

a silent throng within its consecrated walls. At length Napoleon arose, and taking the diadem of wrought gold, calmly placed it upon his brow. Resolved to impress the people from the commencement of his reign, that he ruled in his own right, the Roman See was permitted to do no more than consecrate the bauble that made him king—Napoleon calmly placed the crown upon his own ample brow. Then raising the crown designed for Josephine to his head, he passed it to her own. Josephine, always natural, and therefore always interesting, with folded arms kneeled gracefully before him, then rising fixed upon him a look of tenderness and gratitude, while tears fell from her eyes—the lovely queen and devoted sacrifice, soon to pass from the throne to the altar of ambition. The Bible was laid upon the throne; Napoleon placed his hand upon it, and in a voice which was distinctly heard throughout the immense edifice, pronounced the customary oaths of office. A simultaneous shout broke from all the vast assembly, which was echoed by the crowds without; while the thunders of artillery proclaimed to more distant places that Bonaparte was Emperor of France.

Napoleon, ten years before, was a captain in the service of the republic; he had shaken a continent with his armies; and at length sat down upon the throne of an empire. Within the fifth part of man's allotted age, the Corsican youth, hating warmly the French, had become a devoted republican—adopted the despised nation as his own—risen from a lieutenant's position in the army to its head—conquered the fairest part of Europe—and now swayed over all, a monarch's scepter, receiving the willing homage of the millions who so recently shouted frantically, "*Vive la Republique!*"

The marvelous history is without a parallel in the annals of time. It must be conceded, that the royalty

of Napoleon was vastly superior to that of the Bourbons. The privileged classes—the nobility—the corrupt officials, and priesthood—were no longer the favorites of a voluptuous king. Personal security from oppression among the masses—religious toleration—and equitable taxation—were secured. It is also true, that France was unprepared for the unfettered freedom we enjoy. But all this does not alter the fact, that Napoleon made no efforts, either to prepare the people for republican institutions, or retain a vestige of the brief republic. By decrees, and intermarriage of his family—and every act—his purpose, as he expressed it, to rule the world with or without England, was clearly declared. Then again, he did not know how soon after his death, a worse than Louis XVII. would ascend the throne. There was a forceful view given of the emperor's ambition and betrayal of humanity in Carnot's question: "Why forget that Vespasian was the father of Domitian, Germanicus of Caligula, Marcus Aurelius of Commodus?"

The coronation at Paris was followed, very naturally, by a petition from the Italian senators, that Napoleon accept the iron crown of Charlemagne, worn by the Lombard kings. He immediately set out for Milan, accompanied with Josephine.

It was decided to cross the Alps by Mont Cenis, and for the adventure two elegant sedans were forwarded from Turin. There was no grand highway, as soon afterward, bridging the chasms, and the traveler, like the wild goat, had often to climb the perilous steep in a path untrodden before. Josephine avoided the beautiful conveyance ordered expressly for her, and preferred, whenever possible, to advance by her elastic step; to walk beside Napoleon, breathe the bracing air, and behold with kindling eye the sea of glittering sum-

mits, the gorges and their foaming torrents, and the ice-fields stretching away in cold and majestic desolation. That passage was a novel and sublime spectacle. The sovereign of an empire, with his charming queen, toiling up the heights over which he had led conquering armies—his thoughts busy with those mighty scenes—hers wandering over the waste of wonders, and above them through eternity, of which the solemn peaks seemed silent yet eloquent witnesses.

From Turin the tourists' next place of rendezvous was Alessandria, near the plain of Marengo; and he could not resist the inducement to stand once more upon that field which had rocked to one of the world's decisive battles, and sent his name like a spell-word around the globe. He ordered from Paris the old uniform and hat which he had worn on the day of conflict amid the smoke of the terrible struggle, and, then, while in fancy he saw again the meeting battalions, as when he wrung from the outnumbering foe victories that astonished the heroes of every realm, he reviewed with imperial dignity the national troops in Italy. Reaching Milan, May 26, 1805, the ancient crown was brought from seclusion, and the dust in which it had been entombed removed from the neglected symbol of royalty. In the grand cathedral of the city, the second in magnificence to St. Peter's, Napoleon receiving the crown from the archbishop's hand, placed it, as on a former occasion, upon his own head.

He repeated during the ceremony, in Italian, these words—"God has given it—woe to the gainsayer;" raising the iron circle also to the brow of Josephine. The assemblage of nobility and beauty dispersed; Napoleon calmly received their display of loyalty, and the gay Milanese again, with wonted hilarity, thronged the market-place and busy streets of the capital.

Napoleon's title was now Emperor of the French and King of Italy.

The Ligurian republic sent the doge to Milan to offer congratulations, and desire the addition of their territory to the empire of France. This was granted, and became a serious affair in the subsequent course of events. Eugene Beauharnois, Josephine's son, was appointed viceroy at Milan.

Here the first intimations of threatening dissatisfaction, on the part of Austria and Russia, reached the emperor. Although he continued his tour through the peninsula, so rich in picturesque scenery and historic recollections—in everything that awakens thought and kindles the imagination—his mind was occupied with coming events, whose foreshadowing he beheld in the blackening horizon of the north. Arriving at Genoa, the tidings of a coalition were confirmed, based in part at least, it was apparent, upon the coronation in Milan. The departure was impetuous, for the eagle eye of Napoleon saw clearly the hastening tempest, and he caught in fancy the thunders of its terrible shock. The imperial carriage glided like a spirit along the highway, and the lash fell with increasing rapidity upon the foaming steeds. When for a moment there was a halt to change the horses, water was dashed on the smoking axle, and again the wheels revolved, till they seemed self-moving, while their low hum only broke the silence, except the occasional shout of Napoleon, "On! On! we do not move!"

He reached Paris, and on the 29th of January, 1805, in his new character of emperor, addressed a letter to King George III., in person, and was answered, as before, by the British Secretary of State for foreign affairs; who said that in the present state of relations between the cabinet of St. James and that of

St. Petersburg, it was impossible for the former to open any negotiation without the consent of the latter.

This sufficiently indicated a fact of which Napoleon had just suspicion some time before. The murder of the duke d'Enghien had been regarded with horror by the young emperor of Russia; he had remonstrated vigorously, and his reclamations had been treated with indifference. The king of Sweden, immediately after he heard of the catastrophe at Vincennes, had made known his sentiments to the czar: a strict alliance had been signed between those two courts about a fortnight ere Napoleon wrote to the king of England; and it was obvious that the northern powers had, in effect, resolved to take part with Great Britain in her struggle against France.

The cabinets of London, Petersburg, and Stockholm were now parties in a league which had avowedly the following objects:—To restore the independence of Holland and Switzerland; to free the north of Germany from the presence of French troops; to procure the restoration of Piedmont to the king of Sardinia; and, finally, the evacuation of Italy by Napoleon. Until, by the attainment of these objects, the sway of France should be reduced to limits compatible with the independence of the other European states, no peace was to be signed by any of the contracting powers; and, during several months, every means was adopted to procure the association of Austria and Prussia. But the latter of these sovereigns had a strong French party in his council, and though personally hostile to Napoleon, could not as yet count on being supported in a war against France by the hearty good-will of an undivided people. Austria, on the other hand, had been grievously weakened by the campaign of Marengo,

and hesitated, on prudential grounds, to commit herself once more to the hazard of arms.

The czar visited Berlin; and the two sovereigns repaired to the vault of Frederic the Great, and there swore over his ashes, to strike for the independence of Germany. Austria, upon hearing of the scenes at Milan, yielded to the policy of England, and suddenly entered, with eighty thousand troops, the field of strife—an opening campaign of carnage—for which the British king and cabinet were chiefly responsible. The combined armies swept over Bavaria, an ally of France, and while the elector begged to be let alone in his neutrality, endeavored to compel him to join the allies. He withdrew into Franconia; and the enemy taking possession of Munich and Ulm, penetrated the Black Forest, and fortified their position by commanding the outposts bordering on the valley of the Rhine.

Napoleon was not, as anticipated, taken by surprise, and overwhelmed in the weakness of unavailible strength. He had issued orders to the commanders of the army of invasion, to be ready, upon the first hostile movement of Austria, to advance against her. His vast arrangements went forward with usual precision and haste—the army went wild with enthusiasm in view of the campaign; and the marvelous activity of their leader made him their wonder and their idol. *Twenty thousand* carriages conveyed the battalions, as if by a magical flight, from Boulogne to the beautiful Rhine, upon whose green banks a hecatomb of youthful soldiers, who had impatiently waited for the conflict, were trodden in gore beneath the iron hoof.

When Napoleon appeared before his army, and the shouts of the welcome had subsided, he made this stirring address: “Soldiers! the campaign of the third

coalition has commenced. Austria has passed the Inn, violated its engagements, attacked and chased our ally from his capital. We will not again make peace without sufficient guaranties. You are but the advance-guard of the great people. You have forced marches to undergo, fatigues and privations to endure. But, whatever obstacles we may encounter, we shall overcome them, and never taste of repose till we have placed our eagles on the territory of our enemies."

Mack, the Austrian general, was not equal in military skill to those who preceded him in command. While he was anticipating an assault in front of the Ulm, the main body of the French troops entered the German dominions, and crossing the Danube, appeared in his rear, and cut off his communication with Vienna.

"Napoleon's gigantic plan was completely successful. The Austrians were surrounded beyond all hope of escape. In twenty days, without a single pitched battle, by a series of marches and a few skirmishes, the Austrian army of eighty thousand men was utterly destroyed. A few thousand only, in fugitive bands eluded the grasp of the victor, and fled through the defiles of the mountains. The masterly maneuvers of the French columns had already secured thirty thousand prisoners almost without bloodshed. Thirty-six thousand were shut up in Ulm. Their doom was sealed."

The emperor summoned the Austrian commander to surrender. Notwithstanding the expected reinforcements by the advance of the Russian army, and a full supply of stores for the garrison, Mack, who, on the 16th of October, prepared for desperate defense, overcome with his fears, upon the 17th signed articles of capitulation. Prince Maurice was sent to the French

camp to offer the evacuation of Ulm, if the troops would be allowed to retire into Austria.

Napoleon, with a smile, assured the envoy that such a sacrifice would be absurd, when a week would secure the surrender without conditions. The 20th of October poured its cold and cloudless splendor upon the more than thirty thousand soldiers, who, marching through the gates of Ulm, laid down their glittering arms at the feet of Napoleon. Turning to the imposing array of captive officers, he said, "Gentlemen, war has its chances. Often victorious, you must expect sometimes to be vanquished. Your master wages against me an unjust war. I say it candidly, I know not for what I am fighting. I know not what he requires of me. He has wished to remind me that I was once a soldier. I trust he will find that I have not forgotten my original avocation. I want nothing on the continent. I desire ships, colonies, and commerce. Their acquisition would be as advantageous to you as to me."

This splendid campaign spread unutterable joy over the army and nation. Like the summary of successes on the flag sent to the Directory after the Corsican's first triumph, Napoleon gave an eloquent outline of his victories in an address which was a tocsin of thrilling import to Europe:

"SOLDIERS OF THE GRAND ARMY—In fifteen days we have finished our campaign. What we proposed to do has been done. We have chased the Austrian troops from Bavaria, and restored our ally to the sovereignty of his dominions.

"That army which with so much presumption and imprudence marched upon our frontiers, is annihilated.

"But what does this signify to England? She has

gained her object. We are no longer at Boulogne, and her subsidies will not be the less great.

"Of a hundred thousand men who composed that army, sixty thousand are prisoners; but they will supply our conscripts in the labor of husbandry.

"Two hundred pieces of cannon, ninety flags, and all their generals are in our power. Not more than fifteen thousand men have escaped.

"Soldiers! I announced to you a great battle; but thanks to the ill-devised combinations of the enemy, I was able to secure the desired result without any danger; and, what is unexampled in the history of nations, these results have been gained at the loss of scarcely fifteen hundred men, killed and wounded.

"Soldiers! this success is due to your entire confidence in your emperor, to your patience in supporting fatigue and privations of every kind, and to your remarkable intrepidity.

"But we will not stop here. You are impatient to commence a second campaign.

"The Russian army which the gold of England has brought from the extremity of the world, we have to serve in the same manner.

"In the conflict in which we are now to be engaged, the honor of the French infantry is especially concerned. We shall then see decided, for the second time, that question which has already been decided in Switzerland and Holland; namely, whether the French infantry is the first or second in Europe?

"There are no generals among them, in contending against whom I can acquire any glory. All I wish is to obtain the victory with the least possible bloodshed. My soldiers are my children."

When advancing into the heart of Germany, the neutral territory of Anspach, belonging to Prussia,

was violated, threatening immediate war with that power; but this grand result hushed the tones of indignation, and kept the king in dread of the avenger. Ney, on the right of Napoleon, was successful in the Tyrol; and Murat, on his left, had watched the Austrians retreating to Bohemia; and both rejoined Napoleon, with Augereau's fresh reserve from France, who guarded the mountain passes at Voralberg. He was thus prepared to march toward the German capital. Meanwhile, the Czar of Russia, with one hundred and sixteen thousand troops, had advanced to Moravia, and gathered around the hostile standard the available force of Austria. England sent thirty thousand men to Hanover to press on to the field of conflict.

The French army, amid the astonishment of kings, fired with their leader's spirit, swept forward toward Vienna. November 7th, Francis fled from his defenseless capital, and repaired to the headquarters of the czar. A general panic seized the nation. On the 13th of November, the exultant army of Napoleon entered the capital, and took possession of the rich supply of stores and arms in the arsenals of the empire. Here he heard of the terrible defeat of the united naval force of France and Spain. The tidings added fuel to the flame of determined vengeance upon his combined enemies. Although he was many hundred miles from Paris, on the verge of winter, instead of halting to fortify a position of defense, he gave orders to march onward to meet the enemy. He has been severely condemned for "the rashness of thus passing the Danube into Moravia, while the archduke Ferdinand was organizing the Bohemians on his left, the archdukes Charles and John in Hungary, with still formidable and daily increasing forces on his right, the population of Vienna and the surrounding territories ready to

rise, in case of any disaster, in his rear; and Prussia as decidedly hostile in heart as she was wavering in policy. The French leader did not disguise from himself the risk of his adventure; but he considered it better to run all that risk, than to linger in Vienna until the armies in Hungary and Bohemia should have had time to reinforce the two emperors."

His correspondence affords an interesting survey of his movements, an estimate of his marshals, and of his own unaided genius:

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

"Schönbrunn, November 15, 1805.

"MY BROTHER—The bulletin has told you all that I found in Vienna.* I maneuver to-day against the Russian army, and have not been satisfied with Bernadotte; † perhaps the fault is in his health.

"When I let him enter Munich and Salzburg, and enjoy the glory of these great expeditions without his having to fire a gun, or to endure any of the fatiguing services of the army, I had a right to expect that he would want neither activity nor zeal. He has lost me a day, and on a day may depend the destiny of the world. Not a man would have escaped from me. I hope that he will repair his fault to-morrow, by a more active movement. I want Junot. Every day convinces me more and more that the men whom I have formed are incomparably the best. I continue to be pleased with Murat, Lannes, Davoust, Soult, Ney, and Marmont. I hear nothing of Augereau's march. Massena has behaved himself indifferently. He made bad dispositions, and got himself beaten at Caldiero.

*An immense arsenal, containing one hundred thousand muskets, two thousand pieces of cannon, and vast stores of ammunition, was found there.—Tr.

† Joseph's brother-in-law.—Tr.

Prince Charles army is advancing on me. The Venetian country must by this time be evacuated. It may be as well if you let him know, through our common friends, that I am not very well pleased, I will not say with his courage, but with the ability which he has shown. This will rouse his zeal, and may stop the disorder which is beginning in his army. I know that a contribution of 400,000 francs has been imposed on the Austrian portion of Verona. I intend to make the generals and officers who serve me well, so rich that they will have no pretext for dishonoring by their cupidity the noblest of all professions, and losing the respect of their soldiers. General Dejean is absurd about arming Ancona: his reasons are contemptible. Support the Constable.* All the arguments that Dejean uses are good for nothing. It is a habit of engineer officers to wish to show their clearness; I choose it to be armed, and that is enough. The Emperor of Germany writes beautiful letters to me; but though he has allowed me to occupy his capital, he has not yet shaken off the influence of Russia. Just now he is supposed to be with the Emperor Alexander, but some day or other he must make up his mind."

A few days later, he reports progress, and dictates despatches to appear in the official paper.

NAPOLEON TO JOSEPH.

"BRUNN, November 24, 1805.

"MY BROTHER—I inform you that the Emperor of Germany has just sent to me M. de Stadion his minister in Russia, and Lieutenant-General Comte de Giulay, with full powers to negotiate, conclude, and sign a definite peace between France and Aus-

* Prince Louis Bonaparte.

tria. I have given similar powers to M. de Talleyrand. You will state this in the *Moniteur*, and add this paragraph: 'It is to be hoped that the negotiation will produce peace, but this hope must not slacken the zeal of our administrators: on the contrary, it is an additional motive for hastening the conscripts on their march, according to the old proverb, *Si vis pacem, para bellum*. His Majesty recommends the Ministers of War and of the Interior to press on their preparations.'

"You will insert as news from Vienna, 'Negotiations have begun. It is said that the Emperor of the French is going to Italy. It is also said that he intends to appear in Paris when least expected there. We have not yet seen him.'"

The French continued to advance.

"Napoleon's preparations were as follows: his left, under Lannes, lay at Santon, a strongly fortified position; Soult commanded the right wing; the center, under Bernadotte, had with them Murat and all the cavalry. Behind the line lay the reserve, consisting of twenty thousand, ten thousand of whom were of the imperial guard, under Oudenot; and here Napoleon himself took his station. But besides these open demonstrations, Davoust, with a division of horse and another of foot, lay behind the convent of Raygern, considerably in the rear of the French right—being there placed by the emperor, in consequence of a false movement, into which he, with a seer-like sagacity, foresaw the enemy might, in all likelihood, be tempted." Napoleon was on the field of Austerlitz, confronting the superior, confident army of the allied enemy. It was December 1st; and no sooner had he discerned their plan of attack, than he exclaimed, with delight,

"To-morrow before nightfall, that army shall be my own." The day was devoted to untiring preparation for the carnage at hand. Amid the gloom of night, as he rode over the field of encampment, a sudden shout, and torch-light illuminations greeted him. It was the anniversary of his imperial honors—the first celebration of his coronation. The enthusiastic soldiers assured him the dawning day should be one of glorious commemoration. "Only promise us," cried a veteran grenadier, "that you will keep yourself out of the fire."

He replied, in language repeated in the proclamation immediately issued to the army: "I will do so; I shall be with the reserve *until you need us*." This entire confidence between Napoleon and his vast armies, was sublime, and without a similar instance of devotion in the annals of war.

The unclouded sunrise was hailed with rapture, and ever after called "the sun of Austerlitz." Soon the advancing columns of the czar disclosed the certainty that they had been taken in the snare, and were making an onset upon the right, to which the emperor had hoped to direct their attention. Davoust sustained the shock, while Soult rushed into the gap made by the regiments which had left the heights in the very center of the allied host. Napoleon exclaimed, "Soldiers! the enemy has imprudently exposed himself to your blows. We shall finish this war with a clap of thunder!" It was on the hill of Pratzen, that the second army, which for a moment beat back the French, lost the day. The right wing gave way, and then the victors poured the tide of slaughter upon the left, till in ghastly confusion of the dead, the dying, and the flying, the mighty struggle closed, and another stupendous triumph shed its fearful glory upon the arms of Napoleon. A grand division of the foe were making