

## Dear Delegates,

As Director of the cabinet of the National Assembly, I have the pleasure of welcoming you all to this committee. Our Assembly, as the representatives of the French people and the de facto executive body, is largely responsible for the affairs of the country. The Assembly, through its own powers and its power over King Louis XVI, may determine the internal and external policies and principles by which the country will be governed. The National Assembly, then, is a vital body. Indeed, at this critical moment in French history, you as its illustrious members have the opportunity to reshape France into greatness. But if you fail, your efforts will surely be crushed by the forces of tyranny.

The issues with which we will deal revolve around the great matter of revolution: its success, its longevity, and the ultimate cause for which it is sought. The revolutionary fervour sweeping France is the product of deep ideological, historical, and political divides. To harness, tame, or temper this spirit as such demands of the National Assembly solutions which can overcome deep animosities. In confronting these issues, this guide will be an invaluable tool for conducting your research. Obtaining a working knowledge of the powers and beliefs of your persona will prove equally valuable, as will ensuring that you have a concrete understanding of the issues and sociohistorical and political situation. Doing this will be sure to lead to a stimulating, satisfying debate.

Before you peruse this guide, let me introduce myself. I am a third-year student from the University of Toronto, majoring in Ethics, Society and Law, with minors in Philosophy and Political Science. It is thus my firm belief that our powers of reason, our ethical sensibilities and sentiments, and our pragmatic understanding of politics will all serve as guides in tackling the difficult, volatile issues with which we are confronted.

The French Revolution, as the marker of the beginning of modernity, does not fail to be relevant today. In Libya and the March on Wall Street alike we have heard the call for *liberte*, *egalite*, *fraternite* put into new, modern contexts and vocabularies. We must keep in mind that this simulation is not only an opportunity for increased knowledge of our past; it will also teach us about the present and the future. Indeed, as students who will ourselves be confronting these situations in the future, it is fitting that we should prepare to meet them today.

Best of luck in your preparations,

Niall Casselman
Director of the French National Assembly
niall.casselman@mail.utoronto.ca



## **Section I: Background**

"What is the Third Estate? Nothing. What does it want to be? Something."
-Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès

France is perhaps the most powerful nation in Europe. Its population is second only to faraway Russia, its economy is massive and productive, and its colonies span the globe. But it is a nation in decline, beginning with the reign of Louis XV and continuing into the rule of the current king, Louis XVI. It is saddled with immense debts, and it has had two weak kings in a row. The increasingly powerful middle-class is rife with the radical ideas of the Enlightenment and the sentiments of the recent American Revolution. Together, these two factors make France ripe for a revolution of its own.

#### **French Debt**

The Seven Years' War, fought from 1756-1763, saw France lose its North American territories in Quebec and Louisiana, and left France with a massive debt, which was compounded by a costly expansion of the French navy after the war. French support for the Americans in their Revolutionary War were a further military expense. And royal extravagances in the courts of Louis XV and Louis XVI, including further construction of the opulent palace complex at Versailles first begun by Louis XIV, did nothing to ease the financial burden. In the years before the revolution, French debt was estimated at two billion livres, an immense sum at the time.

To cope with the costs of the Seven-Years War, beginning in 1756, the *vingtième* tax was implemented in an attempt to curb the debt. This was a flat five percent tax on all revenue, including that of the nobility. Yet even this measure failed to bring government expenditures into line with the costs that were being incurred. Louis XV died in 1774, having done little to mend the economy. His lackluster rule provided for the beginnings of anti-monarchist thought in France, which had traditionally looked favourably on absolute monarchs like Louis XIV, who had done much to bring about French predominance in Europe.

Louis XVI came to power and attempted to deal with the economic situation by raising new taxes. Both the nobility and the regional governments rejected, and ultimately defeated, the proposed measures. Louis XVI's finance minister, the newly-appointed Jacques Necker, unable to raise taxes, took out loans from the other countries of Europe, beginning in 1776. While not sustainable, the strategy made Necker himself popular with the people, who viewed him as having pulled France from its economic malaise. But ultimately Necker's policies were perceived to have failed when French support for the American Revolution ran the debt up by a billion livres. In 1783, Necker was dismissed from his post. His successor, Charles Alexandre de Calonne, was equally unable to ameliorate the situation. In 1787, the nobility rejected his proposed spending-based solution.



#### **Taxation**

Underlying France's debt was its antiquated and ineffective system of taxation. The wars that bankrupted France proved less devastating for her chief enemy, Britain, which had a superior taxation system in place.

The French taxation system functions at present as a Byzantine system of tariffs between the regions of France, allowing the government to tax based on commerce between the regions; and further taxes placed on everything from specific commodities, to land, to the number of members of a family. The internal tariffs served to prevent France from developing large-scale markets, as it was inefficient and undesirable for merchants to trade across regional boundaries. Other taxes were worse: collection was contracted to private individuals instead of the government itself. The result was that, in order to make a profit from being commissioned as a tax collector, one had to collect more than the actual mandated tax. In addition to these difficulties, citizens were obliged to pay a tenth of their annual income to the Catholic Church, and peasants were additionally required to pay their noble landlords for use of their fields. Consequent to all this was that French taxation was unpopular, uneven, and often extremely difficult for the poor to pay. And worst of all, the nobility and the clergy are largely exempt from taxation, paying little to nothing on their vast wealth.

## **Enlightenment Philosophy**

Besides France's present economic troubles, the country was profoundly transformed by the new ideas of the Enlightenment. Writers such as Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot brought forward new ideas that attacked the old order of Europe, which centered around Church, king, and class as the central nexuses of public life. Enlightenment thinking promoted rationality and science as the keys to the betterment of mankind – ideas that threatened the Catholic Church's claim to be the sole instructor as to ethics and the nature of the world – and, perhaps even more importantly, asserted a fundamental equality of every man. Enlightenment thinkers challenged the structures of French government, whereby status position was largely the result of birth, claiming this to be untenable in the face of human equality. They proposed republican ideals according to which government was to be considered the servant of the people, and not entitled to rule over them except insofar as the will of those people permit it. In *The Social Contract*, Rousseau states that "man is born free, yet everywhere he is in chains," eloquently expressing the sentiment of the times.

#### **Recent Days**

In response to the precarious situation, Louis XVI called together France's venerable ruling body, the Estates-General, which had not met in one hundred and seventy five years. The



Estates-General represented the nobility, clergy, and commoners in equal proportions, though the former two estates composed only three percent of the population. This provoked an immediate outcry from the commons, who demanded a doubling of their own representation, and the demand was made reality. When the Estates-General met, 1,201 delegates were present, just over half of which represented the commoners, but as each estate had one vote, the number was largely seen as symbolic.

Hope for a solution to the financial crisis began to evaporate as the estates were paralyzed in argument, unable to move past even the first agenda item: the verification of their credentials to participate as delegates. So, on June 13, 1789, the Third Estate – the commoners – after failing to reconcile with the clergy or aristocrats, declared themselves to be the National Assembly of the people. They would conduct themselves with or without the other estates. Effectively, they had declared themselves to be the sole governing body of France.

Louis XVI attempted to stop the new assembly, annulling its decrees and, on June 20, barring the Assembly from entering its meeting place in the *Salle des États*. In response, the Assembly defiantly met at a nearby tennis court, swearing there not to cease their meeting until they had effectively drafted a new constitution for France. Many members of the clergy, and a few nobles, joined the Assembly.

By late June, the Assembly was still meeting, but Paris was slowly being surrounded by the French military. Then, on July 11, Louis XVI dismissed Necker, the popular finance minister widely seen as a supporter of the people. Parisians responded with widespread rioting, and were joined by much of the French Guard. Now, fearful of the soldiers waiting outside Paris, and enraged at the King's perceived arrogance, the people look for a way to arm themselves while the National Assembly sits in a non-stop session. It is the morning of July 14, 1789, and the French Revolution is about to begin...



# Topic I: Liberté, Fraternité, Égalité: Sociopolitical Structure of France

"People do not judge in the same way as courts of law; they do not hand down sentences, they throw thunderbolts; they do not condemn kings, they drop them back into the void."

-Maximilien Robespierre

With the National Assembly holding the reins of power, the time has come for the body to decide exactly what powers it – and the rest of the French government – actually have. The Assembly's original task, which it set itself in making its Tennis Court Oath, is to draft a constitution for France. This document is the subject at hand: if the Assembly is to govern effectively, it must produce a constitution that 1) details the structures of government and the rights of the people,

and 2) ensures that it maintains the continuing support of the French people.

## **Rights and Freedoms**

Driven by new Enlightenment ideals, the people are demanding the rights and freedoms that they see as innate and inalienable. The extent to which the Assembly recognizes those demands will have far reaching consequences for France. The questions of who, exactly, will have rights, and what those rights entail loom large over the proceedings of the Assembly.



## I. Citizenship

The question of who is a citizen is critical, because it is by virtue of citizenship that rights are bestowed. Thus who is to be considered a citizen is important in the consideration of rights and freedoms.

In Europe at present, propertied males are seen as the only portion of the society worthy of political power according to tradition. For some, this naturally means that only propertied men ought to be considered citizens. Certainly, such a position would be the least threatening to the



Church, and to the old order generally. But it is not the only view: many, influenced by philosophers like Rousseau, seek to distinguish between what they term active and passive forms of citizenship. An active citizen is one with a right to vote and be elected to government – in short, to participate politically – while passive citizens are entitled to the protections afforded by rights and freedoms, but cannot participate politically. Passive citizens would include males without the property requirements, and (for most proponents) women.

For some, however, nothing short of true equality for all will suffice. All men, and even women and slaves ought to be treated equally. This is a radical proposition, one that will alienate and concern many in France itself, and is certain to terrify the other nations of Europe.

#### II. Rights

The Assembly must also determine, beyond who actually has rights, what those rights actually are. There is no straightforward distinction here, no camps into which people fall. Virtually all of the National Assembly maintains that rights must have a place in the new constitution, and



that they must protect that which is fundamental for a decent quality of life. But the precise nature of what ought to be considered fundamental is at issue. In constructing a foundation of rights for a new French order, the Assembly must determine what activities are protected, a task which is being done on this scale for only the second time. The Americans have produced their own constitution, and looking to the United States may provide guidance. But, ultimately, the National Assembly will be forging a strange new path as it negotiates the terrain of rights in the French constitution.

#### The Structure of Government

At present, France is ruled as an absolute monarchy. All authority is derived from the King: governors and judges are appointed by the monarch, and he controls the military and treasury. Democracy is limited to

small-scale councils. Beyond the political realm, the Catholic Church is omnipresent in the lives of the people, providing schooling for the purpose of better serving God, morality for the masses, and justification for the King's authority. Indeed, the Church was linked inextricably with the monarchy and aristocracy: most of France's bishops and cardinals were of old noble blood, and the King himself was said to rule by the divine mandate of God. As the National Assembly drafts



a new constitution, it must determine the role of the King, the aristocracy, and the Church – in short, the old order or *ancien regime*.

## I. The King and Nobility

King Louis XVI is unpopular with the people, mocked as indecisive and weak in the radical pamphlets that circulate through Paris. His wife, the Austrian Marie-Antoinette, is hated outright, seen as an unfeeling foreigner who lives in opulence as the people starve. But despite this, France has a rich history of absolute monarchy, which has served the nation well for most of its existence.

Consequently, there is little agreement on what should be done with the royalty of France, except that the King must no longer retain absolute power. The most extreme solution is to abolish the monarchy entirely. This position looks across the Atlantic to the young United States as a model of a republic that exists without royalty. But the bloody price the Americans paid for their independence makes many wary that, should France go down the same republican path, it must too bring that goal to fruition violently. Indeed, with most of the other countries of Europe themselves absolute monarchies, there seems little chance that France could abolish its own without attracting their ire and, possibly, their armies. And of course, there are those in France who are staunch monarchists and supporters of the aristocracy. Such people will, in all likelihood, never truly agree with the National Assembly, but they may prove troublesome should the Assembly go too far.

A less radical option presents a greater hope for a peaceful resolution. The monarchy could be made constitutional, subject to constraints on its powers and behaviour; and the aristocracy could be reined in as well through granting legislative power to bodies not closed to commoners. Advocates for this position look to Great Britain, where the monarchy and parliament coexist and the country prospers. Similarly, though the aristocracy is still in place, the nobility does not control political life completely, and commoners can expect to live a life that is at least not feudal in character. The question remains open, however, whether limited or gradual change will sate the mobs who crowd Paris' streets, or simply make them turn on the National Assembly itself as an agent of their oppression.

#### II. The Catholic Church

As with the monarchy, so too is there disagreement about the role of the Church under a new constitution. For radical Enlightenment thinkers, the Church has no place in French society, except in the private sphere. By this account, the Church should be diminished and placed under the control of the state. The people of France are somewhat less fervent. They are believers, and not eager to cast aside their faith utterly. Indeed, in regions like Vendee, many hold their Catholic faith very deeply. But the Church's close ties with the nobility and royalty are looked



upon less favorably, as is the vast wealth that priests have accumulated at their expense. The people may be able to be swayed by skilled rhetoric towards either support for or antagonism towards the Church.

#### **Ouestions for Consideration**

- 1. To what extent must the National Assembly follow the will of the French people? In drafting a constitution, how will the structure of French government allow the people make their will known?
- 2. Can the National Assembly rule France without a King? Is it legitimate enough in the eyes of the people to govern effectively? If not, how might it become more so?
- 3. What rights ought to be codified into a Constitution?

# <u>Topic II: Revolution and Counter-revolution: Deposing the Ancien Regime and Preventing</u> its Restoration

"The cutting of heads is so much a la mode that one is apt to feel of a morning whether their own is on their shoulders."

-Thomas Jefferson, on the French Revolution

Should the King refuse to yield power at the request of the National Assembly, or if the people take matters into their own hands, then France is confronted with the matter of true revolution. France will be irrevocably divided between monarchist and revolutionary, and, without exemplary diplomacy, the matter of French governance will come to bloodshed. In such a case, the Assembly must be prepared to act decisively to help, hinder, or halt the course of events.



## **Supporters of the Revolution**

If a revolution is to succeed, the citizens of Paris must be harnessed and unleashed. The people are numerous and angry, and have been rioting for days. They look favourably on the National Assembly as their representatives, but that relationship is precarious. The Assembly has no guarantee that the people will continue to support them should their decisions veer too far towards supporting Louis XVI and his cohorts. If not appeased, the mob may be just as dangerous to Assembly as the monarchist troops gathering outside Paris. However, while large and fervent, the mob is far from well-armed. To successfully revolt, the weapons stockpiled in the medieval bastion in the middle of Paris known as the Bastille will be critical.

The Assembly can firmly rely only upon the support of those units of the French Guard who have abandoned Louis XVI in support of the people. These elite soldiers initially obeyed their



orders and suppressed rioting citizens, but as native Frenchmen, they soon grew sympathetic with the cause of the citizenry and deserted en mass, several thousand in all. Along with a handful of officers sympathetic to the cause, notably the Marquis de Lafayette and the Compte de Rochambeau, these men represent the best hope both for keeping order in the face of chaos, or for decisively overthrowing the old regime.

#### The Revolution's Internal Enemies

Any revolutionary schemes will be fiercely opposed. The monarchist military surrounds Paris, ready to crush any rebellion at Louis XVI's command. It is also much larger in size than those



troops supportive of the National Assembly. Fortunately for the mob and the Assembly, the King is indecisive and extremely reluctant to use his armies.

Beyond the military, the nobles of France are extremely hostile towards the new ideas at the heart of the revolutionary spirit. The ideal of equality is profoundly threatening to their positions of privilege, while the gathering crowds outside their manors menace them physically. Many nobles have already emigrated from France to neighbouring Austria and the German states, and many more will flee should events turn against them. Even a moderate, non-violent solution does not appeal to most of the aristocracy, who fear that they will be tyrannized by vengeful commoners should any democratic system be put in place.

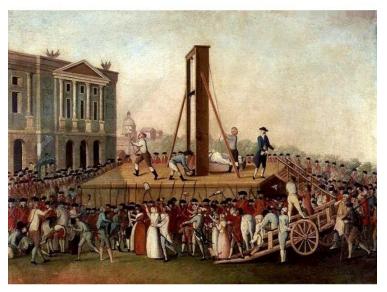
There is also the King himself. Though Louis XVI has lost much of his power in practice, effectively superseded by the Assembly, he still retains it formally. A new constitution that takes from the King his authority could go a long way towards reducing the threat posed by Louis XVI, as could more dire measures. Until such a time, however, the King remains a valuable figurehead for whoever controls him. If the National Assembly is not able to control the King, their actions will lose the veneer of legality that they currently possess. He is also a dangerous symbol for his royalist allies, and, argue some, so long as he lives, the royalist cause can never die completely.

## Maintaining the Revolution and its Unity

While not an immediate danger, should the initial bid for control of France succeed, the Assembly will be faced with perhaps the greatest threat of all. The principles that motivate the people and their representatives are strong now, but maintaining them will prove more challenging. It has long been an aphorism that power corrupts, and, if the Assembly wishes to find success in the long term, it must concern itself with ensuring that it does not itself become the sort of tyranny it aimed to replace. The guillotine is a dangerous new tool that may see much use in the days to come. If it becomes the sole recourse for the defence of the new French order, however, then the revolution may well have been in vain.

The Assembly must also concern itself with the dangers of undue factionalization. The new order will have enough enemies, from aristocrats to foreign nations, without falling prey to infighting and politicking. Many of the leading figures of the day have staunch followers and distinct, deeply-held ideas. If these disparate groups cannot come together and maintain their cooperation, then the French revolution may die by suicide.





#### **Questions for Consideration**

- 1. The National Assembly has no guarantee of having any real power; there exists a possibility that the body is swept aside by events. How can the Assembly ensure that it retains or enhances its power as a body?
- 2. To what extent can the Assembly control the people of Paris if there is a full-scale revolution? What methods might be used to do this?
- 3. How are the enemies of the

revolution best dealt with? What are the risks that come from dealing with them in which ways?

# <u>Topic III: Vive la Revolution: Peace with the European Powers and the Longevity of the Republic</u>

"A revolution is an idea which has found its bayonets."
-Napoleon Bonaparte

As France descends into chaos, all of Europe looks on at the spectacle. The great empires and nations of the continent are largely monarchical, and fear the spread of dangerous French ideas to their own people. But they are also predatory, and look on France's weakened state as an opportunity for enrichment. If France and the National Assembly are to survive, it is imperative that a peace is forged with the kings of Europe, or at least, that they be kept at bay by force of arms. Neither path will be easy: the leadership of most nations are hostile, and their militaries strong. It will be the Assembly's task to steer the nation effectively in its international relations, and if it fails, then the revolution will die under the boots of invading armies.

#### France's Position in Europe

During the 17th Century, Louis XIV, known as the Sun King, brought France to hegemony as a nation, fighting numerous successful wars over the course of his rule, notably battling the Austrian Empire and Great Britain bitterly during the War of the Spanish Succession. France fought against Britain again during the Seven-Years War. France's history prior to the



revolution has been marked by military success and territorial expansion, even despite its defeat in the Seven-Years War. It has traditionally been counted as the greatest power of Europe, a status that two successive kings have tarnished.

The current chaos will change France's position greatly. If the government is overthrown, then France's impressive military and its ability to trade with its neighbours will both be diminished. Without a strong and professional army and the ability to pay for one, France will have only the strength of its people. Fortunately, this is no small strength: France's citizens have displayed a willingness to risk themselves for the revolutionary ideals, and would defend their homeland if properly motivated. Whether they can succeed with depend on the Assembly's ability to have them recruited, trained, and armed. Better still is if they need not fight at all.

#### **The Other Powers**

## I. The Austrian Empire

The Austrian Empire is an old foe of France, and is deeply disturbed by the events occurring there. It is a powerful nation ruled by the influential Habsburg family, who also have historically dominated Germany and served as Holy Roman Emperor. Austria has been battling the Turkish Ottoman Empire for years, but is on the verge of making peace and is ready to once again look westward at France. Despite this, the Franco-Austrian peace has endured because the Austrian Emperor, Leopold II, is the brother of Marie-Antoinette, the French Queen. Leopold II does not wish to go to war, but such a course of action may prove unavoidable should the royal family suffer undue indignities.

#### II. Prussia

Prussia is another powerful nation, with military prowess made famous under Frederick the Great. But the current ruler, King Frederick William II, is no Frederick the Great. His own people call him 'the fat bastard,' and he is as prone to extravagance as Louis XVI. Likewise, he has proven an inept manager of his country's affairs, leaving Prussia in a weakened state, though it is still powerful. The Prussians disapprove of the French revolutionary ideas, and would likely act to oppose them. But they are distracted in the east by Poland, which is viewed as an easier prize than France.





## III: Spain

Spain is perhaps the hardest of the absolute monarchies to placate, but, fortunately, it is a country in decline, having lost territory and prestige since its heyday in the 1600s. Since the War of the Spanish Succession, France and Spain have shared the same ruling family, the Bourbons. If Louis XVI is deposed, Spain will be eager to seek revenge for the slight against their ruling dynasty. The only way to avoid war may be to intimidate the Spanish: if France can assemble a powerful alliance, Spain will not fight alone.

## IV: Russia

If Spain is an enemy in decline, Russia may prove to be the opposite. The Russian Empire is emerging from a backwards slumber under the rule of Catherine the Great. The Empress herself is a proponent of Enlightenment ideals, albeit with herself as an enlightened monarch rather than an elected leader. The Russians have acted under Catherine as a mediator in previous European conflicts. The Russians are far enough away from France that they do not fear either French ideas or French armies at their borders.



#### V: Great Britain

Great Britain is a constitutional monarchy, unlike the other great powers. This gives the country a greater natural sympathy for French idealism, though the British are wary of radicalism. But Britain is also the longstanding rival of France, and eager to see that rival undone. The two nations have fought during the American War of Independence and the Seven-Years War, and many believe than another war is inevitable. Britain is for now content to look on at the developing situation across the English Channel, but should it sense weakness, it may be quick to exploit the opening for its own gain.

**Section V: The National Constituent Assembly** 



# **Maximilien Robespierre**

Robespierre is a prominent Jacobin lawyer. He has studied Enlightenment thought, and is so deeply-principled that he is known as "The Incorruptible." He is an advocate for equality and universal suffrage, and is ruthless in pursuit of these goals.



# Marie Joseph Marquis de Lafayette

The Marquis de Lafayette is a wealthy aristocratic soldier who volunteered for service in the Continental Army during the American Revolution. Serving as a Major General there, he has been profoundly influenced by American thought. This makes him relatively moderate. As commander of the Guard, he is one of the few military figures to support the National Assembly.



## **Jacques Pierre Brissot**

Brissot is a lawyer, legal philosopher, and pamphleteer. He is a leading French Abolitionist, and moderate politically. While fervent in his beliefs, he is also realistic enough to be concerned over the radical approaches of some other members.





## **Emmanuel Joseph Sieyes**

Sieyes is one of the few members of the clergy to actively support the Assembly, though he does so as a member of the Third Estate. He is an Enlightenment thinker, and, in his influential pamphlet "What is the Third Estate?" he argues for the increased standing of commoners. He is opposed, however, to the diminishment of the Catholic Church, in particular moves to eliminate the tithes paid to it.



# **Jacques Necker**

Necker is the popular, former-finance minister to Louis XVI. He is a moderate, supportive to a point of greater representation for the commons. He advocated for increased representation for the Third Estate in the Estates-General, for example, but did not suggest that voting be by head rather than by estate. He is not eager to see France down a radical path.



## Gabriel Riqueti, compte de Mirabeau

Mirabeau originally aimed to attend the Estates-General as a representative of the nobility, but was rejected. He then volunteered to represent the Third Estate, and was accepted. He is pragmatic, and aims for a government that is similarly pragmatic and responsible. Thus he opposes the anger of the Parisian mobs and their radical solutions. Mirabeau instead looks to Britain for a model of such a government.



## Jean-Paul Marat

Marat is a fiery journalist, one of the Assembly's extremists. His essays carried condemnation of the monarchy; aristocracy; and frequently, anyone else who disagreed with him. He is a defender of the people, in particular the lower-classes of society. Marat is an ardent and uncompromising Jacobin.





#### **Antoine Barnave**

Barnave is a Protestant lawyer, supportive of the ideals of liberty and equality, but politically moderate on questions of the monarchy. He is concerned that abolishing the monarchy would lead to chaos and civil war, but disapproves of the Catholic Church's influence and wealth.



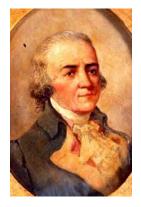
## Jean Sylvain Bailly

Bailly is a mathematician by training and the mayor of Paris. By virtue of his position, he is pragmatic, not wanting the city to fall into chaos. He is an influential voice in the Assembly. However, his general unease at the revolutionary fervour and violence makes him unpopular with the more radical members of the Assembly.



# **Georges Danton**

Danton is the President of the Cordeliers club, a society that holds popular sovereignty and anti-monarchism as its chief principles. He felt that the French people, properly motivated and led, could be a powerful force. He was not adverse to radical, violent action when necessary.



## Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours

Pont de Nemour is an economist, concerned with financial and agricultural reform. He favours free trade and low tariffs, and has experience in government as the Inspector General of Commerce. He is politically moderate, and in favour of a constitutional monarchy.





# Jean Joseph Mounier

Mounier is the Secretary of the National Assembly, and an influential moderate figure in it. He proposed the Tennis Court Oath, but quickly became dismayed by the extent of radicalism. He is conservative, not eager for democratic reform, though committed to putting into place fair and just laws.



# **Jacques Hebert**

Hebert is a radical editorialist whose writings have great influence over the lower orders of French society. His scathing articles lambast Marie-Antoinette, the Church, and the nobility, though he shows slightly more restraint when dealing with Louis XVI. Though not opposed to constitutional monarchy in principle, Hebert's views of the King as personally inept make him prone to more radical ideas as well.



#### Paul Francois Jean Nicolas, vicomte de Barras

Baras is a nobleman and former soldier who nevertheless is a firm supporter of democracy. He served with the French army in India, but on his return to France was rendered unsympathetic to the monarchy. He was one of the first members of the Jacobin Club, and thus welcomes the fervour for reform and revolution.



#### Jean Jacques Regis de Cambaceres

Cambaceres is a member of the aristocracy. He is educated as a lawyer and has served as a councillor in the courts of accounts and finances. Politically moderate, Cambaceres is especially concerned with due process, and worried that mob justice might overtake any attempt to bring the law to bear on the supposed enemies of the people. He is also an advocate for legal reform, wishing to replace the old order's haphazard laws with something more comprehensive.