CHAPTER 2 Shaping Nationalism

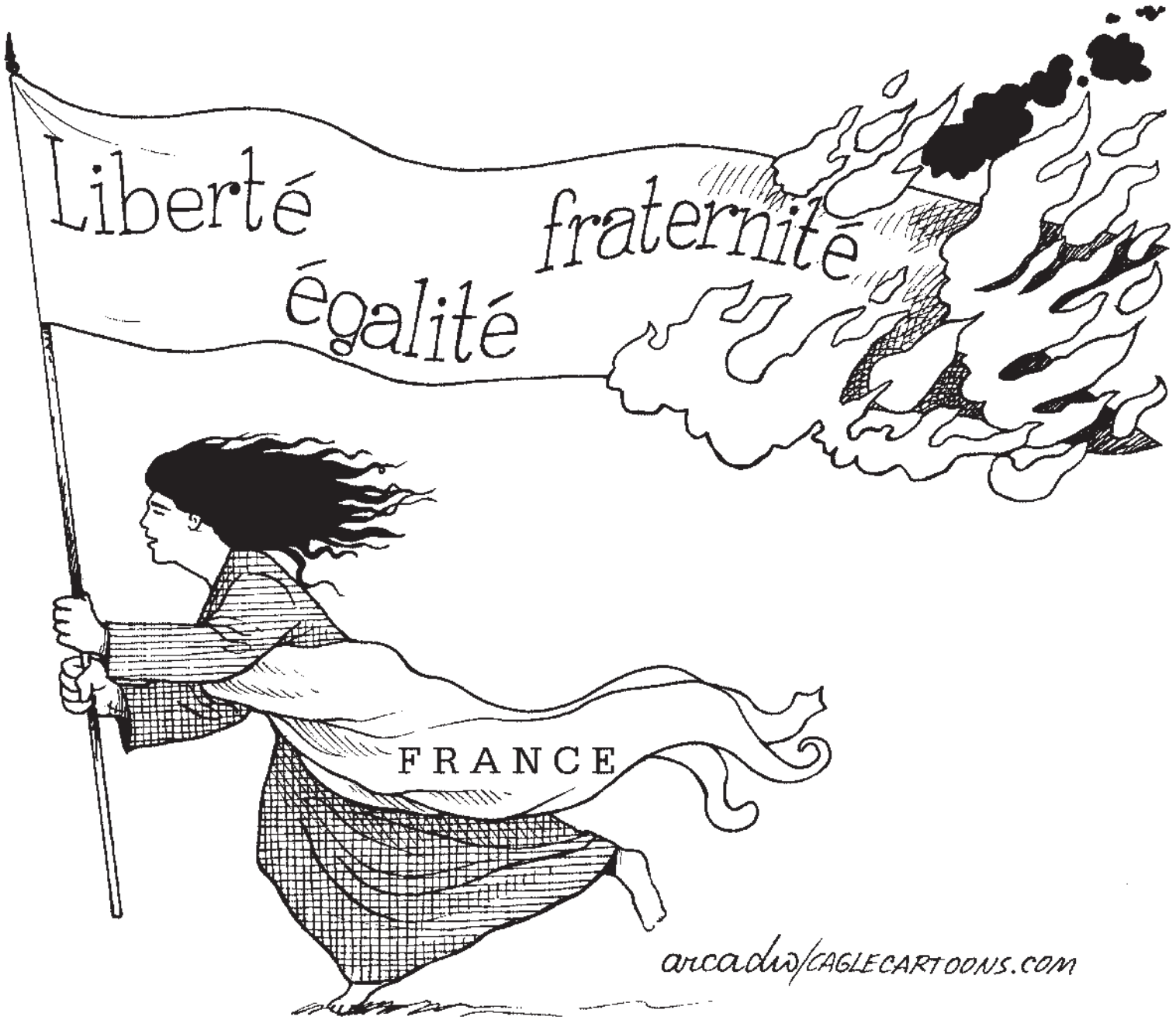


Figure 2-1 When the people of France started a revolution in 1789, their battle cry was "Liberté, égalité, fraternité!" — "Liberty, equality, brotherhood!" These words became important symbols for the French, who built a nation on these principles. The cartoon depicts an imaginary young woman called Marianne who became a popular symbol of liberty. But the French are now bitterly divided over how their nation should evolve. This cartoon comments on the direction the nation seems to be taking.

CHAPTER ISSUE

To what extent do external and internal factors shape nationalism?

In the fall of 2005, riots erupted in some Paris suburbs and continued for 20 nights. The riots focused attention on the struggle of some young people — many of them French citizens born into families who had immigrated from former French colonies — to be included in French society.

In the view of many, French society and laws discriminate against non-white citizens and immigrants, who often have trouble finding jobs. As a result, they may live in suburban slums with little hope of improving their lives.

The cartoon on the facing page was created by Arcadio Esquivel and ran in the Panamanian newspaper *La Prensa* in the fall of 2005. Examine this cartoon in light of what you learned in Chapter 1 about ethnic and civic nationalism.

- What message is conveyed by the flaming banner?
- Why do you suppose Marianne is running? Do you think she is fleeing something or running toward something? What might it be?
- What elements in the cartoon represent ethnic nationalism? What elements represent civic nationalism?
- Does Esquivel favour the idea of an ethnic nation or a civic nation? What elements of the cartoon support your response?
- Do you believe that the concepts of ethnic nation and civic nation can coexist? Explain the reasons for your response.
- Does someone like Esquivel, who is not part of the nation he is commenting on, have a right — or even a responsibility — to judge what people in other nations do? Why or why not?

KEY TERMS

collective consciousness

rhetoric

Looking Ahead

In this chapter, you will develop responses to the following questions as you explore the extent to which internal and external factors shape nationalism:

- What are some factors that shape nationalism?
- How have people responded to some factors that shape nationalism?
- How have people in Canada responded to some factors that shape nationalism?

My Journal on Nationalism

Use words or images — or both — to express your current ideas about nation, identity, and nationalism. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them as you progress through this course.

What are some factors that shape nationalism?

Sovereign power resides in my person alone. To me alone belongs all legislative power with neither any responsibility to others nor any division of that power. Public order, in all its entirety, emanates from me, and the rights and interests of the nation are necessarily bound up with my own and rest only in my hands.

— Louis XV, grandfather of King Louis XVI of France, 1766

Many historians believe that the French Revolution marked a turning point in the history of European nationalism. As a result of this revolution, the people of France changed the way their society worked. They beheaded the king and many of the aristocrats who had lived in luxury while people who were poor starved — and they transformed France from an absolute monarchy to a republic.

France was the first European country to become a republic. Before the revolution, the king had been the focus of many French people's sense of nation. But the revolution changed this. People began to focus their loyalty on the idea of themselves — the people — as the nation.

Think about the words of Louis XV in "Voices" and Benedict Anderson's definition of nation as an "imagined political community" (p. 22). Use the ideas of these two men to explain why the French Revolution might be considered a turning point in the history of European nationalism.

The French Revolution, and the events that followed, was an eruption that shows how nationalism can be shaped by external factors. These external factors can be historical, social, economic, geographic, and political. But these factors do not operate in isolation. In France, they overlapped, combined, and built on one another to create a sense of nation — and to shape the development of French nationalism.

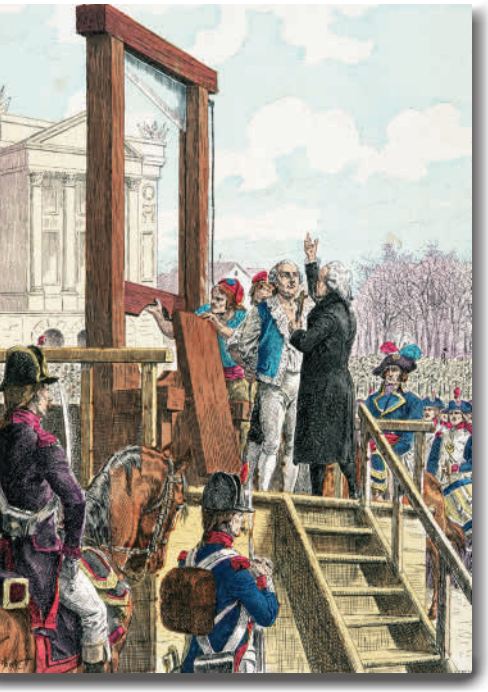


Figure 2-2 This print shows the executioner preparing the guillotine to execute Louis XVI, the French king, in 1793. Louis's public execution drew a huge crowd. The people shouted, "Vive la nation!" and "Vive la république!" — "Long live the nation!" and "Long live the republic!" How did their words show a shift in loyalty?

Some Historical Factors That Shaped French Nationalism

No single event caused the French Revolution. The path to revolution was a long process that unfolded over decades. Still, a single event can often capture a people's collective imagination and inspire them to take action. In the case of France in 1789, this event was the storming of the Bastille.

The Bastille was a Paris prison where, it was rumoured, the king locked up people who spoke out against him. On July 14, 1789, about 600 angry Parisians successfully attacked the Bastille and took control of this symbol of tyranny. This event is usually considered the beginning of the French Revolution, and July 14 is now celebrated as a national holiday in France.

Figure 2-3 In 1789, Jean-Pierre Houel painted this famous picture of the storming of the Bastille — a royal fortress that had been converted into a prison. Why do you suppose this structure might have become the focus of people's anger?

The Bastille as a Nationalist Symbol

As news of the storming of the Bastille spread, it inspired other French people to take up arms against the king and the nobility. In subsequent years, this event entered the French people's **collective consciousness** — an internal consciousness, or awareness, shared by many — as a defining moment in their history as a nation. It became a central part of their national myth because it said, "We are a nation. We can govern ourselves — in our own interests."

Since then, the symbolic importance of the storming of the Bastille has extended far beyond France. More than two centuries later, the event continues to inspire people by reminding them that the actions of ordinary citizens can start a chain of events that lead to great change.

Read "FYI" on this page. The fact that the Bastille contained no political prisoners at that time has not affected its status as a symbol of French nationalism. Does this matter? Should this fact make a difference in the status of the fall of the Bastille as a powerful nationalist symbol? What aspects of the storming of the Bastille made this event so important?

FYI

When the Parisian citizens entered the Bastille, they found only seven prisoners — four counterfeiters, two men who had been declared insane, and a young aristocrat who was locked up because he had displeased his father.

Some Social Factors That Shaped French Nationalism

The term "social factors" refers to the relationships among people in a society. These factors include

- who should be considered important and who should not
- who should lead and who should follow
- who should be included and who should be excluded
- how groups should work out conflicts and respond to challenges

Before the French Revolution, France was divided into a strict social order that was defined largely by birth. The monarch and aristocrats, who also made up much of the high-ranking clergy in the Catholic Church, held most of the power.

In 1789, this ruling elite made up about four per cent of France's total estimated population of 26 million. The remaining 96 per cent were considered common people. The ruling elite paid few taxes, but their power enabled them to accumulate great wealth by collecting taxes, rents, and other fees from the common people.

Figure 2-5 This political cartoon was created in 1789, the year the French Revolution began. It shows a chained, blindfolded, and naked common man carrying an aristocrat, a bishop of the Catholic Church, and a judge on his back. What statement about French society was the cartoonist making?

Figure 2-4 A tourist visiting Havana, Cuba, sports a T-shirt bearing the image of Ernesto "Che" Guevara. Like events, people can become powerful symbols of nationalism. Born in Argentina, Guevara helped Fidel Castro lead a successful revolution in Cuba before being executed in Bolivia in 1967. In death, Guevara has become a legend. Name some other people and events that have become powerful symbols of nation and nationalism.

France as the Centre of New Ideas

During the 1700s, France was a cultural centre of Europe. Paris, the country's capital, provided fertile ground for developing new ideas. In the city's cafés, as well as salons — gatherings held in private homes and public buildings — writers, artists, philosophers, and others gathered to question the established order and to discuss ideas such as liberty, happiness, religious freedom, and individual rights.

These intellectuals used the mass media of the day — books, pamphlets, and newspapers — to spread their ideas. One of the most famous writers and thinkers was François-Marie Arouet, better known by his pen name, Voltaire. A wit who often poked fun at the nobility, Voltaire once said, "In general, the art of government consists in taking as much money as possible from one class of citizens to give to another." On two occasions, Voltaire was thrown into the Bastille for insulting aristocrats.

Voltaire also said, "Man is free at the moment he wishes to be." Do you agree? Why might this statement have angered aristocrats? How might it have helped inspire French nationalism?

Web Connection

To find out more about the divisions in French society and how these divisions helped spark revolution, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Figure 2-6 This illustration shows Voltaire on a staircase as he leaves a salon. Women played an important role in salons, often hosting regular gatherings and turning them into fashionable events where people practised the art of conversation and debate.

A Growing Middle Class

The common people of France included a growing middle class called the bourgeoisie. Members of this group usually lived in towns and cities, where they had become prosperous in business or by practising a craft or profession. They were often well-travelled and well-educated, and many had absorbed new ideas about individual rights. Voltaire's father, for example, was an educated man whose work as a public official placed him squarely in the bourgeoisie.

Most members of the bourgeoisie were aware that in Britain, the power of the monarch had been limited by a parliament — and that in Britain's American colonies, a revolutionary war had led to the creation of an independent republic, the United States, in 1783. They were also aware of scientific discoveries that challenged old beliefs about the way the world worked.

The French bourgeoisie provided the audience for the new ideas that were spread through the mass media. These ideas changed the way people thought of themselves and of their relationships with other groups, but these people could do little to change French society. They were excluded from decision-making power.

Create a web diagram with the words "People's New Sense of the French Nation" at the centre. To this, link the various social factors that helped shape new ideas about the French nation. Under each factor, write one or two points explaining its role.

Some Economic Factors That Shaped French Nationalism

During the 18th century, France was almost constantly at war with its traditional rival, Britain, as well as other European countries. These conflicts, which included some support for the rebels in the American War of Independence, were costly — and largely unsuccessful.

As a result, the French economy was in chaos by the late 1780s. The decades of war had drained the treasury, and the country was nearly bankrupt. To raise money, Louis XVI decided that the people, including French aristocrats, should pay more taxes.

But the aristocrats blocked Louis XVI's plan. In desperation, Louis called a meeting of the Estates General to address the economic crisis. This French version of a parliament seldom met. In fact, when Louis called the meeting, the Estates General had not gathered in more than 170 years.

Read "Voices" and "FYI" on this page. What do Voltaire's words suggest about the level of French public support in 1759 for war against Britain? How might this affect nationalism in France? How might it affect nationalism among French people in New France?

The Estates General

The Estates General comprised elected representatives of three separate estates, or social groups:

- First Estate — clergy
- Second Estate — aristocrats
- Third Estate — common people

In the past, the three estates had always met and voted separately. The majority vote of each estate was then expressed as a single vote, so the First and Second Estates could always outnumber the Third Estate by 2 to 1.

When the Estates General met in June 1789, Louis XVI's plan to persuade them to approve new taxes backfired. Members of the Third Estate, who were mostly lawyers and other members of the bourgeoisie, were determined to change the system and create a constitution that set out equal rights for all men. They declared themselves the National Assembly and swore the Tennis Court Oath, saying that they were the only group who represented the nation.

This act of defiance, as well as news that Louis was gathering troops, inspired Parisians to storm the Bastille a few days later. As news of this event spread, people in other parts of France rose up against the nobles and clergy who had controlled them — and the revolution started.

Return to the web diagram you created earlier and revise it to show how economic factors contributed to new ideas about the French nation.

FYI

The Seven Years' War was one of Louis XV's costliest defeats. This war (1756–1763) involved Canada, where the British won an important victory at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759. The treaty that ended the war officially gave New France to the British — and changed the course of Canadian history.

You know that [Britain and France] have been at war over a few acres of snow near Canada, and that they are spending on this fine struggle more than Canada itself is worth.

— *Voltaire, in* Candide, *1759*

Figure 2-7 In June 1789, the Third Estate and some clergy who had joined them went to their meeting hall. But the door was locked. Suspecting a plot, they rushed to a nearby indoor tennis court. There, they swore the Tennis Court Oath, vowing to stay put until they had created a constitution that placed power in the hands of the people. What elements in this painting of the scene might be designed to inspire a sense of nationalism?

Detecting Rhetoric and Bias in Historical Writing

FOCUS ON SKILLS

To "sell" ideas to others, writers and speakers often use **rhetoric** — the art of shaping language to influence the thoughts and actions of an audience.

Rhetoric usually contains subtle biases — and detecting an author's bias can help readers decide whether, and how, they are being manipulated. The bias indicates the conclusion(s) an author hopes readers will reach.

During the French Revolution, some high-ranking Catholic clergy, who were members of the First Estate, joined the Third Estate in supporting the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. One of these was Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès.

Sieyès was an abbé — a senior church official — who became one of the revolutionary leaders. He had mastered the art of rhetoric, and he used this skill to inspire people to join the revolutionary cause. The following excerpts are from Sieyès's pamphlet titled *What Is the Third Estate?* It was published in January 1789 and, within a few months, had sold 30 000 copies.

> The plan of this book is fairly simple. We must ask ourselves three questions.
>
> 1. What is the Third Estate? *Everything.*
>
> 2. What has it been until now in the political order? *Nothing.*
>
> 3. What does it want to be? *Something . . .*
>
> Who . . . shall dare to say that the Third Estate has not within itself all that is necessary for the formation of a complete nation? It is the strong and robust man who has one arm still shackled. If the privileged order [aristocrats] should be abolished, the nation would be nothing less, but something more. Therefore, what is the Third Estate? Everything; but an everything shackled and oppressed. What would it be without the privileged order? Everything, but an everything free and flourishing. Nothing can succeed without it, everything would be infinitely better without the others . . .
>
> The Third Estate embraces, then, all that which belongs to the nation; and all that which is not the Third Estate cannot be regarded as being of the nation.
>
> What is the Third Estate?
>
> It is everything.

The following steps can help you analyze and evaluate the rhetoric and bias in this piece of writing.

Steps to Detecting Rhetoric and Bias in Historical Writing

Step 1: Research the context

To understand any piece of historical writing, it is essential to find out about the speaker, the times, and the context in which a piece was written. To understand the excerpts from Sieyès's pamphlet, for example, it helps to understand the social structure of pre-revolutionary France. It also helps to know that although Sieyès was a senior church official — and was, therefore, considered a member of the powerful First Estate — he had been deeply influenced by ideas about individual rights and equality, and had joined the representatives of the Third Estate in the National Assembly.

What else might you want to discover about this man to help you understand him and the context of his writing? With a partner, create three inquiry questions that might help guide this research.

You might, for example, want to know whether Sieyès published other similar works, what thinkers influenced his work most profoundly, how people responded to his writing, and whether other members of the Third Estate published similar works.

Use the Internet, your school library, or *Exploring Nationalism* to develop responses to your questions.

Step 2: Develop an overall impression of the piece

Reread the excerpt on the previous page, jotting down the thoughts and ideas that come to mind. While reading, did you feel inspired? Angry? Another emotion? What thoughts jumped out at you? Did you find yourself agreeing or disagreeing with Sieyès? Why?

These notes will help you recall your first impression of the piece.

Step 3: Identify examples of rhetoric

Guiding readers to a specific conclusion is the purpose of rhetoric. Given what you have learned about Sieyès, what conclusion(s) do you think he hoped readers would come to after reading his pamphlet?

Read the excerpt again to find out whether and how Sieyès used rhetoric to help achieve his goal of guiding readers to a specific conclusion. To help you do this, ask yourself questions like those on the chart titled "Identifying Rhetoric" on this page.

Step 4: Identify how bias contributes to rhetoric

Bias is a tool that writers use to enhance their rhetoric. Bias is sometimes obvious, but more often it is subtle — hidden in word choices and images.

Read the excerpt again to detect the subtle biases included in Sieyès's rhetoric. To help you do this, ask yourself questions like those shown on the chart titled "Identifying Bias." Add at least one more question — and your responses — to the chart.

IDENTIFYING RHETORIC		
Question	**Response**	**Example(s)**
Does the author use simple, memorable words?		
Does the author repeat key terms or phrases?		
Does the author create one or more images that stick in the mind?		
Does the author use emotional language?		
Does the author keep the message simple and straightforward?		

IDENTIFYING BIAS		
Question	**Response**	**Example(s)**
Does specific vocabulary create bias? Identify the basis of the bias.		
Do the facts selected tilt your conclusion(s) in a specific direction?		
Do the examples selected favour one group over another?		
Are any groups singled out and shown in a particularly positive or negative light?		
Are counter-arguments included?		
Does the author use stereotyping or overgeneralizing?		
Does the author appeal to emotions rather than reason?		

Vocabulary Tip

When thinking about bias, it helps to understand two key words: **stereotyping** and **overgeneralizing**.

- **Stereotyping** occurs when someone places people in categories according to preconceived beliefs about how members of a particular group think or behave. Saying that Canadians have a great sense of humour is an example of stereotyping.
- **Overgeneralizing** occurs when someone draws a conclusion based on too little information. Meeting a Canadian with a great sense of humour and concluding that all Canadians have a great sense of humour is an example of overgeneralizing.

Summing Up

As you progress through this course, you will encounter many examples of historical writing. You can use these steps to help you detect rhetoric and bias in people's written and spoken words. Detecting rhetoric and bias helps you analyze and evaluate historical writing by understanding its messages and how it was shaped to guide people to reach a specific conclusion.

FYI

In August 1788, Parisians paid nine sous for a two-kilogram loaf of bread. By February 1789, the price had risen to 14.5 sous. A labourer who was lucky enough to have a full-time job might earn between 20 and 35 sous a day.

Some Geographic Factors That Shaped French Nationalism

At the same time as Louis XVI was demanding that people pay more taxes, large parts of France were suffering severe weather. The winter of 1788–1789 was bitterly cold, with piles of snow that blocked roads and made trade and travel impossible. When the snow melted, it caused floods in some areas. Then, in the spring and summer of 1789, parts of the country were hit by drought — a long period of dry weather.

These conditions combined to destroy grain crops and create a shortage. As the shortage worsened, the price of flour rose. As a result, many people could no longer afford to buy bread, which was a staple of their diet.

Riots occurred in the countryside as hungry people attacked wagons carrying grain to markets and seized grain supplies. In this tense atmosphere, rumours abounded. One of them suggested that aristocrats were preparing to attack people who were poor. How might a rumour like this have contributed to revolution?

Is armed rebellion justified when people believe that government actions are causing their hardships?

Famine Feeds Rumour

Louis XVI had married Marie Antoinette, a member of the Austrian royal family. In the past, Austria and France had often been at war, and many people distrusted the queen. She was viewed as a foreigner, and some even believed that she was a spy for the Austrian government.

As the bread shortage in France became worse and the poor starved, more and more people came to resent the extravagance of the French royal court. Many blamed Marie Antoinette for the lavish spending and making the country's financial problems even worse. As a result, they willingly believed a widespread rumour about her response when she was asked how people who couldn't afford to buy bread were to survive. She was said to have answered, "Let them eat cake."

The rumour was untrue; Marie Antoinette never said this. But the story was repeated, and for many people, it came to symbolize the huge gap between the royal family and the common people. As people became disillusioned with the monarchy, rumours like this fanned the flames of revolution and helped turn people toward new ideas about nation.

Return once more to the sketch you created earlier and revise it to show how geographic factors contributed to new ideas about the French nation.

Figure 2-8 Kirsten Dunst played Marie Antoinette, wife of Louis XVI, in a 2006 movie. The marriage of Marie Antoinette and Louis was arranged by their parents when she was 14 and he was 15. The two royal families hoped that the marriage would lead to lasting peace between their countries. Merging royal families through marriage was a common way of gaining influence over the affairs of another country.

THE VIEW FROM HERE

According to French tradition, the people presented *cahiers de doléances* — lists of grievances — to delegates representing them at the Estates General. The *cahiers* also included proposed solutions to the problems. So when Louis XVI called the meeting of the Estates General, people in cities, towns, and villages across France began drawing up and debating their *cahiers*.

The *cahiers* describe people's concerns — and show how deeply divided French society was in 1789. The following are excerpts from a few of them.

From Ménouville, a rural community near Paris

> We beg His Majesty to have pity on our farmland because of the hail we have had.
>
> Also we have a great deal of waste land which is covered with juniper, and this causes much trouble on account of the rabbits which are very numerous; it is this that makes us unable to pay the dues we owe to His Majesty . . .
>
> We have one small meadow which only produces sour hay. The animals refuse to eat it. This is why we cannot raise stock . . .
>
> We state that there should not be any tax men; there could be a levy [tax] put on drinks so that everyone would be free.

From the bourgeoisie of Lauris in southern France

> To close off employment possibilities and respectable occupations to the most numerous and useful class is like killing genius and talents, and forcing them to run away from an ungrateful home. However, in our current constitution, only nobles enjoy all prerogatives like landed wealth, honours, dignities, graces, pensions, retirements, responsibility for government, and free schools . . . These [privileges] constitute the favours the State lavishes exclusively on the nobility, at the expense of the Third Estate.

From the clergy of Blois, a town near Orléans, southwest of Paris

> The clergy of the *bailliage* of Blois have never believed that the constitution needed reform. Nothing is wanting to assure the welfare of king and people except that the present constitution should be religiously and inviolably observed.

From the nobility of Blois

> The misfortune of France arises from the fact that it has never had a fixed constitution . . . The principles of this constitution should be simple; they may be reduced to two: security for person, security for property . . .
>
> Art. I. In order to assure the exercise of this first and most sacred of the rights of man, we ask that no citizen may be exiled, arrested or held prisoner except in cases contemplated by the law and in accordance with a decree originating in the regular courts of justice.
>
> Art. 2. A tax is a partition [a dividing up] of property.
>
> This partition ought not to be otherwise than voluntary; in any other case the rights of property are violated: Hence it is the indefeasible and inalienable right of the nation to consent to its taxes.

Explorations

1. Create a chart like the one shown at right. On the chart, list each group and the action(s) it proposed. Rate the argument(s) presented as strong or weak. In the final column, write a point-form note supporting your rating.
2. Write a series of points or sentences explaining how these documents show the great divide between the three estates — and how they contributed to the tensions between the estates.

Grievances and Recommendations

Group	Proposed Action(s)	Rating of Argument		Reason(s) for Rating
		Strong	Weak	

Some Political Factors That Shaped French Nationalism

Who has the right to decide when a government must be overthrown?

By late summer 1789, the National Assembly had put the finishing touches on the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. This political action, which abolished the traditional privileges enjoyed by the monarch, the clergy, and the aristocracy, sparked a bloody struggle that eventually led to the creation of a French nation based on new principles. It established France as a secular — non-religious — republic.

The 17 articles of the declaration set out these principles and became the basis of the new French constitution. This document has influenced all subsequent declarations and charters of rights.

Read the first four articles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in Figure 2-9. Who was excluded from this statement of the rights of the people of the nation? Compare the wording of this document with the wording of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in Figure 1-12 (p. 30). What similarities and differences do you notice?

Web Connection

To read the entire Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.ExploringNationalism.ca

Reaction outside France

As the revolution took hold in France, the ruling elites in other countries watched with growing fear. They were afraid that the events in France might inspire people in their own country to take similar actions.

Many French royalists — people who supported the king — had fled to neighbouring countries. Their stories of ill treatment at the hands of the revolutionaries fuelled the fears of ruling elites outside France. As a result, other countries, such as Austria, sent forces to invade France in an attempt to restore the power of the monarchy. Do you think these actions would have weakened or strengthened French nationalism? Why?

The revolutionaries successfully fought these invasions. But in response to outside threats and to ensure that the gains made during the revolution would not be lost, they executed Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette in 1793.

Figure 2-9 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

The representatives of the French people, organized as a National Assembly, believing that the ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public calamities and of the corruption of governments, have determined to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, unalienable, and sacred rights of man . . .

Articles:

1. *Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.*
2. *The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible [unchangeable or obvious] rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.*
3. *The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body or individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.*
4. *Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.*

The Revolution Becomes Extreme

Not everyone in France agreed with the way the revolution was being carried out. Many people were horrified by some of the brutal acts that were taking place and by the execution of the king and queen. Fearing opposition within the country, revolutionary leaders began a crackdown that became known as the Reign of Terror.

This period lasted for about 11 months in 1793 and 1794. The constitution was suspended and anyone who criticized the revolution was targeted. About 200 000 people were arrested, and 17 000 were sentenced to death.

Olympe de Gouges was one of them. Like many other women, de Gouges had played an active role in the early days of the revolution. She wrote plays and pamphlets supporting the revolutionaries. But in 1791, she challenged revolutionary leaders by pointing out that the Declaration of the Rights of Man excluded women. To remedy the situation, she wrote a pamphlet titled the *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen*. She also disagreed with executing the king, and when the Reign of Terror began in 1793, she was arrested, found guilty of treason, and beheaded.

Oh, you, pride of my country
Who saw kings at your feet
Your life has just ended
But you cannot die in us

— François Georgin, French painter and poet, 1833

It is the fashion of the day to glorify Bonaparte's victories . . . It is forgotten that everyone used to lament [his] victories, forgotten that the people, the courts, the generals, the intimates of Napoléon were all weary of his oppression and his conquests…

— Vicomte de Chateaubriand, in Mémoires d'outre-tombe, *1848–1850*

The Rise of Napoléon

Although the Reign of Terror ended in 1794, the revolutionaries split into factions — small groups within a larger group. For the next several years, French governments were unstable as these factions struggled for power. Finally, in 1799, Napoléon Bonaparte emerged as a leader who united the French and brought order to the country.

Napoléon did this — and conquered most of Europe — by launching a series of wars. In the end, though, he was defeated at the Battle of Waterloo by the British and their allies. He died in exile in 1821.

Many people remember Napoléon as an inspirational leader. His wartime victories helped strengthen French national pride. He modernized the government and laid the foundations for public education. The rule of law he established is the basis of the legal system in France today — and it also influenced the system of civil law now used in Québec.

But others remember him as a dictator whose wars cost the lives of a million French people. About three million Russian, German, British, Italian and Spanish soldiers also died in these wars.

Figure 2-10 Olympe de Gouges was the daughter of a butcher. Her hopes that revolution would bring equality for women were dashed when it became apparent that the revolutionary principle of equality applied only to men.

Reflect and Respond

The French Revolution shifted French citizens' collective consciousness to the idea that they, the people, are the nation. On the basis of what you have read about the revolution, which factors — historical, social, economic, geographic, or political — do you think exerted the most powerful influence in reshaping French ideas about nation? Explain the criteria you used to make your choice.

Think about Canada today. Does the factor you chose exert an equally powerful influence in Canada? If so, how? If not, why not?

The Disastrous Russian Campaign

Even Napoléon Bonaparte's enemies agreed that he was a brilliant military leader. By 1812, the French emperor had conquered much of Europe using tactics that enabled him to quickly move his armies to wherever troops were needed. He did this by refusing to allow soldiers to wait for supply wagons, which moved much more slowly than infantry and cavalry. He ordered his troops to live off the land, seizing food and supplies from farmers and anyone else in their path.

A Fateful Decision

In late June 1812, Napoléon ignored the advice of his advisers and launched an invasion of Russia. His plan was to gather a huge army at the Neman River, march 950 kilometres across the vast Russian plains, capture Moscow, and get rid of the czar, the Russian ruler. Estimates of the size of Napoléon's force vary, but most historians agree that he assembled at least 420 000 soldiers from every corner of his empire. At the time, this was the largest fighting force that had ever been put together.

Napoléon planned to continue using the tactics that had worked so successfully in previous campaigns. But Russia was a very different challenge. The country is huge, the terrain is difficult, and the weather is unpredictable. In addition, the Russian people were willing to die rather than face defeat.

Still, the Russian army was a fraction of the size of Napoléon's force. Greatly outnumbered, the Russian commanders decided to take advantage of their country's geography. They ordered their troops to retreat just ahead of Napoléon's armies. As the Russians withdrew, they adopted a scorched-earth policy, destroying everything in their wake. This left little food for Napoléon's troops to forage.

In addition, the summer was extremely hot and dry. Weakened by lack of food and exhausted by the blazing heat, many of Napoléon's soldiers became sick. Infection and disease spread like wildfire. Some estimates say that more than 150 000 French soldiers were sick or had died or deserted before a single battle was fought.

Reaching Moscow

Just outside Moscow, the Russian commander decided to make a stand. The fighting lasted all day — until both armies were exhausted. At that point, the Russians, who were still outnumbered, retreated once again. This left Moscow open to the French, but when they entered the city, they discovered that everyone had fled, taking with them everything they could carry. Things grew even worse for the French when fire destroyed much of the city.

A Miscalculation

Still, Napoléon was convinced that the czar would surrender, so he kept his troops in Moscow as the weather grew colder. But the czar and the Russian commanders knew that all they had to do was wait. The coming winter would be their ally.

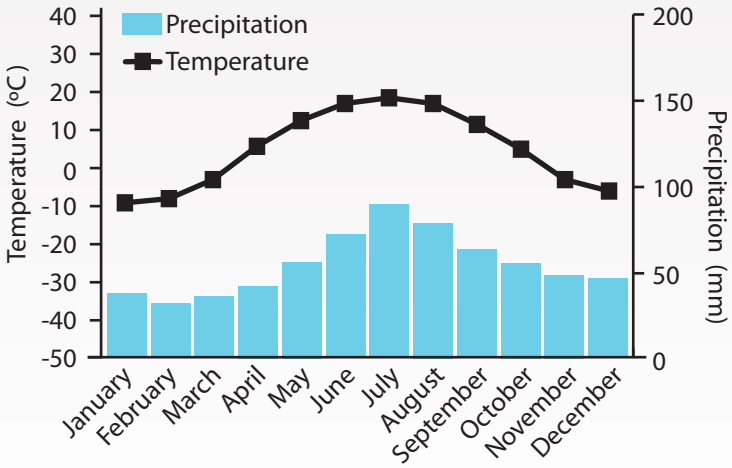
Napoléon stayed five weeks before ordering his troops to start the long march home. This delay proved fatal. That year, winter started earlier than usual and the weather quickly grew very cold and snowy.

Napoléon's soldiers, who had started the campaign in June, were ill-equipped to withstand the freezing temperatures and howling winds. Thousands froze to death as they trudged back toward the Neman River.

"Our lips stuck together," wrote one tired soldier. "Our nostrils froze. We seemed to be marching in a world of ice." Soldiers sometimes stacked the frozen corpses of their fallen comrades to make walls as shelter against the cold. They also had to cope with Cossacks, mounted Russian troops, who were killing stragglers and harassing the French rear guard.

By the time Napoléon's army crossed the Neman River again, some historians believe that only 10 000 soldiers remained alive.

Figure 2-11 Climograph for Moscow, Russia



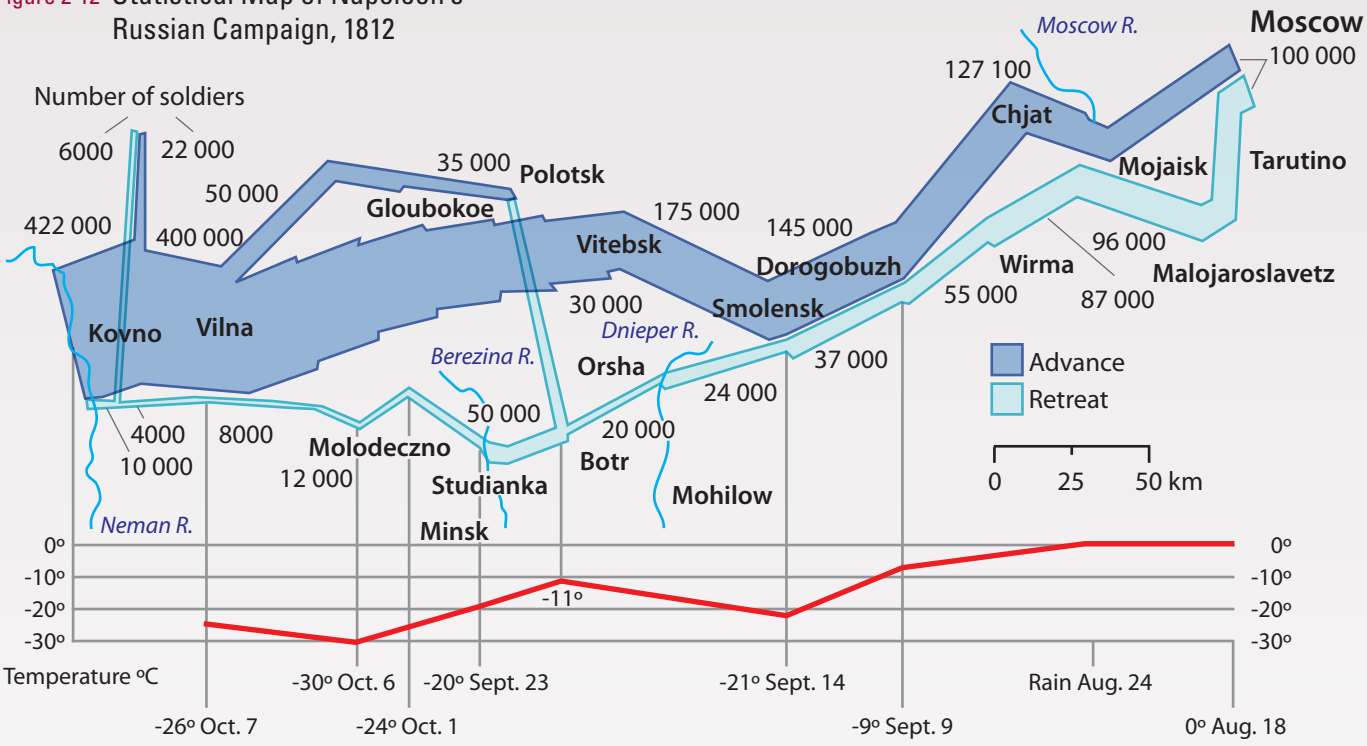
The Beginning of the End

The Russian campaign marked the beginning of the end for Napoléon. His army, which had been the source of his strength at home and had helped him build a French empire in Europe, was fatally weakened and would never recover.

Without a strong army behind him, Napoléon began to lose his grip on power. People lost their fear of him, and in early 1814, foreign armies entered Paris. France changed again — and Napoléon's disastrous Russian campaign had been the turning point.

The statistical map in Figure 2-12 is based on a document produced in 1861 by Charles Joseph Minard, a French engineer. It shows just how disastrous the Russian campaign was. The dark blue band shows the size of Napoléon's army as it crossed the Neman River in June. The light blue band shows the size of the army as it set out from Moscow and returned home. The line graph at the bottom shows the temperatures as the French army retreated.

Figure 2-12 Statistical Map of Napoléon's Russian Campaign, 1812



Explorations

1. Examine the statistical map shown in Figure 2-12. How is this map like a graph? How is it like a map? Why do you think Charles Joseph Minard decided to present the information in this unique form?
2. Compare the temperatures in the statistical map in Figure 2-12 with the average temperatures for August, September, and October in the climograph for Moscow (Figure 2-11). What does this comparison show? What do you think defeated Napoléon: bad weather or bad planning?
3. In an attempt to win the support of Poles, who sent troops for his army, Napoléon called his campaign the Polish War. In Russia, the czar called the invasion the Patriotic War. How do both these names appeal to nationalism?
4. How do you think news of the campaign would have affected French nationalism? Russian nationalism? In a sentence or two, sum up the extent to which physical geography affected the evolution of nationalism in France and Russia.

How have people responded to some factors that shape nationalism?

Is requiring people to study their country's history a positive way of ensuring that citizens develop shared memories? Or is it nothing but a way of manipulating citizens' nationalistic feelings?

Think about the actors, musicians, and athletes you admire. You may, for example, be a fan of Nelly Furtado's music. You may admire the exploits of a hockey player like Ryan Smyth, or eagerly follow the career of Jacques Villeneuve.

All these people are Canadians. You may take pride in their achievements — and the achievements of other Canadians. This pride may inspire you to feel a greater sense of nationalism. If this is the case, it means that you have internalized your feelings of nationalism.

Nationalism and Remembering

The glue that holds a community or a nation together is often made up of shared memories: memories of friendship, kindness, acceptance, belonging, support, sacrifice, courage, and success.

As the French Revolution and the Napoléonic era unfolded, French people developed a collective consciousness that grew out of their shared memory of — and shared pride in — specific events. This often happened even if people had not been involved in the event. The storming of the Bastille is an example. Only about 600 revolutionaries took part in this event, but it became a powerful historical symbol for people across France.

Figure 2-13 Jacques-Louis David created this famous painting of Napoléon crossing the Alps to commemorate an important French military victory. In reality, Napoléon rode a donkey across the Alps. What might have motivated David to portray the event this way?

Events such as the storming of the Bastille become symbols because they help people share a sense of belonging to a nation. People also develop other symbols that help them share a sense of belonging. Shortly after the Bastille was stormed, for example, the revolutionaries started wearing red, white, and blue cockades, or badges, to identify themselves as revolutionaries. This cockade became such a powerful symbol that its colours were later chosen for the French flag.

Individuals can also become important national symbols. Nearly 200 years after Napoléon Bonaparte's death, for example, he remains a powerful nationalistic symbol for the French. Napoléon viewed his military conquests as a mission to extend to all of Europe the revolutionary principles that had taken root in France. He explained his actions by saying, "I fought the decrepit monarchies of the old regime because the alternative was the destruction of [everything I and the revolution had achieved in France]."

To many French, Napoléon is a revered national hero who tried to abolish monarchies throughout Europe. But many British and others who fought, and eventually defeated, the French general view him as a power-hungry dictator who caused great suffering. How would these differing views have been shaped by the sense of nation of the people involved?

Challenging the Defining Histories of France

A nation's myths — its history — are often told by the dominant cultural group. In some cases, new generations begin to notice that these stories do not match the current reality. In 1789, French citizens rejected an absolute monarch as the focus of their idea of nation and based their nation on the principles of liberty, equality, and brotherhood. But today, many French citizens are questioning whether these words truly symbolize their nation. They do not believe that all French citizens are treated equally and have the same rights.

In the past, French people — like people in many countries — subjected many groups of immigrants to discrimination. In the 19th century, for example, Belgians who worked in France's coal, iron, and steel industries were often called *pots de beurre* (butter pots) or *vermines* (vermin). Italian and Polish immigrant workers were often scorned for their religious devotion, and Polish miners were forcibly returned to Poland during the 1930s.

Immigrants and Racisim

French citizens from France's former North African colonies of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia have experienced racism more recently. Many of these people, who are Muslims, were welcomed to France when immigrant labour was needed. From 1945 to 1974, for example, France had a fairly open immigration policy because the country needed workers to help rebuild after World War II. Many of these immigrants became French citizens.

But when a severe energy crisis hit in 1973, the French economy slowed. As jobs became harder to find, the country began shutting its doors to immigrants. By that time, however, the country's Muslim population had grown, and unlike other minorities, the members of this group were quite visible. Today, about six million French citizens are Muslims. Many of them live in low-income suburbs of Paris, Lille, Lyon, Marseille, and other cities.

Citizenship and French Nationalism

Some people began to suggest that the country's Muslim minority was threatening the French national identity. In recent years, the country has passed strict laws governing who can — and cannot — become a citizen. In 2004, another law came into effect after heated debate. It forbids the wearing of "conspicuous" religious apparel in state schools. The banned items include Jewish yarmulkes, Sikh turbans, large Christian crosses, and Muslim headscarves.

Read the comments in "Voices." Does the debate over headscarves and other religious apparel suggest that France's national ideals of liberty, equality, and brotherhood no longer apply — or that they are as strong as ever?

Where I live, in a small town in France, girls and young women are intimidated by Muslim men, who oblige them to wear the scarf. These Muslim women are often isolated, and need some protection. The law to outlaw the veil goes some way towards addressing this need.

— Rachida Ziouche, journalist and daughter of an Algerian imam, or religious leader, 2004

I think they have got it right in France. Civil servants and schoolgirls should not wear the veil. Personally, I am against it, it is a symbol of the inferior status of women in Muslim countries.

— Binnaz Toprak, political science professor in Turkey, 2004

Muslims in France believe they are being targeted. They fear the law banning scarves in schools will open the door to all kinds of discrimination. The French debate about the issue is so passionate that Muslims fear a new type of Islamaphobia.

— Tariq Ramadan, Islamic studies and philosophy professor in Switzerland, 2004

Story and Nationalism in the United States

Stories like the storming of the Bastille inform people of their roots, help shape their identity, and remind them of what they are capable of achieving. In the United States, for example, many Americans view the story of the Boston Tea Party of 1773 as a defining moment in their national history.

In 1773, Britain controlled 13 colonies along what is today the eastern seaboard of the United States. Like France during the 18th century, Britain had spent a lot of money on wars — and King George III and the British Parliament wanted to recover some of the costs. One of their strategies was to raise taxes in the American colonies. They also planned to be stricter about collecting existing taxes.

These plans angered many colonists. They had no say in the way they were taxed because they did not elect representatives to the British Parliament. As a result, they said that Parliament had no right to tax them, and one of their slogans became "No taxation without representation." Facing this strong opposition, the British backed away from many of their taxation plans.

No violent story like the storming of the Bastille or the Boston Tea Party is attached to Canada's independence. Does this make a difference in the way Canadians view themselves as a nation?

The Boston Tea Party

The British still needed money. So in 1773, Parliament decided to get around the colonists' objections by changing the way tea was taxed. They believed that the colonists would agree to pay this tax rather than go without tea, which was a very popular drink.

But the colonists surprised them. When three ships loaded with tea arrived in Boston, some of the colonists disguised themselves as American Indians, forced their way onto the ships, and dumped the tea into the harbour.

At the time, tea was very expensive, and the colonists' action cost British merchants a great deal of money. The British responded by shutting down the port of Boston so that no ships could come or go.

This incident is often identified as the spark that started the American Revolution, a violent conflict that led to the creation of an independent United States. Awareness of this story sets a tone for Americans. It supports their vision of themselves as a freedom-loving people who will not tolerate tyranny.

Figure 2-14 The Boston Tea Party, pictured here, drew thousands of spectators. Although British warships were also in the harbour, they did not try to stop the colonists. Was doing nothing a wise decision? Explain your response.

Reflect and Respond

Return to the web diagram you created earlier in this chapter and review the kinds of factors that can shape nationalism. Choose either the American Revolution or the religious-apparel debate in France.

Which two nationalism-shaping factors do you think exerted the greatest influence on the event you chose? Explain why you chose these two factors and how they were the driving forces behind the event.

How have people in Canada responded to some factors that shape nationalism?

Like the French and Americans, Canadians respond to national myths that seem to suggest a national character. One myth that has entered the collective consciousness of many Canadians involves the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

This project is forever linked to John A. Macdonald, Canada's first prime minister, who envisioned this national dream: an iron road that would unite the country. And on January 1, 1967, the first day of Canada's centennial year, singer-songwriter Gordon Lightfoot cemented the symbolic importance of this railway when he performed "The Canadian Railroad Trilogy" for the first time.

In his song, Lightfoot paid tribute to the navvies — workers — who laboured in gruelling, dangerous conditions to build the railway. Among the navvies who helped drive the track through the Rocky Mountains were 6000 Chinese labourers who had been recruited to work on this treacherous stretch, where avalanches, rock slides, and cave-ins were everyday hazards. Despite the danger, the Chinese navvies earned less than half the wages of other workers. In the first year alone, 200 of them died of injuries and diseases such as scurvy.

Figure 2-15 Canada's railway companies launched aggressive advertising campaigns to attract passengers. In 1925, the CPR used this poster to attract tourists to its western destinations. Do you think this advertising campaign exploited an existing national myth or helped create a new one?

For many Canadians, construction of the CPR represented a heroic achievement that shows how perseverance could triumph over a harsh environment. Does the story of the exploitation of the Chinese navvies affect the way you view this Canadian myth?

Defining Canada's Stories

For a long time, people of British heritage formed the dominant cultural group in Canada. In 1911, for example, more than 55 per cent of Canadians were of British background. As a result, many of Canada's stories were shaped by people whose worldview was British.

At Confederation in 1867, Canada's form of government — parliamentary democracy — was based on the British model. Britain's flag, the Union Jack, was also Canada's flag until 1965. British history was taught in schools, and Canadians often observed British traditions, such as celebrating British holidays.

Read the lines from Pauline Johnson's poem "Canadian Born" in "Voices." Note the year it was written. Johnson's words reflected a widely held view in Canada. Whose view is she presenting? What do her words tell you about the focus of Canadian nationalism at the beginning of the 20th century? What influenced Johnson's point of view?

Canadian Born

We first saw light in Canada, the land
beloved of God;
We are the pulse of Canada, its
marrow and its blood;
And we, the men of Canada, can face
the world and brag
That we were born in Canada beneath
the British flag.

— E. Pauline Johnson, or Tekahionwake, poet of Mohawk and English heritage, in "Canadian Born," 1903

Challenging Canadian Myths

Is it the duty of every new generation to challenge Canada's national myths?

During the 20th century, some Canadians began to challenge the British worldview that dominated the country. Immigrants from non-British countries, Francophones, and Aboriginal peoples struggled to make their voices heard and to affirm their place in the Canadian mosaic.

As they did this, they challenged some of the stories that had become part of the consciousness of many Canadians. Stories of "discovering" Canada's West and carving a cross-country railway out of the "wilderness" are examples.

Whose perspective is ignored when words like "discovering" and "wilderness," which refers to an uncultivated and uninhabited area, are used when talking about Canada's history? How might these words change when the stories are told from different points of view or perspectives?

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Victoria Callihoo
The Métis Queen Victoria

MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Victoria Callihoo was in her 90s when she realized that she was one of the last Métis to remember a way of life that had vanished from Alberta. To ensure that the old stories were not lost, she resolved to record her people's culture and customs as her contribution to the history of a proud nation.

Callihoo had been born six years before Confederation in Lac Ste. Anne, a Métis community in what was then Rupert's Land. She took part in her first buffalo hunt when she was 13, travelling in a Red River cart with her mother, a Cree medicine woman. Her mother cared for the men who were injured while running buffalo — and she passed her knowledge of Aboriginal medicine to her daughter.

In one of her articles, Callihoo described the great buffalo herds as a dark, solid, moving mass. "We, of those days, never could believe the buffalo would ever be killed off, for there were thousands and thousands," she wrote.

In addition to describing what life was like while she was growing up, Callihoo recorded tales from even earlier times. These were stories that had passed into her people's oral tradition and that had been told to her when she was a child.

Figure 2-16 Victoria Belcourt Callihoo's family background included Métis and Cree. She and her husband, Louis Callihoo, had 12 children and often worked as teamsters for the Hudson's Bay Company.

Callihoo was proud of her Métis culture — and her writing reflected this pride. She said that she enjoyed even the more difficult aspects of traditional life: spreading a sleeping robe on a tipi floor, starting a fire without matches, and spending days making pemmican and preparing buffalo hides.

Among her people, Callihoo became a respected historian who was affectionately called the Métis Queen Victoria. When she died in 1966 at the age of 104, she was deeply mourned.

Explorations

1. Victoria Callihoo lived through a century of great change. What role do you think a sense of nation played in her decision to tell her people's stories?
2. How would Callihoo's stories help support her people's struggle to challenge predominantly European views of Canadian history and affirm their own identity?

First Nations and Métis Nationalism

In the early 20th century, Duncan Campbell Scott headed the federal Department of Indian Affairs. Scott viewed Aboriginal peoples as a "problem" that would be solved only by complete assimilation. "Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department," he once said.

Although Aboriginal peoples resisted this plan, Scott's attitude reflected a widely held view that lasted well into the second half of the 20th century. Then, in 1968, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau captured the imagination of many Canadians when he expressed a vision of Canada as a "just society."

But a year later, Trudeau and Jean Chrétien, who was minister of Indian affairs in Trudeau's government, introduced a controversial proposal to end the federal government's treaty obligations. Once again, the goal was to assimilate Aboriginal peoples.

The Unjust Society

Trudeau and Chrétien's proposal, which was called a White Paper, proved to be a turning point for First Nations and other Aboriginal peoples. Aboriginal leaders were outraged. Harold Cardinal, an Alberta Cree leader, responded by publishing a book titled *The Unjust Society*. In it, Cardinal described what he called the "buckskin curtain" that divided First Nations and the rest of Canadian society. Referring to the popular idea of Canada as the product of two founding nations — British and French — Cardinal wrote: "Our people look on with concern when the Canadian government talks about 'the two founding peoples' without giving recognition to the role played by the Indian even before the founding of a nation-state known as Canada."

Cardinal's book became a bestseller that focused the attention of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people on the struggle of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit to affirm and promote their identity. The outcry forced Trudeau and Chrétien to abandon their proposal — and strengthened the resolve of many Aboriginal people to promote their own national identity. The debate that resulted led to the recognition of Aboriginal and treaty rights in the Canadian Constitution of 1982.

The debate over the Trudeau–Chrétien proposal changed ideas about Canada. Today, it is widely acknowledged that the country was built by three founding peoples: British, French, and Aboriginal. Read Chief Dan George's comment in "Voices" and note the date. Would George's comment apply to the same extent today? Why is it important for a people's stories to be told?

VOICES

My nation was ignored in your history textbooks.

— Chief Dan George, Tsleil-Waututh First Nation, British Columbia, 1967

FYI

After World War II, former British prime minister Winston Churchill referred to an "iron curtain" that divided the Communist countries controlled by the USSR and the Western European democracies. Harold Cardinal's reference to a "buckskin curtain" drew on this metaphor.

Figure 2-17 Harold Cardinal, who led the Indian Association of Alberta at the time, speaks to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and other cabinet ministers at a 1970 meeting in Ottawa. These meetings marked one of the first times Aboriginal leaders and cabinet members had talked face to face. In 2001, Cardinal's efforts to affirm the rights of Aboriginal peoples were recognized when he received a National Aboriginal Achievement Award.

Inuit Perspectives on Nationalism

VOICES

The Aboriginal people are, by tradition, a people of the land. Their very nature is tied strongly to the land, and any answer to the economic problems must include their remaining on the land.

— Rae Stephenson of Old Crow, Yukon, to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1992

The political experience of Canada's Inuit was different from that of First Nations and Métis peoples. The Inuit signed no treaties with British or Canadian governments, and many continued to follow their traditional way of life until well into the 20th century. Like other Aboriginal peoples, however, they have been affected by government policies and other factors, such as global climate change.

In the 1930s, for example, the animal populations that were essential to the survival of the Inuit declined and many people faced starvation. As a result, the federal government introduced a relocation program. The Inuit, who had always lived in small, nomadic hunting groups, were moved, sometimes by force, to permanent communities, largely to make it easier for the government to provide services, such as schools.

The government policy ignored the importance of the Inuit way of life, which was built on sharing and focused on their relationship to the land. As a result, relocation created many social problems that remain unresolved. Many Inuit came to believe that achieving self-government was the only way they could begin to solve these problems, and they began working toward this goal.

Since 1975, the federal government and various Inuit groups have reached agreement on several land claims. The most recent of these was an agreement that created the new territory of Nunavut, which means "our land," in 1999. Under this agreement, the 30 000 people who live in Nunavut achieved a form of self-government.

Since then, Nunavut has become an important symbol for all Aboriginal peoples who are trying to assert their right to self-determination. Does the fact that the people of Nunavut enjoy a degree of self-government weaken or strengthen the Canadian confederation? Explain your response.

Figure 2-18 The hockey career of Jordin Tootoo, who plays for the Nashville Predators, is a source of pride to the people in his hometown of Rankin Inlet, Nunavut. In 2002, when Tootoo played on Team Canada at the World Junior Hockey Championship, a fan showed his support by waving the Nunavut flag. What nationalistic feelings was this fan expressing? Were these feelings anti-Canadian or an affirmation of Canadian identity?

Québécois Nationalism

In 2000, Michael Ignatieff wrote that Canada's "national experience had been bedevilled (as well as enriched) by the fact that English and French Canada do not share the same history of 1759." Ignatieff was referring to the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, in which French forces were defeated by the British during the Seven Years' War. When the war ended, the British took over New France and the course of Canadian history changed.

Until 1759, the dominant culture in Québec was French. Since then, Québécois — Francophones of Québec origin — have struggled to maintain their language, culture, and identity in a largely anglophone — English-speaking — country. As this struggle unfolded, Québécois developed a strong sense of themselves as a nation, a reality that was recognized by Prime Minister Stephen Harper in 2006.

CHECKFORWARD

You will read more about Québécois nationalism in Chapters 3, 4, 13, 15, and 16.

The tension between anglophones and Francophones has left its mark on Canada. Ignatieff wrote that "for more than 200 years, Canadian politics has been defined by the quarrel over the meaning of the battle on the Plains of Abraham. It is sentimental illusion to suppose that the two communities will ever agree on what it means. At best, we will agree to disagree; we will continue the argument. And the argument — provided it remains civil — will not prevent us from living together and sharing political institutions."

Do you believe, like Ignatieff, that agreeing to disagree is the best that Canadians can hope for?

Should people stop looking back to past events and focus on the present and the future?

Taking Turns

Have your people's stories helped shape Canadian nationalism?

The students responding to this question are Violet, a Métis who is a member of the Paddle Prairie Métis Settlement; Pearl, who lives in St. Albert and whose great-great-great grandfather immigrated from China to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway; and Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10.

Violet

I'm Métis, but people sometimes wonder why I have an English name. My ancestors were Cree and English, not French like so many other Métis. They worked in the fur trade for the Hudson's Bay Company, and my great-great-great grandfather helped build the North West Mounted Police fort in Calgary before it became a city. He also put in a lot of years transporting goods from Fort Garry — that's Winnipeg today — to Fort Edmonton. Seeing as the fur trade and the Mounties are both symbols of Canada, then I'd say, yes, my people's stories helped shape Canadian nationalism.

My great-great-great grandfather was one of the navvies who helped build the CPR, so his story played a big role in shaping Canadian nationalism. When people talk about this railway, they mention the bigwigs like John A. Macdonald and his big dream of Canada, but they don't think about the sweat and hard work of the people who built this country, railway tie by railway tie! This isn't really a big deal for me, because I just live my life — but I sure hate it when people whose families haven't been here as long as mine think I'm an immigrant.

Pearl

Rick

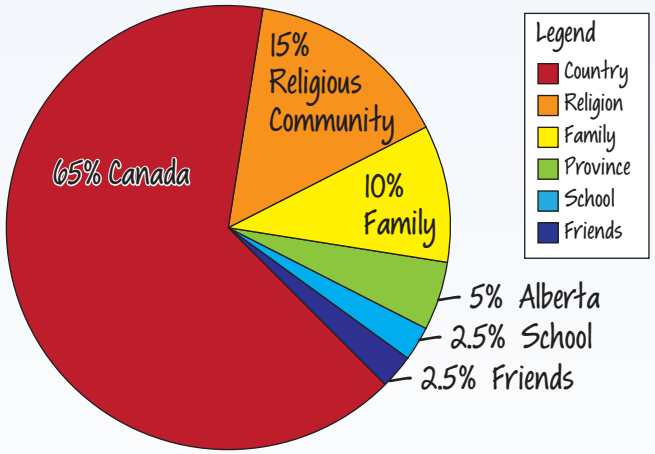
I just came to Canada from the United States a few years ago, so I can't really say that my people's stories shaped Canadian nationalism in the past. But if I think about it, I can say that my family's story is shaping Canadian nationalism right now. My family — and all kinds of other immigrants — are building a civic nation where people are proud to live together according to the laws set out in documents like the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. So I would say that my family is adding a new story that enriches Canadian nationalism.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Violet, Pearl, and Rick are answering? Explain the reasons for your answer.

1. Consider the communities — real and imagined — to which you feel a sense of belonging and loyalty. You may, for example, feel loyalty to Canada, to your religious or spiritual community, to your family, and to your school. But do all these communities inspire feelings of nationalism in you? To what extent do nationalist feelings shape your identity? Do you, for example, have strong nationalist feelings about a country other than Canada? Along with Canada?
   a) In descending order of importance, list the loyalties that define your identity (i.e., place the loyalty that inspires the strongest feelings first on your list, the next second, and so on).
   b) Next to each loyalty, estimate its strength as a percentage. If Canada, for example, is number 1 on your list and your feelings are very strong, you might estimate it at 65 per cent. Because these estimates are percentages, the total should add up to 100.
   c) Translate your percentages into a pie chart that shows the loyalties that make up your identity. Your chart might resemble the one shown.
   d) Add a title and legend to your chart. Include a caption that identifies the degree of nationalism involved in your loyalties and the extent to which nationalism shapes your identity.
   e) Write a short paragraph explaining how you reached your conclusions.

Figure 2-19 Graphing My Loyalties



My loyalty to Canada makes up a large part of my identity. As a result, I would say that I am a strong Canadian nationalist.

2. The factors that influence people's nationalism stem from a variety of sources and act with varying degrees of strength. Some factors, such as the feelings inspired by national symbols, are internal and others are external. What factors shape your feelings of nationalism? Are you moved, for example, when you hear the national anthem? Do you feel proud to live in a country that supports universal access to medical care?
   a) Work with a partner to list five factors that you think influence your feelings of national identity. Discuss and list them from most important to least important. Beside each category, state why you chose it and why you assigned its ranking.
   b) Share your list with another pair. Work together to create a single list that all four of you agree on.
   c) Share this list with other groups and reach a class consensus on the five influences you think are most important.
   d) On your own, copy the list developed by the class onto a chart like the one shown. In the first column, record each influence in order from most to least important. In the second column, use a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = agree strongly; 5 = disagree strongly) to identify how strongly you agree with the class's ranking. In the final column, write a personal example that illustrates the influence. An example has been filled in for you.

Class Consensus Influences That Shape National Identity		
Influence	**Agree or Disagree** 1 = Agree strongly 5 = Disagree strongly	**Personal Example**
1. Social – universal medical care	2	I feel inspired to defend Canadian medicare when people criticize the system.
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

3. The following are excerpts from a translation of the *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen*, which was written by Olympe de Gouges, an outspoken social activist during the French Revolution. Her views were condemned by the revolutionaries during the Reign of Terror, and she was executed in 1793.
   a) Follow the steps set out in "Focus on Skills" (pp. 48–49) to determine the purpose of this document and to analyze its use of rhetoric and bias.
   b) Compare this document with the excerpts from the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (p. 52). List similarities and differences in a chart. Then write a short paragraph to explain whether de Gouges was building on — or challenging — the ideas included in the Declaration of the Rights of Man.
   c) Think about whether historical, social, economic, geographic, and political factors played a role in preventing de Gouges's vision of her nation from being accepted in late 18th-century France. Be specific.
   d) Has de Gouges's vision become a reality in Canada today? Identify and explain two factors that you think affected this outcome.

Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen

Article 1: Woman is born free and lives equal to man in her rights. Social distinctions can be based only on the common utility.

Article 2: The purpose of any political association is the conservation of the natural and imprescriptible [absolute] rights of woman and man; these rights are liberty, property, security, and especially resistance to oppression.

Article 3: The principle of all sovereignty rests essentially with the nation, which is nothing but the union of woman and man; no body and no individual can exercise any authority which does not come expressly from it (the nation).

Article 6: The law must be the expression of the general will; all female and male citizens must contribute either personally or through their representatives to its formation; it must be the same for all: male and female citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, must be equally admitted to all honours, positions, and public employment according to their capacity and without other distinctions besides those of their virtues and talents.

Article 10: No one is to be disquieted for his very basic opinions; woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum [speaker's platform], provided that her demonstrations do not disturb the legally established public order.

Think about Your Challenge

Look back at the challenge for this related issue. It asks you to create a coat of arms that represents your response to the related-issue question: To what extent should nation be the foundation of identity?

Decide on the format you intend to use to display your coat of arms. On the basis of this decision, start choosing symbols you will incorporate into your coat of arms and think about their purpose. Set up a chart to track the symbol: where you found it, its relative importance in your overall design, its purpose, and its relationship to nationalism and your identity.