

**COMMUNICATING A NEW REGIME:
THE MALTESE PRINTED PRODUCT
DURING THE FRENCH OCCUPATION
(1798-1800)**

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The study of the locally-printed output for any phase of Maltese history has traditionally been conducted from a strictly bibliographical or indeed bibliophile perspective. Such approaches are certainly valid, indeed they constitute a pre-requisite for any subsequent historical analysis of the printed product since they provide the necessary groundwork of actually identifying and listing the output. The historical interpretation would take up from there, undertaking an in-depth study of, among other, the printed product's format, content, patterns of circulation and generally its role within contemporary society. This is increasingly being considered indispensable for a better understanding of contemporary opinion, attitudes and outlooks and the way in which these were reflected in print and, conversely, the extent to which the latter influenced them in any way.

The eventful if brief French occupation of the Maltese islands between June 1798 and September 1800 provides an admirable case-study of the way in which a sudden and radical political change, with reverberations in practically every sphere of life, was reflected in the Maltese printed output of the period. This paper will first provide a brief overview of printing activity during French rule which is then followed by a more detailed analysis of the printed output for the period.

Press developments during French rule

Following protracted negotiations with Rome over the censorship issue, the Order of St. John had, in 1756, finally managed to establish printing facilities on the island on a permanent basis. The characteristics of the press as established in 1756 remained practically unchanged down to the advent of French rule: indeed State ownership, control and monopoly remained salient features of the Maltese printing scene down to 1839.¹

¹ Freedom of the Press was granted by Ordinance No. IV dated 15 March 1839. For a study of its granting see J. F. Grima, *Printing and Censorship in Malta, 1642-1839: A General Survey* (Malta, 1991), 65-84.

During the Order's rule, the press was designated as falling under the personal authority of the grand master (*Stamperia di Sua Altezza Serenissima*) even if this authority was delegated to the Order's grand prior and further down. It was moreover strictly controlled by both the State and the Catholic establishment through the setting up of a triple controlling mechanism whereby the grand master, the bishop and the inquisitor exercised censorship over all material submitted for publication. Absolute State monopoly was maintained throughout, with practically no possibility of clandestine printing given the island's size. The Order's press served the printing requirements of the State, of the ecclesiastical establishment and also the acceptable requirements of private individuals be they of a literary, commercial or religious nature.²

The advent of French rule in June 1798 witnessed the retention of both State ownership and monopoly where the press was concerned. By 30 June 1798 the press had been officially designated as *Imprimerie Nationale*.³ Besides the nature of the printed product itself, what has usually been described as the granting of press freedom by the French government has traditionally been considered as being the most radical departure from the situation under the previous regime.⁴ The demand for liberty of the press was a major battle-cry in revolutionary France and attempts at the introduction of the principle in some form to conquered lands were undertaken.⁵ An analysis of the inherent characteristics of 'press freedom' as conceded in 1798 is, however, long overdue.

During its meeting of the 26 June 1798, the French Government Commission referred to the request 'by various citizens' (*plusieurs citoyens*) to be allowed to have

2 For an in-depth study of printing activity in Hospitaller Malta, W. Zammit, *Printing and its Cultural Role in Malta during the rule of the Order of St. John, 1642-1798*, unpubl. M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Malta, 1995.

3 H. Scicluna, *Actes et Documents relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Occupation Française de Malte 1798-1800 et la Fête du 14 Juillet 1798 à Malte* (3rd edition, Malta, 1979), 205.

4 Eg. G. Testa, *The French in Malta, 1798-1800* (Malta, 1997), 225, 'The liberty of the press, although under certain conditions, was granted to the Maltese for the first time in their history at this time. When the Order of St. John ruled over Malta the publication of books and pamphlets was so shackled by the censorship of the lay and ecclesiastical authorities that no work of any importance saw the light of day'. The commonly-held assertion that little of value was published in Hospitaller Malta has now been proved fallacious.

5 On the development of the movement for a free press in France, R. Birn, 'Malesherbes and the call for a Free Press', in *Revolution in Print, the Press in France 1775-1800*, ed. R. Darnton and D. Roche (London, 1989), 50-66. The principle of press liberty featured as article 11 in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

their writings printed. The Commission accordingly issued a decree stipulating that every citizen had the right to have his writings printed. While not actually making it mandatory for material submitted for publication to be signed, the Commission stipulated that, in case of unsigned manuscripts, any repercussions arising from their eventual publication would have to be borne out by the printer. The promulgation of the decree was made subject to its approval by Vaubois, which was given on the following day.⁶ The document raises a number of issues which require analysis as to their implications. The demand for facility to have one's writings published, mentioned by the Commission, could only have referred to the relaxation or outright removal of pre-emptive censorship, since under the Order hundreds of works were printed upon commission by Maltese and other individuals in their private capacity. The Commission in fact complied by removing ecclesiastical and - at least *de jure* - State pre-emptive censorship. The certainly vague reference to possible repercussions (*inconvenients*) arising from the publication of certain material left an uncomfortably large discretion in the interpretation of both the nature of the transgression as well as of its subsequent consequences. The French administration had thus dismantled the *ancien régime's* certainly severe censorship mechanism without however setting clear guidelines as to what was lawful or not and, in the latter case, the nature of the consequences only vaguely referred to. Interestingly, for the first time the printer was at least in part delegated a controlling role as he could logically refuse to accept unsigned manuscripts since their printing made him responsible for their content.

While documentary evidence regarding the implementation of the new arrangement in practice is lacking, a study of the known locally-printed output for the period 26 June 1798 down to the end of August of the same year far from indicates any dramatic increase in the number of printing commissions submitted by third parties. Indeed, there is scarcely any evidence of the use of the press by private individuals for the publication of material which was regularly carried under the Order, let alone of its use as a medium of unfettered discussion whether of a political or religious nature. The loss of the press registers pertaining to the last years of the Order's rule and indeed those of the French administration, both of which are known to have

6 For the text of the decree, Scicluna, 204-5.

7 For a description of the surviving press registers covering the period 1756-1781 and 1791-1793/4, S. Fiorini, W. Zammit, *Catalogue of the Records of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the National Library of Malta: Volume XIII, Archives 2038-2071* (Malta, 1990). A decree of the French Government Commission issued on 29 August 1798 referred to the upkeep of the press registers as being one of the duties of the press director. The current provenance of such registers, if surviving, is at present unknown.

existed,⁷ do not allow a detailed comparative study as to the volume and typology of the printing commissions submitted prior and post-June 1798. The decision taken on 6 August 1798 to transfer the press from the former Grand Master's palace to the old chancery was similarly justified on the basis of an increased workload. Such a justification is hardly borne out by the available evidence and the move may have either been desirable prior to the French take-over or else by the need to have the press moved out of the palace premises.

On 29 August 1798 the French Government Commission issued new regulations for the running of the press.⁸ These mainly dealt with the financing and administrative structure of the press as well as with the publication of *Journal de Malte*. Article two of the new decree, however, stipulated that while the press director was to receive all requests for printing, he was expressly prohibited from commencing work on them prior to having authorisation to do so by a member of the Government Commission. Cristoforo Frendo, a Maltese notary and member of the Commission, was chosen for the task. In effect this arrangement re-established formal State censorship over material submitted for printing. The reasons behind such a change in the 26 June arrangement - shifting back control from the printer to a high State official - are not expressly stated, but were probably the result of the inherent defects of the first arrangement. It is moreover significant to note that the re-establishment of State scrutiny over the press product came prior to the start of the Maltese rebellion against the French so it cannot be attributed to it. On the eve of the Maltese rising, therefore, the French administration had dispensed with all forms of ecclesiastical censorship of the press while retaining that of the State. It was the secularisation of censorship that had taken place, rather than freedom of the press. Such a process certainly found its reflection in the printed output of the period.

The Printed Output: June 1798 - September 1800

All the available evidence indicates that under French rule absolute press monopoly and State control were not only retained but that indeed the press was harnessed for the exclusive use of the government as never before. This, of course, has to be viewed within the context of the new regime's radical novelty as well as its brevity, enjoying *de facto* sovereignty over the islands for just three months. The fact that the ruling power was at war with much of Europe similarly makes the taking-over of the press for the satisfaction of State's bureaucratic, administrative and propagandistic requirements all the more understandable.

⁸ Scicluna, 209-10.



French Republican motifs used by the Maltese press, 1798-1800 (reduced).

Evidence for some small-scale printing activity on the island by the blockading powers following September 1798 is known in the form of a single-sheet printed appeal for Maltese recruits. The appeal, entitled *Il Generale Graham ai Maltesi* was issued from General Graham's headquarters at Dorell palace, Gudja on 19 June 1800 (Appendix, item 88). To date this appeal constitutes the only item known to have been printed in Malta by the British forces participating in the blockade and it implies the latter's importation to the island of what was probably a small printing press. The use of relatively small, portable presses during the period is highlighted by the fact that Bonaparte's proclamations, issued while sailing on his flagship *L'Orient* between Malta and Egypt were actually printed aboard and later despatched to Malta, where they were in turn published in issue 8 of *Journal de Malte*.⁹

Bureaucratic and administrative requirements

As was the case during the Order's rule, the French bureaucratic establishment also made use of the press for the printing of a variety of forms and other material of a strictly bureaucratic nature. This comprised printed letter-heads for the various central and municipal authorities as well as passports. This material invariably featured the standard French republican motif of Marianne holding a fasces with one hand and a lance topped by the revolutionary beret with the other.

By far the largest number of separate printing commissions consisted of the publication of the constant flow of decrees and other legal enactments issued by the French Government Commission, by General Vaubois in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the islands and by D'Angely as French Government Commissioner. As in the case of printed forms, legal enactments often featured a visual display of French republican symbolism. The practice of having such material printed was initiated at the very inception of French rule, with the publication of the text of the convention by which the islands were ceded by the Order of St. John. On 2 June 1799, the French Government Commission acceded to citizen Ortolani's request to have fifty copies of his translation of the French Constitution in Italian printed (Appendix, item 83). The terms of the French capitulation to the British on 5 September 1800 were also published by the outgoing administration (Appendix, item 90).

The publication of new legislation or of amendments to existing one by the

⁹ *Journal de Malte*, issue 8, 36. 'Sono state queste [Bonaparte's proclamations] composte e stampate a bordo dell'Orient nel tragitto di Malta, in Alessandria'.

IL GENERALE GRAHAM AI MALTESI

BRAVI MALTESI

Voi, vi siete resi intercellanti, e cospigni a tutto il Mondo. L'Isola non presenta un più sorprendente esempio. Date in preda ai vostri insulari, privati dei mezzi di resistenza, un'eterna schiavitù sembrava dover essere il vostro inevitabile destino.

L'oppressione, il Sacrilegio de' vostri tiranni divenne intollerabile. Senza considerare le conseguenze vi determinaste a vendicare a qualunque costo i vostri torti; Senz'armi, senza le risorse della Guerra metteste in pezzi le vostre catene.

Il vostro patriottismo, il vostro coraggio, la vostra Religione supplirono a tutte le mancanze. La vostra energia comandò la Vittoria, ed un nemico formidabile alle più disciplinate Truppe dell'Europa, in ogni punto cedè ai vostri impareggiabili sforzi, e nascose la sua disgrazia al di là dei Rampari.

I coraggiosi Battaglioni dei Castelli li hanno d'allora in poi ivi conformati colla vigilanza, e la pazienza degna della causa della Libertà.

Domandate assistenza. Le Potenze che agiscono in alleanza per il sostegno della Civile Società, e della Religione, si affrettarono al vostro soccorso. Armi, munizioni da Guerra, denaro, e fucile furono a voi somministrati; Le loro Navi hanno intercettato i fucarsi ai vostri nemici.

Il mio Elettore, Sovrano d'un Popolo libero, e generoso, mi spedì con un pugno d'uomini per soccorrerli, finchè un imponente forza sarebbe apparsa per la riduzione della Valletta; ma le circostanze della Guerra l'hanno finora ritardata: Intanto quello è un prezioso momento, e non deve esser perduto.

Cosa dunque deve farvi per profittare di al favorevole congiuntura? In anticipo la vostra risposta. Voi siete di nuovo pronti ad unirvi in massa per compire la gloriosa opera che cominciate.

All'Armi dunque, o Maltesi; fa l'universale grido dell'Isola: Per DIO, e per LA PATRIA. Chi vi è così fardo ad ogni sentimento di dovere e di onore che non ubbidirà volentieri a tal invito? Niuno, niuno se non se i traditori, o quei vili, che servono al tempo, Noi non desideriamo di quelli fin le nostre file.

Que l'infelice voce la quale distinguerà col titolo di Eroe ogni Uomo che espone se stesso per la propria Patria, imprimerà ugualmente su i di loro nomi un indelebile infamia.

Abbandonate adunque per poche Settimane i vostri consueti esercizi d'industria. Mettetevi sotto l'immediata direzione dei vostri propri Ufficiali, e sotto la guida di coloro, la perizia, e l'esperienza dei quali nella loro professione vi condurrà col maggior vantaggio al grande, ed importante oggetto della finale conquista de' vostri nemici.

Una debole, ed avvilita Guarnigione, disproporzionata alla difesa di sì estese opere, non può resistere ai vostri sforzi; Il successo compenserà le vostre fatiche, e tornerete subito in seno alle vostre famiglie superbi, giustamente superbi di aver salvata la vostra Patria.

THOMAS GRAHAM

Br. Generale Comandante
delle Truppe alleate al blocco
della Valletta.

Dal Quartier Generale di Gudja
19. Giugno 1800.

Broadsheet entitled *Il generale Graham ai Maltesi* (Malta, 1800).

French administration was carried out with the specific intention of bringing it to the attention of as wide an audience as possible. In the vast majority of cases it was published in parallel French and Italian texts and in single-sheet format, facilitating both its comprehension in a mostly Italianate cultural environment and its public display. While the use of both French and Italian was deemed necessary, French was expressly to be given precedence.¹⁰ The standard procedure for the publication of enactments promulgated by the French Government Commission was for the Commission to send a manuscript copy of the item to the Municipality of the West which comprised Valletta and hence the printing press, with specific instructions to have the enactment printed for its distribution to the other municipalities in the process of being set up.¹¹ At times instructions regarding the number of copies to be printed were given by the Commission. This practice was started as early as 26 June 1798 with instructions regarding the publication of two enactments.¹² Further enactments were sent to the municipality by the Commission on the following day. The latter were accompanied by instructions whereby twelve printed copies of each decree were to be sent back to the Commission to be distributed among its members and the rest to be placed in the archives of the secretariat. The Commission moreover requested any remaining printed copies of previous enactments.¹³ The Commission's instructions for the enactments to be printed and distributed among the municipalities were at times themselves featured on the printed version itself (Appendix, below). The development of this system of communicating the central government's decisions throughout the islands via the municipal authorities was possibly a major motivation for the establishment of such local authorities under French rule. While it does not seem that all enactments issued were publicised in a printed format, a very considerable number of them indeed was. Of a total of seventy-six enactments issued during the French rule and published in 1840,¹⁴ fifty-two are definitely known to have been

10 AOM 6523, p. 13, letter of Government Commission to Vaubois, dated 14 June 1798, 'Ensuite la Commission a délibéré si dans les Ordres et proclamations qu'elle ferait imprimer et publier, la langue française avait la préférence sur la langue italienne'.

11 On the setting up of the different municipalities by the French administration, Testa, 174-6.

12 AOM 6524B, 18-19.

13 AOM 6524B, 18-19.

14 *Collezione di Bandi, Prammatiche ed altri avvisi ufficiali, pubblicati dal Governo dell'isola di Malta e sue dipendenze dal 17 luglio 1784, al 4 ottobre 1813* (Malta, 1840).

printed. Of the remaining twenty-four, it is more than likely that some were also printed, though no concrete evidence of this is as yet available (Appendix, below). The public's demand for printed copies of the flood of newly-enacted legislation is evident from a highly revealing communication by the Press Director to the French Government Commission. The former asked the Commission whether the press should provide copies of legislation to the large number of citizens who had called to the press requesting such material. On 10 July 1798, the Commission decided in the affirmative on the basis that the dissemination of new legislation was in the public interest.¹⁵

The practice of having legislation printed to facilitate its dissemination had been introduced to the islands by the Order of St. John, albeit resorted to with far lesser frequency. Thus, of the scores of *bandi* issued by the Order's government between June 1756 and June 1798, only a handful were actually printed. The indications are that the Order's government considered the public reading and explanation of newly-enacted legislation rather than its public affixing or similar dissemination in a printed format sufficiently suitable means of making the population aware of new legislation.¹⁶ The French administration marked a departure from this practice, relying to a far greater extent upon print as a medium for the dissemination of its laws and the political philosophy behind them. Moreover, the previously unheard-of practice of requiring parish priests to publicise Government edicts in their churches was resorted to with some regularity.¹⁷ Whether such innovation in the process of communicating radical change itself contributed in some way to the Maltese rejection of the regime and all it stood for is a pertinent question and one which merits some reflection.

15 AOM 6523, 128-9, session of 10 July 1798, 'Le Directeur de l'Imprimerie Nationale a exposé qu'un grand nombre de Citoyens se sont présentés pour acheter les arrêtés de la Commission dont l'impression a été ordonnée. Il a demandé ce qu'il doit faire. La Commission après l'arrêté suivant. La Commission de gouvernement considérant qu'il est autant de l'intérêt public, que celui du gouvernement quei tous les Citoyens puissent acquérir et conserver les arrêtés qu'elle prend continuellement pour le bien de la Patrie après avoir entendu le commission du gouvernement, l'Arrête: Le Directeur de l'Imprimerie Nationale est autorisé à vendre au Public les susdits arrêtés'.

16 On the printing of *bandi* and the methods used for their publicity, Zammit (1995), 215-8.

17 Eg. printed edict issued on 6 July 1798 regarding the abolition of dues paid by peasants, 'Il presente Decreto sarà indirizzato alla Commissione del Governo, stampato, ed affissato nelle due lingue, ed i Parrochi saranno obbligati di publicarlo nelle loro Chiese'.

State propaganda

The dissemination of propaganda extolling the virtues of revolutionary philosophy and the glorification of French military prowess constituted the other major role of the State press. The utilisation of local printing facilities for the production of State propaganda was by no means a French innovation. Glorifications of the regime in general and of individual grand masters in particular abounded from 1756 to 1798 in both written and visual formats.¹⁸

The publication of *Journal de Malte* by the French government was thus essentially a continuation of the use of State ownership and monopoly of local publishing as a means of propaganda, albeit under the new form of a gazette. Ten issues of *Journal de Malte* are indicated to have been published, between the second half of July and 26 September 1798. Of these, copies of issues 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 10 have been traced in the National Library of Malta collection and their contents are described below.¹⁹ Significantly, the pagination of the seven traced issues does not contain any gaps and is continuous from page one to page forty-two, this notwithstanding the lack of issues 2, 5 and 9. Furthermore, the issues immediately preceding the untraced ones, namely issues 1, 3 and 8 all contain eight pages while issues 3, 6 and 7 all contain four. Issue 10 seems to have consisted of six pages, although the National Library of Malta copy has pages 39 and 40 missing. All this cannot but cast serious doubts as to whether the untraced issues were actually ever published. The reference to the distribution of issue 5 by the French Government

¹⁸ Zammit (1995), ch. 5.

¹⁹ The National Library of Malta's collection of *Journal de Malte* issues is to be found in two separate locations. Location BO-4-42, formerly BO-1-13 contains a copy of issues 1, 3, 4 and 10, a copy of the printed *Manifesto* and *Prospectus*, each announcing the publication of a gazette, together with other printed matter from the French era. The material currently held under this location was most probably originally bound with NLM Lib. Ms 269. In fact, the old hand-written catalogue of the NLM still gives the latter location for *Journal de Malte*. The catalogue of Lib. Ms. volumes published by librarian Cesare Vassallo in 1856 moreover confirms that at the time Lib. Ms 269 contained printed matter dating from the French period. Location Parnis 950 contains two copies of issue 1, one copy of issue 3 and 4, two copies of issue 6, two copies of issue 7 and one copy of issue 8, together with other printed matter from the French and early British eras. Although researchers have been aware of one collection, they have invariably ignored the other. A search in foreign library holdings has failed to turn up other issues not held at the National Library of Malta. The *Bibliothèque Nationale* is known to possess photocopies of issues 1, 3, 4 and 10, presumably supplied by the National Library from BO-4-42.

Commission to the Municipalities seems to confirm the publication of that untraced and unsequenced issue at least. Possibly, however, what was referred to as issue 5 consisted simply of the single-sheet unpaginated *Prospectus*.²⁰ If this can be confirmed it would be more than likely that the untraced issues were actually never published and that the National Library of Malta collection of the earliest locally-published gazette is thus complete.

Description of known issues of *Journal de Malte* (1-10)

Issue	Pages	Date of Issue	Contents	Copy Provenance/ Remarks
1	1-8 (8)	[Post 14.7.1798]	(i) Editorial (unsigned), 1-2 (ii) Speeches on occasion of the 14 th July: (a) By Menard, Commissioner of the Marine, 2-3 (b) By Vaubois, General and Head of Government, 3-4 (c) By D'Angely, Commissioner of Government, 4-7 (iii) Denunciation of anonymous bills attacking persons in authority, 7 (iv) Under heading <i>Commercio</i> (a) Letter of Commissioner of Government to Government Commission, 7-8 (b) Negation of news of the blockading of Malta by the British fleet, 8 (c) Delegation sent by Government to Sicily to protest against the application of quarantine to Maltese shipping, 8	NLM BO-4-42 NLM Parnis 950

²⁰ The French Government Commission's decision to send two copies of issues 4 and 5 of *Journal de Malte* was dated 21 August 1798 and is reproduced in Scicluna, 208-9. The exact wording regarding issue 5 is 'deux du No. 5 avec un exemplaire du prospectus qui explique les conditions aux quelles on peut s'y abonner'.

2 NO DATA AVAILABLE

Copy not traced.
May have never
been published
since pagination of
issue 3 continues on
that of issue 1

- 3 9-12(4) [Post 7.8.1798] (i) Speech by the Commissioner of Government to the judges on their taking office, 9-12 NLM BO-4-42
NLM Parnis 950
- (ii) Under heading *Notizie*
- (a) News of the Irish rebellion against British rule, 12
- (b) Donation of foodstuffs to Malta by the Bey of Tunis, 12
- (iii) Subscription information, 12
- 4 13-20 (8) [Post 12.8.1798] (i) Editorial (unsigned), 13 NLM BO-4-42
NLM Parnis 950
- (ii) Speeches on occasion of the Feast of 10 August:
- (a) By Vaubois, General and Head of Government, 13-14
- (b) By D'Angely, Commissioner of Government, 14-15
- (c) By the President of the Eastern Municipality, 15-16
- (iii) Pastoral letter of Bishop Labini in Italian, 16-18
- (iv) Under heading *Finanze*:
- (a) Regarding the benefits of French financial administration of Malta over that of the Order, 18-19
- (v) Under heading *Notizie*:
- (a) French occupation of the citadel of Turin, 19
- (b) Appointment of Sotin, former French Minister of Police, as ambassador to

- North America, 19
- (c) Incident to Lady Bonaparte at Plombières, 19
- (d) Tallyrand sent on a mission to secure a treaty with Switzerland, 19
- (vi) Local news:
- (a) Return of 55 former Maltese prisoners from Tunis, 19
- (b) Regarding the false alarm of a rise in price of grain, 19
- (vii) Under heading *Avviso ai Negozianti*:
- (a) An invitation from the Government Commission for suggestions regarding changes in Customs, 19-20
- (viii) Various snippets of foreign news, especially regarding relations between Malta and the Kingdom of Naples, 20

5 NO DATA AVAILABLE

Copy not traced.
May have never
been published
since pagination of
issue 6 continues on
that of issue 4

- 6 21-24 (4) [Post 18.8.1798] (i) Under heading *Estratto delle notizie di Francia*: NLM Parnis 950
- (a) Message of the French Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred giving the reasons for the French attack on Malta, 21-23
- (b) News regarding the French army's exploits in Italy, 23-24
- (c) News regarding the French

- government, 23-24
- (ii) Speech by the Commissioner of Government on occasion of the setting up of the Consular Tribunal delivered on 18 August 1798, 24
- 7 25-28 27.8.1798 (4)
- (i) Under heading *Estratto delle notizie di Francia*: NLM Parnis 950
- (a) Regarding Irish and Scottish unrest in Britain, 25
- (b) Regarding French successes in Italy and Austria, resulting in better treatment of Maltese in Sicily, 25
- (c) Regarding the King of Naples' claims over Malta, 26
- (d) Other minor news snippets, 26
- (ii) Account of naval engagement between French and British ships, 26-28
- (iii) Regarding the number of Muslim slaves in Malta, 28
- (iv) Arrival of ships to Malta, 28
- 8 29-36 (8) 31.8.1798
- (i) Under heading *Notizie dell'Egitto*: NLM Parnis 950
- (a) account of the Nile campaign, 29-34
- (ii) Arrival of ships *Guglielmo Tell*, *Diana* and *Giustizia* at Malta, bringing news of Nile campaign as reported, 35
- (iii) Text of proclamation issued by French Government Commission re. Nile campaign, 35-36

- (iv) Other minor news snippets, 36
- (v) Subscription information, 36
- 9 NO DATA AVAILABLE Copy not traced. May have never been published since pagination of issue 10 continues on that of issue 8
- 10 37-42 26.9.1798 (6)
- (i) Editorial (unsigned), 37 NLM BO-4-42
- (ii) Speeches on occasion of the feast of 22 September: Pages 39-40 are missing from traced copy
- (a) by Vaubois, General and Head of Government, 37-38
- (b) by D'Angely, Commissioner of Government, 38-?
- (c) By citizen Bertis, President of the Eastern Municipality, 41-42
- (ii) Subscription information, 42

The basic aim behind *Journal de Malte* was the familiarisation of the local population with the political philosophy of the new regime - one which was diametrically opposed to that of its immediate predecessor which had ruled the islands for over 250 years and had certainly left a deep imprint on the formation of the local frame of mind. The reality of the new ruling country being at war with most of Europe made the resorting to propaganda in newly-conquered territories all the more indispensable.

Even if thus justifiable in the prevailing circumstances, the resulting gazette was so patently propagandistic as to render its credibility and persuasive potential highly doubtful. No evidence of the genuine expression of individual opinion is to be found in the traced issues. The *Journal de Malte* featured unsigned editorials, speeches delivered during French national celebrations and local and foreign news, all with an intensely pro-French bias. The publication of Bishop Labini's pastoral letter of 13 August 1798 in issue 4 can in no way be cited as an example of allowing the voicing of alternative views in the gazette since the pastoral's main aim was to soothe the

Maltese resentment at the French administration. The pastoral was indeed to be read in all parish churches, significantly in the presence of at least one member of the municipal authority.²¹ Further publicity of the pastoral was ensured by its printing in single-sheet format (Appendix, item 41).

The importance attached to the *Journal* by the French administration is evidenced through the attention given to the promotion of its circulation. As in the case of legal enactments, the *Journal* was published in parallel French and Italian texts, indispensable for making its reading possible among the local middle class. A subscription system was also created, whereby subscriptions were received on a three-monthly, six-monthly or annual basis.²² Subscriptions were to be submitted to Matteo Rizzo, described as *libraire de la bibliothèque Nationale, à Malte*.²³ Although no records pertaining to the number of subscriptions received are known to have survived, some data regarding the size of print runs provide an indication as to the expected demand. On 29 August 1798 the French Government Commission established a print run of 500 copies for the *Journal*.²⁴ The figure of 500 may however not have been based on an evaluation of demand as reflected by the issues published prior to that date, but rather as one reflecting the approximate size of the local market potential for published works of such nature. The number indeed was very similar to that of print runs of accounts describing State ceremonies and achievements in Hospitaller Malta.²⁵ The same figure tallies with those known for early nineteenth-century gazettes, notably *L'Argo* and *Il Cartaginese*, with issues of both newspapers published between

21 Scicluna, 208-9.

22 Subscription details were provided in the single-sheet *Prospectus* to the gazette and in issues 3, 8 and 10. The costs were 3 livres 12 sols for 3 months, 7 livres 4 sols for 6 months, 12 livres for a year and 3 sols (7 as given in issues 3, 8 and 10) for a single issue.

23 On Matteo Rizzo and the book trade in eighteenth-century Malta, W. Zammit, *The Dissemination of Unorthodoxy and New Ideas in Malta, 1700-1798*, unpub. Ph.D thesis, Department of History, University of Malta, 2001.

24 Scicluna, 209-10.

25 [Thus eighteenth-century *Serenate di Calendimaggio* had a typical print run of 400 copies, Zammit (1995), 179-80.

August 1804 and June 1805 having print runs varying from 400 to 600 copies.²⁶ Efforts at the dissemination of *Journal de Malte* beyond the harbour cities into the countryside were moreover carried out. The Government Commission is known to have, at least occasionally, provided each municipality with copies of the *Journal*. On 9 August 1798 the Commission sent two copies of issue three to all municipalities, describing the publication's specific aim to familiarise all inhabitants with the philosophy of the government. It moreover invited them to circulate the gazette and to bring it to the attention particularly of honest patriots and educated individuals residing within the municipality.²⁷ Similarly, on 21 August the Commission forwarded two copies of issues 4 and 5, together with the gazette's *Prospectus* containing subscription information and Bishop Labini's pastoral.²⁸

Besides *Journal de Malte*, other pieces of French propaganda are known to have been published locally. Among the earliest example of the genre was an intriguing four-page pseudo-erudite denunciation of the nobility in the form of an address by the Maltese citizens to the aristocracy. The onslaught, entitled *Repubblica Francese. Li Cittadini Maltesi alii perfidi Aristocrati* (Appendix, item 103), was aimed towards the departed Order and consisted mostly of a philosophical exposition of the evils engendered by aristocratic rule contrasted with the virtues of what French Republicanism stood for. The author's extreme revulsion towards the aristocratic concept is reflected throughout, to the point of negating them human attributes.²⁹ Direct references to the local situation are however of a general nature. Published anonymously, the work's major significance indeed rests with the possible identification of its author. The latter, who describes Malta as *nostra Patria*, excuses

26 W. Zammit, 'Printing in Malta during the British Protectorate', in *Libri Amicorum: Essays on Art, History Cartography and Bibliography in honour of Dr Albert Ganado*, ed. J. Schiro, S. Sørensen and P. Xuereb (Malta, 1994), 92-3.

27 Scicluna, 208.

28 It is not clear if the pastoral was that featured in issue 4 of the gazette or else that printed in single-sheet format. Similarly the *Prospectus* referred to could either be a copy of the single-sheet one or else possibly one published as part of issue 5 of *Journal de Malte*.

29 *Repubblica Francese*, 3, 'È la mia direzione contro della Aristocrazia, tanto che si debba negare il nome di Uomo a chi sia Aristocratico; dovendo l'Uomo conoscere e confessare, che la stessa Divina Grazia pose li armi in mano della Nazione Francese ...'.

himself with the reader for his clumsy Italian, attributing this as the result of a 23-year long sojourn in Spain.³⁰ His profuse use of scriptural and classical quotes point towards a clerical background. The French Government had, on 27 June 1798, allowed the return of all those who had been exiled by the Order's government (Appendix, item 11) and hence all available evidence indicate the author as being one of the Maltese insurgents during the so called Rebellion of the Priests of September 1775. Indeed a number of those found guilty were exiled, including clergymen. Exile in Spain moreover made sense in that both France and the Kingdom of Naples insisted on the Order taking a firm stand against the rebels.³¹ Such an attribution certainly provides a valuable addition to the present knowledge as to the supporters of the new French regime on the island as well as to possible motivations for having the pre-June 1798 exiles back on the island.

The celebration of Bastille day a few weeks following the French conquest provided an ideal occasion for the publication of propaganda material. Besides the publication of four enactments by the French Government Commission which contained quite a dose of revolutionary rhetoric (Appendix, items 15, 16, 17, 24), the official programme of the celebrations was also published (Appendix, item 25). The efforts at having this material publicised were recorded by a contemporary observer.³² It was that occasion which moreover motivated the publication of two literary pieces, one in Maltese and the other in Italian, extolling the virtues of the revolution (Appendix, items 26, 27). The work in Maltese is the only known locally-published item in that language during French rule and certainly among the very earliest specimens of printed Maltese. Citizen La Coretterie, secretary to the French Government Commissioner,

30 *Repubblica Francese*, 3, 'certo che il mio soggiorno di 23 anni in Spagna, mi fè incapace della Toscana favella'.

31 For an account of the 1775 revolt, P. Callus, *The Rising of the Priests: its implications and repercussions on ecclesiastical immunity* (Malta, 1961).

32 *Felice Cutajar, Segretario di Alexander Ball, L'Occupazione Francese di Malta nel 1798*, ed. G. Curmi (Malta, 1933), 15, 'Si affissero in molti luoghi della Città e strade della campagna li Proclami nelli quali si invitavano li Commissionanti del Governo, tutte le Municipalità colli loro Segretari, i Giudici della pace, li Aspiranti, le Milizie dell' Occidente e li Cacciatori, l' Arcivescovo col suo Clero, e tutti insomma li Maltesi, a concorrere allegramente alla gran festa dove uniti vicendevolmente li Cittadini Maltesi e Francesi possono abbracciarsi in una libera eguaglianza'.

is known to have authored some verse in French in celebration of the occasion and the Maltese and Italian pieces might have been translations of it.³³

The four-page *Dialogo tra Alessandro Ball, ed il marchese di Nizza* (Appendix, item 109) is a newly-discovered piece of French propaganda printed during the blockade. Published anonymously in Italian, the work purports to be a dialogue between Alexander Ball, British leader of the Maltese insurgents and the Marquis de Nizza, the Portuguese admiral who was first to provide assistance to the Maltese. The dialogue depicts the two characters as being totally unconcerned with the real welfare of the Maltese, being solely interested in exploiting the Maltese rebellion for their own countries' gains. The native insurgents themselves are described as being duped by the two foreigners who had actually taken over from the local leaders. Ball's overall aim was depicted as being that of plunging the islands in complete ruin and exhaustion, whereby it would be easier for the British to take over once the French had been defeated. In the case of the latter not materialising, the islands would, in any case, be left to the French in such a condition.³⁴ The fact that it was published in Italian, coupled with its recurrent emphasis upon the characters' cynical attitude towards the Maltese, indicates that this piece of French propaganda was primarily aimed towards the Maltese population blockaded within the cities. The departure from the island of admiral Nizza on 13 December 1799³⁵ provides some indication as to the dating of the piece. Possibly it was published following the discovery of the plot by a group of Maltese in Valletta to take over the capital, in January 1799.

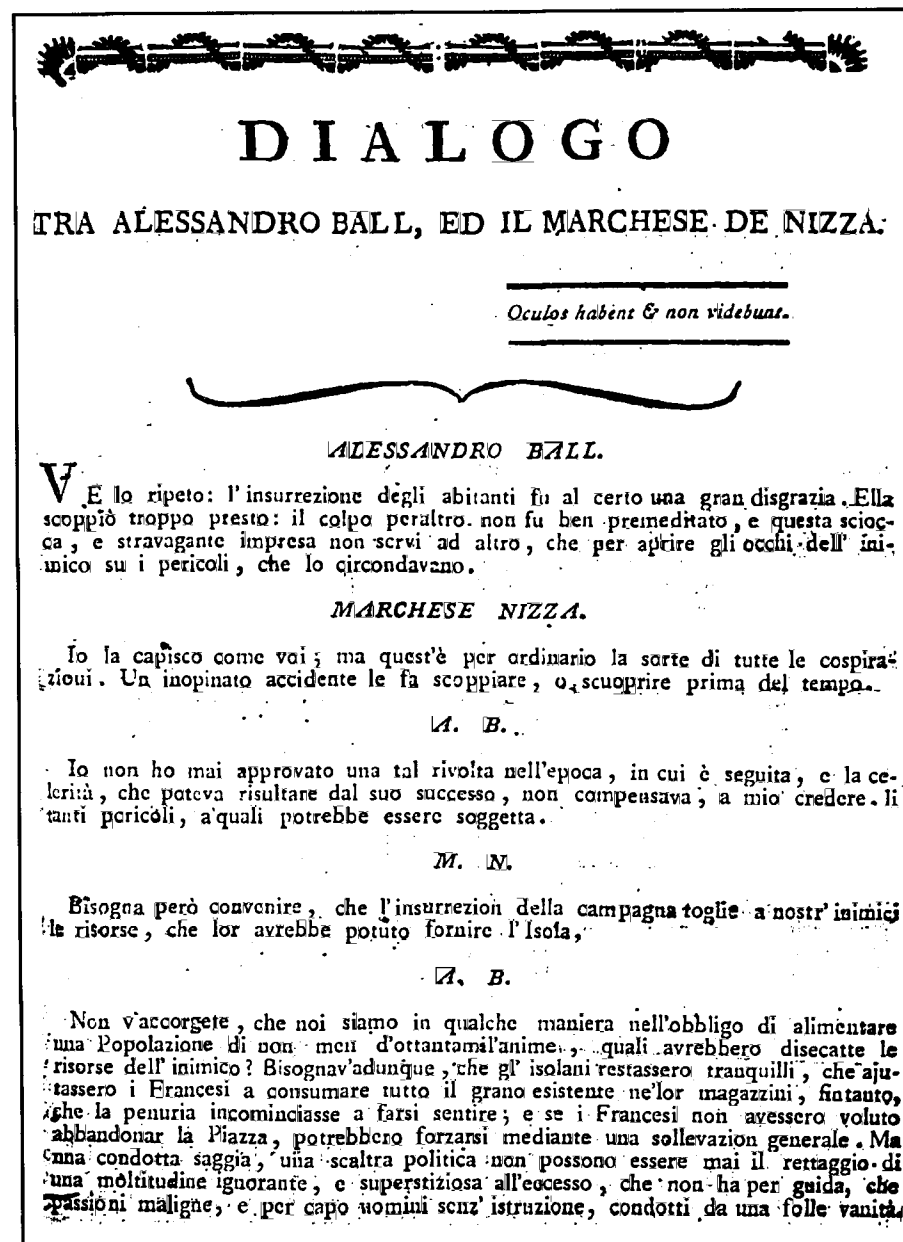
Private Printing Commissions

Next to no evidence is available for the printing of material not fulfilling State bureaucratic, administrative or propagandistic requirements. Reference to the

33 AOM 6524B, 63-4, dated 16 July 1798, consisting of a letter of thanks from the French Government Commission to La Coretterie.

34 *Dialogo*, iv, 'La maniera con cui si va facendo la guerra, togliendole a' Francesi ogni sorta di comunicazione, li ha forzati ad esaurire tutte le risorse del Paese. Tanto meglio; dappoichè resteremo i padroni, i poveri saranno più facili a governare, che i ricchi, e quanto più un Popolo avrà sofferto da una rivolta tanto meno potrà rinnovarla. Se li Francesi poi trionferanno, avremo almeno piacere di lasciarli in uno stato di miseria, fintantochè gli riuscirà di trarre nuovi mezzi di sussistenza dal lor paese'.

35 Testa, 702.



Title-page of *Dialogo tra Alessandro Ball, ed il Marchese di Nizza* (Malta, n.d.)

publication of the almanacs for the years 1799 and 1800 have been traced and a copy of one actually seen by the present author (Appendix, items 64, 86). The local, regular publication of almanacs constituted a long-standing tradition, going back to the establishment of the State press in 1756. Otherwise no examples of the different genres of material published prior to June 1798, such as textbooks, histories, theological and devotional literature are known for the French period. The commissioning and indeed the printing of such and other material of a non-State concern cannot of course be completely excluded, but the indications are that it was very limited. The rising of the Maltese less than three months after the start of French rule and the consequent blockade may indeed have resulted in the total taking-over of the press and its resources for State use. Printing requirements submitted by the French military were indeed executed even if their financing came from such unrelated sources as the *Monte di Pietà*.³⁶

The dramatic changes brought about by the advent of the French revolutionary government on the island affected most spheres of Maltese life and institutions, including printing activity. The press was utilised by the State as a major means for the communication of change to an intensity previously unknown. The removal of all forms of Catholic control and the political situation both prior but especially following the Maltese rising made this both possible and desirable. The Maltese press, originally created by the *Ancien Régime* for the latter's consolidation was transformed, albeit for a brief period, into a primary tool for the dissemination of revolutionary change.

³⁶ AOM 6523D, 263, dated 16 September 1799 records the use of 322 *scudi* from the *Monte di Pietà* to the press as payment for the printing of military commissions. This payment coincides with the printing of *Recueil des lois, arrêtés du Directoire Exécutif et lettres du ministre de la guerre relatifs aux conseils de guerre et de revision* (Appendix, item 84), the largest printing undertaking during French rule.

APPENDIX

Bibliography of items printed in Malta during the French occupation³⁷

1798 (June-December)

1. CONVENTION / Arrêtée entre la République Française [sic] représentée / par le citoyen général en Chef BONAPARTE / d'un parte. / Et l'Ordre des Chevaliers de Saint Jean de Jerusa- / lem représentés par Messieur le Bailli Torino Frisari, le Commandeur Bosredon Ransijat, le Ba- / ron Mario Testaferrata, le Docteur Nicolas Mu- / scat, l'Avocat Benedetto Schenbri [sic], et le Conseil- / ler Bonanno, de l'autre [sic] part. / Et sous la médiation de sa Majesté Catholique / le Roi d'Espagne représentée par Monsieur le Che- / valier Philippe Amat son chargé d'affaires à Malte.
Numbered pages 2 to 4 with one unnumbered page preceding page 2: 330 x 215 mm. French text. Signed by representatives listed in title. Dated: *vingt quatre Prairial, an sixième de la République Française (12 Juin 1798. V.S.)*. Text of the Order's capitulation to the French.
Location: NLM Misc. 560 item 1; Parnis 727; MFA Gollcher Foundation; ACM Misc. 136, ff. 2-3.
Reference: Coll. 130-1.
 2. [BONAPARTE, GENERAL EN CHEF, / ORDONNE CE QUI SUIT.: BONAPARTE, GENERALE IN CAPITE, / ORDINA COME SEGUE.]
1 sheet. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *BONAPARTE, ALEXANDRE BERTHIER, VAUBOIS*. Undated, but order issued on 14 June 1798. Regarding the new administrative set-up for the island.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: Facsimile of item in Scicluna, foil. 90. The original, at the National Library of Malta, could not be traced. Coll. 132.
- ³⁷ Punctuation and capitalisation is reproduced as in the original or as given in the reference utilised. Square brackets indicate those items not traced in their original printed format but the printing of which is beyond reasonable doubt. Motif refers to the insertion of the French Republican logo. Coll. refers to *Collezione di Bandi, Prammatiche ed altri avvisi dell'Isola di Malta e sue dipendenze dal 17 luglio 1784 al 4 ottobre 1813* (Malta, 1840). Besides such material, the bibliography describes all other items known to have been printed in Malta during the period. The author gratefully acknowledges the help given by Ms Theresa Vella and Mr Dennis Vella of the Museum of Fine Arts in facilitating access to the Gollcher Foundation material.

3. [Liberté. Egalité / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / Au Quartier-général de Malte, le 28 Prairial an VI de la République. / BONAPARTE, membre de l'Institut National, Général en Chef, Ordonne: Libertà. Uguaglianza. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / Nel Quartiere generale di Malta, li 28 Prairial anno sesto della Repubblica. / BONAPARTE, membro dell'Istituto Nazionale Generale in Capite, Ordina:]
Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: Bonaparte, Alexandre Berthier, Vaubois. Dated as in title [16 June 1798].
A proclamation consisting of twelve articles issued by Bonaparte and printed by order of Vaubois in 300 copies for its distribution in all districts of the island.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: AOM 6523, 31-4, dated 19 June 1798. Coll. 132-3.
4. [Liberté. Egalité. / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / Au Quartier-général de Malte, le 28 Prairial an VI de la République. / BONAPARTE, membre de l'Institut National, Général en Chef, Ordonne: Libertà. Uguaglianza. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / Nel Quartiere generale di Malta, li 28 Prairial anno sesto della Repubblica. / BONAPARTE, Membro dell'Istituto Nazionale, Generale in Capite, Ordina:]
Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: Bonaparte, Alexandre Berthier, Vaubois. Dated as in title [16 June 1798].
A proclamation consisting of twelve articles issued by Bonaparte and printed by order of Vaubois in 300 copies for its distribution in all districts of the island.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: AOM 6523, 35-8, dated 19 June 1798. Coll. 133-4.
5. [listes imprimées de prétendus espions de l'ancien gouvernement]
Item referred to by the French Government Commission during its sitting of 21 June 1798, when it was decided that such printed lists of alleged spies in the service of the Order were to be removed from the places where they had been affixed for the sake of public tranquillity.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: AOM 6523, 45, dated 21 June 1798.
6. [Liberté. Egalité. / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT.-Extrait des Registres des Deliberations de la Commission de Gouvernement.-Séance du 7 Messidor au matin an 6 de la République Française à Malte le (24 Juin 1798. vieux stile.) / La Commission de Gouvernement, après avoir oui le rapport du Citoyen Astor, et entendu les observations du Commissaire du Gouvernement sur l'importation et le commerce de l'orge dans les Isles de

Malte et du Goze.-Arrête: COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO.-Estratto de'Registri delle Deliberazioni della Commissione di Governo.-Sessione de'7 Messidor alla mattina (24 Giugno 1798. vecchio stile.) / La Commissione di Governo dopo aver inteso la relazione del Cittadino Astor, e sentito le osservazioni del Commissario del Governo sull'importazione ed il commercio dell'Orzo nell'Isole di Malta e Gozo,-Ordina:]

Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: Bosredon Ransijat, Doublet, Libreri, Amabile Vella. Dated as in title. Regarding the importation of barley to the Maltese Islands.

Location: Untraced.

Reference: AOM 6523, 81-3. Coll. 135-6.

7. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT. Extrait des Registres des Deliberations de la / Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 8. Messidor au matin an 6. de / la République Française à la Cité de Malte / (26 Juin 1798. vieux stile.) / La Commission, après avoir entendu les / réclamations de plusieurs Citoyens et pris / l'avis du Commissaire du Gouvernement. / Arrête: COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO. Estratto de'Registri delle Deliberazioni della / Commissione del Governo. / Sessione de'8. Messidor di mattino anno 6. / della Repubblica Francese nella Città di / Malta (26. Giugno 1798. vecchio stile) / La commissione dopo aver inteso le / reclamazioni di molti Cittadini, e pre- / so il sentimento del Commissario del Go- / verno. / Stabilisce:

1 sheet: 340 x 225 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Doublet, LIBRERI, Amabile Vella. Dated as in title.

Regarding payments to be effected by the *Università*.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: AOM 6524B, 18.

8. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT. Extrait des Registres des Deliberations de la / Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 8. Messidor au matin an 6. de / la République Française, à la Cité de Malte / (26. Juin 1798. vieux stile.): Commissione di Governo. Estratto de'Registri delle Deliberazioni della / Commissione del Governo. / Sessione de'8 Messidor di Mattino anno 6. / della Repubblica Francese nella Città di Malta (26. Giugno 1798. vecchio stile.)
- 1 sheet: 330 x 225 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Doublet, LIBRERI, Amabile Vella. Dated as in title.

Establishing the value of the Spanish *piestra* at 27 Maltese *tari*.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: AOM 6523, 89-90, 6524B, 18-19; 150 copies printed to be distributed among all towns and villages of Malta and Gozo. Coll. 136-7.

9. [Liberté. Egalité. / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT.-Extrait des Registres des Deliberations de la Commission de Gouvernement.-Séance du 8 Messidor au soir an 6 de la République Française à la Cité de Malte (26 Juin 1798. vieux stile.) / La Commission de Gouvernement, voulant pourvoir d'un manière régulière et aussi prompte que ses nombreuses occupations le lui permettent, au moyen de satisfaire les Citoyens qui lui présentent des petitions, après avoir oui le Commissaire de Gouvernement,- Arrête:

COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO.-Estratto de'Registri delle Deliberazioni della Commissione del Governo.-Sessione degli 8 Messidoro alla sera dell'anno 6 della Repubblica Francese nella Città di Malta (26 Giugno 1798. vecchio stile.) / La Commissione del Governo volendo provvedere d'una maniera regolare e pronta per quanto le sue numerose occupazioni glielo permettono, al mezzo di soddisfare li cittadini che le presentano delle petizioni, dopo aver udito il Commissario del Governo,-Ordina:]

Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: Bosredon Ransijat, Doublet, Libreri, Amabile Vella. Dated as in title.

Regarding the submission of petitions to government.

Location: Untraced.

Reference: AOM 6523, 98-100. Coll. 138.

10. [Liberté. Egalité. / République Française / Etat Major de la Division de Malte / Au quartier général de Malte le 8. / Messidor an 6. de la République Française / une et indivisible. / Proclamation: Liberté. Egalité. / Repubblica Francese / Stato Maggiore della Divisione / di Malta. / Nel quartiere generale di Malta il di 8. / Messidor anno sesto della Rep. francese una / et indivisible (il di 26. giugno 1798. v.s.). / Proclama]

Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: Chanez. Dated as in title.

Regarding the formation of a company of veterans for those of fifty years and over.

Location: Untraced.

Reference: AOM 6523, 91, dated 26 June 1798.

11. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT. / Extrait des Registres des deliberations de / la Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance

du 9 Messidor au matin an 6. / de la République Française. A' Malte le 27. / Juin 1798. (vieux stile.): Estratto dei Registri delle deliberazioni / della Commissione di Governo. / Sessione dei 9. Messidoro di mattino anno / 6. della Repubblica Francese. Malta li 27. / Giugno 1798 (antico stile.)

1 sheet: 330 x 230 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Doublet, VAUBOIS, LIBRERI, Amabile Vella*. Dated as in title.

Regarding the return to the island of Maltese exiled during the Order's rule.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: AOM 6523, 101. Coll. 139.

12. [Liberté. Egalité / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT.-Extrait des Registres des Deliberations de la Commission de Gouvernement.-Séance du 9. Messidor au matin an 6 de la République Française à la Cité de Malte (27 Juin 1798. vieux stile.) / La Commission, prenant en considération les différens abus et actes arbitraires qui ont pu se commettre depuis quelque tems tant au Goze que dans les Campagnes de l'Isle de Malte, après avoir consulté le Général de Division Vaubois et entendu le Commissaire du Gouvernement.-Arrête: COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO.-Estratto de' Registri delle Deliberazioni della Commissione del Governo.-Sessione dell' 9 Messidoro di mattino dell'anno 6 della Repubblica Francese nella Città di Malta (27 Giugno 1798 vecchio stile.) / La Commissione prendendo in considerazione li differenti abusi, et atti arbitrarj, che hanno potuto commettersi da qualche tempo si nel Gozo, che nelle differenti campagne dell'Isola di Malta, dopo aver consultato il Generale di Divisione Vaubois, ed inteso il Commissario del Governo.-Stabilisce:]

Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *Bosredon Ransijat, Doublet, Libreri, Amabile Vella*. Dated as in title.

Regarding administrative practices in Gozo and the countryside municipalities. Location: Untraced.

Reference: AOM 6523, 108-9, 6524B, 18. Coll. 138-9.

13. [Liberté Egalité / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT.-Extrait des Régistres des délibérations de la Com- / mission de Gouvernement.-Seance du 11 Messidor au soir de l'an 6. de la Ré- / publique Française à la Cité de Malte (29 Juin 1798. (vieux stile.): Libertà Uguaglianza / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO.-Sessione dei 11 Messidoro di Sera dell'anno 6 della Repub- / blica Francese nella Città di Malta il 29 Giugno 1798. (antico stile.)]

Parallel French and Italian [?] text. Signed: *Bosredon Ransijat, Doublet, Libreri,*

Amabile Vella. Dated as in title.

Regarding requests for copies of notarial and court records. Location: Untraced. Reference: AOM 6524B, 20. Coll. 139-40.

14. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / Alla Cité de Malte 13. Messidor an 6. (le 1. Juillet 1798.) / La Commission de Gouvernement de l'Isle de Malte et Goze à la / Municipalité de l'Ouest. / Citoyens: / La Commission de Gouvernement sur la requisition du Commissaire du Gouvernement Français vous envoie l'ar / rête ci-joint pour que vous le fassiez imprimer et afficher à / tous les coins et Carefours de votre arrondissement. Il est relatif / aux traces et emblèmes de l'ancien gouvernement féodal qu'il / est pressant de faire entierement disparoître.: Nella città di Malta 13. Messidoro, anno 6. (1 Luglio 1798.) / La Commissione del Governo delle Isole di Malta e Go- / zo, alla Municipalità dell'Ouest. / Cittadini: / La Commissione del Governo, in seguito della domanda / del Commissario del Governo Francese vi rimette la / determinazione qui unita, perché voi la facciate stampare ed / affiggere in tutt'i Cantoni e Piazze del vostro distretto. E' / relativa alle tracce, ed emblemi dell'antico governo feudale / che é molto necessario di fare intieramente togliere. 1 sheet: 450 x 335 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *Bosredon Ransijat, Doublet, Libreri, Amabile Vella*. Actual text of enactment signed: *Regnaud de Saint Jean d'Angely, Doublet, Libreri, Amabile Vella*. Dated as in title.

Regarding the removal of the symbols of the Order and their substitution by those of the French Republic.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: AOM 6523, 132-4, 6524B, 20. Coll. 140-1.

15. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT. / Extrait des Registres des Deliberations de la / Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 13. Messidor au matin de l'an 6. de / la République Française à Malte le 1. Juillet [sic] / 1798 (vieux stile.): COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO. / Estratto de' Registri delle Deliberazioni della / Commissione del Governo. / Sessione dei 13. Messidoro di mattino dell'anno 6. della Repubblica Francese in Malta il 1. / Luglio 1798 (antico stile.)

1 sheet: 440 x 315 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Doublet, LIBRERI, Amabile Vella*. Dated as in title.

Regarding the celebration of the 14th of July.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 13; MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: AOM 6523, 134-6, 6524B, 20. Coll. 141.

16. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / AU QUARTIER GENERAL DE MALTE. / Le 14 Messidor, 2 juillet 1798 v. s. an 6 de la République française, une et indivisible. / VAUBOIS GENERAL de division, Commandant en Chef dans les Isles de Malte / et du Gozo. / AU PEUPLE MALTAIS: AL QUARTIERE GENERALE DI MALTA / Anno sesto della Repubblica Francese / una ed indivisibile / VAUBOIS GENERALE IN CAPITALE NELLE ISOLE DI MALTA / E GOZO / Al Popolo Maltese
1 sheet: 450 x 295 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: VAUBOIS. Dated as in title.
Regarding the celebration of the 14th of July.
Location: Mr Stephen Degiorgio collection, Malta.
Reference: Coll. 142.
17. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT. / Extrait des Registres des Délibérations de la / Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 18. Messidor au soir de l'an 6 de / la République française, à Malte, le 6 juillet / 1798. (vieux stile.): Estratto dei Registri delle Deliberazioni della / Commissione del Governo. / Sessione de 18. Messidoro di sera anno 6. della / Rep. Francese. Malta li 6. Luglio 1798. / (vecchio stile.) printed motif. Signed: BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Doublet, LIBRERI, AMABILE VELLA. Dated as in title.
Regarding the burning of titles of nobility during the celebration of the 14th of July.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 16.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 18-19. Coll. 142-3.
18. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ / Extrait des Registres des Délibérations de la / Commission de Gouvernement. A Malte le 18. / Messidor, de l'an 6. / Estratto dai Registri delle deliberazioni della / Commissione del Governo. A Malta li 18. Messidor, dell'anno 6.
1 sheet: 405 x 295 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: REGNAUD DE S. JEAN D'ANGELY, Doublet, LIBRERI, Amabile Vella. Dated as in title [6 July 1798].
Regarding the abolition of dues paid by peasants.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 17.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 27-8, 6524B, 32. Coll. 144.
19. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ / Le Citoyen REGNAUD DE SAINT JEAN / D'ANGELY Commissaire du Gouvernement / Français pour les Isles de Malte et Goze.: Il Cittad° REGNAUD S. JEAN D'ANGELY / Commissario del

- Governo Francese per le Isole / di Malta e Gozo.
1 sheet: 450 x 335 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: REGNAUD DE S. JEAN D'ANGELY, BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Doublet, LIBRERI, Amabile Vella. Dated: 18. Messidor an 6. de la République Française: 18 Messidor anno 6. della Repubblica Francese [6 July 1798].
Regarding the adoption of French law concerning rights of offsprings.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 18.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 31-3, 6524B, 34. Coll. 144-5.
20. [Libertà Eguaglianza / Repubblica Francese / Città di Malta 24. Messidor anno 6 / Alla Municipalità del Naxaro.]
Italian text. Signed: Bosredon Ransijat, Doublet. Dated as in title [12 July 1798].
A letter from the French Government Commission regarding a clash of jurisdiction between the Naxxar and Notabile municipalities.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: AOM 6524B, 53.
21. [Libertà Eguaglianza / Repubblica Francese / Città di Malta 24 Messidor di sera an 6 / Alla Municipalità di Città Vecchia.]
Italian text. Signed: Bosredon Ransijat, Doublet. Dated as in title [12 July 1798]. A letter from the French Government Commission regarding a clash of jurisdiction between the Naxxar and Notabile municipalities.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: AOM 6524B, 54.
22. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT. / Extrait des Registres des délibérations de la Com- / mission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 25. Messidor au matin de l'an 6. de / la République Française. A Malte le 13. Juillet / 1798. (vieux stile.): Estratto dei Registri delle deliberazioni della Com- / missione del governo. / Sessione de' 25. Messidoro di mattino anno 6. / della Repubblica Francese. Malta 13. Luglio 1798. (antico stile.)
1 sheet: 445 x 330 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Doublet, LIBRERI, Amabile Vella. Dated as in title.
An invitation to those Maltese who wished their country to become a French department to express themselves in writing accordingly.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 19; MFA Gollcher Foundation.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 93, 6524B, 60-1. Coll. 148.

23. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ / LE COMMISSAIRE DU GOUVERNEMENT / FRANÇOIS ARRETE:
1 sheet: 445 x 325 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *Regnaud de Saint Jean D'ANGELY, Doublet, LIBRERI, Amabile Vella*. Dated: A MALTE le 25. Messidor An VI.: Malta li 25. Messidoro Anno VI. [13 July 1798].
Regarding the regulation of laws of succession according to French law.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 20.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 103-4.
24. LIBERTÀ. [motif] EGUAGLIANZA. / LA COMMISSION DU GOUVERNEMENT / DES ISLES DE MALTE ET GOZE / A SES CONCITOYENS.
1 sheet: 450 x 320 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Unsigned. Undated.
Regarding the celebration of the 14th of July.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 14.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 99-103.
25. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / PROGRAMME / DE LA FETE du 14 Juillet. A MALTE.
1 sheet: 400 x 295 mm. French text. Features Republican printed motif. Unsigned. Undated.
Regarding the celebration of the 14th of July.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 15; MFA Gollcher Foundation.
26. [GHAGNA TA TRIONFI / TAL-LIBERTÀ]
1 sheet. Maltese text. Unsigned. Undated but most probably composed on the occasion of the 14th of July 1798.
An anti-Order, pro-French diatribe and the only known example of printing in the Maltese language during the French period.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: Facsimile of item in Scicluna, foll. 71, from a private collection.
27. [CANZONA PER IL GIORNO FESTIVO / DELLA LIBERTÀ.]
1 sheet. Italian text. Unsigned. Undated but most probably composed on the occasion of the 14th of July 1798.
An anti-Order, pro-French diatribe similar though not identical to the one in Maltese.

- Location: Untraced.
Reference: Facsimile of item in Scicluna, foll. 58, from a private collection.
28. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / COMMISSION DU GOUVERNEMENT / Extrait des registres des délibérations de la Commission / du Gouvernement. / Séance du 30. Messidor, au matin de l'An VI. / de la REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE. / A MALTE LE 18. JUILLET 1798. (VIEUX STILE) / LA COMMISSION DU GOUVERNEMENT, CONSIDERANT:
1 sheet: 400 x 300 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features Republican printed motif. Signed: *BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Doublet*. Dated as in title.
Imposition of a tax on imported cotton.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 7.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 183-4, 6524B, 73. Coll. 148-9.
29. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / INSTRUCTIONS POUR LES TRIBUNAUX CIVILS ET CRIMINELS, / ET POUR LES JUGES DE PAIX.
1 sheet: 580 x 540 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *REGNAUD DE SAINT JEAN D'ANGELY, BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Doublet*. Undated.
Regarding the administration of the civil and criminal tribunals and the justices of the peace.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 8.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 192-205, dated 20 July 1798. Coll. 145-8.
30. Liberté. [motif] Egalité. / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / Extrait des Registres de la Commission / de Gouvernement. / Séance du 3. Thermidor an 6. (21. Juillet 1798.): Estratto dei Registri della Commissione / di Governo. seduta delli 3. Termidor an 6. / (21. Luglio 1798.)
1 sheet: 420 x 295 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Unsigned. Dated as in title.
Regarding public fountains.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 9.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 213-8.
31. Liberté. [motif] Egalité. / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT / Extrait des Registres des délibérations de la Commission de Gouvernement / Séance du 5. Thermidor de l'an VI. de la République Française / A Malte le 23. Juillet 1798 (vieux stile.)
1 sheet: 570 x 405 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican

- printed motif. Unsigned. Dated as in title.
Regarding the trade in cotton.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 11.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 258-60, 6524B, 113.
32. [A'la Municipalitè de l'Ouest]
French text. Signed: Bosredon Ransijat, Doublet.
Regarding the use of French colours on the city's public edifices.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: AOM 6524B, 92, dated 25 July 1798.
33. LIBERTÀ. [motif] EGUAGLIANZA. / DISCORSO DEL COMMISSARIO DEL GOVERNO / fatto nell'istallazione de' Tribunali.
1 sheet: 330 x 230 mm. Italian text. Unsigned and undated.
Address to newly-appointed judges by D'Angely on 26 July 1798.
Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 274-6, described as being printed in Italian for its distribution to judges; 6524B, 90.
34. [La Commissione di Governo / Al Cittadino Chappelle Giudice di / Pace sul Cantone di Zebbug]
Italian text. Signed: Bosredon Ransijat, Doublet.
Appointment of Chappelle as Justice of the Peace for Zebbug.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: AOM 6524B, 120-1, dated 26 July 1798.
35. LIBERTÀ. [motif] EGUAGLIANZA. / REGOLAMENTO PROPOSTO / PER LA VENDITA DE' DOMINI NAZIONALI. / Il Commissario del Governo considerando esser cosa assai giusta il procurare ed assicu- / rare a tutt' i Cittadini Maltesi, e particolarmente agli abitanti della Campagna la facoltà di / diventar proprietarj coll'acquisto di Beni Nazionali, propone i seguenti Articoli.
1 sheet: 450 x 320 mm. Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif.
Signed: *Roussel, Caruson, M. Poussieltgue, VAUBOIS, REGNAUD DE SAINT JEAN D'ANGELY.* Dated: *otto Thermidor l'anno sesto della Repubblica / Francese.* [26 July 1798].
Proposal and conditions for the sale of public immovable property.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 12. Copy has an additional note in manuscript: *XIV. Sara' fatto un regolamento particolare per li magazzeni alia marina, e di St. Lucia.*

36. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / PROCLAMATION / LA COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT / A TOUS LES NÉGOCIANS MALTAIS
1 sheet: 590 x 560mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *Regnaud de Saint-Jean-d'Angely.* Dated: *12 Thermidor, an sixième de la République Française: 12 Thermidor, anno sesto della Repubblica Francese* [30 July 1798].
Instructions on the election of judges for the commercial courts and the establishment of a *Tribunale Consolare.*
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 4.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 306-14. Coll. 149-51.
37. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / Extrait des Régistres de la Commission de / Gouvernement. Séance du 12. Thermidor an 6. / (30. Juillet 1798.): Estratto de' Registri della Commissione di Gover- / no. Sessione de' 12. Thermidor, anno 6. (30. Lu- / glio 1798.)
1 sheet: 410 x 229 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *REGNAUD, de Saint-Jean-d'Angely, Doublet.* Dated: *11 Thermidor, an sixième de la République Française.: 11. Thermidor anno 6. della Repubblica Francese.*
Regarding the regulation and registration of marriages.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 2.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 314-7. Coll. 151.
38. [Arrête concernant le traitement des Juges gressiers et huissiers des tribunaux] Parallel French and Italian text. Unsigned. Undated.
Regarding the local judicial system.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 322, dated 31 July 1798. Text given, consisting of 8 articles.
39. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT. / Extrait des Registres des Délibérations de la / Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 16. Thermidor, de l'an 6. de la Ré- / publique Française. A Malte, le 3. Août 1798, (v. s.): Estratto de' Registri delle Deliberazioni della Com- / missione di Governo. / Sessione de' 16. Thermidor dell'anno 6. della Re- / pubblica Francese. A Malta li 3. Agosto 1798. (v. s.)
1 sheet: 420 x 295 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Doublet.* Dated as in title.
Regarding the required permits for the opening and running of businesses.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 2.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 344-5. Coll. 152.

40. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT. / Extrait des Régistres des Délibérations de la Commission du Gouvernement. / Séance du 22. Thermidor, de l'an 6. de la République Française. / A Malte, le 9 Août 1798, (vieux stile.): Estratto de' Registri delle Deliberazioni della Commissione di Governo. / Seduta del 22. Termidor, del anno 6. della Repubblica Francese. / In Malta il dì 9. Agosto. (vecchio stile.)
1 sheet: 410 x 300 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Doublet. Dated as in title. Regarding Maltese creditors to members of the Order who had left the island. Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 375. Coll. 152.
41. LETTERA PASTORALE. / NOS FR. VINCENTIUS LABINI, / Dei, et Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae gratia, Archiepiscopus Rhodi, / Episcopus Melitae.
1 sheet: 330 x 225 mm. Unsigned. Dated: mensis Augusti, an. 1798.
Pastoral Letter issued by Bishop Labini on 13 August regarding the French administration. Text of pastoral was also reproduced in issue 4 of *Journal de Malte*, 16-18.
Location: NLM BO-4-42 item 6.
42. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / Extrait des Régistres de la Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 27. Thermidor an 6.: Estratto de' Registri della Commissione di Governo. / Sessione delli 27. Thermidor anno 6. [14 August 1798].
1 sheet: 420 x 580 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: REGNAUD de Saint-Jean-d'Angely. Dated: Malte le 25. Thermidor an six.: Malta il dì 25. Termidor anno sesto. [12 August 1798]. Regarding practices in the administration of justice.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 10.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 400-6. Coll. 153-4.
43. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / Extrait des Régistres de la Commission de Gouvernement / Séance du 30. Thermidor (17 Aout 1798.): Estratto dai Registri della Commissione di Governo / Sessione del dì 30. Termidor (17. Agosto 1798.)
1 sheet: 420 x 560 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Doublet. Dated as in

title. Regarding the granting of licences for the exercise of a business or profession.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 3.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 416-7. Coll. 154-6.

44. LIBERTÀ. [motif] EGUGLIANZA. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / IL COMMISSARIO DEL GOVERNO FRANCESE CONSIDERANDO:
1 sheet: 420 x 330 mm. Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: REGNAUD DE SAINT JEAN D'ANGELY. Dated: 2. Fructidor anno sesto. [19 August 1798].
Regarding the administration of marriage legacies.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 24.
45. [La Commission du Gouvernement considérant que suivant les principes de la justice, et les lois françaises positives, les citoyens servans employés dans les armées de terre, et de mer, ne peuvent être inquiétés dans leurs Biens ni dans leurs familles, pendant leurs absence. Arrête.]
Signed: Reynaud de St. Jean D'Angely. Dated Malte le 2. fructidor an Six [19 August 1798].
Regarding the protection of the property and families of Maltese employed in the armed forces of the French Republic.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: AOM 6523C, 2-3. During the session held on 20 August, the French Government Commission ordered the item's publication, printing, registration and dispatch to all tribunals and parish priests in Malta and Gozo.
46. Libertà. [motif] Eguaglianza. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE.
1 sheet: 400 x 285 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: REGNAUD de Saint-Jean-d'Angely. Dated: 3. Fructidor an 6.: 3. Fructidor, anno 6. [20 August 1798].
Regarding the abolition of three-generation leases.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 25.
Reference: AOM 6523C, 4-5. Coll. 156.
47. LIBERTÀ. [motif] EGUALIANZA. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / Il Commissario del Governo Francese, considerando che lo stabilimen- / to del Monte di Pietà e istituito particolarmente per i poveri. / Che tutta la cura del Governo deve tendere a fargli seguire questo destino. / Cha la Commissione del Governo deve esercitare su di questo stabilimen- / to una vigilanza attiva, e giornaliera. / ORDINA.
1 sheet: 370 x 250 mm. Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif.

Signed: *REGNAUD de Saint-Jean d'Angely*. Dated: [blank] *Fructidor anno 6*. [August 1798].

Regarding the administration of the *Monte di Pietà*.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 23.

Reference: AOM 6523C, 17-20, item dated 4 *Fructidor* [21 August 1798].

48. LIBERTE. [motif] EGALITE. / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / LE COMMISSAIRE DU GOUVERNEMENT.

1 sheet: 445 x 320 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *REGNAUD de Saint-Jean-d'Angely*. Dated: 5 *fructidor an 6*: 5. *Fructidor anno 6* [22 August 1798].

Regarding the administration of public property and the collection of public dues.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: Coll. 157-8.

49. [LIBERTE. [motif] EGALITE. / PROCLAMATION. / Le Général de division et le Commissaire du / Gouvernement à l'Armée et aux Citoyens de / Malte.: Il Generale di Divisione, ed il Commissario / del Governo all' Armata ed ai Cittadini di / Malta.]

1 sheet. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif.

Signed: *VAUBOIS, REGNAUD de Saint-Jean d'Angely*. Undated, but post-2 August 1798.

Regarding the French military victories in Egypt and their naval defeat at Aboukir.

Location: Untraced.

Reference: Facsimile of item in A. Ganado, J. C. Sammut, *Malta in British and French Caricature, 1798-1815* (Malta, 1989), 27. Item had reported the death of the British admiral Horatio Nelson. Besides being printed as a single sheet, this item was reproduced in issue 8 of *Journal de Malte*, 35-6.

50. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / ARRÊTÉ / SUR LES BAUX A TROIS VIES.

1 sheet: 450 x 294 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *REGNAUD de Saint-Jean-d'Angely*. Dated: 15. *Fructidor, an 6 de la / République: li 15. Fructidor anno 6. della Repubblica* [1 September 1798].

Regarding changes in the duration of leases.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: Coll. 156-7.

51. Libertà. [motif] Eguaglianza. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / EXTRAIT des

Registres des Jugements ren- / dus par la Commission Militaire établie / a Malte, en vertu d'un arrêté du Conseil / de Guerre séant audit Malte en date, du / 18 Fructidor an 6.: ESTRATTO dai Registri del Giudizio fatto / dalla Commissione Militare stabilita in / Maltain virtù di un Decreto del Consi- / glio di Guerra in data del 18. Fructidor / anno 6.

1 sheet: 440 x 330 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *Baillif, Paillard, Despauce, Rougeul, Olivier*. Dated: *dix-neuf Fructidor, an 6.e Républicaine: 19 Fructidor anno 6. Repubblicano* [5 September 1798].

Death sentence passed on Dominican lay brother Domenico Falzon d'Agosta.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

52. LIBERTÀ. [motif] EGUAGLIANZA. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / ESTRATTO DE' REGISTRI DELLA COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO. / Sessione de' 20. Fructidor anno 6. della Repubblica Francese. / Il Commissario del

Governo Francese in seguito della nomina fatta del Notaro Ema- / nuele Cachia incaricato generalmente per tutt' i Depositi de queste Isole di Malta, e / Gozo, per

tutt' i Maestri d'Atti, Cancellieri, Mastri Notari, Attuarj, ed altri qual- / sian persone, che tengono a nome dei Tribunali sì antichi, che moderni depositi, / o in danaro, o in effetti. / DECRETA.

1 sheet: 450 x 300 mm. Italian text. Signed: *REGNAUD de Saint-Jean-d'Angely, Doublet*. Dated: 20 *Fructidor anno 6. della Repubblica*. [6 September 1798].

Regarding the regulation of Court deposits in cash and in kind.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: AOM 6523B, 368-70.

53. ARRÊTÉ / DU CONSEIL DE GUERRE.: DECRETO / DEL CONSIGLIO DI GUERRA.

1 sheet: 330 x 220 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *VAUBOIS*. Dated: 26 *Fructidor, an 6. (12 / Septembre 1798. vieux stile.): 26. Fructidor anno 6. (12. / Settembre 1798 v. st.)*

Regarding the lifting of fishing prohibition.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: Coll. 160-1.

54. ARRÊTÉ / DU CONSEIL DE GUERRE: DECRETO / DEL CONSIGLIO DI GUERRA

1 sheet: 335 x 220 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *VAUBOIS*.

Dated: 28 *Fructidor, an 6. de la République Française: 28. Fructidor, anno 6. Della Repubblica Francese* [14 September 1798]

Regarding the recruitment of all sailors.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: Coll. 161.

55. PROCLAMATION / Le Conseil de Guerre, convoqué par / le Général Vaubois, Commandant en / chef les Isles de Malte et Goze, vou- / lant prouver aux Maltais que les Fran- / çais ont la plus grande attention à ce / que les coups qu'ils portent, ne tombent jamais sur des personnes qui ne / sont point coupables, et voulant en même tems donner un moyen sûr de / reconnaître les citoyens paisibles.: Il Consiglio di Guerra riunito per or- / dine del Generale Vaubois Comandante in Capite le isole di Malta e del Gozo, / volendo provare a Maltesi, che I Fran- / cesi hanno la più grand'attenzione di far / che le misure che prendono non cadessero / mai, sopra quelle persone, che non sono colpevoli. E volendo nell'istesso mentre, / dare un mezzo sicuro, onde riconoscere i / Cittadini pacifici. 1 sheet: 335 x 215 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: VAUBOIS. Dated: 29. *Fructidor, an 6. De la République Française.: 29 Fructidor, anno 6. Della Repubblica Francese.* [15 September 1798]. Regarding the precautions to be taken in case of insurrection. Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation. Reference: Coll. 161-2.
56. PROCLAMATION / LE GENERAL DE DIVISION / VAUBOIS, / COMMANDANT EN CHEF.: IL GENERALE DI DIVISIONE / VAUBOIS, / COMANDANTE IN CAPITE. / CONSIDÉRANT que plusieurs Maltais ont / montré le désir de sortir de la ville, et d'aller / dans la campagne, / Que si ces citoyens ont des intentions pures, / ils serait injuste de les retenir, / Que s'ils en ont de perfides, les Français / ont assez de forces, de courage et de ressources / pour ne les pas craindre, / ARRETE: Considerando, che molti Maltesi hanno mo- / stato il desiderio di uscire dalla Città, e di / andare nella Campagna. / Che, se questi Cittadini hanno delle intenzio- / ni pure, sarebbe ingiusto di ritenerli. / Che, se hanno delle perfide intenzioni, I Fran- / cesi hanno abbastanza forze, coraggio, e risorse / per non temerli. / DECRETA 1 sheet: 330 x 230 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: VAUBOIS. Dated: 9 *Vendémiaire, an 7. De la République Française.: 9. Vendémiaire, anno 7. della Repubblica Francese.* (30. Settembre 1798.) Regarding Maltese wishing to leave the city for the countryside. Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation. Reference: Coll. 162.

57. LIBERTE. [motif] EGALITE. / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / PROCLAMA / Le Général de division et le commis- / saire du Gouvernement ayant appris qu'il / s'était repandu des bruits de réquisitions de / denrées illégalement exercées sur les ci / toyens par des autorités civiles, et voulant / prendre un moyen prompt de vérifier si / ces bruits sont fondés. / ARRETENT: Il Generale di Divisione, ed il Commissario del Governo avendo inteso, chesi so- / no sparsi de' rumori di requisizioni di comme- / stibili illegalmente fatte in casa de' Citta- / dini da alcane [sic] autorità costituite, e volen- / do prendere un mezzo di verificare, se que- / sti rumori sono fondati. / DECRETANO: 1 sheet: 330 x 220 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: VAUBOIS, REGNAUD de S. Jean D'Angely. Dated: 27 *Vendémiaire, an 7 de la / République française.: 27 Vendémiaire anno 7. Della Repubblica Francese* [18 October 1798]. Regarding confiscations from private residences in the city. Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation. Reference: AOM 6523C, 169; 6524B, 248-9, 60 copies were to be affixed in prominent places in the East and West municipalities. Coll. 163.
58. LIBERTE. EGALITE. / EXTRAIT / Des registres des délibérations de la Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 28 Vendémiaire de l'an 7, à Malte, le 19 / Octobre 1798. (vieux stile.) / La commission de gouvernement arrête que l'extract des arrêtés du / Général en chef BONAPARTE, à l'exécution desquels elle a dû concourir / et a coopéré effectivement, sera imprimé avec des notes explicatives / de ce qui a été fait en conséquence, et envoyé aux autorités constituées. Numbered pages 2 to 8 with one unnumbered page preceding page 2: 260 x 185 mm. French text. Signed: BOSREDON RANSIJAT, DOUBLET. Dated as in title. An annotated collection of orders issued by Bonaparte during his stay on the island, dated 16 and 18 June 1798. Location: NLM BQ-5-34. Reference: AOM 6523C, 170-7.
59. LIBERTÉ. EGALITÉ / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / Extrait du registres de la Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 16 Brumaire an 7, à Malte le 6 / Novembre 1798. (v. st.) / La commission après avoir entendu la lecture d'une lettre / que lui a écrit hier le général de division VAUBOIS, en a / ordonné l'enregistrement, et pris un Arrêté pour en / faire exécuter toutes les dispositions. / Cette lettre et cet arrêté sont conçus comme il suit: / Au quartier général de Malte le 15 Brumaire, an 7 de la / République française, une et indivisible. / VAUBOIS, général de division, commandant en chef les Isles de Malte et du

Goze. / A LA COMMISSION DU GOUVERNEMENT.: Estratto de' registri della Commissione / di Governo. / Sessione de' 16 Brumaire anno 7. Malta 6. / Novembre 1798. (v. st.) / La Commissione dopo lettura fatta della lettera scrittale / jeri dal Generale di Divisione VAUBOIS, ha ordinato che / sarebbe registrata, e fatto un decreto per farla eseguire in tutte le sue disposizioni. / Questa Lettera, e questo Decreto sono concepiti come siegue: / Dal Quartiere Generale di Malta il 15 Brumario anno 7. / della Repubblica Francese una et indivisibile. / VAUBOIS Generale di Divisione Comandante in Capite nelle / Isole di Malta, e del Gozo. / ALLA COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO.

1 sheet: 450 x 600 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *Vaubois, Doublet, Bosredon Ransijat*. Dated as in title.

Regarding the confiscation of goods deposited in the *Monte di Pietà*.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: AOM 6523C, 213-4. Coll. 165-6.

60. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ / RÈPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT. / Extrait des registres aux délibérations de la / Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance de 30 Brumaire de l'an 7, à / Malte le [blank] 1798. (v. st.): Estratto de' Registri delle deliberazioni del- / la Commissione di Governo. / Sessione de' 30 Brumaire dell'anno 7.

1 sheet: 330 x 225 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Breuvert, VAUBOIS, Breuvert*. Dated as in title [20 November 1798].

Regarding the withdrawal of the 3rd *Fructidor* [20 August] 1798 enactment abolishing leases for three generations.

Location: MFA Gollcher donation.

Reference: AOM 6523C, 271-2. Coll. 168.

61. [Liberté Egalité / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT.-Extrait des Registres des délibérations de la Com- / mission de Gouvernement.-Séance du 25 Brumaire de l'an 7, à Malte le 15 No- / vembre 1798. (v.s.): Libertà Uguaglianza / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO.-Estratto de' Registri delle Deliberazioni della Com- / missione di Governo.-Seduta dei 25 Brumaire dell'anno 7. A Malta il 15 No- / vembre 1798. (v.st.)]

Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *Bosredon Ransijat, Breuvert*. Dated as in title.

Regarding the withdrawal of items from the *Monte di Pietà*.

Location: Untraced.

Reference: AOM 6523C, 249-50. Coll. 167.

62. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT. / Extrait des registres aux délibérations de la / Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 4 Frimaire de l'an 7., à / Malte le 24 Novembre 1798. (v. s.): Estratto de' Registri delle deliberazioni del- / la Commissione di Governo. / Sessione de' 4. Frimaire dell'anno 7. / A Malta il 24. Novembre 1798. (v. s.)

1 sheet: 330 x 220 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Breuvert, VAUBOIS*. Dated as in title.

Regarding the revocation of French legislation pertaining to the *Tribunale Consolare*, dated 30 July 1798.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 34.

Reference: Coll. 169.

63. REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT / EXTRAIT des Registres aux Oélibérations de la Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 11 Frimaire, an 7 de la République française, le 1. er Decembre 1798 (vieux style.)

1 sheet: 580 x 405 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Breuvert, VAUBOIS*. Dated as in title.

Regarding the administration of justice.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 35.

Reference: Coll. 169-70.

64. [Lunario, Calendario e Pronostico Nuovo per l'anno 1799]Featured both the Gregorian and Republican calendars. Comprised only those saints having a particular connection with Malta.

Location: Untraced.

Reference: G. Gatt, 'Li Stampa f' Malta u l'euuel cotba bil Malti', *Labour Opinion*, 9.10.1924.

1799

65. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / VAUBOIS, / GÉNÉRAL DE DIVISION, / Commandant en Chef les Isles de Malte et du Goze. / Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 19 Nivose, an 7 de la / République Française.

1 sheet: 450 x 330 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *VAUBOIS*. Dated as in title [8 January 1799].

Regarding a sale of items held by the *Monte di Pietà*.

- Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 38.
Reference: Coll. 171.
66. LIBERTÉ EGALITÉ / ARMÉE DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE / DIVISION DE MALTE / PAR ORDRE DU GÉNÉRAL VAUBOIS. / AU NOM DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE / FRANÇAISE
1 sheet: 460 x 330 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *Martel*. Undated.
Text of sentence passed against Gulliemo Lorenzi, on 14 January 1799.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 39.
67. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ. / VAUBOIS, / GÉNÉRAL DE DIVISION, / Commandant en Chef les Isles de Malte et du Goze. / Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 26 Nivose, an 7 de la / République Française.
1 sheet: 445 x 330 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *VAUBOIS, BROUARD*. Dated as in title [15 January 1799].
Precautions to be taken following the failed plot to overthrow the French in Valletta.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 40.
Reference: Coll. 172.
68. Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 28 Nivose, an 7 de la / République Française. / VAUBOIS, / GÉNÉRAL DE DIVISION, / Commandant en Chef les Isles de Malte et du Goze. / ORDONNE CE QUI SUIT: ORDINA CIÒ CHE SIEGUE.
1 sheet: 345 x 240 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *VAUBOIS, BROUARD*. Dated as in title [17 January 1799].
Precautions to be taken following the failed plot to overthrow the French in Valletta.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 41.
Reference: Coll. 172.
69. AU NOM DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 18 Pluviôse, an 7 de la République Française. / PROCLAMATION. / VAUBOIS, / GÉNÉRAL DE DIVISION / Commandant en Chef les Isles de Malte et du Goze.
1 sheet: 450 x 330 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *VAUBOIS*.
Dated as in title [6 February 1799].
Regarding the registration of individuals holding property belonging to those outside the cities.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 42.
Reference: Coll. 173.

70. LIBERTÉ. / EGALITÉ. / AU NOM DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 18 Pluviôse, an 7 de la République Française. / VAUBOIS, / GÉNÉRAL DE DIVISION / Commandant en Chef les Isles de Malte et du Goze.
1 sheet: 400 x 295 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *VAUBOIS*.
Dated as in title [6 February 1799].
A decree of the French Directory regarding piracy.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 43.
71. REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 20 Pluviôse, an 7 de la / République Française. / ORDRE / DU JOUR DE LA DIVISION / CONCERNANT la formation de deux / Compagnies de Gardes Nationales.
1 sheet: 330 x 225 mm. French text. Signed: *VAUBOIS, BROUARD, CHANEZ*.
Dated as in title [8 February 1799]. A *MALTE. J. BERNERON, Imprimeur de l'Armée*.
Regarding the formation of two companies of National Guard.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 44.
72. LIBERTÉ. EGALITÉ. / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / COMMISSION / DE GOUVERNEMENT / EXTRAIT DES REGISTRES DES DELIBERATIONS DE LA / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT. / Séance du premier Ventôse, an 7 de la République Française, et 19 Février 1799, / (vieux style.)
1 sheet: 450 x 305 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *BOSREDON RANSIJAT, VAUBOIS, Breuvert*. Dated as in title.
Regarding the administration of justice.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 45.
Reference: Coll. 173-4.
73. AU NOM DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / PROCLAMATION / Au Quartier-Général, le 6. Germinal / an 7 de la République Française, une et Indivisible / VAUBOIS / GENERAL DE DIVISION / COMMANDANT EN CHEF LES ISLES DE MALTE ET DU GOZE.
1 sheet: 440 x 320 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *VAUBOIS*.
Dated as in title [26 March 1799]. A *MALTE. JPH. BERNERON, Imprimeur de l'Armée*.
Regarding the fixing of prices for foodstuffs.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 26.
74. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ / Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 20 Germinal, an 7 de la République. / PROCLAMATION / VAUBOIS / GÉNÉRAL DE

DIVISION, / Commandant en Chef dans les Isles de Malte et du Goze.

1 sheet: 450 x 330 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: VAUBOIS. Dated as in title [9 April 1799]. *A MALTE, JPH. BERNERON, Imprimeur de la Division.*

Regarding the *Monte di Pietà*.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 27.

75. LIBERTÉ [motif] EGALITÉ / Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 5 Floréal, an 7 de la République. / PROCLAMATION / VAUBOIS / GÉNÉRAL DE DIVISION, / Commandant en Chef dans les Isles de Malte et du Goze.
1 sheet: 455 x 330 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: VAUBOIS. Dated as in title [24 April 1799]. *A MALTE, DE L'IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE. J. Mallia, Directeur. 1799.*
Regarding the use of gold and silver ignots.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 28.
Reference: Coll. 174.
76. JUGEMENT / RENDU PAR LE CONSEIL DE GUERRE / PROVENANT DE LA DIVISION DE MALTE ET DU GOZE. / AU NOM DU PEUPLE FRANÇAIS
1 sheet: 590 x 420 mm. French text. Signed: CASTINEL. Dated: 9 floréal, an 7 de la République française. [28 April 1799]. *A MALTE, DE L'IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE. J. Mallia, Directeur, an VII.e*
Sentences passed against French and Maltese. Fifty copies printed.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 29.
77. Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 10 Floréal, an 7 de la République. / PROCLAMATION / VAUBOIS / GÉNÉRAL DE DIVISION, / Commandant en Chef dans les Isles de Malte et du Goze.
1 sheet: 450 x 330 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: VAUBOIS. Dated as in title [29 April 1799]. *A MALTE, DE L'IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE. J. Mallia, Directeur. 1799.*
Regarding the sale of fish to cater for the needs of the military hospital.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 30.
Reference: Coll. 174-5.
78. LIBERTÀ. EGUAGLIANZA. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE, / Li 18. Floréal anno 7. della Repubblica. / SENTENZA resa dal Tribunale Criminale d'Appello di queste due isole Malta, e Gozo, alle i- / stanze dell'Accusator Pubblico, e della cittadina Maria Frendo, contro i cittadini Salvatore Farrugia,

/ e Giuseppe Ellul, qual contravventori al Proclama del Cittadino Generale VAUBOIS, Comandante / in Capite in dette isole, promulgato li 2. Frimaire scorso.

1 sheet: 445 x 300 mm. Parallel Italian and French text. Signed: BONANNI, Xuereb. Dated as in title [7 May 1799].

Regarding a court case.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 32.

79. Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 20. Floréal, an 7 de la République, / VAUBOIS, / GÉNÉRAL DE DIVISION, / Commandant en Chef dans les Isles de Malte et du Goze, / LA COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT
1 sheet: 480 x 355 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: VAUBOIS. Dated as in title [9 May 1799]. *A MALTE, DE L'IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE. J. Mallia, Directeur.*
Regarding the need to lend money to the government.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 31.
Reference: Coll. 175-6.
80. [LA COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT AUX MALTAIS RAISONNABLES / ET BIEN INTENTIONNES.: LA COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO AI MALTESI RAGIONEVOLI E BEN / INTENZIONATI.]
Parallel French and Italian text. Unsigned. Undated.
An appeal to the Maltese to support the French effort.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 40-1, dated 11 May 1799. Coll. 176.
81. [Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 22 Floréal, an 7 de la République. / VAUBOIS, Général de Division, Commandant en Chef dans les Isles de Malte et du / Goze.: Al Quartiere Generale di Malta, li 22 Floréal, anno 7 della Repubblica. / VAUBOIS, Generale di Divisione, Comandante in Capo le Isole di Malta e Gozo.]
Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: Vaubois. Dated as in title [11 May 1799].
Regarding the practice of submitting petitions.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 43, dated 13 May 1799. Coll. 176-7.
82. Libertà. Uguaglianza. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE / SENTENZA resa dalla Sezione di prima istanza del Tribunale Civile di queste due Isole Malta, / e Gozo composta dalli Cittadini Vincenzo Bonavita Commissario, Giuseppe Borg

Olivier, e Gia- / como Pizzuto alle istanze dell'accusator pubblico, e del cittadino Gabriele Grech contro Francesco / Cassar qual contravventore all'articolo 8 del Proclama del generale VAUBOIS Comandante in Ca- / pite in dette Isole, pubblicato li 2 Frimaire scorso, in cui si vieta il comprare cosa alcuna dalli / soldati senza il consenso delli loro Comandanti, sotto la pena di trecento lire, carcerazione, e con- / fiscazione degli oggetti comprati. / Li 28 Floréal, anno 7 della Repubblica, ossia li 17 Maggio 1799. (v. s.) / Li tre Giudici di prima istanza del Tribunale Criminale delle Isole di Malta e Gozo.

1 sheet: 445 x 330 mm. Parallel Italian and French text. Signed: *Vincenzo Bonavita, Xuereb*. Dated as in title.

Sentence passed on Francesco Cassar.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 33.

83. [La traduction italienne de la Constitution française]

Location: Untraced.

Reference: AOM 6523D, 85, dated 2 June 1799; 6524B, 359. The translation in Italian of the French Constitution was carried out by citizen Ortolani, whose request to have 50 copies of his translation printed was conceded to by the French Government Commission.

84. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / RECUEIL DES LOIS, ARRÊTÉS / DU DIRECTOIRE EXÉCUTIF / ET LETTRES DU MINISTRE DE / LA GUERRE / Relatifs aux Conseils de Guerre et de Revision.

Numbered pages 3 to 92 with two unnumbered pages preceding page 3 and four others following page 92: 225 x 155 mm. French text. Features oval Republican printed motif. *MALTE, / De l'Imprimerie Nationale. J. Mallia, Directeur* / [in manuscript:] *Août* [August] 1799.

Published collection of enactments by the Executive Directory and letters of the Minister for War pertaining to military affairs.

Location: NLM Misc. 560 item 3.

85. [Liberté Egalité / PROCLAMATION. / Extrait des registres aux délibérations de la Commission du 14 / Brumaire an 8 de la République.: Libertà Uguaglianza / PROCLAMAZIONE / Estratto dai registri delle deliberazioni della Commissione di Governo de' 14 Brumaire / anno 8 della Repubblica.]

Parallel French and Italian [?] text. Signed: *Bosredon, Breuvert*. Dated as in title [5 November 1799].

Notice of an outbreak of plague in North Africa.

Location: Untraced.

Reference: AOM 6523D, 333. Coll. 181-2.

86. [Lunario, Calendario e Pronostico Nuovo per l'anno 1800] Featured both the Gregorian and republican calendars. Comprised only those saints having a particular connection with Malta.

Location: Untraced.

Reference: G. Gatt, 'Li Stampa f' Malta u l'euuel cotba bil Malti', *Labour Opinion*, 9.10.1924.

1800 (January-September)

87. Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 6 Ventôse, an 8 de la République Française une et indivisible / LIBERTÉ. EGALITÉ. / BROUARD, / ADJUDANT GENERAL CHEF DE UETAT MAJOR / DE LA DIVISION / À LA GARNISON DE MALTE

1 sheet: 675 x 510 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *BROUARD*.

Dated as in title [25 February 1800].

Denunciation of Vaubois and other French officials by Brouard.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

88. IL GENERALE GRAHAM / AI MALTESI

1 sheet: 410 x 300 mm. light blue paper. Italian text. Signed: *THOM:s GRAHAM / B. Generale Commandante / delle Truppe alleate al blocco / della Valletta*.

Dated: 19 Giugno 1800.

Call for Maltese recruits for the establishment of a new regiment.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation; ACM Misc. 136, f. 168.

89. Le 15 Fructidor, an 8 de la République française.

1 sheet: 230 x 230 mm. French text. Signed: *D O T*. Dated as in title [2 September 1800].

Instructions to the French military and naval officers.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 1; Parnis 950 item 9; ACM Misc. 136, f. 181.

90. ARTICLES DE LA CAPITULATION / ENTRE le Général de Division VAUBOIS, Commandant en Chef / les Isles de Malte et du Goze, et le Contre Amiral VILLENEUVE, / Commandant la Marine à Malte, d'une part, / ET Monsieur le Major-General PIGOT, Commandant les Troupes de / Sa Majesté Brittanique et de ses Alliés, et le Capitaine MARTIN, / commandant les vaisseaux de Sa Majesté Brittanique et de ses Alliés, / devant Malte, d'autre part. Numbered pages 2 to 5 with one unnumbered page preceding page 2 and another following page 5: 335 x 230 mm. French text. Signed: *le Général de Division, VAUBOIS*.

Le Contro-Amiral VILLENEUVE. PIGOT, Major-Général. Le Capitaine MARTIN, commandant les vaisseaux de sa majesté Britannique et de ses alliés, devant Malte. Dated: dix-huit fructidor an 8 de la République française [5 September 1800].

Text of French capitulation to the British.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 2; Parnis 950 item 10; ACM Misc. 136, ff. 82-4.

Reference: Coll. 183-6.

Journal de Malte and related items

91. LIBERTÀ. [motif] EGUAGLIANZA. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / MANIFESTO.
1 sheet: 325 x 215 mm. Italian text. Features Republican printed motif. Unsigned.
Undated but pre-14 July 1798.
An announcement and description of a journal to be entitled *Malta Libera*.
Location: NLM BO-4-42 item 2.
92. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ. / JOURNAL DE MALTE / FEUILLE NATIONALE, / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET LITTERAIRE. / PROSPECTUS.
1 sheet: 325 x 215 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features Republican printed motif. Unsigned. Undated but probably pre-14 July 1798.
An announcement and description of *Journal de Malte*.
Location: NLM BO-4-42 item 1.
93. LIBERTE' N.° 1. EGALITE' / JOURNAL DE MALTE / FEUILLE NATIONALE, / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET LITTERAIRE.
Numbered pages 1 to 8: 335 x 225 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. No editor given. Undated but post-14 July 1798. *A MALTE de l'Imprimerie Nationale*.
Location: NLM BO-4-42 item 4; Parnis 950 items 1 and 2 (duplicate).
94. [LIBERTE' N.° 2. EGALITE' / JOURNAL DE MALTE / FEUILLE NATIONALE, / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET LITTERAIRE.]
No concrete evidence of its publication.
Location: Untraced.
95. LIBERTE' N.° 3. EGALITE' / JOURNAL DE MALTE. / FEUILLE NATIONALE, / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET

LITTERAIRE. Numbered pages 10 to 12 with one unnumbered page preceding page 10: 335 x 225 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. No editor given. Undated but pre-9 August 1798. *A MALTE de l'Imprimerie Nationale*.
Location: NLM BO-4-42 item 5; Parnis 950 item 3.

96. LIBERTE' N.° 4. EGALITE' / JOURNAL DE MALTE. / FEUILLE NATIONALE, / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET LITTERAIRE.
Numbered pages 14 to 20 with one unnumbered page preceding page 14: 335 x 225 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. No editor given. Undated but pre-21 August 1798. *A MALTE de l'Imprimerie Nationale*.
Location: NLM BO-4-42 item 7 (complete up to page 16 only); Parnis 950 item 4.
97. [LIBERTE' N.° 5. EGALITE' / JOURNAL DE MALTE. / FEUILLE NATIONALE, / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET LITTERAIRE.]
Possibly published in the form of a *Prospectus*.
Location: Untraced.
Reference: Scicluna (1979), 208-9.
98. LIBERTE' N.° 6. EGALITE' / JOURNAL DE MALTE. / FEUILLE NATIONALE, / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET LITTERAIRE.
Numbered pages 22 to 24 with one unnumbered page preceding page 22: 335 x 225 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. No editor given. Undated but post-16 August 1798. *A MALTE de l'Imprimerie Nationale*.
Location: NLM Parnis 950 items 5 and 6 (duplicate).
99. LIBERTE' N.° 7. EGALITE' / JOURNAL DE MALTE. / FEUILLE NATIONALE, / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET LITTERAIRE.
Numbered pages 26 to 28 with one unnumbered page preceding page 26.: 335 x 225 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. No editor given. *A MALTE, de l'Imprimerie Nationale, le 10 Fructidor, an 6 de la République [27 August 1798]*.
Location: NLM Parnis 950 items 7 and 8 (duplicate).
100. LIBERTE' N.° 8. EGALITE' / JOURNAL DE MALTE. / FEUILLE NATIONALE, / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET LITTERAIRE.
Numbered pages 30 to 36 with one unnumbered page preceding page 30: 335 x 225 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. No editor given. *A MALTE, de l'Imprimerie Nationale, le 14 Fructidor, an 6 de la République [31 August 1798]*.
Location: NLM Parnis 950 item 9.

101. [LIBERTE' N.°9. EGALITE' / JOURNAL DE MALTE. / FEUILLE NATIONALE, / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET LITTERAIRE.]
No concrete evidence of its publication.
Location: Untraced.
102. LIBERTE' N.° 10. EGALITE' / JOURNAL DE MALTE. / FEUILLE NATIONAL, / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET LITTERAIRE.
Numbered pages 38, 41, 42, with one unnumbered page preceding page 38 and pages 39 and 40 missing from known copy: 335 x 225 mm.. Parallel French and Italian text. No editor given. *A MALTE, de l'Imprimerie Nationale, le 5 Vendémiaire, an 7 de la République* [26 September 1798].
Location: NLM BO-4-42 item 8.

Undated items

103. LIBERTÀ. [motif] EGUAGLIANZA. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. LI CITTADINI MALTESI / Alli Perfidi Aristocrati
Numbered pages 2 to 4 with one unnumbered page preceding page 2: 325 x 211 mm. Italian text. Features Republican printed motif. Unsigned. Undated.
An anonymous and undated diatribe against the aristocracy.
Location: NLM BO-4-42 item 3.
104. Libertà. [motif] Eguaglianza. / PROCLAMATION: PROCLAMA
1 sheet: 335 x 215 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *REGNAUD de Saint-Jean-d'Angely*.
Undated.
A request for the inhabitants of the two municipalities of the city of Malta in possession of *piastres* to exchange them at the *Università*.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 5; MFA Gollcher Foundation.
105. REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / ARRÊTÉ / DU CONSEIL DE GUERRE.:
DECRETO / DEL CONSIGLIO DI GUERRA.
1 sheet: 335 x 450 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: *VAUBOIS*.
Undated.
Authorisation for the expulsion of individuals from the cities.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 6; MFA Gollcher Foundation.
Reference: Coll. 159-60.
106. LIBERTE. [motif] EGALITE. / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / PROCLAMA
1 sheet: 430 x 320 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval

- Republican printed motif. Signed: *VAUBOIS*. Undated but post-2 September 1798.
Regarding the duty of every citizen to carry a document of identity on his person.
Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.
Reference: Coll. 158.
107. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITE. / PROCLAMATION
1 sheet: 330 x 225 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *VAUBOIS, BROUARD*. Undated.
Regarding the collection of forced loans.
Location: NLM FR-6-9. item 36.
108. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITE. / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / PROCLAMATION
1 sheet: 330 x 225 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif. Signed: *VAUBOIS, BROUARD*. Undated.
Call for the inhabitants of Valletta to leave the city.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 37.
109. DIALOGO / TRA ALESSANDRO BALL, ED IL MARCHESE DI NIZZA.
Numbered pages II to IV with one unnumbered page preceding page I. 215 x 155 mm. Italian text. Anonymous. Undated but 1798 or 1799.
A piece of French propaganda in the form of a dialogue.
Location: NLM Misc. 463 item 15.