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# The challenge of hegemonic masculinity in the early polemical work of French Socialists Auguste Blanqui and Louis Blanc

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## Abstract

This article looks closely at the early work of French socialists Auguste Blanqui and Louis Blanc to uncover a gendered political logic at the heart of their critique of bourgeois rule. In the dramatic patriarchy of nineteenth-century France, men from the ruling class were seen to embody an ideal masculinity that reflected a nation ready to confront the effeminate countries of Europe. It was not enough, in this milieu, for socialists simply to appeal to justice in their advocacy for workers; it also required an engagement with the hegemonic masculinity that ensconced the bourgeoisie in its position of power. If the proletariat was to find emancipation, therefore, socialists needed to emasculate the bourgeoisie and assert the characteristics of the worker as convincingly masculine. Focusing on physical superiority and the psychological disposition towards fraternity, both Blanqui and Blanc, steeped in the particulars of French political discourse, championed the proletariat as more authentically masculine and thus justified in its usurpation of the bourgeoisie.

**Key words:** Blanqui, Blanc, France, revolution, masculinity

In January 1832, the French socialist Auguste Blanqui appeared before a criminal court in Paris. Earlier in July, the police had arrested Blanqui along with fourteen other members of the radical republican society, *Friends of the People*, for publishing material critical of Louis Philippe and the recently established July Monarchy (1830-1848). The July Monarchy, which was the result of an uprising against the ultra-royalist rule of Charles X, was especially tragic for radicals like Blanqui because it represented the triumph of the bourgeoisie over the political and economic direction of France. Even more frustrating to Blanqui was that

although many workers had fought to overthrow Charles X, their lives would deteriorate under the new bourgeois-led monarchy. To Blanqui, the bourgeoisie had used the proletariat for political gain and were now casting it aside.

Blanqui, emboldened by the insurrectionary tradition stemming from the Revolution of 1789 and its first decade, used the platform provided by the Paris courtroom to publicly denounce the bourgeoisie and demand the emancipation of the proletariat. Using his considerable rhetorical abilities, he gave a devastating portrayal of worker misery and systemic corruption. He recounted in detail the three days of fighting that led to the July Monarchy, and drew dramatic comparisons between the male 'aristocracy of wealth' and the male workers who took part in that uprising. Blanqui described 'glorious workers', six feet tall, towering over wealthy elites who praised the workers with 'tears of admiration' for their 'selflessness and courage'.<sup>1</sup> Considering that the average soldier at this time was about five feet tall, a six foot and glorious male worker would have been a striking image for Blanqui's audience; and by presenting the character of the workers as so profound that it drove their oppressors to sobs, it is clear that Blanqui was in top form that day.<sup>2</sup> Unsurprisingly, this 'Trial of the Fifteen' would help launch Blanqui's reputation as a fiery orator on behalf of the workers and result in the first of his many incarcerations.

But there is more to consider regarding Blanqui's heightened rhetoric here. His assertion that the workers were physically and psychologically superior to the 'aristocracy of wealth' was very similar to the way that radical republican Jacobins during the Revolution of 1789 had argued for the superiority of 'the people' against the traditional aristocracy of the Old Regime.<sup>3</sup> In other words, thirty years later, radicals were still trying to redefine masculinity and control who actually possessed it. This continuity needs further explanation, since it seems to suggest structures of thought or power that might be unarticulated. In particular, it raises questions regarding the role of masculinity in French political thought of that time, as well as about power structures and the role of gender in present-day politics.

R. W. Connell's work on masculinity is extremely helpful here. In fact, her concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' fits well with what we see in these texts. Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as the kind of masculinity that 'guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women'.<sup>4</sup> In one sense, then, hegemonic masculinity is the kind of masculinity that most convincingly attests to a justifiable cultural control of women by men. For example, one might consider the image of the business tycoon or industrial giant of the nineteenth-century dressed in his bourgeois black suit. With nothing but sheer will and intellect, many believed, he was able to overcome the restrictions of nature itself to remake the world in his own image. Cer-

tainly this ideal helped to reinforce the patriarchy of that time, since it was only men who were engaging in this kind of activity and expression of power.

But while hegemonic masculinity can help explain relationships of power between men and women, it can also articulate the ways men relate to one another. In Connell's vision, while a given society may acknowledge the practice of several different masculinities at one time, it will always 'culturally exalt' one particular masculinity above the rest.<sup>5</sup> The result is that the masculinities that do not 'authorize' the exalted version become marginalized and form a hierarchy amongst males.<sup>6</sup> If we go back to the nineteenth-century industrialist example, the ideal masculinity by which all other expressions of masculinity are judged would be the industrialist. As such, the farther away a man is from these positions and accomplishments, the less access he has to the privileges, power, and perceived ability that the patriarchy has given to the men it has exalted.

Even more useful is that, according to Connell, gender is 'unavoidably involved' with class.<sup>7</sup> This means that the exalted masculinity of a culture will actually be drawn from the dominant class and set itself up along class lines. As in our nineteenth century example, the male bourgeoisie rules not only through class privilege and wealth, but also through being seen as the necessary keeper of ideal masculinity, which ultimately keeps the social hierarchy stable.<sup>8</sup> In other words, class and gender can function as two sides of one power coin, and one should be able to see conflicts involving class in some way as conflicts involving masculinity. This is what I think is going on in the texts we are looking at.<sup>9</sup> Ultimately, it was not enough for Blanqui simply to appeal to justice and fairness; as French society associated the bourgeoisie with ideal masculinity, Blanqui needed to make the claim that the workers were in possession of a more convincing virility.

## **A masculine France and its nineteenth-century representation**

While Connell's explanation of hegemonic masculinity is eye-opening, it is also fairly apparent in French political theory and history. Under the Old Regime, prior to the Revolution of 1789, the French had learned to identify the kingdom of France with the physical body of the king. This meant that the body politic and the body of the king were interdependent in the sense that France could not exist without a hereditary king. According to the historian Penny Roberts, this understanding helped prevent disunity, because it automatically delegitimized any rebellion against a legitimate king.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, 'the health of the monarch and that of the realm' were also presented as interdependent, so the king would

always make the best choices to care for the kingdom, because mistakes could lead not only to the destruction of his own rule, but also the destruction of his own physical body.<sup>11</sup> The French kingdom, in some sense, lived and breathed through the French king, and the king lived and breathed through the kingdom.

Recent historiography has demonstrated the value of Connell's insights. Todd Reeser's work has shown that the legitimacy of the king in Old Regime France was tied to his masculine status. The king, therefore, was bound to the performance of proper masculinity, which could subject the legitimacy of his rule to a gendered critique.<sup>12</sup> Marisa Linton carries this understanding forward in French history, showing that, by the Enlightenment (1650-1789), the king had functioned as the 'embodiment of masculine virtue', which bolstered the argument or claim that the king was the 'embodiment of sovereignty'.<sup>13</sup> Proper masculinity and legitimate rule were therefore interdependent in pre-Revolutionary French political thought and came together in the king. In that sense, the king established and represented hegemonic masculinity.

As much as the revolutionaries of 1789 tried to remake France and place it on a rational foundation, these assumptions about sovereignty remained. Antoine de Baecque's work demonstrates how this understanding of the king's body and the kingdom was continued into the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary period.<sup>14</sup> The problem for those who wanted to move past the absolutism of the Old Regime, which was holding back progress in France, was how to embody the state and keep it stable. The physical presence of the king and hereditary succession had accomplished this for a long time. But how could France maintain this continuity without the obvious features of the old system? According to de Baecque, revolutionaries believed that a national or citizen body could simply replace the king in this regard, which would remain stable through the regular election of representatives.<sup>15</sup> The upshot is that 'the people' in some form could take on the symbolic functions of the king. Dorinda Outram expressed this characteristic of Revolutionary thinking as an attempt to redistribute, 'various attributes of the king's body throughout the new body politic'.<sup>16</sup> In other words, the necessary and symbolic functions that the king's physical body fulfilled could attach themselves to new actors and institutions—in this case 'the people' and the democratic process.<sup>17</sup> If the king were to disappear, by revolutionary logic 'the people' would become the embodiment of France and its masculine virtue.

It is important to note the malleability of these metaphors. For example, French thought often included the nobility as a principal part of the metaphoric body along with the king, giving them a share in his sovereignty.<sup>18</sup> The hierarchical system that ensconced the nobility in its position therefore allowed it to model certain ideals for masculinity and to represent the state and monarchy.<sup>19</sup>

With this in mind, it is easy to see how the connection between sovereignty and masculinity worked its way out within the discourse of the Revolution of 1789.<sup>20</sup> Contrasting the behaviour and character of the contemporary nobility with the high ideals that the Old Regime had attached to them made them an easy target. For example, idleness, luxury, uselessness, egoism, and the pursuit of pleasure—qualities that could not be justified in a ruling elite once the Enlightenment had torn down the pretences of the old system—had become the marks of effeminacy and degeneration by the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>21</sup>

The thinker most responsible for this kind of critique was Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), whose writings on nature, equality, and gender had become influential among those who were rethinking society. Rousseau's views on women were not far away from existing mythology concerning their moral and intellectual inferiority, but the way in which he presented those views within a wider political philosophy was compelling to many. For example, Rousseau, like many others in French society, believed that things like opulence and frivolity could corrupt one's morals and have a damaging effect on society.<sup>22</sup> Idealizing ancient Sparta and its strict patriarchal structure, Rousseau had advocated an authentic and austere existence that had no room for lavishness. For Rousseau, the problem was not only that luxury drew people away from their natural condition, but also stemmed from his belief that females had a natural desire for these things. This was one way, in accordance with his anti-feminist outlook, to eliminate women from influence in his ideal republic. But it also had implications for males. If the dominant males in society gave in to such things, it meant they had become effeminized; and if men were not in accordance with their proper masculine manners, society would become disordered and unhealthy. Many of the male aristocracy of that time were indeed living in luxury and opulence, and this appeared as a compelling explanation as to why the French kingdom was failing.

Critics could therefore blame the aristocracy for making the national body sick and effeminate.<sup>23</sup> Because of this, they could convincingly argue that the nobility had lost its legitimacy as a privileged or ruling elite. The remedy, therefore, was a new ruling order, one properly masculine and healthy. In the early stages of the Revolution of 1789, Abbé Sieyès, drawing on this critique, described the Third Estate as a 'strong and robust man, whose arm is still chained'.<sup>24</sup> In other words, 'the people', the projected new sovereign of France, could make its claim to sovereignty by its healthy and robust masculinity.<sup>25</sup>

In the early and conservative phase of the Revolution of 1789, 'the people' was understood generically as those of the Third Estate. When the radical republican Jacobins took over the Revolution of 1789 after 1792, ushering in its

later and radical phase, the identity of 'the people' changed. 'The people' went from signifying those who were left out of the traditional privileges of the Old Regime, to those who identified themselves as republicans and had certain physical and psychological dispositions. Through the leadership of Robespierre, the Revolution became a Manichean drama, which pitted 'the people' against the 'enemies of the people'. As one can easily imagine, the Jacobins had no problem gendering these two sides, and the drama became one of the masculine versus the effeminate—those who believed in fraternity were masculine, and those who did not were the effeminate egoists.<sup>26</sup>

Rousseau's influence on Robespierre and the radical republican Jacobins was tremendous, allowing Robespierre to connect effeminacy with egoism and apply it to a larger group of people.<sup>27</sup> Rousseau had reasoned that masculinity and femininity were interdependent in an absolute sense—that is, one required full realization by the other for true harmony. Thus, real masculinity brought with it an awareness of social dependence, which was the essence of true fraternity. Those who were truly men, aware of the role of dependency in social relationships, would behave in a manner that took into account the greater good of the whole.<sup>28</sup> In other words, real men advocated fraternity and rejected egoism. Those who were self-interested or strove to be self-sufficient were in reality demonstrating their lack of full masculinity and thus their status as an unvirtuous mix of both genders, making them unfit for a properly ordered society and certainly its leadership.<sup>29</sup> In this light, the accusation of being effeminate could apply to not only the old aristocracy, but now also the egoist, the contemplative, the celibate, men who opposed fraternal versions of republicanism, who lacked patriotism, and eventually those who favoured *laissez-faire* in economics.<sup>30</sup> This allowed Robespierre and the Jacobins to gender coherently and consistently ideologies and their adherents, as well as lifestyle, behaviour, and even appearance.<sup>31</sup>

It is my contention that Blanqui and his republican socialist contemporary, Louis Blanc, continued this gendered conceptualization of the Revolution and its actors into the July Monarchy (1830-1848). Grouping these two socialists together provides this work with a good foundation upon which to build the arguments. As contemporaries who came from the same republican socialist milieu in Paris, their shared influences and understanding of the Revolution are relatively easy to reconstruct. At the same time, they took different directions in the way the thought change should occur—Blanqui through insurrection, and Blanc via democratic reform. As such, they represent two different factions of socialism and demonstrate a wider play of the gendering language analyzed in this study. What becomes clear in their work is that, in the developing class dynamics of the nineteenth century, 'the people' became synonymous with wage-

workers or, as Blanqui referred to them, the proletariat; and the aristocracy became the bourgeoisie or the aristocracy of wealth.<sup>32</sup> Adding to this context was that all political factions during this time feared that France had lost much of its prestige since the Revolution of 1789 and needed some kind of renewal. For republican socialists like Blanqui and Blanc, one could not expect a healthy and virile France to come from an effeminate and unhealthy bourgeoisie.<sup>33</sup> A flourishing France that took the lead in Europe needed a truly masculine, healthy, and superior group of individuals as its guiding and representative element, and a physically superior and fraternally disposed male worker fit perfectly in this gendered political logic. What I hope to show is that both men, contemporaries, provide a gendered account of the politics of the July Monarchy from a republican socialist perspective, the details of which make much more sense if the power structures of that time had made room for some kind of hegemonic masculinity.

### **Blanqui and the gendering of ideologies**

A closer look at Blanqui's 1832 trial shows this political logic at work. Setting up his arguments, Blanqui used the terms 'people' and 'proletariat' interchangeably. His concern, here, was to represent the 'labouring masses' and put them in opposition to the 'idlers' and 'leeches'. It also allowed Blanqui to connect the Revolution of 1789 with the July Revolution of 1830, thus incorporating a powerful narrative into his argument. For example, at one point, in trying to explain the actions of the present insurrectionists, he said:

If the people [now], crying out their hunger, were to ask the privileged to abdicate their privileges, the monopolists to relinquish their monopolies, and all of them to renounce their idleness, they would be laughed at. What would the nobility have done in 1789 if they had been humbly begged to give up their feudal rights? They would have punished such insolence... So the people [then] went about things in a different way.<sup>34</sup>

Blanqui, by collapsing the complexity of the Third Estate and its politics during the Revolution of 1789, simplified the narrative to suit his needs. His use of 'the people' allowed him to present the proletariat as the efficient cause of the Revolution of 1789. Remaining consistent, Blanqui presented the bourgeoisie and aristocracy as essentially the same as well. For example, Blanqui described the bourgeoisie with the words 'privilege,' 'monopoly,' and 'idleness'—all terms commonly ascribed to the nobility. Further, the concept of bourgeois rule as an

‘aristocracy of wealth’ also allowed him to make that analogy between the Revolution of 1789 and that of 1830.<sup>35</sup> Ultimately, Blanqui articulated a dichotomous class-based struggle that drew its meaning from the Revolution of 1789.

Like Robespierre before him who saw the Revolution of 1789 as a battle between two factions, Blanqui reduced the politics of 1830 to two opposing positions. For him, ‘there are and can only be royalists and republicans’.<sup>36</sup> However, while there were only two positions according to Blanqui, he did acknowledge the presence of a temporary ideology that stood in between them. Emerging from this discussion, Blanqui proceeded in gendering these ideologies. He said:

With each passing day the division between these two principles—royalist and republican—becomes ever sharper; the good people who had believed in a third principle, a sort of neuter kind (*espèce de genre neutre*) called the *juste milieu*, are slowly but surely abandoning the absurdity, and they will all return to one flag or the other, according to the passions and their interest.<sup>37</sup>

This third ideology is the position that avoids the extreme democracy possible in a republic and the extreme autocracy possible in a monarchy. This *juste milieu* was essentially a liberal monarchy, which became the governing position of the July Monarchy. Rendering Blanqui’s ‘*espèce de genre neutre*’ as ‘a sort of neuter kind,’ putting it in the realm of gender, is justified considering that *espèce* and *genre* both belonged to biological taxonomy, reflecting Blanqui’s medical school training and suggesting that Blanqui was going for a biological metaphor. While the phrase *espèce de* grammatically takes away the taxonomical meaning of *espèce*, the play on words between *espèce* and *genre* would not have been lost on the listening audience or out of place in the rhetorically heightened atmosphere of a French courtroom. As such, casting this political ideology as an organism justifies an understanding of ‘neuter’ rather than ‘neutral’. This understanding would have been consistent with the gendering of ideologies that the Jacobins had already accomplished in the Revolution of 1789, as republicanism was masculine and aristocracy was decidedly feminine.<sup>38</sup> One could therefore conceive of an ideology neither republican nor monarchical as neuter, an understanding, incidentally, that continued past the July Monarchy and among socialists other than Blanqui and Blanc.<sup>39</sup>

## **Blanqui and the gendering of the ruling elite**

The final third of Blanqui’s monologue functioned as a direct challenge to the ruling elite. Blanqui warned, ‘it will soon be necessary to choose between the



monarchical monarchy and the republican republic; we will see whom the majority are for.<sup>40</sup> He then proceeded to compare the people and the bourgeoisie based on their dedication to the nation. He made fun of the bourgeoisie for backing the European invasion of France in 1814, which was in response to the wars of Napoleon I, and for accepting the subsequent restrictions that the great European powers placed on France. Poking fun at the elite's useless privilege and claimed superiority, he facetiously said: 'one might have assumed...that our privileged few would be easily roused by grand ideas of country and honour as a result of the exquisite sensitivity they acquire through opulence'. Yet, he said, they cheered the invasion and 'applauded at the country's dishonour'.<sup>41</sup>

Blanqui, understanding that the male bourgeoisie represented the nation, continued to mock them. They were the ones who had 'exclusive custody of our national dignity!' he said. Instead of fulfilling this role, they really belonged with the royalists, running a 'heartless aristocracy' and openly professing a 'disgusting materialism, ignoble and brutal, where idlers plunder the working masses and are rendered 'bestial by corruption'.<sup>42</sup> The people, however, were different, according to Blanqui: 'Was it not the people who asked to die in 1814, rather than seeing foreign invaders in Paris?' Switching to their present, Blanqui said that the 'highest morality' and service to country motivated the people. They knew that 'a nation does not have a future so long as its past is burdened with a shame of which it has not been cleansed'. Therefore, explained Blanqui, the workers took arms in 1830 to restore honour to France, usher in a new era, and bring renewal.<sup>43</sup>

Blanqui continued his challenge to the elites by pointing out that after the peoples' selfless sacrifice, they were starving and dying everywhere.<sup>44</sup> In a tragic irony, those who had fought for the triumph of freedom and regeneration were now fighting hunger.<sup>45</sup> Here is where Blanqui paints the striking visual we sampled at the beginning of this work. Writing of the day of triumph against Charles X, he proclaimed, 'Seeing these (*grands*) workers, six-foot tall, whose rags the bourgeoisie willingly kissed as they came trembling from their cellars, and whose selflessness and courage they evoked with sobs of admiration'.<sup>46</sup> Blanqui, here, is simply making more explicit what he had been implying all along in his contrast of classes—that is, the superiority of workers over that of the members of the bourgeoisie. Blanqui had already talked about the selflessness and courage of the worker in his praise of their dedication to the nation. But he added more features: this superiority was also physical, which was a distinction made by other socialists at this time. For example, the previous year, worker-poet L.-Ernest Crevel, described the proletariat after the overthrow of 1830 as 'citizens whose noble courage, in bold, masculine features, shines on their faces'.<sup>47</sup> Clearly the

imagery was compelling.

Blanqui twice pointed out their rags. The second time, in a final rhapsodic praise of the worker, he said, 'Noble souls! (*ombres magnanimes*) Glorious workers, whose dying hands I grasped in a final farewell on the battlefield, whose dying faces I covered with rags, you died happy in the midst of a victory that should have redeemed your race.'<sup>48</sup> Certainly, Blanqui was highlighting their poverty, but the notion of austerity had been such an important concept that Blanqui must have been conveying more.<sup>49</sup> This is clearer when one sees the picture that Blanqui gave of the bourgeoisie. While the worker was great and tall, standing firm and almost unmovable in the face of danger, the bourgeoisie had to crawl out of their hiding places, literally trembling out of their cellars. In a dramatic sign of social inferiority, and perhaps a nod to the formalities and ceremony of aristocratic rule or religious obeisance, the bourgeoisie kissed the workers' rags. Once a social embarrassment, rags had become a sign of republican virtue under sans-culottes' (the common workers of Paris) influence and were the points at which these cowards encountered the worker. The bourgeoisie then praised the selflessness and courage that the worker possessed, so moved by them and their sacrifice that they wept. The scene bordered on religious, with prostrate disciples before a glorified Christ who had just risen from the dead or had saved them from the certain death of a deadly storm. In Blanqui's depiction, the roles of monarchical society reversed, and the privileged were now humiliated before the unprivileged.<sup>50</sup>

Blanqui introduced other language that revealed a larger conceptualization of the proletariat and its relationship to the bourgeoisie. For one, Blanqui referred to the workers as a 'race'.<sup>51</sup> He also ascribed a metaphor of 'pure blood' to the workers. In speaking about how the privileged sucked the workers dry, he said that the system was set up this way '[i]n order to extract their purest blood and transfuse it into the veins of the privileged'.<sup>52</sup> Again, Blanqui's medical background could have been at use here, and there was the semantic field of human health for political metaphors that might have been feeding his thinking. Another plausible option is that Blanqui was reflecting the concept of an ancient nobility that prevented cultural and national decay. This conceptualisation is well-attested to in socialist literature by the end of the July Monarchy. The idea of the worker as a 'noble race' or even a 'nobility without parchment' was fairly widespread and very likely reflected here in Blanqui's language.<sup>53</sup> And the idea that the pure blood of the workers was needed for social or political renewal would not have been unique to Blanqui.<sup>54</sup> This understanding would certainly fit with the inversion of society that Blanqui was implying in his monologue. In Blanqui's testimony before his accusers in 1832, he rhetorically fought the bourgeoisie by positing a superior form of man. The physically large, and by implication,

healthier and more virtuous worker, sold the superiority of his radicalism and its message that France needed regeneration. Within the logics of masculinity present in this patriarchy, the model of a superior male gave Blanqui's message symbolic power, even though in reality the workers suffered oppression and the socialist movement was quite small. Appeals to justice and fairness carried some weight, but the picture of a prostrate bourgeoisie before a physically and morally superior worker brought its own force. In one sense, the virile worker was a virile France, what it—both its people and its nation—could look like under a social republic.

### **Louis Blanc and a masculine revolution**

Louis Blanc did not share Blanqui's insurrectionary convictions. In one sense, Blanc was more 'agreeable' in his activism, favouring the mechanisms of democracy instead of spontaneous overthrow to bring about a just society.<sup>55</sup> At the same time, Blanc and Blanqui were contemporaries who believed that socialism would be best realized within a republican framework and who identified themselves with the radical Jacobin phase of the Revolution of 1789. Even more, they had both learned about this history from Italian radical, Philippe Buonarroti, who had worked alongside Robespierre and had been an accomplice to the proto-communist martyr, Gracchus Babeuf. Indeed, there is overlap in their opinions and understanding of the uprising that led to the July Monarchy. For example, in Blanc's *History of Ten Years*, his take on the workers and their role in the July Revolution has a similar romantic quality to it. Blanc described the workers as heroic, loyal, long-suffering, and possessing noble instincts, who were ultimately innocent victims of an opportunistic bourgeoisie.<sup>56</sup> According to Blanc, the workers were naive in their generosity, fighting for a cause they did not understand and gladly placing themselves under the command of anyone they thought superior.<sup>57</sup> With 'noble hearts beating under rags,' they willingly guarded the property of their oppressors and manifested perfect honesty by returning what they felt was over pay for their efforts.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately for them, according to Blanc, the result of their virtuous effort was the creation of a social order characterised by competition, morally guided by philosophical scepticism, and anarchic in its effects. Like Blanqui, Blanc saw the bourgeoisie creating a system that 'torments the rich man with insatiable desire and leaves the poor man to perish lonely and neglected'.<sup>59</sup>

Like Blanqui, Blanc believed that continuity with the Revolution of 1789 was necessary to understand the July Monarchy. The dynamics of the Revolution of 1789, he stated, encouraged particular passions that animated and guided the

two sides and lasted into the July Monarchy.<sup>60</sup> He wrote, 'The French Revolution had stirred up two kinds of passions, which produced two kinds of people: One, the masculine and radiant, proud and devoted ones; the other, the selfish and business-oriented ones.'<sup>61</sup> Like Blanqui, Blanc's conceptualization was clear: 'the people' were masculine and radiant, and the bourgeoisie were selfish. The business orientation claim functions here as a synonym of 'selfish,' giving the descriptions of the two passions a parallel construction: as the masculine were devoted to the greater good, the others—the selfish—were concerned only with the pursuit of money.

This characterization of the Revolution of 1789 in *History of Ten Years* as a dichotomy and struggle between the masculine and non-masculine gets expanded in later work. In his subsequent multi-volume treatment of the Revolution of 1789, masculine versus the non-masculine becomes a conflict between the manly, virtuous, and austere versus the soft, gilded, and effeminate. A striking example of this gendered interpretation from this work comes from Blanc's take on the backlash against Jacobin rule that occurred during and directly after the Terror of 1793.<sup>62</sup> Young men from the bourgeoisie, who were able to use their influence at this time to avoid conscription and thus their service to the French nation, formed gangs to commit violence against the sans-culottes (common workers of Paris) and the Jacobins as revenge for Robespierre's reign of terror. Labelled *muscadins* (those wearing musk perfume) and *jeunesse dorée* (gilded youth), they dressed effeminately and in aristocratic clothing. Wearing extra-tight culottes and beardless chins, they powdered and perfumed themselves, even colouring their hands white to make them extra soft in appearance.<sup>63</sup> One witness, according to Blanc, described them as 'rich and effeminate...a species of man occupied with appearing elegant and ridiculous, who with the sound of a [military recruiter's] drum turn into women'—this last phrase a reference to their refusal to join the army in defence of the nation during Revolution of 1789.<sup>64</sup> At the same time, like the sans-culottes, they carried clubs for street violence, which they took out on the sans-culottes and Jacobins in general. Persecuting the sans-culottes and eventually pushing their influence out of the Convention, these effeminate youth became heroes and permanent fixtures in the upper class salon community.<sup>65</sup>

This tension continued in the aftermath of the Terror and into the Directory period (1795-1799). The muscadins then merged into an aristocratic sub-group called the *incroyables* (incredible ones). Their name came from their outrageous dress and appearance, and they brought *muscadin* hatred of republican austerity with them. They wore exaggerated *muscadin* clothing, choosing to don the style of glasses the *muscadins* had used to get out of the military.<sup>66</sup> They practiced affected gestures and speech, even removing the letter 'r' from their pronuncia-

tions—a practice easily labelled as effeminate by their enemies. Like the *muscadins*, they heartlessly paraded their wealth and privilege before those suffering in poverty.<sup>67</sup> Blanc clearly saw this phenomenon as representing the masculine versus feminine quality of the Revolution. He wrote:

Meanwhile, the bands of unpleasant subjects referred to as golden youths, alluding to the softness and luxury of the ancien regime, suddenly replaced republican manners and continued to fill Paris with disorders....The era of gilded salons began. The austerity of republican manners and the virile enthusiasm which it had given rise gradually gave way to the tastes of refined elegance and boudoir influences, fashion raised thrones to beauty.<sup>68</sup>

Blanc, with his use of the term 'virile,' associated masculinity with the radical republicans, and the use of 'softness' and 'fashion' effeminised the *muscadins*. Blanc went on to describe the *incroyables* in gendered terms.<sup>69</sup> He wrote:

Not content with perfuming themselves in the manner of women, the 'marvellous'<sup>70</sup> being part of the gilded youth, dreamed up a way to debase, as it were, the language, as if speaking for them had been a strain. Careful to avoid speaking all the male touches of pronunciation, they scarcely consented to open their lips when they had something to say. And what escaped from it, according to the testimony of the Journal de Paris, was 'a sort of confused noise like the pz, pz, pz, by which a little lady's dog is called.' The pronunciation of the letter, demanding from them, no doubt, a too virile effort, they said: peale de honneu, supme, incoyable... Silly affectations, but an important thing to raise because it shows the state of abasement that mores had quickly moved towards.<sup>71</sup>

As the first line suggests, while the *incroyables* were effeminizing manners, they followed through by effeminizing language as well. Eliminating the 'r' in the pronunciations made their speech weak sounding and almost unintelligible. Blanc suggested that speaking for them was a strain because it required a virility they did not have. Their contrast was of course the masculine sans-culottes and the other Jacobins of '93. Blanc, lamenting that the bourgeoisie had now taken over, wrote, '...all these manly sacrifices, all those strong virtues, which had marked the last period with an imperishable stamp, were now nothing but a memory.'<sup>72</sup>

## Blanc and the gendering of class

Blanc's gendering in his account of the July Monarchy remained significantly consistent throughout the rest of the *History of Ten Years*. For example, Blanc's characterization of banker and bourgeois leader, Jacques Laffitte, included not only the usual negative characteristics, but gendered ones as well. Blanc described him as having 'occasional firmness and elastic impulsiveness, like the female sex, which he resembled in habitual softness of character and nervous sensibility'.<sup>73</sup> However, Blanc's focus seemed to be more on the superiority of the people. In these instances, one sees descriptive phrases like, 'energetic virtues of the republican,' or 'the energy that characterises freemen,' which had definitive masculine overtones.<sup>74</sup> In one case, Blanc described a journalist defender of democracy as, 'full of manly elegance' with a 'taste for bodily exercises'. He had a 'ruggedness of temperament' with 'strongly projecting lines on his face, and his look had energetic determination'.<sup>75</sup> Blanc reserved these kinds of descriptions for the people on his side.

An important trope that appears in the *History of Ten Years* was the brave proletarian or defender of the people up against his accusers. These cases dramatised a clash of power and subsequent show of superiority by the antagonist to the bourgeois regime. In one case, Blanc wrote of a man named Lagrange, who, in 1833, had taken part in an insurrection in Lyon and was about to go on trial. With commentary, Blanc conveys the speech:

'Yes, we protest before the parody of your indictments, as we did before the grape-shot. We protest without fear, as men, faithful to their oaths, whose conduct puts you to shame, you who have sworn oaths and violated them all! The tall figure of the accused, his martial air, the pride of his countenance and gesture, all added to the effect of this violent remark. On the orders of the president, several municipal guards surrounded him and seized him. In a state of increasing exaltation he continued: 'At your ease, Gentlemen. You condemn us without understanding us! You send us to death without having admitted a supporter of a hundred and fifty families of common people. I condemn you to live, for our blood will not wash away the marks engraved on your foreheads with the blood of the people, the brave of the brave.' And, pressed by the guards, he retreated, his eyes still fixed on his judges.<sup>76</sup>

Lagrange commanded, intimidated, and demonstrated superiority by his virtue and his physical presence. He manifested an 'increasing exaltation' in Blanc's narrative and proceeded in trying to turn the role of judge to himself. He took

over the narrative. He condemned them, even in their place of power and under their physical coercion. Part of his argument came from the assertion that the judges did not understand the criminals. 'You condemn us without understanding us!' he said, showing the illegitimacy of the justice because of the lack of peer representation. It seems, however, that this argument was more than juridical. A subsequent case developed this idea of difference more. In this case, a man named Michel de Bourges claimed something similar:

Gentlemen, I am not defending myself. You are my political enemies, not my judges. The judge and the accused must understand each other. It is necessary that they can sympathise with one another. Here it is not possible. We do not feel the same; we do not speak the same language. The country, humanity, its laws, its care, duty, religion, science, the arts, industry, nothing of what constitutes a society ... heaven and earth, nothing appears to us with the same characteristics. There is a world between us. Condemn me, but you will not judge me, for you cannot comprehend me.<sup>77</sup>

Again, the choice of language was an attempt to achieve power in a powerless situation by trying to take away their power to judge. Blanqui had applied the same argument when he was before the Paris court in 1832.<sup>78</sup> Considering the power relations, Bourges' claims were statements of defiance. Further, this was not an argument over the definition of 'peer'. According to his argument, the inability to judge came from a lack of jurisdiction based on their difference of being. The argument Bourges was making, therefore, was one of essence, reflecting the notion of profound difference between the people and the bourgeoisie.

Blanc ended this impressively detailed work with a plea. Consistent with his reformist socialism, Blanc did not advocate violent overthrow. Rather, he made an argument for the emancipation of the proletariat for its own sake and for the regeneration of France. In this explanation, his gendering sharpened. The bourgeois order was incomplete, he argued; its attributes only met part of France's needs. To explain this more, he drew on a notion of separate spheres and its traditional gendering. For Blanc, the problem with the bourgeois order was that it contained only 'the content of domestic virtues', which, for him, explained the bourgeois order's 'inaptitude at public affairs'.<sup>79</sup> Following through with Blanc's household/public metaphor, one finds the assertion that missing in the French formulation were masculine qualities, ones that only the proletariat possessed.

This assertion made its way into his final appeal to the bourgeoisie. Blanc

generously told them they had it within their means to regenerate France. It required them only to join with the people and receive the virtues they lacked:<sup>80</sup>

For if [the bourgeoisie] has a lot to give to the people, it also has much to receive from them. It can give them education, true liberty, and the treasures that flow from them. It can receive from them energy, the strength and power of male instincts, the taste for greatness, the ability for loyalty. That precious exchange would save, would lift our people back up by the harmonious use of wills and of the virtues of all her children.<sup>81</sup>

This 'precious exchange,' made possible by a sort of marriage or indissoluble union between the bourgeoisie and proletariat had the bourgeoisie ultimately in a passive role.<sup>82</sup> For Blanc, the bourgeoisie participated almost exclusively because of its present possession of wealth and power; all the animating virtues were dependent on the male proletariat. For example, the reference to 'education' was a reference to public education, something Blanc had earlier condemned the bourgeoisie for failing to provide properly.<sup>83</sup> Blanc was therefore stating that the bourgeoisie, even though they had failed at creating a proper education system, were in a position to make one a reality for the benefit of the proletariat. He did the same thing with his reference to liberty. Blanc was clear that the bourgeoisie did not possess real liberty. Rather, according to Blanc, what they had was more along the lines of despotism.<sup>84</sup> His reference to real liberty in this section was therefore only potential and based on their incorporation of the people's virtue. It was also consistent with Blanc's ascription of true masculinity to the proletariat. The liberal bourgeois regime had gendered liberty as masculine; Blanc had in this case denied them this characteristic, since those driven by 'selfish and business-oriented' passions were the opposite of those driven by the 'masculine and radiant'.<sup>85</sup>

All of this heightens with the masculinity clearly ascribed to the proletariat in the second part of the paragraph. In Blanc's view, the proletariat possessed energy, the strength and power of male instincts (*la puissance des mâles instincts*), the appetite for greatness, as well as the ability for loyalty. As such, Blanc clearly used gender to complement his political polemic. Further, it was not only about justice for workers, but also about the European greatness of a regenerated France that presently lacked its masculinity, of which the male proletariat was in possession. Fraternity and thus true masculinity, found only in the proletariat, was what France had needed. Blanc therefore finished his work by articulating a 'virile hope'. This hope, which kept them going during the unhappy work of describing all France's evils, was 'that fraternity, the



source of all sustainable strength and justice, would succeed our heartbreak, and that France will finally take back her influence over the affairs of the world, for the benefit of civilization, and for the salvation (*salut*) of oppressed peoples'.<sup>86</sup> It would also produce, in turn, a greater world.

## Conclusion

Foregrounding the *mentalité* that associated ruling elites with the masculine quality of the state makes Blanqui's and Blanc's gendering of class and political ideology more than generic gender stereotyping. The result of intersecting class and gender so definitively is to require that all significant class critique of the state includes discussions of masculinity. One sees this discourse foreshadowed in the Old Regime, present during the first Revolution, and recreated in the July Monarchy.<sup>87</sup> When the bourgeoisie rose to power in 1830, they, as ruling elites, became the possessors of sovereignty and inherited the role of national and masculine representation. This logic inspired Blanqui and Blanc to compare the masculinity of the proletariat with that of the bourgeoisie. Blanqui's six-foot, glorious, and selfless workers were pure-blooded. This was especially relevant in a society that feared moral and physical degeneration and was anxious about its place in European politics. Since the Old Regime nobility functioned as a bulwark against moral, cultural, and physical decay, as well as being a model of masculinity, Blanqui was suggesting a similar function for the proletariat. As the argument went, the male bourgeoisie had failed at this task in the July Monarchy: they were physically lacking and their selfishness made them psychologically unable to live for France. Ultimately, they had become effeminate, like the nobility during the first Revolution. As such, it was the male proletariat, the truly masculine, who should now take the reins of power and influence. With this, Blanc agreed, showing that what the bourgeoisie lacked was 'the strength and power of male instincts,' and the 'masculine and radiant' qualities of the workers. Pointing to the sans-culotte and muscadin skirmishes, Blanc saw the gendered contrasts between the workers and bourgeoisie, which allowed him to order his understanding of the politics of the July Monarchy. In all, for Blanqui and Blanc, the male proletariat, possessing the virility of France, was a new elite to replace the bourgeoisie. Indeed, they were a new brand of men to take over for the degenerating and effeminate bourgeoisie.

## Notes

- 1 Auguste Blanqui, *Défense du citoyen Louis Auguste Blanqui devant la Cour d'assises: 1832*, Paris, 1832, pp.13, 14.
- 2 Claude Marie Raudot, *De La Décadence de la France*, Paris, 1850, p.24.
- 3 Randolph Miller, "A new brand of men": masculinity in French republican socialist rhetoric.' PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2018.
- 4 R. W. Connell, *Masculinities*, Berkeley, CA ,2005, p.77.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p.77.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p.81.
- 7 *Ibid.*, p.75.
- 8 Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, New York, 1993.
- 9 The presence of this dynamic is certainly attested to in the work of Jill Harsin who cites the work of July Monarchy cartoonists, who were fond of presenting strong juxtapositions of the proletariat and bourgeoisie. The defining feature of contrast was the physical size and strength of the workers and the feminine features of the bourgeoisie whose bodies were not hardened and expanded with muscle by the challenges of hard labour with their hands. See Honoré Daumier, *Ne vous y frottez pas*, 1834, in Gabriel P. Weisberg, *Social concern and the worker; French prints from 1830-1910*, Salt Lake City, UT, 1973, p.53. See caricature by Henri Monnier in which the bourgeois male was wide as he was round, in C. Philippeon, *La Caricature, journal fondé et dirigé*, Vol. 1, Paris, 1831, p.5. In Nicolas-Toussaint Charlet's, *Middle Class, Strong Class*, 1840, a muscular worker stands next to a thin and frail member of the bourgeoisie. Michael Driskel identifies a 'soft/hard' motif here. Michael Driskel, 'The Proletarian's Body: Charlet's Representations of social class during the July monarchy', in Gabriel P. Weisberg and Petra t-D. Chu, *The popularization of images*, Princeton, NJ, 1994, pp.83-84. The *Almanach du Père Peinard* depicts a round bourgeois man being feed by two thin men on each knee. Emile Pouget, *L'Almanach du Père Peinard*, Paris, 1984, p.55. Working-class republicanism, '...represented a challenge to the hegemonic masculinity of the period: the spirit of the businessmen and the bosses, the middle class respectability that placed a new emphasis on personal advancement and self enrichment.' Jill Harsin, *Barricades: The War of the Streets in Revolutionary Paris, 1830-1848*, New York, 2002, p.10.
- 10 P. Roberts, 'The kingdom's two bodies? corporeal rhetoric and royal authority during the religious wars', *Fr. Hist*, 21, 2007, pp.147-164; Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton, NJ, 1957.
- 11 Roberts, 'Bodies', p.150.

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- 12 T. Reeser, 'Ruling the hermaphrodites: masculinity, sovereignty and national identity in political discourse', in *Moderating Masculinity in Early Modern Culture*, pp.235-265, Chapel Hill, NC, 2006, pp.235-265.
  - 13 M. Linton, *The politics of virtue in enlightenment France*, New York, 2001, p.26.
  - 14 Antoine de Baccque, *The Body Politic: Corporeal metaphor in revolutionary France, 1770-1800*, trans. Charlotte Mandell, Stanford, CA, 1997, p.8.
  - 15 *Ibid.*, p101.
  - 16 Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture*, New Haven, CT, 1989, p.4.
  - 17 The use of bodily metaphors by revolutionaries, which they continued from the *ancien régime*, drew on fears of individual and state degeneration within French society. This flowed from the idea that sovereignty, once found in the king's body, transferred to the people. As such, these bodily metaphors worked well for the articulation of revolutionary ideology and goals. See Penny Roberts, 'The Kingdom's Two Bodies? Corporeal Rhetoric and Royal Authority during the Religious Wars,' *French History*, 21, 2, 2007, pp.147-164; Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*; Outram, *Body*, p.159; de Baccque, *Body Politic*, pp.90-104; Sean Quinlan, *The Great Nation in Decline: sex, modernity and health crises in revolutionary France, 1750-1850*, Burlington, VT, 2007; Michael Winston, 'Medicine, marriage, and human degeneration in the French enlightenment,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38, 2005 pp.263-281; Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: a European disorder, 1848-1918*, Cambridge, 1989, pp.44-59, 67-106. See also Outram, 'Body', pp.44-67, for her discussion on the Medical Revolution of the Eighteenth-Century. One can see the underlying Parisian fears concerning health during the eighteenth century in the move to create the catacombs. Erin-Marie Legacey, 'The Paris catacombs: remains and reunion beneath the postrevolutionary city.' *French Historical Studies*, 40, 2017, pp.511-513.
  - 18 Roberts, 'Bodies', p.150.
  - 19 A. Jouanna, *Ordre social: mythes et hiérarchies dans la France du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1977, pp.8, 15-16. See also D. Cox, 'The knight and the courtier: The meaning of masculinity among the warrior aristocracy in France from the 100 Years' War to the Wars of Religion' PhD, Purdue University, 2008, pp.22-23; R. M. Karras, *From Boys to Men: formations of masculinity in late medieval Europe*, Philadelphia, 2003, p.60.
  - 20 One of the revolutionaries' favorite symbols for the king was a pygmy. W. Roberts, *Jacques-Louis David and Jean-Louis Prieur, Revolutionary Artists: The public, the populace, and images of the French revolution*, Albany, 2000, p.306; R. Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: representations of dress in revolutionary France*, Oxford, 2002, p.208; de Baccque, *Body Politic*, p.311.
  - 21 S. Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France*, Berkeley, CA, 2004, p.87;

- N. Fermon, 'Domesticating women, civilizing men: Rousseau's political program', *Socio. Q.*, 35, 1994, pp.431-442; J. B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: gender, representation, and revolution in eighteenth-century France*, Ithaca, 2001, p.73; D. Outram, 'Le langage male de la vertu: women and the discourse of the French revolution', in P. Burke and R. Porter, eds, *The Social History of Language*, Cambridge, 1987, pp.120-135; J. Schwartz, *The Sexual Politics of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, Chicago, 1984, p.62; J. Jennings, 'The debate about luxury in eighteenth and nineteenth-century French political thought', *Jl. Hist. Ideas*, 68, 2007, pp.79-105; J. M. Jones, 'Repackaging Rousseau: femininity and fashion in ancien régime France', *Fr. Hist. St.*, 18, 1994, pp.939-967; D. Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime*, trans. Jean Birrell, Cambridge, 1994, pp.116, 459; J. M. Jones, *Sexing La Mode: gender, fashion and commercial culture in ancien régime France*, Oxford, 2004, p.5.
- 22 Jeremy Jennings, 'The Debate about Luxury in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century French Political Thought', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 68, 2007, p.87.
- 23 S. Quinlan, *The Great Nation in Decline: Sex, Modernity and Health Crises in Revolutionary France, 1750-1850*, Burlington, VT, 2007, pp.19-51; Patrice Higonnet, *Goodness Beyond Virtue: Jacobins during the French revolution*, Cambridge, MA, 1998, p.245.
- 24 Emmanuel Sieyès, *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?*, Paris, 1888, p.30.
- 25 Antoine de Baecque, in his work on the meaning of *régénération* during the Revolution, wrote that 'L'homme nouveau est bon, il est aussi vigoureux et énergique.' A. de Baecque, 'L'homme nouveau est arrivé. La 'régénération' du Français en 1789', *Dix-huitième Siècle*, 20, 1988, pp.193-208.
- 26 Lucien Jaume, 'Le public et le privé' chez les Jacobins (1789-1794)', *Revue Française de Science Politique, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques*, 37, 1987, pp.230-248.
- 27 Higonnet, *Goodness*, p.245. Landes, *Visualizing*, p.120.
- 28 Patrice Higonnet, "'Aristocrate", "Aristocratie": language and politics in the French Revolution,' in Sandy Petrey, ed., *The French Revolution 1789-1989: Two Hundred Years of Rethinking*, Lubbock, 1989, pp.47-66.
- 29 Joel Schwartz, *The Sexual Politics of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, Chicago, 1984, pp.65-66, 74.
- 30 Higonnet, *Goodness*, p.195; Miller, 'New brand of men', p.76.
- 31 Miller, 'New brand of men', pp.78-79.
- 32 Both Robert Nye and Christopher Forth have shown how the bourgeoisie of the later nineteenth century had taken on the characteristics of a new nobility and adopted many of the features of the traditional nobility. See Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, Oxford, 1993, pp.72-97; C. Forth, *The Dreyfus Affair and the Crisis of French Manhood*, Baltimore, 2004. In particular, the bourgeoisie were considered a 'bulwark' against cultural de-

- generation and effeminacy. See Davis Bitton, *The French Nobility in Crisis*, Stanford, CA, 1969, p.74; Nye, *Masculinity*, pp.77, 81. See also Philippe Contamine, 'De la puissance aux privilèges: doléances de la noblesse française envers la monarchie aux XIVe et XVe siècles', in *La Noblesse Au Moyen Age XI-XVe Siècles Essais a la mémoire de Robert Boutruche*, Paris, 1976, p.255. The curious popularity of the duel amongst the bourgeoisie of the Third Republic also speaks to this phenomenon. See Nye, *Masculinity*, pp.172-216; Edward Berenson, *The Trial of Madame Caillaux*, Berkeley, CA, 1992; A. Mansker, *Sex, Honor, and Citizenship in Early Third Republic France*, London, 2011.
- 33 Quinlan, *Nation*, p.116. Mona Ozouf, 'La révolution française et l'idée de l'homme nouveau', in Colin Lucas, ed., *The Political Culture of the French Revolution, Vol. 2: The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture*, Oxford, 1988, pp.213-232.
- 34 Blanqui, *Défense*, p.9.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p.8.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p.11.
- 37 *Ibid.*, p.11.
- 38 It is further reflected in surgeon and future mayor of the old 12th arrondissement of Paris, Ulysse Trélat, who applied the term 'eunuch' to the bourgeoisie who compromised with royalty to establish the *juste milieu* of the July Monarchy. Ulysse Trélat, *Anniversaire des 27, 28, 29 juillet 1830*, Paris, 1831, p.5.
- 39 The use of 'eunuch' and 'hermaphrodite' to describe people and ideologies that compromised republicanism and sought a middle way was popular into the 1850s. See 'Le Aimable Foubourien, Février – Octobre, 1848', in Gaëtan Delmas, ed., *Curiosités révolutionnaires. Les journaux rouges: histoire critique de tous les journaux ultra-républicains publiés à Paris depuis le 24 février jusqu'au 1er octobre 1848*, Paris, 1848, pp.27-28; J. B. Bernard, 'J. B. Bernard, 27 août 1859', in *Lettres et protestations sur l'amnistie du 17 août 1859*, Lausanne, 1859, p.19, repr. in *Les révolutions du XIXe siècle, 1852-1872, Vol.1, Les républicains sous le Second Empire*, Paris, 1984; E. Coeurderoy et O. Vauthier, eds, *La barrière du combat, ou dernier grand assaut qui vient de se livrer entre les citoyens Mazçzini, Ledrurollin, Louis Blanc, Etienne Cabet, Pierre Leroux, Martin Nadaud, Malarmet, A. Bianchi et autres Hercules du Nord*, Bruxelles, 1852, p.1, repr. in *Les révolutions du XIXe siècle, 1852-1872. 1, Les républicains sous le Second Empire*, Paris, 1988.
- 40 Blanqui, *Défense*, p.11.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p.12.
- 42 *Ibid.*, pp.9, 11, 12.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p.12.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p.13.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p.13.

- 46 Ibid., p.13.
- 47 L.-Ernest Crevel, *La Révolution de 1830 : poème dédié aux héros de Juillet*, Paris, 1831, p.10.
- 48 Blanqui, *Défense*, p.14.
- 49 Patrick H. Hutton. *The Cult of the Revolutionary Tradition: The Blanquists in French politics, 1864-1893*, Berkeley, CA, 1981, pp.22, 23.
- 50 Blanqui, *Défense*, p.14.
- 51 Ibid., p.14.
- 52 Ibid., p.6.
- 53 'L'Assemblée Nationale', *L'Organisation du Travail, Journal des Ouvriers*. June 3, 1848, 'Aux de Sans Culottes', *Bonnet Rouge*, June 11, 1848, repr. in *Les révolutions du XIXe siècle: 1848, la révolution démocratique et sociale, Tome 10*, Paris, 1984; Mathieu, '9 Avril, 1848—16 Avril, 1848,' *La Montagne*, April 21, 1848.
- 54 F. Cantegrel, 'L'Association et le chômage. Discours du citoyen F. Cantagrel au banquet de l'Association des patrons et ouvriers arçonniers et compte rendu de ce banquet', *Démocratique Pacifique*, Nov. 13, 1848, repr. in *Les révolutions du XIXe siècle: 1848, la révolution démocratique et sociale, Tome 9*, Paris, 1984; C. Lemaître, 'Pages Inspirées: Par L'anniversaire de Mai,' *La Revue Socialiste*, Vol. 5, Paris, 1887, p.563.
- 55 Salih Emre Gerçek, 'The "Social Question" as a Democratic Question: Louis Blanc's Organization of Labor', *Modern Intellectual History*, 20, no. 2, 2023, pp.388-416.
- 56 Blanc, *Dix Ans*, i, p.192.
- 57 Ibid., p.217.
- 58 Ibid., pp.217-218.
- 59 Ibid., p.69.
- 60 Both Blanqui and Blanc were influenced by Buonarroti. See P. Hutton, *The Cult of the Revolutionary Tradition*, Berkeley, CA, 1981, p.21; L. Loubère, *Louis Blanc: His Life and his Contribution to the Rise of French Jacobin-Socialism*, Evanston, IL, 1961; Jean-Francois Jacouty, 'Robespierre selon Louis Blanc: Le Prophète Christique de la Révolution Française.' *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, 331, 2003, pp.105-127. See also Arthur Lehning, 'Buonarroti and his International Secret Societies', *Int. Rev. Soc. Hist.* 1, 1956, pp.112-140.
- 61 Blanc, *Dix Ans*, i, p.48.
- 62 Blanc, *Histoire de la Révolution Française*, Paris, 1865, Vol. ii, p.559.
- 63 Francois Gendron, *The Gilded Youth of Thermidor*, trans. James Cookson, Montréal, 1993, pp.11, 101.
- 64 *Le nouveau Paris*, Vol. 4, Paris, 1800, p.50; Gendron, *Gilded*, p.13.
- 65 Gendron, *Gilded*, pp.33, 36, 54-55. G. Lefebvre, *The Thermidorians and The Directory: Two phases of the French Revolution*, trans. Robert Baldick, New York, 1964, pp.229, 230.

- 66 Elizabeth Amann, *Dandyism in the Age of Revolution: The art of the cut*, Chicago, 2015, p.96.
- 67 Gendron, *Gilded*, p.120.
- 68 Blanc, *Révolution*, ii, pp.559-560.
- 69 *Ibid.*, p.616.
- 70 Blanc here means both the *Incroyables* and *Merveilleux*.
- 71 Blanc, *Révolution*, ii, p.597.
- 72 *Ibid.*, p.639.
- 73 Blanc, *Dix Ans*, i, pp.165-166.
- 74 Blanc, *Dix Ans*, ii, pp.337-338; Blanc, *Dix Ans*, iv, p.244.
- 75 Blanc, *Dix Ans*, iii, pp.445-446.
- 76 Blanc, *Dix Ans*, iv, p.381.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p.405.
- 78 Blanqui, *Défense*, p.1.
- 79 Blanc, *Dix Ans*, v, p.466.
- 80 *Ibid.*, p.507.
- 81 *Ibid.*, p.474.
- 82 'elle s'unisse à lui d'une manière indissoluble', *ibid.*, p.474.
- 83 Blanc, *Dix Ans*, iv, p.85.
- 84 Blanc, *Dix Ans*, v, p.468.
- 85 Blanc, *Dix Ans*, i, p.48.
- 86 Blanc, *Dix Ans*, v, p.474.
- 87 See Miller, 'New brand of men'.