

as there is in the following jingling lines that Mrs. Eddy borrows from some unknown author and prefixes to her text-book:

"I, I, I, I itself, I,  
The inside and outside, the what and the why,  
The when and the where, the low and the high,  
All I, I, I, I itself, I."

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## LOUIS XIV. AND THE HOLY SEE.

1. Histoire des désmestiez de la Cour de France avec la Cour de Rome au Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Bastia, publiés par L. X. P. Lucciana, 1888.
2. Deux documents inédits sur l'affaire des Corses à Rome, 20 Août, 1662. sujet de l'Affaire des Corses.  
Par M. l'Abbé Régner Desmarais. MDCCVII.
3. L'Ambassade du Duc de Créqui, 1662-1665, par le Comte Charles de Moüy. Ancien Ambassadeur de France à Rome. Paris, 1893.
4. Louis XIV. et le Saint Siège, par Charles Gérin, Ancien Conseiller à la Cour d'Appel de Paris. Paris, 1894.

THE discourtesy towards Pius X. of which the President of the French Republic was guilty in his recent visit to Rome is not, perhaps, very surprising on the part of the head of a government which has always been hostile to Catholicity, and the majority of whose subjects are apparently indifferent to matters of religion; but it is, unfortunately, not the only occasion on which a Pope has been insulted in his capital by a ruler of France. Two of the most remarkable of these events occurred under the reign of Louis XIV., who, though priding himself on the title of Eldest Son of the Church, was led by his vanity to treat the Sovereign Pontiff with the same overbearing haughtiness and unscrupulous aggressiveness which he so often displayed in his dealings with other powers.

The pretext for the first of these invasions of the rights of the Holy See, which nearly plunged all Europe into a general war, was the attack made on the palace of the French Ambassador by the Corsican soldiers in the service of the Papal Government, infuriated by the insults they had received from members of the Ambassador's household, whose grooms and pages were noted as being still more turbulent than those of the other envoys accredited to the Vatican. The contempt which these troops of unruly followers openly displayed for the Papal authorities and the laws of the State was but the result of the feeling of impunity derived from the exorbitant privileges claimed by the Ambassadors, the most important of which was the right of asylum enjoyed not only by their palace, but also by all the surrounding houses, which became in consequence

the refuge of thieves and murderers and of every outlaw who sought to escape from justice. The Ambassadors insisted, moreover, on extending the same privilege to all those whom they authorized to place the arms of their sovereign over their doors, and they could even grant to a criminal a certificate that he belonged to their household and thereby preserve him from being arrested. As this protection was well paid for by those who received it, it formed a considerable source of revenue not only to the major-domo and the other servants of the Embassy, but sometimes even to the Envoy himself.

The Sovereign Pontiffs had protested repeatedly against these absurd and unjust pretensions, but at the death of each Pope his decrees and regulations seem to have passed away along with him, and his successor was under the obligation of again reënacting them. Thus in 1552 Julius III. had forbidden both the Roman nobles and the Ambassadors to usurp this right of granting an asylum to malefactors, which he denounced as a detestable abuse, and he declared that those who hindered the ministers of justice from entering their palace or from arresting criminals in the adjacent streets were guilty of high treason. This prohibition was renewed by Pius IV. in 1561, and Gregory XIII. in 1572, as well as Sixtus V. in 1585, reissued and confirmed these edicts. The well-known severity of the last named Pontiff seems to have checked the practice for some time, as no more decrees with regard to it appeared until the reign of Urban VIII., who, in 1626, repeated the previous denunciations with the addition of the punishment of death for all those who took refuge in the palace of a noble or of an Ambassador in order to escape from justice.

The evil, however, still persisted, and when, in the seventh year of the reign of Alexander VII. (1655-1677), during which space of time France had been represented in Rome only by Envoys of subordinate rank, Louis XIV. at last determined to send an Ambassador, the nobleman whom he selected came fully resolved to maintain this unjustifiable privilege and accompanied by a numerous retinue, composed of men who had served in the army and who were ready to seize on any occasion of creating a disturbance.

The courtier on whom the King's choice had fallen was Charles de Blanchefort de Bonne, Duc de Créqui and Prince de Poix, lieutenant general, first gentleman of the King's chamber and Knight of the Order of the Holy Ghost. He was more a soldier than a statesman, for he had commanded a corps of cavalry in Catalonia in 1645, and he had been wounded at the siege of Orbitello, in Tuscany, in 1646, while his diplomatic experiences merely consisted in a short mission to London in 1658 to congratulate Cromwell on the

victory won by the French and English troops over the Spaniards near Dunkirk, and to Spain in 1660 to bring the King's wedding presents to his future bride, Maria Teresa.

The Duke's contemporaries describe him as being a rough, haughty soldier, of an unyielding disposition, whose nomination to such an important post as that of Ambassador to Rome caused some surprise. The exaggerated idea which he entertained of his own importance and of the privileges to which he could lay claim was not diminished by the instructions which he received from the King, and the endless formalities of the extremely punctilious etiquette of the seventeenth century afforded him many occasions of offending the Papal Government. Thus, before leaving Paris for Rome, he refused to visit Mgr. Piccolomini, the Papal Nuncio, because it was not the custom for the Nuncio, while in his palace, to give the place of honor at his right hand to an Ambassador, and the Duke would have considered a place on the Nuncio's left hand as derogatory to his dignity. The Duke also demanded by the express orders of the King that, on his arrival in Rome, he should receive the visits of the Pope's brother, Don Mario Chigi, the Minister of War, and of his nephew, Don Agostino Chigi, Governor of the Castle of St. Angelo, instead of visiting them first—a pretension which was the origin of the bitter hostility which the Duke afterwards displayed towards the relations of the Sovereign Pontiff.

This point of precedence on which de Créqui pertinaciously insisted was not the only cause of the ill feeling which existed from the beginning of his embassy between the Holy See and Louis XIV. Another and a more dangerous source of discord was furnished by the King's desire to bring the States of Northern Italy under his influence, so as to counterbalance the power of Spain, which then possessed Milan and Naples, and two purely Italian questions, in which France had no right to interfere, gave him the opportunity he sought. The family of Farnese, which reigned at Parma, had many years previously mortgaged their Duchy of Castro and the town of Ronciglione, situated in the Papal States and held as a fief of the Holy See, but as they failed to pay the interest, Pope Urban VIII. had seized these estates in 1641, when the Camera Apostolica, or Papal Treasury, which became responsible for the debt, undertook to manage them and to satisfy the claims of the creditors. The lands were restored in 1642, and were again reoccupied by the Papal troops under Innocent X. in 1649, who allowed the Duke of Parma a delay of eight years to redeem them before they should be finally annexed. A further prolongation of this term for three years was granted by Alexander VII., but the Duke was still unable to pay, and Louis XIV., anxious to win him over

to his side, undertook to demand from the Holy Father the restitution of a property which the Papal Government had been fully justified in seizing.

The other matter in which the King of France had as little right to interfere was the claim put forward by the Duke of Modena to the town and lagoons of Comacchio, a dependency of the Duchy of Ferrara, which had also been held by the House of Este as a fief under the Holy See. On the death of Duke Alfonso II., in 1597, without direct heirs, Ferrara and Comacchio were incorporated with the Papal States by Clement VIII. as suzerain, while Modena was inherited by Cesar d'Este, Alphonso's illegitimate son, who, as well as his successors, persisted in laying claim to Comacchio as the property of his family.

The subordinate agents who, in the absence of an Ambassador, had since some years represented French interests in Rome, had always found the Sovereign Pontiff inflexible with regard to both of these questions, but Louis XIV. hoped that by means of a plenipotentiary of the rank of the Duke of Créqui he might at last persuade him to yield. The King reckoned also on the coöperation of the Spanish Government, which Cardinal Mazarin had sought to secure, by insisting on the insertion in the Peace of the Pyrenees (November 7, 1659) of two articles by which Spain was bound to support the King's demands; but Philip IV., who was not anxious to give any help to the ambitious projects of Louis XIV. with regard to Italy, found various pretexts for neglecting to perform his engagements, and the Dukes of Parma and Modena, who probably suspected what were the real motives of the zeal which their powerful protector manifested for their interests, did not show much alacrity in urging their claims.

The Ministers whom Louis XIV. had selected to assist him when, on the death of Cardinal Mazarin (March 9, 1661) he undertook the government of France as an absolute sovereign, and to whom he owed in a great measure the splendor of his reign, were Michel de Tellier, charged with the organization of the army; Jean Baptiste Colbert, as Minister of Finance, to which was afterwards added the administration of the navy, of the colonies, of the fine arts and of agriculture, and lastly, Hugues de Lionne as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. These statesmen, however, were, unfortunately, strongly imbued with Gallican principles, and to them must be attributed the spirit of hostility to Rome and the desire to humiliate the Holy See on every occasion which, according to Bossuet, was the policy which prevailed in the Council of Louis XIV.<sup>1</sup>

As the King soon perceived that the order which he had given to

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<sup>1</sup> Gérin, *Louis XIV. et la Saint Siège*, vol. I., p. 220.

the Duke de Créqui to demand that the Pope's nephews should visit him first was not likely to produce any other result than to render his Ambassador disagreeable to the Papal Court, he yielded at last and revoked it, but the Duke had already shown immediately after his arrival the spirit which animated him and with what jealous care he intended to maintain what he considered to be his privileges with regard to the right of asylum. A band of chained convicts on their way to the galleys was led one day by the police along the Via Giulia, which skirts the rear of the Palazzo Farnese, where the French Embassy was lodged, and shortly afterwards the police made a search in a house situated in the neighborhood. The Duke thereupon complained bitterly to the Papal Government of these encroachments on places under his jurisdiction, and when Mgr. Piccolomini, the Nuncio in Paris, sought to defend the evident right of the Sovereign Pontiff to cause the laws of the State to be executed in his capital, Hugues de Lionne replied insolently that Louis XIV. was the most susceptible Prince in the world, and the one whom it was most dangerous to offend, and that if he judged fit he could turn all Rome upside down.<sup>2</sup>

The Papal Government had already foreseen that the Duke de Créqui's household would probably cause some disturbance in the environs of his palace, and that more disorder might be expected on the arrival of Queen Christina of Sweden at the Palazzo Corsini, on the opposite bank of the Tiber, with an equally numerous and undisciplined crowd of attendants. The precaution was therefore taken of reinforcing the guard of Corsicans stationed close to the Church of La Trinità de Pellegrini, near the Ponte Sisto and the Palazzo Farnese, and it was raised to the number of 130 by drafts of picked men chosen from among the 800 Corsican soldiers then serving in various parts of the Papal States. The fact that Corsicans were at that time frequently employed in Italy to assist the *sbirri* or officers of justice when making an arrest or executing a sentence of the courts of law, may perhaps have been the reason why de Créqui's followers affected an insolent demeanor towards them whenever they met them and took pleasure in taunting them in the coarsest language with being merely spies of the police and not soldiers. More than once had the fiery Corsicans grasped their swords when insulted by the Ambassador's servants, who elbowed their way through them roughly as they stood talking together in front of their barracks; and, but for the timely intervention of their officers, they would have severely chastised their aggressors. In spite, however, of these incessant provocations, so great was the anxiety of the Papal authorities to avoid giving the foreign Amba-

<sup>2</sup> Regnier-Desmarais, p. 8.

sadors any cause of complaint, that the *sbirri* and the guard of soldiers which patrolled Rome every night had strict orders not to use their arms. The only result of this rather timorous prudence was to encourage the French to commit further outrages. Thus on the night of July 23 four men belonging to a patrol of forty Corsicans which had halted on the Piazza de Fiori entered a wine shop in the adjoining Piazza Farnese. They found there several members of de Créqui's household, and among others a fencing master named Papillon, notorious for his quarrelsome disposition, who, "heated with wine and rendered insolent by the neighborhood of the Ambassador's palace,"<sup>a</sup> attacked them, disarmed them, wounded two of them and brought their swords and muskets back to the Palazzo Farnese. De Créqui returned the arms on the following day and sent the fencing master secretly out of Rome; but the soldiers were warned by their officers that in the future they should defend themselves, and a report was even spread that Don Mario Chigi on meeting some Corsicans shortly afterwards asked them if they did not know how to make use of their arms, threatening at the same time to send them to the galleys if they again allowed themselves to be beaten.

It was while the Corsicans were still smarting under this humiliating defeat and the reproaches of their superiors that occurred the untoward event which nearly led to open warfare between Louis XIV. and the Holy See.

About 7 o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, August 20, three Corsican soldiers walking in the Via della Lungara on the side of the Tiber opposite the Palazzo Farnese met three Frenchmen wearing the Ambassador's livery, who insulted them with the usual opprobrious expressions, to which they merely replied: "We are not police spies, but soldiers of the Pope." Both parties then continued on their way, when the French suddenly turned and pursued the Corsicans sword in hand. The soldiers at once stopped, drew their weapons and drove their opponents back to the Ponte Sisto, where a crowd which had assembled separated them. The Frenchmen then crossing the bridge fell upon another Corsican and wounded him, but some more soldiers coming to his assistance made them fly towards the rear of the Palazzo Farnese, which is situated in the Via Giulia, and then returned to their quarters with their wounded comrade. The three Frenchmen apparently gave the alarm to the other grooms and footmen in the Ambassador's service, for about thirty of them, armed with pitchforks, swords and pistols, immediately rushed out of the palace in the direction of the bridge. On their way they met with two more Corsicans, one of whom escaped, while the other was driven into a shop and severely

wounded, but in the meanwhile news had reached the barracks that the Corsicans and the French had come to blows, that Corsican blood had been shed and that the French were coming to set fire to the barracks. The cry "to arms" was at once raised. The soldiers, anxious to avenge the insults which they had so long borne patiently, seized their muskets and dashed forward tumultuously, in spite of the efforts of the corporal of the guard to restrain them. Some of them even broke the bars of the gate, which he had closed, and forced their way through, leaving only about twenty men in the guard room. The captain of the company, who lodged in a neighboring street, hastened to the spot on hearing the uproar, and with the help of the lieutenant and sergeant succeeded in persuading the greater part of the soldiers to return to their quarters. About thirty or forty, however, still remained outside. Some of them wandered to and fro in the adjacent streets, where the terrified inhabitants had barricaded themselves in their houses, firing at random on any one whom they suspected of being French, while others opened fire on the Palazzo Farnese, and the Duke de Créqui, who came out on the *loggia* over the door, which still bears the trace of bullets, was in great danger of being killed. The Duchess de Créqui had been to visit the Church of San Bernardo at the Thermæ of Diocletian, and was returning, escorted by her pages and footmen, none of whom bore torches, but on hearing the shots she stopped her carriage at the corner of the Church of San Carlo di Catinari, and sent two footmen to inquire the cause of the disturbance. Some of the Corsicans fired upon them, but without touching them, whereupon the coachman immediately turned up a side street and drove to the palace of the Cardinal d'Este, but not before another shot had killed one of the pages. The mutiny was, however, soon at an end, for Don Mario Chigi took at once measures to restore order. Detachments of *sbirri* and of Italian and German troops were drawn up in the environs of the Palazzo Farnese, and the Cardinal d'Este, having armed his household, brought the Duchess back to her palace with a strong escort.

The Papal Government immediately sought to discover who were the perpetrators of this outrage against international law, as a result of which two persons had been wounded and eight shot dead or mortally wounded. A commission of Cardinals was named to decide what reparation should be offered to the King of France, and the police began to question the citizens who had witnessed the disturbance and the soldiers who had taken part in it. Some of the most guilty of the rioters had already escaped, but a price was put on their heads, and several were arrested in the Papal States or in Tuscany and lodged in the prisons of Rome.

The Duke de Créqui seems, however, to have come at once to the conclusion that this sudden outbreak of some hot-headed soldiers, exasperated by the provocation which they had received, was a premeditated outrage planned by the Ministers of the Pope, and especially by Don Mario Chigi, whom he had so long delayed to visit, and by Cardinal Imperiali, the Governor of Rome, who as head of the police was responsible for the arrests which had been made in the neighborhood of his palace. He therefore refused at first to see Cardinal Chigi, who wished to present to him the excuses of the Papal Government, and when he at last granted him an audience he received him coldly and informed him that the matter was no longer in his hands, but in those of the King. The Duke then, under pretext of defending himself against another attack, assembled 600 men in his palace in addition to the 200 who formed his household, laid in large stores of arms and ammunition and went through the city accompanied by a guard of 100 armed men. He was aided in these warlike preparations by Duke Cesarini, a Roman noble who was in the receipt of a pension from Louis XIV. and who wrote to the King offering to raise the people against the Pope, and pointing out to him that his estate at Ardea, in the Roman Campagna, would be a favorable situation for landing troops for the purpose of making an attack upon Rome.

The Papal Government requested de Créqui to disband his guards, but in vain; and as the citizens were much alarmed by this hostile garrison, which occupied such a strong position in their midst, and as several of the nobles, taking advantage of the general feeling of insecurity, began to arm their retainers, augmenting thereby the danger of further disturbances, more troops were brought into Rome and preparations were made for placing guard rooms near the French Embassy, while the Corsican soldiers were transferred to a distant part of the city. At last de Créqui, who was irritated by the slowness with which the inquiry into the outrage was being carried on, and who found that the other Ambassadors disapproved of his conduct, left Rome suddenly on September 1, without taking leave of the Holy Father, and went to reside at the town of San Quirico, in Tuscany.

From thence he wrote to the other Envoys in Rome stating that if the Sovereign Pontiff sincerely desired to offer satisfaction to the King he should, first, expel Cardinal Imperiali from the Sacred College; second, give Don Mario Chigi up to the King to do with him whatever he pleased; third, hang the captain, the lieutenant and the ensign of the Corsicans, together with fifty of their soldiers, on the Piazza Farnese; fourth, hang the bargello (or chief of the police) of Rome, with fifty of his *sbirri*, on the Piazza Navona, and fifth,



send a legate to France to offer an apology to the King in the name of the Holy See, and to declare that the Pope had had no share in the outrage and that he regretted that his Ministers should have been the cause of it.

It is only just to say that the demands which the King presented somewhat later were not so sanguinary as those of his Envoy; but the despatch in which the Duke informed His Majesty of the attack on the Embassy, and the expression of his conviction that it was made at the instigation of the relations of Alexander VII. and of Cardinal Imperiali, irritated the pride and the morbid vanity of Louis XIV. almost to madness. It also gave an additional stimulus to the animosity which his Ministers, and especially Hugues de Lionne, had always felt for the Holy See, and which is clearly shown in their correspondence regarding the mutiny of the Corsicans. The King, indeed, in a letter to de Créqui on October 13, 1662, was obliged to confess that he had then no proofs that the Cardinal had ordered the palace to be attacked, and that it would require much time to procure them, but still he asked that in the meanwhile the Cardinal should be imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo.

The first manifestation of the King's anger against Rome was the expulsion from Paris of Mgr. Piccolomini, the Papal Nuncio, who was ordered to withdraw to Meaux. He went instead to Saint Denis and then to a monastery at Gonesse, to each of which places he was followed by a guard of forty "*mousquetaires à cheval*," who watched him closely. He obtained, however, two audiences of de Lionne, in which he gave full explanations with regard to the outbreak of the Corsican soldiers, and before the second of these audiences took place, on September 9, at Suresnes, outside Paris, the King had received a letter from Alexander VII., in which the Holy Father expressed the grief which the attack on the Embassy had caused him, and Queen Christina of Sweden had written to de Lionne that the insolence of de Créqui's servants, not only towards the people, but also towards the Corsicans, was well known in Rome. She also assured him that the crime which the Corsicans had been driven to commit by these repeated insults had been neither instigated nor approved of by the Papal Government, and in a letter to Louis XIV., written at the same time, the Queen expressed the hope that he would not allow himself to be influenced and led astray by the passions or the interests of his Ministers. These assurances, however, had no effect either on the King or de Lionne, and it was in vain that Mgr. Piccolomini reminded the latter that the revolt had been immediately suppressed, the rioters imprisoned and steps taken to discover the guilty. He still remained, or pretended

to be, convinced that the Governor of Rome and the Pope's relations were responsible for the outrage.

The interview thus ended without producing any definite result, and two days afterwards the King, who showed great indignation on learning from de Créqui that he had left for Tuscany on account of more troops having been brought into Rome, ordered the Papal Nuncio to be expelled from France and to be conducted to the frontier of Savoy by a guard of soldiers.

The principal motive for the King's overbearing and insolent policy towards the Holy See was that he saw that he could find in this wholly unpremeditated outrage an opportunity of exciting public opinion against Rome, of humiliating the Papal Government and making it feel his power, and of forcing the Pope to grant him the concessions which he had hitherto vainly demanded—such as the restoration of Castro to the Duke of Parma, of Comacchio to the Duke of Modena and the right of nomination to three bishoprics situated in the provinces recently conquered from Spain. With the view, therefore, of making all necessary preparations in case he should think fit to declare war against the Holy See, Louis XIV. then began to treat with the King of Spain and the princes of Northern Italy in order to obtain leave for the passage of his troops through their States. It was a very embarrassing request. Its refusal might draw down upon them the vengeance of the most powerful sovereign in Europe, and if they acquiesced, they would not only be at war with the Pope and incur the censures of the Church, but might run the risk of losing their independence by the admission of French troops into Italy. Their resistance, however, did not last long. The King was far more powerful than the Pope; the danger of offending him was much greater, and every concession which he exacted was reluctantly made.

It would be tedious to enter into the details of the lengthy correspondence which took place between the King and the Holy See with regard to the satisfaction demanded for the attack on the Embassy. On the side of the King and his Ministers it consisted of a repetition of the same unjust and false accusations against the Pope and his relations of complicity in the outrage, for which no proof was forthcoming, and of threats intended to terrorize the Court of Rome and to constrain it to grant the King's demands. In reply to this insolent language the Papal Government could merely express its willingness to grant the King any reasonable satisfaction which he might require, while renewing the assurance that the outbreak of the Corsicans was wholly unpremeditated, and that it had been provoked by an aggression on the part of the French.

Finding that his threats produced no effect on the Papal Government, Louis XIV. proceeded to seize the town of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin, a territory situated in Provence and belonging to the Holy See since three centuries. On September 30 the King's envoy, a cavalry officer, brought to Mgr. Lascaris, the Papal Vice Legate at Avignon, a peremptory order to dismiss his Italian troops, under pain of having the town invaded, alleging as a pretext that the Vice Legate had been fortifying the town and raising soldiers to increase the garrison; that he had allowed his subjects to speak disrespectfully of the King, and that he had impeded the free intercourse of the inhabitants of the State with their French neighbors. Mgr. Lascaris in reply pointed out that he could not disband his troops without orders from Rome, whereupon the partisans of France rose in rebellion and expelled them, tore down the Papal arms and replaced them by those of the King and besieged the Vice Legate in his palace. These outrages, it is true, were not approved of by Louis XIV., who did not wish to annex Avignon immediately, but merely to hasten the action of the Papal Court, and he therefore allowed the Vice Legate to remain still at Avignon and to govern in the name of the Pope.

The Papal Government had not as yet received any definite statement with regard to the conditions which the King would be likely to impose as satisfaction for the attack on the Embassy, and therefore hesitated to put forward any proposals; while on his side the King waited to see what he should be offered, in order to be able to exact further concessions, and he refused to take any notice of the three letters in which the Holy Father solemnly denied that his relations or his Ministers were in any way responsible for the crime of the Corsican soldiers.

At last, in the beginning of October, the Abbé Rospigliosi, nephew of the Cardinal of that name, who succeeded Alexander VII. in 1667 under the title of Clement IX., was sent to San Quirico to ascertain from the Duke de Créqui what terms he was instructed to demand, but as the Duke did not consider that the Papal Government had given its envoy sufficiently ample powers to treat, the abbé returned immediately to Rome.

He was replaced by Mgr. Rasponi, secretary to the Tribunal of the Consulta, a prelate with a high reputation for his sagacity, his tact and his disinterestedness. He was authorized to make the following concessions: The questions of Parma and Modena should be again examined; the guard rooms recently established near the Palazzo Farnese suppressed; Duke Cesarini was to be pardoned; the Corsicans should be forbidden by a Papal decree ever to serve the Holy See, and Cardinal Chigi should be sent to Paris as Legate

to offer an apology to the King. Before, however, stating these proposals, Mgr. Rasponi requested the Duke to state frankly what were the demands of the French Government, and the Duke then presented to him two sets of conditions, already drawn up by de Lionne, between which the Court of Rome was to choose. By the first it was required that Castro should be restored to the Duke of Parma and Comacchio to the Duke of Modena; that the privileges enjoyed by the Ambassadors should not be abolished without the consent of all the Cardinals; that the proceedings against Duke Cesarini should be stopped, and an indemnity granted to him; that the guards established in Rome since August 20 should be withdrawn, and an agreement made with the Duke de Créqui as to the ceremonies which should take place on his return to Rome. The alternate was that Don Mario Chigi should be banished to Sienna for six years; that Cardinal Chigi should come to Paris to offer an apology in the name of the Pope, and demand pardon for himself and all his family; that Cardinal Imperiali should be tried and expelled from the Sacred College; the bargello, or chief of the police of Rome, dismissed and banished, and that in commemoration of the outrage an obelisk should be erected in Rome with an inscription declaring that the Corsican nation was unworthy of ever bearing arms in the Papal service. Then followed articles referring to the proceedings against Duke Cesarini and all persons who had been prosecuted since August 20 for carrying arms; to the suppression of the guard rooms, and to the reception of de Créqui, as in the former series.

Even the King confessed, when forwarding these demands to his envoy, that it would be difficult to make them be accepted, and he added that even then there were many other concessions and favors, such as bishoprics and benefices for certain of his partisans, which he had often solicited without success, and which should be granted before anything was concluded.

Mgr. Rasponi, however, refused to concede more than what was contained in his instructions, and after several days of discussion the negotiations had made no progress. The Pope, indeed, and the Sacred College, to which in a consistory held on October 30 he had made known what he justly termed "the iniquitous demands" of Louis XIV., were willing to send Cardinal Chigi to Paris to enlighten the King as to the events which had taken place in Rome, but the Holy Father refused to give up Castro or Comacchio, as he considered himself bound by the decisions of his predecessors. He consented also to dismiss the bargello and to publish a Brief against the Corsicans, but he refused to sacrifice Cardinal Imperiali to the resentment of the King, as he knew him to be innocent.

By the advice, however, of the Council of State, Cardinal Imperiali, in order that he might not have to meet the Duke on his return, was given instead of the Governorship of Rome that of the Province of the Marches, a dignity which he resigned on the following day.

On being informed of this nomination, which he chose to consider as a fresh outrage against his sovereign, de Créqui wrote to the other Ambassadors that His Majesty was resolved to be revenged on Don Mario Chigi and Cardinal Imperiali, whom he looked upon as the enemies of his reputation and his glory, in such a way that the memory of it should serve as an example to posterity. He protested, however, that the King was ready to shed his blood for the Holy See, but that he made a distinction between the Pope and his relations and Ministers, who were seeking to shelter themselves under the cover of his authority. The Duke then broke off the negotiations, left San Quirico, and after a short stay at Sienna and Florence arrived at Leghorn on November 25 to embark for France.

The dread which the other Catholic States of Europe entertained of being drawn into a long and disastrous war with France rendered Louis XIV. assured of their neutrality and even of their complicity in the campaign which he was preparing against the Holy Father. It is true that Philip IV. of Spain protested strongly against a conflict which he foresaw would give great satisfaction to the French Huguenots, and refused to seize the Province of Beneventum, a possession of the Church situated in the Kingdom of Naples, but he yielded so far to the threats of Louis XIV. that he consented to allow the French troops to pass through the territory of Milan, while refusing the same permission to the soldiers levied for the Papal service in Germany and Switzerland.

The same weakness was shown by the Italian States, which gave way almost without resistance to the imperious demands of the King. The Republic of Venice, which Alexander VII., like so many of his predecessors, had so often assisted with men and money in its wars against the Turks, promised to furnish provisions to the French troops, and the Duke of Savoy agreed to allow them a free passage through his States. So did the Grand Duke of Tuscany, though he begged to be excused from entering into any alliance against the Holy Father; but the Republic of Genoa carried its servility to the King so far as to allow itself to be made the instrument of his vengeance against Cardinal Imperiali.

The Cardinal, hoping that his disappearance from public life might appease the King's irritation against the Sovereign Pontiff, had withdrawn to Genoa, where his family occupied a distinguished position; but the French Envoy, M. d'Auberville, having been in-

structed to ask if the Republic intended to take the Cardinal under its protection, the Senate gave orders for his immediate expulsion. The Cardinal, in disguise and followed by two servants, escaped at night from the soldiers sent to seize him, and hid himself in the neighborhood of Genoa. Driven again from thence, he fled by sea to Lerici, where he was nearly shipwrecked, and after many wanderings he found at last a refuge in a monastery in the Duchy of Massa and Carrara.

The departure of the Duke de Créqui had put a stop to the diplomatic relations between Rome and France, but Alexander VII., in his desire to bring the misunderstanding to an end, sought the intervention of the Venetian Ambassador in Paris, Aloise Grimani, and of Michael Iturietta, the secretary in charge of the Spanish Embassy. The Holy Father requested these diplomatists to present a letter to the King, in which he declared that he had refused no concession which could be granted without offending God or injuring the Holy See, and he expressed a desire to renew the negotiations at any place which the King might select. Louis refused to accept this letter, but he had been informed by persons in his pay in Rome that, in case there should be no other means of reopening the negotiations the Pope was willing to allow the questions of Castro and Comacchio to be brought forward and discussed. This decision on the part of Alexander VII. had been communicated at his request to Grimani and Iturietta by the Spanish and Venetian Ambassadors at the Vatican, but with strict orders not to reveal it unless they discovered that the King was resolved to return to the subject, when they might say that His Holiness was willing to give any suitable satisfaction, but without engaging the Pope in the matter decisively or compromising Venice and Spain. The King and his Ministers sought, therefore, to obtain from Grimani and Iturietta by threats of an immediate invasion of Italy a written document which might seem to proceed directly from the Pope and constrain him to allow these questions to be treated, while, if he disallowed the act of his representatives, he could be accused of dishonesty and faithlessness. Grimani and Iturietta did not suspect the snare which had been laid for them, and it was only after a long resistance and repeated assurances on the part of the French Government that its troops were about to enter Italy, that they consented to give in writing the declaration which was demanded of them.

Though the Sovereign Pontiff might well have found fault with the methods employed to oblige Grimani and Iturietta to give this promise, he confirmed it without hesitation. Mgr. Rasponi was again chosen as plenipotentiary, and in his credentials, dated March

23, 1663, it was stated that he was sent in consequence of the assurance given by Grimani and Iturietta that suitable satisfaction would be given with regard to the questions of Castro and Comacchio, and that the Pope, who had always desired what was equitable and becoming, would willingly concede whatsoever justice should require to be yielded and the guidance of an upright conscience would allow him to grant. De Créqui's instructions, on the other hand, ordered him to discuss last the most important question of all—namely, that of Castro; so that, in the words of de Lionne, the King might be at liberty to agree to the terms at any given moment or not, according as it suited his interests, and that when the other sovereigns of Europe learned that all the preceding demands had been agreed to, they would insist that the Court of Rome should yield also with regard to Castro.

The Duke de Créqui did not arrive at Lyons, where Mgr. Rasponi had already preceded him, until May 10, but after a few interviews the negotiations were suspended by order of the King, who objected to the title of Nuncio given to Mgr. Rasponi, as he was resolved not to receive a Nuncio in his kingdom until his demands had been fully satisfied; and he informed the Duke that it was his intention to treat the Court of Rome with harshness on every occasion and to mortify it in every way. His Majesty, therefore, decreed that the Papal Envoy should be expelled from France and go to reside at Pont-de-Beauvoisin, a village in Savoy close to the frontier, on the French side of which the Duke de Créqui took up his abode. The renewed discussion did not last very long, for when the question of Castro came to be treated, as the Duchy had been legally forfeited to the Holy See by the neglect of the Duke of Parma to pay his creditors, and as the Pope considered himself bound by oath not to alienate the property of the Church, Mgr. Rasponi could only consent in his name to submit the matter to the Tribunal of the Rota or to a congregation of Cardinals. On referring to Rome his decision was confirmed, and the conference was brought to an end on July 1, M. de Créqui threatening that when the King invaded Italy he would demand still greater concessions, and as soon as Louis XIV. was informed of the non-success of the negotiations he made every preparation for the invasion of the Papal States.

He began by sending an advance guard of 1,500 infantry and 2,400 cavalry into the Duchies of Parma, Modena and Montferrat; and to justify this step he had the dishonesty to inform the Spanish Government that he considered himself bound to protect his allies from an incursion of the Papal army, though the Duke of Parma and the Duchess Regent of Modena had protested that they were

in no want of protection, since they apprehended no danger from Rome, and they added that as that year's harvest had been bad, the maintenance of a body of foreign troops would impose a serious burden on their subjects. The King, however, insisted, promising to furnish provisions for his soldiers and the rulers of the Duchies were obliged to submit. This anxiety for the welfare and independence of Parma and Modena can be well explained by the fact that in the previous month of February the King had caused the Duke of Parma to be informed that in case he succeeded in obtaining the restoration of the Duchy of Castro he hoped that the Duke would solemnly promise to devote himself forever to his interests and to conform in everything to his will.

Louis then completed the annexation of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin, by ordering the Parliament of Provence to draw up a decree to that effect, which M. d'Oppède, the first President of that assembly, presented to the Vice Legate on July 7. On the refusal of Mgr. Lascaris to consent to this unjust seizure of the territory of the Holy See, he was expelled from Avignon and escorted by soldiers to Nice in the States of the Duke of Savoy.

The advanced guards of the French army were soon quartered in the Italian Duchies, in spite of the ill will of the sovereigns and of the people, which the latter manifested by frequent assassinations of French soldiers; and towards the end of December the number of troops which were to form the expedition was fixed at 26,000 infantry, 7,000 cavalry and 16 guns. At the same time, however, the King consented to allow the Abbé de Bourlamont, auditor of the Tribunal of the Rota and one of the secretaries of the French Embassy in Rome, to renew the negotiations on the condition that if they were not concluded by February 15 the Papal States should be invaded. It was in vain that the Sovereign Pontiff appealed for help to the Emperor of Germany, the King of Spain and the various States of Italy. The Emperor was scarcely able to defend Germany from the repeated onslaughts of the Turks; Spain, weakened by the recent war with France, was engaged in a disastrous struggle with Portugal, which Louis, in spite of the stipulations of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, was secretly helping with men and money; and the Italian princes were powerless in presence of the overwhelming military superiority of France. The Holy Father, therefore, after having consulted the College of Cardinals, again despatched Mgr. Rasponi to represent him in the renewed negotiations. They took place at Pisa, and there on February 12, 1664, was concluded a treaty of which the following were the principal articles: The Duchy of Castro was to be given up by the Papal Treasury and the Duke of Parma allowed a further delay of eight



years to pay off the charges; the Duke of Modena was to receive an indemnity for the Lagoons of Comacchio; Cardinal Chigi was to go to France to make a humble apology to the King, while his father, Don Mario, should give his word of honor that he was not responsible for the outrage of August 20, and Cardinal Imperiali should appear before the King to justify himself. The bargello of Rome was to be banished; the entire Corsican nation declared unworthy of ever serving the Holy See, and an obelisk bearing an inscription to that effect erected opposite their barracks. The King in return promised to restore Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin to the Pope, who, on his side, consented to grant an amnesty to the persons who had revolted at the time of the annexation, as well as to annul all proceedings against Duke Cesarini and some other Roman nobles, and to compensate the Duke for whatever losses he might have sustained.

Such were the humiliating conditions which the pride and ambition of Louis XIV. imposed on Alexander VII., who, on February 18, deposited in the Archives of the Vatican an eloquent protest against the violence to which he had been subjected. After stating that the questions of Castro and Comacchio had nothing to do with the attack on the Embassy, the Pope recalled the threats by which the King had sought to intimidate him; the seizure of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin, whose inhabitants had been encouraged to rebel, and the occupation of the Duchies of Parma and Modena by the advanced guard of the army which was to invade the Papal States. The Holy Father then mentioned the vain efforts he had made to obtain help from the Emperor, the King of Spain and the Italian Princes, and he declared that if he had yielded it was simply in order to avoid the misfortunes which a war against so powerful a sovereign as the King of France would have brought upon Italy at a time, especially, when Christendom was in the utmost danger from the Turks, who had invaded Candia, who were threatening Dalmatia and Friuli, and who were about to begin another campaign against Hungary.

The Court of Rome performed faithfully the conditions imposed upon it. The Corsican soldiers were disbanded and sent home, and though the Papal Government requested the King to be satisfied with the commemoration of the outrage by means of a slab affixed to the wall of the Palazzo Farnese, His Majesty insisted on the construction of a solidly built obelisk guarded by a railing in front of the Corsican barracks, and bearing an inscription stating that in execration of the odious crime committed by the Corsican soldiers against the Ambassador of the most Christian King, the Corsican nation had been declared by a decree of Pope Alexander

VII. incapable of serving the Apostolic See. It is true that in 1668, under the reign of Clement IX., the King consented to allow this monument to be destroyed, but its memory must have been recalled to the minds both of the French and the Romans, when, less than a century and a half later, a Pope assisted at the installation of a Corsican soldier on the throne of the Bourbons.

Cardinal Chigi came to France, as it had been stipulated, and was received by the French people with enthusiasm, and by the King at Fontainebleau with the splendor and ceremony which distinguished the French Court; but the Parliament of Paris, well known for its Gallican opinions, raised many objections to his reception in Paris, to which at last it had to consent, and His Eminence found that during his journey through France his correspondence with Rome was intercepted and his letters opened.

Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin, the people of which had been given to understand that they were definitively annexed to France, were restored to the Holy See, and Louis, who, for the furtherance of his unscrupulous policy, had driven them to revolt, was now obliged to revoke the decree of the Parliament of Provence and reinstate the Vice Legate and the Papal garrison. But in order to manifest as much ill will as possible, while apparently conforming to the Treaty of Pisa, the King refused to permit the construction of a citadel at Avignon which could control the town, and he would not even allow the Vice Legate to fortify his palace so as to enable it to withstand a popular outbreak.

The Duke de Créquy came back to Rome as Ambassador, and the King kept him there for some time; but after the events which had taken place he could not hope to be treated by the Vatican otherwise than with coldness and mistrust, and the Pope when transacting any business with the Court of France, preferred to ignore his presence in Rome and to employ the Papal Nuncio in Paris as his intermediary. The Duke was at last recalled at his urgent and often repeated request, and with his departure, on April 24, 1665, the humiliation and insults inflicted by Louis XIV. on the Sovereign Pontiff in revenge for the unpremeditated attack on the French Embassy were brought to an end.

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