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NEW-YORK DAILY TRIBUNE.

BY GREELEY & McELRATH.

VOL. VIII. NO. 58.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY MORNING, JUNE 15, 1848.

OFFICE, TRIBUNE BUILDINGS.

FIVE DOLLARS A YEAR.

WHOLE NO. 2238.

The legal expression of moderate desires—after having defied with indomitable valour the opinion of Europe has been used in an unpropitious hour to resist an insurrection of students, and has yielded—has yielded, making an assignment of time and throwing you, brother, as an assignee to the impotent beggar, the promise of institutions which, in these days, are held sacred conditions of life for a civilized nation.

You have not confided in this promise: for the youth of Vienna, which feels the inspiring breath of this miraculous time, is impelled on the path of progress; and therefore the Austrian Government, under the protection of your European friends, took the old part of standing still to wait for events in the hope of turning them to its own profit.

In the midst of this it received the news of our glorious Revolution, and it thought to have found in this the best way to escape from its embarrassment. First it concealed that news; then made them known in a half-dressed and distorted manner; then made them a hundredfold more odious by hypocritical and insidious attacks; and therefore the Austrian Government, under the protection of your European friends, took the old part of standing still to wait for events in the hope of turning them to its own profit.

Yes! we have risen as one man against the Austrian Government to become again a nation, to make common cause with our Italian brethren, and the arms which have been assumed for so great an object we shall not lay down till we have attained it. Assisted by a legal executor of brutal orders, we have combated in a just war; betrayed a price set on our heads, wounded in the most vital parts, we have not transgressed the bounds of legitimate defence. The murders, the depredations of the hostile band, irritated against us by our wicked arts, have excited our horror, but never a reprisal. The soldier, his arms once laid down, was left as our only unfettered ally.

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Oh! if you form against us a crusade—we have all ready shown our independence; we will show, also, that it can do you no harm. If, almost unarmed, we have put to flight an army inured to war, (sacredly, brothers, that army went forth in the cause for which it fought,) can we fear that our courage will grow faint after our triumph, and when aided by all our brothers of Italy? Let the Austrian Government send against us its threatened battalions, they will find in our breasts a barrier more impregnable than the Alps. From every village, from every hill, from every villa, from every national centre, women and children will fight like men; men will emulate their strength, their courage; and we will all perish under the ruins of our city, before receiving a foreign relic into this land which has lost our cause.

But this must not be, you, our brothers, must not permit it to be; your honor, your interests do not permit it. Will you fight in a cause which you must feel to be absurd and wicked? You sink to the condition of hirelings, and do you not believe that the Austrian Government, should it conquer us and Italy, would turn against you the same spirit which made it to fight against us? It will not believe it would act as after the struggle with Napoleon? And are you not terrified by the idea of finding yourself in conflict with all civilized Europe, and constrained to receive, to least as your ally, the Autocrat of Russia, that perpetual terror to the improvement and independence of Europe. It is not possible for the house of Lorraine to forget its traditions; it is not possible that it should resign itself to live tranquilly in the atmosphere of Liberty. You can only conquer nationalities, and with this Italy, which longs only to see the antique harmonies with which resolve which she has finally taken that she may never more return in pieces.

Think of us, brothers; this is for you and for us, a question of life and death; it is a question on which depends, perhaps, the peace of Europe. For ourselves, we have already weighed the chances of the struggle, and subordinated them all to the final independence of Italy, on which is written, THE INDEPENDENCE OF ITALY.

We hope that our words will induce you to calm counsel; if not, you will find us on the field of battle generous and loyal enemies, as now we profess ourselves your generous and loyal brethren.

These are the names of men whose hearts glow with that generous ardor the noble product of difficult times. Into their hearts flows wisdom from on high—thoughts great, generous, brotherly. They may not all remain true to us in every hour, but at any rate, they will have lived a period of truth in their lives. I know some of these men who in Lombardy, of old aristocratic families, with all the refinement of inheritance and education; they are thoroughly pervaded by principles of a genuine Democracy of brotherhood and justice. In the flower of their age, they have before them a long career of the noblest usefulness, if this era follows the present promise, and they are faithful to its present promise, and ready to improve and extend it.

The Poles have also made noble manifestations. Their great poet, Adam Mickiewicz, has been here to enroll the Italian Poles, publish the declaration of faith in which they hope to reënter and reëstablish their country, and receive the Poles' benediction on their banner.

In their declaration of faith are found these three articles: "Every one of the nation a citizen—every citizen equal in rights and before authority." "To Israel, our elder brother, respect, brotherhood, aid on the way to his eternal and terrestrial good, entire equality in political and civil rights." "To the remaining nations, Woman, brotherhood, citizenship, entire equality of rights."

The Revolution of Lombardy followed. The troops of the line were sent to that portion; the volunteers rushed to accompany them. In the streets of Rome was read the proclamation of Charles Albert in which he styles himself the priest of Italy and of Pius IX. The priests preached the war, and justly, as a crusade. The Pope blessed their banners. Nobly dreamed, or had cause to dream, that these movements had set his full sympathy, and his name was in every form invoked as the chosen instrument of God to inspire Italy to throw off the oppressive yoke of the foreigner and recover her rights in the civilized world.

At the same time, however, the Pope was seen to act with great blindness in the affair of the Jesuits. The other States of Italy drew them out by main force, resolved not to number in the midst of the war a foe and spy in the camp. Rome wished to do the same, but the Pope rose in their defence. He talked as if they were assailed as a religious body, when he could not fail, like every other body, to be aware that they were degraded and hated, solely as agents of despotism. He demanded they should be assailed only by legal means, when none such were available. The end was in vain measure, always the worst possible. He would not entirely yield, and the People would not at all. The Order was ostensibly dissolved, but great part of the Jesuits really remain here in disguise, a constant source of irritation and mischief, which, if still greater difficulties had not arisen, would of itself have created enough. Meanwhile, in the earnestness of the clergy about the protracted loss of the head of St. Andrew, in the ceremonies of the holy week, which at this juncture ought to be real and true, was much matter for thought to the calm observer as to the reasonableness of the new view, the old battles being heard to crack on every side and by the hour.

This went on from day to day affairs, the Pope blessing the host of the brazen Jubilee and blessing pails of straw at St. Peter's; the *Cercolo Romano* erecting itself into a kind of Jacobin Club, and its program for an Italian Diet general, and closing committees to provide for the expenses of the war. The Civic Guard arresting people who tried to make noise as if famishing, and which searched were found well provided both with arms and money; the Ministry at their wits' end, with their trunks packed up ready to be off at a moment's warning; when the report, it is not yet known whether true or false, that one of the Roman Civic Guard, a well known and engaged in the war of Lombardy had been taken and long by the Austrians as a brigand, roused the people to a sense of the position of their friends, and they went to the Pope to demand that he should take a decisive stand and declare war against the Austrians.

The Pope summoned a consistory; the people waited anxiously for expressions of his will; he reported as if the troops ought not to have thought of leaving the frontier, while every man, woman and child in Rome knew, and every letter and bulletin declared, that all their thoughts was to render active aid to the cause of Italian independence. This anxious doubt, however, not prepared at all for the excess to which they were to be disappointed.

The speech of the Pope declared that he had never any thought of the great results that had followed his actions; that he had only intended local reforms, such as had previously been suggested by the pontifices of Europe; that he regretted the course that had been made of his name; and would up by lamenting over the war—dear to every Italian heart as the best and boldest cause to which for ages it had been called to embark, their hopes—as if it was something offensive to the spirit of religion, and which he would fain see crushed; and its motives smoothed out and ironed over.

An anonymous stipendiary received this astounding performance, succeeded by a passion of indignation, in which the words *trifling and unbecoming* were associated with the name that had been so dear to his people. This again yielded to a settled grief; he felt that he was betrayed but no traitor; timid and weak, but still a sovereign; he had adored, and as a man who had brought them his wish to dawn it. Even of this they had no time to stop and think; the necessity was too imminent of obviating the worst consequences of this ill; and the first thought was to prevent the news leaving Rome to dishearten the Provinces and Army before they had tried to induce the Pontiff to wiser resolves, or if this could not be, to supersede his power.

I cannot repress my admiration at the gentleness, clearness and good sense with which the Roman people acted under these most difficult circumstances. It was astonishing to see the clear understanding which animated the crowd as one man, and the decision with which they acted to effect their purpose. Wonderfully has this people been developed within a year!

The Pope, besieged by deputations, who mildly but firmly showed him that if he persisted the temporal power must be placed in other hands, his ears filled with the reports of Cardinals, "such venerable persons" as he pathetically styles them, would not yield in spirit, though compelled to do so in fact. After two days' struggle he was obliged to place the power in the hands of the persons most opposed to him, and nominally acquiesce in their proceedings, while in his second proclamation, very touching from the sweetness of its tone, he shows a fixed misintention of the cause at issue, which leaves no hope of his ever again being more than a name or an effigy in their affairs.

Let us unite under one single banner, the tricolor, and if he who has carried it bravely thus far falls from his hand, we will take it one from the other, twenty-four millions of us, and till the last of us shall have perished on the banner of our redemption, the tricolor shall not return into Italy.

Still, times went on bending his premeditations to the call of the moment. He acted wiser than he intended, as for instance, three weeks after declaring he would not give a constitution to his people he gave it a sop to Cerberus indeed, a poor rump-up of things that will by and by have to give place to something more legitimate, but which served its purpose at the time as a declaration of rights for the people. When the news of the Revolution of Vienna arrived, the Pope himself cried *Viva Pius IX.* and this ebullition of truth in one so humble, though opposed to his formal declarations, was received by his people with that immediate fervor which truth commands.

The loss of Pius IX. is for the moment great. His name had real moral weight; it was a trumpet appeal to sentiment. It is not the same with any man that is left. There is not one that can be truly a leader in the Roman Dominion, not one who has even great intellectual weight.

The responsibility of events now lies wholly with the People and that wave of Thought which has begun to pervade them. Sovereigns and Statesmen will no where they are carried; it is probable influence will be changed continually from hand to hand, and Government become to all intents and purposes, representative. Italy needs now quite to throw out her stupid King of Naples, who hangs like a dead weight on her movements. The King of Sardinia and the Grand Duke of Tuscany will be treated while they keep their present course; but who can feel sure of any sovereign, now that Louis Philippe has shown himself so mad and Pius IX. so blind? It seems as if Fate was at work to bewilder and cast down the dignities of the world and democratize Society at a blow.

In Rome there is now an anchor except the good sense of the people. It seems impossible that collision should not arise between him who retains the name but not the place of Sovereign, and the Provisional Government which calls itself a Ministry. The Court Ministry, as it were, is a man of reputation as a writer, but untried as a leader or a statesman. Should agitators arise, the Pope can no longer claim by one of his fatherly looks.

All eyes in the future; and our best hope must be that the Power which has begun to create a work will find due means to end it, and make the year 1850 a year of true jubilee to Italy; a year not merely of pomp and tributes, but of recognized rights and intelligent joys; a year of real progress, founded not on compromise and the lying etiquette of diplomacy, but on Truth and Justice.

Then this sad disappointment in Pius IX. may be forgotten, or while all that was lively and generous in his life is prized and revered, may be drawn from his error deep instruction as to the inevitable dangers of a profligate or princely environment, and a higher knowledge may elevate a nobler commonwealth than the world has yet known.

Hoping this era, I remain at present here—Sardinia, my hopes are dashed to the ground, it will not change my faith, but the struggle for its manifestation is to me of vital interest. My friends wait to urge my return; they talk of my country as the land of the Future. It is so, but that spirit which made it all it is of value in my eyes, which gave all of hope with which I can sympathize for that of Italy, is more alive here in present than in America. My country is at present spoiled by prosperity, stupid with the last gain, soiled by crime in its willing perpetration of Slavery, shamed by an unjust war, noble sentiment much forgotten even by individuals, the aims of politicians selfish and petty, the literature frivolous and venal. In Europe, amid the teachings of adversity a nobler spirit is struggling—a spirit which cheers and animates. I have earnest words of pure faith and love, and feelings of brotherhood. This is what makes us Americans. I do not deeply distrust your country. She is not dead, but in my time she sleeps, and the spirit of our fathers' flames no more, but he lies beneath the ashes. It will not be so long; bodies cannot live when the soil gets too overgrown with glutinous and falsehood. But it is not the making a President out of the Mexican War that will make me wish to come back. Here things are before my eyes worth recording, and if I cannot help this work, I would give up his labor.

Returning from a little tour in the Alban Mount, where everything looks so glorious this glorious Spring. Had a temporary visit, the Pope's brothers have come to sympathize with him, the crowd of soldiers and officers who are ready to be drawn from the front, and the productions of the new Ministry. Meanwhile the nightingales sing; every tree and plant is in flower, and the sun and moon shine as if Paradise were already reestablished on earth. I go to one of the villas to dream it is so, beneath the pale light of a *

It is a TRUTH AND NO FICTIO. The theory, and the practice, of the new school of Gland, the method of curing diseases arising from the impurities of the blood, is still performing cures of a very remarkable character. It is a medicine which is not only safe, but is also believed to be the best medicine ever offered to the human race.

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By Telegraph to the New-York Tribune. Railroad Bridge Burnt. PHILADELPHIA, June 14—A. M. The Heading Railroad Bridge at Owingsburg was burned down at an early hour this morning. No delay, however, was occasioned to the train.

The Attorney General.—The Hartford Convention of Tuesday says that Hon. Isaac Toucey, of this city, has been appointed Attorney General of the United States, in place of Hon. Nathan Clifford, Minister to Mexico.

Arrival of General Smith at Vera Cruz.—Our Troops Volunteering for Yucatan. CHARLESTON, June 13, 1848. The New Orleans private received by mail here to the 25th inst. The steamer Vera Cruz had arrived from Vera Cruz with dates to the 1st inst. Among her passengers is Major General, a bearer of dispatches to the Government.

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