MALTESE IN SPAIN DURING THE NAPOLEONIC AGE

By Giovanni Bonello, LL.D.

The pioneer work carried out by Mr Antonio Farrugia and Mr Carmelo Vassallo on the 18th century Maltese colonies in Spain, has yielded remarkable dividends. Various scholars picked up those leads, and our knowledge of the Maltese settlements in Spain during the latter part of the 18th century and the early 19th century has now started reaching a substantial consistency.

When one considers that up to ten years ago virtually nothing was known on the subject, the progress registered in such a small span of time is truly remarkable. The important Colloquy held at the Aula Magna of the Valletta University in May 1990 on various aspects of Spanish-Maltese history, which unfortunately I had to miss owing to a commitment abroad, is said to have raised the level of scholarship and research to even higher professional levels. I have not seen the papers delivered at that Colloquy and await their publication with some impatience.

It is not the aim of this article to duplicate the work already made available by Farrugia, Vassallo and the learned partecipants in that Colloquy. I am here proposing entirely new material, some of it of lesser importance and mostly of a postal history interest, relevant to the substantial Hispano-Maltese connection, particularly during the Napoleonic era.

My modest research has uncovered a consistent Maltese presence in Spain, an active participation in various forms of commercial activities, and a more wide-spread dissemination of Maltese traders than had hitherto been suspected.

What follows are prime sources, with minor comments. Historians will evaluate and analyse these items for a deeper understanding of this important but underestimated historical Maltese migration.

THE LETTERS, 1792-1818

I have traced 29 original letters to, from, or relating to Maltese settlers in Spain in the period running from 1792 to 1818.

With two exceptions, all the letters to or from a Maltese correspondent, are written in Italian. Generally the syntax is not impeccable, nor is the vocabulary; but a reasonably acceptable standard is evident throughout. One letter, from *Miguel Zammit Hermanos* in Barcelona, to *Nicolas Abbela* in Alcoy, dated April 16, 1808, is in Spanish (Doc. 16).

Another, dated 1806, from Gioseppe Chetcuti in Barcelona to Mio Fratello, is a

curious blend of Hispanicized Italian which would pay closer examination. I believe it was dictated in Italian to a Spanish scribe who had little or no knowledge of Italian, hence some amusing phonetic howlers (Doc. 6).

Among the letters is a group – the Paolo Savona correspondence – with which I will deal separately and which contains some letters originating in France from state officials. These are obviously in French.

The overwhelming predominance of Italian as the language of writing, between Maltese living or settled abroad, does nothing to change the overall picture of Italian as the vehicle of written communication even between persons whose spoken language was Maltese, and who had no legal, geographical or social constraints to use Italian.

These letters give us an inkling of the wide dissemination of the Maltese emigrees. They ranged from S. Cruz in Tenerife (Canary Islands) to Barcelona, to Algeciras, to Valenzia, to Tarragona, to Saragossa, to Cadiz. Two baffling localities in which Maltese traders operated are Alcoy and Alzira.

Most of these letters deal with commercial activities, though some personal gleanings can occasionally be extracted from them too. Business refers to grain, pezze (cloth?), stockings, cotton seed, acaio (steel?), paper, arrival of vessels, shipwrecks and generally, commercial obligations and debts. Separate information about each letter and other document will be given in detail in an appendix.

These letters identify not only the writer or the addressee, but in various instances there are references by name, surname, or both, to other Maltese who are active in Spain. These too will be listed, in alphabetical order, in a separate appendix.

THE PAOLO SAVONA CORRESPONDENCE

A number of letters have brought into high relief the name of Paolo Savona, an interesting figure of some historical importance, of whom I had no previous knowledge.

It is not recorded that Savona ever settled in Spain, but he had consistent dealings with one Maltese merchant from Barcelona, Giuseppe Audibert, whom he addressed on the outside panel of his letters as *Maltes, vecino de la Ciotad Barcelona*.

In 1808, Savona is in Paris, moving later to Toulouse. He eventually settled for some time in Perpignan occupying a high official capacity. In 1816, there is evidence that he is in Marseilles.

Although I cannot prove it conclusively, I suspect Savona to have belonged to that group of Maltese, including Mikiel Anton Vassalli and Camillo Sceberras, who had sided with the French and left voluntarily with the Napoleonic forces after their defeat in 1800, or who had been expelled just before. Savona and Audibert, the Maltese merchant in Barcelona, exchange strong francophile sentiments.

When Bonaparte ordered a general embargo on all cotton produced in Britain, Mikiel Anton Vassalli was put in charge of the cotton industry which was to be set up in France. The project however failed.

It appears that another Maltese, Paolo Savona, was placed in charge of the second attempt. In 1808 he was officially appointed by the French Government to take charge of the cultivation of cotton in France, or at least, in the Oriental Pyrenees. He had imposing letterheads printed, with the imprint Savona, chargé par le Gouvernement de la culture du Coton. He boasts about his appointment to Audibert, in a letter of the 19th February: Io ottenni oggi un impiego nelle vicnanze di Marsiglia incarigato ispettore della cultura delli cottoni con un trattamento di 4000 franchi l'anno, affitto franco e spese di viaggi ed altri vantaggi (Doc. 12). Shortly later he was in charge of the cultivation of cotton for the Departement des Pyrenees Orientales.

Savona's main concern was to obtain cotton seed from Audibert in Barcelona. The matter must have rated of high priority and extreme urgency, for Savona stresses the French Government's order for 50 quintals of seed senza badare per il prezzo. he baits Audibert with a vague promise: this order is nothing but un principio di un affare molto vasto al l'avvenire. (Doc. 9).

In another letter, Savona informs his friend that the export of cotton seed from Spain to France would not be hampered by any customs formalities: già l'ordine è stato dato alla dogana di frontiera di lasciarla passare senza pure visitarla. With his usual trait he combines boasting with suggestions of favours: vi potrò fare degli grandi affari, attesi li gran amici che ho. (Doc. 14).

When his Maltese friend (l'antinca amicizia contratta fin dall'infanzia) undertakes to supply the cotton seed, Savona replies with some name-dropping: "fui costretto (...) di presentare la Vostra lettera a Sua Eccellenza il Ministro dell'Interno, al quale fece il più grande piacere". And here he brings in Bonaparte himself, with a justified touch of pride: "e credo che la fece leggere a Sua Maesta l'Imperatore e Re" (Doc. 12).

The export of cotton seed from the Maltese merchant in Spain to France forms the main subject of this correspondence. There are three authograph letters signed personally by Bonaparte's Minister of Interior, to Paolo Savona, dealing with the Audibert sales. (Doc. 21, 22, 26).

For the purpose of growing cotton in France, Savona wanted to know from his Maltese friend "la qualità della sememza, cioè se di quella che noi chiamiamo d'India, oppure di quella simile alli nostri cottoni di Malta" (Doc. 9).

In another letter, Savona informs Audibert that he is leaving for Perpignan where he would reside for some years "e chiamerò la mia famiglia per coabitare meco. Tra qualche mese avrò il piacere di rivederevi, mentre la vicinanza del luogo (Perpignan and Barcelona) mi darà campo a rivedere quella città per puro piacere di rivedere li miei antichi amici" (Doc. 13).

Giuseppe Audibert's letters to Savona are occasionally spiced with political and military information. Writing from Barcelona on June 1, 1808, he says "Qui si mantiene la massima tranquillità a Dio grazia; ma le altre provincie in generale par che si disputano". (Doc. 18).

Three days later Savona writes in ominous tones: "da un'istante all'altro partirà gran truppa per qui per portarsi in qualla provincia; guai se si movano li Catalani, vi assicuro che si ricorderanno per lungo tempo". (Doc. 19).

This letter crossed one of the same date in which Audibert referring to the export of cotton seed from Spain to France, adds that all merchandise has to go via land "essendo interrotto il mare, e poi oggi è difficile trovare bastimenti che passano in Francia per le attuali circostanze." (Doc. 20).

In another letter dated June 1, 1808, Audibert refers to a historical event and asks his friend to find out who the passengers imprisoned in Toulouse and sent to Nismes are. Then he implores Savona on a personal note never to mention Ali Sinsa to him again: "Abbastanza mi ha rubbato aimè altra somma per liberarlo dalle carceri; lasiamo stare ciò che al ricordarmi mi causa grande pena" (Doc. 18).

Paolo Savona turns up again in Marseilles in 1816. A certain Federico Muscat writes two letters to him from Malta. He asks to be sent, through Savona's son, fifty rolls of "carta per tapizzeria, di quella con paisaggi, dell'ordinaria come ha il vostro figlio Giuseppe." (Doc. 36). Three weeks later he writes again to complain that the 8 rolls of wall paper he received from Savona's son are not the ones he desires for his staircase.

He then asks rather criptically "l'esito del legno giallo, e non cercare il prezzo" adding "come pure del acqua di gagari(?!)" (Doc. 37).

These two letters have irregular disinfection slits and are heavily dis-

coloured by generous sprinklings of some disinfecting fluid.

OTHER SOURCES

Information about the activities and whereabouts of the Maltese international community can be gleaned from most unexpected sources.

A contract of maritime bottomry, executed in Genoa on April 19, 1792, between Alberto Gallia di Pasquale, matlese and Salvatore de Maria, of the late Pasquale, pure maltese, raises money on the security of a cargo, for its carriage from Genoa to Cadiz. (Doc. 2).

In another Italian city, Leghorn, Giuseppe Taboni on March 20, 1796, issued a Bill of Exchange on Giuseppe Cammilleri in favour of Salvatore Magrin (Doc. 3). The Magrins were Maltese traders based in the Spanish possession of the Canary Islands.

Salvatore Magrin appears again in 1797 on a Bill of Lading issued in the Canaries. This refers to the carriage to *Cadice O Aliasira* (Algeciras) of a large consignement of beans, barrels of *Reyo* and *Mantera*, candels and almonds. The goods were addressed to *Raimundo Farugia maltese* (Doc. 5).

Another Bill of Lading issued in 1812 in Mahon (Majorca) by Giuseppe Maria Vassallo maltese referred to the transport of a veritable treasure; two strong boxes containing 30,000 "pezzi colonnati di Spagna". The ship, La Buona Compagna was under the command of Captain Carmeno Rizzo, "inglese" (Doc. 28).

The next document is an eight page transcript in the records of a public notary in Tarragona, dated April 3, 1814. Juan Guille and Salvatore Magro requested the Notary to copy in his records some documents, among them a letter by James Wilson, a leading British merchant in Malta. Magro is a Maltese national trading in Majorca (Doc. 29).

Finally, from the records of a Maltese Notary, Francesco Cremona of 1814, comes to light an interesting episode connected with the Peninsular War. Three Maltese merchants, Bautista Mifsud de Joseph antes domiciliado en Tavernas de Zejtun Isla de Malta and Mattias y Andres Mizzi, antes domiciliados en Cullera owed monies to a Frenchman and issued Bills of Exchange in guarantee of their repayment. When these Bills matured, the debtors refused to honour them, and Notary Francesco Cremona on November 21 and December 20, 1814, drew up the protests for non-payment, giving and interesting explanation (or pretext) why the Maltese debtors refused to pay.

Mifsud and two Mizzis each made the following declaration as the reason for refusing to honour the Bills:

"I do not accept because at the time of the invasion by the French in the Kingdom of Spain, being in Tavernas, by order of that Spanish Government, the police (*la giustizia*) impounded my commercial registers and forced me to pay, as I have in fact paid, to the said (Spanish) government my indebtedness in favour of the French drawer." (Doc. 30-33).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

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MALTESE ACTIVE IN S	SPAIN MENTIONED IN	THESE DOCUMENTS
Name	Locality	Doc. Number
Nicola Abbela	Alcoy	8, 11, 15, 16
his brother Francesco	•	8
Cap. Michele Agius	Saragossa	27
Giuseppe Audibert	Barcelona	9, 12-14, 17-22, 26
Gioseppe Azzupardo	Cadice	38
GioBatta (Benedetto/	Judio0	
Benito) Borg	Valenzia	23, 24, 25
Angelo Busuttil	Valenzia	8, 10, 15
Domenico Camilleri		25
Gioacchino Camileri	Terragona	
	Terragona	23, 24
GioBatta Camilleri del fù		C
Carlo della Vittoriosa		6
Maximiliano Caquia del fù		C
Francesco della Cospicua	D 1	6
Gioseppe Chetcuti	Barcelona	6
his brother Salvatore		6
Giovanni Cutajar		_
negoziante di Zeitun		7
Angelo Ellul		23
Signor Fabri		1
Giuseppe Farrugia	Alzira	6, 7, 10
his brother Cayetano		6
Raimundo Farugia	Cadiz O Aliasira	5
Rosario Fiteni	Cadiz	34, 35
Signor Grech		23
Signor Grima		1
Augustin Magrin		16
Giuseppe Macrin (Magrin)	S. Cruz, Tenerife	1, 4
Salvatore Magrin	S. Cruz, Tenerife	3, 5
Felice Magri	,	,
negoziante di Zeitun		7
Salvatore Magro	Maiorca	29
Bautista Mifsud	Tavernas	30, 32
Andres Mizzi	Cullera	31, 33
Mattias Mizzi	Cullera	31, 33
	Mallorca	23
Rosario Piscopo Carlo Prat	Porto (?)	34, 35, 38
	I Of WO (:)	8
Vincenzo Tabon		23
Signor Taliana	Mahan	
Giuseppe Maria Vassallo	Mahon	28
Michele Zammit	Barcelona	7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 16
his brother Francesco		8

PROVIDENCIAS

ACORDADAS

POR LA REAL JUNTA GENERAL DE COMERCIO.

A QUE DEBEN ARREGLARSE las Justicias de estos Reynos para permitir á los Malteses su comercio por mayor, ó por menor en ellos.



EN LA IMPRENTA DE BLAS ROBIAN.

AND M DCC.LXXVIII

Fig. 1 Special enactment regulating the activities of Maltese merchants in Spain, dated 1778 (published by Vassallo)

DOCUMENTS (in chronological sequence)

- 1 March 3, 1792. Letter from Nicolo Svilocosi in Mogador (Atlantic coast of Morocco) to Giuseppe Macrin *Compania & negozianti maltesi* in S. Croix di Tenerife. In it are mentioned Signori Fabri e Grima and Sig Baldassare.
- 2 April 19, 1792. Contract of maritime bottomry between Alberto Gallia di Pasquale maltese and Salvatore de Maria qoundam Pasquale pure maltese, published in Genoa, for the carriage of goods from Genoa to Cadiz. (Fig. 2)
- 3 March 20, 1796. Bill of Exchange issued in Livorno to the order of Giuseppe Taboni by Salvatore Magrin & Co (Canary Islands) on Giuseppe Cammilleri.
- 4 Novembr 25, 1796. Letter from Nicolo Svilocosi in Caleci(?) to Giuseppe Magrin in Tenerife. (Fig. 3).
- 5 October 6, 1797. Bill of Lading made in the Canary Islands for merchanise sent by Salvatore Magrin *maltese* to Raimundo Farugia maltese in Cadiz or Algeciras (Fig. 4).
- 6 September 1, 1806. Letter sent by Gioseppe Chetcuti in Barcelona to his brother. In it are mentioned vostro fratello Salvatore, Giuseppe Farrugia, nostro fratello Cayetano. The signature is witnessed by Gio Batta Camilleri del fu Carlo della Vittoriosa and Maximiliano Caquia del fu Francesco della Cospicua.
- 7 March 21, 1807. Letter from Michele Zammit in Barcelona to Giuseppe Farrugia in Alzira. Signature witnessed by Felice Magri and Giovanni Cutajar negozianti del Zejtun, who describe Michele Zammit as nostro paesano maltese stabilitosi in Barcelona.
- 8 November 7, 1807. Letter from Michele Zammit in Barcelona to Nicolas Abbela in Alcoy. It deals with the price of stockings and mentions Vincenzo Taboni, Angelo Busuttil in Valenzia and vostro fratello Francesco.
- 9 January 16, 1808. Letter from Paolo Savona in Paris to Giuseppe Audibert in Barcelona. This, as all the Savona and Audibert letters, refers to the export of cotton seed from Spain. (Fig. 5).
- 10 February 2, 1808. Letter from Michele Zammit in Barcelona to Giuseppe Farrugia in Alzira. In it is mentioned Angelo Busuttil.
- 11 February 13, 1808. Letter from Michele Zammit in Barcelona to Nicolas Abbela in Alcoy.
- 12 February 19, 1808. Letter from Paolo Savona in Paris to Joseph Audibert in Barcelona.
- 13 February 27, 1808. Letter from Paolo Savona in Paris to Giuseppe Audibert in Barcelona.
- 14 March 18, 1808. Letter from Paolo Savona in Toulouse to Giuseppe Audibert in Barcelona.
- 15 March 26, 1808. Letter from Michele Zammit in Barcelona to Nicola Abbela in Alcoy. Mentions Angelo Busuttil di Valencia.
- 16 April 16, 1808. Letter from Miguel Zammit, *Hermanos*, in Barcelona to Nicolas Abbela in Alcoy. It mentions Augustin Magrin (Fig. 6).

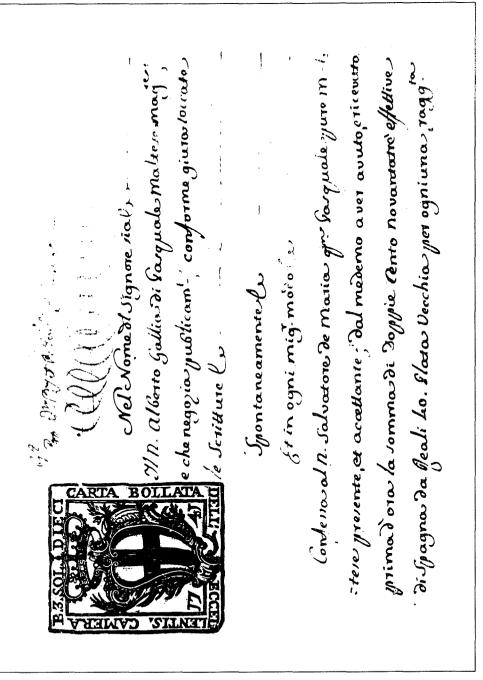


Fig. 2 Contract of bottomry between two Maltese traders published in Genoa in 1792, for the carriage of merchandise to Cadiz (Doc. 2).

- 17 May 31, 1808. Letter from Paolo Savona in Perpignan to Giuseppe Audibert in Barcelona (Fig. 7).
- 18 June 1, 1808. Letter from Giuseppe Audibert in Barcelona to Paolo Savona in Perpignan.
- 19 June 4, 1808. Letter from Paolo Savona in Perpignan to Joseph Audibert in Barcelona.
- 20 June 4, 1808. Letter from Giuseppe Audibert in Barcelona to Paolo Savona in Perpignan.
- 21 June 24, 1808. Letter from the Minister of the Interior, Paris, to Paolo Savona in Perpignan on the export of cotton seed from Audibert in Spain.
- 22 July 29, 1809. Letter from the Minister of the Interior, in Paris, to Paolo Savona in Perpignan. As in 21 (Fig. 8).
- 23 April 22, 1809. Letter from Gioacchino Camilleri in Terragona to GioBatta (on cover: Benedetto) Borg in Valenzia, referring to il conto del acaio. In it are mentioned: Rosario Piscopo di Mallorca, Angelo Ellul, Signor Taliana and Signor Grech.
- 24 May 13, 1809. Letter from Gioacchino Camilleri in Tarragona to Gio Batta (on cover: Benedetto) Borg in Valenzia. refers to sale of paper.
- 25 May 13, 1810. Letter from Domenico Camilleri in Tarragona to Benedetto (on cover: Benito) Borg in Valenzia. Refers to the arrival of the sender's *scibecco* from Mahon, Majorca, originating from Malta (Fig.9).
- 26 October 18, 1810. Letter from the Minister of the Interior in Paris, to Paolo Savona in Perpignan. As in 21.
- 27 January 3, 1811. Letter from Captain Michele Agius in Saragossa to Raimondo Crocco and Lettore Simeli, negozianti maltesi in Malta. Refers to the near shipwreck of his vessel in the gulf of Avolla and the issue of Bills of Exchange to Messrs Francesco Gatt and Fernandes in Messina. Mentions meeting on the high seas with the Brigantino del Sig. Michele Camilleri diretto per Tarragona.
- 28 August 1, 1812. Bill of Lading issued in Mahon, Majorca. Giuseppe Maria Vassallo *maltese* sends by the *Polacca La Buona Compagna* under the command of Captain Carmeno Rizzo *inglese*, two boxes containing 30,000 coins, to Smyrna (Izmir).
- 29 April 3, 1814. Transcript in the records of a notary public in Tarragona of various documents concerning business activities connected with Malta, presented by Salvatore Magro, *maltese*, from Majorca.
- 30 November 21, 1814. Protest for non-payment of Bill of Exchange in the records of Notary Francesco Cremona, made against Bautista Mifsud de Joseph ante domiciliado en Taverna de Zejtun Isla de Malta.
- 31 Ditto, but against Mattias y Andres Mizzi antes domiciliados en Cullera.
- 32 December 20, 1814. Same as 30.
- 33 Ditto. Same as 31.

- 34 May 20, 1815. Letter from Rosario Fiteni, Cadiz, to Maestra Claudia Prat in Senglea to inform her that her husband Carlo Prat left for Porto with the Brig Il Generoso. He asks for news of his daughter Carmine and informs her that she will be receiving 100 silver dollars through Capitano Giuseppe Farrugia, cognato di Carmine, quello che sta all'Isola, capitano del pinco che era in questa piazza e da qui partito per Genova. (Fig. 10).
- 35 July 19, 1815. Letter from Rosario Fiteni in Cadiz to Maestra Claudia Prat in Senglea, to inform her that he husband Carlo left on June 5 for America. Mentions again Captain Giuseppe Farrugia quello grosso che compra bastimenti dal ricanto.
- 36 September 28, 1816. Letter from Federico Muscat in Malta to Paolo Savona in Marseilles. Disinfection slits and heavy discoloration by disinfection fluid.
- 37 October 21, 1816. Ditto.
- 38 June 8, 1818. Letter from Gioseppe Azzupardo in Cadiz to Sor Don Carlos Prat in Malta. Refers to wages due to sailors by Rosario Fiteni. Disinfection slits.

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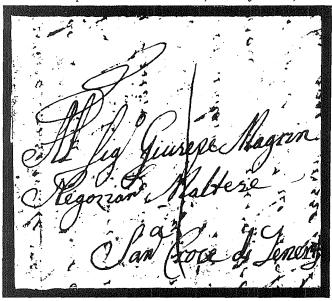


Fig. 3 Letter from Nicolo Svilocosi in Caleci (?) to Giuseppe Magrin negoziante Maltese in S. Cruz, Teneriffe, dated November 25, 1796 (Doc. 4).



Glicariote ou il nome di Dio e di luin, salvamento, ma volta tento in questo di Porto de Canania la luatore Magnin Maltese _____

Oi Conto e risiro suo grazio Magnin Maltese _____

soprail Desgantino minato Dana Misuda Cagitano lases hamete la amar. Marothino ______

per condurre, e conservare in questo suo presente riaggio in Cadrie Dalies ira a l'appi nominato, e numero moranice, ascutte intiere, chen andizionate, segnato come di antro, e così promotte della Cagitana suo salva arrero consegnato, e di noto liseri pagato al 4 e nore Dola Contrato Di notegio ______

S.M. e persode del vero suis questa con altre simili firmata da detro Ca gitano non sapendo servere per luida terza persona, una compita le altre restino di multo ralore. N. S. 1910 1241. Sake fagigli Oicho Mille edve Cento e quo nanto uno sater 1910. All Botte loi nizo dicho Mille edve Cento e quo nanto uno sater 1910. All Botte loi nizo dicho yuonanta una Botta — 1910. Alle esse Oi Candele di Seno dicho Ottanta Banile — 1910. A la Casse Oi Candele di Seno dicho Casse vinti quatro 1910. A Banile di Mendole dicho Banile quatro —

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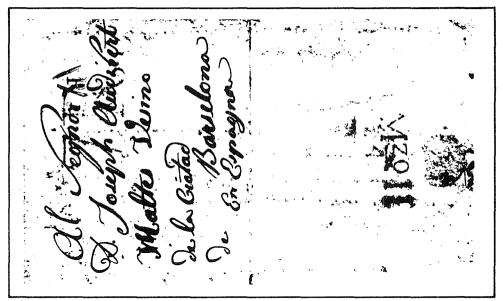


Fig. 5 Letter from Paolo Savona, Paris dated January 16, 1868 to Joseph Audibert "Maltes vecino de la Ciotad de Barcelona en Espagna" (Doc. 9).

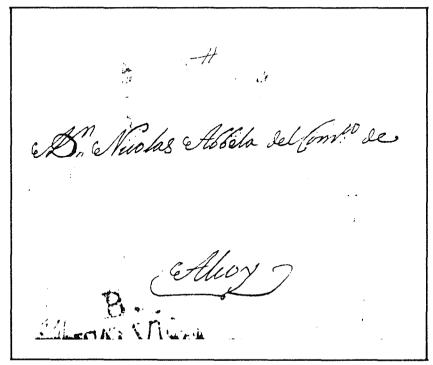


Fig. 6 Letter from Miguel Zammit, Hermanos, Barcelona to Nicclas Abbela in Alcoy, dated April 16, 1808 (Doc. 16).

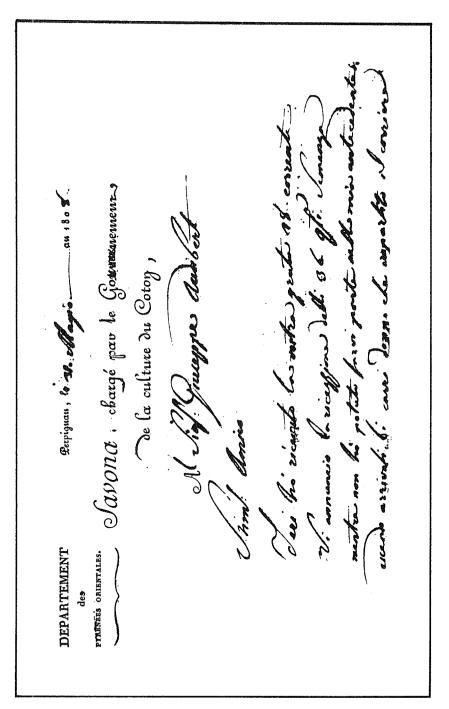


Fig. 7 Letter, on official printed letterheads, by Paolo Savona in Perpignan, to Giuseppe Audibert in Barcelona. This imprint describes Savona as the official entrusted by the Bonaparte government with the cultivation of cotton (Doc. 17).

A gent de Gouvernement promo la Culture

Fig. 8 Autograph letter by Napoleon's Minister of the Interior to Paolo Savona dated July 29, 1809, concerning the order of cotton seed from Audibert, the Maltese trader in Barcelona. The front shows the handstamp 'M.tre de l'interieur' in straight line. The back is stamped with a circular seal, showing the Napoleonic eagle and the same inscription in full (Doc. 22).

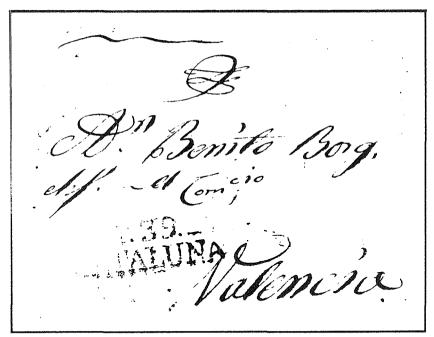


Fig. 9 Letter from Domenico Camilleri in Tarragona, dated May 12, 1810, to Benito (Benedetto or Gio Batta) Borg in Valenzia (Doc. 25).

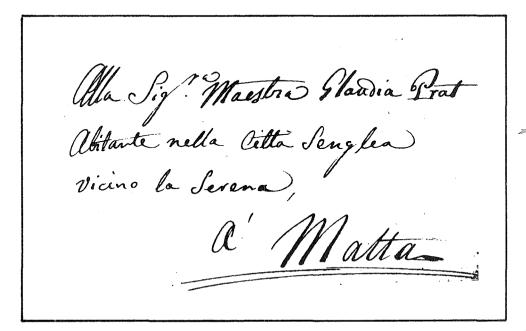


Fig. 10 Letter from Rosario Fiteni in Cadiz, dated May 20, 1815, to "Sig.ra Maestra Claudia Prat, abitante nelle Citta Senglea vicino la Serena, a Malta". Her husband, Carlo Prat, left on June 5 for America (Doc. 34).