

How Can Nationalism Develop?

Chapter

3



Figure 3-1

Prise de la Bastille (1789), by Jean-Pierre-Louis-Laurent Houël.

This famous painting represents a pivotal moment in the French Revolution, a conflict that is considered a key example of nationalism. During the French Revolution, a series of events and conditions prompted the French people to unite and revolt against the king and form a new nation based on early ideas of democracy. What historical, geographic, political, economic, and social factors could have ignited this nationalist movement?

- What do you think is being expressed about nationalism in this painting?
- How does the painting capture the environment, ideas, and feelings that fostered a nationalist revolution?

Chapter Issue

To what extent is nationalism shaped by various factors?

In this chapter you will use what you have learned about understandings of nation, nationalism, and expressions of nationalism to explore how nationalism develops based on historical, geographic, political, economic, and social factors. The French Revolution is a key historical example of how nationalism can develop, and will be the focus of this chapter. The following inquiry questions will be used to guide your exploration:

- How did nationalism develop in France?
- How did Napoleon contribute to French nationalism?
- How has nationalism developed in recent times?

This chapter will also help you develop a foundation for addressing the Main Issue for Part 1 (chapters 1–5): ***To what extent should nation be the foundation of identity?***

Nationalism and the French Revolution

Question for Inquiry

- How did nationalism develop in France?

Prior to 1789, France was an **absolute** monarchy and a feudal society that favoured the aristocracy and the Catholic clergy. A shift began when the middle class began to question their loyalty to the king, Louis XVI, who reigned from 1774 to 1792. This was one factor that sparked the revolution and a sense of shared collective consciousness among a majority of the people in France. The factors that helped shape the development of nationalism in France include historical, geographic, social, economic, and political factors.

As you explore the French Revolution, consider the following questions: Why did the French people unite as a nation? How did feelings of nationalism build among these people? How did they express their feelings of nationalism?

Historical and Social Factors that Shaped French Nationalism

It is important to consider the nature of life in Europe before the French Revolution to understand why French nationalism developed. During the medieval period (about 400–1500 CE), generations of families lived primarily in small, tightly knit communities with very little external contact with the larger world.

During this time, powerful kingdoms developed, such as England and France. In France, the political system in place prior to the French Revolution dated to the 14th century, and was called the *ancien régime*.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

Why do you think the people of a nation would revolt against its leaders? What role does nationalism play in a revolution?

absolutism: a system where the monarch is given the power to rule the land and the people by the *divine right of kings*. This meant that the monarch's actions were answerable only to God.

Fast Facts

Louis XIV was called the *Sun King* because he considered himself the centre of all power, just as the sun was thought to be the centre of the universe.

Figure 3-2

In this illustration, serfs are depicted gathering the corn harvest under the control of the lord whose lands they worked. Serfs performed this labour as well as others, such as forestry and mining, in order to secure military protection and justice from their lords.

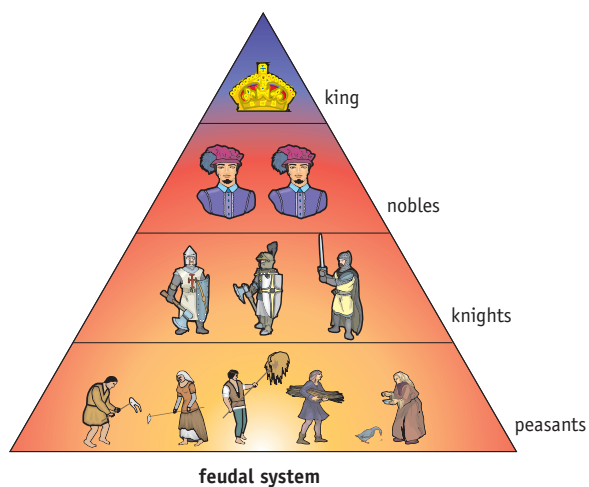


Figure 3-3 ▲

The medieval feudal system is typically depicted as a pyramid to better represent the hierarchy of rank. The king is always located at the top, followed by nobles and knights, while the greatest number of people, peasants and serfs, are located at the bottom.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How might the division of the members of society into three separate estates have affected identity in pre-1789 France? How might a member of the Third Estate feel about members of the First and Second Estates? To what extent might the members of all three estates have shared a collective identity?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How can the adoption of an official language affect the identity of a nation? How is language related to the identity of a people?

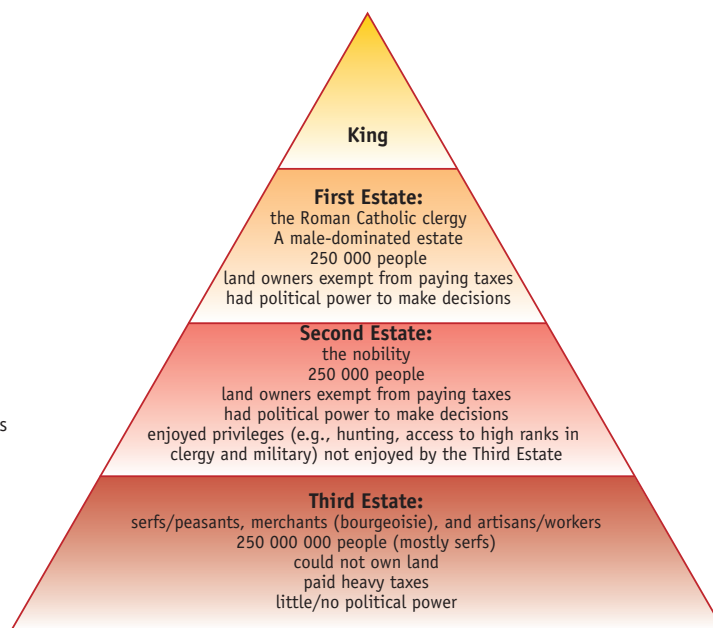


Figure 3-4 ▲

The Three Estates of the *Ancien Régime*.¹

French society was divided into three estates: the First Estate (the Roman Catholic clergy), the Second Estate (the nobility), and the Third Estate (serfs and the rest of the population). Membership in each estate was established by birth and law.

The Catholic Church was a major influence in France, and the upper clergy of the church held many privileges as members of the First Estate. Land was also a source of wealth and power for the Church—the Church owned about 20 per cent of the land in France. The clergy were priests and monks drawn from the Second and Third Estates. Some members of the clergy identified with some of the issues from the Third Estate.

In 1539, Francis I, King of France, signed into law an important piece of legislation called the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts. One of the major goals of this legislation was to discontinue the use of Latin in official French documents:

We wish and command that [judicial acts] be made and written so clearly that there be neither ambiguity or uncertainty nor possibility of ambiguity or uncertainty, nor cause to ask interpretation thereof.²

This set the stage for French to become the official language of France, to be used instead of Latin in court proceedings and

¹ From: The History Guide, Lectures on Modern European Intellectual History (Lecture 11: The Origins of the French Revolution). <http://www.historyguide.org/intellect/lecture11a.html>.

² From: http://www.historymania.com/american_history/Ordinance_of_Villers-Cotter%EAts.

government administration. Eventually, French came to be used by people across France rather than the many different dialects and languages of the various regions.

Ideas from the Age of Enlightenment influenced the French Revolution. Writings by Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau questioned the authority of the monarch and the Church.

Ideas and Opinions

“ In a true state of nature, indeed, all men are born equal, but they cannot continue in this equality. Society makes them lose it, and they recover it only by the protection of laws. ”

—Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws: Book VIII, Ch. 3* (1748).

“ Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains. One man thinks himself the master of others, but remains more of a slave than they. ”

—Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (1762).

“ All men would then be necessarily equal, if they were without needs. It is the poverty connected with our species which subordinates one man to another. It is not inequality which is the real misfortune, it is dependence. ”

—Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet),
Dictionnaire philosophique portatif (1764).

By the 18th century, the **bourgeoisie** of France demanded change to the *ancien régime*. With greater education and literacy, the bourgeoisie resented both the arrogance of the First and Second Estates and the heavy taxes they were forced to pay while being excluded from privileges. They also opposed being dictated to by the clergy and nobility. Some members of the First and Second Estates also encouraged changes to the outdated political structure. The types of changes and how the changes would be enacted were central to the conflicts during the French Revolution.

Figure 3-5 ▶

The Gallery of the Palais Royal, after a painting by Jean Francois Bosio (1764–1827) by Philibert Louis Debucourt, 1798. Citizens in bourgeoisie dress stroll through the Palais Royal, a palace and garden near the Louvre, while merchants trade textiles in the background.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

How would people of the First, Second, and Third Estates react to the ideas of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire?

Fast Facts

The 1776 American Revolutionary War was influenced by the ideas about government and power promoted by Age of Enlightenment writers.

bourgeoisie: middle-class people who had accumulated economic wealth through trade and commerce

Fast Facts

It is estimated that in 1787, the French government owed 4 billion *livres* and ran an annual deficit of about 100 million *livres*. In today's dollars, this debt would equal between \$16 billion and \$24 billion.

By 1789, France was on the edge of bankruptcy because of wars waged by the French monarchs Louis XV and Louis XVI. The Third Estate shouldered much of the debt, with increasing inflation and an enormous tax burden. In the months before the revolution, there were rumours of unemployment and the scarcity of food. The resentment of the Third Estate toward the privilege of the First and Second Estates grew as a result of the tax exemptions for these two estates.

SKILL PATH

SP Thinking Like a Researcher

Assessing Validity and Reliability of Information

Before you can make an informed conclusion or present an informed position, it is necessary to evaluate the validity and reliability of the information you have researched. In this chapter you will analyze the development of nationalism during the French Revolution. The information you gather will assist you in examining how historical, geographic, political, economic, and social factors may shape nationalism.

To practise assessing the validity and reliability of information, you will examine sources in this chapter and evaluate whether they can be used to support your conclusions about how people reacted to the economic and social conditions prior to the French Revolution.

Once you have assessed the information, select the information that best supports your response to determining the economic and social factors that contributed to the French Revolution. You will present your conclusions in the form of a newspaper article.

Step

1

Assemble Criteria for Evaluating Information

Valid and reliable information is important to the credibility of your position. The following criteria can be used to evaluate the validity and reliability of information.

Accuracy of Evidence:

- Is the evidence given in the account supported by and consistent with accepted historical fact?
- Is the author qualified to report on the event?
- Is the author's voice authentic?
- Is the author in an informed position to report on the event?

Objectivity:

- Is there evidence of bias?
- Is vocabulary neutral?
- Is there evidence of one point of view or perspective given precedence over another point of view or perspective?

Reliability:

- Is the account believable or plausible?
- Are the facts consistent?

Step**2****Apply the Criteria to your Information Source**

Apply the criteria in step 1 to the following excerpt from Arthur Young's *Travels in France* (1787). How valid is his information?

The rolls of the taille, capitation, vingtiemes, and other taxes, were distributed among districts, parishes, and individuals, at the pleasure of the intendant, who could exempt, change, add, or diminish at pleasure. Such an enormous power, constantly acting, and from which no man was free, must, in the nature of things, degenerate in many cases into absolute tyranny. It must be obvious that the friends, acquaintances, and dependents of the intendant, and of all his sub-delegates, and the friends of these friends, to a long chain of dependence, might be favoured in taxation at the expense of their miserable neighbour ... what must have been the state of the poor people paying heavy taxes, from which the nobility and clergy were exempted? A cruel aggravation of their misery, to see those who could best afford to pay, exempted because able!

—From Arthur Young (1741–1820),
Travels in France, 1787.
[http://www.thenagain.info/
Classes/Sources/Young.html](http://www.thenagain.info/Classes/Sources/Young.html).

Other sources you may wish to use for your comparison include

- the accounts of the storming of the Bastille (James R. Christopher and George G. Wittet, *Modern Western Civilization*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 64) and the Charles Dickens excerpt (*Modern Western Civilization*, p. 85)
- the Parisian newspaper account at <http://www.thecaveonline.com/APEH/frrevdocuments.html#anchorcake>
- the chart about wages and the budget for bread at <http://www.thecaveonline.com/APEH/frrevdocuments.html#anchorcahiers>

Practise It!

1. Create a chart that contains the criteria questions from Step 1 and your answers to each question for each source. This will allow you to evaluate the sources and compare your answers. The reliability and validity of evidence in a particular source can often be checked by cross-referencing it with other sources.
2. In a paragraph, evaluate which source provides the most valid and reliable information. Justify your answer.
3. Write a newspaper article on the economic and social factors that contributed to the French Revolution. Support your conclusion.

How Did Nationalism Develop during the French Revolution?

philosophes: French philosophers of the 18th century—such as Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau—who advocated the supremacy of human reason and dedicated themselves to the advancement of science and secular thought

A variety of factors led to the events of the French Revolution. Many people were beginning to question the absolute power of the king. They were inspired by the ideas of the **philosophes** that challenged the nature of the old regime, and by the recent revolution in the United States.

The bourgeoisie were unsatisfied with the economic, legal, and political limitations imposed on them and wanted a voice that more closely reflected their numbers (they made up more than 90 per cent of the population). If a meeting of the Estates-General was ever called, each estate had one vote, and the First and Second Estates often voted together to overpower the Third Estate.

Distribution of Political Power in France (pre-1789)

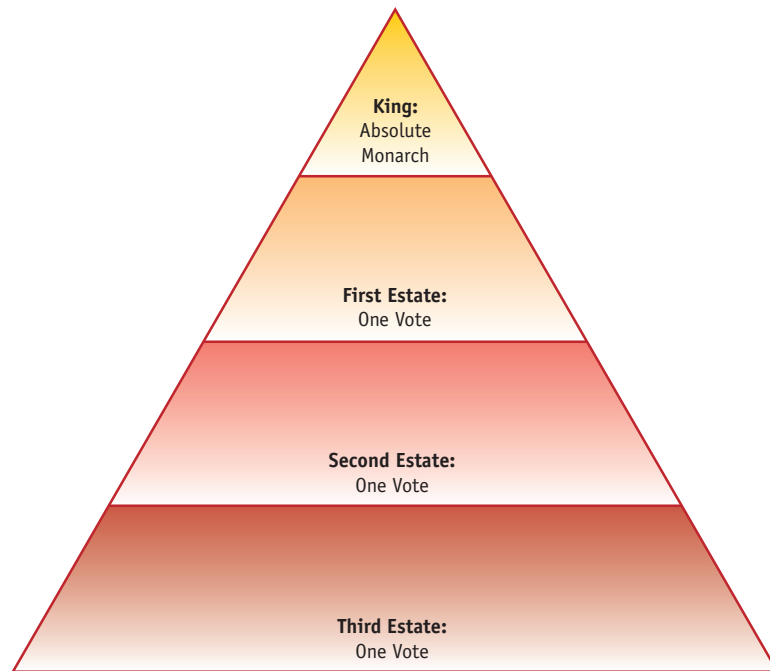


Figure 3-6

Each of the estates had one vote, despite the much larger size of the Third Estate.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Why might the Third Estate be unhappy with this distribution of power? What would the distribution of power look like if power were distributed based on population?

France's participation in a series of wars contributed to building a massive national debt, and by 1787 a financial crisis appeared to be imminent. A series of finance ministers and advisers reviewed the state accounts, but members of the government were unable to agree on a solution. Louis XVI also interfered by preventing a vote on proposed loans, prompting public protest and a demand for a meeting of the Estates-General, which brought together representatives from the three estates at the Palace of Versailles. With the increasing political pressure and the threat of financial collapse, the absolute power of the king was questioned.

T I M E L I N E

May 1789

Meeting of the Estates-General

As a result of public pressure, Louis XVI called the representatives to meet at Versailles. The representatives brought *cahiers de doléances* (lists of grievances) to share with the king in the hope of encouraging political change. Little was settled during these meetings, due to disagreements between the king and the three estates.

Ideas and Opinions

The following quotations are translated from the *cahiers de doléances* presented to the king.³ Examine the quotations and identify what the members of each estate share as common goals and complaints for France.

First Estate:

- *Have never believed that the constitution needed reform. The present constitution should be religiously and inviolably observed.*
- *France is a true monarchy, where a single man rules and is ruled by law alone.*
- *The three orders are equal in power and independent of each other, in such a manner that their unanimous consent is necessary to the expression of the nation's will.*

Second Estate:

- *The misfortune of France arises from the fact that it has never had a fixed constitution.*
- *The principles of this constitution should be simple: Security for person, security for property.*

Third Estate:

- *That no citizen lose his liberty except according to law.*
- *That the property of all citizens be **inviolable**.*
- *That every personal tax be abolished ... that such tax be borne equally, without distinction, by all classes of citizens.*

What do these grievances reveal about the goals of the three estates?

June 1789

Creation of the National Assembly and the Tennis Court Oath

After the failure of the meeting of the Estates-General, many of the representatives of all three estates proclaimed themselves to be the *National Assembly*.

On June 20, the king locked them out of their regular meeting room and they assembled at a nearby tennis court. There, they swore not to disband until France had a constitution in what became known as the *Tennis Court Oath*.

Ideas and Opinions

“What is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been hitherto in the political order? Nothing. What does it desire? To be something.”

—Abbé Sieyès,
“What is the Third Estate?”
pamphlet, 1789.

How does this quotation question prior understandings of the *ancien régime* and France as a nation?

inviolable: incapable of being tampered with

³ From: <http://www.historyguide.org/intellect/cahiers.html#third>.

Fast Facts

On 14 July 1789, the Bastille held only seven prisoners and very little in the way of weapons.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How might an attack on a royal symbol such as the Bastille become symbolic of the beginning of the French Revolution?

Fast Facts

The slogan of the French Revolution was: “*Liberté, égalité, fraternité, ou la mort!*” (“Liberty, equality, fraternity, or death!”)

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How did political change to the social structure lead to the development of nationalism in France?

Fast Facts

In response to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, Olympe de Gouges wrote the Declaration of the Rights of Woman in 1791. Her Declaration called for the same rights that were granted to men to be granted to women. These included the right to vote, as well as the rights of girls to receive an education and to work.

T I M E L I N E

14 July 1789

Storming of the Bastille

The king refused to recognize the legitimacy of the National Assembly. He assembled royal troops near Paris. Rumours of an attack by the king spurred crowds to storm the royal prison, the Bastille, to release prisoners and collect weapons to use for defence.

4 August 1789

Abolition of the Feudal System

Due to rumours of a poor economy and the scarcity of food, fear and panic in the countryside led to attacks on the estates of the nobility.

The National Assembly abolished the Estates-General, ending the feudal system and gaining legislative power in France.

August 1789

Creation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

In 1789, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was passed by the National Assembly. It described the rights of individuals and guiding democratic principles.

Ideas and Opinions

Excerpts from the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen:

“ All people shall have equal rights upon birth and ever after: the right to freedom, property, safety and the right to resist oppression.

Only actions harmful to the community may be made illegal.

Freedom is the power to do anything which does not harm another.

All citizens, either in person or through their representatives, are entitled to contribute to the formation of legislation.

As all citizens are equal in the eye of the law, positions of high rank, public office and employment are open to all on an equal basis according to ability and without any distinction other than that based on their merit or skill.

All persons are presumed innocent until declared guilty.

No-one may be troubled due to his opinions ... provided that the expression of these opinions does not disturb the peace.

All citizens may therefore speak, write and print freely.⁴ ”

How does this Declaration demonstrate a shift in the identities of members of each estate?

⁴ From: http://thelouvreproject.org/index.php?title=Declaration_of_the_Rights_of_Man_and_of_the_Citizen.

T I M E L I N E

October 1789

March on Versailles

In October 1789, several thousand people marched to Versailles to protest the high price of bread. The protesters discovered the plans of the royal family to flee France. They forced the king and his family to return to Paris, where they would have less opportunity to escape.



Figure 3-7 ▲

This 18th century engraving shows the women of Les Halles, the central marketplace of Paris, marching on Versailles to demand bread and force the price of bread down.

1790

Creation of a Constitutional Monarchy

In 1790, the National Assembly wrote a new constitution for France that kept the country a monarchy, but transformed the distribution of political powers. It proclaimed France a *sovereign nation*, made all government officials subject to the law, dissolved the royal administration, and shifted power from Paris to 83 individual districts. It also limited the powers of the king and gave most of the power to an elected legislative assembly. Other actions of the National Assembly included:

- the elimination of the nobility as a legally defined class
- the granting of the same civil rights to all citizens
- the incorporation of the Church within the state, stripping clergy of their property and special rights

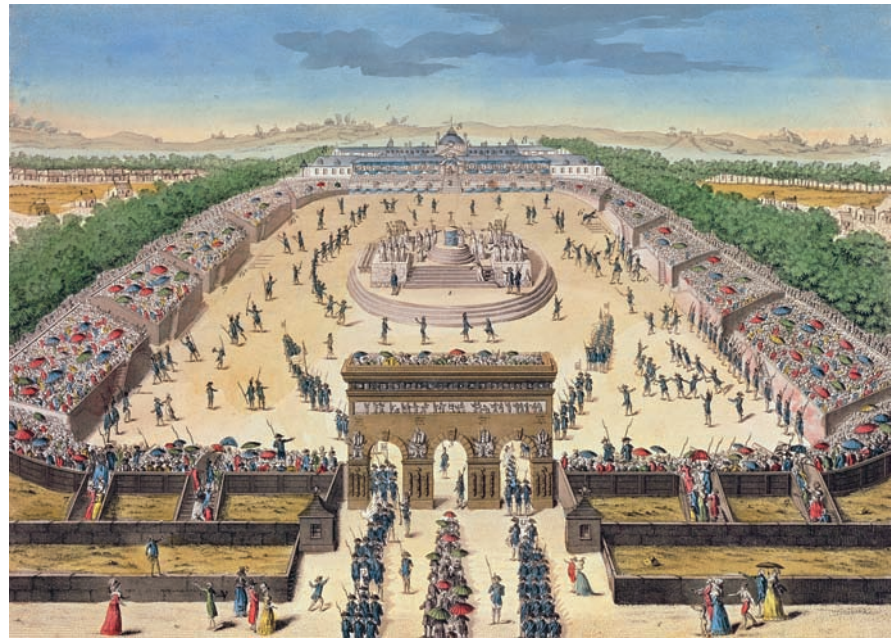


PAUSE AND REFLECT

How did the shift in the political power from an absolute monarchy to a democracy shape nationalism in France?

Figure 3-8

This engraving shows the view of the Champs de Mars on 14 July 1790. The Champs de Mars was the setting of the Fête de la Fédération, an official event celebrating the establishment of a constitutional monarchy.



Fast Facts

In the year following the storming of the Bastille, the districts of Paris decided to host a celebration, the *fête de la Fédération*, which would include all three estates. During the celebration, representatives from the National Guard would swear allegiance to the nation, the law, and the Crown; Mass would be said by Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun; and the banners of the 83 departments of France would be blessed. Deputies from other nations were also invited to celebrate France.

T I M E L I N E

1790–1793

Emergence of the Jacobins and Girondins

Between 1790 and 1793, two different political groups emerged, the Jacobins and Girondins. The Girondins were moderates who wanted to maintain the monarchy, while the Jacobins were radicals who wanted to establish France as a republic. The Jacobins stormed the Tuileries Palace in August 1792, where the royal family was, and the king was suspended from his duties by the elected Legislative Assembly.



“La Marseillaise”

“La Marseillaise,” the French national anthem, was composed on 24 April 1792 by Claude-Joseph Rouget de Lisle, a captain stationed in Strasbourg. The song was sung as the revolutionary Jacobin forces marched on the Tuileries Palace.

*Let us go, children of the fatherland
Our day of Glory has arrived.
Against us stands tyranny,
The bloody flag is raised,
The bloody flag is raised.
Do you hear in the countryside
The roar of these savage soldiers
They come right into our arms*

*To cut the throats of your sons,
your country.
To arms, citizens!
Form up your battalions
Let us march, Let us march!
That their impure blood
Should water our fields.*

If you were a member of the Jacobin force fighting in the revolution, how might this song inspire you?

T I M E L I N E

April 1792

France Declares War on Austria

With the changes to the political structure of France, many nobles fled to Austria and Prussia and attempted to mobilize foreign powers against the new government of France. This threat of an invasion led to the declaration of war on Austria in 1792, the beginning of a series of conflicts known as the French Revolutionary Wars. Prussia, the largest of the German states, joined the Austrians against France a few weeks later.

September 1792

National Convention and Declaration of France as a Republic

The National Convention, comprising representatives from the Jacobins and the Girondins, voted to remove the monarchy and establish a republic.

January 1793

Trial and Execution of Louis XVI

Louis XVI was tried and found guilty of treason by the new republic. He was sentenced to death, but his execution was not supported by all of France.

August 1793

Levée en Masse (Conscription)

Facing a series of military losses against Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain, the government instituted a *levée en masse* (mass conscription) to provide additional soldiers for France's military efforts.



⁵ From: http://www.royet.org/nea1789-1794/archives/journal_debats/an/1792/convention_1792_12_03.htm.

Ideas and Opinions

“ It is with regret that I pronounce, the fatal truth: Louis ought to perish rather than a hundred thousand virtuous citizens; Louis must die, so that the country may live.⁵ ”

—Maximilien Robespierre, in a speech prior to King Louis XVI's execution (December 1792).

What do you think Robespierre meant by “Louis must die, so that the country may live”?

Fast Facts

Maximilien Robespierre was one of nine members of the Committee of Public Safety responsible for the infamous Reign of Terror, which many historians claim resulted in up to 40 000 executions of persons named as threats to the republic. By 1794, Robespierre himself became a victim of the arrest and execution orders.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

How could conscription shape nationalism among the people of France?

Figure 3-9

The guillotine became a symbol of the French government's Reign of Terror, and was used extensively between 1793 and 1799.

Fast Facts

Governments in France during the French Revolution

Pre-1789 Estates-General
1789–1791 National Assembly;
National Constituent Assembly
1791–1792 Legislative Assembly
1792–1795 National Convention
1795–1799 Directory
1799–1804 Consulate

Fast Facts

Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) was a French soldier born in Corsica who participated in the French Revolution.

whiff of grapeshot: *grapeshot* is a cluster of metal balls shaped like a cluster of grapes and shot through a cannon. Napoleon is cited as responding to the coup by saying he would welcome the rebels with this “whiff.”

T I M E L I N E

October 1793

Execution of Marie Antoinette

Marie Antoinette, wife of Louis XVI, was arrested and tried for a number of charges, including treason. She was found guilty and executed.

1793–1794

Reign of Terror

Facing civil unrest across the country, the revolutionary government—the National Convention—arrested and executed up to 40 000 perceived enemies of the republic in what became known as the *Reign of Terror*.

1795

The Emergence of Napoleon Bonaparte

Napoleon Bonaparte was trained in the French military and quickly advanced through the ranks during the early years of the Revolution. During a coup, he repelled attackers with his celebrated “**whiff of grapeshot**.”

November 1799

Napoleon Bonaparte Leads a Successful Coup against the French Republic and becomes Leader of France

Napoleon was approached to organize a coup against the government in France. His successful overthrow of the Directory led to new leadership by the organizers of the coup, Abbé Sieyès and Roger Ducos. But Napoleon had more ambitious plans. He manipulated the situation and was elected First Consul, the new leader of France.

1800–1804

Napoleon Creates Reforms in France

As leader, Napoleon centralized administration of the government departments, created the lycée school system, implemented a tax system, the Bank of France, a set of civil laws (the Napoleonic Code), and road and sewer systems.

Explore the Issues

- 1 What, if any, was the sense of nation in France before 1789? Was there any sense of collective identity?
- 2 How did historical, political, economic, and social factors affect the collective identity in pre-1789 France?
- 3 What historical, geographical, political, economic, and social factors led to the French Revolution and to the shift in collective identity?
- 4 What was different in France after the revolution? What understandings of nation emerged? Who felt a part of the nation? What expressions of nationalism emerged?

French Nationalism during the Napoleonic Era

Question for Inquiry

- How did Napoleon contribute to French nationalism?

Napoleon Bonaparte is honoured throughout France as an icon and a hero. For many people in France, his military successes, his role as leader of France, and the reforms he created after the French Revolution are now symbolic of nationalism and pride.

T I M E L I N E

1804

Napoleon Is Declared Emperor of France

Napoleon's success in reforming France and expanding French influence throughout the country made him very popular with the people. They voted overwhelmingly to make him "Consul for Life." With that power, he was able to crown himself Emperor of France. Despite the relative stability under Napoleon's rule, his position was threatened by a series of assassination attempts. Proposals to further solidify his position as leader were brought forward. The question of Napoleon's appointment as Consul for Life was put to the people of France: 3 509 000 voted "Yes" out of a total of 3 580 000 votes cast. In 1804, the constitution was rewritten again, France was reinvented as an empire, and Napoleon Bonaparte was crowned its first emperor.

1804–1814

Napoleon Builds His Empire

During his reign as emperor, Napoleon expanded French control and influence well beyond the country's borders. As part of his strategy to expand his empire, he placed his brothers on the thrones of Spain and the Kingdom of Italy, and married off his sisters to other royal families.

Napoleon's conquests and expansion served to spread new ideas associated with the revolution throughout Europe, in particular the Napoleonic Code, which became the basis for the legal systems of many European countries.



Figure 3-10

This statue of Napoleon stands before the Hôtel de Ville in Rouen, France.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

In what ways did Napoleon Bonaparte affect the nationalism of the French people after the French Revolution?

Fast Facts

Napoleon established the lycée, the final stage of secondary education in France, in 1801. Lycées are divided into three categories: the *lycée général*, *lycée technologique*, and *lycée professionnel*, depending on the type of post-secondary education the student desires.

PAUSE AND REFLECT

In what ways did Napoleon's reforms contribute to uniting the people of France as a nation?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

In what ways would the spread of Napoleon's empire lead to nationalist responses in the countries he controlled, and in places such as Spain, the Kingdom of Italy, and Britain?

PAUSE AND REFLECT

In what ways did Napoleon's military campaigns create a sense of nationalism within France? In what ways did his campaigns create a sense of nationalism in Europe?



Figure 3-11 ▲

The Consecration of the Emperor Napoleon (1769–1821) and the Coronation of the Empress Josephine (1763–1814) by Pope Pius VII, 2nd December 1804, 1806–07 by Jacques-Louis David.

T I M E L I N E

1805–1814

Napoleon's Empire at War and the Continental System

Napoleon expanded his empire by claiming territories on behalf of France. Concerns about his expansion led to wars for most of his reign with the coalitions of Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, and Russia. These were attempts to control Napoleon's expansion.

Napoleon also had economic disputes with Britain. In response to Britain's funding of military efforts against his empire, Napoleon created the Continental System, an embargo prohibiting his allies and territories within his empire from trading with Britain. It had limited success in controlling Britain.

March–June 1815

The Hundred Days and the Battle of Waterloo

Napoleon's reign ended with his defeat at Leipzig, a Germanic state. He was removed as emperor and exiled to a remote island in the Atlantic called Elba. The coalition of nations that defeated Napoleon helped Louis XVIII return as the monarch of France.

Napoleon escaped from Elba and returned to France. He seized control of France again and ruled for a period of time known as *The Hundred Days*.

In response to Napoleon's second reign, another coalition was formed at Waterloo, in Belgium, and Napoleon was defeated once again.

Again, Napoleon was exiled. He remained under arrest on the island of St. Helena until his death, six years later.

Fast Facts

Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI and uncle of Louis XVII, was king of France from 1814 until his death in 1824. With the assistance of Charles de Talleyrand, Napoleon's former foreign minister, Louis XVIII was restored to the French throne in 1814.



Figure 3-12 ▲

Napoleon's Empire, 1812.

Fast Facts

Between 1814 and 1815, representatives from many European countries met during the Congress of Vienna. The purpose of these meetings was to settle political issues and redraw the map of Europe. The focus of the Congress was to encourage peace and stability, even at the expense of the rights and freedoms of the citizens of Europe.

Explore the Issues

- 1 How did Napoleon's reign shape understandings of France as a nation?
- 2 In what ways can the development of nationalism be shaped by changing social, political, and economic conditions? Use the French Revolution and Napoleon's reign to support your answer.

A Contemporary Example of Nationalism

Question for Inquiry

- How has nationalism developed in recent times?

In this chapter, you have explored how a sense of nationalism developed for the people of France and elsewhere in Europe in response to the French Revolution and Napoleon's reign. In what ways does nationalism develop today?

INVESTIGATION

Note: Many people would find that this article contains bias. Recall that bias means “an inclination that makes it difficult to judge fairly”.

Kosovo: An Independent State

Nationalism and State Creation: The Kosovar Case:
Sunday, 3 February 2008, by Arlind V. Bytyqi

For many countries worldwide, nationalism—as we have come to know today, has led to the formation of entities known as states. These have been bloody struggles, and due to their just nature, they have enabled certain ethnicities to file for self-determination.

Typology of nationalism, however, is quite diverse. In some cases, nationalist movements have been born recently, whereas in some others, such feelings of belonging have been there for a long time. In Kosovo, nationalism has always played a major role, and one can freely say it has been one of the top elements that has aided the Kosovar cause towards independence.

Under Former Yugoslavia, Albanians have consistently been identified as pariahs, due to their ethnic difference from other constituent republics. This difference—Albanianism—has been successfully maintained throughout years, and has relentlessly triggered tension and feelings of anti-Albanian existence among the state runners of the then Yugoslav state. At the same time, it has been an ensuring factor to the Albanian population of Kosovo that one day, nationalism will serve their purpose for self-rule.

Ethno-nationalism has at all times been a distinctive feature of the Albanians inside the Yugoslav ‘state-pool.’ The arguer claiming that Yugoslavia was a country where everyone lived peacefully and in harmony, is challenged to face up to my statement: this state, in the first place, was built on wrong premises. Formation of a nation-state has a number of particularistic elements attached to it; and these more than

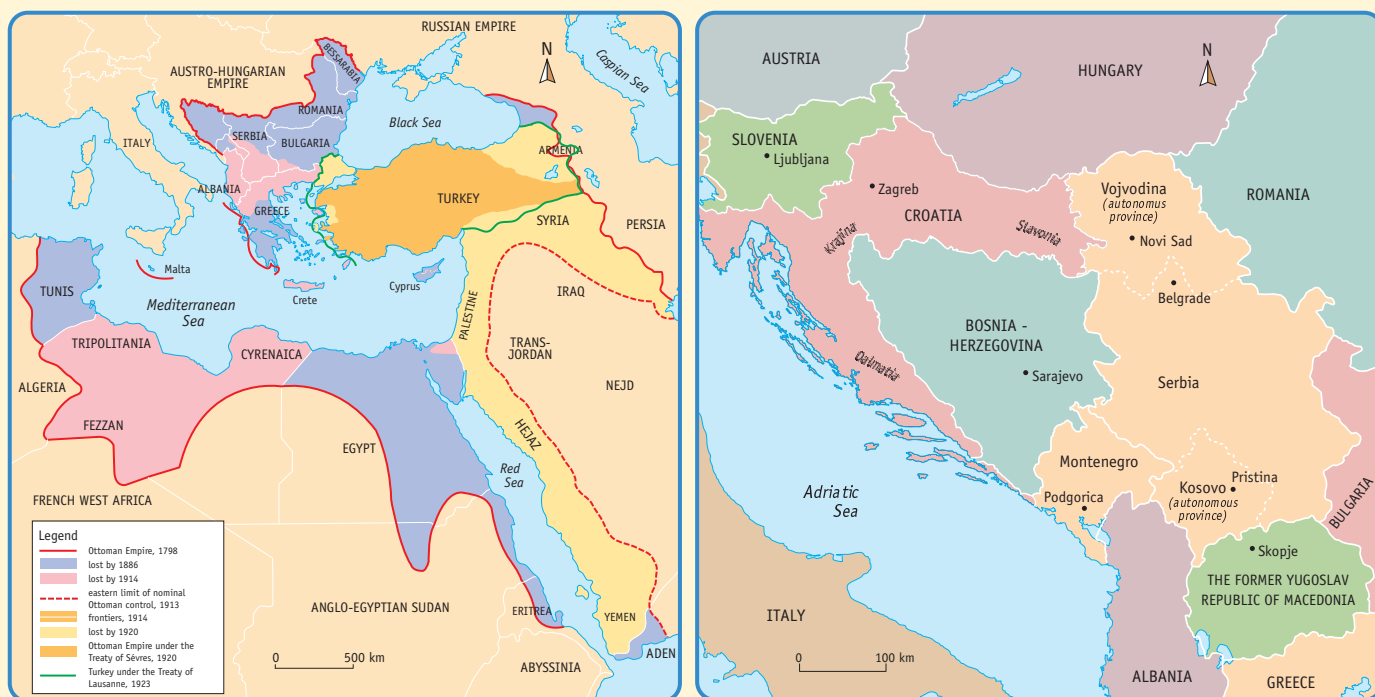


Figure 3-13 ▲

The map on the left illustrates the political changes that occurred in the Ottoman Empire from 1798–1923, while the map on the right illustrates the countries, republics, and provinces that make up the former Yugoslavia, 2008.

often are a commonality of all the people living there. To begin with, all national groups that were part of Yugoslavia shared different histories. This was especially true for the Albanians. There was absolutely nothing that tied them together historically speaking with any other nationality, except for confrontation and tension. Then, language was another element, alongside with values and traditions. Albanian language and traditions are extremely different from languages and traditions of other ethnic groups which were part of Yugoslavia. Therefore, we are dealing here with various national identities, thus, Kosovo Albanians have always been a unique case.

Ethnic nationalism, for Kosovo Albanians, suggested that they were a nation which shared same values and one culture. These values and culture were not artificial. They were carried onto Albanians by their forerunners, and this is a strong element identifying a nation. In the same vein, they ensured for legitimacy by different international factors. The behavior of Kosovo Albanians throughout these times was characterized by a persistent effort to safeguard their national identity, as well as their long struggle for self-determination. Whilst the former was effectively preserved, the latter required commitment and sacrifices. Kosovo Albanians were not after self-rule under Yugoslavian regime, which was then coined autonomy. They were after full independence/statehood where no other state would interfere in internal and foreign affairs.

In this regard, since national identity never posed a problem for Kosovo Albanians in terms of defense from external factors, their nationalist movement was shifted and took the form of a state-centric nationalism.

This suggested their struggle for statehood, given they had all other prerequisites for it.

There obviously is a difference between a state and a nation. Even though these two phrases are often used as one (nation-states) they advocate two different institutions. Kosovo was always a place of a nation, but it was unfortunately never a state. And this is where the sharp distinction should be kept in mind: the Kosovar state is not being born in an artificial manner. On the contrary, we are facing nothing but the merging process of the two concepts, nation and state, into one. Nationalists worldwide claim that if a populace can identify in terms of language, traditions, culture and values, the next logical step to be taken is proclamation of statehood. Kosovo Albanians are filing for their right to self-governance; governance over their own people.

In essence, among Kosovo Albanians, we find a number of other ethnic groups or minorities living there presently. Fundamentally, and in theory, this goes against the formula for the creation of a state based on premises of a unique language, same traditions and so on. Nevertheless, Kosovo is not after an ethnically clean state. In this world of the twenty-first century where globalization and amalgamation of all kinds of civilizations and national groups in all parts of the world takes place on daily basis, pure nation-states is an ideal which will never be reached.

Since creation of the Kosovar state is now a reality, it is pivotal that there is a unified or mass acknowledgement of the state. In other words, the state should be viewed as legitimate by the people inside its territory. A special emphasis here is put on the Serb minority, who should by all means embrace the Kosovar state, for it is their state, too.

When nationalism is used to describe the Kosovo Albanians' efforts for self-determination, we should be cagey to draw the attention to the typology of nationalism that was employed. Whilst in many regions of the world, extremist nationalist movements have been used to achieve certain goals, Kosovo Albanians have pursued a rather different path. Their way was one of patience and preservation of who they are. Thus, if we were to give another prefix to nationalism based on the Kosovar case, that would be coined either 'persistent nationalism' or 'serene nationalism.'

The trick with this type of nationalism is that it requires a long-term pledge. Alongside the pledge, you also have to agree to the wretched fact that there will be carnage by the authority that you are rejecting as your ruler. For Kosovo Albanians it took a very long time, perhaps, more than it should have taken. It also cost them hundreds and thousands of lives and destruction of properties. Another factor which is by no means to be neglected, especially if we are talking about a small country, as is Kosovo, is the support by 'the big guys.' It is always better if this comes in time, as it would save a nation from a lot of despair and suffering.

- 1** Examine the maps of the Ottoman Empire (pre-First World War) and the former Yugoslavia and determine the range of understandings of nation that have evolved regarding Kosovo as a nation.
- 2** Identify the factors that shape nationalism for Kosovo Albanians.
- 3** Kosovo declared independence on 17 February 2008. To what extent did nationalism drive the declaration of Kosovo as an independent state? How might the independence of Kosovo affect the nationalism of other groups within the new Kosovo?

*Having the strength of mind and bravery to rise against all forms of oppression and attempts to squash an entire nation, is the key to a successful campaign which will deliver the fundamental right: self-determination. Kosovo Albanians have lived through and possessed both, and today they are at a decisive moment of their long-lasting struggle. This struggle in its superlative sense is pure nationalism. It is nationalism understood within the framework of a modern connotation of the word, with all its positive aspects following behind.*⁶

Explore the Issues

- 1 What sense of collective consciousness and/or internalized feelings of nation can be found in other nations shaped by revolution?
 - 2 What factors—historical, geographic, social, economic, and political—shape the development of nationalism in each of these examples?
- Czech Republic
 - Slovakia
 - Estonia/Belarus/Lithuania/Kazakhstan
 - Namibia, Mozambique
 - Guatemala



Reflect and Analyze

In this chapter you analyzed historical factors that shaped the French Revolution and the development of an identity, a shared collective consciousness, and/or an internalized feeling among people in France. Napoleon's reign further shaped this collective identity and nationalism. Various factors—such as social, political, and economic factors—can contribute to the development of nationalism within a group, such as for Kosovo Albanians.

Respond to Issues

- 1 Prepare an informed conclusion on the Chapter Issue *To what extent is nationalism*

shaped by various factors?, about the development of nationalism in France after the French Revolution and Napoleon.

Recognize Relationships between Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

- 2 Using your technology skills, design and create a poster promoting the anniversary of a nation's independence. Justify the various aspects of the poster and how they capture elements of the nationalism—both historical and contemporary—of the people of the nation.

⁶ Arlind V. Bytyqi, "Nationalism and State Creation: The Kosovar Case." New Kosova Report. 3 February 2008. <http://www.newkosovareport.com/20080203490/Arlind-V.-Bytyqi/Nationalism-and-State-Creation-The-Kosovar-Case.html>.