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Introduction

Following the defeat of the Paris Commune in late May 1871, its participants and supporters were frequently moved to declare that while 'le cadavre est à terre . . . l'idée est debout': 'the body may have fallen, but the idea still stands'.[1] Historians, political commentators, and world leaders alike have advanced their own interpretations of the events of spring 1871 since the last shots were fired. What precisely ex-Communards believed this idea to be, however, has never been clear. This book addresses itself to this question. Through an exploration of the nature and content of French revolutionary thought from the years immediately following the Commune's fall, it demonstrates that this idea was not a specific policy or doctrine. Rather, by extensively redefining familiar concepts and using their circumstances creatively, it was the idea of a distinct, united, and politically viable French revolutionary movement that activists sought to preserve. The relative success of these efforts, furthermore, has significant implications for the ways in which scholars understand both the founding years of the French Third Republic and the nature of the modern revolutionary tradition.

In the small hours of 18 March 1871, troops from the French Army marched into Paris. Their objective was the removal of a number of cannons that had formed part of the capital's defence during the four-month-long Siege of Paris that brought to an end the Franco-Prussian War. News of the soldiers' early morning arrival spread quickly through the working-class districts of Belleville, Buttes-Chaumont, and Montmartre where the artillery was being stored. Still aggrieved by the

[1] See for example the cover of P.-O. Lissagaray, *Les huit journées de mai derrière les barricades* (Brussels: Au bureau du *Petit journal*, 1871); Pilotell, 'La Commune de Paris: le cadavre est à terre et l'idée est debout (Victor Hugo)' (1871. Musée Carnavalet, Paris); *La Bataille* (Paris), 19 March 1885. This is also the motto of the *Association des Amies et Amis de la Commune de Paris 1871*. The phrase was originally Victor Hugo's. See V. Hugo, *La voix de Guernesey* (Guernsey: Imprimerie T.-M. Bichard, 1867), p.14.

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city's treatment at the hands of the Prussians and the French government during the war and subsequent peace negotiations, angry residents and *fédérés* from the National Guard poured out into the streets. Pleas for calm fell on deaf ears, and before long the military operation had precipitated an armed revolt. By the end of the day, two generals lay dead, rebels had assumed control of key strategic buildings in the city, and what remained of the army had beaten a hasty retreat to Versailles with the government hot on its heels.

For the next two months, Paris ruled itself as a revolutionary commune. It swiftly held municipal elections, passed legislation, and waged war against the national government. This situation came to an end on 21 May 1871 when the French Army re-entered Paris, commencing a week of street battles that quickly came to be known as the Semaine Sanglante.[2] As the army overcame the Communards one street and one barricade at a time, the capital went up in flames around them; the City of Light was now a city on fire. Fleeing revolutionaries killed a number of hostages including the Archbishop of Paris, while the advancing troops were liable to shoot anyone they suspected of participation in the Commune. By the time the final Communards were defeated on 28 May amidst the graves of Père-Lachaise cemetery, thousands had been killed – the vast majority revolutionaries – in what Robert Tombs has termed 'the worst violence committed against civilians in Europe between the French and Russian Revolutions'.[3]

In the weeks, months, and years that followed, the war against the Commune did not dissipate, but merely changed form. In the immediate aftermath, 40,000 people were arrested and marched to holding camps in and around Versailles, where hundreds died as a result of the poor conditions. Over the next five years, thousands of prisoners were tried for crimes of varying gravity by a series of specially created *conseils de guerre*. Ninety-five were sentenced to death (although only twenty-three were executed[4]) and a further 4,500 were deported to New Caledonia, a French penal colony in the South Pacific.

While the courts martial dispensed death and justice to the Communards, the rattled Assemblée Nationale set about ensuring that the events

[2] For more on the genesis of this narrative see Chapter 1, as well as A. Dowdall, 'Narrating *la Semaine Sanglante*, 1871–1880' (unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Cambridge, 2010).

[3] '[L]a pire violence contre des civils en Europe entre la Révolution française et la révolution russe'. R.P. Tombs, *Paris, bivouac des révolutions: La Commune de 1871* (trans.) J. Chatroussat (Paris: Éditions Libertalia, 2014. First published in English, 1999), p.360.

[4] Ibid., p.363.

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of spring 1871 would not and could not be repeated. It swiftly introduced legal restrictions upon revolutionaries' principal means of communication – the press and association – and left the state of siege in place in Paris and other parts of France until 1876.[5] The defeat of the Commune, they hoped and claimed, was more than simply the defeat of *a* revolution: it brought to a definitive close the era of modern European revolutions begun in 1789.

Revolutionaries escaping immediate death or arrest in May 1871 fled France in a mass exodus. Where previously the majority of revolutionaries had been concentrated in Paris, they now found themselves defeated, depleted, and scattered across the globe. Approximately 1500 headed for Belgium, while the same number followed in the footsteps of their *quarante-huitard* predecessors and made for Britain and Jersey. A further 750 settled in Switzerland, predominantly in and around French-speaking Geneva.[6] Smaller numbers headed west to the United States, while several individuals travelled as far afield as China and Sudan. It was not until the Opportunist Republican government reluctantly granted a full amnesty in July 1880 that the surviving exiles and deportees were able to return freely to France.

The Paris Commune has captured imaginations for almost 150 years. Mindful of Karl Marx's claim that 1871 represented 'the glorious harbinger of a new society',[7] communist world leaders and activists during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries rushed to associate themselves with the Commune. Lenin's body was famously shrouded in a Communard flag. Chinese theorists including Mao Zedong, meanwhile, claimed the events of 1871 were their social inspiration during the Cultural Revolution; the 1967 Shanghai People's Commune was explicitly modelled on the Paris Commune.[8] Commentators on the right, meanwhile, have been

[5] C. Bellanger, *Histoire générale de la presse française*, 5 vols. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1969–1976), vol.3 (1972), p.152.

[6] Dowdall, 'Narrating *la Semaine Sanglante*', p.12. For contemporary estimates of numbers in Geneva, see Intelligence report to the Préfecture de Police, 30 November 1873. Archives de la Préfecture de Police (APP) Ba431/891. For contemporary estimates of refugees in Britain and Jersey, see 'Les réfugiés à Londres' (1876). APP Ba429/1346.

[7] K. Marx, *The Civil War in France* (London: Martin Lawrence Ltd, 1933. First published, 1871), p.34.

[8] For more on the Paris Commune in Chinese thought, see J.B. Starr, *Continuing the Revolution: The Political Thought of Mao* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015. First published, 1979), pp.188–201; Y. Wu, *The Cultural Revolution at the Margins: Chinese Socialism in Crisis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), p.192. See also V.I. Lenin, *The Paris Commune* (London: Martin Lawrence, 1931); G. Kozintsez and L. Trauberg (dirs.), *Новый Вавилон* (The New Babylon) (1929).

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equally eager to engage with the Commune in an effort to disinvest such a celebrated socialist symbol of its power and heuristic value.[9]

After a brief lull in popularity following the end of the Cold War, the Commune has recently been experiencing something of a cultural renaissance. In 2009, it was reborn as an altogether different kind of symbol in the form of the French clothing and lifestyle brand Commune de Paris 1871, which draws inspiration from the imagery of 1871 and names its products after famous streets, events, and revolutionaries.[10] This development has in turn sparked an aggrieved call to arms demanding that the Commune not be left to 'rich *bobo* hipsters' pricing 'the revolutionary experience' at €150.[11] In November 2016, renewed interest in 1871 culminated in socialist deputies in the Assemblée National voting – to the chagrin of the right – to posthumously exonerate the Communard victims of official repression.[12] Whether as a major turning point in modern revolutionary history or the aesthetic inspiration for moderately priced shirts and watches, the Paris Commune has always possessed the power to spark admiration and debate. Indeed, it is one of the most abiding symbols of modern global social and political history.

The Commune has also proved perennially academically popular. 1871 has attracted the passing interest of numerous distinguished scholars eager to interpret its social significance, from C.L.R. James to Henri Lefebvre, while others such as Jacques Rougerie have devoted their careers to chronicling its events and aftermath.[13] Much of this attention undoubtedly resulted from the Commune's political significance during the

[9] See for example E.S. Mason, *The Paris Commune: An Episode in the History of the Socialist Movement* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930).

[10] Www.communedeparis1871.fr/fr [last accessed 25 May 2015].

[11] '[B]obos-hipsters fortunés'. 'Ne laissons pas la Commune de Paris aux hipsters!' www.poisson-rouge.info/2015/06/02/ne-laissons-pas-la-commune-de-paris-aux-hipsters/ [last accessed 7 September 2015].

[12] 'L'Assemblée réhabilite les communards victimes de la répression', *Le Monde* (Paris), 30 November 2016, www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2016/11/30/l-assemblee-rehabilite-les-communards-victimes-de-la-repression_5040565_3224.html [last accessed 3 April 2018].

[13] See for example C.L.R. James, 'They showed the way to labor emancipation: on Karl Marx and the 75th anniversary of the Paris Commune', *Labor Action* 10 (18 March 1946); H. Lefebvre, *La proclamation de la Commune, 26 Mars 1871* (Paris: Gallimard, 1965); E. Schulkind, *The Paris Commune of 1871* (London: The Historical Association, 1971); E. Kamenka, *Paradigm for Revolution? The Paris Commune 1871–1971* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972); *Colloque universitaire pour la commémoration du centenaire de la Commune de 1871: Le mouvement social* 79 (April–June 1972). For Rougerie, see J. Rougerie, *Procès des Communards* (Paris: Julliard, 1964); J. Rougerie, *Paris libre 1871* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1971); J. Rougerie, *1871: jalons pour une histoire de la Commune de 1871* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1973); J. Rougerie, *La Commune 1871* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1988); J. Rougerie, *Paris insurgé: la Commune de 1871* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995).

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twentieth century, yet such academic interest cannot simply be diagnosed as the result of Cold War mentalities. Unlike the political attention it once received, academic interest in the Commune has not waned since the 1980s.[14] The 2014 publication of John Merriman's *Massacre: The Life and Death of the Paris Commune* and the recent success of Tombs's *Paris, bivouac des révolutions: la Commune de 1871* is testament to the attention that it continues to command in both Anglophone and Francophone circles.[15] While its political power may have waned since 1989, the academic allure of the Commune remains as strong as ever.

In the long historiographical shadows cast by the Commune, however, its participants and supporters have been somewhat lost. Much of 1871's posthumous political utility derived from its violent end, and particularity the staggering estimates of 20,000 or more dead that quickly emerged and gained traction after the Commune's fall.[16] For its critics, as for the French government in 1871, death on such a scale signified the finality of the revolution's defeat. For the likes of Marx, Lenin, and Mao, meanwhile, it was amidst the flames and sacrifice of the Semaine Sanglante that a new era of revolution was born. In these interpretations, the Communards have accordingly been characterised primarily as dead bodies and mortality statistics rather than historical actors with agency and ideas.

Historians of the Commune have paid more attention to revolutionaries' fates in the wake of its fall. In *Procès des Communards*, Rougerie extensively detailed the trials that followed the Commune,[17] while many

[14] For work from the late twentieth century, see for example R. Bellet and P. Régnier (eds.), *Écrire la Commune: témoignages, récits et romans (1871–1931)* (Tusson: Du Lérot, 1994); A. Boime, *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris after War and Revolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); M.P. Johnson, *The Paradise of Association: Political Culture and Popular Organisations in the Paris Commune of 1871* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996); M.P. Johnson, 'Memory and the cult of revolution in the 1871 Paris Commune', *Journal of Women's History* 9 (1997), 39–57; R.P. Tombs, *The Paris Commune, 1871* (London: Longman, 1999).

[15] J. Merriman, *Massacre: The Life and Death of the Paris Commune of 1871* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014); Tombs, *Paris, bivouac des révolutions*. For other recent work, see G. Larguier and J. Quaretti (eds.), *La Commune de 1871: utopie ou modernité?* (Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan, 2000); C. Latta (ed.), *La Commune de 1871: l'événement, les hommes et la mémoire* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2004); D. Shafer, *The Paris Commune: French Politics, Culture, and Society at the Crossroads of the Revolutionary Tradition and Revolutionary Socialism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); P. Starr, *Commemorating Trauma: The Paris Commune and Its Cultural Aftermath* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006); J.-C. Caron, *Paris, l'insurrection capitale* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2015).

[16] See for example P.-O. Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1896. First published, 1876), p.27. For an analysis of this phenomenon, see R.P. Tombs, 'How bloody was *la semaine sanglante* of 1871? A revision', *The Historical Journal* 55 (September 2012), 679–704.

[17] J. Rougerie, *Procès des Communards* (Paris: Julliard, 1964).

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others have traced its participants into exile and deportee life in New Caledonia.[18] Colette Wilson, Albert Boime, and J.M. Przyblyski, meanwhile, have examined the fate of revolutionary Paris in the 1870s and the concerted attempts to erase the Commune from contemporary French memory.[19] Whether in the form of the scale and creativity of the State's repression, the penury and dislocation of life outside of France, or the unlikely employment exiles found in order to survive, the conclusions reached about life after 1871 have remained essentially the same.[20] In all interpretations, the Commune has been characterised as a watershed defeat that severely damaged, if not put a decisive end, to revolutionaries' political ideas and careers. Their political careers and ideas, in other words, have been folded into the history of the event itself.

The broader literature on France in the years after 1871 has further reinforced the perception of the Commune as the end of revolutionary relevance. French historians such as Claude Nicolet, François Furet, and Mona Ozouf traditionally characterised 1870–1885 as a period in which revolution, Bonapartism, and monarchism were successfully relegated to the margins of French political life as a result of the Opportunist Republicans' rise to power and the legislative reforms they enacted between 1880 and 1885.[21] More recently scholars have sought to complicate these classic accounts of Republican *enracinement*, yet revolutionaries have nonetheless remained largely absent from their work.[22]

[18] For New Caledonia, see J. Baronnet and J. Chalou, *Communards en Nouvelle-Calédonie: Histoire de la déportation* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1987); G. Mailhé, *Déportations en Nouvelle-Calédonie des communards et des révoltés de la grande Kabylie (1872–1876)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1994); A. Bullard, *Exile to Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific, 1790–1900* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000). For exile, see P.K. Martinez, 'Paris Communard refugees in Britain, 1871–1880' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 1981); Tombs, *Paris, bivouac des révolutions*, pp.365–366.

[19] C.E. Wilson, *Paris and the Commune 1871–78: The Politics of Forgetting* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); J.M. Przyblyski, 'Revolution at a standstill: photography and the Paris Commune of 1871', *Yale French Studies* 101 (2001), 54–78; A. Boime, *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris after War and Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). See also J.T. Joughin, *The Paris Commune in French Politics, 1871–1880*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1955).

[20] This narrative was also popular in certain radical circles at the time. See Jenny Longuet, quoted in G. Stedman Jones, *Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion* (London: Allen Lane, 2016), p.511.

[21] C. Nicolet, *L'Idée républicaine en France (1789–1924)* 2nd edn (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1994. First published, 1982), p.472; F. Furet, *La Révolution de Turgot à Jules Ferry* (Paris: Hachette, 1988); F. Furet and M. Ozouf (eds.), *Le siècle de l'avènement républicain* (Paris: Gallimard, 1993).

[22] See for example P. Nord, *The Republican Moment: Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); S. Hazareesingh, *Intellectual Founders of the Republic: Five Studies in Nineteenth-Century French Republican Political Thought* 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. First published, 2001); P. Rosanvallon, *The Demands of Liberty: Civil Society in France since the Revolution* (trans.) A. Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA:

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The objective of these accounts was of course not to write the history of socialist or revolutionary thought, but the absence of revolutionaries from them has nonetheless contributed to the perception that they played little part in the political or social life of the early Third Republic. Whether a victory for a new brand of Republicans or a more lengthy and complex process, work on French politics has overwhelmingly characterised the early Third Republic as a period in which moderate politics and ideas broadly defined became increasingly entrenched, confident, and popular. While revolutionaries may have continued to exist after the Commune, they were of little significance to France or French politics. This consensus has in turn indirectly reinforced the perception that revolution and revolutionaries simply disappeared after 1871.

These revolutionaries have not, however, been entirely written out of history. Since the 1970s, historians have produced a string of biographies and intellectual biographies of notable figures such as Paul Lafargue, Paul Brousse, and Louis Auguste Blanqui, which provide valuable, if partial, insights into the state of revolutionary activism after the Commune.[23] Ex-Communards have also featured prominently in work on broader movements and intellectual trends. Michel Cordillot, for example, has recently detailed Communard exiles' involvement in the International Workingmen's Association, while Zeev Sternhell and Emmanuel Jousse have located the origins of French fascism and reformist socialism respectively in the 1870s and 1880s.[24] Unlike other bodies of literature, these studies have focused not on the devastation caused by the Commune, but on revolutionaries' attempts to bounce back from it through the adoption of new ideas and ideologies such as Marxism and public service socialism.

Harvard University Press, 2007. First published in French, 2004); C. Gaboriaux, *La République en quête des citoyens: les républicains français face au bonapartisme rural (1848–1880)* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 2010).

[23] S. Bernstein, *Auguste Blanqui and the Art of Insurrection* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971); M. Dommanget, *Auguste Blanqui au début du IIIe République (1871–1880): dernière prison et ultimes combats* (Paris: Mouton, 1971); D. Stafford, *From Anarchism to Reformism: A Study of the Political Activities of Paul Brousse within the First International and the French Socialist Movement 1870–90* (London: Cox & Wyman, 1971); L. Derfler, *Paul Lafargue and the Founding of French Marxism 1842–1882* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); C. Willard, *Jules Guesde, l'apôtre et la loi* (Paris: Éditions ouvrières, 1991); K.S. Vincent, *Between Marxism and Anarchism: Benoît Malon and French Reformist Socialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); L. Derfler, *Paul Lafargue and the Flowering of French Socialism, 1882–1911* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998);

[24] M. Cordillot, *Aux origines du socialisme moderne: La Première Internationale, la Commune de Paris, l'exil* (Paris: Éditions de l'Atelier, 2010); Z. Sternhell, *La droite révolutionnaire 1885–1914: les origines françaises du fascisme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1978); E. Jousse, *Les hommes révoltés: les origines intellectuelles du réformisme en France (1871–1917)* (Paris: Fayard, 2017).

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This attention is undoubtedly welcome, yet the complexities of the 1870s and 1880s have often been lost in the long chronological reach of such studies. While they ostensibly deal with this period, much of this work has focused primarily upon explaining the genesis either of individuals' more 'mature' thought or later events and organisations, from the Boulanger and Dreyfus Affairs to the Second International, and even the First World War. Indeed, this inclination can be glimpsed in historians' tendency project the (as yet unheard of) appellations and groupings of later years – 'reformist socialism', 'the revolutionary right' – back onto this period. While the 1870s and 1880s are often fulsomely discussed, then, these years have been treated primarily as a stepping-stone, and insights into them are few. Where elsewhere this period and these revolutionaries have been overshadowed by 1871, in this literature they have often been eclipsed by the more attention-grabbing and immediately relevant events and ideas of the late 1880s and beyond.

From these diverse bodies of literature, a clear portrait of the immediate post-Commune period and revolutionaries' place in it emerges. The Commune marked a definitive break, after which old revolutionary ideas and associations lost their potency. While French politics, society, and government were remade without revolution, the vanquished of 1871 were relegated – both physically and intellectually – to the sidelines. Revolutionaries with any hope of remaining politically relevant were forced to change considerably, abandoning their previous ideas and drifting towards a series of prefabricated intellectual orthodoxies such as Marxian socialism or more moderate republicanism. Certainly, they had few distinct ideas of their own. Intellectually and politically, it is suggested, the 1870s and 1880s was a fallow holding period suspended between momentous events, characterised primarily by intellectual stagnation and injurious factional infighting.

The French government's initial characterisation of the Commune as the end of revolution, in other words, has been surprisingly durable. Recently, however, historians have begun to chip away at this portrayal. Revising his earlier work in 2012, Tombs offered a reinterpretation of the Semaine Sanglante in which substantially fewer revolutionaries were killed and forty-eight of the Commune's fifty-three-strong government escaped unharmed.[25] A new generation of French historians has also played a leading role in these efforts. Laure Godineau, for example, has assessed the impact of the return of Communard exiles to France at the beginning

[25] Tombs, 'How bloody was *la semaine Sanglante* of 1871?', at p.702.

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of the 1880s,[26] while in *La Commune n'est pas morte* Éric Fournier cast a critical gaze over the subsequent political uses of 1871, transforming the Commune from a vehicle for predicting future events into a prism through which to study modern history.[27] In these interpretations the Commune was not a fork in the road, but rather 'a roundabout, where different temporalities crossed and overlapped'.[28]

It is this body of historiography that this study seeks to place itself within and build upon. While Godineau, Tombs, and others have dealt extensively with revolutionaries' physical and practical circumstances, their ideas are still relatively unexamined. Perhaps the closest work is Charles Rihs's *La Commune de Paris: sa structure et ses doctrines*, but this deals with the revolution itself rather than its aftermath, and has never been translated into English.[29] In fact, there remains more on the right's ideas on revolution than those of revolutionary activists themselves.[30] This book addresses this historiographical gap. It asks not just where revolutionaries went in 1871 or what they did, but also what they thought.

The revolutionary movement during this period is difficult to define, and groups, allegiances, and appellations were often diffuse and shifting. Revolutionaries are here defined as activists who either took part in the Commune or expressed strong affinities with it after its fall. This encompasses the groups of activists often described as French Marxists,[31] Possibilists or federalist socialists,[32] and Blanquists.[33] It also includes a variety of more independent theorists such as Élisée Reclus and Gustave Lefrançais, as well as others who occupied the boundaries between revolutionary and radical thought such as Arthur Arnould and Charles Longuet, and numerous anonymous journalists and pamphleteers.

[26] L. Godineau, 'Retour d'exil: les anciens Communards au début de la Troisième République' (unpublished PhD thesis, Université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2000). See also P.K. Martinez, 'Paris Communard refugees in Britain, 1871–1880'.
[27] É. Fournier, *La Commune n'est pas morte: les usages politiques du passé de 1871 à nos jours* (Paris: Éditions Libertalia, 2013).
[28] '[U]n carrefour où s'entrecroisent et se chevauchent différentes temporalités'. Tombs, *Paris, bivouac des révolutions*, p.417.
[29] C. Rihs, *La Commune de Paris (1871): sa structure et ses doctrines* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973. First published, 1955).
[30] P. Lidsky, *Les écrivains contre la Commune* (Paris: Maspero, 1970); J.M. Roberts, 'The Paris Commune from the Right', *English Historical Review*, supplement 6 (1973); A. Dowdall, 'Narrating la Semaine Sanglante' (unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Cambridge, 2010).
[31] For example Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, and Gabriel Deville.
[32] Including Paul Brousse, Benoît Malon, and Jean Allemane.
[33] Such as Henri Rochefort, Louise Michel, and of course Louis Auguste Blanqui himself.

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Intellectually, revolutionaries in this period were connected to rich and diverse traditions of French radicalism. This was especially true of its more extreme strands. All revolutionaries during our period, for example, shared the concern for economic equality that had motivated François Noël 'Gracchus' Babeuf in the 1790s. Louis Auguste Blanqui was likewise consistently venerated, variously as a source of ideas and as a figurehead. By the 1860s, though, many revolutionaries were edging away from active engagement in the kind of conspiratorial violence practised by Babeuf and Blanqui. Younger revolutionaries increasingly came to radicalism through the nascent trade union movement, which presented a more organised, international, and accessible alternative to traditional action. Under the Second Empire, meanwhile, revolutionaries and student radicals had often joined forces with more moderate republicans in an effort to oust Napoleon III.

Indeed, the question of what precisely separated revolutionaries and so-called 'advanced radicals' was much discussed from the 1860s until well into the twentieth century. As we shall see, there existed many similarities between the two groups during the 1870s and early 1880s, but several important differences set revolutionaries apart. These differences lay in both the extent of the social changes that they supported and the means they advocated for bringing them about. Specifically, the majority of revolutionaries continued to be open to the possibility of violent action, even if after 1871 this commitment was largely theoretical. By contrast, although radical republicans such as Georges Clemenceau, Camille Pelletan, and Victor Hugo frequently attempted to intercede on revolutionaries' behalf during the 1870s, they also systematically distanced themselves from such ideas and acts. Thus, while this study deals with them insofar as they influence or interacted with revolutionaries, it does not consider them as principal actors.

Through a comprehensive examination of these figures and their work, it shall become clear that that the 1870s and 1880s were far from a barren intellectual wasteland, marooned between the more dramatic events of 1871 and the late 1880s. Although cut off from France and their previous lives, revolutionaries were neither intellectually defeated by their physical loss, nor overwhelmed by the situations they found themselves in. Rather, they accepted their circumstances and even attempted to turn them to their advantage. Whether in New Caledonia, America, or Europe, revolutionaries attempted to use the 1870s productively, interacting with various international radical and revolutionary figures from Marx and Mikhail Bakunin to Algerians involved in the 1871 Kabyle Rebellion, and forging

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