. La distribution dans le monde entier des titres ainsi publiés conjointement par les deux établissements est assurée par Cambridge University Press.



# Interpreting the French Revolution

FRANÇOIS FURET

TRANSLATED BY ELBORG FORSTER





Published by the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge CB2 1RP 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011, USA 10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, Melbourne 3166, Australia and Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme 54 Boulevard Raspail, 75270 Paris Cedex 06

Originally published in French as Penser la Révolution Française by Editions Gallimard Paris, 1978, and © Editions Gallimard 1978.

First published in English by the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and the Cambridge University Press, 1981 as Interpreting the French Revolution Reprinted 1985, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1997

English translation © Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and Cambridge University Press 1981

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Furet, François
Interpreting the French Revolution.

1. France - History - Revolution, 1789-1799
- Historiography
I. Title II. Penser la Révolution française,
English
944.04 DC155 80-42290
ISBN 0 521 23574 X hard covers
ISBN 0 521 28049 4 paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2001



Let us set our souls free to revolutionise the Revolution and, above all, let us resolve never to accuse an impartial mind of insulting the Revolution. For the term 'insult to Religion' has been so abused that we shall strike it from our language, since nothing is to be more avoided than the style and cast of mind of a public prosecutor when they are brought into historical and philosophical criticism.

Edgar Quinet, Critique de la Révolution (Paris, 1867)



### **Contents**

Preface		<i>page</i> ix
Part I:	The French Revolution is over	1
Part II:	Three approaches to the history of the	
	French Revolution	81
	1 The Revolutionary catechism	81
	2 De Tocqueville and the problem of the	
	French Revolution	132
	3 Augustin Cochin: the theory of Jacobinism	164

vii



## Preface

The two parts of this book were written at two distinct moments, and the order in which they appear reverses the order of their composition.

The first part aims at providing a synthetic solution to a problem that has been a constant concern of mine ever since I started studying the French Revolution: how does one interpret such an event? The second part presents the successive stages of my attempt to answer that question and the sequence of my intellectual encounters so as to chart the itinerary I have followed.

It begins with a brief against the communist historians of the French Revolution, focusing on the inconsistencies of what is today the dominant interpretation of that event. That essay originated in the give-and-take of intellectual life and debate at a particular time; but I did not feel that I should rewrite it, seven years later, in an artificially neutral tone. As it stands, it testifies in its own way to the special importance of the French Revolution as an issue in the French academic community. I can only hope that what it owes to circumstance will not detract from its explanatory character, which is all that matters to me.

That somewhat massive clearing operation is followed by two studies, devoted to the two authors who have been instrumental to the development of my intellectual position: Alexis de Tocqueville and Augustin Cochin. The reader will understand why as these pages unfold: Tocqueville and Cochin were the only historians to propose a rigorous conceptualisation of the French Revolution and to have dealt with the question raised in this book. Their analyses, which seem to me not so much contradictory as complementary, are the basis of my proposed system of interpretation, which will be found in the first part of the book. It is their path that I have taken, and it gives me pleasure to inscribe their names in this preface.

ix



### x Preface

### Note to the English edition

I should like to express here all my appreciation to Mrs Elborg Forster for having translated a text that involved not a few difficulties. I am also deeply grateful to Mr Jonathan Mandelbaum, with whom I was able, in Paris, to review the English typescript and update a number of bibliographical references. Thanks to him, the present translation is in many respects fuller than the French original, published in 1978.