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HOMPESCH PART THREE

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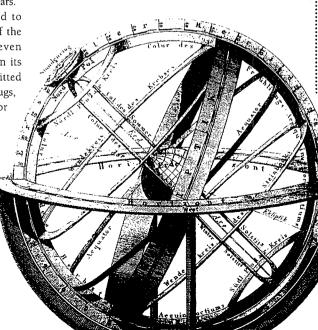
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Vice President &	Dr A Bonnici, MD, KM				
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	Ta' Xbiex, MSD11; Tel: 338437; e.mail: abonnici@maltanet.net				
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### HAVE YOU PAID YOU ANNUAL SUBCSRIPTION IF NOT PLEASE SEND YOUR DUES IMMEDIATELY TO THE TREASURER, MR J. BUTTIGIEG

## GRAND MASTER FRA FERDINAND VON HOMPESCH and

## Postal History By Dr. A. Bonnici, KM

Ver the past three decades philately has expanded into what has become to be known as Postal History, and has developed in an interesting specialised branch, giving the individual with research inclinations, an opportunity to delve into the contents of letters, be it socialpolitical-historical, to research the routes that the letter took to reach its destination, by means of calculating the fiscal postage rates, according to the weight of the letter, usually written in ink, and to decipher and interpret if possible the various hand stamps, and other markings on the letter. The envelope during the period of Grand Master Hompesch was not yet invented.

Letters were either folded and enclosed in a separate paper, sealed at the back with either a wax seal or a paper seal, the address being written on the front. Ambassadors, Monarchs and Grand Masters were allowed to seal their letters by folding the letter, and then holding and sealing it together, by means of a strap of paper, called *NIZZA* to allow for fumigation purposes, which at that time was compulsory, without opening the letter, and thus preserving confidentiality.<sup>1</sup>

From the various talks, lectures and papers published, commemorating the bi-centinary of GM Hompesch to his Grand Mastership, I think it would be fair, to assume, that he was the victim of the political, economic and social conditions prevailing in Europe at that time and also circumstances prevailing among the local population, and divisions inside the Order itself.

The wind of change was evident and in my opinion it could not be contained. These circumstances have been well debated, and I am not going to discuss it further, but I would like to shed light on the other side of the character of GM Hompesch – that he was a good Ambassador, a good Administrator with a positive sense of administrative direction, from the evidence we find in documents and letters.

To do this I propose to produce evidence from:

1) documents and letters of the period before GM Hompesch became Grand Master, when he occupied important posts within the Order, leading to the dignity of Grand Cross in 1776 and Grand Bailiff in 1770, 71, 79, 82;<sup>2</sup>

2) evidence from documents and letters during his reign as Grand Master from July 17, 1797 to June 18, 1798;<sup>3</sup>

3) and evidence from letters resulting during his exile from Malta.

3

#### 1. Evidence from letters before he became Grand Master

As a diplomat, Hompesch showed great integrity and prudence, as shown by the following letter. During the period (1775-97) he held the influential office of Chargé d'Affairs of the Austrian Emperor Francis II.<sup>4</sup> It was in his capacity as the accredited Minister of the Austrian Emperor to the Order that Hompesch participated in the solemn funeral service, accorded by the Order to the Noble Angelo Emo, Admiral of the Venetian fleet, who died in Malta on March 1, 1792.<sup>5</sup>

Monseigneur? la revoir at initiation ve me permettent pas dedifferer un moment de rendre comple a Votre Alteste de when heureuse arriver a genes aprés un voiage de guine jours. sitot que je serai un peu repose des faliques de la mer je continuierai una route jusques chés le horon De Hompetch mon frere, qui reside dans ses terres pris de cologue. ma plus vive ambition est d'is ruevoir des ordres de 9? A. a qui infre de nouveau à tribut de la parfaite reconnailfance es du propond respect avec la quel je Juis. Monteignair Genes Le 7 De juine 1945, Se Votre Alteffe is tres humble entres aboy faut serviteus Le Braill; Barone Hompseuk, n. A. A. Moutar le corine de Manuaité

The preceding letter was written on June 7, 1782, to Prince Wenzel von Kaunitz, Austria's influential Foreight Minister  $(1753-92)^6$  informing him that he had arrived in Jena, on his way to stay with his brother in Cologne, and

that he was looking forward to working collaborating and with him, signed "Le Balli. Baron de Hompesch". Apart from the information that on June 7, 1782. he was a Balli, and that he had a living brother in Cologne, it is evident that although he was passing through Austria. not in an official capacity, he felt obliged to inform the Austrian Foreign Secretary, that he was Jena. and in in transit to Cologne.



He took this opportunity to assure His Excellency of his ardent wish to work harmonously with him: diplomacy at its best.

GM De Rohan had great faith in him, and entrusted him with the drawing up of various reports as shown by the following letter.

Monseigueur Les dependres dout m'a honnore Votre Altefa, lè 16.23.230 mais, me sous passement de la fois dimanche 18 du pourrant la exemption des ordres souveraines gailles contienne, jourai nas manque d'en formsunniquer le contanne a l'albi soin A par a report l'A verra da prompte offici fauce a ce quelle una producte a lou ligard. non dealement bable Roiger ne lova plus highoice par moi dans annue afair-

- nour la retraite. Le q'é comois le grand maitre a fait a francher le pousielle pour his pourauni quer une Note ministenelle de la pour de Naple, par la quelle le Roi enjivour et ordonne banniou de a la demante qui la sete faite a la Majester heillieune par les trois pricarées hipits. Vous le lucau pourielle M le Graili de vieregg auqualitée reprovereur du Mapitre & prieures de Graviere, 2 M lable Swance for an an de prime de poloque, out mesenter le routorrot, paper entre les deux priensies is par le quele polici de prologue vient d'être in cor porce a la langue anglo Graversone, sous les consitions is tripulée, conditions qui ue voulles que bur le vagime interieur à éconacomique De la langue de Graviere. le pousible a la pluralitées des Unins a approuver potte comion. le 11 A le prevelier uno a mis a la coi le ava toute tou Estad to pour le ruis se de nouvoaux devant Tunis; un de les Vaipant de 64 pieces de favous a faillit donnes poutre terre al le parie en tortant du port, d'autres a Sentre hurter, lette manier de mandairer bio fair qu'augmenter Loppinnion qu'on ain Dir part de soule de leurs apredition. Le meme toire les Daux galleres de Celigiou accompagne De dur Covoitter lous partie pour livorae je lupplie 1. A. To me par rouner le desordre de gette meniare aperche, a Plagreer aufri favorablemicut que parla pafee les Monseigneur Seletra Altefe matter to juliet 1789 le tres hundle et tres obeificant traiting Le Brail 61 - De Stompiesch

#### 2. Evidence from documents during his reign as GM

Bailiff Ferdinand von Hompesch was elected Grand Master on July 17, 1797, after the death of GM Emanuel de Rohan Polduc on July 13, 1797.<sup>7</sup> From the very start he undertook the administration of the Island seriously showing leadership and a good sense of administrative direction.

One of the very first administrative decisions he took was to appoint at the end of July 1797 a commission to investigate how the Università (Council) had been previously administered, and make it accountable, as during the previous administration it had become slack and incompetent. The following document points out this clearly.<sup>8</sup>

Hosplis Magisler Hierlem<sup>9</sup> Scli Sepulori Ordinis Lancie Antonij Siennensis. commamente solleciti si contestare il nostro gradimento a questi nosiri amati sudditi per le affelluose dimo Arazioni Bale in occasione bella nostra Esaltazione, \_ libiamo crecuto doverci prima d'ogn'attro occupare\_ Dei loro pubblici, e privati interefsi rappresentali in aucsta nostra "iniversita"; perlocche essendoci necessa ria un esalla informazione dello stato allivo, espassivocela mederima diamo venule nella Seterminazione Sincaricarne Si cio il 1: Bali des pennes, il 1: Bali Casca cares, il Barone Pregorio Bonnici, ed il Baro. ne Francesco Yauci'; Giovan Carlo Frech Delicata, et Nostro Doganiere Guseppe Caruana Dingli? i quali \_ per il disimpegno di tal Commissione imprieghino ove bisognera? per Perili Calcolatori il Sta Giuseme ramen

zuli, co il il to relice Nizzo. Doura innoltre la mederima Deputazione attenta. mente coaminare l'attuale amministrazione in\_ lutte, e singole sue parti, compreso is numero deiilficiali alla incocrima addette; toro stipenoj, et emolu menti lanto sopra la stepa miversita, quanto sopra i sarricolari, che trallano colla mederima, è ci rappreseniera Gellaglialamente i difetti che talvolta maivi riconodcera duggerendo i provvedimente che credera opportuni anche per precludere la via a ----- commune produce il laese pofsa occupare basiani mente la sopolazione di lutto questo nostro Dorninio, e Del calcolo prudenziale che ne avra fallo ce ne fara de quato rapporto, indicandoci le sari di fifallo calcalo, qualora dal lisuitalo stimerà necessaria l'introduzione de cottone forestière, à rappresenterà le misure chercre ra polersi prendere por la ricurezza, che non posta qui lo mai meschiarri coi collone di Malla, e sollo il bol Si questo spedimi rum bel Tominio. prevedendo intanto Noi, che allera ca mustin lici e gravezza dequi oggetti che autoracia la presente Commissione non poirre la succita l'esultazione ma grado 's allenzione de africuita al brivario enclei ripromettia mo da Celo de Moseri decigiosi e vala seden de l'astri cuibili terminare son prèste tulle ana boltan renerale incarico, affine di non privare il hublico di qua= unque vantaggio che intanto se ale notrebre fare mon -

l'amente sentire incarichiamo la Depulazione nuella\_ di jarci sopra ogni oggetto che avra compiulamente riconorciuto una separata lucazione coi Settaque di Soma suggesite?, affine Di polor indi Moi Sare le opportune nrobidenze. Commettiamo finalmentes al nostro 1? Bali Senescalco di ordinare ai Gurati, et altri Uficiali della cetta Nostra miversila che riconoscano la sudetta De putazione; cribenbole lutti Libri, Documenti? econtrare allinente al Loro rispettivo Uficcio, e che le Siano tutte le informazioni necessarie al disimpegno & guesta nostra jommisione. Datum in Kalalio die ultima M. Julij Tomselly -

We would very much like to avail ourselves of the opportunity to show our gratitude to our beloved subjects for their loving respect shown to us on the occasion of our election. First of all we thought it would be our duty to safeguard their public and private interests in relation to the management of the Università.

For this reason it is necessary to have exact information of the income and expenditure of the Università.

Hence we are appointing the Venerable Balì Des Pennes, Balì Cascaxares, the Baron Gregorio Bonnici and the Baron Francesco Gauci, Giovanni Carlo Grech Delicata, and our Controller of Customs Giuseppe Caruana Dingli.

In order that the Commissioners can achieve their objective, they should avail themselves when necessary, of the services of Official Accountants Dr Giuseppe Camenzuli and Dr Felice Rizzo.

Furthermore the above mentioned commission should examine carefully the present administration in all its aspects, including the number of Official employees, their salaries, and bonuses, received from the Council itself, and from other sources having connection with the Council.

They will give us an itemised account pointing out the deficiencies they

might find, and making alternative suggestions for the future, which they think are necessary, in order to stop any future malpractice.

They are to examine carefully the book of accounts, and to forward to us, a detailed account of their findings, accompanied with their suggestions, and pointing to us those items that have to be reconfirmed, or adjusted, or to be totally removed.

The same commission has to find out how to establish Officially a list of costings (scala franca), pointing out in detail, all advantages and disadvantages, which affect the public, so that after having examined everything, we can take the necessary measures which are to the advantage of the public, especially the poor, who Divine Providence has trusted them in our care.

Finally the same commission is expected to examine with great accuracy the cotton produced by the country every year, if it is enough to occupy the population of our domain, and having made a prudent calculation they are expected to give us a detailed account showing us the reasons of their assessments and pointing to us how they reacheed such conclusions. Also to let us know if it is necessary to import foreign cotton, pointing out to us the measures which can be taken, in order not to be mixed with the Malta cotton, and measures to be adopted not to re-export it as Malta cotton.

We forsee that this Commission has to investigate many grave and important items, and for these reasons we do not expect the Commission to conclude its investigations in a short time, notwithstanding that we know of their zeal towards our Order, and the trust of our Subjects in them.

As we do not want to deprive the public of any advantage which they might feel they are enjoying, we order the said Commission to produce for us a detailed, itemised report, on every subject, so that we may take the necessary measures.

We finally order our Senescal the Venerable Balì to order the Giurates and other Officials of our Università to acknowledge the above mentioned Commission, and to hand to them, all the accounting books, documents and other papers regarding the Università, and to give them all the information necessary to achieve our objectives.

Given at the Palace, the last day of July, 1798 Hompesch

The above order came out only two weeks after Hompesch became Grand Master. He did not tolerate procrastination, but followed up this explicit directive with another on September 22, 1798, even more forceful, giving explicit orders, which show him as being a determined man, not prepared to allow anybody to fool him. He wanted immediately to make the Università again economically viable, above suspicion of corruption, as the following document proves.<sup>9</sup>

Magister Micrusalem Icti Sepuleri Ordinis Sancli Antonij Viennen? Costantis sempre più nella premu ra di comprovare a questi nostri fedelis, ed amalis Addilis il sommo studio con cui ci occupiamo de loro vantaggi, 'ed il vivo desiderio che abbiamo di renderli; per quan lo da Noi si possa, sclici, conoscen Do che la buona; c retta ammi = nistrazione di questa Aniversità a cuist appoquiatas la cura della sufistenza dell'intero sopolo; ed ou ancora si trova) depositata, la sua fortuna; sia la cosa che più principalmente interessa tulto.

immancabilmente fare in iscritto anche per via di semplice\_ nota; affine di poler Noi indi dare. con mena cognizione) di cose i nostri corrisponsenti Brdini, quali ci propro niamo di voler da oggi in avanti dare sempre in iscritto, "solloscritti, come Mimerenno, o da Noi slefsi o da uno de Northi Hilori; dimodocche Je dara il caso, che) venifse) riportalo qualunque) nostro Ordine in altra forma spedili o in voce, da qualsivoqlia Nostro \_\_\_\_ lifficiale di qualsisia grado si fosse autorizziamo la Sersona a cui Tofse din to, anzi Le ordiniamo di sospenderes\_ l'esecuzione, e porlarsi immedialamen te da Noi, per ricevere i Nastri Brdini! Dat: (in Palatio die **25**. M? Septembris [79]. Atompilicky

We have always been more and more eager to prove to these faithful and beloved subjects our greatest care for them and our vivid desire to make them happy as much as we can. We are aware that the welfare of the whole Public depends on the good and correct administration of this Università on which depend also their financial fortune. The public look at it with special attention. Hence, from the very first days after our election, we set up a Commission to study the actual situation of the above-mentioned Università.

The members of this Commission are: two Venerable Bailiffs, men of respect, and well known for their integrity, understanding and zeal for the common welfare; two Barons who enjoy the trust of the public; two honest persons chosen from among the intelligent businessmen, who also enjoy the trust of the public. The above-mentioned Commission must get all the information necessary to achieve their objective, may set rules and may change existing ones. Having made clear certain points among the more essential ones, without any waste of time they are to issue opportune regulations. Hence, herewith, with all our Authority, we set and order:

First of all the Università must never, and, on no pretext, lend money to anybody – whether to individual persons or to any Constituted Body of any grade, and whatsoever the condition, not even on pledge, nor on pretext of gain, no matter how advantageous for the same Università. From the above-set rule the Common Treasury and the Monte di Redenzione di Pietà are exempt; we do not intend to change anything concerning their reciprocal agreement which has been in force up till now concerning such loans. But because the abovementioned Università pays the interests at the rate of three per cent on Capital sums in hand, from today onwards, in case of any grant in advance, in money or in kind, to any of the above-mentioed bodies, the above-mentioned Università should be paid back for the interests it paid on the original. Credits to any of the above-mentioned bodies, which might actually be held without any profit, given the good faith in which it was contracted.

It could be likewise extended for another six months, reckoned from today, during which the loan should be paid back, but once the six months expired and once the loan had not been paid back, the above-mentioned Università should be paid back with a profit of three per cent.

Likewise the Università should never give grants of money in advance to buy anything or for any reason, even if it were with a pledge, except to buy cereals for the service of the public.

To be sure in attaining the above aim, to bring back respectability to the administration of the Università we want to set down the best possible regulations; hence we order strictly that the Giurati and all Officials and Subalterns employed with the above-mentioned Università must fulfil their task with due subordination required of subalterns to their superiors respectively, notwithstanding any interruption or abuse which might have been introduced to the contrary in the past. Finally to avoid misunderstandings, which might arise in the understanding of Petitions and Communications concerning the running of the above-mentioned Università, which are addressed to us in order that we might give our orders, they are to be forwarded in writing without any exception, even through the means of a simple note. Then, that we might give the respective orders with full knowledge of things, we make it clear that from this day onwards, we want to pass our orders in writing, undersigned, either by ourselves, or by one of our auditors, so that, if the case might be, that any of our orders be communicated in any other form, or by word of mouth, by whomsoever of our Officials, whatever his grade, we authorise the person to whom it is addressed to suspend its execution and to bring it immediately to us, so that we can take the necessary action.

Given at the Palace this 21st day of the month of September, 1797, Hompesch

These two letters show clearly the character of GM Hompesch as a strong civil administrator, giving direction determined to bring back efficiency to the Università and restore its former prestige and suffering no insubordination.

He was also a just and honest person. Although he had borrowed considerable sums of money, which helped him to secure the Grand Mastership, he did not retain profitable *Commenda* property abroad, which according to the rules, had to be passed on to other knights, once the individual became Grand Master.

This we see clearly in the document published on August 13, 1797, hardly two weeks after becoming Grand Master.<sup>10</sup> He also saw to the various allotments of pensions which were due to other knights.

Hosplis c'hagister Hierlem Selt Sepuleri Ordinis Sancti Antonij Miennen? Cilcado vacata por la nostra abunzione al Magistero la Commenda di Villingen del nostro Ven? Triorato di Memagna c spellando la Collazione della medenima alla nostra Magistra i preminenza por il nostro corrente primo \_\_\_\_

---- di 230. sulla Comi di Villingen la divi tiamo come ficque. Al Jac to Com. fr. Francesco Streicher ..... 51. ~ L'30. La pensione di 33. 11. 12. tulla Commenda di Rilein. Erlingen al Cav? fr. Eberardo Truchses. La pensione di 27. 11. 4. Julla fom: di fimar al medesimo fau :" fr. Eberardo Truchsess. a pensione di scudi 159. sulla fom? di Lagen la di= vidiamo come liegue. M Nobie ... Reinach . 89--. Il Sac: fr. Francesco Arcicher. ~159 --La pensione & 272. 8. 10. Julia fommenda di\_ Francfurt la dividiamo come dieque. Al Jack Dorion. (11 Sacte ..... Nigand ..... A 272. 8. 10. E la pensione di scudi 100. sulla form? di Sio: Bafiel e Worleskein al Com? fr. Trancesco Matturino Müller. Dat Sin Palatio die xiij. M. Augusto 1797. Hompsick,

Having vacated the 'Commenda' of Villigen of our Venerable Priory of Germany as a consequence of my promotion to the Office of Grand Master, it is our right and duty to fill in the vacancy. Hence, for our first five years, we provide for it, and, in grace, grant it to the Lieutenant of the Venerable Grand Bailiff, commendatore fra Antonio, the Baron of Neveu, our Falconer, in exchange of the Commenda of Rottembourg, which he enjoys with the title of Magisterial Grace, and the pension of 250 Scudos due to him from the income of the same Commenda of Villegen. And as regards the annual Magisterial income, due to us, he is to pay immediately in our hand, or to our Controller, the sum of 15,048 Maltese Scudos and 11 grani which amounts to 16,554 Florins at the rate of 10..18..1 tarì per Florin.

The Commenda of Rottenbourg, given back to us by the Lieutenant of the Grand Bailiff of Neveu, is provided for and conferred in grace to the Colonel, the Knight fra Enrico Physser in exchange of the following annual pensions, which are: 100 Scudos from the income of Mr Giovanni Bassel and Dodescheim; 272 Scudos 8 tari 10 grani from the income of the Commenda of Franchfurt; 33 Scudos 11.12 from the income of the Commenda of Klein Erlingen; 159 Scudos from the Commenda of Lagen; 336 Scudos 1.4 from the Commenda of Rottenbourg; 27 Scudos 11.4 from the income of the Commenda of Colmar; and 230 Scudos from the income of the Commenda of Neveu.

He is to agree with the above-mentioned Lieutenant of the Venerable Grand Bailiff, Commendatore fra Antonio, Baron of Neveu, concerning the Magisterial annual due from the above-mentioned Commenda of Rottembourg.

The pension of 250 Scudos, as renounced in our hand by the Lieutenant of the Venerable Grand Bailiff fra Antonio, Baron of Neveu, is granted by us and given in grace to the Priest, Commendatore fra Giuseppe Streicher.

The pension as above likewise handed to us by Colonel, the Knight Fra Enrico Physser is granted by us and given in grace as follows:

the penion of 338 Scudos 1.4 from the income of the Commenda of Rottembourg to the Knight fra Giacomo Sebastiano Truchses,

the pension of 230 Scudos from the Commenda of Villingen is divided as follows:

to the Knight fra Eberardo Truchses	Sc. 58
to the Priest, Commendatore fra Giuseppe Streicher	121
to the Priest, Commendatore fra Giuseppe Streicher	51
	230

The pension of Sc. 33.11.12 from the income of the Commenda of Klein Erlingen to the Knight fra Eberardo Truchses.

The pension of Sc. 27.11.4 from the income of the Commenda of Colmar to the same Knight fra Eberardo Truchsess.

The pension of Sc. 159 from the income of the Commenda of Lagen is divided by us as follows:

to the Noble Reinach	Sc.	89
to the Priest fra Francesco Streicher		70
		159

The pension of Sc. 272.8.10 from the income of the Commenda of Franchfurt is divided by us as follows:

to the Noble Reinach	Sc.	30.8.10
to the Priest Dorion		121
to the Priest Vigand		121
		272.8.10

And the pension of Sc. 100 from the income of the Commenda of Mr Giovanni Bassel and Dorleskein to Commendatore fra Francesco Matturino Müller. Given at the Palace on the 13th day of the month of August 1797

Hompesch

We find that he exercised social justice not only directed towards his fellow Knights, but also with his Maltese subjects, to whom he gave orders, and expected them to be obeyed. But at the same time he made sure that any rights that the individual had or might have in the future, were not effected by his command as the following letter points out:

During the reign of GM De Rohan, the Island of Gozo's Judiciary was in disarray, because several posts had been left vacant, and so there was a considerable number of acumulated law suits.

So on August 1, 1797 he appointed Councillor Dr Paolo Grungo as Judge for  $Gozo^n$  but as can be seen from the following letter he went out of his way to safeguard Judge Grungo's present and future civil rights.

I decided to send to our Island of Gozo Dottore Paolo Grungo, Councillor of our senior Magistrate of Justice to hold the office of Judge on that Island. Hence, we grant him leave of absence from the said office of Councillor for the whole time during which he will exercise the said Judicature.

Consequently, he will avail himself of the ordinary proceedings, and, in addition of a yearly two hundred scudos from his ordinary salary as a Councillor; and without any prejudice to his seniority in case of promotions. Hence we do herewith declare that, in case of any vacancy of superior grade to his, during his leave of absence as a Councillor, he shall be equally considered as if he were not on leave but as if he were actually in the Office of Councillor.

Given at the Palace on the first day of this month of August 1797 Hompesch.

Aorphis Maiy & Hiertems Sumeti Sepuderi Ordinis Sandi Antonio Diennensis (venue stimuto spedire) allas nostras polas del Gozo il D. Fuolo Grungo (anigliere) Del mostro Supremo Muquistrato & Giustigia per esercitare ( uficio di Guidines in quell' Sola , gli accordismo un congedo del cotto ufficio di fanigliere de durare per tatto il lempo he, cremitera las d'Giudicatura, Della quate) intento ne godera gli or Sinarj proventi , c. di più Judi Due fonto inquantes annui. Dal no ordinario Aprendio Si (consigliere ?; e, perche non vininta alum meginicisio ne moi cloumpi nel indetto Magistrato Suchiariamo che occorrendo net nedesimo in questo frattempo vacanza? di qualches Consigliere di grado lui maggiore suna uqualmentes considerato comes sconon forre s in congedo, ma benne in attuale Lise reijio. )alum in Salatio die prima me Quiguste 1792. ftom seich

As far as his foreign policy is concerned, we have evidence showing him as persuing the same foreign policy of his predecessor, GM De Rohan, namely friendship with Russia. During GM De Rohan's reign the French Revolution had denuded the Order from the income of three of its most powerful Langues, that is France, Auvergne and Provence. France included Aquitain and Champagne. Provence included St Gilles and Toulous. In other words the whole of France.

Napoleon was causing great problems to Austria, Poland, Switzerland and to Italy. England was luke-warm towards the Order and so Russia with its Mediterranean expansionist ideology was at that time the only country which could afford protection to the Order against the might of the emerging French military genius.

Although documented correspondence with Russia exists since 1543, the Order's overtures towards Russia had really started during the reign of Catherine II, Empress of Russia, during GM Pinto's reign, which increased during GM De Rohan's. In fact, she had sent De Rohan her portrait painted by Dimetriy Levitsky in 1787 which is in the Palace, Valletta.

GM De Rohan wrote a thank-you note to her on February 20, 1790.<sup>12</sup> However her relations with the Order were luke-warm. On the contrary her son Paul was very enthusiastic and responded warmly towards the overtures of the Order, which, because of the French Revolution and the emerging Napoleon felt isolated and needed protection.

Paul, on November 12, 1796<sup>13</sup>, wrote to GM De Rohan informing him of the death of his mother and his succession and on May23/June 2, 1798<sup>14</sup> O'Hara informed the Vice-Chancellor Kurakin that he had handed over the portrait of Paul to the Grand Master as a gift. This portrait is at the moment lost.

In 1788 GM De Rohan, in answer to Catherine II's request for a Knight of Malta to train a new galley squadron for the Baltic Fleet, sent Count Giulino Renato Litta de Visconti-Arese. He was soon promoted to the rank of Major-General, then Rear Admiral.<sup>15</sup>

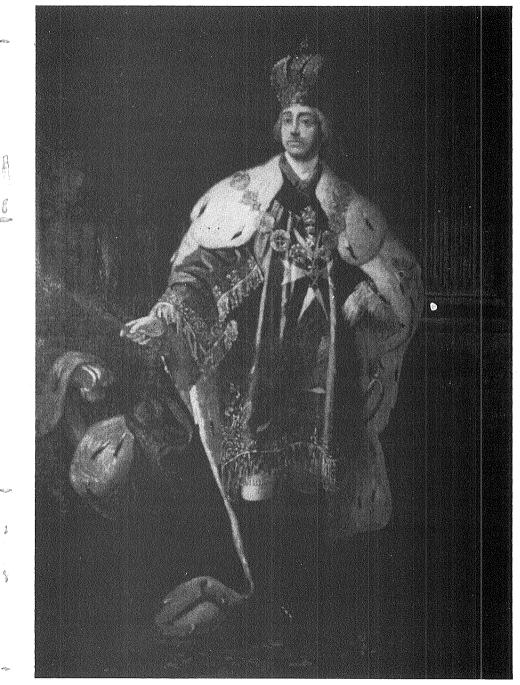
In 1790 Litta was created Bailiff, and on April 14, 1795 GM De Rohan nominated Litta Plenipotentiary, Minister of the Order to the Imperial Court of Russia.<sup>16</sup>

Following the extinction of Poland in 1795, GM De Rohan sent him to Russia to start negotiation for the establishment of a new Russian Grand Priory, and on January 4/15, 1797 in St Petersburg, Prince Bezborodko and Prince Kurakin, Chancellor and Vice Canchellors respectively on the part of the Tsar, and Bailiff Litta on that of GM De Rohan,





Catherine II (The Great), Empress of Russia, from a painting by Levitsky



Tsar Paul I, from a painting by Antonio Micallef.

signed a treaty by virtue of which the Polish Priory was to become the Grand Priory of Russia and its revenue of 300,000 florins would accrue to the Order's treasury.

The Priory was to be divided into ten commanderies, for Knights and three for Conventual Chaplains. In February 1797, the Tsar's envoy Ratchinsky, bearing the draft convention, was intercepted at Ancona by French troops and compelled to surrender all his documents. These were sent to the Directory in Paris and published. They never reached GM De Rohan who died on July 13, 1797.

These documents featured prominently in the excuse given by Napoleon for attacking the Order in Malta, whom he accused of plotting with his enemy Russia against France.

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In the beginning of June 1797, another text of the Convention identical to the first was signed by the same person and sent to GM Hompesch, which this time reached Malta, and the Council of the Order confirmed and ratified the convention of January 4/15 on August 7, 1797 as results from the following documents.

As soon as he was elected on July 17 GM Hompesch wrote to the Tsar saying:

ire, e me fais un devoir de faire part à Votre Majeste Jupériale que, Dieu ayant appele à lui l'Eminentifsime Grand Maître Emmanuel de Robran tous les subtrages de mon Ordre s'étant réunis \_\_\_\_ avec boute l'hommage des sentimens profonds d'attachement et de respect avec les quels je suis De Notre Majesté Jupériale Dies humble et très obeifsant Serviteur Se Grand Maître. f. ferrinand des Hompserk Malte le 17. Juillet 1797. !-

I feel it is my duty to acquaint your Imperial Majesty, that, God having called to him, the most Eminent Grand Master Emmanuel de Rohan, all the electors of the Order having united in my favour, I have been unanimously elected to succeed him.

His greatest regret in dying was that he was unable to proceed to the solemn formalities to install a Priory of my Order in Russia, instead of the Polish one.

The loss of despatches of our Minister Plenipotentiary has caused this delay, and it will be great satisfaction for me to bring to conclusion, this great work, as soon as these copies of these despatches, of which I have been notified, are brought by Chev d'Ohara to me.

I pray in the meantime, that Your Imperial Majesty be well convinced of our warm gratitude and to continue your interest and august support for my Order, and the Neutral State at the head of which I have been placed and to accept kindly the homage of the sentiments of deep attachment and of respect, etc.<sup>17</sup>

As soon as the draft treaty reached Malta no time was lost by the Council to verify it, and promoted Litta to Ambassador Extraordinary to Russia as the following letter points out.<sup>18</sup>

tres 'est avec laplus vive satisfaction que je me suis empresse avec le suprieme Conseil de mon Ordre, de sanctionner. de notre vive gratitude, et celui du tres profond respect avec lequel je huit. 1110 De Volre Majeste Imperiale etrès jumble et très Obeistant Servitur Se Grand Maître. Matte le 7. Boût firsinand be stompetily

It is with the warmest satisfaction that I hasten together with the Supreme Council of my Order, to sanction and ratify the treaty which the plenipotentiaries of your Imperial Majesty have signed, in your August Name, with the Venerable Bailiff Count de Litta, our Plenipotentiary for the establishment of a grand Priory of the Order of Malta within the Russian Empire. In order to accord to this action a more agreeable solemnity for your Imperial Majesty, and to prove more appropriately our warm and profound gratitude, we have deemed it fit, to invest the Bailiff Count de Litta, with the rank of Ambassador Extraordinary to your Sacred Person, etc...

It is therefore in this capacity that he will have the honour to present to you the above mentioned treaty, sanctioned and ratified by us and the Supreme Council of the Order, in an irrevocable manner. Hompesch

Malta 7 August, 1797

ne, ans la méane Conseil Suprême de mon Ordre oil l'établissement du Grand Prieure de Russie a été sanctionne et ratifie, où l'on s'est repose sur moi du som bonorable de proter nos Desirs à Notre Majeste Impériale concernant notre Decoration, et où le Nole Baille de Litta a the actorise à révêtir auprier de votre Sersonne dacree le caractère d'ambassadeur extraord, on s'est egalement repose sur moi Del som Deprier Volre Majeste Impériale, par reconnaissance Des bienfaits signales qu'ille vient d'accorder à notre Ordre, de vouloir bien procéder lle-même dans sa baute Sagesse au chois des premiers titulaires du Grand prieure De Russie et Des Commanderies, qui en Dépendent, - - -

ð

- l'heureuse conclusion des arrangement definitifs concernant la Bologne, entre Notre Majeste Imperiale, la cour de Nienne & celle de Berlin, arrangemens qui prouvent à la fois la justice, la sagesse et la magnanimité de Notre Majeste Impériale M'en avais deja été instruit par le Mole Baille de Litta. Mais le cher " bara Conseiller d'ambassade altache à la legation de Russie à Matte, dont il dirige ~ depuis peu les affaired en l'absence du cap " Baro, ma Source ces jours passes au nom de Notre Majeste/Impériale communication de tour les document. Je la prie decroire que jeprendrai toujours la part la plus vive aus 'évenement qui comme celui-ci intéresseront sa gloire et la prosperité de son Empire. C'est dans ces sentimens que j'ai l'homeur de lui réilerer l'hommage des sentimens profonds degratitude d'attachement et de respect avec les quels je luis. Vire. De Votre Majeste Impériale L'e très Jumble et très Obiespant Serviteur Le Grand-Maître Malte le 7 Cout 1997! fi farmini Sa Hompsuch

In this letter written also on August 7, he again mentions the ratification of the treaty and tells the Tsar to go ahead and to make the first appointments of the Grand Priory of Russia and its dependent Commandaries, including those which according to the treaty had to be nominated by the Grand Master.<sup>19</sup> "I therefore entreat your Imperial Majesty to make this choice according to your pleasure."

He also promises that as soon as he became aware of the names selected by the Tsar, he will take immediate action so that the Council will issue them the necessary Bulls which according to the custom of the Order were indispensible to them. He also congratulates the Tsar on "the successful conclusion of the definitive arrangements with regard to Poland, between His Imperial Majesty, the Court in Vienna and the court in Berlin".

1122 doit reserves in un- Since ausi-pieux, dussi sage, ausi) ami de l' Rumanue que l'otres Majeste Imperiale, d'étublis d' Entre des Malle, bans d'Empire des Russie, et d'affrir aux louveraine be 1' Europe . Ten contemporaines tes prenner crempter d'un Empereur revelu De la Ervir à jamais illustrice par une foule. de grandes bommer & de Geron célébres Main Hotre Marjeste Imperiales me sest par bound à Doter cet etablishement stile et glorieurs pour Son reque Elles daigs encore en être le Stitecteur, et tenir de nouv des meines marques que portient les D'Aubution les L'Iste- adam les La Valette. Le Supreme Comeil De 1' Ordre D'une Nois unamine & par autamation a décrété que le 1º Maille Comite. des Sitte notre Ambassadeur Extraor Einaire aupre De Potrie Majette Impériale auroit d'honneur de la lu offrier au nom ou Sorpe entre de notre Crove. Il -

- bienfaite nour donnent le Droit de reclamer. Le Dailli Comte de Situ est en même temo charge de présenter à la Majeste l'Impériatrice et à Cours Alternes Imperiales les grandes Ducs Alexandre Constantin et Nicolas les Lettres & les marques de mon Ordre qui seur sont respectivement Destineer. Main il I'est plus speciedement, clive de Nous offrir en mon nom la Grois antique provenante de grand- Maure La Malate, 4 quelle stoit conservé dans notre Eslie Pathibrale et en outre ma proprie Croix, que jes prie Notre Majeste Imperiale D'augreer comme un faible gage de mon très respectueux attachement et de ma reconnoissances personnelle. I ai our devoir dans cette succion envoyer expressement te Cente Marynstin issu d'une nobles Famille dela Sologne, et Chevalier de mon Ordre pour porter le Gruite ratifie, les Crivin et les lettres que mon Ambanadeur aura d' pormeur de présenter à Potre Majeste Impériale. Je Lapries D'auveillir graveusement le Chev de Raizymetri, que a rempli ici tour ser Devoir d'une maniere Distinguée et. que me paroit à tour égards digne de les Conter et des as banveillance. Je mis avec le plus profond respect ( ine De Lotre Majeste Imperiale Le très Jumble et très Obeinant Serviteur Le Frand-Maitre Malte le 1. Clout Ny og / - ferdinand de Homperch

On August 7, 1797 by means of another letter he showers praise on the Tsar and to show how grateful he and the Order were for accepting to be the Protector of the Order, as a sign of gratitude he was sending his cross, and that of Grand Master La Valette which was in the Chapel of Our Lade of Philermos, in St John's Cathedral, by a special messenger, a Polish noble Knight Count Graisynotim, so that Ambassador Litta can present them to him officially, together with other documents for the Royal family.

From these letters it is obvious that GM Hompesch and the Order were most grateful to have thought that at last they had found a European power which could afford them protection against the dark clouds appearing on the horizon – the emerging Napoleon, and continuing on the foreign policy that had been planned before by GM De Rohan.

Après avoir revolu le Sondrable Bailli Conte De Litta du caractère de notre Ambassadeur de traordinaire auprès de Polire Majeste Imperiale expressement pour rempter Conten les fonctions relatives à l'installation du P\_---L'exsonne l'assurance de notre vive Degratitude et du tier profond respect avec lequel je Suin , Sire De Potre Majeste Impériale Matte 5. Formier 1768. No trea humble d? tries obeissant Serviteur Le Grand-Maître fr: fordinand Se Stonperchy ?

In a letter written on February 5, 1798, the Grand Master thanks the Tsar again for accepting to be the Protector of the Order and that he was sending him documents by Ambassador Litta.<sup>21</sup> Although no mention is made of what the contents are, probably these were proposals for the incorporation of the Russian Priory into the Anglo Baverian Langue as was the intention of GM De Rohan in 1783, as on February 28, 1798 Tsar Paul wrote to the Grand Master expressing his concordance with the project of incorporating the Russian Priory into the Anglo Baverian Langue.<sup>22</sup> An act incorporating the Russiand Priory into the Anglo-Bavarian Langue was actually drawn up and published by the Council in 1798.<sup>23</sup>

# 3. Evidence resulting from documents, letters after his exile from Malta

GM Hompesch was ordered to leave Malta by Napoleon Bonaparte and sailed out of Malta on a French merchantman, escorted by the *Artemise* on June 18, 1798, for Trieste, accompanied by several of his faithful colleagues, among which was the Maltese in charge of his Privy Purse and Spanish Consul Mr Emmanuel Gravagnia.<sup>24</sup>

GM Hompesch left behind him considerable debts, and had appointed Antoine Poussielgne the former Captain of the Port as his attorney to pay on his behalf his debts from the money he was supposed to receive from the French Government under the terms of the Convention. In fact, the 600,000 francs accorded to him under article 2 of that convention was earmarked to pay his debts<sup>25</sup> which amounted to 382,660 scudi.<sup>26</sup>

From this we see that GM Hompesch's intentions were honorable. His intention was that his creditors would be paid as per Article 2 of the Convention. He did not abandon them. The fact that they were never paid was not his fault as this was not done because of events beyond his control, the uprising of the Maltese a few months later.

Among these creditors we find Mr Giuseppe Caruana Dingli – Controller of Customs – who because of the revolt was never paid. The Caruana Dinglis had absolute loyalty to GM Hompesch which the Grand Master acknowledged. So, Caruana Dingli had a vested interest in seeing the return to Malta of the Grand Master. Ball, in March of 1799, ordered the arrest of Caruana Dingli as soon as he learned that he was in possession of some letters from GM Hompesch urging him to increase his activities for the Order's return to Malta with the help, if need be, of Austria. After being detained for thirteen days on board the *Alexander*, Caruana Dingli became sick and was transported to Comino, and was later transferred to Gozo and then to Sicily<sup>27</sup> where he died.

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ha unite Est un forio di centire il sale ristabilimento Ina State 11. Margo mi scrine, essere elle Tuttore nello store ter siguiaciano. Spero, che bengresto avio di lei migliori nuove. la esorto da si segue 22 tringuilligani si hoveri bene il moro Or poure riparo Da sono operation bineter a' contenuto velle summergionata min dei 28 Maryo te ripeto, che matte una .... de miei debiti, incaro che ne abbias preno di se i necessari soumenti per oter la formare : poiche almimenti non e conveniente fore verne pour a di ciò . Malta per procurarli . Mi ha dispia en uto et sapere per le lettere del Cavalier Gienne che i miei plichi del mere di Decembre in cui vi emno delle moi iche: " ner lei, non crano quinti in Musina. Seve essere ben convinto della propressione rell'ariumo mio a fare moto ciò che potra esierte di vantaggio. Con che le auguro dal erinore eger bene". Port alerionahinim you alterta rolloginghione. Hompusch astar on Alter alter generina firmandel Sepanto Sincipe De Flompunt

I wrote to you on March 28 to tell you how sorry I was to hear about your illness and to express my wish for your recovery. The Knight Dienne, in his last letter of 11th March, wrote to tell me that you are still in the same condition, about which we are very sorry indeed. I hope that we shall receive better news shortly. I give you advice to take heart and to keep yourself calm: that would work like a good remedy, and... To go back to the contents of the above-mentioned letter of 28th March, I tell you again that once recovered and when you can, send me a general note or an account of my debts, if you have the necessary documents, as otherwise it would be difficult to take action from here. I was sorry to learn that the letters of Knight Dienne, my packets of letters of the month of December, in which there were some of my letters to you, had not reached Messina. You should be sure that I will ever do whatever could be to your advantage. Herewith I wish you every good thing from the Lord. Yours affectionately, (s) Hompesch

Con senso di vero dispiacen sentimmo las mova della morte del vasoro marin Go foreltà sua verso la natra dersono, Dil suo attarcamento ci favono sempre' grati, e ne conserveremo in ogni tempo las memoria. Le circatanza non ci permisero di ricompensaro i ruoi servizi come lo desideravano e come egli meritava. Ci proponieramo di corrispondero pieno mente alle promure et all'impegno \_ .... peteita, che sofriste assumiano os noi la Cura de vostri fighi: sorà tutto norte il pensier del loro stabilimento: e reforderemo sallo famiglies tutos quel bere, che volevano fave in persona del Defunto vostro marito. Viate certa dell'estensione Di questi norti sentamenni, che vi comprovererno fra breve colla maggion efficacità. Vangueramo Par orignore oupri vero bene Lorto Di Termo li 25. Secembre 1801. Hompseich

We were sorry indeed to learn the news about your husband's death. His faithfulness and attachment in our regard were always grateful to us and we shall recall them at any time. Circumstances did not allow us to repay him for services rendered, as we would have liked and as it was fit. We promised to pay back in full for his kindness and duty which he publicly has shown in regard to our Person; but the Lord God had not permitted. We share your sorrow. As much as possible we do our best to comfort you in your affliction and to relieve you in your bereavement. We take the care of your sons on us. We do everything towards their settlement in life. We do to your family all the good we wanted to do the person of your late husband. Be sure of our feeling in your regard; we shall prove them shortly with greater efficacy... We wish you and true good from the Lord. Porto di Formes 25th December 1801

Porto di Fermo: 25th December 1801 (s) Hompesch These two letters prove beyond any doubt that Hompesch did not abandon the Caruana Dinglis, "We take the care of your sons on us, We do everything towards their settlement in life. We do to your family all the good we wanted to do the person of your late husband."

The subsequent story as told by the family is as follows: the son of Caruana Dingli was a Professor of Law and instituted legal proceedings in Malta to recover the debt, but he lost the case. He was allowed, however, to seek redress at the Privy Council, but the ship carrying the documents sunk on its way somewhere in the Bay of Biscay and so the story ends.

The Order had also debts on the Continent. Mr Emmanuel Gravagnia, Hompesch's Privy Seal, because of these unpaid debts, was very unpopular. The Secretary up to 1799 was Sig Cavalieri Destrull but then Emmanuel Gravagnia became Secretary and a certain Giuseppe de Berta in Ancona became a money clearing agent for GM Hompesch, receiving and paying relieving Gravagna from this headache.

Two letters exist form Balì Fra Giuseppe Conte Caracciola writing from Palermo to the Secretary of GM Hompesch Emmanuel Gravagnia at Gerschach near Lubiana, one dated September 24, 1799 and the other December 13, 1799. In both letters Balì Carracciolo states that he had informed GM Hompesch former Secretary Sig Canalieri Desbriell that he was owed 1000 florins, and never even got an answer. He exhorts Mr Em Gravagnia to do his best to obtain payments for him, because he had incurred this debt on the instructions of the Council when in Trieste.

Most Illustrious Sig Gravania. I hope that you have received a previous letter of mine in which I beseeched vou to make known to His Most Eminent Sig Hompesch, that when it pleases him, he could redeem a bill of one thousand florins taken by me here on behalf of the Venda Comune Treasury and for my necessary subsidy. I wrote about this matter to the last Secretary Sig Cavaliere Desbriell but my letter was rejected because when it arrived in Trieste he had already left and the conventual representation had been dissolved. In my letter to you I suggested that this payment was to be made to His Most Eminent Cardinal Francesco Pignatelli of Monteleone, once that this Cavaliere Antonio Forcella, General Representative of the Duke of Monteleone had advanced the said sum to me in July; now I am informing you that the said Cardinal has otherwise well provided himself and not having found them still in Trieste, has also rejected my letter of credit, so that if you consider it fair to compensate me the debt incurred by me in my official capacity, and ignoring the change which followed, you could send me a bill, payable to me, and in that way refund the said Cavaliere Forcella; meanwhile may I flatter myself to think that you will pay me if possible so that I will not suffer added discomfort once that the dreaful democracy of the Kingdom of Naples has so ruined my Commende that I will not be able to extract a grain from them for a very long time. You could send your reply through Livorno to a worthy person, businessman or any other so that it may reach me in Palermo and from it make my decisions concerning, the refund. Please give me your reply for which I am anxious, and with great esteem I remain, Yours, Palermo 24 September 1799

Most devoted, Most rateful, Servant, Truly, The Bali Caraciciolo di S...

Atimatiji! " vifi travaona. I pera che abtia dei riceventa un'altromicodetto. in an la pregaro di fave intero il di f: Emostilongerit, the potend li posses compractivo es tinquere una cambiale di Mille fiorini darines presiqui a conto del Vento Comun Jevoro, e per mio ne ceptario durio We veripiall'utimople gretario del made pinio Viji fais mender traite la letterasmi à stansceptina, perche all'annis dellas masimasin Trieren, egle non cieras price ed eras sidetas las rappesentanças convence les nelle mia a lei, qui parcaripai, ches detto rimetorie d'oversidenire fatto all'Eminentipimo Di ( : Cordinales Francesco Pignatelle di Monce leone, gracche questo stif: for antonio Forcella, agenta - del Regni di Rapoli, ha rovindo fe un papo la mie formandere si prise a rojene esigere un grane, per motor temps ancoras diri gen potra la misposta pria di fivorno, raccompandate a qualches perso no diciono Nejozianae, o altri, perche me popras pervenires in valos mayer dal tenire della medes ima, prondero le nice determinizioni, circos il convaniance n'mborso. Midia puor nicordri, ed anaroro deme desimi, con perfettos utrima, mi raff. In les Palermo li 24 Settembre 1799. This mothing berr Vero Il Bali faraccide di f Grance

all More dio : e Inemio Ogsermo St sig Emanuele Fravagna preport Emostif der Homperch a Serschach meyso filbiana

Most Esteemed Sig Gravagna. Not having had any reply from you to my various requests, I feel the necessity of inconveniencing you once more with this letter, above all to beseech you to pay my respects to our unfortunate, but always respectable, the Most Eminent Signo de Hompesch, and to make it known to him that my present circumstances render me most anguished to know what I am to do about the thousand florins which I took last September in the form of a loan from the Piazza, in order tobe in a position to obey the orders of the Sacro Consiglio and the Veneranda Camera, given to me last March, in the provisional Convent of Trieste; I know too well the fairness and the generous way thinking of his Most Eminence not to doubt at all that he wishes me to suffer the hardship of such a repayment, after having fulfilled my duty with all the zeal and thoughtfulness. I do not take the liberty of writing to him directly in order not to inconvenience him, but I beseech you to act on my behalf, and to ask him earnestly not to leave me in want. Concerning Malta, it is still in the hands of the enemy, but in a few days the siege will begin with Russian troops, English, Portughuese and Neapolitan numbering about 7000, besides a multitude equal if not more in number of Maltese; as far as I am informed, all your realtives are well though still confined in unhappy Valletta; one hopes, as it is being said, that freedom will come, order will return; I beseech you finally not to leave me without reply and send it to Sig Conte Pompeo Brigido in Trieste, I send a thousand greetings to your son, Sig Vincenzo and with steadfast and true esteem, I remain Yours.

Palermo 13th December 1799

Vamatiptimo elif: Sravaçna. Non avendo asuto alcuna vue rispostasab varie mie voritteçli, mi vegoo nella necepità di nuovamente incommo da la con questa mia; primieramentes per pregarlas di porgeres à mlei rispe toriograpy al no intelice mar rispettatiles dempres, Endelig : de Mon pesch, indi fargli prevente, che. les mie, attuali circostange, mi rendono asquertiatijs imo nel so dis fo, ches devo fare dei mille. Forini, dasmes presi in settembre scorro, in prestito dasquestas Piaza, per essererin gra do di obsedire gli ordini riceveti dal dagro Congiglio, es Venda Camera, in Mação verso, nel Convento provvisionales di Triestes, troppo cono seo lavon ma equita, e generosa maniera n' penunres del detto Erre, per non dubitar affatto, che voqua formi coffrires il disagoio ditale rimborso, dogoo di ---più e Maltesi, por quanto mi dono informato, tutti i devoi Parenti stanzo bine, benche ancora chiusi nell'int lices Valletta , vi opera, per gue de 'i dice; che li borne a varie, l'ordine ritornerie, Pregandola finalmente di con la sciarmi privo di ri posta, esdi inviarmelas al Vif: fontes Pompeo Bri ido in Trieste, fo mille valuer aleige Vincenzo duo Fifto, es con costan e vara stimar, mi raff? Siaci Palermo li 13. Decembre 1799. P.S. Le potrà dirmi qual é, e quale vi crede potra essue las futura vorte, del rispettabile, marinfelices mo imo inproves, gli varo solizato. Diomo Oflig moder : Vero Il Bali Fra Siuseppe or faracciolo

I do not know if this debt was paid or not, as no records exist of what happened later.

C Mmo Sig. ome dalla gentilifima 24 di questo, hi segnato medito di il A li to 1500 nagatoli per mio lonto codesti Sig. Piceller, intanto ho il pienere di dirle che dave delle note Cambiali ver Augicita furmo que acolte more -- parla' avvitata ende popo valer fine del rejou importo. La prego di fare i mei obsequiofi compli monte al. A.G. ed al dig i Vormand coon la blite Atima mi con formo. Dr. V. Juma Atruma le 28. Vorem 1803 All Marro Sig, Emanueli Gravagna 1 Perrugia Linno alblino envitor Ginseppe de Berto

I have examined 38 letters originating from Giuseppe de Berta to the Secretary, Mr Emmanuel Gravagnia, of GM Hompesch addressed at Porto di Fermo between January 4 and October 17, 1803; Perugia November 14-28, 1803, Città di Castello December 16-31 1803. They are all accounting letters of money coming in and money being paid to various individuals showing that GM Hompesch in exile was looking in a professional manner the Order's financial affairs.

These letters establish that during 1803, GM Hompesch was in Porto di Fermo, up to October, Perugia in November and Città di Castello up to the end of December.

The letters from Ancona to Porto di Fermo took from one to two days to be delivered. Two letters although they have on them the written words *per espresso* also took two days to be delivered. This *per espresso* was written by De Berta and not applied by the Postal authorities. It merely signified a wish for that letter to be speedily delivered. There was however no organised express service.

Two other letters have a very rare hand stamp, one exceptionally fine. Only one other has been recorded in Italy by Gallenga under Perugia.<sup>28</sup>



I have made extensive enquiries in Italy to find out the meaning of M/SS but so far nobody has been able to let me known its meaning. These letters were sent by De Berta from Ancona on July 31 and October 17, 1803, arriving in Perugia on August 2 and October 19 respectively, two days' transit.

Decrees are also documents: They were issued in the name of GM Hompesch signed by his Vice-Chancellor Pinto and bear his portrait paper wafer seal.

I have not covered the period when Napoleon granted GM Hompesch his promised pension and allowed him to go and live in Montepellier, where he died on May 12, 1805. This will feature in a later study.

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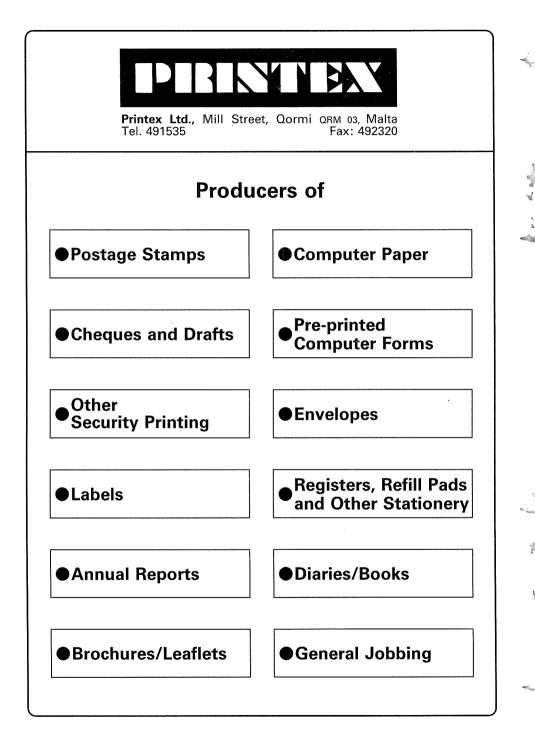
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