

DUMUNC XLI



Crisis: The French Revolution (Advanced Committee)

Chairs: Harrison Walley and Eli Sobel

February 20th - 22nd

DUMUNC XLI: French Revolution

Letter from the Royalty Chair

Dear Delegates,

I am so excited to welcome you to the French Revolution Joint Crisis Committee of DUMUNC! My name is Harrison Walley, and as your Royalty Cabinet Chair, I look forward to our 3 days of fun, engaging, fast-paced, and advanced debate.

The problems you will solve over the weekend will force you to engage with history in new, creative ways to advance both your cabinet's goals and your own personal [perhaps more sinister] goals. In this committee, you've found yourself dropped right in the middle of complete chaos in the form of the Estates General of 1789. What begins as a conversation about economic reform gradually evolves into questions of representation, all while King Louis XVI – already losing popularity at the time – makes empty promises and questionable decisions. Will the supporters of the throne continue to prop up the monarchy in the face of public outrage?

If you want to know a little about me, I am a sophomore studying Political Science and Public Policy with a minor in Biology. I am currently the Director of the Away Team, the travel Model United Nations team at Duke. I've been competing in Model UN since my senior year in high school, and this is my second year chairing for DUMUNC!

My co-chair, Julien Halleman, and I are very excited to work with you for the weekend. Please reach out if you have any questions!

Harrison Walley
Chair

JCC: The French Revolution - Royalist Cabinet
harrison.walley@duke.edu

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Letter from the Revolutionary Chair

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to the French Revolution JCC of DUMUNC! We are Eli Sobel and Eva Samborski, your Revolutionary Chair and Co-Chair, and we are looking forward to 3 days of intellectual, nuanced, fun, and challenging debate.

Our tasks this weekend include not only the development of Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité, but also the revelation of new historical facets that force you to engage with history in new, creative ways to advance both your cabinet's and your own personal [perhaps more sinister] goals. In this committee, you've found yourself dropped right in the middle of complete chaos in the form of the Estates General of 1789. What begins as a conversation about economic reform gradually evolves into questions of representation, all while King Louis XVI – already losing popularity at the time – makes empty promises and questionable decisions. How will the revolutionaries voice their concerns to the monarchy? Bloody revolution, or peaceful dialogue?

A little bit about us: I (Eli) am a freshman studying Political Science and your Chair. This is my fourth year competing in Model UN, and I also co-founded my high school's team. I (Eva) am also a freshman studying Biomedical Engineering with a double major in Electrical and Computer Engineering. Although this is my first year actually competing in Model UN, I have been involved with competitive debate (Model US Senate) since my sophomore year of high school. We are both new members of the Away Team, the travel Model United Nations team at Duke.

Please reach out if you have any questions!

Eli Sobel & Eva Samborski
Chair & Co-Chair

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Joint Crisis Committees

These Royalty and Revolutionary Committees form a Joint Crisis Committee, also known as a JCC. A JCC blends two committees' objectives to create one competing storyline. Both committees start on the same day, inherit the same situation, and operate in the same world. Any directive passed in one committee directly impacts what happens in the other. The same applies to crisis notes. These committees are created to be at odds with one another, but the same steps of the real French Revolution do not have to be repeated. Many scholars agree that reform was inevitable; it was simply a matter of time. The suddenness and violent nature of the reform are the result of a string of bad mistakes that this committee should seek to avoid.

But what is a crisis committee to begin with? A crisis committee differs from a General Assembly in that its delegates represent individuals, rather than nations. By representing this person, you have the ability to take direct action on whatever topic the committee addresses. Delegates achieve this direct action through "directives," which are short versions of draft resolutions that do not include any preambulatory clauses. In a single committee, tens of directives may be voted on over the course of a conference.

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Crisis committees also feature opportunities to engage in secret actions through crisis notes. A crisis note is a private message given to the backroom staffers (people who craft the storyline behind the scenes). These notes often take the form of a letter written to a comrade, a relative, a secretary, or someone else. Delegates write these notes to gain a personal advantage at the expense of the rest of the committee. The timing of each note cycle varies significantly by conference and by committee, but expect to send around two per hour. These notes should culminate in a final objective. Examples of effective final objectives include military takeovers, unstoppable cults, trials, and other creative endeavors.

Both committees will feature a two-pad crisis note system. At the beginning of the committee, all delegates will receive two legal pads for writing notes. Delegates should alternate which legal pad they use to write a note and exchange them each time backroom staffers come in to collect them. These two pads should work somewhat independently of one another, so whatever response you receive to the previous note does not dictate whether your next note on the other pad becomes relevant.

The storylines you create with your crisis notes should stay within the realm of reason. Please refrain from attempting to create mutant pigeons that

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take over Paris (we see such efforts all the time), and ensure your storyline remains appropriate for this context. Remember that this is a realistic historical committee, so arcs should be realistic historical stories. Additionally, no delegates can be killed until the last committee session on Saturday. Good luck!



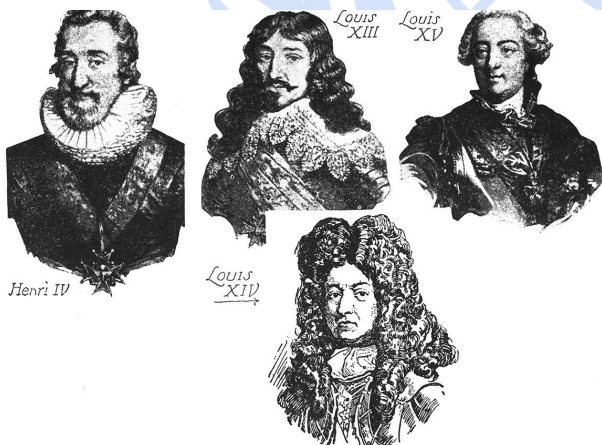
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The French Kings

The Bourbon Dynasty currently rules the Ancien Régime, or the French Kingdom, and has done so since 1589, following Henry of Navarre's victory in the War of the Three Henrys. Since Henry's reign, which ended with his death in 1610, four Louis have ruled France. This includes Louis the 13th, who inherited the throne at a very young age. Cardinal Richelieu (the villain in the Three Musketeers), who began a decades-long process of consolidating Monarchical control over the Ancien Régime, dominated Louis XIII's reign.



Following Louis XIII, Louis the 14th inherited the throne at the age of four years old and would rule for the next 72 years. History remembers Louis



KINGS OF FRANCE DURING 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

XIV for creating the Palace of Versailles, designed to weaken the power of provincial nobles by forcing them to leave their traditional bases of operation and attend to him. This pitted the nobility against one another as they sought favors, spread gossip, and undermined each other to gain closer proximity to the king.

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Versailles also stood as a testament to the power of the French Kingdom during this time. Louis XIV fought several significant wars (War of Spanish Succession, Nine Years' War, War of Devolution, etc.) against other European powers. Louis XIV's victories would set France up to become the preeminent nation in Europe and spread French culture throughout the continent. Around this time, courts across Europe began to adopt French as their court language and incorporated French fashion and political influences.

Inheriting the throne at the age of five, Louis XV's reign did not reflect any real capacity for leadership, largely due to a failure in his education. France's defeat in the Seven Years' War to Britain defined Louis XV's monarchy and marked a decline in French colonial power, as well as an upset to the European balance of power. To make matters worse, this war initiated an uneasy and unpopular alliance with the Austrians. The legal, fiscal, and political systems established by Louis XIV functioned effectively during Louis XIV's reign due to his personal abilities and power. Louis XV lacked any personal gravitas and competence to administer and more importantly, update these systems.

Louis XVI inherited the throne in 1774 and remained in power until the formal end of the monarchy in 1792. Throughout his reign, Louis XVI

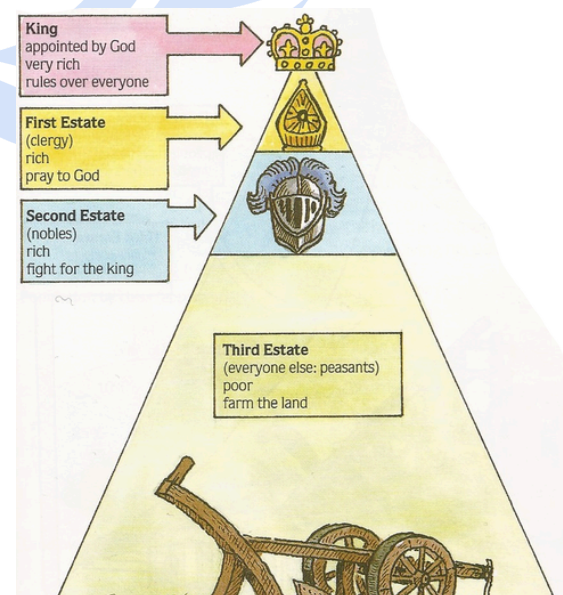
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demonstrated a genuine desire to rule on behalf of his people, but lacked decisiveness and struggled to function well in the spotlight. He married Marie Antoinette at the age of 15 which caused Louis significant trouble due to his wife's rapid unpopularity (see the Affair of the Diamond Necklace for further reading), her Austrian heritage, and a seven-year delay in the consummation of the marriage. From 1774 to 1789, Louis XVI did his best to help the nobility implement necessary reforms, but his best fell well short of what the Régime required.

The Three Estates

The Ancien Régime featured the Three Estates, an extension of previous feudal systems. The Third Estate comprised approximately 95% of the French population and contained three distinct subgroups:

1. The first consisted of landless peasant farmers and their urban counterparts, unskilled laborers. This group faced a significant challenge in the late 18th century: rising costs inconsistent with wages. Many members of this group resorted to professional begging, petty theft, and



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occasionally banditry, depending on their circumstances.

2. The second subgroup consisted of those peasant farmers who owned or leased their own land, albeit in small quantities. French divisions of land parcels left this second group with plots that could barely support the family working on them, with almost no chance of a surplus. Their urban counterparts consisted of skilled laborers, who often had guild membership.
3. The final subgroup of the Third Estate included independent farmers and members of the bourgeoisie. Members of this category owned sufficient land that they could hire landless peasants or practiced a profession such as commerce, banking, or the law.

Those bourgeois who amassed significant amounts of wealth set their sights on buying into the ranks of the Second Estate. Venal offices, positions in the Royal Ministry that members of the Third Estate could purchase for the accompanying tax exemptions and ennoblement, provided a common method of social mobility. Venal officers filled almost all the positions in the royal ministry, and many of them came with very real responsibilities. The old members of the nobility (referred to as the Nobility of the Sword) referred to this new class of noble families, who had bought into the establishment at some point in the last 100 years, as the Nobility of the Robe. The former

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obviously disliked the latter for their youth and ignorance towards proper table manners; however, due to French inheritance law, which left many of these ancient families near bankruptcy, the Nobility of the Sword had no issue marrying their sons to the daughters of the Nobility of the Robe. The nobility of France possessed significant feudal rights, which will be expanded upon in later sections of the background guide.

The nobility, like the Third Estate, lacks uniform defining features or shared beliefs. Many nobles would advocate strongly for reform and fight in the French Revolution (such as the Marquis de Lafayette). However, the close circle of the nobility that attended the king at Versailles shared strong conservative sentiments. Only a small group of Nobility of the Robe advocated for much-needed reform in this inner circle.

The First Estate comprised the French clergy. Hundreds of years ago, a French king won the right to elect his own bishops and clergy instead of the Pope, which allowed for these positions to quickly become dominated by former members of the Second Estate and individuals of great wealth. The Church controlled roughly 10% of all the land in France and possessed great power through its ability to collect a tithe, or tax. The First Estate contained a significant divide between the higher members of the Church (who collected

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the tithe and who the king appointed) and the Parish Priests, who often didn't receive any of the money that the Church supposedly collected on their behalf.

The three estates came together to form the Estates General, a council that advised the king and represented the people's interests in political and economic affairs. The Louis of France refrained from calling the Estates General for 175 years, up until 1789. The Estates General possessed no specific powers, beyond the exclusive ability to create new types of taxes. Additionally, the Estates General provided each estate an equal number of representatives and one vote per group on all affairs. This obviously pitted the Third Estate against the first and second, who often worked together.

The Legal Mess

The French legal system – a chaotic nightmare – comprised several different and contradictory systems of organization, each with distinct boundaries and citizens who demanded specific privileges and exemptions. Many view the French monarchy of this era as an absolute monarchy; however, after dealing with the existing legal framework, Louis XV and Louis XVI often found themselves boxed in.

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France comprised 39 provinces that the Ancien Régime accumulated over hundreds of years through marriage, inheritance, or conquest. Provinces differed significantly in terms of culture and size; Provence differed from Normandy, which differed from the almost German provinces in the East. Each province brought with it complicated feudal rights negotiated in some ancient contract with the king, defined by intense obligations between all rungs of social and political classes. The king expected different tributes or taxes from each province, and the regional lords expected different exemptions than their neighbors.

Cardinal Richelieu created the 36 equal-sized Généralité during Louis XIII's reign. A different attendant ran each Généralité, who served as a financial and economic advisor; however, these attendants consolidated political power at the expense of provincial lords. To further complicate matters, Richelieu established three types of Généralité: pays d'imposition, pays d'état, and pays d'élection. The first kind, pays d'imposition, describes the Généralité added more recently to the French kingdom, often by conquest. The Généralité system made very few changes to these regions; citizens simply sent their taxes to Versailles now. The pays d'état lay on the outskirts of the kingdom and retained some political power. Provincial lords could negotiate their tax structures. Pays d'élection had attendants who the Estates General

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originally elected; however, they would become appointed by the crown.

These attendants had almost complete control over their region.

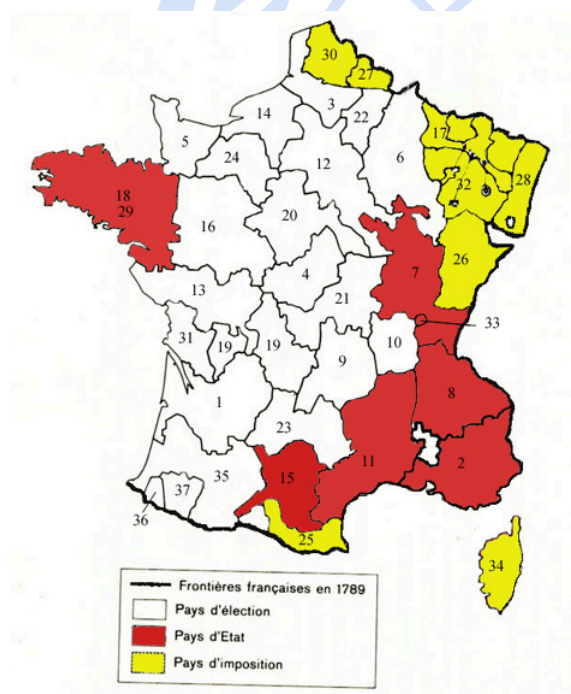
On the local level, thousands of towns and municipalities each demanded their own set of rights and exemptions that couldn't possibly be summarized. On the individual level, peasants owed the local nobility certain obligations, including small rules such as a requirement to use a specific mill, as well as larger obligations, like hours of unpaid labor or taxation directed to the local estate. The Catholic Church in France divided the kingdom into 136 dioceses with boundaries inconsistent with any of the governing boundaries.

The legal system of France operated independently of the country's political system. The South practiced a code system that traced its roots back to the Romans, while the North practiced common law. Lower courts were arranged in a manner that is defined by nothing. Some of them were based on the type of complaint, others on the social class of those involved, and others on the region. It often took several years and significant sums of money for people to be matched with a judge. To make this problem worse, most judges and clerks had purchased their positions, which were venal offices, and expected to be compensated by those who wanted expedited trials or favorable outcomes. There were 13 Parliaments or courts of final

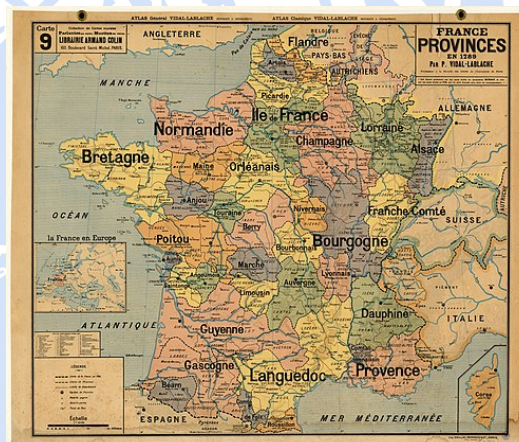
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appeal in the French legal system, each of which practiced its own set of rules and demanded certain obligations from the king.

The French political and legal framework was a complete mess, ensuring that no two citizens lived under the same set of rules. See the images below to visualize the complete lack of consistency regarding the boundaries of these systems.

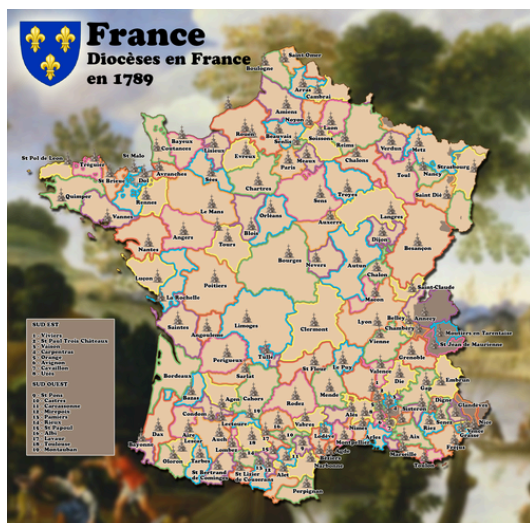


The Généralité



The Provinces.

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The Dioceses

The Parlements

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The Tax Issue

Perhaps worse than the political and legal organization of France is the tax system. The primary tax in France was the tithe on land; however, the nobility and the Church were exempt from this tax, meaning that approximately 50% of the land was untouchable. This tax exemption was the defining characteristic of what it meant to be in the Second Estate. One way this exemption was bypassed in a few provinces was by tying plots of land to taxes rather than the landowner. So, if a noble bought land owned by a member of the Third Estate, they were required to pay tax on that extra land.

A secondary tax in France was the Capitation Tax. This was a tax on income that all citizens were required to pay. However, one could also purchase an exemption for a flat rate and avoid worrying about it in future years. A third major tax was the 1/20th tax, which was a wealth tax. This tax was provisioned with built-in expiration dates. At the end of each period, the tax had to be renegotiated against firm noble resistance. The nobility also found ways to avoid paying this tax. One of the most hated taxes was the Corvée. This was a tax on the Third Estate that required a specified quantity of labor or tools to be contributed towards public goods each year. On the surface, this doesn't sound like the worst idea ever; however, these public

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goods were often just roads connecting noble estates to one another or to cities.

One of the worst fiscal practices of France was the internal tariffs. Based on the boundaries shown above, moving goods across these borders often meant paying fees. Trading within France often meant paying upwards of 15 tariffs, depending on the origin and destination of the goods. Smuggling during this time period was rampant and almost respected as a result of this practice. There were also several excise taxes in France, which applied to virtually every good imaginable. The worst of them was the salt tax, hated primarily because of its incredibly arbitrary percentage, which varied substantially from town to town. Some citizens could pay three times more than others.

Then there was the Church, which was completely exempt from taxes. However, it would be a mistake to say that the Church did not help in some ways. Every ten years, they would provide a substantial financial gift to the monarchy, called the “free gift”. Additionally, they would take out loans on the crown’s behalf, as they often could earn very low interest rates. The Church also had the power to collect its own tithe. Ultimately, the Church generated

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approximately 250 million livres annually and paid an average of roughly 16 million to the monarchy.

There was then the problem of how taxes were collected. The monarchy employed a tax farming system, in which corporations would bid on the right to collect a portion of the nation's taxes, paying a flat rate upfront. Tax farmers were brutal and often unfair in their collection of taxes. If someone could not produce a receipt, they would often be forced to pay multiple times.

The tax systems described above ensured that the government consistently ran a deficit and was required to borrow from foreign governments, banks, or its own citizens. By 1789, the French government was paying an increasingly large portion of its revenue towards the interest accumulated by these loans and was receiving increasingly unfavorable terms for future deals due to its financial instability.

The Last 50 Years

The Enlightenment

The Enlightenment was a European-wide movement grounded in ideas of skepticism, rationality, and investigation. In France, the Enlightenment gained momentum at the end of Louis XIV's reign. This marked the

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beginning of institutions such as coffeehouses, where intellectuals gathered to debate the issues of the day. Louis XV did not shut down these kinds of conversations and discourse, which allowed them to flourish. Over time, writers and philosophers promoted the idea of individual rights, which was closely tied to the concept of the social contract originating in England. A significant increase in literacy, sparked by the rise of a strong middle class, resulted in the dissemination of these ideas across France. Virtually every political and economic institution of France would be judged by these enlightened writers and found to be abominations.

One of the primary targets of philosophers was the Church, viewed as a corrupt institution that exploited superstitions to exploit the Third Estate for profit. They described the incredible wealth of those who worked at the top of the Church compared to the abject poverty of those they were supposed to protect and help. Despite this, many of these writers were not atheists; they simply disagreed with nationalist and institution-favoring interpretations of the French church.

Enlightened despotism was a philosophy that described a monarch educated in modern ideas who competently enhanced the well-being of their subjects. Many enlightened philosophers favored increasing the monarch's

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power to this end. Their justification centered on the idea that a strong executive was necessary to bring nations out of the Dark Ages. This was exemplified across the rest of Europe by figures such as Joseph II of Austria and Catherine the Great of Russia.

Resistance to Reform

Under the blueprint of Enlightened Absolutism, several royal ministers sought to implement necessary reforms to France's legal and financial systems in order to preserve the monarchy. Most notably, Maupeou's work to reform the Parliament legal system and Turgot's work to improve the deficit. Both would fail as a result of strong pushback from the nobility, who did not want to see a reduction in their power, combined with unpopularity among the Third Estate.

The Parlements mentioned previously were one of the main obstacles to reform during the Ancien Régime. The leaders of the Provisional Parliament were the educated, elected officials who took advantage of their special rights and obligations to prevent the misuse of the royal power. Any law passed by the king had to be registered in the



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Parlement in order for it to take effect. The Parlement used this ability to filibuster until offending language or practices were removed from unfavorable edicts. The king could override this filibuster at the expense of public opinion, however. The members of the Third Estate generally supported the Parlement despite the latter being composed primarily of nobles who protected their own interests. During the reign of Louis XV, René Nicolas de Maupeou attempted to completely overhaul the Parlements, which were hindering progress in the legal world. The Parlement increasingly saw its powers reduced, such as a restriction on each branch's ability to communicate and work with one another. Maupeou's work was met with strong resistance from Parlement leaders, whom Maupeou promised to simply banish. Maupeou and Louis XV became increasingly unpopular due to their heavy-handed tactics, leading to Maupeou's efforts being reversed under Louis XVI. This showdown would prevent any real legal reform from being completed.

Financial Crisis

Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot was the Comptroller General under Louis XVI and a physiocrat. Turgot believed in a free market and that a nation's wealth was rooted in its agricultural capabilities. When Turgot assumed his

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position, France was on the verge of financial ruin due to the accumulation of debt following the Seven Years' War. One of his first actions was to reduce



government expenditures, specifically the lavish gifts and sums of money given to the crown's friends. This made him several enemies among the established elite, but earned him credibility among lenders who provided France a favorable loan used to pay off the remaining deficit. Turgot wanted to abolish the Grain Tax, which artificially reduced the price of bread across

France. Turgot's project was launched during a bad harvest in select areas of France (but not in others). The lack of a required standard price resulted in exploitative price hikes on bread sold to the regions that were suffering. The Flower War was a series of uprisings that plagued France following the price gouging that targeted all those whom the Third Estate believed were responsible for the issue. Louis XVI gave in to the demands of the uprising and reintroduced a price ceiling on bread. Grain famines would persist over the next few decades, and peasant sentiment was firmly against the government's wishes during this period. This, combined with Turgot's unpopular stance on lending to the Americans during the American Revolution, prevented him from successfully introducing any of his other

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reform proposals. Turgot was forced to resign after issuing one final edict that converted the Corvée from a labor tax to a money tax.

Jacques Necker was appointed to run the French economy after the resignation of Turgot. Necker was considered a generational talent in the financial world at the time, having served as director of the East India Company at one point. Necker was popular going into his appointment because he took positions contrary to Turgot's, and because of a strong influence campaign conducted on his behalf to convince the elite that he was the generational talent people said he was. Necker was able to secure massive loans to finance the American Revolution and other projects, which were staked on his own personal credibility. Necker divided expenses into ordinary and extraordinary expenses, a classification that allowed Necker to claim (somewhat fraudulently) that the regime was in excellent financial health because the ordinary expenses were all good and in order. Necker published a total report of the regime's finances, a totally unprecedented action from the monarchy. The report showed a surplus created by excluding the principle of the massive quantities of debt the monarchy owed. The report was widely read and



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sensational, preventing Necker's successors from convincing the public that the Regime was actually poor. Necker resigned because Louis XVI did not allow him into his innermost circle of advisors. His resignation made him a martyr in the eyes of the Third Estate.

Charles Alexandre de Calonne became the Comptroller General after Necker's resignation. Calonne made the quick determination that there was no chance of successfully raising taxes, so he pivoted to convince lenders that the nation was in a strong financial position, enabling them to secure loans at very low interest rates. The low-interest loans would then pay off the high-interest loans over time. This practice was called Useful Splendor, and unfortunately, it was not sufficient to address the massive amounts of debt that the crown was in. Calonne realized that half of the Regime's budget was about to go towards interest payments. Calonne planned an incredibly large financial overhaul of the Regime, but he kept most of his plan completely secret. The secrecy of the plan would frustrate the members of the Royal Ministry who were not informed about the crisis. Calonne decided to call the Assembly of Notables, a council of some of the most influential people in France, to lend credibility to his proposal. The



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Council was intended to be a rubber stamp for Calonne's reforms, which would have facilitated the bill's passage; however, this proved to be a miscalculation.

Calonne's reform package was divided into four sections, which the Notables would review one by one. The first section introduced a uniform land tax that superseded previous exemptions and established the creation of Provincial Assemblies to collect taxes. The second section adopted physiocratic policies, such as the abolition of internal tariffs. The third and fourth sections covered some long-term financial strategies. Calonne treated the members of the Assembly of Notables as if they were obligated to approve and support his reforms; however, Étienne Charles de Loménie de Brienne fiercely criticized aspects of the reforms and Calonne's personal conduct. Calonne would become so unpopular among the Assembly that the king was ultimately convinced to fire him. Brienne would then assume control of the Regime's finances and propose a much weaker, albeit somewhat safer, version of Calonne's original plan to the Assembly of Notables.

Brienne then took the reform package, which limited the duration of the land tax among other changes, to the Paris Parlement for registration.

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The Paris Parlement had been weakened by Maupeou several years before and saw this as an opportunity to regain some of its lost power. The Parlement passed several of the package's proposals quickly, like the provincial assemblies to collect taxes, but they refused to consider the land tax. It was French law that all new taxes had to be passed by the Estates General, and they viewed the land tax as a new tax. The Paris Parlement wanted the Estates General to be called so they could voice more significant grievances of the political structure of the Ancien Régime. In response to the Paris Parlement, Louis XVI issued his veto.

The Parlement declared that the King's veto was illegal (and it was) and demanded that he rescind it. Louis XVI retaliated somewhat disproportionately, exiling the Paris Parlement to a nearby town where they lacked the support of the local Parisians. Brienne attempted to resolve this conflict by offering a compromise that withdrew the plan for the land tax in favor of increased enforcement of the 1/20th tax and the promise to call the Estates General at some point in the next five years. This compromise was essentially a complete yield to the Parlement. The Paris Parlement reconvened in Paris in a session that Louis XVI himself attended. This session was supposed to be a simple debate with a predetermined outcome; however, at one point, Louis XVI stood up and stated that his concessions

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were sufficient, and he now ordered them to sign the package. This was as surprising to the Parlement as it was illegal and unnecessary.

The Provincial Parlement reacted much worse than the Paris Parlement to the reform package. The provinces did not like the idea of a new Provincial Assembly that had vague powers to collect the region's taxes. To make matters worse, to expedite the system, the Royal Ministry planned to appoint the first members of the Provincial Assembly, rather than the originally proposed method of electing them. The nobility in the provinces also did not support tax reform. These nobles were dependent on their land and needed the social status that came with all of their exemptions. Several provincial Parlements issued remonstrances of Louis's act that were much more aggressive towards Louis XVI himself and the ministry at large.

Louis XVI then arrested two outspoken members of the Paris Parlement, which caused significant and well-founded rumors that the Royal Ministry was going to abolish all of the Parlements in their entirety. Days later, Louis XVI and Brienne issued the May Edicts that completely gutted the power of the Parlements in favor of a new court of appeals. Brienne underestimated the amount of resistance that this edict would face. The Parlements, from the outside, appear to serve the interests of the nobility, and

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this is true. However, the Third Estate viewed them as one of the few obstacles the king had to face and a check to absolute monarchy.

The Parlement in Grenoble refused to disperse despite an order to do so. The order came on a Saturday when the citizens of Grenoble were shopping and engaging in commerce. The people of Grenoble formed mobs that prevented anyone from leaving the Royal Ministry building, the Governor's house, and the city gates. Regiments of soldiers were sent into the city in small groups with the explicit order not to fire at the citizens. After being attacked with roof tiles, one group fired into the crowd, causing more fighting. These actions taken on behalf of the Parlement were unwelcome by the officials it was in the name of. The mob would eventually disperse as the day drew to a close. This day became known as the Day of the Tiles and served as a catalyst for the calling of the Estates General, which Louis XVI felt forced to do. It also initiated the philosophical movement to "double the third and vote by head" in the Estates General, a proposal that would grant the Third Estate equal power to the First and Second Estates.



The committee begins with the Estates General starting its first day. Delegates in the Royalty Committee include representatives from the First

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and Second Estates, who operate as a backroom council advising their demographic during negotiations. Including many members of the Royal Ministry, this committee has significant powers over France's executive functioning. Delegates in the Revolutionary Committee make up members of the Bourgeoisie who represent the Third Estate. This committee has a much better grasp of the will of the people, but lacks legitimacy and resources.

Special Committee Procedure:

1. The first session will be a joint session where both committees will try to pass legislation through the Estates General. At the end of this session, delegates will vote on whether they would like to remain in a joint session or split into their respective committees.
2. The split committees will function as follows:
 - a. Passed directives concerning only the Estates General will be sent to the other committee for review. The second committee may propose amendments to the directive in the following format:
 - i. Chairs will read the directive to the new committee in its entirety. Delegates will then have the opportunity to record their changes and additions in the form of a supplementary

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directive. These amendment directives will be voted on as if they were normal directives.

- ii. The amendment directives can not change the meaning or purpose of the original directive so drastically that it becomes its own new concept.
- iii. Amended directives will then be sent back to the original committee, who will then be allowed to vote only yes/no.
- b. Directives that do not concern the Estates General and focus on the prerogatives of the demographic each committee represents may be passed without influence from the other committee.
 - i. The Royal Cabinet has the authority to legislate taxation (provided no new taxes are introduced), administer government programs/events, and oversee its internal structure without the approval of the Revolutionary Cabinet.
 - ii. The Revolutionary Cabinet has the ability to pass directives regarding the masses and their own organization without the permission of the Royal Cabinet, as long as it is reasonable (up to the Chair's discretion).

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3. For every committee session in which no joint directive is passed, the majority threshold for directives written by the Revolutionary Committee voted on in the Royalty Committee decreases by 2 votes.
4. Delegates may switch sides only if it is through a significant number of crisis notes and has a clear and articulated purpose.

Questions to Consider

For both committees:

1. What role should the Parlements play in the future of France, if any at all?
2. What should the response to the Day of the Tiles be?
3. How will the Estates General function? Will the Third Estate be given greater representation?
4. How should the tax system of France be overhauled, if at all?
5. How should the deficit and national debt be rectified?
6. How should the legal system of France be overhauled, if at all?
7. How should the provinces be administered? Is the Provence or Généralité system worth keeping?
8. What is the role of the Church in all of these affairs?

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Questions for the Royalty Committee:

1. Does Louis XVI need to concede more power to the nobility?
2. What privileges and exemptions are worth fighting for?
3. How should the Third Estate be handled?

Questions for the Revolutionary Committee:

1. How can the Third Estate increase its power and representation in the Estates General?
2. What Noble privileges and exemptions are intolerable?
3. Who should be leading France?
4. How can the members of this committee rally the people to their cause?



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Character Dossiers

King Louis XVI (Chair)

Royal Committee Positions

Charles X of France (Comte d'Artois): The King's younger brother is the unapologetic leader of the ultra-royalists, believing that any concession to the Third Estate is a step toward the grave of the monarchy. He staunchly defends the ancient feudal rights of the Nobility of the Sword and views the calling of the Estates General as a dangerous mistake that should be corrected with a show of force. As a prince of the blood, he is a man of the sword who finds the Enlightenment's "rationality" to be a poison to tradition. He holds vast estates and has the power to mobilize the most conservative factions of the military to protect the crown's interests.

Alessandro Cagliostro: An Italian self-styled count and occultist, Cagliostro is a figure of deep suspicion who occupies the intersection of high-society mysticism and revolutionary subversion. While he claims to possess the secrets of alchemy, he is in reality a master conman, hiding his unknown origins behind a veil of ancient prophecy to fuel his personal fortune and fame. His true power lies in his leadership of Egyptian Freemasonry, a secretive network that bypasses traditional class boundaries to link radical nobles with ambitious commoners. He utilizes his talent for forgery and his

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connection to the "Diamond Necklace Affair" to sow distrust in the royal court, all while siphoning funds from aristocrats to finance his own personal dealings.

Note: In this JCC, magic is not real. We will allow illusions in backroom notes, but they must remain relatively realistic.

Marie Antoinette: A symbol of Austrian-French alliance and the target of vicious *libelles*, the Queen finds herself isolated within a court that blames her for its unpopularity. She champions the preservation of the Bourbon line's absolute dignity and is often the firmest voice against yielding to the "rabble" of the Third Estate. Her life is one of staggering luxury and ritual at Versailles, and she views the financial crisis as a result of poor ministerial management rather than a failure of the monarchy itself. She also maintains a correspondence with her brother, Joseph II, the Holy Roman Emperor, seeking to coordinate a European response that would use military force to quash the growing domestic insurrection. She commands the loyalty of the most conservative courtiers and possesses the ability to directly advise the King, swaying the highest executive decision.

François Claude Amour, marquis de Bouillé: A veteran of the American Revolutionary War and a committed soldier, de Bouillé views the rising unrest in France through the lens of military discipline and order. He is a veteran who

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believes that the King's authority is the only thing preventing the kingdom from sliding into total anarchy. He is deeply skeptical of the mob violence and the lack of military response, fearing that a hesitant monarch will lose the respect of his own regiments. He has direct command over the frontier garrisons, making him the King's most reliable iron fist.

Charles Alexandre de Calonne: The architect of "Useful Splendor," Calonne is a priest who attempted to spend the monarchy out of its debt before pivoting to a radical plan for a universal land tax. He holds a deep disdain for the Parliament, viewing their refusal to register his reforms as the primary cause of the current deadlock. Having failed to convince the Assembly of Notables, he remains a brilliant but polarizing figure who understands the regime's bankruptcy better than anyone else. He possesses an intricate knowledge of the kingdom's hidden ledgers and a network of financial operatives across the Généralités.

Napoleon Bonaparte: As a Corsican lieutenant currently stationed far from Versailles, Napoleon views the chaos of the Estates General as a potential opening for a man with ambition. While he remains focused on the interests of his home island, he possesses a specialized mastery of ballistics and a tactical mind that thrives on logistical efficiency. He doesn't care about the sentimental traditions of the monarchy, believing instead that power belongs

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to those who can impose order through military precision. Though his rank is low, his military strategy and cult of personality among his peers make him a threat to any faction that fails to secure the army.

Antoine Lavoisier: Known as the "Father of Modern Chemistry," Lavoisier views the French economy as a chaotic system that must be distilled into rational, logical components through rigorous reform. He oversees the Royal Gunpowder Administration, where his mastery of chemical composition and industrial manufacturing gives him total authority over the state's munitions and experimental laboratories, as well as his inventing abilities. As a prominent member of the tax collectors, he supports the abolition of internal tariffs to improve collection efficiency, yet he remains staunchly committed to the private tax-farming system that has secured his immense personal fortune.

Marquis de Lafayette: As the celebrated war hero, Lafayette has returned from the American Revolution determined to implement a constitutional monarchy that balances royal authority with a formal "Declaration of Rights" and believes the Estates General must be the starting point for a total legal overhaul. He is a noble and veteran who uses his immense popularity to bridge the gap between the liberal aristocracy and the rising bourgeoisie, though his moderate stance risks alienating hardliners in both rooms. His

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primary focus is the formation of a National Guard, a citizen-militia that would theoretically maintain order in Paris without the heavy hand of the royal army.

Jacques Cathelineau: A humble peddler and sacristan from the Vendée, Cathelineau represents the growing religious resentment of the rural peasantry against the Parisian intellectual elite. He champions the protection of local parishes and the traditional authority of the village priest, viewing the Revolution's secular reforms as a direct attack on the Catholic way of life. He has fanatical loyalty to the Vendean peasantry and a deep knowledge of the local terrain, which allows him to transform a crowd of zealous pilgrims into an effective guerrilla insurgency at a moment's notice.

Élisabeth of France: The King's younger sister, Élisabeth, is the most devoutly religious member of the royal family, frequently acting as the religious center of the Second Estate. She rejects all attempts at constitutional compromise, believing that any concession to the Third Estate is a betrayal of the King's coronation oath to God. Her influence lies in her personal closeness to Louis XVI and her role as an intermediary between the Crown and Church and the counter-revolutionary emigres gathering across the border.

Étienne Charles de Loménie de Brienne: The Archbishop of Toulouse and a former Minister of Finance, Brienne is a pragmatic bishop who attempted to save the monarchy through a series of failed fiscal reforms before the Estates

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General was even called. He supports the modernization of the tax code and the reduction of the Church's financial burden on the state, though his previous failures have left him with many political enemies, yet he still holds power in the court.

Henri Grégoire: An influential parish priest, Abbé Grégoire is a leading voice for the lower clergy who seeks to reconcile the Gospel with the principles of the Enlightenment. He champions the civil rights of religious minorities, including Jews and Protestants, and is a founding member of the Society of the Friends of the Blacks, advocating for the total abolition of slavery. His credibility stems from his status as a man of the cloth who is willing to break with the Church hierarchy to support the third estate, bringing a large faction of reformist priests with him to the common people.

Jean-Sifrein Maury: An influential and well-spoken priest, Abbé Maury is a powerful orator and defender of the ancien régime. Maury became a favorite of King Louis XVI, who praised Maury's ability to preach on at least one occasion. Elected as a member of the Estates General of 1789, Maury found himself representing the First Estate, using his wits and speaking ability to become one of the more influential speakers in the assembly. He was especially opposed to the alienation of the property of the clergy.

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Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord: A student of theology, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord became the Agent-General of the Clergy at the age of 26, serving as the Catholic Church's main liaison to King Louis XVI. An intellectual from a young age, Talleyrand studied authors who opposed the ancien régime, such as Voltaire and Montesquieu. The son of Count Charles Daniel de Talleyrand-Périgord, a lieutenant general in the French Royal Army, Talleyrand could have inherited his father's position had it not been for a limp that he walked with since he was a child. Instead of serving in the army, Talleyrand became a priest and was later appointed as Bishop of Autun shortly before the Estates General of 1789. He represented the First Estate during the Estates General, though he was not particularly pious and often positioned himself as a progressive thinker. His trusted peers in the Royalist cabinet don't fully know what to expect of the confusing, perhaps untrustworthy Talleyrand.

Jacques Necker: As director-general of the royal treasury, Necker faced extreme popularity for his regulation of government expenditures, reforms to make taxation more fair, and philanthropic activities (including his commitment to improve the lives of inmates in prisons and patients in hospitals). Necker sought to reform aspects of the ancien régime by establishing provincial assemblies, though this measure was largely unsuccessful. In 1781, Necker's popularity declined as France faced financial

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troubles, partially from its spending during the American Revolution.

Pamphlets criticizing Necker were widely dispersed. After Necker confronted King Louis XVI, whose spending was excessive, he was told to keep the expenditures a secret. Instead, Necker publicly released the *Compte rendu au roi*, which detailed these expenses. In 1788, Necker made the controversial decision to suspend the exportation of corn and buy a large amount of wheat as Paris neared a famine. These decisions ended with his dismissal from the position, as his bold methods were largely unsuccessful. By the time the Estates General of 1789 meets, Necker has established himself as a constitutional monarchist, advocating for more power for the Estates General and doubling the representation of the Third Estate.

Germaine de Staël: The daughter of Jacques Necker and a prominent political theorist, Germaine de Staël is one of the more progressive supporters of the crown. She advocated for massive reforms to the monarchy, hoping that it would grow to resemble a British style in which a constitution and a strong legislature limited the absolute rule of the king. She also advocated for gender equality, criticizing the role that men played during the Enlightenment while women were often unable to participate. She is also very critical of mob rule and finds the Parisian workers untrustworthy.

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Marquis de Favras: An aristocrat and former lieutenant in the Gardes Suisses (French military units tasked with protecting French royalty) of the Count of Provence (who was King Louis XVI's younger brother), Marquis de Favras is a staunch royalist and friend to the crown. For the past 2 years, he has been raising a legion to combat the Prussians and William V, but his arrival back in Paris, paired with his history with the Count of Provence, has raised significant red flags. It is unclear what he is planning, but his loyalty to the throne is worrying to revolutionaries.

Yolande de Polastron: A favorite of Marie Antoinette, Yolande's beauty and extravagance preceded her. Gentle in appearance, yet fierce in demeanor, her aristocratic prestige favored her ultra-monarchist lobbyist endeavors and ultimately swayed Antoinette's judgments. Lobbying isn't the only way to achieve political change - in Yolande's case, a pretty face and shy temperament prove to be quite effective when rallying for conservative, loyalist, and monarchist views. Critically, her intentions to sway the government were (criticized) primarily by the Third Estate, given her luxurious image and seemingly privileged connections to the court, furthering her demonization by the press. Although the figurehead of monarchism, her intentions always aligned with the elite, perhaps her definition of power is more self-protective.

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Antoine-Éléonor-Léon Leclerc de Juigné, Archbishop of Paris: The deputy of the clergy to the Estates General, Juigné is a truly devout man - a rarity in the clergy of the time. Elevated from a humble bishopric in the northeast of France to the supreme position of Archbishop of Paris by King Louis. A pious and charitable man who reformed his church to refocus on charity and education within the impoverished areas of Paris. Religiously liberal, as he worked to help restore Protestants to civil status, and politically conciliatory towards the lower class. Concerned primarily with the continued service to the Catholic Church of France and secondly with establishing an effective dialogue between the First and Third Estates. He is attending the Estates-General with his 2 brothers, who have helped finance his charity works and reforms.

Revolution Committee Positions

François-Noël "Gracchus" Babeuf: A land surveyor who has seen the crushing poverty of the countryside firsthand, Babeuf represents the far-left fringe that views political liberty as useless without economic equality. He champions the "Conspiracy of the Equals," advocating for the abolition of private property and the communal distribution of land. He uses his platform to argue that as long as one person starves while another feasts, the

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Revolution has failed, positioning himself as the voice for a social order that prioritizes survival over the rights of the property-owning class.

Jacques Hébert: The editor of the angry and aggressive newspaper *Le Père Duchesne*, Hébert is the voice of the most radical *sans-culottes* in the Parisian slums. He is a primary advocate for the total de-Christianization of France and the implementation of strict price controls on bread and other essentials to protect the urban poor. He is a frequent speaker at the Cordeliers Club, where he articulates the grievances of the radical sections of the city. His daily involvement in the politics of the Paris Commune ensures he remains a central figure in the coordination of local district activists and those responsible for organizing public demonstrations.

Camille Desmoulins: A journalist from Picardy and a longtime associate of Robespierre, Desmoulins is a fixture of the Palais-Royal whose public speeches are often credited with sparking the mobilization of the urban crowd. He is a staunch republican who uses his writing to critique the motives of public figures and identify perceived threats to the Revolution. He spends his days moving between the political clubs and the busier districts, gathering the rumors and grievances of the people to include in his pamphlets. His publications serve as a primary source for those looking to

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understand the immediate mood of the streets and the shift of popular sentiment.

Joseph Fouche: A former teacher of logic and physics, Fouché approaches political administration with a focus on systematic organization and the removal of unproductive elements from the state. He is a vocal critic of the Church, arguing that its land and wealth should be repurposed to fund the national treasury and public secular education. His daily work involves the oversight of municipal committees where he centralizes reports on grain prices, local movements, and public order. Through this steady accumulation of paperwork and administrative detail, he maintains a clear view of the city's internal stability and the private habits of those who might disrupt it. He remains a quiet but constant presence in the committees of the National Convention, where he advocates for the use of data and surveillance to ensure the security of the Republic.

Maximilien Robespierre: A lawyer from Arras known as "The Incorruptible," Robespierre has built his reputation on a rigid, unwavering devotion to the "General Will" and the legal protection of the disenfranchised. He champions the rights of unskilled laborers and serves as a vocal opponent of the offices that allow wealth to dictate the course of French justice. Within the Estates General, he uses his sharp legal training to frame every political debate as a

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moral trial, effectively categorizing any opposition as a betrayal of the public trust. He is a brilliant legal mind and a leader of the growing Jacobin Club.

Georges Danton: A lawyer of immense physical presence and booming oratory, Danton serves as the vital link between the halls of the Estates General and the volatile working-class districts of Paris. He champions the immediate, practical needs of the sans-culottes—specifically affordable bread and direct political agency—and grows increasingly impatient with the slow, legalistic pace of moderate reformers. While he maintains his seat in the assembly, he is more at home in the Cordeliers Club, where he coordinates with the radical "sections" of the city to organize mass protests. He is deeply popular among the urban Parisians and the local government of the city.

Jean-Paul Marat: A failed scientist turned radical journalist, Marat operates from the basements of Paris, fueled by a relentless suspicion of the aristocracy and anyone he deems a "hidden" enemy of the people. He utilizes his newspaper, *L'Ami du Peuple*, to launch aggressive print campaigns that name and shame specific counterrevolutionaries, effectively marking them for public retribution. Marat views the ongoing bread shortages as a deliberate plot by the royal court to starve the Third Estate, and he advocates for the total liquidation of the *Ancien Régime's* leadership.

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Emmanuel “Abbe” Joseph Sieyès: A cleric who has risen through the ranks of the First Estate, Sieyès serves as the primary theorist of the Revolution, famously arguing that the Third Estate alone constitutes the true nation. He champions the transition to a constitutional monarchy and is the driving force behind the proposal to replace France’s chaotic provincial boundaries with a standardized system of administrative departments. Despite his clerical status, his credibility lies in his reputation as a secular rationalist whose pamphlets provide the legal and intellectual justification for the National Assembly’s existence.

Louis Philippe II, Duke d’Orléans (Philippe Égalité): The King’s own cousin and one of the wealthiest men in France, the Duke is a man of the high nobility who has turned his palace, the Palais-Royal, into a sanctuary for radical thought. He champions the transition to a British-style constitutional monarchy, with himself as a likely candidate for the throne should Louis XVI fail. He is a master of the “long game,” funding revolutionary pamphlets and supporting the “doubling of the Third” to undermine the King’s authority. His resources are nearly limitless, including his vast fortune and a private estate that the King’s police are legally forbidden to enter.

Olympe de Gouges: A self-taught playwright and social reformer, de Gouges is a woman of the bourgeoisie who believes that the “rights of man” are

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meaningless if they do not also include the "rights of woman." She champions the abolition of slavery and the legal equality of all citizens, regardless of gender or birth, often finding herself at odds with the more conservative men of the Third Estate. She views the Enlightenment as an unfinished project that must be pushed to its logical conclusion: total social justice. Her influence is rooted in her ability to organize intellectual salons and her direct links to the women of the Paris markets and social clubs.

Louis Antoine de Saint-Just: One of the youngest delegates in the assembly, Saint-Just is a legal theorist who views the Revolution as a total war between a republic of virtue and the corruption of the past. He champions the complete secularization of France and the destruction of the Church's political influence and believes that those who oppose the revolution have no rights, famously stating that "one cannot reign innocently." He advocates for a clean slate, seeking to replace ancient legal traditions with a strict, rationalized code of conduct that leaves no room for dissent.

Honoré Gabriel Riqueti, comte de Mirabeau: A nobleman of the sword rejected by his own class and elected by the Third Estate, Mirabeau is a figure of immense scandal whose oratorical talent dominates the assembly floor. He champions a constitutional monarchy where the King remains a central figure, frequently positioning himself as the indispensable intermediary

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between the court and the people. While he publicly defies royal edicts, he maintains a series of private, high-stakes backchannels with the ministry that lead many to wonder who exactly is funding his lavish lifestyle. He is widely popular among the third estate, but they don't know his secret.

Antoine Barnave: A lawyer from Grenoble, Barnave serves as a leading voice for the liberal nobility and upper bourgeoisie. He seeks a stable constitutional monarchy that protects private property and limits the influence of the Parisian mob, viewing the Revolution as a process that should have a clear endpoint. He maintains a correspondence with Marie Antoinette, leveraging his position as her unofficial advisor to try to steer the monarchy toward a compromise that might save the throne. He has connections with all three estates, where he works to consolidate a moderate majority against both the court and the radicals.

Marquis de Condorcet: A world-renowned intellectual, de Condorcet views the revolution as a technical change that must be solved through the application of logic. He champions the creation of a universal public education system and a constitution based on rational and scientific principles rather than tradition or fervor. During the Estates General, he is focused on redrawing governmental maps of France and developing a census to ensure that representation is based on fair data.

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Madame Roland: A famous writer and hostess, Madame Roland is a revolutionary, but not a feminist. She is known for her intelligence, strong skills in negotiation, and friendliness. While believing that as a woman, she should play a different role in society than men, she maintains confidence in her own intellectual superiority over other current political leaders (particularly Robespierre and Danton). She frequently hosts meetings for politicians in her salon, helping her exert political influence through casual conversations and eavesdropping. She champions the ideal of a decentralized government modeled after the Roman Republic, favoring the rule of the educated middle class over both the monarchy and the urban mob. At the time of the Estates General, she is focused on promoting her husband's career and ghostwriting the speeches and manifestos that define their faction's platform.

Jacques Pierre Brissot: A lawyer and journalist, Brissot is an urban moderate who believes the Revolution needs to be spread to the rest of the world (especially Europe) to ensure its survival. He is a founding member of the anti-slavery organization Society of the Friends of the Blacks and a vocal advocate for preemptive war with other European monarchies to secure French interests. He approaches politics from a macro global perspective, often disregarding the economic needs of the French lower class and

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compromising with the Jacobins. As the Estates General starts, he is busy using his newspaper to cover international events and explain why they are relevant to French citizens.

Thomas Paine: Paine is a veteran of the American Revolution, a global symbol of liberty, and the world-renowned author of *Common Sense*. He views the events in France as the next logical step in a global struggle against monarchies. He champions republican democracy stripped of all aristocracy, but sees room for compromise with the throne and maintains good relations with the Royal Court. During the Estates General, he acts as an elder advisor to the reformist leaders, bringing his experience and rhetorical wit to drafting new declarations.

Jean Sylvain Bailly: An astronomer and the current Mayor of Paris, Bailly is a constitutionalist who wants a peaceful transition to a government shared by both the King and the people. He believes in tradition and law and order, viewing his role as a stabilizing force in the otherwise chaotic revolution. He is focused on the procedural legitimacy of the new government and is well-liked among all three estates.

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Theroigne de Mericourt: A famous singer often seen in her iconic red outfit, de Mericourt advocates for arming women for their full participation in the defense of the Revolution. She rejects traditional boundaries of gender, arguing that the war can't be won without the mobilization of women. She is a fixture of the Cordeliers Club and the public markets, but also participated in the spirited intellectual debate of the Third Estate. Toward the end of her life, she was held in an Austrian prison from 1791 and later institutionalized.



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