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

William Zammit

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), 63-84.
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 grandprior 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 its introduction as 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


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

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existd, 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. 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.
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 actually printed aboard and later despatched to Malta, where they were in turn published in issue 8 of *Journal de Malte*.

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 laurel 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 of Venice, the適合 of the islands, and the resulting treaty between the British and the French. The publication of new legislation or of amendments to existing one by the French Government Commission acceded to citizen Ortolani’s request to have fifty copies of the act of capitulation to the British on 5 September 1800 also published by the ongoing administration (Appendix, item 90). The publication of new legislation or of amendments to existing one by the French Government Commission is highlighted by the fact

*Source:* Journal de Malte, issue 8, 36, "Sono state queste [Bonaparte’s proclamations] composte e stampate a bordo dell’Oriente nel tragitto di Malta, in Alessandria."
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. 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. 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. 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. 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 published 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, fifty-two are definitely known to have been

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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.

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. 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. 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.

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10 AOM 6523, p. 13, letter of Government Commission to Vaubois, dated 14 June 1798, "Ensuite la Commission a dit libere si dans les Ordres et proclamations qui elle ferait imprimer et publier, la langue franjaise avrait la preference 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, Pronunciate ed altri avvisi ufficiali, pubblicati dal Governo dell’isola di Malta e sue dipendenze dal 17 luglio 1798, al 4 ottobre 1813 (Malta, 1840).

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 devait faire. La Commission apris l’arrêté suivant. La Commission de gouvernement, considérant qu’il est autant de l’intérêt public que celui du gouvernement que 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, Arrête : Le Directeur de l’Imprimerie Nationale est autorisé à vendre au Public les susdits arrêtés'.


17 E.g. 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 pubblicarlo nelle loro Chiese'.

18 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 ordres de la Commission dont l’impression a été ordonnée. Il a demandé ce qu’il doit faire. La Commission apris l’arrêté suivant. La Commission de gouvernement, considérant qu’il est autant de l’intérêt public que celui du gouvernement que 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, Arrête : Le Directeur de l’Imprimerie Nationale est autorisé à vendre au Public les susdits arrêtés'.

9
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 untracked 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 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)

<table>
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<td>[Post 14.7.1798]</td>
<td>(i) Editorial (unsigned), 1-2 NLM BO-4-42 (ii) Speeches on occasion of the 14th 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 <em>Commercio</em> (a) Letter of Commissioner of Government to Government Commission, 7-8 (b) Negation of news of the blocking 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</td>
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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 Pamis 950 contains two copies of issue 1, one copy of issue 3 and 4, two copies of issue 5 and one copy 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 era. 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.

20 The French Government Commission’s decision to sent 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

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North America, 19
(c) Incident to Lady Bonaparte at Plombières, 19
(d) Talleyrand sent on a mission to secure a treaty with Switzerland, 19
(vi) Local news:
(a) Return of 35 former Maltese prisoners from Tunis, 19
(b) Regarding the false alarm of a rise in price of grain, 19
(vii) Under heading Avviso ai Negotiante:
(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

3 9-12(4) [Post 7.8.1798] (i) Speech by the Commissioner of Government to the judges on their taking office, 9-12
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(a) News of the Irish rebellion against British rule, 12
(b) Donation of foodstuffs to Malta by the Bey of Tunis, 12
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4 13-20 [Post 12.8.1798] (i) Editorial (unsigned), 13
(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
(iv) Under heading Notizie:
(a) Appointment of Sotin, former French Minister of Police, as ambassador to

5 NO DATA AVAILABLE

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North America, 19
(c) Incident to Lady Bonaparte at Plombières, 19
(d) Talleyrand sent on a mission to secure a treaty with Switzerland, 19
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(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

6 21-24 [Post 18.8.1798] (i) Under heading Estratto delle notizie di Francia:
(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
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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
Malta, 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. 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. Subscriptions were to be submitted to Matteo Rizzo, described as librarian de la bibliothèque Nationale, d’Malte. 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. 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. 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 and 24 August 1804 and June 1805 having print runs varying from 400 to 600 copies. 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. 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.

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-epidemic denunciation of the nobility in the form of an address by the Maltese citizens to the aristocracy. The onslaught, entitled Republica Francese. Li Cittadini Maltesi alle perfidi Aristocratici (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. 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

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.
24 Scicluna, 209-10.
25 This eighteenth-century Serenate di Calendimaggio had a typical print run of 400 copies, Zammit (1995), 179-80.
himself with the reader for his clumsy Italian, attributing this as the result of a 23-year long sojourn in Spain. 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. Such an attribution certainly provides 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. 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, 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.

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. 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 1799 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

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30 Repubblica Francese, 3, 'certo che il mio soggiorno di 23 anni in Spagna, mi fi incapace della Escara favella'.
33 AOM 6524B, 634, 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; dappiù i ricchi, e quanto più un Popolo avrà sofferto da una rivolta tanto meno potrà rinovarla. Se li Francesi poi stroncheranno, avremo almeno piacere di lasciarli in uno stato di miseria, finitamente che gli mascherà di trame nuovi mezzi di sussistenza dal lor parere'.
35 Testa, 302.
DIALOGO
TRA ALESSANDRO BALL, ED IL MARCHESE DE'NIZZA:

ALESSANDRO BALL.

V'è la ripresa dell'insurrezione degli abitanti fu al certo una gran disgrazia. Ella
soggiunge tempo presto: il colpo premuro, alla fine è fin troppo rapida, a questo scopo,
e aspettare tempo non servì ad altro, che per aprire gli occhi dell'ab-
nitato su i pericoli, che lo circondavano.

MARCHES DE'NIZZA.

Io la capisco come voi; ma quest'è per ordinario la sorte di tutte le cospi-
rature. Un inopinato accidente le fa scoppiare, o scoprire prima del tempo.

A. B...

Io non ho mai approvato una tal rivolta nell'epoca, in cui è seguita, e la ce-
lirizia, che potrebbe risultare dal suo successo, non compensava, a mio credere, il
tanti pericoli, a quali potrebbe essere soggetta.

M. N.

Bisogna però convenire, che l'insurrezione della campagna tegole a nostro iniziali-
la risorse, che lor avrebbe potuto fornire l'Isola.

D. B.

Non s'accorgete, che noi siamo in qualche maniera nell'obbligo di eliminare
l'oppressione di una; nessi dell'oppressione, che avrebbero discinta la
ricerca dell'infinito! Bisogna anch'io, che gli indirizzi rimanesse tranquillo, che dunque
sono i Francesi a conquistare seria i grandi interessi delle magistrature, bisogna
che loro possa invincibile a far sentire, e i Francesi non avrebbero voluto
smembrare la Piazza, potrebbero forzare mediante una sullazione generale; Ma
una condotta slegata, una qualunque politica non possono essere mai il remaggio di
una denominazione ignorante, e superstiziosa all'ascesso, che non ha per guida, che
stupido avido, e per cprò vederan senz'indicazione, condotti da una folle mania.
APPENDIX

Bibliography of items printed in Malta during the French occupation1

1798 (June-December)

1. CONVENTION / Arret*e entre la R*publique Franaise [sic] representee / par le citoyen general en Chef BONAPARTE / d’un parte. / Et l’Ordre des Chevaliers de Saint Jean de Jersalem, le Hu /iron Mario Testaferrata, le Docteur Nicolaus Mu / scat, l’Avocat Benedetto Schenbei [sic], et le Conseil / ler Bonanno, de l’autre [sic] part /Et sous la mediation de sa Majest* Catholique / le Roi d’Espagne representee par Monsieur le Che /valier Philippe Amat son charg* d’affaires a Malte.


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 SEGUI.]
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.

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.

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.

5. [listes imprime*s de pretendus espions de l’ancien gouvemement]
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.

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Malte et du Gozo.-Arrêté: 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.


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, 18-19; 150 copies printed to be distributed among all towns and villages of Malta and Gozo. Coll. 136-7.

9. [Liberté, Égalité. / RÉPUBLIQUE 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 maniere régulière et aussi prompte que ses nombreuses occupations le lui permettent, au moyen de satisfaire les Citoyens qui lui présentaient des petitions, après avoir ouï le Commissaire de 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 del Governo volendo provvedere d'una maniera regolare e pronta per quanto le sue numerose occupazioni gliele permettono, al mezzo di soddisfare i 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.


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

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


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 Îles de Malte / et du Gozo. / AU PEUPLE MALTAIS. / AL QUARTIERE GENERALE DI MALTA / Anno sexto della Repubblica Francese; una ed indivisibile / VAUBOIS GENERALE IN CAPITE NELLE ISOLE DI MALTA / E GOZO / Al Popolo Maltese.


Regarding the celebration of the 14th of July.
Location: Mr Stephen Degiorgio collection, Malta.
Reference: Coll. 142.


Regarding the burning of titles of nobility during the celebration of the 14th of July.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 16.


Regarding the abolition of dues paid by peasants.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 17.


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.


Location: Untraced.
Reference: AOM 6524B, 54.


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.
23. LIBERTÉ [motif] ÉGALITÉ / LE COMMISSAIRE DU GOUVERNEMENT / FRANÇOIS ARRETE:
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] EGUALIANZA / LA COMMISSION DU GOUVERNEMENT / DES ISLES DE MALTE ET GOZE / À SES CONCITOVENS,
Regarding the celebration of the 14th of July.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 14.

25. LIBERTÉ. [motif] ÉGALITÉ. / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / PROGRAMME / DE LA FETE du 14 Juillet. À MALTE,
Regarding the celebration of the 14th of July.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 15; MFA Gollcher Foundation.

26. [GHAGNA TA TRIONF / TAL-L'IBERTA]
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, fol. 71, from a private collection.

27. [CANZONA PER IL GIORNO FESTIVO / DELLA LIBERTA.]
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, fol. 58, from a private collection.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 7.

29. LIBERTÉ. [motif] ÉGALITÉ. / INSTRUCTIONS POUR LES TRIBUNAUX CIVILS ET CRIMINELS, / ET POUR LES JUGES DE PAIX,
Regarding the administration of the civil and criminal tribunals and the justices of the peace.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 8.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 9.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 10.
32. [A’la Municipalité 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, 120-1, dated 26 July 1798.

33. LIBERTÀ. [motif] EGUAZLANTZA. / 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] EGUALIANZA. / REGOLAMENTO PROPOSTO / PER
LA VENDITA DE’ DOMINI NAZIONALI. / Il Commissario del Governo
considerando esser cosa assai giusta il procurar ed assicura-
re a tutti i Cittadini Maltesi, e particolarmente agli abitanti della Campagna la facoltà di
diventar proprietari col/ l’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. Poussielgue, VAUBOIS, REGNAUD DE SAINT
JEAN D’ANGELLY. Dated: ottob Thermidor I’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:
XTV. Sara’fatto un regolamento particolare per li magazzeni alla marina, e di St. Lucia.

36. LIBERTÉ. [motif] Egalité / République Française. / PROCLAMATION / LA COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT / À TOUS
LES NÉGOCIANS MALTAIS
1 sheet: 590 x 560 mm. 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, an sixiéme de la 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.

37. LIBERTÉ. [motif] EGALITÉ / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. / Extrait des
[30 July 1798]: Estratto dei Registri della Commissione di Gover-
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:
della Repubb- / blica Francese.
Regarding the regulation and registration of marriages.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 2.

38. [Arrête concernant le traitement des Juges gressiers et huissiers des
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 Régistres des Délibérations de la / Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 16. Thermidor, de l’an 6. de la Ré-
publique Française. A Malte, le 3. Octobre 1798, (v. s.): Estratto de’ Registri delle
Deliberazioni della Comm- / missione di Governo. / Sessione de’ 16. Termidor
1 sheet: 420 x 295 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval Republican
Regarding the required permits for the opening and running of businesses.


41. LETTERA PASTORALE. / NOS FR. VINCENTIUS LABINI, / Dei, et Sanctae Sedis Apostolae gratia, Archiepiscopus Rhodi, / Episcopus Melitae. / 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. Signed: REGNAUD DE SAINT-JEAN-D’ANGELY. Dated: mensis Augusti, an 1798.

1 sheet: 330 x 225 mm. Unsigned. Regarding practices in the administration of justice. Location: NLM BO-4-4 item 6.

42. LIBERTA. [motif] EGIQUALIÀ. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / IL COMMISSARIO DEL GOVERNO FRANCESE CONSIDERANDO:


43. LIBERTA. [motif] EGUALIÁNZA. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / COMMENDARIO DEL GOVERNO FRANCESE CONSIDERANDO:


44. LIBERTÀ. [motif] EGUGLIANZA. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / IL COMMISSARIO DEL GOVERNO FRANCESE CONSIDERANDO:


45. [La Commission del Governo considerant che, seguendo le leggi positive della Repubblica Francese, non si può espletare giustizia senza che i servi dei militari e marittimi siano esentati dalle cause che possono avere contro di loro nelle committenti.]


46. Libertà. [motif] EGUGLIAZANZA. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE.


47. LIBERTÀ. [motif] EGUALIÀNZANZA. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / IL COMMISSARIO DEL GOVERNO FRANCESE, considerando che lo stabilimento del Monte di Pieta è istituito particolarmente per i poveri. / Che tutta la cura del Governo deve tendere a farvi seguire questo destino. / Che la Commissione del Governo deve esercitare su di questo stabilimento una vigilanza attiva e giornaliera.

1 sheet: 370 x 250 mm. Italian text. Features oval Republican printed motif.
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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] Egalité. / 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. [22 August 1798]. 
Regarding the administration of public property and the collection of public dues.
Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

49. [LIBERTE. [motif] Egalité. / PROCLAMATION. / Le Général de division et le Commissaire de l'Armée de Malta au nom des Citoyens de Malta. / II Generale di Divisione, ed il Commissario dell' 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] Égalité. / ARRETE / 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. [15 September 1798]. 
Regarding changes in the duration of leases.
Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.
Reference: Coll. 156-7.

51. Libertà. [motif] Eguaglianza. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / ESTRATTO DE' REGISTRI DELLA COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO. 
1 sheet: 450 x 300 mm. Italian text. Signed: REGNAUD de Saint-Jean-d'Angely, Doublet. 
Dated: 20 Fructidor anno 6. [6 September 1798]. 
Regarding the regulation of Court deposits in cash and in kind.
Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 368-70.

52. LIBERTÀ. [motif] EQUAGLIANZA. / REPUBLICA FRANCESE. / ESTRATTO DEI 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 Emmanuele Cachia incaricato generalmente per tutti i Deposti di queste Isole di Malta, e Gozo per tutti i Maestri d'Arte, Cancellieri, Marrati Notari, Attuari, ed altri quali e si siano persone, che tengono a nome dei Tribunali sia antichi, che moderni depositi, in denaro, o in effetti. / DECRETA. 
Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.
Reference: AOM 6523B, 368-70.

53. ARRETTÉ / 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. [26 September 1798, nuovo stile]. 
Regarding the lifting of fishing prohibition.
Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.
Reference: Coll. 160-1.

54. ARRETTÉ / DU CONSEIL DE GUERRE. - DECRETO / DEL CONSIGLIO DI GUERRA. 
1 sheet: 335 x 220 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: VAUBOIS.
55. PROCLAMATION / Le Conseil de Guerre, convoqué par le Général Vaubois, Commandant en chef les Isles de Malte et Gozo, veut prouver aux Maltais que les Français ont la plus grande attention à ce que les coups qu'ils portent, ne tombent jamais sur des personnes qui ne soient point coupables, et voulant en même temps donner un moyen sûr de reconnaître les citoyens paisibles. Il Consiglio di Guerra riunito per ordine del Generale Vaubois Comandante in capite le isole di Malta e del Gozo, volendo provare a Malta, che i Franci-cesi hanno la più grande 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.


Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: Coll. 161.

56. PROCLAMATION / LE GENERAL DE DIVISION / VAUBOIS, / Commandant en chef les Isles de Malte et Gozo, voulant prouver aux Maltais que les Français ont la plus grande attention à ce que les coups qu'ils portent, ne tombent jamais sur des personnes qui ne soient point coupables, et voulant en même temps donner un moyen sûr de reconnaître les citoyens paisibles. Il Consiglio di Guerra riunito per ordine del Generale Vaubois Comandante in capite le isole di Malta e del Gozo, volendo provare a Malta, che i Franci-cesi hanno la più grande 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.


Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: Coll. 162.

57. LIBERTE. EGALITE. / REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE / PROCLAMA. / Le Général de division et le commissaire du Gouvernement ayant avisé qu'il s'était repandu des bruits de réquisitions de denrées illégalement exercées sur les citoyens par des autorités civiles, et voulant prendre un moyen prompt de vérifier si ces bruits sont fondés, ARRETE: II General de Divisione, ed il Commissario del Governo avendo inteso, ches si- so no sparsi i rumori di requisizioni da commettere, stabiliti illeggezatamente, in casa de Città, dîni da alcune [sic] autorità costituite, e vole- re prendere un mezzo di verificare, se que- siti rumori sono fondati. / DECRETA NO:


Regarding confiscations from private residences in the city.

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation.

Reference: AOM 6525C, 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 BONAFARTE, à l'exécution desquels elle a dû concourir, et à coopérer 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 BiQ-5-34.


59. LIBERTE. EGALITE. REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE. / Extrait du registre 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 connus 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 îles de Malte et du
Regarding the confiscation of goods deposited in the Monte di Piaità. 

Location: MFA Gollcher Foundation. 

Regarding the withdrawal of the 3rd Fructidor [20 August] 1798 enactment abolishing leases for three generations. 
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 34. 
Reference: Coll. 169.

63. REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT / EXTRAIT des Registres aux Délibérations de la Commission de Gouvernement. / Séance du 11 Frimaire, an 7 de la République française, le 1er Décembre 1798 (vieux style.) 
1 sheet: 580 x 405 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Signed: BOSREDON RANSIJAT, Breuvart, 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. 

1799
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 38.
Reference: Coll. 171.

66. LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ / ARMÉE DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE / DIVISION DE MALTE / PAR ORDRE DU GÉNÉRAL VAUBOIS / AU NOM DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE / FRANÇAISE.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 39.

67. LIBERTÉ (motif) ÉGALITÉ / VAUBOIS, GÉNÉRAL DE DIVISION / Commandant en Chef les Îles de Malte et du Gozo / AU QUARTIER GÉNÉRAL DE MALTE, le 26 Nivose, an 7 de la République Française.
1 sheet: 345 x 240 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 Îles de Malte et du Gozo / ORDONNE CE QUI SUIV. 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 RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / AU QUARTIER-GÉNÉRAL DE MALTE, le 18 Pluviôse, an 7 de la République Française / PROCLAMATION. 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.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 43.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 44.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 45.
Reference: Coll. 173.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 26.

74. LIBERTÉ (motif) ÉGALITÉ / AU QUARTIER-GÉNÉRAL de Malte, le 20 Germinal, an 7 de la République / PROCLAMATION / VAUBOIS / GÉNÉRAL DE
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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 Pieta.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 27.

75. LIBERTÉ [motif] ÉGALITÉ / 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.
Regarding the use of gold and silver ingots.
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
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.
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.

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. / A LA COMMISSION DE GOUVERNEMENT
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 RASOINNABLES / ET BIEN INTENTIONNES.: LA COMMISSIONE DI GOVERNO AI MALTESI RAGIONEVOLE E BEN / INTENZIONATI.]
Parallel French and Italian text. Unsigned. Undated.
An appeal to the Maltese to support the French effort.
Location: Untraced.

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.: / A Quartiere Generale di Malta, li 22 Floréal, anno 7 della Repubblica. / VAUBOIS, Generale di Divisione, Comandante in Capo le Isole di Malta e Gozo.]
Regarding the practice of submitting petitions.
Location: Untraced.

82. Libertà. Uguaglianza. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE / SENTENZA resa dalla Sezione di prima istanza del Tribunale Civile di queste due Isole Malta, / e Gozo composta dalli Citadini Vincenzo Bonavita Commissario, Giuseppe Borg
Olivier, e Gia- / como Pizzuto alle istanze dell'accusatore pubblico, e del cittadino
Gabriele Grech contro Francesco / Cassar qual contraventore aU'articolo 8 del
Proclama del generale VAUBOIS Comandante in Ca- / pite in dette Isole,
pubblicato li 2 Primaire scorso, in cui si vieta il comprare cosa alcuna dalli /
soldati senza il consenso delli loro Comandanti, sotto la pena di trecento lire,
carcereazione, e con- / fiscazione degli oggetti comprati. /
Li 28 Florbal, anno 7 della Repubblica, ossia li 17 Maggio 1799. (v. a.) /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 frangaise]

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, ARRETIÉS / DU
DIRECTOIRE EXECUTIF / 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
Published collection of enactments by the Executive Directory and letters of the
Minister for War pertaining to military affairs.

Location: NLM Misc. 500 item 3.

85. [Liberté Egalité / PROCLAMATION. / Estrai des registres aux délibérations
de la Commission du 14 Brumaire an 8 de la République.-Liberta Uguaglianza
PROCLAMAZIONE / Estratto dai registri delle deliberazioni della
Commissione di Governo del 14 Brumaire / anno 8 della Repubblica.] Parallel French and Italian [?] text. Signed: Bosredon, Breuvart. Dated as in
title [5 November 1799].
Notice of an outbreak of plague in North Africa.
Location: Untraced.

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.

Opinion, 9.10.1924.

1800 (January-September)

87. Au Quartier-Général de Malte, le 6 Ventose, an 8 de la République Française
une et indivisible / LIBERTE. EGALITE. / BROUARD, / ADJOINT
GENERAL CHEF DU UEFA MAJOR / DE LA DIVISION / A 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 I B. Generale Commandante I 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 230mm. French text. Signed: D’OT. Dated as in title [2 September
1800].

Instructions to the French military and naval officers.

Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 1; Pamis 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 Troups de / Sa Majesté
Brittanique et de ses Allies, et le Capitaine MARTIN, / commandant les vaisseaux
de Sa Majesté Brittanique et de ses Allies, / 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.

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. LIBERTA. [motif] EGUAGLIANZA. / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. / MANIFESTO.
An announcement and description of a journal to be entitled Malte Libera.
Location: NLM BO-4-42 item 2.

92. LIBERTÉ. [motif] ÉGALITÉ. / JOURNAL DE MALTE / FEUILLE NATIONALE / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET LITTÉRAIRE. / 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 Littéraire.
Numbered pages 1 to 8: 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 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 Littéraire.
No concrete evidence of its publication.
Location: Untraced.

95. LIBERTE' N° 3. Egalite' / Journal de Malte / Feuille Nationale / Politique, Morale, Commerciale et
90

101. [LIBERTÉ N° 9: ÉGALITÉ / JOURNAL DE MALTE / FEUILLE NATIONALE, / POLITIQUE, MORALE, COMMERCIALE ET LITTERAIRE]
No concrete evidence of its publication.
Location: Untraced.

102. LIBERTÉ N° 10. ÉGALITÉ / 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] ÉGUALIANZA / REPUBBLICA FRANCESE. LI CITTADINI MALTESI / Alle Perfidì Aristocrati
Numbered pages 2 to 4 with one unnumbered page preceding page 2: 325 x 211mm. 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
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. LIBERTÉ. [motif] ÉGALITÉ / REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / PROCLAMATION
1 sheet: 430 x 320 mm. Parallel French and Italian text. Features oval

Communicating a new regime

Republic 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] ÉGALITÉ / PROCLAMATION
Regarding the collection of forced loans.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 37.

108. LIBERTÉ. [motif] ÉGALITÉ / RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE / PROCLAMATION
Call for the inhabitants of Valletta to leave the city.
Location: NLM FR-6-9 item 37.

109. DIALOGO / TRA ALESSANDRO BAIL, ED IL MARCHESE DI NIZZA.
Numbered pages II in IV with one unnumbered page preceding page II: 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.