

VOLUME XI

THE STORY OF
CIVILIZATION

THE AGE OF
NAPOLEON



WILL & ARIEL DURANT

*A History
of European Civilization from
1789 to 1815*

In *The Age of Napoleon*, the final volume of Will and Ariel Durant's *STORY OF CIVILIZATION*, which has reached hundreds of thousands of readers and established itself as one of the most enduring classics of history, Napoleon, the central figure, is the archetypal hero, whose restless, ambitious, and intelligent mind dominated his age and has never ceased to fascinate the world he helped fashion. To his enigmatic character and incredible career the Durants have brought the full range of their genius and skill—never has the Emperor been portrayed more fully, never have his gifts, faults, complexities, and achievements been so brilliantly illuminated or so intimately described.

Yet if Napoleon Bonaparte is the central figure of this engrossing narrative, even he, heroic and unique, is dwarfed by the age that took his name: for the Durants have re-created the life, the history, the arts, the science, the politics, the philosophy, the manners and morality, the very *spirit* of the turbulent epoch that began with the French Revolution, ended with the fall of the Emperor, and ushered in the modern world. It was an age that opened with a feudal peasantry in revolt and ended with the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution and “modern” thought, an age in which ancient monarchies were transformed into modern states, an age that included great warriors like Napoleon and Wellington; great creative artists such as Chateaubriand, Byron, William Blake, Jane Austen, Wordsworth, Beethoven, Turner, Coleridge, Shelley; great philosophers such as Fichte, Hegel, Godwin, Malthus, Bentham; great scientists such as Jenner, Dalton, Rumford, Davy; great men of politics such as the younger Pitt, Charles James Fox, Metternich, Talleyrand, Mirabeau, Marat;

powerful monarchs such as Paul I and Alexander I of Russia, George III of England, Francis II of Austria, the hopeful, exiled Bourbons, and the protean Emperor himself.

To this vast task, the Durants have brought their special talents, describing every advance in art, industry, thought, and science, creating unforgettable portraits of great men and women, describing with practiced ease and polish the turmoil of a renaissance France, the golden age of English power and elegance, the agony of Russia at war with Napoleon and herself, the decline of ancient Austria, the struggle of Prussia to regain her status as a great power, the emergence from the long wars of Napoleon's age (and from the artistic, cultural, and philosophical ferment of his time) of a new world.

With this eleventh volume of *THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION*, at once a masterpiece and an enduring classic, as breathlessly readable in narrative as it is informative in fact, the Durants' great chronicle of four thousand years that shaped our world of today is brilliantly concluded.

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*Napoleon by Antoine Jean Gros (detail)—Musée de la Légion
d'Honneur, Paris*

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Europe shortly before 1789

SCALE IN MILES



- Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
- Hapsburg Lands
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The Lessons of History

Interpretation of Life

A Dual Autobiography

THE AGE
OF
NAPOLEON

*A History of European Civilization
from 1789 to 1815*

by

Will and Ariel Durant



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Preface

“By the middle of the twentieth century,” says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (XVI, Ioa), “the literature on Napoleon already numbered more than 100,000 volumes.” Why add to the heap? We offer no better reason than to say that the Reaper repeatedly overlooked us, and left us to passive living and passive reading after 1968. We grew weary of this insipid and unaccustomed leisure. To give our days some purpose and program we decided to apply to the age of Napoleon (1789–1815) our favorite method of integral history—weaving into one narrative all memorable aspects of European civilization in those twenty-seven years: statesmanship, war, economics, morals, manners, religion, science, medicine, philosophy, literature, drama, music, and art; to see them all as elements in one moving picture, and as interacting parts of a united whole. We would see Prime Minister William Pitt ordering the arrest of author Tom Paine; chemist Lavoisier and mystic Charlotte Corday mounting the guillotine; Admiral Nelson taking Lady Hamilton as his mistress; Goethe foreseeing a century of events from the battle of Valmy; Wordsworth enthusing over the French Revolution, Byron over the Greek; Shelley teaching atheism to Oxford bishops and dons; Napoleon fighting kings and imprisoning a pope, teasing physicians and philosophers, taking half a hundred scholars and scientists to conquer or reveal Egypt, losing Beethoven’s dedication to the *Eroica* for an empire, talking drama with Talma, painting with David, sculpture with Canova, history with Wieland, literature with Goethe, and fighting a fifteen-year war with the pregnable but indomitable Mme. de Staël. This vision roused us from our septua-octo-genarian lassitude to a reckless resolve to turn our amateur scholarship into picturing that exciting and eventful age as a living whole. And shall we confess it?—we had nurtured from our adolescence a sly, fond interest in Napoleon as no mere warmonger and despot, but as also a philosopher seldom deceived by pretense, and as a psychologist who had ceaselessly studied human nature in the mass and in individual men. One of us was rash enough to give ten lectures on Napoleon in 1921. For sixty years we have been gathering material about him, so that some of our references will be to books once helpful and now dead.

So here it is, a labor of five years, needing a lifetime; a book too long in total, too short and inadequate in every part; only the fear of that lurking Reaper made us call a halt. We pass it on, not to specialist scholars, who will learn nothing from it, but our friends, wherever they are, who have been patient with us through many years, and who may find in it some moment’s illumination or brightening fantasy.

WILL AND ARIEL DUREN

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, to our daughter, Ethel Durant Kay, who not only typed the manuscript immaculately, but often improved it with corrections and suggestions. She has been a patient and helpful companion to us at every stage of our enterprise.

To our dear friends Arthur Young and Gala Kourlaeff, who lent us precious books from their private collections.

To the Los Angeles Public Library, and more directly to its Hollywood Branch and the ladies at its reference desk, and especially to Mrs. Edith Cruikshank and Mrs. Elizabeth Fenton.

To J. Christopher Herold, whose books on Napoleon and Mme. de Staël have been a light and treasure to us; and to Leslie A. Marchand, whose masterly three-volume *Byron* has moderated, with its wealth of information, a Byronic addiction already passionate in 1905, when WD prayed God to release the crippled poet from hell.

To Vera Schneider, who brought to the months-long task of copy editing all the scope and precision of her scholarship. Our book has profited immensely from her work.

And to our dear friend Fernand, Comte de Saint-Simon, who gave so much of his time to guiding us to Napoleoniana in Paris, Versailles, and Malmaison.

All in all, in life and history, we have found so many good men and women that we have quite lost faith in the wickedness of mankind.

NOTE

In excerpts, italics for emphasis are never ours unless so stated.

Certain especially dull passages, not essential to the story, are indicated by reduced type.

MONETARY EQUIVALENTS

No consistent formulation is possible: coins bearing the same names now as then usually bought two hundred years ago, much more than now, but sometimes less. History is inflationary, if only through repeated debasements of the currency as an old way of paying governmental debts; but the notion that goods cost less in the past than now is probably the enchantment of distance; in terms of labor required to earn the money to buy them they generally cost more. By and large, allowing for many exceptions and national variations, we may equate some European currencies of 1789 with United States currencies of 1970 as follows.

crown, \$6.25
ducat, \$12.50
florin, \$2.50
franc, \$1.25
groschen, $\frac{1}{4}$ cent
guilder, \$5.25
guinea, \$26.25
gulden, \$5.00
kreuzer, $\frac{1}{2}$ cent
lira, \$1.25
livre, \$1.25
louis d'or, \$25.00
mark, \$1.25
pound, \$25.00
shilling, \$1.25
sou, 5 cents
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