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THE EUROPEAN CONGRESS.

The following article on the subject of the proposed European Congress is copied from a recent number of the London Times:

A rumor has obtained during the last few days that the much talked of congress on the affairs of Italy may, perhaps, never take place. Of course, this is only the natural inference of the political and commercial world, from the evident embarrassment of the French Emperor, and the other principals of the meeting. We may, however, say that at the present moment it looks as if there would be no congress at all. Such a diplom'tic council presupposes a some union of opinion among its members, for the most zealous upholder of the system scarcely claims that a majority of votes should bind any power, or interfere with the organization of any recognized State. A congress is a meeting of independent powers, to give a moral sanction to something done, or to be done, by those who have a just claim to act, or whose acts, being already accomplished, cannot be reversed. It may recognize the enlargement of the Sardinian kingdom, although the States concerned may not approve the way of 1859. It may recognize the overthrow of the temporal authority in the Romagna, although the members expressly disapprove of people choosing their own rulers. But it does not follow that, and no one will arrogate the right to bind the minority from siding either the Pope or his subjects, at their will. Hence it follows that, unless there is a hope of something like unanimity, it is of little use to meet at all. A congress which can bind no one will be of little service, when it exhibits five States voting against four, or six, or nine or three embroiling against a particular resolution. The moral weight of its decisions will then be small indeed, and they will form no part of the public law of Europe.

This unanimity will be, it is evident, difficult to obtain. Of the history of recent negotiations we profess to know no more than is open to the world; but enough has been made public to enable a fair judgment to be formed as to the part which the different States will take. The most important result of the last few months is undoubtedly the re-establishment of good understanding between England and France and the conversion of the Emperor to the views of the English ministry. In using these expressions we do not mean to assert that any common action has been agreed upon by the two countries, nor even that they will be found always in accordance in the congress. We merely speak of the general concurrence of France in the principles proclaimed by England, that the Italians have by the course of events been led to the substitution of new governments for those hitherto in being, the accomplished fact shall be respected, and neither force nor undue influence used to restore the papal and ducal systems. This principle, it may be observed, is totally independent of the meeting of any congress, and will, no doubt, be asserted, whatever may be the issue of the present negotiations. But the knowledge that such a general agreement exists between the two great leaders of the day must have cheered the continental powers which wish well to the expelled sovereigns. Austria, who in the midst of bankruptcy and threatening rebellion, still clings to her old policy, is of course indeed, most that the Emperor Napoleon should hesitate to carry out the treaty of Zurich.

The court of Vienna, which ignores everything but rifles and armies, cannot understand the interpretation which the Emperor Napoleon, at the instance of England, is about to give to the clauses regarding the restoration of the Florentine and Modenese dynasties. The Austrian thinks that when a Polentate agrees that such a thing shall take place, he agrees that he will make it take place, and is quite astonished to hear that the French Emperor refused to come forward with the Papal Nuncio, to argue that the right of a people to choose its rulers is anterior to the rights conferred on a deposed ruler by any treaty, and that the stipulations of Zurich must be held to mean only that France recognizes the Dukes as sovereigns of Tuscany, Modena and Parma, should they ever be able to get back there. These principles are not likely to find favor with the royal families of the continent, or, indeed, with any royal family whatever, and, though animosity to Austria has of late been the fashion in Russia, still memory of the old leaven remains to make the Czar hesitate at giving them the sanction of his consent. Probably, however, the Russian court, in the consciousness of its own stability, would have been inclined to abandon the cause of those petty monarchs, and to give up the theory of legitimacy for the purpose of breaking the France and further humiliating Austria.

It is probable that among the German courts the recognition of the Italian revolutions has made a still more painful impression. There is a similarity between the conditions of Germany and Italy which must make the fall of the Tuscan and Modenese houses a warning fact to more than one noble family. Prussia is said to incline to the English interpretation of international law, but the petty courts, which have always leaned on Russia, and which by family alliances have gained in their turn considerable influence at St. Petersburg, must be strongly interested in the consummation of an advocate as dangerous to the sovereignty of the people. If the great powers should agree that the unity of a divided nation is a crime in the world, and that a legitimate means of obtaining the end is to be found in petty princes and their dominions to forfeit sovereignties, the historical students of General Germany might not be long in applying the doctrine to their own case. The minor princes of Germany feel that it is their affair when their Italian neighbor's house is burning.

The Pope has, in the meantime, been endeavoring to rouse the Catholic world. Romanism is now so completely the religion of decaying or stationary nations, that these efforts have had the effect of a whisper. Even in France is there to be found the example of a preponderating power which professes to be governed by a reverence for the church, and even in France the feeling of the people is strong against priestly assumptions. They may make use of the church as a political engine, as an excuse for intervention in the East, or for arresting a primary among the so-called Latin nations, but at heart every Frenchman above the rank of a peasant is glad to see a rebellion administered to the Holy See. The pamphlet attributed to M. de la Guerronnière only expresses the feelings of French society, which was somewhat irritated that, after the triumphs of Magenta and Solferino, the world should stand forth as the champion of Italian liberty, and France should be at work to restore the rule of priests and police. The French Emperor, with the support of his people, has been able to discount the agitation of his own bishops, while the help to the papal cause is to be expected from Austria, or Spain, Ireland, or Mexico, is small, indeed. The pamphlet, however, has been used by the Pope as a means of escape from the moral jurisdiction of Europe and the other powers ignorable to legitimist pretensions, have been equally prompt to avail themselves of the same excuse. The Austrians, Neapolitans, and Spaniards, have disappointed the whole host of our ill-wishers on the continent; and the courtiers who were prepared to see the martyrdom of liberty hailed as the signal of their humiliation of England, now dread that precedents will be established adverse to their own aims and interest. Austria, Naples, and Spain are in arrears, has