

BOOK II.

ON THE CONSTITUTION AND FINANCES OF THE ORDER OF MALTA.

CHAPTER I.

Constitution of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, from its original Foundation to the present Times. Changes it has undergone. The Legislative and Executive Power, in whom vested. The Authority of the Grand-Master, how far limited. Extent of the said Authority over the Knights. To what Degree the Order was dependent on the Pope and other Christian Powers. Independence the principal Basis of its Government. Its Right of Sovereignty acknowledged, and its Rank assigned in the different Courts in Europe. Places in the Gift of the Grand-Master.

IN order to give a just and complete idea of the government of Malta, it will be necessary to go back to its original institution, and to describe the different changes it has successively undergone.

The knights of Malta were at first merely hospitallers of St. John, and as such were not subject to any particular rules; but being become members of a religious order, they followed those of the Augustins. Having once employed the force of

arms under Raimond Dupuis, they became a military order; and having conquered Rhodes, and Malta with its dependencies being ceded to them, they acquired the right of sovereignty.

The order preserved something of all these different characters, which renders its form of government very complicated, and difficult to understand. But though it must necessarily appear incoherent at first sight, it will soon be perceived, that it formed altogether one of the most perfect administrations that can possibly be imagined.

This order may with propriety be considered as being, at the same time, *hospitaller, religious, military, republican, aristocratical, and monarchical* *.

Hospitaller, from having hospitals constantly open for the reception of the sick of all countries and religions, whom the knights attended in person.

Religious, because the members took the three vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty; which last consisted in possessing no property independent of the order at large, and on that account the pope was their superior.

Military, two classes being constantly armed, and always at war with the infidels: these were properly disciplined for a war of that nature, and never ceased protecting the Christian flag of every nation from corsairs and all barbarian vessels.

* Since the definitive treaty, it may also be said that the government is become in some degree democratical; and that from the introduction of a language which does not require any proofs of nobility.

Republican, the three classes of the order always naming their chief from among themselves, out of the first class, and concurring with him both in making and executing the laws.

Aristocratical, since none but the knights and the grand-master had any share in the legislative and executive power.

Monarchical, from having a superior who could not be dispossessed of his dignity, and who was invested with the right of sovereignty over the subjects of the order, together with those of Malta and its dependencies.

Gerard, who is regarded as the original founder of the order, formed an association of a few charitable persons at Jerusalem, for the purpose of relieving the sick, and they took up their abode in a house distinguished by the name of the hospital of St. John; where they received the infirm, and wretched, and afforded them every possible assistance. Having resolved to dedicate themselves entirely to this charitable employment, Gerard and his companions were desirous of taking the regular habit, and accordingly the pope invested them with that of St. Augustin. They took the three vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty, before the patriarch of Jerusalem, under whose immediate authority they remained for some time.

The pope, however, soon freed them from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and left them entirely to their own. From the first moment of their institution, they bore the name of the hospitaller brothers of St. John the Baptist of Jerusalem.

About the same time an association of women was likewise formed at Jerusalem by Alix, a Roman lady. This was on the same plan with that of Gerard, except that none but female patients were received into the house. These ladies, being animated by the same spirit of charity as the hospitaller brothers of St. John, desired to be associated with them, and their request was granted. They were afterwards obliged to prove their nobility, in the same manner as the knights, and they acknowledged the grand-master as their superior. Since that time they have been dispersed throughout the greatest part of Christendom, where they still subsist with much distinction*.

Raimond Dupuis (Pl. XII.), who succeeded Gerard, was not satisfied with merely receiving the poor and sick into the hospital of St. John; he was also desirous of affording them future protection, and escorting those who, having recovered their health in the infirmary, wished to return into their own country. The journey from Jerusalem to the first port where it was possible to embark for Europe was extremely dangerous; it being necessary to pass through a country entirely inhabited by infidels, who, whenever they found themselves the strongest, fell with unrelenting fury on the Christians. The hospitallers therefore solicited leave to become a military order, without, however, relinquishing either their first offices,

* See Appendix, No. IX. names of the commanderies of the hospitaller sisters of the order of St. John of Jerusalem.

or their original title. Their petition being granted, the patriarch of Jerusalem armed them himself; and they took an oath before him to defend the holy sepulchre to the last drop of their blood, and to combat the infidels wherever they should meet them. This solemn ceremony over, they offered their services to the king of Jerusalem, and afterwards became, together with the knights Templars, the principal support of that sovereign. They possessed several places in the Holy Land, independent of the throne of Jerusalem, and always regarded themselves as auxiliaries, but not as subjects, of the kings of that country.

The hospitaller and military functions being thus united, it was necessary to form a new administration; in consequence of which, Raimond Dupuis collected all the regulations originally made by Gerard, and then assembled the most respectable personages of the hospital of St. John, who were entitled the *Master's Assistants*, and formed them into an assembly, to which he gave the name of chapter or council; and it was in this meeting that the first rules and statutes were instituted, but which at that time, as at present, could not be obligatory without the sanction of his holiness the pope.

The great number of crusaders who entered the order, and the considerable donations bestowed on it from all parts, caused a change both in the form of government and the administration of property. The knights of different nations agreed to divide themselves into *languages*. The French hav-

ing founded the order, and being much the most numerous, formed the first three, viz. those of Provence, Auvergne, and France. The four others were the languages of Italy, Arragon, England, and Germany. In process of time, the language of Castile was added to the seven original ones, and to that of England was substituted the Anglo-Bavarian. The property of the order being situated in different countries, it was necessary to fix upon some method for having it properly managed, and paid in with punctuality. It was therefore divided into priories, bailliwicks, and commanderies. A receiver's office was appointed in every priory, into which were paid the revenues of the different livings in the said priory. There were likewise offices of the same nature in several towns, which from their convenient situation had an easy communication with Jerusalem, Rhodes, and Malta. The offices in the priories sent their *receipts* to these towns, and the persons appointed to manage the business were termed *receivers*. When the order became possessed of sovereign power, and had subjects to govern, it was necessary to create those posts which are the constant appanage of supreme authority. The legislative and executive powers, which form the basis of all governments, were distributed with equal prudence and wisdom. The knights gave up none of their privileges to the person they chose for their superior, except those which were indispensably necessary to enable him to govern them with effect, and were particularly tenacious of all those which might sub-

ject them to the exercise of undue authority. The legislative power was exclusively vested in the general chapter, which alone had the right of making new laws or statutes and levying taxes. To signify the sovereignty of this chapter, the standard of the order was brought into the assembly, where it remained during the whole time it was sitting, after which it was carried back to the palace of the grand-master. That prince had the exclusive right of demanding the convocation, but the pope had the power to refuse his request, and either to annul or sanction the acts of the assembly.

The executive power was almost entirely in the hands of the complete or ordinary council, which, in the absence of the general chapter, was appointed to maintain the statutes, laws, and traditions. In both these assemblies, the grand-master had only the priority, and two votes; but in case of an equality, his vote gave the majority. He had, however, the sole right of convoking the meeting, and of proposing the subjects to be taken into consideration.

Independent of these councils, there were the secret and criminal ones, in which either the grand-master or his lieutenant constantly presided, but in which they had likewise only two votes, and the right of choosing the subject of their deliberations. There was also another council, called the venerable chamber of the common treasure, of which the grand commander was president in right of his office.

The order on becoming a sovereignty, invested the superior

with the power of representing it. But it was generally twenty-four hours after the election of the grand-master, before the complete council committed into his hands the sovereignty of the islands of Malta and Goza with all their dependencies; and the exercise of the legislative and executive power was subject even then (as will be presently seen) to some restrictions.

For example, the order had an exclusive right to manage every thing relative to the office of health*, and the mint.—The Maltese civil code was carried before the council, as was the nomination of judges who composed the tribunals, and no considerable armament of the inhabitants could possibly take place without being communicated to that assembly.

The members of this military order, which was composed of the first nobility in christendom, were at all times particularly jealous of their independence, which they constantly preserved; indeed, the grand-master was never esteemed more than the first amongst his equals—*primus inter pares*. What caused them to annex a still greater value to this independence was the impossibility that the superior should exercise any authority over them himself, or allow others to do so, beyond the limits prescribed by the statutes. The grand-master could never detain a knight in custody more than twenty-four hours without bringing him to trial; and though the oath of obe-

* The grand-master was not allowed to take off more than twenty-four hours from the quarantine.

dience appears so absolute and obligatory, it was subject to some modifications, and every knight who was of opinion that the orders he received were contrary to the statutes or even to the usual customs, had a right to refuse obeying them, to appeal to the tribunal called *egard*, and to persist in his disobedience till sentence should be pronounced.

The grand-masters frequently felt their power very unequal either to curb the impetuosity of such numbers of young warriors, or to obtain from the council what they thought necessary for the good of the public: in both these cases the two parties had recourse to the pope, as the first superior of the order, who took this opportunity to encrease his authority, which upon many occasions was extremely difficult to shake off.

In the interval between the general chapters, which, however, were frequently held in the beginning of the sovereignty, the grand-masters being unable to grant favours asked them by crowned heads, or to decide in affairs which demanded immediate attention, applied to the popes to grant them briefs, which might in some measure supply the place of the decision of the chapter; and this, some time afterwards, induced the popes to believe they had a right to grant them of their own accord, by which means they disposed of the richest commanderies of the order, either to their relations, or to some other of their dependents. The knights also had frequent recourse to his holiness when they wished to oppose the pretensions of the grand-master, and they even sometimes

appealed to Rome from the sentences pronounced by the councils.

As the bishops of Malta continually endeavoured to establish ecclesiastical authority, in opposition to the legal one of the knights, the order was induced to solicit the pope to send a minister from the court of Rome to restrain them within proper bounds; his holiness therefore sent an inquisitor, who unfortunately extended his own authority much beyond that which they wished to restrain, and the order had too soon the vexation to see a new power exercised in the very heart of its possessions. Every Maltese subject who had received a patent from the inquisitor, thought himself justified in throwing off the jurisdiction of the grand-master. This usurper, not satisfied with disputing and sharing the authority of the order, attempted to debase it; and the inquisitor Delci had even the audacity to insist that the grand-master should stop his carriage whenever they met in the street.

The popes made frequent attempts to direct the election of the grand-masters, and to appoint to that dignified post: they even pretended to look upon it as a right, which neither they nor any other sovereign could possibly possess, without destroying the very essence of the order. The preponderance of one Christian state over another, or over more than one, would immediately annihilate it; since in that case the favoured power would be able to dispose at pleasure of the forces of the order, which ought always to be equally and in-

distinctively employed for the defence of the whole Christian world. These different states were equally entitled to the same assistance, since they all not only sent their nobility to afford a continual supply of members, but at the same time furnished a revenue for their support.

During the great disputes which disturbed the peace of the convent under the reigns of Villaret, La Cassiere, and Verdale, it was frequently discussed who had the right of either suspending the superior from his functions, or of actually deposing him. This right was never allowed to be vested in the councils; and though the popes laid claim to it, they never attempted to enforce it, and had they pretended to act otherwise, their authority would have probably been most violently disputed. The truth is, that the statutes of the order were very much the same as the code of other countries, wherein no mention is made of the tribunal before which a sovereign must appear in case of forfeiture. If the grand-master had been only superior of a merely religious order, his judge would easily have been found; but being a sovereign, he possessed the prerogatives annexed to that dignity; and as such, before whom could he possibly have been cited? I know not how far the right of suspending and deposing the grand-master might have been disputed with the general chapter of the order approved by the pope, with whom they at the same time contested the power of naming or deposing that prince. It cannot, however, be denied, that the sovereign pontiff's possess-

ed great authority in the convent, of which they were incontestably the ecclesiastical superiors. I will now endeavour to explain in what that authority principally consisted.

The pope had undoubtedly a strict right to exclude any particular knight from the grand-mastership, that is, if he gave any plausible reasons for so doing; such as bad conduct, occasioning a public scandal, &c. But this disapprobation must have been made known before the election took place, for it would be afterwards of no effect; as was the case in the affair of the grand-master Redin, whose nomination the inquisitor vainly attempted to annul.

This right of the pope to exclude any particular grand-master was very much the same with that of the emperor, the kings of France, of Spain, and of Portugal, who had each taken upon himself the power of preventing a cardinal from being elected to the holy see; but in their case, as in the other, it was necessary that these different sovereigns should notify their intentions to their respective ambassadors before the opening of the conclave.

It is, indeed, true that the approbation of the pope was always received at the election of a grand-master, but this was merely to fill up a canonical and regular form, and not as an acknowledgment that the pope had the right of either accepting or refusing. He, however, possessed real prerogatives, and those of very great importance, such as those of giving his sanction to the assembly of general chapters which he had the

power to annul, of signing the statutes of the order, and of sending an inquisitor to Malta to inspect the ecclesiastical part of the government, and to execute bulls and briefs.

Having given some account how far the order depended on the pope, we shall now proceed to examine its situation in regard to the other Christian states, and in what consisted the reciprocal obligation which bound them to each other: this appeared founded on the grand principle, that the power which gave ought to receive. The order must therefore be dependent on those countries which furnished it with knights and revenues, and as such it was obliged to afford direct and constant assistance against the enemies of the Christian faith. This it never failed doing, as will be sufficiently proved in the course of this history. Having therefore been always exact in fulfilling its engagements with those states where it had any possessions, it was but just that the said states should be equally faithful to theirs; and in that point of view the dependence was reciprocal, with the difference indeed (which was both great and obligatory) between the power which *gave* and that which *received*. The sovereign from whom the order held Malta made one very particular condition, and that with the knowledge and consent of the other crowned heads; viz. That the order should prevent any attack being made on the Sicilian monarchy, which implied that it should never take part in any war against it, nor favour any of its enemies. This condition was so strictly adhered to by Malta, that in the war

between France and Spain, it was very near incurring the displeasure of Lewis XIV. for having fired on his navy, to fulfil the above-mentioned engagement. In order that this clause in the act of donation of Charles V. should be exactly adhered to, the bishop of Malta was admitted into the council as the agent of the king of Naples, but he had no vote.— Being thus equally dependent on all Christian powers in general, the order must necessarily be independent of any one in particular; and it has never been esteemed by any among them as tributary, but always regarded as an ally possessed of revenues by the same right and title as all other proprietors, and as such under the safeguard of laws which secured, not only to the prince, but to every private individual, the full enjoyment of his property. Few benefices had ever been more absolutely confirmed, since the different sovereigns had granted the most extensive privileges to the greatest part of them.

The sovereignty of Malta was universally acknowledged by princes of all religions *, and it enjoyed all the prerogatives annexed to that dignity in every different court. It sent ambassadors throughout all Europe: a proper place was assigned them; and when, at the council of Trent, the bishops claimed precedence over the Maltese ambassador, their pretensions

* The king of England addressed the grand-master by the following titles, *eminentissime Princeps consanguinea et amice noster carissime*. The king of France gave the order the title of *très chers et bons amis*, and the grand-master that of *très cher et très aimé cousin*, in the same style as he addressed the dukes of Tuscany.

were disallowed. The same thing happened in Spain, where the Tuscan minister was also obliged to yield; the king of Spain himself having decided in favour of the order.

The flags of every country saluted the Maltese vessels, and the galleys had a right to the first salute from all Christian princes: even Lewis XIV., whom no one could possibly suspect of relaxing in the smallest degree in an affair of ceremony, decided against himself in a dispute on this subject. In short, it was acknowledged in every court in Europe, that no prince who was not a crowned head could claim precedence over Malta.

If, as has been mentioned above, the authority of the grand-master was subject to some restrictions, he, notwithstanding, had great influence in the state, and the rewards he was able to bestow have frequently extended his power to a very great degree. It is true, that the legislative and executive power resided in the chapters and councils, in which he had but two votes; but he alone could convoke the former, and no subject could be deliberated upon in the latter but what was proposed by himself, or, in his absence, by his lieutenant. The enormous expence of holding general chapters, the objections which might probably have been made by the popes to their being convened, the conduct of one of them, who in the grand-mastership of Paul appointed the inquisitor president of the general chapter, were not the only reasons which had brought them into disuse. The difficulty of obtaining the same pre-

ponderance in these meetings as in the councils had contributed not a little to the grand-master's convening no more of these assemblies, which, properly considered, were like all others of the same nature, and which, only meeting occasionally, always became in the end dangerous, tumultuous, and most commonly of no avail. It is not therefore very surprising that the grand-masters should prefer the councils, where nothing could be more easy than to ensure the majority of votes; since, by means of briefs, they could always bestow the grand-crosses on those whom they knew to be perfectly devoted to their service, and who in right of that great dignity had free entrance into the council, where they secured the greatest number of votes for their benefactor, who, consequently, became all-powerful in Malta. The grand-masters had the power of bestowing great favours on the knights of different languages; the statutes having granted them, 1st, a magisterial commandery in each priory, which they were at liberty to dispose of at pleasure—2d, They had the power of naming to a commandery in each priory once in five years—3d, They were allowed to tax the different benefices with the payment of a pension—4th, They received an *annate* or a year's revenue at every *mutation*—5th, They had a great many lucrative places in their gift, both in the island and in their household—and, 6th, the grand-master, on becoming sovereign, had a revenue assigned him which was sufficient not only to support his rank as a prince, but to enable him to bestow con-

siderable gifts and rewards on those he thought worthy of his protection. Indeed, this sum was originally intended to enable him to reward merit; but it has more than once been disposed of to conciliate favour, and in that case it has been the means of the grand-master's eluding the restrictions which the law had so prudently laid on his authority.

Having thus marked the line between the different constituent powers vested in the government of Malta, and likewise that fixed between the foreign princes, we shall now proceed to trace that which was drawn between the sovereign and his subjects.

C H A P. II.

Government of the Knights over the Maltese. Laws to which they were subjected under the Dominion of the Kings of Sicily. Amendment of their Situation. Employments to which they might pretend. Their Association with the Government. The Formation of a Language composed of Maltese greatly favoured by France. Consequences which must infallibly result from such an Innovation.

THE grand-master being invested by the order with sovereign power, had the same right and title to exercise it over the people as the emperor Charles V. ; and it will be sufficiently proved, after having examined the nature of the government which the order found established in Malta, that the alterations since made have not only greatly amended it, but considerably improved the situation of the subject.

In the year 1350 a kind of government was formed in Malta, by Lewis king of Sicily ; this consisted in a governor, with the title of *capitano d'armi è giustiziero*, called in Maltese *hakem* ; four municipal officers, named *giurati* ; of two others, termed *catapani* ; and of two judges, the one civil and the other criminal.

The *hakem* commanded the armed forces, administered justice, and exercised the police throughout the whole of the island.

The *giurati* had the management of every thing relative

to provisions and finances, and they judged in the second instance.

The functions of the *catapani* consisted in examining whether the provisions were of a good quality, and whether they were sold by just weight.

There were also two other officers; the first called *il secreto*, who received the duties for the sovereign, and the other *il portulano*, who had the direction of the port, and the coasts round the island. There were the same employments, with the same prerogatives, at Goza.

An assembly of the people was convened every year, composed of the three orders of nobles, clergy, and plebeians; in which meeting a list was made of the different persons who were capable of filling the above-mentioned places: this was called *scrutin*, and sent to the king or to the viceroy of Sicily, who generally named the officers from among those mentioned in the list. He sometimes, however, deviated from this rule, and made choice of them himself.

An assembly of the same nature continued to be held after the order was established in Malta, till the grand-mastership of Rohan. But it was always a mere matter of form, the sovereign being at liberty to make a choice among the different candidates who were presented to him on this occasion.

The order, being always particularly attentive to the interest of the community at large, thought it prudent to limit, in some degree, the authority of the superior in the exercise of

the legislative and executive power, that the subject might be secured from the despotism of a grand-master. The council therefore never yielded their right to giving a sanction as well as the grand-master to the code of laws, and likewise to the nomination of the judges.

Great attention was also paid to private individuals, and every possible means employed to make their situation more comfortable. Many places which, from the fifteenth century, had always been exclusively possessed by the nobles, were afterwards indiscriminately bestowed on the citizens.

Except in the above-mentioned circumstances, the government of the knights and that of the Maltese were entirely independent of each other. The former were however constantly kind and generous in their conduct towards their subjects, whom they did not wish to exclude from their order: but the impossibility that the Maltese should act at the same time in the double capacity of sovereign and subject, made it necessary to establish some forms to prevent so great an inconvenience.

After the knights of St. John of Jerusalem were settled in Malta, some noble Maltese families went to reside in Sicily, and the order afterwards allowed their descendants to become *knights of justice*. The only proofs required were, that their ancestors had held those employments in Malta, which had ever been particularly reserved for the nobles.

Those Maltese who were possessed of noble fiefs in the

island with royal investiture, and who continued to reside in Malta, might also become members of the order by sending their wives to Sicily to lie in; but this could not be done without the approbation of the grand-master. These knights enjoyed the same prerogatives as their brethren, except, indeed, that they could not be raised to the dignity of sovereign; the order being perfectly aware of the great danger of having a Maltese grand-master, who could so easily succeed in either governing despotically, or in making himself entirely independent. The Maltese themselves were very sensible of the wisdom and justice of this restriction, to which they never at any time made the smallest objection.

The order, however, offered them no small compensation for being excluded from the first dignity; since they were permitted to fill some very important posts, such as the bishop's see, and the grand-priory of the church of St. John.

These two great places were given by the pope exclusively to the knights of justice, and they were habitually filled by the Maltese, who were consequently admitted into the general chapter and councils, where they took their place to the right and left of the sovereign*.

Some of the Maltese who had been particularly serviceable to the order, and who merited the attachment of their

* The last grand-prior of St. John's was a Maltese, named Mainiéllé.—That post has likewise been filled by many others of the same nation; viz. John George Pery, brother Nicholas, Ambrogie, &c.

fellow-citizens, were ennobled by the grand-master, and thus became capable of enjoying the same privileges as the most ancient noble families of the country.

Before the late unfortunate events in 1798, the Maltese people were never known to murmur in the smallest degree. The sovereign was continually bestowing new favours on his subjects, who, in their turn, never ceased to lavish on him praises and blessings. In all the divisions which at different times took place in the order, the people constantly remained quiet; and even in the late treacherous surrender, the really guilty were not among the lower class, but in the higher ranks. Those, however, who thus unfortunately swerved from their duty, soon repented their errors, and bitterly imprecated vengeance on the traitors who had induced them to rebel against their sovereign.

The knights, as has been already observed, had nothing in common with the Maltese; consequently no disputes could possibly arise between them, since their judges were chosen from among themselves, as were likewise their municipal officers: in short, all civil employments, even those which related to the finances, were filled by the natives; the sovereign alone having the right to send his representative to the tribunals, and to the Town-hall.

To prevent the most distant idea of corruption, the knight who presided in the courts of justice was not only changed once in three years, but his place was always filled by one of

a different language. The grand-masters having only made use of their right three times to add to the severity of the sentence passed by the tribunals, though they continually exerted the same right to soften it, were most severely reproached for their conduct; notwithstanding the criminals were either pirates, or convicted of high-treason and sacrilege.

The French government perceiving its influence insensibly decreasing in Malta, and feeling the great importance of preserving it, employed every possible method to recover their power; but being unable to make the people act against their own interest, they suggested the idea of endeavouring to introduce into the order some malecontents and enthusiasts in favour of the fashionable new principles; and mention was then first made of associating the Maltese with the government of the knights, by creating a ninth language composed of that nation. The consequence of this arrangement was too clear to escape the least penetrating eye; and the man who most openly favoured such a plan was placed by the French at the head of the Maltese government, the moment they became possessed of the island. Indeed, in whom could they better place their confidence than in the person who had so completely seconded their views throughout the whole of the transaction?

The people must naturally be losers from such a change, since the moment a part of the sovereignty became vested in them they must necessarily contribute to the expences; they,

therefore had no share in this new project. The institution of a ninth language must of course require a revenue for its use, and how could this be raised without laying on additional taxes? Of what an extraordinary mixture would this new language be composed! since it must necessarily consist partly of nobles, such as the knights of justice, and partly of counsellors, attorneys, and other persons of the same stamp, such as servants of arms, &c. The same men who had been the most attached to the directory endeavoured to persuade the Maltese that, when once subject to the government of France, the whole of that fine country would be open to their ambitious views, which would be a sufficient recompence for having hitherto moved in so confined a sphere. The taxes raised on this occasion must inevitably have fallen on that part of the people who had no concern in the affair.

To avoid therefore disgusting the Maltese, not a word was mentioned of bestowing any property on these new knights, servants of arms, and chaplains. The small number of Maltese possessed of great fortunes, and the still smaller who could have had any pretensions to be received knights of justice, must have concentrated that dignity in a very few families, which would consequently have opened a wide field for the greatest corruption.

Notwithstanding the ancient noble families of Malta were entirely extinct, not a single descendant in a right line remaining, no one had an idea of proposing, nor even thinking it

possible, to establish a ninth language, so different from the other eight; and in which, amongst a variety of things, there was to be no distinction between the knights of justice, the chaplains, and the servants of arms. Such an innovation could be neither agreeable to the Maltese, nor suitable to the knights; since it must be injurious to the former, whose representatives must act a subaltern and disgraceful part among a body formed of the most distinguished nobility in Christendom; and at the same time very unpleasant to the latter, who would thus see the most incoherent, and consequently the most destructive, elements introduced into the very heart of their order. The favourite plan of the French was very well known, and if it succeeded they hoped to reap the double advantage of introducing democracy into an aristocratical government, and likewise rewarding those Maltese who had revolted against that government. If the advantages which either the Maltese or the order could promise to themselves in an association of such a nature were fairly considered, it would be easily seen, that this ninth language must necessarily find itself in the disagreeable predicament of becoming either null or turbulent:—null, from the impossibility of undertaking any thing against the united will of the eight others; and turbulent, because there would be no other means of resisting such superior force but by sedition. Notwithstanding all these powerful motives against this institution, I have every reason to believe, that those Maltese who have given into revolutionary principles

will pursue the favourite plan so artfully suggested to them; indeed, the practice they have adopted of dividing themselves between the French and English armies is equally artful and perfidious. They very well know, that no circumstances can happen again so favourable to their design, since the only two powers who now carry on the war will most probably make the peace which must inevitably decide their fate: both these powers are well disposed towards them; the French owing them the reward of treason and defeat, the English that of repentance and success. The first will certainly never forget that the formation of a new language was the work of their hands, and without some great reverse of fortune, which is not very likely to happen, they will never abandon them: whilst the latter, calling to remembrance the services their army received during the blockade of Malta, will think themselves obliged to second the views of so useful an auxiliary; whose good intentions, however, may very fairly be doubted, considering the manner in which they repulsed the respectable members who were sent to their assistance, and who attempted to land in the island, not to punish the inhabitants, but to take their place in the field of battle, to expose themselves to the same dangers, and to fight for the same cause. The presence of these knights might, indeed, be rather embarrassing to the Maltese chiefs; with whose manœuvres, principles, conduct, and motives for conversion, they were but too well acquainted.

The same author who has written in favour of the Maltese

association, when he speaks of raising a regiment in Malta composed of foreign soldiers, commanded by the knights of different languages, appears apprehensive that such an armed corps might sooner or later obtain a dangerous influence, which would disturb the public peace, and in time might become a restraint on the liberty of electing a grand-master. He therefore wishes that the safety of the order might be committed to the care of the Maltese, and entirely depend on their loyalty and affection. The question next naturally occurs, whether the influence of the Maltese, in their double capacity of sovereign and subject, would not be infinitely more dangerous than that of this so much dreaded regiment? For of what avail would be the opposition of a few hundred knights, against the united efforts of thousands of rebellious Maltese, who would have the greatest possible interest in naming one of their own nation to the dignity of sovereign? These revolted subjects being perfectly convinced that they would be repulsed with indignation by all monarchical governments, would immediately after their insurrection address themselves to the one which had always favoured rebellious subjects, and with which indeed the Maltese had ever been the most intimately connected. These considerations ought to induce the different powers to name a protector for Malta as soon as possible, and at the same time to elect a grand-master.

It would be a most fortunate circumstance for Malta were this protector to be chosen from some one of the most power-

ful nations in Europe, since the independence of the order would be then preserved: it is likewise greatly to be wished that the superior should be elected in the island, and the ancient forms observed at that ceremony kept up as much as possible*.

The kingdoms of Naples and of Spain have at all times been regarded as the natural defenders of Malta, but their present situation with respect to the French republic must necessarily prevent them from acting in a capacity which requires the most perfect independence. The jealousy subsisting between France and England must always exclude those two nations from this important island. Russia and Austria are therefore the only powers whose protection can be really useful to the order.

A charge of such importance ought to be confided to both these powers, to prevent the danger of the order becoming dependent on a single protector, and thus losing the right it has hitherto had to a general interest in its favour.

The Maltese, as will be clearly proved in the course of this history, have enjoyed an uninterrupted state of happiness for nearly three centuries, without ever having uttered the

* This is the plan of conduct adopted by Russia, which equally evinces the moderation of the young emperor, and the wisdom of his ministers. See, in Appendix, the proclamation of the emperor Alexander (in which he merely takes the title of protector of the order), and the decree of the provisional council for the election of a grand-master from among the professed knights according to the ancient forms, at least as nearly as they can possibly be observed, whilst the members of the order are so generally dispersed.

smallest complaint against their sovereign. Let them, then, remain in their former situation, and there will be nothing to apprehend from their attempts; let care, however, be taken not to favour, on pretext of bettering their condition, the secret designs of some ambitious men, and at the same time those of other governments. The zeal and attention of the order to maintain the independence of Malta, which is absolutely essential to its existence, may be safely relied on, but an equal dependence cannot be placed on the Maltese to preserve it; if, indeed, that independence were lost for a moment, it was when these people abandoned the knights, united to whom they would have been always invulnerable.—I own I can scarcely believe it possible that persons whose opinions I greatly respect could in their conscience wish, and even solicit, to be joined to the government of Malta; for they certainly must have reflected on the extent and consequences of such a pretension, which might authorise the Canadians to demand being associated to the English government, and at the same time thirty-three millions of people who inhabit Bengal to make the same request. The difference between the above-mentioned inhabitants and the Maltese, consists in the former paying taxes to encrease the revenue of their sovereign, whilst the latter enjoy the benefits accruing from the revenue of theirs, without being subject to any imposts.

It is to this association system that, at the close of the eighteenth century, the world is indebted for the dismem-

berment and overthrow of different states, and that in a manner unexampled in history. To this, indeed, is it owing that the French colonies insisted on sending representatives to the national assemblies in France, the effects of which first association was, that the mulattoes and negroes asserted their right to freedom, declaring they would fill the same employments as the whites, and that the blacks are at this moment sovereigns of the richest colony in America.

But as all human institutions must necessarily retain something of the natural imperfection of man, the government of Malta cannot be supposed to be entirely free from defects. Its existence and great successes for more than two centuries and a half, must, however, prove its excellence, and speak forcibly in its favour. If the Maltese are discontented, and have cause for complaint, I can only tell them, as a knight of Malta, and in the name of the whole order, that family affairs should always be judged at home.

C H A P. III.

The Order divided into different Classes. Proofs of Nobility requisite to be admitted into the First; Proofs of being free Citizens necessary to enter into the Second. Inns. Egard, the name of a Tribunal of Justice for trying the Knights; the Manner in which it was composed; why assembled. The Ceremony of depriving a Knight of the Habit; that of restoring it to him. How far their Obedience was required. Reception of a Donat, or a Brother de Stage.

THE hospitallers, merely considered as a religious order, were divided into three different classes, according to their birth, rank, and functions.

The first class was composed of the *knights of justice*. The second, included the *religious chaplains*, and *priests of obedience*. The third, the *serving brothers*.

The knights of justice were those who from the formulary of their profession, and the ancient nobility of their lineage were entitled to be admitted to so high an honour.

The religious chaplains were those, who from their profession were attached to the original church of St. John, where they performed divine service. The almoners for the great hospital of Malta, and those for the galleys and other vessels belonging to the order, were chosen from this body of men. There were also *priests of obedience*; these were ecclesiastics

who having taken the religious habit and the vows, were never obliged to go to Malta, but were particularly attached to the service of some of the churches of the order under the authority of either the grand-prior or of a commander. Those among them who had not taken the vows, but who performed parochial duty in some of the livings of the order, were removable at pleasure.

The *serving brothers of arms* were of the religious order; and, without being either priests or knights, were equally obliged during war, or in the infirmary, to serve under the knights, to make four caravans with them each of six months. They, equally with the chaplains, possessed commanderies in the different languages; and they passed from one to another according to seniority, that is to say, according to the time of their reception.

The *brothers de stage or donats*, were employed in the different offices of the convent and hospital. They wore what was termed the demi-cross, which was granted to those who had deserved being rewarded by the order, whilst employed in subaltern posts, such as first pilots of the galleys, and adjutants of the troops. There were also religious dames of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, who had houses in France, Italy, and Spain. These dames were obliged at their reception to make the same proofs as the knights of justice. Some of the houses were extremely celebrated, such as *Sixen* in Arragon, and *Olgoveira* in Catalonia, where the proofs of nobility

requisite for the reception of the knights of justice were not sufficient for a dame of the choir, whose nobility was obliged to be proved so very pure, and of such ancient date, that it exceeded by some degrees what the statutes required for the former.

In former times the knights who dedicated themselves to the service of the hospital of St. John, and to the defence of the holy sepulchre, could only be received at Jerusalem or in the Holy Land, whither the nobles sent their children at a very early age, that they might be educated in the chief house of the order, where they flattered themselves they would not only imbibe principles of the strictest piety, but at the same time become adepts in the science of arms. These young gentlemen could not be received without producing authentic testimonies of their noble origin, attested by the priors of the countries in which they were born; the same priors were also obliged to give them recommendatory letters, with a promise that they should take the habit of the order and make their profession at twenty years of age, which was the time fixed upon for seculars to be received knights. But this custom of only professing knights in the chief house of the order was but of short duration; for the considerable numbers who continually fell in combating the infidels, made it necessary to replace them by fresh recruits, and this forced the chapters and councils of the order to consent, that after the proofs of nobility were sufficiently examined, the habit of

novice should be given in the different grand-priories beyond the sea ; and as at that period *misalliances* among the nobility were absolutely unknown, the candidate required no other proof at his admission than the names of his father and mother, who were justly supposed to be descended from gentlemen of note and bearing arms. Such were the reigning principles and spirit in the days of chivalry ; but the same nobles, whose blood was then so pure, being exhausted and drained by the inevitable expences attendant on war, found themselves in a short time obliged to make a traffic (if I may so express myself) of this noble blood by unequal marriages, and it was no longer uncommon to see nobles, and gentlemen of note bearing arms, intermarry with rich plebeians. The knights of St. John fearing that such misalliances would end in debasing the order, were it to receive any knights sprung from these marriages, resolved to make a regulation which required the drawing up of a verbal process with written titles, in order to establish the legitimacy and the descent of the candidate, with the testimonial proofs of his father, mother, grand-father, grand-mother, great-grand-father, and great-grand-mother, for above a hundred years, likewise the eight quarters properly blazoned ; and the testimony of the candidate that his great-grand-father and grand-father were acknowledged as being of note and bearing arms. For some years this last article was not very strictly examined into in France, and the government of that country frequently insisted that the order should not be very

rigorous in the observance of it. If, however, it was sometimes sufficiently indulgent to receive knights sprung in the female line, from the families of financiers and magistrates, it was always particularly strict in requiring the proofs of nobility and the eight quarters on the father's side, dispensations being never granted but for the mothers, and that only in very particular cases. These proofs were obliged to be *testimonial, literal, local, and secret*; but this was not the case in all the other languages, as will be presently seen.

The *testimonial proof* was so called, because it was the result of the testimony of four noble witnesses gentlemen of note, and bearing arms. These were obliged to make oath of the truth of their assertions before commissioners who were usually ancient commanders, and who examined them separately on the occasion.

The *literal proof* was taken from title-deeds, contracts, acknowledgments of tenures, and surveys produced by the candidate; marriage contracts and wills, though necessary to prove his descent and legitimacy, were not sufficient to prove his nobility*: and recourse was had to *partition of lands of a noble tenure*; to *deeds of guardianship*; to *grants of the wardships of lands held in capite*; to *acts of fealty and homage*; to *acknowledgments of vassalage and surveys*; to *commissions, warrants, and grants, of posts and dignities which imply gentility*; to *summons for attending the king in the field*; in short, to monu-

* It is very well known how easily notaries give titles and qualifications in such sort of deeds without ever examining whether they are due or not.

ments, epitaphs, coats of arms; to painted glass windows, and ancient escutcheons in churches.

The *local proof* was what was given by the commissioners in the country where the candidate was born, whose office it was to inform themselves particularly whether his parents and ancestors were gentlemen of note bearing arms.

The *secret proof* consisted in an enquiry made by the commissioners unknown to the candidate. The witnesses on this occasion were not required to be noble, but were chosen for their probity. It was formerly the custom in the three different languages of France—viz. that of Provence, Auvergne, and France—when the four necessary proofs were allowed to be solid and conformable, to draw up a verbal process, which was carried to the chapter of the priory, and from thence taken to the two new commissioners, who examined whether strict observance had been used in taking informations, to the rules prescribed by the statutes; and if it appeared that nothing had been omitted, this verbal process, together with the arms properly blazoned with the eight quarters, were sent to Malta, whence permission was returned to give the habit of the order to the candidate; who from that moment was entitled to wear the golden-cross, which cannot be worn by the serving brothers of arms without the permission of the grand-master; but this may be given verbally.

Four quarters were only requisite in the Italian language, but two hundred years of nobility were necessary for each of

these quarters, viz. the father and mother, the grand-father and grand-mother; and these four houses must each be proved noble for two hundred years. More than four quarters were not required in blazoning the arms, there being no occasion to notice the great-grand-father as in France. In the republics of Genoa and Lucca, and in the territories of the grand-duke, commerce and banking-houses were not derogatory, though they were so in every other priory throughout Italy, and in all the different languages belonging to the order. They have, however, frequently been as little scrupulous in that particular in the pope's dominions, as in Genoa and Florence.

The languages of Arragon and Castille required the candidate to produce the names of the four quarters—that is to say, those of his father and mother, grand-father and grand-mother—and to declare of what country these four houses originally were. Commissioners were then sent thither to take all necessary informations, and particularly to enquire whether these families were descended from Jews or Mahometans, neither of which were admissible into the order; and this circumstance has frequently raised great difficulties in Provence*, and that in the greatest families of the country. The simple testimony of nobles and gentlemen was sufficient to be received into the Arragonian and Castilian languages, without either deeds or contracts.

* The last general chapter softened the severity of this statute.

In the kingdom of Portugal, which made a part of the language of Castille, it was necessary to take either secret or preliminary informations respecting the quality of the houses with four quarters; because the ancient kings of that country had established the custom of carefully preserving the names of all noble families throughout the kingdom, in a public register.

Sixteen quarters were necessary for the reception of a knight of the German language, and the same proofs were required in the noble colleges of that nation. The gentlemen whose testimonial depositions were taken on this occasion were obliged to make oath that all the sixteen quarters were noble; and so strict were they in this language, that they would not pass over one single quarter which had been refused in any college: neither would they admit the natural children of their sovereigns, which were received in all the other languages, and even into that of the Anglo-Bavarian, which in every other particular required the same proofs as the German language.

When all the different proofs required of a knight were made sufficiently clear, he might be admitted into the order at three different times, and at three different ages. He was received *in majority* at sixteen, though he was not obliged to go to Malta before he was twenty; and, indeed, a dispensation was easily obtained for his waiting till he was a little older. Twelve years of age was the time fixed for his being received

page to the grand-master; and he was admitted *in minority* even from his cradle. This last custom was established at the holding of the general chapter in 1631, when it was resolved that a cloister in the style of that at Rhodes* should be built at Malta, in which the members of the order should be lodged separately from the secular inhabitants. Money being wanting in the treasury for so considerable an undertaking, it was determined to raise a sufficient sum for the purpose, by granting a hundred dispensations for receiving an equal number of young children into the order, each of whom was to pay a thousand crowns for the *passage duty*, without reckoning some other trifling ones. These hundred dispensations were presently granted, and the money paid; but the cloister never was built, and the sums thus collected were employed for other purposes: they also invented a very convenient expedient, which was, when there was no general chapter, to have recourse to the authority of the pope, who granted them particular briefs, by which he gave permission for these minority receptions, on condition of paying three hundred and sixty Spanish pistoles † for the passage duty: this duty took its rise from a sum of money which a young gentleman, who was desirous of taking the habit either at Jerusalem or Rhodes, formerly paid to the patron (or guide) who conducted him thither. The passage duty of minority for chap-

* This was called *Collachium*.

† A Spanish pistole is worth eight Maltese crowns and five grains, or sixteen shillings and eight pence.

lains and servants of arms was fixed at two hundred and eighty-eight Spanish pistoles. That of majority for the knights and grand-master's pages at one hundred and twenty-five; that for the chaplains at a hundred; that for the servants of arms at a hundred and fifteen; and that for the brothers de stage at thirty-three. The knights of majority and grand-master's pages of the German language only paid seventy-five pistoles; but those of minority paid exactly the same as the other languages.

The brothers, chaplains, or conventuals, and the servants of arms, were also obliged to make certain proofs; such as that they were of honest parentage, or born of parents who had never been in servitude, or followed any low art or trade. They were likewise required to prove that their fathers, mothers, grand-fathers, and grand-mothers, were all born in lawful wedlock; indeed, they were obliged to produce the same proofs of being free citizens as the knights of justice of being noble. These serving brothers of arms were, in virtue of their religious habit, considered as making part of the body of the order; they were summoned equally with the knights of justice at the election of a grand-master, and gave their votes on the occasion.

The bishop of Malta and the prior of the church of St. John, who were next in rank after the grand-master or his lieutenant in the councils, were always chosen from the body of brother chaplains; but they were the only two out of that class who could have any share in the government, the whole authority being vested in the knights of justice. The brothers of

the church and servants at arms were also received and supported in the same manner as the knights in the inns of their different languages.

There was a palace or inn for each language in Malta, where all the members of the order, whether knights, serving brothers, professed or novices, might equally eat. The commanders seldom went thither: indeed, those who were possessed of a commandery worth two thousand Maltese crowns could not be admitted; neither could the servants of arms, if they had a commandery of a thousand Maltese crowns. The chief of each inn was called the *pillier*, and he received either a sum of money or the equivalent in grain from the treasury, for the provision of the members of his inn. The rest of the expences were paid by himself, for which he was indemnified by the first vacant dignity in his language.

I shall now proceed to give some account of the manner in which the brothers of the order of St. John of Jerusalem were professed. The statutes which treat of their reception are so simple, and, at the same time, so religious, that I thought it best to leave them in their original state, since no change I could possibly make in the expressions would give so just an idea of the subject. But in order to render this article still more complete, I shall add an account of the customs observed in the tribunals for the trial of the knights, for depriving them of the habit, and for restoring it to them; as also the declaration of obedience, and the reception of the

brothers de stage or donats. As I shall cite the oath taken on the occasion from the original text, the extent of their obligations will be better understood. Many authors have given very false ideas of this oath, owing, perhaps, to their never having read it, or to their having interpreted it in a wrong sense.

“ Those who are determined to dedicate themselves to the
“ service of the sick, and to the defence of the Catholic reli-
“ gion, in the habit of our order, are received at their pro-
“ fession in the following manner:—They ought to be perfectly
“ well acquainted that they are about to put off the old man,
“ and to be regenerated, by humbly confessing all their sins,
“ according to the established custom of the church; and, after
“ having received absolution, they are to present themselves in
“ a secular habit, without a girdle, in order to appear perfectly
“ free at the time they enter into so sacred an engagement,
“ with a lighted taper in their hands, representing charity, to
“ hear mass, and to receive the holy communion.”

They afterwards presented themselves most respectfully before the person who was to perform the ceremony, and requested to be received into the company of brothers, and into the holy order of the Hospital of Jerusalem. He then addressed them in a short speech, to confirm them in their pious designs, to explain how salutary and advantageous it was to consecrate themselves to the service of the poor in Christ Jesus, to be constantly employed in works of mercy, and to devote them-

selves to the defence of the Christian faith—a favour which many had vainly attempted to obtain. He proceeded to point out the engagement they were to enter into of perfect obedience;—the severity of the rules, which would no longer permit them to act for themselves, which obliged them absolutely to renounce their own will and pleasure, and implicitly to comply with that of their superiors; so that if ever they felt an inclination to do one thing, they were compelled by their vow of obedience to do another.

He next asked the candidate whether he found himself disposed to submit to all these obligations; whether he had ever before taken the vows in any other order; whether he had ever been married; if his marriage had been consummated; if he owed any considerable sums; and if he were a slave: because, if, after having taken the vows, it were discovered that he had done any of these acts, or had been in the last-mentioned situation, he would be immediately stripped of his habit with disgrace, as a deceiver, and given up to the master to whom he formerly belonged.

If he declared that he had contracted no such engagements, the brother who received him presented him an open missal, on which he placed both his hands, and having answered all the above questions, made his profession in the following terms:

“ Io N. faccio voto e prometto a Dio onnipotente, ed alla Beata Maria sempre Vergine, madre di Dio, ed a San Gio-

vanni Battista di osservare perpetuamente, con l'ajuta di Dio, vera obediienza a qualunque superiore che mi sara dato da Dio, e dalla nostra religione, e di piu vivere senza proprio e d'osservar castita."

"I N. do vow and promise to Almighty God, to the holy
"eternal Virgin Mary, mother of God, and to St. John the
"Baptist, to render, henceforward, by the grace of God, per-
"fect obedience to the superior placed over me by the choice
"of the order, to live without personal property, and to pre-
"serve my chastity."

Having taken his hands from the book, the brother who received him said as follows: "We acknowledge you as the
"servant of the poor and sick, and as having consecrated your-
"self to the defence of the Catholic church." To which he answered: "I acknowledge myself as such." He then kissed the missal, placed it on the altar, which he likewise kissed, and brought it back to the brother who received him, in token of perfect obedience. Upon which, the brother took the mantle, and, shewing him the white cross upon it, thus addressed him: "Do you believe, my brother, that this is the
"symbol of that holy cross to which Jesus Christ was fastened,
"and on which he died for the redemption of our sins?" To which the new brother replied: "Yes, I do verily believe it." The other then added: "It is also the sign of our order, which
"we command you constantly to wear." The new brother then kissed the sign of the cross, and the other threw the mantle

over his shoulders in such a manner that the cross was placed on the left breast. The brother who had received him then kissed him, saying: "Take this sign in the name of the holy Trinity, of the holy eternal Virgin Mary, and of St. John the Baptist, for the encrease of faith, the defence of the Christian name, and for the service of the poor. We place this cross on your breast, my brother, that you may love it with all your heart; and may your right hand ever fight in its defence, and for its preservation! Should it ever happen that, in combatting for Jesus Christ against the enemies of the faith, you should retreat, desert the standard of the cross, and take to flight in so just a war, you will be stripped of this truly holy sign, according to the statutes and customs of the order, as having broken the vow you have just taken, and cut off from our body, as an unsound and corrupt member."

He then put the mantle on the new brother, tied it with strings round his neck, and said: "Receive the yoke of the Lord, for it is easy and light, and you shall find rest for your soul. We promise you nothing but bread and water, a simple habit, and of little worth. We give you, your parents and relations, a share in the good works performed by our order, and by our brothers, both now and hereafter, throughout the world." To which the newly professed knight answered *Amen*, (that is to say) So be it. After which, the brother who had received him, and all who were present on the occasion, embraced and kissed him in token of friendship, peace, and

brotherly love. The priests, particularly he who said mass, then repeated the following prayers :

“ Thou hast showered down thy mercy upon us, oh God!
“ in the midst of thy temple—*Psalm*. The Lord is great, he
“ is worthy to be praised in the city of God, even upon his
“ holy hill, &c.

“ Behold how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren
“ to dwell together in unity, &c. Glory be to the Father, &c.
“ Thou hast showered down, &c. Kyrie eleison, Christe elei-
“ son, Kyrie eleison. Our father, &c. Lead us not into tempta-
“ tion, &c. Save thy servant, oh God! who putteth his
“ trust in thee. Send him help from thy holy place, and from
“ Sion. Defend him, and let the enemy have no advantage
“ over him, nor the wicked one approach to hurt him. Be
“ unto him, oh Lord! a strong tower from the face of his
“ enemy, and from them that persecute him. Lord, hear our
“ prayers, and let our cry come unto thee. The Lord be with
“ you, and with your spirit.

“ Let us pray.

“ Oh God! who convertest the wicked, and desirest not
“ the death of a sinner, we most humbly beseech thy divine
“ Majesty to send the assistance of thy heavenly grace upon
“ this thy servant, who putteth his trust only in thy mercy;
“ and preserve him with thy continual help, that he may
“ always serve thee truly, and never be led astray by any
“ temptation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

“ Let us pray.

“ Oh almighty and everlasting God! who alone workest
“ great marvels, send down upon N. thy servant the healthful
“ spirit of thy grace; and, that he may truly please thee, pour
“ upon him the continual dew of thy blessing, through Jesus
“ Christ our Lord. Amen.

“ Let us pray.

“ The Lord receive thee into the number of the faithful!
“ and, whilst we his unworthy servants receive thee with our
“ prayer, grant thee his grace to do well, with the will to per-
“ severe therein, and bring thee to the happiness of eternal
“ life! that, as brotherly love has united us on earth, the
“ goodness of God, which invigorates that love, may unite us
“ in heaven with his faithful servants. Grant this, oh Lord!
“ through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and
“ reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God,
“ world without end. Amen.”

That the minds of the brothers might not be diverted from the duties of their profession by being engaged in troublesome and tedious law-suits, their predecessors imagined an easy and expeditious method of determining them, by what they called the *egard*, which was put in practice in the following manner:

Eight brothers being chosen, one out of each language, a ninth was called to them from any language at pleasure, who was to act as chief, or president of the *egard*. He was

chosen by the grand-master, or by the marshal, if the brothers happened to be under his jurisdiction; the others were named by the bailiffs, and *proclaimed* by the master equerry. The former, however, were not at liberty to choose any one belonging to the language of the contending parties, unless he was previously approved by them both.

From this *egard* the cause was carried before the *renfort of the egard*, where the number of brothers was doubled, which made two of each language; and from thence before the *renfort of the renfort*, where there were three of each different language: but the president always continued the same. If the parties did not abide by the award of those three *egards*, the *bailiff's egard* was added to them; and this was composed of eight conventual bailiffs, or their lieutenants. The master then named a different president, who was either another bailiff, a prior, or the prior of the church; but if he named a conventual bailiff, an ancient brother of the same language was appointed in his stead.

Every one of the eight had a single vote; the president alone had two, that is to say, the casting vote in case of equality. If there were no proper person for this post in one language, he was chosen out of another, so that each *egard* always consisted of nine members. If one or both the contending parties were bailiffs or priors, the president of all the *egards* must likewise be a bailiff or a prior.

When the parties appeared before the *egard*, the president

asked them whether they objected to any one of their judges; and if they did, the exceptionable person was changed for another: the plaintiff opened his case, and stated his grievance, even though the *egard* was assembled at the request of the defendant. The case having been fully heard, the depositions of the witnesses, which were not allowed to be taken down in writing, but always oral, were summed up. No advocate was permitted to plead except in the absence of the party, or in favour of some particular persons who were entitled to that privilege by the statutes. In this state of the process the parties were ordered to withdraw, and the brothers of the *egard* retired to take the decision into consideration. Two balloting boxes were then brought, one for the *ayes*, the other for the *noes*; and the ballot took place according to seniority. The president, on the parties being called into court, asked them whether or not they were willing to abide by the award of the *egard*; if they consented, they were dismissed a second time, and the president having put in his ball, the boxes were opened in the presence of the *egard*, and the state of the ballot examined: he that had the majority of votes carried his cause. The vice-chancellor committed the decision to writing, and communicated it to the public.

If either or both the parties refused to abide by the award, the vice-chancellor counted the balls a second time, and put down the number of votes for each party at the bottom of the sentence. This writing was kept by the president, and the *ren-*

fort summoned. If the parties still continued dissatisfied, the *renfort of the renforts* was assembled; and afterwards the *renfort of bailiffs*, from which there was no further appeal, and the condemned party was obliged to submit to his fate.

On assembling the *renfort of the renforts* and *egard of the bailiffs*, it was necessary that the president of the first *egard* should be present with some of its members, in order to examine whether the parties had any thing more to say than what they had advanced before the first *egard*, and to incorporate their sentence into that pronounced by the last, that the whole together might form one single judgment.

After the pleadings were over, all the brothers of the first *egard* retired, except, indeed, the president, who kept his place in the *renforts*; and when the *renfort of bailiffs* was about to pronounce sentence, this first president gave his ball in presence of the bailiff's president. The boxes were then opened, and the president of the first *egard* produced the votes in the order they were given, and this before some of the brothers who were present on the occasion. They were then counted, together with those of the *egard of bailiffs*, and the party who had the majority gained his cause, and the sentence was carried into execution.

The votes given by the *egards* were however to be kept secret, not only from the parties themselves, but from the different *egards* till the suit was finished. This manner of judging was formerly called *the justice of the house*. They even

proceeded in this court by default against the absent, that is to say, if they had been legally cited to appear; and no appeals were allowed to be made against the sentences pronounced, because such appeals would have reflected in some degree on the judgment of the court.

The egards were sometimes assembled to take cognizance of complaints made by the grand-master, his lieutenant, the marshal, or any other superior officer. On these occasions they only consisted of eight conventual bailiffs, or their lieutenants, and sometimes of only eight brothers, with either a prior or bailiff, who acted as president, and who was appointed by the grand-master. If the affair concerned the marshal, he made choice of a brother who had but one vote. After sentence was passed, no further appeal could be made to the egards, it being entirely definitive. One of the bailiffs was always of the same language as the accused party. The affair was decided by the majority of votes.

An egard assembled on account of a complaint made by the marshal, or any other superior except the grand-master, was composed of eight brothers, one from each language; but in case one of these languages should not be on the spot, the deficiency was necessarily supplied from another. This sentence was also definitive without appeal to the renfort. Other egards were likewise called in to examine into disputes arising betwixt individuals both in civil and criminal causes, and in that case appeals were made to the renfort, the renfort of ren-

forts, and to the bailiffs. A new tribunal or *egard* was erected in the last general chapter, for those criminal causes which were entitled to appeal from the sentence pronounced by the ordinary council. This was composed of a president named by the grand-master, taken from among the bailiffs *piliers* of the languages or their lieutenants, and of a knight from each language appointed by the said languages for two years. The sentence pronounced by this new tribunal was to be kept secret, and presented three times to the grand-master; when, if confirmed by him, it was executed according to the forms prescribed by the statutes. This tribunal was held in the same hall where the commissioners of state convened by the vice-chancellor were assembled. The appeal from the first sentence must be made within the space of eight days, in order that the members might be assembled on the ninth. If the grand-master or any other superior commanded any thing contrary to the statutes and customs of the order, the brothers were at liberty to call an *egard*; and if the master either refused or delayed its being assembled, the brother might still continue to insist upon it, and was not bound to obey the order given till the *egard* had decided on its propriety: whenever any dispute arose whether or not the *egard* ought to be held, the grand-master or council determined the question.

Whenever any brother of the order committed a crime of such magnitude as to deserve being deprived of the habit, the master, or his lieutenant authorised to act on this

occasion, informed the council of the affair, and asked advice of its members in what manner he should proceed; the council, after maturely deliberating on the nature of the offence, ordered the proofs to be produced, and the information and depositions of the witnesses were received according to the form prescribed by the statutes and customs.

If the crime were thought sufficiently great to deprive the offender of the habit, the master or his lieutenant carried his complaint before the general assembly, which was convened for this purpose by the ringing of a bell, the usual ceremony observed on such occasions. He then made known the crime committed by the accused party: but if he wished to palliate the offence, to prevent the ill effects of so pernicious an example, he only said the offender had wronged the order of more than a silver mark; and this he said in presence of the criminal himself, who was brought into the assembly with a strong guard by the master equerry.

The complaint having been read, the master, or lieutenant who presided in his stead, gave the bailiffs of the egard proper time to examine the business, and to attend to the informations, proofs, and interrogatories, put to the accused party, after which sentence was pronounced "according to the law of God, to right reason, to the statutes, and laudable customs of the order."

The master or his lieutenant then named the president of the egard, and deputed a member of the order of acknow-

ledged integrity, to appear as his attorney and carry on the prosecution; after which, the president and the bailiffs of the *egard* retired into another apartment, where the master's attorney on one side, and the criminal on the other, appeared before them. The attorney demanded that the culprit should be stripped of his habit (if the crime were heinous enough to deserve so severe a punishment), and the offender was allowed to answer and to make his defence. If he confessed his crime and sued for pardon, the *egard* went three several times to the master and to the assembly, to entreat forgiveness for him. If the former thought himself justified by the statutes in granting this request, they proceeded no further; but if he still continued to demand that he should be delivered over to justice, the *egard* returned to the place from whence it came.

If, on the contrary, the criminal denied the fact, the witnesses, informations, and proofs, were produced; and if he were convicted, either by his own confession or by the deposition of the witnesses, the *egard* proceeded to pass sentence, and he was condemned to be stripped of the habit. The master's attorney was then called in, and made acquainted with the sentence; after which he exhorted the criminal to follow the *egard* to the master and the assembly, before whom he again sued for pardon; the *egard* interceded for him. But if the master or his lieutenant continued inexorable, and orders were given to read the sentence, the president and the bailiffs of the *egard*, having received the same orders three several times, pronounced

sentence on the criminal, who, having been declared fully convicted, was condemned to be deprived of the habit.

The sentence having been thus made public, the criminal fell upon his knees before the master, or his lieutenant, and still continued entreating forgiveness; whilst the master equerry stood by his side, ready to execute the orders of the tribunal. The latter then turned towards the culprit, and addressed him in the following terms: "Since by your crimes and disorderly life
" you have proved yourself unworthy of wearing in future the
" sign of the holy cross, and the habit of our order, which we
" bestowed upon you from the good opinion we had formed
" of the purity of your morals, we now deprive you of them;
" and this we do to encourage the worthy and terrify the
" wicked, to whom your fate will serve as an example. We
" therefore cut you off from the noble society of our brothers,
" and throw you from us, as a corrupt and mortified member."
After these words, the master equerry, by command of the grand-master, or his lieutenant, stripped the criminal of his habit, with the following ceremonies. At the first order he received he only placed his hand on the mantle; at the second he untied the strings of the pointed sleeves, letting them in part fall down before; and at the third, he untied the string which fastened on the mantle, and stripped it off his shoulders with these words: "By the authority of the superior, I
" take from you the ties which bound on the yoke of the
" Lord, which is truly easy and light, together with the habit

“ of our order, which you have proved yourself unworthy to wear.”—The culprit was then reconducted to prison.

Should the accused party happen to be absent, he was first cited to appear, according to the form prescribed in the statutes and customs; but if he did not appear, and it was impossible to apprehend him, he was proceeded against as an outlaw; that is to say, if his crime were committed publicly, if it were directly contrary to the institutions of the order, and so notorious as to deserve deprivation of the habit. If then the offence were clearly proved, he was equally condemned by the egard, and the master, or his lieutenant, who declared him deprived of the habit after having observed the above-mentioned forms. A mantle was brought into the midst of the assembly, and, after the third and last command was pronounced, the master equerry took it and carried it away, to the reproach and ignominy of the criminal.

The order was ever accustomed to shew mercy and forgiveness to those who repented of their errors and returned to a regular life. Therefore, whenever one of the brothers who had been deprived of the habit as a punishment for his crimes had done penance for them, and manifested a sincere desire to reform, and by so doing had, according to the statutes, merited forgiveness, it was then thought proper to restore to him the habit, which was done in the following manner.

The grand-master, or his lieutenant, convened the assembly by the ringing of a bell, which being assembled, together

with the bailiffs, priors, other ancients and knights, according to the usual form, the master, or his lieutenant, gave orders to the master equerry to conduct the criminal into their presence; he accordingly appeared in a secular habit (or even in his shirt, with a rope round his neck, if his crime deserved such disgraceful treatment), with his hands joined, and holding a lighted taper, as a sign that he was shortly to be restored to the charitable good-will and affection of the order.

In this situation he threw himself at the feet of the grand-master, and respectfully supplicated his forgiveness, entreating to have the habit restored to him, and to be admitted once more into the society of the brethren; to which the master replied:—" Though it has been clearly proved, that your former faults have been the cause that you were justly deprived of the habit of our order, yet, as we have reason to hope that your conduct will be more regular in future, we will consent to pardon you, to restore you the habit, and to re-admit you into the society of our brethren: endeavour then to live in such a manner, that we may not be obliged a second time to make you feel the severity of justice. The favour we grant you is very great, and is but seldom bestowed: we therefore wish it may tend to the welfare of both your body and your soul."

The master equerry, by command of the grand-master, immediately took a mantle, which he threw over his shoulders,

and having tied it, said: "Receive for the second time the yoke of the Lord, which is easy and light, and may it contribute to the salvation of your soul!"

The restored knight praised God, thanked him for his goodness, and devoted himself to the service of the order.

Though the rules enjoined the brothers to obey all the commands of the grand-master without exception, there were some limits to this obedience, without which affairs could never have been properly regulated: these consisted in the rules, statutes, and laudable customs of the order, which commanded the brothers to obey the master for Jesus Christ's sake. Therefore if the master enjoined any thing over and above what they had promised, he was guilty of a sin which Jesus Christ forbade them to commit, since he required that all their actions should be just and right. This, indeed, was the principal aim of the rules of the order, and to which every article in them solely tended. For this reason, whenever the superior ordered the brothers to perform any thing which appeared to them contrary to the statutes, they were at liberty to call an egard. So far, and no further, did they understand their vow of obedience, which ought never to engage them beyond what was enacted in the statutes, or practised by the laudable customs of the order, which the superior was equally obliged with themselves to observe. If he acted contrary to his oath, a brother was no longer bound to obey him.

Those who were desirous of being received into the con-

fraternity, and to become brothers de stage or donats in the order, presented themselves before the brother who was to receive them, fell on their knees, and placing their hands on the missal which the brother held open, pronounced the following words: “ I, N. promise and vow to Almighty God, “ to the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, to St. John the “ Baptist, and to the master of the order of St. John of Jeru- “ salem, that I will exercise, as far as in me lies, all possible “ good-will, charity, and affection, towards the master, bro- “ thers, and the order at large: that I will defend them and “ their estates to the utmost of my power; and that, if I should “ be unable so to do, I will reveal to them any plot against “ their interest, or indeed any thing prejudicial to them which “ may happen to come to my knowledge: that I will never be “ professed in any other order but in this of St. John. I therefore “ entreat, that, in case I should not make my profession, my “ body at my death may be allowed to be buried in the “ church-yard belonging to the order. I also promise to make “ a present every year at the festival of St. John the Baptist, “ in acknowledgment of my being of the confraternity.”

After these words, the brother who received him thus answered: “ Since you have made the aforesaid promises, we “ admit your soul, and those of your ancestors, to a participa- “ tion in all the divine offices, good works, prayers and masses, “ which shall be done and said for the future in our order;

“ beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to make you partaker
“ thereof.”

The brother then kissed him, as did all the rest who were present; and his name was entered in the register of the confraternity, together with the sum he had promised to give every year.

The above was the ceremony observed at the reception of a brother de stage, except in some particular priories, where the custom was different, and with which, in that case, it was necessary to comply.

CHAP. IV.

A general and analytical Table of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Its origin; Formation and Administration; Priories, Bailiwics, and Commanderies. Bailiwick of Brandenburg; its Separation from, and Reconciliation with, the Order of Malta. Election of the Bailiff. Reception of the Knights. Situation of its Property. Association of the Order of Malta with Knights of a different Religion, approved by the Sovereign Pontiff.

A GENERAL and ANALYTICAL STATEMENT of the ESTABLISHMENT of the ORDER.

Names of the eight languages. The eight dignities annexed to them. The respective functions of each.	Names and number of the priories and bailiwics belonging to each language.	Number of commanderies in each language or priory.	Sum paid into the treasury of the Order, by each language, in 1788.
<p>I. PROVENCE.</p> <p>THE grand-commander: —By virtue of his office, perpetual president of the common treasury, comptroller of the accounts, superintendant of stores, governor of the arsenal, and master of the ordnance. He had the nomination (subject to the approbation of the grand-master and council) of all officers from the different languages; and to this he added the power of appointing to the various places of trust, in the church of St. John, and the infirmary.</p>	Two grand priories.	<p>1 Magisterial. 47 Of knights. 1 <i>Jus patronat.</i> 4 Of serving brothers and chaplains.</p>	Maltese crowns; 477,395.
	St. Giles . . .	<p>1 Magisterial. 24 Of knights. 5 Of serving brothers and chaplains.</p>	
	Toulouse . . .	Bailiwick of Manosque.	

Languages; dignities annexed; and functions.	Priorities and bailiwics belonging to each lan- guage.	Commanderies in each language or priory.	Sum paid in the year 1788.
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Maltese crowns.

2. AUVERGNE.

The grand-marshal:—
Had the military com-
mand over all the order;
excepting the grand
crosses or their lieuten^t,
the chaplains, and other
persons of the grand-
master's household. He
entrusted the grand stan-
dard of the order to that
knight whom he judged
most worthy such dis-
tinction. He had the
right of appointing the
principal equerry; and,
when at sea, command-
ed, not only the general
of the galleys, but the
grand-admiral himself.

Grand priory of Auvergne	<table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="1265 573 1535 623">1 Magisterial.</td> <td data-bbox="1535 657 1649 703" rowspan="4">} 172,823.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1265 623 1535 669">40 Of knights.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1265 669 1535 737">11 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1265 737 1535 762"></td> </tr> </table>	1 Magisterial.	} 172,823.	40 Of knights.	11 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.	
1 Magisterial.	} 172,823.					
40 Of knights.						
11 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.						

Bailiwick of Lyons,
formerly of Luc-
cuil.

3. FRANCE.

The grand-hospitaller:
—Had the direction of
the grand hospital: he
presented the overseer
of the infirmary (who was
a knight of justice), the
prior of the infirmary,
and ten writers to the
council. The officers
who filled these employ-
ments were changed
every two years. The
post of grand-treasurer
belonged to the com-
mandery of St. John of
Cerbal.

Three grand priorities.

France . . .	<table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="1246 1202 1526 1247">2 Magisterial.</td> <td data-bbox="1526 1485 1634 1530" rowspan="3">} 742,823.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1246 1247 1526 1292">45 Of knights.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1246 1292 1526 1394">11 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.</td> </tr> </table>	2 Magisterial.	} 742,823.	45 Of knights.	11 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.
2 Magisterial.	} 742,823.				
45 Of knights.					
11 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.					
Aquitaine . .	<table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="1246 1394 1526 1440">1 Magisterial.</td> <td data-bbox="1526 1485 1634 1530" rowspan="3">} 742,823.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1246 1440 1526 1485">25 Of knights.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1246 1485 1526 1587">5 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.</td> </tr> </table>	1 Magisterial.	} 742,823.	25 Of knights.	5 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.
1 Magisterial.	} 742,823.				
25 Of knights.					
5 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.					
Champagne . .	<table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="1246 1587 1526 1632">1 Magisterial.</td> <td data-bbox="1526 1485 1634 1530" rowspan="3">} 742,823.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1246 1632 1526 1678">17 Of knights.</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="1246 1678 1526 1784">6 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.</td> </tr> </table>	1 Magisterial.	} 742,823.	17 Of knights.	6 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.
1 Magisterial.	} 742,823.				
17 Of knights.					
6 Of serving bro- thers and chap- lains.					

Languages; dignities annexed; and functions. Priors and bailiwics belonging to each language. Contmanderies in each language or priory. Sum paid in the year 1788.

Seven priories.

Maltese crowns.

4 ITALY.

The admiral:—In the grand-marshal's absence, had the command of the soldiery equally with the seamen: he also appointed the *prud'homme*, or comptroller, and secretary of the arsenal; and when he demanded to be named to the generalship of the galleys, the grand-master was obliged to propose him to the council, which was at liberty to approve or reject him at pleasure.

Lombardy . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 35 Knights.	} 564,802.
Rome	{ 1 Magisterial. 18 Knights.	
Venice	{ 1 Magisterial. 27 Knights. 1 <i>Jus patronat.</i>	
Pisa	{ 1 Magisterial. 11 Knights. 4 Chaplains and serving brothers.	
Capua	{ 1 Magisterial. 16 Knights. 3 Chaplains and serving brothers.	
Barletta	{ 1 Magisterial. 10 Knights. 1 Chaplain and serving brother.	
Messina	{ 1 Magisterial. 10 Knights.	

Bailiwics.

- St. Euphemia.
- St. Stephen.
- Holy Tripity of Venousa.
- St. John of Naples, Turin.
- St. Sebastian, jus patronat of the Barberini family.

Languages; dignities annexed; and functions. Priors and bailiwics belonging to each language. Commanderies in each language or priory. Sum paid in the year 1788.

	Three priories.		Maltese crowns.
5. ARRAGON. The draper, or the grand - conservator :— Was charged with every thing relative to the conservatory, to the clothing, and to the purchase of all necessary articles, not only for the troops, but the hospital, &c.	Arragon, or Castellan d'Emposta.	{ 1 Magisterial. 29 Knights.	} 276,137.
	Catalonia . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 28 Knights.	
	Navarre	{ 1 Magisterial. 17 Knights.	
	Bailiwics.		
	Negropont, in common with the language of Castille.		
	Majorca.		
	Caspa.		
Two priories.			
6. ENGLAND (since ANGLO-BAVARIAN language.) <i>Turcopolier.</i> (<i>Turcopolle</i> formerly signified, in the language of the Levant, <i>light-horseman.</i>) The Turcopolier commanded the cavalry, and the guard stationed on the coast.	Ebersberg . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 24 Knights. 4 Chaplains.	} 5175, and ought afterwards to have produced 15,120 Maltese crs. 15,880, for the priory of Poland, before its union with that of Russia. This sum ought, at least, to be doubled.
	Poland (now Russia)	{ 20 Knights. 3 Chaplains. 9 <i>Jus patronat.</i>	
Bailiwic.			
	Neuburg.		

Languages; dignities annexed; and functions. Priors and bailiwics belonging to each language. Commanderies in each language or priory. Sum paid in the year 1788.

	Four priories.	Commanderies in each language or priory.	Sum paid in the year 1788.
<p>7. GERMANY. The grand-bailiff of the order.—His jurisdiction comprised all the fortifications of the old city. He also commanded in the castle of Goza.</p>	Germany . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 26 Knights. 4 Chaplains.	} 98,291. Maltese crowns.
	Bohemia . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 19 Knights. 4 Chaplains.	
	Dacia . . .		
	Bailwic: Brandenburg.		

	Three priories.	Commanderies in each language or priory.	Sum paid in the year 1788.
<p>8. CASTILLE. The grand-chancellor:—Always presented the vice-chancellor to the council: his presence was likewise necessary whenever any <i>bulls</i> were stamped with the great seal, and he was obliged to sign them according to the 35th statute <i>de Bejulis</i>. Those who filled this office were required to know how to write and read.</p>	Castille . . .	{ 1 Magist. 13 Knights.	} 375,335.
	Leon	23 Knights.	
	Portugal, or Crato.	{ 1 Magisterial. 20 Knights. 6 Chaplains and serving brothers.	
	Bailiwics. Negropont, in common with the language of Arragon. Lora. St. Sepulchre. Zango, or Zera de las Neuve-Villas.		

Languages; dignities annexed; and functions.	Priories and bailiwics belonging to each lan- guage.	Commanderies in each language or priory.
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Two priories.

Ancient language of ENGLAND. <i>Turcopolier.</i>	{	England . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 32 Knights.
		Ireland . . .	{ 1 Magisterial. 20 Knights.
		Bailwic. D'Aquila.	

New grand priory of
RUSSIA, of the Greek
church.

One priory.

{	98 Knights.
	17 Knights founded since, on the re- venue of the post.
	20 <i>Jus patronat.</i>

The commanderies, and all other charges and property, in whatsoever country they were situated, belonged to the body of the order. These were let out in former times to receivers and secular farmers, who paid the rent into the common treasury: but the city of Jerusalem being at so great a distance (as was also the Island of Rhodes), the farmers were not always faithful to their trust; for which reason, the administration of this property was transferred to the grand-priors, who had each his particular district.—This was at first a simple deposit placed in their hands; but they soon encroached so far as to suppose it gave them a title to consider the property as their own: they therefore frequently on different pretences, and sometimes

without any whatsoever, applied it to their own use. This disorderly conduct forced the general chapters, and in default of such meetings the councils, to have recourse to a fresh expedient; which was, to name a knight of known property, and disinterested disposition, to superintend each estate and portion of property belonging to the order in the same district; but the time he continued in this office entirely depended on the good-will and pleasure of the council. The order sometimes entrusted this knight with the education of the young novices; and there was always a father-chaplain in this small community to say mass. The knight, who acted as superior, was first called *preceptor* and afterwards *commander*, which at that time only implied that the education of the young knights and the superintendence of the property of the order were recommended to his care. He was allowed to employ a portion of the revenue for the maintenance of his community, and for the relief of the poor in his district. He was also required to send a certain sum every two years to the common treasury, which was to be in proportion to the annual produce of the commandery. This feudal rent was called *responsion*, and has continued in use to the present times. The general chapters had a right to augment these *responsions* during war, and, indeed, whenever the order was in want of such supply.

To prevent the different cabals which might take place in a military order, and which would be attended by very ill consequences—or rather, perhaps, to afford a retreat for those

knights who had served the order for a long course of years—it was resolved that the administration of those commanderies should be bestowed according to seniority; but, to keep them constantly in a proper state of dependence on their superiors, they were committed to their management by the council for a limited time—*ad decem annos, aut amplius, ad bene placitum nostrum*—according to the grants issued out by the court of chancery of Malta. If statutes were made to shew the particular circumstances which would authorise the displacing a commander, there were likewise others which were not only very prudent ones, but extremely encouraging to those who had acted well in their administration; since, after five years' possession, and after the commander had sufficiently convinced the order of his good management, and of his having improved his commandery, he had a right to demand that he should be appointed to a richer and more considerable one.

That the estates of the order might be properly managed in different countries, they were divided into portions, and placed under the inspection of the grand-priors, who were appointed to watch over the conduct of the knights and commanders who resided in their priories. They also presided at the provincial chapters; and when absent named a lieutenant to act in their place*.

* The grand-prior was obliged to visit the commanderies once in five years, and to order all proper repairs; which commands must be obeyed: for in case of refusal, the person or persons were rendered incapable of being promoted. An appeal, however, might be made to the council on this occasion.

There are three different kinds of bailiffs in the order :—the *conventual*, the *capitular*, and the bailiffs *per favorem et ad honores*.

The conventual bailiffs were so called, because it was their duty to reside in the convent. They were chosen by the languages of which they were the chiefs, and the *pilliers* of the inns. There was one to each language.

These knights were next in rank to the grand-master ; and though this dignity might have been changed according to seniority, yet the rule was not so absolutely obligatory as to preclude the languages and council from choosing those who appeared to them the most worthy of such distinction. Besides the conventual bailiffs attached to each language, there were two others raised to that dignity, viz. the bishop of Malta, and the prior of the church of St. John ; these were selected from the class of chaplains, and were the only two of that rank who were allowed to fill any of the dignified offices in the order.

Four of these eight conventual bailiffs were constantly obliged to reside in the convent, and indeed none were at liberty to absent themselves without the permission of the complete council : two votes out of three were necessary to obtain that permission ; and since the languages could not remain without a chief, they always named a lieutenant, to act for each absentee.

Though the capitular bailiffs were not forced, like the con-

ventual ones, to residence, a general chapter could not possibly be held without those grand crosses, or at least without their proxies.

The third kind of bailiffs were chosen by favour *et ad honores*; and in default of a general chapter by the grand-master and council, under the sanction of a bull from the pope for that purpose. They enjoyed this prerogative a great length of time; but, in order to avoid the pressing recommendation of the different Christian powers, the grand-master and council gave up their right to this presentation; the popes, however, in quality of first superiors, supplied their place, and named these bailiffs in default, or in the absence, of the general chapter. These abuses of the pope's briefs were carried to such a length, that the order warmly, and indeed very justly, remonstrated against such proceedings; and it was then agreed that the pope should never confer this dignity on any one without the consent of the grand-master and council. Pope Pius VI. in 1785, decided that in future none but the generals of the galleys should have the grand cross by favour, and this determination has been adhered to ever since.

The bailiffs by favour had a right to assist at the council; but when there was question of presenting to commanderies, or any other vacant dignity, this title gave them no preference to those knights who had been received into the order prior to themselves, and who as such were always regarded as their superiors.

In former times all honorary offices were bestowed on the different languages indiscriminately, to be enjoyed only from one general chapter to another. The chapters then transferred such appointments to those who appeared most worthy of them; and ever since the end of the fourteenth century, they have been bestowed exclusively on the languages to which each office was particularly attached.

Mention ought to be made of the bailiwick of Brandenburg, which has ever been composed of the first Protestant nobility in Germany, and which had its origin at the time of the reformation, when the order suffered a dismemberment. This article may possibly appear to belong more particularly to the historical part of my work; I have, however, preferred inserting it here, and thus finishing every thing relative to the subject.

The great distance of the chief place of residence of the order of St. John of Jerusalem from Germany, together with the ambitious views of some of the members, induced the grand-prior of Germany and the bailiff of Brandenburg to separate from the order, and to make themselves independent*. The divisions which took place in the convent during the reign of Foulques de Villaret, appeared to them a favourable opportunity to carry their plan into execution.

The conqueror of Rhodes having tarnished the glory of his arms by the luxury of his court, the effeminacy of his con-

* 1309.

duct, and the despotism of his government, was deposed by the knights in a general chapter, and Maurice de Pugnac appointed to succeed him. This election was not approved by the pope, but the knights of the language of Germany persisted in acknowledging for sovereign the new grand-master they had chosen, and for a time separated themselves from the order. The knights of the bailiwick of Brandenburg went still greater lengths, placed themselves under the immediate protection of the elector Waldemar, adopted the name of knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and chose a superior to whom they gave the title of master. This schism continued till 1382, when it was settled by a treaty concluded at Heimbach in Alsatia; one of the articles of which was, that the knights who had retreated to Brandenburg should be allowed to choose a bailiff or master; this choice, however, to be approved and confirmed by the grand-prior of Germany. The bailiffs of Brandenburg continued thus subject to the order till the reformation; when the Protestant religion having made great progress in Brandenburg, Saxony, and the neighbouring countries, the knights of these different nations embraced the new mode of worship; and the laws made at the peace of Augsburg* and Westphalia relative to church lands, and other ecclesiastical property, were established in favour of those of Malta.

The house of Prussia took the bailiwick of Brandenburg

* Called the peace of religion.

under its protection, and would not allow the commanderies situated in that country to be abolished.

The bailiff of Brandenburg had formerly commanderies under his jurisdiction, in the same manner as the grand-priories of the order. Six out of the thirteen in his dependence were destroyed by the Lutherans, and the others remain till this day.

None were elected bailiffs of Brandenburg but persons of the highest distinction; and from the beginning till very nearly the end of the seventeenth century, this post was always filled by one of the reigning royal family of Prussia; since that time, a prince of the younger branch of the same family has constantly been chosen for this high office.

The peace of Westphalia had exempted the bailiwick of Brandenburg from the payment of all future taxes to Malta, after having once given the sum of 2400 golden florins. The knights, notwithstanding, unwilling to be entirely separated from the order of St. John, frequently proposed paying responsibilities for their benefices to the grand-prior of Germany: they likewise offered sums of money for the maintenance of the squadron belonging to the order; and many among them even requested to make their caravans on board the Maltese galleys. But the knights of St. John absolutely refused to listen to any of these proposals; and all hopes of a reconciliation appeared to have vanished, when Frederic the Great of Prussia, wishing to favour the pretensions of his brother prince Fer-

dinand, who had been elected bailiff of Brandenburg, contrived to effect it;—an event which, without such an able negociator, would, most probably, never have taken place.

The chevalier Manchon, a captain in his Prussian majesty's service, was appointed in 1763 to repair to the grand-prior of Germany, to demand the confirmation of prince Ferdinand in his new dignity: he was likewise employed to settle a dispute which had arisen long before on account of the bailiwick of Brandenburg having discontinued paying some rents due to the order. After various negotiations, it was agreed that the ancient connection between the Protestant knights and those of Malta should be renewed*, and that they should pay responsions into the common treasury in the same manner as the Catholic commanderies. From that time the Protestant knights were treated as brethren † by the grand-prior of Germany, and allowed to take the title of knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

On examining the rules and statutes adopted by the bailiwick of Brandenburg for the reception of a brother, and also for its administration, it will appear that they were very much

* See a letter from the grand-prior of Germany, dated the 16th of May, 1763, to prince Ferdinand, and another of the same date addressed to the general chapter.

† See letter from the procurator of the common treasury to the commander Forel, receiver for the order of Malta in upper and lower Germany, dated 11th September, 1763, and signed by the secretary of the common treasury. Likewise the magisterial bull of the grand-master Emanuel Pinto, dispatched by the vice-chancellor of the order on the 9th of May, 1764.

the same as those formerly employed in the language of Germany, subject, indeed, to some modifications occasioned by the difference of religion, and form of government.

Within the bailiwick of Brandenburg, all claimants to be received into the order of St. John of Jerusalem must apply to the bailiff, whose answer either the council or regency returns. If it be favourable, the candidate must first produce a tree of genealogy comprising the sixteen heraldic quarters indispensable for his reception. He is moreover held to adduce proofs of the day of the birth and demise of such ancestors as are therein recited; and the whole exemplification must be signed, being first duly sealed with their arms, by four gentlemen sworn to the truth of their depositions—two to the proofs on the paternal, and two to those on the maternal, side.

To these formal investigations succeeds a re-examination of the genealogical proofs of the candidate, entered upon by the regency and two commanders bound by their oaths to pass over no defect; when, in the case of a favourable issue, a letter is dispatched by the bailiff of Brandenburg to announce his reception (this is called a letter of *reversion*), in which is mentioned the commandery to which he may in future have pretensions, together with the names of all those knights who have an equal right to aspire to that dignity*:

* This letter is signed by the bailiff, the chancellor, and several commanders.

from that moment he is inscribed as belonging to the order, and his right of seniority commences from the same time. The expence of obtaining this first letter is about fifty-five crowns; and the other fees paid into the receiver's office of the bailiwick, amount to three hundred and thirty. The reception of a knight may, indeed, be estimated at a hundred pounds sterling, on account of journey and other necessary expences. According to the statutes, the candidate must be a native of Germany, and of the Protestant religion, though this rule has been deviated from on two or three occasions*. The reverſionary letters are never sent to any candidate under the age of fourteen years, and no one can be received into the order before eighteen. The ceremony of reception is performed by the bailiff, who is at liberty to delay it till the knight is called upon to take possession of the commandery allotted to him from the beginning. Whenever the bailiff thinks proper to create professed knights, and to permit them to wear the cross, he makes choice among the persons inscribed as candidates for the commanderies of those he particularly approves, and appoints a day for them to attend at *Sonneburg* †, the principal place of residence in the bailiwick, and where the ceremony of reception is always performed in the following manner:—

The bailiff, seated in a chair of state facing the altar,

* In favour of the count de Bestucheff, the Russian minister at the court of Prussia (who received the cross of honour), and of a Swedish gentleman.

† A small town, thirteen German miles from Berlin.

causes the new knight to advance, who, being asked the usual questions relative to the favour he is come to request, and that favour being granted, kneels down, and laying his hand on the New Testament, takes the following oath, which is read to him by the chancellor. "I swear to be faithful and obedient to
" the order ; to do every thing in my power to contribute to
" its glory, prosperity, and utility ; to combat every thing pre-
" judicial to its well-being ; never to act contrary to its dignity,
" but to conduct myself always as a true knight, that is to
" say, as a good Christian and a man of honour."

Having thus made oath in presence of the bailiff, the knight prostrates himself before the altar ; and the bailiff, who alone has the right of wearing the golden spur, gives him three strokes on the shoulder with the sword of the order, saying each time, *better knight than vassal* *. The bailiff then returns to his seat, presents the professed with the small cross of white cloth, and ties on the golden one. One of the ancient knights throws over his shoulders the black cloak and white cross.

The reception being over, the chancellor reads aloud the engagements contracted by the new knights. These principally consist in defending the Christian religion at the risk of their lives ; in fighting for their country, and the king of Prussia their protector, in preference to all other sovereign princes ; in never abandoning their colours, or yielding them-

* In German, *besser Ritter als Knecht*.

selves prisoners to a common soldier ; in protecting and assisting widows, orphans, and all distressed persons ; in never quitting the cross ; in never suffering a blow ; in loving and esteeming virtue and honour, and being particularly prudent, just, brave, sober, humble, and charitable. They are likewise enjoined, on pain of being regarded as effaced from the list of knights, to give intelligence every year, not only of their places of residence, but of their different employments.

The chancellor having finished reading, each new knight passes in order before the bailiff, who is placed at the altar, and who gives his hand to each, saying, *I wish you all prosperity, and heavenly blessings.* The commanders and knights then advance towards the newly professed, whose hands they press, in token of fraternity. The gentle tap on the cheek given to the Catholic knights, after they have received the cloak and cross, is omitted on this occasion ; neither is the vow of chastity and poverty enjoined.

The knights of the bailiwick of Brandenburg wear, by consent of the king of Prussia, a scarlet uniform, with white lapels, cuffs, and collar, and metal buttons, on which is the cross with eight points. The golden cross differs from that worn by the Catholic knights, having the Prussian eagle in the four angles of white enamel, instead of the *fleurs de lys*. The Protestant commanders have larger crosses than the other knights, and have alone the privilege of wearing a *soubreveste*.

The bailiff elected in the assembly of the chapter held at

Sonneburg takes his oath of allegiance to the king of Prussia, and acknowledges as feudal lord the elector of Saxony from the bailiwics of Friedland and Seckendorff, in Lower Lusatia, being in his dominions. The bailiff likewise swears to fulfil his engagements contracted with the grand-prior of Germany and the order of Malta. His residence is fixed at Sonneburg, a small town, with a castle and large church, between Frankfort on the Oder and Custrin. All affairs relative to the bailiwics are settled in this place, where the assemblies of the knights are likewise held. The greatest part of the estates in their dependance enjoy great privileges, such as what is termed high and low justice. There is a regency at Sonneburg, composed of a chancellor and counsellors, before whom not only the vassals of the bailiwick but the commanders are obliged to appear.

The revenue of the bailiff, who is esteemed the first prelate in the electorate of Brandenburg, is about thirty thousand crowns; and consists in the bailiwics of Sonneburg, Rampiz, Gruneberg, Collin, Friedland, and Seckendorff. The commanderies differ in value, but none among them produce an income of more than ten thousand crowns, nor any less than three thousand.

*A General STATEMENT of the COMMANDERIES in the
Bailiwick of BRANDENBURG.*

Names of the Com- manderies.	Situation.	Origin.	Observations.
1. and 2. Lagon . New Mark .		Founded towards the end of the 13th century, and belonged to the Templars	Divided lately into two commanderies.
3. and 4. Liezen . Middle Mark		Foundation un- known. Tem- plars.	Also lately divided into two command- eries.
5. Schievelbein . New Mark .		Exchanged for that of Quart- schen in 1540, by the mar- grave Joachim II. Quartschen was given, in 1232, by Ula- dislaus duke of Poland to the Templars.	The commander is also bailiff or Landvoigt* of the circle of Schi- velbein and Dlam- burg, for which rea- son those who have obtained a reversion- ary letter must ask the elector to be nominated to that bailiwick.
6. Werben . . . Old Mark .		Founded by the margrave Al- bert, who reign- ed from 1142 to 1170.	Near this place Charles Gustavus king of Sweden took the fa- mous camp of Wer- ben, in 1631.
7. Wittersheim	{ Duchy of Min- den, in West- phalia . . . }	Bought by the baili- wic.	
8. Supplingen- burg . . .	{ Duchy of Bruns- wick . . . }	Founded by the emperor Lotha- rio II. in 1130. Templars.	This commandery is al- ternatively possessed by a prince of the house of Brunswick and by a knight.

* Prefectus.

Such are the present possessions of the bailiwick of Brandenburg, which were formerly much more considerable. Though the knights can no longer have hopes of recovering the property of which they have been deprived, they still lay claim to two commanderies, named Mizow and Nemerow, situated in Mecklenburg, and of which the dukes of that country took possession at the peace of Westphalia.

The responsions of the commanderies do not amount in the whole to more than three hundred and twenty-four golden florins, thirty of which make fifty German crowns, to be paid for each commandery to the chamber of Sonneburg.

All Catholic historians having either neglected giving any account of this dismemberment of the order, or having spoken of it in terms which nothing but the fanaticism of the times could possibly excuse, I feel happy in an opportunity of mentioning many particulars on the subject, and of acquainting the reader, contrary to the opinion generally received, that the order of Malta, though it regrets the motives which have occasioned its separation from the knights of a different religion, does not refuse them a place among its members to fight against the enemies of Jesus Christ. Pope Pius the Sixth, whose virtues struck with awe even the cruel monsters his persecutors, was of the same opinion, and approved the association of the Russian knights of the Greek church with the order of Malta. It may indeed be reasonably expected, that such an

union will be attended by the most edifying and advantageous consequences.

It would be unjust not to give due praise to the conduct which the kings of Prussia have always held towards an order from which, to all appearance, they could not reap the smallest benefit. The despotism of this military kingdom has been constantly spoken of with disapprobation, as have the methods employed by its most powerful sovereigns to amass riches; yet Frederick the Great, in the most disastrous moments of his reign, never attempted to possess himself of the wealth belonging to the bailiwick of Brandenburg. By thus respecting the rights of man, of which the first and greatest is undoubtedly that of property, he not only inspired general confidence, but gained the affection of his nobility, the firmest support of his throne. This support, and a sentiment of justice, were, in his opinion, of much more importance than the momentary relief afforded by such an usurpation.

As an able administrator, he looked forward into futurity; and was perfectly convinced, that those ministers who advised such appropriation to supply the exigence of the moment were preparing the way to the ruin of their country, and the fall of their sovereign.

The property belonging to the French clergy, estimated at a hundred millions of livres a-year, was no sooner placed in the hands of government, to cover a *deficit* of at least sixty

millions, than its credit fell; and when to these resources were added the domains themselves, together with those of the richest proprietors, it was totally annihilated, and a general bankruptcy ensued. Yet this government was in possession of the largest capital at its own disposal that ever existed; and, had a very small part of it been regularly sold, it would have been sufficient to have made up the *deficit*, and to have paid both interest and principal of all the debts.

The consequence of thus destroying the nobility, the different orders of chivalry, and all the powerful bodies, which, even while combating the power of the throne, were its principal support, became the overthrow of the sovereign himself.

Frederick the Great, when in possession of Silesia, suffered all the Catholic commanderies belonging to the order of St. John of Jerusalem to remain in that country; and this, because he very well knew, that the knights of Malta were educated in those strict principles of honour which would make them faithful subjects and worthy citizens; and because, being sovereign of a country the very existence of which depends upon the military, he felt the necessity of preserving an order which kept up the spirit of warlike enthusiasm and the ideas of glory, and called to remembrance the performance of extraordinary exploits.

The same weighty considerations which engaged Frederick to suffer the order of St. John to remain in his dominions, have likewise induced the most celebrated princes to create

orders of knighthood to strengthen their government, to keep up their grandeur, and support their weakness. If, in these present days, the chiefs of the countries in which the order possesses any property were actuated by the same sentiments, there would be no cause to apprehend that a minister could be found so basely perfidious as to propose the invading such property, or a monarch so weakly his own enemy as to give a sanction to such conduct.

C H A P. V.

A general Chapter; how composed; Manner of assembling it; of deliberating, and collecting Votes; Affairs treated therein; Time of its Duration. Ordinary, Complete, Secret, and Criminal Councils. Manner in which the Dignities of the Order were divided among the different Languages. Names of the Places in the Gift of the Grand-Master and Council. Election of the Grand-Master; his Revenue.

HAVING already mentioned that the legislative power was vested in the general chapter, and the principal part of the executive entrusted to the councils, it will be now necessary to speak of their origin, composition, and functions.

In former times the general chapters were regularly held every five years, and in urgent cases were even convened once in three years; but these assemblies afterwards only met every tenth year, and there was an interval of nearly a century and a half between the last two that were held*: the popes and grand-masters being constantly agreed in avoiding these meetings, which, as has been already observed, were both troublesome and dangerous.

The persons of whom these assemblies were composed, and the ceremonies observed on the occasion, were as follow: After hearing a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, the grand-master entered the hall where the general chapter was held,

* The first of these two chapters was held in 1631, during the grand-mastership of Antoine de Paule; and the second in that of the grand-master Rohan, in the year 1776.

and seated himself under a canopy, on a throne raised three steps from the ground. Those members of the chapter who filled any dignified post, and who were fifty-four in number, were placed in the following order :

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. The bishop. | 27. The grand-prior of Germany. |
| 2. The prior of the church. | 28. The grand-prior of Ireland. |
| 3. The grand-commander. | 29. The grand-prior of Bohemia. |
| 4. The marshal. | 30. The grand-prior of Hungary. |
| 5. The hospitaller. | 31. The bailiff of St. Euphemia. |
| 6. The admiral. | 32. The grand-prior of Catalonia. |
| 7. The grand-conservator. | 33. The bailiff of Negropont. |
| 8. The grand-bailiff. | 34. The bailiff of the Morea. |
| 9. The grand-chancellor. | 35. The bailiff of Venusia. |
| 10. The grand-prior of St. Giles. | 36. The bailiff of St. Stephen. |
| 11. The grand-prior of Auvergne. | 37. The bailiff of Majorca. |
| 12. The grand-prior of France. | 38. The bailiff of St. John of Naples. |
| 13. The grand-prior of Aquitaine. | 39. The bailiff of Lyons. |
| 14. The grand-prior of Champagne. | 40. The bailiff of Manosque. |
| 15. The grand-prior of Toulouse. | 41. The bailiff of Brandenburg. |
| 16. The grand-prior of Rome. | 42. The bailiff of Caspa. |
| 17. The grand-prior of Lombardy. | 43. The bailiff of Lora. |
| 18. The grand-prior of Venice. | 44. The bailiff of Aquila. |
| 19. The grand-prior of Pisa. | 45. The bailiff of Lango and Loza. |
| 20. The grand-prior of Barletto. | 46. The bailiff of St. Sepulchre. |
| 21. The grand-prior of Messina. | 47. The bailiff of Cremona. |
| 22. The grand-prior of Capua. | 48. The grand-treasurer. |
| 23. The castellan of Emposta, or the
grand-prior of Arragon. | 49. The bailiff of Neuvillas. |
| 24. The grand-prior of Crato, or of
Portugal. | 50. The bailiff of Acre. |
| 25. The grand-prior of England. | 51. The bailiff of La Rocella. |
| 26. The grand-prior of Navarre. | 52. The bailiff of Armenia. |
| | 53. The bailiff of Carlostad. |
| | 54. The bailiff of St. Sebastian. |

The second day of this assembly three commanders of three different languages were elected according to the ma-

majority of votes, by the members of the chapter, to examine the proxies who acted for the absent languages, priories, priors, and bailiffs. If their procuration was in due form, they were permitted to vote; if not, they were excluded from the assembly. When the number of the members of the chapter was once fixed, every one, according to his official rank and to that of his language, presented a purse containing five pieces of silver, and this he gave as *a tribute of homage*. The marshal, from the same principle, delivered up the grand standard, and the most distinguished officers the ensigns of their different dignities. These were not returned till the chapter had passed a fresh grant for that purpose. This custom, which cannot be too much admired, had been established from time immemorial in the order of Malta.

Three commissaries of different nations were chosen at the same time to receive all petitions during the first three days of the assembly, and these were either granted or rejected by the general chapter; but, as the great number of members of which it was composed would have made it very tedious to have examined particularly into every different subject, a committee of sixteen members, who were all commanders, was appointed to decide on the occasion. Two of these commanders were named by each of the eight languages; and after being elected in due form, they made oath before the grand-master, who, with the other members of the chapter, likewise swore to adopt and ratify all their determinations.

This committee withdrew to a separate apartment to deliberate on the different affairs to be brought before the chapter; but, lest these sixteen commanders should not be sufficiently acquainted with the real interests of the order, and perhaps from the idea that resolutions might be taken contrary to the grand-master's wishes, his solicitor, with the vice-chancellor and secretary of the treasury, were admitted into this private assembly, though without the privilege of voting; the sixteen alone having the right of regulating, ordaining, and judging definitively (without appeal) of all affairs referred to them by the general chapter. These great assemblies never lasted more than a fortnight, and if at the expiration of that time any business remained unsettled, it was left to be determined by other commissaries, who were termed the *council of reservation*.

Independently of this occasional council, there were always four others in Malta, which supplied the place of the general chapter, viz. the common, the complete, the secret, and the criminal councils.

The common council consisted of the grand-master, the conventual bailiffs, the knights dignified with the grand cross residing at the time in Malta, and the proxies of the different languages. All disputes relative to receptions, pensions, commanderies, dignities, and other subjects arising from bulls granted by the order, were decided in this council, which differed very little from the complete one, except indeed that in the latter two ancient knights were added from each language;

who, to entitle them to be admitted into the assembly, must have resided at least five years in the convent. Appeals were made to this council from the common and the criminal ones, and it was only of late years that the custom of appealing to Rome was first introduced; but it soon became so common, that in default of a general chapter, affairs of all kinds were carried before that court, which alone gave dispensations, made knights of minority, knights, bailiffs, and grand crosses, by favour. It was indeed much to be apprehended, that bestowing dignities with so lavish a hand on particular persons, would in the end have ruined the whole body of the order.

The secret council took cognizance of all state affairs, together with extraordinary and unexpected cases, which required an immediate decision. Any serious cause of complaint against either a knight or a brother was brought before this council, at which the grand-master or his lieutenant always presided. The former had the sole right of proposing the subjects of debate; he had likewise the privilege of giving two votes, and when the number was equal, his vote was the casting one.

There was also another council, usually called the venerable chamber of the treasury, and which, in fact, was the exchequer of the order.

Before the conventual and capitular dignities were appropriated to, and divided between, the languages, the general chapter, as has been observed in another part of this history,

bestowed them on the worthiest members of the community, without regarding any particular nation. But since the year 1466 these posts have been attached to the different languages, and the *pilliers*, or conventual bailiffs, have had a right to claim the first vacant dignity. For instance, in the language of Provence, the grand-commander might demand either the grand-priory of St. Giles, that of Toulouse, or the bailiwick of Manosque. The grand-marshal in the language of Auvergne might likewise lay claim to the grand-priory of the same name, or to the bailiwick of Lyons; but if once he was named to one of these titles, he could not afterwards apply for another.

Though the commanderies in the language of France were particularly annexed to each priory, yet still the great dignities appropriated to that language were bestowed indiscriminately on all the knights of the three priories belonging to the same nation; so that, independently of these priories, seniority alone decided in favour of the knights of the French language of the three grand-priories of France, Aquitaine, and Champagne; and according to that seniority they were named to the bailiwick of the Morea held in Paris, to that of St. John de Lateran, and to the treasurership which was united to the priory of Corbeil.

The dignities and commanderies were in common in the language of Italy.

The language of Arragon was composed not only of knights of that kingdom, but of those from Catalonia and Na-

varre. If the grand-conservator happened to be either an Arragonian or a native of Valencia, he had a right to the castellany of Emposta, otherwise called the grand-priory of Arragon.

The bailiwick of Majorca was bestowed indiscriminately on the inhabitants of that island, or on the Catalonians; and the bailiwick of Caspa on the Arragonians and Valencians. From this dignity the professor was named for the castellany of Emposta.

The title of the bailiwick of Negropont, at present *in partibus* and possessed by the Turks, was alternatively given to the languages of Arragon and Castille. This might be quitted to become chief of the inn, and also by the mutation of the same bailiwick.

The dignity of grand-bailiff belonged indiscriminately to the German and Bohemian knights. This gave a right to the grand-priory of Germany, which was of more ancient date in the order than the grand-bailiwick.

The chancellor might have been named grand-prior of Castille, and in that case he became a grandee of Spain. The grand-priory of Crato was in Portugal; but the grand-chancellor could not be appointed to it, lest he should offend the king of Portugal, who pretended that the patronage of that dignity belonged to his crown.

The grand-commander, who was *pillier* of the language of Provence, might formerly have held the grand-priory of Hun-

gary. Some time afterwards it became the privilege of the admiral, who, for the time being, was pillar of the Italian language; but, in consequence of the abdication of the Italians in 1603, this dignity became the property of the language of Germany, and was bestowed in common on the knights of that country, and on those of Bohemia.

Though the provinces of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, were formerly the ancient *Duci*, the order of St. John gave the name of *Duci*, in the language of the middle age, to the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

In the History of the Knights of Rhodes, mention is made, that the grand-master de Gozon (Deodato) wrote into these provinces to order responsions to be sent from thence; and that in 1464 visitors were sent thither to keep up a proper degree of regular and military discipline.

Independently of the dignified offices to which the members of the order were elevated in the above-mentioned manner, there were other posts and employments which we shall proceed to enumerate, together with the persons who nominated to them.

The grand-master had a right to appoint his own lieutenant, and after having named him, he acquainted the council with his choice, though neither its approbation nor consent was requisite on the occasion. He likewise named the senechal of his household, who, on entering this office, received a brief from the pope, to enable him to enjoy it for life.

The vice-chancellor was appointed by the grand-chancellor, the secretary of the treasury by the grand-master, and the master equerry by the grand-marshal. The grant of each of these three posts was confirmed by the complete council, and was for life.

The following officers were chosen by the grand-master :

- The *cavalerizze*, or master of the horse.
- The receiver of the grand-master's revenue.
- The steward of the household.
- The grand-master's solicitor of the treasury.
- The grand-chamberlain.
- The deputy-steward of the household.
- The *sub-cavalerizze*, or first gentleman of the horse.
- The falconer.
- The captain of the guards.
- Three auditors.
- The almoner and four chaplains.
- Four chamberlains.
- Four secretaries, for the Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish languages.
- The secretary, or intendant of the revenues of the principality.
- The *credencier*, or clerk of the kitchen.
- The *garde-manger*, or keeper of the pantry.
- The keeper of the wardrobe.

COUNSELLORS of the COMPLETE COUNCIL.

Fourteen counsellors taken from seven
of the languages } named by the languages, and ap-
Eight auditors of the treasury accounts } proved by the council.

Two solicitors of the treasury, both of whom were knights, with the grand cross. They were named by the grand-master, and approved by the council.

The conventual conservator, already mentioned in the article of conventual bailiffs.

- The controller of the conservatory, in the gift of the grand-master and council.
 The castellan of the castellany. This office commenced on the 1st of May, and continued two years.
- Two solicitors for the prisoners, the poor, the widows and orphans; one of whom was a knight, and the other a priest, who was either a chaplain or a brother of obedience.
- The protector of the monastery of St. Ursula } a grand cross.
- Two *prud'hommes*, or controllers of the church } a grand cross and a knight.
- Three commissaries for the poor beggars . grand crosses.
- Two commissaries for dispensing alms . a grand cross and a knight.
- Two commissaries for sick poor women . knights.
- Two protectors of the catechumens and the new convents } a grand cross and a knight.
- Three commissaries of redemption, in the gift of the grand-master } a grand cross and two knights.
- The overseer of the infirmary } a knight of the language of France, in the presentation of the grand-hospitaller.
- The prior and sub-prior of the infirmary } appointed by the grand-hospitaller.
- The scribe } Approved by the grand-master and council.
- The *armourier*, or press keeper }
- Two *prud'hommes*, or controllers of the infirmary } two knights named by the grand-master, and approved by the council.
- Four commissaries of war and fortifications } four grand crosses from the four nations of France, Spain, Italy, and Germany.
- Four commissaries of the congregation of galleys } four knights of the four nations.
- Two commissaries for regulating the caravans } grand crosses.
- Four commissaries for naval armaments . three grand crosses and a knight.
- A president and four commissaries for the congregation of vessels belonging to the four nations } a grand cross and four knights.

- Two commissioners of the chest for the flags } a grand cross and a knight.
- Three commissioners for the novices in the different languages } a grand cross and two knights.
- Two commissioners for the effects of the deceased } knights.
- Two commissioners for the slaves' prison knights.
- The governor of the slaves' prison : { a serving brother, appointed by the grand-master.
- Two commissioners of the mint grand crosses.
- Four commissioners of the nobles four knights of the four nations.
- Three commissioners of agreements knights.
- The governor of the store-houses { a knight named by the grand-commander.
- Two prud'hommes, or controllers of the stores } knights.
- Two commissioners of houses knights.
- Two commissioners of health { knights: but when infectious distempers were apprehended, four grand crosses were joined in the office.
- The commander of the artillery { a knight, appointed by the grand-commander.
- Two controllers of the artillery knights.
- Two commissioners of the soldiery { knights named by the grand-master.
- The fiscal or attorney generally a brother of obedience.
- The deputy master equerry { a serving brother, appointed by the grand-master, who acquainted the council with his nomination.
- The porter of La Valetta { a serving brother, in the gift of the grand-master.
- The governor of the arsenal { a knight named by the grand-commander.
- The controller of the arsenal a knight presented by the admiral.
- The vestry keeper
- The keeper of the candles for St. John's church : } brother chaplains appointed by the grand-commander.
- The belfrey keeper }

The general of the galley, who made choice of the admiral's galley, and presented it to the council.

A captain and patron for each galley.

The *reveditor*, or inspector of the galleys.

The commodore of the men-of-war.

A captain to each ship, with several subaltern officers.

The *proveditor* of the men-of-war.

GOVERNORS

Of Goza	} governments in the gift of the grand-master.
St. Angelo	
St Elmo	
Ricasoli	
the Town	
the isle of La Sangle	

The captains of the city La Valetta	} in the gift of the grand-master.
The seven captains of the hamlets or villages	
The captain of the Boschetto	

The captain of the Boschetto } a serving brother

The three judges of appeals, criminal and civil causes	} lawyers and doctors of the civil law, named by the council.
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Dignified Offices without the Convent.

The order always sent ambassadors to the four following courts:

Rome,	} those to France and Spain were knights wearing the grand cross; but knights with only the little cross were frequently sent to Rome. These embassies were for three years, but that time was often prolonged.
Vienna,	
Paris, and	
Madrid	

A receiver for each priory	} these were changed every three years, and presented to the council by the treasury.
A solicitor for each priory	

A solicitor for each priory { presented and changed in the same manner as the receivers.

The grand-master was the *general* patron of all the above-mentioned offices, the *particular* ones of which have not been named. This prince, however, was obliged to acquaint the council with his choice, and that assembly had the right of admission or rejection.

The above were nearly all the dignities and employments which the order had to bestow ; and the grand-mastership was the highest degree of eminence to which a knight of justice could possibly pretend. The ceremony of his election, and the amount of his revenue, were as follow :—

Immediately after the death of a grand-master, the seal of his office was broken by order of council, and a lieutenant appointed to act as chief of the knights, who, jointly with the council, managed the affairs of government, but without the privilege of making grants, bestowing favours, or receiving any benefit from the revenue of the grand-mastership.

The corpse of the deceased was carried on the second day after his death into the great hall of the palace, and placed on a catafalque. To the right was a table covered with black cloth, on which was laid a complete suit of armour, and his remains were interred the same evening with great funeral pomp. Whilst the grand-mastership continued vacant, the conventual conservator was suspended from his office, and the same day three knights of different nations were appointed to receive whatsoever sums were owing to the treasury from the knights who purposed voting at the election. A list was then made of all who were competent to give in their votes, and this was fixed on the door of the church of St. John, together with the names of such knights as, remaining still in debt to the treasury, were incapacitated from voting for the time.

No one was entitled to vote at the election of a grand-

master unless he had been received as knight of justice, was arrived at the age of eighteen years, had resided three years in the convent, made three caravans, and was not indebted more than ten crowns to the common treasury. Though the brother chaplains (provided they were priests), and the serving brothers of arms, were permitted to give their votes in the different languages into which they had been received, this circumstance did not entitle them in future to the smallest share in the government; but the Maltese who, in virtue of a particular dispensation from the pope, had been received into any of the languages, were not allowed to vote on this occasion, and still less to be candidates for such dignity. This general exclusion was probably intended to prevent the ill consequences of having a Maltese grand-master, who would most likely have been tempted to make every effort to place the sovereignty of the island permanently in the hands of his countrymen.

The third day after the grand-master's decease was always fixed upon for proceeding to the election of his successor; and this important affair was never delayed for a greater length of time, to prevent all canvassing and caballing, and also to avoid some certain pretensions of the court of Rome, where it was an established maxim, that whilst this post remained vacant the pope had a right to prevent the nomination of any particular grand-master: it was therefore on the third day that, after the celebration of a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost in the church of St. John, the whole convent assembled in that place.

The eight languages which composed the body of the order retired into their respective chapels, except, indeed, that from which the lieutenant of the mastership had been chosen, which remained in the nave of the church. Each of these languages named three electors from among the knights, who were to vote for the whole: consequently the number amounted to twenty-four.

The members of the order, assembled in their different chapels, wrote down, according to seniority, the name of the knight whom they had chosen first or chief of three electors in their language; and, to prove that he was properly elected, they were obliged to sign their own names at the bottom of the ticket, and seal it with the signet of their language.

When those who were entitled to votes in a language had given them in the above-mentioned manner, the solicitor took the billets or tickets, and counted them over in the presence of the whole language. This was done to examine whether their number agreed with that of the votes; if not, they were immediately burned, and fresh ones taken till there were exactly as many billets as voters. If, on the contrary, every thing was found to be in due order, the solicitor and the seniors of the language opened the billets at the place where the first elector's name was written: after which, the votes in favour of the other knights competitors for this distinction were counted; and if not one among them had a clear quarter part of the ballots of his language, the voting was begun again, and con-

tinued till one of the knights was found to be properly qualified. The knight thus chosen then took the oath ordained in the statutes to the lieutenant of the mastership, and went into the conclave. The balloting for the two other electors next took place, and they were likewise chosen by the majority of votes: it, however, generally happened that all the three electors were named at the first ballot.

A clear quarter part of the votes in a language implied a number which was rather more than a fourth part of the members who composed the said language; or, in other words, which was not contained four times in the number of voters. The clear quarter part of nine was therefore three; of thirteen, four; and of seventeen, five, &c. Whenever the votes happened to equal the clear quarter part, the senior carried it, and the three electors proceeded to take their seats as such in the conclave. Should the lieutenant of the mastership be chosen by his language for one of the above-mentioned electors, the council of state immediately named another to supply his place, that the government might not remain a moment without a proper superior.

The electors of the respective languages then assembled in the conclave to the number of twenty-four, who were all knights of justice or grand-crosses: the bishop of Malta and the prior of the church were indeed allowed to be of the number, the dignity of their different offices being admitted, in their particular case, as an equivalent for noble extraction.—

The twenty-four electors having taken the oaths to the lieutenant of the mastership, chose a president for the election, and this nomination abolished the office of lieutenant. The *triumvirate* was afterwards chosen; consisting of a knight, a chaplain (who was a priest), and a serving brother, whom the original twenty-four electors invested with the power of election, and then retired from the conclave.

The triumvirate, after having taken the oaths, went into the chamber of the conclave, and made choice between themselves of a fourth elector, who, joined with the other three, elected a fifth, and so on till they had chosen thirteen, who with the three original ones made altogether sixteen in number, that is, two for each language. The pre-eminence of the languages was not attended to in the choice of the triumvirate, and the first five electors chosen by it; but that was not the case with regard to the other eight, who were nominated according to the rank of their respective languages.

If the triumvirate disagreed in the choice of the fourth elector, and came to no determination before one hour was elapsed, they were each obliged to name one person; and these three were balloted for by the first twenty-four electors, who made their scrutiny in the vestry on this occasion, when the choice was determined in favour of him who had the majority of votes; but if the votes were equal, the senior knight was elected. The thirteen new electors took the usual oath to the president of the election, each in his turn, and were afterwards

joined to the triumvirate; when one or more candidates were balloted for among themselves, and he who had the majority was elected grand-master; but when the votes were equally divided, the knight of the election had the casting vote. Strange as this extraordinary mode of proceeding may appear to the reader, the knights had certainly great reason to adopt it, since this continual change of electors prevented any private measures which might have been taken by different persons on so important an occasion, the election entirely depending on the choice of those who were indebted to chance alone for the power of voting. All cabals and intrigues were thus rendered entirely useless, and this noble republic had an opportunity of gratifying all the members of the order, each of whom flattered himself with having had a particular share in the election of the grand-master.

The ballot being over, the triumvirate quitted the last thirteen electors, and went towards the balustrade of the gallery of the great door, where the knight of the election, having the chaplain on his right and the serving brother on his left, demanded three times of the members of the order assembled in the church whether they were disposed to ratify the election of the grand-master who had just been chosen; and on the whole assembly declaring its approbation, the knight of the election proclaimed the grand-master in a loud voice*.

* At the election of a doge of Venice, all the nobles who had passed the age of thirty years assembled in St. Mark's Place, and put as many balls into a vase as there were noblemen present. Thirty of these balls were gilt, and those to whose lot they fell put in nine of the

If the newly-elected prince happened to be present, he immediately took his place under the canopy, and having taken the oaths to the prior of the church, *Te Deum* was sung; after which he received homage from all the members of the order, and was carried in triumph to his palace. The treasury, on the following day, presented three crowns to each member of the order, whether novices or professed. This was done to prevent the grand-master's house from being pillaged; and a day or two afterwards, the complete council put him in possession of the sovereignty of Malta and Goza. He therefore had not only a military and regular superiority over all the members of his order, but sovereign power and all regal rights over his subjects, the laity: this power was, however, in some degree restricted.

In former times the revenue of the grand-master was very inconsiderable, but it has since been sufficiently increased to enable him to support his princely dignity in a proper manner. This revenue might properly be divided into two parts, the one arising from the principality, and the other the income annexed to the grand-mastership.

gilded ones among twenty-one white balls; and this they did in the presence of the state. The nine nobles who drew the gilded balls chose forty others, all of different families, but they were allowed to name themselves of the number. These forty were again reduced by lot to twelve, who chose twenty-five, the first among them naming three, and each of the others two. The twenty-five again drew lots, and were reduced to nine. These named five each, making in the whole forty-five, who cast lots once more, and were reduced to eleven, who, in the last place, made choice of forty-one, and these elected the doge; that is, if their election was confirmed by the great council, otherwise the whole ceremony began anew, and continued till forty-one more were elected.

The first consisted of custom-house duties, amounting to nearly a hundred thousand Maltese crowns, of assizes, duties on salt, title deeds of demesnes, farms, houses, gardens, and fines for alienation, making altogether another hundred thousand crowns; duties paid by the admiralty at the rate of ten per cent on all prizes, mulcts, and confiscations; the whole amounting to about two hundred thousand crowns.

The second consisted of six thousand crowns annually paid by the treasury for the support of the grand-master's table, with two hundred for keeping his palace and country-house in proper repair: a very moderate sum in proportion to the dignity of his office, but it serves to shew the economy and sobriety of the time when such regulations were made.

The grand-master received an annat for all the commanderies by favour, which the different princes bestowed once in five years. He had also the perpetual enjoyment of a commandery in every priory. This was called the magisterial chamber, from being annexed to the mastership, and he had the privilege of appointing a person to govern it in his name. The choice of the governor being left entirely to the prince, it sometimes happened that it was bestowed on a novice.

Whenever the grand-master appointed a knight to one of these commanderies, he not only received two annates, but was likewise at liberty to reserve a pension for himself; the knight, however, was dispensed from paying either the mortuary or vacancy fees.

The whole amount of the grand-master's revenue, according to the above calculation, might be estimated in general at rather above four hundred thousand crowns, making about forty thousand pounds sterling.

The titles given by the kings of England and France to the grand-master have been already mentioned, as well as those bestowed on the order. The following is that given him in all public acts.

Dei Gratia, Domus Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani, Militaris Ordinis Sancti Sepulcri Dominici, et Ordinis Sancti Antonii Viennensis Magister Humilis, Pauperumque Jesu Christi Custos.

Letters were addressed to the grand-master in the following terms: *Alla Sua Altezza Eminentissima il Gran-Maestro Fra. N.*

All the acts passed in the convent styled him *Eminentissimo e reverendissimo Signor Gran-Maestro, Fra. N.*

LIST of the MAGISTERIAL COMMANDERIES which formed a
Part of the GRAND-MASTER'S Revenue.

Names of the Languages.	Priories.	Commanderies.
Provence . . .	{ St. Giles	Peregrs.
	{ Toulouse	Puysubran.
Auvergne . . .	. . . Auvergne	De Salins.
	{ Priory of France	{ Hainault.
France	{ Champagne	{ Picton.
	{ Aquitaine	Metz.
		Temple of La Rochelle.
	{ Lombardy	Inverno.
	{ Rome	Mugnano.
	{ Venice	Treviso.
Italy	{ Pisa	Prato.
	{ Capua	Ciciano.
	{ Barletta	{ Brindisi.
	{ Messina	{ Maruggio.
		Politizzi.
	{ Castellan d'Emposta	Aliaga.
Arragon	{ Catalonia	Masden.
	{ Navarre	Galchelas.
England	{ England	Pescens.
	{ Ireland	
Germany	{ Germany	Buez.
	{ Bohemia	Wladislavia.
Castille	{ Castille	D'Olmos & del Viso.
	{ Portugal, or Crato	Villacova.

C H A P. VI.

On the Finances of the Order. General Observations on the Science of Finance. Meaning of Deficit. Origin of Loans. Venerable Chamber of the common Treasury; in what Manner composed; its Functions; Arrangement of the Accounts; general Receipt; Explanation of the Articles which compose it. The annual Produce, on an Average of ten Years. Contingent of each Language. Income of different Foundations fallen into the Treasury; their Amount, and how employed. Explanation of the Articles which form the general Expences of the Order; their annual Amount, on an Average of ten Years. A Comparison between the Balance of the Treasury in April, 1779, and April, 1789. A Table of Receipts and Expences.

THE science of finance was never carried to so high a point of perfection, nor studied with so much attention, as in the last century. The expences of all the different powers exceeding their revenues, it was necessary to devise some method to supply the void in the sovereign's coffers. This void is termed *deficit*; and those ministers who were most skilled in the art of procuring money were regarded as the most able, and the only ones, indeed, whom a prince was desirous of retaining in his service. This necessity gave rise to what is called the *science of finance*; the knowledge of which raises a nation to the height of glory, while ignorance of it plunges it into an abyss of misery.

Such repeated want of money made it necessary to borrow, by way of loan; consequently, to establish a certain degree of

credit: whence arose the obligation of giving in accounts, and the estimation in which a government was held by the other European powers.

Since, then, in the present order of things, the real solidity of a state can only be judged of by a knowledge of its finances, I may surely be excused for giving the following particulars relative to those of Malta, since they cannot fail of impressing the reader with a most favourable idea of the wisdom of the administration and the excellence of the government.

The venerable chamber of the treasury might justly be considered as the general office for the finances of the order, since every thing relative to the receipts and expences of the government was considered in that meeting. The administrators frequently published a statement of the accounts, and the balance resulting. The table of the revenues which composed it, together with the manner of employing them, will sufficiently prove that the affairs of Malta were as complicated as those of the most powerful governments.

The property of the order being dispersed throughout the different Catholic countries in Europe, made the exact estimation and collection of the revenues difficult and embarrassing. It was therefore absolutely necessary to have separate coffers, and every priory had one for its own particular use. The money deposited therein was afterwards removed to others established in twenty-nine towns, selected for that purpose on

account of their commodious situation. Those who were charged with the management of these coffers were termed *receivers*, and the money paid in was called *receipts*. The treasury, having no other means of receiving this money but by bills of exchange, was under the necessity of acting as a general banker. This bank had a correspondence which extended from Cadiz to Warsaw, and even of late to Petersburg. The exchange varied so frequently, that an exact statement of the receipt and expenditure was often attended with much difficulty.

Most of the articles in which the finances of Malta consisted having preserved their ancient names, which were peculiar to the order alone, I have explained every particular in such a manner as to give a clear and exact idea of the whole. But I think it necessary, in the first place, to make the reader acquainted with the composition and functions of the different chambers or offices which formed the general administration of the treasury of the order.

The venerable chamber of the common treasury, properly so called, was composed of a president, three procurators (one of whom was for the grand-master), the conventual conservator, two auditors of accounts, and two secretaries. A commission of four knights, decorated with the grand cross, was added on particular occasions. When this assembly took the name of accountant's-office, the grand-treasurer and an auditor of ac-

counts from each language were joined to the above-mentioned members.

This accountant's office was likewise erected into a tribunal of justice: and at these times two lawyers were allowed to plead; the one for the office, and the other for the parties concerned.

The grand-commander, or, in his absence, his lieutenant, was perpetual president, in right of his office, of the common treasury, together with all the chambers and commissions appertaining thereto. This first dignity in the order had great prerogatives, among which, the most important was the power of breaking up the sittings in which he presided. If the subject treated in the chamber of the treasury met with his disapprobation, he needed only retire, to stop all further deliberation. His lieutenant, when he acted for him, enjoyed the same privileges.

The two procurators were placed next the president, and were always grand crosses of different nations, named by the grand-master and council for the space of five years, after which it was necessary that they should be confirmed in their office a second time. Only one of the procurators was changed, because it was necessary to retain a person perfectly acquainted with the course of affairs. The grand-master's procurator came next: he too was generally a grand cross, and chosen by the superior, who presented him to the council,

which had the right of acceptance or refusal. Its approbation, indeed, was equally necessary for him as for the others; though his principal office was to attend, in behalf of the grand-master, to the distribution of the revenue, with which, in his capacity, it was greatly his interest to be perfectly well acquainted. The conventual conservator preceded the grand-master's procurator: he had a vote in all the different chambers, and was chief of the conservatory, in which all the money and valuable effects in the treasury were kept. This office was triennial, and all the languages were equally competent to the holding it. The conventual conservators paid all the drafts granted by the chamber of the treasury, which of itself could not give out an assignment for more than the value of five hundred Maltese crowns. Whenever there was question of a more considerable sum, recourse was had to the council, which expedited the affair in the court of chancery.

The conservator gave in his accounts to the treasury every three months, and produced a register with the assignments for all the different payments he had made. Every thing of this sort being dispatched in the chamber of the treasury and entered in a book, the proof was easy. The moment an assignment was compared with the account taken in the above-mentioned book, and found just, it was torn in half, filed in proper order, and remained as a voucher.

The two auditors of accounts were chosen by lot from among those appointed by each language to assist in the ac-

counts of the treasury, and it was necessary they should be of different nations. They had each a vote, and might be regarded as inspectors for all the languages of every thing which passed in the chamber.

The secretary of the treasury was, properly speaking, only a first clerk; his office was, however, a very important one, and required great exactness. This place was in the nomination of the grand-master and council: it might be bestowed on a Maltese, and no person could be dismissed from this office without either being brought to trial or appointed to another place, of which he had the choice. He had only a consulting vote in the different chambers of the treasury: his office consisted in balancing and concluding the accounts, in presence of the two auditors; in giving, and seeing to the payment of, all bills of exchange; in short, in attending to all affairs relative to the management and security of the finances.

There were some occasions when a commission of four grand-crosses might be added to the usual members of the chamber: for instance, when there was question of economy, or of making reforms in financial affairs. These grand-crosses were always of different nations, and only named for a limited time, which was fixed by the grand-master and council. The grand commander constantly presided in this commission.

The grand treasurer, or his lieutenant, had the right of being present when the accounts were given in to the common treasury: formerly, indeed, he was always included in the

number of conventual bailiffs, and the coffers of the order were entrusted to his care ; but this function having been afterwards transferred to the conventual conservator, and the bailiwick being annexed to the language of Germany, the charge of grand-treasurer remained a capitular bailiwick attached to the French language. The grand-treasurer took his seat in the accountant's office according to his rank as grand-cross, though always after the grand commander.

Every different language made choice of an auditor of accounts ; and having named one to that office, immediately appointed another to supply his place in case of necessity. These auditors were obliged to be presented by the languages to the council, which had the right of refusing them, an event however which scarcely ever happened ; but if it did, the language to which the auditor belonged was under the necessity of making another choice. If they were appointed by the council, they instantly took the requisite oaths before the grand-master. The most ancient of these auditors, viz. he who belonged to the language of Provence, assembled his colleagues every year, and they drew lots for the particular functions they were to exercise. Two of the number, as has been already observed, were attached to the service of the ordinary chamber, and the others to the storehouses, to revising the accounts, &c. &c. ; but two of the same nation were not permitted to act together.

All the members of the order, charged with the manage-

ment of any part of the finances, of whatsoever nature, were under the control of the venerable chamber of the treasury, to which they were obliged to give in their accounts.

Whenever this chamber was employed as a hall of justice, two languages were admitted; the one on the side of the chamber, and the other on that of the parties concerned. These entered into the merits of the cause, in presence of the whole assembly of members, and answered whatsoever questions any individual chose to put to them. They afterwards retired, the tribunal deliberated on the affair, and passed sentence accordingly. The parties were at liberty to appeal to the ordinary council of the order, and afterwards to the complete council.

Every priory had a receiver's office, and a separate receiver appointed by the grand-master and council, who acted immediately under the orders of the chamber of the treasury, with which he corresponded, at least every month; when he sent a statement of the receipts and expenditures of the said month, and a general account was taken at the end of each year. This was revised by the secretary of the treasury, who likewise presented it to the accountant's office, but not till it had been verified by four commissioners, when the said office admitted or rejected it at pleasure.

Nothing could possibly be more admirable than the attention paid to prevent the abuses which generally creep into the administration of the finances, in almost all governments;

but here the superior had only one representative, and even he could not be admitted without the approbation of the council.

The different languages had likewise theirs, and no more than one member of each nation was ever admitted into a private commission. No person could of himself dispose of a single farthing, and even the drafts given out by the chamber of the treasury were limited, and might not exceed the trifling sum of five hundred crowns.

The following tables of the receipts and expenditure of the order, during the course of ten years, will clearly prove that the skill displayed in the administration of the finances, to prevent the public money being improperly distributed or wasted, was equally great in discovering the proper methods to be employed, and in making a just and prudent subdivision of the whole.

TABLE I.

GENERAL RECEIPT.

ARTICLE I.

Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788, inclusive.

Maltese Money.	English Money.
Crowns. T. G.	£. s. d.

Responsions.

THESE were a general tax assessed upon all the dignities and commanderies of the order. This appears to have been first levied towards the thirteenth century, and has since varied according to circumstances. The order, in a general chapter, had the power of compelling the commanders to pay into the common treasury the quarter, and even the half, of their income, and this at pleasure: it had likewise the sole authority both to impose and to regulate these taxes.

The last responsions paid in the last general chapter, held in 1775, ought to have amounted to the sum of 500,000 crowns*; but on a representation being made by the German language, a diminution was granted, and reduced the responsions to 467,757

475,207 4 6 47,520 14 8½

This tax was afterwards increased by the restitution of the priory in Poland, and the creation of that in Bavaria.

The responsions from Poland were received for the first time in 1782, and produced 6000 crowns

* A Maltese crown contains twelve tarins and twenty Maltese grains. A crown is worth two English shillings, and a tarin two pence.

Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

a-year. They might indeed afterwards have been increased to 7,500.

Those from Bavaria, which during the lives of the first commanderies were only to pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for each commandery, would immediately after their deaths have paid at the rate of 10 per cent, which would have brought in a sum of 15,170 crowns.

ARTICLE II.

Mortuary and Vacancy.

The revenue of all vacant commanderies belonged to the treasury from the moment of the commander's decease to the 1st of May following*, and this was termed *the year of the mortuary*. Likewise the whole of the next twelvemonth, called *the year of the vacancy*. For some time past the revenue of two years was constantly paid in. This duty was first established towards the middle of the fourteenth century.

214,721 9 9 . 21,472 3 7

ARTICLE III.

Passage.

The passage was a fee paid to the treasury by all those who were admitted into the order.

It was of two kinds, viz. *the minority passage*, and *the majority passage*. The first was paid by those who entered the order in their infant years, and took rise originally in the year 1631. This fee was fixed at 360 Spanish pistoles for the knights, and 288 both for conventual chaplains

* The year was reckoned by the treasury to commence always on the 1st of May; it consequently ended on the following 30th of April.

Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.		English Money.	
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s. d.

and serving brothers of arms. The Spanish pistole is valued at the rate of eight crowns five grains Maltese money.

There were two *majority passages*, the fees of which were equal. The first was that of the pages, who entered at twelve years old as page to the grand-master, and quitted that service at fifteen. The second was what might properly be termed majority passage, and included all knights received after the age of sixteen. The fees were 125 pistoles; 100 for the chaplains, 115 for the servants of arms, and 33 for the donats or brothers, who were usually employed in the service of the inns.

203,344 8 8 . 20,334 9 4

ARTICLE IV.

Spoils.

The spoils consisted in the produce of all the effects of a professed knight at his decease, with the exception indeed of the *quint* or fifth part, which, with the permission of the grand-master, he was at liberty to dispose of at pleasure.

247,55 0 11 . 24,755 0 0

ARTICLE V.

Priory Annates.

Each grand-priory having the privilege of naming to a commandery every five years, the knights who were appointed to this dignity paid the first year's revenue of their commanderies into the treasury; and this was termed *priory annat*.

4,774 8 8 . 477 9 4

Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE VI.

Priory Presents.

The statutes ordained that each priory should present an offering to the conventual church of St. John once during the time it was held by the same person. This present was fixed at fifty Spanish pistoles from the priories of the first order, and forty from the second, and might be paid either in kind or in specie. Most of them preferred the latter method, by which means the church was deprived of the advantage of these offerings, and the money paid into the coffers of the treasury.

503 2 15 . 50 6 5

ARTICLE VII.

Presents.

All gifts paid into the treasury at different times by the knights were comprised in this article.

1,465 8 1 . 146 11 4

ARTICLE VIII.

Timber.

All the forest trees of a large size in the different commanderies of the order belonged to the treasury; and the revenue of this article consisted in the sale of such timber, which was almost entirely cut down in the commanderies situated in France. This resource was formerly very considerable, but was beginning to fail for some years past.

47,982 11 3 . 4,798 5 11

ARTICLE IX.

Renounced Pensions.

All pensions being subject to the mortuary and vacancy duties of the commanderies and

Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.

other dignities on which they were placed, the persons possessed of them suffered great inconvenience whilst these vacancies lasted; and as they happened very frequently, the last general chapter, in consideration of the said inconvenience, permitted the pensions to be renounced in favour of the treasury; which, after retaining ten per cent, agreed to pay the remainder annually to the pensioner, and that without interruption either from vacancies or any other cause whatsoever. This composition not only cleared the pensions from all the above mortuary duties, &c. but likewise from any negligence of which the commanders might be guilty in the regular payment of them. This kind of composition had, however, been abolished of late years.

1,610 4 8 . 161 0 8

ARTICLE X.

Rents of different kinds.

This article consisted principally in the interest of all the funds placed by the members out of the convent, and which belonged to the treasury after their deaths. It likewise comprised the rent of a few houses situated out of the convent, which were the property of the treasury.

29,951 1 11 . 2,995 2 3

ARTICLE XI.

Different Foundations.

These consisted in divers foundations made by the members of the order for different purposes, such as the maintenance of the galleys, hospital, fortifications, &c.; but the interest being insufficient to answer the end proposed, the annual product was paid into the public coffer, which, on

Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

that account, engaged itself to make up all deficiencies.

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.
6,110	7 0	611	1	0

ARTICLE XII.

Foundations vested in the Treasury.

These comprised the four foundations made by Lascaris, Paulo, and Caraffa; the administration of which was entrusted to the treasury.

This property was all situated in the island. 34,302 5 11 . 3,430 4 10½

ARTICLE XIII.

Houses belonging to the Treasury.

The rents of several houses, storehouses, and a few gardens in Malta, all of which were the property of the treasury.

. 4,333 6 0 . 433 0 0

ARTICLE XIV.

Lazaretto Duties.

The storehouses belonging to the Lazaretto being built by the treasury, all the merchandises lodged in them to perform quarantine paid about one per cent of the value of the goods, by way of indemnification for so considerable an expence.

1,311 9 0 . 131 3 6

ARTICLE XV.

The Pope's Bull, and Printing-Office.

A bull from the pope was granted, and distributed every year*, to permit eggs and butter to be eaten during Lent. The sale of this permis-

* This bull, called the *Crusade*, was published in Spain and Portugal, and the money produced from it was applied to the use of the admiralty, and the fitting out expeditions against the infidels.

Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

	Maltese Money.			English Money.		
	Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.
sion, together with the product of the printing-office situated in the grand-master's palace, amounted to	10,557	2	13	1,055	14	6

ARTICLE XVI.

Duties paid by the Nobles.

A trifling duty ordained by the statutes to be paid by every member of the order, at his reception, into the treasury, on condition that the said treasury should defray the expences of all law-suits relative to first receptions till such time as the sentence of the rota should be pronounced.

440 8 7 . 44 1 4½

ARTICLE XVII.

Ransom of Slaves.

The order restored to liberty the Turkish slaves in its possession on being paid their ransom, which produced.

16,617 4 18 . 1,661 14 6

ARTICLE XVIII.

Minting, or coining of Money.

The order at one time was allowed the privilege of buying up Spanish pistoles, by which means they gained five per cent; but since the government increased their value to six and a half, the treasury no longer thought it worth while to convert them into Maltese coins*.

2,504 2 0 . 250 8 4

ARTICLE XIX.

Lottery.

The treasury opened a lottery in 1781, which was obliged to be shut up before the tickets were

* The coinage of gold specie was also sometimes very expensive.

Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

	Maltese Money.		English Money.		
	Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.
all drawn; and the value of the prizes left in the wheel being greater than that of the tickets, the order gained the sum of	2,866	7 19	286	13	0

ARTICLE XX.

Interest of Money advanced by the Treasury.

The treasury lent sums of money to the commanders, for which they paid interest, and the languages were security for the payment of the principal. This loan was only on particular occasions, when it was judged necessary either to encrease or preserve the revenue of the commanderies.

6,378	4 0	637	16	2
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ARTICLE XXI.

Sale of real Estates.

This article comprises the product of several real estates, such as houses, gardens, &c.

4532	2 0	453	4	2
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ARTICLE XXII.

Secret Restitutions.

This article requires no explanation.

653	14 2	65	8	6
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ARTICLE XXIII.

Flag Duties.

A duty paid to the treasury by the corsairs who hoisted the colours of the order on a cruise.

50	0 0	5	0	0
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ARTICLE XXIV.

Different Rents.

So many articles of trifling value were comprised under this head, that they are not worth particularising.

110	3 1	11	0	6
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Annual Receipt, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE XXV.

Extraordinary Entries.

This article comprised all the sums borrowed
from the treasury in the course of ten years. . . 45,842 6 12 . . 4,584 5 0

Annual total of the ordinary receipts, on an average from 1779 to 1788, inclusive . . .	£1,215,009 8 12 .	131,529 19 3
Extraordinary receipts	45,842 6 3 . .	4,584 5 0
Total	1,361,141 8 14 .	136,114 4 3

A TABLE of the Sums contributed to the ordinary RECEIPTS by the CONVENT,
and by each separate LANGUAGE.

Names of the Countries and dif- ferent Languages.	Common Years.		English Money.		
	Cr.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.
France .	{ Provence	198,914 8 8	580,406 1 2	58,040 12 2	
	{ Auvergne	71,981 7 4			
	{ France .	309,509 9 0			
Spain .	{ Arragon .	115,056 9 5	271,456 10 18	27,145 13 6	
	{ Castille .	156,398 1 18			
Portugal . . . . .	.	.	91,876 2 16	9,187 12 6	
Italy . . . . .	.	.	235,334 1 8	23,533 6 3	
Germany . . . . .	.	.	40,954 5 8	4,095 9 0	
Anglo-Bavarian . . . . .	.	.	2,156 5 1	215 12 10	
Poland . . . . .	.	.	6,616 8 9	661 13 6	
Convent . . . . .	.	.	36,500 9 10	3,650 11 6	
Total			1,265,299 8 12	126,529 0 9	

The following FOUNDATIONS, though under the management of Administrators entirely independent of the Treasury, might still be considered as making part of its Revenue, because if they had never been made, the general expences would have amounted every year to a sum equal to that produced by the said Foundations: the first two of which were instituted by the Grand-Masters whose name they bear; the third by a Lady from Sienna, named Sarpi, in 1631; and the three others by different Members of the Order.

Names of the Founders and Foundations.	Foundations independent of the Treasury; the Produce of which was nevertheless spent in the Interior of the Island.		The Manner in which they were employed.
	Cr.	£.	
Manuel	10,500	= 1,050	Maintenance of Fort Manuel, with its garrison.
Collover	10,800	= 1,080	
Incurables	1,500	= 150	Maintenance of the Hospital for Women.
Passalacqua	2,500	= 250	These three sums were appropriated to the expences of the church of St. John.
Lomellini	650	= 65	
Maradasi	700	= 70	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	26,650	2,665	

TABLE III

GENERAL EXPENDITURE.

		Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788, inclusive.			
		Maltese Money.		English Money.	
		Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s. d.
ARTICLE I.					
<i>Ambassadors.</i>					
This article includes their salary, with the particular gratifications bestowed on them on different occasions; likewise the pay of the secretaries, with some other expences attached to their office, which vary every year.					
		38,026	7 0	3,802	13 2
ARTICLE II.					
<i>Receivers.</i>					
This article not only relates to the salaries paid to the agents and lawyers belonging to the receivers' offices, but also to the wages of the secretaries and other inferior persons employed under them; and to the expences both of the office, and journeys taken on account of the general affairs; together with those necessarily incurred in carrying on different law-suits relative to the general privileges of the order.					
		66,433	1 12	6,643	6 3
ARTICLE III.					
<i>Conventual Churches.</i>					
The salaries of the different persons doing duty at the churches of St. John, St. Anthony, and the Conception, together with the yearly repairs of the said churches, made the expence of this ar-					

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ticle. The revenue of the three foundations of Passalacqua, Lomellini, and Maradasi, being employed in the maintenance and repairs of St. John's church, lessened the expences of the latter. 11,597 2 15 . 1,159 14 4 $\frac{1}{2}$

ARTICLE IV.

Alms.

Which includes some trifling sums dispensed annually to a few convents, such as the Capuchins and Cordeliers;—the vestments bestowed on all Christians who, having groaned in captivity for some time, had obtained their liberty from the infidels, and were passing through Malta on their return to their own country;—the money given to different poor people for services rendered to the order;—fourteen hundred crowns, granted to the poor at the Floriana, and six hundred salmes of corn;—together with two thousand four hundred and fifty crowns in money, distributed among the poor of the island by commissioners appointed for that purpose by the council. The same commissioners were likewise to see that four hundred loaves were given every day to a certain number of poor women. . 17,309 11 10 . 1,731 0 0

ARTICLE V.

Grand Hospital.

The whole of the inhabitants of Malta and Goza, together with all foreigners without distinction of country or religion, were admitted into this hospital. The sick cost the treasury from five to six tarins, or one shilling, per day; but for some few years past, the expences of the grand hospital had been augmented. . . 79,476 0 3 . 7,947 12 0

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE VI.

Hospital for Women.

The whole revenue of the foundation for incurables, was likewise applied to the uses of this charity.

18,676 10 12 . 1,867 13 9

ARTICLE VII.

Foundlings.

A certain number of legitimate children likewise partook of this charity; but this favour was only conferred on those whose parents were in a state of the greatest indigence.

6,146 9 15 . 614 13 6

ARTICLE VIII.

Gratifications.

Annual pensions bestowed on different Maltese, whose services and attachment to the order deserved to be rewarded,

1,070 1 6 . 107 0 2

ARTICLE IX.

Gratifications after Death.

A part of the salaries of writers, and other persons in the service of the order, which was granted after their decease to their widows, and even sometimes to their daughters.

2,326 6 10 . 232 13 2

ARTICLE X.

Nuns of the Order of St. Ursula.

Annual pensions bestowed on the Ursulines in Malta, who were associated with the order,

519 5 8 . 51 18 10

ARTICLE XI.

Nuns at Toulouse.

These nuns were called Maltese; because they were all of noble extraction, according to the

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

rules of the order, and were likewise dependent on the grand-master. Their finances being in an impoverished state, they from time to time received assistance from the order. . . .

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.
730	4	0	73	0	0

ARTICLE XII.

Nuns of Martel.

This convent was in Querci, and equally belonged to the order. The nuns were in the same distressed circumstances, and required the same assistance, as those at Toulouse. . . .

295	3	7	29	10	6
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EXPENDITURE FOR THE NAVY.

Every thing belonging to the navy is comprised in this article ; the whole expence of which amounted to 474,942*cr.* 9 *t.* 13*g.*

ARTICLE XIII.

Galleys.

The squadron of galleys, which before the building of men-of-war consisted of six, and even sometimes seven, was afterwards reduced to four. The ordinary expences were under the direction of different persons, viz. : every thing relative to the maintenance of the crew of galley-slaves and other sailors, was under the immediate inspection of the congregation for the galleys. A proveditore was employed for the rigging, and the commandant of the arsenal for the refitting.

These three separate departments were all under the inspection of the treasury.

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.

A commissioner was appointed to overlook all the extraordinary expences of building the galleys: he gave in his accounts directly to the treasury, without consulting the above-mentioned parties. The expence of building six galleys amounted to 225,043 crowns annually.

. . . 225,043 0 0 . 22,504 6 0

ARTICLE XIV.

Men-of-war,

Were first established in Malta in 1704, when the squadron consisted of three ships of the line. These were afterwards encreased to four, but of late years diminished to one sixty-gun ship and three frigates. All expences relative to the men-of-war were regulated by a particular congregation, entirely independent of the treasury; which, however, provided money and all other necessary materials for this purpose. No account was necessary to be given in of the manner in which the money was employed; except to the council alone, to which an annual statement was constantly made. Two frigates cost 236,693 crowns; and in 1781, two men-of-war were sold for 177,221 crowns.

. . . 235,827 1 9 . 23,582 14 3

ARTICLE XV.

Extraordinary Armaments.

The galleys and men-of-war being dispatched to Algiers to assist the Spaniards, it was thought necessary to arm two sloops and a galliot to protect the navigation in the canal of Malta. A tartan was likewise armed in 1779. These different expences amounted to the sum of 20,895 cr.

8 l. 19 g. 2,089 6 18 . . 208 19 0

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE XVI.

Guard Galliot.

There were always two to guard the port, in case of any extraordinary event. The expence amounted to

4,915 6 10 . . 491 11 1

ARTICLE XVII.

Office of Health.

The expence of this office was more than usual in 1785; assistance being not only sent to the inhabitants of Lampedosa, but to the crew of a French vessel which was at that time attacked by the plague.

1,253 9 18 . . . 125 0 2

ARTICLE XVIII.

Basins for holding Timber.

The timber for ship-building was always kept in water, as the best method of preserving it. The wet-docks employed for that purpose were termed basins; which, being in a ruinous condition, required repairs, estimated to cost

864 0 18 . . . 86 0 2

ARTICLE XIX.

Cleansing the Port,

Amounted to

4,680 5 2 . . . 468 0 10

ARTICLE XX.

The Lighthouse of St. Elmo.

Placed at St. Elmo Point, for the purpose of directing vessels, and shewing them the entrance into the port. It was only lighted from the 1st of October to the 1st of May.

269 3 9 . . . 26 18 7

Total amount of the expences of the navy

474,942 9 13 . 47,494 5 7

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten
years, from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.		English Money.	
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s. d.

LAND FORCES.

All military expences relating to the land service were classed under this title. These were placed in different articles; which in ten years (from 1779 to 1788, inclusive) amounted to 1,730,385 *cr. 8 t. 3 g.*; or 173,038 *cr.* annually.

ARTICLE XXI.

Maltese Regiment,

Was raised in 1776, and composed of 1055 effect-

ive men.	127,612	10	0	. 12,671	5	9
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ARTICLE XXII.

Artillery.

This article included the whole expence of the corps of matrosses, together with the pay of the commandant of the artillery.

8,564	3	0	. . . 856	8	6
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ARTICLE XXIII.

Horse and Foot Guards.

This was a fixed expence for maintaining a certain number of men, who went their rounds throughout the whole island, on foot and on horseback, to ensure the public safety during the night.

306	9	4	. . . 30	13	7
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ARTICLE XXIV.

The Guards of St. Julian.

Chasseurs placed at the cove of St. Julian in 1777, to prevent the troops from deserting.

ARTICLE XXV.

Service of the City,

Included the appointments of the majors, aide-majors, and adjutants; together with the mainte-

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.

	Maltese Money.		English Money.		
	Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.
nance and repairs of all the corps de gardes in the city Valetta.	2,826	3 6	282	12	6

ARTICLE XXVI.

Fortifications.

The maintenance and repairs of all the fortifications in Malta, and the dependencies thereof. . . 12,764 11 2 . 1,276 9 0

ARTICLE XXVII. AND XXVIII.

Castles of St. Elmo and St. Angelo.

The expences of these two forts consisted in the pay of the old soldiers or invalids who did duty, in the maintenance of the corps de gardes, and every thing relative to the service of the two castles.

Castles {	St. Elmo	1,959	6 16	195	19	2
	St. Angelo	846	2 5	84	12	5

ARTICLE XXIX.

Goza, and the Towers in that Island.

This article included the appointments of the governor of Goza, and his lieutenant, as also those of different persons acting as overseers of the guard at the castles and towers of that island; with other expences relative to the maintenance of those who did duty at the towers in Malta. . . 1,439 0 0 . 143 18 0

ARTICLE XXX.

Ordnance and other Arms.

This article regarded the purchase and founding of cannon, the making of carriages for ditto, the purchase of arms; in short, the annual cost of every thing necessary for keeping up the ordnance and small arms. . . 15,461 10 14 . 1,546 3 9

		Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.		
		Maltese Money.		English Money.
		Crowns.	T. G.	£. s. d.
The total expence of the military department				
in ten years	. . . 1,730,389 cr. 9 l. 3 g.			
In one year	. . . 173,038 11 14			17,303 18 0

BUILDINGS AND EXTRAORDINARY REPAIRS.

This article does not require explanation.

ARTICLE XXXI.

New paving the Streets.

The treasury, in 1771, advanced money for paving the streets entirely anew; likewise for making canals in them all, to carry away filth of every kind. The proprietors of houses engaged to pay a just proportion of the expence: but the greatest part of the buildings in the city Valletta belonging to the treasury, a large sum remained to be paid.

8,392 11 15 . 839 6 0

ARTICLE XXXII.

The Quays in the Por.

Expences occasioned by the damage done by the frequent inroads of the sea.

1,346 5 18 . 134 13 0

ARTICLE XXXIII.

Arsenal for the Galleys.

This new building, began in 1776 and finished in 1783, cost 63,986 crowns.

4,965 2 19 . 496 10 5

ARTICLE XXXIV.

Rope Yard.

This article included principally the expence of building storehouses for hemp in the rope-yard which formerly were situated at a distance.

542 10 10 . 54 5 9

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE XXXV.

Lazaretto.

The expence of the considerable repairs made at the quarantine at the Grand Port, together with the workmen employed at the new storehouses just begun at the Lazaretto. . . .

2,808 3 15 . 280 16 6

ARTICLE XXXVI.

Storehouses for the Gallies.

Extraordinary repairs of several storehouses belonging to the treasury, which are sometimes absolutely necessary to be done. . . .

715 8 5 . 71 11 5

ARTICLE XXXVII.

Powder Mills.

Expence of building the said mills, 7,966 cr. . . .

796 7 7 . 79 13 3

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

Storehouses near the Custom-house.

Four storehouses near the Custom-house, on the quay of the Grand Port, being in a most ruinous state, were obliged to be rebuilt, and cost 62,010 crowns. The rent amounted to 2,280 crowns, including the valuation made of that which had been ceded to the congregation for the galleys. The sum employed for building the said storehouses might therefore be considered as a capital placed out by the treasury at rather more than three-and-a-half per cent. . . .

5,823 5 19 . 582 6 11

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE XXXIX.

Conservatory and Library.*

The old building, in which was the library, being too small for the number of books belonging to the deceased knights, which were continually sent to encrease the original collection, the conservatory being even dangerously out of repair, and the mint being the property of the French language, which had occasion to make use of the building, it was resolved to erect a new edifice sufficiently spacious to contain the library, conservatory, mint, two halls, a storehouse for the congregation for war, with several shops on the ground-floor, which might be let at a very considerable rent.

5,348 3 16 . 534 16 7

ARTICLE XL.

New Burying-ground.

The sum here mentioned is only part of the 8000 crowns employed in making a new burying-ground, began in 1777 and finished in 1779. This is situated out of the town, and was intended as a place of interment for those who died in the grand hospital.

52 10 4 . 5 5 0

ARTICLE XLI.

Lighthouse at St. Elmo.

The expence of putting up a new lantern, 1108 crowns.

110 9 18 . 11 1 7

* The place where the coffers, plate, diamonds, and other effects belonging to the treasury, were kept. The knight who was entrusted with the care of these different articles was called the *Conservatory*.

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1789.

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE XLII.

Hospital.

Expence of removing the linen to a house facing the hospital, which was extremely out of repair. This house was called *La Camerata*, and cost the treasury

722 6 12 . . 72 5 1

ARTICLE XLIII.

Grand-Master's Palace.

This article included the 200 crowns paid annually for the repairs of this building, together with the salaries of the grand-master, two auditors, and likewise those of two other persons employed in the service of the palace.

562 11 3 . . 56 5 0

ARTICLE XLIV.

Falconry.

Expences of sending and presenting hawks bred in Malta to the kings of France, Spain, and Portugal, and the viceroy of Sicily. The order made this present every year.

1,039 3 19 . . 103 18 7

ARTICLE XLV.

Tables :

By which was understood the table kept at the expence of the treasury for the novices and professed knights resident in the convent, except a certain number of commanders, who, being knights, received a revenue of 2000 crowns from their commanderies. The chaplains and servants of arms who had commanderies worth 1000 crowns annually were also excluded. They

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788, inclusive.

were, however, allowed four salmes of corn every year, together with two measures of oil, and thirty-four crowns in money; the whole of which might be estimated at 150 crowns. 6000 crowns allowed the grand-master for the expences of his table by the treasury, were likewise included in this article. These were formerly placed under that of the grand-master's palace. . . .

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.

53,957	4	3	.	5,395	14	9
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ARTICLE XLVI.

Soldée and Noviciate.

These two expressions meant—first, an annual sum paid by the treasury to every professed knight—and second, a certain sum bestowed one single time on each novice, for the purpose of purchasing clothes. The said sums were disposed of as follows:—22 crowns to the knights; 16 crowns 6 tarins to the chaplains and servants of arms; 12 crowns 6 tarins to the deacons; and 7 crowns to the novices, who, however, only received 4½, on account of the drawbacks. . . .

1,490	2	19	.	149	0	5
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ARTICLE XLVII.

Treasury and Conservatory.

The expences of the general treasury-office, together with that of the conservatory, which might be regarded as an appendage thereof. This consisted in the salaries of all persons employed in these offices, and in the repairs of the buildings. . . .

8,337	6	16	.	883	15	2
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ARTICLE XLVIII.

Chancery.

Salaries of the different writers or clerks, paper, pens, and other necessary articles, together with repairs, amounted to the following sum: . . .

1,690	8	19	.	169	1	6
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Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE XLIX.

Slaves' Prison.

In addition to the slaves who composed the crew of the galleys, and who were included in the article of the said galleys, there were a considerable number in the city, shut up in a place called the Slaves' Prison, part of whom were employed in manufacturing linen cloth and cotton, for sails for the galleys and men-of-war, whilst the rest worked at the docks, fortifications, &c. &c. The maintenance and clothing of these slaves amount-

ed to 29,428 11 14 2,942 18 0

ARTICLE L.

Neophytes.

The expence of the newly-baptised slaves, who were kept separate from the others.

8,834 6 18 883 9 2

ARTICLE LI.

Purchase of Slaves.

A great quantity of slaves being necessary for the land and sea service of the order, the treasury was under the necessity of purchasing some every year from private individuals, to keep up the usual number.

4,488 6 0 448 17 0

ARTICLE LII.

Castellany.

Some trifling salaries to the persons who composed the tribunal of justice called by that name.

222 8 16 22 5 6

ARTICLE LIII.

Fountains.

The expence of making and keeping in repair all the public cisterns throughout the city, and in

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.

the different forts and castles, was included in this article. The expences of 1779 could not be regarded as those of a common year, since a very fine cistern in the Floriana, near the church of the Conception, was finished at that time. 2,920 5 14 . . . 292 1 0

ARTICLE LIV.

Postage of Letters.

The following persons being exempted from paying postage, caused the expence of this article:—the grand-master, his receiver, his three secretaries for the different departments of France, Spain, and Italy; the inquisitor; the members of the ordinary chamber, consisting of six persons; the commissioner of the post-office; and finally, all ambassadors and receivers. 20,396 2 11 . . . 2,039 12 6

ARTICLE LV.

Annuities left by Will.

Annual pensions given by the knights to different people, which at their death were allowed by the treasury, and a fifth part of their effects employed for that purpose. 2,971 9 17 . . . 297 3 8

ARTICLE LVI.

Annual Pensions,

Paid by the treasury to different persons by command of the council and the order at large. 10,930 11 10 . . . 1,093 1 10

ARTICLE LVII.

The Interest of different Loans.

This article included the interest of money borrowed at different periods—first, from Rome,

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.

which from 1726 to 1762 received $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; second, from Spain in 1761, 1762, and 1763, at 2, $2\frac{1}{2}$, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; third, frequent sums borrowed from the convent at 3 per cent. These last loans were principally intended for fulfilling the engagements entered into by the order of Malta with that of St. Lazarus, relative to the final division of the property of the order of St. Anthony.

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.
48,877	10 13	4,887	15	9

ARTICLE LVIII.

Drafts and Remittances.

The treasury having been obliged to make use of drafts and remittances to enable it to employ the greatest part of its revenue, which was deposited in the different receivers' offices, must necessarily have either gained or lost by the exchange in the course of ten years. An accurate account having been taken, the loss amounted to

768	8 12	76	17	6
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ARTICLE LIX.

Wood at Melicutta.

A large plantation was made in the commandery of Melicutta in Calabria, in 1763, in hopes of its yielding in the space of a few years a sufficient quantity of timber for ship-building. The order, however, had as yet received no advantage from this plantation.

1,823	11 16	182	8	0
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ARTICLE LX.

Library.

This article would in future have been rather less expensive to the order; not only from the

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

annuity of three hundred crowns left in perpetuity for its maintenance, but from the sale of the duplicates of books, which were latterly become very considerable. This library formerly consisted of nearly thirty thousand volumes; but the collection had been greatly augmented since 1788, and amounted in 1798 to more than sixty thousand.

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.

85	3	2	8	10	6
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ARTICLE LXI.

State Plate.

This belonged to the treasury, but was used for many different purposes, particularly for the grand-master's palace, the hospital, galleys, men-of-war, and ambassadors at Rome and Paris. The expence of keeping it up, and adding to it at different times, amounted to

3,277	5	8	327	14	11
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ARTICLE LXII.

Jesuits' College.

After the destruction and expulsion of the order of Jesuits in 1769, the treasury received the revenues annexed to the college, and defrayed all the expences. The outgoings exceeded the receipts

1,847	8	16	184	15	6
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ARTICLE LXIII.

Property belonging to the Antonines.

This article included the expences attendant on the union of the order of St. Anthony to that of Malta, together with some yearly pensions given by the order to the ancient Antonine friars; likewise the remainder of the sum agreed upon

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

	Maltese Money.		English Money.	
	Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s. d.
to be paid to the order of St. Lazarus, as an indemnification for the share it formerly had in the property of the Antonines.	73,294	8 15	7,329	9 6

ARTICLE LXIV.

A conciliatory Plan for the Priors of the Language of Italy.

The Piedmontese knights, who formed the greatest part of the priory of Lombardy, having wished to separate themselves from the other priories of the Italian language, it was thought necessary to oppose their resolution; and though the order could not succeed in maintaining as perfect an union as formerly subsisted between the priories of that language, it nevertheless contrived to preserve it for three very essential objects, *viz.* the dignities, commanderies, and favours, bestowed by the grand-master, such as pensions, &c.

10,114 6 12 . 1,011 9 1

ARTICLE LXV.

Restitution made to the German Language of the Profits arising from the Biennial and Triennial Tax.

The same motives which had induced the order to exempt the language of Germany from paying the whole of the respension fixed by the last general chapter, engaged it also to restore a part of the two above-mentioned taxes; the whole of which had been very nearly paid into the treasury.

4,027 1 13 . 402 14 3

T T 2

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years, from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s. d.	

ARTICLE LXVI.

Workshops and Storehouses.

Different necessary expences in the workshops belonging to the ordnance, rope-yards, &c. which could not be calculated under any particular article of ordinary expence. Likewise the wages of clerks and storekeepers; together with the repairs of the storehouses, and replacing the different worn-out articles contained therein. . . .

. 182,644 8 1 . 18,264 5 12

ARTICLE LXVII.

Institution of the Anglo-Bavarian Language in 1782;

The expences of which amounted to 14,081 crowns. . . .

1,408 1 11 . 140 16 3

ARTICLE LXVIII.

Recovery of the Property belonging to the Order, situated in Poland.

The estimation here made is only of one part of the expence, the whole of which amounted to 72,998 crowns; but the bailiff de Sagrameso, who was employed in negotiating this business, having secured 30,115 crowns arising from the Polish property, the real expence of the treasury was only 42,885. . . .

1,419 7 13 . 141 19 3

ARTICLE LXIX.

Illuminations on the Birth of the Dauphin,

Amounted to 2,331 cr. or 233l. 2s. . . .

233 1 5 . 23 6 3

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.			English Money.		
Crowns.	T.	G.	£.	s.	d.

ARTICLE LXX.

Assistance sent to the Inhabitants of Calabria and Messina.

The most tremendous earthquake having laid waste Calabria and Messina in 1783, the order immediately dispatched galleys to the relief of the sufferers: the expence of this expedition was estimated at 17,038 cr. or 1,703l. 16s. . . .

1,703 10 0 . 170 7 8

ARTICLE LXXI.

Expences relative to the last general Chapter.

The confirmation of the statutes of the above-mentioned chapter cost the order 5491 cr. or 549 l. 2s. . . .

549 1 14 . 54 18 3

ARTICLE LXXII.

Purchase of Freeholds.

A small house bought for the use of the hospital, 1,854 cr. or 185l. 8s. . . .

185 5 0 . 18 10 10

ARTICLE LXXIII.

Expences of different Kinds.

This article included a variety of objects, too trifling in their nature to be placed under separate heads. . . .

3,090 10 7 . 309 1 9

ARTICLE LXXIV.

Extraordinary Expences.

All the different sums paid by the treasury during ten years, towards discharging, in part, the debts it had incurred, amounting on the annual average to

25,400 7 1 . 2540 1 2

Total amount of the general expence

1,236,459 6 3 . 123,645 19 1

Annual Expenditure, on an average of ten years,
from 1779 to 1788.

Maltese Money.		English Money.		
Crowns.	T. G.	£.	s.	d.

RECAPITULATION.

Ordinary receipt	1,315,299	8	12	.	131,529	19	3
Ordinary expence	1,236,459	6	3	.	123,645	19	1
Balance	78,840	2	9	.	7,884	0	2
Ordinary and extraordinary receipt	1,361,141	8	14	.	136,114	4	3
Ordinary and extraordinary expence	1,261,860	0	2	.	126,186	0	0
Balance	99,281	8	12	.	9,928	4	3

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE DIFFERENT ARTICLES WHICH COMPOSE

NAMES OF THE ARTICLES WHICH COMPOSE THE RECEIPT.		1779.			1780.			Amount in			
ITALIAN NAMES.	ENGLISH NAMES.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	M. Cr.	T.	G.	f.	G.		
1	<i>Risposioni</i>	467757	5	4	467757	5	4	46	9		
2	<i>Mortori e Vacanti</i>	298261	7	15	149793	11	12	23	8		
3	<i>Passagi</i>	152569	11	8	164770	9	17	19	11		
4	<i>Spogli</i>	239353	8	4	216319	—	15	17	8		
5	<i>Annate Priorali</i>	2000	—	—	1000	—	—	—	2		
6	<i>Gioje Priorali</i>	128	4	—	116	8	—	—	15		
7	<i>Donativi</i>	10000	—	—	1235	3	17	—	1		
8	<i>Boschi</i>	57870	9	7	46085	7	16	5	3		
9	<i>Pensioni Rinunciati</i>	1141	2	16	—	—	—	—	8		
10	<i>Rendite diverse</i>	14247	4	5	37193	11	9	1	15		
11	<i>Fondazioni diversi</i>	6953	3	14	4859	5	13	—	19		
12	QUATTRO FONDAZIONI. { <i>Lascaris</i> <i>Paola</i> <i>Perellos</i> <i>Caraffa</i>	FOUR FOUNDATIONS. {	<i>Lascaris</i>	19841	9	14	17686	11	19	25	11
			<i>Paola</i>	4373	—	4	3417	5	4	—	—
			<i>Perellos</i>	3247	1	16	3403	3	14	—	—
			<i>Caraffa</i>	1667	1	6	—	—	—	—	1
13	<i>Case del Tesoro</i>	{ Houses belonging to the } Treasury		4203	7	17	3916	7	3	—	9
14	<i>Dritti di Lazzaretto</i>	1901	10	—	1004	6	3	2	13	—	—
15	<i>Bolla della Crociata</i>	{ The Pope's Bull and } Printing-Office		4871	3	2	11575	6	9	8	7
16	<i>Dritti di Nobiltà</i>	305	—	—	35	—	—	—	4	18	—
17	<i>Riscatto de Schiavi</i>	8315	—	—	6567	4	14	—	2	—	—
18	<i>Zecca</i>	18268	8	19	59	6	14	—	8	—	—
19	<i>Benefiziata</i>	2866	7	19	—	—	—	—	8	—	—
20	<i>Lucri provenienti</i>	{ Interest of Money ad- } vanced by the Treasury }		9304	8	9	5851	11	11	1	12
21	<i>Vendita di Stabili</i>	4027	6	—	—	—	—	—	9	2	—
22	<i>Restituzioni segrete</i>	557	5	2	568	7	2	—	3	1	—
23	<i>Dritti di Bandiera</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	4	—
24	<i>Introiti diversi</i>	620	5	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25	<i>Introito straordinario</i>	3920	5	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—
								6	12		
								8	14		