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‘In the West of traditions, 1793 was yesterday’: Royalism at the 1889 Decennial Exhibition

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Speaking to a journalist one day in October 1969, the Baroness Madeleine Charette de la Contrie remarked, ‘the same slight rain is falling as did on the morning of the execution.’[1] Not incidentally, that execution was the subject of a painting taking up an entire wall in the Baroness’ Louis XV-style living room in Nantes, which likely coloured her interpretation regarding that fateful day’s rain (fig. 1). In the painting, completed in 1883 by the Parisian artist Julien Le Blant (1851–1936), François-Athanase Charette

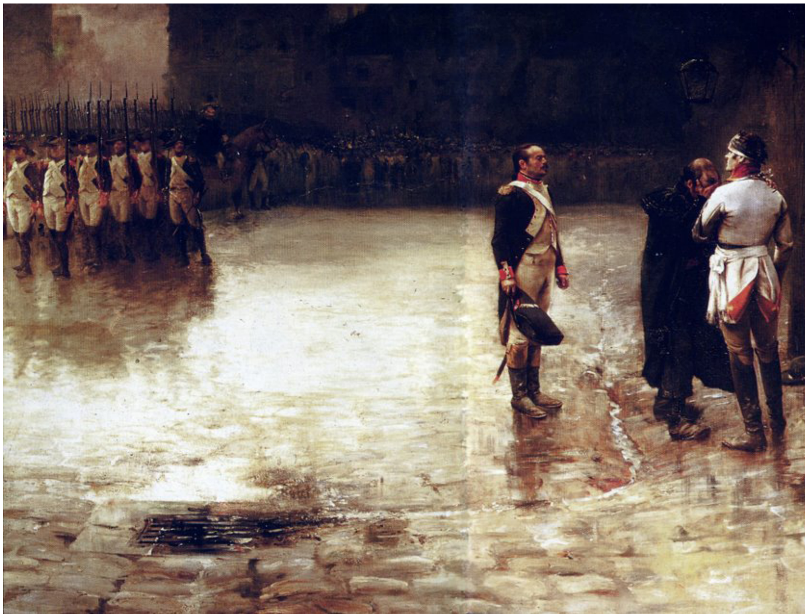

Figure 1 Julien Le Blant, *The Execution of Charette*, 1883, oil on canvas, 160 × 280 cm (63 × 110.2 in), private collection.

de la Contrie, a naval lieutenant made commander of the royalist forces, stands with his back to the viewer in a white coat. Over one-hundred and fifty years after the first French Revolution, and the ensuing civil war of 1793 in the Vendée that set republicans and counterrevolutionary monarchists against one another, the Baroness' language speaks to residual grievance. The journalist's chosen subtitle for the article, 'In the West of traditions, 1793 was yesterday,' encapsulates the region's counterrevolutionary ethos.[2] The Baroness continued, 'Those who massacred us are branded with a red-hot iron. Those who made their fortune with the property of the Church and the nobility will never enter in my living room.'[3] Collapsing the distance between the revolutionary years of the 1790s and those of the late 1960s, the Baroness' attitude towards inheritors of France's revolutionary history speaks to the role the civil wars in the Vendée played, and continue to play, in the politics of memory in France.

The last time the Charette family's cherished painting had been in Paris was the centennial year of 1889, at which time the painting had been praised across the political spectrum. The 1889 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris is today best known for the construction of the Eiffel Tower and for its projection of French colonial power. Less well known are the paintings that formed an essential part of its political agenda, particularly those that actively commemorated the French Revolution. Le Blant's *Execution of Charette*, did not initially live in a conservative echo chamber. Its incorporation into the fine arts display in 1889 reflected both the artist's reputation in the capital and the centrist Opportunist Republicans' need to ameliorate conservative voters ahead of their fall elections. That year, the centre-left faced a difficult re-election fight against the combined forces of monarchism and the revanchist General Boulanger. The festivities held to honour the legacy of the French Revolution reflected this political situation. Counterrevolutionary pictures such as Le Blant's *Charette* trouble the idea of a universal republic, which forces a unified national memory upon a fragmented French history.[4] As monarchists believed the changes inaugurated in 1789 reflected a 'deicide of the social order,' the world's fair organizers took pains to barely mention the Revolution at all.[5] However, the events of the 1790s were not wholly absent from the Decennial Exhibition a century later and the event's incongruous and as of yet unstudied approach to revolutionary history, a blend of leftist and conservative histories, is telling of how centrists build political coalitions.

The frenzied debate over Vendéen history that continues to this day, as evidenced by right-wing revisionist histories like that of Reynald Secher, makes concrete numbers difficult to find, but the estimated 200,000 lives lost or displaced between 1792 and 1802 is an immense toll in a sparsely populated region.[6] A recent archaeological dig at a mass grave in Le Mans, the site of a December 1793 battle, uncovered the civilian toll of this conflict fought between the Revolutionary Army and the Catholic and Royal Army of the Vendée. They found that 31% of the bodies were sexed female and a further 13% were teens or children, evidence that this conflict engulfed the whole of France's western regions.[7] Tensions in the Vendée simmered beneath the surface during the early years of the Revolution. In 1791, a new Constitution was drawn up inaugurating male suffrage, but limited to those who could pay a poll tax; this excluded five-sixths of the French population.[8] The National Assembly's restrictions on the Catholic Church were especially controversial in the West. The enforcement of 1790's Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which subordinated the Church to the State, a new system of taxation that burdened the urban and rural poor disproportionately, and the mass conscription effort decreed in August 1793 all contributed to the outbreak of war.[9] The Parisian Jacobin response was swift and resulted in both pitched battles and mass executions. This included group drownings on the Loire River once the Parisian emissary Jean-Baptiste Carrier determined firing squads and guillotines were too slow.[10] It is estimated that Carrier's 'reign of Terror' in Nantes in the fall of 1793 resulted in 4,000 deaths.[11]

The protagonist of Le Blant's painting, François-Athanase Charette de la Contrie, was born at his family's château in Couffé in the Loire-Atlantique department in 1763. Charette was initially reluctant to get involved in the insurgency, but by April 1793, he had taken up a leadership position at the urging of local lay leaders and clerics.[12] He had served briefly as a lieutenant during the American Revolutionary War and was named general of the rebel forces with some haste. He soon had to abandon pitched battles that sought to conquer land and strategic supply lines in favor of guerrilla tactics.[13] The Jacobin General Louis Turreau, whose 'infernal columns' spent the early months of 1794 burning Vendéen territory and executing civilians, called Charette 'an invisible enemy.'[14] The Vendéen attempts to beat the revolutionary army, however, tactically ended late in 1793. The infernal columns were very helpful for Charette's recruitment efforts, but poor communication with his

fellow royalist generals and a broken treaty ultimately saw Charette become a hunted man.[15] After his small party's campfire was spotted in the brush, Charette was captured by a revolutionary search party, which brought him to Nantes for a quick sentencing and execution.[16] His execution by firing squad on 29 March 1796, was a definitive coda to the Vendéen revolt, and it is that scene that Le Blant captured nearly a century after the fact.

Charette has had an afterlife far longer than his thirty-two years on Earth. The battle over his memory emerged shortly after his death, with contradictory royalist memoirs penned both by supportive former soldiers and other adversarial royalist leaders and their families.[17] The positive image won out, likely as a result of the Charette family's marriage into the House of Bourbon, and took shape during the Bourbon Restoration.[18] Paulin Jean-Baptiste Guérin created a posthumous 1819 portrait of Charette as part of a cycle of Vendéen generals for King Louis XVIII's château at Saint-Cloud (fig. 2). The Restoration sanctified Charette's memory; in 1826, the duchesse de Berry, mother of the Bourbon heir, donated funds for a perpetual mass to be said in Charette's name in eighty Vendéen parishes south of the Loire River, 'for the cause of religion and the monarchy,' a phrase so associated with the Charette family and the wars in the Vendée that 'for his God and King' were etched onto a related family memorial in Legé.[19] Lastly, François-Athanase's great-nephew Athanase Charette de la Contrie was supportive of the suppression of the Paris Commune in 1871.[20] For fear of the Communard propaganda that could be created out of the resurrection of the Vendéen army, President Thiers barred the western troops from participating in the destruction of the Commune.[21] He could not, however, stop the press from reporting on Charette's intentions to attack Paris, nor the anarcho-communist Communard press from invoking the memories of 1793 as a recruiting tool.[22]

What began as a painfully divisive moment in French revolutionary history quickly became a weapon to be employed exclusively by the French right against their left-leaning opponents, who celebrated the French Revolution as the beginning of the modern French Republic. This is most evident in Reynald Secher's polarising book of 1986 entitled, *A French Genocide: The Vendée*, which likens the actions of the National Convention to those of the totalitarian mass murderers of the twentieth century, erasing the internecine nature of the Vendéen wars. His advisor Pierre Chaunu compared the actions of republican troops to the savagery of SS officers.[23] This argument

Figure 2 Paulin Jean-Baptiste Guérin, *François Athanase Charette de la Contrie (1763–1796), General in Chief of the Vendéen Armies*, 1819, oil on canvas, 216 × 140 cm (85 × 55.1 in), Musée d'art et d'histoire de Cholet.

was echoed within broader conservative circles; in 1987, the editor of the conservative *Le Figaro* wrote, 'Let us be done with the French Revolution.'[24] This counterrevolutionary attitude was embraced in the West, where a tribute exhibition to Louis XVI in Cholet coincided with the 1989 bicentennial of the Revolution. Back in Paris, President Mitterrand organised a parade featuring all regions of France alongside representatives of its former colonies aimed at cultivating a tolerably multicultural scene that predictably incensed the right, which the recently re-elected Mitterrand could afford to do.[25] In 1989, he had just won a declarative presidential victory over Jacques Chirac's Rally for the Republic and leftist parties avenged their 1986 losses in the National Assembly. The bicentennial festivities were a visual manifestation of Mitterrand's *A United France is on the March* campaign slogan, offering a fantasy of consensual republican universalism that eliminated all mention of the Terror and the brutality of French imperialism.[26] Conversely, the festivities held one hundred years prior to honour the legacy of the French Revolution reflected the instability of the polarised electorate by minimising the events of the Revolution altogether. In 1889 there were fewer than two dozen pictures with a revolutionary theme in the Decennial Exhibition, which was a toast to the past decade's Salon highlights, and nine were Vendée-themed paintings, a strong indication that the Opportunist government sought to minimise any potential political blowback from the right by acknowledging their strongest critique of the Revolution.[27]

As soon as the fair opened, the historian Maurice Tourneux lamented that 'nothing at the Champs de Mars or the Trocadéro would recall that this prodigious deployment of national activity has at its origin the celebration of the centenary of 1789.'[28] His disenchantment with the official, centre-left centennial led him to serve as publicist for a counter-centenary in the Louvre, which organised artworks from private lenders depicting major moments of the Revolution in chronological order. A chronological history of the Revolution was not the guiding principle of the Universal Exposition. A view of the fair's layout clearly shows a halo of non-Western and prehistoric exhibits around the central Eiffel Tower, pavilions of Fine and Liberal Arts, and the Gallery of Machines. In his guidebook of the Exposition, the journalist Camille Debans suggested that visitors give themselves ten days to see everything, starting across the Seine at the Palais du Trocadéro, home to an ethnographic museum, then passing through the History of Habitation

exhibit and the pavilions of the Americas, not visiting the Palace of Fine Arts until day four.[29] Deborah Silverman's analysis of the site, with its placement of the public assistance and social economy exhibits close to the colonial 'human zoos,' concludes that the Opportunists wanted to highlight the Republic's control over both indigenous peoples from the French *Outre-mer* and working-class French people.[30] Debans' scheduling for the French exhibits takes five days, culminating in a visit to the Gallery of Machines, which supports the idea that the world's fair was primarily intended to cement France's position as a technologically advanced power rather than look back to the Revolution.[31] The Centennial and Decennial exhibitions of fine art were a small, but key portion that helped reassert the French belief in their own cultural supremacy. As of yet, despite a wealth of scholarship on world's fairs the revolutionary paintings in these displays have not been analysed for their contribution to the Opportunists' messaging through the Universal Exposition.[32]

The artworks on display often acknowledged political division, subtly paying homage to France's separate voting blocs within a government-sanctioned event. The uneasy political marriage between the monarchists and the self-styled populist General Boulanger underpinned many of the decisions made for the centennial's display of fine arts.[33] The Opportunists ensured that the jury for the Decennial Exhibition was made up of a mixture of administration officials who understood the political stakes and aesthetically conservative artists who removed works with an inappropriate 'nature' from the final display.[34] The fine arts display was divided into the Decennial and Centennial Exhibitions. The former celebrated the art created since the previous Parisian world's fair in 1878.[35] It was intended to counter the anti-academic presentation in the Centennial organised by Antonin Proust, a former Minister of Arts under the leftist Gambetta government. Paintings for the Decennial were selected by a jury led by the academicians Ernest Meissonier, acting in the role of President, and vice-president William-Adolphe Bouguereau, who selected Naturalist pictures that had earned good reviews at previous Salons and espoused a variety of political viewpoints. With this context in mind, the ostensibly legible politics of Le Blant's *Charette* can be considered in a new light, for the painting epitomises the centrist compromise regarding revolutionary imagery in the Decennial exhibition.

Julien Le Blant's *Charette*, first exhibited at the Salon of 1883, was part of a significant revival of Vendéen scenes in Salon painting in the late nineteenth century. The leading scholar of the Vendée, Jean-Clément Martin, estimates that between 1850 and 1913, ninety Vendée-themed pictures were submitted to the annual Salon, which amounts to an average of four to nine per year.[36] This rate increased between 1880 and 1883, a result of the polarised reaction to the radical Republicans' enactment of a law pronouncing Bastille Day as the national holiday and *La Marseillaise* as the national anthem.[37] These direct invocations of 1789, the year a Parisian crowd stormed the Bastille prison, and 1792, the year Rouget de Lisle wrote the song that became the national anthem, reinforced the monarchists' perception of lost status in society. The back-to-back conservative losses of the Chamber of Deputies in 1878 and the Senate in 1879 led to legislative efforts to remove the Catholic Church from its role in public education and the symbolic enshrining of a national song featuring lyrics about 'traitors and conspiring kings' with 'impure blood.' The leftist Republicans' unapologetic embrace of the first French Revolution triggered a monarchist political counter-reaction that drew upon the right's deepest well of grievance – the Vendéen civil wars.[38] Vendéen imagery was also a way for artists who had lived through the Commune of 1871, or who like Le Blant served in the Franco-Prussian War, to come to grips with that trauma without having their work removed from display, as many paintings were over the course of the 1870s, when the conservative French government negotiated terms with the victorious Prussians and diplomatic tensions were high.[39] As the paintings of Alexandre Bloch (fig. 3) and François Flameng (fig. 4) show, painters also engaged with the republican telling of Vendéen history, perhaps so as not to cede ground to their political opponents. Le Blant's own politics remain unknown, despite suggestions of his own Vendéen ancestry on unsourced websites. Like so many artists at the time he capitalised on the era's polarisation to create pictures that were assured to stand out amongst royalist buyers. Le Blant's pictures also have elements that would appeal to the Parisian audiences at the annual Salons, such as a lack of overt religiosity. The result was an image of the Revolution of 1789 that combined disparate political philosophies into a single display. With this context in mind, we can turn to the painting itself, which depicts events that took place at the end of the Vendéen guerrilla campaign.

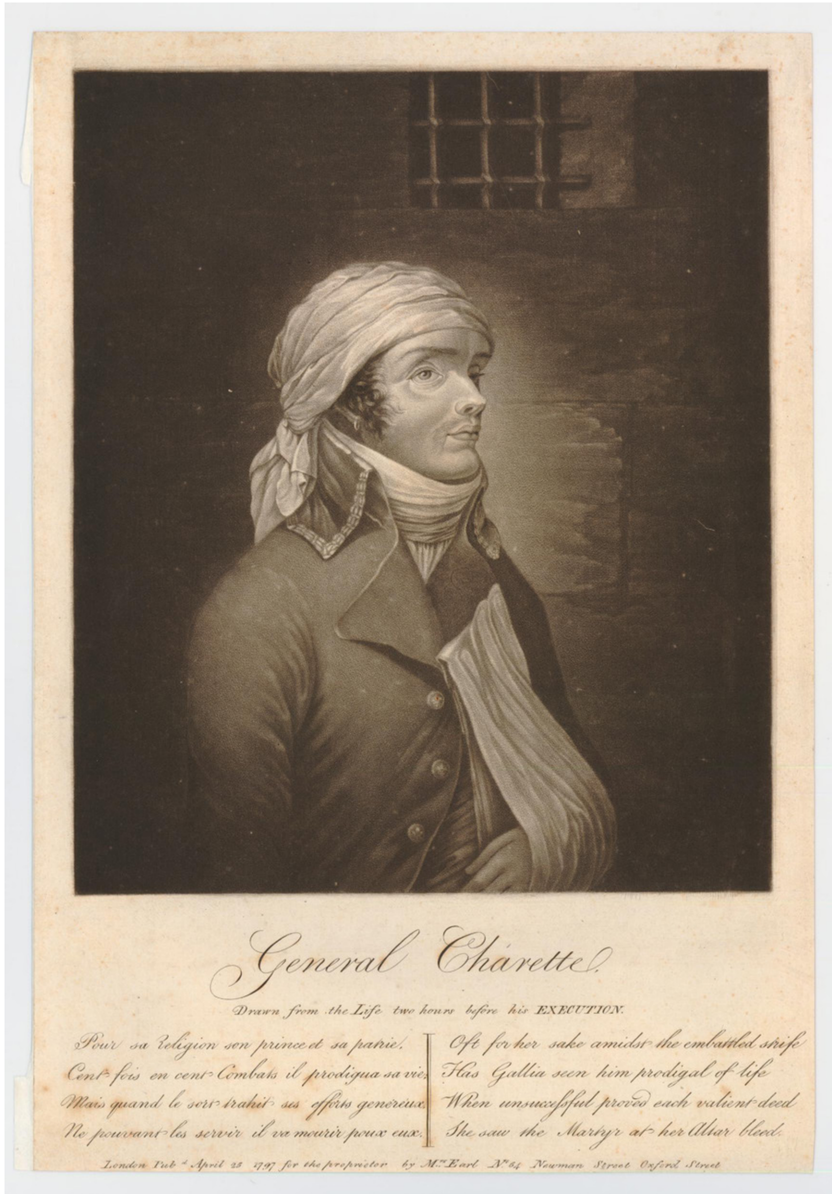

Figure 3 Unknown artist, General Charette, Drawn from life two hours before his execution, "published April 25, 1797 for the proprietor by Mrs. Earl No. 64 Newman Street, Oxford Street," mezzotint, 328 × 225 mm (12.9 × 8.9 in), Prints and Drawings Department, British Museum.

Figure 4 Alexandre Bloch, *The Death of General Beaupuy*, 1888, oil on canvas, 200 × 160 cm (78.7 × 63 in), Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rennes.

On the evening of March 29th, 1796, the leader of the Vendéen forces was brought to the Place Viarmes in Nantes and executed in front of a large crowd.[40] The site reeks of death in Le Blant's image. Three years prior to Charette's execution there, another royalist military leader, Jacques Cathelineau, had been shot by a sniper upon entering the square. Cathelineau succumbed to his wound on July 14th. Le Blant highlights the

Figure 5 François Flameng, *The Massacre of Machecoul–10 March 1793*, 1884, oil on canvas, 500 × 650 cm (196.85 × 255.91 in), Musée d'art et d'histoire de Cholet.

site's ominousness with his placement of a sewer drain in the foreground. It recalls the watery deaths Carrier inflicted upon the populace of Nantes and the guillotine he set up to bring the region to heel. In December 1793, that guillotine had made victims of Charette's cousins, a scene depicted in an 1838 by Auguste-Hyacinthe Debay (1804–65).[41] Though less macabre than that scene, Le Blant's use of reddish-brown touches of paint evoking rivulets of blood flowing into the drain foreshadows the execution to come. The silvery stream connects not only Charette and the drain, but also divides the royalist from his republican counterpart and guides the eye back to the watching crowd, effectively connecting the royalist leader and the people of Nantes together. Le Blant's manipulation of light and rain – the same light misty rain remarked upon by the future owner of the painting in that 1969 interview – draws sharp distinctions between the royalist and his republican executioners. The artist often employed apotheotic light sources in his work

to divide the warring factions whose representation he specialised in, as in his Napoleonic battle scene, *The Battle of Fère-Champenoise*. In the *Charette* canvas, Le Blant adapts his motif, eliminating the parting clouds above, so it is less explicitly a religious light. The blindingly white brushwork in the centre of the canvas is disarmingly experimental and dynamic, especially in contrast to the undifferentiated mass of republican soldiers behind it. Charette is readily identifiable, where as the gunmen huddled together behind the arc of light are indistinct – so much so that a caricaturist for *Le Charivari,* in a satirical review of the Salon of 1883, likened the gunmen's duplicative forms to bowling pins about to be mowed down by Charette. Indeed, this contrast in figuration upends the power dynamics of Le Blant's painting highlighting the compositional strength of Charette relative to the faceless firing squad (fig. 6). From Charette's white coat to the painter's use of light and rain effects, Le Blant's canvas sets up a binary distinction between royalists and republicans that had obvious appeal for those already bought in to the Charette myth. And yet, it had cross-party appeal, as evidenced by the strong reviews Le Blant's painting received from critics of varying political persuasions, which would later enable its inclusion in the 1889 *Exposition*.

The most significant concession Le Blant's *Charette* makes to secular members of the viewing public is its distinct lack of clerical content. 1883 was a notable year for Le Blant's Salon career and the royalist movement as well. In August, the royalist pretender Henri, comte de Chambord, the last French Bourbon, died childless at age sixty-two, which left the Orléanist pretender, Philippe, comte de Paris, as the next logical choice for royalists.[42] Despite historical tension between the Bourbons and Orléanists, monarchism had evolved into a social movement with the restoration of the Catholic Church to preeminence as its main goal rather than the crowning of a specific individual.[43] Athanase de Charette, who was a prominent Bourbon supporter descended from King Charles X, understood this political goal. After President Thiers refused to put his troops into action against the Commune, Athanase de Charette retreated to his ancestral château, where he coordinated projects for the church.[44] As previously mentioned, the Charette family motto was 'God and King,' a phrase which was sown into the very fabric of François-Athanase's clothing on the reverse flaps of his grey coat; the white coat painted by Le Blant is a pure fiction.[45] Le Blant did not paint

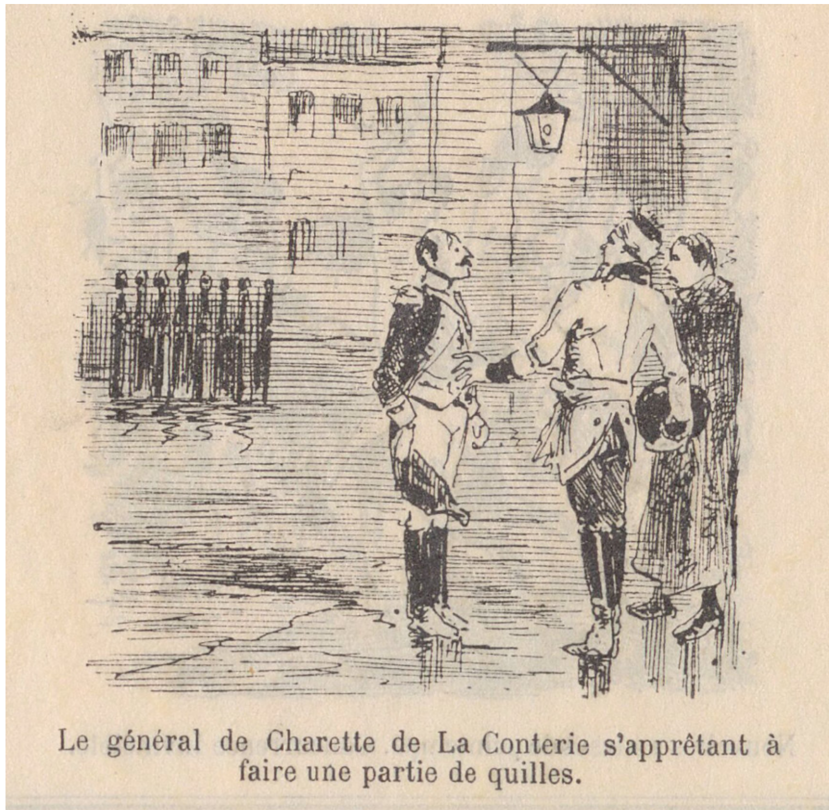

Figure 6 Draner, *Le Blant (J.) / General Charette de La Contrie getting ready for a game of bowling*, Salon of 1883 special issue of *Le Charivari*.

in the embroidered family motto, reducing the religiosity of his version of the scene.

The artist's lack of clericalism was plain for at least one critic in a Salon review for *Révue de la Révolution*, a nationalistic and anti-clerical journal with Bonapartist leanings. Writing about the figure crying on Charette's shoulder, Elie de Mont noted, 'It is evidently a character introduced there by M. Le Blant who, out of a scruple that I highly approve of, did not want to place, at the side of the intrepid Catholic fighter, the sworn priest whose presence had been imposed on him and who had, moreover, put himself aside, as soon as he arrived at the Place Viarmes.'[46] Le Blant's picture enables this kind of reading because it eliminates the priest, abbé Guibert, who prayed

with Charette before his death. Both Anne Bernet, Charette's most recent biographer, and his devoted soldier Le Bouvier-Desmortiers identified abbé Guibert as the last person Charette saw before reportedly giving the signal for his own execution.[47] Charette alone was such a clerical signifier that Le Blant likely felt that the addition of the priest was not necessary. His rendering of the sobbing layperson, likely the royalist army's tailor Boetz who helped Charette before his execution, emphasises the loyalty of Charette's followers. It further makes the picture appealing to a non-clerical audience in addition to those who are already adherents to Charette's story.

Information on Le Blant in newspaper reports of the 1880s was inevitably inflected by their various political slants. The leading Catholic newspaper, *L'Univers*, wrote about Le Blant in a celebratory fashion, although one reviewer in 1889 identified the Parisian artist as a 'bleu', a reference to the blue coats of the republican army.[48] This did not do anything to mute the so-called 'painter of the Vendée's' conservative press coverage.[49] *L'Univers* printed a large engraving of *Charette* in 1883, accompanied by two paragraphs retelling his story.[50] Another review on the front page of the conservative *Le Gaulois* proclaimed that 'This episode, one of the most terrible of the Wars in the Vendée . . . is the subject of a daily pilgrimage . . . where the descendants of the illustrious royalist come for a pious *rendez-vous*.'[51] Though Athanase de Charette's letters do not show that he went to the 1883 Salon, we know that a group of fellow royalists purchased the painting on his behalf that year.[52] Athanase de Charette also exhibited the painting in that year's Triennial Salon, the 1885 *Exposition universelle* in Antwerp, and sent it to Paris again in time for selection by the 1889 jury.[53] Regardless of his own stance on republican politics, it is evident that Athanase de Charette wanted the painting exhibited on the biggest stages, beyond the heartland of royalism.[54] Today, the painting can be seen in projection form at the Charette permanent exhibition at La Logis de la Chabotterie château, which was used as a rest stop on the journey to bring Charette to Nantes for execution. The projection's isolation in a dark room, where it acts as both illustration of history and an eerie, quasi-religious light source, gives the opposite effect of the crowded 1889 display, where Le Blant's painting was one of thousands of works featuring divergent politics.[55]

This story resonates amidst a current climate of right-wing populist backlash in multiple western democracies. The recent French presidential

election had many parallels to that of 1889, emphasising the continuity of this article's themes into the present. Marine Le Pen may not have won in the recent election, but her party performed better than it had at any time since 1969.[56] In his attempt to peel voters away from the right, Macron backed significant concessions to Le Pen's base.[57] Like the centrists of 1889, Macron sought the approval of conservative voters above appealing to the progressive left in the hopes of halting the surging right. Macron granted white Western conservatives literal bread and circuses when he allowed the Vendéen revisionist history theme park Le Puy du Fou to reopen despite rising Coronavirus cases.[58] The park presents western France as the eternal adversary of the Revolution and its political descendants.[59] In a conflation of past and present, their Charette reenactor likened the Coronavirus restrictions to another Parisian attempt to suppress 'freedom' and 'exterminate the Vendéean race.'[60]

Charette and the other eight paintings of Vendée scenes in the 1889 Decennial are scarcely as explicit as Le Puy du Fou's vision of events. Inflammatory images, like the aforementioned François Flameng painting of the massacre of Machecoul which pinned revolutionary deaths on Charette in a rebuttal of royalist narratives, were assiduously avoided by the Centennial organisers. The Decennial, by assimilating tempered royalist narratives into their campaign messaging, reflected a centrist government's attempt to mitigate right-wing outrage. Whilst the Baroness Madeleine Charette de la Contrie refused republicans entry to her living room lest they be 'branded with a red-hot iron,' it is evident that the Exposition jurors sought images like *Charette* to welcome a broad spectrum of the electorate with a cohesive memory of the Revolution, shorn of its most polemical elements. The *Exposition universelle*, which gave more space to Vendée scenes than pictures of revolutionary icons, provides a case-study in how 'centrist' compromise often means granting significant concessions to the right while hoping the left will hold.

Acknowledgments
The author would like to thank Richard Taws, Tamar Garb, the editorial board of this Journal, and the Departmental Research Bursary.

Notes

1 Jean-Loup Dariel, 'Les Pays de la Loire: "Monsieur Charette commence à mourir" m'a confié le marquis de Goulaine,' *Paris-presse. L'Intransigeant* (October 21, 1969): 8D.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 From their embrace of Jules Michelet's vision of revolutionary history to the use of Ernest Lavisse's textbooks dedicated to French heroes, it is evident that the Third Republic saw itself as inheritor of the legislative reforms and spirit of 1789. As Nora's *Les lieux de mémoire* reveals, the secular republic inaugurated by the Revolution remains the benchmark by which the modern republic is measured as well. See Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–92).

5 So said the Legitimist Bishop of Angers, Monseigneur Charles-Émile Freppel, who published his *The French Revolution on the Centenary of 1789* in the centennial year. Martin Simpson, 'Taming the Revolution? Legitimists and the Centenary of 1789,' *English Historical Review* 120, no. 486 (April 2005): 343.

6 Jean-Clément Martin states that the toll at the height of the fighting was at least 170,000. Martin, 'The Vendée, the *Chouannerie*, and the State, 1791–99' in *A Companion to the French Revolution*, ed., Peter McPhee (London: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2013), 254. He estimates that between 200,000–250,000 people in the region 'disappeared' during the wars. See Martin, *La Vendée et la Révolution: Accepter la mémoire pour écrire l'histoire* (Paris: Perrin, 2007), 67.

7 Usually in graves related to armed conflict, such as the Vilnius mass grave containing bodies from Napoleon's Grand Armée, nearly all the bodies (97%) are morphologically male. Catherine Thèves, Elodie Cabot, Caroline Bouakaze, Pierre Chevet, Éric Crubézy, and Patricia Balaresque, 'About 42% of 154 remains from the "Battle of Le Mans", France (1793) belong to women and children: Morphological and genetic evidence,' *Forensic Science International* 262 (May 2016): 30–36.

8 Edward J. Woell, *Small-Town Martyrs and Murderers: Religious Revolution and Counterrevolution in Western France, 1774–1914* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2006), 103; Ronald Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715–1815* (Berkeley: University of California, 2003), 152. Woell and Schechter differ on how many days' work would be sufficient to pay for active citizenship, with the discrepancy stemming from the fact that Woell focuses on the agrarian labor that dominated in the West and Schechter draws from a broader set of contemporaneous French labor statistics.

9 Woell, *Small-Town Martyrs and Murderers: Religious Revolution and Counterrevolution in Western France*, 95–144; David A. Bell, 'The French Revolution, the Vendée, and Genocide,' *Journal of Genocide Research* 22, no. 1 (2020): 19.

10 James Schmidt, 'Cabbage Heads and Gulps of Water: Hegel on the Terror,' *Political Theory* 26, no. 1 (February 1998): 10.

11 Stanley Loomis, *Paris in the Terror* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1964), 289.

12 The royalist comité of the Vendéen town of Legé wrote to Charette on April 13, 1793, asking him to lead the peasant forces. Abbé Alain Chantreau, 'Charette et Legé,' in Jean-Clément Martin and abbé Alain Chantreau, eds., *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroique* (Nantes: Université de Nantes-Ouest Editions, 1996), 36.

13 Jean-Pierre Bois, 'Charette et la guerre,' in Martin and Chantreau, eds., *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroique*, 49.
14 *Ibid.*, 53.
15 Gabriel Thibaud, 'Les combats de Charette de décembre 1793 à la fin 1794'; Jean-Clément Martin, 'Charette et le traité de La Jaunaie. La dimension politique d'un chef de guerre'; Xavier du Boisrouvray, 'Des Thermidoriens en mission Vendée Militaire: étude de mentalité,' in Martin and Chantreau, eds., *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroique*, 73–79, 81–83, 89–94; Anne Bernet, *Charette* (Paris: Perrin, 2005), 440–49.
16 Bernet, *Charette*, 447–56.
17 See Bois, 'Charette et la guerre' and Thérèse Rouchette, 'Charette sous le regard des siens,' in Martin and Chantreau, eds., *Charette, l'itinéraire singulier d'un chef vendéen héroique*, 45, 135–43.
18 These traits were set down in writing by Charette's first biographer, Le Bouvier-Desmortiers, in coordination with the royalist leader's sister Anne-Marie. M. Le Bouvier-Desmortiers, *Réfutation des Calomnies publiées contre le general Charette*, pt. 1 (Paris: Chez les marchands de nouveautés, 1809), 18. The same physical descriptors also appeared in a mid-nineteenth century mass given by the Bishop of Montpellier. The Catholic Church's role in perpetuating Charette's story and those of other Vendéen generals is a crucial part of Vendéen memory. Monseigneur de Cabrières, Bishop of Montpellier, 'Eloge de Monsieur Francois-Athanase de Charette de la Contrie, 1846,' Folder 44, Charette De La Contrie Family Papers-Susanne De Charette Van Stockum Collection, 1856–2000, Mss/A/C472, The Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY.
19 Edward J. Woell, 'Counterrevolutionary Catholicism in Western France: The Battle of Belief at Machecoul, 1777–1914' (Ph.D diss., Marquette University, 1997), 206; Archives Départementales de Loire-Atlantique, 1 M 515. Administration generate et economie. Police generate. Situation politique, 1839–1847. Lege gendarmerie to L-I Commandant, 23 January 1843. 'Ici repose Louis-Athanase-Urbain de Charette de la Contrie, chef de division des armees royales et Catholiques, mort a l'age of 23 years, le 31 mai 1815, pour son Dieu et son Roi, au champ d'honneur, comme son pere et son oncle, l'illustre general, prions pour lui, et comme lui aux Bourbons, soyons toujours fideles.'
20 Raymond A. Jonas, 'Anxiety, Identity, and the Displacement of Violence during the *Année Terrible*: The Sacred Heart and the Diocese of Nantes, 1870–1871,' *French Historical Studies* 21, no.1 (Winter 1998): 60–61.
21 Robert Tombs, 'Paris and the Rural Hordes: An Exploration of Myth and Reality in the French Civil War of 1871,' *The Historical Journal* 29, no. 4 (December 1986): 801.
22 *Ibid.*, 795, 801.
23 Stanley Meisler, 'As 200th Anniversary Nears, French Still Fret Over Revolution,' *Los Angeles Times* (October 13, 1987): C12.
24 *Ibid.*
25 Michael Leruth described the event as one of 'palatable pluralism.' Michael F. Leruth, 'François Mitterrand's "Festival of the World's Tribes": the logic of exoticism in the French Revolution bicentennial parade,' *French Cultural Studies* 9, no. 25 (1998): 63.

26 Steven Kaplan's *Farewell, Revolution* discusses how, by 1989, France was ready to embrace the 'Revolution of quasi consensus,' that of ideals and democratic changes. He wrote of the festivities shorn of explicit mention of 1793, 'The Revolution that dominated the bicentennial featured not the People-as-Actor engaged self-consciously if not autonomously in a struggle to avenge injustice, but the People-as-Discourse, filling a rhetorical power vacuum with its claims of kingly sovereignty in the language arena where politics took place.' Steven Kaplan, *Farewell, Revolution: The Historian's Feud, France, 1789/1989* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 1, 194.

27 Richard Thomson, *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France, 1880–1900* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 64.

28 Maurice Tourneux, 'L'Exposition historique de la Révolution française,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1 (May 1, 1889): 403.

29 Camille Debans, *Les Coulisses de l'Exposition: guide pratique et anecdotique, avec dessins, plans, etc.* (Paris: E. Kolb, 1889), 41–42.

30 Deborah L. Silverman, 'The 1889 Exhibition: The Crisis of Bourgeois Individualism,' *Oppositions* 8 (Spring 1977): 70–91.

31 For more on this aspect of the fair, see Roland Barthes, *La Tour Eiffel* (Paris: Delpire, 1964); Miriam R. Levin, *When the Eiffel Tower Was New: French Visions of Progress at the Centennial of the Revolution*, exh. cat. (South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, 1989); John W. Stamper, 'The Galerie des Machines of the 1889 Paris World's Fair,' *Technology and Culture* 30, no. 2, *Special Issue: Essays in Honor of Carl W. Condit* (April 1989): 330–53; Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Colossal: Engineering the Suez Canal, Statue of Liberty, Eiffel Tower, and Panama Canal – Transcontinental Ambition in France and the United States during the Long Nineteenth Century* (Pittsburgh: Periscope, 2012); Hollis Clayson, 'The Ornamented Eiffel Tower: Awareness and Denial,' *Nonsite*, no. 27, *The Nineteenth Century* (February 11, 2019): unpaginated, https://nonsite.org/the-ornamented-eiffel-tower/, for a few examples (last visited November 2022).

32 For some examples to show the breadth of topics that have been covered in relation to world's fairs, see: Deborah Silverman, Pierre Nora, Michael Adcock, 'The 1889 Paris Exposition: Mapping the Colonial Mind,' *Journal of Music Research*, no. 22 (Spring 2001): 31–40; Ory, *Une nation pour mémoire: 1889, 1939, 1989, trois jubilés révolutionnaires*; Nils Müller-Scheeßel, 'Fair Prehistory: archaeological exhibits at French Expositions Universelles,' *Antiquity* 75, no. 288 (June 2001): 391–401; Isabelle Flour, 'Orientalism and the Reality Effect: Angkor at the Universal Expositions, 1867–1937,' *Getty Research Journal* 6, no. 1 (January 2014): 63–82; Van Troi Tran, 'How 'natives' ate at colonial exhibitions in 1889, 1900, and 1931,' *French Cultural Studies* 26, no. 2 (2015): 163–175; Sara Pappas, 'Fragments of the Past: The Petit Palais, the Exposition Universelle, and the Ghosts of French Imperialism,' *Dix-Neuf* 24, no. 2–3 (2020): 245–259.

33 For a few examinations of the Boulangist moment, see Michael Burns, *Rural Society and French Politics: Boulangism and the Dreyfus Affair, 1886–1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Bruce Fulton, 'The Boulanger Affair Revisited: The Preservation of the Third Republic, 1889,' *French Historical Studies* 17, no. 2 (November 1991): 310–329; William D. Irvine, 'Royalists, Mass Politics, and the Boulanger Affair,' *French History* 3, no. 1 (1989): 31–47; Miguel Àngel Ortiz-Serrano, 'Political

connections and stock returns: evidence from the Boulangist campaign, 1888–1889,' *Financial History Review* 25, no. 3 (2018): 323–356.

34 Alfred Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris. Rapport général; Exploitation, services divers, régime financier et bilan de l'exposition*, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891), 39.

35 Thomson, *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France*, 114.

36 Jean-Clément Martin, *La Vendée de la mémoire: 1800–2018* (Paris: Perrin, 2019), 195.

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*

39 'Les Poilus peint par Julien Le Blant,' *Lectures pour tous* (May 15, 1917): 1106; Richard Thomson, *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France*, 65; Robert Lethbridge, '"Painting out" (and "reading in") the Franco-Prussian War: Politics and art criticism in the 1870s,' *Journal of European Studies* 50, no. 1 (2020): 52–59.

40 Bernet, *Charette*, 462. Bernet's historical biography is based on a mixture of royalist and revolutionary sources from the early nineteenth century.

41 Debay has used a bit of creative license here as the girls' mother died in 1789.

42 Following the death of the comte de Chambord, some Legitimists did look to the Spanish Bourbons and their leader Don Carlos for leadership. The 'blancs d'Espagne' were small in number however. Martin Simpson, 'The Death of Henri V: Legitimists Without the Bourbons,' *French History* 15, no. 4 (2001): 378.

43 Steven Kale, *Legitimism and the Reconstruction of French Society, 1852–1883* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992).

44 'C Mss/A/C472 Folder 75,' Charette De La Contrie Family Papers. Among other clerical projects, Charette was involved in fundraising for the Sacré-Cœur basilica in Montmartre in Paris. Sacré-Cœur's construction was paid for by private donations from wealthy Legitimists like Charette and smaller donations from rural pilgrims. The politics of the basilica's construction has been explored in Raymond A. Jonas, 'Monument as Ex-Voto, Monument as Historiosophy: The Basilica of Sacre-Cœur,' *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 2 (Autumn 1993): 482–502; Raymond A. Jonas, 'Sacred Tourism and Secular Pilgrimage: and the Basilica of Sacré-Coeur,' in *Montmartre and the Making of Mass Culture*, edited by Gabriel P. Weisberg (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 94–119.

45 'C Mss/A/C472 Folder 16: Costume du Général Charette dans les Années 1793–1794,' Charette De La Contrie Family Papers.

46 Elie De Mont, 'Salon de 1883,' *Revue de la Révolution* 1 (1883): 506.

47 Bernet, *Charette,* 464; M. Le Bouvier-Desmortiers, *Réfutation des Calomnies publiées contre le general Charette*, pt. 1, 469.

48 Pèdre Lafabrie, 'Beaux-Arts: Salon de 1889,' *L'Univers*, no. 7828 (June 6, 1889): unpaginated.

49 For mentions of Le Blant as the 'painter of the Vendée' or 'painter of the Chouannerie,' see Emile Blémont, 'Le Salon de 1883,' *Beaumarchais*, no. 135 (May 6, 1883): 2; Le Masque de fer, 'Échos: A travers Paris,' *Le Figaro*, no. 44 (February 13, 1891): 1; Souriceau, 'La Quinzaine: Les œuvres de Dumas père,' *Gazette anecdotique, littéraire, artistique et bibliographique*, no. 22 (November 30, 1893): 304.

50 Janillon, 'Le Salon de 1883,' *L'Univers illustré*, no. 1470 (May 26, 1883): 324–27, 408.
51 Jean Raymond, 'Un Hommage au général de Charrette,' *Le Gaulois*, no. 302 (May 14, 1883): 1.
52 The purchase of Le Blant's painting for Charette's descendent was widely reported on in print media of various political stripes. The group that purchased the painting was made up of the comte de Tournon, the marquis de La Rochejacquelin, the duc de Cars, the comte de Durfort Civrac, the duc de Sabran, the baron de Rochetaillée, and the comte d'Antioche. Le Masque de fer, 'Échos de Paris: A travers Paris,' *Le Figaro*, no. 139 (May 19, 1883): 1.
53 J.S., 'Au Salon Triennal [sic],' *La Justice*, no. 1340 (September 16, 1883): 2; Paul De Charry, 'Beaux-Arts: Exposition Trienniale,' *Le Pays* (November 4, 1883): unpaginated; T.J., 'Chronique des Expositions: Exposition Universelle des Beaux-Arts d'Anvers,' *Courrier de l'art*, no. 33 (August 14, 1885): 397–99.
54 Tom Stammers, *The Purchase of the Past: Collecting Culture in Post-Revolutionary Paris c. 1790–1890* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 222.
55 This information is based on a research trip to Saint-Sulpice-le-Verdon in the Vendée.
56 Romain Brunet, 'French far-right rivals Le Pen, Zemmour settle scores after bitter presidential race,' *France24.com* (April 29, 2022): https://www.france24.com/en/europe/20220429-france-s-far-right-figures-le-pen-zemmour-settle-scores-after-bitter-presidential-campaign-rivalry (last visited November 2022).
57 Macron has moved rightward on several cultural issues to dislodge the National Rally from its firm grip on xenophobic voters largely focused on immigration and Muslim immigration specifically. Christopher Williams, 'Opinion: How Le Pen may beat Macron,' *EU Observer* (March 18, 2021): https://euobserver.com/opinion/151265; Lisa Bryant, 'Could 2022 Be the Year for France's Le Pen?' *Voice of America* (March 21, 2021): https://www.voanews.com/europe/could-2022-be-year-frances-le-pen (last visited November 2022).
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59 Jean-Clément Martin and Charles Suaud, 'Le Puy du Fou: L'interminable reinvention du paysan vendéen,' *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 93 (June 1992): 21–37.
60 Quotes drawn from Laura Cappelle, 'Some of France's Only Live Theater Right Now Is a Historical Affront,' *New York Times* (June 25, 2020), https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/25/theater/puy-du-fou-theater-history.html (last visited November 2022).