



**General Certificate of Education
June 2010**

AS History 1041

HIS1F

Unit 1F

France in Revolution, 1774–1815

Final

Mark Scheme

Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the candidates' responses to questions and that every examiner understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for the standardisation meeting each examiner analyses a number of candidates' scripts: alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed at the meeting and legislated for. If, after this meeting, examiners encounter unusual answers which have not been discussed at the meeting they are required to refer these to the Principal Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of candidates' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

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Generic Introduction for AS

The AS History specification is based on the assessment objectives laid down in QCA's GCE History subject criteria and published in the AQA specification booklet. These cover the skills, knowledge and understanding which are expected of A Level candidates. Most questions address more than one objective since historical skills, which include knowledge and understanding, are usually deployed together. Consequently, the marking scheme which follows is a 'levels of response' scheme and assesses candidates' historical skills in the context of their knowledge and understanding of History.

The levels of response are a graduated recognition of how candidates have demonstrated their abilities in the Assessment Objectives. Candidates who predominantly address AO1(a) by writing narrative or description will perform at Level 1 or Level 2 depending on its relevance. Candidates who provide more explanation – (AO1(b), supported by the relevant selection of material, AO1(a)) – will perform at high Level 2 or low-mid Level 3 depending on how explicit they are in their response to the question. Candidates who provide explanation with evaluation, judgement and an awareness of historical interpretations will be addressing all 3 AOs (AO1(a); AO1(b); AO2(a) and (b) and will have access to the higher mark ranges. AO2(a) which requires the evaluation of source material is assessed in Unit 2.

Differentiation between Levels 3, 4 and 5 is judged according to the extent to which candidates meet this range of assessment objectives. At Level 3 the answers will show more characteristics of the AO1 objectives, although there should be elements of AO2. At Level 4, AO2 criteria, particularly an understanding of how the past has been interpreted, will be more in evidence and this will be even more dominant at Level 5. The demands on written communication, particularly the organisation of ideas and the use of specialist vocabulary also increase through the various levels so that a candidate performing at the highest AS level is already well prepared for the demands of A2.

CRITERIA FOR MARKING GCE HISTORY:**AS EXAMINATION PAPERS****General Guidance for Examiners (to accompany Level Descriptors)**

Deciding on a level and the award of marks within a level

It is of vital importance that examiners familiarise themselves with the generic mark scheme and apply it consistently, as directed by the Principal Examiner, in order to facilitate comparability across options.

The indicative mark scheme for each paper is designed to illustrate some of the material that candidates might refer to (knowledge) and some of the approaches and ideas they might develop (skills). It is not, however, prescriptive and should only be used to exemplify the generic mark scheme.

When applying the generic mark scheme, examiners will constantly need to exercise judgement to decide which level fits an answer best. Few essays will display all the characteristics of a level, so deciding the most appropriate will always be the first task.

Each level has a range of marks and for an essay which has a strong correlation with the level descriptors the middle mark should be given. However, when an answer has some of the characteristics of the level above or below, or seems stronger or weaker on comparison with many other candidates' responses to the same question, the mark will need to be adjusted up or down.

When deciding on the mark within a level, the following criteria should be considered *in relation to the level descriptors*. Candidates should never be doubly penalised. If a candidate with poor communication skills has been placed in Level 2, he or she should not be moved to the bottom of the level on the basis of the poor quality of written communication. On the other hand, a candidate with similarly poor skills, whose work otherwise matched the criteria for Level 4 should be adjusted downwards within the level.

Criteria for deciding marks within a level:

- The accuracy of factual information
- The level of detail
- The depth and precision displayed
- The quality of links and arguments
- The quality of written communication (grammar, spelling, punctuation and legibility; an appropriate form and style of writing; clear and coherent organisation of ideas, including the use of specialist vocabulary)
- Appropriate references to historical interpretation and debate
- The conclusion

June 2010

GCE AS History Unit 1: Change and Consolidation

HIS1F: France in Revolution, 1774–1815

Question 1

01 Explain why the Tennis Court Oath was taken on 20 June 1789. (12 marks)

Target: AO1(a), AO1(b)

Generic Mark Scheme

Nothing written worthy of credit. **0**

L1: Answers will contain either some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. **1-2**

L2: Answers will demonstrate some knowledge and understanding of the demands of the question. They will either be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question or they will provide some explanations backed by evidence that is limited in range and/or depth. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. **3-6**

L3: Answers will demonstrate good understanding of the demands of the question providing relevant explanations backed by appropriately selected information, although this may not be full or comprehensive. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. **7-9**

L4: Answers will be well-focused, identifying a range of specific explanations, backed by precise evidence and demonstrating good understanding of the connections and links between events/issues. Answers will, for the most part, be well-written and organised. **10-12**

Indicative content

Note: This content is not prescriptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Answers should include a range of reasons as to why the Tennis Court Oath was taken on 20 June 1789. These are likely to be both short and long-term, but the best answers will avoid narrative and focus on linked reasons

Candidates might include some of the following factors:

- the failure of the Estates-General to proceed with discussions of France's financial needs because of disputes over voting procedure, leading to frustration, particularly amongst members of the Third Estate

- the intransigence of Louis XVI who had delayed moving to a policy decision (even over voting procedure); his reluctance to accept reform or to realise and respond to the frustrations; his ineptness in dealing with the third estate – particularly in ordering the closure of their meeting room on June 20th
- the ambitions of the Third estate – evident before the Estates-General was even convened (as seen for example in Sieyès' pamphlet 'What is the Third Estate'), their decision to become the 'National assembly' (17 June) and of the clergy to join with that body on 19 June so creating a new political force
- the misunderstandings linked to the locked and guarded hall of 20 June – hence the National Assembly's move to the Tennis Court
- the presence of large numbers of troops in and around Paris, giving rise to rumours about the king's intentions
- the leadership of Mounier (who wanted to prevent a more radical proposal that the deputies move to Paris) and Mirabeau who wanted the National Assembly to show its solidarity and determination to force a new constitution.

To reach higher levels, candidates will need to show the inter-relationship of the reasons given, for example they might emphasise that being locked out of the meeting hall was merely the 'spark' which ignited long festering grievances. Alternatively they may suggest that the oath was a new step, largely resulting from the events of the previous 3 days.

Question 1

02 How important was the part played by the Parisian crowd in the revolution of 1789?
(24 marks)

Target: AO1(a), AO1(b), AO2(b)

Generic Mark Scheme

- Nothing written worthy of credit. **0**
- L1:** Answers may either contain some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or they may address only a part of the question. Alternatively, there may be some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. There will be little, if any, awareness of differing historical interpretations. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. **1-6**
- L2:** Answers will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They will either be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question or they may contain some explicit comment with relevant but limited support. They will display limited understanding of differing historical interpretations. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. **7-11**
- L3:** Answers will show a developed understanding of the demands of the question. They will provide some assessment, backed by relevant and appropriately selected evidence, but they will lack depth and/or balance. There will be some understanding of varying historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. **12-16**
- L4:** Answers will show explicit understanding of the demands of the question. They will develop a balanced argument backed by a good range of appropriately selected evidence and a good understanding of historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, show organisation and good skills of written communication. **17-21**
- L5:** Answers will be well-focused and closely argued. The arguments will be supported by precisely selected evidence leading to a relevant conclusion/judgement, incorporating well-developed understanding of historical interpretations and debate. Answers will, for the most part, be carefully organised and fluently written, using appropriate vocabulary. **22-24**

Indicative content

Note: This content is not prescriptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Candidates should be able to make a judgement by considering the importance of the Parisian crowd to the revolution of 1789 and balancing these views against ideas which suggest the crowd was not important or that other factors were more so. (Note that there are two possible approaches to a balanced answer here).

Factors suggesting the importance of the Parisian crowd might include:

- the popular demonstrations in Paris prior to, and at the time of, the assembling of the Estates-General. The Revéillon riots (April) were indicative of workers' desperation at high food prices and helped increase the tensions felt when the Estates-General met in May. The events leading to the creation of the National Assembly and Tennis Court oath were played out against background of popular disturbances – and the latter may well have been introduced by the moderates, to prevent more radical deputies taking the Assembly to Paris and becoming more extreme
- in the course of July 1789, the crowds showed the weakness of royal authority and their actions e.g. the demonstrations of 11–12 July following Necker's dismissal and arrival of German cavalry troops; the invasion of the Tuileries Palace; the burning of 40 of 54 customs posts; the attack on the prisons 12/13 July – made the revolution wider; led royal troops to defect; led to the establishment of the Commune and National Guard
- the storming of the Bastille, 14 July, forced the recall of Necker, the removal of royal troops from Paris; the King's agreement to the new constitution, commune and national guard and appearance in Paris (17 July) and the continuation of the National Assembly. The crowds had thus forced more radical change than that originally envisaged by the deputies at Versailles and severely undermined the authority of the king
- Parisian crowd action inspired the activities of the peasants in the countryside in the Great Fear and so contributed to the collapse of feudalism in August 1789
- the march of the women to Versailles, 5 October 1789, supported by 20000 National Guards, forced King and Assembly to return to Paris; Louis' confirmation of the August decrees and the Declaration of Rights; the breakdown of royal government as the Third Estate seized control both in Paris and other towns.

Factors that suggest the Parisian crowd was not important, or other factors were more important might include:

- the summoning of the Estates-General, the formation of the National Assembly and the major political developments of May – October took place at Versailles and were the result of the leadership of king/nobles/professional members of the third estate men – most of whom were concerned not to bow to the wishes of the Parisian crowds
- Peasant risings in the summer of 1789 were as much (possibly more) of an influence on the major revolutionary move away from feudal controls in August 1789
- France's financial disarray which demanded some change to the old system of privilege; the weaknesses of Louis XVI; the failures of Louis XVI's ministers; the intransigence of the parlements; the ambitions of the bourgeoisie; bad harvests and food prices; Enlightenment ideas – all played a part in influencing the revolution in 1789.

Good answers are likely to suggest that while the Parisian crowds had some impact on the radicalisation of the revolution in 1789, its initial impetus came from elsewhere. They may also argue that crowd influence would not have been as extensive had the country not been ruled by the limited Louis XVI whose handling of the situation was in large measure responsible for the course of events. It could also be pointed out that the 'crowd' did not really exist as a single force until after 14 July and that it was in the formation of the Commune and National Guard that the 'crowd' obtained a more permanent political base from which to influence subsequent events.

Question 2

03 Explain why the Committee of Public Safety was set up in April 1793. (12 marks)

Target: AO1(a), AO1(b)

Generic Mark Scheme

Nothing written worthy of credit. **0**

L1: Answers will contain either some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. **1-2**

L2: Answers will demonstrate some knowledge and understanding of the demands of the question. They will **either** be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question **or** they will provide some explanations backed by evidence that is limited in range and/or depth. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. **3-6**

L3: Answers will demonstrate good understanding of the demands of the question providing relevant explanations backed by appropriately selected information, although this may not be full or comprehensive. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. **7-9**

L4: Answers will be well-focused, identifying a range of specific explanations, backed by precise evidence and demonstrating good understanding of the connections and links between events/issues. Answers will, for the most part, be well-written and organised. **10-12**

Indicative content

Note: This content is not prescriptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Answers should include a range of reasons as to why the Committee of Public Safety was set up in 1793.

Candidates might include some of the following factors:

- the Convention needed to ensure control over the country in the face of threats from counter-revolutionaries, particularly the rising in the Vendée which broke out in March 1793. Following the introduction of the conscription acts in February 1793
- the Convention needed to ensure control over the country in the face of threats from external enemies (France was at war with Austria, Prussia, The United Provinces, Britain and Spain all of whom were threatening France's borders. The Girondin general Dumouriez (and the son of the duc d'Orléans) had deserted in April 1793, creating panic and fear
- France faced economic difficulties, partly brought about by the spread of war
- growing Jacobin domination of the Convention (the Girondin ministers were expelled in June between the founding of the Committee in April and its reformulation in July) meant

- a strong radical presence pushing for stronger internal controls and greater speed of action in the face of political division and lengthy deliberation in the Convention
- the measure was favoured by the sans culottes who wanted to increase central control to speed up the removal of enemies of the revolution.

To reach the higher levels, candidates will need to show the inter-relationship of the reasons given, for example, they might emphasise the war or the development of the Vendée rebellion as the most important reason behind the setting up of the Committee Alternatively they might suggest that there was a growing radicalisation after the execution of the King and that this move was a natural step along a path away from liberal and democratic government that had begun in 1792.

Question 2

- 04** How important was Robespierre in the development of the Reign of Terror in the years 1793 to 1794? (24 marks)

Target: AO1(a), AO1(b), AO2(b)

Generic Mark Scheme

- Nothing written worthy of credit. **0**
- L1:** Answers may either contain some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or they may address only a part of the question. Alternatively, there may be some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. There will be little, if any, awareness of differing historical interpretations. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. **1-6**
- L2:** Answers will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They will either be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question or they may contain some explicit comment with relevant but limited support. They will display limited understanding of differing historical interpretations. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. **7-11**
- L3:** Answers will show a developed understanding of the demands of the question. They will provide some assessment, backed by relevant and appropriately selected evidence, but they will lack depth and/or balance. There will be some understanding of varying historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. **12-16**
- L4:** Answers will show explicit understanding of the demands of the question. They will develop a balanced argument backed by a good range of appropriately selected evidence and a good understanding of historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, show organisation and good skills of written communication. **17-21**
- L5:** Answers will be well-focused and closely argued. The arguments will be supported by precisely selected evidence leading to a relevant conclusion/judgement, incorporating well-developed understanding of historical interpretations and debate. Answers will, for the most part, be carefully organised and fluently written, using appropriate vocabulary. **22-24**

Indicative content

Note: This content is not prescriptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Candidates should be able to make a judgement by balancing ways in which Robespierre was important to the Reign of Terror against ways in which he was not or in which other factors were more responsible.

Factors suggesting the importance of Robespierre might include:

- he led the Jacobins, had supported the execution of the King and the overthrow of the Girondins (June 1793), was supported by the sans culottes and spoke in favour of the development of the Terror
- he became the most important member of the Committee of Public Safety from July 1793 and encouraged it to take more radical steps, e.g. the law of Suspects in September 1793 which made Terror an instrument of government policy
- he delivered important speeches e.g. in December 1793 his speech led to the abandonment of the 1793 constitution and made 'virtue' the new justification for the Terror
- he demanded the continuation of the Terror after the Spring of 1794 when the revolts in the Vendée had been mostly put down
- he supported the show trials and the execution of the Hébertistes in March 1794
- he was elected President of the Convention 4 June 1794 giving him overall responsibility for developments. Robespierre could be seen as a virtual dictator at this time
- the law of 22 Prairial (10 June) 1794 intensified the Terror, making those who sought to 'mislead public opinion' enemies of the people
- although the terror did not collapse immediately after Robespierre's overthrow in July 1794, its winding down suggests that it was he who had perpetuated it.

Factors suggesting that Robespierre was not important or that other factors were more important might include:

- The emergence of the instruments of the Terror between March and May 1793 (e.g. Revolutionary Tribunal in March) – before Robespierre was in a specifically influential position
- the development of the Terror because of the need for greater centralisation and vigilance at a time of war – which had grown from Feb/March 1793, so accounting for the timing
- the power of the sans culottes who forced the dismissal of the Girondin deputies and may be considered the radicalising force behind the Terror
- the need to curb federal revolt
- other influential leaders, e.g. Couthon and St Just
- the continuation of the terror after Robespierre's execution.

Good answers are likely to conclude that while Robespierre was important to the reign of Terror, he was not the only influence on its establishment and development.

Question 3

05 Explain why a Concordat was made with the Catholic Church in 1801. (12 marks)

Target: AO1(a), AO1(b)

Generic Mark Scheme

Nothing written worthy of credit. **0**

L1: Answers will contain either some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. **1-2**

L2: Answers will demonstrate some knowledge and understanding of the demands of the question. They will **either** be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question **or** they will provide some explanations backed by evidence that is limited in range and/or depth. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. **3-6**

L3: Answers will demonstrate good understanding of the demands of the question providing relevant explanations backed by appropriately selected information, although this may not be full or comprehensive. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. **7-9**

L4: Answers will be well-focused, identifying a range of specific explanations, backed by precise evidence and demonstrating good understanding of the connections and links between events/issues. Answers will, for the most part, be well-written and organised. **10-12**

Indicative content

Note: This content is not prescriptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Answers should include a range of reasons as to why Napoleon made a Concordat with the Catholic Church in 1801.

Candidates might include some of the following factors:

- the issue of religion had been divisive since the Civil Constitution of the Clergy in 1790 had deprived the Pope of influence within France and made the Church subservient to the state. Napoleon wanted to heal old sores and win support for his regime
- a Concordat with the pope would enhance Napoleon's own glory and prestige, validate his regime and win gratitude from his people – so increasing his chances of becoming Emperor
- a Concordat might reconcile oppositional nobles and priests to the regime
- liberal religious changes under the Directory had made a Concordat less likely to provoke a left-wing reaction
- the election of Pope Pius VII in 1800 offered an opportunity for a new agreement
- the French army's success in Italy was likely to ensure favourable terms at this time

- Napoleon may have wanted to ensure the loyalty and support of the owners of former Church lands by making a binding agreement on this issue with the Pope.

To reach the higher levels, candidates will need to show the inter-relationship of the reasons given, for example, they might suggest that religious issues were subservient to factors of control and support in making the Concordat. Alternatively they may distinguish between the long and short term factors which led Napoleon to make this agreement in 1801, at a point when he was still trying to consolidate his power.

Question 3

- 06** How important were Napoleon's administrative reforms in maintaining control in France in the years 1799 to 1814? (24 marks)

Target: AO1(a), AO1(b), AO2(b)

Generic Mark Scheme

- Nothing written worthy of credit. **0**
- L1:** Answers may either contain some descriptive material which is only loosely linked to the focus of the question or they may address only a part of the question. Alternatively, there may be some explicit comment with little, if any, appropriate support. Answers are likely to be generalised and assertive. There will be little, if any, awareness of differing historical interpretations. The response will be limited in development and skills of written communication will be weak. **1-6**
- L2:** Answers will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They will either be almost entirely descriptive with few explicit links to the question or they may contain some explicit comment with relevant but limited support. They will display limited understanding of differing historical interpretations. Answers will be coherent but weakly expressed and/or poorly structured. **7-11**
- L3:** Answers will show a developed understanding of the demands of the question. They will provide some assessment, backed by relevant and appropriately selected evidence, but they will lack depth and/or balance. There will be some understanding of varying historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, be clearly expressed and show some organisation in the presentation of material. **12-16**
- L4:** Answers will show explicit understanding of the demands of the question. They will develop a balanced argument backed by a good range of appropriately selected evidence and a good understanding of historical interpretations. Answers will, for the most part, show organisation and good skills of written communication. **17-21**
- L5:** Answers will be well-focused and closely argued. The arguments will be supported by precisely selected evidence leading to a relevant conclusion/judgement, incorporating well-developed understanding of historical interpretations and debate. Answers will, for the most part, be carefully organised and fluently written, using appropriate vocabulary. **22-24**

Indicative content

Note: This content is not prescriptive and candidates are not obliged to refer to the material contained in this mark scheme. Any legitimate answer will be assessed on its merits according to the generic levels scheme.

Candidates should be able to make a judgement either by balancing points, which suggest that Napoleon's administrative reforms were important in maintaining control against those which do not or by balancing Napoleon's administrative reforms against other reasons for Napoleon's control in France in the years 1799 to 1814.

Factors suggesting Napoleon's administrative reforms were important might include:

- the establishment of a strongly centralised system giving Napoleon direct supervision and involvement with the opportunity to crush dissent
- the appointment of trustworthy prefects (and hierarchy of sub-prefects, mayors and provincial councils) – supervised by Napoleon himself – so emphasising their duties to him
- efficient control of local government under the prefects; their responsibility for conscription and maintaining loyalty as seen in their participation in spying and disseminating propaganda – so helping maintain control
- the development of police branches responsible for national security (including spying, censorship, prison surveillance, monitoring food prices by the Sûreté) and providing a system of control through the secret police agents – with daily Ministerial reporting to Napoleon
- the requirement for Senators to provide weekly reports from their regions
- Improvements in the accounting of government revenue –the reorganisation of the central treasury (1800); a new tax register; improvements on tax collection under the supervision of the prefects; improved procedures and records all helped bolster the financial security and so controlling the government
- the introduction of the livret and support for the middle classes in administration helped provide stability
- the success of the regime in maintaining control even when there was an economic downturn from 1810 vindicates the success of Napoleon's administrative reforms.

Factors suggesting Napoleon's administrative reforms were not important – or that other factors were important might include:

- Napoleon's position as Consul and Emperor with extensive powers (e.g. to introduce legislation and appoint/dismiss Ministers) might be considered the basis of Napoleonic control
- it might be argued that control was easy anyway given that the purchasers of the biens nationaux had been satisfied and the country enjoyed a period of economic prosperity and military success at least to 1810
- control was also made possible through the ease with which Napoleon dealt with his opponents between 1799 and 1804 – including repression (e.g. of the Chouans) and religious concession. Napoleon's position was little in doubt after 1804
- whilst opponents found it difficult to organise mass protest, the regime was not entirely controlled by the administrative reforms as rising bread prices, inflation, unemployment, debt and the collapse of banks and businesses, together with reversals in war created a good deal of instability 1810–1814. It could also be argued that the hierarchical administrative system bred resentments and the reliance on censorship, repression and propaganda suggests that 'control' was not always easy

Good answers are likely to suggest that while Napoleon's administrative reforms appeared to be responsible for maintaining control in France in the years 1799 to 1814, they were not the sole reason for this period of relative stability and there were a number of problems lurking beneath the surface. Some may argue that Napoleon's reforms were essential to control, others that they were peripheral and that, for example, his success in harnessing the middle classes to his regime was more important.