A

HISTORY

OF THE

KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

VOL. II.

Engraved by H. Adlard from an original Painting in the Palace at Malta

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A

HISTORY

OF THE

KNIGHTS OF MALTA

OR THE

ORDER OF THE HOSPITAL

OF

ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM

BY

MAJOR WHITWORTH PORTER
ROYAL ENGINEERS

PRO FIDE POUR LA FOI

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

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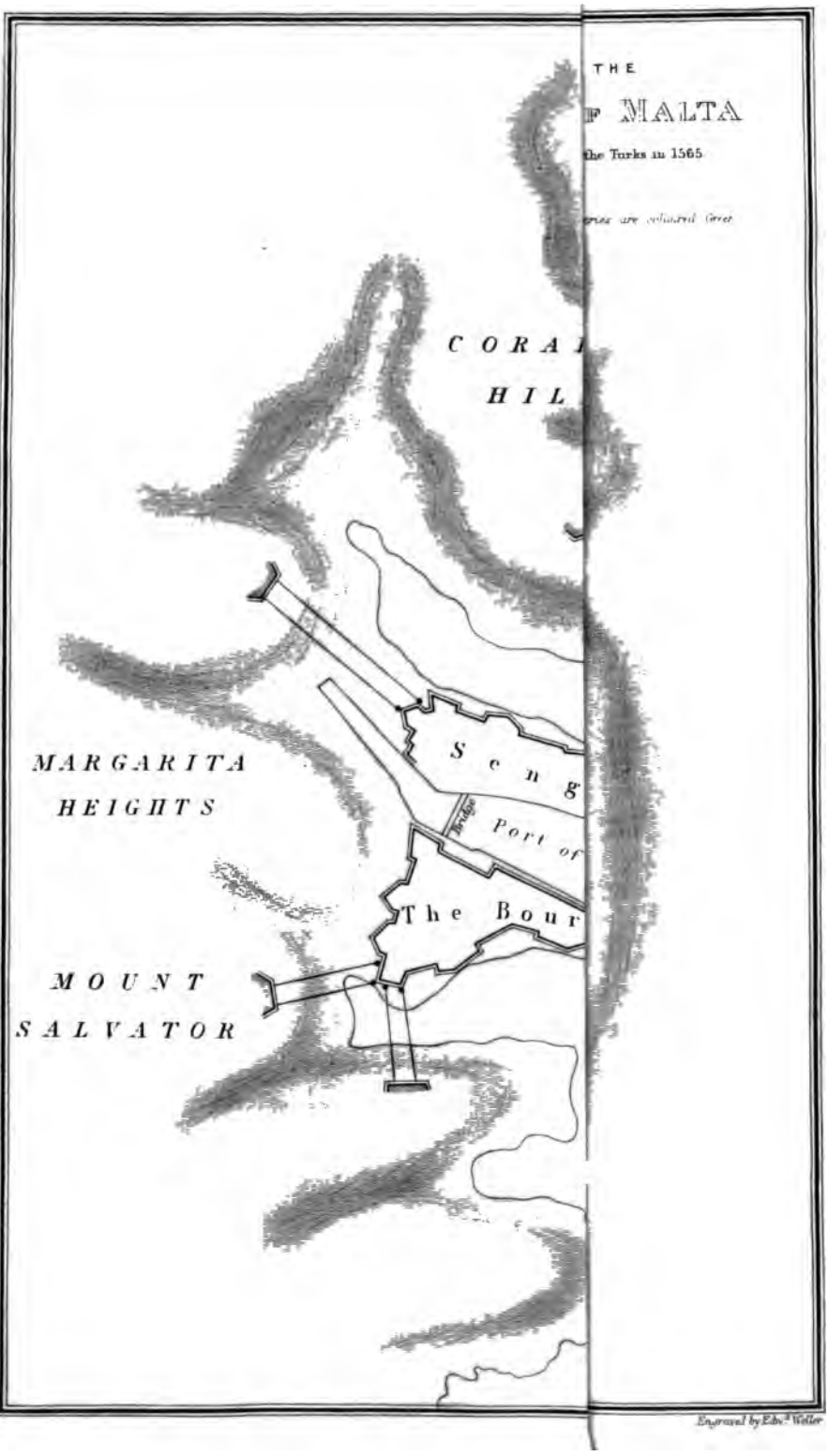
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Engraved by Edw.d Weller

A

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THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA.

CHAPTER XV.

SURRENDER OF RHODES AND DEPARTURE OF THE ORDER FOR CANDIA. — ARRIVAL AT MESSINA. — INVESTIGATION INTO THE CAUSES OF THE NON-ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS. — DEPARTURE FOR CIVITA VECCHIA. — INTERVIEW OF L'ISLE ADAM WITH THE POPE. — PROJECT FOR BESTOWING MALTA ON THE ORDER. — HOPES OF REGAINING RHODES. — L'ISLE ADAM PROCEEDS TO MADRID. — HIS NEGOCIATIONS. — VISITS PARIS AND LONDON. — RETURNS TO ITALY. — MALTA CEDED TO THE ORDER. — ANTECEDENT HISTORY OF THAT ISLAND. — TRIPOLI. — ITS DISADVANTAGES AND DANGERS. — DESCRIPTION OF THE HARBOUR OF MALTA. — EXPEDITION TO MODON. — DISPUTED ACCESSION TO THE BISHOPRIC OF MALTA. — ENGLISH REFORMATION. — INSURRECTION IN THE CONVENT. — DEATH OF L'ISLE ADAM.

THE surrender of Rhodes took place on the 20th December 1522; and by the terms of the capitulation, a period of twelve days was granted to the Knights, within which they were permitted to take advantage of its stipulations. Messengers were at once despatched to the castle of St. Peter and the island of Lango, the

only two outposts which had been maintained during the siege, directing their garrisons to abandon these strongholds, and to repair at once to the point of rendezvous in the island of Candia.

The provisions of the treaty were not carried out by the Turks with that rigid exactitude which the Knights had a right to expect. Many foul outrages were perpetrated by the janissaries, after they had obtained possession of the city; churches were desecrated, women were violated, the inhabitants were plundered, and many other excesses committed by the licentious soldiery into whose hands they had fallen. For these acts, however, Solyman can in no degree be held responsible, since the moment the intelligence reached his ears, he sent a peremptory mandate to the aga of the janissaries, intimating that he should pay the penalty of any further infractions of the treaty with his head. Solyman, indeed, appears throughout this transaction to have been actuated by a desire of obtaining a reputation for magnanimity and clemency. He was well aware that the fraternity of St. John contained within its ranks members of all the noblest families in Europe, and that every deed performed in connection with them, whether good or evil, was certain to meet with very general criticism.

That clemency was not one of his usual attributes, the horrors perpetrated with his sanction at the capture of Belgrade fully testify. He must therefore have been influenced by some extraneous motive, in the line of conduct which he pursued towards the Knights of St. John after they had fallen into his power. The stubbornness of their resistance during a period of six months, and the gigantic losses which they had succeeded in inflicting upon his army, must have raised within his

heart feelings of exasperation, such as nothing but a deep sense of policy could have induced him to forego. It redounds, therefore, greatly to his credit, that he did not allow himself to be borne away by these feelings of animosity, even when the gratification of them appeared so perfectly within his power.

It was only on the day following that on which the capitulation had been signed, that a large fleet was descried on the horizon, bearing down upon Rhodes. The idea prevalent in both armies was, that this was the long-expected succour arriving from the west. The feelings of the Grand-Master and his fraternity may be conceived, as they reflected that, had they maintained the struggle but for two days longer, they would have been enabled to save their beloved city. With the Turks, of course, the feeling was one of unmingled satisfaction that they had succeeded in securing their object before it was too late. As, however, the fleet drew near, and the Turkish flag became visible, these feelings underwent a rapid change. It was now remembered, that upon the failure of his last general assault, Solyman had summoned a fresh body of troops from the frontiers of Persia to his assistance. This reinforcement, amounting to 15,000 men, had now arrived; and it reflects the highest honour upon the Infidel sultan, that he took no advantage of their presence to alter the terms of that capitulation of which the ink was as yet scarce dry. It was not without some show of reason that he earned for himself the title of Solyman the Magnificent.

A few days after, L'Isle Adam received a notification through Achmet Pasha that he was expected to pay his respects to the sultan in person. Unwilling as he was

to submit to this act of degradation, the Grand-Master felt that, at a time when he and his fraternity were so completely in the power of the Turk, it would be highly impolitic to allow any feelings of pride on his part to create an irritation in the mind of the sultan. On Christmas-eve, therefore, he presented himself in the Ottoman camp, and demanded an audience of his conqueror. Turkish pride kept the poor old man waiting at the entrance of the sultan's pavilion through many weary hours, during that inclement winter's day; and it required all the noble fortitude which graced L'Isle Adam's character, to bear with composure the unworthy slight thus cast upon him. Towards evening, the vanity of Solyman having been amply gratified, he was admitted, and the courteousness of his reception in some measure made atonement for the neglect with which he had previously been treated. An eye-witness of the interview states that, upon their first introduction, each gazed in silence upon the man who had so long been his opponent in the desperate strife just ended. The sultan was the first to speak. After offering some sentences of condolence for the loss which he had sustained, and having yielded to him the well-merited meed of praise which his protracted resistance demanded, Solyman proceeded to make the most brilliant offers, and to hold out the most dazzling inducements to L'Isle Adam to abandon his religion, and to take service under himself. Against such a proffer, the mind of the Grand-Master revolted with all the horror of a Christian soldier. "After," replied he, "a life spent, not ingloriously, in combating for his faith, and maintaining the cause of his religion, he could not consent to cast so foul a slur upon his latter days, as to abandon that religion for any

worldly prospects whatever. Even the sultan himself must feel that he would be no longer worthy of that esteem which he had so graciously been pleased to express towards him, and he only craved of his magnanimity that the terms of the capitulation might be maintained inviolate, and that he and his followers might be freely permitted to seek their fortunes in a new home." On this head, Solyman assured him that he need have no uneasiness, and the Grand-Master left the imperial presence with every mark of respect which the sultan was enabled to show him.

Two days afterwards, Solyman returned the visit at the Grand-Master's palace; and, on this occasion, he renewed the expressions of his consideration, and his desire to extend his clemency as far as possible to the fraternity, and, as the venerable L'Isle Adam left the imperial presence, bowed down with the sorrow so natural upon abandoning the cherished home of his Order, the sultan could not forbear exclaiming to his vizier, "It is not without some feelings of compunction that I compel this venerable warrior, at his age, to seek a new home."

It having become known that the sultan was about to quit the island, L'Isle Adam hurried his preparations for departure; feeling, that after Solyman's back was turned, there would be but little further security for himself or his followers. On the night of the 1st January 1523, this melancholy event took place. Four thousand of the Christian inhabitants of Rhodes preferred to follow the fortunes of the Order into exile, rather than remain under the sway of the Turk. Amidst the moans and lamentations of those who were now about to abandon for ever the homes of their fathers,

and who had lost in that fatal struggle all their worldly possessions, save only the small remnant which they were enabled to bear away, the fleet sailed and made its course for Candia. Misfortune appeared to follow the wanderers on their road; a severe hurricane overtook them in the course of their passage, and several of the smaller craft were lost. Others were saved by throwing overboard the little property which the unfortunate refugees had been enabled to rescue from the general loss; so that when the scattered fleet re-assembled at Spinalonga, there were many on board reduced to a state of actual beggary. The governor of Candia welcomed the fugitives with every mark of hospitality, and urged upon them the advisability of wintering in the island; but L'Isle Adam felt that he had much before him requiring immediate action and prompt decision. He therefore only remained in the island a sufficient length of time to enable him to refit and to repair, as far as practicable, the damages his fleet had sustained.

Whilst waiting for this purpose, he was joined by the garrisons of St. Peter's and Lango; and he also heard of the miserable fate of his protegée Amurath, son of Zizim. This young prince had been unable to elude the vigilance of Solyman, and to make his escape with his protectors. Having been discovered in a state of disguise, he was captured and brought before Solyman, when he boldly avowed himself a member of the Christian religion. Upon this the sultan, glad of an excuse to destroy him, caused him to be publicly strangled in the presence of the whole army. The incident of Amurath's fate has been but lightly touched upon by the historians of the siege of Rhodes, probably because it cast no little slur upon the otherwise fair fame of L'Isle Adam.

Amurath had, many years before, thrown himself upon the protection of the Order; he had become converted to the Christian faith, and had ever since lived peaceably beneath their banner. It was well known in Rhodes that his residence there was a source of constant disquietude and anxiety to the Ottoman sultan, and the Grand-Master could not have been ignorant of the risk the young prince ran, in case of his falling into that monarch's power. Yet we find the capitulation of Rhodes agreed upon, without any mention of his name. No precautions whatever were taken to shield the illustrious convert from the vengeance of his implacable foe. The city was transferred to the sultan, and with it the unfortunate victim, who had intrusted his all to the protection of the Order of St. John. The result was only what might have been foreseen, and the feelings of L'Isle Adam, as he listened to the tale of the sacrifice which he himself had so weakly permitted, could have been of no enviable character.

True, he had many excuses for his conduct upon the occasion. Not only the lives of his own fraternity, but those of thousands of the citizens also, hung upon the terms which he could obtain from his foe. It is possible, nay more than possible, although the fact has not been recorded, that he did endeavour to include Amurath in the terms of the general amnesty, and that the proposal was peremptorily rejected on the part of the sultan. If this were the case, L'Isle Adam would have had a very difficult point of conscience to decide. Either he must have sacrificed the lives of all within the city, to maintain his honour inviolate towards his guest, or, on the other hand, he must have sacrificed that guest, whom he stood pledged to protect, for the general weal. It was

indeed a puzzling question, and, in deciding as he did, the Grand-Master can at least claim the excuse, that he acted for the best according to his judgment.

Anxious to place himself immediately in close proximity to the papal chair, L'Isle Adam prepared to leave Candia as rapidly as possible, and selected the port of Messina as the next point of rendezvous. The larger vessels proceeded thither direct, under the command of an English Knight named Austin, whilst he himself, with the great mass of his followers, pursued his course more leisurely. In token of the loss which the Order had sustained, he no longer suffered the white-cross banner to be displayed at the mast-head of his ship, but, in its stead, a flag bearing the image of the Virgin Mary, with her dead son in her arms, and the motto "Afflictis spes mea rebus" beneath. By the Sicilian authorities L'Isle Adam was welcomed with the same hospitality as had been shown him in Candia, and the viceroy informed him that he was directed by the emperor to request him to make his home in that island for as long a time as he thought proper.

L'Isle Adam's greatest fear, upon abandoning Rhodes, had been that his Knights, finding themselves no longer possessed of a convent, might disperse themselves into the various European commanderies, and cease to maintain the position which, during their residence in Rhodes, they had established for themselves. One of his first steps, after that event, had therefore been to despatch an embassy to the Pope, requesting such special authority from him, as might prevent the dispersion of his homeless Knights. Adrian, who was doubtless afflicted with some qualms of conscience, in having permitted the siege of Rhodes to be

prosecuted with such impunity, whilst he himself had stood supinely looking on, hastened as far as possible to redeem his error; and when L'Isle Adam entered the port of Messina, he found awaiting him a bull, in which the Pope, under the severest penalties, enjoined the members of the Order to remain with the Grand-Master, wherever he might lead them.

Having established a Hospital, and taken such steps as were in his power to provide for the comfort of his followers, L'Isle Adam caused a rigid investigation to be instituted into the circumstances which had prevented the arrival of reinforcements, during the many months through which the siege of Rhodes had been protracted. He had himself, upon several occasions, despatched Knights from the island, to urge forward these much required succours, but none ever returned; and now that he found them all re-assembled at Messina, he called for a full explanation of their conduct. The cause alleged by the accused was the unprecedentedly tempestuous state of the weather. From numerous points efforts had been made to bring up the necessary reinforcements, but the violent and contrary winds which uniformly prevailed, had entirely prevented their departure. One English Knight, indeed, named Newport, had endeavoured, in spite of every obstacle, to force his way to Rhodes, but only fell a victim to the temerity of his conduct, the vessel, with all on board, having been lost. The explanation appeared so perfectly satisfactory, that L'Isle Adam, at the head of his council, pronounced a full acquittal upon all the accused.

The plague having at this period broken out amongst the refugees, the authorities of Messina ordered L'Isle

Adam to re-embark promptly, and they were, with the permission of the viceroy, transferred to the gulf of Baiæ, where they remained a month. At the expiration of that period, the plague having disappeared, they proceeded to Civitâ Vecchia, where the Grand-Master prepared to pay a personal visit to the Pope. He was received at Rome with the greatest distinction, and Adrian pledged himself to use every possible exertion to obtain for the Order a new home, where they might establish themselves on a footing as advantageous as that which they had lost at Rhodes. These promises were, however, rendered futile by the death of the pontiff, which occurred shortly afterwards; on which occasion the honour of guarding the conclave, assembled for the election of a successor, once again devolved upon the Order of St. John. Giulio di Medici ascended the papal throne, under the title of Clement VII., and the brightest hopes were raised that he would prove a powerful support to the enfeebled fraternity, from the fact that he had himself been a Knight of St. John, and was the first of that Order who had ever attained to the tiara of St. Peter. These hopes were not without foundation. Clement had no sooner assumed the dignities of his station, than he reiterated all the promises of his predecessor, and pledged himself to exert his influence with the sovereigns of Europe to obtain a suitable retreat for the convent. The islands of Elba, Cerigo, and Candia, were severally named, but the objections to each appeared insurmountable, and at last Malta, with the adjacent island of Gozo, appeared the most likely to meet their views.

A request was consequently made by the Grand-Master, supported by the authority of the Pope, to

Charles V., emperor of Germany, in whose possession these islands then rested, as an appanage of the kingdom of Sicily, for their transfer to the Order of St. John. In reply to this application, the emperor, by no means unwilling to witness a new and formidable barrier spring up against the aggressions of the Turk, who, now that Rhodes had fallen, appeared to threaten the kingdom of Sicily, returned an answer, offering to the Order the islands of Malta and Gozo, accompanied by the city of Tripoli on the adjacent coast of Africa, provided he was thereby assured of the fealty of the Order. Terms such as these it was not either the policy or the wish of L'Isle Adam to accept. One of the main principles in the foundation of the Order was its general European character, and embodying within its limits members of every nation in Europe, it was impossible that fealty could be rendered to any one sovereign without outraging the national feelings of the others. Still the emperor's gift was not to be rejected hastily, and L'Isle Adam trusted that, with a little patience, he might be enabled to soften the severity of the conditions upon which it had been offered.

Meanwhile, a body of commissioners, eight in number, being one for each language, were nominated personally to visit and inspect the islands in question, and to report upon their capabilities to the general council at Viterbo. L'Isle Adam was the more readily induced to let matters take their course slowly and quietly upon this subject, since a prospect had suddenly reopened itself of his being enabled once again to regain possession of the lost city of Rhodes. Achmet Pasha, to whom, as we have already seen, the command of the

Turkish army had been entrusted, upon the degradation of Mustapha, had, after the conquest of Rhodes, been despatched into Egypt to quell an insurrection in that province. Having succeeded in this object, his ambition prompted him to renounce his allegiance to the sultan, and to establish himself as a sovereign prince over the kingdom of Egypt. As a support in this new and insecure position, he sought the assistance of such European states as he conceived would be ready to lend their aid to any movement likely to enfeeble the Ottoman power. To L'Isle Adam he addressed himself more particularly, informing him that he had it within his power to restore to the Order their lost stronghold of Rhodes. The new commander of the tower of St. Nicholas was a renegade Christian, a creature of his own, who, if an adequate force were landed upon the island, would at once surrender his post and join the invaders. L'Isle Adam was so much struck with the plausibility of this scheme, that he despatched the commander Bosio, in the disguise of a merchant, to Rhodes, to inquire into the general state of the island, the spirit of its Christian inhabitants, and to enter, if possible, into a negociation with the commandant of St. Nicholas.

This Knight performed his mission with the most admirable tact, and on his return to Viterbo, gave a promising picture of the feasibility of the enterprise to the Grand-Master. The fortifications had been left unrepaired since the siege, and were in a ruinous condition. The Christian inhabitants of the island had found the Turkish yoke very different from the mild and beneficent government of the Knights, and were eager to enter into any project for the recovery of the island. The commandant of St. Nicholas had also

pledged himself to join the movement, provided it were supported by an adequate force; and it therefore only remained for L'Isle Adam to assemble an army, and at once take possession of his old home. Unfortunately, however, this was a matter involving no little delay, since the Order did not possess the means of raising such a force themselves, and would be compelled to seek the assistance of the monarchs of Europe. This there was but little present hope of obtaining, owing to the distracted state of European politics. The king of France was, at that moment, a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, having been captured at the close of the disastrous fight of Pavia, and a league was then forming between the Pope and the rulers of France and England, to check, if possible, the overpowering advance of Charles.

At this juncture, L'Isle Adam was requested by the regent of France to act as an escort to the beautiful duchess of Alençon, sister to the captive monarch, who trusted by her charms and wit to obtain terms for the liberation of her brother less rigorous than those which the emperor seemed determined to extort. As this proposal would enable him to obtain a personal interview with both monarchs, an object he had much in view, L'Isle Adam at once proceeded to Marseilles, whence he conveyed the lovely princess to her destination. This movement gave so great umbrage to the emperor's ministers in Italy, who imagined that they perceived in the act a declaration of support to the French cause, that they at once sequestered the whole of the Order's property in that country. L'Isle Adam was not prevented by this circumstance from pursuing the course he had previously intended; he accompanied

the duchess of Alençon to Madrid, and aided her with all the keenness of his political sagacity in treating for the liberation of her brother. In this matter he was in fact far more successful than herself, for it was not until after she had been compelled to return to France, the period of her safe conduct having expired, that he succeeded in concluding a treaty between the rival monarchs whereby the French king regained his liberty. The successful issue of this negociation, which had in vain been attempted by the leading politicians of Europe, reflected the highest credit on the sagacity of L'Isle Adam, who from that moment earned for himself the title of the first diplomatist, as he was already considered the leading captain, of Europe.*

A heavy ransom having been one of the conditions upon which the liberty of the French monarch depended, a general levy was made throughout his dominions to raise the necessary funds. The privileges of the Order of St. John exempted their property in France from any share in this contribution; still the fraternity were anxious to join in the good work of releasing her monarch, who had always proved himself most favourable to their interests. They therefore waived the privilege

* On the occasion of the first interview which took place between the rival sovereigns after the conclusion of this treaty, L'Isle Adam being present, both monarchs having to pass through a door, the emperor offered the precedence to the king, which the latter declined. Charles immediately appealed to the Grand-Master to decide this subtle point of etiquette, and he extricated himself from the difficulty by the following ingenious answer, addressed to the king of France: —"No one, sire, can dispute that the emperor is the mightiest prince in Christendom; but as you are not only in his dominions but within his palace, it becomes you to accept the courtesy, by which he acknowledges you as the first of European kings."

of exemption, and joined in the general levy upon the same terms as the other ecclesiastical bodies in the realm, merely requiring from the king letters patent, declaratory of the fact that this contribution was perfectly voluntary on their part, and was under no circumstances to be drawn into a precedent. A deed to this effect was therefore signed by the king at St. Germains, on the 19th of March 1527.

This weighty matter having been settled, L'Isle Adam availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the presence of the two sovereigns to submit his project for the re-capture of Rhodes. The emperor entered warmly into the views of the Grand-Master, and offered him a contribution of 25,000 crowns; at the same time asserting that, should this design fail, he might still accept the island of Malta as a home. Gladdened by the success of this mission, L'Isle Adam left Spain in 1526 and proceeded to France, where he trusted to obtain additional assistance to carry out his undertaking. Whilst there he was informed that Henry VIII., king of England, piqued at the fact of the Grand-Master having neglected to pay him a personal visit, as he had done to the other two great sovereigns of Europe, was seizing upon the revenues of the Order, and demanding from the Knights military service in his garrison of Calais. Undaunted by the severity of the winter and his own great age, L'Isle Adam determined on proceeding at once to London to mollify the offended potentate. He therefore despatched the commander Bosio to Cardinal Wolsey, to inform him of his intended visit. Henry, softened by this mark of deference, directed that he should be received with all possible honour, and every preparation was made to pay due respect to the hero of

Rhodes. After having reposed for some days at the priory of Clerkenwell, he proceeded to the palace, where he was received by the king with the most gracious cordiality. To assist him in his design upon Rhodes, Henry promised him the sum of 20,000 crowns, which he afterwards paid in artillery, and at the same time withdrew all his obnoxious proceedings against the fraternity.

L'Isle Adam now returned to Italy, trusting to be enabled at length to organise his expeditionary force. Here he found everything in a state of the utmost confusion. The Pope had drawn down upon himself the vengeance of the emperor by joining in the league against him, and the Constable Bourbon, who was that monarch's commander in Italy, led his troops to the gates of Rome, and had the audacity to storm the sacred city and hand it over to pillage. After holding out for a month in the castle of St. Angelo, Clement was captured and carried away a prisoner to Naples. These political storms completely destroyed the prospects of the fraternity; nor was it until after a peace had been signed between the emperor and the Pope, nearly two years afterwards, that L'Isle Adam was enabled to gain any further hearing on behalf of his own interests. During that interval the favourable moment had been lost. Achmet Pasha had been assassinated; the plots of the Rhodians had been discovered, and all hopes of success in that quarter were over. It only remained, therefore, to revert to the original project of the occupation of Malta; and Clement, who had lately become reconciled to the emperor, exerted all his influence for the abatement of the obnoxious conditions upon which the island had been originally offered.

The result of his interposition was, that an act of donation received the imperial signature at Syracuse, on the 24th March, 1530, by which deed Charles vested in the Order of St. John the complete and perpetual sovereignty of the islands of Malta and Gozo, and the city of Tripoli, together with all their castles and fortresses; the only conditions attached to the gift being, that the Order should never make war upon the kingdom of Sicily; that they should present an annual acknowledgment of a falcon to the viceroy; that the emperor should have the selection of the bishop of Malta from amongst three candidates to be nominated for that purpose by the Grand-Master; that this dignitary should have a seat in the council, where he should rank next to the Grand-Master; together with several other minor clauses touching the extradition of Sicilian criminal refugees and the selection of the commanders of the Order's galleys in the Mediterranean. The whole concluded with a proviso, that, should the fraternity at any time desire to abandon these islands, they were not to transfer them to any other power without the previous knowledge and consent of the emperor. Such were the terms upon which, after much negotiation, Charles was at length induced to surrender the comparatively valueless rocks of Malta and Gozo to a fraternity whose indefatigable perseverance and practised skill were destined to raise thereon one of the most powerful fortresses in the world.*

The above-mentioned deed was presented to the commander Bosio by the emperor in person, and that Knight instantly hurried off to place the precious docu-

* Vide Appendix, No. 16.

ment in the hands of the Grand-Master. During the journey he met with an accident from the overturning of his carriage, and the awkwardness of an unskilful surgeon caused a comparatively trivial injury to prove fatal. Feeling his end close at hand, and knowing the anxiety of his chief upon the subject of the Maltese question, he sent the deed forward under charge of a Rhodian gentleman by whom he had been accompanied.

The donation of the emperor was promptly confirmed by a papal bull, upon the receipt of which L'Isle Adam sent two Grand-Crosses to Sicily to receive a formal investiture of the territory from the viceroy. After this ceremony had been completed they proceeded to take possession of their new acquisition, and to place members of the fraternity in command of the various posts surrendered to them. A dispute, which arose with the viceroy upon the subject of the free exportation of corn, and the privilege of coining money within the new territory, impeded the Grand-Master for some months from proceeding to Malta; but these difficulties having been adjusted, he at length set sail from Syracuse and landed safely in his new home.

The first aspect which greeted the wanderers was certainly not reassuring. Accustomed as they had been to the verdure and luxuriance of Rhodes, the richness and fertility of whose climate had procured for it the title of the garden of the Levant, they were but ill prepared for the rocky and arid waste which first met their view in Malta. Few persons who now behold the island, thronged as it is with the commerce of Europe and Asia, presenting a busy scene of wealth and prosperity, with its masses of fortification rising in frowning tiers

around its harbours, can picture to themselves the desolate and unprotected rock which fell into the possession of the Order of St. John in the year 1530.

The antecedent history of Malta is not important, and may be dismissed in a few words. Originally colonised by the Phœnicians, it was torn from their grasp by the Greeks in the eighth century before Christ, and remained in their possession for 200 years. At the expiration of that period the Carthaginians disputed the sovereignty of the island with them, and eventually succeeded in wresting it from their hands. In the second Punic war Sempronius finally established the dominion of Rome in Malta, and drove out its Carthaginian inhabitants. The Greeks, however, were allowed to remain, nor were their laws and customs interfered with. The island was attached to the government of Sicily, and was ruled by a pro-prætor or deputy governor, dependent on that province. Whilst under their sway, Malta attained a very high pitch of civilisation and refinement. Situated in the centre of the Mediterranean, within a few days' sail from the shores of three continents, it speedily became a thriving mart for much of the commerce of Rome. Its manufactures of cotton and linen, and its public buildings — principally temples erected in honour of its favourite deities — were justly celebrated throughout the Mediterranean. On the division of the Roman empire, the island of Malta fell to the lot of Constantine, and from that period its decadence may be first dated. In the fifth century it was seized upon successively by the Vandals and Goths; and although, in the sixth century, Belisarius, the general of Justinian, drove out the barbarians, and once more

established the Roman dominion, the island never re-attained its former prosperity. In the ninth century the Arabs made their appearance, and exterminating the Greek portion of the population, established a government dependent upon the emir of Sicily.

At the close of the 11th century, Count Roger, the Norman, expelled the Saracens, and established a principality in Sicily and Malta, which was subsequently converted into a monarchy under his grandson. From that time the island followed the fortunes of the kingdom of Sicily through many changes of dominion, until at length they both fell into the possession of Spain, after the tragedy of the Sicilian Vespers.

Its decadence during these successive stages had been uninterrupted; and at the time when the emperor transferred its governance to L'Isle Adam there was little left to tempt the cupidity or aggression of neighbouring powers. It contained neither river nor lake, and was very deficient in springs. Its surface was a bare rock, almost destitute of earth, and its vegetation poor and insignificant. Scarce a tree was to be seen throughout the whole extent of the island, and the wretched villages in which the inhabitants dwelt partook of the general air of poverty which prevailed everywhere. Its western side was rugged and inhospitable, offering no shelter for maritime purposes; but the east and north were broken up into numberless creeks and harbours, several of which were of sufficient capacity to afford anchorage to the largest fleet.

This was the great, indeed, the only point of attraction which the island possessed for the Order of St. John. They had been for so many years accustomed to look to maritime enterprise as the source from

whence their wealth and prosperity was to be derived: they had made their name so widely known and so highly esteemed in the waters of the Mediterranean, that they would not willingly resign the position which their naval superiority had given them, by the establishment of a new home in any locality which did not give them the means of pursuing their favourite calling. This, and this only, was the motive which induced them to accept the desert rock of Malta, and to establish on it their convent home. Nature had done everything, both as regards general position and the natural configuration of its shores, to render it suitable for naval enterprise, and L'Isle Adam determined to strain every power of his Order to remedy, by adventitious aid, the numberless other disadvantages under which the island laboured.

It would have appeared a sufficiently desolate prospect for the Order of St. John had they received these islands without any further addition; but the emperor Charles, who well knew how to make the best of a bargain, had attached the possession of the city of Tripoli, as an absolute condition to the transfer of the other islands. The report of the commissioners, despatched to inspect this new acquisition, was sufficiently discouraging. Situated at a distance of more than two hundred miles from Malta, and surrounded on all sides by a piratical foe, it was not only scantily fortified, but at the same time there appeared no facilities for increasing its strength. The sandy nature of the soil, and the treacherous foundation which it presented, would render the erection of ramparts and the sinking of ditches a matter of the most extreme difficulty, if not absolutely impossible; and it

Sceberras, dominating as it did over both harbours, and, owing to its formation, secure from attack, except on its land side. Here, therefore, he thought of establishing his convent, and of erecting works of sufficient magnitude for its protection; but, unfortunately, the funds necessary for such an undertaking were not forthcoming. The migratory life which the Order had led for the preceding eight years, accompanied by a large colony of Rhodians to the number of nearly four thousand, all of whom subsisted mainly, if not entirely, upon the charity of the Order (which was distributed to them under the name of the bread of Rhodes), had gone far towards exhausting the public treasury; and he now found himself absolutely unable to undertake any work of magnitude, even though it might clearly prove of the most vital necessity. He therefore decided, as a temporary measure, upon establishing himself in the fort of St. Angelo, and upon fixing the convent of the Order in the surrounding Bourg. Such additions to the defences of the fort as his means permitted were at once constructed, and a line of intrenchment was drawn across the head of the promontory to enclose the Bourg, and to cover it, as far as practicable, from the surrounding dominating eminences.

The Grand-Master was at this moment the less disposed to undertake any work of magnitude in Malta, because he still maintained hopes of being enabled to establish his convent in a more advantageous position elsewhere. When the commander Bosio had visited Rhodes with a view to ascertaining the feeling of the inhabitants of that island, he had at the same time opened negotiations in the town of Modon, a port in the Morea, which had been captured by the Turks some

few years prior to Rhodes. The position of this city rendered it well adapted for maritime enterprise, and L'Isle Adam was the more anxious to obtain possession of it since its proximity to Rhodes would enable him to seize upon the first favourable opportunity for re-possessing himself of his old home. Two renegades, one the commandant of the port, the other the chief of the custom-house, had notified to Bosio their willingness to enter into the views of the Christians and to assist them in seizing upon the town, provided a sufficient force were despatched to ensure success.

On the 17th of August, 1531, L'Isle Adam sent forth a fleet of eight galleys, under the command of Salviati, prior of Rome, to attempt the enterprise. On arriving near Modon, Salviati hid his fleet in a retired creek in the island of Sapienza, which lies off the mouth of the harbour, and smuggled into the port two brigantines ostensibly laden with timber, beneath which, however, lay concealed a body of soldiers. The renegades, faithful to their promise, admitted these vessels; and the commandant of the port, in order to facilitate the seizure of the town, plied the janissaries under his command with wine, till they were all reduced to the most helpless state of intoxication. At break of day the troops landed from their concealment in the brigantine, massacred the inebriated and helpless guard, and obtained possession of the principal gate of the city. A gun was then fired as a signal to the rest of the fleet to enter the port and follow up the advantage which had been gained, but a contrary wind prevented Salviati from hearing it, so that many hours were lost before any support arrived. Meanwhile the governor of the city, recovering from his first panic, and perceiving the

paucity of the numbers by whom he was attacked, collected the townspeople together, and a desperate encounter followed. The Knights were well nigh overpowered, when Salviati at length, having been summoned from his hiding-place, by a boat sent to him for that purpose, made his appearance, and once more turned the fortune of the day. The Infidels were driven into the citadel, and the remainder of the town fell into the undisputed possession of the Christians. Unfortunately, however, a body of six thousand Turks lay encamped within a few miles of Modon, and a summons having been forwarded to them for assistance by the beleaguered governor, the Knights were again forced to abandon their enterprise, and to re-embark on board their galleys; not, however, before they had completed the sack of the town, and carried away a vast amount of booty. The fleet returned to Malta, bearing with it eight hundred Turkish prisoners, principally women and children, and a prodigious quantity of plunder, which latter, however, falling to the share of the individual adventurers, constituted no reimbursement to the exhausted treasury for the outlay caused by the expedition.

The failure of this enterprise destroyed the last hopes which L'Isle Adam could have entertained of removing his convent to a more favourable situation than Malta. Nothing, therefore, remained, but to take such measures as should best insure the security of his fraternity in their new and precarious home. Many additions were made both to the fortifications and armament of the castle of St. Angelo. The ramparts which surrounded the Bourg, now rapidly rising from the position of a village into that of a town, were strengthened by de-

tached works wherever the nature of the ground admitted of their construction. The fortifications of the Città Notabile were renewed and strengthened, and its protection intrusted to an ample garrison. At Tripoli similar precautions were taken, and a vessel having arrived from England laden with artillery, the present of Henry VIII. to the Order already alluded to, this seasonable acquisition was at once despatched thither to add to the armament of that exposed point.

A general chapter was about this time convened in Malta, at which many reforms were decreed, rendered highly necessary by the degeneracy of the Order. It would be vain to deny that a material change had of late years been wrought in the feelings and aspirations of those who sought to assume the White Cross of the Hospital. The religious element which had originally predominated in the constitution of the Order, and in the lives of its fraternity, had gradually died out. True, there was the same outward observance of the ceremonies of their religion. Each postulant still took the three oaths of chastity, poverty, and obedience. He was still told to consider himself a poor soldier of Jesus Christ, whose life was to be dedicated to the defence of His holy faith, and the relief of the poor; but these exhortations had gradually come to be considered in the light of a mere form. The Order of St. John had, upon so many a gloriously won battle-field, and behind so many a well-defended rampart, earned for itself a name of such dazzling pre-eminence upon the proud roll of chivalry, that the badge of its founder, the White Cross of Peter Gerard, originally assumed as a mark of Christian humility and devotion, was now

coveted as a decoration, which enrolled its wearer a member of one of the proudest and most noble institutions of the age. Worldly aspirations and worldly dignities had long since taken the place of those celestial rewards which, in the earlier ages of the institution, had been the object of the Knights' ambition. It is true that whenever an assault was made, either upon their religion or upon their home, the Knights of St. John were still found ready and willing to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of either, invariably scorning to purchase a dishonoured life by the abandonment of their faith; still the religious enthusiasm which had nerved so many of their predecessors during the desperate struggles of the 12th and 13th centuries, had vanished from the world, or, at most, showed itself in very feeble and fitful flashes. In its place the haughty bearing and the arrogant assumption of a prosperous military fraternity, renowned as highly for its wealth and its territorial power as for its warlike achievements, gradually appeared, and eventually became the distinguishing characteristic of the Order.

L'Isle Adam had watched with sorrow the rapid advance of this decadence on the part of his Knights,—a degeneracy which the events of late years had materially expedited. The close of his life was, from this cause, doomed to be spent amidst scenes of domestic strife and political discord. Well would it have been for him had he fallen gloriously during the memorable siege so imperishably connected with his name; but it had been otherwise decreed, and he was fated to pass his last hours in a scene of turmoil most distressing to his benevolent heart. The first subject of dispute which

arose to embitter his remaining days, sprang from the succession to the bishopric of Malta.

By the act of donation, Charles had reserved to himself and his successors the power of nomination to this post, by a selection from amongst three candidates, to be named by the Order. When the first vacancy occurred, the Grand-Master was most anxious that the dignity, which involved a very high position in the Order, should be conferred upon Thomas Bosio, the brother of the commander, whose diplomatic services have been so frequently mentioned. Bosio was already vice-chancellor of the Order; but L'Isle Adam conceived that his brother's services should be repaid by a still higher dignity. He therefore named him as one of the three candidates for the vacant post, and at the same time wrote a pressing letter to the Pope, entreating him to use his influence with the emperor to obtain the appointment for Bosio. This the Pope promptly did, and received a reply from the emperor, assuring him that his request should be complied with. A considerable delay, however, took place, before the nomination was made public; but eventually, the act appointing Bosio to the vacant bishopric was deposited in the hands of the ambassador of the Order, then resident at the emperor's court. All appeared now smooth and satisfactory. The Grand-Master despatched Bosio to Rome with the emperor's deed of nomination, and with his own thanks to his eminence for the share he had taken in the matter. What was the surprise of the expectant bishop, when the Pope announced to him that he had already nominated another person to the post!

The object the Pope had in view, in thus nullifying

his own request, does not appear very clear. It probably arose partly from a pique on his part, at the delay of the emperor in acceding to his request, and partly from a desire to retain so valuable a piece of patronage within his own hands. All remonstrance, on the part both of the emperor and Grand-Master, proved unavailing, and the dispute remained unsettled until the death of the pontiff, three years later, when his successor, anxious to conciliate the emperor, confirmed the appointment to Bosio.

This solution to the affair did not take place till after the death of L'Isle Adam, and the disappointment which he had experienced in his attempts to provide for the meritorious Bosio embittered his latest hours. Another dark cloud which gathered over his declining moments was the blow which the Order received in England at this period, from the religious revolution which was taking place in that country. The history of this reformation is too well known to need any recapitulation here. The unworthy cause which cast a slur upon otherwise so beneficial a measure, has always afforded a handle to the enemies of the Protestant religion, whereby to direct their efforts to its overthrow. But, however advantageous to the people of this country that reformation may have been, it most undoubtedly proved a very serious blow to the prosperity of the Hospital.

Long before Henry had renounced his allegiance to the Church of Rome, he had displayed symptoms of his grasping temperament towards the Order of St. John. The haughty monarch could ill brook that so many broad acres, and so many a fair domain, should be possessed by a power which yielded him no allegiance; and he had more than once availed himself of the slightest

pretext to encroach upon the property of the Knights of St. John. Now, however, when he had thrown away the mask, and had placed himself at the head of the religious movement which had been fermenting for years within his realm, his measures with regard to the property of the Hospital, and the Knights themselves, were as prompt and decisive as, from his arbitrary nature, might have been anticipated. Those measures, however, did not receive their development during the life of L'Isle Adam. The cloud which he perceived to be gathering on the political horizon of England, did not burst over the unfortunate members of his Order, in that country, till after his death; still enough was apparent to sadden his last hours, and to leave him full of anxious forebodings for the future.

He was moreover fated, before his death, to become the witness of an internal disorder within the limits of his own convent, of a nature so serious as almost to endanger the existence of the community. The quarrel originated in a dispute between one of the secular retainers of the prior of Rome and a young Knight of the language of Provence. A duel ensued, in which the Knight was killed, not without grave suspicion of treachery on the part of his opponent. Several of the Provençal Knights, under this impression, sought out the offending party, and, finding him surrounded by his friends, a struggle ensued, in which some of the Italians were wounded, and the whole body driven to seek refuge in the palace of the prior. The remainder of that dignitary's household, who were very numerous, enraged at this attack upon their comrades, armed themselves, and sallied forth for vengeance. Without distinguishing the offending Provençal Knights from those of the other

French languages, they assaulted them all indiscriminately, and thus a civil war broke out between the French languages on the one side, and that of Italy, to which the Spaniards and Portuguese joined themselves, on the other. The prior of Rome placed under arrest those of his suite who had been guilty of a breach of the peace, but this step was not considered a sufficient reparation by the French Knights. They attacked the galley of the prior, where the offending individuals had been confined, and murdered four of them in cold blood. This lawless proceeding brought about a general collision between the antagonistic languages, and a regular engagement ensued in the streets. In vain the Grand-Master despatched messages to the combatants, directing them to disperse, under pain of the severest penalties. His menaces were unheeded, and the remainder of the day was passed in strife and confusion. Towards night, however, the bailiff of Manosque, who was possessed of great influence with both the rival factions, succeeded by personal intervention in quelling the disorder, and dispersing the combatants.

Severe measures were necessary for the punishment of so serious an outbreak, and L'Isle Adam, aged and feeble as he was, proved himself equal to the occasion. After a rigid examination, the ringleaders in the outrage were condemned to expulsion from the Order, which sentence was rigidly carried into execution. Bosio asserts that several of the most guilty were condemned to death, and thrown alive into the sea, but this statement has not been corroborated by any other historian, nor do the records existing in the archives of the Order substantiate the fact.* It is very clear that, in this

* This affair will be found included in the catalogue of crimes ex-

point, the generally truthful Italian has been led into error.

It was amidst scenes such as these, that L'Isle Adam brought his long and glorious life to a close; and at length a violent fever induced that end which he had so often braved, and always escaped, at the hand of the Infidel. On the 22nd August 1534, he expired, aged upwards of seventy years, to the great grief of the whole fraternity. Never had the Order sustained so signal a loss, as that it was now called upon to mourn. The heroism and grandeur of L'Isle Adam's character were such, that the clouds of adversity only set it forth with greater lustre. The loss of Rhodes, the greatest disaster which had ever befallen the Order, since that of Jerusalem, has connected itself so imperishably with his name, that he has gained a higher renown for his conduct in that calamity, than other men have achieved by the most brilliant victories. As the establisher of his fraternity in the island of Malta, and the agent of its resuscitation after its late desperate losses, he may be looked upon as its third parent and founder. Raymond du Puy has associated his name inseparably with the original foundation of the Institution. It was to Fulk de Villaret that the Order was indebted for their establishment in their lovely island-home at Rhodes, and it is to L'Isle Adam that the merit is due, of having guided their fortunes to that rocky island in the centre of the Mediterranean, where, for upwards of two centuries and a half, waved the banner of St. John, an honour to Christianity, and a terror to the Infidel of the East.

tracted from the manuscript records of the Order, and given at the close of Chap. XXI. It will there be seen that no further punishment was awarded beyond deprivation of the habit.

CHAP. XVI.

ELECTION OF PETER DUPONT. — EXPEDITION AGAINST TUNIS. — DIDIER DE ST. GILLES. — JOHN D'OMEDES. — EXPEDITION AGAINST ALGIERS. — ITS COMPLETE FAILURE. — TURKISH DESCENT ON MALTA. — LOSS OF TRIPOLI. — UNJUST PERSECUTION OF THE MARSHAL LA VALLIER. — DESTRUCTION OF THE ORDER IN ENGLAND. — LEO STROZZI. — ADDITIONS TO THE FORTIFICATIONS OF MALTA. — ATTACK ON ZOARA. — DEATH OF D'OMEDES, AND ELECTION OF LA SANGLE. — TEMPORARY RESTORATION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. — HURRICANE AT MALTA. — GENEROSITY OF NUMEROUS FRIENDS TO THE ORDER. — ACCESSION OF LA VALETTE. — RESTORATION OF THE BOHEMIAN AND VENETIAN PRIORIES. — EXPEDITION TO GALVES. — ITS DISASTROUS ISSUE. — SIEGE OF MAZARQUIVER BY THE TURKS. — CAPTURE OF A TURKISH GALLEON, AND CONSEQUENT ANGER OF SOLYMAN. — PREPARATIONS FOR THE ATTACK OF MALTA.

THE council, assembled for the election of a successor to their deceased chief, ended by nominating Peter Dupont, a member of a Piedmontese family, to that post. At the time of his election, Dupont was residing at his priory in Calabria; and it was with extreme reluctance that he accepted the dignity, his great age rendering him unwilling to undertake the onerous duties of a Grand-Master, at the perilous crisis in which the affairs of the Order then stood. Eventually, however, these scruples were overcome, and Dupont set out for Malta to assume the duties of his new office.

The dangerous position in which the garrison of Tripoli was placed rendered the maintenance of this

post a subject of anxious consideration to the new Grand-Master; and he turned his eyes towards Charles V., then by far the most powerful potentate in Europe, for assistance in its protection. Charles had originally bestowed this thankless gift upon the Order, partly to escape the expense of its maintenance himself, and partly in the hope that the establishment of the Order of St. John in that spot might act as a check to the piratical enterprises of the surrounding princes. He was, therefore, well disposed to render every assistance in his power towards the support of this fortress; and the request for aid, which was despatched by Peter Dupont, reached Madrid at a moment when Charles V. was already contemplating a descent upon Africa from other motives.

The northern coasts of that continent, abutting upon the Mediterranean, had first been occupied by the Arabians during the latter part of the seventh century. The country had gradually become subdivided into several kingdoms, of which Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis were the most important. These principalities were inhabited by a mixed race, comprised of the original Arabian conquerors, the negroes, who had spread themselves over that country from the more southern provinces, and the Moors, who had been driven thither from Spain during the preceding two centuries. Until the commencement of the sixteenth century, these petty kingdoms interfered but seldom in the politics of Europe; and their very existence was but little known, and as little cared for.

At that time, however, a revolution took place, which materially altered their position. Two of the four sons of a Turkish inhabitant of Mitylene, named Horuc

and Hayradin, prompted by a spirit of restlessness, abandoned their father's island, and joined a crew of pirates. Their daring and skill in this their new calling soon raised them to the command of the band; and they gradually augmented their forces until they had assembled a fleet of twelve galleys, besides many smaller vessels. Calling themselves the Friends of the Sea, and the enemies of all who sailed thereon, they scoured the Mediterranean from end to end, and rendered their names terrible in every part of its waters. These brothers were both known by the surname of Barbarossa, from the red colour of their beards; and whilst Horuc Barbarossa was recognised as the supreme chief, the authority of Hayradin Barbarossa was but little inferior. Increasing in ambition as their power and fame extended, they at length sought the acquisition of a port, from whence they might carry on their buccaneering expeditions in security.

An opportunity was not long in presenting itself. Called in by the king of Algiers, to support him in a war with a neighbouring chief, Horuc succeeded in dethroning and murdering that monarch, and in establishing himself in his place as king of Algiers. To render himself the more secure, he placed his new acquisition under the protection of the Turkish sultan, to whom he tendered the homage of a tributary prince. That monarch, with whose ambitious views it well accorded to add these extensive provinces to his empire, accepted the proffered homage, and promised his support to the self-elected monarch.

In the year 1518, Horuc fell in an action against the Marquis de Comares, the Spanish governor of Oran; and his brother Hayradin assumed the sceptre vacant by

his death. The fame of his naval exploits, in this new dignity, having reached Constantinople, the sultan appointed him to the supreme command of the entire Turkish fleet; and Barbarossa repaired thither full of a new project of aggrandisement, which had just then presented itself to his ambition. The late king of Tunis had died leaving a progeny of no less than thirty-four sons; the youngest of these, named Muley Hassan, had been appointed his successor by the late king, over whom the mother of Muley Hassan had obtained a great influence. This nomination having been secured, Muley Hassan at once poisoned his father; and assuming the sceptre, promptly put to death as many of his brothers as he could get into his power.

Al Raschid, one of the eldest, succeeded, however, in making his escape, and fled to Algiers to implore the protection of Barbarossa. This wily potentate at once promised his support, and took the fugitive to Constantinople, where he trusted to obtain means from the sultan for the prosecution of his enterprise. He there laid open to Solyman his project for the acquisition of Tunis, by means of the claims of Al Raschid. A powerful fleet and a numerous army were, for this purpose, entrusted to his command by the sultan, with which he set sail for Tunis, the unfortunate Al Raschid being retained a prisoner in the seraglio at Constantinople. Arrived off Tunis, Barbarossa succeeded in obtaining possession of the fort of Goletta through the treachery of its commander. This fort commands the bay of Tunis, and on it the protection of the town entirely depends. Possessed of this important point, Barbarossa soon effected an entrance into Tunis; still maintaining the pretence that his object was the restoration

of Al Raschid. Once established in the town, he relinquished this subterfuge, and proclaimed himself king of Tunis. Muley Hassan, who had fled at his approach, proceeded direct to Madrid, and there implored Charles to assist him in regaining his kingdom.

This application, arriving at the same time as that of the Grand-Master Dupont, induced Charles V. to undertake such an expedition into Africa as should establish a friendly power in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, in lieu of that of the redoubtable Barbarossa. This expedition he determined on commanding in person, and the whole power of his extended dominions was called into play for its successful prosecution. The army was composed of Italians, Germans, and Spaniards; whilst the fleet, commanded by Andrew Doria, the greatest naval hero of the age, was numerous and well equipped. The Knights of Malta contributed to the force a contingent of four large galleys, eighteen armed brigantines, and the great carrack of the Order.

The army, consisting of 30,000 men, landed without impediment on the shores of Tunis, in close proximity to the fort of Goletta. This fort was garrisoned by 6,000 Turks, under the command of a renegade Jew, named Sinan, the most able and daring of Barbarossa's lieutenants. The siege was opened in form, and after its ramparts had been duly breached, it was carried by assault; the Knights of St. John occupying, as usual, the van upon this occasion, and rivalling their ancient fame by the desperate valour with which they carried the obstinately defended breach.

Barbarossa was both surprised and dismayed at the loss of this protecting bulwark. Garrisoned as it had been by the flower of his army, and defended by so

daring a spirit as his lieutenant Sinan, he had esteemed it impregnable, and now that it had fallen the road to Tunis lay open to the conqueror. The whole of Barbarossa's fleet, together with an enormous accumulation of military stores, fell, by this success, into the hands of the emperor, who, as he entered the breached rampart, turned to Muley Hassan, then in attendance on him, and said, "Here is the gate open for you by which you shall return to take possession of your kingdom."

Barbarossa had assembled a large force, principally composed of the Moors and Arabs of the neighbouring tribes; but he soon found that but little confidence was to be placed either in their valour or their fidelity. With such an army he considered that it would be unwise to attempt a defence of Tunis, or to await the emperor's arrival before its walls. He determined, therefore, upon advancing boldly to meet the Christians, and to encounter them upon the open plain, where his wild horsemen might be made more available than they could have been behind the ramparts of Tunis. He had, however, one great source of uneasiness in the number of Christian slaves who were at that moment in captivity within the town. These numbered no less than 10,000, and Barbarossa feared that, should he leave them without an adequate guard, they would avail themselves of the opportunity to rise and assert their freedom. With the ruthless barbarity which had marked every step in his career, he proposed a general massacre of the whole body, as the most certain method of ensuring the town against their attempts. Fortunately, however, he encountered a warm opposition to this sanguinary suggestion from all his own immediate partisans. The atrocious and cowardly

brutality of the proposition was too great, even for the piratical horde whom Barbarossa had assembled beneath his banner; added to which their interests were as far opposed to the measure as their inclinations. The Jew Sinan was the possessor of a large number of these slaves, and many of the other leaders were likewise considerable proprietors. They therefore resisted this proposition for the wholesale destruction of their property so strenuously, that Barbarossa was forced to abandon the idea and to sally forth to meet the emperor, leaving the slaves as well guarded as his limited means would permit.

The action which ensued was hardly worthy of the name: although the forces of Barbarossa far exceeded those of the emperor in point of numbers, they were not to be compared to them in discipline or steadiness. The very first shock decided the day, nor could the utmost efforts of Barbarossa's valour rally his retreating battalions. The flight towards Tunis became general, and Barbarossa hastened to re-enter the city in order to take proper measures for its defence. Here, however, he found that his fears with regard to the Christian captives had proved well founded. As soon as they had learnt the departure of the army, they had risen upon their guards, recovered their liberty, and seized upon the citadel, which they now held against the retreating Barbarossa. Amongst these captives was a Knight of St. John, named Simeoni, the same who had in early youth greatly distinguished himself in the defence of the island of Lero against a Turkish force. This Knight immediately placed himself at the head of his brethren in misfortune, and took such prompt and energetic steps, that the whole city speedily fell into his

possession. Barbarossa was compelled to fly, and his troops rapidly dispersed.

Simeoni advanced to meet the emperor, and announced to him the steps he had taken to secure the town. Charles, who was overjoyed at this unlooked-for assistance, embraced the Knight warmly and lauded him in the most emphatic terms for the intrepidity and discretion with which he had acted. Muley Hassan was restored to his throne as a tributary to Spain, and the expedition being thus happily ended, the Knights returned to Malta laden with substantial marks of the emperor's satisfaction. They arrived there in time to witness the last hours of their Grand-Master, who died shortly afterwards, having wielded the baton of the Order little more than a year.

He was succeeded by Didier de St. Gilles, whose short reign was undistinguished by any act of importance, if we except the destruction of a fort called Alcade, which the Algerines had constructed in immediate proximity to Tripoli. Botigella, to whom had been confided the command of the galleys of the Order in the late expedition, was entrusted with this enterprise also; and the complete success which crowned his efforts marked the wisdom of the choice. The tower was completely razed, in spite of every effort on the part of the Algerines to save it; and the expedition returned triumphantly to Malta. St. Gilles did not live long enough even to reach the head-quarters of his Order, but died at Montpelier, at which town he was residing for the benefit of his health.

The vacancy which thus occurred gave rise to a warm contention in the election of a successor. The two commanders, Botigella and De Grolée, the latter of

whom had led the land forces of the Order in the attack on Tunis, were both considered to have the highest claim upon the vacant dignity; but the Spanish Knights, whose influence in the Order had of late wonderfully increased, in virtue of the power of their emperor, were determined upon the election of a member of their own language, and John d'Omedes, a Knight of the language of Aragon, was nominated to the post. Although his claims were by no means equal to those either of Botigella or De Grolée, he had nevertheless much distinguished himself during the siege of Rhodes, where he had lost an eye in defending the Spanish post.

The memory of D'Omedes has been most undeservedly vilified by the historians of the Order. These writers, who are almost all French, have evidently imbibed warm feelings of partisanship in the struggle between the emperor Charles and their own king, Francis. Everything Spanish has been, therefore, looked upon by them with a jaundiced eye; and D'Omedes, whose election had in it much calculated in itself to awaken the jealousies of the rival languages, has borne the brunt of this unfavourable bias. It cannot, however, be denied, that many of the acts of his rule were unjustifiable; and that he was too often guided by a blind partiality for his own nation.

A feeling of jealousy against the commander Botigella, who had rivalled him in the election for the Grand-Mastership, prompted him to remove that Knight from the command of the galleys, which post he conferred upon a young Florentine, named Strozzi, whose name subsequently became celebrated as one of the most adventurous and daring corsairs of the Mediterranean. At the time of his appointment, however, he had done but

little to signalise himself; nor could his claims for the post have stood, for one moment, a comparison with those of Botigella. It appears most probable, that D'Omedes did not consider it safe to continue so important a trust in the hands of a man who he suspected of being violently inimical to himself, and that the change was made as a matter of self-defence.

A feeling of anxiety had constantly existed amongst the Order, respecting the position of the city of Tripoli. Though everything had been done which their limited means permitted, the place was still but very feebly fortified; and each successive governor, as he returned to the convent, urged upon the council the necessity for some further measures being taken to increase the security of the town. These representations became at length so urgent, that the Grand-Master appealed to the emperor Charles, pointing out the insecure position of the post, and the total inability of the Order, in the then exhausted condition of its treasury, to provide the funds necessary for strengthening its defences; and urging upon him the necessity of either undertaking that service himself, or of permitting the Knights to abandon the town. The reply of Charles to this petition, was a demand upon the Order to join him in an expedition which he was contemplating against the town of Algiers, still the stronghold of Barbarossa, and the chief haunt of those piratical hordes, whose incessant depredations kept the coasts of the Mediterranean in a continual state of alarm. He trusted by crushing this nest of piracy to ensure the security of Tripoli without further outlay, at the same time that he would be relieving his maritime subjects from an incubus which had long weighed them down.

Four hundred Knights, each accompanied by two

armed attendants, formed the contingent which the Order contributed to the army of the emperor. Charles, inflated by the success of his late expedition against Tunis, his first personal military exploit, determined once again to lead his forces himself, and directed a general rendezvous in the island of Majorca. In vain his veteran admiral Doria remonstrated with him upon the imprudence of attempting a maritime expedition so late in the year, when the storms, which at that season usually scourge the Mediterranean, might at any moment utterly destroy his fleet. Charles was not to be diverted from his purpose by any such prudential considerations, and he persisted in at once prosecuting the enterprise. The result proved the sagacity of Doria, and the foolhardiness of Charles. The army landed before Algiers, and commenced operations against it; but two days after they had broken ground, a fearful storm arose, which not only deluged the camp, and prostrated the army, but caused the far more irreparable loss of almost the entire fleet, which had been lying off the coast, and the great bulk of which was driven on shore. Fifteen of his galleys, and a hundred and forty transports and store-ships, were lost during this fearful tempest.

Doria, who by the exercise of superior seamanship, had succeeded in rescuing a small remnant of his fleet from the dangers of the sea, took shelter under Cape Matafas, whence he despatched messengers to the emperor, announcing his whereabouts; and a most harassing march of three days brought the retreating army to the spot. During this movement, the Knights of St. John had ample opportunity for distinction, in repelling the incessant attacks of the Moorish cavalry, who hovered round the retiring army. Their losses,

while performing this service, were very severe, and but few survived to bear the tale of their disaster to their brethren in Malta.

The failure of this expedition rendered the position of Tripoli still more precarious; and in this crisis, the Grand-Master and council selected for the onerous post of governor, a Provençal Knight, called John de la Valette; a name which subsequent events rendered one of the most illustrious in the annals of his Order. Even at this time La Valette had distinguished himself by his bravery and zeal in numerous cruising excursions against the Turks. He had never quitted Malta from the day of his admission into the Order, except upon the occasions of these cruises; and had risen from post to post within its ranks, until he had attained a very high position.

The fate of Tripoli was destined, however, to be postponed for yet a little while; and ere its fall was accomplished, Malta itself had a very narrow escape of a similar misfortune. Barbarossa having died at Constantinople, was succeeded in the command of the Turkish fleet by his lieutenant Dragut. This man had attained a notoriety in the Mediterranean, second only to that of his chief; and his assumption of the command of the naval power of Solyman was followed by prompt and decisive measures on his part. He possessed himself of the town of Mehedia, a port situated midway between Tunis and Tripoli, and here he established a naval depôt in the most dangerous contiguity to the latter stronghold. D'Omedes viewed with a very natural alarm the new danger which menaced his already too feeble outpost; and he persuaded the emperor to direct an expedition against this additional foe.

Charles was the more readily induced to accede to

a considerable number of the citizens, were made prisoners. D'Aramont, who had been compulsorily detained with the Turkish army throughout the siege, now exerted himself to the utmost; and partly by his influence, and partly by the expenditure of a considerable sum of money, he caused them all to be ransomed, and set sail with them for Malta, where he doubtless anticipated being received with the gratitude he so well deserved.

The general feeling in Malta, at the news of the loss of Tripoli, was very bitter; and D'Aramont, on landing there, felt that he was looked upon rather with feelings of distrust and antipathy, than with the regard which he had expected. He set sail, therefore, for Constantinople, embittered with the conviction that the acts of kindness which he had performed for the miserable garrison had been sadly misconstrued. D'Omedes, feeling that he himself was not without blame, in having neglected to provide assistance to the menaced city, and anxious to divert the popular wrath into another channel, caused the Marshal la Vallier to be arrested, with three of his companions in arms. Never was innocent man more basely sacrificed to popular clamour than upon this occasion; and La Vallier, than whom a braver man or a more skilful captain, did not exist within the ranks of the fraternity, was stripped of his habit and imprisoned; and, but for the bold and indignant remonstrances of a Knight named Villigagnon, he would have suffered a still worse fate.

Whilst these events were taking place, the course of the religious revolution in England had gradually been reaching its climax. The commencement of the quarrel between that country and the Pope of Rome had already

assumed the most threatening aspect prior to the decease of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam; and his fears for the security and permanence of the English language had embittered the last moments of that venerable chief. Since then matters had rapidly reached their culminating point; and the reformation in England soon developed itself in its full proportions. An institution like that of the Order of St. John, still maintaining fealty to that pontiff whose ecclesiastical authority was no longer recognised within the realm, was not likely to remain long undisturbed under the new régime. Henry VIII. had, previously to his renunciation of papal domination, displayed an anxious desire to interfere in the affairs of the Order in England, and to possess himself of much of their wealth; and now the moment had arrived when a plausible pretext was afforded him for carrying that design into execution.

There exists in the archives of Malta a document addressed to the Grand-Master by this monarch, which very clearly demonstrates the rapacity that characterised his conduct towards the Order. This document, which until lately has been totally unnoticed, is dated on the 7th of July 1538, at Westminster; and assumes the form of letters patent, commencing by entitling Henry the supreme head of the Anglican Church, and the protector of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. It then declares: First, That for himself and his successors, he gives licence to brother William West, Grand-Prior of the priory of England, to confer the habit, and receive the profession requisite to admit such English subjects as may desire to enter the Order under the usual conditions, provided always that such postulant shall have been previously required to take an oath of

allegiance to the said monarch, as his supreme lord, in accordance with the form duly instituted for the purpose, which oath the king exacts from all his subjects, both lay and clerical. Secondly, That any person nominated by the Grand-Master in council to a commandery situated within the limits of the kingdom of England, shall be required to obtain a confirmation of his appointment from the king. Such newly-appointed commander will be required to pay the revenues of the first year, accruing from his commandery, into the king's treasury; nor will he be permitted to receive his nomination to the commandery until he shall have previously taken the oath of allegiance, and have paid the said year's revenue, or at all events have given due security for its subsequent payment. Thirdly, It shall not be lawful for the Order of St. John to make elecmosynary collections* within the realm of England, unless in virtue of a royal warrant; which warrant shall contain the express clause that such collection was not made in virtue of any bull from the Roman pontiff, but under letters patent emanating from the king of England. Fourthly, Those brethren holding, or hereafter promoted to commanderies within the realm of England, shall not recognise, support, or promote the jurisdiction, authority, rank, or title of the bishop of Rome. Fifthly, Those brethren holding, or hereafter promoted to commanderies within the realm of England, shall, after payment of the first year's revenues into the king's treasury, transfer those of the second year to the treasury of the Order, for the general maintenance and support of the convent; with the reservation of such

* Alluded to in chap. ix., under the title of confraria.

annual tithes as the king retains to himself from all the commanderies within his kingdom. Sixthly, That every year a chapter of the priory shall be held, in which all crimes committed by the fraternity within the realm of England shall be examined into and duly punished; and if any of the offending brethren shall consider himself aggrieved by the sentence of the chapter, he shall appeal either to the vicar of the king, or to the conservator of the privileges of the Order of St. John, duly appointed by the king.

A very cursory glance at the clauses contained in this document will mark both the subtlety and the rapacity of those by whom it was framed. The fourth clause was, of itself, amply sufficient to prevent any member of the Roman Catholic religion from holding office or emolument within the kingdom of England; but, as though the monarch feared lest the members of the Order might be possessed of consciences sufficiently elastic to enable them to take the oath there demanded, he secures for himself an ample provision out of the revenues of the unfortunate commanderies, payment of which would be enforced even from the most compliant and obedient of the fraternity. Had the Order of St. John been in the habit of paying to the See of Rome any annual tithes or other contributions, it would have appeared only natural that the king of England, in assuming to himself the papal functions within his realm, should also have transferred to his own treasury all such tithes and contributions; but this had never been the case. From the earliest ages of its institution, the Order of St. John had been exempted by papal grants from the payment of all ecclesiastical tithes and contributions; and this exemption had been continued

and confirmed from time to time, ever since that date. Henry, therefore, in reserving to himself the payment of tithes from the revenues of the English commanderies, was arrogating a privilege such as had never been assumed by the pontiffs of Rome, even in their days of most dictatorial authority. One of the great sources of the revenue of the treasury had always been the payment of the first year's income by the successor to a vacant commandery. It was this revenue of which Henry contemplated the confiscation to himself; and in order to prevent the spoliation from pressing too hardly upon the conventual establishment at Malta, he substituted for their behoof the payment of a second year's revenues, to the manifest loss of the newly-appointed commanders.

It is much to the credit of the Order generally, and of the English language in particular, that they did not permit the natural desire of retaining their large possessions in England to outweigh their sense of religious duty. Hard as were the terms imposed by Henry, they were such as many men would have deemed far preferable to absolute confiscation; but the Order of St. John was not prepared to admit of such a compromise between its duty and its interests. It had been reared in the bosom of the Church of Rome, it had been nurtured by the beneficence and protection of each successive pontiff, and now that a storm had burst over the head of the father of their church, such as bid fair to deprive him of the spiritual allegiance of a vast proportion of his flock, the Knights of the Hospital were not prepared to abandon his cause in this hour of his weakness, even for the sake of retaining their worldly advantages. The terms offered by Henry were steadily

declined, and the language of England, which for many years had been considered one of the brightest adjuncts of the Order, and of whom the historian Bosio, himself an Italian, and, therefore, an unprejudiced witness, has recorded, "così ricco, nobile e principal membro come sempre era stata la venerabile lingua d' Inghilterra," was lost for ever to the Order of the Hospital. A general sequestration of their property in England took place, accompanied by much persecution of the members of the fraternity. Some perished on the scaffold, others lingered in prison, and the remainder, homeless, destitute, and penniless, found their way to Malta, where they were received with all brotherly kindness, and with all Christian consideration.

It has already been stated, that at the commencement of his rule, D'Omedes had appointed as admiral of the galleys, in place of the commander Botigella, a young Florentine Knight, named Leo Strozzi, who had attained the dignity of prior of Capua. The father of this Knight, having opposed the emperor Charles V., had been by him taken prisoner and cast into a dungeon, where he ended his life by committing suicide; prior to which act he had invoked his descendants to avenge his fall. In answer to this appeal, his son Leo had abandoned the service of the Order, and entered that of the king of France, under whose banner, as the avowed and constant enemy of Charles, he trusted to obtain an opportunity of accomplishing his father's denunciations. For many years he had served in the navy of this monarch with the greatest possible distinction, and had been by him appointed the admiral of his fleet. Being naturally of an imperious and fiery temper, he had in this capacity made for himself many powerful enemies in the French

court, and was at length compelled to resign his command and leave the kingdom. In this dilemma he applied for re-admission into the ranks of the fraternity at Malta, but D'Omedes, who, as a Spaniard, was a warm partisan of the emperor Charles, at once peremptorily refused to admit this virulent enemy of his into the island.

Strozzi was therefore compelled to depart unassisted and unrecognised. His abandonment of his post in the French service had closed to him all the ports of that power. His bitter and unceasing antagonism to the emperor prevented his finding refuge within any of his maritime ports ; and now that his last hope of a shelter in Malta had been frustrated, he was driven to cruise in the Mediterranean, without any means of refitting his galleys. Under these circumstances he was, in a measure, driven to acts of piracy in self-support; and for some time he became the scourge of the Mediterranean, under the peculiar title, assumed by himself, of the Friend of God alone. Charles, who was too crafty and consummate a politician ever to permit his private resentments to interfere with his interests, now that he beheld this able captain at enmity with his former protector, the king of France, at once opened negotiations with him, in the hopes of inducing him to enter his own service. It is doubtful whether Strozzi, whose resentment against the emperor for the incarceration of his father appears never to have subsided, seriously contemplated the acceptance of this offer; but he nevertheless permitted the negotiation to be carried on, as during its progress he was freed from all inimical efforts on the part of the emperor.

His gallant conduct during a series of the most

brilliant exploits, had raised for him a host of influential friends amongst the fiery spirits who composed the ranks of the fraternity at Malta. From some of these he received an invitation, whilst his negotiations with the emperor were pending, to present himself once more in their island, pledging themselves that he should not again receive such an inhospitable rebuff as that which he had experienced on a former occasion. Strozzi, whose great desire at this time was to enter once more the ranks of the fraternity, in which he trusted, from his high renown and great interest, one day to attain the supreme dignity, immediately accepted this invitation, and presented himself off the harbour of Malta without delay. The Grand-Master, who had been made acquainted with the overtures of Charles to the Florentine, and who also knew how warmly the latter was respected by the majority of his Order, no longer refused him an admission into the fraternity, but welcomed him to its ranks with every possible honour. Strozzi now brought those vast talents with which nature had endowed him to the benefit of the Order which had once again received him, and by his judicious counsels and suggestions rendered them the greatest possible assistance.

In conjunction with two other Knights, he was appointed to inspect and report upon the state of the fortifications of Malta, and to suggest such additions as might be considered necessary for the complete security of the island. These commissioners reported that although the Bourg was inclosed by a rampart and ditch, and was, moreover, protected by Fort St. Angelo, it was nevertheless commanded by the rocky eminence called Mount St. Julian, at the extremity of the point of land

which ran parallel to that on which Fort St. Angelo was placed. They, therefore, strongly urged the necessity of establishing a fort upon this promontory, of sufficient capacity to hold a garrison whose numbers should enable them to maintain the post with vigour and resolution. Mount Sceberras also required occupation, in order to protect the Marsa Musceit, and to prevent an enemy from making use of that commodious harbour, in case he laid formal siege to the Bourg. Their recommendations on this head extended to the occupation of the entire peninsula; but the funds of the Order did not admit of so extensive a work. Forts were, however, erected; one on the extremity of this promontory, and the other on that of Mount St. Julian. These forts received the names of St. Elmo and St. Michael, in memory of those formerly erected by the Order at Rhodes. These works were prosecuted with the most exemplary vigour; many of the more wealthy members of the fraternity contributing largely from their private means, to promote the rapid carrying on of the works. Strozzi and his brother commissioners were constantly on the ground, directing and encouraging the workmen; so that in an incredibly short space of time the inhabitants were gladdened at perceiving two powerful fortresses arising on sites which had hitherto been totally unprotected, and which would have afforded the greatest possible facilities to an enemy whilst besieging the Bourg.

The last event of importance which marked the rule of D'Omedes, was the unsuccessful attack upon Zoara, made by the Knights under the command of Strozzi. This ill-fated expedition ended in the loss of almost the entire force composing it: Strozzi himself,

through the valour of a Majorcan Knight, named Torcillas, having narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by the enemy.

D'Omedes died upon the 6th September 1553, at the advanced age of ninety years. It has already been stated that the French historians have omitted nothing calculated to blacken the memory of this Grand-Master. The vices of avarice and favouritism are those which they principally bring to bear against him, and to these they likewise add that of general incapacity. That the French languages, long accustomed to finding the supreme ruler elected from amongst their ranks, had felt it a grievance that this monopoly should be broken through, was but natural. It was also to be expected, that the Spanish language, suddenly brought into pre-eminence, and supported by the influence which the power of the emperor Charles naturally gave them, should assume somewhat upon their new position, and should arrogate to themselves many of those good things which they had never before had the power of obtaining. Parsimony was doubtless a vice of D'Omedes, nor can he be acquitted of nepotism; still he was in neither particular worse than many of his predecessors, nor would he, under any other circumstances than those in which he chanced to be placed, have become the victim of that opprobrium with which his name has been noted. It was a fact, of which his enemies have made the most, that his rule was very disastrous for the fortunes of his Order; in most instances, however, from circumstances over which he had no control. It was under him that the futile and disastrous attacks were made upon Algiers and Zoara; that the city of Tripoli was lost to the Order; and that the island of Gozo was ravaged by the Turks.

The loss of the English language also occurred in his time; and for one and all of these mischances he has been virulently and unjustly blamed by his enemies. During his later years, his extreme age rendered him personally almost irresponsible for the acts of his government, and the Grand-Master, who sank into the tomb a dotard of ninety years of age, was a very different man from the hero who had so bravely held the post of Spain against the utmost efforts of the Infidel at the siege of Rhodes, and who had lost an eye during that struggle.

The general feeling at the death of D'Omedes was that Strozzi, the prior of Capua, should be his successor; but it having been pointed out to the council that he would in all probability use the power thus intrusted to him in furtherance of his private quarrel with the family of Medici, against whom he bore an undying hatred worthy of a Corsican *vendetta*, the choice ultimately fell upon the grand-hospitaller Claude de la Sangle, who was at that time acting as ambassador at Rome. This nomination, so contrary to his anticipations and wishes, gave dire offence to Strozzi, who thereupon resigned his command over the galleys of the Order, and set sail upon a private adventure of his own, followed by many youthful Knights who were anxious to earn renown under so distinguished a leader. These anticipations were, however, never realised, since Strozzi lost his life almost immediately afterwards, before an insignificant fort on the coast of Tuscany. His successor in the command of the galleys was La Valette, under whose able generalship they attained a renown far surpassing what had been previously achieved by them on the waters of the Mediterranean.

During the first year of La Sangle's rule, an evanes-

cent prospect sprang up of the restoration of the English language to its former status. The death of the youthful Edward VI. having placed his sister Mary upon the throne of England, that princess, who was a zealous and rigid Roman Catholic, had no sooner assumed the sway of the realm, than she despatched ambassadors to Malta, to treat for the re-establishment of the English language, and the restoration of the sequestered lands of the Hospital. To this proposition the council of La Sangle gave a prompt and joyful assent, and for a few brief years it appeared as though that venerable language was about to resume its former rank. But this was not to be the case, for, upon the death of Mary, her sister Elizabeth once more destroyed its organisation, and not content with sequestrating its property, as her father Henry had done, she confiscated it entirely, and thus annihilated the language for ever.

The successful forays which the Maltese galleys succeeded in executing under the able command of La Valette, so far enriched the public coffers, that La Sangle determined to increase the fortifications erected by his predecessor. Both at St. Elmo and at the Bourg considerable additions were made, but his main efforts were directed to the strengthening of the peninsula of St. Julian. D'Omedes had, it is true, erected at its extremity a fort which had received the name of St. Michael, but this was of no great strength, and the entire peninsula was much exposed from the neighbouring height of Corradino. Along the whole extent of the promontory facing these heights he constructed a rampart, strengthened by bastions, and also enclosed its neck in a similar manner. These works were carried out principally at his own expense, and the fraternity, in grate-

ful commemoration of the fact, named the entire enceinte thus formed after their public-spirited chief; and from that time the promontory has always been known by the name of Isle de la Sangle, since Italianised into Senglea.

The prospects of the island were every day improving: their maritime successes not only enriched their treasury, but added so considerably to their already widely-spread renown, that their ranks became rapidly recruited by scions of many of the noblest families in Europe. In the midst of this prosperity, however, a calamity occurred which, but for the promptitude of the fraternity, and the generous assistance of its friends, might have proved irreparable. The island of Malta was visited by a furious tornado on the 23rd September 1555: the violence of this hurricane was such, that vast numbers of the houses were overthrown, almost all the vessels in the harbour were sunk at their anchorage, and most of the galley-slaves who formed their crews were drowned. The utmost efforts were necessary promptly to restore the lost fleet; and, fortunately for the Order, it found friends both within and without the pale of its own ranks to aid it in this emergency. Philip the Second instantly despatched two galleys, well armed, and fully manned and equipped, as a present to his protégés. The Grand-Master, at his own expense, caused another to be constructed at Messina, and the Pope, not to be behind-hand in the good work, furnished its crew from amongst his own galley-slaves. The prior of St. Gilles forwarded a galleon, laden with ammunition and troops, to the aid of the impoverished island; and the grand-prior of France proceeded thither in person, with two galleys, to tender his services to the Grand-Master.

The result of these patriotic efforts proved that they had not been unnecessary, for the corsair Dragut, trusting to find the island in a defenceless state after its recent calamity, made a descent upon it, and even attempted a landing. He was, however, repelled with the utmost promptitude, and with great loss, and the prior of France, in command of the newly-restored fleet, carried the war into the enemy's country by ravaging the coasts of Barbary, in which operation he accumulated a vast quantity of spoil, and returned in triumph to Malta.

La Sangle died on the 17th August 1557, and was succeeded by John Parisot de la Valette, who during the last year of his predecessor's rule had filled the post of lieutenant of the Grand-Master, holding at the same time the office of prior of St. Gilles. His name of Parisot was derived from his father's fief, which was so called, but he has become far better known to posterity by the family name of Valette, which his noble deeds have rendered so illustrious; he was born in the year 1494, of a noble family of Quercy, and had entered the Order at the early age of twenty. He had been present at the siege of Rhodes, and had followed the fortunes of his Order through their various wanderings after the loss of that island, until they became permanently settled in Malta. Indeed, it is recorded of this hero, that from the day of his first profession to that of his attaining the highest dignity, he never once left his convent, except when cruising against the Infidel. His successes as a naval captain had soon raised him above his compeers, and he had, by his own unaided merits, elevated himself step by step to the post he was now called upon so worthily to fill.

He had, upon one occasion, in an encounter with a Turkish corsair named Abda Racman, been made prisoner, and during his captivity had suffered great hardships, and many indignities, at the hands of his victor; he had, however, been speedily ransomed from durance vile, and was shortly afterwards appointed, as we have already seen, governor of Tripoli, at a time when no one else would accept the post. After his recall from thence, he attained successively to the dignities of bailiff of Lango, grand-cross of the Order, grand-prior of St. Gilles, and chief admiral of the fleet. It was whilst in this latter capacity that he succeeded in capturing the galley commanded by Abda Racman, who thus in his turn became the prisoner of his former captive. On the arrival of the grand-prior of France, after the hurricane of 1555, La Valette resigned to him the post of admiral of the fleet, and the Grand-Master, La Sangle, touched by this disinterested act on his part, nominated him his lieutenant, an office which he held until he attained the dignity, vacant by the death of his chief, on the 1st August 1557.

His first efforts on assuming the magisterial baton were directed towards recalling the commanders of the Bohemian and Venetian priories to that allegiance which for many years they had abandoned. In this he was so successful, that a deputation was despatched to Malta from the recusant priories, praying to be once more received into the bosom of the fraternity, and pledging themselves to the faithful payment of their annual responsions for the future. By this wise and politic measure the influence and stability of the Order were greatly increased, and its revenues considerably augmented, at a time when the pressure of events

appeared to forebode a great drain upon both. La Valette also reversed the sentence which had been passed upon the Marshal La Vallier for the loss of Tripoli. His discriminating judgment had from the first perceived that this unfortunate Knight had been sacrificed as a victim to still the popular clamour, excited by the loss of that fortress, and to divert it from a still higher point. The Grand-Master, La Sangle, had so far recognised the injustice of the original sentence as to release the unfortunate prisoner from the close confinement in which he had been kept by D'Omedes, but it was left for La Valette completely to wipe away the stain upon his honour, and by restoring to him the habit of which he had been stripped, publicly to proclaim his total innocence of the crime laid to his charge, and the injustice of the sentence which had been inflicted on him.

The viceroy of Sicily, acting under the directions of Philip II., who had lately succeeded to the imperial throne, vacant by the abdication of his father Charles V., was preparing an expedition for the recovery of Tripoli, the importance of which for the protection of Sicily and Spain had become more than ever apparent since its capture by the Turks. A strong contingent from the Order of Malta joined this force, numbering upwards of 2000 fighting men, of whom 400 were Knights, under the command of De Tessieres, the new admiral of the fleet. The viceroy of Sicily, who commanded the expedition, caused its utter failure through his own presumptuous obstinacy and inordinate vanity. Instead of directing his first attack against the fortress of Tripoli, as had been originally agreed upon, he captured the little island of Galves, upon which he commenced the construction of a fortress to

bear his own name. The delay thus created proved utterly fatal. Disease spread rapidly amongst his forces, and the Knights perceiving the futility of the entire operation, by the direction of La Valette, separated themselves from the viceroy and returned to Malta. Heedless of all warnings, the duke persisted in remaining within his new acquisition, where he was surprised by a powerful Turkish squadron, and with difficulty escaped the capture which awaited the remnants of his force. No less than fourteen large ships and twenty-eight galleys, the flower of the Spanish fleet, were captured upon this occasion and carried away by Dragut to Constantinople, and it is computed that 14,000 men perished in this unfortunate enterprise.

The exultation of the Barbary Moors at their success knew no bounds; indeed, it seemed as though of late years the Cross had been fated always to suffer humiliation at the hands of the Crescent; but the tide of fortune was about to turn, and the Turks were doomed on their side soon to suffer defeat from their hitherto unsuccessful antagonists. Encouraged by the losses the Spaniards had sustained in their late expedition against Tripoli, as also in a fearful storm which, in 1562, overtook a squadron of twenty-four galleys whilst bearing supplies to the Spanish colonies in Africa, and in which nearly the whole fleet and 4,000 men were lost, the Algerines determined on making a bold effort to sweep the Christians entirely from the coast of Africa. Since the loss of Tripoli the principal possessions of the latter in that quarter were the fortresses of Oran and Mazarquiver, and it was against these strongholds that the first efforts of the Infidels were

directed. On the 15th March 1563, Hassan, the Algerine chief, commenced his march against Mazarquiver, detaching a small portion of his army for the investment of the neighbouring fortress of Oran. For nearly three months the siege was maintained with the utmost vigour, and the assaults delivered by the Algerines were both frequent and desperate. The governor of Mazarquiver, Don Martin de Cordova, was a man equal to the emergency in which he was placed, and the resistance offered by him to his assailants was so successful, that when, on the 8th June, a relieving force despatched by Philip II. hove in sight, the place was still in his possession. Great were the rejoicings of the Christians at this success, and the tidings of the repulse which the Moslems had experienced spread a feeling of exultation throughout the maritime provinces of Southern Europe to which they had long been strangers.

Philip was not slow in following up this success and carrying the war into the enemy's country. He wrested several important acquisitions from the hands of his discomfited antagonist. Under these adverse circumstances the Moors appealed loudly to the Turkish sultan for assistance, and as the Knights of St. John had, according to their wont, taken a foremost part in every attack against the Infidel, they were pointed out as the most fit objects against whom that monarch should wreak his vengeance. At this crisis an event occurred which, though apparently insignificant in itself, sufficed to fill to overflowing the sultan's cup of wrath. The Maltese galleys, after a desperate struggle, succeeded in capturing in the waters of the Levant a Turkish galleon, armed with twenty guns and manned by 200 janissaries. This galleon was the property of the chief eunuch of

the imperial harem, and several of its fair inmates possessed shares in the valuable cargo, which Spanish historians have estimated at more than 80,000 ducats. A cry of vengeance speedily arose within the walls of the harem, and all the influence of the imperial odalisques was exerted to obtain reparation for the injury they had sustained.

The ire of Solyman was now fairly roused, and he determined, as a fitting close to that long and glorious reign which had earned for him the title of the Magnificent, to drive the Knights of St. John from the island of Malta, as he had marked its commencement by their expulsion from that of Rhodes. His preparations for this purpose were made upon a most formidable scale, and the attention of Europe was speedily drawn to the vast armament assembling in the port and arsenal of Constantinople. The uncertainty as to its ultimate destination filled the maritime provinces of the Mediterranean with alarm, and on every side preparations were made for defence in case of need.

La Valette, who, in accordance with the practice of his predecessors, always maintained spies within the imperial city of Constantinople, was not long in learning that Malta was the point of attack for which all these preparations had been made. He instantly despatched emissaries to the leading potentates of Europe to crave assistance; but, with the exception of the Pope, who contributed 10,000 crowns, and Philip, who despatched a small body of troops, these appeals were unavailing. La Valette soon perceived that it was to his own Order alone that he would have to trust for the defence of his island; still, undeterred by the lukewarmness of his friends, he promptly set himself to

resist the storm as best he might. His call to the members of the fraternity resident in their European commanderies was responded to with the most noble enthusiasm. Knights from every quarter flocked to Malta; contributions poured in from all sides; and those who from age and infirmity were unable personally to take part in the struggle which was impending, freely lavished their wealth in support of the good cause.

Every device which the exigency of the case and the shortness of the time permitted was adopted to strengthen the defences of the island. The militia was organised and drilled, and soon afforded a very effective body of Maltese soldiery amounting to upwards of 3000 men. Five hundred galley-slaves were released from their thraldom under the pledge of faithful service during the coming siege; and the Spanish and Italian troops which had been taken into the pay of the Order completed the strength of the garrison. The Sicilian viceroy, Don Garcia de Toledo, was despatched to Malta by Philip to concert with La Valette a project of mutual defence and assistance, and from this dignitary the Grand-Master received the most faithful pledges of assistance so soon as his forces had been collected. He left his natural son in the island, under the charge of La Valette, that he might flesh his maiden sword in the coming war and gain his earliest renown under the white-cross banner.

The chivalric heart of the Grand-Master glowed with satisfaction at the enthusiastic eagerness with which the flower of his knighthood flocked to his banner in the hour of danger; and assembling them all in solemn conclave, he called upon them in that fervent language with which true earnestness ever clothes itself, to stand

firm by the good cause they had adopted, and to maintain the battle of the Cross against the Crescent to the last drop of their blood. They had voluntarily devoted themselves to the defence of their religion, and if Heaven now called for the sacrifice of their lives it was equally their duty and their privilege cheerfully to lay them down in its sacred cause. At the close of his harangue he led the way to the chapel of the convent, where, after confessing themselves of their sins, they solemnly partook of the holy sacrament, and once more pledged themselves to defend their church and their convent-home against the aggressions of the Infidel.

Although the lapse of upwards of four centuries had done much towards weakening the high tone of devotion which had characterised the first founders of their Order, and though, in the ordinary current of their existence, they now displayed but little of that religious fervour which had carried them through so many desperate struggles on the burning sands of Palestine, still it needed but a call like this once more to awaken within their bosoms the slumbering spirit of their predecessors. As the band of noble warriors stood around their aged and venerable chief, shriven of their sins, and their hearts glowing with Christian zeal, it needed scarcely any stretch of imagination to have pictured them part of that gallant fraternity who, through two centuries, had maintained the cause of Christianity against overpowering odds, and every possible disadvantage, on the shores of Syria. The remembrance of many a deadly struggle was warm within their hearts. The battle was once more to be renewed which had been so often fought

before. The spectacle which had been witnessed at Jerusalem, at Acre, and at Rhodes, was again about to be enacted; and the warrior, as he grasped his trusty falchion, remembered that many a hard-fought field, and many a slaughtered brother, called to him for revenge.

CHAP. XVII.

THE SIEGE OF MALTA. — ENUMERATION OF THE GARRISON OF MALTA. — DESCRIPTION OF ITS DEFENCES. — DESCRIPTION OF THE TURKISH ARMY AND FLEET. — ARRIVAL AT MALTA. — DISEMBARKATION, AND COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIEGE. — ARRIVAL OF DRAGUT. — THE SIEGE AND FALL OF ST. ELMO.

A GENERAL review of the forces with which La Valette was preparing to resist the attack of the Turks, showed them to amount to rather better than 9000 men; of whom 474 were Knights, and sixty-seven servants-at-arms. At a subsequent period, however, this number was augmented by nearly a hundred, from the arrival of such Knights as had been unable to reach Malta before the commencement of the siege, and who had, consequently, rendezvoused at Messina, until opportunities presented themselves for obtaining an ingress into the beleaguered fortress.

A general description of the configuration of the ground, forming the two great ports of Malta, has been already given; but it would be well, before entering into a detail of the memorable siege now impending, to describe more particularly the means of defence with which the Knights had, during a period of thirty-five years, found means to provide themselves. The castle of St. Angelo, situated on the most northerly of the promontories which subdivide the great harbour on its eastern side, occupied only its extremity, and was cut

off from the mainland, upon which the Bourg was situated, by means of a wet ditch. In addition to the castle itself, which rose to a considerable height, and presented two tiers of batteries to the entrance of the harbour, the fort was surrounded by an enceinte of an irregular form, containing four bastions connected by curtains; in two cases, these latter being broken by flanks into an indented form. The Bourg itself, which occupied the greater portion of the remainder of the peninsula, was protected on the land side by a line of ramparts, broken into two complete bastions near the centre, and forming two demi-bastions at the extremities. This work had been strengthened by a ditch of considerable breadth and depth, but was not protected by any ravelin, or other outwork. On its northern side, facing the entrance to the harbour, it was enclosed by a bastioned rampart, extending the whole way to the ditch of St. Angelo; but on the western side, which looked towards Senglea, its rampart was a mere curtain, without any flank protection whatever. The three French languages undertook the defence of that portion of the Bourg which faced the land, then considered by far the most vulnerable. The Germans garrisoned the sea face from St. Angelo to the corner where it joined the land front, at which point the Knights of Castile were stationed. This post of Castile became, during the latter portion of the siege, one of the main points of attack. The Spanish language was distributed over the curtain facing Senglea, at the base of which the wharves extended which were used as points of debarkation for the inhabitants of the Bourg. Five hundred men, and fifty Knights, constituted the garrison of Fort St.

Angelo; and here, as the most vital point, and the citadel of the whole position, La Valette took up his abode.

The promontory, commonly, but erroneously called the island of Senglea, was protected by a very respectable sea front at its extremity, broken into four bastions. The remainder of its enceinte was an irregular figure, little more than an indented parapet. It was garrisoned on its land side by the language of Aragon, the remainder being occupied by that of Italy, under the command of its chief, the Admiral de Monte. The extremity of Mount Sceberras, which protected the entrance of both harbours, was occupied by a star fort of four angles; to the seaward of which was a cavalier, dominating over the work; and covering the left angle of the enclosure was a ravelin, a small outwork connected with the main fort by a bridge. The usual garrison for this post, the dimensions of which were very contracted, only amounted to sixty soldiers, who had hitherto been under the command of a Knight named De Broglio. The Grand-Master in this crisis augmented their numbers by two companies of his foreign troops, under the command of a Spanish Knight named La Cerda, and also by sixty Knights, under the bailiff of Negropont, whose name was Eguaras. Broglio, the original governor of St. Elmo, was a man whose great age rendered him unsuited for the post at a time of such extreme emergency. Still, it would have appeared an ungracious act on the part of La Valette, and one which the distinguished and lengthened services of De Broglio rendered him unwilling to adopt, to supersede him from his command, the bailiff of Negropont had therefore been selected, as a more active, and though himself by no means youthful, a less aged commander; who, under the ambiguous title

of captain of succours, would be enabled to supply to the garrison those qualifications in which the Grand-Master feared that the governor might prove deficient.

Such was the distribution which La Valette adopted in order to make the most of the slender force at his disposal; and whilst thus careful for the protection of his convent, he did not neglect the Città Notabile, or the island of Gozo. He had been strenuously advised to abandon every outpost, and to concentrate all his efforts on the defence of the two harbours; but his own views were very different. Trusting, as he did, for ultimate success almost entirely to the arrival of supports from Sicily, he desired to prolong his means of defence as far as possible. If, therefore, the enemy commenced operations by an attack upon either of these points, the delay which a spirited defence would produce, might be of inestimable advantage; and he decided, therefore, instead of abandoning them, to reinforce their garrisons, and place them under the command of men whom he could trust to hold them to the last extremity.

The Commander Romegas, then one of the most daring naval captains whom the Order possessed, undertook the defence of the entrance to the port of the galleys. This harbour was the portion of water enclosed between the two promontories of the Bourg and of Senglea; and here all the galleys in the possession of the Order were drawn up at anchor. Its entrance was further protected by a huge chain, which extended from the foot of the castle of St. Angelo to the extremity of the island of Senglea.

These preparations having all been made, La Valette calmly awaited the approach of his antagonists, which his perfect system of espial had led him to know was

not far distant. At length, on the morning of the 18th May 1565, a signal gun, booming from the castle of St. Angelo, and answered from the cavalier of St. Elmo, and the fort of St. Michael, announced to the inhabitants of Malta that the foe was in sight. At this signal, the realisation of all their worst fears, those who had not previously abandoned their homesteads flocked either into the Bourg or into the Città Notabile, well aware that if they were surprised in the open country by the relentless enemy their doom would be slavery if not death.

The Turkish fleet consisted of a hundred and thirty galleys, fifty vessels of smaller size, together with a number of transports, laden with the battering train and military stores of the army. The military force embarked on board this fleet consisted of 30,000 men, of whom about five thousand were janissaries.* It may

* Le sérasker passa la revue de ses troupes à Modon. Elles se composaient de sept mille sipahis de l'Asie Mineure, commandés par un sandjak et deux alaïbegs, de cinq cents sipahis de Karamanie et de cinq cents autres de Mitylène, de quatre mille cinq cents janissaires, de treize mille hommes de troupes irrégulières, et de douze cents sipahis et trois mille cinq cents hommes de troupes irrégulières de la Roumilie, sous les ordres de deux sandjaks et d'un alaïbeg. La flotte était forte de cent quatre-vingt une voiles, savoir : cent trente galères, huit mahones, trois kara-moursals onze grands vaisseaux, dont l'un avait à bord six cents sipahis, six mille barils de poudre, treize mille boulets, et périt corps et biens à Modon ; dix galères sous les ordres du septuagénaire Ali-Portouk commandant de la station de Rhodes ; deux galères de Mitylène conduites par Salih fils du dernier beglerbeg d'Alger, et dix-sept galères de moindre grandeur appelées fastes. Selaniki donne l'état suivant de l'artillerie que la flotte amena avec elle ; vingt pièces du calibre de 50, cent vingt faucons, fauconneaux et couleuvrines, cinq mortiers (hawayi top), vingt mille quintaux de poudre, quarante mille boulets, dix mille pelles et pioches, et cinquante

be well, before going further, to say a few words upon the subject of this redoubtable force, for so many years the chief bulwark of the Turkish empire. Once in every five years a general conscription was levied upon the children of all Christians resident within the empire who had attained the age of seven years. Such as displayed any pre-eminence, either in mind or body, were carried away to Constantinople, and from that moment might be considered as lost to their parents. Those amongst this troop of children who presented the greatest prospect of athletic power, and ample bodily development in after life, were chosen for the corps of janissaries, and were trained most carefully for that purpose. Every effort was made, from the moment of their selection, to endue them with the martial and determined spirit which their profession required. Marriage was strictly forbidden in their ranks; they had, therefore, no family ties to divide their affections with the regiment to which they belonged. The *esprit de corps* which was thus nourished increased in intensity with their age; and all their thoughts being concentrated upon their own order, they formed a body of troops upon which the strictest reliance could be placed in the most desperate emergency, and whose dense battalions had rarely been poured upon the foe without the certainty of victory waiting upon their arms. Such were the men who composed a considerable portion of the force which the emperor Solyman had despatched against Malta.

The command of the fleet was intrusted to Piali;

chaloupes canonnières. (*Hammer, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, traduite par Hellert.*)

the same admiral who had succeeded in overcoming and capturing so many Spanish galleys in the late unfortunate expedition of the Sicilian viceroy. The army was placed under the command of Mustapha, a veteran general, in whose skill and judgment Solyman justly placed the utmost reliance, but who mingled with his warlike qualities much natural ferocity and cruelty of disposition.

After some little cruising backwards and forwards, the Turks eventually disembarked, partly in the Marsa Sirocco, and partly in St. Thomas's bay. A small body of Knights had been despatched, under Marshal Coppier, to watch the proceedings of the enemy and to intercept any stragglers who might separate themselves from the main body. One of these Knights, named De la Rivière, fell into the hands of the Turks, and was taken before Mustapha, who questioned him closely as to the resources of the place. La Rivière's account was not such as to reassure the Ottoman general, since he detailed with fond minuteness every preparation which had been made for defence, and assured the pasha that the garrison was determined to resist his aggressions to the utmost, and that they were in daily expectation of relief from Europe. Upon this Mustapha directed that he should be submitted to torture, which for some time he bore with the utmost constancy; at length, feigning to be overcome by the torments, he declared to the pasha that the post of Castile, which was on that side of the Bourg facing the land, was by far the most feeble point in the fortifications. Relying upon this information, Mustapha advanced towards the town, firmly resolved to commence operations by an attack on that post; but, on reaching the summit of

Mount Calcara, a considerable eminence to the south-east of the Bourg, his practised eye perceived at a glance that his prisoner had deceived him and, that the point indicated, so far from being the most vulnerable spot in the fortifications, was in reality the most impregnable. The unfortunate Knight fell a victim to his constancy and courage; for Mustapha, irritated beyond measure at the deception which had been practised on him, directed him to be put to death, which cruel sentence was promptly carried into execution.

The appearance of the Turkish army in the vicinity of the town was the signal for a number of skirmishes, which were continually being carried on between their advanced posts and small parties of the garrison; in which the latter uniformly gained the advantage, and succeeded in inflicting considerable loss upon the enemy. La Valette permitted these desultory combats to be carried on for a certain length of time, with the view of accustoming his troops to the appearance and weapons of the foe; but when this end had been accomplished, he directed them to retire within their ramparts, and there patiently to await the onset, well knowing that he could but ill spare any of his slender force in combats which could lead to no decisive result.

Counsels were divided in the Turkish camp as to the course which should now be pursued. Before leaving Constantinople Solyman had enjoined both Mustapha and Piali to pay the utmost attention and to give the greatest possible weight to the opinions of Dragut, who had pledged himself to join the expedition at Malta with such resources as were at his command. The corsair had not yet arrived; and in his absence Piali was

of opinion that no steps should be taken beyond intrenching themselves within their camp. Mustapha, on the other hand, dreading to lose much valuable time, and fearing lest by delaying their operations they might give time to a Christian fleet of succour to arrive, urged proceeding with the siege at once. He pointed out that the fleet lay at present in a very exposed situation, and that it would be of the greatest possible advantage if they could obtain possession of the Marsa Musceit, within which commodious harbour they would find the most complete shelter from the easterly winds at that time prevalent. For this purpose it would be necessary for them to become the masters of Fort St. Elmo, by which the entrance to that harbour was commanded, and this operation he proposed at once commencing, leaving to Dragut the responsibility of deciding, after his arrival, as to their future proceedings. These views ultimately predominated, and the siege of St. Elmo commenced in due form.

Mount Sceberras being throughout its whole extent but a mere rock, covered in many places with but a few inches of earth, the Turkish engineers found it impossible to open their trenches in the ordinary manner. Gabions, fascines, and even earth, had all to be brought from a distance, with which a parapet was constructed, and behind which that shelter was obtained which in ordinary cases would have been gained by excavation. This was a task of no little labour; but by dint of perseverance, and at the cost of a great sacrifice of life, from the galling and incessant fire of the defenders of St. Elmo, it was at length accomplished. The siege operations at this period appear to have been guided by men totally unskilled in the science of war. In order to shelter

themselves as far as possible from the fire of St. Angelo, they kept their trenches on the opposite side of the mount, and thereby left the communication between that fortress and St. Elmo totally unrestricted. This error on their part led to a protracted and bloody siege before a fort which should have been captured in a few days.

The trenches having at length been completed, a battery was constructed to bear against the point of attack, and in this several guns of the very largest calibre were placed. The line of this battery ran in a north-easterly direction, and its range was one hundred and eighty yards from the fort. It was armed with ten cannon, carrying shot of 80 lbs. each, three columbrines for shot of 60 lbs., and a huge basilisk for balls of the stupendous weight of 160 lbs. The guns and columbrines were mounted on wheels, but the basilisk required a far more complicated machinery to enable it to move with sufficient facility for practical purposes, and to check its recoil.

The opening of their fire speedily demonstrated the inability of the fort to resist its intensity. The Turks in those days made greater use of artillery, and had attained a higher proficiency in that branch of warfare, than any other nation; and the guns they used were of the most stupendous calibre. Modern science has taught us that the unwieldiness of these huge pieces of artillery is, except under certain conditions, more than a counterbalance for their power; and there can be but little doubt that the bringing up and placing in position guns of such enormous calibre as those used by the Turks in this siege, must have been terrific. Still, when once placed in battery, and firing at such short range,

their power against the masonry of the fort must have been very great. The result was not long in showing itself. Huge breaches speedily gaped within the walls of the ravelin, cavalier, and fort itself; and each successive discharge added still further to the crumbling mass of ruin with which the ditch was rapidly becoming choked.

The slender force which garrisoned the fort, and which La Valette had trusted would have sufficed for its maintenance, became clearly too few, now that its ramparts were so rapidly melting away beneath the thunders of the Turkish artillery. Under these circumstances Eguaras despatched an envoy across to the Bourg to inform the Grand-Master that he would no longer be able to maintain the fort with his present garrison. Its numbers, which had been barely sufficient for the security of the post even while its ramparts were as yet intact, were manifestly insufficient now that huge breaches were gaping throughout its enceinte. Further reinforcements were, therefore, absolutely necessary, or the breaches could not be maintained against the assaults of the foe, and it was to demand this assistance that the Chevalier de la Cerda was despatched to La Valette.

A worse selection could scarcely have been made. In a garrison where nearly every man was a hero the smallest taint of cowardice became doubly apparent; and unfortunately for his reputation, La Cerda displayed that weakness during the siege of St. Elmo in a manner which contrasted his conduct most unfavourably with that of his comrades. Exaggerating the injuries which the fort had sustained, he pressed most strenuously for immediate assistance; and announced in open council, that even under the most favourable circumstances the

fort could not hold out more than a few days. La Valette was justly irritated at this open and unreserved exhibition of weakness; for although in his own mind he had felt the most grave misgivings as to the power of St. Elmo to maintain itself, he was by no means willing to allow such an opinion to be openly promulgated. Turning, therefore, with a frown of displeasure towards La Cerda, he demanded in an ironical tone how great had been their loss that they had thus soon been brought into so desperate a condition. This was a difficult question for the unfortunate Knight. He had been despatched for succour, not on account of the casualties which had befallen the garrison, for these indeed had been as yet but few, but because the exposed state of the breaches rendered a larger force absolutely necessary for their defence. His exaggerated account of the desperate and hopeless condition of the fort had been a purely voluntary statement on his own part, trusting thereby to induce La Valette to withdraw the garrison into the Bourg, and so release him from a position of peril to which his courage was unequal. Unable, therefore, to reply satisfactorily to the query of the Grand-Master, he contented himself with renewing his request for aid. La Valette then sternly replied, "I will myself bring you aid, and if I am not able to remove your terrors, at least I trust to succeed in saving the fort." It required the most urgent and strenuous entreaties on the part of his council, to prevent the gallant old chief from making good his statement, and leading a body of reinforcements into St. Elmo in person. He was at length, though with great difficulty, dissuaded from this intention, and contented himself with sending two hundred Spanish troops under a Knight of that

language, named Gonzalis de Medrano, in whose intrepidity and constancy La Valette felt that he could place implicit reliance. With these reinforcements, La Cerda was once more compelled, sorely against his will, to return into the beleaguered fort.

It was whilst matters were in this position, that the corsair Dragut made his appearance at Malta with a body of fifteen hundred men, and thirteen galleys. Much to Mustapha's mortification, he at once condemned the line of proceedings which that general had adopted. In his opinion, and it was that of a man whose lengthened experience in war rendered it most valuable, the island of Gozo should have been occupied in the first instance. The army should then have advanced upon Città Notabile, which town should either have been retained in their possession, or, if abandoned, utterly destroyed. They would then have been enabled to advance upon the main point of attack with their rear well protected, whilst, on the other hand, the Knights would have been cut off from all succour, and have been unable to draw in any reinforcements, either of men or provisions, from the rest of the island. Now, however, that the siege of St. Elmo had been actually commenced, he was of opinion that it should be prosecuted with vigour, since it would produce a most dispiriting effect upon the Turkish army to abandon an attack which they had once taken in hand. Under his directions, a second battery, still more formidable than the first, was erected upon one of the most elevated points of Mount Sceberras, which could play either upon St. Elmo or St. Angelo. He also caused a small battery of four guns to be constructed on the point of land directly opposite to St. Elmo, and forming with it the

entrance to the Marsa Musceit. This battery played with great effect upon both ravelin and cavalier, and the point has in consequence received the name of Point Dragut, although the corsair did not, as has very generally been supposed, receive his death wound upon that spot. Modern science has pointed out the necessity for the occupation of this point of land, and during the rule of a Grand-Master in the last century*, a fort with outworks was constructed thereon, which has received the name of the Knight who superintended its erection, and from whose designs it was traced, and is now known as fort Tigné. The point of land itself, however, still retains the name which it took from the Turkish corsair, whose deeds are so indissolubly connected with the siege of Malta.

Medrano had not long occupied his new post in the besieged fort, when he decided on making a sortie, in the hope, if possible, of destroying the batteries which were playing with so destructive an energy upon the walls of the fort. The sortie was in the outset successful; the Turks were driven from their trenches, and a considerable number were slain; but returning to the fight in much greater numbers, they, in their turn, once more cleared their trenches of the Knights, who were compelled to retire within the fort. The smoke arising from this combat blew in the direction of St. Elmo, and for some time completely obscured the rival forces from each other. What was the dismay of the garrison, when it cleared away, to perceive that the Turks had, under its cover, advanced into and taken possession of the covert way at the edge of the counter-scarp. Every gun

* Emmanuel de Rohan, 1793.

which could be brought to bear upon the spot instantly opened its fire; but the Turks could not be driven from the advantage which they had gained. In an incredibly short space of time they raised a parapet, behind which they obtained cover from the missiles of the garrison, and before long this new acquisition was connected by a covered communication with the remainder of their trenches, and thus became an integral portion of their attack.

On the night of the 3rd of June, some Turkish engineers were reconnoitring in the ditch, to which from their new lodgment they had easy access, when they discovered that an entry could, without difficulty, be obtained into the ravelin through some of the embrasures. Stealthily clambering into the opening, they dauntlessly prosecuted their examination into the interior of the work itself, and to their astonishment, discovered that it was totally unguarded, and apparently abandoned. It has never been clearly ascertained to what cause this culpable remissness on the part of the garrison can be attributed. The idea of treachery seems never for a moment to have been mooted. The garrison of St. Elmo has, by its protracted and stubborn defence, gained for itself a reputation such as must for ever preclude the possibility that the stigma of treachery could attach to one of its number. Some assert that the sentries, being compelled, owing to the close proximity of the foe and the incessant and deadly fire which they constantly maintained, to remain in a recumbent posture, and being, moreover, utterly exhausted by the struggles of the day, fell asleep, and were, in that situation, surprised and massacred; others again state that the sentry in the angle, where the besiegers pene-

trated, had been killed whilst on his post by a musket-ball, and that the casualty had been unperceived by the remainder of the guard. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that the most culpable negligence existed somewhere, and dearly was that heroic but unfortunate garrison made to pay for this want of vigilance on their part.

Mustapha had no sooner been made acquainted with the position of affairs within the ravelin, than he told off a storming party, consisting of a selected body of janissaries, picked from the flower of that redoubted corps, and a rush was instantly made into the unprotected work. The guard, taken by surprise, offered but little resistance, and their leader being slain, fled indiscriminately across the drawbridge into the fort. But for the heroic efforts of one of the Spanish officers of a junior grade, who, standing at the entrance of the bridge, withstood almost singly for some moments the onset of the foe, and maintained his post like Horatius in the Roman story, until support was brought him from within, St. Elmo would on that day have fallen into the possession of the Moslem. The most powerful efforts were made on both sides; the Knights to retake the ravelin, and the Turks to push their advantage yet farther. Both were equally unsuccessful: in spite of the most desperate sallies made by the garrison, aided by the fire of two guns which were brought to bear upon the outwork, the Turks maintained their post with pertinacious gallantry, and speedily found means to cover themselves with a substantial parapet.

Whilst one body of the assailants was thus, at a fearful cost of life, securing the advantage which had been obtained, another body, stimulated by the success

which had hitherto attended their efforts, rushed into the ditch, and made a most determined effort to carry the fort itself by escalade. This was an operation, which, however it might have succeeded against meaner enemies, was mere madness when attempted against a garrison, such as that which still maintained fort St. Elmo. Their ladders, moreover, were too short to reach to the top of the parapet, yet still they struggled on with the most pertinacious obstinacy and the most invincible resolution to obtain an entrance. Ever and anon a Moslem, more daring and more agile than his fellows, would obtain a momentary footing upon the parapet; but ere he had time to assist his comrades, or obtain support, he was hurled headlong into the ditch, and paid with his life the penalty of his rashness. Boiling pitch and wildfire streamed upon the struggling foe congregated within the ditch. Huge rocks were hurled upon their devoted ranks, and all the savage ferocity of warfare found an unrestrained development on that eventful morning. The castle of St. Angelo was thronged with anxious spectators, eagerly straining their eyes to discover the issue of the deadly strife. Amid the roar of artillery, the volleys of arquebuses, the screams, shouts, and yells in different languages, and all the fearful din and clamour of the assault, little could be distinguished to mark how turned the tide of battle. A dense canopy of smoke hung over the devoted fortress, rent at intervals by the flash of artillery or the sharp intermittent crash of musketry, and it was not until the sun had commenced to decline towards the west that they discovered how matters had fared with their comrades within the fort. The Turkish banner was then perceived waving upon the captured

ravelin; whilst, on the other hand, the white cross banner of their Order still floated in proud defiance upon the fort and cavalier.

Finding all their efforts at accomplishing the capture of the fort unavailing, a retreat was sounded, and the Turks sullenly returned to their intrenchments. The gain of the ravelin, however, was an immense advantage to the besiegers; and though the success of the day was purchased at the cost of 2000 men, still Mustapha had good cause to congratulate himself upon its issue, in the advantages which he had achieved. The loss of the garrison did not amount to 100; but of these, twenty were Knights, whose scanty numbers could ill afford so large a sacrifice. A touching incident of devotion is related in connection with this day's struggle. During the heat of the fight, a French Knight was struck by a bullet in his chest and mortally wounded: one of the brethren turned to assist him in leaving the scene of strife, but the Knight, over whose dim vision the shades of death were fast stealing, refused to receive the proffered aid, and alleging that he was no longer to be considered as among the living, crawled unaided from the spot. At the close of the fight his body was discovered in front of the altar in the chapel of St. Elmo, whither he had dragged himself, to breathe his last before the image of the Virgin.

As soon as the shades of evening admitted of such an operation, La Valette despatched his boats from the Bourg to remove the wounded, with whom the little garrison were hampered, and to replace them by a reinforcement from St. Angelo. Amongst those who were thus despatched to share the fortunes of their heroic brethren at St. Elmo, was the Chevalier de

Miranda, who had recently arrived at the Bourg from Sicily.

During one of the first days of the siege, whilst the trenches were in course of formation, the Turkish admiral, Piali, had been struck by a fragment of rock splintered by a shot from the fort. The wound, though not mortal, was sufficiently severe to spread consternation amongst the besiegers, and La Valette, taking advantage of the confusion which ensued when the intelligence of this calamity was spread abroad, succeeded in despatching an envoy to Sicily to urge the viceroy to forward instant succours. The envoy returned with a pledge from the viceroy that he would arrive at Malta in the middle of June, provided La Valette would send him such of the Order's galleys as were then cooped up in compulsory idleness within the great harbour. It was with the bearer of this message that Miranda arrived at Malta, and instantly volunteered his services to proceed into the beleaguered fort. La Valette felt deeply disappointed at the condition upon which the viceroy based his proffers of aid. In order to despatch the galleys which were thus demanded it would be necessary not only to man them with galley slaves, whose services at that moment were most urgently required within the fortress, but also to accompany them by a guard from his garrison, to prevent a mutiny on board, which the proximity of the Turkish fleet would otherwise have rendered inevitable. This diminution of his already too feeble garrison could not for one moment be thought of; and La Valette once again appealed to the viceroy for unconditional assistance.

Meanwhile he spared no effort to prolong the defence of St. Elmo; fresh troops were every night forwarded

thither to replace those whose wounds had rendered them incapable of aiding further in the defence, and who were, therefore, withdrawn into the Bourg for medical treatment at the hospital. D'Eguaras and De Broglio had both been severely wounded in the last assault, and La Valette had directed their immediate return to the convent, but these brave knights both sturdily refused to abandon their posts. D'Eguaras, indeed, sent a message to the Grand-Master stating that he was perfectly willing to resign his command into the hands of any Knight who might be considered better qualified for the post, but he craved permission to remain where he was, even though in the humblest capacity, and to share the fate of those gallant comrades over whom he had been placed. Far different was the conduct of the Spanish Knight, La Cerda, who, to the intense indignation of La Valette, presented himself amongst the wounded, though suffering only from a trivial scar, such as should in no way have incapacitated him from remaining at St. Elmo. The Grand-Master was so irritated against him for this second exhibition of cowardice, that he caused him to be imprisoned. His was, indeed, the solitary instance of a want of bravery on the part of that devoted garrison.*

Now that both the counter-scarp and ravelin had fallen into the hands of the besiegers, on the latter of which two guns had been mounted that completely

* Before the close of the siege, even this Knight had, by an honourable death in face of the enemy, succeeded in wiping out the stain which his previous exhibition of cowardice had cast on his fair fame. Being released from his confinement in the castle of St. Angelo, he joined valiantly in the defence of the Bourg, and fell during one of the numerous assaults delivered against that point.

swept the ramparts, it was impossible for the garrison to find shelter on any portion of the works from the pitiless storm of missiles that constantly rained upon them. Had it not been for the promptitude with which the Grand-Master poured his reinforcements into the fort, its garrison must have completely melted away before the murderous fire of the besiegers. In this emergency the Chevalier Miranda proved himself a most valuable acquisition, and his ingenuity displayed itself in countless devices, with which he endeavoured to create a temporary shelter from the artillery of the foe.

Whilst such was the exposed position of the garrison, their ramparts soon fell into a still more perilous condition. The large batteries which played constantly on their exposed escarps, from the summit of Mount Sceberras, aided by the fire from that on Point Dragut, as well as from some Turkish galleys, which poured their missiles at a long range from the entrance of the harbour, speedily reduced the entire place into one stupendous mass of ruin. It was less a breach of any one part of the ramparts than a demolition of its entire extent; and the bravest heart amongst those begirt within this circle of fire felt that all had now been done which human ingenuity and mortal bravery could accomplish, to retard the capture of the fort, and that the time had arrived when, unless the garrison were to be buried within the ruins of their post, they should be at once withdrawn and the fort abandoned as no longer tenable.

The Chevalier de Medrano, a Knight whose established reputation for bravery would render his report free from all taint or suspicion of pusillanimity, was selected by his brethren to proceed at once to the convent, and in

a personal interview with La Valette, explain to him the desperate straits to which they were reduced, and to urge their immediate recall into the Bourg. La Valette was deeply affected at the moving picture which this heroic Knight drew of the utter exhaustion of the garrison, and the ruined condition of the defences. He could not, in his own heart, deny that all had been done which human endurance could devise to protract the defence; and that the fort had been maintained against the most overwhelming odds and a fearful battery of artillery, with a constancy and devotion worthy of the highest praise, and that, if the lives of these gallant warriors were not to be deliberately sacrificed and doomed to inevitable destruction, they should at once be recalled from the desperate post they occupied. Still he could not bring himself to direct the abandonment of the fort; whilst, by its maintenance, the siege of the Bourg itself was being deferred, and the time protracted during which the succours expected from the viceroy of Sicily might arrive. Toledo had indeed, in his last communication to La Valette, insisted on the retention of St. Elmo as an essential condition of his support. Unless, he said, that point were maintained, he should not feel justified in hazarding the emperor's fleet in any attempt to raise the siege of Malta. La Valette felt, therefore, that so much hung upon the issue of this struggle that he was compelled to drown those feelings of compassion, which would otherwise have prompted him to rescue his brethren from their fate; and he determined, at every sacrifice, and at all costs, to maintain St. Elmo until it should be wrested from him by sheer force.

He therefore directed Medrano to return to his post, and point out to his brethren within the fort the abso-

lute necessity which existed for their still continuing firm in their posture of defence. When this stern decree became known, the garrison perceived that they were doomed to be sacrificed for the general safety. Many amongst them, particularly those who, having grown grey in the service of the Order, felt perhaps the more ready to lay down their lives at the will of their chief, prepared at once to obey, and to prolong to the latest possible moment the duration of their resistance. Others there were, however, of the young members of the fraternity, who were by no means equally ready to await in calm obedience the fate to which the decree of the Grand-Master had doomed them. Their young and ardent spirits rebelled against the policy by which they were to be sacrificed for the weal of their more fortunate brethren. They were indeed ready and willing to brave an honourable death in the face of the foe, with the prospect of striking one last blow in the good cause before they fell; and if the adverse fate of war had doomed the entire convent to extinction, they would have met their end with the same lofty resignation as their comrades. But the present was a very different case; they conceived that they were being needlessly sacrificed merely for the purpose of prolonging the resistance of the fort for a few days, and loud murmurs of astonishment and indignation arose amongst their ranks when the message of La Valette was communicated to them by Medrano.

This insubordination did not content itself with finding vent in mere idle murmurs; that same evening, a petition was forwarded to the Grand-Master, signed by fifty-three of the garrison, urging him to relieve them instantly from their untenable post; and threatening, in

case he neglected to accede to their request, to sally forth from their intrenchments, and meet an honourable death in open combat, rather than suffer themselves to be buried like dogs beneath the ruins of the fort. La Valette was highly incensed at the insubordinate and mutinous tone of this despatch, and he informed the bearer that he considered that the vows of the Order imposed upon its members the obligation, not only of laying down their lives when necessary for its defence, but further, of doing so in such a manner, and at such a time as he, their Grand-Master, might choose to appoint. Fearful, however, lest the garrison, driven to desperation, might in reality execute the threat which they had held forth in their letter, and, anxious to prolong, if even only for a few hours, the retention of the post, he despatched three commissioners thither, to inspect and report upon its general condition and powers of resistance. The arrival of these Knights was hailed by the garrison with most lively satisfaction, as they considered it a preliminary step to their being relieved, and withdrawn into the Bourg. Indeed they had already commenced making preparations for that purpose, and were engaged, at the moment when the commissioners arrived, in throwing their shot into the wells to avoid their becoming useful to the foe. They eagerly pointed out the shattered and desperate condition of the fortifications, and appealed with confidence to the judgment of the inspectors for a justification of the course which they had pursued.

Two of the commissioners, struck with the general aspect of ruin and destruction which met the eye on every side, the yawning chasms which gaped in all directions, and the numerous inlets which lay open to

the attack of the besiegers, decided unhesitatingly that the place was no longer tenable. The third, however, an Italian, named De Castriot, was of a different opinion; he averred that, ruined though the fortifications were, and exposed as was the whole interior to the murderous fire of the assailants, still it was feasible, by means of further intrenchments, to retain the place in safety. This unsupported opinion appeared to the garrison little better than an insult, and high words and a fierce altercation ensued. De Castriot asserted that he was prepared instantly to back his opinion by personally undertaking to conduct the defence of the fort; and this offer on his part, which was construed into an idle boast, and a taunting bravado, raised their feelings of indignation so strongly against him, that a general tumult seemed about to break forth. De Broglio, however, with great presence of mind, caused the alarm to be sounded, when every Knight instantly rushed to his post, and the irritating conference was thus brought to a close.

The commissioners then returned to the Bourg, and made their report to La Valette in full council. De Castriot still stoutly maintained the opinion he had already put forward, and requested the permission of the Grand-Master to raise a body of volunteers, with whom he undertook to maintain the post against all assaults, and against any odds. This offer on his part met the views of La Valette precisely, and his sagacity instantly foresaw the result that would inevitably happen. Permission was given to De Castriot to raise his corps of volunteers, and there were so many applications for the post of honour, that a considerable number were of necessity rejected. Meanwhile, a most

cold and sarcastic epistle was forwarded by the Grand-Master to the garrison of St. Elmo, informing them of the steps which were being taken, and stating that they would shortly be relieved from their post of peril. "Return then, my brethren," he concluded, in terms of most bitter and cutting irony, "to the convent, where you will be in greater security, and I, for my part, shall feel less uneasiness, when I know that the safety of so important a post is entrusted to those in whom I can place more implicit confidence."

The consternation which this epistle spread around was inconceivable; each one felt that it would be impossible for him to accept of the offer of safety thus ignominiously tendered, and that they would become objects of general scorn did they surrender the post of honour into other hands. They had, it was true, requested permission to abandon the fort altogether; but they were not prepared to yield to others their place in so honourable a struggle, which, if it was to be maintained at all, should, they felt, be continued by themselves. An earnest letter was, therefore, instantly forwarded to the Bourg, imploring forgiveness for their previous rebellious conduct, and beseeching that they might be permitted still to retain the post of honour which they occupied. This was the result which La Valette had foreseen, but he deemed it prudent not to accept of their submission too promptly: he therefore coldly declined their offer, and once more directed them to prepare for a return to the Bourg. This refusal increased the general dismay, and a still more pressing request was forwarded, once more beseeching permission that they might have an opportunity of wiping out the memory of what had passed in their blood; and they pledged themselves,

should they be allowed to continue in their posts, to maintain the fort with the most unflinching heroism and constancy to the very last.

This was all that La Valette had desired; the garrison had now been worked up to such a pitch of enthusiasm, that he felt the defence of the fort might with safety be entrusted to them. Contenting himself, therefore, with despatching such reinforcements into the place as the constantly occurring casualties demanded, he prepared to await the issue of the desperate struggle. That issue was not long in arriving. The incessant cannonade of the besiegers had destroyed nearly every vestige of defence on the side where their batteries played, and at length instructions were issued by Mustapha for a general assault. On the whole of the 15th of June, their artillery was worked with still greater vivacity than usual, so that the garrison were unable in any way to repair the damage that had been effected. This furious cannonade was towards evening increased by the fire which was opened from the ships. Mustapha had, in the firm confidence of carrying the fort on the following day, directed the fleet to hold itself in readiness to force the entrance into the Marsa Musceit as soon as the assault had commenced; and it was for this purpose that they arrived from Marsa Sirocco on that evening.

These, and many other unmistakeable symptoms, warned the garrison of the attack which was awaiting them, and they, on their side, took every precaution which their limited means permitted to resist it to the death. Huge piles of rock were placed around on the parapets to be hurled upon the storming columns. The Knights were so told off that one of them stood

between every three men for guidance and encouragement. Three small bodies were kept in reserve to render assistance at any point which might become hardly pressed; and a few of those who, from wounds or age were considered the least valuable as fighting men, were appointed to convey ammunition and refreshment to the combatants, so that they might on no account be called upon to leave their posts.

Various descriptions of fire-works were provided in great profusion, and some of these were of so curious a nature as to well merit a description. Pots of wild-fire were made of earthenware, so baked as to break with great facility. They were of a size which admitted of their being thrown by the hand a distance of some five-and-twenty or thirty yards, and had a narrow orifice, which, after the charge had been inserted, was closed with linen or thick paper, secured by cords dipped in sulphur. At the moment of throwing the missile these cords were lighted, and as, on reaching its destination, the earthenware broke into fragments, the wild-fire was by their means ignited with facility. This wild-fire was composed of saltpetre, ammoniacal salt, pounded sulphur, camphor, varnish, and pitch; and when once ignited, it burnt with the utmost fury, clinging to the persons of those with whom it came in contact, and in most cases causing a death of the most agonising torture. The same material was also placed in hollow cylinders of wood, called trumps, which, when lighted, poured forth a stream of the most vivid and unquenchable flame; these trumps, attached to the ends of halberts or partisans, formed a most formidable obstacle to the advance of a storming party. Another missile, used with great effect at this siege, was a circle

of fire, which, being of considerable diameter, when hurled from above into the midst of a body of men, often enclosed several in its fiery embrace, and easily succeeded in igniting their clothes, which, after the manner of Moslem nations, were of light materials, and flowing. The invention of this missile has been commonly attributed to La Valette, but wrongfully, as it had been used with good effect many years prior by the imperial troops in their Hungarian campaigns.

Before the dawn, on the morning of the 16th, the vigilant garrison distinguished the sounds of a religious ceremonial which was at that moment being performed in the ranks of the enemy, and which they rightly judged was the precursor to the assault. Mustapha's first step was to line his trenches at every available spot with arquebussiers, to the number of 4000. These men had already, greatly to the annoyance of the garrison, displayed their marvellous skill as marksmen; and during this day's struggle they were of the greatest possible use in checking the garrison from showing themselves upon the parapets. At the appointed signal, given by Mustapha himself, a chosen and numerous body of janissaries, the leaders of the assault, rushed into the ditch at a point where a yawning breach promised the greatest facilities for ascent. During the interval, brief as it was, whilst they were crossing the open ground, the guns of St. Angelo, directed by the watchful La Valette himself, opened with great steadiness and accurate range upon their dense columns. Indeed, throughout the day the artillery of St. Angelo rendered the most efficient assistance to the garrison of St. Elmo, by raking the flank and rear of the Turkish forces, which, in advancing to the attack, became much

exposed to their galling fire, and suffered in consequence considerably. Nor was that of St. Elmo less efficiently served; from the instant that the enemy first showed himself, its guns opened with the utmost possible vehemence upon the advancing battalions, and ere the foot of the breach had been attained, many a turbaned head had been laid prostrate on that arid rock which he was now watering with his life's blood.

The janissaries, however, were not troops who could be diverted from their attack even by this deadly fire. With yells of defiance, and shouting the fierce war-cry of their religion, they still dashed forward with the most reckless intrepidity, and as the iron hail ploughed deep furrows in their ranks they closed up the yawning chasms with the most invincible obstinacy, and still pushed their way forward towards the fated breach. Here, however, they were doomed to meet with fresh obstacles and a new foe; the summit of that breach was crowned by men who had long since despaired of saving their lives, and who stood there prepared to resist to the latest gasp, and to sell their existence as dearly as possible. Against this impenetrable phalanx, to which the force of mere desperation had added yet greater strength, it was in vain, even for the redoubted janissaries, to attempt an entrance. Though they hurled themselves again and again upon that barrier, feeble as it was in number, they were as often forced to recoil, and the unsightly mass of mangled and gory slain with which the ruined entrance lay strewed, marked at once the vigour of the attack and the desperate gallantry of the defence.

Whilst this main attack was going forward at the principal breach, two other minor attempts were being

made by the Turks to carry the fort by escalade; one on the side of the Marsa Musceit, the second, and most formidable, on that of the Great Harbour. The first was repulsed without much difficulty by the unaided efforts of the besieged. The huge fragments of rock which they hurled from the parapet broke in pieces the scaling ladders by which the foe were mounting to the assault, whilst those who had already ascended the ladders were thrown back into the ditch, and most of them crushed to death. On the other side, the attack was led by a forlorn hope of thirty men, who, with a fanaticism not unusual to their nation and their religion, had bound themselves by a solemn oath either to carry the fort or to perish in the attempt, in which latter case they felt assured of an immediate entrance into Paradise, and a blissful futurity amid the dark-eyed houris with whom their heaven was peopled. Their efforts were directed against the corner of the cavalier facing St. Angelo; and La Valette, who from his post of observation had been anxiously watching the progress of the fight, soon perceived the desperate attempt and the fanatical bravery with which it was being persisted in. Finding that the garrison were hard pressed, he directed a gun to be opened upon the assailants from St. Angelo. Its first discharge was most unfortunate; for being directed too much to the right it raked the rampart itself instead of the ditch in its front, and killed or wounded eight of the defenders. The second shot, however, was more effectual; for falling into the midst of the band of fanatics, it swept away no less than twenty of them, and the remainder, panic-stricken at the blow, abandoned their attack and fled.

Still the main attack continued to rage with unabated

virulence. Fresh battalions were constantly hurried to the foot of the breach by the determined Mustapha, and as often driven back with great slaughter by the garrison. Ever and anon were borne across the water shouts of encouragement and admiration from the anxious spectators who crowded the ramparts of St. Angelo; and as these cheering sounds reached the harassed combatants at St. Elmo it nerved them to redouble their efforts, and to continue firm in their resistance to the constantly renewed assaults of the foe. They felt that their recent insubordination had, to a certain extent, lowered them in the eyes of their comrades; and they rejoiced in thus having the opportunity of restoring themselves to their good opinion. For six hours was the combat maintained; and still the assailants had succeeded in penetrating into no one point of the enceinte. At length the heat of the midday sun rendered further efforts impossible; and Mustapha, with disappointment in his countenance and rage at his heart, ordered a general retreat to be sounded. One loud shout of victory and exultation rose from the midst of that heroic band, who had thus, for a short time longer, so nobly averted the fate which was impending over them; and a responsive echo came floating on the wings of the wind from their comrades in the Bourg.

Great, however, as had been their success, it had not been purchased without a sacrifice which the slender force at the disposal of La Valette could ill have spared; seventeen Knights, and three hundred of the soldiery, having fallen in the defence. Chief among these was the gallant Medrano, who received a mortal wound whilst in the act of wrenching a standard from the grasp of a Turkish officer. His corpse was removed with all

due honour into the Bourg, where it was interred in a vault of St. Leonard's church set apart for the dignitaries of the Order. From the day when he first entered St. Elmo, Medrano had been the life and soul of the defence. The chivalric gallantry of his bearing, and the frankness of his manners, had raised him high in the esteem of all who knew him; and his death was bitterly mourned by those who felt that his services could, at that critical moment, be but ill replaced. The loss of the Turks upon this occasion must remain a matter of conjecture; still there can be no doubt that it reached a very high figure. Raked as they had been throughout the day by the artillery from St. Angelo, as well as exposed to an incessant and galling fire from St. Elmo itself, it is impossible that the struggle could have been maintained during so many hours without swelling the number of their casualties to an enormous extent.

Night had no sooner set in than boats were despatched from the Bourg to bring in the wounded, who could no longer be serviceable in the defence of the fort. Again was the gallant D'Eguaras amongst the severely wounded; and once more did he refuse to leave his post, although strongly urged to do so by La Valette. Meanwhile, a most generous rivalry sprung up in the garrison of the Bourg, each one striving to be of the number of those who were to reinforce the gallant defenders of St. Elmo. Although it was clear to the meanest comprehension that the post they sought was that of almost certain death, these brave volunteers crowded forward, and La Valette's only difficulty was whom to select where all displayed so noble a spirit. The choice was, however, made, and the fort once more placed in as favour-

able a position for defence as its desperate condition permitted.

In the Turkish camp anxious consultations were held as to the steps necessary to be taken to bring this protracted siege to a conclusion. Dragut, who appears to have been the only commander in the Turkish army competent to conduct a siege, pointed out that, so long as the garrison of the Bourg were permitted to keep up a communication with that of St. Elmo, and to pour in fresh bodies of troops after every assault, they would never succeed in carrying the place. Under his advice, therefore, the headland opposite Point Dragut, and which, with it, constitutes the first entrance into the harbour *, was occupied by the Turks, and a battery constructed upon it. He also extended the trenches in front of St. Elmo down to the water's edge opposite St. Angelo; and here, also, he constructed a small battery which effectually precluded the possibility of any boat landing at the fort from the Bourg. Whilst superintending the construction of these works he was struck in the head by a splinter, dislodged from the rock by a cannon ball from St. Angelo, and conveyed mortally wounded to his tent. This event, however, did not occur until after he had, by his prudent counsels, ensured the downfall of the doomed fortress. These operations were not carried on without the most vehement efforts on the part of the besieged to prevent their successful consummation. But on the 19th of the month the investment was completed; and from that moment the garrison was cut off from all assistance, and forced

* On this point Fort Ricasoli now stands.

to rely on their own unaided exertions for further resistance.

For three days a ceaseless fire was kept up from thirty-six guns in the Turkish trenches, and with the first grey dawn of the morning of the 22nd, a new assault burst upon St. Elmo. Exhausted as they were from the constant strife and ceaseless cannonade of the previous three days; short of ammunition, and exposed on their ruined ramparts to the deadly fire of the Turkish arquebussiers, they still met their foe with the same indomitable resolution as before. Three times was the assault renewed, and three times was it successfully repulsed; but on each occasion that gallant little band became more and more thinned, and the prospect of further resistance more and more hopeless. In agonised suspense did La Valette, from his post of observation, watch the raging strife, and high beat his heart with proud and admiring exultation when once again he heard the sound of retreat issuing from the Turkish host. Again had the Moslem recoiled in disgrace from the blood-stained rock. Still was the white cross banner waving from that ruined fort, and the slender relics of its noble band of defenders once more raised a feeble shout of victory. It was, however, the last expiring effort of heroism and endurance. Encircled by foes on every side; cut off from all assistance on the part of their friends in the Bourg; and reduced to little more than half their original number by the desperate struggles of the day, they felt that their last moment of triumph had indeed arrived, and that, with the first dawn of the morrow's sun, the abhorred banner of the Infidel would wave over their ruined fortalice.

In this desperate emergency, an expert swimmer con-

trived to carry a message to La Valette, conveying intelligence, of the truth of which he was, alas! too well assured. All that human bravery could devise had been accomplished to save that vital point from falling into the hands of the foe. Its defence had been protracted far beyond the period which even the most sanguine could have anticipated, and now there remained not the shadow of a doubt that it wanted but the light of another day to ensure its destruction.

La Valette, therefore, felt that the moment had now arrived when, if it could still be accomplished, the remnant of the garrison should be withdrawn into the Bourg, and the ruins of St. Elmo abandoned to the enemy. For this purpose he despatched five large boats, conveying a body of volunteers, who were even yet willing to share the fate of their comrades; and with this succour he forwarded a message to the bailiff D'Eguaras, leaving to him the option of abandoning the fort, and retiring with his whole garrison into the Bourg by means of the boats he had sent, should he deem the place at length utterly untenable. The permission, alas! came too late. La Valette had steadily and sternly refused all suggestions of surrender whilst the road for a retreat still lay open, and now, when at length he had brought himself to yield to the pressure of circumstances, that road was closed for ever against those heroic martyrs thus deliberately sacrificed for the weal of their Order and the safety of their brethren. In vain did they attempt to approach the rocky point where the ruined fort still loomed indistinctly in the darkness of the night. The wary Turk knew too well how surely a last effort would be made to save the handful of noble victims whom he had at last securely

enclosed within his grasp, and his watchful sentinels gave speedy notification of the approach of the succouring convoy. The alarm was instantly given, and the battery which Dragut had constructed for that purpose opened with deadly precision. Thus discovered, it was useless to persevere in the attempt, and, with heavy hearts and clouded brows, these gallant spirits who had hoped to rescue their brethren from destruction, were forced to return once more to the Bourg.

Anxiously had the attempt been watched by the garrison of the fort, and when the reverberating echoes of the Turkish artillery told them that it had been discovered and foiled, they felt that their doom was indeed sealed, and their last hour arrived. Abandoning all hope, either of rescue or escape, they assembled solemnly in the little chapel, and there mutually confessed one another, and received the last sacrament of their religion in holy communion. It was a sad, touching, and solemn sight, that midnight gathering round the little altar of St. Elmo's chapel: deeply scarred with many a ghastly wound, exhausted with days of strife and nights of vigil, with every hope of rescue driven to the winds, that band of heroes stood once again, and for the last time, consecrating themselves, their swords and their lives, to that holy cause which they had espoused. History has told, and as years roll on in their revolving cycle, will continue to tell, of deeds of gallantry and chivalric heroism, such as will make the heart throb with quickened action, as its record is perused by succeeding generations; but never has tale been recorded upon that lustrous page which can exceed in the sublime devotion of its heroes, that which was exhibited upon the occasion which we are now narrating.

The religious ceremony concluded, and their peace with Heaven made, they proceeded to take such measures as were still in their power, to sell their lives as dearly as possible, and to retain their post to the last moment. Such of their number, and they were by no means a small proportion, as were too severely wounded to be able to stand unsupported, caused themselves to be conveyed in chairs to the breach which was so soon to be the scene of their last struggle, and there, sword in hand, and with their face to the foe, calmly prepared to meet that fate which they knew but too well was awaiting them.

With the first blush of dawn, the Turks, who had been anxiously awaiting its appearance to pounce upon their now defenceless prey, rushed fiercely at the gaping breach with frantic shouts of hatred and exultation. Baffled in so many previous attempts, their rage had increased with each new disaster, and now that they felt secure that their destined victims could not elude their grasp, every passion in their hearts was aroused to avenge in the best blood of the Order of St. John, the fearful losses which had been inflicted upon themselves. For four hours the strife raged wildly around that fated spot, and though each moment lessened the number of the defenders, the dauntless remnant still stood firm at their post. Incredible as it may seem, at the close of that period, the Turkish force, exhausted by its own efforts, once more suspended the assault. No shout of triumph at this unexpected respite arose from amidst the ranks of the defenders, nor did any encouraging voice find its way across the waters from St. Angelo. Only sixty wounded and enfeebled warriors remained to dispute the entrance of the foe; and to their imperish-

able renown be it told, that it was from the almost exhausted efforts of these sixty men that the Turkish army had recoiled.

That suspension was, however, but the preliminary to a last and still more impetuous attempt: as the tiger draws back only to ensure the more fatal accuracy of his spring, so had Mustapha recalled his battalions, only that they might dash upon their expected victims with the more unerring certainty. The garrison took advantage of the interval to bind their wounds and refresh themselves for a renewal of the combat. D'Eguaras, who perceived that the handful who still remained within the fort must be overwhelmed by the first rush of the foe, recalled the defenders of the cavalier, to reinforce the slender remnant. He trusted that his abandonment of that dominating point might, for some time at least, be unperceived by the Turks; but he underestimated the vigilance of Mustapha. That chief had been too long detained, and too often worsted in his attempts upon St. Elmo, not to maintain a keen and watchful eye upon all that was passing among its ruins, now that its possession had become ensured to him. He at once detected the movement that was taking place among the garrison, and despatching a body of janissaries to secure the abandoned post, he proceeded to avail himself of its dominant position to command the whole interior of the work.

At the same moment he gave the signal for a renewal of the assault, and the Turkish battalions, secure at length in their victory, rushed with shouts of triumph to the breach. The defenders were taken by surprise from the suddenness of the move, and ere they could rally themselves the fort was lost. This fact mattered

but little, however, for the summit of the cavalier being crowded with the best marksmen in Mustapha's army, it would have been impossible for one of the defenders to have shown himself upon the breach, without becoming the mark of a hundred bullets. All combined action was now over; the place was lost and won; and it only remained for the last scene of that sad tragedy to be enacted, which has cast such melancholy interest over the name of St. Elmo.

No quarter was asked or given, and desultory combats, in various parts of the enclosure ensued, until the last of that heroic, but forlorn garrison, had bitten the dust. A few of the Maltese soldiery, then as now, most expert in the art of swimming, dashed headlong into the water, and succeeded, amidst a storm of missiles, in making good their escape to the castle of St. Angelo. Another body of nine men, but whether members of the Order or hired soldiers is not very clear, were saved from death by falling into the hands of a body of Dragut's corsairs, these pirates realising the fact that a live Christian was a more valuable article of merchandise than a dead one, and being more actuated by a love of gain than by such fiery fanaticism as stimulated the Turks to a wholesale slaughter, saved the lives of the nine prisoners whom they had captured, for the purpose of making them galley-slaves. The tattered banner of St. John, which still fluttered in the wind, was torn ignominiously from its post; and on the 23rd June, the eve of its patron saint's day, the imperial flag of the Moslem was reared in its place.

Mustapha had himself entered in triumph through that breach which had been so long and so warmly contested, and which had been watered by the heart's

blood of so many a noble and daring spirit, and gazing around on the mangled corpses of his now prostrate foe, the heart of the Infidel was aroused to such a pitch of savage atrocity, that even those senseless and bleeding relics were not sacred from his revengeful malice. The heads of D'Eguaras, Miranda, and two others, were by his orders struck off, and erected upon poles looking towards the Bourg, whence they told the sad tale of their fate to their sorrowing comrades. Not content with this act of desecration, Mustapha proceeded to others still more brutal; he caused the bodies of such of the Knights as he could discover to be securely fastened to spars in the form of a cross, and he likewise directed a deep gash in the form of a cross to be cut upon each of their breasts. Thus mutilated, and with their heads struck off, they were sent floating into the harbour, and the action of the stream carrying them across to St. Angelo, the garrison of that post were aroused to feelings of indignation yet bitterer than before, at the mangled and unsightly spectacle thus presented to their eyes. By La Valette's order the bodies were gently and reverently raised from their floating bed, and as it was impossible, in their then condition, that they could be recognised, they were all solemnly buried together in the conventual church at the Bourg.

It would have been well for the reputation of La Valette, had he restrained the feelings of indignation which this disgraceful event had most naturally evoked within reasonable bounds; but unfortunately the chronicler is compelled to record that his retaliation was as savage, and as unworthy a Christian soldier, as was the original deed; nay even more so, for Mustapha had contented himself with mangling the insensible corpses of

his foe, whilst La Valette, in the angry excitement of the moment, caused all his Turkish prisoners to be decapitated, and their heads to be fired from the guns of St. Angelo into the Ottoman camp. Brutal as was this act, and repulsive as it seems to the notions of the modern warrior, it was, alas! too much in accordance with the practice of the age to have been regarded with feelings of disapprobation, or even wonderment, by the chroniclers of those times. Still the event casts a shadow over the fair fame of otherwise so illustrious a hero, which history regrets to record.

The intelligence of the loss of St. Elmo was promptly conveyed to the wounded Dragut, who lay in the last agonies of death beneath his pavilion in the Turkish camp. A gleam of satisfaction shone across the wan and ghastly countenance of the dying chief, as the news was imparted to him of the success to which his genius had so materially contributed; and as though he had lingered upon this earth solely for the purpose of assuring himself of the completion of his design, he no sooner received that assurance than he breathed his last. His loss, which in itself was a great blow to the Turkish cause, was by no means the only price which Mustapha had had to pay for the ultimate success of his project. No less than 8000 Turks are reported to have fallen in the trenches before St. Elmo between the date of the commencement of the siege and its ultimate fall: the loss of the Christians amounted to 1500, of whom 130 were members of the Order.

Thus, after a siege of upwards of a month, fell that ruined bulwark; shedding, even in its loss, a glory over the military renown of the Order of St. John greater

than many a more successful defence could have reflected. Though Mustapha had ultimately succeeded in his designs, yet much precious time had been sacrificed in the attempt, and there can be no doubt that the protracted and obstinate defence of St. Elmo was the main cause of the ultimate failure of his enterprise, as it gave ample time to the dilatory viceroy of Sicily to organise and despatch those reinforcements, by means of which the siege was eventually raised.

The losses which the Turkish army sustained during the operation, severe as they were, counted but little in the eyes of Mustapha when compared with this great and unexpected sacrifice of time. He had been taught the resistance he might expect in every stage of his undertaking; and even his bold mind quailed at the difficulties with which his path was still beset. Well might the aged chief, standing upon the ruins of that fort he had with so great difficulty gained, and gazing at the lofty ramparts of St. Angelo, whose rising tiers of batteries were still crowned at their summit with the white cross banner of the Order, exclaim in an agony of doubt and perplexity, which the issue of the struggle proved to be almost prophetic: "What will not the parent cost us, when the child has been gained at so fearful a price?"

CHAP. XVIII.

CONCLUSION OF THE SIEGE OF MALTA.

THE festival of St. John the Baptist, on the 24th of June 1565, was celebrated in Malta with very different feelings, by the beleaguered inhabitants, and by their Moslem foe. A cry of anguish had arisen throughout the Bourg whilst the sad tragedy was being perpetrated at St. Elmo; and the horrifying spectacle of the headless and mutilated trunks, which greeted their sight on the first dawn of their patron saint's day, increased the general feeling of gloom and despondency which overspread the garrison.

Against this feeling, La Valette exerted all his eloquence; and in a public address, which he on that day delivered to the garrison and inhabitants of the Bourg, he aroused them rather to emulate the deeds of the heroic garrison of St. Elmo, than to mourn their untimely fate. "What," said he, "could a true Knight desire more ardently than to die in arms; and what could be a more fitting fate for a member of the Order of St. John, than to lay down his life for his religion? and yet, both these precious boons have been vouchsafed to our brethren. Why, then, should we mourn for them?—rather should we rejoice at the prospect of a glorious futurity, which they have gained for them-

selves. They have earned a martyr's crown, and they will reap a martyr's reward. Why, too, should we be dismayed because the Moslem has at length succeeded in implanting his accursed standard on the ruined battlements of St. Elmo? have we not taught him a lesson which must strike dismay throughout his whole army? If poor, weak, insignificant St. Elmo was able, by the bravery of its garrison, to maintain itself for upwards of a month against his most powerful efforts, how can he expect to succeed against the stronger fortifications, and the more numerous garrison of the Bourg? With us must be the victory, and with divine aid, most certain victory: let us then, before the altar of our God, on this sacred day, once more renew those vows of constancy which our slaughtered brethren have so nobly accomplished." After this stimulating harangue, a procession was formed to the conventual church of St. Lawrence; and there the same solemn scene of consecration was re-enacted, which has once already been described.

Whilst these ceremonies marked the occasion on the part of the Christians, the Turkish camp was, on its side, filled with the sounds of rejoicing at their victory. The Marsa Musceit was now open to their fleet, and with early morning, a long line of galleys, gaily decorated with flags and pennons, and with martial music resounding from their poops, rounded the Point Dragut triumphantly, and came streaming successively into their newly acquired haven. The works of St. Elmo were, by Mustapha's order, dismantled; and the guns captured on its ramparts at once despatched to Constantinople, as a token of the success which he had achieved.

He then turned his attention towards the new and far more formidable undertaking which still awaited him. The two peninsulas, which jutted into the main harbour, were, as has already been described, fortified as strongly as time and means would permit. The month which had been expended by the Turks before St. Elmo, had not been spent in idleness by La Valette. Wherever new works could be rapidly thrown up, to impart additional security to his enceinte, he had caused them to be executed; and men and women, high and low, the noble and the peasant, the Knight and the private soldier, all laboured with equal energy and good will in the important work. A floating bridge was constructed across the inlet, contained between the two peninsulas, which connected the Bourg with Senglea, and thus permitted a free communication between the two garrisons. The strength of the Città Notabile was reduced by five companies of soldiers, who were called in to aid in the defence of the far more important post of the Bourg; and all private stores and provisions were seized for the public use, the owners receiving due compensation from the treasury.

The prisoners in La Valette's hands had, as has been already narrated, been foully murdered by his orders, under the guise of a reprisaille, after the fall of St. Elmo, and he wisely enough determined that none should again be made. A war *à l'outrance* was declared, and as the garrison could not with safety encumber themselves with prisoners, no quarter was to be either asked or given. When these instructions reached Città Notabile, where the garrison, from their position in the rear of the besiegers, had constant facilities for cutting off stragglers, the practice was established of hanging a

prisoner every day, and this was maintained, without a single omission, until the close of the siege.

Having thus prepared himself in every possible way to meet the attack which he felt sure must commence, as soon as St. Elmo had fallen, La Valette calmly awaited the issue. Strong as was his confidence in the devotion and constancy of his garrison, he felt that his only hope of ultimate success lay in the succour which he was daily expecting from Sicily. As day after day glided by, and the position of St. Elmo became more and more hopeless, so did his anxiety for the viceroy's promised assistance increase; and when, on the 23rd of June, he wrote to the commandant of Città Notabile an account of the loss of that fort, he could not refrain from appending a bitter reproach against the dilatoriness which had ensured its downfall.

Mustapha, now that Mount Sceberras was in his possession, at once moved the greater portion of his army round, so as to enclose the two peninsulas. The outline of the great harbour of Malta shows two bold promontories of very high land, which jut out one on either side. The one on the south was then called, and has still retained the name of Mount Corradin, and the other, that of Bighi. From the foot of the Corradin, completely round to Mount Salvator, did Mustapha construct his trenches; and as soon as the work was completed, La Valette and his little garrison were entirely isolated from succour.

Before, however, this could be accomplished, four galleys, under the command of Don Juan de Cardona, had reached Malta, and landed their force on the opposite side of the island. This reinforcement, under the command of the Chevalier de Robles, consisted of forty-two

Knights of the Order, twenty gentlemen from Spain, eleven from Italy, three from Germany, two from England (whose names have been recorded as John Smith and Edward Stanley), fifty-six hired gunners, and a corps of 600 imperial foot, making a total of 734. Taking advantage of a thick fog, which most fortunately overspread the island, Robles succeeded in passing the Turkish lines in safety with his little force, and in joining his brethren in the Bourg on the 29th of June. This reinforcement, slender as it was, greatly raised the spirits of the garrison; the more so, as they brought the intelligence that a far more efficient succour was being collected in Sicily, and would shortly make its appearance for their rescue. In proportion as the spirits of the garrison were raised by this cheering incident, were those of the Turkish army depressed. They soon learnt that fresh troops had entered the town, and their fears greatly exaggerated the number. Rumours also reached them of the large preparations going forward in Sicily for more effectual aid, so that Mustapha himself, dreading an interruption, and but ill secure in the staunchness of his troops, deemed it advisable to try whether he could not obtain by negotiation that which it appeared so possible he might fail to acquire by force of arms. For this purpose he despatched as an envoy, under the protection of a flag of truce, a Greek slave, who was the bearer of an offer of the most liberal terms, should the Grand-Master consent to capitulate. These terms included everything which had been granted by Solyman to L'Isle Adam at the siege of Rhodes, and the Knights were guaranteed the security both of life and property, provided they surrendered the island to the Ottoman power.

To La Valette this mission was most unacceptable. He had from the very first determined either to rescue his island home by a determined and successful resistance, or to bury himself and his fraternity beneath the ruins of its bulwarks. His eloquent exhortations, and the example of his own energetic bravery, had roused a similar feeling in the minds of all his garrison, and he was most unwilling that this determination on their part should be shaken by the offer of such alluring terms as those which the pasha was disposed to hold out. He was in the constant hope of a succour from Sicily, and he was determined that no step on his part should annul the benefits of that rescue when it arrived. In order, therefore, to prevent the recurrence of any such proffers, he at once, with a voice of the most commanding sternness, directed that the miserable envoy should be hanged. The unfortunate Greek, on hearing this cruel sentence, threw himself at the Grand-Master's feet and implored mercy, averring, with great truth, that he was not the master of his own actions, but had been compelled to undertake the office. It is probable that La Valette had never seriously contemplated taking so cruel a step; his object had been merely to terrify the envoy to such a degree as to prevent him from ever again undertaking a similar embassy. His life was therefore spared, and La Valette, pointing to the deep ditches which surrounded the castle of St. Angelo, bade him inform his master that there lay the only ground within the island of Malta which he was prepared to surrender, and that its depth was sufficiently great to be a grave for the whole Turkish army.

This haughty and defiant reply showed Mustapha

that he had nothing to hope for from negotiation, and that if Malta was to be won by the Turk, it must be by force of arms alone. He therefore pushed forward his siege works with redoubled vigour, and early in July had completely surrounded both the Bourg and Senglea. The latter, surmounted at its extremity by the fort of St. Michael, was the point of his first attack, and he opened batteries upon it from every available point. From Mount Sceberras, the Corradin, and all the other neighbouring points, a pitiless storm of missiles was brought to bear upon that portion of fort St. Michael which it had been determined to breach. The point selected was that called the Spur Bastion, which formed the extremity of the fort touching the harbour, and was therefore open to attack by sea as well as by land.

As it was impossible for Mustapha to bring his galleys to the attack of this quarter by the ordinary channel, without subjecting them to a most terrific fire from the castle of St. Angelo, he determined upon attaining his end by the adoption of a novel expedient. From the upper extremity of the Marsa Musceit to that of the great harbour, the distance across the isthmus of Mount Sceberras was not great, and Mustapha caused a number of galleys to be bodily transported across the land and re-launched under Mount Corradin. This service was performed by the Christian slaves, of whom considerable numbers were retained in the Turkish camp for duties of this nature; and in a few days La Valette beheld no less than eighty boats floating upon the upper extremity of that harbour, whose entrance he had so sedulously guarded.

It was at this period that an acquisition was made

by the garrison in the form of a deserter of high rank in the Turkish army. This man, whose name was Lascaris, was a Greek of very high family, who had in early youth been captured by the Turks, and being brought up in the Mahometan faith, had attained to a high grade in their army. Reminiscences of the religion of his fathers, and a sense of the shame which overshadowed the career of even the most brilliant renegade, had long haunted Lascaris, and had rendered him dissatisfied with the position which he occupied; and now, when he beheld the members of that religion, of which he himself should have been a disciple, so steadfastly performing their devoir, he felt the shame of his position to increase tenfold, and imminently dangerous though the step was, and utterly ruinous to his worldly prospects, he nobly determined upon risking all, and joining his fortunes with those of the heroic garrison. One evening, therefore, towards dusk, he descended the eminence of Mount Sceberras, opposite the castle of St. Angelo, and made signals by waving his turban of his desire to be taken into the fort. Before his signals could be answered, he had been discovered by the Turkish sentries, and a body of men were sent down to the water's edge to capture him. In this dangerous juncture Lascaris, though no swimmer, plunged into the water, and contrived to maintain himself afloat until he was picked up by the boat which the Grand-Master had despatched to his assistance.

On his arrival at St. Angelo, he informed La Valette of the motives which had induced him to desert his colours, and alleged that his only desire was to be admitted into the Christian religion, and to be permitted the privilege of combating in the cause of his

new faith. He also gave notification of the attack which was impending upon the spur of St. Michael's, and urged the Grand-Master to take further measures for its protection. La Valette was so struck with the noble sacrifice which Lascaris had made, that fearless of treachery, which beneath so frank and open a brow as that of the young neophyte could never have lurked, he appointed him a pension from the public treasury, in amends for the position which he had abandoned; nor had he ever cause to regret his confidence, for throughout the remainder of the siege Lascaris proved himself not only a valiant captain in the field, but also a most able adviser in the council.

Following out the suggestions thus offered to him, La Valette took every precaution to avert the impending storm. The seaward ramparts of St. Michael's were all strengthened; additional cannon were planted at every point where they could be brought to bear upon the approaching foe; and, as a last and still more important step, a huge stockade was constructed across the head of the harbour, from the Spur Point to the foot of Mount Corradin. This stockade was formed of huge piles, driven into the bed of the harbour, and connected together by means of chains, which passed through iron rings, fixed into the head of each pile. In addition to this, large spars and masts were fastened from pile to pile, and a barrier was thus constructed which effectually protected the point of St. Michael's from a water attack on the side of the Corradin. As the other side was open to the guns of St. Angelo, it was not considered necessary to protect it in a similar manner; as it was deemed that the batteries which swept that side were amply sufficient for its security.

Similar barriers were also erected in front of the posts of England, Germany, and Castile. The operation was performed entirely by night, as the constant and unerring musketry fire of the enemy would have rendered it an utter impossibility to continue the work throughout the day.

As the Maltese have been, since a very early period, celebrated both as swimmers and divers, they contrived to complete the task in an incredibly short space of time; and Mustapha was dismayed at perceiving so novel and formidable an obstacle daily growing up to impede his projected boat attack. He was not, however, the man to allow such a work to be carried through without making a strenuous attempt at its destruction; and he selected a body of the most expert swimmers in his army, whom he provided with axes, and despatched against the obtrusive barrier. The Admiral del Monte, who commanded in the fort of St. Michael, met this attempt by a similar sally on the side of the garrison. His Maltese divers, with swords between their teeth, dashed eagerly into the water, and their superior activity in that element yielding them a great advantage over their opponents, they speedily succeeded in overcoming them, and only a few half-drowned wretches regained the shore of all those whom Mustapha had despatched.

At this period, and whilst the assault was still impending, the viceroy of Algiers, named Hassan, the son of the redoubtable Barbarossa, and son-in-law to the corsair Dragut, who had so recently met his death in the trenches before St. Elmo, arrived with a reinforcement of 2500 men; an auxiliary force, rendered less important on account of its numbers than by the class

of which it was composed. They were all men who had served a long apprenticeship in the desperate and piratical warfare of the Mediterranean. Hassan, whose great success as a general had rendered him not a little inflated and vain-glorious, sneered at the numerous failures which had hitherto overtaken the Turkish army. A survey of the ruins of St. Elmo led him to express his amazement that Mustapha should have allowed himself to be baffled for such a length of time by so insignificant a fort; and, following up the taunt, he volunteered, at the head of his brave troops, to lead the assault which was to be made against St. Michael. The Turkish general was only too glad to give the young braggadocio an opportunity of making good his words, and he was appointed to head the assault upon the land side, whilst his lieutenant, Candelissa, led the attack by water.

At an appointed signal, on the morning of the 15th of July, the assault commenced by the advance of the Turkish flotilla, which had been previously conveyed across the land from the Marsa Musceit. The progress of this miniature fleet was marked by the strains of martial music, which arose on every side; and the sun on that summer's morn was reflected back from many a glittering spear, and lighted up many a gay and fluttering pennon. It was a beautiful sight, and one which, but for the fearful stake which hung at issue upon the result of the day, must have been gazed upon with feelings of admiration from the thickly-crowded bastions around. The war had, however, been hitherto carried on with so bitter a venom on either side, that nought but a sense of the most rancorous hatred was elicited by this display. Men called to mind, at that moment, the

barbarous outrages which had been perpetrated on the mangled bodies of their brethren at St. Elmo; and each one, as he gazed upon the proudly advancing foe, grasped his falchion with a firmer grip, and registered a mental vow, that he would avenge that fatal day in the heart's blood of those who were thus daring his wrath.

In advance of the squadron was a boat, containing two priests, who continued reciting from the Koran such texts as appeared most likely to arouse the fanatical ardour of their followers; but as they approached the scene of strife, these men of peace cared no longer to lead their flock to the post of danger, but resigning their position to Candelissa, they wisely returned to their camp, and watched the issue of the conflict from a safer distance.

Candelissa's first attempt was upon the palisades, through which he endeavoured to force a passage; and he had also provided himself with a quantity of planks, with which, he proposed to bridge over the space between the palisade and the point. Both attempts proved, however, a complete failure. The barrier was far too strong to enable him to push a passage through it; and his planks were not sufficiently long for the bridge which he had proposed to make. Galled by a fearful fire from the ramparts, which was momentarily prostrating numbers of his bravest men, Candelissa felt that it would be impossible for him to remain where he was, without speedily inducing a panic amongst his followers. Drawing his sword, therefore, he plunged into the water, which reached nearly to his neck, and calling upon his men to support him, he waded to shore, and made a dash at the breach. An unfortunate explosion in one of the magazines of the fort materially

aided the assailants in their first attempt; and they succeeded in establishing a footing at the summit of the breach, where they planted a number of small banners in token of triumph.

To this point they had succeeded in obtaining an entrance; but all further ingress was barred by the serried array of defenders, to whom they were now opposed. Long and desperate was the struggle; and the tide of battle appeared to fluctuate, the prospect of victory now leaning on the one side, and now on the other. At last, however, the force of numbers appeared likely to prevail against even the indomitable bravery of the Knights of St. John; and, step by step, they felt themselves driven backward over the rampart. La Valette, from his post of observation at St. Angelo, perceived the adverse turn which affairs were taking, and instantly despatched a powerful succour from the garrison of the Bourg to the scene of strife, by means of the temporary bridge which he had caused to be constructed. Mustapha, on his side, had watched with exultation the progress which his battalions had made in penetrating within the defences of St. Michael; and, in order to complete the success, and overcome all further opposition, he embarked a number of janissaries in ten large boats, and despatched them to the assistance of Candelissa.

In order to avoid the stockade, which the previous failure had shown to be impregnable, this flotilla steered well round to the northward, and thus brought itself under the fire of the guns of St. Angelo. Upon the rock which formed the base of this fortress a battery had been constructed *à fleur d'eau*, for the express purpose of protecting the spur of St. Michael; and the Knight

who had command of this battery, no sooner saw the advance of the hostile force, than he determined upon dealing it such a blow as should at one fell swoop annihilate it for ever. He caused his guns to be loaded with bullets, fragments of iron, and numerous other missiles of a similar nature, and then quietly awaited until the enemy approached within easy range. At a given signal the battery, which from its depressed position had escaped the notice of the Turks, belched forth its murderous fire, at a distance of little more than two hundred yards, raising the whole surface of the water into a lashing foam with the storm of missiles which it poured forth. The effect was instantaneous. The boats had all been crowded together, and the discharge had taken effect directly in their midst. Several sank at once, and the remainder were so encumbered with dead and dying, that all further advance was hopeless, and the shattered relics of this formidable reinforcement returned in dismay to their own side of the harbour, without even having attempted a landing on St. Michael's point. The wondrous effect of this deadly discharge has been described with great unction by all the Christian annalists of the siege; and the loss which the Turks sustained by it has been variously computed at from four to eight hundred men. For days after, the bodies of the killed floated upon the water, and were seized upon by the expert Maltese swimmers, who reaped a rich harvest from the gold and silver ornaments which were obtained from their persons.

Meanwhile the succour which La Valette had sent to the closely pressed defenders of the spur had joined their comrades, and, by the welcome addition of their numbers, once more turned the tide of battle. With a

shout of anticipated triumph they dashed at the foe, whom the tragedy just enacted beneath their eyes had filled with consternation, and succeeded in driving them headlong over the breach. Even Candelissa himself, whose reputation for courage and daring had until that moment been above suspicion, appeared overtaken with panic, and was the first to turn his back upon the combat, and to fly shamefully from the sword of the pursuer. On his first landing at the point, he had directed the boats which had brought him thither to push off from the land after disembarking their freight, in order that his troops might fight the more desperately, from a feeling that all road to a retreat was cut off from them. He now found this valiant direction of his highly inconvenient; and as he stood upon the edge of the rock, eagerly beckoning to the boats to return, he presented a spectacle but little edifying to those who beheld him. He hurried ignominiously into the first boat which reached the spot, and was followed by such of his comrades as were fortunate enough to secure the same means of escape. The remainder fell almost unresisting victims to the fury of the besieged, and casting aside their weapons, they loudly cried for mercy and quarter. That appeal, however, was made to hearts which were thirsting too eagerly for revenge, and which had become steeled by too many cruelties inflicted on their brethren to admit of its finding any favour there. The stern reply to their pitiable supplications was: "Such mercy as you showed to our brethren in St. Elmo, shall be meted out to you, and none other;" and as each successive victim was struck to the earth, the fatal blow which deprived him of life was jocularly termed *St. Elmo's pay*.

Candelissa and his fugitive comrades having made good

which had hitherto attended his arms; and as the strength of the garrison was now much reduced, he conceived that he would be obtaining the greatest possible advantage from his superiority in that respect by carrying on his assaults against Senglea and the Bourg simultaneously. He was still of opinion that if he could obtain possession of the former, which was by far the most weakly fortified, St. Angelo and the Bourg could not hold out long.

He therefore retained the direction of the attack on St. Michael in his own hands, whilst he confided that against the Bourg to his coadjutor Piali, the admiral of the fleet. To Candelissa, the Algerine corsair, whose conduct during the late assault had not raised him in the estimation of his comrades, was intrusted the charge of the fleet, with directions to cruise off the mouth of the great harbour, and intercept any attempts which might be made in that direction to throw reinforcements into the town. This division of command created the greatest rivalry and emulation amongst the chiefs. Each one felt that if he were the fortunate man to gain the first footing within the enemy's defences, the whole glory of the expedition, and consequently its rewards, would fall to his share.

Piali, therefore, determined to push forward the attack on the Bourg as rapidly and as vigorously as possible, in order to effect an entrance as soon, if not sooner, than the pasha Mustapha. A battery had already been made upon Mount Salvator, which played upon the post of Castile and a part of that of Auvergne. To this Piali added another battery, nearer the point of Bighi, of far larger dimensions, containing guns and mortars of much more ponderous calibre; and with this he battered the

whole town, and reduced the nearest ramparts to a state of utter ruin. At the same time, he pushed his trenches forward with the most indefatigable rapidity, and in an incredibly short space of time he had approached so close to the bastion of Castile, that all was ready for an assault.

Mustapha had also employed the interval in increasing the power of his batteries, and in harassing the garrison of Senglea by a constant and galling cannonade; and on the 2nd of August, he delivered an assault at this point. For six hours the struggle was maintained with equal obstinacy on both sides. Five times were the Turks repulsed from the breach, and as often were they rallied by the indomitable Mustapha, and brought again to the attack. At length, however, he was compelled, through the sheer exhaustion of his men, to abandon the attempt, and the worn and feeble garrison were once more permitted to enjoy a brief repose.

This, however, was not of long duration, for five days afterwards, viz., on the 7th of August, a fresh attack was made upon both points simultaneously, and at both points it again signally failed. Piali exerted himself to the utmost to penetrate through the gaping breach in the ramparts of Castile, but the energy of the garrison was too great to admit of his success. Retrenchments had been formed in rear of the exposed points, and so galling a fire was maintained upon the advancing squadrons, that they staggered under its intensity; nor could all the admonitions of their leaders prevent them from cowering beneath the storm. Whilst in this state of confusion, rendered still more inextricable by the various obstacles with which the breach had been thickly strewn, the garrison, assuming the

offensive, dashed at the struggling foe, and with vast slaughter drove them headlong back into their trenches. Mustapha's attack was at first greeted with better success. His columns obtained a footing upon the breach, and a desperate hand to hand combat ensued, in which it appeared most probable that numbers would, in the long run, prevail. He himself was to be seen in every direction, sword in hand, cheering on his followers, promising rewards and booty to those who conducted themselves manfully, and with his own hand cutting down the foremost of those who were displaying their poltroonery by flight, until eventually he succeeded in obtaining a gradual advantage, and in driving the garrison back from the contested rampart.

At this moment, when all appeared lost, and when a short time longer must have decided the fate of Senglea, Mustapha, to the amazement of the garrison, sounded the signal for retreat. At the moment this movement on his part appeared but little else than a direct interposition from heaven, and in that light the Knights, as devout catholics, were disposed to regard it. The circumstance, however, was to be accounted for in a much more ordinary manner. The commandant of the Città Notabile had heard the ceaseless din which, since early dawn, had raged around the devoted fortress, and had rightly conjectured that the Turks were delivering another of those fearful assaults which had so often before pressed the garrison hard. He determined, therefore, upon endeavouring to make a diversion in their favour, and mustering all the cavalry under his command within the city, he sent them forth in charge of a Knight, with general directions to make a descent wherever they might find an available opportunity.

The Knight in command advanced cautiously to the head of the Marsa, where the sick and wounded of the pasha's army lay encamped. The guards of the camp had all left their posts, and were on the neighbouring heights gazing intently on the scene of strife before them. The little force, seizing the advantage thus offered to them, rushed upon the camp, and commenced an indiscriminate massacre of the helpless creatures around them. Shrieks, groans, and yells resounded in every direction, and a general panic spread throughout the army. It was averred that the relieving force from Sicily had landed, and that its advanced guard was already upon their rear. The news spread like wild fire; terror and dismay were on every face, and each one, without waiting to front the foe, bethought himself only how best he might escape from the general massacre which he doubted not would ensue. The intelligence reached Mustapha in the thick of the struggle at St. Michael's, and at the very moment of victory, he felt the prize torn from his grasp. An immediate retreat was sounded, and his disheartened troops assembled to meet the new foe who was, by general intelligence, supposed to be even then upon his flank. What was his rage and astonishment, when he reached the scene of action, to learn the true state of affairs. The Christians, having attained their object, and created a diversion, which could not fail to be useful to their brethren, had wisely retired before their retreat was cut off by numbers; and Mustapha found, to his unspeakable indignation, that he had abandoned a victory, which was almost within his grasp, on a false alarm.

From this day he resolved to carry his point rather

by the harassing frequency of his attacks, than by their intensity. Each day, therefore, witnessed successively a repetition of the struggle at one or other of the two points of attack; and each day the defenders beheld their numbers gradually thinning from the efforts they were compelled to make in resisting the foe. Meanwhile, their ambassador at the court of Sicily had not been idle. His was indeed no easy task, and it required the most skilful diplomacy to carry his instructions judiciously into effect. Whilst, on the one hand, it was urgently necessary that he should stimulate the dilatory viceroy to increased exertions in collecting his relieving force; it was, on the other hand, equally incumbent upon him to say or do nothing which could, by any possibility, be construed into a cause of offence. When, however, the news had successively reached Sicily, first of the fall of St. Elmo, then of the blockade of the Bourg; and lastly, of the incessant assaults which were being made on that point, and on St. Michael's, he could no longer refrain from a vehement remonstrance at a delay which seemed certain to ensure the loss of the island.

It is very difficult to account for the conduct of the viceroy in this juncture. It is a well-known fact that he was warmly attached to the Order, and particularly so to La Valette; he had even intrusted his own son to the perils of the siege, under the care of the Grand-Master; and it cannot be supposed that, having taken such a step, he could be indifferent to the fate of the island. Whether he feared, by too hasty an intervention, to compromise the safety of his master's fleet, or whether he was acting under secret instructions from Philip himself, which, indeed, is very probable, can never now

be ascertained; but it certainly is very clear, that had it not been for the almost incredible perseverance of La Valette's resistance, the succours, by means of which the island was eventually rescued, would have arrived only in time to have beheld the Turkish flag waving on the summit of the castle of St. Angelo.

The remonstrances of the ambassador induced the viceroy to summon a council to discuss the steps which should be taken; and a proposition was then actually made, and supported by several voices, that the island should be left to protect itself. Fortunately, however, for the reputation of Philip and his viceroy, as also for the very existence of the Order of St. John, other and nobler counsels prevailed, and an assurance was forwarded to La Valette that if he could maintain himself until the end of August, he should most certainly be relieved by that time. La Valette had experienced too many disappointments with regard to the viceroy's promises, to lay much stress upon this new pledge; nor was the assurance itself very cheering, since, in the ruined state of his fortifications, it appeared almost impossible he could maintain himself so long.

It would merely weary the reader, and be a simple repetition of precisely similar scenes, to describe in detail the assaults which were day after day delivered by the indomitable Mustapha and equally persevering Piali. On the 18th of August, however, the diurnal assault to which the Knights had now become accustomed to look forward with certainty, assumed a far greater importance, and was of a much more deadly character, than usual. Both points were attacked, but the assault upon the Castile bastion was deferred by Piali for some time after that upon St. Michael's had been commenced,

partly with the hope of inducing some of its defenders to withdraw to the assistance of their friends at St. Michael, and partly to enable him to spring a mine which had been successfully driven beneath the bastion. Finding that the delay did not tempt any of the garrison to abandon their posts, Piali directed that the mine should be sprung; and its explosion was attended with so great an effect, that a large portion of the rampart was ruined by the shock. In the general dismay and panic which this unexpected event created amongst the garrison, the Turks pushed boldly forward, and when the dense smoke which hung sluggishly over the scene of the catastrophe gradually cleared away, the Ottoman banners were to be descried waving triumphantly upon the summit of the newly-formed breach.

The alarm was instantly spread, and the great bell of the conventual church pealed forth to notify the peril in which the garrison was placed. A terrified ecclesiastic, rushing into the presence of La Valette, besought him to take refuge within the castle of St. Angelo, since the Bourg was lost. All was panic and confusion, and had it not been for the calm presence of mind which La Valette displayed at that critical moment, the town must indeed have been lost. Instead of following the advice of his ecclesiastical friend, La Valette seized a pike, placed a light casque on his head, and rushed to the scene of action, calling to his brethren to die manfully at their posts. A desperate encounter ensued, in which the Grand-Master was himself wounded, but he succeeded in attaining his object, and once more clearing the breach of the foe.

The danger from which this promptitude and daring

had rescued them, had been so imminent and appeared so likely to threaten them again, that La Valette determined upon taking up his quarters permanently close to the exposed bastion. It was in vain that his Knights remonstrated with him upon this resolution; it was in vain that they pointed out to him the value of his life in maintaining the defence. He persisted in his determination, thanking his friends for the zeal which they manifested for his safety, but assuring them that, at his age, it mattered little how soon he fell in the defence of his religion. The result proved the clearness of his foresight. That same night the Turks renewed the attack, and the spirit inspired amongst the defenders by the presence of their venerated chief amongst them, materially aided them in successfully resisting it. The 19th, 20th, and 21st each beheld an assault upon some point, and although upon each occasion the heroism of the garrison was successful, their reduced numbers proved clearly that they would be unable to sustain many more such attacks.

Scarce a Knight remained unwounded of that gallant band, and La Valette was each day called upon to mourn the loss of some of those whose gallantry and resolution had endeared them to his chivalric heart; nor was he spared the pang of a loss nearer to him still. His own nephew, Parisot de la Valette, as gallant a Knight as ever donned harness, was struck down, with his companion in arms, the Chevalier Polastron, in a daring sortie which they had made in broad daylight; and it was only after a long and fiercely-contested struggle, that their comrades succeeded in rescuing their corpses and bringing them back into the town. La Valette was himself a spectator of this mournful scene,

and rejected all attempts at condolence, by assuring his hearers that the whole fraternity were to him as kindred, and that he did not mourn the loss of his nephew more than that of any other Knight who had fallen.

Whilst the defenders were being reduced to this pitiable condition, the position of Mustapha was becoming but little better. The incessant attacks he had persisted in making had, it is true, harassed the garrison beyond all endurance; but their constant failure had also produced the worst possible effect upon his own troops. They had lost the flower of their army, partly on those deadly breaches, which they had in vain endeavoured to storm, and partly by the pestilence that had latterly raged with the most frightful virulence throughout the camp. Their ammunition was running low, and a scarcity of provisions had long since commenced to make itself felt. It appears strange that, with so large a fleet as that which Piali commanded, they should have found any difficulty in maintaining a constant intercourse with the neighbouring coasts of Africa; but certain it is, that whilst that fleet was lying in idleness within the Marsa Musceit, Sicilian cruisers were permitted constantly to intercept the transports by means of which their supplies were maintained.

In these unfavourable circumstances, long and anxious consultations were held between Mustapha and Piali as to the course to be pursued. The former, who felt that his reputation and prosperity, nay, most probably even his life, depended upon the successful issue of the enterprise, strongly urged that the army should, if necessary, winter upon the island; but Piali, on the other hand, declared that he would not allow his fleet to run so

great a risk. That fleet had been placed under his own especial control, and he alone was responsible to the sultan for its safety. As soon, therefore, as the summer commenced to break up, he announced his intention of quitting the island and returning to Constantinople, whether with or without the army. A constant jealousy had, since the commencement of the siege, shown itself between the rival Ottoman commanders; and its ill effects had materially aided La Valette in maintaining his defence.

Mustapha felt greatly dismayed at the opposition which his views met with from his coadjutor; still he retained the secret of his despondency within his own breast, and instructions were issued for a fresh general assault on the 23rd. Two days prior to that event, some friendly hand amongst the besiegers shot into the town an arrow, to which was attached a billet, containing only the word *Thursday;* and the sagacity of La Valette led him instantly to divine, that on that day the struggle was to be renewed. A general council was summoned to deliberate upon measures of defence; and he was then strongly urged to abandon both the Bourg and Senglea, and to withdraw with his reduced garrison into the castle of St. Angelo. The Grand-Master, however, would not listen to this proposition; he pointed out that St. Angelo was too confined to contain all the inhabitants who would require a shelter within it; nor would its water supply be nearly sufficient for their wants. Both the Bourg and Senglea must, therefore, he said, be maintained to the last; and in order to show that he was determined to carry his views into execution, he withdrew the greater portion of the garrison of the castle, to reinforce those of the two towns.

Early on the morning of the 23rd, the assault, against which they had been forewarned, took place. Every member of the Order whose wounds were not positively mortal, had upon this occasion quitted the infirmary, and once more resumed his post upon the shattered ramparts. Yet even with this assistance, the number of the defenders had dwindled down to a mere handful; and nothing but the heroic spirit which nerved each arm of that devoted band, could have maintained the struggle which, throughout the day, they were called upon to sustain against the most overwhelming odds. Once again, however, were they victorious; and the baffled Mustapha was compelled to withdraw his discomfited troops from the scene of their failure.

For a week after this defeat, the Turks attempted nothing further against the towns; but contented themselves with maintaining a sullen bombardment from their batteries. On the 1st of September, Mustapha once more essayed his fortune at a last desperate assault; and every incentive by which his troops could be stimulated to the attack was freely proffered by him. It was, however, all in vain. A spirit of disorganisation and despondency had spread itself through their ranks. They had long since declared, that it was evidently not the will of Allah that they should become the masters of Malta; and they loudly demanded to be borne away from that island, where so many of their comrades had found a bloody grave. It was not by men imbued with feelings such as these, that victory was to be snatched from the determined and desperate garrison; and the shattered battalions of the Moslem recoiled, almost without a blow, from the firm front which was still maintained against their assault.

The feebleness of this last effort of the besiegers spread the greatest exultation, and the most sanguine hopes of ultimate success, in the hearts of the garrison. They began to hope that, alone and unaided, they should be enabled to drive the baffled and discomfited foe in disgrace from their shores; and they almost ceased to wish for the presence of that reinforcement, whose advent had been previously looked for with such earnest anticipation.

This long-expected, and oft-postponed aid was, however, at length on its road to their rescue. On the 25th August, a fleet of twenty-eight galleys, containing 8500 troops, of whom nearly 300 were members of the Order, and the remainder Spanish and Italian soldiery, set sail from Syracuse, and appeared off the island of Malta. Whilst, however, the viceroy was undecided as to the steps he should take to relieve the garrison, a violent storm arose, which dispersed his fleet and compelled him to return to Sicily to refit. His troops, however, were so clamorous to be once more led to the rescue, that on the 6th September he again set sail, and anchored that same night between the islands of Comino and Gozo. The next morning he landed his army in Meleha bay, a small but commodious port on the north of the island, and having witnessed the commencement of their march towards Città Notabile, he returned to Sicily, for a further body of 4000 troops, who were still at Syracuse awaiting transport.

Meanwhile, Mustapha had remained in his camp, after his last failure, in a condition of the most abject despondency. Every effort which his ingenuity could devise had been made to overcome the obstinate resistance of the defenders. Their works had been battered

by a force of artillery far more powerful than had ever before been used at a siege; they had been subjected to a series of the most desperate and prolonged assaults; their works had been honeycombed by a most laborious series of mines; a cavalier had been raised in front of the post of Castile, from the summit of which the interior of that bastion could be overlooked, but it had been torn from their grasp by the garrison, and actually converted into a post of defence. At his last assault he had contrived to throw into the town a cask filled with combustibles, with a slow match attached, which he trusted would spread dismay by its explosion amidst the ranks of the defenders; but they had succeeded in hurling it back into the very middle of a column which was at the moment advancing to the assault, and which was shattered and dispersed from the effects of a missile devised by themselves. An attempt had been made against Città Notabile, and that also had been baffled by the bravery and determination of its commandant. He had, in fact, been thwarted at every point; and it was at this moment, whilst he was himself plunged into the depths of despondency, and whilst his troops were clamouring for an abandonment of the siege, that he received the first notification of the landing and advance of an army of succour to the Christians.

The numbers of this force had, as is usual in such cases, been greatly exaggerated by report, and Mustapha, terrified lest he should be surprised in his trenches, and his retreat cut off, made instant preparations for departure. Although he had been well aware that troops were assembling, and a fleet collecting in the ports of Sicily, for the relief of Malta, he was nevertheless completely taken by surprise when the intelligence of their

landing at Meleha reached him. He had imagined that the course which the Spanish viceroy would pursue, would have been to force an entrance into the grand harbour, and every preparation had been made by him to resist such an attempt. When, therefore, he gathered that all his precautions had been vain, and that a large Spanish army was, at that moment, within a few miles of his own reduced and dispirited force, the same feeling of panic overwhelmed him which had already spread itself amongst his troops. The night of the 7th of September was passed in the embarkation of the artillery and other warlike stores, and the noise of removal, plainly audible to the garrison throughout that summer's night, must have sounded like music in their ears. With the first dawn of day the embarkation of the troops commenced. St. Elmo was abandoned, and all those trenches and batteries which it had cost the Turks so many months, and so fearful an expenditure of blood to construct, were now relinquished into the hands of the garrison.

La Valette's measures, on this joyful morning, were as prompt and decisive as those of Mustapha had been injudicious and hasty. The whole town poured forth into the trenches of the foe, and in a few hours the labour of months had been destroyed. The banner of St. John was once more triumphantly reared over the ruined fortalice of St. Elmo, and Piali was driven to expedite the departure of his galleys from the Marsa Musceit, which was no longer a secure refuge, now that Mount Sceberras was once again in possession of the Knights. The abandonment of the siege had been barely effected, and the embarkation of the troops scarcely completed, when Mustapha received more accurate in-

telligence as to the numbers of those who were advancing to the rescue of the garrison. The proud spirit of the Turkish general was struck with indignation at the thought, that he should thus hastily have abandoned the labour of so many months upon the advent of a force so far inferior to his own, and promptly summoning together a council of war, it was decided, by a slender majority, that the troops should be again disembarked, and marched into the interior of the island, to encounter their new opponents. The soldiers, worn out and dispirited by the lengthened struggle which had proved so fatal to themselves, murmured loudly at this decision of their chiefs, and were with the utmost difficulty torn from the ships, in which they had hoped to have been borne away from the scene of so many privations and hardships. Mustapha, however, was a man endued with too much determination of purpose to allow the discontent of a mutinous soldiery to divert him from his aim, and a body of about 9000 men once more stood upon the shores of Malta.

Intelligence of this new movement was at once despatched by La Valette to Della Corna, the leader of the new contingent, and that general promptly took precautionary measures to meet the enemy. Della Corna had secured a very strong position on the summit of a hill, and he was himself disposed to await, within his intrenchments, the onset of the Turks; but he had those under his command whose fiery zeal and impatient ardour could ill brook such a defensive policy. A body of 200 Maltese Knights, each of whom was accompanied by two or three armed followers, had formed themselves into a battalion by far the most efficient in Della Corna's army. These Knights called loudly to be led at once

against the foe who had caused the slaughter of so many of their brethren, and the general, against his own better judgment, was compelled to give way to the universal ardour, and, abandoning his post of advantage, to lead his troops against the advancing enemy.

The two armies came to the encounter with a widely different spirit; the one, sullen and disheartened at their numerous failures, were only too anxious to abandon the fatal spot; whilst the others were burning with eagerness to avenge the fate of those endeared to them by every tie of brotherhood, who had fallen victims in the struggle now so nearly ended. Imbued with such widely contrary feelings, and fighting with so different a spirit, it can be a matter of no surprise that the Turks were unable to withstand the shock of their antagonists. The struggle, indeed, could scarcely be dignified by the name of a battle; at the very first volley the Turks fled, and were pursued by their eager opponents to their very ships. No attempt at resistance was made, and their line of flight was a constant massacre throughout. Hassan, the Algerine corsair, had been posted with 1500 men to protect the point of embarkation, and had it not been for this precautionary measure on the part of Mustapha, not a single man of that army would have lived to reach the galleys. As it was, this seasonable relief for a short time imperilled the existence of the impetuous Maltese battalion. Disorganised by their hasty pursuit, and exhausted with their own efforts beneath the vertical rays of a September sun, this gallant body beheld themselves surrounded by Hassan and his Algerines, and must inevitably have been cut to pieces, had not Della Corna promptly made his appearance with the main body of his army. All strife was now at an

end; the shattered remnants of the Turkish force once more sought safety on board their ships, and that fleet, which a few short months before had approached Malta with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and had landed their army with the proud assurance of conquerors, was now driven to abandon the enterprise with disgrace, and to carry away the diminished and enfeebled remains of their once powerful army with ignominy from the rocky coasts of that island which they had in vain endeavoured to tear from the grasp of the Knights of St. John.

Della Corna having thus witnessed the final departure of the foe, marched his victorious force to the Bourg, and there they encountered the remains of that heroic garrison, whose lengthened and stubborn resistance had that day been brought to so glorious a termination. It was a sad and touching spectacle to witness the meeting between these enfeebled war-worn soldiers and the gallant comrades who had so opportunely come to their rescue. Of the 8000 men whom La Valette had, prior to the commencement of the siege, mustered beneath his banner, but little more than 600 remained at its close capable of bearing arms; and almost every one of that chosen few bore upon his person the honourable scars received during many a hardly fought struggle. Exhausted and worn as they were with toil and watching, their wan and almost ghastly countenances were now lighted up with proud consciousness of the honours they had won, and the glorious victory they had gained. Alone and unaided, they had for months withstood the brunt of the whole power of the Turkish empire. Their ruined and blood-stained ramparts could tell a tale of heroism and endurance such as the world had never

before witnessed; that struggle was now ended, the victory was once again theirs, and the banner of St. John had yet another triumph to be emblazoned upon its folds, before which all those that had previously been the subject of so much pride and honour seemed pale and trivial. Well might La Valette be excused the natural exultation of the moment, when, calling to mind the glorious result of the struggle he had brought to so successful a termination, he directed that the name of his town should from that day forth be changed from its old appellation of the Bourg, to the proud and well-earned title of the Città Vittoriosa.

CHAP. XIX.

RETURN OF THE TURKISH ARMY TO CONSTANTINOPLE. — RUMOURS OF A NEW EXPEDITION. — DEATH OF SOLYMAN. — COMMENCEMENT OF THE NEW CITY OF VALETTA. — DISTURBANCES IN THE CONVENT. — DEATH OF LA VALETTE. — ACCESSION OF DEL MONTE. — TRANSFER OF THE CONVENT TO VALETTA. — BATTLE OF LEPANTO. — DEATH OF DEL MONTE. — ELEVATION OF LA CASSIERE. — SEDITIONS AROUSED AGAINST HIM. — HIS DEPOSITION AND RESTORATION. — HIS DEATH, AND THE SUCCESSION OF VERDALA. — ARRIVAL OF THE JESUITS. — DEATH OF VERDALA, AND BRIEF RULE OF GARCES.

THE army which the pasha Mustapha had originally conducted against the island of Malta consisted of 30,000 men, selected from amongst the flower of the Turkish troops; and the successive reinforcements brought to the island by the corsairs Dragut and Hassan, swelled that number to upwards of 40,000. Of this vast force, which but a few months before had landed triumphantly upon the rocky shores of that island which they had marked as their prey, scarce 10,000 survived to accompany Mustapha on his return to Constantinople.

The rage of Solyman, upon learning the disgrace which had befallen his arms, was such as might have been anticipated from one who, through a lengthened career, had hitherto almost invariably been the favoured child of victory. Tearing the despatch which contained the unpalatable intelligence into fragments, he ex-

claimed that his arms were never successful save when he himself was present; and he pledged himself to lead in person a fresh expedition against Malta at the commencement of the ensuing summer; when he vowed he would not leave one stone standing upon another. Preparations were instantly commenced in the arsenals of Constantinople, for the construction of a fleet of sufficient magnitude to carry out the project of the sultan, and every nerve was strained to prepare such a force as should effectually wipe away the stain which the late failure had brought upon the glory of the empire.

The position of the Order of St. John was at this moment critical in the extreme. Of the garrison of 8000 men which before the siege had mustered beneath the white-cross banner, and which the reinforcement received shortly after the fall of St. Elmo had raised to nearly 9000, but little more than 600 remained, and these mostly wounded, and but ill-fitted to bear arms.* The process of exhaustion had been carried

* The 8th of September, the day on which the siege of Malta was raised by the Turks, was always subsequently celebrated with great rejoicings by the Order. As the day of the nativity of the Virgin Mary, it was already a festival of the Church; but from the year 1565 it became the most important anniversary in the calendar to the inhabitants of Malta. On that day a solemn mass was performed for the souls of those who fell during the siege; and the names of such among the victims as had attained any rank in the fraternity were registered in the records of the church. Of these, 18 were Knights of Provence, 4 of Auvergne, 21 of France, 50 of Italy, 14 of Aragon, 4 of Germany, and 18 of Castile. Sir Oliver Starkey was the only English Knight of eminence recorded to have been present at the siege, and he survived, to occupy the dignities successively of lieutenant of the Turcopolier, and bailiff of the Eagle. It must be remembered, that these numbers only included those who had been either killed outright, or whose wounds had proved mortal before the

on by Mustapha almost to the point at which he was aiming. It had been his purpose to harass the garrison by such constant assaults, that their numbers should eventually be so reduced as to leave them an easy prey to his arms. This policy had proved successful at St. Elmo; and must undoubtedly have also realised his expectations at the Bourg, had his own means been sufficiently unlimited for the purpose. Whilst, however, the results of his scheme were being thus developed within the garrison, his own force was suffering a diminution, from sword and pestilence, to so fearful an extent, that when the moment arrived for taking advantage of the feebleness of the defenders, his army was no longer in a state to avail themselves of it.

The defence of Malta has justly been considered the most brilliant feat of arms which has graced the annals of the Order of St. John; and the historian naturally seeks for the causes which brought about so glorious a success. Foremost amongst these must be ranked the jealousy which existed between the military and naval commanders of the Turkish armament. Mustapha and Piali were both far too eager to prevent each other from realising the entire glory of the expedition; and were but ill-prepared for that mutual concession and goodwill which was so essentially necessary for the ultimate success of their arms. The engineering tactics of the Turks were, moreover, faulty in the extreme; their neglect in permitting the garrison of St. Elmo to maintain an uninterrupted communication with that of the

close of the siege. There was probably a large additional number who lingered for months, and perhaps for years, and yet who most undoubtedly may be considered to have received their death wounds during this memorable struggle.

Bourg, detained them before its walls many weeks longer than would otherwise have been the case; and as though untaught by the results of that siege, they subsequently neglected to complete the investment of the Bourg, until after a comparatively considerable reinforcement had succeeded in making its way into the town from Sicily. Dragut was undoubtedly right when he pointed out to Mustapha that he should, in the first place, have made himself master of the Città Notabile. The fortifications of that town were comparatively insignificant, and after a few days' siege it must have fallen into his hands; his rear would then have been secure from any disturbance whilst prosecuting the siege of the Bourg; and the garrison would have been cut off from those resources which they derived from the Città Notabile, during the early part of the siege.

Thus far, it is from errors in the Ottoman tactics that we have deduced the successful result of the struggle on the part of the Christians; but it would be a wanton robbery of that meed of glory which they had so justly earned, to deny that it was mainly owing to the heroic and indomitable bravery of the garrison, led as they were by so gallant and determined a chief as La Valette. It was fortunate for the renown of the Order that, at the moment when they were called upon to maintain so desperate a defence, they were led by a man who, from the energy of his character, and the stern determination of his purpose, was eminently qualified to guide them through the fiery ordeal. The character of La Valette was one which elicited far more respect and fear than love. There was a stern impassiveness in his temperament; a steady and cold resolution of purpose, which marked how utterly he

excluded all personal feeling from the guidance of his actions. His mind was cast in a mould so stern and unflinching, that he extorted an unwavering obedience from those who, had they perhaps loved him more, would have followed his injunctions less implicitly. His cold and uncompromising sacrifice of the garrison of St. Elmo for the safety of their brethren, marks at once the character of the man; whilst the obedience, even unto death, which he extorted from that gallant band, even after they had broken out into open mutiny, proves the extraordinary ascendency which he had gained over their minds. The crisis required a man who could sacrifice all considerations of feeling for those of duty. A stern disregard not only of self, but also of others, where the exigencies of the case demanded it, was imperatively called for; and in La Valette the Order found a man capable of such sacrifice. He had also the rare faculty of arousing in others that religious enthusiasm which appears to have been the chief motive power of his own conduct in life; and throughout this eventful siege, the meanest soldier engaged seems to have imbibed from his chief that lofty determination to conquer or to die, which was the great secret of their stubborn and successful resistance.

Europe had looked on with bated breath whilst the strife was still impending. Ever and anon, as intelligence was brought of the successful maintenance of that resistance, and the constant failure of the Turkish assaults, a loud cry of acclaim would arise, and prayers were proffered in many a Christian congregation for the ultimate success of the Cross against the Crescent. When at last it became known that that success had been indeed assured, and that the turbaned hosts of

Solyman had recoiled in disgrace from the sea-girt fortress, the universal joy and exultation knew no bounds. The successes of the Hospitallers over the Turks were a subject of the deepest congratulation to the courts of Madrid and Rome. The island of Malta had been looked upon as an advanced post to both of these kingdoms; and had Solyman succeeded in establishing himself in permanence on that point, the kingdom of Sicily and the papal dominions, would have been continually exposed to the piratical incursions of his Algerine subjects. It was at these courts, therefore, that the sentiments of admiration and gratitude found the freest vent.

Philip instantly despatched a special ambassador to Malta, with congratulations to La Valette upon the auspicious result of the siege; and the envoy bore with him, as a present from the monarch, a magnificent poinard and sword, the hilts of which were of chased gold, studded with diamonds and other jewels. These costly weapons were presented to La Valette in full council by the ambassador; who, in a set oration, informed the Grand-Master that the king of Spain looked upon him as the great hero of the age, and requested his acceptance of these weapons, to be used by him in the defence of Christendom. At Rome the universal enthusiasm was unbounded. A salute was fired from the guns of the castle of St. Angelo, and a general illumination of the city testified to the exultation of the inhabitants. The Pope, Pius IV., as a special mark of favour, offered La Valette a cardinal's hat; a dignity which had been previously tendered to, and accepted by, the Grand-Master D'Aubusson, after his successful defence of Rhodes. This proffer, which had proved acceptable in

the latter case, had no attractions for La Valette. His position, as Grand-Master of so powerful and influential a brotherhood as the Hospital of St. John, may well have led him to consider himself of higher rank than a mere cardinal. Ruling over the islands of Malta and Gozo in sovereign independence; possessed of a fleet which scoured every corner of the Mediterranean; and maintaining ambassadors at all the leading courts of Europe, he considered himself to occupy the rank of a sovereign prince; and as such, the dignity of a cardinal's hat appeared to him unworthy of acceptance. The proffer of the pontiff was therefore graciously declined, under the plea that the office of Grand-Master required functions so diametrically opposed to those of a cardinal, that he did not consider they could be reconciled together.

In the midst of this general scene of rejoicing and congratulation, it became necessary for La Valette to consider what steps should be taken to avert the renewed attack, which, as he was informed by his spies, was at that moment in active preparation at Constantinople. The position of the convent was in this crisis certainly most desperate. The fortifications were in a state of complete ruin, the arsenals and storehouses were empty, the treasury was exhausted, and the ranks of the fraternity so fearfully diminished, that an adequate garrison could not be provided, even had the island been in a proper state of defence. The general feeling of the council leant in favour of an immediate abandonment of the island, and the retirement of the convent into Sicily; but La Valette felt that his renown, and that of the Order, had become too intimately blended with the island of Malta to brook so great a sacrifice as its

surrender in the very hour of triumph. He loudly expressed his determination to bury himself beneath those ruins he had already so successfully defended, rather than permit them thus tamely to fall into the possession of the Infidel; and the same strong will and inflexible determination which had so often before overruled the opinions and decisions of his council, once again triumphed over all opposition; and in accordance with the desire of their chief, it was determined to stand or fall in the island where they had already achieved so brilliant a success.

The danger, however, was most imminent; and La Valette, feeling that it would be utterly impossible for him to oppose force by force, determined to have recourse to treachery to avert the impending blow. He had in his pay a large number of spies in and about Constantinople, and he availed himself of the services of some of these unscrupulous agents to cause the grand arsenal of that city to be destroyed by fire. Large stores of gunpowder had been accumulated for the purposes of the approaching expedition, and the devastation caused by their explosion was such as utterly to destroy the entire arsenal and the fleet which was being equipped within its precincts. This blow completely annihilated the intentions of Solyman with regard to Malta; and his death, which occurred not long after, prevented any renewal of the attempt. Most writers, in narrating this occurrence, have deemed it due to the revered memory of La Valette to explain this act apologetically, by laying great stress upon the peculiar and critical position in which he was placed. There does not appear, however, to be any occasion for apology or excuse in the matter. The Ottoman emperor was notoriously and ostentatiously

preparing a gigantic armament for the utter destruction and annihilation of the Order. Its object was no secret, and its destination had been openly declared by the sultan himself, who had boasted that he would not leave one stone upon another in that island which had dared to resist his armies. Surely it came within the legitimate rules of war to compass the destruction of that fleet whilst yet within the limits of the Ottoman arsenal, and La Valette was only exercising the prudent foresight of a great commander, in thus averting the blow which he would otherwise have been utterly unable to resist.

All immediate danger of an invasion being thus happily ended, the Grand-Master turned his attention to the restoration of his convent, and the re-fortification of the island. The late siege had most clearly demonstrated the extreme importance of the post of St. Elmo, and the absolute necessity which existed for its re-occupation. La Valette determined, therefore, not only to reconstruct the fort upon a more extended scale than before, but also to carry out the project which had been already frequently mooted, of occupying the entire peninsula with a new town, and surrounding it with fortifications of such magnitude, as should render it safe from the attack of an enemy. Experience had shown that the Bourg, or as it was now termed, the Città Vittoriosa, was but ill suited for the head-quarters of the convent. Exposed, on every side, to hills which completely overlooked it, the difficulty of maintaining it, during a lengthened siege, had been so distinctly marked, that some change appeared absolutely imperative; and no other spot, within the island, afforded so many advantages in the way of defence, as the Mount Sceberras. The expense, however, of carrying

out such a project, would have been enormous; and La Valette, with a treasury completely exhausted, felt that he would have to depend greatly on foreign assistance to carry his design into execution. Ambassadors were therefore despatched to all the leading courts of Europe, furnished with plans showing the proposed alterations and additions to the defences of Malta, and earnestly demanding pecuniary aid for the realisation of the scheme.

The Order, at this moment, stood in very high favour throughout all the Catholic countries of Europe; the good service they had rendered to Christendom, by averting the dreaded inroads of the Moslem, was everywhere recognised and appreciated. The demand for aid which now arose, was therefore warmly and freely met, and La Valette received assurances of such liberal contributions, that he was enabled at once to commence the realisation of his project. The Pope guaranteed a contribution of 15,000 crowns; the king of France promised 140,000 livres, Philip pledged himself to supply 90,000 livres, and the king of Portugal promised 30,000 crusadoes. Whilst this assistance was being rendered from without, the members of the fraternity, eager to secure the benefits which the proposed design would confer upon their convent, rivalled one another in the extent of their contributions. Many of the wealthiest commanders, not content with forwarding the entire revenue of their commanderies, stripped themselves of a large portion of their personal property, which they cheerfully merged into the public treasury, to aid in the good work. The noble heart of La Valette must have warmed within him, at the generous co-operation thus afforded to his design; and summoning

the most able engineers and architects then procurable in Italy, he no longer delayed the commencement of the new city.

On the 28th of March 1566, the ceremonial of laying the first stone was performed by La Valette, with great pomp and magnificence. The spot selected for this purpose was the corner of St. John's bastion; and here La Valette, following the ceremonial still customary upon similar occasions, spread the mortar in due form, and when the stone was lowered into its bed, struck it with his mallet, and having ascertained its correctness with the square, proclaimed it duly laid in the most approved fashion. Beneath the stone were deposited plans of the proposed city, as also several gold and silver coins, with medals bearing the legend, "Melita renascens;" together with the day and year on which the building was commenced.*

From this time La Valette devoted himself entirely to his new city. He took up his abode in a temporary wooden structure upon Mount Sceberras, and spent his days in the midst of the workmen. The example thus set by their chief was followed by all his knighthood, and each one strove, by precept and example, to urge forward the progress of the work. All the leading towns in Sicily and Italy were ransacked for artificers, and at one time no less than 8000 labourers were employed to assist the masons.

The original design had contemplated that the high ridge of rock which formed the Mount Sceberras should have been cut down to a level platform, upon which the city was to have stood, surrounded by its ramparts, formed mainly from the natural rock, scarped down to

* Vide Appendix, No. 17.

the water's edge. Whilst, however, this work was in operation, and before it had become far advanced, rumours reached the island of a new expedition preparing at Constantinople, and of which the destination was supposed to be Malta. Selim, who had succeeded to Solyman, was a man of pacific sentiments, and too much engrossed in luxuries and sensualities, to take delight in those ambitious projects which had been so constantly cherished by his father. Still he ruled over a nation eminently warlike in character, and amongst whom enmity to the cause of Christianity, and a craving for domination in the Mediterranean, had long become ruling passions. Unable, therefore, entirely to restrain the aggressive and warlike propensities of his subjects, Selim was compelled apparently to meet their views, by fitting out expeditions without any fixed ideas as to their ultimate destination. False alarms were thus, throughout his reign, constantly being spread, and preparations were on all sides made to resist attacks which the Ottoman sultan never seriously contemplated. The only result of the expedition which he was now preparing, was to destroy the symmetry of the new city of Valetta, which, instead of being on a level platform, was, owing to this alarm, built upon the sloping ridge which constituted the natural conformation of the ground. Hence those interminable flights of steps which in the present day weary the unfortunate pedestrian, whilst toiling upwards under the blaze of a July sun, and which have invoked the metrical malediction of the greatest poet of modern ages.*

* Adieu, ye joys of La Valette!
Adieu, scirocco, sun, and sweat!
Adieu, ye cursed streets of stairs!
How surely he who mounts you swears!—*Byron.*

La Valette had not progressed far with his new city, before the want of funds began to make itself seriously felt. He had received promises of large amounts, but those pledges were but very tardily fulfilled; and the funds upon which he counted from his own fraternity, could only be paid in by annual instalments, as the revenues of the various commanderies fell due. Under these difficulties he decided on a measure, the successful working of which proved how high the credit of the Order for prompt and faithful payment stood in the eyes of the inhabitants generally. He caused a large quantity of copper money to be coined, bearing a fictitious value far above that which it was intrinsically worth. These coins bore upon one side the symbol of two hands clasped in friendship, and on the obverse, the motto "Non æs sed fides," Not money, but trust. This money was freely taken by the artificers, and passed currently throughout the island for its nominal value; and the Order faithfully redeemed the trust which had been reposed in them, by promptly calling in the fictitious coinage as they received remittances from Europe, until it had been entirely withdrawn from circulation.

The first name given to the new city, and that which La Valette designed that it should be called, was *umilissima*, the humblest, but this appellation was soon changed to that of Valetta, after the chief under whose auspices it had been commenced. Whilst the Grand-Master himself superintended the construction of the town, the fortifications by which it was to be surrounded were intrusted to the care of Jerome Cassan, the engineer of the Order, a Knight who had rendered himself celebrated for his proficiency in the art of fortification; and under his fostering superintendence were com-

menced the first of those stupendous bulwarks which have since rendered the city of Valetta one of the most impregnable fortresses of Europe. The raising of the ramparts, the levelling of the ground, and the tracing of the streets, occupied rather more than a year; and after these preliminary works had been executed under the direct auspices, and at the expense of the Order generally, private individuals were encouraged and invited to erect houses within the space allotted for that purpose. As an incentive to members of the fraternity to join in the work, it was expressly decreed, that any Knight building for himself a house within the limits of Valetta, was to be permitted the privilege of disposing of it by will at his death; a concession not enjoyed by him with regard to the remainder of his property. This privilege induced a vast number of Knights to erect for themselves mansions in the new city, and many of its houses show traces of having been originally constructed for members of the fraternity, who, not being permitted to marry, had no families, and consequently did not require many sleeping-rooms. In most of the houses of Valetta we find, that, whilst the apartments devoted to reception are spacious, lofty, and handsomely decorated, occupying by far the larger portion of the building, those intended for sleeping-rooms are narrow, confined, and limited in extent.

The aged Grand-Master continued, throughout the brief remainder of his life, to take the same interest in the new city which was thus springing up under his eyes. But he was not permitted to spend that limited period in the peace and quiet to which, by a long life of vicissitudes and warfare, he had so justly entitled himself.

In his early life he had been present at the siege of

Rhodes under L'Isle Adam, and had borne an honourable part throughout that long and desperate struggle. From that hour he had followed the fortunes of his Order through all their wanderings, and had raised himself step by step through all the various dignities in their gift, until he had eventually attained to the post of Grand-Master, at a moment when that office bore with it the fearful responsibilities of conducting the maintenance of a defence against the entire strength of the Turkish power. Now, however, when the successful issue of that memorable siege had secured the Order from all further foreign disturbance or aggression, and when he might reasonably have hoped for an old age passed amidst the calm of universal tranquillity, there arose within the bosom of his own community a spirit of discord and faction which embittered his latest moments.

The general exultation, which had naturally followed upon the glorious repulse of the Turkish army, had gradually degenerated into a spirit of license amongst the more youthful members of the fraternity, so outrageous that La Valette found himself totally unable to restrain it. The wildest debauchery and the most reckless libertinism stalked rampant through the town, and the scandalous orgies which everywhere prevailed brought a foul stain upon an Order which professed a religious organisation, and which embraced the vow of chastity as one of its leading principles. In these licentious gatherings ribald songs were sung, reflecting upon the characters, not only of the virtuous ladies in the island, but even of the Grand-Master himself.* Nothing

* A pasquinade is stated to be still in existence at Malta, although

was too high or too sacred to be made the butt of their ridicule, and La Valette felt that it would be necessary to resort to the strongest measures to check this growing iniquity.

A prosecution was instituted against the most notorious of the offenders, and they were summoned for adjudication before the general council of the Order. Instead, however, of attending submissively to this call, these insubordinate Knights rushed into the council chamber in tumultuous array; and, heedless alike of the dignity of the meeting, and of the obedience which they owed to its edicts, they treated the entire affair with the most insulting ridicule. The pen was plucked from the hand of the chancellor who was recording their sentence; the decrees of the council were destroyed, and the inkstand thrown out of window. They then, feeling that they had so far compromised themselves that they were certain of receiving the severest punishment from the stern justice of their inflexible chief, hastily made their exit from the council chamber, hurried away to the harbour, and there, seizing upon one of the galleys which lay at anchor, set sail for Sicily, and from that point made their way to their respective homes, where alone they felt that they should be secure from the avenging justice of their insulted chief.

Two murders about this time likewise contributed their quota to the anxieties and distress of La Valette. In one case his own private secretary was shot in the street, and the perpetrator of the foul act remained

the author has not been enabled to procure a sight of it, in which the heroic La Valette is accused of cowardice, and of hiding himself behind a beam during one of the assaults upon the post of Castile.

undetected and unpunished. In the other, a Florentine gentleman, who had been married to a lady, the daughter of one of the original settlers from Rhodes, stabbed his wife in an access of jealousy, and afterwards succeeded in making his escape from the island. This event caused a most unpleasant feeling amongst the Rhodian colonists, and added much to the annoyance to which La Valette was at this time subjected.

Meanwhile a dispute, which promised the most grave consequences, sprang up between the fraternity and the court of Rome. For many years the pontiffs who had successively attained to the dignity of the triple crown had arrogated to themselves the power of nomination to most of the vacant dignities in the language of Italy, to the detriment of the authority of the Grand-Master and his council. In the first outburst of gratitude which displayed itself at Rome after the successful defence of Malta, La Valette had succeeded in extorting from the Pope a pledge that the nomination to these dignities should in future be left to the discretion of the fraternity, without interference from the court of Rome. This pledge, however, had no sooner been made than it was broken; and La Valette found the Pope as prompt as ever in arrogating to himself the privilege which he had expressly renounced. He therefore addressed to his Holiness a letter of the most urgent remonstrance upon the subject, and also despatched an ambassador to the papal court, with a view to obtaining some reparation for the wrong which was being inflicted. The Pope, however, irritated at the tone in which the Grand-Master's letter was couched,—and indeed it must be admitted that he had expressed himself in no measured terms on the subject of this wanton breach of faith,—was

glad of a pretext to avoid receiving La Valette's ambassador, and he therefore availed himself of the tenor of the obnoxious letter, as a reason for refusing to give him an audience; and as a further mark of his displeasure, he dismissed him from court in disgrace.

This marked slight, and wanton addition of insult to injury, deeply affected the Grand-Master and weighed heavily on his spirits. The accumulated discords which surrounded him, both from within and without, so far overcame the inherent firmness of the gallant old man, that he sank into a condition of the most painful despondency, from which he found it impossible to rouse himself. One day, towards the latter end of July, anxious to distract his mind from the anxieties which preyed upon him, he started on a hawking party in the direction of St. Paul's Bay. The sun, which at this season of the year is extremely powerful in the island of Malta, overcame the old man, enfeebled as he was, and he was brought home suffering from all the symptoms of a *coup de soleil.* A fierce and most virulent fever set in as the consequence of this unfortunate expedition, and, after an illness of nearly a month, he died on the 21st of August 1568.

His body was in the first instance placed in the chapel attached to the castle of St. Angelo, but four days later, namely, on the 25th of August, his successor having in the meantime been elected, a grand funeral cortége was formed for the transport of the corpse to a chapel which he had built and endowed in the city of Valetta, and which was dedicated to our Lady of Victory. The body was placed upon the great galley of the Order, which, richly-decorated and denuded of its masts, was towed in solemn procession by two other

galleys, covered with black cloth, and bearing behind them the Turkish banners which had been captured during the late siege, and which they now trailed ignominiously in the water. The body having entered the Marsa Musceit, was there landed, and the procession being re-formed by land, it was conveyed with similar solemnities to the place of sepulture, where it was lowered into its grave amidst the lamentations and regrets of all who witnessed the melancholy ceremony.

The memory of La Valette has always been held in the highest veneration by the succeeding generations of the fraternity. The Order had, during the five centuries of its existence, witnessed but few who could have the slightest claim to be considered his equal in all those qualities which should distinguish the leader of so powerful an institution, and most certainly none who could be deemed his superior. Called to the supreme authority at an hour of the most imminent danger, he proved himself fully qualified to meet the crisis. In his public character he earned for himself a reputation such as has fallen to the lot of few men to achieve. Stern and inflexible in character, he was rigidly just and honourable in all his actions. Throughout his long career he proved himself the terror of evil-doers, and the implacable foe to disorder of every description. By his fraternity he was feared and respected, more perhaps than he was loved; and his character was such as to excite the former rather than the latter feeling in the minds of those over whom he held command. The crisis during which he was placed at the head of his Order, demanded a man of iron will and of rigid inflexibility of purpose, and in La Valette that man was found. So long, therefore, as the necessity

for such qualifications continued, he was essentially the right man in the right place, and as such received the willing obedience and the warm admiration of his fraternity; but during the last years of his life, when peace appeared to have been once more secured to the convent, that austerity was no longer recognised as a virtue on his part, and at the time of his death there were not a few who, having felt the rigid exactness of his rule most irksome, hailed the event as a relief, and though outwardly mourning for the loss of one who had proved so brilliant an ornament to his Order, were at heart not ill pleased to look forward to the prospect of a new chief, whose governance might prove less rigid and austere.

The decease of La Valette having been anticipated for some weeks before it actually took place, various intrigues had been set on foot with reference to the election of his successor. La Valette had himself named Antonio de Toledo, the grand-prior of Castile, as in his opinion the most worthy successor to his office; but the cabal of two grand-crosses, named La Motte and Maldonat, secured the election of the grand-admiral Peter de Monte, of the language of Italy. The lengthened services of this Knight had fully entitled him to the favourable consideration of the electors, and it appears somewhat strange that he should not have been named by La Valette in preference to the Knight already mentioned. Like the late chief, he had in his youth served at the siege of Rhodes under L'Isle Adam, and had, after that event, established for himself a high reputation by his naval exploits. The Pope, in consideration of his services against the Infidel, had nominated him governor of the castle of St. Angelo

at Rome. He had subsequently been raised to the post of general of the galleys by the fraternity, and had eventually reached the dignity of grand-admiral as the head of the language of Italy. It was whilst holding this office that he was selected by La Valette to undertake the defence of the peninsula of Senglea during the late siege, and his services in that post were so brilliant as to have placed him, in the general opinion of his fraternity, as second only to La Valette. At the conclusion of the siege he had been sent as an ambassador to Rome, when the Pope, as a mark of respect for his brilliant services and grey hairs, would not permit him to kneel in his presence, as was customary at the reception of ambassadors.

He had not long occupied the post of Grand-Master before he perceived that the two Knights through whose influence he had succeeded in his election, desired to make him a tool in their hands for the acquisition of such dignities as he might have it within his power to bestow. De Monte was not disposed to submit himself to such dictation, and yet, at the same time, he felt that a certain consideration was due to those who had placed him in the magisterial chair. In order, therefore, to free himself from their claims without committing any act of ingratitude, he nominated one his ambassador at Rome, and the other he made grand-prior of Spain.

Being thus freed from the troublesome dictation of his friends, he occupied himself in carrying on those reforms which La Valette had commenced. The new city of Valetta progressed, under his auspices, even more rapidly than it had done during the rule of his predecessor; and on the 18th of March 1571, he moved the convent from its original habitation in the Bourg

into the new city. This event was celebrated with great magnificence, and may be considered as marking the date when the city of Valetta was first inhabited. It was, however, even at that time, in a very unfinished state; and the palace in which the Grand-Master resided was as yet only a wooden building, containing a hall and two inner rooms.

Under his fostering care the navy of the Order was raised to a strength far exceeding what it had attained for many years. In order to stimulate a spirit of enterprise amongst the fraternity, De Monte gave permission to such members of the Order as might desire to avail themselves of it, to undertake cruising expeditions on their own responsibility, and for their own benefit. This permission was taken advantage of to a great extent, and many Knights returned from their cruises against the corsairs laden with booty. In the midst of these partial successes, however, a disaster occurred which at the time threw great disgrace upon the fair fame of the fraternity. The general of the galleys, named St. Clement, whilst in command of four vessels laden with provisions, was overtaken by the Tunisian corsair Ucciali. The Maltese commander did not on this occasion display that firmness and bravery which might have been expected from a member of his Order; but, two of his vessels having been captured, he ran the one in which he himself was aground, and having reached the shore, fled ignominiously. In this unfortunate engagement sixty-two Knights perished; and St. Clement no sooner presented himself at Malta, than he was brought before the council to answer for his conduct during the fatal affray. The evidence adduced too clearly proved his cowardice on the occasion, and the

public indignation ran so high against the unfortunate Knight, that, after having been stripped of his habit, he was handed over to the secular power for further punishment. By their decree he was strangled in his prison, and his body, enclosed in a sack, was thrown into the sea. Such was the stern award decreed for those who disgraced their fraternity by any exhibition of cowardice in the face of the enemy.

The year 1571 was marked by the glorious victory which the combined Christian fleet gained over the Turks at the battle of Lepanto. In this action only three Maltese galleys were present, commanded by Pietro Justiniani; the whole expedition, which consisted of 210 galleys, besides numerous other smaller vessels, being under the command of Don John of Austria. The action was fought on the 7th of October, and, after a desperate struggle, ended in the complete rout of the Ottoman fleet. One hundred and forty galleys were captured, many others were destroyed, and the slaughter of their crews reached the almost fabulous total of 32,000 men. The results of this great victory were so marked that the naval power of the Turks in the Mediterranean was for many years completely annihilated.

De Monte had in his last years felt himself so oppressed by the responsibilities of his office, that he earnestly besought the Pope to permit him to resign the dignity into other hands. Pius V., however, would not consent to this request, and the Grand-Master was compelled most unwillingly to retain his post until his death, which occurred on the 27th of January 1572, when he had attained the age of seventy-six years.

It was during his brief rule, that the convent of Hospitaller ladies at Sixena became once more united

to the Order of St. John. This establishment, which was situated at Sixena, a small town midway between Saragossa and Lerida, had been founded by Sancha, daughter of Alphonso II., king of Aragon. Her mother, also called Sancha, surnamed the Chaste, had previously founded a convent of noble ladies of the Order of St. John, at the time when the loss of Palestine had deprived them of their homes. The establishment at Sixena was formed on a scale of princely magnificence, and resembled a palace rather than a religious house. Sixty noble young ladies of the kingdoms of Aragon and Catalonia were admitted into this royal convent, without being required to pay any dower; and the munificence of its foundress and the kings of Aragon, soon raised it to a high position. It was subjected by Pope Celestin III. to the rules of the Augustin Order; and the ladies wore a scarlet robe, with a black mantle, bearing the white eight-pointed cross of the Order, and in honour of their royal foundress they each carried a silver sceptre during divine service. For many years the institution remained associated with the Order of St. John, acknowledging the Grand-Master as their superior, and the prioress of the convent took her seat at all provincial chapters of the Order, next in rank to the castellan of Emposta. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, they withdrew their allegiance from the Order of St. John, and placed themselves under the direct authority of the Pope. This secession lasted until the reign of De Monte, when, in 1569, Hieronyma d'Olibo, then grand-prioress of the convent, with the consent of her nuns, signified her desire to become once more attached to the Order; and her request being acceded to, the schism was brought to a close; and from

that date, the nuns of Sixena annually presented a silver vase to the convent at Malta, in token of fealty.

The death of De Monte having left the office of Grand-Master vacant, it was filled by the election of John L'Evèque de La Cassière, chief of the language of Auvergne, and grand-marshal of the Order. The rule of this Knight was a scene of turbulence and confusion from beginning to end. Although a man of the most dauntless bravery, and one who had by many gallant actions gained for himself a very high reputation among his comrades, he was, by the arrogance of his temper, and the violence and obstinacy of his character, but ill suited for the high dignity of chief of the Order. Ere long he had involved himself in so many disputes, and had created such a host of enemies, that the island was thrown into a state of the utmost confusion.

An altercation which he had with the bishop of Malta, touching the extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the latter, led to the introduction into Malta of an accredited member of the holy Inquisition, who, under the title of grand-inquisitor, became ever afterwards a fruitful source of discord and uneasiness to future Grand-Masters. He had been originally despatched in consequence of an appeal made by La Cassière against the bishop to Pope Gregory XIII. Differences had often, prior to this, sprung up between the heads of the Order of St. John and the bishops of Malta. The ecclesiastical functions and powers of the latter had never been very clearly defined, and were often the cause of a collision between himself and the head of the government. The intervention of the grand-inquisitor, however, so far from alleviating this evil, added yet another most fertile source of discord to those already

existing. Instead of two, there were now three heads in the island; and, although both the bishop and the inquisitor nominally acknowledged the supremacy of the Grand-Master, yet by their acts they almost invariably proved that that acknowledgment was more nominal than real.

At the time when this new ecclesiastical authority was first despatched to Malta, the Pope had, at the request of the council, directed that he was not to act independently; but that in all matters affecting church discipline a tribunal was to be formed, in which he was to be associated with the Grand-Master, the vice-chancellor, the bishop, and the prior of the church. It was not long, however, before the ambition of the grand-inquisitor, supported as he was by the Pope, gradually usurped for himself an independent and separate tribunal within the island. In order to extend his authority, and to free it from all control on the part of the Grand-Master, the inquisitor adopted the following method. Any Maltese who desired to free himself from his allegiance to the Grand-Master was given a patent, issued from the office of the inquisitor, by which he became a direct subject of the Inquisition, and was no longer liable to any of the secular tribunals of the island. The bishop of Malta, in his turn, gradually adopted a similar measure, and by a simple tonsure freed even laymen from all other control than his own. These abuses did not of course spring into full vigour all at once, but they gradually became so glaring that it appeared as though the Grand-Master would eventually lose all authority in the island of which he was the nominal sovereign.

Whilst La Cassière was contending with these rival

functionaries, the external relations of his government were at the same time giving him much cause for uneasiness. A dispute which broke out with the republic of Venice, upon the subject of the property of some Venetian Jews which had been seized by the cruisers of the Order, very nearly led to the entire confiscation of their property within the territories of the republic, and was only accommodated by the most ample concessions and complete reparation on the part of La Cassière. Another source of dispute arose from the nomination of the archduke Winceslas of Austria, through the interest of the king of Spain, to the grand-priory of Castile and Leon, and the bailiwick of Lora, immediately on his being received into the fraternity. Remembering the powerful assistance which the king of Spain had invariably accorded to the Order, it would have been difficult for the council to have refused any request preferred by him. Still this wholesale appropriation of the leading dignities in the language of Castile naturally gave the greatest possible dissatisfaction to the Knights of that language, and a sedition sprang up, which was only quelled by the interposition of the Pope. The insurgent Knights were, by his sentence, condemned to present themselves before the Grand-Master in council, with wax tapers in their hands, and there publicly to ask pardon for their turbulent behaviour.

The insubordination, however, which had once broken out was not to be quelled by a mere decree from the papal court; nor was the conduct of La Cassière during these troublous times such as to conciliate the fraternity, or to restore a spirit of obedience into their ranks. His arrogance and haughty bearing only rendered matters worse, and multiplied the number of his enemies, until,

in the year 1581, the mutinous spirit once more showed itself openly. The Knights of the Spanish language had long been jealous of the influence which the numerical superiority of the French had invariably given them, and in this discontent they were joined by the Italians and Germans. They now plotted for the deposition of La Cassière and the elevation of a member of their own language in his place. In order to veil their real designs they intrigued with a French Knight named Romégas, who by his great personal valour had raised himself high in the estimation of the Order, and had gained the dignities of prior of Toulouse and general of the galleys. Being of a very ambitious temperament, he was seduced from his allegiance under the idea that he would gain the appointment from which they purposed deposing La Cassière.

Among the many causes for dissatisfaction which they alleged against their chief was one which showed the extreme demoralisation of the younger members of the Order. La Cassière, with a view to checking the open and gross licentiousness then prevalent within the city, had issued an edict banishing all women of loose character from the city of Valetta and the casals in its immediate vicinity. That this decree should have been publicly made the subject of a grievance marks that a very low tone of morality must at that time have been prevalent amongst the members of the Hospital.

All being at length ripe for the movement, the mutineers openly declared themselves, and held a public council, in which they decreed that the Grand-Master was, owing to his great age and infirmities, unable to continue in the active exercise of his functions; and they therefore proposed that he should be called upon

to nominate a lieutenant to assist him in his duties. La Cassière, who, although an aged man, still retained the full vigour of his intellects, rejected this proposition with the utmost disdain; upon which the mutineers re-assembled, and, taking the law into their own hands, nominated Romégas to the post of lieutenant. By selecting a French Knight for the office they evaded the suspicion which would have attached to their proceedings had they chosen a member of their own language, and seduced a considerable number of French Knights to join their cabal. Not content with this act, they once again assembled, and decreed that La Cassière should be placed in close confinement within the fort of St. Angelo. This resolution was no sooner passed than it was carried into effect, and the aged Grand-Master, surrounded by his rebellious brethren, was conveyed through the streets as a criminal to his place of imprisonment. During this journey he was assailed with the bitterest invectives and the grossest abuse, not only by the Knights, but also by the audacious prostitutes who had, by his decree, been banished from the city, and who, on the subversion of his authority, had once more flocked thither in great numbers.

These turbulent proceedings had been insidiously fomented by the king of Spain, who, in order to support the mutineers, had despatched a fleet to Malta, ostensibly for the purpose of protecting the island against a Turkish invasion, but in reality to render assistance in the dispute then raging. An appeal was made to the Pope, both by the insurgents and the Grand-Master, the latter of whom likewise notified his situation to the French ambassador at Rome. The greatest indignation was there excited against the pro-

ceedings of the Spaniards; and the Pope instantly despatched an envoy to Malta to prosecute an inquiry into the causes of the insurrection. The French king also took up the matter warmly, and on his side directed his ambassador to see the Grand-Master righted, and to thwart the intrigues of the Spanish faction.

The papal envoy, Visconti, no sooner reached Malta than he commenced an investigation into the causes and results of the cabal. He had received orders from his holiness to reinstate La Cassière in his dignities, provided he found that that step could be taken without endangering the public tranquillity; but a very brief insight into the state of popular feeling at Malta led Visconti to perceive that such a measure would be fraught with the greatest possible danger. He therefore contented himself with securing the liberation of the incarcerated chief, and summoning him, as well as the malcontent leaders, to Rome, that the dispute might be settled by the pontiff in person. He also succeeded, after some altercation, in inducing the Spanish fleet to quit the island, and to leave the settlement of the question entirely in the hands of the Pope.

The entry of La Cassière into Rome, which took place on the 26th of October, was attended with great pomp; and Gregory seemed determined to mark, by the magnificence and cordiality of his reception, the sense he entertained of the treatment to which the aged chief had been subjected. Romégas, on the other hand, was treated with such studied neglect that his ambitious and proud spirit sank beneath the blow, and he died, on the 4th of November, of a fever produced by the agitation of his mind. The Pope decreed the immediate restoration of the Grand-Master to his dignity,

but at the same time privately cautioned him to act with greater moderation in his governance of the fraternity entrusted to his charge.

La Cassière, however, did not survive to resume the active duties of his station. The cares and anxieties of the last year had proved too much for his aged frame, and he died at Rome, on the 21st of December 1581, at the age of seventy-eight years. During his rule the church of St. John the Baptist was built in the new city of Valetta, and became the conventual church of the Order. The expense of its construction was entirely defrayed by La Cassière out of his magisterial revenue; and he further endowed it with an annual stipend of a thousand crowns. The simplicity of the exterior of this building is by no means consonant with the beauty and magnificence of its interior, being totally devoid of all architectural pretensions. The portal, however, once passed, the eye is greeted with a mass of internal decoration that marks a most lavish expenditure on the part of many succeeding generations of the fraternity. By a decree of the first general chapter, held after the erection of St. John's church, a chapel was assigned within its precincts to each language. These chapels form the aisles to the very extensive nave, and are filled with the most elaborate monuments of the several Grand-Masters, erected in their memory by the members of their various languages. The pavement of the entire church is one of the most beautiful specimens of mosaic work in Europe, and is composed of an uninterrupted succession of monumental records, to the memory of the most celebrated amongst the bailiffs, grand-crosses, and commanders. This pave-

ment glistens with an endless variety of divers coloured marbles, emblazoned throughout with the arms and heraldic insignia of the illustrious deceased; jasper and agate, with other stones of an equally valuable character, being plentifully intermixed. The treasury was enriched with numerous costly gifts in gold and silver, the quinquennial offerings of the Grand-Master and other leading dignitaries. In addition to the magnificent reliquary, enclosing the hand of St. John, there were statues in solid silver of the Twelve Apostles, an exquisite gold cup, presented by Henry VIII. to L'Isle Adam, the sword and poinard given to La Valette by Philip of Spain, numberless crosses and censers in gold and silver, together with several gigantic candelabra of the latter metal. The chapel of the Virgin was lighted with a lamp of solid gold, suspended by a ponderous chain of the same metal; and several of the altars were richly decorated in the same costly manner. Beneath this church La Cassière caused a crypt to be constructed, into which he transferred the bodies of L'Isle Adam and La Valette, and it is in that vault that their venerated remains now rest, beneath two handsome monuments which he caused to be erected to their memories. It had been his intention in constructing this crypt that his own corpse should be interred by the side of those heroes who had reflected so much glory on the title of Grand-Master; but his death so far from Malta appeared at first to render it likely that his wish would not be accomplished. The body was deposited within the church of St. Louis, until its place of ultimate destination should be decided; and when at length it was transported to Malta for interment in the

site originally intended for it, the heart, which had been removed and embalmed, was retained at Rome, and is still preserved there.

The death of La Cassière was no sooner notified to the Pope than he despatched a mandate to the council at Malta prohibiting any steps from being taken, in the election of a successor, until they should have received further instructions from him. He designed, in fact, to take the nomination entirely into his own hands, considering that, as head of the Order, and as the late Grand-Master had died within the limits of his own immediate jurisdiction, he should be entitled to that prerogative. He decided eventually, however, on pursuing a middle course, and despatched a Knight, entrusted with two briefs and full instructions to guide him in the conduct of the affair. The Knight having arrived at Malta, presented one of his briefs to the council, in which the Pope averred that the peculiar circumstances attending the death of the late Grand-Master had left him the right to nominate a successor to the vacant dignity; but that from friendship for the Order, he waived his claim to the privilege, and desired that the election should proceed in the usual manner. The languages were therefore convoked according to custom, but, as soon as the electors had been nominated, the nuncio presented his second brief, which simply restricted their powers to the selection of one out of three candidates whom he named; and who were, Chabrillan, bailiff of Manosque; Verdala, the grand-commander; and Panissa, grand-prior of St. Gilles. The Papal mandate, irregular and unauthorised though it was, received no opposition, and Hugh Loubenx de Verdala was elected to the vacancy.

Although the death of La Cassière had brought to a close the dispute of which he was the subject, the king of France, well aware that the sedition had originally sprung from an ambitious motive on the part of the Spanish and Portuguese languages, fomented and encouraged by the king of Spain, directed his ambassador at the court of Rome to insist that the memory of the late Grand-Master should be vindicated from the aspersions with which it had been so wrongfully assailed. With this request the Pope complied, and nominated a commission, consisting of five cardinals and some of the principal lay officials in Rome, to investigate the accusations brought against La Cassière by Romégas and his party. Visconti, the Papal nuncio, having returned to Rome from Malta with the results of the investigation which he had there conducted, the congress gave their judgment that the accusations against the late Grand-Master were malicious and unfounded; that all the proceedings taken against him were, from their manifest injustice, to be annulled; and that he was to be considered as honourably acquitted of all the crimes alleged against him. They at the same time decreed that the members of the Order did not possess the power of deposing their chiefs; that authority being vested in the Pope alone. On the 3rd of September 1582, this sentence, having been ratified by his holiness, was published in the consistory, and thus closed the schism which had created so great a disturbance within the island of Malta.

The character of Verdala was eminently suited to the temper of the period which had witnessed his elevation. Gentle and mild in character, affable in demeanour, and an earnest lover of peace and concord,

he strove hard to soften the asperities which recent events had created, and to reconcile those differences which still retained a spirit of disunion within the convent. In this, however, he was not very successful. During the whole of his career as Grand-Master, — a period of thirteen years,—he was constantly disturbed and harassed by the cabals which were for ever being fomented against him. No amount of conciliation on his part sufficed to appease the angry feelings which had been aroused; and every decree which his sense of justice compelled him to promulgate was cavilled at, and made the subject of seditious opposition.

In 1587 the grand-marshal Sacconai dared to rescue from the hand of justice, by open force, one of his valets, who had been arrested on a charge of theft, and the punishment which this audacious act on his part brought down upon him at the hands of his outraged chief, created such a ferment within the convent that Verdala deemed it necessary to proceed in person to Rome, and request the intervention of the Pope against his mutinous subjects. He was received with every mark of respect by Sextus V., who, in order to mark his sense of the undeserved opposition which had been excited against him, presented him with a cardinal's hat, trusting that this accession of dignity would induce the turbulent fraternity to receive their chief with greater respect. These expectations were not however realised, and the unfortunate Verdala, harassed beyond endurance by their factious conduct, once more returned to Rome, where he expired on the 4th of May 1595. It was during his reign, in the year 1592, that Gargallo, Bishop of Malta, in order to strengthen his power, and to gain additional support in the constant warfare which he maintained

against the authority of the Grand-Master, summoned the Jesuits to Malta, where they established themselves, and in their turn endeavoured to form a separate jurisdiction of their own. Malta was from this moment doomed to witness the extraordinary and most pernicious spectacle of four distinct religious powers, the Bishop, the Inquisitor, the Jesuits, and the Grand-Master; a source of endless disputes and jealousies which went far towards aggravating the discord which the rival languages of France and Spain maintained with the utmost obstinacy. Pope Gregory XIII. had already decreed that the offices of the prior of the church, and of the bishop of Malta, were to be held exclusively by the conventual chaplains, and that no Knight of Justice was ever to be preferred to either of those dignities. As most of the chaplains of the Order were Maltese, and as members of this nation had no opportunity of attaining to the dignities monopolised by the Knights, this decree was received by them with the greatest favour, as it reserved to their own body two of the leading offices in the gift of the fraternity; nor were the Knights themselves averse to the measure, since they perceived how far its adoption would go towards reconciling the Maltese to their rule.

Verdala has left several memorials of his sway in the fortifications which he constructed in the island of Gozo, and also by the erection of a country residence near the Città Notabile, for the Grand-Masters who were to succeed him, and which ever after bore his name.* Ver-

* This tower, after the acquisition of the island by the English, was for some time used as a place of confinement for French prisoners of war; after which it was for many years unoccupied. The present governor of Malta has greatly restored it, and made many additions to the grounds by which it is surrounded, and constantly uses it as a

dala was the first Grand-Master who, in addition to that office, bore also the dignity of Turcopolier, so long attached peculiarly to the English language. The Pope, who now felt that all immediate prospect of a return of the English nation to an acknowledgment of his supremacy was at an end, and that, as a necessary consequence, the status of that language was annihilated in the Order of St. John, decreed that their ancient dignity should for the future be joined to that of Grand-Master, to avoid the possibility of its being utterly lost, and to maintain its privileges and immunities intact for re-transfer, in case the English language should ever, under more favourable auspices, become re-organised. This prospect not having been realised, the dignity remained ever after attached to that of the Grand-Master. This was also the date at which the compilation of an authorised history of the Order was entrusted to Bosio, the materials for the work having been collected by Anthony Fossan, who had died in the midst of his labour. Bosio's work, although very verbose, and far too tedious and voluminous for the general reader, is nevertheless a conscientious and trustworthy compilation, so far as the author had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the details of the subject upon which he wrote, and will always prove most valuable as a work of reference to the student of the history of the Order of St. John. The author was nephew to the Anthony Bosio whose able services as a negotiator, prior to the siege of Rhodes

summer residence, for which it is admirably adapted, the temperature being far cooler than in Valetta, and the air infinitely purer and more bracing. In its immediate vicinity is the Boschetto, a grove, which, owing to the general absence of trees in the island, is much prized by the inhabitants.

under L'Isle Adam, and during the subsequent wanderings of the fraternity, have been already detailed in a former portion of this work.

The successor of Verdala, whose name was Martin Garces, Castellan of Emposta, was a man of seventy years of age at the time of his election, and his brief rule of six years was marked by no event of importance, peace having been re-established within the convent, and its foreign relations being at the same time most satisfactory. His death, which occurred on the 6th of February 1601, closed a century in the annals of the Order which had been marked by a brilliant succession of deeds, reflecting imperishable renown upon the fraternity. From the year 1476, when Peter d'Aubusson was first called to the supreme dignity, till the last years of the century which had just expired, the Order had maintained itself with a dignity and success such as, with all its glorious achievements, it had never previously attained. Within that time it had twice successfully resisted the whole strength of the Ottoman empire when arrayed against it, and even on the third occasion, though driven from the island of Rhodes, they had gained for themselves as ample a meed of glory as though they had remained masters of the field. During this golden period of their existence they had witnessed the rule of three chiefs whose names will descend to posterity as amongst the noblest heroes which the age has produced. History cannot, during that century, point to one who has attained a more wide-spread reputation than that which has attached itself to the illustrious triumvirate of the Hospital, Peter d'Aubusson, Villiers L'Isle Adam, and John de la Valette. That age had, however, now passed away, and though during the two centuries through

which the Order yet struggled, they could boast of many a chief whose talents in the council-chamber, and whose skill in administration, were of no mean order, still the vigour of their former days was evidently lost, and the deeds of these latter times will bear no comparison with those that had gone before. The institution may be said to have passed through its youth, and the last glorious century has not inaptly been considered as the prime of its manhood. What yet remains to tell of its political history must equally be considered as its old age and gradual decline, until eventually it sunk into annihilation from the mere effects of inanition.

CHAP. XX.

POLITICAL POSITION OF THE GRAND-MASTER OF THE ORDER. — HIS REVENUES. — CEREMONY OF ELECTION AND INSTALLATION. — DETAILS OF HIS HOUSEHOLD. — CEREMONIALS OF THE TABLE. — FESTIVALS OF THE VIRGIN MARY AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. — THE LIEUTENANT OF THE GRAND-MASTER. — THE NAVY. — THE ARMY. — THE CHANCERY. — THE CONSERVATORY. — THE REVENUE. — THE EXPENDITURE. — DETAILS OF THE EUROPEAN PROPERTY OF THE ORDER.

Before entering into the political history of the Order of St. John for the two last centuries of its existence, a period marked by but few events of general importance, and which may consequently be glanced at with greater rapidity than would have been advisable in the previous ages, it will be well to pause awhile, and enter with rather more minute detail into the general organisation of the institution and its social habits and observances.

The Order of St. John, though under the sway of a Grand-Master, partook, in its political character, rather of the nature of an aristocratic republic than of a monarchy. Very little of the actual control of government was left in the hands of the Grand-Master alone; all legislative powers being vested solely in the general chapter, and all executive functions appertaining to the council, over which the Grand-Master presided, and in which he possessed the privilege of two votes, with an

additional casting vote in any case of equal division. Whilst, however, his powers were thus jealously limited by the constitution of the Order, he practically exercised more influence in the legislation of his fraternity than would at first sight appear possible. No subject of debate could be introduced into the council unless by the Grand-Master, or his lieutenant; nor was any enactment of that body valid till it had received his sanction. He was thus enabled to exclude, even from discussion, any measure to which he was opposed; and as the council consisted of grand-crosses, whose nomination lay in his gift, he could at any time, by making fresh creations, secure a majority by which to pass whatever measures he should think fit to submit for their deliberation.

The position and powers of the Grand-Mastership had gradually become much changed and enlarged from what had been contemplated in the first years of the Order's existence. Peter Gerard, who is commonly called the First Master of the Hospital, was nothing more than the superior of a monastic institution, of but little consideration, and less wealth; and he occupied much the same post as an abbot in a second-class monastery. The position of his successor, Raymond du Puy, became somewhat changed, and the dignity of his office materially extended. Much wealth had poured into the coffers of the institution, and extensive territorial possessions, in most of the countries of Europe, had materially increased the consideration in which the Order was held, and had consequently tended to raise the social and political status of its head. The change which Du Puy introduced into the Order by giving it a military character, and thus constituting it a most im-

portant auxiliary to the feeble and tottering monarchy of Jerusalem, added much to the political importance of the Master. He was no longer a monk, and the superior of a body of monks, available only for ecclesiastical and charitable duties, but he was the leader of a chosen body of warriors; a corps which comprised within its ranks all that was knightly and noble. It was impossible that the chief of such a fraternity should fail to hold, in a military kingdom, a very different position from that of the cowled monk who had preceded him; and ere Raymond du Puy brought his lengthened sway to a close, he found the Master of the Hospital—essential as he and his brotherhood were to the very existence of the kingdom—a personage of no mean importance, consulted and courted by the monarch, and treated with the most deferential respect by his subjects.

As time rolled on, and grant after grant was made to the Order, its wealth, numbers, and political consideration increased, until, in the later days of the unfortunate kingdom, the respective chiefs of the Hospital and the Temple occupied the highest position in the state, next to the monarch himself. It was in these times that the simple rank of Master was exchanged for the more ambitious and high-sounding title of Grand-Master. The change was in itself of trivial importance, but it marks the gradual advance which the office had made in social distinction.

The expulsion of the Order from Palestine, and its retirement to Cyprus, appeared at first likely to reduce, if it did not utterly annihilate, its political importance, and consequently that of its head; and for some years its fate, whether for good or evil, hung in the balance.

The bold and successful conceptions of Villaret determined the doubtful question in favour of the Order; and from this moment we find the Grand-Master occupying a far more important position than even in the most palmy days of Christian domination in the East. The acquisition of the island of Rhodes, without divesting him of any of the prestige which, as head of a powerful military fraternity, had fallen to his lot, had given him the dignity and privileges of a sovereign prince. Though his territories were but small, and his subjects but few in number, the military colony at Rhodes was far from unimportant. The powerful navy which the Knights of Rhodes rapidly established, and with which they scoured the Levant, to the great dread and hindrance of the Ottoman pirates, with which those waters had always swarmed, rendered such valuable assistance to the commerce and general interests of Europe, that the fraternity, ere long, raised themselves to a position in public estimation far more elevated than that which they had occupied in the East; and the Grand-Master, sovereign prince as he was, entered into communication with the various courts of Europe very much on a position of equality.

The transfer of the convent to Malta, and the terrors generally inspired by the acquisitions of the Algerine corsairs upon the northern shores of Africa, enhanced this consideration. The island of Malta, garrisoned by the redoubtable Knights of St. John, became an advanced post and bulwark of Christianity. Sicily and Italy were protected from the aggression of the Infidel by this insular barrier, and both the Pope and the Spanish monarch, feeling the importance of the services thus rendered, invariably tendered the right hand of friend-

ship to the ruler of that island, and treated him with a consideration which his position would scarcely have otherwise warranted.

Having thus assumed sovereign functions and dignities, we find that he also, by degrees, surrounded himself with much of the state usually accompanying the assumption of royalty. In order to enable him to do this with becoming dignity, a revenue was attached to the office, which, during the last century of its existence, amounted to upwards of 40,000*l.* a year. This revenue was derivable from the following sources:—

1st. In every grand priory one commandery was set apart for the exclusive benefit of the Grand-Master, and was called the magisterial commandery. He was entitled to nominate any Knight he might choose to select, without reference to seniority, as commander of this property, and its revenues were appropriated to the Grand-Master for the first two years, and a pension therefrom afterwards.

2nd. He was entitled to one nomination to a commandery in every grand-priory once in five years; and the first year's revenue of the newly-appointed commander, termed an annate, was paid to him.

3rd. He received the custom-house duties and certain excise and stamp duties, amounting on the whole to nearly 20,000*l.* a year.

4thly. He was paid from the public treasury the amount of 600*l.* a year for his table, and 20*l.* a year for the maintenance of his palace.

The election of a Grand-Master always took place on the third day after the demise of his predecessor. The reason for this expedition was that the Pope assumed to himself the right of nomination to this dignity

whilst it remained vacant, but he did not possess that right after the election of a successor had once been duly made by the Order. He, in like manner, possessed the privilege of vetoing the election of any Knight, provided such veto was announced to the council before the election had been made. After that ceremony had been gone through, the pontiff no longer retained the power of disturbing the nomination, although his sanction to the election was formally required.

Immediately that the decease of their late chief was notified to the council of the Order, they at once proceeded to nominate a lieutenant, who received the title of lieutenant of the mastership, in whose hands the governance of the Order was vested during the interregnum. The necessary qualifications for a voter upon the new election were, — the member must be eighteen years of age; he must have resided at the convent for three years, and have performed three caravans (of which more hereafter); and he must not be indebted to the public treasury in a larger sum than ten crowns. Lists of such members as had complied with these conditions were at once compiled and affixed to the door of St. John's church for verification and general information. A board of three Knights was also nominated by the council to receive payments, on behalf of the treasury, from those members who were in its debt and who were desirous of freeing themselves from liability in order to participate in the coming election.

On the third day the proceedings commenced by the celebration of mass in St. John's church, the whole of the electors being there assembled. After this ceremony was concluded the various languages retired into the respective chapels which had been dedicated to their use

in the church, with the exception of that to which the lieutenant of the mastership belonged, and which remained in the body of the church. Each language then nominated three members from amongst themselves by ballot, into whose hands they confided the further conduct of the election. These three members were all to be chosen from amongst the Knights of Justice, with the exception only of the bishop of Malta and prior of the church, who, although only appertaining to the class of conventual chaplains, were nevertheless permitted, on account of the dignity of their offices, to join with the first class on this occasion. Should the lieutenant of the mastership have been named as one of the three electors of his language, he resigned the lieutenancy immediately, and the council at once proceeded to the nomination of another member for that office, it being a fundamental principle in the Order of St. John, that its government should never be without a duly constituted head, much on the same principle which has produced the saying of "The king never dies." It was considered necessary for the due nomination of these electors that each should have received a clear fourth-part of the votes given by his language. Should no candidate have gained that majority the election was annulled, and a fresh ballot set on foot until the required qualification was attained.*

* After the annihilation of the Order in England had completely destroyed that language in the convent, the three electors who were to represent the defunct tongue were usually selected in the following manner:—Every language, in addition to the three knights who were chosen as its own proper representatives, nominated a fourth to act for the English. The twenty-one members of the other seven languages then assembled, and selected three from amongst the seven candidates thus put forward to act for England.

The twenty-four Knights thus selected then assembled together and chose from amongst themselves a president, who thereupon assumed the duties of the lieutenancy of the mastership; which office was from that moment abolished. Under his presidency, the electors then proceeded to name what was termed the triumvirate, consisting of a Knight, a chaplain, and a serving brother, who, having taken the proper oaths, were invested with the further powers of the election, the previous twenty-four members retiring from the conclave. The triumvirate thereupon nominated a fourth member to join them. Should they be unable to come to a decision upon this point within an hour, they re-assembled the twenty-four original electors of the languages, and submitted the three names that they had respectively supported to be ballotted for by them. The fourth member being thus chosen took the oaths, and in concert with his three predecessors, nominated a fifth; and after his accession a sixth was chosen, and so on, until the original triumvirate was swelled to the number of sixteen. These sixteen then elected the Grand-Master; and should there be an equal division of votes between two candidates, the Knight of the election (being the senior member of the triumvirate), had a casting vote. This weighty matter having been duly settled amongst themselves, the original triumvirate advanced towards the electors, assembled in the body of the church, and the Knight, having the chaplain on his right hand and the serving brother on his left, demanded whether they were prepared to ratify the nomination which had been made; and the assembly having declared its approval, the Knight thereupon announced the name of the new Grand-Master.

If the individual so chosen chanced to be present, he immediately placed himself beneath the magisterial canopy and took the following oath, which was administered to him by the prior of the church: "I swear solemnly before God to observe the established and ancient laws of our Order, and to act in all state affairs by the advice of the members of the council, so help me God." He then received the homage of all present, and was carried in triumphal procession to the palace. The complete council, a day or two afterwards, was convoked, and invested their new chief with the sovereignty of the islands of Malta and Gozo. An old custom had given up the house of the deceased Grand-Master to public pillage. Of later years this concession had been found most inconvenient and objectionable, and its disuse had been purchased by an issue from the treasury, to every member of the Order, of the sum of three crowns upon the accession of a new Grand-Master.

The statutes of the Order are very particular in defining the obedience to be rendered to their chief by the members of the fraternity. After having, in a flowery preamble, laid down the main proposition "That every member of the Order of Jerusalem, of whatever condition or quality he may be, is bound to obey the Master, for the love of our Saviour Jesus Christ," this doctrine is qualified by the next clause in the following manner: "Should the Superior give the brother any order which does not seem to him to be in accordance with the statutes and the customs of the fraternity, he shall be permitted to demand the judgment of the Court of Egard. It is thus that the obedience which has been vowed, is to be understood; it is not to be held binding against the statutes and customs of the Order, which

the Superior is equally bound to obey; if he breaks his oath, he cannot constrain the fraternity to continue their obedience to him." The powers of the Grand-Master in granting privileges, and in pardoning offenders, are also strictly limited by the same statute. He may grant members permission to go on a pilgrimage, to dine in private at their own houses, to leave the convent, to bestow the habit of the Order, to assemble the languages, and he can also confer on the conventual bailiffs the power of restricting the beverage of any member to water. This restriction, however, having been imposed, it is in the power of no one save the Grand-Master to revoke it, after the clock has once struck. His powers of pardoning were limited to the time which may have elapsed prior to condemnation. Afterwards, it became necessary to obtain the sanction of the council. In the case of a Knight stripped of his habit for life, no power, short of a chapter-general, could reinstate him. The Grand-Master was especially permitted to commute the sentence of deprivation when inflicted in punishment of a duel, in which the opponent had not been killed or maimed, into the loss of a year's seniority or more, according to the circumstances of the case.

Immediately on election the Grand-Master was bound to provide a leaden seal, bearing on the one side his effigy, and on the other the seal of the Order. This seal was to be used in all documents requiring his authority and attestation. Such were the principal regulations laid down in the statutes of the Order, under the head of the Grand-Master.

His private household was superintended by twelve Knights, who held various offices in its different departments, and over whom there ruled supreme an officer

called the Seneschal. This dignitary acted as the executive of the Grand-Master in all cases where his eminence did not choose to appear personally. He was commandant of the militia of the island, and in that capacity held an annual review of the forces under his orders. In time of war, two grand-crosses were appointed to aid him in this department of his duties, under the title of Lieutenants-General; but they were held strictly subordinate to him, and were bound to follow his orders implicitly. Should the Grand-Master at any time become afflicted with a serious illness, it was the duty of the Seneschal to secure his official seals, which he retained until either the recovery or the death of his chief. In the latter case, the sacrament of extreme unction was administered by him. He ranked amongst the grand-crosses of the Order in virtue of his office, even though he should not have attained to that dignity; and both his table and equipage were furnished at the expense of the Grand-Master.

Next in rank to the Seneschal, in the magisterial household, were the Maître d'Hôtel, the Cavalerizze Major, or Master of the Horse, and the Treasurer. The Maître d'Hôtel had the entire governance of the internal economy of the palace, and regulated all its ceremonies, the other officers receiving their orders from him. The Master of the Horse had, as his name implies, the entire control of the stable department, and was general in command over all the cavalry of the Order. No horse, mule, or donkey could be exported from the island without a written permit from him. He also had the duty of taking possession, on behalf of the Grand-Master, of all the equipages of Knights dying in Malta, which became the inheritance of that dignitary, and the dis-

posal of which was superintended by him. The Treasurer had charge of the financial department: he received the magisterial revenues, from whatever source derived, and defrayed all the expenses incurred in the palace.

The remaining officers of the household were of an inferior rank to the foregoing, and consisted of the Chambrier Major, or principal Chamberlain; the deputy Maître d'Hôtel; the under Cavalerizze; the Falconer; the Captain of the Guard; the three Secretaries of France, Italy, and Spain; and the deputy Maître d'Hôtel for the country palaces. The Chambrier Major had the direction and arrangement of everything appertaining to the private apartments of the palace, and was the immediate superior of the four chamberlains, and the estaffiers, or footmen, all of whom received their orders from him, the appointments to these offices being in his gift. The deputy Maître d'Hôtel had the superintendence of the table equipment, both for the Grand-Master's own private use, and also for that of such officers and dignitaries as were accorded the privilege of a table in the palace. The under Cavalerizze merely acted as a deputy to his superior, and performed such duties as the latter deemed it beneath his dignity to attend to personally. The Falconer was intrusted with the charge of the strict preservation of the game in the island. No person was allowed the privilege of shooting without a written authority from him, and this permission did not extend either to partridges or hares, the shooting of which was strictly forbidden, under pain of the galleys. He was bound to cause the closing of the shooting season to be proclaimed at Easter, as also its re-opening at the Feast of the Magdalen. He had the charge of

the Grand-Master's preserves, and he reared and trained the falcons which it was the annual custom to present to the kings of France, Spain, and Naples. At the commencement of the shooting season, he was directed by the Grand-Master to send presents of game to the Knights of the grand-cross, the members of the council, the officers of the household, and the Inquisitor. The duties of the Captain of the Guard are sufficiently indicated by his title. The three Secretaries of France, Italy, and Spain had charge of the Grand-Master's correspondence in their respective languages, all Latin documents falling under the cognisance of the secretary for Italy. The deputy Maître d'Hôtel for the country palaces performed precisely the same duties within his own district, as his colleague in the town; but ranked as the junior of all the officers of the household.

The Grand-Master had sixteen pages, who were received into the Order as Knights of Justice, at the age of twelve years; sixteen being the lowest age at which a Knight could be professed under any other circumstances. Their term of service was three years, during which time they were entirely supported by their relations, being of no expense whatever to the Grand-Master; their table even being supplied at the cost of the public treasury. Masters of every description were provided for their education, the cost of which was defrayed by their friends. Although, owing to these arrangements, the expenses of the situation were very considerable, there were always a great number of candidates for the post, owing to the advantages which they possessed in being received into the Order at such an early age. Their service as pages counted also towards the time of residence at the convent, which all members

of the Order were obliged to complete before they could become eligible for any office or emolument. Two of these pages were in daily attendance on the Grand-Master, and accompanied him whenever he left the palace. On these occasions they received all petitions presented on the road, which they handed to his eminence on his return. Whenever the Grand-Master returned to the palace after dark, six pages lined the staircase with torches to light him to his apartments. When he dined in public they waited at table, and one of them performed the duties of taster. The guests were permitted to give them sweetmeats from the table, but meat, or anything savoury was strictly forbidden. At the Christmas and Easter feasts, the whole of the confectionery that was left became their perquisite, and was handed over to them as soon as the guests had left the table. During the carnival, which was always kept with great magnificence in Malta, these youths formed one of the most attractive features in the display. They were mounted on a car splendidly decorated, and drawn by six mules richly caparisoned, preceded by two trumpeters and a kettledrum on horseback, they themselves being gorgeously attired, and presenting altogether a very gay and showy spectacle.

In addition to the principal officers of the palace, whose duties have been already described, there were many other knights in the service of the Grand-Master, who had neither the rank nor position of officers; such as the four cup-bearers, and the carvers, whose number varied according to circumstances. The lower offices of the household were filled by serving brothers, and ranked in a different class from those which were occupied by Knights. Amongst them were the butler, who

had charge of the plate and table equipments, and had perquisites from the bread, wine, and fruit served at table; the keeper of the wardrobe, the four chamberlains, and the superintendent of country palaces, in whose charge was the palace of St. Antonio, and the tower at Boschetto, called Monte Verdala.

The ceremonial of the table, when the Grand-Master dined in public, was observed with the greatest possible nicety; the grandest occasions being the festivals of Christmas and Easter. The private invitations to these feasts were issued two days beforehand by one of the chamberlains, but on the day itself the principal maître d'hôtel gave a public invitation during the celebration of high mass in St. John's Church. For this purpose he came into the body of the church, immediately after the offertory, bearing in his hand the wand of his office. Saluting the members of council one after the other, he in a loud voice invited them to partake of a repast which the Grand-Master proposed to give on that day in honour of the Order. At half-past ten o'clock, or thereabouts, the dignitaries who had received invitations proceeded to the palace, and were ushered into the audience chamber, where the Grand-Master was in waiting to receive them. The dinner was placed on the table at eleven o'clock, and when all was in readiness the principal maître d'hôtel announced the fact to his eminence, who thereupon rose and proceeded to the dining hall. At its entrance the cup-bearer presented him with a basin in which to wash his hands, the seneschal holding the towel. Whilst this ceremonial was proceeding the prior of the church advanced to the head of the table and gave the benediction. He then retired into the ante-chamber, where the guests were washing their hands, in readiness

to return with them as soon as the Grand-Master was seated. That dignitary, after having washed his hands and wiped them in the towel which the seneschal held for that purpose, took his seat at the head of the table upon a couch of crimson velvet beneath a dais. The guests then entered the apartment, and seated themselves according to their rank upon either side of the table, replacing their caps on their heads as they did so. The dinner then commenced, the carvers performing their office, and the pages waiting on the guests.

It was a point of etiquette upon these occasions that none should presume to drink until the Grand-Master had set the example. As soon, therefore, as the soup was removed his eminence called for wine, and rising with his cup in his hand drank to the health of those who sat at table with him. The guests thereupon also rose and removed their caps, remaining in that position whilst he drank, and until the moment when, after finishing his draught, he once more bowed all around and reseated himself. The guests then in their turn drank to the health of their host, standing up as they did so and bowing to him. The second toast given by the Grand-Master was the officers of his household, and the guests took that opportunity of pledging each other, and at the third toast they also drank to the household. At the conclusion of the repast the Grand-Master gave the health of the Pope, and this was the signal for the close of the ceremonial.

The public levées which were held very frequently at the palace resembled so closely in their etiquette that usually adopted in the courts of Europe that it appears scarcely necessary to describe them here. The religious ceremonials in which the Grand-Master took a part, in

virtue of his office, were also very numerous, and the rules laid down for their conduct minute in the extreme, the more so owing to the bickerings and jealousies which had gradually sprung up between the principal functionaries of the Order and the ecclesiastics, who considered themselves exempted from the authority of the Grand-Master, and under the control of the Pope alone. Most of these solemnities were in honour of the ordinary anniversaries of the church, and contained nothing of interest as connected particularly with the Order. There were, however, two amongst them which were held in peculiar veneration, and a description of which will be found interesting as a type of the festivals celebrated in the island. One of these was the 8th of September, St. Mary's day, and the anniversary of the raising of the siege of Malta by the Turks; and the other was St. John the Baptist's day, who, as patron saint of the Order, was held in peculiar veneration.

The following account of the first of these has been taken from a manuscript, in which all the festivals of the church have had their forms of solemnisation fully detailed. At eight o'clock in the morning, all the grand-crosses then in Malta assembled at the palace in full costume, with their mantles "*abec*," and accompanied the Grand-Master in solemn procession to St. John's Church. The streets between the palace and the church were lined by a double file of the island militia, dressed in the ancient Maltese costume, which from its gay and fantastic colours added much to the effect of the scene. Arrived at the church, high mass was commenced by the prior of St. John's, but at the close of the epistle it was interrupted by the arrival of the grand standard of the Order. It had always been

the privilege of the language of Auvergne to have the charge of this banner, and the Knights of that language took their turn in regular order as standard bearers during those festivals in which it made its appearance. In time of war, however, no such regular order was observed, but the grand-marshal selected any member of his language whom he preferred for this high office. Upon the festival of St. Mary, the standard-bearer entered the church, arrayed in full armour, with the sopra vest of the Order, and a silver helmet on his head, surmounted by a nodding plume, forming altogether, as the manuscript remarks, "a magnificent spectacle." He was accompanied by one of the Grand-Master's pages, bearing the sword and poinard presented to La Valette by the king of Spain. The standard was accompanied by the whole language of Auvergne, headed by the grand-marshal bearing the rod of justice in his hand. The bearer, accompanied by the page, proceeded up the church until he arrived at the high altar, which he saluted three times; he then turned towards the Grand-Master, who was seated on his throne, and also saluted him thrice; after which he mounted the dais, and placed himself with his standard upon the right hand of his eminence, the page bearing the sword and the poinard, taking up his place on the left. The mass then proceeded, and when the gospel was being read, the Grand-Master took the sword and dagger from the hands of the page, and, drawing them from their scabbards, held them naked in his hand till the gospel was concluded. This ceremony was a relic of the ancient custom of the Order invariably to draw their swords during the reading of the gospel, as a token of their readiness to combat in its behalf. This

custom fell into disuse during their later years, an omen, perhaps, and a mark of the cessation of their old readiness to defend their faith. Whilst the host was being elevated, the standard-bearer knelt and embraced his banner. At the conclusion of the ceremony it was borne to the church of our Lady of Victory, after which it returned accompanied by the Grand-Master to the palace. Upon this occasion, ten young women received a dowry of forty crowns each from the public treasury.

Upon the 7th of September, the vigil of the above feast, a solemn service was performed in memory of those who had fallen during the memorable siege, and on this occasion particular respect was paid to the tomb of La Valette, as also to that of a Spaniard named Don Melchior de Robles, who had acquired great renown during the defence of the post of Castile, and who fell gloriously at that point. Although not a member of the Order, he was buried in the chapel of the language of Auvergne, and the Grand-Master, Raphael Cottoner, erected a handsome monument to his memory.

During the afternoon of this day, the ceremony of uncovering the celebrated picture of our Lady of Philerme took place. This picture has been frequently mentioned in previous pages, and maintained its ancient celebrity to the last. When L'Isle Adam left Rhodes he bore it with him, and on the settlement of the Order in Malta, it was placed in the conventual church of St. Laurence. After the construction of St. John's church by La Cassière, it was transported thither, and lodged in a magnificent chapel devoted to its reception. Until the year 1598 it remained always covered by a thick veil, which was never removed; but in that year it was first publicly unveiled on the occasion of

St. Mary's day, and continued for many years to be solemnly uncovered and exposed for the devotion of the pious on that day. Latterly, however, it remained always visible, and in order to preserve the ancient ceremonial, which was performed in the presence of the Grand-Master and his council, a thin veil was extended before the picture, which was solemnly withdrawn on the 7th of September, and replaced on the evening of the 8th.

The other ceremonial to which allusion has been made, was the exhibition of the hand of St. John the Baptist, presented to the Grand-Master, Peter d'Aubusson, by the sultan Bajazet. This precious relic, which, like the picture of our Lady of Philerme, had been brought from Rhodes to Malta by L'Isle Adam, was deposited in a chapel of St. John's church, called the Oratory. It was enclosed in a magnificent silver custode, secured by eight locks, one of the keys of which was deposited in the charge of the Grand-Master, as turcopolier, and the other seven in that of the other conventual bailiffs. On the vigil of the feast of St. John these keys were all collected by the Master of the Horse, who, in presence of the Grand-Master and council, opened the casket or custode, and the Prior of the Church bore the relic in procession to the high altar, where it remained throughout the next day, except when it was borne in grand procession through all the principal streets of the city. The hand itself was enclosed in a gold reliquary, richly studded with diamonds and pearls, the grand-prior of Barletta having also presented it with a magnificent diamond ring.

The Grand-Master had the right, should he desire it, of naming a lieutenant, to whom he might devolve

such of his functions as from age or disinclination he was unwilling to exercise in person. This nomination rested entirely with himself, the council merely receiving intimation of the fact. It was customary whenever a Grand-Master fell seriously ill for him to appoint a lieutenant, whose authority lasted only until either his recovery or death. Some Grand-Masters, however, named lieutenants in permanency, who relieved them of all the more onerous burdens of government, retaining in their own hands only such authority as was necessary for the maintenance of their dignity. As a proof of the jealousies and petty squabbles of the ecclesiastics, which distracted the fraternity in its later years, it may be mentioned that the lieutenant of the Grand-Master was allowed a seat in the church of St. John above the seneschal, and with a carpet. The bishop of Malta, who was also allowed a seat above the seneschal, had no carpet, and being unwilling to admit the precedency of the lieutenant, he refrained from attending church whenever such a functionary was appointed.

If the Grand-Master fell seriously sick, and his malady was considered dangerous, the prior of the church received notification of the fact, the Host was brought into the palace, and the dying man received the sacrament of extreme unction. During this time the great bell of St. John's church tolled forth at intervals, and, as the palace was in close proximity to the church, the expiring chief was enabled distinctly to hear his own passing bell. After his death, his body was embalmed, and then once more arrayed in his magisterial robes, and lay in state in one of the principal chambers of the palace. On the morning of the funeral, the cortége

was thus formed:—First, the governor of the city, followed by the battalion of guards, with drums beating a funeral dirge; then the clergy of the island according to their respective grades and dignities; after whom came the corpse, borne by the senior Knights, the conventual bailiffs holding the pall, and four pages with standards surrounding the coffin; then followed the officers of the household, the grand-crosses, and other dignitaries; and the procession was closed by the general members of the Order, and the public at large. The funeral service being completed, and the body lowered into its last resting place, the seneschal advanced, and breaking his wand of office, threw it upon the coffin, exclaiming in a loud voice, "Gentlemen, our Master is dead." The master of the horse followed in the same manner, breaking the spurs of the deceased, and the treasurer likewise, who threw a purse into the grave. The ceremony then closed, and the members returned from the mournful scene to speculate on the excitement of the coming election, which would take place on the morrow, to fill the vacant dignity.

It was contrary to etiquette for a Grand-Master to pay any visits, and this rule was but seldom deviated from, and then only on most important occasions. He was, however, sufficiently gallant to pay a visit of congratulation to the three convents of St. Ursula, St. Catherine, and St. Magdalen, both at Christmas and Easter. He also called upon the Benedictine nuns of the Citta Vittoriosa, when he took formal possession of that city, upon assuming the magisterial dignity. He was bound to inspect the Hospital of the fraternity periodically, and upon this occasion he tied an apron round his waist, and personally distributed their re-

spective portions of food to each patient. He was supposed in this manner to fulfil his duties as a religious Hospitaller.

The navy of the Order was under the supreme control of the bailiff of Auvergne, as grand-marshal, and next to him under that of the bailiff of Italy, as grand-admiral. These two officials had charge of the land forces as well as the navy. Indeed, the two services were so commingled in the Order of St. John, that it would be difficult to mark any distinction between them, except that the militia of the island did not serve on board ship, nor did the battalion of the guard. The other two, named respectively the battalion of the galleys and the battalion of ships, served indiscriminately ashore or afloat, as they were required. Every Knight, during his residence in Malta, was bound to complete four caravans, or cruises of six months each; during which time of course he was attached to one of these two battalions. As the two dignitaries named above, the marshal and the admiral, held their offices as heads of their respective languages, the actual duty of governance and superintendence of the navy would often have been but ill performed had it been left entirely to them. An officer was consequently selected who, although subordinate to their authority, had the real control in all naval matters. This Knight, who was called the general of the galleys, was elected by the council by ballot, on the nomination of the Grand-Master. The council had no power to name any person for the post, that privilege being reserved for the Grand-Master alone; but they could by an actual majority of votes veto his appointment, and compel a fresh nomination. The general of the galleys was always a grand-

cross, and if he had not attained to that dignity prior to his appointment, it was at once conferred upon him.

So soon as his election was decided, and the notification made to him, he named the officer whom he wished to serve under him as commander of the capitane galley or flag-ship. This appointment was decided in a similar manner to his own, the nomination resting with himself, but its veto with the council. He also appointed a patron, or sub-officer, to his galley, who in case of a vacancy whilst at sea, would succeed to the post of captain. The general of the galleys was invested with absolute authority on board his fleet whilst it was at sea. He had uncontrolled power of life and death over the crews, and was permitted to suspend any officer from his functions, even though he might have received his appointment from the council direct. He received the title of excellency when absent from the convent, as well from members of the fraternity as from strangers, and had the privilege, when attending the council, of which as a grand-cross he was necessarily a member, of appearing in red, with sword and cane, whilst the ordinary members were clothed in the "cloccia," or black cloak of the Order, and were not permitted either a weapon or stick within the council hall.

Until the latter end of the 17th century, the fleet of the Order had consisted exclusively of galleys, and it was with a navy thus composed, that they had earned that brilliant reputation which had gained for them the supremacy of the Mediterranean, and the privilege that the flag of every other nation, upon those waters, saluted that of St. John. Even Louis XIV., a monarch who invariably was most unyielding in affairs

of ceremony and precedence, admitted the right of the Hospitaller galleys to the first salute from his vessels. Towards the close of that century, however, an addition was gradually made to the navy of other vessels, and these eventually became so augmented, as to lead to a division in the organisation and duties of the marine, as also in its superintendence.

For this purpose an officer was nominated in the same manner as the general of the galleys, whose title was commandant of vessels, and lieutenant-general of the galleys. He was subordinate to the general of the galleys, and when that officer was present, the command invariably fell into his hands as well of the vessels as of the galleys, but as these latter rarely acted with the former the commandant usually enjoyed a separate command. He was not necessarily a grand-cross, but if he should have attained that dignity he was accorded the same privilege as has been specified for the general of the galleys, of appearing at the council in red, with sword and stick. The control of these two branches of the navy was vested in two boards, named respectively the congregation of the galleys, and the congregation of the vessels. The former, which was the most important, was composed of the grand-admiral (or his lieutenant), the general of the galleys, and of four commissioners, Knights of the four languages.* The other board, which was strictly subordinate, was presided over by a grand-cross, deputed to that duty by the council, and consisted of the commandant of vessels and four commissioners, also Knights of the four languages. The

* The four languages thus specified meant France (including all its three divisions), Spain (including Portugal), Italy, and Germany.

number of the galleys, prior to the introduction of other vessels, varied usually from six to eight; although in time of war they were often increased. After the introduction of other vessels, in 1704, the galleys were reduced in number to four. The fleet of men-of-war at first consisted of three ships, which were afterwards increased to four, and eventually three frigates were also added. The cost of these frigates was 12,000*l.* each. Two of the men-of-war were sold in 1781 for 18,000*l.* The crews of the galleys were organised into a battalion, and were officered by Knights, who rose by seniority to the grade of captain, subject to the nomination of their congregation. The same organisation was observed in the squadron of vessels. The garrison duty of Valetta, and the other towns, was performed by these troops, in conjunction with the Grand-Master's guard, the militia being only called out for duty at certain seasons.

It has been mentioned that the supreme governance over the military and naval establishments of the Order was vested in the bailiff of Auvergne, and under him in the bailiff of Italy, but that, to relieve these dignitaries of the onerous duties of the post, a subordinate officer was appointed, who had the actual direction and control of that department. So we also find that, although the bailiff of Castile and Portugal was grand-chancellor, the most important and responsible portion of the duties attached to that dignity were performed by the vice-chancellor, an officer who became in point of fact the secretary of state to the Order. He was nominated in the first instance by the chancellor, and although that official was not restricted in his choice, but might select a Knight of any language, still being himself either a Castilian or Portuguese, he very gene-

rally selected a Knight of one of those two languages for the post. The name thus chosen was submitted to the Grand-Master for approval, and he in his turn laid it before the council, where the candidate was compelled to obtain a majority of suffrages. The vice-chancellor was not of necessity a grand-cross, but was very often invested with that dignity. Indeed, the emoluments and patronage of the office were so considerable, that it was much sought after, even by Knights the most exalted in position, and we find not a few who have, in the occupation of this office, found such great facilities for ingratiating themselves with the fraternity, as to have succeeded, through its means, in eventually attaining the dignity of Grand-Master.

We also find the bailiff of Aragon, as grand-conservator, relieved of the most arduous of his duties by the conventual conservator. The seven languages took it in turn to supply a candidate for this office, which lasted for three years; six months before the expiration of each term the bailiff of the language whose turn it was to fill the next vacancy, submitted to the Grand-Master a list of such members of his language as were eligible for the post. Grand-crosses were not admitted into this list, although in the case of a conservator attaining to the dignity of a grand-cross during his term of office, he nevertheless retained his position till the expiration of his three years. The Grand-Master selected from this list the candidate he might desire to propose to the council, and the votes of that body were necessary to render the nomination valid. The duties of the conservator consisted in taking charge of all gold, silver, jewellery and plate, left by a Knight at his decease, whether at the convent, or in the European comman-

deries. He took charge of the treasury chest, and issued payments therefrom; in fact, all the pecuniary transactions of the Order passed through his hands. Although he had no seat in the ordinary council, unless he was a grand-cross, he was admitted into the complete council in his capacity of conservator.

The revenues of the fraternity were controlled by a committee, called the chamber of the treasury, and which consisted of the grand-commander, the bailiff of Provence, as president; three procurators, one of whom was named by the Grand-Master, and the other two by the council; the conventual conservator, two auditors, and two secretaries. When the grand-commander was not present in person, the deliberations were presided over by his lieutenant, who, in his absence, enjoyed the same authority as himself. No discussion could be carried on without the presence either of the commander or his lieutenant, and in case they wished to conclude the sitting, they were enabled to do so by the simple act of leaving the table.

The revenues of the Order which fell under the administration of the chamber of the treasury, consisted of the following items, which formed the ordinary income of the fraternity.

1st item: *Responsions.*—The nature of these payments has been already fully explained; its proportion to the rental of each commandery was decided by a chapter-general, and might, in the event of war, or other public pressure, be raised in amount. It usually was fixed at one-third of the net income of the commandery. The annual receipt from this source during the last ten years of the Order's existence was 47,520*l.**

* These amounts have all been taken from the report published by

2nd item: *Mortuary and Vacancy.*—Whenever a commander died, the entire of the revenue of his commandery, from the date of his decease until the 1st of May following, was paid into the public treasury, and was called the mortuary. The revenue of the year following was also paid to the treasury, and was called the vacancy. Whenever the finances of the Order required extraordinary assistance, a second year's vacancy was appropriated to its aid, and eventually this additional tax became continuous. Its annual average was 21,470*l.*

3rd item: *Passages.*—This was a sum of money paid to the Order by members on being admitted into its ranks. It was of two kinds; the majority and the minority. The former, which was paid by Knights at the age of sixteen, or pages at the age of twelve, was 100*l.*; when paid by a chaplain, it was 80*l.*; and when paid by a servant of arms, it was 92*l.*; the donats or brothers of stage paid 26*l.* 8*s.* The minority passage was an increased rate, paid for the privilege of entering the Order at an earlier age than was permitted under the restrictions of the majority passage. It was originally commenced in the middle of the 17th century, as an expedient to raise an extra fund for building additional accommodation for the Order in Malta, but it was never appropriated to the intended purpose, and latterly became a recognised and continuous source of revenue. Its amount for the first class was 388*l.*, and for both the second and third classes it was 230*l.* The annual average of this source of

the Commander Ransijat, which shows the receipts of the treasury for the ten years ending in 1792.

revenue, majority and minority both included, was 20,334*l.*

4th item: *Spoils.*—This consisted of the produce of all the effects of a deceased Knight, which fell to the public treasury, excepting only one-fifth part, which, with the sanction of the Grand-Master, he was permitted to dispose of by way of testament. The annual average of this item was 24,755*l.*

The next few items are too insignificant to require much detail. The *priory annates* amounted to 477*l.*, and consisted of a year's revenue paid by a commander when nominated by the grand-prior, a privilege that dignitary was permitted to exercise once in five years. The *priory presents* amounted only to 50*l.*, and consisted of a commutation of the gift which by the statutes a prior was bound to present to the church of St. John at Malta, once at least during his tenure of office. This present had been commuted to 40*l.* for priories of the first class, and 32*l.* for those of the second class. The annual average of these presents was 50*l.* The gifts paid into the treasury as presents by the Knights averaged 146*l.* annually. The timber upon every commandery belonged of right to the treasury, and at one time realised a very considerable amount. Its gradual diminution had reduced the proceeds to a comparatively small sum by the close of the eighteenth century, when its annual average was only 4798*l.*

The next item will require some explanation. Its title is *renounced pensions*, and it arose in the following manner. Many of the commanderies were saddled with pensions, which were subject to the vacancy and mortuary, like the remainder of the revenue of the commandery. In order to avoid the inconvenience of the loss

of two years' pension upon the occasion of every vacancy, many of the pensioners agreed to pay ten per cent. of their pension annually to the treasury, in consideration of which they were freed from the mortuary and vacancy, and were also guaranteed the punctual payment of the remainder of their annuity. The annual receipts from this source amounted to 161*l.* Rents of various kinds realised 2995*l.*, in addition to which there were some storehouses and gardens, the property of the treasury, which produced 433*l.*

Various foundations had at different times been established by members of the Order for the maintenance of the hospital, fortifications, galleys, &c., and as in process of time the funds invested for this purpose became no longer sufficient to meet the end proposed, the treasury undertook to make up the deficiency, and the amount of the foundations was paid into its coffers, amounting to 611*l.* There were also four foundations, the administration of which had originally been vested in the treasury; they amounted annually to 3430*l.* The lazaretto duties were 131*l.* The annual sale of permission to eat eggs and butter during Lent realised 1055*l.* The ransom of Turkish slaves produced 1662*l.* The interest of money advanced by the treasury to commanders, on the guarantee of their language, amounted to 638*l.* Secret restitution money averaged 65*l.*, and sundry other small sums completed the list; making the total average annual income from ordinary sources, 131,530*l.* Of this amount the various languages and the convent contributed in the following proportion:—Provence, 20,500*l.*; Auvergne, 7500*l.*; France, 32,000*l.*; Aragon, 12,000*l.*; Castile, 16,000*l.*; Portugal, 9500*l.*; Italy, 24,500*l.*; Germany, 4400*l.*;

Anglo-Bavaria, 300*l.*; Poland, 700*l.* and the convent, 4000*l.**

In addition to the above sources of revenue, there were certain foundations established at different periods for purposes which, but for the existence of those foundations, must have been provided for by the treasury. They consisted of the following sums: 1050*l.* per annum given by Manoel for the maintenance of Fort Manoel; 1080*l.* given by Cottoner for the maintenance of Fort Ricasoli; 150*l.* given by a lady from Sienna for the maintenance of a hospital for women; and 2665*l.* given by three members of the Order towards the support of St. John's church.

Such being the average receipts of the treasury, it may be well to give a brief glance at their expenditure. The first item on this list was that for ambassadors, including not only their own salaries, but also those of their secretaries, and all other expenses connected with the establishment. This item amounted to 3800*l.* The second was for receivers, including their salaries and those of their *employés*, together with all travelling and law expenses, and amounted to 6600*l.* The third item included all expenses connected with the three conventual churches of St. John, St. Anthony, and the Conception, and figured for the sum of 1160*l.* The annual charge for alms was upwards of 1700*l.* The expense of the Grand Hospital was nearly 8000*l.*; the sick costing the treasury about one shilling each per diem. The hospital for women cost upwards of 1800*l.* A certain number of foundlings were supported at a cost of 600*l.*

* It must be borne in mind that, as has already been stated, these figures only represent the annual income, on an average of the last ten years of the existence of the Order in Malta.

The navy cost the Order 47,500*l.*, which was thus divided: the galleys cost 22,500*l.*; the men-of-war, 23,600*l.*; and sundry minor charges, 1400*l.* The land armaments cost 17,000*l.*, of which the Maltese regiment cost 12,600*l.*; the artillery, 1000*l.*; the staff in Valetta, 280*l.*; the ordnance, 1500*l.*; the fortifications, 1300*l.*; sundry other minor charges making up the balance. The tables kept by the Order for the resident members cost 5400*l.*, including 600*l.* allowed to the Grand-Master for his own table. The details of this sum will be more fully explained, when the organisation and administration of the auberges appertaining to the several languages is treated of. The expenses of the treasury office, in which were included those of the conservator, amounted to nearly 900*l.*, and those of the chancery to about 150*l.* The maintenance and clothing of the slaves who were employed on shore cost nearly 3000*l.*, exclusive of those who, having embraced Christianity, were kept separate, and were supported at an expense averaging nearly 1000*l.* About 500*l.* a year was expended in the purchase of slaves from members of the Order. The maintenance of the aqueduct, constructed originally by the Grand-Master De Vignacourt, together with that of the public cisterns and fountains, caused a charge of 300*l.* The postage of letters for those persons who were exempted from such payments cost the treasury 2000*l.* The persons thus privileged were the Grand-Master, his general-receiver, and his three secretaries, the inquisitor, the members of the ordinary chamber, six in number, the commissioner of the post-office, and all the ambassadors of the Order resident in foreign courts. The pension list chargeable to the treasury varied greatly at different periods. At the close of the eighteenth century

it amounted to 1100*l.* The interest of loans contracted by the fraternity swallowed up 5000*l.* This interest was at different rates, commencing at 2 per cent., and rising to $2\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{3}{4}$, up to 3 per cent., which was the largest amount paid for any loan. The establishment for stores was chargeable to the amount of 18,000*l.*; and there were also sundry extraordinary expenses which varied from time to time, but which usually swelled the general expenditure to between the sums of 120,000*l.* and 130,000*l.*, which nearly balanced the income.

The reader who is accustomed to peruse the national balance sheets of the great countries of Europe may be prompted to smile at the figures of this sum total; and when it is remembered that out of this amount the army, navy, ordnance, and civil establishment of the fraternity were all defrayed, it appears marvellous that they should have been maintained with so much efficiency. But it must be borne in mind that this public revenue comprised but a very small portion of the total property and gross income of the Order. The whole European property in commanderies and priories only contributed 40,000*l.* to the Malta exchequer. It, however, was available for the support of a very large majority of the fraternity, and of their dependents, who would otherwise have become chargeable to the treasury. The Grand-Master's income of 40,000*l.* also constituted a separate item. We cannot, therefore, estimate the gross annual income of the fraternity from all sources, during the 18th century, at less than half a million sterling. The largest proportion of this revenue was drawn from France, which nation contributed three of the eight languages into which they were divided.

The European property, which made so small a return

in direct payments into the treasury, was divided in the following manner: The language of Provence consisted of the two grand-priories of St. Gilles and Toulouse, and the bailiwick of Manosque. The grand-priory of St. Gilles was divided into fifty-three commanderies, whilst that of Toulouse contained thirty; and the revenue paid by the language into its local treasury was something less than 50,000*l.* a year.

The language of Auvergne consisted of the grand-priory of Auvergne, and the bailiwick of Lyons; the priory being divided into fifty-two commanderies, and its revenues amounting to 17,000*l.*

The language of France comprised the three grand-priories of France, Aquitaine, and Champagne; the first of which contained fifty-eight commanderies, the second thirty-one, and the last twenty-four; the revenue of the language being 75,000*l.*

The language of Italy comprised seven grand-priories, and five bailiwicks. The priories were Lombardy, divided into thirty-six commanderies, Rome into nineteen, Venice into twenty-eight, Pisa into sixteen, Capua into twenty, Barletta into twelve, and Messina into eleven. The bailiwicks were St. Euphemia, St. Stephen, Holy Trinity of Venousa, St. John of Naples, and St. Sebastian. The revenue of the language was 56,000*l.*

The Spanish language of Aragon comprised the three grand-priories of Aragon commonly called the castellany of Emposta, Catalonia, and Navarre. The castellany was divided into thirty commanderies; Catalonia into twenty-nine, and Navarre into eighteen. There were also in this language the bailiwicks of Majorca and Caspa, as also the alternate occupation of the bailiwick of Negropont, with the language of Castile.

CHAP. XXI.

THE CAREER OF A KNIGHT AS A NOVICE, PROFESSED KNIGHT, COMMANDER, AND BAILIFF. — THE AUBERGES. — THE CHAPLAINS. — THE PRIOR OF THE CHURCH. — THE HOSPITAL. — THE GENERAL CHAPTER. — THE COUNCILS OF THE ORDER. — THE PUNISHMENTS OF THE FRATERNITY. — LIST OF PROHIBITIONS. — CRIMINAL RECORDS. — LOCAL GOVERNMENT OF THE MALTESE. — THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN. — SLAVERY.

FROM the period when the Order of St. John was first divided into languages, and the various dignities in the gift of the fraternity apportioned to those languages, no confusion or intermixture was ever permitted between them. A postulant for admission into the Order preferred his request either to the head of the language of which he was a native at the convent, or at one of the grand-priories in his own country. If he desired admission into the class of Knights of justice, the necessary proofs of nobility were required from him, which proofs varied in the different languages, and have been already described. When it had been satisfactorily ascertained that he was of sufficiently gentle birth to entitle him to admission as a Knight, he was, if he had attained a sufficient age, admitted as a novice, and after the expiration of a twelvemonth spent in probation, he was duly received into the body of the Order as a professed Knight.

The age at which a postulant was received as a novice

was sixteen, which enabled him to become professed at seventeen, but he was not required to commence his residence in Malta until he had attained the age of twenty, and in many cases received a dispensation postponing that residence still further. The pages of the Grand-Master were entitled to the privilege of admission into the Order at the age of twelve years, and their service in that capacity counted towards the term of residence every Knight was bound to complete at the convent to entitle him to nomination to a commandery. In later years Knights were also received "in minority," even in their cradles; a larger amount of entrance money, called "passage," being in such cases paid, but this was an innovation on the established rule, introduced merely for the purpose of raising additional funds for the assistance of the public treasury.

A Knight having thus become professed, so soon as he had reached the age of twenty years, was bound to proceed to Malta and to reside there for a certain term. During this time he performed such military and naval duties as were required of him, and which were termed caravans, a certain number being requisite before he could attain promotion.* During this period he was attached to the inn of his language, where he lived at the table found by the conventual bailiff, as will be more fully detailed presently. After he had completed

* Each complete year of military or naval service constituted a caravan, and the number of these required for qualification as a commander were, until a late period, fixed at three; latterly, however, four were exacted. The residence in the convent for the same qualification was fixed at five years. Before a Knight could be elected a bailiff, either conventual or capitular, he must have performed fifteen years of service in the Order, ten of which must have been in residence at the convent.

his necessary term of service he was eligible for promotion to a commandery, and in due course of seniority received that appointment, which removed him once more from Malta to his native country, where he resided upon the estate intrusted to his charge, and was under the direct supervision of the grand-prior within whose district his commandery was located. In many cases, however, Knights received appointments in Malta, either in the Grand-Master's household or in some official capacity which necessitated a continued residence in the island, and which might be considered as an equivalent. After having held a commandery for five years he was eligible for translation to one of greater value, provided he was considered to have administered that originally intrusted to his charge with due prudence and care. He thus continued rising in dignity and emoluments until he had attained such seniority as rendered him eligible for the post of conventual bailiff, upon nomination to which he resigned the commandery he was holding, and at once returned to Malta to assume the duties of his new station.

The conventual bailiffs, originally eight in number, but since the secession of the English language and the consequent attachment of the office of turcopolier to that of the Grand-Master, reduced to seven, ranked next in the precedence of the Order to the supreme dignity. Their duties were thus defined in the statutes, "In order that the Grand-Master may be enabled to watch over the governance of our Order with greater prudence and moderation, our predecessors have appointed as assistants in his senate men of worth and good repute, who shall each be invested with a separate office. For this purpose have been established

the several councillors of our Order, such as the grand-commander, the marshal, the hospitaller, the admiral, the grand-conservator, the turcopolier, the grand-bailiff, and the grand-chancellor, who are all called conventual bailiffs, because each is the president of his language."

These dignitaries resided each in the palace or inn appropriated to his language, which were large and handsome edifices erected for that purpose out of the public funds.* The treasury issued an allowance of sixty gold crowns a month to every bailiff for the expenses of his office, and it also granted daily a fixed allowance in kind to support the tables which he was obliged to maintain in his inn for the use of the members of his language. Every member resident in Malta, whether a Knight, chaplain, or serving brother, was entitled to a cover at one of the tables of his inn, saving only when he was a commander holding a benefice of the annual value of 200*l.* a year if a Knight, or of 100*l.* a year if either a chaplain or serving brother, in which case he was excluded from joining the table of his inn, being considered as sufficiently provided for otherwise.

The allowance issued by the treasury was by no means sufficient to cover the expense of these tables; a great

* These inns are still in existence, and are amongst the most striking adornments of the city of Valetta. The Auberge of Provence is now appropriated to the Union Club; the Auberge of Auvergne is the Court of Justice; the Auberge of France is used as a commissariat establishment; the Auberge of Castile and Portugal is an officers' barrack; the Auberge for Spain and Aragon is the residence of the Bishop of Gibraltar; the Auberge of Italy is the civil arsenal; and the Auberge for England, lately united to Bavaria, is also an officers' quarter. The Auberge of Germany was pulled down some years since, to make way for the Protestant church erected for the use of the English residents of Malta by the late Queen Dowager of England.

proportion fell, consequently, upon the private resources of the bailiffs. Burdensome as this charge undoubtedly was, the post of conventual bailiff was nevertheless eagerly sought after. Independent of the very high position which it conferred upon its holder, second only in rank and influence to the Grand-Master himself, it was invariably, and as a matter of right, the stepping-stone to the most lucrative dignities within the gift of the language. If either of its grand-priories or bailiwicks fell vacant, the conventual bailiff had the option of assuming the dignity; or if he preferred waiting for one of still greater value, he might retain his post, and allow the vacant nomination to pass to those junior to himself, until one occurred of sufficient value to meet his expectations. Not unfrequently the selection of a Grand-Master was made from amongst the conventual bailiffs, who, from being present in the convent at the time of the election, had many advantages in the way of canvassing, and in making themselves popular and acceptable to the electors.

The allowance which the bailiff was bound to provide for each person attending the table of his inn was one rotolo* of fresh meat, either beef, mutton, or kid, or two thirds of that amount of salt meat; and on fast days, in lieu of the above, a due portion of fish, or four fresh eggs, together with an allowance of bread and wine, viz. six loaves of the former and a quartuccio† of the latter. Members were permitted to draw this allowance, and to dine away from the inn three times a week, but on those occasions they had no breakfast allowed them. When, however, they dined in the inn they were entitled to

* A rotolo weighs one pound twelve ounces avoirdupois.

† The quartuccio was about three English pints.

both breakfast and supper. The above constituted what the bailiff was compelled to provide for his guests, but it rarely happened that he restricted himself within those limits. The prodigality of the tables actually maintained depended greatly on the private means and disposition of the bailiff. If he were generously disposed, a wealthy man, and anxious to gain popularity, the surest way to attain this end was by a liberal entertainment of those who were dependent on him for their daily sustenance. A spirit of rivalry was thus engendered between the various languages, and he who could obtain the reputation of maintaining his inn on the most liberal scale generally found his account in the popularity which he thus gained.

Amongst the regulations laid down in the statutes for the maintenance of order at the inns was one which forbad the introduction of dogs, under the plea that they consumed too much food; and another strictly forbidding the members, under severe penalties, from striking the servants.

The title of "pilier" was given to the conventual bailiffs, and it was by this name that they were designated in all official records. They were bound to reside permanently at the convent, and were compelled to make their appearance there within a period of two years from the date of their election to the dignity; failing in which, the Grand-Master and council proceeded to a fresh election, and annulled that by which they had received their nomination. Three of the seven were entitled to leave of absence, which could be granted by the Grand-Master and council, upon good cause being shown, but four were bound under all circumstances to be present; and those who had obtained leave nominated lieutenants

to act for them during their absence, and to supply their places at the council. The principle of seniority was recognised as that by which all appointments in the fraternity were to be governed, and the nomination to the office of conventual bailiff followed the general rule; but it was by no means invariable, and Knights were constantly selected for the post over the heads of their seniors, either owing to their greater qualifications or the superior interest which they possessed.

The nominations to all commanderies were made by the Grand-Master in council, with the following exceptions. In every priory the Grand-Master had one commandery, the revenue of which belonged to himself, and the nomination to this rested exclusively in himself. He also had the privilege of nominating to one vacancy in every priory once in each five years, and this privilege was also held by the grand-priors. The appointment of the patronage was fixed in the following manner. The first commandery which fell vacant during the quinquennial term was nominated to by the Grand-Master, the second by the council, the third by the grand-prior, and all succeeding vacancies by the council, till the termination of the period. Should there not be three vacancies during the time specified the grand-prior lost his privilege; but this rarely occurred, as translations and promotions in so large a number of commanderies were of very frequent occurrence. A commander appointed to a bailiwick or priory resigned his commandery to take possession of his new dignity, unless he was the holder of a magisterial commandery, which he was permitted to retain in connexion with his new appointment.

The chaplains of the Order of St. John were received without any of those restrictions which were placed on

the admission of the first class or Knights of Justice. It was sufficient that they were of respectable origin, and that their parents had been duly united in lawful wedlock. They were admitted at the age of sixteen years as clerks, and were ordained as subdeacons two years afterwards. They could not attain to the rank of deacon till they had reached the age of two and twenty, nor to that of chaplain earlier than twenty-five. They were then available for all the religious offices of the convent; they performed divine service in the church of St. John; were attached either to the household of the Grand-Master, the inns of their respective languages, or the hospital; or they performed their caravans on board the galleys, and accompanied them during their cruises. It was from this class that the prior of the church and the bishop of Malta were selected; the former by the Grand-Master and council, and the latter by the Pope. With regard to the election of the prior of the church, the statutes have thus expressed themselves: — "The more closely a dignity approaches to spiritual matters, the more careful and considerate ought to be the selection of its holder. Bearing that in mind, we decree that whenever the priory of our church becomes vacant, the Grand-Master and the ordinary council shall assemble, and proceed to a new election with calm and serious deliberation. Having, for this purpose, carefully examined into the manners, life, doctrine, and qualifications of our chaplains in every language, they shall elect and nominate as prior a chaplain of upright life and of approved conduct, learned, and well-versed in the practice of things divine. It is essential that, after this election, he should reside perpetually at the convent, and if, upon any urgent necessity, he should ever be sent therefrom,

the Grand-Master and ordinary council shall fix a definite period for his return."

In addition to the conventual chaplains thus created, the Order received into the second division of their fraternity another class, termed priests of obedience, who were not called upon to reside in Malta, but performed the duties of their office in the various Continental priories and commanderies. These priests received the emoluments of their various benefices like the other clergy, and where such revenues were too small for their due and honourable maintenance, they drew a further provision from the local funds of the Order. They were, however, ineligible for either of the great offices which were appropriated to the conventual chaplains, nor were they ever appointed to hold commanderies, as the latter were. The ranks of the conventual chaplains were, after the residence of the Order had been established at Malta, mainly recruited from amongst the Maltese, and the post of bishop and prior, both of which ranked with the conventual bailiffs, were constantly held by natives of that island.

As the Order of St. John had originally owed its establishment to the charitable efforts of the Amalfi merchants for the practice of hospitality, and as to the exercise of that virtue they owed both their existence and their name, it was reasonable to anticipate that it should hold a high place amongst the duties inculcated by their statutes. Accordingly we thus find it spoken of under the head of hospitality. "It is very certain that, by common consent of all Christian people, hospitality holds the first place amongst the works of piety and humanity, as that which embraces all the others. If, therefore, it be thus observed and revered by all well-

disposed persons with such zealous care, how much the rather ought those to practise it who honour themselves with the title of Knights Hospitallers, and who wish to be regarded as such. Since the thing of all others which we ought to desire should be to carry into full effect that of which we bear the name."

In accordance with the views thus laid down, the earlier governors of the institution spared no pains and no expense to render their fraternity entitled to the name they had assumed. Even in the midst of the bloody wars in which the Order found itself constantly involved, and at times when their reverses had almost threatened their utter annihilation, the doors of their convent were ever open for the reception of the worn and weary wanderer. The pilgrim, whether sick or well, found there a ready welcome, and, should his bodily energies have sunk under the hardships and toil to which he had been exposed, he received within the walls of this charitable institution every care and attention that Christian benevolence could suggest. The Knight returned from his brilliant career on the battle-field, and oblivious of the renown which he and his brotherhood had there gained for themselves, doffed his harness, laid aside his trusty falchion, and, assuming the black mantle of his Order, proceeded to assist in those peaceful acts of charity which were ever being performed within his convent walls.

So long as the Order remained in Palestine did this state of things continue. During that period they had amassed, from the donations and bequests of the pious, an enormous and ever-increasing wealth. This wealth had brought in its train many evils and much degeneracy. It had made them many bitter enemies, and

had rendered lukewarm many of their most enthusiastic friends; still we never hear, amongst the many crimes laid to their charge, even by the most rancorous of their foes, that of negligence in this the fundamental obligation of their profession. But, after their expulsion from Palestine, a rapid change speedily took place in this particular. Established in the island of Rhodes, the great demand which had once existed for their charity and hospitality was annihilated. There were no longer sick and weary pilgrims to cheer upon their way; the requirements of their hospital in the island-home they had adopted soon became only those which the slender population in whose midst they were located demanded; and thus we find that noble establishment, which in previous ages had called forth the enthusiastic admiration of all Christians in the Holy Land, dwarfed down to a very limited extent. Members of the fraternity, and indeed strangers of every description, could still, when sick, procure every needful assistance from the hospital of the Order, and care was taken to render that hospital as perfect and convenient as possible; but it was at best but a pigmy affair after the comprehensive and noble establishment which they had originally reared within the precincts of the sacred city.

Their translation to Malta produced no change in this respect. Mindful of their old traditions, one of their earliest measures, when establishing their convent upon the rocky inlets of their new home, was to found a hospital, and when they removed that convent to the new city, built by their great chief, this institution naturally followed in the general move. The hospital of Valetta was, and still is, a capacious building, and bears evidence of having been extensively used for the

purposes to which it was devoted; still it was but a Hospital, and as such differed but little from other modern institutions of the same class. Great care, however, appears to have been displayed in framing the statutes relating to its maintenance. Supreme in its governance was the conventual bailiff of the language of France, the grand-hospitaller, who nominated from amongst the Knights of his own language an overseer of the infirmary, under whose immediate charge the whole institution was placed. The religious functions of the establishment were performed by a prior and sub-prior, who were also appointed by the hospitaller, subject however to the approval of the Grand-Master and council. As a committee of inspection over these officials the Grand-Master and council appointed two "prud'hommes," or controllers of the infirmary, who were held responsible for its proper management, and who were bound, by frequent inspections, to satisfy themselves that the overseer, the prior, and those under them, performed their duties.

Physicians were retained in pay of the Order for duty in the hospital, and the statutes thus express themselves respecting them: "Physicians shall be employed for the cure of the sick, experienced and talented, who shall be bound to take a vow, before the eight brethren of the languages, that they will watch over the sick with great care, and according to the prescribed rules of medical science, and that they will visit them twice a day, that they will order such things as are necessary for their cure, and will carry them out without delay in spite of every obstacle. They shall receive their salaries from the funds of the common treasury, and are strictly forbidden to receive

any remuneration for their services from the sick." Two surgeons were also appointed to act with the physicians in such matters as fell within their province. The overseer was bound to visit the patients twice every night, at the hour of vespers and at break of day. The prud'hommes were responsible that this duty was performed. All the utensils in the hospital, even those devoted to the humblest purposes, were of silver. This was less as a matter of ostentation than cleanliness, since, although made of that precious metal, they were perfectly plain and devoid of all ornament. With regard to diet, it was laid down as follows: " Inasmuch as the more pure and good as is the food, the more it assists in the nourishment of the human body, we decree that for this purpose the overseer shall always keep a supply of the best and most excellent food, such as chicken, fowls, &c., together with good bread and pure wine."

The burial of such as died within the hospital was decently and carefully ordered. Four men, dressed in mourning robes, carried the corpse to the grave, and with a laudable economy it was especially provided that these robes, which were kept for the purpose, " should be preserved for another time." No mourning was permitted to be worn at the funeral of any member of the Order, either by the fraternity themselves, or even by strangers attending the ceremony. The corpse was buried in the mantle of his Order, as it was considered proper that in his grave he should wear the same distinctive costume with which he had been invested during his life.

The Hospital of St. John had, from its earliest foundation, been esteemed a sanctuary, within which fugitives from justice might escape the fangs of the law. The exceptions to this right of sanctuary became,

however, by successive decrees so numerous, that it is difficult to conceive what crimes remained for which it continued to afford a shelter. These exceptions were as follows:—"No assassins shall find protection there, nor those who pillage and ravage the country by night, nor incendiaries, nor sodomites, nor thieves, nor conspirators, nor those who have been found guilty of having caused the death of any one, either by secret treachery or in cold blood, or by poison, or by treason. No servant of any of the brethren shall find sanctuary there, nor those who have offered any violence, either to them or to our judges and other ministers of justice, nor debtors, nor such malicious persons as may have committed crimes within the infirmary, under an idea that it was a sanctuary, nor, lastly, lawyers or witnesses convicted of perjury, nor murderers who infest the roads to rob and kill the passers by."

Reduced though the Hospital of St. John undoubtedly was during the later years of the Order's existence, it was, nevertheless, freely open to all who sought its hospitable shelter, and the kindly ministrations of its officials. Patients flocked to Malta from Sicily, Italy, and other maritime countries, whose shores were washed by the Mediterranean, and none who sought admittance were ever turned from their portals. As many as a thousand patients were at times assembled within the infirmary at Malta, and the charges for so large an establishment formed a very considerable item in the annual expenditure of the treasury.

It has already been mentioned that the legislative powers of the Order were exclusively vested in the general chapter, whilst its executive functions were intrusted to the Grand-Master and council. It will be well now to enter into some detail as to the composition

both of the chapter and the councils. The general chapter, which was the original assembly of the fraternity, was, during the earlier years of its existence, held regularly every five years, and in cases of emergency, was often convened even between those periods. Gradually, however, a longer time was allowed to elapse between each chapter, until they came to be assembled only once in ten years; and eventually they were almost entirely discontinued, only one having been convened during the eighteenth century.

Many reasons may be alleged for the abandonment of this ancient council. The immense expense which invariably attended its convocation, the extreme inconvenience and detriment to the interests of the community in calling away so many of its provincial chiefs from the seats of their respective governments, the turbulence which so often characterised their meetings, and the difficulty which the Grand-Masters invariably experienced in carrying out their views in an assembly where their interests had but a very slender predominance, were all so many causes to check their frequent convocation. In the absence of a chapter, the Grand-Master carried on the government with the aid and intervention of a council only, and in these latter assemblies he was enabled to obtain a far greater influence, and a more complete subservience, than he could ever expect from the chapter.

The summoning of a chapter-general lay entirely with the Grand-Master or the Pope: we have already adduced reasons to show why the former should, as far as possible, neglect to assemble them; and the same views in a great measure actuated the pontiff in adopting a similar line of conduct, since, in the absence of a chapter-general, all legislative powers were vested in

himself, powers which the court of Rome were never backward in assuming to their full extent.

The following is a correct list of the dignitaries who held a seat at the chapter-general, in the order of their rank. It will be seen that the Turcopolier was included as eighth on this list, though since the reformation this dignity had been lost to the Order. The Grand-Master, by virtue of his office, presided at the chapter, either in person, or by his lieutenant; after him came —

1. The Bishop of Malta.
2. The Prior of the Church.
3. The Bailiff of Provence.
4. The Bailiff of Auvergne.
5. The Bailiff of France.
6. The Bailiff of Italy.
7. The Bailiff of Aragon.
8. The Bailiff of England.
9. The Bailiff of Germany.
10. The Bailiff of Castile.
11. The Grand-Prior of St. Gilles.
12. The Grand-Prior of Auvergne.
13. The Grand-Prior of France.
14. The Grand-Prior of Aquitaine.
15. The Grand-Prior of Champagne.
16. The Grand-Prior of Toulouse.
17. The Grand-Prior of Rome.
18. The Grand-Prior of Lombardy.
19. The Grand-Prior of Venice.
20. The Grand-Prior of Pisa.
21. The Grand-Prior of Burletta.
22. The Grand-Prior of England.
23. The Grand-Prior of Capua.
24. The Castellan of Emposta.
25. The Grand-Prior of Portugal.
26. The Grand-Prior of Messina.
27. The Grand-Prior of Navarre.
28. The Grand-Prior of Germany.
29. The Grand-Prior of Ireland.
30. The Grand-Prior of Bohemia.
31. The Grand-Prior of Hungary.
32. The Bailiff of St. Euphemia.
33. The Grand-Prior of Catalonia.
34. The Bailiff of Negropont.
35. The Bailiff of the Morea.
36. The Bailiff of Venusia.
37. The Bailiff of St. Stephen.
38. The Bailiff of Majorca.
39. The Bailiff of St. John of Naples.
40. The Bailiff of Lyons.
41. The Bailiff of Manosque.
42. The Bailiff of Brandenburg.
43. The Bailiff of Caspa.
44. The Bailiff of Lora.
45. The Bailiff of the Eagle.
46. The Bailiff of Lango.
47. The Bailiff of St. Sepulchre.
48. The Bailiff of Cremona.
49. The Grand-Treasurer.
50. The Bailiff of Neuvillas.
51. The Bailiff of Acre.
52. The Bailiff of La Rocella.
53. The Bailiff of Armenia.
54. The Bailiff of Carlostad.
55. The Bailiff of St. Sebastian.

Such of the above dignitaries as were not able to attend in person at the assembly of the chapter, were bound to send thither duly authorised proxies to act in their stead; the time and place of meeting having been fixed upon by the Grand-Master, approved by the Pope, and duly notified to the various members whose rank entitled them to a seat in the assembly. The first step taken, after the chapter had commenced its sittings and divine service had been performed before it, was the nomination of three commanders of different languages, to verify the proxies named to act for absent members, and to guarantee their validity. That ceremony having been concluded, the place of each member was fixed in accordance with the foregoing list, and the chapter-general declared duly open. In token of homage to its sovereign authority, each member tendered as a tribute a purse containing five pieces of silver. The marshal brought into the hall the grand standard of the Order, which he surrendered to the chapter; and the other high dignitaries at the same time delivered up the ensigns of their various offices, which were not returned to them until the chapter had passed a fresh grant for that purpose. A second committee of three members was also nominated, each of a separate language, to receive petitions, and to organise the business to be laid before the chapter.

In order to expedite the business, for the despatch of which they had been convened, and as in so large an assembly it must otherwise have been most inconveniently protracted, a committee of sixteen commanders was elected, who became the real working body, to whom the powers of the chapter were delegated. Each language elected two of its own members to act on this committee, and the chapter at large elected two others to represent the absent language of England. This

committee of sixteen took the oaths before the chapter, that they would legislate honestly and fearlessly for the public weal; and the remaining members of the chapter, including the Grand-Master, also took an oath, binding themselves to abide by the decisions and decrees of the committee. The vice-chancellor, the secretary of the treasury, and the Grand-Master's solicitor, all took part in the meetings and debates of this committee, but were not invested with the privilege of a vote, which was reserved exclusively for the sixteen members nominated by the chapter.

The statutes have decreed that the following should be the order in which business was to be transacted by the committee. They were first to analyse and investigate the incidence and pressure of the various imposts decreed by previous chapters, and to make such alterations therein as the state of the public revenues and the exigencies of the fraternity might render necessary; they were afterwards to inspect the governance of the treasury, and satisfy themselves of the correctness of its administration. The records of the Order were then all to be passed in review before them, after which they should proceed to reform such abuses as had crept into the institution, and to pass such new laws as might be deemed necessary, abrogating all statutes which appeared to them no longer suitable to the organisation of the fraternity. In conclusion, they were to deal with any matters of a general nature which might be brought before them and which were not included under the preceding heads.

The matters having been all debated and decided on by a majority of votes taken by ballot, the chapter were once more assembled, and the decrees of their com-

mittee promulgated and sanctioned. The business then closed with divine service, in the course of which the following prayers were offered in succession:—For peace, for plenty, for the Pope, for the cardinals and other prelates, for the emperor and other Christian princes, for the Grand-Master, for the bailiffs and priors, for the brothers of the Hospital, for the sick and captives, for sinners, for benefactors to the Hospital, and lastly, for the confraria and all connected with the Order. The duration of a general chapter had been very wisely limited to sixteen days, in order to check any spirit of opposition and factious debate by which it might otherwise have been indefinitely prolonged. If, at the conclusion of that time, any business remained unsettled, it was disposed of by a council of reservation elected by the chapter prior to its dissolution. The chapter was the ultimate court of appeal from the decisions of the various councils, and in its default that appeal lay with the court of Rome.

Provincial chapters were annually held in every grand-priory, presided over by the prior or his lieutenant, at which every commander within the district was bound to attend either personally or by proxy. The local interests of the fraternity were discussed at these provincial sessions, and all matters disposed of which did not concern the Order at large, but only that branch of it located within the priory. The appeal from this court lay with the council of the Order at Malta. The code of laws, called the statutes of the Order, were the result of the decrees of a succession of chapters-general, no alterations, additions, or omissions to this code being introduced by any authority short of that which originally called it into existence.

The duty of the Grand-Master, as head of the Order, consisted merely in enforcing obedience to the laws thus laid down, and even in this comparatively subordinate office he was not permitted to act alone, but was associated with a council, without whose concurrence and sanction none of his decrees were legal, and he himself rendered utterly powerless. The councils of the Order in their convent home were of four kinds, viz. the complete, the ordinary, the secret, and the criminal; the latter being also sometimes called the council of state. The composition of the latter three were precisely similar, but differed in their extent from the first.

The complete council consisted of the Grand-Master or his lieutenant, as president; the bishop of Malta, the prior of the church, the eight conventual bailiffs or their lieutenants acting for them, the grand-treasurer or his lieutenant, and any other grand-cross who might chance to be present at the convent on the occasion. To these dignitaries were added two members from each language, who were bound to be Knights of Justice and residents in the convent for eight years. The seniors of each language, undecorated with the grand-cross, were usually elected for this office, the nomination resting with the languages themselves. The period of assembly for the court lay at the option of the Grand-Master, but it could only be held in the council-chamber of his palace, wherein it differed from the other councils, which might be convened wherever he thought fit to appoint. Before this court all appeals were brought against the decisions and sentences of the ordinary and criminal councils, the ultimate appeal being with the chapter-general, or, in its default, with the papal court.

The following was the order of procedure upon the occasion. The Grand-Master having fixed the hour at which the council was to meet, the master of the horse gave due notice to that effect to all the members authorised to be present on the occasion. The great bell of St. John's church tolled for half an hour at the appointed time, during which interval the councillors assembled within their hall. At its expiration, the Grand-Master took his place under the dais appropriated for his use, and the business of the council commenced. Should any one of the conventual bailiffs be absent, as well as his lieutenant, it became necessary to fill the vacancy, and the master of the horse announced the fact thus, "the senior member for the language of ——, the commander ——," whereupon the Knight so named took his place with the other councillors. As the language of England was virtually extinct, and neither a conventual bailiff nor his lieutenant could ever be present for that tongue, the senior member resident in the convent, not otherwise admissible to the council, was named to fill the vacancy. The same thing was also done to supply the two members for the English language required to form a complete council.

The court being thus duly organised, the vice-chancellor announced the various matters to be brought under discussion, and which usually consisted of appeals from the decisions of the inferior courts. In any case requiring pleading, the rival parties were bound to appear in person, unless they could show a good and sufficient reason for employing a deputy. The following exceptions were made to this general rule. Members of the English and German languages were permitted the use of deputies, as they could not have made them-

selves intelligible to the council in their own tongue. Knights who were unavoidably absent from the convent when their causes came on for hearing, might provide substitutes duly authorised to appear in their behalf, and the same privilege was also accorded to all Knights of the grand-cross, who were never required to plead their causes in person. It appears, indeed, to have been a main object in framing these regulations to check litigation as far as possible amongst the fraternity, and the "custom" or preamble, which is attached to the statutes relating to the various councils of the Order, marks this principle most distinctly. It says: "In order that our brethren may study hospitality, and the noble exercise of arms, rather than embroil themselves in litigation and in legal discussions, our predecessors have handed down the following very laudable custom: whenever differences shall arise between our brethren, they shall be decided in council summarily, that is to say, there shall be no writings upon the subject in dispute, the parties shall plead their cause in person, and state their cases simply, after which judgment shall be passed. Writings which have been previously made, and not prepared expressly for the purpose, may be produced in evidence, as also such witnesses as may be required, and if necessary the depositions of these latter may be reduced to writing."

The case under consideration having been thus clearly stated and responded to, the court was cleared for purposes of deliberation, and after the members had had free opportunity of expressing their sentiments on the matter by an ample debate, the various opinions of each speaker being retained in profound secrecy without the court, a ballot was taken, the result of which decided

[illegible] the public once [illegible] which had been decreed [illegible] and received in the [illegible].

The council of three months was composed of the same members as those present at the complete council, with the exception of the two senior members of each language. In these councils therefore, every member was a Knight of the grand-cross. The ordinary council could not be held without the presence of the eight conventual bailiffs or their Lieutenants, or Knights appointed temporarily to act as their proxies. None of the other members, however, were bound to be present, and the council was legally constituted though no one appeared but the eight above-mentioned dignitaries, presided over by the Grand-Master or his lieutenant. The form of procedure at this court was precisely similar to that of the complete council, and at it all nominations to vacant dignities were made, all disputes arising therefrom decided, and the ordinary business connected with the government of the Order transacted. This was the council most usually employed by the Grand-Master, who might assemble it any time and in any place he thought proper. No subject could be introduced except with his sanction and approval, and as all grand-crosses had a voice in the council, he was enabled, by a batch of fresh creations of honorary grand-crosses, to carry any measure upon which opinions were divided in the convent. The secret council, which was similarly constituted, took cognisance of such matters of internal and foreign policy as were not considered fit subjects for publicity, and its proceedings were always retained strictly private. The criminal council, which

was also composed of the same members, received and adjudicated on all complaints lodged against individuals pertaining to the Order, who were arraigned before them, and sentence was declared in consonance with the evidence.

The mention of this council leads naturally to a discussion of the crimes and punishments common amongst the fraternity. The punishments to which a member of the Order of St. John was subject, were as follows:—first, "The Septaine." This penalty obliged the offender to fast for seven days successively, on the Wednesday and Friday of which he was restricted to bread and water only. He was not permitted to leave his home during the period, except to attend divine service. The statutes of the Order laid down that on the Wednesday and Friday of his punishment he was to receive discipline at the hands of a priest (usually the vice-prior), in the conventual church of St. John, during the recitation of the psalm "Deus misereatur nostri," &c. This latter portion of the punishment fell into disuse after the sixteenth century. The Quarantaine was similar to the Septaine, excepting that it lasted for forty consecutive days, during every Wednesday and Friday of which bread and water were to be the penitent's only food. In either case the offending party was restricted from wearing his arms whilst under punishment.

If a more severe penalty was required than either of the above, imprisonment was resorted to, no limit to which was affixed by the statutes. Loss of seniority was another penalty to which offending members were frequently sentenced; and if a still more severe punishment was necessary, they were deprived of their habit for a certain period, or for ever. The latter sentence

was equivalent to expulsion from the ranks of the fraternity. No punishment of death was recognised within their code; but if a Knight were guilty of a crime which was deemed of sufficient magnitude to require such a penalty, he was stripped of his habit as a preliminary measure, and then, as no longer remaining a member of the Order, he was transferred to the civil authorities, and received by their decree the punishment due to his crimes. The records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mention several instances of capital punishment which had been inflicted in this manner on quondam members of the Order. The most usual method of carrying out the last sentence of the law was borrowed from that adopted by the Turks in making away with the ladies of their harem upon suspicion of frailty, and consisted in fastening up the condemned individual in a sack and throwing him into the Marsa Musceit. The infliction of torture was never authorised by the statutes, but at the same time it was never forbidden, and the criminal records show that it was very commonly resorted to, in order to extort confession from suspected persons. No rank was sufficiently elevated to save a prisoner from this test. It will be remembered that during the second siege of Rhodes the chancellor D'Amaral was subjected to torture, in order to endeavour to elicit a confession of traitorous correspondence on his part; and that this was by no means a solitary instance a careful study of the criminal documents now in the Record office of Malta will speedily show.

The eighteenth division of the statutes is devoted to an enumeration of the various acts forbidden to members of the Order, and the punishments which were to follow their perpetration. No member was to make a testa-

mentary disposition of more than the one fifth portion of his property; the remainder reverting to the treasury of the Order. They were never to mix themselves up in the quarrels of secular persons, whether princes or private individuals; they were not to interfere with the administration of justice by interceding for an offending brother. They were never to wander from their commanderies or priories, so as in the words of the statute "to make vagabonds of themselves." This regulation prohibited their leaving the precincts of their own commanderies or priories, except on good cause, and then with the written permission of the grand-prior in the case of a commander, or of the Grand-Master in the case of a prior. Any person connected with the Order finding an offender against this statute "enacting the vagabond," was bound to secure him, and give notice of his imprisonment to the grand-prior under whose jurisdiction he was. The same regulation held good as regarded the convent at Malta.

Members were strictly prohibited from making use of letters of recommendation, either to the Grand-Master or to members of his council, to secure priority of nomination to any office or dignity, under a penalty of the loss of ten years of seniority. No privateering expeditions against the Infidel were permitted without sanction previously obtained from the Grand-Master and council. This sanction was, however, always readily granted, and the time spent in such cruises was allowed to count as part of the necessary residence of the Knight in the convent, and towards his caravans. No safe conduct was to be given to any Infidel, or other corsair, except by the Grand-Master and council, who alone were authorised to establish truces with the natural

enemy of the Order. No member was to intermeddle in the wars of Christian princes, or to take any part therein, even on the side of his own native country.

Any member of the Order appearing in public without the distinctive dress of his profession, that is, without the cross in white linen cloth sewn upon his robe, was for the first offence to undergo the quarantaine; for the second, to be confined for three months in the tower; and, for the third, to be stripped of his habit. The following decree against turbulence in the inns might be promulgated and enforced with advantage in many instances at the present day: "If any of the brethren behave insolently and in a turbulent manner in the inns where they dine, and if amidst the tumult and noise they break the doors, the windows, the chairs, or the tables, or any articles of that nature, or if they upset and disarrange them with reckless audacity, they shall be punished by the Grand-Master and council, in such manner as they may decree, even to the loss of their seniority. If they conduct themselves still more outrageously, and beat the pages, the servants, or the slaves of the conventual bailiffs, for the first offence, if no blood be spilt, they shall be punished with the quarantaine; for the second, they shall be imprisoned in the tower; and, for the third, they shall lose two years' seniority. If, on the other hand, blood shall have been spilt, no matter how slight the wound may have been, for the first offence they shall be imprisoned in the tower for six months; and if the wound be serious and dangerous they shall lose seniority. If any member shall insult another in the palace of the Grand-Master, he shall lose three years' seniority, if he has it already, or if not, as soon as he shall have attained it; for an

insult in an inn he shall lose two years. If the disputants come to blows they shall be stripped of the habit; and, if either party be wounded, they shall lose their habit without remission, and if he be killed they shall be handed over to the secular power."

The following are the crimes for which the statutes decreed the loss of habit in perpetuity to members of the Order: "Those convicted of being heretics, sodomites, assassins, or thieves; those who have joined the ranks of the Infidel, amongst whom are to be classed those who surrender our standard, or other ensign, when it is unfurled in presence of the enemy; also those who abandon their comrades during the fight, or who give shelter to the Infidel, together with all who are parties to, or cognisant of, so great a treason." Privation of habit for one year was to be inflicted upon any one who, "when under arms, shall have left his ranks to plunder, also upon any one who brings an accusation against another without being enabled to substantiate his charge. A Knight who has committed a murder shall be deprived of his habit in perpetuity, and kept in prison, in order to prevent others from becoming so hardened as to commit a similar crime, and that the company of our brethren may be quiet and peaceable. Whoever wounds any person treasonably, in secret, or by malice prepense, shall lose his habit in perpetuity."

The question of duelling was one which was rather curiously dealt with in the statutes and customs of the Order. It was strictly forbidden by the former, and the severest penalties attached to any infringement of the law, which ran thus: "In order to check the impiety of those who, neglecting the safety of their souls, invite others to a duel, and expose their bodies to a cruel

death, we decree that if one brother provokes another, or if he defies him, either by speech or in writing, by means of a second, or in any other manner, and that the one who is called out does not accept the duel, in addition to the penalties decreed by the sacred council, and by the constitution of Gregory XIII. of blessed memory, the appellant shall be deprived of his habit in perpetuity, without any remission. If his antagonist accepts the challenge, even if neither party appears on the ground, they shall be nevertheless both deprived of their habits without hope of pardon. But should they both have proceeded to the place of assignation, even though no blood should have been spilt, they shall not only be deprived of their habit, but shall also be afterwards handed over to the secular power. In addition, we decree that whoever shall have been the cause of any such duel or defiance, or who shall have given either advice, assistance, or council, either by word or deed, or who upon any pretence whatever shall have persuaded any one to issue a challenge, if it shall be proved that he accompanied him to act as his second, he shall be condemned to lose his habit. The same penalty we likewise attach to those who shall be proved to have been present at a duel, or of having posted or caused to be posted a cartel of defiance in any spot whatever."

The above law relates only to a regular premeditated duel, but brawls and fracas are punished under the following statute: "If a brother strike another brother he shall be placed in the quarantaine; if he strike him in such a manner that blood be drawn elsewhere than from the mouth or nose, he shall be stripped of his habit. If he shall have attempted to wound him

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fact, the Chalk Farm of Malta, and numerous crosses carved in the walls on either side still mark the sites where encounters resulted in a fatal issue. The seconds posted themselves, one on either side, at some little distance from their principals, and, with their swords drawn,

prevented the passers-by from approaching the scene of strife until it had been brought to a conclusion.

The records of the criminal council for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries teem with entries of stabbing, wounding, and killing, most of which were the result either of premeditated duels, or of casual encounters. When they were the former, the punishment depended greatly upon whether the authorised spot had been resorted to, and if so, the penalty was comparatively trivial, being either a quarantaine, or two months' imprisonment.

The punishment for duelling being thus severe, it was necessary for the statutes to provide some protection to the peaceably disposed from the violence of ill temper, and the insults of either jealousy or hatred. We find, therefore, the following decree under the head of insults: "If a brother, in the heat of his anger, whilst quarrelling with another brother, shall make use of insulting language, he shall be punished by the 'quarantaine,' even though he shall subsequently admit that he has spoken falsely, and shall apologise for the insult. If he shall boldly give him the lie direct, he shall lose two years' seniority; and if he strikes him with a stick, or gives him a blow with his hand, he shall lose three years'."

The question of duelling having been disposed of, the statutes proceed to provide against the nuisance to respectable householders of midnight revellers disturbing their households. The following statute proves that fast young men in the middle ages committed very nearly the same follies as in the present day: "Whoever shall enter into the house of a citizen without being invited, and against the wish of the head of the family,

or who shall disturb the social gatherings of the people during their festivals, dances, weddings, or other similar occasions, shall lose two years of seniority, without hope of pardon. And if, either by day or by night, they do any damage to the doors or windows of the people, then, in addition to the above-named penalties, they shall suffer a rigid imprisonment, such as may be decreed by the Grand-Master and council. Any member of the Order joining in masquerades or ballets, shall suffer loss of seniority." This statute was still further defined by an addition made by the Grand-Master Claude de la Sengle:—"If any one shall be so bold as to damage doors or windows by night, or who shall stop them up with plaster, or stain them with dirt, or who shall throw stones at them, shall lose three years of seniority, leaving it to the discretion of the Grand-Master and council to decree a severer punishment."

The original profession of a Knight of the Order of St. John having included the three vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, the statutes, after having decreed such penalties as were necessary to check all transgressions of the two first of these vows, proceeded to deal with the last. The question of chastity was one not easily encountered in an Order constituted like that of the Hospital. On the one hand, as a religious fraternity, devoted to the service of God and practice of charity and all good works, it was impossible to recognise any license or infraction of the strictest laws of continence and chastity. The monk in his cloistered retreat, mortifying all sensual appetites by constant fasts and ever-recurring vigils, was not supposed to be more free from earthly passions than the Knight of St. John. We all know, however, how widely even the

secluded inmates of the monasteries constantly strayed from the strict paths of virtue, and it was not to be anticipated that the members of the military Orders, surrounded as they were with such vastly increased temptations, could have maintained themselves more free from vice and immorality. Composed of the youth of high and noble families, in no way secluded from female society, but mingling with the gayest of either sex, taught to look more upon military renown than ascetic piety as the rightful adornment of their profession, it was not to be expected that they would act rigidly up to the letter of the vow they had taken. The statutes, therefore, do not attempt to forbid a dereliction of chastity, but content themselves with checking all open display of immorality. "It has been very rightly ordained that no member of our brotherhood, of whatever position or rank he may be, shall be permitted to support, maintain, or consort with women of loose character, either in their houses or abroad. If any one, abandoning his honour and reputation, shall be so barefaced as to act in opposition to this regulation, and shall render himself publicly infamous, after having been three times warned by his superior to desist from this vice, we decree, after the expiration of forty days from the date of his first warning, he shall, if a commander, be deprived of his commandery, and, if a simple brother of the convent, he shall lose his seniority. If any member of our Order shall be so barefaced as to recognise, and publicly to adopt as his own, a child who may be born to him from an illegitimate connexion (such as is not recognised by law), and attempt to bestow on him the name of his family, we decree that he shall never hold either office, benefice, or

dignity in our Order. We further decree, that all associates of loose women, who may be ranked as incestuous, sacrilegious, and adulterers, shall be declared incapable of possessing any property, or of holding any office or dignity in our Order. And we designate as an associate of loose women not only those who are notorious evil-livers, and have had judgment passed on them as such, but also any one who, without any sense of shame or fear of God, and forgetting his profession, shall entertain and support a woman of doubtful character, notorious for her bad life and evil conversation, or who shall reside with her constantly."

These statutes were so ambiguously worded, and left so many loopholes for evasion, that it is not surprising they should gradually have become a dead letter. The presence of a large number of prostitutes within the convent became a public scandal at a very early period, and many Grand-Masters, even during the residence of the Order at Rhodes, sought, by the most rigorous statutes, to mitigate the evil. Prohibitions were, however, utterly powerless, and as the Order lost more and more of the religious enthusiasm which had prompted its early founders, so did the dissoluteness of their lives become more outrageously opposed to the principles of their profession. After the successful termination of the siege of Malta had left the fraternity in undisputed sovereignty of that island, and had raised their military renown to the highest possible pitch, they appeared to have become intoxicated with the admiration they had excited throughout Europe; and, throwing off all restraint, to have abandoned themselves to the wildest and most reckless debauchery.

At this period the city of Valetta was positively

teeming with prostitutes, and all women in the neighbouring countries, who considered themselves possessed of sufficient charms, and who were ready to make a traffic of their persons, flocked to that island as the spot where they could find the readiest market for their wares. The streets were thronged by the frail beauties of Spain, Italy, Sicily, and the Levant; nor were the dark-eyed moors of Tripoli and Tunis wanting to complete an array of seduction and temptation, such as might have proved too strong for aught but a saint to resist. Saints, however, there were none in the convent of Malta in those days, or if they did exist, it was in so slender a minority that the demireps and their followers had it all their own way. We have seen that the attempts of La Cassière to check this great and growing scandal were followed by a general revolt and his own imprisonment, which sentence was carried into effect amidst the derisive jeers of crowds of flaunting Cyprians whom he had in vain endeavoured, for decency's sake, to banish into the adjoining casals and villages.

This period may be marked as the worst and most openly and grossly immoral epoch in the history of the fraternity. The evil, to a certain extent, brought with it its own remedy; and, after a while, they became scandalised at the notoriety of their own debauchery, and the evil reputation which their orgies had brought upon them. Gradually, somewhat more of decency and moderation found its way into the convent, and the frail nymph, who might still desire to trade upon her charms, was compelled to maintain a little more privacy, and was no longer permitted to flaunt in the streets of Valetta in all the shame of open and abandoned

profligacy. Still the morality of the fraternity remained at a very low ebb, and up to the latest date, the society of Malta abounded with scandalous tales and sullied reputations. In this the Order of St. John was perhaps no worse than might have been anticipated, nor indeed than any other association of young unmarried men within a narrow circle. The vice prevalent in Valetta was probably no greater than that of any other town where the bulk of the population was young and unfettered by the obligations of matrimony. The error lay in supposing that a vow of chastity, rendered compulsory upon all seeking admission into the Order, could by any possibility act as a check upon the natural depravity of youth, unrestrained as it was in any other manner.

The annexed abstract gives an extract from the criminal records of the Order, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, showing a few of the most important and curious trials, with the punishments awarded by the council. This statement may be taken as a fair specimen of the class of crimes most frequent in the convent. Although but one or two of each description are here quoted, many of them were of frequent occurrence, the most constant being those of homicide from duelling and stabbing. Indeed, the entries of these two crimes appear interminable, and mark a most disorderly and quarrelsome spirit amongst the fraternity, which however is not perhaps to be wondered at, when it is remembered that youths of so many different nations were congregated together, who would ill brook even an idle jest, when uttered by a member of a rival language.

Name of Delinquent.	Crime.	Punishment.	Date.
Cav. Giugliochico Bois Langue	Theft of a golden chalice, of the value of 360 ducats, and other jewels, from the sacristy, which he pledged with the Jews	Deprived of his habit	June 7, 1526.
Cav. Giovanni de Cerdan .	Stabbing Cav. Galcerano Torres . .	Do. do.	Feb. 11, 1531.
Cav. Galcerano Palan . .	Deserting from the convent . . .	Do. do.	Aug. 21, 1532.
Cav. Carlo de Piscie and Cav. Godofredo Regnault	Killing four men in a galley (vide Chap. XV.)	Do. do.	May 10, 1533.
Com. d'Orleans and Antonio de Vareques	Ringleaders in a tumult, and causing the death of the above four men	Do. do.	May 14, 1533.
Cav. Ferncino Cheron . . (of the French language)	Sacrilege and theft of pearls and a ring from the chapel of Our Lady at Philermo	Do. do.	Jan. 10, 1536.
Cav. Pietro de Onaya (of the Castile language) and Cav. Sanchio Longa	Creating a disturbance during the eve of Christmas-day, by disguising themselves as ladies and mixing with the ladies during the midnight mass	To be imprisoned until the arrival in Malta of the Grand-Master	Oct. 29, 1536.
Cav. Giacomo de Spifami .	Indebted to the treasury and disobedience to the orders of the Grand-Master	Deprived of his habit	Oct. 10, 1537.
Cav. Pietro de Felizer . .	Injurious words and provocation to a duel	Six months' imprisonment . .	March 12, 1538.
Cav. Filppo Dalbio . . .	Do. do.	Forty days' imprisonment . .	
Cav. Francesco Marzilla . .	Fighting a duel	One year's imprisonment in the cage .	June 5, 1538.
Cav. Antonio de Castellan .	Murder	Deprived of his habit	June 3, 1538.
Cav. Ludovico de Gleney .	Do.	Do. do.	Feb. 8, 1539.
Clement West (Turcopolier of England)	Want of respect to the Grand-Master and council (vide Chap. XXII.)	To be placed in close arrest until the arrival of the Grand-Master, who added four months to the sentence	May 20, 1539.
Cav. Pietro Neglia . . .	Breaking into a nunnery in the night-time	Six months' banishment to Gozo .	May 29, 1539.
Cav. Giacomo Bladeo . .	Embezzlement of money . . .	Deprived of his habit	Feb 28, 1539.
Cav. Marriano Serrano . .	Sodomy	Do. do.	Oct. 3, 1541.

Cav. Ludovic de Media	Killing Giovanni Negret	Imprisoned for one year, and to pay 100 scudi to the children of the dead man	Oct. 3, 1548.
The Marshal Gaspar La Valliere Cav. Simon de Losa (captain of cavalry) Cav. Pietro de Ferrere (treasurer) Cav. Antonio Fuster	Loss of Tripoli (vide Chap. XVI.)	The marshal deprived of his habit and handed over to civil power; the others deprived of their habits only	Sept. 3, 1551.
Cav. Carlo Savonier	Killing Cav. Marino Tomasello in a duel	To lose two years of seniority	March 28, 1552.
Cav. Oswald Massinbut	Theft of a slave	To restore the slave, and imprisonment for two months	Aug. 8, 1552.
Cav. Giovanni Granual and Ludovico Madiani	Theft of jewels, plate, and other valuables	Deprived of habit, and handed over to civil power	Dec. 1, 1552.
Cav. Filippo de Amico	Theft of a silver salver from the palace of Grand-Master d'Omedes	Deprived of habit	Jan. 15, 1553.
Cav. Alfonso de Madrigal	Falsification of letters from Grand-Master for a sum of 3050 scudi	Do. do.	Aug. 16, 1554.
Cav. Pietro de Ferrere	Flight from convent, pending trial for loss of Tripoli (vide former entry)	Do. do.	Nov. 5, 1554.
Cav. Pietro Dalspone	Stabbing	The quarantaine	May 27, 1555.
Cav. Emanuel Villaframe	Murder	Deprived of habit, and handed over to civil power	June 7, 1555.
Cav. Ludovico Marsilla	Stabbing	The quarantaine, and to pay 50 scudi	July 4, 1555.
Cav. Carlo Fleury	Rape of Gerolama Olivier, wife of Agostino	Imprisonment for one year	Oct. 2, 1555.
Cav. Filippo Stagno	Theft and sacrilege in church of St. Antonio	Deprived of habit, and handed over to civil power	July 12, 1564.
Cav. Giacomo Sandilandes	Complicity with the above	To undergo torture till the crime be confessed, and then to be deprived of habit and handed over to civil power	July 15, 1564.
Com. Vincenzo Lobello (serving brother)	Abandoning the convent and entering another Order (just prior to the siege of Malta)	Deprived of his commandery	March 11, 1565.

Name of Delinquent.	Crime.	Punishment.	Date.
Cav. Giovanni de Pegna and Gaspar de Samano	Suspected authors of libels against the Grand-Master (vide Chap. XIX.)	Ten years' imprisonment, with immunity to whoever betrays the author	Oct. 3, 1567.
Cav. S. Clement (general of galleys)	Loss of two galleys to the Turks . .	Deprived of his habit	Feb. 18, 1570.
Cav. Leonardo Latre . .	Theft and murder	To be put to torture and then deprived of his habit	Oct. 9, 1570.
Cav. Pietro Diocris . . .	Violating Donna Speranza de Molino .	Deprived of his habit	April 26, 1575.
Cav. Antonio Melo .	Introducing themselves in disguise and under feigned names to Cav. Giorgio Correa, attacking, and treacherously killing him	Do. This was the first punishment carried into effect in the new conventual church of St. John at Valetta	July 24, 1577.
Cav. Emilio Fossati .			
Cav. Giovanni Perea .			
Cav. Antonio Maria Ciugei	Adultery, with violence . . .	All deprived of their habits, except Chavigni, who received two years' imprisonment	May 25, 1784.
Cav. Gaspar Michal .			
Cav. Ant. de Symona .			
Francesco de Rogier .			
Gaspare de Acton . .			
Robert Chavigni . .			
Cav. Pompeo Marmillo and Mugio Delizorri	Passing false money	Deprived of habit	June 22, 1784.
Sister Mary Grazia Grisoni, of the Order of St. John at Florence	Poisoning Sister Porgia de Bartolini, of the same Order	Deprived of habit	Sept. 5, 1583.
Cav. Marco de Stefano . .	Perjury	Do. do.	Aug. 11, 1586.
Fr. Vincenzo La Monti (priest of obedience)	Incest	To serve as a soldier on board the galleys for four years	Sept. 27, 1602.
Alexander Price (servant-at-arms)	Clipping money	Deprived of his habit, and handed over to the civil power	May 20, 1609.
Cæsar Russo (servant-at-arms).	Becoming a Moslem	Deprived of habit	Sept. 23, 1611.

Of course, in many instances, these punishments became mere formal decrees, the delinquents being out of the reach of the Order at the time. Whenever the conduct of a member, once professed into the fraternity, became such as to render him unworthy to continue in the institution, he was, as a matter of form, arraigned before the council and stripped of his habit, even though he had previously absconded. There are several instances of this kind in the above list.

Before the islands of Malta and Gozo fell under the sway of the Order of St. John, through the act of donation granted by the emperor Charles V., they had been an appanage of the Spanish monarchy, and attached to the viceroyalty of Sicily. Their local government had consisted of a governor or hakem, who was commandant of the military within the islands, and was intrusted with ample powers to maintain public tranquillity; four giurati who acted under him as a council for all financial questions, and two catapani for all matters relating to food, the great bulk of which was imported from Sicily. An officer, named "il secreto," received the duties payable on imports, and another, named "il portolano," was the superintendent of the harbours. Once every year an assembly or parliament was convened, which was divided into the three classes of nobles, clergy, and commons. This assembly prepared lists of candidates for the various above-mentioned offices, and the viceroy selected from amongst those lists the persons by whom they were to be filled.

When the Knights of St. John superseded the government of the emperor, they maintained the leading features of the former administration. The assembly, it is true, soon became a dead letter, and the nomina-

tion to the various offices was made direct by the Grand-Master and council; still this selection was invariably from amongst the Maltese, and their ancient customs and privileges were interfered with as little as possible. Their code of laws remained in force, and was recognised by the fraternity, the duty of carrying it into effect being left almost entirely in the hands of the natives.

There were three legal courts, each presided over by a judge, selected from amongst the Maltese; the first for criminal causes, the second for civil matters, and the third for appeals from the other two courts, the last being the superior of the three. A Knight was, however, appointed, who presided over the proceedings of these three courts, which were combined under the name of the Castellany, but he in no way interfered with the administration of justice. He was replaced every second year by a fresh nomination. No member of the fraternity was, as such, amenable to the tribunals of the Maltese; but where his crimes rendered it advisable that he should be punished by sentence of those courts, he was stripped of his habit as a preliminary measure, and then handed over to their jurisdiction as a secular person.

Throughout the residence of the Order in Malta a very broad line of demarcation was drawn between themselves and the native population. The Maltese had always been a very aristocratic community; many of their old families had been ennobled at a very early epoch, and the whole power of government had invariably been vested in their hands. No more exclusive or oligarchical a community existed anywhere throughout Europe, and the relics of this state of things may even

now still be traced in the island. The Order of St. John, eminently aristocratic though it was in its own constitution, and naturally jealous of all encroachments upon that privileged class from which they themselves sprung, and from whom they had drawn all their power and all their wealth, appeared, in their connection with Malta, to have been actuated by more liberal ideas and views, and materially enlarged the basis of government by extending the field from which they selected their native employés. One natural result of this liberal policy was a slight alienation and coldness on the part of that class who had hitherto monopolised the entire governance of the island; and this coldness, coupled with the national reserve of the Maltese character, always acted to prevent any amalgamation between the two parties.

The Maltese, as such, were not admitted into the ranks of the highest class in the Order. Such of them as could bring forward the necessary proofs of nobility, and were otherwise eligible, could, it was true, become received as members of the Italian language, and some, even after marriage, upon condition of their wives being sent to Italy when about to become mothers; still the number who thus entered the fraternity was but trifling, and even they were not ranked in the same position as the other members of the language, being incapable of occupying the dignity either of Grand-Master, or conventual bailiff. The Order were consequently always regarded as foreigners by the natives, and but little friendship or cordiality was to be traced in their social intercourse. It must not, however, be inferred from this fact that the Maltese were dissatisfied with the rule of the Knights over them. That govern-

ance was certainly a despotism, and one of the very strongest class; still it was well suited to the habits of the people, and was usually wielded with great equity and moderation. Those feelings of liberty and freedom of personal action, which characterise the Anglo-Saxon temperament, do not exist in more southern latitudes, and the decrees and authority of the Grand-Master and his council met a ready and cheerful obedience from those who were neither anxious nor ready to undertake the onerous duty of ruling themselves. The Order placed themselves on a decided eminence over those they were called upon to govern, and when their rival interests came into collision it was but natural that the Maltese, as the weaker, should be compelled to give way. Still on the whole they had not much cause for complaint, and there can be no doubt that the transfer of their island to the Order of St. John had brought with it many very solid advantages to its inhabitants.

Instead of a few officials and a slender garrison, they now saw Malta made the nucleus of the most powerful and wealthy fraternity in Europe. Every land contributed its quota to the stream of wealth which commenced to pour into the barren and poverty-stricken island. The wretched hamlet of the Bourg became a considerable city, and its suburbs extended themselves over the neighbouring peninsula. Ere long a new city, exceeding in extent and magnificence anything which the wildest flight of imagination could have pictured in bygone years, sprang up, adorned with the inns and other public buildings of a fraternity whose ample revenue enabled them thus to beautify their capital. Stores of grain accumulated in the public magazines. Ramparts

and forts arose to protect the island from the piratical descents of the Infidel, and Malta, from having been considered for many ages only a barren and desolate rock, rose to be the most important fortress and flourishing community in the Mediterranean.

These were important privileges, and the Order, who had been enabled to confer such benefits on their new subjects, might well stand excused for a slight display of arrogance and despotism in the mode of their government. After all it was only with the very highest class, the most exclusive of the Maltese nobility, that the new government brought itself into ill repute. And with them it was not the despotism of the Order, but the liberalism which had opened the doors of office to a lower class than their own, which had engendered their disfavour. Below them there was a rising class, containing within its limits much of the ambition and talent of the island, and it was in this class that the council had sought for candidates to fill the official posts, previously invariably monopolised by the nobility. With them, therefore, the Order stood in high favour, and whilst on the one hand the old nobility held themselves aloof, and on the other the lower class of the population grovelled in uncomplaining submission to the sway of any power sufficiently energetic to compel their obedience, this section, comprising all the activity and talent of the country, became faithful adherents to the system by means of which their own emancipation from the dictation of the aristocracy had been secured.

Into this class of Maltese society the Knights of St. John found a ready and welcome admission. Even here, however, there were great distinctions drawn

between the various languages, some of which were far more popular than others. The French Knights did not by any means find favour with the fair ladies who swayed the empire of fashion within this coterie; they were too arrogant, self-sufficient, and boastful, ever to be received as chosen favourites, or to find a ready welcome into their domestic privacy. More than one case had occurred in which this boastful tendency on the part of Frenchmen, ever ready to imagine their own attractions irresistible, had led to the most unpleasant results, and had clouded the fair fame of ladies whose only fault had perchance consisted in permitting rather too free an offering of adulation on the part of their knightly admirers. By degrees, therefore, this national weakness had led to their being regarded with great coldness, and their advances being received with the utmost caution.

Whilst the French, however, were thus neglected, there were other languages whose members were more fortunate. The Germans, in particular, seem to have borne the palm of popularity. Their national reserve and phlegmatic temperament prevented them from falling into the errors of their more vivacious French brethren, and they were admitted to a footing of intimacy and freedom which the latter were never permitted to attain. The Spaniards were also very popular, and for much the same reason as had brought the Germans into favour; and unless the tales recorded on this head are very false, they were usually highly successful in their intercourse with the fair ladies of Malta.

With the lower orders the rule of the Knights was usually very popular. The works on which they were constantly engaged for the strengthening of their posi-

tion, yielded a continuous source of employment to the labouring class, and the ample stores of provisions retained in the magazines of Valetta secured them from the miseries of scarcity, which in olden times had so frequently been the scourge of the island. The Grand-Master also sought popularity with this class by providing them with amusements during their constant holidays. Their privileges in this respect were very numerous, and always maintained with the utmost regularity. The most entertaining of these festivals was the carnival, always celebrated in Malta with great splendour and variety of costume. The privilege of holding a carnival was granted by the Grand-Master, not only on the three days immediately preceding Ash Wednesday, but also whenever the Order desired to celebrate any event of unusual importance. These extra carnivals were called *Babarro*.

On Shrove Tuesday a *Cocagna* was given to the people. This was a vast structure reared in the square before the Grand-Master's palace, and decorated with flowers, flags, and ribbons. The Cocagna was hung with fruit and provisions of all kinds; live poultry, hams, eggs, sausages, &c., were mixed with wreaths of flowers and clusters of fruit, the whole presenting a most tempting display to the assembled multitude. At a given signal there was a general scramble, and the provisions became the property of those sufficiently active and fortunate to carry them off. A master of the ceremonies was appointed to superintend on this occasion, and to give the signal for onslaught. He was termed *Il Gran Visconti*, and for the day the administration of the police was intrusted to his care.

The great festival of the Order, St. John's day, was

naturally observed with much rejoicing. In the afternoon races were held for prizes, to be presented by the Grand-Master, and the peculiarity of these races consisted in the course selected for the purpose. The main street of Valetta, called the "Strada Reale," or Royal Street, extends in a straight line from fort St. Elmo to the Royal Gate, a distance of upwards of half a mile. This was the course over which the races were run, and being in the heart of the town, all traffic of every description had to be stopped during their continuance. On the 1st of May, the old custom of the greasy pole was introduced, which the Maltese were very expert in surmounting: this was likewise erected in front of the Grand-Master's palace.

In short, every effort appears to have been made by the government to render the population contented with their lot, so far as contentment could be ensured by a plentiful supply of amusement and festivity. In this they acted with a due discrimination as to the peculiar temperament of the Maltese people. Docile and tractable in the highest degree, they merely required the excitement of a little innocent recreation to quell any feeling of discontent which might have arisen against a government in which their interests were invariably compelled to yield to those of the fraternity, and where they had little or no voice in the legislation. That that government was, as a general rule, exercised beneficially, the rapid progress made by the island clearly proves; still there were doubtless many laws enacted which pressed hardly upon the natives. A little liberality on the score of sports and holidays prevented any ebullition of discontent at these political disadvantages; and by the adoption of these wise precautions the Order succeeded

in maintaining tranquillity amongst the population throughout their residence in the island.

Any description of the social organisation, or of the mode of life carried on under the Order of St. John, would be incomplete without some allusion to an institution established in their midst, and which has even in later days been the subject of much discussion and great differences of opinion amongst the statesmen of the various great European powers. Since the earliest ages it had been an invariable custom in Eastern warfare, that the prisoners taken in battle should be reduced into a state of slavery, and this system had been in full play long before the Crusades had introduced a Christian element into the warfare of Asia. A spirit of retaliation led to the establishment of a similar system on the part of the Christian inhabitants of Palestine, and the Turkish captives who fell into their hands invariably found themselves reduced to a state of most abject slavery. After their establishment in the island of Rhodes, the Knights continued the practice which ancient custom had legalised in their eyes, and both in that island and at Malta their galleys were invariably propelled by gangs of Turkish captives told off for that purpose, and driven to constant labour by the dread of punishment. A prison was established within the convent, where the slaves were placed when not employed on board ship, and whilst on shore they were constantly engaged either upon the fortifications or in the dockyards.

There can be no doubt that great cruelty was often practised against these unfortunate captives, and the treatment which they received at the hands of their Christian masters was often disgracefully barbarous. Their lives were held as of little or no value, and the

records teem with accounts of the thoughtless and barbarous manner in which they were sacrificed to the whims and caprices of their masters. During the first siege of Rhodes, a gang of these unfortunates were returning from their perilous labours in repairing the breaches made by the enemy's artillery in the ramparts. A party of young Knights chanced to meet them, and commenced amusing themselves at their expense. A slight scuffle ensued, owing to an effort made by the latter to shield themselves from their tormentors, when a body of the garrison who were patrolling near the spot, imagining that the slaves were rising in revolt, fell on them, and, without pausing for a moment to ascertain the truth of their suspicions, slew upwards of a hundred and fifty of these wretched and defenceless creatures before they discovered the error under which they had been labouring. So also we find it recorded, during the siege of Malta, that some hesitation having displayed itself on the part of the slaves in exposing themselves, during their pioneering labours, to a fire more than ordinarily deadly, the Grand-Master directed some to be hanged, and others to have their ears cut off; "*pour encourager les autres*," as the chroniclers quaintly and simply record. We find also an English Knight, named Massinberg, brought before the council in 1534, for having unwarrantably drawn his sword and killed four galley slaves, and upon being called for his defence, this turbulent Briton replied, "In killing the four slaves I did well, but in not having at the same time killed our old and imbecile Grand-Master, I confess I did badly." This defence was not considered satisfactory, and Massinberg was deprived of his habit for a period of *two days*, and was likewise sentenced to the loss of his commandery.

The Order not only retained their slaves for their own use; they at the same time sold to private individuals any number that might be demanded. The truth was, that the convent of St. John became eventually neither more nor less than a vast slave mart. When the demand was brisk, and the supply of slaves within the prison scarce, the cruisers of the Order scoured the seas; and woe betide the unfortunate Turk who came within the range of their vision. The war which they unceasingly waged against the maritime power of the Infidel, was maintained not so much for the glory of the struggle, or from religious conviction of its necessity, but because they found that by thus gratifying their privateering propensities, they were swelling at one and the same time their own private fortunes and the public coffers. Honour there was none; religion there was none; it was a purely mercenary speculation: and the only extenuation which the fraternity could offer for this degradation of the principles which had actuated their ancestors, was, that they were merely acting by way of reprisal. The northern coast of Africa was one vast nest of Infidel pirates, who scoured every corner of the Mediterranean, and whose detested flag was never seen without bringing with it all the horrors of bloodshed, rapine, and slavery. With a foe such as this, it was but natural that there should be but scant courtesy shown; and had the Order invariably confined their efforts to the extermination of this noxious swarm, the historian of the age would not have been too severe in his criticisms on their subsequent behaviour to the fallen foe. It is, however, much to be feared that, in their anxiety to keep the bagnio at Malta amply stocked, the Knights of St. John were by no means careful to dis-

criminate between the piratical corsair of Algiers or Tunis, and the peaceful merchant or mariner of the East, who was pursuing his vocation without injury to any one. There exists in the Record Office of Malta, amongst a number of letters written by the monarchs of England at different times to the Grand-Masters, one from Charles II. to Nicholas Cottoner, which bears upon this question, and clearly proves the traffic in human flesh which subsisted; and from which the Grand-Master appears to have been a purveyor, not only to the king of England, but also to those of France and Spain.

"Charles the Second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the most illustrious and most high prince, the Lord Nicholas Cottoner, Grand-Master of the Order of Malta, our well-beloved cousin and friend, greeting.

"It having appeared to us a matter of interest not only to ourselves, but likewise to the whole Christian world, that we should keep in the Mediterranean Sea a certain number of galleys, ready to afford prompt aid to our neighbours and allies against the frequent insults of the barbarians and Turks; we lately caused to be constructed two galleys, one in Genoa and the other in the port of Leghorn. In order to man these, we directed a person well acquainted with such affairs to be sent, as to other parts, so also to the island of Malta, subject to the rule of your highness, in order *to buy slaves* and procure other necessaries. He *having purchased some slaves*, it has been reported to us that your highness's collector of customs demanded five pieces of gold of Malta money before they could be permitted to embark, under the title of toll; at which proceeding we were certainly not a little astonished, it appearing to us a novel arrangement,

and one contrary to the usual custom; especially since it is well known to us that our neighbours and allies, the kings of France and Spain, are never accustomed to pay anything, under the title of toll, *for the slaves which they cause yearly to be transported from your island.* We therefore beg your highness, by the good and long friendship existing between us, to grant to us the same privilege in regard to this kind of commerce within the territories of your highness, as is enjoyed by both our said neighbours and allies; which, although it ought to be conceded to us simply on account of our mutual friendship, and our affection towards your highness and the illustrious Order of Malta, still we shall receive so gratefully, that, if at any time we can do anything to please your highness, we shall be always ready to do it with all attention and most willingly. In the meantime, we heartily recommend your highness and all the members of the illustrious Order of Malta, as well as all your affairs, to the divine keeping.

"Given from our palace at Westminster on the 12th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1673, and of our reign the twenty-fifth. Your highness's good cousin and friend, CHARLES Rex."

From the terms of this letter it appears that the deportation of slaves for the use of the kings of France and Spain was of annual occurrence, and that the "merry monarch" of England craved to be admitted to the same privilege. The results of this traffic must have been most profitable, not only from the proceeds of such as were sold, but also from the labour of those who were retained by the Order themselves. No person can now contemplate the frowning mass of batteries and ramparts, or the yawning depths of the ditches which meet

the eye on all sides as the traveller enters the harbour of Malta, without perceiving that such stupendous works could only have been erected in a spot where material was abundant, and labour a mere drug. And so in truth it was in this instance. The island of Malta is one vast quarry, and the engineers under whose guidance the ramparts of Valetta were traced found that they could raise from the ditches a sufficient body of stone to complete the construction of their walls. The numerous gangs of slaves who were awaiting the requirements of the wealthy potentates of Europe were in the meanwhile amply earning the slender cost of their maintenance in the slaves' prison at Malta, by toiling at those vast undertakings which have raised Valetta to the position of one of the most powerful fortresses in Europe. The ramparts of that city have been reared amidst the anguish and toil of countless thousands, torn from their homes and their country, and condemned to drag out the remainder of their miserable existence as mere beasts of burden, labouring to rear those bulwarks which were to be employed against themselves and their country. No existence can be conceived more utterly cheerless or more hopelessly miserable than that of the Moslem captive, whose only change from their daily slavery on the public works was to be chained to the oar of a galley. Sometimes, however, it did happen that the fortune of war favoured these miserable wretches, and that the enslaved crew of a galley found themselves suddenly liberated from their thraldom, and their haughty masters, who had so long made them toil for their behoof, condemned in just retribution to the same miseries and the same hopeless degradation.

CHAP. XXII.

THE ORDER IN ENGLAND. — ITS INTRODUCTION INTO SCOTLAND AND IRELAND. — DIVISION INTO LANGUAGES. — LIST OF GRAND-PRIORS OF ENGLAND. — THE TURCOPOLIERS. — THE BAILIFFS OF AQUILA. — GRAND-PRIORS OF IRELAND. — PRIORS OF SCOTLAND. — DISPUTED PRECEDENCE BETWEEN THE GRAND-PRIORS OF ENGLAND AND MESSINA. — FOUNDERS AND BENEFACTORS OF THE ORDER. — LIST OF ENGLISH KNIGHTS. — PRESENT POSITION OF THE LANGUAGE.

BEFORE once again reverting to the political and general history of the Order during the remainder of its residence in the island of Malta, it may not be uninteresting to enter into a few brief particulars more immediately concerning the language of England.

From the moment of the first establishment of the Order of St. John by Peter Gerard, at Jerusalem, the English element became incorporated with the main body. The Lord Jordan Brissett, in 1101, founded a house for the benefit of the hospital at Clerkenwell, then at some distance from London, though it has since been swallowed up by the giant strides of the modern Babylon. This establishment became the nucleus of the English branch of the Order, and was speedily enlarged by many other most valuable and important donations. Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, when on a visit to England in 1185, consecrated the church of

this establishment and raised it to the dignity of a priory.

Henry I., king of England, was a considerable benefactor to the young and thriving institution, and his example was followed by many of his subjects, whilst others hastened to enrol themselves as members of an Order which was fostered and supported not only by the pontiff, but by every potentate in Europe. When the community was made military, as well as hospitaller, under Raymond du Puy, the numbers of the chivalry of England who assumed the white-cross greatly accumulated, and that nation formed a most important element in the general body.

The first introduction of the fraternity into Scotland was due to the generosity and zeal of David I., king of that country, who, shortly after his succession in 1124, established a sacred preceptory of the Order of St. John at Torpichen, in Linlithgowshire, which continued to be the chief seat of the Knights Hospitaller in Scotland until the suppression of the Order in the sixteenth century. In the year 1153, just before his death, he confirmed by a royal charter the possessions, privileges, and exemptions with which the Order had become endowed in Scotland, and he looked with so great favour on this institution, as well as that of the Temple, that the author of the Book of Cupar records, that "Sanctus David de præclara militia Templi Hierosolomitani optimos fratres secum retinens eos diebus et noctibus morum suorum fecit custodes." His successor, Malcolm IV., increased the privileges of the Hospitallers within his kingdom, and incorporated their possessions into a barony, freed from most of the imposts appertaining to the laity. William the Lion also followed in the foot-

steps of the two previous monarchs, and made sundry additions to the munificent foundation which they had established.

The Order was first introduced into Ireland through the munificence of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, who, almost immediately after the conquest of that country by the English, endowed them with a priory at Kilmainham, near Dublin, which, in after years, became the chief seat of the Order in Ireland. This donation was made in 1174.

The fraternity having thus introduced itself into all the three kingdoms of the British islands, continued to flourish and increase until it became, next to France, the principal support of the Order. In the commencement of the 14th century, the downfall of the Templars threw a vast additional amount of property into the hands of the Hospital, even after deducting that which they were never able to realise, owing to the interposition of the rapacious interlopers who had succeeded in obtaining possession of many of the Temple lands after their suppression. About this period was first introduced the division of the Order into languages, decreed at a general chapter held at Montpelier during the Grand-Mastership of Elyon de Villanova.* In that council, the language of England was placed sixth in rank out of the seven divisions into which the Order was formed. The three French languages of Provence, Auvergne, and France; the Italian, and the Spanish, or Aragon language ranking above it; and the German language being placed below it. Shortly afterwards an

* Bosio asserts that the chapter which decreed this division was held at Avignon in 1322. This difference of date and place is not important.

eighth division was made, called Castile and Portugal, which was also placed below the English. The dignities of Turcopolier, grand-prior of England, grand-prior of Ireland, and bailiff d'aquila, or of the eagle, were at the same time attached to the English language.

This chapter was held in the year 1329, and at that time John Builbrux was the Turcopolier of the Order, which post he continued to hold under the new régime. Leonard de Tybertis, who had been prior of Venice, had just been elected grand-prior of England, in the place of Thomas Larcher, whose extravagance and financial incompetence had brought the English property into a state of the greatest confusion, and who had resigned his office in the early part of that year.

The following is a list of the grand-priors of England from the date of the first establishment of a priory in Clerkenwell to the suppression of the English language. Many of the names comprised in this list will be alluded to more particularly when speaking of the English Knights generally.

Grand-Priors of England.

The account of the Grand-Priors previous to the commencement of the fourteenth century is very incomplete and unsatisfactory. Very probably the names of many of the Conventual Priors of St. John of Clerkenwell are mixed up with them. I give the list as they occur in the Cott. MSS., as far as the name of *William de Tottenham:* from him to the conclusion of the roll the vouchers are to be found in the "Libri Bullarum," in the Record Office at Malta.

1. Garnier de Neapolis Is the first recorded Grand-Prior of England. He could not have been the Garnier de Neapolis, afterwards Grand-

Master, and who died of wounds received at the battle of Tiberius, A.D. 1187. An ancient MS. quoted by Paolo Antonio Paoli, in the possession of the Canon Smitmer, of Vienna, proves that he was living, and Prior of England, A.D. 1189. He was in all probability a brother.

2. Richard de Turk . Was living in the time of the first Prioress of Buckland, who is said to have held that dignity for sixty years. Ob. 16th August.
3. Ralph de Dynham, or Dinant. Ob. 13th May.
4. Gilbert de Vere . He bestowed on the Dames of Buckland a pension of a hundred crowns, charged upon his manor of Rainham. Ob. 13th August.
5. Hugh d'Alneto, or Danet. Ob. 13th November.
6. Alan . . . . . Afterwards Bishop of Bangor: was probably only Conventual Prior of Clerkenwell. Ob. 19th May.
7. Robert the Treasurer Ob. 26th October.
8. Theodoric de Nussa, or Nyssa. "There went from the Hospitallers' house of Clerkenwell, in London, a great number of Knights, with banner displayed, preceded by Brother Theodoric, their Prior, a German by nation, who set out for Palestine with a considerable body of troops in their pay. These Knights, passing over London-bridge, saluted with their capuce in hand all the inhabitants that crowded to see them pass, and recommended themselves to their prayers."—*Matth. Paris, sub ann.* 1237, p. 444.
9. Robert de Mauneby Prior. Ob. 14th October.
10. Robert de Vere . . Was witness, as Conservator of the Hospital, in a charter dated Acre, 19th December, 1262. He gave to the Church

	of Clerkenwell one of the six water-pots in which the water was changed into wine at the Marriage of Cana in Galilee, 1269. As Prior he visited the Convent of Buckland, to arrange some disputes, and died 15th February, 1270.
11. Peter de Hockham .	Named in a bull of Pope Boniface VIII. A.D. 1295. Ob. 11th January.
12. Simon Bocard . .	Ob. 3rd May.
13. Elias Singleton, or Smelhton.	Ob. 27th April.
14. Stephen Fulburn .	Ob. 1st January.
15. Joseph de Chauncy .	He built the chapel of the Lord Prior in the Conventual House of Clerkenwell; temp. Edward I.
16. Walter	Gained possession of the Preceptories of Quenyngton-Schenegaye, and other lands and tenements. Ob. 27th May.
17. William de Henley .	Built the cloisters of the house of Clerkenwell, A.D. 128$\frac{3}{4}$, and ob. 4th February the same year.
18. Richard de Penley .	Was Prior before 1307. Ob. 3rd August.
19. Robert de Dynham, or Dinant.	Ob. 24th November.
20. William de Tottenham.	The name of this Grand-Prior is written both *Cochal* and *Tothal*, but his real name as here given is proved by a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter Rainold, to *William de Tottenham*, Grand-Prior of the Knights-Hospitallers of Jerusalem, dated Lambeth, 17th July, 1314.—*Vide* Rymer and Du Puy, Hist. des Templiers. 4to. 1751. p. 478.—He died 12th October, 1318.
21. Thomas l'Archer. .	Was removed from the office of Prior at the request of the King Edward II., being incapacitated to fulfil the duties from age and infirmities, A.D. 1329.
22. Leonard de Tibertis	Named by some authorities *de Theobaldi*, being Prior of Venice. Was nominated

by the Grand-Master De Villeneuve Visitor of the English Priory, and afterwards appointed Grand-Prior of England at the special request of the King Edward II., A.D. 1329–30.

23. Philip de Tame . . Was Prior of England, A.D. 1335, 10th Edward III., and died before A.D. 1358.

(John de Dalton) . Is said by Paoli to have been called Prior of England in a bull of the Grand-Master Berenger, but as his name does not appear as such in any of the Libri Bullarum, he was probably only Prior of the Conventual Church of Clerkenwell.

24. John de Paveley. . Lieutenant-Prior and Turcopolier, named Grand-Prior of England in a bull of the Grand-Master, Roger de Pins, dated Rhodes, 14th October, 1358. Ob. 1371.

25. Robert de Hales . . Preceptor of Slebiche and Saundford; Bailli of Aquila. Nominated Grand-Prior of England *vice* Paveley, A.D. 1371. Beheaded by Wat Tyler's mob, A.D. 1381.

26. John de Redington . Preceptor of Ribestone; Bailli of Aquila. Nominated Grand-Prior of England on the death of Robert de Hales, by bull of the Grand-Master, John de Heredia, dated Rhodes, 18th November, 1381. Ob. 1399.

27. Walter de Grendon. Preceptor of Halstone. Named Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 18th October, 1400. Ob. 1416.

28. William Hulles . . Preceptor of Swynefield, Templecombe, and Quenyngton. Nominated Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 16th July, 1417. Ob. A.D. 1433.

29. Robert Mallory . . Preceptor of Greneham, Balsal, and Grafton. Elected Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Anthony

Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 4th May, 1433. Ob. A.D. 1440.

30. Robert Boutil, or Bootle. Preceptor of Melchebourne, Anstey, and Trebighe. Made Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Jean de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 29th November, 1440. Ob. A.D. 1468.

31. John Langstrother . Preceptor of Balsal and Grafton; Lieut.-Turcopolier; Receiver-General of England; Castellan of Rhodes; Bailli of Aquila; Seneschal of the Grand-Master; Commander of Cyprus. Nominated Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Jean Baptiste Orsini, dated Rhodes, 5th April, 1470. Made prisoner, and beheaded after the battle of Tewkesbury, by order of Edward IV. A.D. 1471. Buried in the Church of St. John, at Clerkenwell.

32. William Tornay . . Preceptor of Baddesley and Mayne; Receiver-General of England; Bailli of Aquila. Appointed Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, John Baptiste Orsini, dated Rhodes, 29th August, 1471. Ob. A.D. 1476.

33. John Weston . . . Preceptor of Newland and Dynemore; Lieut.-Turcopolier; Turcopolier. Appointed Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 24th July, 1476. Ob. A.D. 1489.

34. John Kendal . . . Preceptor of Willoughton, Halstone, and Ribestone; Turcopolier. Nominated Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 20th June, 1489. Ob. A.D. 1501.

35. Thomas Docwra . . Preceptor of Dynemore; Lieut.-Turcopolier; Prior of Ireland; Turcopolier. Elected Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson,

dated Rhodes, 6th August, 1501. Ob. A.D. 1527.

36. William Weston . . Preceptor of Baddesley and Mayne; Turcopolier. Named Grand-Prior of England by bull of the Grand-Master, Philip Villiers de Lisle Adam, dated Corneto, 27th June, 1527. Died of grief for the dissolution of the Language of England, A.D. 1540. Buried in the Church of St. John of Clerkenwell.

37. Thomas Tresham . Appointed Grand-Prior of England by a Royal Charter of Queen Mary, dated Greenwich, 2nd April, 1557.

38. Richard Shelley . . Turcopolier, 2nd April, 1557. Named Grand-Prior of England on the death of Thomas Tresham, A.D. 1566; supposed to have died at Venice, circ. 1589–90.

39. Andrew Wyse . . Bailli of Aquila, 1588. Nominated Grand-Prior of England by papal brief, A.D. 1593. Ob. A.D. 1631.

40. Henry Fitz-James . Natural son of King James II. of England. Nominated Grand-Prior of England on visiting Malta, by bull of the Grand-Master, Gregorio Caraffa, A.D. 1687; quitted the habit of the Order, and resigned the Grand-Priory, A.D. 1701.

Titular Grand-Priors of England.

41. François Astorg de Segreville. Nominated Grand-Prior of England by his uncle, the Grand-Master, Loubens de Verdale, by bull dated Malta, 22nd April, 1591, but obliged to resign the dignity on protest to the Pope of the Bailli of Aquila, Andrew Wyse; created instead Bailli of Aquila, 8th June, 1593.

42. Cesare Ferretti . . Assisted at a Chapter-General, A.D. 1612, as Prior of England, Andrew Wyse still living.

43. Giovanni Battista Nari.	Elected Grand-Prior of England by papal brief, A.D. 1631.
44. Alessandro Zambeccari.	Nominated by papal brief, dated Rome, 9th May, 1639, Grand-Prior of England.
45. Geronimo Alliata .	Elected Grand-Prior of England, by papal brief, dated Rome, 5th June, 1648.
46. Stefano Maria Lomellino.	Named by papal brief Grand-Prior of England, dated Rome, 19th June, 1654.
47. Giulio Bovio . . .	Commander of San Giovanni di Tortona and Orvieto. Appointed Grand-Prior of England by brief of Pope Clement XI., dated Rome, 11th July, 1701. Ob. A.D. 1706.
48. Francesco Maria Ferretti.	Nominated Grand-Prior of England by brief of Pope Clement XI., dated Rome, 11th December, 1706; registered in Council, 26th March, 1707. Resigned the Grand-Priory.
49. Nicolo Giraldin . .	Appointed Grand-Prior of England by papal brief dated Rome, 9th August, 1726; registered in Council, 18th August, 1732.
50. Peter Fitz-James .	Nominated Grand-Prior of England by papal brief. No date given.
51. Buonaventura Fitz-James.	Grand-Prior of England, named by papal brief; registered in Council, 13th May, A.D. 1734; resigned the dignity and the habit, A.D. 1755.
52. Giovanni Battista Altieri.	Appointed Grand-Prior of England by brief of Pope Benedict XIV., dated Rome, 20th September, 1755; registered in Council, 23rd October, 1755. Resigned the dignity, being appointed Grand-Prior of Venice.
53. Girolamo Laparelli .	Grand-Prior of England, living at Catania, A.D. 1806.

Turcopoliers of the English Language.

The Turcopolier was the title peculiar to the head of the venerable language of England: he was commander of the Turcopoles or Light Cavalry, and had also the care of the coast defences of the two islands of Rhodes and Malta. Upon the death of the Turcopolier Nicholas Upton, A.D. 1551, it was determined by the council that no more Turcopoliers should be elected till the religious troubles in England should be satisfactorily arranged; which decree was confirmed by papal briefs, and the office of Turcopoliers at the same time incorporated with the dignity of Grand-Master, in the years 1583, 1584, and 1613.

1. Peter de Sardines . Turcoplerius: was witness to a charter of the Abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, in Jerusalem, granting the casal of Montdisder to the Knights-Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, A.D. 1248.
2. John de Buisbrox, or Braibroc. Was nominated Turcopolier at a General Chapter held at Montpelier, on the 24th October, 1329–30, under the Grand-Master Elion de Villeneuve, when the grand dignities were attached to the eight Languages, that of Turcopolier being confirmed to England.
3. John de Paveley . Named Turcopolier in a bull, dated A.D. 1335, Grand-Prior.
4. William de Midleton Preceptor of Ribestone and Mount St. John: named Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master, Raymond Berenger, dated Rhodes, 28th January, 136$\frac{5}{6}$.
5. Richard de Overtone Preceptor of Mount St. John, Receiver of England; named Turcopolier in a brief of Pope Gregory XI., dated Avignon, December, A.D. 1375.

6. Brian de Grey . . Named Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master, John de Heredia, dated Rhodes, 22nd February, 1385–6, confirming to him the Bailliage of Aquila for life, and the Preceptory of Beverley in commendam. Ob. 1389.

7. Hildebrand Inge . Preceptor of Buckland, and Receiver-General of England: nominated Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master, John de Heredia, dated Rhodes, 20th October, 1392.

8. Peter de Holte . . Prior of Ireland: appointed Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master, Philibert de Naillac, confirming to him also the Priory of Ireland for ten years, dated Rhodes, 2nd August, 1396. Ob. A.D. 1415.

9. Thomas de Skipwith Preceptor of Beverley and Schengaye: named Turcopolier in a bull of the Grand-Master, Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 10th September, 1417. He resigns the Turcopoliership on being appointed Commander of Cyprus, 1421. Ob. A.D. 1422.

10. Thomas Launcelyn . Preceptor of Baddesley, Dalby, and Rotheley: appointed Turcopolier on resignation of Thomas de Skipwith, by bull of the Grand-Master, Anthony Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 3rd October, 1421. Ob. A.D. 1442.

11. Hugh Midleton . . Preceptor of Willoughton and Beverley: Bailli of Aquila; made Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master, Jean de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 19th June, 1442. Ob. A.D. 1449.

12. William Daunay . . Preceptor of Dynemore: elected Turcopolier on the death of Hugh Midleton, by bull of the Grand-Master, Jean de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 18th June, 1449. Ob. 1468.

13. Robert Tong . . . Preceptor of Mount St. John: named Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master, John Baptist Orsini, dated Rhodes, A.D. 1468; resigned the Turcopoliership on being nominated Bailli of Aquila, A.D. 1471.

14. John Weston . . . Preceptor of Newland and Dynemore: appointed Turcopolier, on mutition of Robert Tong, by bull of the Grand-Master, John Baptist Orsini, dated Rhodes, 16th October, A.D. 1471: afterwards Grand-Prior of England.

15. John Kendal . . . Preceptor of Willoughton: elected Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 14th March, 147$\frac{4}{7}$, on the elevation of John Weston to be Grand-Prior; and whom he also succeeded in that dignity, 1489.

16. John Bosvile . . . Preceptor of Temple-Bruer and Quenyngton: nominated Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master, Pierre d'Aubusson, Rhodes, 20th June, A.D. 1489. Ob. A.D. 1494.

17. Thomas Docwra . . Preceptor of Dynemore, Prior of Ireland: named Turcopolier in a brief dated Rhodes, 14th October, 1495; succeeded to the Grand-Priory of England, A.D. 1501.

18. Thomas Newport . Preceptor of Newland and Temple-Bruer; Receiver of the Common Treasury: made Turcopolier, *vice* Docwra; nominated Grand-Prior, A.D. 1501; Bailli of Aquila by mutition, 1502.

19. Robert Daniel . . Preceptor of Swinefield: nominated Turcopolier, by brief of the Grand-Master, Cardinal Pierre d'Aubusson; Rhodes, 30th March, 150$\frac{3}{3}$.

20. William Darell . . Preceptor of Willoughton; Lieutenant-Turcopolier: named Turcopolier in a bull of Emeri d'Amboise, Grand-Master,

dated Rhodes, 5th February, 150$\frac{8}{10}$. Ob. A.D. 1519.

21. John Bouth, Bouch, or Buck — Preceptor of Quenyngton, Anstey, and Trebigh; Receiver-General: named Turcopolier in succession to William Darell, A.D. 1519. Was slain, at the third and most desperate assault on the bulwark of England, at the siege of Rhodes, A.D. 1522.

22. William Weston . . — Preceptor of Baddesley and Mayne, &c.: elected Turcopolier in the Chapter held in Candia after the expulsion of the Order from Rhodes, 1523. Commanded the grand carracque of the Order; made Grand-Prior, A.D. 1527.

23. John Rawson . . . — Preceptor of Swinefield; Prior of Ireland: nominated Turcopolier by bull of Philip Villiers L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master, dated Corneto, 27th June, 1527. Was reappointed Prior of Ireland, resigning the dignity of Turcopolier.

24. John Babington . . — Preceptor of Dalby and Rotheley; Prior of Ireland; Receiver-General: elected Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master, L'Isle Adam, dated, "From our Priory House of the Hospital in England," 4th June, 1528; Bailli of Aquila by mutition, 153$\frac{9}{1}$.

25. Clement West (deprived) — Preceptor of Slebeche; Receiver of the Common Treasury: named Turcopolier by bull of L'Isle Adam, Grand-Master, dated Malta, 7th January, 153$\frac{9}{1}$. Deprived of the habit and dignity for insubordinate conduct, A.D. 1533.

26. Roger Boydel . . . — Preceptor of Halstone, Baddesley, and Mayne: appointed Turcopolier, *vice* Clement West, deprived February, A.D. 1533. Ob. March, 1533.

27. John Rawson, Junior — Preceptor of Quenyngton; Receiver of the Treasury: nominated Turcopolier by

bull of the Grand-Master, L'Isle Adam, dated Malta, 19th April, 1533. Resigned that dignity, and elected instead Bailli of Aquila, 1534-5.

Clement West (restored) — Was restored to the habit and the dignity of Turcopolier, 15th February, 153⅞; and again deprived and imprisoned, A.D. 1539. Ob. A.D. 1547.

28. Gyles Russel . . . — Preceptor of Baddesfort and Dingley; Lieutenant-Turcopolier; Captain of Il Borgho: nominated Turcopolier, *vice* West, deprived A.D. 1539. Ob. A.D. 1543.

(Oswald Massingberd, Lieutenant-Turcopolier) — Lieutenant-Turcopolier, so named, *vice* Russel, dead: nominated Prior of Ireland under certain conditions, A.D. 1547.

29. Nicholas Upton . . — Preceptor of Ribestone: elected Turcopolier by bull of the Grand-Master, John d'Omedes, dated Malta, 5th November, 1548. Died of a *coup-de-soleil*, received whilst repelling a landing of the Turks on the Island of Malta, A.D. 1551.

(Oswald Massingberd, again) — Lieutenant-Turcopolier: so nominated again on the death of the Turcopolier Upton. Confirmed Prior of Ireland, A.D. 1555.

30. Richard Shelley . . — Preceptor of Slebeche and Halstone: nominated Turcopolier by charter of Mary, Queen of England, dated Greenwich, 2nd April, 1557; afterwards Grand-Prior, 1566.

Titular Turcopoliers.

Don Pedro Gonsalez de Mendoza — Son of the viceroy of Naples: named Turcopolier by papal brief, A.D. 1576; resigns the dignity, 1578: nominated Prior of Ireland, A.D. 1582.

François de l'Espinay-St. Luc — Appointed Turcopolier by brief of Pope Pius V. while yet in his noviciate. On protest from the whole Order, the ob-

noxious appointment was revoked, A.D. 1606.

Johann Baptist von Flackslanden — Bailli of the Anglo-Bavarian language: elected Turcopolier, registered in council, 7th November, 1782, Emmanuel de Rohan, Grand-Master; Bailli of Aquila by mutition, 179⅞.

The Bailliage of Ecle, Eycle, Egle, Eagle, or Aquila, a preceptory situated about seven miles from the city of Lincoln, was granted to the Knights-Templars by King Stephen, about 1139. At the suppression of that Order it passed into possession of the Knights-Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

Baillis of Aquila, or of the Eagle.

1. Robert Cort . . . The first-named Preceptor of the Eycle in the report of the possessions of the Knights-Hospitallers, made by the Grand-Prior of England, Philip de Thame, to the Grand-Master Elion de Villeneuve. A.D. 1338.
2. John de Anlaby . . Called Preceptor of Eycle, in a grant to him of certain Commanderies by the Grand-Master Dieudonné de Gozon. Bull dated Rhodes, 1st August, 1351.
3. Robert de Hales . . Preceptor of Beverley and the Ecle; so called in a bull of the Grand-Master, Roger de Pins, dated Rhodes, 1st June, 1358; afterwards Grand-Prior of England.
4. John de Dingley. . Preceptor of Dalby and the Ycle: named in a bull of Raymond Berenger, Grand-Master, dated Rhodes, 20th February, 136⅞.
5. John de Maneby. . Preceptor of the Eagle: named in a grant of the Grand-Master, d'Heredia, dated

Rhodes, 18th November, 1381, as having died that year.

6. John de Redington . Received the Bailliage of the Eagle, to hold as a "fifth Commandery," being at this time Grand-Prior of England, by grant of the same Grand-Master. Bull dated Rhodes, 18th November, 1381.

7. Brian de Grey . . Preceptor of Beverley; Turcopolier: receives for life a grant of the Bailliage of Aquila, resigned by the Grand-Prior, Redington. Bull dated February, 138$\frac{5}{8}$. Heredia, Grand-Master. To hold with the office of Turcopolier.

8. Henry Crownal . . Preceptor of Willoughton: succeeded to the Bailliage of Aquila on the death of Brian de Grey, September, 1389. Ob. A.D. 1433.

9. William Poole . . Preceptor of Dynemore and Garrewayes: nominated Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, Anthony Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 19th July, 1433; resigned the dignity 1438, and died the same year.

10. Hugh Midleton . . Preceptor of Beverley: made Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 23rd January, 143$\frac{8}{9}$; Turcopolier by mutition, 1442. Ob. 1449.

11. WilliamLangstrother Preceptor of Quenyngton: appointed Bailli of Aquila, by bull dated Rhodes, 19th June, 1442, John de Lastic, Grand-Master. Ob. A.D. 1463.

12. John Langstrother . Preceptor of Beverley, Balsal, Ribestone, &c.; Lieut.-Turcopolier, &c.: created Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 28th February, 146$\frac{3}{4}$; promoted to the Grand-Priory of England, A.D. 1470; beheaded 1471.

13. William Tornay . . Preceptor of Dalby and Rotheley; Receiver-General: nominated Bailli of

Aquila, bull dated Rhodes, 5th April, 1470, John Baptist Orsini, Grand-Master; Grand-Prior of England, 1471. Ob. 1476.

14. Robert Tong . . . Preceptor of Mount St. John; Turcopolier: mutitioned Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, Orsini, dated Rhodes, 29th August, 1471. Ob. A.D. 1481.

15. Thomas Green . . Preceptor of Schenegaye: nominated Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master Pierre d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 11th July, 1481. Ob. A.D. 1502.

16. Thomas Newport . Preceptor of Newland, &c.; Receiver-General of England; Turcopolier: transferred to the Bailliage of Aquila, by mutition, bull dated Rhodes, 10th March, 150$\frac{2}{3}$, d'Aubusson, Grand-Master. Drowned on the Coast of Spain hastening to the relief of Rhodes, besieged by the Turks, A.D. 1522.

17. Thomas Sheffield . Preceptor of Beverley; Receiver-General of England; Seneschal of the Grand-Master: named Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, L'Isle Adam, dated Messina, 4th May, 1523. Ob. at Viterbo, A.D. 1524.

18. Alban Pole . . . Preceptor of Newland, Ossington, and Winklebourn: appointed Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, L'Isle Adam, dated Viterbo, 26th August, 1524. Ob. A.D. 1530.

19. John Babington . . Preceptor of Dalby, &c.; Prior of Ireland; Receiver-General of England; Turcopolier: made Bailli of Aquila, by mutition, bull dated Malta, 7th January, 153$\frac{9}{4}$. Ob. A.D. 153$\frac{3}{4}$.

20. John Rawson, jun. . Preceptor of Quenyngton; Receiver-General; Turcopolier; Bailli of Aquila, bull dated Malta, 15th February, 153$\frac{4}{5}$, Pierre de Ponte, Grand-Master.

21. Pedro Felices de la Nuça — Commander of the Language of Aragon: created Bailli of Aquila, by charter of Mary, Queen of England, dated Greenwich, 2nd April, 1557. Was slain at the siege of Malta, A.D. 1565.
22. Oliver Starkey . . — Commander of Quenyngton; Lieutenant-Turcopolier: Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, Pierre de Monte, Malta, 3rd October, 1569. Ob. 1588, buried in the vault of the Grand-Masters in the Conventual Church of Saint John, the only Knight of the Order so distinguished.
23. Andrew Wyse . . — Nominated Bailli of Aquila on death of Oliver Starkey, being the only English Knight in the Convent, Malta, 27th April, 1588; Loubens de Verdale, Grand-Master; was afterwards Grand-Prior of England, 1593. Ob. A.D. 1631.

Titular Baillis of Aquila.

24. François d'Astorg de Segreville — Appointed Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, Verdale, dated Malta, 8th June, 1593. Ob. A.D. 1612.
25. Luis Mendez de Vasconcellos — A Portuguese Commander of the Language of Castile: named Bailli of Aquila, by bull of the Grand-Master, Alof de Vignacourt, Malta, 29th August, 1612; afterwards Grand-Master.
26. Michel de Pontailler-Thallemey — Nominated Bailli of Aquila, by brief, dated Malta, 20th February, 1622. Ob. A.D. 1630.
27. Jean de Bernois-Villeneuve — Appointed Bailli of Aquila, on the death of Thallemey, 13th June, 1630. Ob. A.D. 1656.
28. Ottavio Bandinelli . — Named Bailli of Aquila, by papal brief, Rome, 22nd April, 1656.
29. Jacques de Sparvier-Corbonneau — Nominated Bailli of Aquila, by brief, 14th May, 1671, Grand-Commander, 1672.

30. Don Diego Bragamonte	Made Bailli of Aquila, by brief of Pope Clement X., 22nd May, 1673. Ob. A.D. 1690.
31. Don Emmanuel de Tordesillas	Created Bailli of Aquila, by papal brief of Alexander VIII., 20th September, 1690 Ob. A.D. 1702.
32. Richard de Sade-Mazan	Commander of Puysmaison: named Bailli of Aquila, by brief of the Pope, Clement XI., 18th August, 1702; registered in Council 11th September, 1702; Grand-Commander, 1714.
33. Antonio Domenico Bussi	Commander: appointed Bailli of Aquila, by brief of Pope Clement XI., dated Rome, 23rd June, 1714; registered in Council 28th July, 1715.
34. Francesco de Guedez-Pereira	A Commander of Portugal; Vice-Chancellor: nominated Bailli of Aquila by papal brief, dated Rome, 22nd March, 1755.
35. Henri François de Guiran la Brillane	Elected Bailli of Aquila, by papal brief of Pius VI., Rome, 18th May, 1781; registered in Council, 12th July, 1781.
36. Norbert von Törring	Commander of Erding, of the Anglo-Bavarian Language: named Bailli of Aquila, by brief of Pope Pius VI.; registered in Council 10th September, 1790; afterwards Lieutenant-Turcopolier, 1792.
37. Johann Baptiste von Flachslanden	Turcopolier (Titular) of the Language Anglo-Bavarian: nominated Bailli of Aquila, by brief of Pius VI. Pope; registered in Council 26th February, 179¾.

Priors of Ireland.

No mention occurs of a Prior of Ireland before the chapter-general of the Order held at Montpellier, A.D. 1329–30, Elion de Villeneuve, Grand-Master.

1. Roger Weillam . .	Was present as "Prior Hibernia prioratûs" at the General Chapter held at Mont-

pellier, Elion de Villeneuve, Grand-Master, presiding, A.D. 1329-30.

2. John l'Archer . . Preceptor of Dalby and Mayne; Prior of Ireland: named in a bull of the Grand-Master Dieudonné de Gozon, dated Rhodes, 28th October, 1351.

3. Thomas de Burle . Preceptor of Dynemore and Barrowe: named Prior of Ireland in a bull dated Rhodes, 15th February, 1365; Raymond Berenger, Grand-Master.

4. William de Tabney . Named Prior of Ireland in a bull of the Grand-Master d'Heredia, dated Rhodes, 24th March, 138½. Was present as Prior of Ireland at a General Council, 2nd August, 1382.

5. Peter de Holte . . Was Prior of Ireland previous to 1396. On being nominated Turcopolier, by bull of the Grand-Master Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, the 2nd of August of that year, he was therein confirmed Prior of Ireland for ten years longer. Resigned the Priory of Ireland 1410; and died A.D. 1415.

6. Thomas le Bouteler . Named Prior of Ireland in a bull of the Lieutenancy of the Grand-Master de Naillac, Rhodes, 12th May, 1410. Ob. A.D. 1420.

7. Richard Paule . . Preceptor of Templebruer: nominated Prior of Ireland by bull of the Grand-Master de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 31st October, 1420. Resigned the Priory of Ireland, 1422.

8. William Fitz-Thomas Appointed Prior of Ireland by a bull of the Grand-Master Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 24th June, 1422.

(Maurice Fitz-William) The Priory of Ireland was seized upon and wrongfully usurped, without any nomination of the Grand-Master and Council, on the death of William Fitz-Thomas, the Prior, by Maurice Fitz-William. He

being shortly after deprived by the unanimous act of the Irish Knights, the nomination of a successor was left in the hands of the Grand-Master and Council, A.D. 1440.

9. Edmond Asheton . Preceptor of Anstey and Trebigh: was nominated to the vacant Priory of Ireland by the Grand-Master Jean de Lastic; bull dated Rhodes, 12th July, 1440. Ob. A.D. 1442.

10. Hugh Midleton . . Preceptor of Willoughton and Beverley; Bailli of Aquila; Turcopolier: nominated Visitor of the Priory of Ireland by bull dated Rhodes, 20th November, 1442. Afterwards confirmed Prior, as appears by a bull of the Grand-Master de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 12th September, 1450.

(Thomas Talbot) . Was nominated Administrator of the Priory of Ireland 1446-9. Owing to his mal-administration, and letters written from the King Henry VI., from the Council of the Irish Commanders, and from the Chapter of the Priory of Dublin, he was removed from his office.

11. Thomas Fitz-Gerald Confirmed Prior of Ireland, at the request of the Irish Commanders, by bull of the Grand-Master de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 10th September, 1450. Ob. A.D. 1453.

12. Thomas Talbot . . Appointed Prior of Ireland, notwithstanding his former deprivation, on the death of Fitz-Gerald, by bull, dated Rhodes, 1st February, 145$\frac{3}{4}$; De Lastic, Grand-Master. Was again deprived for mal-administration, 1459.

13. James Keating . . Commander of Clontarf and Kilmainhambeg: nominated Prior of Ireland, *vice* Talbot, deprived, 21st October, 1459; and confirmed by bull of the

Grand-Master Raymond Zacosta, dated Rhodes, 9th July, 1461. Was deprived of the Priory, for mal-administration and disobedience, by bull of the Grand-Master d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 18th December, 1482.

14. Marmaduke Lumley. Preceptor of Templecombe: nominated Prior of Ireland, *vice* Keating, deprived, by bull, dated Rhodes, 28th December, 1482; Peter d'Aubusson, Grand-Master. Ob. A.D. 1494.

15. Thomas Docwra . . Preceptor of Dynemore, &c.: appointed Prior of Ireland by bull of the Grand-Master d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 24th October, 1494. Resigned the Priory 1495, having been mutitioned Turcopolier.

16. Robert Eure . . . Preceptor of Slebeche: made Prior of Ireland A.D. 1496. Deprived of the Priory (suspended), for misgovernment and debts, by bull of the Grand-Master Emeri d'Amboise, Rhodes, 8th May, 1511. Ob. at Rhodes, 1513.

17. John Rawson. . . Appointed Lieutenant-Prior, and Administrator of the Priory of Ireland, by bull of the Grand-Master, dated 8th June, 1511. Confirmed Prior by another bull of the same, Rhodes, 15th March, 151$\frac{3}{4}$. Resigned the Priory of Ireland on being mutitioned Turcopolier, 27th June, 1527.

18. John Babington . . Preceptor of Dalby and Rotheley, &c.: nominated Prior of Ireland by bull of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam, dated Corneto, 27th June, 1527. Resigned the Priory on being named Turcopolier, exchanging dignities with John Rawson, re-appointed Prior of Ireland, 1528.

19. John Rawson (again) Resumed the Priory of Ireland by request of the King, Henry VIII. Confirmed by bull of the same Grand-Master, dated

from "Our Priory House of the Hospital in England," 4th June, 1528; and re-confirmed by an additional bull of the same, dated "Dover near the Sea, in England, in domo qua in itineris Hospitali sumus," 5th June, 1528. Ob. A.D. 1547.

20. Oswald Massingberd — Lieutenant-Turcopolier: appointed Prior of Ireland on the death of Rawson, by bull of the Grand-Master John d'Omedes, Malta, 27th August, 1547; on condition that he, Massingberd, should not assume the title, or the Grand-Cross, till legally in possession of his Priory. The Priory being confirmed to him by Queen Mary, he was allowed the dignity, by bull of the Grand-Master Claude de la Sangle, dated Malta, 2nd August, 1554. He afterwards resigned the Priory into the hands of Commissioners appointed by Elizabeth, 3rd June, 1558.

Titular Priors of Ireland.

21. Maturin de l'Escut Romegas. — Named Prior of Ireland A.D. 1573. Ob. at Rome, 1582.

22. Don Pedro Gonsalez de Mendoza. — Confirmed Prior of Ireland by bull of the Grand-Master Loubens de Verdale, Malta, 27th July, 1582. Resigned the Priory of Ireland on being mutitioned to the Bailliage of Negropont, 1607.

23. Don Diego Brochero — Nominated Prior of Ireland by papal brief, A.D. 1609. Appointed Grand-Chancellor A.D. 1613.

24. Don Michaele Calderon. — Appointed Prior of Ireland, 1613. Ob. A.D. 1621.

25. Don Prosper Colonna — Nominated Prior of Ireland, A.D. 1621. Ob. A.D. 1655.

26. Angelo della Ciaja . — Created Prior of Ireland by papal brief, dated Rome, 25th February, 1666.

27.	Pietro Ottoboni, Cardinal	Made Prior of Ireland by brief of the Pope Alexander VIII., A.D. 1690.
28.	Antonio Maria Buoncompagni Ludovisi	Created Prior of Ireland by brief registered in the Council, 24th November, 1741.
29.	Francesco Carvalho Pinto	Commander of Portugal: nominated Prior of Ireland by brief of Pope Pius VI.; registered in Council, 20th June, 1792.

Priors of Scotland.

There are very few records to be found regarding the Priors of Scotland, or Preceptors of Torphichen, as they are usually styled; none are to be met with in the archives preserved in Malta before the year 1386. The names of the first four preceptors are borrowed from various authorities.

1.	Archibald	Named "Magister de Torphichen" in a charter of Alexander, Great Steward of Scotland, dated 1252.
2.	Alexander de Welles	Swore fealty to king Edward I. of England, as "Prior Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Jerusalomitani in Scotiâ," A.D. 1291. His name also occurs in the Ragman Roll, as "Gardeyn del' Hospital de Seint Jehan de Jerusalem en Ecoce." He was slain at the battle of Falkirk, 22nd of July, 1298.
3.	Ranulph de Lyndsay	Is said to have succeeded the Prior Welles, and to have ruled the Order in Scotland till after the year 1315.
4.	William de la More.	Supposed, from charters, to have lived in the reign of David II.
5.	Edward de Brenne .	Named Prior of Scotland and Receiver-General, in a bull of the Grand-Master Heredia, dated Rhodes, 5th of June, 1386, granting a lease of the lands of Torphichen, vacant by death of David de Marr, to a certain Richard de Cornel.

6. John de Bynnynge . A bull of the Grand-Master Philibert de Naillac, dated Rhodes, 24th July, 1410, grants the Bailliage of Scotland for five years to John de Bynnynge. He being bound to pay certain responsions specified.

7. Henry Livingston . Named Prior of Scotland, and Preceptor of Torphichen, in a bull of the Grand-Master de Lastic, regarding the payment of arrears of responsions, dated Rhodes, 5th September, 1449. Ob. A.D. 1462.

(William Hulles) (Robert Mallory) . A bull of the Grand-Master Fluvian, dated Rhodes, 8th May, 1433, complains of the non-payment of responsions, mortuary dues, and other imposts, by the Prior of Scotland, and appoints Robert Mallory, Grand-Prior of England, Administrator of the Priory of Scotland, to hold that office as his predecessor, William Hulles, Grand-Prior of England, had held it before him.

8. William Meldrum . Is named administrator of the Priory of Scotland in a bull of the Grand-Master de Lastic, dated Rhodes, 9th January, 145$\frac{2}{3}$, by which he is summoned to Rhodes to account for his mal-administration. In another bull of the same, dated 24th November, 1454, he is called Preceptor of Torphichen.

(Patrick Skougall) . Administrator of the Priory. On the nomination of William Knolles, he petitions the Grand-Master and Council for the dignity of Prior, asserting that Knolles had been unjustly appointed in his place. The council decide against him, but grant him an indemnity, by bull, dated Rhodes, 3rd September, A.D. 1473. John Baptist Orsini, Grand-Master.

9. William Knolles . . Nominated Prior of Scotland, *vice* Livings-

ton, dead, by bull of the Grand-Master Orsini, dated Rhodes, 22nd December, 1466. Resigned the Priory A.D. 1504; and died before the 24th June, A.D. 1510.

(Patrick Knolles) . Named coadjutor of his uncle, William Knolles (in a bull cited below), who was incapacitated by age and infirmities from governing the Priory. Ob. ante 1500.

(Robert Stuart d'Aubigny.) Nephew of the Lord Bernard d'Aubigny: appointed coadjutor of the Prior William Knolles, in place of Patrick Knolles, dead, by bull of the Grand-Master d'Aubusson, dated Rhodes, 17th March, 150½.

10. George Dundas . . Appointed Prior of Scotland, on the resignation of William Knolles, by bull of the Grand-Master d'Amboise, dated Rhodes, 1st July, 1504. Ob. A.D. 1532.

11. Walter Lyndsay . . Received into the Order by the Turcopolier, William Weston, 31st December, 1525. Nominated Prior of Scotland by bull of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam, dated Malta, 6th March, 153⅔.

12. James Sandilands . Named Prior of Scotland in a bull of the Grand-Master d'Omedes, dated Malta, 2nd April, 1547. Having adopted the Protestant faith, he surrendered the possessions of the Priory to the government, and receiving a grant of them to himself, with the title of Lord Torphichen, founded the existing family bearing that name.

13. James Irvine . . . Is said to have succeeded Sandilands in the nominal dignity of Prior of Scotland; an old poem of the times also mentions a *David Seton* as the last who bore that title, towards the end of the sixteenth century.

14. David Seton . . . Is said to have been the last Prior of Scotland, and to have retired to Germany

with the greater portion of his Scottish brethren, about 1572-73. In an old poem of that period he is mentioned as the head of the Scottish Hospitallers. The poem is entitled "The Holy Kirke and his Theeves." After apostrophising Sir James Sandilands for his treachery to the Order, it proceeds thus:—

"Fye upon the traitor then,
Quha has broucht us to sic pass,
Greedie als the knave Judas!
Fye upon the churle quwhat solde
Halie Erthe for heavie golde;
But the Order felt na losse,
Quhan David Setonne bare the Crosse." &c.

David Seton is said to have died about 1591; and to have been buried in the Church of the Scotch Benedictines at Ratisbonne. He was of the noble house of Wintoun.

It appears from the correspondence of Mary Queen of Scots, recently published by Prince Alexander Labanoff, that a project was formed in 1580, for wresting Ireland from the domination of England, and transferring it to the Order of St. John; but the Grand-Master declined the alluring bait, being well assured of the impossibility of maintaining any secure hold on the country, even should the conspiracy have succeeded so far as to obtain possession of it in the first instance.

All the historians of the Order of St. John who have treated upon the subject of the relative ranks of the different dignities in the chapters-general and other assemblies, have made an error in the position which they allot to the grand-prior of England. They have, one

and all, placed him twenty-fifth upon the list,* whereas a document is in existence in the record office of Malta, which proves that in 1566 it was decided his place should be above both the prior of Messina and the castellan of Emposta, which would fix him in the twenty-second place.† As this document, which was written by Oliver Starkey, secretary to La Valette, who was present during the debate, gives an interesting insight into the method adopted during the sixteenth century for deciding delicate points of etiquette, it may be as well to annex a translation of it. It ran as follows:—

"On occasion of the dispute and controversy which arose between the most illustrious and very reverend the priors of England and Messina concerning their pre-eminence, namely, which of the two should take precedence of the other at the meetings of council, at public assemblies, and other solemn congregations of this Order, the very reverend and most illustrious the Grand-Master, with his venerable council, appointed a commission, consisting of the very reverend Fr. Antonio Cressini, prior of the church, Fr. Pietro Maréchal, and Don Fernando del Arcon, lieutenant to the High Chancellor, in order that they, having inquired into the pretensions and allegations of both parties, and having consulted and examined the documents which they should respectively produce from the registry, might

* This would correspond with No. 26 in the list enumerated in the preceding chapter of this work; the difference being caused by the insertion in that list of the Turcopolier as No. 8, whereas this dignitary is omitted in all former lists, owing to the suppression of the language.

† Or 23rd in the preceding list.

make a just and unbiassed report to the council, who, having executed the orders which were given to them, reported to the said very reverend Grand-Master and his council that, having heard all which the priors and their procurators had alleged in defence, and in favour of their own cause, and having carefully considered the statements contained in the documents from the registry produced by them, they discovered that the priors of England, both in the general chapters and in the ordinary assemblies of this Order, had been accustomed to take precedence, not only of the said priors of Messina, but also of the castellani d'Emposta, who precede the said priors of Messina, and who take precedence of several other members of the Order. Whence it came to pass that the very reverend the Grand-Master and his venerable council, having heard in profound silence the report of the said commissioners, and having discussed the contents of the documents produced, as to whether they were or were not explicit upon the point in question, unanimously agreed that the said priors of England should take precedence of the priors of Messina. Moreover, to remove all cause of dispute, which it was foreseen might in many ways arise, if any decree should be published regarding this precedence, it was resolved that no sentence should be recorded, the more so, as, in contesting the right of pre-eminence, it was generally acknowledged that the documents produced by authority from the registry, in conformity with the regulations and ancient custom of this convent, form in themselves the most equitable and most dispassionate sentence that could possibly have been anticipated. It therefore seemed proper to the whole council that the most illustrious and very reverend the Grand-Master, in order

to intimate this right of pre-eminence, should proceed as follows: namely, that after summoning the contending parties into his presence and that of his council, the very reverend the Grand-Master should assign to each his place, without the use of any words, and should allot by gesture the place of greater pre-eminence to the prior of England, and the place of less eminence to the prior of Messina; without, however, in any way prejudicing any claims which he should at any future time lawfully make and support in favour of his pretensions: which command the most illustrious the Grand-Master carried into execution, and having summoned the said priors into his presence, and into that of his council, said unto them, 'Sir Knights, we, having listened attentively to the reports of the commissioners, and having subsequently discussed together all the arguments and reasons which each of you have respectively produced from the registry in favour of your pre-eminence, do ordain and require that you, the prior of England, should sit in that place, and you, the prior of Messina, in that other place, without prejudice to any further claims;' pointing to the places with his finger where they were to be seated. The position assigned to the prior of England was the more distinguished, because it was immediately below the marshal, who is second bailiff of the convent; and that of the prior of Messina was inferior, from being below that of the admiral, who is the fourth in rank amongst the bailiffs of the convent. In which decision the said priors acquiesced; and having each kissed the cross held by the Grand-Master, in token of obedience, they occupied the seats allotted to them without making any reply. And when, shortly after, they were called upon to vote concerning a matter that was being dis-

cussed by the council, the prior of England spoke first, and after him the prior of Messina. When the proceedings of the council had been terminated in the manner above described, a considerable number of Knights who were waiting outside, and were, on this occasion, more numerous than usual, in consequence of the interest excited by the controversy, entered the hall on the door being opened, and found the councillors seated and the priors each in his appointed place, so that whilst the vice-chancellor was collecting the documents and memorials of the sitting, as is customary, it was publicly noticed that the prior of England was the second from the left hand, and the prior of Messina the third from the right hand of the most illustrious and most reverend the Grand-Master; which scene, besides narrating as above, I thought proper to represent in painting, as well to preserve a memorial of so wise and prudent a decision, as that so excellent an example should be imitated whenever controversies arise respecting pre-eminence, which pre-eminence is so honourable to the reputation, and absolutely necessary for the peace of the convent. Thus it is.

J. OLIVER STARKEY."

This Knight, who was himself an Englishman, was naturally jealous of the honours and prerogatives of his language, then rapidly vanishing from the ranks of the Order, and encroached upon by members of the other nations. He was, therefore, determined that, although no registry was made of this decree, it should not be lost sight of in after years, and consequently wrote the elaborate report above quoted, without which the matter might speedily have been forgotten, and the same claims again set up by the succeeding priors of Messina, or

some other dignitary. Not content with the written description of the scene, Starkey appears, by what he has stated in this document, to have summoned the art of painting also to his aid, to record permanently the triumph of his language, and to have had recourse to canvas, as well as to paper, for the information of posterity. What has become of the picture of this scene is not known, nor is it very clear, by what he states above, whether Starkey was himself the artist, or whether he merely engaged some one skilled with the brush to perpetuate the triumph. In this case the paper appears to have done its duty more clearly and distinctly than the canvas, and to have left a record, which is still available to the historian, to correct the error which had crept into the Order during its later years, when there was no one present to take up the cudgels for the unfortunate language of England, and, like Sir Richard Shelley, the hero of the above scene, to insist on being placed in his proper rank.

The following list comprises the principal founders and subsequent benefactors to the Order of St. John within the English language, from the date of its first establishment:—

Lord Jordan Brisset . .	Who founded the House at Clerkenwell for the Order in 1101; which establishment was subsequently raised into a Priory by Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1185. This institution remained the chief seat of the Order in England, until its final suppression in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.
King Henry I.	Founded three Houses for the Order.
King David I. of Scotland	Founded the Sacred Preceptory of the Order of St. John at Torpichen, in Linlithgowshire; which continued to be the

	chief seat of the Order in Scotland, till its final suppression in that country in the middle of the sixteenth century.
King Malcolm IV. of Scotland	Incorporated all the possessions of the Order in that country into a barony, free of all courts, customs, tolls, &c.
Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, commonly called Strongbow	Founded, cir. 1174, the Priory of St. John at Kilmainham, near Dublin; which, after the suppression of the Knights-Templars in the beginning of the fourteenth century, became the chief seat of the Order in that country.
King William (surnamed the Lion) of Scotland	Added to the donations originally made by his brother and grandfather.
William Earl of Pembroke, called "The Great Earl"	Founded, cir. 1196, the Commandery of St. John and St. Bridget at Wexford; which was the chief seat of the Order in Ireland, until it was removed to Kilmainham in 1313.
Sir Walter de Lacy, Lord of Midie	Founded, in the twelfth century, a Commandery of St. John at Kilmainham-beg, in the county of Meath, Ireland.
King Henry II. . . .	Concentrated the Sisters of the Order into a Priory at Bucklands, in Somersetshire. He also founded in Ireland the Commandery of St. Congal, near Clontarf.
Sir Gilbert de Borard .	In the twelfth century, founded the Commandery of Killergy, in the county of Carlow, Ireland.
Sir Hugh de Lacy . .	About the same time, founded the Commandery of St. John the Baptist, in the territory of Ardes, county of Down, Ireland.
William de Burgo . .	Whose wife Juliana, in the year 1185, gave the whole of the parish and manor of Little Mapplestead, in the county of Essex, to the Order of St. John.
Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford	Made a grant of land to the Order in the twelfth century.
Lord Osbert de Glafden	Did the same.

Richard Cœur de Lion, King of England William de Ferrers, Earl of Ferrers The Earl of Chester William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury	Did the same.
Sir Morice Fitzgerald .	In the thirteenth century, founded the three Commanderies of Kilbegs, Kilheel, and Tully, in the county of Kildare, Ireland.
King Alexander II. of Scotland	In a charter, dated at Edinburgh on the 3rd of June, 1231, gives "To God and St. John, and the Brethren of the Hospital of Torphiphyn, all previous donations of property, licences, customs, &c.; ordaining that the same should subsist in perpetuity, for the love of God and for the benefit of the souls, as well of those that had gone before him, as of those who should follow him."
Sir Alexander de St. Helen's	In the thirteenth century, founded the Commandery of Morne, in the county of Cork, Ireland.
King Alexander III. . .	In 1266, granted a new charter to the Order, confirming all their existing privileges, &c.
Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland	Conferred many tokens of his royal favour on the Order, for the services they had rendered him in the battle of Bannockburn.
King James I. of Scotland	Granted letters of administration under the great seal, 14th October, 1421, in favour of Thomas Gudwyn and John Lidall, to all the lands and possessions of the Hospital of St. John within his kingdom.
King James II. of Scotland	Confirmed the benefactions of former monarchs.
King James III. of Scotland	Did the same.
King James IV. of Scotland	Did the same. He also created the barony and regality of Torphichen into a tem-

	poral lordship, and ordained that, "virtute officii," the successive Preceptors should take their places as Peers of Parliament, by the name and title of Lord St. John's.
King Henry VII. of England	In 1502 was elected Protector of the Knights of Rhodes, in consequence of his writing a letter to the Pope, in which he thus expressed himself:—"I will be as redie to the defense of the Christen Faithe as any prince cristened; and in this behalf nother to spare goods, richesse, nor men, nor yet in my own propre person, yf it be nede."
King Philip of Spain, King Consort of England, together with Queen Mary of England	Restored the Order of St. John by a royal charter, dated 2nd April, 1557, and constituted the Grand-Prior and his brother Knights a corporation, with a common seal, and a perpetual succession.*

This branch of the subject cannot be more appropriately closed than by annexing the names of some of those amongst the English Knighthood of the Order, who have in any way rendered themselves celebrated or notorious. It will be perceived that many of these took part in the various struggles which disturbed England, as well during the civil wars of the Roses, as in those so constantly maintained against Scotland. In these acts they were undoubtedly violating one of the fundamental laws of their Order; still, so far from drawing down blame on themselves, they appear frequently to have realised princely rewards.

* Vide Appendix, No. 18.

Roberto de Ricardo; Anglice, Robert Fitz-Richard, son of Eustace Fitz-John, called, in the pedigrees of the Lacys, Claverings, and other families of a similar descent, "Robert the Hospitaller" — He lived in the commencement of the twelfth century, and is named as a co-temporary of Gerard.

Garnier de Napoli . . — First Grand-Prior of England, at the time when that language was visited by the Master, Roger des Moulins, and the Patriarch, Heraclius. He is not to be confounded with the *Garnier* de Napoli, or de Syrie, who became Master of the Order in 1187, upon the death of Roger des Moulins, and who was killed at the battle of Tiberias in that same year, although all the historians of the Order have fallen into that error. The Grand-Master had been Turcopolier, and was, in all probability, brother to the Grand-Prior. The English name was, probably, Gardiner. That they were two different persons is clear, from the following extract of a manuscript in the possession of the Canon, Francis Smitmer, of Vienna (an original MS.):—"Omnibus Sancte Matris Ecclesiæ filiis tam presentibus quam futuris, Garnerius de Neapoli, Prior et totum Capitulum fratrum Hospitalis Hierosolomitani in Anglia, eternam in Domino salutem. Novit universitas vestra quod nos tenemur servire et divina celebrare cotidie in capella Villelmi filii Nigelli apud Leverling salvo jure ecclesiæ de Pecham in omnibus quod ut fermiter observetur presenti scripto et sigilli nostri testimonio curavimus confirmare testibus fratre Alano,

fratre Mathon, fratre Roberto de Lindes, et preceptore Eanted, fratre Roberto filio Riccardi, fratre Hugone de Chahull, fratre Ilberto de Viluton, fratre Henrico de Noel, Walton Clerico. Anno Domini Incarnationis MCLXXXIX., apud London Ordinatio Fr. Garnerii de Neapoli, Prioris in Anglia." This document proves that Garnier was exercising the office of Grand-Prior of England two years after his namesake, the Grand-Master, had been killed at Tiberias.

Sir Walter Levinge . . A Knight of St. John, and companion-in-arms of Richard Cœur de Lion in Palestine.

Sir Henry Bayntun . . Knight of St. John, son of Sir Henry Bayntun, Knight-Marshal to Henry II.: killed in Bretagne in 1201.

Theodore de Nuzza . . Grand-Prior of England, cir. 1230. The Grand-Master, Bertrand de Comps, having, in 1237, invoked assistance from the west to recruit the diminished ranks of his fraternity in Palestine, a body of 300 Knights, headed by De Nuzza, left their Priory at Clerkenwell, with the Banner of St. John unfurled, and accompanied by a considerable body of armed stipendiaries. Their ranks were also swelled by the presence of Prince Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Simon de Monfort, Earl of Leicester, and William Longspée, son of the famous Earl of Salisbury. Their arrival in Jaffa induced the Sultan of Egypt to offer the most advantageous terms of peace to the Christians.

Archibald . . . . . Grand-Preceptor of Scotland. Although he was not the first who held sway in Scotland, there are no records remaining

of his predecessors. His name is mentioned in a charter of Prince Alexander, Grand-Steward of Scotland, dated 1252, as "Archibaldus, Magister de Torpichen." During his tenure, the establishment at Torpichen was raised into a Barony and Regality of St. John, and Preceptory of Torpichen.

Alexander de Welles . Whose name appears among those who swore fealty to Edward I., King of England, in the chapel of Edinburgh Castle, July, 1291, as follows: — "Alexander, Prior Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolomitani, in Scotia." And also in the Raguel Roll sworn at Berwick on the 28th August, 1296, there stands, "Frere Alexandre de Wells, Gardeyn del Hospital de Seint Johan de Jerusalem en Ecoce." He was killed at the battle of Falkirk, on the 22nd July, 1298; Sir William Wallace having previously made the Preceptory of Torpichen the head quarters of his army for some months.

Randulph de Lindesay . Succeeded Alexander de Welles as Grand-Preceptor of Scotland after the battle of Falkirk, and continued to hold that office until after the battle of Bannockburn had placed Robert Bruce's family upon the throne of Scotland. It was at this time that, by a bull of Pope Clement VII., and a canon of the Council of Vienna, the whole of the Templar lands in Scotland were transferred to the Hospital, comprising Temple on the South Esk, Balantradoch in Mid Lothian, Aboyne and Tulloch in Aberdeenshire, Aggerstoune in Stirlingshire, St. Germains in East Lothian, Inchynan in Renfrewshire, Derval in Ayrshire, Dinwoodie in Annandale, Red-Abbey-Sted in Roxburgh-

shire, and Temple Liston in West Lothian. This Preceptor was a member of the noble house of Lindsay, Earls of Crawford, and premier Earls of Scotland.

William de Tothale . . Grand-Prior of England, 1301. He was summoned to the various parliaments of King Edward I. and King Edward II. as the first Baron of the Realm. During his sway the Templar lands in England were transferred to the Hospital.

William More . . . . Grand-Preceptor of Scotland during the reign of King David II. He granted a charter of the Temple lands of Cowanston, in the county of Lanark, to Adam Pakok. In this charter, which was granted "communi consilio et assensu fratrum nostrorum," he is entitled "Willelmus More, Custos Hospitalis Sancti Johannis de Torpheyn."

Robert de Culter . . . Was Procurator of the Hospital at Torpichen about the same time, and is mentioned as such in the foregoing deed.

Sir Giles de Argintine . A Knight of the Hospital, who gained great renown in the Holy Land during the later years of Christian domination there. He was killed at the battle of Bannockburn in 1314, having first succeeded in rescuing Edward II. from the perils of that disastrous conflict.

John Builbrux. . . . Was the first Turcopolier of the English language, having been the holder of that dignity at the time when the General Chapter at Montpelier, in 1329, divided the Order into seven languages, and appropriated the Turcopoliership to the English branch.

Thomas Larcher . . . Grand-Prior of England. In spite of the great accession of wealth consequent on the suppression of the Templar fraternity, and the transfer of their lands to

the Hospital, this dignitary succeeded in involving the finances of his Priory into such hopeless confusion, that a successor was nominated in 1329 to take the administration out of his hands. The reckless manner in which he granted pensions and created other encumbrances would, had he not been suspended, have eventually annihilated the whole of the property which the Order possessed in England.

Leonard de Tybertis . . Originally Prior of Venice. Being a man of extreme tact and skill in administration, was nominated to succeed Larcher in the Priory of England, in order to unravel the tangled web which had become so complicated under his predecessor. In this difficult task he succeeded admirably. He was appointed to the Priory in 1329.

Philip de Thame . . . Succeeded Tybertis in the Priory of England. In the year 1338 he made a report to the Grand-Master, Elyon de Villanova, of the state of the Order's property in England, which document has been amply referred to in a preceding chapter of this work.

William Middleton . . Is mentioned as holding the office of Turcopolier at a General Chapter held at Rhodes in 1366.

Sir Robert Hales . . Grand-Prior of England. He was in the suite of the Grand-Master Heredia, when, in 1377, he escorted Pope Gregory XI. from Avignon to Civita Vecchia, on the occasion of the transfer of the seat of papal government from the former place to Rome. Under his priorate, the Order sustained a severe loss by the destruction of the Priory of Clerkenwell by fire, in 1381, during the insurrection of Wat

Tyler. "This building, in its widely varied decorations, both internally and externally, is said to have contained specimens of the arts, both of Europe and Asia, together with a collection of books and rarities, the loss of which in a less turbulent age would have been a theme for national lamentation." The fire lasted for eight days, and the building was completely destroyed. The Prior's residence at Highbury was also burnt, and he himself lost his life, as is shown by the following extract from the patent granted by King James to Sir Edward Hales, a descendant of the Prior's, making him Earl of Tenterden. "Robert Hales, formerly Lord High Treasurer of our kingdom of England, and Prior of the Hospital, who, upon account of a most prudent advice which he gave to our predecessor, King Richard II., had, on a popular sedition, by the fury of the mob, his head struck off."

Sir John de Radyngton . There is a record that, on the 23rd September, 1383, this Prior swore fealty to King Richard II., and at the same time enjoined the king not to allow his obedience and loyalty to prejudice in future the ancient privileges of the Order to which he belonged.

Sir Henry Livingstone . Preceptor of Torphichen, and chief of the Order in Scotland in the reign of King James II. He was one of the noble family of Livingstone, which embraced no less than three peerages amongst its members, viz. the Earldom of Linlithgow, the Earldom of Callendar, and the Viscounty of Kilsyth.

Sir Patrick Skougall . . In a charter to Temple lands, dated 20th October, 1560, is designated Knight-

	Commendator of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Scotland, and Master of Torphichen.
r William Knolls . .	Grand-Preceptor of Scotland. He was Lord Treasurer under King James IV., who raised him to the peerage, under the title of Lord St. John's, which dignity devolved upon each of his successors till the Reformation. He was killed at the battle of Flodden Field, 11th September, 1513.
r John Langstrother .	Was Bailiff of Aquila in 1466. He had been the bearer of a letter from Grand-Master de Lastic to King Henry VI., and took part with the house of Lancaster in the wars of the Roses. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Tewkesbury in 1471, and was put to death in cold blood by order of King Edward IV. His near kinsman and predecessor in the Bailiwick of Aquila was Sir William Langstrother, who held that rank at a General Chapter which sat at Rome on the 22nd February, 1446. Both of these dignitaries were buried in the church of St. John at Clerkenwell.
ir John Weston . . .	Held the offices of General of the Galleys, Turcopolier, and Grand-Prior of England successively, attaining the latter title in 1482.
ir Thomas Delamere .	A Knight of St. John: was High Sheriff of Berkshire in 1473.
ir Henry Stradling . .	Was the third generation of his family who visited Jerusalem and became a Knight of St. John. His father, Sir Edward, who married Jane, grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, and his grandfather Sir William, both did the same. The family was settled at St. Donats in Somersetshire.

Sir John Kendall . . .	Was Turcopolier in 1477, and Grand-Prior of England in 1489. He was present at Rhodes during the siege of 1480.
Sir James Heting, or Keating.	Was Grand-Prior of Ireland at the time of the siege of Rhodes in 1480; and was deprived of his dignity for not hastening thither when summoned.
Sir Marmaduke Lumley	Was present at the siege of Rhodes in 1480, and dangerously wounded. He was made Grand Prior of Ireland in the place of Keating.
Sir John Vaquelin, Commander of Carbouch Sir Thomas Bem, Bailiff of the Eagle Sir Henry Haler, Commander of Badsfort Sir Thomas Ploniton Sir Adam Tedbond Sir Henry Batasbi Sir Henry Anulai	Were all killed at the siege of Rhodes in 1480.
Sir Thomas Docwra, or Docray.	Turcopolier in 1498, and Grand-Prior of England in 1501; was the second son of Richard Docray of Bradsville, in the county of York, and his wife Alice, daughter of Thomas Greene, of Gressingham, in the same county. He was present at the siege of Rhodes in 1480. During his priorate the new establishment at Clerkenwell, which was built to replace that burnt by Wat Tyler's mob in 1381, was completed. It had been 123 years in construction, and Camden speaks of it when finished as follows:— "This house, increased to the size of a palace, had a beautiful church with a tower, carried up to such a height as to be a singular ornament to the city." The only portion of the original building not destroyed in 1381 was the gatehouse, and

that is still standing, a venerable relic of the first establishment of the Order in these kingdoms. Docray possessed considerable talents in diplomacy, and a princely revenue. These advantages weighed so strongly in his favour that when, in 1521, he was a candidate for the office of Grand-Master, in opposition to L'Isle Adam and the chancellor d'Amaral, he only lost the election by one vote, in spite of the entire French influence, which was brought to bear in favour of L'Isle Adam. He died in 1527.

Sir Leonard de Tybertis.
Sir Walter Viselberg .
Sir John Bucht . . .
Sir John Besoel, or Boswell . . . . . } Were all present at the siege of Rhodes in 1480.

Sir George Dundas . . Second Lord St.John's and Grand-Preceptor of Scotland: elected in 1513. The signature "G. Lord Sanctis Joanys" appears in the notarial deed of the engagement of the Scottish Lords to the queen, dated 1524. His schoolfellow, Hector Boece, thus describes him, "Georgius Dundas Grecas utque Latinus literas opprime Doctus, Equitum Hierosolomitanorum intra Scotorum regnum Magistratum multo sudore (superatis emulis) postea adeptus."

Sir John Bouch, or Buck Turcopolier, said to be of the family of Hanely Grange, in the county of Lincoln, was one of the Knights selected by L'Isle Adam to act as lieutenants under him at the siege of Rhodes in 1522. He was killed on the 17th September of that year, in resisting an attack made on the English bastion by Mustapha.

Sir William Onascon. . Commanded at the English quarter in the

above siege. (Query, was he not Sir William Weston?)

Sir Henry Mansel . . Was in the Grand-Master's suite, and killed during the above siege.

Sir Nicholas Hussey . . Was Commander of the English bastion at the above siege. He was afterwards one of the commissioners despatched by L'Isle Adam to inspect the islands of Malta and Gozo, in 1528.

Sir John Ransom . . . Was present at the siege of Rhodes. He was afterwards made Turcopolier; and eventually, at the special request of King Henry VIII., Grand-Prior of Ireland. He died in 1547.

Sir Thomas Sheffield. .
Sir Nicholas Farfan . .
Sir William Weston . .
Sir William Tuest (Query West) . . . . . .
Sir John Baron . . .
Sir Thomas Remberton .
Sir George Asfely . . } Were all present at the siege of Rhodes
Sir John Lotu . . . . } in 1522.
Sir Francis Buet . . .
Sir Giles Rosel . . .
Sir George Emer. . .
Sir Michael Roux. . .
Sir Nicholas Usel . . .
Sir Otho de Montselli .
Sir Nicholas Rubert . .

Sir Thomas Newport . A member of a distinguished Shropshire family: was Turcopolier of the Order in 1500. During the siege of Rhodes in 1522 he persisted in embarking from Dover in a violent storm, and was lost at sea with all his forces.

Sir Alban Pole . . . Was a member of a distinguished Derbyshire family. He was Commander of Mount St. John in 1520, and afterwards became Bailiff of Aquila.

. Was second son of Thomas Babington, in the county of Derby, and of Editha, daughter of Ralph Fitz-Herbert, of Norbury, in the same county. He was Commander of Dalby and Rothely, and subsequently held the offices of Bailiff of Aquila, and Grand Prior of Ireland, successively.

. Was Chancellor of the Provincial Chapter of the English language in 1526.

. Was third Lord St. John's, and Preceptor of Scotland. He was Justice-General of Scotland during the reign of King James V., and died in 1538.

. Grand-Prior of England, temp. Henry VIII. By an act passed in 1533, it was made lawful for Viscounts, the Pryour of Seint John of Jerusalem, and Barons, to wear in their dublettes or sleveless coates, clothe of golde, sylver or tynsel. This decree clearly marks the rank of the Grand-Prior of England as inferior to viscounts, but superior to barons. During his rule commenced the quarrel between Henry VIII. and the Pope, which led to the Reformation. In this quarrel the Order of St. John, who had always proved themselves true and obedient sons of the Church, sided with the Pope, and resisted the divorcement of Queen Katharine. The result was the complete destruction of the Order in England. A bloody persecution set in, lasting from 1534 to 1540, which ended in the utter annihilation of the fraternity, and during which many Knights perished on the scaffold. In April, 1540, an act passed both Houses of the Legislature, vesting in the Crown all the possessions, castles, manors, churches,

houses, &c., of the Order of St. John. Out of this revenue, pensions to the amount of 2870*l.* were granted to the late Lord Prior, and to other members of the Institution. Henry granted the site of the Priory and its precincts to John, Lord Lisle, as a reward for his services in the capacity of High Admiral. In 1549, the Church of St. John, which had long been considered one of the greatest ornaments of London, was destroyed, and the materials employed by the Lord Protector Somerset, in the construction of Somerset House. The old gateway, which survived the former destruction of the main building, in the time of Wat Tyler, was again spared, and still remains, almost a solitary relic, on the site where the White Cross fraternity for so many centuries had dwelt in peace and honour. The pension which Henry so liberally granted to Sir William Weston out of the latter's own confiscated property, was not long enjoyed. The venerable Prior, broken-hearted at the utter annihilation of his Order, and unable to bear up against the calamities which had befallen the Institution, died of grief on Ascension Day, 1540, in the very year when his pension was first granted to him. He was buried in the Chancel of St. James's Church, Clerkenwell, where an altar tomb in the architectural style of the age, representing him as an emaciated figure lying upon a winding sheet, was erected over his remains. Sir William Weston was the last Grand-Prior of England, who could be considered legitimately entitled to that rank, until the time when Queen Mary

restored the Order for a brief space, when, as will be seen presently, two fresh accessions were made to that dignity. In 1798 his tomb was opened, and the mouldering remains within were found in an attitude not unlike that of the figure upon the tomb. He had been present at the siege of Rhodes, in 1522, where he had greatly distinguished himself.

Turcopolier of the Order, rendered himself notorious by the turbulence and disrespect of his conduct. In the General Chapter held in 1532, he argued that the proxies for the Grand-Priors of England and Ireland, and for the Bailiff of Aquila, should not be admitted to vote, and the assembly having decided against that opinion, he broke out into the most unseemly and blasphemous language, calling the Procurators Saracens, Jews, and bastards. The latter then preferred a complaint against him, and, when called upon for explanation, he merely stated that it was impossible for him to know whether they were Jews or not, for that they certainly were not Englishmen. The Council thereupon enjoined him to ask pardon, but this he energetically refused to do, and, flying into a violent passion, began cursing and swearing most vehemently, and, throwing his mantle upon the ground, said that if he deserved condemnation at all, he ought to be deprived of his habit, and put to death. Thereupon he drew his sword, and left the Council chamber, to the great scandal of all present. In consequence of this behaviour he was deprived of his habit, and of the dignity of Turcopolier. As soon as this news reached England, great

exertions were made to restore West to his office. The Knight John Sutton was despatched by the Grand-Prior of England, and the Duke of Norfolk, to beg that he might be reinstated. From the letters which this envoy presented to the Council, on the 23rd February, 1533, it appeared that the feeling in England was, that West had been unjustly condemned, and that a bad feeling had sprung up against him, owing to his wearing an Order appertaining to the King of England. The Council, feeling much aggrieved at so foul a calumny, the Grand-Master directed a commission to inquire into the whole business, consisting of the English Knight Sir Edward Bellingham, the Italian, Aurelio Bottigella, and the Aragonese, Baptiste Villaragut, and at the same time expressed himself in the highest terms of King Henry VIII., whom he considered as one of the special protectors of the Order. This, it must be remembered, was in the commencement of 1533, the year before Henry began those proceedings against the fraternity which for ever deprived him of all claim to such a title. The report of these commissioners is not in existence, but by a decree dated 26th April, 1533, West was reinstated in his former dignity of Turcopolier, he having shown signs of repentance. The lesson thus bestowed upon this turbulent Knight appears to have been utterly thrown away, for in 1537 he was again placed under arrest for acts of disobedience, and for provoking another Knight to fight a duel, and, in 1539, he was placed in arrest by a decree of the Council, for

disrespect to their body, pending the return of the Grand-Master, who extended that arrest for four months, and finally he was again deprived of the dignity of Turcopolier, on the 3rd September of that year, at the instance of the English Knights then in the Convent. He had, however, evidently been held as a person of consideration, for, on the death of Peter Dupont, in 1534, he was nominated Lieutenant of the Grand-Mastery during the interregnum.

The Commander Ingley, Sir Adrian Forrest, Sir Adrian Fortescue, Sir Marmaduke Bowes — All perished on the scaffold during the persecutions under Henry VIII. The portrait of Fortescue is still to be seen in St. John's Church, at Malta, with a sprig of palm in his hand, an emblem of his martyrdom.

Sir Thomas Mytton, Sir Edward Waldegrave — Both died in prison at the same crisis.

Sir Richard Bell, Sir James Bell, Sir John Noel — Abandoned their country and retired to Malta, in preference to abjuring their profession as Knights of St. John.

Sir Gyles Russell . . . Turcopolier in 1539. At the death of this Knight in 1543, it was decreed by the Council that there should be no further nomination to the office of Turcopolier, until the Catholic religion should once again be re-established in England. Sir Nicholas Upton was, however, allowed to exercise the office under the title of Lieutenant of the Turcopolier.

Sir Nicholas Upton . . Lieutenant of the Turcopolier, as above stated, in 1543. He was the second son of John Upton of Lupton, in the county of Devon, and Anne Cooper, a member of a Somersetshire family. He attained so high a distinction in the fraternity, for his knightly and gallant conduct, that his Lieutenancy of the Turcopolier-

ship was converted into the Turcopolier-ship itself, as will be seen by the following decree, dated 25th November, 1548: "It being consonant with reason that those generous Knights of our Order whose remarkable purity of life and manners recommend them, whose virtues adorn them, and whose glory is rendered greatly and widely famous by the deeds done by them in defence of the Catholic faith, should be called to the highest grades of honour and dignity, so that having received the rewards due to them, they may feel themselves recompensed for their constant labours, and may become further excited to still greater exertions, so as to deserve at a future period still more distinguished rewards, we have raised our beloved Knight, Nicholas Upton, to the dignity of a Turcopolier of his language." Under date of the 11th July, 1548, only four months before the above decree was made, it is recorded that the Commander and Acting Turcopolier, Nicholas Upton, was in such impoverished circumstances as to be unable to defray some trifling expenses connected with his Language, which, by his office, devolved upon him; and that he was compelled, for the purpose of settling these debts, and for the payment of the passage to England of an authorised person to recover some property of which the English Language had been unjustly deprived, to give in pledge a silver basin, for the sum of fifty scudi (*4l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*) The poverty of Upton continued so great, that this basin remained in pawn until, at his death, it was redeemed by the proceeds of the sale of

his personal effects. Sir Nicholas Upton died in 1551, from the effects of a *coup-de-soleil*, which he received whilst gallantly resisting an attempted descent upon the island of Malta by Dragut. His little band of 30 Knights and 400 native volunteers succeeded in thwarting the designs of the piratical Infidel, though he himself lost his life in the effort. The Grand-Master John d'Omedes declared his death to be a national loss; and, in company with many others of the fraternity, wept whilst following his beloved remains to their last home.

. Was the second son of Sir Thomas Massinbert of Sutton, in the county of Lincoln, and of Joan, daughter and heiress of John Braytoft of Braytoft, in the same county. He was appointed Prior of Ireland in 1547, at the request of Cardinal Pole; and Turcopolier on the death of Sir Nicholas Upton, 1551. Massinbert appears, like Clement West, to have been a man of a most violent and insubordinate temper, and to have been in continual trouble whilst resident in Malta, either with the Grand-Master, or with his brother Knights. On one occasion he was brought before the Council for the murder of four slaves; and the amount of protection which these unfortunates were in the habit of receiving at the hands of that tribunal may be gathered from the fact, that the only punishment awarded to Massinbert for this dastardly act, was deprivation of his habit for two days, and the loss of his dignity as Commander for a short period. The following entry appears also amongst the manuscript records of

the Council, under date of the 30th August, 1552: "The Right Reverend Lord the Grand-Master and Venerable Council, having heard the report of the Commanders deputed to inquire into the complaint preferred by the noble Paolo Fiteni against the Lord Lieutenant of the Turcopolier, Brother Oswald Massinbert, for having forcibly entered his house, and violently taken therefrom a certain female slave with her daughter, whom he had recently purchased from the Order, and for having struck him with his fist; and also having heard the said De Massinbert in contradiction, who pretended that the above-mentioned Paolo could in no way have purchased the female slave, as she had previously been branded with certain marks in his name, as is customary and usual on similar occasions, and that therefore the preference in the purchase of the said slave appertained to him, De Massinbert; do now, after mature deliberation, condemn the said De Massinbert to restore the above-mentioned female slave with her daughter to Fiteni, and order that they shall be restored accordingly. In continuation, as regards the force and violence used, they furthermore decree that he shall remain and be kept for two months within his own residence, and that for this period he shall not be permitted to leave it."

Sir George Dudley . . Had been professed a Knight of St. John in the year 1545, but had shortly after become a Protestant, and abandoned the fraternity, taking to himself a wife, and committing other similar enormities. In the year 1557, however, the seceder

became penitent, and on the 12th October demanded pardon for his errors of the Grand-Master and Council. This favour was only granted after it had been proved, to the satisfaction of the said Council, that George Dudley had become, through his humiliation and prayers, absolved from his apostasy and the other crimes by him committed, and reconciled and restored to the bosom of the holy mother church. He was, therefore, re-admitted into the fraternity, and on the 11th of the following May it was decreed, "that on account of the poverty of the Brother George Dudley, at present the only English Brother of the venerable Language of England, permission should be granted for him to sue for, exact, and recover all the revenues and rents of houses belonging to the said Language existing in the new town of Valetta, from any and all of the tenants, and to give receipts for the same so long as the venerable Language be congregated and exist in the Order."

'resham . Was nominated Grand-Prior of England at the restoration of the Order in that country by the Royal Charter of Queen Mary, dated 2nd April, 1557, and as such was summoned to the first and second parliaments of Queen Elizabeth. In the year 1559, however, Queen Elizabeth again destroyed the Order of St. John within her dominions, on which occasion Tresham the Prior, Shelley the Turcopolier, and Felix de la Nuca the Bailiff of Aquila, retired from the country. Tresham proceeded to Malta, where he died in 1561.

helley . . Was the second son of Sir William Shelley

of Michaelgrove, in Sussex, and of his wife Alice, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Belknap of Knowle, in the county of Warwick. He was appointed Turcopolier of the Order at the same time that Tresham was nominated to the Priory of England. On the death of the latter he succeeded to the post of Grand-Prior. The Order having, however, before this time again become suppressed by Queen Elizabeth, he had left England and retired to Spain. Whilst there, he refused to take up the title of a Priory which no longer existed, but insisted upon being still considered as the Turcopolier of the English nation, being, as he said, "Dominus natus," and having a seat in the House of Peers, where he ranked next to the Abbot of Westminster, and above all the lay Barons. In 1561 he obtained permission from the King of Spain to proceed to Malta, then threatened by the Turks; but whilst on the road for that purpose, he received a command from the Grand-Master La Valette to return to England, and take up the duties of his Priory. He did not remain there very long, since on the 16th August, 1566, he is found in Malta, where he had a dispute concerning his pre-eminence with the Prior of Messina, as has been already mentioned. After the death of La Valette he retired to Venice, where he was employed in sundry commercial negotiations for the fraternity. The exact time of his death is uncertain, as also was his age at that moment; but in a letter dated from Venice in 1582 he speaks of himself as being "three score and eight years of

age, and his health infirm." He was both the last Turcopolier and the last Grand-Prior of England.

Was Bailiff of Aquila when the Order of St. John was restored in England by Queen Mary. At its suppression in 1559 he retired to Malta, where he remained till the siege of that island in 1565. On this occasion he greatly distinguished himself, and was killed in Fort St. Michael.

Was Latin Secretary to the Grand-Master La Valette, and was present with him throughout the siege of Malta. He appears to have thoroughly enjoyed the confidence of his chief, and to have been held in high estimation by all the members of the convent. He was the author of the following lines, which were placed on La Valette's tomb :—

Illo Asiæ Libyæque pavor, Tutelaque quondam
Europæ, Edomitis sacra per arma getis
Primus in hac alma quam condidit urbe sepultus
Valetta Œterno dignus honore jacet.

He was reduced to so great destitution whilst in Malta that a pension of a hundred scudi (8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) was awarded to him out of the public treasury. He was buried at the side of the chief he had loved and served so well, in a subterranean chapel under the church of St. John, in Valetta, Malta; in which chapel also repose the remains of L'Isle Adam, and a few more of the Grand-Masters of that period.

Was second son of Sir James Sandilands, of Calder, and Marieta, daughter of Archibald Forrester, of Costorphine. He was recommended to the Grand-Master by Sir Walter Lyndsay, third

Lord of St. John's, and Preceptor of Torphichen, as a person well qualified to succeed him in those dignities. At his death, therefore, Sandilands was appointed in his place, as fourth Lord of St. John's. He was the intimate personal friend of John Knox, and by the persuasion of that Reformer, he renounced the Catholic religion in 1553. He, however, continued for some time longer to maintain his office and dignities. In 1560 he was sent by the congregation Parliament of Scotland to France, to lay their proceedings before Francis and Mary; when the cardinal of Lorrain loaded him with reproaches, accusing him of violating his obligations as a Knight of a Holy Order, and notwithstanding all his efforts to soothe the prelate, and the most assiduous endeavours to recommend himself to the queen, he was dismissed without any answer. After this, feeling himself no longer authorised to retain his office, he resigned the entire property of the Order of St. John into the hands of the crown; when, on condition of an immediate payment of ten thousand crowns, and an annual duty of five hundred marks, the queen, on the 24th January 1563–4, was pleased, in consideration of "his faithful, noble, and gratuitous services to herself and her royal parents," to erect them into the temporal lordship of Torphichen, creating him Lord of St. John, and giving him the lands and baronies of Torphichen, and Listoun, Balintrodo, Thankertoun, Denny, Maryculter, Stanhouse, Gultna, &c. He afterwards married Janet, daughter of Murray, of

Polonaise; but had no issue, and at his death in 1596, his title, and the possessions which he had plundered from the Order, devolved on his grand-nephew, James Sandilands, of Calder. The present holder of the title, also a James Sandilands, is the seventh in descent from this Knight.

This closes the list of the most celebrated amongst the Knights of the English language, which was now utterly annihilated; and although every now and again Englishmen still entered the Order, and although the titles of Grand-Prior, and Turcopolier, as also the Bailiwick of Aquila, were conferred; still, as the dignities were merely nominal, the holders of them have not been included in this list. The language remained thus practically defunct, until the year 1782, when the Grand-Master de Rohan revived it, and combined it with that of Bavaria, under the title of the Anglo-Bavarian language. Long prior to this, however, at the close of the sixteenth century, the Pope, who was still not without hopes of seeing the fair land of England return under his sway, had directed that the dignity of Turcopolier should be united to that of the Grand-Mastery, in order that the successive chiefs of the Institution might hold it in trust, in case the language should ever be revived. This occurred during the Grand-Mastership of Hugh de Verdala.

In the commencement of the eighteenth century, we find the following letter from James (the Pretender), son of James II., ex-king of England. The contents may well raise a smile, seeing that they are from a king without a throne, directing the Grand-Master not to nominate without his approval to dignities which in

reality no longer existed. The whole affair was, in fact, a perfect shadow.

"To my cousin, the Grand-Master of Malta. My cousin,—Having recently requested the Pope to have the kindness, on the opportunity presenting itself, not to dispose of the grand priories of my kingdom, nor to grant coadjutors to the present Grand-Prior without previously hearing what I might have to represent to him on that head, his holiness answered he had told your ambassador that he would allow the Order to act for itself in all affairs which regarded it; so that all such matters depending on the Order, it is with full confidence that I address myself to you, requesting that I may be treated with the same consideration as is shown towards other princes on similar occasions. No way doubting, after all the marks of your attention and friendship which I have received, but that you will confer on me this further favour, which will engage me so much the more to entertain the most perfect esteem and friendship for your Order and your person in particular. On which I pray God to have you, my cousin, in his holy and worthy keeping. Rome, 14th September, 1725. Your affectionate cousin, JAMES R."

The overthrow of the Order generally, by its expulsion from Malta, merely placed all the other languages in the same position as that of England, and did not in any way affect the latter. In the years 1826 and 1827, however, three several instruments of convention were signed in Paris by the languages of France, with the consent of those of Spain and Portugal, authorising a reorganisation of the venerable language of England. In pursuance of this convention, on the 29th January, 1831, a Chapter of the Knights then forming the English

language was held, at which an envoy extraordinary was present from the continental languages, on which occasion the late Sir Robert Peat was elected grand-prior of England, and the language regularly re-organised. On the 24th February 1834, proceedings were taken before Sir Thomas Denman, Chief Justice of England, when the Grand Prior formally revived the corporation of the English language, under the royal letters patent of King Philip and Queen Mary; and took the oath "de fideli administratione." And since that period the vacancies in the dignities of the Order have been regularly filled up. They are at present occupied as follows:—

Lieutenant-Turcopolier .	The Hon. Sir Henry Dymock, Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem, 17th Hereditary Champion of the English Crown.
Grand-Prior of England	The Hon. Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb, Bart., Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem, Knight-Marshal of Her Majesty's Household.
Preceptor of Scotland .	The Chevalier Sir James Burnes, Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.
Prior of Ireland . . .	Sir Charles Routledge O'Donnell, Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.
Lieut.-Bailiff of Wales .	Edward G. L. Perrott, Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.
Bailiff of Aquila . . .	Sir John Philippart, Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.
Lieut.-Bailiff of Aquila .	Major Sir Warwick Hill Tonkin, Knt., Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.
Grand-Secretary . . .	The Hon. Sir Richard Broun, Bart., Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.
Chancellor	The Chevalier Williams, Grand-Cross of St. John of Jerusalem.

Grave doubts exist as to the legitimacy of this revived

branch of the English language. The authorities in supreme governance over the Order at Rome deny its validity, and refuse to recognise it as an integral branch of the venerable Order of St. John. It would be well, therefore, if such steps could be taken as should decide the question, and remove the uncertainty which at present exists on the matter.

CHAP. XXIII.

ALOF DE VIGNACOURT. — ECCLESIASTICAL DISPUTES. — THE AQUEDUCT. — ANTHONY DE PAULE. — GENERAL CHAPTER. — ELECTION OF LASCARIS. — DISPUTES WITH THE SPANISH AND FRENCH MONARCHIES. — COTEMPORARY DESCRIPTION OF A NAVAL ACTION. — EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS. — COMMENCEMENT OF THE FLORIANA. — ACQUISITIONS IN THE WEST INDIES. — OPPOSITION OF THE GRAND-INQUISITOR TO THE ELECTION OF REDIN. — THE BROTHERS COTTONER. — THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CANDIA. — DISPUTES WITH THE BRITISH ADMIRAL ON THE SUBJECT OF SALUTES. — THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE COTTONERA AND THE LAZARETTO. — DEATH OF NICHOLAS COTTONER.

THE seventeenth century opened with the accession of Alof de Vignacourt to the dignity of fifty-second Grand-Master of the Order of St. John. This Knight, at the age of seventeen years, had joined the ranks of the fraternity at Malta, in 1564, at the time when they were expecting an immediate attack from the Infidel; and in the following year he passed through all the dangers and fatigues of the celebrated siege under La Valette. He was subsequently named governor of Valetta; and, as his services increased, so he rose in dignity, until he attained the post of grand-hospitaller; and at the death of Garces, in 1601, he was raised to the vacant office of Grand-Master.

The cabals and disputes which disturbed the rule of his predecessors, appear to have calmed down under this chief; and although upon several occasions dissatis-

faction and turbulence still made themselves manifest, the peace of the convent was never materially affected. Several naval exploits of more or less importance graced the annals of his reign. Descents of a successful character were made upon the Mahometans in Barbary, Patras, and Lepanto in the Morea, and upon Lango, one of the former possessions of the Hospitallers in connection with the island of Rhodes. Laiazzo and Corinth also witnessed the daring inroads of the adventurous Knights, who realised from these various expeditions a vast amount of plunder, and stored the prisons of Malta with a considerable addition to the number of their slaves.

That these exploits bore in any degree upon the general issue of the struggle between Christianity and Mahometanism, is more than the most partial historian of the Order could venture to assert. The days when the Knights of St. John were content to expend their energies and pour out their hearts' blood in the defence of their faith, without regard to worldly acquisitions, and the amount of booty their warfare would produce, had long since passed away. Now they no more sought, in open field, and by well-directed energy, to crush the foe against whom their profession engaged them to maintain a constant warfare; but, looking rather to their personal enrichment than the public advantage, they strove, by means of such isolated and plundering exploits as those referred to above, to gain for their convent and themselves a plentiful store of booty, and a rich reward for their privateering efforts.

Enraged at these repeated aggressions, the Turks endeavoured, in their turn, to carry the war into the enemy's country; and, in 1615, they made a descent

upon Malta, with sixty galleys, and disembarked 5000 men upon the island. Due precautions had, however, been taken by the inhabitants, who all retreated into the town upon the approach of the foe; and the Turks gained nothing by their attempt, being driven ignominiously back into their ships by the forces of the fraternity.

The rule of Vignacourt, like those of his predecessors, was disturbed by the pretensions of the bishop of Malta. This ecclesiastic, whose name was Cagliares, having during one of his numerous disputes with the Grand-Master and council had recourse to a personal visit to Rome, to enforce his pretensions, a deputy was appointed by him to maintain the interests of his see during his absence. The arrogance of this deputy far exceeded even that of his principal; and the more youthful and hot-headed amongst the Knights were unable to restrain their indignation at the intolerable assumption of his conduct. A band of these malcontents attacked the bishop's palace by night, threatening to throw the offending functionary into the Marsa Musceit; and it was with no little difficulty that De Vignacourt was enabled to rescue him out of their hands. He despatched the obnoxious priest to the Pope, with a complaint of his conduct, and a request that he might be subjected to due reproof; but Paul V., who was bent upon supporting the clergy in their pretensions against the Grand-Master, took a very high tone in the matter, and so far from yielding to the request which De Vignacourt had preferred, he acquitted the bishop's nominee of all blame, and called upon the Grand-Master and council, under pain of his anathema, to make due reparation for the indignities to

which he had been subjected. Resistance was totally in vain, and Vignacourt was compelled to submit to this new degradation, and to restore the insolent churchman to his position and dignities within the convent. Similar scenes occurred with the grand-inquisitor, and the incessant disputes which originated with these rival dignitaries, rendered the office of Grand-Master by no means a bed of roses.

The name of Vignacourt has, in Malta, become inseparably connected with the aqueduct which he caused to be constructed in that island. Destitute as the cities of Valetta and Vittoriosa are of all natural springs, the inhabitants were, before Vignacourt's time, compelled to depend for their water supply entirely upon tanks, and, in the event of a dry winter, were sorely distressed during the following summer. To obviate this evil, and to prevent for the future all further distress on the score of water, Vignacourt constructed a very fine aqueduct, connecting the city of Valetta with a spring of water in the Bengemma hills, in the vicinity of the Città Notabile. This aqueduct, which is upwards of nine miles in length, carries the water into every part of the city, and supplies the fountains which succeeding Grand-Masters have caused to be erected in different convenient situations. A worthier monument this, and a nobler memorial, than the proudest trophy of war, or the most costly sculptured tomb. The gratitude of posterity will recall the memory of Vignacourt, so long as Valetta exists, as the founder of one of the most useful and enduring works which that city possesses.*

* The following account of the reception of Alexandre Monsieur, natural son of Henry IV. of France, by Gabrielle d'Estrees, into the

The same fate attended this Grand-Master as that which befell La Valette; and he was seized with an attack of apoplexy whilst hunting, in the month of August 1622, and died on the 14th of September in

Order, on the 2nd of February, 1604, is extracted from Miss Pardoe's "Life of Marie de Medicis:"—

"The king having decided that such should be the career of the young prince, was anxious that he should at once assume the name and habit of the Order; and he accordingly wrote to the Grand-Master to request that he would despatch the necessary patents, which were forwarded without delay, accompanied by the most profuse acknowledgments of that dignitary. In order to increase the solemnity and magnificence of the inauguration, Henry summoned to the capital the grand-commanders (qy. priors) both of France and Champagne, instructing them to bring in their respective trains as many other commanders and Knights as could be induced to accompany them; and he selected as the scene of the ceremony the church of the Augustines; an arrangement which was, however, abandoned at the entreaty of the Commander de Villeneuf, the ambassador of the Order, who deemed it more dignified that it should take place in that of the Temple, which was one of their principal establishments. At the hour indicated the two sovereigns accordingly drove to the Temple in the same carriage, Alexandre Monsieur being seated between them; and on alighting at the principal entrance of the edifice, the king delivered the little prince into the hands of the grand-prior, who was there awaiting him, attended by twelve commanders and twelve Knights, by whom he was conducted up the centre aisle. The church was magnificently ornamented; and the altar, which blazed with gold and jewels, was already surrounded by the Cardinal de Gondy, the papal nuncio, and a score of bishops, all attired in their splendid sacerdotal vestments. In the centre of the choir a throne had been erected for their majesties, covered with cloth of gold; and around the chairs of state were grouped the princes, princesses, and other grandees of the court, including the ambassadors of Spain and Venice, the constable, Duke de Montmorency, the chancellor, the seven presidents of the parliament, and the Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost.

"The coup d'œil was one of most extraordinary splendour. The

that year, at the age of seventy-five. His successor, Louis Mendes de Vasconcellas, survived his election only six months, having been nearly eighty years of

whole of the sacred edifice was brilliantly illuminated by the innumerable tapers which lit up the several shrines, and which, casting their clear light upon every surrounding object, brought into full relief the dazzling gems and gleaming weapons that glittered on all sides. The organ pealed out its deepest and most impressive harmony; and not a sound was heard throughout the vast building as the grand-prior, with his train of Knights and nobles, led the youthful neophyte to the place assigned to him. The ceremony commenced by the consecration of the sword and the change of raiment, which typified that about to take place in the duties of the prince by an entrance into an Order which enjoined alike godliness and virtue. The mantle was withdrawn from his shoulders, and his outer garment removed by the Knights who stood immediately around him; after which he was presented alternately with a vest of white satin, elaborately embroidered in gold and silver, having the sleeves enriched with pearls; a waist belt studded with jewels; a cap of black velvet, ornamented with a small white plume, and a band of large pearls; and a tunic of black taffeta. In this costume the prince was conducted to the high altar by the Duke and Duchess of Vendôme, followed by a commander to assist him during the ceremony; and they had no sooner taken their places, than Arnaud de Sorbin, bishop o Nevers, delivered a short oration, eulogistic of the greatness and excellence of the brotherhood of which he was about to become a member. The same prelate then performed a solemn high mass; and when he had terminated the reading of the gospel, Alexander Monsieur knelt before him, with a taper of white wax in his hand, to solicit admission to the Order. He had no sooner bent his knee than the king rose, descended the steps of the throne, and placed himself by his side, saying aloud that he put off for awhile his sovereign dignity that he might perform his duty as a parent, by pledging himself that when the prince should have attained his sixteenth year he should take the vows, and in all things conform himself to the rules of the institution. The procession then passed out of the church in the same order as it had entered; and the young prince was immediately put into possession of the income arising from his commandery, which was estimated at 40,000 annual livres."

age at the time of his nomination. It appears about this time to have been the practice of the fraternity to elect none but the most aged Knights to the supreme dignity, with a view to the post becoming again the more rapidly vacant. A more suicidal policy for their own interests could scarcely be conceived. Old men, worn out by a long life of excitement and enterprise, could scarcely be expected to retain sufficient energy to enable them to conduct, with prudence and skill, a government fraught with so many difficulties, both from within and without, as that of Malta. Where inflexible determination and vigorous promptitude in action were the essential requisites to a successful government, these decrepit and enfeebled veterans, sinking almost into their dotage, were utterly incapacitated; and it is mainly owing to this fact that the power of the Grand-Master, and the vitality of the Order itself, suffered so rapid and marked a diminution.

In pursuance of the same short-sighted policy, Vasconcellas was replaced, in 1623, by Anthony de Paule, grand-prior of St. Gilles; a Knight aged seventy-one at the time of his election. De Paule's rule is marked in the annals of the Order as celebrated, because in it the last general chapter was held which was convened, until the latter end of the eighteenth century. The unpopularity of these great councils had been constantly augmenting, and the difficulty of maintaining the magisterial authority within their jurisdiction so great, that no Grand-Master after De Paule ventured to summon into existence a council where he himself had so little weight and influence. Upon this occasion, the Pope had insisted that the Inquisitor should take his seat as president of the chapter. De Paule and his

council remonstrated that it was diametrically opposed to the constitution of their Order that a stranger should assume the title and dignity of president in their chief assembly; and that the community at large would never tolerate the intrusion. The Pope, however, was obstinate, and insisted upon his appointment being acquiesced in. The aged Grand-Master, who had not sufficient energy to support him in a broil with the court of Rome, yielded the point without further remonstrance; and, as it was highly probable that the younger members would, by more open measures, resent the intrusion thus forced upon them, he sent the great majority out of the island on a cruise, and held the chapter during their absence.

The statutes of the Order were all revised during this session; and, as it was the last that was held till near the close of the eighteenth century, the laws thus amended remained the code in force up to the period of its dissolution.

Much dissatisfaction was caused by the repeated interference of the pontiff with the patronage belonging to the Order in the language of Italy. Vacancies were constantly bestowed by him on his own relatives and dependents, without the slightest regard to the claims of seniority or the wishes of the council; and the Italian Knights became so discontented at this glaring misappropriation of their just rights, that they broke out into open mutiny, and refused to perform any of the duties of their profession, or to take their turn of military duty, on the plea of the injury which was being inflicted on their interests. Many abandoned Malta entirely, and, returning to their homes, threw off the habit of the Order in disgust. Redress was sought

for in vain, and the Grand-Master was forced to submit to the usurpation thus made upon his most valued immunities and privileges.

Throughout his reign expeditions, similar in character to those organised under Vignacourt, constantly took place. Useless for all national purposes, and partaking largely of a piratical character in their mode of conduct, they served only to irritate the Turks, without in the slightest degree enfeebling their power. The Knights of Malta were fast degenerating into a race very similar in character and pursuits to the piratical hordes who swarmed within the harbours of Algiers and Tunis; and their departure from the noble and disinterested conduct of their predecessors was painfully apparent in every detail of their administration. The worldly prosperity, however, of those over whom they held sway was materially increased; and the influx of wealth, consequent on the many rich prizes which they annually seized, had raised the island of Malta to a position of opulence and commercial importance, such as for centuries she had been a stranger to. In the year 1632 a census was held of her population, and the numbers then recorded as present in the island amounted to 51,750 souls. When L'Isle Adam, a hundred years previously, had first established his convent home there, the population barely exceeded 17,000. They had consequently nearly tripled themselves within a century, beneath the flourishing sway of the Order of St. John, notwithstanding that they had during that interval undergone the fearful losses entailed by the siege under La Valette.

Antoine de Paule died on the 10th of June 1636, at the advanced age of eighty-five years, and in accordance

with the policy already alluded to, he was succeeded by a Knight aged seventy-six years at the time of his appointment. This was John Paul de Lascaris Castellar, a Knight of Provence, and bailiff of Manosque at the time of his elevation to the supreme dignity. It was not long ere he discovered that he had exchanged a very lucrative and dignified sinecure for an office which was by no means equally desirable.

A fierce war was at this time raging between the monarchs of France and Spain; and many Knights of both countries, contrary to the express terms of their statutes, took part in the struggle. The French element, from its number, naturally preponderated greatly in the convent, and the sympathies of the Order leant visibly towards that country. In revenge for this partiality, the viceroy of Sicily, espousing the interests of his master the king of Spain, forbad the exportation of grain to Malta. As that island was almost entirely dependent on Sicily for its supply of provisions, this prohibition inflicted all the evils of positive starvation upon it, and the Grand-Master was driven to mollify the offended Spaniard by a strict enforcement of neutrality between the belligerent powers. In pursuance of this resolve, he caused a French vessel of war to be fired upon, which being commanded by one of his Knights, had ventured to anchor in the channel between Malta and Gozo. Pacified by this act, the viceroy removed his embargo on the exportation of corn; but, on the other hand, the king of France was so irritated at the open insult shown to his flag, that he prepared to seize all the possessions of the Order in France, and to annex them to his crown domains. Fortunately, Lascaris was enabled to make such explanations in the

case as proved to the king that he had only acted in the manner to which he was bound by his statutes, and the treaty under which he held Malta, and the affair was at length accommodated, and himself and convent left at peace.

In 1538, an action was fought between the six galleys of the Order and a Turkish fleet of three large vessels of war, which were engaged in convoying a number of merchant ships from Tripoli to Constantinople. In this engagement the Knights were completely successful, and captured the whole Turkish flotilla, including their convoying ships; not, however, without the loss of many of their most distinguished captains. In 1640, six Barbary pirates were captured from the harbour of Goletta by the general of the galleys; and in 1644, three galleys under Piancourt overcame a large and formidable galleon after a most desperate conflict. In this affair the Turks lost 600 men, and amongst the captives was a sultana from the imperial seraglio, who was then on a pilgrimage to Mecca. This loss so incensed the sultan, that he despatched a herald to Malta, threatening instant war.

Lascaris, upon this, took prompt measures to ensure the security of his island. Knights were summoned from all quarters to assist in the defence, and volunteers in great numbers flocked to the island, anxious to share in the renown of a second siege of Malta. Amongst these was the Count D'Arpajou, who brought at his own expense a reinforcement of no less than 2000 men. The Order were so grateful for this munificent aid, that they unceremoniously elected the count commander-in-chief over all the forces in the island, a post hitherto always held by the grand-marshal. The alarm of in-

vasion having proved vain, the Grand-Master, at the departure of D'Arpajou, conferred several honorary decorations on himself and his descendants in commemoration of his zeal for their welfare.

The naval war with Turkey was, however, by no means suspended; for the Turks having turned their forces against the Venetian island of Candia, the galleys of Malta hurried promptly to their succour. Naval combats constantly occurred, in which the superiority of the Knights over their opponents was usually very decided. In 1656, an engagement of greater importance than usual took place between the combined fleets of Venice and Malta on the one side, and that of the Turks on the other. In a cotemporary newspaper, called the "Mercurius Politicus," published in London, there is the following graphic account of this action, which may be regarded as a type of most of those about this period, of constant occurrence between the rival fleets. It runs as follows:—

"London, September 1656: from Venice, August 15 stili novo.—The particulars of our last victory are now brought hither by the Sieur Lazaro Mocenigo, who entred here on the 1st of this month, in a Turkish galley which was taken from those Infidels, and all the men in her had turbans on their heads. At his arrivall the people declared an extraordinary joy. All the shops were shut up, and the duke, accompanied by the senators, went and sang Te Deum, and the ringing of bells continued till next day in all churches. On the third day, a solemn mass was celebrated by the duke and senators in the church of St. Marke, where all the ambassadors of princes were present. And that the rejoycing might extend to the very prisons, the senate

took order for the releasing of all persons imprisoned for debt, and some of the banditi were also set at liberty.

" In the meantime the said Sieur Mocenigo, who had contributed so much of prudence and courage to the gaining of this victory, had first the honor of knighthood conferred on him by the senate, with a chain of gold 2000 crownes value, and then was declared generallissimo, in the room of the late slain Lorenzo Marcello, in memory of whom it is ordered there be a publick service celebrated next week at the publick charge.

" Now that so renowned a victory may in some measure be known, take the following relation:—

" *A particular relation of the manner of the late victory obtained by the Venetians against the Turk.*

" After the Venetian fleet had made a month's stay at the mouth of the Dardanelles, to wait for and fight the enemy, in the meanewhile arived the squadron of Malta, which consisted of seven galleys. On the 23rd of June last past, the Captain Bassa appeared in sight of the castles, his fleet consisted of twenty-eight great ships, sixty galleys, nine galeasses, and other small vessels.

" The navy of the republick was composed of twenty-eight great ships, twenty-four galleys, and seven galeasses, to which joyned (as was said before) the galleys of Malta, commanded by the lord prior of Roccelia. The navy of the republick kept in the narrowest part of the channel, so that the Turks could not come forth without accepting the battel which was offered.

" At the beginning, the Captain Bassa raised two

batteries upon land on both sides the river, the one on the part of Natolia, the other on the part of Grecia, thinking thereby to oblige our ships and galeasses to forsake their station, and so facilitate their own going forth. The courage of the Venetian, resisting their shot with undaunted boldness, rendered the advantage they had taken unprofitable; whereupon the Captain Bassa, who had express order to attempt going out, upon the 26th of the same month, in the morning, favoured with a pleasant north wind, made all his greatest ships to advance in good order, but (whether they durst not expose themselves, or for what other reason, is not known) they withdrew behind the point of Barbiera, and thither also the Captain Bassa repaired with his galleys.

"About ten of the clock it pleased God to send a small north-west wind, which occasioned the Venetian navy to move; and the honorable Eleazer Mocenigo (who having finished the charge of a captain of a galley, would needs continue with the fleet as a volunteer, and commanded the left wing) found means to advance with 'The Sultana of St. Marke,' wherein he was, and passing beyond the Turkish fleet, endeavoured to hinder its retreat, keeping the mouth of the channel, and fighting valiantly.

"The battel being thus begun, the captain-general, Laurence Marcello, accompanied with the general of Malta, came up, intermingling with the rest of the Venetian commanders and vessels, fell to it pel mel. After the Turks had used their utmost endeavour to avoid the fight, being hemmed in by the Venetian fleet, and having no place left to escape, they were forced to fight with the more eagerness because they had lost all

hope of making a retreat, and so commended their safety to the conflict, whereby they gave means to the Venetians the more to exalt their triumph and glory over their enemies, all the enemy being totally routed by the sword, by fire, and by water, the Captain Bassa only saving himself with fourteen galleys, which hath crowned the republick with one of the greatest victories that ever was heard of in former times.

"The number of the enemies' dead cannot be known nor discovered among so many ships and galleys taken and consumed by fire and water; about the shore there were seen huge heaps of dead bodies, and in the bay of a certain little valley there appeared so great a quantity of carcases that it caused horror in the beholders.

"The number of Christian slaves freed on this occasion is near upon five thousand. That of the Venetians' men killed and wounded doth not amount to three hundered, which makes the victory memorable to all ages.

"The battel lasted from ten a clock in the morning until night; but the burning of the greatest part of the enemies' fleet continued for two daies and two nights; on the first whereof the Venetians were forced to maintaine the fight, to subdue some Turkish vessels which stood out upon defence.

"The Venetians having reserved some of the enemies' ships of all sorts in memory of the successe, besides eleven which those of Malta had taken, it was resolved upon by the Venetian commanders to burn the rest, to free themselves from the trouble of sailing with so numerous a fleet, and to keep their owne in readiness for all attempts.

"Three Venetian ships were burnt, two in the fight

and one by some other accident which is not well known, and their fleet received no other damage.

"The onely thing to be deplored in this successe was the losse of the Captain-Generall Marcello, who was killed with a cannon-shot, and four men more who were next to him, after that with his own galley he had subdued a potent sultana, and (by the grace of God) seen the Turkish fleet in confusion, dispersed, defeated, and by consequence the great victory secured, and her upon the point of surprising another sultana. His soule hath received her reward in heaven, and his name will live with perpetuall glory in the memory of the world.

"Eleazer Moccenino by a new musquet-shot lost one of his eies, as he at first was attempting to prevent the Turks' passage, notwithstanding which hee never failed to doe great things the whole time of the conflict.

"The valour, courage, and magnanimity wherewith all the Venetians and Malteses did behave themselves on this occasion may better be understood by the action than by discourse."

No action of greater importance than this had occurred since the memorable day of Lepanto, and the Maltese galleys, although not numerous, appear to have nobly done their duty on the occasion, as the eleven vessels captured by them and borne off in triumph to Malta, amply testify. Whilst these maritime successes were attesting the naval superiority of the Order of St. John, and increasing the renown in which they were held throughout Europe, their convent still remained the scene of acrimonious dispute and internal discord. The inquisitor, the bishop of Malta, and the Jesuits, all sought their own advancement at the sacrifice of the authority of their common sovereign the Grand-Master.

In order to withdraw from their allegiance as many of the inhabitants as possible,the bishop was in the practice of "granting the tonsure" to any person who demanded that distinction. By this mark, and without adopting in any other way the functions of the clergy, they claimed exemption from all other authority than that of the ecclesiastical body, the superintendence of which was vested in the bishop. They secured immunity from all the imposts and duties to which the laity were liable, and their position became so favourable with respect to their fellow-subjects, that they flocked in vast numbers to the bishop, for reception into the favoured band.

Had this state of things been suffered to continue, the Grand-Master would eventually have found himself completely denuded of all power in the island of which he was nominally the sovereign; and he remonstrated with the Pope upon so outrageous an assumption on the part of his subordinate. Urban VIII., who was at that time pontiff, could not deny the justice of Lascaris' complaint, and he issued instructions to the bishop, to forbid him from granting in future the privileges of the tonsure to any but such as were *bonâ fide* ecclesiastics. The embroilment with the Jesuits had likewise gradually culminated to an open breach, in consequence of the arrogance and grasping ambition which had rendered them odious to the members of the institution. The quarrel which led to their expulsion originated in the frolic of some young Knights, who, during the carnival of 1639, disguised themselves in the habit of Jesuits, and in that garb were guilty of many scandals and disorders in the town.

The reverend fathers, highly irate at this open profanation of their distinguishing costume, complained

bitterly to the Grand-Master and council, who caused the offending members to be arrested and lodged in prison. The public feeling had gradually become so excited against the disciples of Loyola, that this wholesome act of severity, just and necessary though it was, was very ill received, and a tumult arose, in the course of which the prison was broken open, the culprits released, and the Jesuits' college pillaged and ravaged from top to bottom. The insurgents were so exasperated, and possessed so great power from their numbers within the island, that the expulsion of the Jesuits was decreed, and with the exception of four, who contrived to conceal themselves, the remainder were compelled to leave the island. This relief was, however, but temporary, and it was not long before the reverend brethren once more returned to the scenes of their former domination.

Meanwhile the Pope, who doubtless considered he had secured the eternal gratitude of the fraternity by his prohibition to the bishop, demanded the assistance of the Maltese galleys in a war in which he was engaged against several of the minor Italian princes, who had formed a league against his aggressions. To this request Lascaris and his council were weak enough to accede, directly opposed, though it was, to the fundamental principles of their institution. The princes, justly irritated at this breach of neutrality on the part of the Order, confiscated their possessions in their respective territories, nor did they withdraw the embargo till ample satisfaction and apology had been tendered.

Whilst thus engaged in political disputes which materially affected the prosperity of his Order, Lascaris did not neglect the internal improvement of his convent,

and the island over which he ruled. The new city of Valetta was, as has already been stated, protected by a line of ramparts on the land side, enclosing the city, and cutting off the lower portion of the peninsula of Mount Sceberras from the main land. Not, however, deeming this single line of works a sufficient defence on the land side, the only point from which an attack was to be feared, Lascaris engaged an eminent Italian engineer named Florian, to construct an advanced front, which should yield an additional protection to the weak point.*

This work, which was commenced under Lascaris, was not completed till the year 1721, and the suburb which it encloses has received the name of Floriana, after that of the engineer who superintended and designed the work. Florian was admitted into the Order by Lascaris, as a reward for the zeal and talent which he had displayed.

Malta was also indebted to this Grand-Master for the magnificent public library which he established in 1650, and which gradually increased until it attained proportions exceeded by but few of the public libraries of Europe. This rapid augmentation was the result of a very wise decree, that at a Knight's death his books should not be sold with the rest of his property for the benefit of the treasury, but should be forwarded to the public library to swell its extent, or in the case of duplicate copies, to be exchanged for some other work.

In 1652 the Order of St. John, for the first time, obtained possession of property in the new hemisphere. A Knight named Poincy, who had established himself in the island of St. Kitt's, as commandant for a com-

* Vide Appendix No. 19.

pany of merchants, who held the island under a grant from the crown of France, persuaded the Grand-Master and council to make a purchase of the island, which he represented as capable of adding materially to the wealth of the treasury. The cost of this purchase amounted to 5000*l.*, in virtue of which payment the Order was invested with all the property contained in the island, including slaves, provisions, and stores; and the transfer was confirmed by letters patent from the king of France, Louis XIV. De Poincy was appointed to the superintendence of this property, which was raised to the rank of a bailiwick, and efforts were made to secure the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe upon similar terms, but without success.

The results which De Poincy had foretold were never realised; the treasury received no return for the outlay which had been made; and when, ten years later, the new bailiff died, it was found that the debts which he had incurred in carrying on the government of the island, amounted to nearly as much as the entire value of the property. They, therefore, hastened to disemburthen themselves of an acquisition rich in nothing but debt and embarrassments; and the unfortunate speculation was brought to a close by a sale, which was effected in 1665, to a company of French merchants, under whose hands the plantations became a far more lucrative investment. It must, indeed, seem strange to the modern reader to learn that two hundred years since, the island of St. Kitt's was purchased for 5000*l.*, and was, moreover, discovered to be a losing speculation at that price. At the present time, even allowing for the depreciation in the value of property in the West Indies, it might be expected to realise at least one hundred times the amount

paid for it by the Knights of St. John. Such speculations were never in accordance with the principles of their institution, and it would by no means have reflected credit on them, had they degenerated into a mercantile association, increasing their revenues by a traffic extracted from the produce of a West Indian plantation. The degeneracy of the Order had caused a decline in the general estimation in which they were held, sufficiently marked, without any further downward impulse being given by their assumption of a character so unsuited to their chivalric association. They therefore may be considered to have acted far more judiciously in the sale of 1665, than in the original purchase of 1652.

That event, however, was not the act of Lascaris, who died on the 14th of August 1657, at the extraordinary age of ninety-seven years. His end had been so long anticipated, that cabals and intrigues without number had been set on foot with respect to his successor. On the one hand appeared the prior of Navarre, Martin de Redin, who had exerted such influence in the convent as to have secured a very large party in his own favour; whilst in strong opposition to him was the grand-inquisitor Odi, who cherished an inveterate antipathy to the Spanish Knight, and sought by every means in his power to thwart him in his designs. Redin had been recently appointed viceroy of Sicily by the king of Spain, and was absent in the seat of his government at the moment when Lascaris breathed his last. His party, however, within the convent were too powerful for the inquisitor to resist, although he made every effort for that purpose. He had even secured from the pontiff a brief, in which his holiness declared that any Knight who had been guilty of having either

canvassed or bribed, or who had employed promises or threats to secure his election, should be ineligible for the post of Grand-Master. In pursuance of this decree, he denounced Martin Redin and proclaimed to the council of election that he was, from his various malpractices and simony, excluded from competition for the vacant dignity. The electors disregarded this notification, and were probably not averse to taking the opportunity of proving to the inquisitor, whose dictatorial interference in the government had long been most distasteful, that his remonstrances were unheeded. Redin was duly proclaimed Grand-Master, and Odi, having vainly protested against the election, appealed, as a last resource, to the Pope. The Grand-Master did the same, and mollified his holiness by expressing his perfect readiness to resign his office if he were personally obnoxious to the court of Rome.

The Pope was, however, far too politic to proceed to extremities against a Knight who so strongly possessed the favour of the powerful king of Spain as to have been by him nominated his viceroy in the kingdom of Sicily. He, therefore, confirmed the election, recognised Redin as the legitimate chief of the Order of St. John, and completed the mortification of the inquisitor by requiring him to be the personal herald of his own discomfiture, and directed him to announce, both to the Grand-Master and council, the papal acquiescence in the nomination which had been made. Whether Redin had made use of any underhand influence at the court of Rome to secure his election is unknown, but it is very certain that he was not ungrateful to the Pope for his ratification of the choice of the convent; for he shortly afterwards nominated the Prior de Bichi, the

Pope's favourite nephew, to one of the richest commanderies in the Italian language, in open violation of the rights of seniority, and further presented him with a diamond cross of the value of 1200 crowns. Nor did he stop here, for, during his brief rule, he continued to provide for various members of the pontiff's family to the detriment of older and more worthy candidates. It may, therefore, well be credited that the accusations originally preferred against him by the inquisitor were, in all probability, but too well founded.

He did not remain long in his government, nor were his immediate successors more fortunate, several changes occurring during a very brief space. Redin died in the early part of 1660, and was followed by Annet de Clermont, bailiff of Lyons, who only enjoyed his position for three months, when he also died from the effects of a wound which he had received at the capture of Mahometa during his younger days, and which opened afresh at this period. He was in his turn replaced by Raphael Cottoner, bailiff of Majorca, who swayed the baton of his Order for three years, dying in 1663, at the age of sixty-three years, having, during his brief administration, endeared himself with all classes of his subjects.

He was succeeded by his brother, Nicholas Cottoner, who had attained the office of bailiff of Majorca when it had been vacated by his brother, and now replaced him in the supreme dignity. Only once before in the annals of the Order had two brothers been nominated in succession to the Grand-Mastership, the two Villarets having attained to that honour. On the present occasion the pre-eminent virtues of the noble brothers Cottoner amply justified the honours which were conferred

upon them. A century had now elapsed since Europe had rung with acclaim at the brilliant defence the Order had made in their island stronghold of Malta, the last effort of their palmy days. Since then their decline had been sensible and rapid, so that, in 1663, Nicholas Cottoner found himself ruling over a fraternity whose internal organisation and general position in public estimation was widely different from what it had been during the days of La Valette.

The history of a nation will always be found strongly to resemble the life of an individual. We have the early struggles of youth when it first emerges from the feebleness of childhood and only becomes gradually conscious of its own increasing strength. Then the first flush of manhood, with all the eager excitement of hope and the prospect of a brilliant future. This again is followed by the vigour and determination which marks the prime of life, rejoicing in all the pride of ambition gratified and position attained. From this point commences the decline both of man and people. At first the degeneracy appears but slight, and only here and there are apparent traces which show that Time, the destroyer of all earthly things, is working his will. As years roll on these symptoms become more marked, until at length the fact can no longer be disguised that a great change has been wrought, and that old age is approaching. Still, ever and anon appear flashes of the old spirit, marking the soul which once had burned within the enfeebled frame, but these evanescent returns of pristine vigour become gradually less and less distinct, until at length all is merged in the helpless idiocy of second childhood. It is very painful to mark this blighting change in the career of those whom God has

gifted with pre-eminence in this mortal stage, and well is it for the memory of a great man when he is called away before time has had an opportunity of laying his effacing fingers upon that which has gained the admiration and homage of mankind. Who is there that cannot recall instances in the history of every nation where men have, in the decay of old age, become striking exemplifications of this sad fact? Nor is it less apparent in the career of the nations themselves. We have traced the history of the Order of St. John throughout its brilliant and promising youth in Palestine. The vigour of manhood in its prime and strength was to be witnessed during its residence at Rhodes, and the siege of Malta marks the epoch when that prime had reached its highest point. We have traced the descent, at first gradual, but afterwards more rapid, in the century which succeeded that event, and we have now arrived at a period when only rare and intermittent flashes appear to testify to the remains of that heroic spirit which animated the first brethren of the Hospital.

One of the last, and certainly the most glorious, feat of arms in which the Knights of Malta were engaged, was the defence of Candia. It has already been mentioned that in the year 1644, the galleys of the Order captured a galleon, in which was a sultana of the imperial harem and her infant son. The prize was taken into the port of Candia, where the young mother, who had left Constantinople on a pilgrimage to Mecca, died from the effects of a slow poison, administered to her before her departure by one of the rival beauties of the serail. The child was brought to Malta, where he was tenderly nurtured by the Grand-Master Lascaris and educated in the Christian religion. He eventually took

holy orders and became a Dominican friar under the name of Father Ottoman. After a life spent in travelling throughout Europe, he returned to Malta as prior of Porto Salvo, and died there in 1676.

The capture of his sultana had caused Ibrahim the most lively indignation, and he had menaced the most speedy vengeance upon the island of Malta. His wrath, however, was diverted against Candia, principally, as the Venetians asserted, on account of the shelter which she had yielded to the Knights and their prize. Whatever may have been the immediate subject of quarrel, the Venetians and the Turks had ever held the most unfriendly relations towards each other, and it required but a spark at any moment to kindle the bitterest war between them. Certain it is that before the close of 1644, the island had been invaded by a Turkish force, and that from that moment the war between the rival powers had raged with unceasing animosity on that spot. The Knights rendered the most loyal assistance to the Venetians in this strife, as by their profession they were indubitably bound to do; and if, as is alleged, it was by an act of theirs that the horrors of war were brought down upon the unfortunate island, they were doubly bound to aid in the struggle.

Throughout the remainder of the rule of Lascaris, as also through those of his three successors, the war continued to rage and the chiefs of the Hospital maintained their support both by sea and by land. The Turks had, however, gradually attained the upper hand, and when, in 1663, Nicholas Cottoner assumed the dignity vacant by the death of his brother Raphael, the defence of Candia had commenced to assume a most

unfavourable aspect. He nevertheless continued to afford such aid as lay within his power. The assistance which his predecessors had afforded during the lengthened struggle had been gratefully acknowledged by the doges of Venice. We have a letter from Bartuccio Valerio, the then doge, dated on the 9th of December, 1656, addressed to the Grand-Master Lascaris, in which he implores the Order to continue their usual aid to withstand the attacks of the Turks on the island of Candia, which were becoming more fierce and unrelenting than ever, knowing well that the extremity of the peril would be an additional inducement to the noble Knights of Malta, to endeavour both by sea and land to gain back what had been lost, not only owing to their own thirst for glory, but also from their zeal for the general interests of Christianity. Another letter was addressed to Raphael Cottoner, in 1661, by the doge Dominico Contarini, in which he states that in that protracted war the sacred cross of Malta has ever been ready and faithful under all circumstances to the standard of St. Mark, and that the Venetian republic will not be slow in expressing her gratitude for the brilliant and glorious deeds of the Order, which are worthy of the sincerest esteem and love.

The closing action of the war was the siege of the capital, which withstood for twenty-seven months the efforts of the Turks. Irritated at the protracted duration of the war, the grand-vizier Achmet had in person led a numerous army against the island and commenced the siege of the town of Candia. Assistance was, in this crisis, rendered by almost every nation in Europe. Reinforcements poured into the city from all quarters, and amongst others a body of sixty Knights and three

hundred men arrived from Malta. The defence of this town was for a period of twenty-seven months protracted with an obstinacy and determination that gained for it a celebrity fully equal to that of Malta, although it was not destined to meet with so prosperous a termination. Step by step the Turk advanced and won his way past the more advanced of the bulwarks. The effusion of blood on both sides was fearful, but the superiority of the besiegers in men and materiel enabled them to secure the advantage. At length it was resolved by a desperate sally to endeavour to turn the fortune of the struggle. The Duke de Noailles, who was in command of the French contingent, undertook this operation, but expressly stipulated that none but Frenchmen should be concerned in the attack. This sally was effected in the middle of August 1669, and failed completely. The French were driven back into the town with great slaughter, the Duke de Noailles was wounded, and his second in command, the Duke of Beaufort, killed. The situation of the town now became utterly desperate, and after a long consultation and a warm debate, Noailles determined on abandoning the contest; and, in pursuance of this resolve, embarked his forces on the 20th of August, and left the city to its fate.

The Maltese contingent had by this time become so fearfully reduced in numbers, owing to the casualties of a protracted siege, in which they had occupied a very exposed post, that they were no longer in a position to maintain themselves, and therefore retired from St. Andrew's gate, which they had hitherto succeeded in defending, and made preparations for following the example of the French, deeming all hope of further

resistance futile. St. Andrew's Gate was blown up, and the Order embarked on the 29th of August, leaving the town almost entirely unprotected, and on the 6th of September it capitulated, and from that day the island of Candia passed for ever into the possession of the Infidel.

The reputation for valour which the Knights of St. John had established of old did not in any degree suffer by their conduct during this memorable siege. The commandant Morosini thus alluded to their departure in a despatch to his government:—"I lose more by the departure of these few, but most brave warriors, than by that of all the other forces." Brussoni, in his "Guerra dei Turchi," also states, "Among the objects that they seemed most to admire, was the Grand-Master of Malta, and whenever he passed, they viewed him with extraordinary veneration, and looking on St. Andrew's Gate, where his Knights had stood, they wondered, and expressed to each other their high respect." The Grand-Master here alluded to must have been the Knight in command of the Maltese contingent, since Cottoner did not in person appear in Candia, the duties of his government being far too onerous and responsible to admit of his engaging in the character of a simple warrior in any case in which the defence of his own island was not concerned. The republic of Venice entertained so high a sense of the services rendered by the Order during this war, that they passed a decree authorising all Knights within their territories to appear armed in every locality, a privilege which they did not concede to their own subjects.

The prosecution of the Candian war had not prevented the Order from continuing those cruises which

had rendered their flag so redoubtable in the Mediterranean. In 1664, they joined with a French force under the Duke de Beaufort (afterwards killed in Candia), in an expedition against Algiers; but the result of this attempt was unfortunate, and the Knights were compelled to return to Malta. This mishap was, however, speedily atoned for by a succession of triumphs, in which the names of Tremincourt, Crainville, and Hocquincourt attained for themselves the most brilliant renown.

The fate of Tremincourt was a sad termination to so glorious a career, but added a yet brighter lustre to the fame of his memory. His vessel having, during a tempest, been shipwrecked on the African coast, he was captured by the Moors, and the fame of his exploits having become well known to the sultan, he was forwarded to Adrianople to be disposed of in accordance with the imperial will. Mohammed IV. was at that time on the Ottoman throne, and was so taken by the high reputation and noble bearing of the youthful Tremincourt, that he made him the most flattering and tempting offers to induce him to abandon his religion, and enter the Ottoman service. The hand of a princess of the imperial line was offered to him, together with a very high rank in their service; but these inducements were not sufficient to tempt the noble youth to forsake the religion of his fathers. From persuasion, Mohammed turned to cruelty, and endeavoured by a series of hardships, indignities, and even tortures, to divert Tremincourt from the firmness of his resistance. Harsh measures did not, however, prove in any degree more successful than promises, and at length Mohammed, irritated to the last point at his obstinate refusal,

directed his head to be cut off, and his body to be cast into the sea as unworthy of any more suitable burial. Thus did this gallant young Knight, whose deeds had already enrolled him amongst the heroes of his Order, end his brief but brilliant career, by a death which placed him in the number of those who had sealed their constancy to the religion of their fathers with their blood.

Although all connection between the kingdom of England and the Order of Malta had ceased from the time when the property of the Knights throughout that kingdom had been abolished, and the language itself annihilated in the Order, still a constant interchange of correspondence appears to have taken place on matters connected with the navigation of the Mediterranean, and other subjects of a similar nature, between Charles II. and the Grand-Master. A dispute on a matter of etiquette appeared at one time likely to have disturbed the amicability of these relations. Charles had despatched into the Mediterranean a squadron, commanded by Sir John Narbrough, and, in order to secure for them a hospitable reception in case they touched at Malta, he forwarded a letter, of which the following is a translation, to the Grand-Master: —

> "Charles II., by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the most eminent prince, the Lord Nicholas Cottoner, Grand-Master of the Order of Malta, our well-beloved cousin and friend—Greeting.

"Most eminent prince, our well-beloved cousin and friend. The military Order, over which your eminence

most worthily presides, having always used its power to render the navigation of the sea safe and peaceable for Christians, we in no way doubt that our ships of war, armed for the same purpose, will receive from your eminence every office of friendship. We therefore are desirous of signifying to your eminence, by these our letters, that we have sent a squadron of our royal fleet to the Mediterranean sea, under the command of Sir John Narbrough, Knight, to look after the safety of navigation and commerce, and to oppose the enemies of public tranquillity. We therefore amicably beseech your eminence, that if ever the above-named Admiral Narbrough, or any of our ships cruising under his flag, should arrive at any of your eminence's ports or stations, or in any place subject to the Order of Malta, they may be considered and treated as friends and allies, and that they may be permitted to purchase with their money, and at just prices, and to export provisions, and munitions of war, and whatever they may require, which, on similar occasions, we will abundantly reciprocate to your eminence and to your most noble Order.

"In the meantime we heartily recommend your eminence to the safeguard of the most high and most good God.

"Given from our palace of Whitehall, the last day of November 1674.

"Your highness's cousin and friend, CHARLES Rex."

In accordance with the instructions he had received, Sir John Narbrough in due course made his appearance at Malta, but a dispute seems to have arisen upon the subject of salutes; the admiral declining to salute the

town, unless he were assured of an answer, whereas the Order were unwilling to pay that compliment to the British flag. The Grand-Master wrote a letter of complaint upon the subject of this grievance to the king of England, and Charles replied in the following terms:—"We know not how it came to pass that our admiral in the Mediterranean sea, Sir John Narbrough, Knight, should have given such cause of complaint as is mentioned in your eminence's letters, addressed to us under date of the 5th April, as to have refused to give the usual salute to the city of Malta, unless, perhaps, he had thought that something had been omitted on the part of the Maltese which he considered due to our dignity, and to the flag of our royal fleet. Be it, however, as it may, your eminence may be persuaded that it is our fixed and established intention to do and perform everything, both ourselves and by our officers, amply to show how much we esteem the sacred person of your eminence, and the Order of Malta. In order, therefore, that it should already appear that we do not wish greater honour to be paid to any prince than to your eminence, and to your celebrated Order, we have directed our above-mentioned admiral to accord all the same signs of friendship and goodwill towards your eminence's ports and citadels as towards those of the most Christian and Catholic kings; and we no way doubt your Order will equally show that benevolence towards us which it is customary to show to the above-mentioned kings, or to either of them.

"Given in our palace of Whitehall, on the 21st day of June 1675. Your eminence's good cousin and friend, CHARLES Rex."

This letter does not appear to have produced the desired result, as may be gathered from the following letter of Sir John Narbrough's, the original of which is now in the record office at Malta.

"To the most eminent prince, the Lord Nicholas Cottoner, Grand-Master of the Order of Malta.

"Most eminent Sir,

"After the tender of my humble service, with my hearty thanks for the manifold favours vouchsafed unto my master, the king of Great Britain, &c., and for your highness's extraordinary kindness manifested to myself; and, most eminent sir, since your favour of product (qy. pratique), I have sent on shore one of my captains to wait upon your highness with the presentment of this my grateful letter, and withal to certify to your eminence that I did, and do expect a salute to be given by your highness to my master's flag, which I carry, correspondent to the salutes which you give to the flags of the king of Spain and the king of France, which are carried in the same place, it being the expectation of the king my master.

"Formerly your eminence was pleased to make some scruple of my command as admiral, which I humbly conceive your highness is fully satisfied in since you received the last letter from the king of Great Britain.

"Sir, I have, since my arrival at your eminence's port, often employed the consul Desclaus to wait upon your highness concerning the salutes, but have not received any satisfactory answer thereto, which I now humbly desire may be returned unto me by my officer; and withal, that your eminence will be pleased to honour me with your commands, wherein I may serve

you, which shall be most cheerfully embraced, and readily performed by

"Most eminent Sir,

"Your highness's most humble

"And faithful servant,

"JOHN NARBROUGH.

"On board H. M. S. 'Henrietta,' Malta, October 17, 1675."

What this complaint of Sir John Narbrough's consisted in is not very clear, since, by the annexed extract from the journal of the Rev. Henry Teonge, chaplain on board H. M. S. "Assistance," one of Narbrough's squadron, there appeared no reluctance on the part of the town to return their salute, or at all events they consented eventually to do so, and that after considerable rudeness and unnecessary bluster on the part of the captain of the "Assistance," such as in the present day would not have been patiently tolerated by the weakest power. "August 1st, 1675. This morn wee com near Malta; before wee com to the cytty, a boate with the Malteese flagg in it coms to us to know whence wee cam. Wee told them from England; they asked if wee had a bill of health for prattick, viz., entertaynment; our captain told them he had no bill but what was in his guns' mouths. Wee cam on and anchored in the harbour betweene the old towne and the new, about nine of the clock; but must wait the governour's leasure to have leave to com on shoare, which was detarded because our captain would not salute the cytty, except they would retaliate. At last cam the consull with his attendants to our ship (but would not com on board till our captain had been on shoare) to tell us that we had leave to com on shoare,

six, or eight, or ten, at a time, and might have anything that was there to be had; with a promise to accept our salute kindly. Whereupon our captain tooke a glass of sack, and drank a health to king Charles, and fyred seven gunns; the cytty gave us five againe, which was more than they had don to all our men of warr that cam thither before."

It is evident from the date of this entry, which was the 1st of August 1675, that this condescension on the part of Malta, although, according to Mr. Teonge, it was more than had ever been yielded previously, did not satisfy the punctilious admiral, since he penned the letter given above, the date of which is seven weeks subsequent to that incident. That the Grand-Master did eventually yield to the demands of the admiral, and salute his flag to his heart's content, is clear by the following extract from Teonge's diary, under date February 11th, 1676.

"Sir John Narbrough cam in from Trypoly, and four more ships with him. The noble Malteese salute him with forty-five gunns; he answered them with so many that I could not count them. And what with our salutes, and his answers, there was nothing but fyre and smoake for almost two hours."

Indeed, the behaviour of the townspeople appears throughout to have been cordial and courteous, as witness the following extracts.

"August 2, 1675.—This cytty is compassed almost cleane round with the sea, which makes severall safe harbours for hundreds of shipps. The people are generally extremely courteouse, but especially to the English. A man cannot demonstrate all their excellencys and ingenuitys. Let it suffice to say thus much of this

place, viz.: Had a man no other business to invite him, yet it were sufficiently worth a man's cost and paines to make a voyage out of England, on purpose to see that noble cytty of Malta, and their works and fortifications about it. Several of their knights and cavaliers cam on board us, six at one time, men of sufficient courage and friendly carriage, wishing us good successe in our voyage; with whom I had much discourse, I being the only entertainer, because I could speak Latine, for which I was highly esteemed, and much invited on shoare again.

"August 3.—This morning a boate of ladys, with their musick, to our ship's syd, and bottels of wine with them. They went severall times about our ship, and sang several songs very sweetly; very rich in habitt, and very courteous in behaviour; but would not come on board, though invited; but having taken their friscs, returned as they cam. After them cam in a boat four fryars, and cam round about our ship, puld off their hatts and capps, saluted us with congjes, and departed. After them cam a boat of musitians, playd severall lessons as they rowed gently round about us, and went their way.

"August 4.—This morning our captain was invited to dine with the Grand-Master, which hindered our departure. In the meantime wee have severall of the Malteese com to visit us, all extremely courteous. And now wee are preparing to sail for Trypoly. *Deus vortat bene.*

"Thus wee, the 'Assistance' and the new Sattee,
Doe steare our course poynt blanke for Trypoly;
Our ship new rigged, well stord with pigg and ghoose-a,
Henns, ducks, and turkeys, and wine cald Syracoosa."

This civility on the part of the Order of St. John and

the Maltese towards the fleet of Sir John Narbrough was amply requited, since the expedition to Tripoli alluded to in the above quaint stanza ended in the liberation of a large body of Christian slaves from their bonds in that principality, amongst whom were fifty Knights, who were restored to their homes by the gallant English. The Grand-Master, on the 7th April 1576, wrote to Charles II. a letter expressive of his gratitude for the eminent service thus rendered to his fraternity, to which Charles made the following reply.

"Most eminent prince, our most dear cousin and friend. Our well beloved and faithful Sir John Narbrough, Knight, latterly admiral of our fleet in the Mediterranean sea, conveyed to us your eminence's letters, written under date of the 7th of April last, which being most full indeed of affection and gratitude on your part, we received and perused with equal feelings and satisfaction. The acknowledgments of benefits conferred by us, which your eminence so frequently expresses, causes us also to return similar thanks to your eminence, and to the whole of your sacred Order, for all those offices of humanity and courtesy with which you assisted our above-mentioned admiral, and other our ships stationed in that sea, of which we shall always preserve the memory indelibly engraved in our hearts. It is equally a source of pleasure to us that our arms have been of help to your eminence and to your Order; and if the expedition had been of no other benefit, we consider it ample compensation in having restored to their homes so many persons, celebrated through the whole Christian and Infidel world, who were recovered from the power and chains of the barbarians.

"May your eminence continue to desire that we should freely divide the glory of rendering peaceful the Mediterranean sea with the illustrious Order of Malta.

"May the most good and great God sustain and preserve your eminence with all your religious Order.

"Given from our palace of Whitehall, the 28th day of October 1676. Your eminence's good cousin and friend, CHARLES Rex."

The Grand-Master appears to have taken advantage of the powerful support of the English fleet to secure the liberation of another member of his Order, a German Knight named Robert von Stael, who was languishing in chains under the bey of Algiers. The letter which he addressed to Charles upon this subject was dated on the 15th of August 1678, when the English were preparing for a fresh expedition against the Algerines. It produced the following reply from the easy-going monarch of England.

"Most eminent prince, our well beloved cousin and friend. The thanks which your eminence, by your letters, written under date of the 15th of August last, returns to us on account of the fifty Knights of your Order liberated by our assistance from the slavery of the barbarians, could hardly be more acceptable to us than the prayers adjoined to the above-mentioned letters for the liberation from the slavery of the Algerines of another member of your holy Order, the German, John Robert A. Stael. We in consequence, in order that we may not appear to be wanting either in the will or in affection towards your eminence, have communicated our orders to our well beloved and faithful subject, Sir

John Narbrough, Knight, commanding our fleets in those seas, that if the city of Algiers should be constrained to agree to a treaty of just peace and submission by the force of our arms, assisted by divine help, he should use every effort in his power so that the liberty of the said John Robert A. Stael be obtained. Your eminence is already well aware of the fidelity and zeal of our above-mentioned admiral, and we have no doubt that he will willingly and strenuously observe our orders on that head. It remains for us to heartily recommend your eminence and the whole of your military Order to the safeguard of the most high and most good God.

"Given from our palace at Whitehall, the 2nd day of November, in the year of our Lord 1678. Your eminence's good cousin and friend, CHARLES Rex."

The English fleet was, at this period, of the most vital assistance in aiding to check the depredations of the Infidel corsairs of Africa, and was then establishing the first seeds of that supremacy in the Mediterranean, which they have since succeeded in rendering so indisputable. It is not, however, probable that either Charles or Narbrough dreamt that the time would ever arrive, when the island fortress, whose batteries showed such reluctance to pay due honour to the flag of England, should become one of the most valuable possessions of that country, and that her banner would one day wave over those walls which then neglected to pay her the respect due to her position amidst the nations of Europe.

The conclusion of the siege of Candia left the Turks at liberty to pursue their aggressions in other quarters; and as the Order of St. John had, during that war,

rendered the most vital assistance to the Venetians, Cottoner commenced to dread lest his island should now be called upon to bear the brunt of the sultan's indignation. He therefore lost no time in taking measures for the further security of Malta, and for that purpose invoked the aid of a celebrated Italian engineer, named Valperga. With his assistance, and under his direction, a most stupendous work was projected and commenced, which was intended to enclose the two peninsulas of the Bourg and Senglea in one vast enceinte. This line, which formed a complete semicircle, and enclosed a vast area in front of both peninsulas, was little short of three miles in length, and included nine bastions, with two demi-bastions at the extremities.*

Great opposition was raised to the undertaking of this work, owing to the vast expenditure which its prosecution would involve; and, indeed, the whole design was such as to render it open to much criticism. Cottoner, however, was determined, and backed as he was by the opinion of so eminent an engineer as Valperga, he carried his point, and the works were commenced. For ten years they were prosecuted with undiminished energy, but at the expiration of that time they were discontinued from want of funds; eventually, however, they were resumed until the enceinte was completed. The Order did not ever really accomplish the entire task laid down by Valperga, and when the island passed into the possession of the British crown, the lines of Cottonera, as they have always been called in honour of their original promoter, were still unfinished. A large sum has been voted by the English parliament for

* Vide Appendix No. 19.

their perfect completion; and several alterations and additions have been made to the original design, tending materially to strengthen them, and to enable a garrison, such as the British government are prepared to maintain in Malta, to defend themselves, at all events upon certain points of the extended enceinte. Within three or four years, therefore, the work, commenced in 1680, will become perfected, after the expiration of 180 years from its first commencement.

Many additions were also made to the fortifications of the Floriana, which were considered to have been left by Lascaris in a very defective state; and in order to protect the entrance to the grand harbour more perfectly than the castle of St. Angelo was able to effect, a new fort was erected on the extreme point of land at its entrance, opposite to the point Dragut. This fort received the name of Ricasoli, a commander of that name having made a donation towards it of 30,000 crowns.

Whilst these works were being carried out to complete the protection of the island from the invasion of the Infidel foe, Cottoner did not neglect such measures for the benefit of his community as he deemed most necessary for their welfare. The system of quarantine being at that time a recognised principle, and being considered the only effectual means of protecting the inhabitants on the Mediterranean sea coast from the scourge of the plague, then so prevalent in the East, as, indeed, also in Europe, Cottoner established a lazaretto upon the small island which stood within the Marsa Musceit. This establishment was fitted in the most complete way for carrying out the purposes to which it was dedicated, and, until late years, it has been

invariably used for enforcing the regulations of quarantine. Happily, however, a more enlightened policy has demonstrated the utter inutility of restrictive measures of this nature, in checking the admission and propagation of disease; and the quarantine laws, which for so many years were maintained with the most intolerable rigour, have gradually given way before the enlightenment of the age, until, in Malta at all events, the lazaretto has become converted to other and more useful purposes. During the transit of the expeditionary force from England, at the commencement of the Russian war in 1854, the three battalions of Her Majesty's foot guards, who formed a part of that body, were quartered in the lazaretto during their stay in the island.

It is curious to contemplate the changes which less than two centuries had brought forth within the island of Malta. The lazaretto was originally constructed by an Order pledged to an unceasing warfare against the Turkish empire. From that Order the English nation had seceded at the period of the Reformation, and had struck a severe blow to its prosperity by the alienation and confiscation of all its English property. Later still, the French nation, who had formed so preponderating an element within the fraternity that three of its eight languages were comprised of members of that country, and who had always, from their numbers and wealth, greatly influenced the fortunes of the convent, struck the death blow to the Order, and themselves drove out from their island home the community whom for so many centuries they had supported and maintained. It was strange, then, to see the former of these two nations in undisputed sovereignty over the island, so

long acknowledging the sway of the Order of St. John, and its city crowded by the choicest troops of both powers, about to proceed to the defence of the Turkish empire, the old and inveterate foe of the Hospital, against the only nation which had tendered them a supporting hand and a new shelter, when driven away from their old homes.

CHAP. XXIV.

GREGORY CARAFFA. — ADRIAN DE VIGNACOURT. — RAYMOND PERRELOS. — EMBASSY FROM RUSSIA. — THE CHEVALIER DE LANGNON. — THE INQUISITOR DELCI. — IMPROVEMENTS TO THE FORTIFICATIONS. — MARK ANTHONY ZONDODARI. — MANOEL DE VILHENA. — HOSTILE DEMONSTRATION BY THE SULTAN. — ERECTION OF FORT MANOEL. — RAYMOND DESPUIG. — PINTO DE FONSECA. — PROJECTED TREASON AMONGST THE SLAVES. — HIS GENERAL POPULARITY. — CONDITION OF THE NAVY. — FRANCOIS XIMENES. — PRIESTLY INSURRECTION. — EMMANUEL DE ROHAN. — GENERAL CHAPTER. — FEARFUL EARTHQUAKE IN SICILY. — ERECTION OF FORT TIGNÉ.

THE death of Nicholas Cottoner, which occurred in 1680, at the age of seventy-three years, caused the utmost grief in the convent, where he had rendered himself highly respected and most deservedly popular, as well by the successful administration of his public functions, as by the courteousness and affability of his demeanour in private. Indeed, during the sixteen years that his rule lasted, the Order of St. John appeared to have rallied greatly from the state of degeneracy and disorganisation into which it had fallen beneath the sway of his immediate predecessors.

His personal popularity and conciliating policy had restored the most perfect tranquillity within the convent. Those dissentions and turbulent brawls which had rendered them notorious for the last fifty years, and had prevented so many Grand-Masters from carry-

ing out the beneficial measures they designed, became hushed from the moment that his brother Raphael was through his interest nominated to the supreme dignity. The duration of that chief's governance was too limited for him to carry into effect any measures by which he could become celebrated, and his memory revered; but it had this good effect, at least, that it paved the way by three years of preliminary tranquillity for the beneficial reforms which were even then teeming within the brain of his brother Nicholas. Under these favouring circumstances, therefore, the sixteen years of this latter chief were spent in devising and carrying into effect measures which, at his decease, left the convent in a very different position to what he had found it in 1663. The public works which were established during this period not only added materially to the importance and security of the island, but they also afforded employment to vast numbers of the inhabitants, many of whom, as the relatives and dependents of those who had fallen in the numerous conflicts of the Order with the Turk, would, but for this support, have been left utterly unprovided for, and in a state of the most complete destitution.

Although we shall find this prosperity continuing, more or less, during the time of his successor, it was by no means so flourishing, and it gradually sank, until the decadence of the fraternity became too decided to admit of any further rally. Degenerate as the seventeenth century had been, as compared with those which had gone before, the eighteenth, which was now rapidly approaching, was far worse; and when at its close the Order found itself practically annihilated, and blotted out for ever from the list of European powers, that

event seemed more the result of natural internal exhaustion than of foreign interference.

The age which had called into existence the Order of St. John had long since passed away, and with it the necessities which had led to the success of that Institution. So long as the Turkis hpower continued to increase and flourish, and so long as the ambitious policy of its rulers had caused it to be a source of constant dread and uneasiness to the nations of Europe, the Hospitallers, as the natural and sworn foe of that power, found sufficient exercise for their energy, and such an ample field for their valour, that they became for centuries recognised as the most effectual barrier Christianity could erect against the Infidel tide which continually threatened to overrun Europe. They had, in fact, become a necessary consequence of the aggressions of the Moslem, and so long as those menaces continued to cloud the political horizon in the East, we find but little decline in the vigour of the Order. The reign of Solyman the Magnificent had, however, been the culminating point of Turkish prosperity. Under him the nation had reached the climax of its greatness, and after his death numerous causes contributed to bring on a rapid diminution in the forces of the empire. For upwards of a century this decline was too gradual and imperceptible to calm the fears of the world. Aggressions in the Mediterranean and in the eastern countries of Europe still continued, and were still opposed by Christian valour. Hungary and Poland, Candia and the Levant, were still the scenes of many a bloody strife and many a hard contested fight. In most of these the Order bore its part, and bore it manfully; maintaining, so far as the altered conditions of the times permitted,

that ancient reputation for constancy and valour which had, in the ages of their forefathers, so justly distinguished the fraternity.

From the middle, however, of the seventeenth century it became no longer possible to doubt the serious and rapidly accelerating diminution of the Turkish power. True they still, ever and anon, rallied their energies and burst forth beyond the barrier which was raised against them. We shall yet find them beneath the very walls of Vienna, threatening the existence of Austria; but this appears to have been the last expiring effort of their ancient prowess and ambition; for from the date of the bloody repulse which they then sustained at the hands of the heroic John Sobieski, they retired within the limits of their own territories, and the fears and anxieties of Europe were quelled for ever. Other nations have sprung up, and other aggressions have called for general intervention to check their advance; but we no longer hear of Turkish encroachments, or of Christian leagues to oppose her progress.

As a natural result of this cessation of the necessity which called them into existence, the Order of St. John, whose decline had commenced coeval with that of the Turks, after the death of their great leader La Valette, rapidly degenerated, and became so effete, that at the close of another century they were swept away without a struggle, and no one friendly voice was raised to restore them again to their position.

The new Grand-Master, elected to supply the place of the deceased Cottoner, was Gregory Caraffa, prior of La Rocella, and consequently a member of the Italian language. This was the first time for 130 years that a Knight of that nation had been raised to the supreme

dignity, and his accession was consequently hailed by his countrymen with the most lively satisfaction. He did not, however, attain this elevation until after the most glaring and distressing cabals had been generated amidst the community; who now seemed to look upon the event of a vacancy as an opportunity for a general scramble for the glittering prize. The peace and unanimity which had prevailed within the convent in the days of the brothers Cottoner still continued, and rendered the rule of Caraffa prosperous and happy. The bishop who then occupied the see of Malta was a prelate of liberal views and enlightened piety. Devoting himself to the spiritual welfare of his flock, he did not intermix, like too many of his predecessors, in political matters; far less did he endeavour in any degree to subvert the authority of the Grand-Master in order to elevate his own influence.

With so faithful and pious a coadjutor, Caraffa found himself in a most favourable position for consulting the real interests of his fraternity, and he devoted himself with the most zealous energy to the completion of those extensive works which had been commenced by his predecessor. The fort of St. Elmo was almost entirely rebuilt, and that of St. Angelo much extended and improved.* Whilst thus strengthening his own position, he was by no means an inactive spectator in the war then raging between the Turks and Austrians, and the Maltese fleet was most successfully engaged in the waters of the Levant during this period. Thus we find the emperor Leopold, in 1683, addressing a special letter to Caraffa, in which he thanks him in the warmest

* Vide Appendix No. 19.

terms for preserving Christendom from the Turkish fleet; and in the same year the heroic John Sobieski addressed two letters to him, in which he relates the particulars of the glorious victories which he had gained over the Turks; one under the walls of Vienna, on the 13th of September, and the other crossing the Danube, on the 10th of October 1683. The fact that this general deemed it advisable to forward a detailed account of his movements to Malta, proves that the Order still ranked high in public estimation as opponents to Turkish domination.

The brilliant successes of John Sobieski led to the formation of a new league against the Infidel in the following year, the principal members of which were the Pope, the republic of Venice, and the Order of Malta. For several years this league subsisted in full force, and the shores of Barbary and the Morea felt the weight of their power from end to end. Previsa and Santa Maura both fell by the prowess of the Knights; and afterwards, in conjunction with the Venetian and papal galleys, the combined squadron attacked Coron, and, after a most obstinate resistance, carried it by storm. On this occasion Correa, the general of the galleys, commander of the Maltese contingent, fell gloriously at the head of his Knights. A fort had been carried by the allies, but was recaptured by the Infidel, when the gallant Correa, advancing at the head of his troops amidst a storm of missiles, once more gained possession of the disputed point, and tearing the banner of the crescent from its position on the rampart, raised the white-cross of St. John in its place. That moment of victory was, however, destined to be his last; for in the very act of planting his own banner on the conquered wall, he was struck by a musket-ball in

the chest, and only lived long enough to learn that Coron had fallen into the hands of the Christians. After the capture of old and new Navarino, siege was laid to Napoli in Romania, the chief town of the Morea. This last stronghold of the Moslem was defended with the most exemplary tenacity. Three separate times did they strive to effect its relief from without, but each time they were routed with great slaughter beneath its walls; and at the end of a month, the town, despairing of any successful effort being made for its relief, and harassed by the incessant attacks of the besiegers, surrendered at will, and thus the last fortress of the Turks in the Morea once more fell into the power of the Christian allies.

In 1687, the Dalmatian coast became the scene of war, and Castel Nuovo was carried in triumph; a success which dislodged the Moslem from the Adriatic, and restored the command of its commerce to the Venetians. This last feat was principally effected by the instrumentality of Count Heberstein, grand-prior of Hungary, a general in the imperial service, and leader of the Maltese contingent to the allied force. Letters from both the doge of Venice and the Pope speak in the most laudatory terms of the efforts of the Knights in the "strenua Castrinovi expugnatio;" and the former expressly specifies the general of the Knights of Malta, Count Heberstein, as the principal agent in the victory. This heroic Knight did not long survive the hour of his triumph, but in the following year died in Germany, having in the interim paid a visit to Malta, where he took such preparatory measures as he deemed advisable for the settlement of his affairs after his decease, which he felt to be rapidly approaching. In

order to prevent any disputes as to the disposition of his property, which was extensive, he compromised the claims which the Order would have had, under the charge of "Spoglia," by a payment in money during his life, so that when he died his whole fortune reverted without deduction to his lawful heir.

In the early part of 1689, James II. of England, then a fugitive in France, wrote the following letter to the Grand-Master, relating to his natural son Henry Fitz James Stewart, whose mother was Arabella Churchill, sister to the famous Duke of Marlborough.

"To my cousin, the Grand-Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem:—

"My cousin. We are so strongly persuaded of your zeal for the Catholic religion, that we do not doubt you will readily embrace every occasion which may present itself of manifesting it. And as we have particular gratification in seconding your good intentions in such laudable designs, we have resolved to dedicate to the Order of the Knights of Malta, Henry Fitz James, our natural son, already well known to you. For your kindness and civility extended to him when at Malta, we have to thank you sincerely. Although young, he is not wanting in experience, for he has already crossed the sea, and for nearly two years fought against the heretics. Wherefore, when you have received this attestation of his sanctity, which we have thought proper to send you on the subject, we hope that in your goodness you will kindly grant him the dignity of the grand-prior of England, enregistering him according to the usual forms of that rank. And as we doubt not that you will grant this favour, we promise you all aid and assistance which is or shall be

possible, for the glory and advantage of so illustrious and useful an Order, in the service of God, and to the glory of His church. May God keep us in His holy care. My cousin, your affectionate cousin, JAMES R.

"Given at St. Germain en Laye, 24th February 1689."

This letter was discussed by the Grand-Master in council, and the records show a minute dated 2nd of April 1689, in which it is decreed that it should be registered, and that his majesty should be thanked for the honour he had conferred upon the Order, and for the affection which he entertained towards it; assuring him that on receiving the attestation of which he writes, in favour of his natural son, he shall be received with welcome. James returned the following reply to this notification: —

"My cousin. We received with much satisfaction your obliging letter of the 4th of April; from which, besides the esteem and regard which you profess for our youthful Fitz James, we observe with pleasure the zeal you evince to gratify our wish, as expressed on a previous occasion. For this reason we feel obliged, and anxious on all accounts to testify our gratitude towards you. This we do with all the sincerity of a heart zealous in the cause of religion, and particularly for the glory of your illustrious Order, to the aggrandisement of which we shall ever have infinite pleasure in contributing. And in order that our son may be a subject worthy of serving God and His holy church in the dignity of grand-prior of England, which you are willing to confer upon him, we will not allow him to lose any more time, though he be actually engaged in a campaign, both active and dangerous, against our

rebellious subjects, who are the enemies of religion; but forward the attestation which our holy father has had the goodness to send in his favour. For the rest, and for the success of our affairs, we recommend ourselves to the prayers and good wishes of all your Order, and pray God that He will have you in His holy keeping.

"Given in our court at the castle of Dublin, the 13th of July, A.D. 1689. Your affectionate cousin, JAMES R." *

It does not appear that Fitz James Stewart, although made a grand-cross and grand-prior of England, ever became professed as a Knight. As the latter dignity was a practical nullity, and the new prior found himself denuded of his priory, it is natural that the Order should have acceded so readily to James's wish; the more so as there still remained a possibility that the Catholic James would succeed in regaining his lost kingdoms; in which case he would most certainly have striven to render the defunct priory of England something more than a barren title. It will be seen that the last letter was addressed from Dublin, in July 1689, just one year prior to the battle of the Boyne, by which those hopes were crushed for ever. James was at that time making preparations for his Irish campaign, to which he alludes in the above letter.

The last public event of Caraffa's life did not terminate so successfully as those which have been previously recorded. The allies, in 1689, attempted the capture of Negropont, and met with a bloody repulse from the

* Both of the above letters are written in French, and are now in the Record Office of Malta.

garrison, in which struggle the Order had to mourn the loss of twenty-nine Knights, and a large number of the bravest of their soldiery. Caraffa was already in a failing state of health, when the intelligence of this disaster reached Malta; and the vexation and disappointment which it created, brought on a violent attack of fever, from which he never rallied, and on the 21st of July 1690, he died, at the age of seventy-three, after a reign of ten years.

His successor was Adrian de Vignacourt, nephew to the former Grand-Master of the same name, and grand-treasurer of the Order. His rule of seven years presented no event of importance, either political or social, beyond the incident of a fearful earthquake, which in 1693 ravaged the Mediterranean. Malta suffered the loss of several buildings during this convulsion of nature, which lasted by intervals for three days; but in other localities the results were far more serious. Sicily, in particular, suffered most fearfully, and the town of Agosta was completely laid in ruins. The intelligence of this misfortune no sooner reached Malta than the fraternity, mindful of the principles of their institution, promptly equipped a squadron with supplies for the houseless and destitute inhabitants, which formed a most seasonable relief to them in the height of their distress. Considering that this visitation was to be regarded in the light of a chastisement from heaven, Vignacourt directed that a public fast should be held; and, although it was the period of the carnival, he forbad all the ordinary amusements customary at that festive season.

A dispute which for the last forty years had raged between the Order of St. John and the republic of

Genoa, was, by the intercession and good offices of Pope Innocent XII., reconciled, and the rival powers returned to their former amicable footing. The quarrel had originated during the later days of the Grand-Master Lascaris, upon the following grounds. The squadron of Malta, having entered the harbour of Genoa, saluted the city and the Spanish fleet which lay there at the time, but refused to pay the same compliment to the Genoese galleys, alleging that they themselves were entitled to a priority in this respect. The magistrates of the city, indignant at what they considered an insult to their flag, and feeling that they had the power in their hands of enforcing their demands, despatched a message to the Maltese commander, informing him that, if he did not instantly pay the same compliment to the Genoese galleys as he had given to the Spaniards, they would open the batteries of the town on his ships, and sink them where they lay at anchor. The situation admitted of no altercation; the galleys were completely at the mercy of the town, and their commander felt that he had nothing left but to comply. The salute was accordingly given with a very bad grace, and the Maltese fleet at once left the harbour in high dudgeon at the compulsion which had extorted from them a compliment they did not consider due. On their arrival in Malta the fraternity took up the quarrel, and the general indignation ran so high against the Genoese, that a decree was promptly passed by the council, prohibiting any member of that nation from being admitted into the Order until ample satisfaction had been granted. In the reign of Caraffa, the Pope had endeavoured to reconcile the dispute; but although the Order then expressed their readiness to leave the arbitration of the

affair entirely in his hands, and to acquiesce implicitly in his decision, the Genoese were by no means so complying, and the matters remained unsettled until the close of Vignacourt's reign, when by his influence they were compromised, and the Genoese once more admitted into the institution. As forty years had elapsed since the restriction had been first imposed, a large number of candidates had accumulated, who flocked into the Order immediately on that prohibition being removed.

Vignacourt also established a fund for the relief of the widows and orphans of those among the Maltese who had fallen in the wars of the Order, in the protracted naval struggle which had for the last thirty years been carried on against the Infidel. To this fund the wealthier among the Knights contributed with great munificence, and the result of the charitable movement was, that much misery and destitution was averted from the inhabitants.

Adrian de Vignacourt died on the 4th of February 1697, and was succeeded by Raymond Perrelos, an Aragonese Knight, and bailiff of Negropont at the time of his election. Although sixty years of age, he was still possessed of all the vigour and activity of the prime of manhood, and had witnessed with extreme regret the degeneracy of the fraternity, both morally and physically, from the position in which they were formerly regarded throughout Europe. His first efforts, therefore, on assuming the baton of Grand-Master, were directed towards the introduction of reforms into the internal administration of the convent. Several sumptuary laws were, by his influence, passed through the council, and also strict prohibitions from indulging in games of chance, and other worldly amusements. These

reforms, however, were now introduced far too late to be of any practical use in restoring a feeling of piety into the Order, after so lengthened a period during which such sentiments had been utterly neglected. Perrelos himself was a well-meaning, zealous, and pious Christian; but he no longer possessed either the power or the influence necessary to promote that feeling amongst the young, hot-headed, thoughtless Knights whom he found dwelling in the convent of Malta, and who passed their days in such roystering joviality, and rollicking gaieties, as they considered adapted to their age and social position.

In these intended ameliorations, Perrelos was warmly seconded by Pope Innocent XII., whose conduct towards the Order of St. John stands out in happy relief when compared to that of too many of his predecessors. Not only did he firmly support the Grand-Master in the reforms which he was introducing into the convent, but he himself, feeling how often the papal see had acted prejudicially to the interests of the Order, by nominating to vacant dignities in the Italian language without regard to seniority, and the just claims of the older Knights, made a decree, by which he bound himself to discontinue a practice so detrimental to the fraternity. Nor did he content himself with words only; for, as several of the commanderies fell vacant, he referred the nomination of their successors to the convent; who thus found restored to them a most important privilege, which they had long since ceased to consider within their power.

He also reconciled a dispute which had broken out between the bishop of Malta and the prior of the church, touching their respective dignities and authority, which

had at one time threatened to bring much discord into the convent. Both of these prelates, however, were so well assured of the justice, discrimination, and good faith of the sovereign pontiff, that they willingly referred their dispute to his arbitration, and were both perfectly contented to abide by the issue of his decision.

In the year following the election of Perrelos to the magistracy, the Order were honoured by a special mission from the ambassador of Peter the Great, czar of Russia. Hitherto they had had little or no communication with that kingdom, being possessed of no property within its limits, and the country having been plunged into such a rude condition of barbarism, that its intercourse with foreign powers had been confined to those in its own immediate vicinity. Peter, however, who despite the savage and ferocious inhumanity of his temperament, was gifted with a political foresight and sagacity, which enabled him to take the most giant strides in his efforts to civilise his people, determined to extend his friendly relations beyond the narrow limits which had satisfied the policy of his predecessors. His empire lying in near contiguity to that of the Moslem, he had already been brought into frequent and serious collision with his aggressive neighbours; and although he had at length succeeded in establishing peaceable relations with them, he was anxious, as far as possible, to secure support in any future difficulties which might occur. With this view he turned his eyes upon the Order of Malta, who, as the natural, sworn, and inveterate foes of the Infidel, were always ready to lend their aid to any measure by which that power was to be curbed; and determined to cultivate such friendly relations with them as should assure him of their warm

and able support in case of necessity. For this purpose, he selected a boyard named Kzeremetz, one of the leading generals of the Muscovite army, and despatched him on a mission to the court of Rome, with instructions that after he had paid his respects to his holiness, he should extend his journey to Malta, and enter into negotiations with the Order of St. John.

Kzeremetz, in pursuance of these instructions, expressed his desire to visit Malta in a harangue which he delivered before Innocent XII., when he stated, "that after having seen the most celebrated city in the world, the holy city of God, as also the sacred relics of St. Peter and St. Paul, the two principal of the apostles, and having received in person the blessing of his holiness, the vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, he was resolved to visit the most famous heroes of the church militant, the sacred Order of Malta." This desire on his part was communicated to the council by their ambassador at Rome, Sacchite, and preparations were immediately commenced to receive him with due honour on his arrival. It was decided that he should be saluted with twelve guns, and the fraternity were much annoyed to find that the general of the galleys, the Chevalier de Cremeville, who encountered the great man off Cape Passaro, and who was ignorant of the point of etiquette which had been decided on, only saluted him with four guns. On his arrival in the harbour of Valetta, this error was promptly rectified, and the specified number of discharges pealed forth their welcome to the Muscovite envoy with due honour.

When it is remembered that the flag of England had only received a salute of five guns (which Mr. Teonge informed us was more than had ever been given before),

on the occasion of the arrival of the "Assistance" in Malta not many years before, and when we find the Order so tenacious about its salutes, that it required a long correspondence with both the British admiral and Charles II. to extort a proper compliment, and also that they maintained an open rupture with the republic of Genoa for forty years upon the same subject, we may gather how anxious they must have been to receive the ambassador of Peter with due respect.

Perrelos was probably endowed with sufficient sagacity to perceive how advantageous this new opening might prove to his Order. He could not but feel that the ground upon which they had so long rested was gradually gliding from beneath them. In those countries whence for so many years they had drawn their principal support, feelings had very much changed respecting them. In England they had long since been crushed and dispossessed; in France and Spain they were now being regarded very much in the light of a useless drag upon the prosperity of the country, drawing vast sums from its territories without making any adequate return; and throughout Europe the changes of the last century had produced an effect very prejudicial to the future prospects of the Order. Perrelos might well, therefore, seize joyfully the opportunity which thus offered itself, of opening up a new field in which the fraternity might hope to replace some of the defalcations which were soon to be anticipated elsewhere. He could scarcely, however, have been gifted with so keen an insight into futurity as to have imagined for one moment, that just a century from the time when he was receiving the Russian general with such magnificence and honour in the island of Malta, the Order of

St. John, expelled from their stronghold, destitute and homeless, should find in that country an asylum and a support which was denied to them elsewhere. And yet such was destined to be the course of events; and the Order may look upon the Grand-Master who first cemented an alliance, ultimately destined to prove of such vital necessity to them in their last moments, as a greater benefactor, and a more useful sovereign than many, whose deeds, whilst, perhaps, more brilliant, were of less solid advantage to the community.

Kzeremitz was entertained with great splendour at the sole expense of the Grand-Master, from the 12th to the 19th of May 1698; and prior to his departure, was decorated with the grand-cross of the Order, by the hands of Perrelos in person. In order to render this decoration the more valued, it was touched by a piece of the true cross, and by the hand of their patron saint, St. John the Baptist, and was placed round the neck of the Russian, suspended by a massive gold chain; Perrelos at the same time informing the recipient that he was thus decorated, less on account of his position as a magnate of Russia, and an envoy of its redoubtable czar, than because of his military exploits against the Infidel, his friendship for the Order of St. John, and the zeal which had prompted him to make so long a journey, in order to personally visit their island home.

The naval exploits of the Knights of Malta continued throughout Perrelos' reign with scarcely any intermission; but they found that they were no longer in a position to cope as advantageously as formerly with the Turkish fleet. True, they still achieved many successes, and invariably comported themselves with the utmost gallantry before the foe, and in 1701 captured a large

Turkish man-of-war of eighty guns, which was considered to redound so greatly to the credit of the Chevalier Richard, to whose daring the result was principally attributable, that the council decreed the colours of the captured ship should be placed in the church of St. John at Aix, the birthplace of the gallant Knight, in perpetual commemoration of his exploit. Still they felt that their galleys were no longer adapted to maintain unaided a struggle against the Turkish fleet which was constantly being augmented by vessels of the largest size. Perellos was so impressed with this fact, that he influenced the council to decree the construction of men-of-war, which should aid the galleys in their cruises, and place the Order of St. John once more on a footing of equality with the Infidel corsairs which infested the Mediterranean.

Three vessels of large size were consequently built, named respectively the St. Raymond, the St. Joseph, and the St. Vincent, and the command of this new fleet was intrusted to the Chevalier de St. Pierre, a French Knight of much naval experience, who made his first cruise with his new flotilla in 1706, when he succeeded in capturing the Tunisian flag-ship of fifty guns, which was immediately added to the Maltese navy, under the title of the Santa Cruce. In a preceding chapter descriptive of this force, allusion has been made to the distinction between the galleys and the ships of war which latterly combined to constitute their fleet: this was the date at which that change was first made; previously the Order had, of late years, possessed only galleys.

In 1707, the Chevalier de Langon was enabled to force his way through the midst of the Algerine fleet

then blockading Oran, which was being gallantly defended by the Spaniards, and to throw a large supply of ammunition and provisions into the beleaguered fortress; upon which event the Pope wrote a letter of congratulation to the Grand-Master. The daring of De Langon was, however, fruitless in saving Oran, as four months later that place capitulated to the Algerines, in the early part of November, 1707. In the ensuing year, the convent was menaced by an attack from the Turks, and great preparations were made for its protection. The Pope sent a body of troops into the island to assist in its defence, under the proviso, that, should the Turkish descent be made in any other quarter, the Order of St. John should tender their aid, in combination with the Papal troops. The dreaded expedition eventually became dwarfed down into a descent on Gozo, where their exploits were limited to the destruction of a few small craft. Whilst retiring from this feeble demonstration the Infidels were overtaken by De Langon, who burnt two of their vessels and took four hundred prisoners, besides releasing fifty Christians from captivity. The Tripolitan commander, the famous Ala Antulla Ogli Stamboli, was captured on this occasion.

The next year the Algerine fleet met with a similar disaster at the hands of De Langon, when the flag-ship with all its crew struck to the Maltese squadron. On this occasion, however, the Order had to mourn the loss of that valiant Knight, who fell, struck by a bullet, at the moment of victory. His body was interred with great honour in the cathedral of Carthagena under the high altar, and the Grand-Master, anxious to perpetuate the memory of a Knight who had rendered such eminent services to his Order, and cast so

much renewed lustre upon their naval reputation, placed a tablet, containing a laudatory inscription to his memory, in the nave of the conventual church of St. John, in Valetta.*

During this period, the inquisitor Delci had been causing great annoyance within the convent, from the arrogance of his conduct and the extravagance of his pretensions. His first dispute arose with the overseer of the infirmary. The hospital had always been considered by the fraternity as a privileged spot, no person, excepting the Grand-Hospitaller, being ever permitted to enter its precincts, without leaving behind him the ensigns of his dignity. To this rule the officers of the Inquisition chose to demur, and even attempted to effect an entrance by surprise. The Grand-Hospitaller, however, speedily compelled them to evacuate the building, and strictly forbad their readmission. Delci was not content with this assertion of the immunities of his position. He even went so far as to endeavour to take precedence of the Grand-Master himself, insisting that, on meeting in the street, the carriage of the latter should stop to let him pass, together with other equally

* This inscription ran as follows: —"Fratri Josepho de Langnon-Alverno cujus virtutem in ipso Tyronicii flore maturam Gallicæ naves fecere Thraces sensêre, Melitenses habuere victricem Oranum dira obsidione cinctum, cum unica religionis nave cui præerat onorariam ducens, penetrata Algerii classe ejusque rege teste vel invito Militem et commeatum invexit Generalis classium præfectus ad Tripolitanorum prætoriam incendendam plurimo momento fuit. Laudes tamen consilio et fortitudine sibi ubique coemptas in alios continuo transtulit. Suprema tamen Algerii nave subacta accepto que inde vulnere acerbo, victor fato cessit die 18 Aprilis, 1710, ætat. 41. E. M. M. F. D. R. de Perellos Roccafull ad benemerentiæ argumentum mortuo hoc mœrens positum voluit cenotaphium ad memoriæ perennitatem.

ridiculous pretensions. But the grossest injury which he perpetrated was the wholesale grant of patents, whereby the holders become exonerated from all allegiance save to the Inquisition, and were privileged from the action of any court or jurisdiction but that of the inquisitor.

This system was carried to so great a length, that in 1712, Perellos sent a special ambassador to Rome to make a formal complaint to the Pope of the irregular and vexatious proceedings of Delci. At the same time, the overseer of the hospital proceeded to France to invoke the aid of the king in resisting his unwarrantable intrusions. The Pope interfered to prevent for the future all further annoyance from this source, but the inquisitor received no punishment for his former offences; and the peace which was established between him and the Order was at best but a hollow truce, liable to be disturbed whenever a convenient opportunity should present itself for him to renew his pretensions.

The following letter, received by the Grand-Master from Queen Anne of England in 1713, marks that the fleet of the Order had rendered valuable assistance to that of Great Britain in their incursions against the various nests of piratical Moslems who infested the northern coasts of Africa:—"Anne, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith; to the Most Illustrious and Most High Prince, the Lord Raymond Perellos, Grand-Master of the Order of Malta, Our well-beloved Cousin and Friend, greeting: Most Illustrious and Most High Prince, our well-beloved Cousin and Friend, It was with great pleasure that we received your Highness' letters of the 31st March, in which your Highness

demonstrates your good will towards us and our subjects so clearly, that there can be no room for doubt on that head. We return thanks, as in duty bound, to your Highness for the assistance afforded to our subjects during the course of this last war, and we will not omit any good office by which we may be able to prove to your Highness in how great esteem we hold your friendship, and with what benevolence we regard you and all your affairs. It remains for us heartily to recommend your Highness to the protection of the Most High and Most Good God. Given from our palace of Kensington, on the 8th day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1713, and of our reign the twelfth, Your Highness' good Cousin and Friend, Anne R." *

At this period, the convent of Malta appears to have been in a most flourishing condition. The bailiff of Chambray, who has left a manuscript record of these times, says, that "in 1715, at the moment of the declaration of war by the Turks against the Venetians, the court of the Grand-Master Perellos presented a most brilliant aspect. No less than fifteen hundred Knights, many of them general officers in every army in Christendom, formed the main ornament of the residence of the Order." The preparations making by the Sublime Porte had alarmed the fraternity, and, fearing lest Malta was to be the point of attack, members flocked from every quarter, anxious to reap the harvest of glory which a second successful defence of their island-stronghold would present. Fortifications were repaired and

* This letter, bearing the signature of the queen, is in the Record Office at Malta.

reconstructed with incredible rapidity, the magazines and store-houses were replenished, troops were taken into pay, and all denoted an eager desire to maintain, in a new siege, the reputation which their ancestors had gained in the days of La Valette. In order to carry out these fortifications with the greater skill, Perellos made an application to Louis XIV. of France, in the close of 1714, for the loan of some of his most celebrated engineers; and, in compliance with that request, the French monarch despatched the Chevaliers De Tigné and De Mondion to Malta, who, after a minute inspection of the works, drew up a project for their completion, and returned to France. At the urgent entreaty of the Grand-Master, however, Tigné once more returned to Malta, and personally superintended the principal portion of the work then in progress, and executing in accordance with his plans, which had received the warm approval of Vauban and other of the most eminent engineers in Europe.*

The storm, however, burst in another direction, the Venetians being the nation called upon to bear the brunt of Turkish wrath. From that date till 1718, when peace was once more declared between these two belligerent powers, the Order of St. John continued to render the most vital assistance to Venice. So pleased was the pontiff with their exertions, that he gave the title of Lieutenant-general of the Papal Armament to the admiral of the Order, so that he might, in case of separation from their own chief, take the command of the papal levies that were acting in concert with him. The peace which the Venetians concluded with the

* Vide Appendix No. 19.

Turks expressly excluded the Hospitallers from its action, and they consequently continued their naval exploits, and in the following year captured two rich galleons laden with merchandise from Constantinople, having on board the pasha of Roumelia, who became their prisoner.

In this year Perellos was taken seriously ill, his great age precluding all hopes of an ultimate recovery. He lingered, however, till the commencement of 1720, when he died on the 10th of January, aged eighty-four, having held the baton of Grand-Master for a period of twenty-three years. He was succeeded by Mark Antony Zondodari, a member of an ancient and noble Italian family, brother of the cardinal of that name, and nephew, on his mother's side, to Pope Alexander VII. From his earliest childhood he had been destined to become a Knight of St. John, and after an education at the Jesuits' College for the nobility at Parma, he was professed at Naples, and performed his caravans with great distinction. His career in the Order was rapid; rising successively through the dignities of commander, and general of the galleys, he was eventually made master of the horse in the household of Perellos, by whom he was decorated with the grand cross. He was the ambassador chosen by that Grand-Master to bear his complaint against the inquisitor Delci to the court of Rome in 1712, which mission he accomplished most satisfactorily, and at the same time ingratiated himself very warmly with the pontiff.

The brief rule of this chief was marked by no event of magnitude. The fleet of the Order, under the bailiff Ruffo, continued to achieve numerous minor successes in the waters of the Mediterranean, and brought several prizes into the harbour of Malta, amongst which was

the flag-ship of the Algerine navy. The Infidels, in fact, became so much awed at the superiority, which the late additions to the fleet of Malta had given to the Order, that they no longer dared to scour the Mediterranean with the same impunity as of old, and were held almost blockaded within their ports. Zondodari endeavoured to carry out the reforms initiated by his predecessor, and even to extend them, but he found this a matter of no ordinary difficulty. The splendour and luxury which had gradually crept into the convent of the Order had of late years reached a culminating point, and, under Perellos, the grand-prior Monsieur de Vendôme had set the example of a magnificence quite princely. The Knights of St. John were members of noble families, mostly extremely wealthy, and from their childhood trained up in all the luxury suited to their station. Civilisation had also, since the discovery of the New World, made giant strides; the fine arts had revived from their lengthened slumber, and at the same time the numerous European wars, in which the nations of Spain, France, Germany, and Italy had in turn engaged, had spread this civilisation over regions previously semibarbarous. It was not, therefore, a matter of surprise, that, in the eighteenth century, Zondodari should have found himself unable to curb that tendency to display and grandeur which had taken so firm a root in the convent of the Order. This Grand-Master was an author, though of no great pretensions; still, as he was the first chief who ever laid claim to that title, it is well that his labours in this line should be noticed. He wrote a work, entitled "Breve e Particolare Istruzione del sacro ordine militare degli Ospitaleri," which was first published in Rome in 1719,

and afterwards reprinted in Paris in 1721. He also wrote a paraphrase of the 41st Psalm, which was likewise published. He died on the 16th of June, 1722, at the age of sixty-four years, of a gangrene in his intestines combined with erysipelas in the leg. A decree was passed during his reign, that every Knight possessing private property to the amount of 300*l.* a year should maintain a soldier in Malta to aid in its defence. This law was, however, never enforced, although it would undoubtedly have gone far towards supporting the garrison of the island free of expense to the treasury.

Don Antony Manöel de Vilhena, a member of the language of Castile, succeeded to the vacant dignity without opposition, his claims being so universally recognised as to have defied competition. Entering into the Order at an early age, he had been in 1680 in a naval action with the fleet of Tripoli, and had afterwards been named to the command of a galley, from which post he was raised to that of colonel of the militia of the island. In 1701 he was named commissary of war, having previously been decorated with the grand-cross, and in 1703 he was promoted to the dignity of grand-chancellor, which he subsequently vacated to become bailiff of Acre.

His advent to the supreme post was almost immediately followed by a hostile demonstration against Malta from the Turkish fleet. A Moslem slave named Hali, who during ten years' captivity in Malta had enjoyed considerable liberty as *liman* or chief of the slaves, obtained his release by an exchange, and returned to Constantinople full of a design he had formed for the capture of Malta by means of the numerous slaves there

imprisoned. Many of these slaves filled the offices of domestic servants to the members of the fraternity, and enjoyed a considerable amount of freedom in their intercourse with each other. Hali persuaded the sultan that if a fleet of ten vessels were despatched to Malta to support the enterprise, all the slaves in the island, who actually outnumbered the Christian population, would promptly rise and secure possession of the town. Tempted by the moderation of this demand, the sultan acceded to the request of the quondam slave, and in the end of June, 1722, the hostile fleet appeared off Malta. The Order had, however, become aware of the plot forming against them, and had secured their slaves so successfully that all efforts to rise on their part would have been utterly unavailing. The Turkish commander, Abdi Agu, finding his enterprise hopeless, wrote a bombastic and braggadocio letter to the Grand-Master, but did not attempt any other hostile measure.

The following is a translation of this epistle, the original of which is still amongst the archives of the Order, dated June 28th, 1722: — "Let it be known to the rulers and principal men of the island of Malta, heads of the council, and leading persons, both French and Venetian, as well as those other magnates of the religion of the Messiah as may happen to be in that island, that we have been expressly sent by the great lord and patron of the universe and refuge of the world, that you may consign and transmit to us all the slaves who may find themselves exposed to your bad and unholy government, more particularly those of St. John, in order that they may present themselves before his august and eminent throne. And since this is his will and command, we have come well armed, and with the

greatest valour inform you by this letter of our arrival to receive all such slaves; and in case you make any difficulty in consigning the said slaves, you shall know and have cause to repent of it. The answer to this letter must be sent to Tunis."

The council, who were anxious to obtain, if possible, the liberation of the Christian captives then languishing in the East, did not hesitate to reply to this uncourteous and contemptuous letter, but immediately opened a communication with the Porte through the good offices of Monsieur de Bonnac, the French ambassador at that court. In this communication the Grand-Master thus expressed himself on the question of slavery. "Our Order was not instituted for the purpose of ranging the seas in quest of captives, but to cruise with its armaments to protect the navigation of Christian vessels; and it only attacks those who obstruct commerce, and who, desiring to reduce Christians into captivity, deserve nothing better than to be made slaves themselves. I have nothing so much at heart as to release the Mussulman slaves from their chains, and if the wishes of his highness are similar, I am ready to negotiate for the reciprocal liberty of the captives, either by exchange or ransom, according to the received custom between princes. His mightiness has, therefore, only to declare his intentions, which I will omit nothing to render effectual."

Monsieur de Bonnac seconded the views of the Grand-Master so warmly, that a treaty was at once proposed and its terms fully discussed. These were very favourable for Malta, so much so, indeed, as to cause a strong feeling of dissatisfaction to show itself amongst the officers of the Turkish fleet. These latter possessed so powerful an influence over the sultan, that in deference

to their objections he abandoned the treaty, and there the matter rested.

Manöel, warned by the cloud which had just been dissipated, of the danger his island might at any time run from a renewed descent, no sooner found himself at leisure, than he commenced the construction of a fort upon the island in the Marsa Musceit, for the greater protection of that post. This fort, which has ever since retained the name of its founder, and is still called Fort Manöel, commands the harbour, and acts as a protection to the fortifications of Valetta on that side. Prior to its construction, the island in question was completely open and undefended, affording a most inconvenient and proximate point for an enemy to make a lodgment on in the case of a new siege. The fort which Manöel erected was constructed in accordance with the design furnished by the Chevalier de Tigné to the Grand-Master Perellos in 1717, on the occasion of his second visit to Malta.*

Several naval combats took place between the rival fleets during Manöel's Grand-Mastership, but they were comparatively trivial, being merely encounters between single vessels on either side, and generally terminating in favour of the Order. Although unimportant in their results, and far inferior to the exploits of former days, the Pope deemed them worthy of a special mark of his approbation, and sent to Manöel, by the hands of one of his household, the consecrated sword and casque which

* Vide estimate in Appendix No. 19, where this fort figures for a sum of 25,000 crowns, or 2500*l.*, an amount ridiculously small, according to modern notions, for so extensive a work; but it must be borne in mind that labour cost little or nothing, being principally performed by slaves, and that the stone excavated from the ditches formed the ramparts.

were only presented to such as had distinguished themselves by memorable actions against the Infidel. The sword was of silver gilt, five feet in length; and the casque was of purple velvet, embroidered in gold, and enriched with an emblem of the Holy Ghost embossed in pearls. Both of these presents had been consecrated with great pomp at the festival of our Saviour's Nativity.

Manöel's rule, which lasted nearly fifteen years, was generally prosperous, and he attained a great and deserved popularity for the charitable zeal which prompted him to found an establishment for the shelter and support of the aged poor under his authority. He died on the 12th of December, 1736, having realised to a great extent the somewhat pompous eulogy recorded on his tomb: "Memento viator quod ubi gressum in his insulis sistes pietatis ejus munificentiæ securitatis amœnitatis monumenta ibi invenies."—"Remember, traveller, that wherever you place your foot upon this island, there will you find monuments of his piety, munificence, foresight, and charity."

His successor, whose name was Raymond Despuig, held the baton of his office for five years, during which time so little of importance transpired that his history is best comprised in the inscription on his tomb, of which the following is a translation:—"Sacred to the memory of Brother Dom Raymond Despuig, who sprang from an illustrious house in Majorca, joined the valiant soldiers of Jerusalem, and having executed with success numerous charges, especially an embassy to the viceroy of Sicily, was afterwards created grand maître d'hôtel, and commander of all the militia, and during this period on three several occasions fulfilled the functions of lieu-

tenant to the Grand-Master, rendering from day to day great services. He was elected Grand-Master by the suffrages of all the Knights (even during the life of his predecessor) on the 16th of December, 1736. He led a life worthy of a religious prince, and, adding by his virtues a new splendour to so eminent a dignity, he raised himself above his compeers more by his example than by his power. He instituted an assembly to be held every month within this church, to which a strange preacher should be called, and where the people should meet together. He added to the ornaments of silver on the high altar, he had it re-covered and adorned with a table of marble; and, having left behind him both here and elsewhere numerous other monuments of his munificence and of his piety, he died on the 15th of January, 1741, aged 71 years."

His successor was Emanuel Pinto de Fonseca, a member of one of the noblest families in Portugal, and bailiff of Acre at the time of his election. The principal event which occurred to break the calm and peaceful monotony of his reign was a conspiracy amongst the Turkish slaves in Malta, which was very nearly bathing the island in Christian blood. The plot originated in the following manner. The Christian slaves who manned a Turkish galley had risen upon their officers, captured the vessel, and brought her in triumph into the harbour of Malta, with the pasha of Rhodes a prisoner on board. This dignitary was a man in high repute at the court of the sultan, and the Order, fearful of drawing down upon themselves the virulent animosity of the Porte, and anxious to conciliate the court of France, who had latterly dissuaded them from cruising in the Levant, instead of subjecting him to the lot of slavery, sent him

to the care of the French envoy in Malta, the bailiff du Boccage. The pasha was treated with every attention and respect, a house was appropriated for his use in the Floriana, and a pension of 125*l.* monthly was allotted to him. Whilst residing here he was permitted to receive the visits of such amongst the Turkish slaves as desired that privilege, and altogether his position was rendered as little irksome to him as was possible consonant with his due security as a prisoner of war.

At the head of the conspiracy which had ended in the capture of the Turkish galley was a negro who had planned the entire affair, and who had anticipated a magnificent reward from the Order for the success of his enterprise. He was, however, much disappointed at the sum awarded to him, and his active brain speedily commenced to hatch a fresh plot, in which, by way of a counter-conspiracy, the island of Malta should be delivered into the hands of the Turks. It has already been observed that the number of slaves in Malta was very large. Independently of those who were employed on the public works or as crews to the galleys, and who when on shore were lodged in the bagnio or slaves' prison, there were large numbers fulfilling various domestic offices about the persons not only of the Knights, but also of the Maltese. In fact, the greater number of the servants in the island were Turks. They were almost uniformly treated with the greatest kindness, and their situation was in many cases so far superior to what it would have been in their own country, that they refused their liberty even when it was tendered to them. Many filled situations of the highest trust in the household of the Grand-Master, and two who acted as his confidential valets slept in an adjoining room to

himself, and had free access to his apartment both by day and night.

The plot which the negro first devised, and which he submitted for the approval of the pasha Mustapha, was to organise a rising amongst this large body, to cause a general massacre of the Christians in the island, and then to transfer its government to the Porte. Mustapha, with the blackest ingratitude, entered warmly into the design; the pasha of Tripoli was communicated with, and promised assistance; and the slaves generally were enlisted as confederates into the plot. The festival of St. Peter and St. Paul was selected as the most appropriate day for carrying out this atrocious imitation of the Sicilian Vespers. On that day the great bulk of the native population were in the habit of flocking to the Città Notabile, where the ceremonials of the day were carried out with great magnificence, and it was thought that an opportunity would thus be the more readily afforded of mastering the city of Valetta whilst denuded of so many of its inhabitants. One of the two valets about the person of Pinto was appointed to give the signal for the commencement of the insurrection, by murdering his master and exposing his head upon the balcony of the palace. An indiscriminate massacre was then to have ensued: the armoury being forced, was to supply arms to the conspirators, and the gates of the city and other commanding posts were promptly to be occupied by them. The forces of the pasha of Tripoli would join with them so soon as the successful issue of the enterprise was known, and with their assistance the island could have been easily maintained until the arrival of succours from Constantinople. Such were the principal details of this detestable plot, to which the

pasha Mustapha lent the sanction of his name and advice, and which he, of all men, should have been the last to support.

It was strange, considering how lately, at the commencement of Manoel's rule, a somewhat similar design had been discovered, that the slaves in Malta should still have been permitted such ample liberty of action. Considering their great numbers, and the natural discontent which a condition of slavery, even in its most modified form, must have generated within the minds of many, it is wonderful that greater precautions were not habitually taken to prevent the possibility of any treachery on their part. Certain it is, that on the present occasion, had it not been for an accidental quarrel between themselves, the conspirators would have most undoubtedly succeeded in perpetrating the massacre of every member of the Order of St. John within the convent. The discovery of the plot was made thus:—A certain publichouse, kept by a Jew, was the principal resort of the chief actors in this bloody drama. One day, shortly before the period selected for its execution, a violent quarrel sprang up between two of them, and, after a fierce altercation, from words they proceeded to blows; and at length one of the two drew a dagger, and endeavoured to stab his fellow, who, however, succeeded in making his escape unhurt, but vowing vengeance. In the blindness of his rage he proceeded instantly to the commandant of the guard, and revealed the entire plot. That officer lost not a moment in communicating with the Grand-Master, and took with him the faithless conspirator.

Meanwhile, however, the Jew keeper of the publichouse where the quarrel had originated, who was also

a member of the plot, having heard the vows of vengeance which had been uttered on that occasion, became alarmed, and fearing lest the discontented man might reveal the whole tale, determined to forestal him, and to ensure his own safety and reward by instantly himself betraying the affair to the Grand-Master. When, therefore, De Vignier, with his conspirator, sought an audience of Pinto, they found him engaged in listening to the tale of the Jew. The matter being thus corroborated, energetic steps were at once taken to crush the affair. Numbers of the conspirators were arrested and subjected to torture, and by degrees the whole design gradually leaked out.

A similar plot had been formed on board the galleys of the Order, which was to have been carried into execution on the same day; but a swift boat was at once sent after them, and the warning arrived in time to prevent any rising. The criminality of the pasha was clearly proved, together with the fact that he had corresponded with Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Constantinople on the subject. As, however, he had been placed under the protection of the French ambassador, the Order did not deem it prudent to proceed to extremities against him, but confined him in Fort St. Elmo, until a French frigate arrived from Toulon, on board of which he was conveyed to Constantinople. It was, however, with extreme difficulty that they succeeded in saving him; for the Maltese were so justly incensed against him for his share in the diabolical design, that had he not been securely guarded they would have torn him in pieces. Nearly sixty of the leading plotters suffered the last penalty of the law on this occasion; and in order to prevent the recurrence of such a design, it was

decreed that for the future all slaves employed in a domestic capacity in the houses of Knights or citizens, should be compelled to retire to the bagnio every evening at sunset, and remain in confinement there until the next morning. The Jew, by whose double treachery the discovery had been made, was rewarded with a handsome pension, and from that time the anniversary of the day was regularly celebrated, so long as the Order remained in Malta.

The second expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta was the only other domestic event of importance which marked the sway of Pinto. This decree was carried out through the intervention of the marquis of Pombal, prime minister to the king of Portugal, and the marquis Tannuci, regent of the Two Sicilies, during the minority of Ferdinand IV., and was shortly afterwards followed in almost every kingdom in Europe. The sway of Pinto was very popular amongst his subjects, and his name is still revered in Malta as a wise and energetic prince. At the same time he was undoubtedly far more despotic than any of his predecessors, and encroached materially on that liberty which the Order had permitted to their subjects under former chiefs. The leading features of his government were, however, salutary, and if he ruled the Maltese with an iron hand they did not the less respect him.

Their naval superiority had, during these years, dwindled imperceptibly, and their fleet was now becoming more an appanage for show than for real service. The Ottoman empire had almost ceased to cause uneasiness in Europe. Her navy was no longer spreading terror along the coasts of the Mediterranean; and so the caravans of the Maltese galleys, finding no

situation with your friends, and I promise you I will make matters all smooth with them when I get there."

François Ximenes, grand-prior of Navarre, and seneschal to Pinto, was, at his death, nominated to succeed him, and swayed the baton of Grand-Master for two years. During that brief period, however, he contrived to render himself universally unpopular and obnoxious, more especially to the ecclesiastics of the island. He was a man of the most haughty demeanour and uncourteous address, and by the rude asperities of his conduct he rapidly alienated the affections of all classes. The priests were chiefly irritated against him owing to a law which he passed restricting the license with which they were permitted to indulge in field sports, and other worldly amusements; whilst the lower orders complained bitterly of a tax which he laid upon bread to raise funds for the liquidation of the debts contracted by the university, under the rule of his predecessor.

General discontent having thus been generated, a plot was hatched and carried into execution, principally by the priests of the island. Availing themselves of a time when the galleys were engaged in a blockade of Algiers, on the 1st of September 1775, the conspirators succeeded in surprising the guard at St. Elmo, and captured the fort itself, making prisoners of the garrison, which consisted of a couple of hundred of the Grand-Master's guard. They also seized upon one of the cavaliers within the town, and then called upon the inhabitants generally to join them in expelling the Order. Great as most undoubtedly was the influence of the priesthood over the minds of the population, and widely spread as was the general discontent, no movement was made to second the violent measures which had been adopted; and the

conspirators soon discovered that they would have to fight their battle unaided. Of course, under these circumstances, the issue could not long remain doubtful. In spite of the most fearful threats on their part of blowing up the powder magazines, and thus involving themselves and the town generally in one common ruin, they made little or no resistance to the force which was speedily brought against them by the bailiff De Rohan. St. Elmo was retaken, 400 of the conspirators captured, and tranquillity was, in consequence, speedily restored. A few of the ringleaders were executed, and several more condemned to perpetual imprisonment. When the French army entered the city in 1798, several of these captives were still living, and regained their freedom after an incarceration of twenty-three years.

Various rumours were generated as to the origin of the plot, and its ultimate design. Many boldly averred that Russian influence was at the bottom of the whole affair. It was well known that that empire was most anxious to obtain a footing in the Mediterranean; and the island of Malta, if attainable, would indubitably have proved a most valuable acquisition to them. The marquis De Cavalcado, minister to Catherine II., was mentioned as the concocter of the plot, the design of which was to have been the expulsion of the Order, and the transfer of the island to the Russian crown. This, however, was strenuously contradicted by him, and has never been in any way substantiated. In fact, the subsequent conduct of Russia towards the Order has been such as to render it difficult to conceive she could have devised so cruel a blow to its existence only a few years previously.

Whatever may have been the causes, and whoever

were the fomenters of this sedition, the double danger through which the island had, within the last few years, passed, alarmed the court of France; and in order to prevent any future attempts of a similar character, they induced the Grand-Master and council to establish a new battalion of 1200 men for the protection of Valetta, of which at least two-thirds were to be foreigners. This regiment was raised at Marseilles, Naples, and Genoa, and continued to exist until 1795. Ximenes did not long survive this affair; for the annoyance and anxiety it created threw him into a serious illness, from which he never rallied, but died on the 11th of November 1775, after a rule of a little less than three years, at the age of seventy-two.

François-Marie des Neiges Emmanuel de Rohan-Polduc, a French Knight of ancient lineage, was by unanimous consent and acclamation raised to the vacant dignity. His father having been condemned for treason, had succeeded in making his escape into Spain, where his son Emmanuel was born, on the 10th of April 1721. The youth entered into the service of the Spanish monarch, but anxious to revisit his native land, he eventually threw up his appointments at that court and returned to France. Being the only surviving son of his father, his first endeavour was to obtain a restoration of his forfeited rights, and for this purpose he presented himself at court. Here, the princess De Mareau influenced herself warmly in his behalf, and it was by her persuasion that he was induced to enter the Order of St. John. She afterwards used her interest to have him raised to the dignity of a grand-cross, and elected to the office of general of the galleys, which he held until his nomination to the supreme dignity.

Since the death of Vignacourt, in 1697, no French Knight had been raised to the Grand-Mastership, and the three languages composing that nation celebrated the nomination of Rohan with the most brilliant festivities. His first care, upon assuming the reins of government, was to complete and establish the regiment organised by his predecessor for the protection of Valetta, after which he at once proceeded to convoke a general chapter. A period of a hundred and fifty-five years had elapsed since the last meeting of this assembly, and Rohan, who did not deem the powers intrusted to him by the council sufficient for the position in which the fraternity was placed, once more called into existence this venerable parliament of the Order. The statutes were revised, and additional stringency given to many of the prohibitions, particularly those relating to duelling, gambling, and prostitution, but on the whole the chapter effected but little worthy of the name of reform; and when, at the close of its sixteen days' session, it was dissolved never again to re-assemble, it left the code of the Order very much in the same position as it found it. Rohan, however, himself instituted many beneficial measures within the convent. He established public schools, and made several most judicious alterations in the courts of law.

Whilst thus endeavouring to reform the internal administration of his government, Rohan was by no means neglectful of its external policy. The Order of St. Anthony, as ancient an institution as that of St. John, was incorporated with it, and its property divided between the latter Order and that of St. Lazarus. In 1781, however, the entire property was transferred to the Knights of Malta, who thus became possessed of a

considerable augmentation to their resources. In 1782 also, a new language was created in Bavaria, and joined to the extinct language of England under the title of Anglo-Bavarian. This new division was, by the elector of Bavaria, endowed with the forfeited possessions of the Jesuits, who had been suppressed in that country as elsewhere. The value of this additional revenue was 15,000*l.* a year, and the assessment of responsions was calculated upon this sum. The dignities of Turcopolier and grand-prior of Bavaria were attached to this new language, which comprised twenty commanderies for Knights of justice, and four for conventual chaplains. In Poland, Rohan succeeded in obtaining the restoration of some property with which the Order had been originally endowed by a prince of the family of Sangaszko, but of which it had subsequently been deprived. By the negociations and personal exertions of the bailiff Di Sagramoso, this property was once more restored.

Rohan was interrupted in the midst of these reforms by a calamity which occurred in 1783, and which filled the southern provinces of Europe with consternation. A fearful earthquake ravaged Sicily and Calabria, from the effects of which whole cities were prostrated, and thousands of the inhabitants engulphed in the ruins. Those who escaped a cruel death were left houseless and destitute, and a cry of misery at once arose on every side. Much as the Order of St. John had degenerated from the Knightly virtues which had of yore adorned it, there still remained within its pale a remnant of its ancient charitable functions, which this calamity at once called into active operation. The galleys were, at the time the intelligence reached Malta, laid up in ordinary for the winter, but so great was the zeal

and energy displayed by all classes, that in a single night they were got ready for sea, and stored with everything likely to be of service to the unfortunate sufferers who had survived the calamity. They first touched at Reggio, where they landed one-half of the supplies which they had brought with them. They then proceeded onward to Messina, intending there to distribute the remainder. On their arrival, however, they were informed by the commandant, that the king had already provided for the wants of his people, and he refused to receive what the Knights had brought, from a pitiful feeling of unwillingness to place himself under any obligation to the fraternity. The galleys, therefore, returned to Reggio, where they landed the remainder of their supplies; and where no false and ridiculous notions of pride were allowed to interfere with the relief of the unfortunate sufferers.

The Order of Malta might, at this moment, have been considered in a position of the greatest prosperity. Its territories had been latterly considerably enlarged; a new language had been added, to replace that lost by the defalcation of England. Its revenues were large, and its ranks were recruited from amongst the noblest families in Europe, who brought with them all the influence inseparable from high family connections. Their chief was a man of lofty principles and enlarged mind. He had introduced into the convent reforms and ameliorations, the benefits of which had already commenced to display themselves, and he was by all classes beloved, as well for the personal urbanity of his demeanour, as for the paternal solicitude of his administration. Profound peace reigned between the fraternity and its ancient foes. If, owing to this cause, the military

ardour of the Knights was growing somewhat rusty, and if the galleys, in their cumbrous ornamentation, cruised in the Mediterranean more in the guise of a pleasure trip than a warlike demonstration, still the tranquillity of the age brought with it many and substantial blessings to the island of Malta, and permitted the treasury to devote its energies to other and more beneficial purposes than equipments and expeditions.

The island was bristling on every side with ramparts and guns. Manoel had, as already mentioned, established an extensive fort on the island, which has since borne his name. Rohan, following his example, and tempted perhaps by the immortality which that act had bestowed upon his predecessor, had determined on a like measure, and a new fort arose upon the extremity of land, hitherto known by the name of Point Dragut, and which, in conjunction with Fort Ricasoli on the opposite point, completely defended the entrance to both harbours. If Rohan designed by this construction to perpetuate his name, he failed in the attempt, since the work received the title of Fort Tigné, being named after the grand-prior of Champagne, who had contributed largely towards the expense of its construction. It has been alleged, and with considerable justice, that there was as much of ostentation as of precaution in many of these later erections, and the Duke of Rovigo expressed himself very justly when he observed that "all the Grand-Masters, since the establishment of the Order in Malta, seemed to have craved no other title of glory than that of having added some new defence either to the harbours or town. Being the sole care of the government, it had ended in becoming a pure matter of ostentation, and fortifications were latterly erected in

Malta, very much on the same principles as palaces at Rome have been, since the chair of St. Peter has replaced on that point the throne of the Cæsars."

The quiet and apparent prosperity which at this period shone upon the Order, was but the calm usually the forerunner of a storm, and there were at this moment gathering on the political horizon of France clouds which foretold the commencement of that revolutionary hurricane which was to deluge Europe with blood for twenty years, and the first gust of which was to sweep the Order of St. John for ever from that island stronghold in the ramparts of which so many successive chiefs had placed their pride and reliance.

CHAP. XXV.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. — ITS ANIMOSITY TO THE ORDER. — DESTRUCTION OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGES. — DEATH OF ROHAN AND ELECTION OF HOMPESCH. — CREATION OF A RUSSIAN PRIORY. — CAPTURE OF MALTA BY BONAPARTE. — DISPERSION OF THE KNIGHTS. — ELECTION OF THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA AS GRAND-MASTER. — CREATION OF A SECOND RUSSIAN PRIORY. — SUBSEQUENT FORTUNES OF THE ORDER. — ITS PRESENT POSITION. — ULTIMATE FATE OF THE ISLAND OF MALTA.—CONCLUSION.

THE history of the causes which, by slow but sure degrees, brought on that fearful convulsion in France, in the midst of whose throes the Order of St. John was doomed to destruction, does not enter into the compass of this work. That revolution has become an integral and most important point in the general history of Europe; changing as it did the aspect of politics in every country, and bringing in its train the curse and misery of those sanguinary and desperate wars, which marked the first fifteen years of the present century. It will only be necessary here to allude to such points in the history of that eventful epoch as bear directly upon the fortunes of the Order of St. John.

The property of the fraternity within the limits of the French kingdom was at this period, as indeed had ever been the case, managed with a prudence and skill which rendered it a model to surrounding proprietors; and it was a recognised and admitted fact, that nowhere

throughout the kingdom was land so carefully cultivated and brought to yield so large an increase as that under the management of the Hospital. It was natural, therefore, that at a time when general spoliation had become a received maxim with the revolutionary party, these tempting acquisitions should attract their cupidity. The institution of the Hospital was in itself far too aristocratic in constitution to avoid the wrath and antagonism of the *sans culottes*, whose savage cry of "*A bas les aristocrats*" was reverberating throughout France. Everything, therefore, marked the institution as one of the earliest and most fitting victims to revolutionary fury and popular clamour.

Nor had their conduct during the few years which actually preceded the subversion of the monarchy, been such as was at all likely to conciliate the animosity of the dominant faction. When Necker, the finance minister of Louis XVI., demanded a voluntary contribution of the third part of the revenue of every proprietor, the Order of St. John were the first to come forward with their share; and, when afterwards the unfortunate monarch, reduced to a state of extreme destitution, besought assistance from their treasury, they pledged their credit for the sum of 500,000 francs, to aid him in his futile effort at flight. No amount of diplomacy could therefore avert the fate impending over an institution which had added to the crime of being wealthy, that also of fidelity to the sovereign. The steps by which this act of spoliation was consummated were quickly taken, and met with no effectual resistance on the part of the destined victims. In the first constituent assembly the Order of St. John had been defined as placed in the position of a foreign power

possessing property within the limits of the French kingdom; and as such, was subjected to all the taxes imposed upon that kingdom. This first step was soon followed by a decree, enacting that any Frenchman becoming member of an order of knighthood, requiring proofs of nobility, should no longer be regarded as a French citizen.

These preliminary steps being taken, the grand blow was struck on the 19th of September 1792, when it was enacted, that the Order of Malta should cease to exist within the limits of France, and that all its property should become annexed to the national domains. At first, mention was made of an indemnification, in the shape of pensions, to be granted to the Knights who were thus dispossessed of their property; but the power of deriving benefit from this supposed concession was utterly taken away from the unfortunate victims by the condition upon which it was granted, that in order to entitle a Knight to his pension, he must reside within the French territories; an utter impossibility in a country where the smallest pretensions to gentle blood were visited by the most cruel persecution.

The enactment of this decree was followed by a general plunder of the various commanderies; and such members of the Order as were not fortunate enough to effect their escape from the country were thrown into prison, and left to the fearful suspense incident to those dens of horror. During this scene of anarchy and bloodshed, the members of the fraternity comported themselves with a firmness and a dignity worthy of their institution. The ambassador of the Order at Paris, the bailiff De la Brilhane, fulfilled his difficult and dangerous duties till the very close with unexampled determination. It was

impossible that he could thus boldly endeavour to stem the clamour of popular wrath, without incurring that personal danger which the odium of his opponents naturally brought with it. He was warned by M. de Montmorin that his life was in the most imminent peril, owing to the noble and daring exertions he had made in defending the cause, hopeless as it was, of his Order. "I am under no apprehensions," replied he, "for the moment has now arrived when a man of honour, who faithfully performs his duty, may die as gloriously upon the scaffold as on the field of battle." After his death, which occurred suddenly shortly afterwards, the Order did not fill his place; and he was, consequently, the last accredited envoy that they ever possessed within the French kingdom.

Great as had been their provocation, they did not break entirely with the French directory, nor did they openly join the forces of those who sought to crush the dreadful outbreak. A temporising policy appears to have been their chief aim, and in this they certainly did not act with much prudence or discrimination. They might have rested quite assured that no concessions or no amount of open neutrality would lead those who had destroyed their Order in France to regard themselves with a more favourable eye. Their principles were all monarchical, and averse to the changes which had taken place; and the knowledge of this fact could not have been concealed from the directory. They had so far avowed their sentiments, and revealed their sympathies with the fallen monarch of France, that on the arrival of the intelligence of his execution, a funeral service was performed in the church of St. John, at which Rohan presided; the nave of the church was hung with

black, and the fraternity in deep mourning offered up their prayers for the soul of him who had been thus basely sacrificed to the evil passions of his foes.

Had they openly and unreservedly thrown the whole weight of their influence into the scale of the alliance, by which the progress of the revolution was sought to be stayed, they could not have reduced themselves to a worse position than that which their timid and temporising policy brought upon them; and had they been unsuccessful in their efforts, they would at least have had the consolation of acting in a noble and disinterested manner; one indeed suited to the feelings and dictates of an institution based on the principles of honour which formed the foundation of the Order of St. John.

Their chief was, indeed, unsuited for the perilous crisis in which he was placed, and physical incapacity had latterly intervened to break down his energy and spirit. In 1791 he had had a stroke of apoplexy which, at the time, it was thought must have ended fatally, but from which he recovered indeed, without, however, regaining that energy of mind, and that dauntless resolution, so necessary for the crisis through which he was called to guide the fortunes of his Order. His last days were clouded with the certainty that a speedy and inevitable destruction awaited his community, and that events were rapidly tending to that consummation.

The numbers of homeless destitute Frenchmen who flocked to Malta, desiring admission into the ranks of the Order, greatly increased the general poverty of the treasury, and the utmost efforts of the Grand-Master, nobly seconded though he was by the languages who had escaped confiscation, were unable to relieve so universal

a misery. The conduct of Rohan, under these painful and trying circumstances, was certainly most praiseworthy. Being remonstrated with by an officer of his household for the extent of his charities, which his diminished resources no longer admitted, without curtailing the dignity of his court, he replied, "Reserve one crown daily for the expenses of my table, and let all the rest be distributed amongst my distressed brethren."

The worst had not, however, as yet arrived, though the day was near at hand for the fatal blow to be struck. The directory had for some time looked with longing eyes upon the island of Malta, crowned as it was with fortifications unexcelled in their stupendous magnitude throughout Europe, and had determined, if possible, to expel the Order from their home, and attach it to the French territories. Unable to succeed by force of arms, they endeavoured to accomplish their designs by treachery, and, ere long, spies and emissaries were hard at work within the convent and island generally, sowing those seeds of discontent and turbulence which were, ere long, to bear so baneful a fruit. The government of Rohan must certainly be much blamed for the blindness which permitted this open tampering with the fidelity of its subjects; and it appeared as though, by some unaccountable fatality, the supineness of the fraternity themselves was destined to aid the nefarious designs of their enemies.

In the midst of these gloomy presages, and at the worst crisis of the danger, Rohan was seized with that last illness from which he was not destined to rally. One of his last acts was to despatch to the court of Russia the bailiff Count de Litta to demand assistance and support for his tottering institution. He did not,

however, live to witness the return of his envoy, having breathed his last on the 13th of July 1797.

Opinions have been much divided with regard to this chief. Weak-minded he certainly was, and during the latter years of his life his physical infirmities materially augmented his mental incapacities. A craving for flattery and adulation had caused him to seek the society of those who were willing to gratify these weaknesses, in preference to that of men of greater worth and honour. These appear, however, to be the principal faults which his enemies could justly lay to his charge; and to counterbalance them, his life, both public and private, was adorned with many virtues, and secured him the attachment and esteem of many sincere friends. A surpassing goodness of heart, an open-handed generosity, a dauntless courage, a mind adorned with the most profound learning, a quick and ready wit, such were a few of the principal qualifications which attracted in his favour all who were brought into contact with him. Had his lot not been cast in such troublous times, and had he ruled his Order under more favourable auspices, he would doubtless have been revered as one of the wisest governors who had ever swayed their fortunes.

Numerous most beneficial reforms had been introduced under his direction, and the code of laws which he established, and which is still recognised and acted on in the island of Malta, under the title of the Code Rohan, attests the clearness of his intellect. To him the island is indebted for the building now used as a public library and museum, and he also built an observatory on the top of his palace, for the purpose of recording meteorological observations, deeming, with

much justice, that in a climate so pure and calm, with so clear a sky and so extended an horizon, circumstances were most favourable for such an establishment. This building was, however, destroyed by lightning shortly after its erection, and it was not until the government of Sir William Reid, whose scientific attainments and previous meteorological researches had rendered him the fittest instrument for such a restoration, that the establishment of Rohan was once more brought into active operation.

Ferdinand Joseph Antoine Herman Louis de Hompesch, to whose name is attached the melancholy distinction of having been the last Grand-Master of Malta, was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Rohan. He was the first Knight of the German language who had ever been raised to that office, and it has since been most undeservedly made a reproach against that language generally, that the solitary chief whom they furnished to the Order should so weakly and pusillanimously have betrayed its rights and interests. It is said, that during his last moments Rohan demanded of those who were standing round his bed who was to be his successor. He was told that the bailiff De Hompesch appeared the most probable candidate. "The German," remarked Rohan, "is not a bad selection, provided he is well advised, but he is not the man for this crisis, and I shall be the last Grand-Master of an illustrious and independent Order." The result proved the correctness of this prophecy on the part of the dying prince.

It is averred that Hompesch did not desire the dignity of Grand-Master, and that it was with difficulty that he was persuaded to allow himself to be named as a candi-

date. This fact can scarcely be reconciled with that which is well known, that he expended a large sum of money to secure his election, and was ever after hampered with the debts thus created. The career of Hompesch had up to this moment reflected credit upon his name, nor had he hitherto shown his deficiencies in all those more important qualities essential for the head of the Order at that critical moment. He had commenced his life as a page to Grand-Master Pinto, and had reached the dignity of a grand-cross at a very early age, probably owing to his high connections, being sprung from one of the noblest families of the Lower Rhine. For twenty-five years he resided at the court of Vienna, as ambassador to the Order, and at the expiration of that period he was made grand-bailiff of Brandenburg, chief of the Anglo-Bavarian language. He was the youngest Grand-Master that had been known for centuries, the electors having usually nominated candidates of great age to the post, whereas Hompesch, having been born in 1744, was only 53 years old at the death of Rohan.

His rule opened with a brief gleam of prosperity from the favourable dispositions of the Russian emperor towards the fraternity. It has already been mentioned that the bailiff Count de Litta was despatched by Rohan to St. Petersburg, to solicit the protection of Catherine II. for the Order, and more especially for its Polish possessions, which the late partition of that kingdom had thrown into the power of Russia. Catherine, however, had died before De Litta reached St. Petersburg, and Paul I. had assumed the Russian diadem. The young emperor had always expressed himself an enthusiastic admirer of the Order of St. John, and now when the opportunity was afforded him of giving a

practical proof of the sincerity of his friendship, he nobly redeemed the pledges of his youth. The late Polish priory was largely augmented, and converted into a Russian priory, with a revenue of 300,000 florins, or about 7500*l.* This priory was to be divided into ten commanderies for Knights and three for chaplains, and was incorporated into the Anglo-Bavarian language.

The ambassador, De Litta, who was most anxious that intelligence of the successful issue of his mission should reach Malta as rapidly as possible, despatched a special courier from St. Petersburg, with the particulars of the arrangements which had been made by the emperor. This courier was seized at Ancona by the French army, then invading Italy, and his despatches opened by Bonaparte, who forwarded their contents to the directory, by whom they were published; and it was through this channel that the Order in Malta first learnt the favourable termination of the negotiation. Hompesch immediately assembled a council to deliberate on the offers of the emperor; it is scarcely necessary to add, they were warmly and gratefully accepted.

The Bailiff de Litta was in consequence named ambassador extraordinary to the imperial court of St. Petersburg, and made his public entry into that city in his new capacity, on the 27th of November 1797. On the Sunday following, viz. the 29th of November, the emperor, the empress, the various scions of the imperial family, and also the young and exiled French prince, De Condé, were decorated with the grand-cross of the Order, that presented to the emperor being the identical one worn by the illustrious La Valette. He also assumed the title of PROTECTOR OF THE ORDER OF MALTA,

and subsequent events have proved that he warmly deserved the name.

In the council of Rastadt, opened in the end of 1797, it was proposed to combine the Order of Malta with the Teutonic Knights, but the project fell to the ground in the midst of the other more important matters then under consideration. Indeed, there was so general a feeling amongst the revolutionary party in favour of an utter destruction of both fraternities, that no measure tending to strengthen either of them was likely to prove acceptable. At length opened that year which was to prove the last in which the Order of St. John was to remain master of the island over which they had for two centuries and a half ruled so beneficially to the inhabitants and to Christianity at large. The treasury was at this moment in an alarming state of deficit; most of its revenues had been confiscated, or were unavailable; the plate and jewels had mostly been melted down and disposed of; and but little remained to defray the expenditure so necessary for maintaining the island in a proper state of defence.

At this time there were present in the convent the following Knights of the Order: viz., 200 of the three French languages, 90 Italians, 25 Spanish, 8 Portuguese, 4 German, and 5 Anglo-Bavarian, making a total of 332; of these only 280 were, from age and other causes, capable of bearing arms. The garrison of Malta consisted of the Maltese regiment of 500 men; the Grand-Master's guard, numbering 200; the battalion for the men-of-war, which consisted of 400; that for the galleys, of 300; gunners, 100; the militia regiment of chasseurs, 1200; and the sailors who formed the crews of both galleys and men-of-war, 1200 in number; making

a total of 3300 men, to which might be added 3000 of the militia of the island, on whom, under ordinary circumstances, the Order might count to do faithful service, and who during the celebrated siege of 1565 had greatly distinguished themselves.

A vast armament had been, throughout the early part of 1798, assembling in the French ports, whose ultimate destination remained a matter of the most complete mystery, filling the entire of Europe with consternation and uncertainty. The advanced squadron of this fleet appeared off Malta on the 6th of June, commanded by the Commodore Sidoux, and consisted of eighteen sail. One of these, a sixty-gun frigate, was admitted into the harbour for repairs, the remainder lying at anchor outside; and every effort was made by the Order to testify their strict neutrality and readiness to offer hospitality and assistance, as well to the French as to the other powers whose armaments might touch their shores. On the 9th of June the main body of the fleet appeared, bearing with it the French army, whose destination was now known to be Egypt, and which was commanded by the already celebrated General Bonaparte. The mask was now thrown off, the moment had arrived when the directory, who had long been casting their eyes upon the island of Malta as an acquisition of the utmost value to France, had determined to carry their project into execution, and Bonaparte was not the man to fail them in any design calculated for the aggrandisement of the country and the heightening of his own renown.

He instantly despatched an envoy to the Grand-Master, demanding free entrance into the great harbour for the entire fleet. This demand Hompesch had the prudence and firmness to resist, and had he maintained

as bold an attitude to the end he might have saved his island. His reply to Bonaparte was, that such an act would be a breach of the neutrality which, by the constitution of his Order, he was bound to maintain, but that the vessels might enter to the number of four at a time. This reply was amply sufficient for the French general, who only required a pretext for the measure of spoliation upon which he had long since determined, and by his direction the French consul, who on the arrival of the fleet had left the town and taken up his quarters on board ship, in itself an ominous circumstance, wrote the following letter to the Grand-Master.

"Having been appointed to go on board the admiral's ship with the reply of your serene highness to the request of the French that their squadron might water in your ports; I am directed to say that the French general is highly indignant that only four vessels should be permitted to enter at a time for that purpose; as it would, under such restrictions, take a considerable time for four or five hundred sail to be provided with water, and the other articles of which the squadron is in absolute want. The general is yet the more surprised at your refusal, since he is perfectly well acquainted, not only with the permission granted to the English fleet, but also with the proclamation issued by your highness's predecessor. The general has, therefore, determined to obtain by force what should have been granted to him by the principles of hospitality which form the basis of your Order. So considerable are the forces under his command that it will be utterly impossible for your Order to resist them. Such being the case, it was greatly to be wished that your highness had, upon so important an occasion, through love for

your Order and for the people at large, proposed some means of accommodation. The general would not permit me to return to a city which he will be compelled in future to treat as an enemy, and which will now have no resource left save in his generosity. He has, however, given strict orders that the religion, customs, and property of the Maltese shall be most scrupulously respected."

That the attack upon Malta was simply the result of the Grand-Master's refusal to admit the entire French fleet into his harbours at the same time could not for one moment be credited, although that was the pretext which Bonaparte and the directory openly alleged for so wanton an aggression on their part. The affair had been organised before the French expedition had left Toulon, and the Grand-Master had even received notification to that effect. The bailiff De Schenau, who had acted as envoy of the Order at the congress of Rastadt, wrote in cypher a letter to Hompesch, couched in the following terms:—"I warn your eminence that the expedition which is preparing at Toulon is directed against Malta and Egypt. I have it from the private secretary of M. Treilhard, one of the ministers of the French republic. You will be most certainly attacked; take, therefore, such measures as are necessary for your defence. The ministers of all the powers in alliance with the Order are warned as well as myself; but they know that the fortress of Malta is impregnable, or at all events that it can resist for three months. Let your eminent highness take warning therefore. Both your own honour and the preservation of the Order are at stake. If you yield without a defence you will be disgraced in the eyes of

all Europe. Here this expedition is looked upon as likely to prove a disgrace to Bonaparte. He has two powerful enemies in the directory who have taken advantage of this opportunity to get rid of him—Rewbell and Larévéillère-Lepaux."

This warning had passed unheeded by Hompesch, who till the latest moment believed that his island would not be attacked; and a letter is now extant in the grand-priory of Germany, written by him but a few days previous to the loss of Malta, in which he assured the German Knights "that they might rest quite easy as to the fate of the island, since he had taken every precaution necessary to resist an attack, and that moreover he was certain the French government had no intention of acting in a manner hostile to the Order, and that therefore they were to place no credence upon the idle tales which might be spread on that subject." Utterly deluded as he had been by his own wilful incredulity, Hompesch found the fatal moment arrived and no preparations made for an effectual resistance. His whole force was less than seven thousand men, of whom three were the rawest local militia, amongst whom discontent and treachery were busily employed, rendering them untrustworthy to the last degree. Most of the forts were destitute of stores, and even of provisions. Different counsels prevailed on every side; a very large bulk of the population, and not a few of the Knights themselves, were secretly, if not openly, favourable to the revolutionary party, and the general discord and uncertainty prevented the adoption of any prompt or decisive measures of defence.

A firm and determined chief might in such a moment have restored confidence. He might have awed the

discontented and encouraged the loyal. Well knowing that the British fleet would ere long have hurried to the rescue, he might have maintained his resistance without much difficulty within the stupendous line of ramparts which had been the glory and the boast of so many of his predecessors; but Hompesch was not the man to enact such a part. Weak and vacillating in character, easily ruled by others, and ever ready to give heed to the suggestions of those who were only seeking to betray him, he in this trying moment was capable of nothing to restore order within the town. It was now that the traitors commenced openly to show themselves. The commander Boisredont Ransijat, treasurer of the Order, at once wrote to the Grand-Master, announcing that as a Knight of St. John his duty was to combat against the Infidel, but that he could not take part in a struggle against his countrymen the French, at the same time desiring to surrender his office. Hompesch ordered the recusant commander to be confined in the fort of St. Angelo, but took no further steps to check so pernicious an example, and the fruits of his negligence were not long in displaying themselves.

On Sunday, the 10th of June, at four o'clock in the morning, the disembarkation of the French army commenced. Eleven different points were selected for this operation, and the towers of St. George and St. Julian yielded without resistance. By ten o'clock in the morning the whole outlying country was in the hands of the French, and all the detached forts, with the solitary exception of St. Lucian's tower, in the Marsa Sirocco, had yielded to them. By noon, 15,000 men had landed, and the heads of their columns were advanced within pistol shot of the defences on the side

of the Bourg. Several Knights, who had been taken prisoners during this operation, were brought before Bonaparte, who expressed himself highly indignant at finding Frenchmen in arms against their country. He is reported to have said, "How is it that I am constantly to meet with Knights who have taken up arms against their country? I ought to give directions to have you all shot. How could you ever believe it possible that you could defend yourselves with a few wretched peasants against troops which have conquered and subdued the whole of Europe?" Notwithstanding this outburst of anger, he gave instructions that the captives should be well treated, nor had they any cause to complain of the conduct displayed towards them whilst under thraldom.

Meanwhile treachery and panic had been working their way within the town. Hompesch, instead of endeavouring to restore order and confidence by personal efforts, remained buried in his palace, accompanied by only a single aide-de-camp. He did not even name a lieutenant to aid him at this juncture. The commanders of the various posts, unwilling to take upon themselves the responsibilities of action, remained passive, and the French were permitted to take up their positions unmolested. Everywhere the most complete disorganisation was apparent; the soldiers deserted their standards; the people collected together in threatening crowds; cries of treason were heard on all sides; and throughout this scene of confusion the French emissaries busied themselves everywhere, exciting the people to acts of violence, and pointing out those Knights who were in reality the most zealous in endeavouring to protract the defence, as the traitors by whom they were

being betrayed. The infuriated multitude, stimulated to a pitch of frenzy by these foul calumnies and scandalous aspersions, soon proceeded to acts of violence, and several unfortunate Knights fell victims to the blindness of their rage. Amongst others De Vallin and d'Ormy were murdered by the Maltese. Montazet fell by the hands of his own men at Benissa point, and d'Andelard, who was on guard at the principal gate of the city, was shot down by one of his own corporals whilst endeavouring to save a brother Knight from the same fate. Many others were seriously wounded, and the mob raging with the excitement of the moment, dragged their bleeding victims to the front of the Grand-Master's palace.

In the midst of all this sedition an attempt was made to check the advance of the French by a sortie, but the Maltese regiment, which was sent out for this purpose, gave way at the first sight of the enemy's advanced skirmishers, and retreated into the town in such confusion that they suffered the loss of their standards. A report became current, founded on this circumstance, that the great standard of the religion was captured, and this intelligence added still further to the general dismay. Before night, a French division under Desaix had occupied the Cottonera lines and Fort Ricasoli, whilst Baraguay d'Hilliers was in possession of all the centre of the island. Vaubois had seized the Città Notabile, and Regnier was master of Gozo. Night only added to the general scene of confusion and dismay; shots were heard on all sides, and the garrison were called upon to combat not only the open foe without their walls, but also the insidious treachery which was at work within.

About midnight, a deputation of some of the leading Maltese proceeded to the palace, and in an audience with the Grand-Master, demanded that he should capitulate and request a suspension of hostilities. They pointed out that there was palpable treason at work; that no orders were executed; that the plan organised for defence was not carried out; that provisions, ammunition, and despatches were all intercepted, and that the massacre of the Knights which had already taken place proved that the body of the people were inimical to them, and unless a speedy surrender were determined on, there was reason to fear that a wholesale butchery would ere long ensue. To this demand Hompesch returned a refusal, without, however, taking any further steps to render that refusal effectual; and soon after a second deputation appeared, announcing to him that if he did not promptly yield to their demand they would open negotiations with Bonaparte themselves, and treat for the surrender of the town without further reference to him. Alarmed at this last threat, Hompesch summoned the council to deliberate upon the demand of the insurgents, and at that dead hour of night the dignitaries of the Order assembled within the palace and proceeded to debate the question. Whilst the discussion was going on, and different views were being propounded, a tumult without the door of the council chamber denoted a fresh interruption, and, in a moment after, in rushed a body of the rioters, bearing aloft in triumph the recreant Knight Ransijat, who had abandoned his Order and set the first example of treason at that eventful moment, and who had in consequence been imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, from whence his friends of the revolutionary party had just released

him by force. This incident completed the panic of the council. Alarmed lest the city should be surrendered without any reference to them, they instantly decided that a deputation should be nominated to wait upon General Bonaparte and demand a suspension of arms as a preliminary to a capitulation. The individuals selected for this office were the bailiff Saousa, the Knights Miari and Monferret, the Maltese baron d'Aurel, M. Fremeaux, the Dutch consul, and M. Poussiélgue, the consul for Ragusa.

As soon as the deputation had departed on its errand, orders were sent by Hompesch to the different posts to cease firing, and ere long a complete silence reigned throughout the town, broken only by the distant booming of the cannon of Fort Rohan at the Marsa Scirocco, commanded by La Guérivière, a brave Knight, who maintained an active resistance in his little isolated post until the 11th of June, when he was forced to surrender, his garrison having been twenty-four hours without food. In answer to the demands of the deputation, Bonaparte sent Brigadier-General Junot, his own aide-de-camp, a Knight of the name of Dolomière, who had accompanied the expedition with a view to studying the geology of Egypt, and M. Poussiélgue, controller of the military chest, to arrange the terms of the armistice. A brief interview with the Grand-Master and council settled the point, Junot carrying everything with a very high hand. The following was the document agreed to on that occasion :—

"Article I.—A suspension of arms for twenty-four hours (to commence from six o'clock this evening, the 11th of June, until six o'clock to-morrow evening) is

agreed to between the army of the French republic, commanded by General Bonaparte, represented by Brigadier-General Junot, aide-de-camp of the said general, on the one side, and his most eminent highness and the Order of St. John on the other.

"ARTICLE II.—During those twenty-four hours deputies shall be sent on board 'L'Orient,' to draw up the capitulation.

"Signed in duplicate at Malta, this 11th of June 1798.

"JUNOT.

"HOMPESCH."

On the following day General Bonaparte entered the town, and took up his abode at the house of Baron Paolo Parisio, a noble Maltese who lived near the castellany, and here he established his head-quarters. As he entered within the stupendous fortifications of Valetta, and witnessed the extraordinary strength of its lines of defence, he could not refrain from remarking on the good fortune which had befriended him, in throwing into his hands, with such slender efforts, a fortress whose powers of resistance were so great. "Well was it for us," exclaimed he, "that we had friends within to open the gates for us." Bonaparte had great reason for his self gratulation; his proverbial good fortune had not on this occasion deserted him. Had he been detained but a very brief time before the walls of Valetta, the fleet under Nelson, which scoured the ocean in search of him for a twelvemonth, would have been on his track, and the glorious victory of the Nile would have been anticipated by a year, and would have been fought under the ramparts of Malta. It is difficult to trace how great might have been the changes in the aspect of

European politics from such an event. Bonaparte disgraced, with his army destroyed and his fleet scattered, would have made a very different figure on the French stage than he was destined to occupy as the conqueror of Egypt. No imperial diadem would probably ever have graced his brow, and Europe might have been spared many years of desolating wars, during which her fairest provinces were watered with blood. Fate had, however, decreed it otherwise; the star of the great general was at this moment prominently in the ascendant, and he had already commenced that unchequered career of glory which was to lead him eventually to the most widely-extended and powerful empire of modern days.

The capitulation, which was agreed to on the 12th of June, and in virtue of which Malta passed for ever from under the dominion of the Order of St. John, was couched in the following terms:—

"ARTICLE 1.—The Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem shall give up the city and forts of Malta to the French army, at the same time renouncing in favour of the French republic all right of property and sovereignty over that island, as also over those of Gozo and Comino.

"ARTICLE 2.—The French republic shall employ all its credit at the congress of Rastadt to procure a principality for the Grand-Master, equivalent to the one he gives up, and the same republic engages to pay him in the meantime an annual pension of 300,000 French livres, besides two annats of the pension, by way of indemnification for his personal property. He shall also be

treated with the usual military honours during the remainder of his stay in Malta.

"ARTICLE 3.—The French Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem actually resident at Malta, if acknowledged as such by the commander-in-chief, shall be permitted to return to their native country, and their residence in Malta shall be considered in the same light as if they inhabited France. The French republic will likewise use its influence with the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian republics, that this third article may remain in force for the Knights of those several nations.

"ARTICLE 4.—The French republic shall assign an annual pension of 700 French livres to those whose ages exceed sixty years. It shall also endeavour to induce the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Roman, and Helvetian republics to grant the same pension to the Knights of their respective countries.

"ARTICLE 5.—The French republic shall employ its credit with the different powers, that the Knights of each nation may be allowed to exercise their right over the property of the Order of Malta situated in their dominions.

"ARTICLE 6.—The Knights shall not be deprived of their private property either in Malta or Gozo.

"ARTICLE 7.—The inhabitants of the islands of Malta and Gozo shall be allowed as heretofore the free exercise of the catholic, apostolical, and Roman religion. Their privileges and property shall likewise remain inviolate, nor shall they be subject to any extraordinary taxes.

"ARTICLE 8.—All civil acts passed during the government of the Order shall remain valid.

"Done and concluded on board the 'Orient,' before

Malta, on the 24th Prairial, the sixth year of the French republic.

"THE COMMANDER BOISREDON DE RANSIJAT.

"BARON MARIE TESTA-FERRATA,
"DOCTOR JOHN NICOLAS MUSCAT,
"DOCTOR BESNOIT SCHEMBRI,
"COUNSELLOR BONANI,
} Maltese.

"CHEVALIER PHILIP AMAT.

"THE BAILIFF DE TURIN-FRISARI, without prejudice to the right of dominion belonging to my sovereign, the king of the two Sicilies."

Such were the terms of the capitulation which transferred the island of Malta for two brief years to the French sway. The standard of the Order was removed from its proud position, and the degenerate descendants of L'Isle Adam and La Valette were doomed to the degradation of witnessing the substitution in its place of the French tricolor, a change which they had not even the satisfaction of feeling that they had struck one good blow to prevent. For two centuries and a half successive Grand-Masters had expended their own fortunes and the treasures of the Order in rearing a frowning mass of parapets and batteries on every side. The opinion of every leading engineer throughout Europe had been taken to suggest fresh additions to render the fortress of Valetta impregnable. It had long since been recognised as the most powerful place in Europe; and yet in two days it yielded, with scarce a struggle, to the armies of France, even though it knew that the slightest resistance would bring the avenging fleet of Great Britain upon the track of the foe. Indeed it has been generally stated, and there is every reason

to believe with truth, that General Bonaparte had received instructions from the directory not to prosecute the siege of Malta if he met with any effectual resistance, as the safety of the Egyptian expedition might thereby become compromised. The cowardice and negligence, the incapacity and blindness of Hompesch, combined with the treachery of those under him, had done all, and more than all, which the revolutionary party in France could have desired; and the powerful fortress which they had so long craved was transferred without a blow to their power. So soon as the intelligence of this important event reached Paris, the following message was sent by the executive directory to the council, which shows the grounds upon which the French republic intended to justify their wanton aggression in the eyes of Europe.

"Citizens, Representatives,

"The government of Malta has for a long time past dared to manifest the most hostile intentions towards France; it has boldly received and greatly favoured, not only the emigrants who have retired to Malta, but also those amongst the Knights who have actually served in the army of Condé.

"The nature of its constitution demands the strictest neutrality, but at the very moment when it publicly professed to preserve it, permission was granted to Spain, while at war with us, to recruit sailors in Malta, and the same permission has since been given to England, though it has constantly been refused to France in the most offensive manner.

"Whenever any Maltese or French residing in Malta appeared attached to the French cause, they were cruelly persecuted, imprisoned, and treated like the

vilest criminals. The hatred of an inconsiderable state towards the French republic could not well be carried to greater lengths, yet the Grand-Master has declared in his manifesto of the 10th of October 1793, that the king of Naples, having notified to him his situation in regard to the war, he eagerly embraced the opportunity of shutting his ports against all French vessels. He even went still further, and declared in the same manifesto, that the French agent, then residing in Malta, should in future be entirely regarded as chargé d'affaires from the king of France, and concluded by saying, that having understood there was a new envoy on his way to Malta, he would neither receive nor admit into his dominions such a person, nor, indeed, any other as agent from the pretended French republic, which the Grand-Master (his own words) neither ought, could, nor would acknowledge.

"The government of Malta could not certainly at that period prove itself more inimical to France, and this state of warfare has never ceased to subsist.

"On the 21st Prairial of this year, the commander of the French forces in those seas requested permission to water at the various watering places within the island, but this request was refused in the most evasive manner, the Grand-Master alleging that he could not permit more than two transports to enter at the same time, so that it would necessarily have taken up more than three hundred days to have furnished the whole of the French troops with water. What effrontery thus to insult the army of the republic commanded by General Bonaparte.

"On the morning of the 22nd Prairial, the French troops landed on all the different points of the island, and in the course of the same day the place was invested

on all sides. The cannon from the city kept up a very brisk fire. The besieged made a sally, when the colours of the Order were taken by the chief of brigade Vaumont, at the head of the 9th brigade.

"On the 24th, in the morning, the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem gave up the city and forts of Malta to the French Republic, and likewise ceded to the said Republic their rights of sovereignty and proprietorship not only over Malta, but also over the islands of Gozo and Comino.

"The republic made the acquisition in Malta of two men-of-war, one frigate, four galleys, 1200 pieces of cannon, 1,500,000 pounds of gunpowder, 40,000 muskets, and many other articles not yet particularised to the republic.

"(Signed) PECHELL, President.
"LA GARDE, General Secretary."

General Bonaparte did not condescend to pay any personal respect to the unworthy chief whose sovereignty had been thus easily torn from his grasp, nor did he honour him with a visit. Hompesch, on the other hand, anxious to secure certain concessions and privileges for his unfortunate Order, determined to overlook the marked slight thus cast upon him, and to seek himself the interview which the French general did not appear disposed to demand. Accompanied by a body of his Knights, with downcast air and stripped of the decorations of their rank, he presented himself before Bonaparte on the 16th of June. The interview was brief and unsatisfactory. The requests which he preferred were refused, and he himself treated with very scant courtesy.

He had no sooner left the head-quarters of the French general after this fruitless mission, than instructions were issued directing that the minister of the Russian emperor, and the Knights of that language, should leave the island within three hours. The Portuguese were allowed a delay of forty-eight hours, and the French three days. Hompesch preferred a claim to all the plate and jewellery appertaining to the palace and the office of Grand-Master, but the directory established by the French in the island refused the demand, alleging that they proposed making him an allowance of 600,000 crowns as an equivalent. Of this sum, 300,000 were handed over to his creditors, who were very numerous, and who, since he had been stripped of his revenues, were become most clamorous for their dues. Of the balance, 200,000 were paid in bills on the French treasury, and only 100,000, or about 10,000*l.* English money, was paid in cash. At his special request, he was allowed to carry away with him the three relics which the Order had always held in so high a veneration, namely, a piece of the real cross, of which they had originally become possessed in the Holy Land, the hand of John the Baptist, and the miraculous picture of our Lady of Philermo. Even these, however, were stripped of their valuable cases and ornaments before they were given up.* Hompesch embarked at two o'clock on the morning of the 18th of June 1798, on board of a merchantman bound for Trieste, and escorted by a French frigate. The suite who accompanied him consisted of the two bailiffs of Lombardy, Montauroux and Suffrein de St. Tropez; the commander De Licondas, his grand chamberlain;

* These relics are now in existence at St. Petersburg.

the commander St. Priest, his aide-de-camp; the commander Miari, secretary for Italy; the chevalier Desbrull, secretary for Spain; the chevalier de Saulx, master of the horse; the two commanders Amable de Sigondes and De Boisredont; the chevalier De Roqueville, one of the Grand-Master's pages; and two servants of arms, Le Hormand and Becker, the former of whom had been his deputy master of the horse.

The cringing character of this unworthy chief may be gathered from the following letter, which he wrote to the general who was tyrannising over him the day before he left Malta, and which is an unquestionably genuine document, although he afterwards attempted to deny its authenticity.

"Citizen general,

"I should have most earnestly desired to have expressed in a personal farewell the sense I entertain of the constant attentions which you have bestowed upon me, and of the gracious manner in which you have acceded to all the requests that I have made to you, if from a sense of delicacy, whose only object has been to do nothing which could recall to the Maltese either my person or their old attachment, I had not decided upon avoiding this occasion of showing myself in public. Deign, therefore, to receive in writing this expression of my gratitude, my adieus, and my good wishes for you. It is in consequence of the confidence, citizen general, with which the knowledge of your generous disposition has impressed me, that I tender for the last time my earnest prayers for the execution of the promise which you were pleased to make me yesterday, touching the passports of the French mem-

bers of the Order. I attach to this letter a draft of a general form, which, if you would adopt it, would gratify the most earnest desires of the Knights, to whose tranquillity and wishes it is my happiness to contribute. Desiring to leave the island in the most tranquil hour of the night, I pray you, citizen general, to give the necessary orders that the gates of the town may be opened for me at two o'clock in the morning, at which hour I propose to embark, under the escort of the Guides whom you have appointed for that purpose," &c. &c. &c.

Hompesch having left the island, the work of spoliation was rapidly accomplished. All the gold and silver plate, the jewels, and other articles of value, which were pillaged from the convent, were placed on board the "Orient" and "Sensible." The former of these vessels was destroyed at the battle of the Nile, and all her treasures lost; the latter was taken by the English, who returned the property which they found on board to the bailiff Franconi, the ambassador of the Order at Naples. Several of the French Knights, finding their convent thus annihilated, and the community dispersed, followed the fortunes of Bonaparte, and took service in the armies of the French republic, when they mostly perished on the burning sands of Egypt, or before the walls of St. John d'Acre, where the spirited conduct of Sir Sidney Smith might have taught them a lesson on the powers of resistance gained by a firm determination, and the iron will of a brave man; his defence of that place most certainly was a tacit reproach on the cowardice and treachery which had surrendered so powerful a fortress as Malta with scarce a blow in three days.

A general dispersion of the Order now took place. Hompesch, who for a short time resided at Trieste, where he published a lengthy justification of his conduct, which had but little effect in removing the stain his previous weakness and pusillanimity had cast on his reputation, was at length induced to resign his office, and to retire entirely into private life. He proceeded to Montpellier, where he resided in the strictest seclusion, alike shunning and being shunned by society at large. He died on the 12th of May 1805, of asthma, a complaint from which he had of late years been a great sufferer. A few months before his death he enrolled himself a member of the fraternity of Blue Penitents of Montpellier, and he was buried in the chapel of their order. He died in such extreme poverty that the physicians who attended him in his last moments received no remuneration for their labours, and no funds of his own were forthcoming to provide for the necessary expenses of his funeral.

The great body of the Knighthood of St. John, who on their expulsion from Malta were cast homeless and destitute on the world, proceeded at once to Russia, whose emperor still retained the title of protector of the Order, and was the only monarch who of late years had shown any sympathy with the fraternity. Here they were received in the most gracious manner, and with the most flattering cordiality, by the wily monarch, whose ambition prompted him to desire the post of Grand-Master, in order that he might upon that title found a claim to the island of Malta, should it become wrested from the grasp of the French republic.

This desire on his part speedily became known to the Knights assembled at St. Petersburg; and although at

that time Hompesch, not having as yet sent in his resignation, was still the indubitable and legitimate chief of the Hospital, they assembled together in conclave on the 27th of October, and elected the emperor their Grand-Master.* Not only was this nomination illegal, from the absence of any resignation on the part of Hompesch, but also from the fact that none of the elements necessary for a valid election were present. The deed of proclamation itself specifies that the members taking part in the act were only the bailiffs, grand-crosses, commanders, and Knights of the Russian priory, together with such of the fugitives from Malta as had taken shelter in St. Petersburg. Invalid and even farcical as was this election, Paul graciously accepted the proffered dignity on the 13th of November †, and on the 10th of December he was publicly invested with the insignia of his new office.

Paul, however, did not consider his appointment free from cavil, so long as the election of Hompesch remained unannulled. He therefore caused such a pressure to be brought to bear on that unfortunate Knight, who was residing at Trieste, that on the 6th of July 1799, a formal act of abdication was forwarded to St. Petersburg, and Paul was from thenceforth left to enjoy his barren dignity undisturbed. His first step was to create a new Russian priory, for such of his subjects as were members of the Greek Church, in addition to that which already existed within his kingdom for the members of the Church of Rome. The new priory consisted of ninety-eight commanderies,

* Vide Appendix No. 20.
† Vide Appendix No. 20.

and its revenues amounted to 216,000 roubles, payable out of the public treasury. Paul then announced to all the courts of Europe the measures he had taken with regard to the Order, and invited candidates from all nations to enrol themselves once more beneath the white cross banner.

He also sent instructions to Prince Volkouski, commanding the Russian forces in the Ionian Islands, to join in the expedition which was then blockading the French in Malta. The English, however, who saw clearly through his designs in the matter, and who were determined that if Malta was to pass into other hands they themselves should be its new masters, rejected the proffered aid, and so offended Paul, that he was brought to yield to the blandishments of the first consul, and became the ally of Bonaparte against the English.

At his death in 1801, his successor Alexander nominated Field-Marshal Count Soltikoff, as lieutenant of the Mastery, and directed that he should convene a meeting of the council of the Order at St. Petersburg, to deliberate upon their future action.* This assembly, which called itself the sovereign council of the Order, met at St. Petersburg on the 22nd of June 1801, and proposed a substitute for the original mode of election to the Grand-Mastery, such as the altered condition in which they were placed rendered the only feasible method. Local chapters-general were to be convened in every grand-priory, and lists were to be by them prepared of such Knights as were eligible for the vacant office; the actual nomination from amongst the names

* Vide Appendix No. 21.

thus put forward, being left with the Pope.* In accordance with this arrangement the Pope selected the bailiff De Ruspoli, a member of the Italian language, and formerly the general of the galleys. That Knight, however, declined the empty and barren dignity thus proffered to him, and the Pope afterwards named John de Tommasi in his place.

One of the first acts of the new chief was to assemble a conclave of the Order in the priory church of Messina, on the 27th of June 1802, where he formally promulgated his appointment as Grand-Master. Nothing, however, of any importance to the interests of the fraternity was proposed at this meeting; nor indeed, in the then unfortunate state of affairs, were they capable of much amelioration. Tommasi resided until his death, at Catania, in Sicily, and when that event took place, in June 1805, the Pope, who declined any longer to take upon himself the responsibility of nominating a Grand-Master, in violation of the statutes of the Order, contented himself with naming the bailiff Guevara Luardo as lieutenant. He was in his turn followed, in 1814, by the bailiff André di Giovanni Centellès, and in 1821, by the bailiff of Armenia, Antoine Busca. During his rule a project was set on foot for the establishment of the fraternity in Greece, with a view to their ultimate recovery of the island of Rhodes, and a loan for this purpose of 400,000*l.* was set on foot, but as a financial speculation it failed utterly. Busca changed the residence of the fraternity to Ferrara, by permission of Leo XII., dated the 12th of May 1827, and he died in that city.

* Vide Appendix No. 22.

He was followed successively by De Candida and Count Colloredo, who at the present moment is invested with the dignity. In the year 1814 a general chapter of the French, Spanish, and Portuguese languages was held in Paris, where a capitular commission was elected to act as an executive council for the institution. Prince Camille de Rohan, grand-prior of Aquitaine, presided over the chapter, and the commission thus formed has been ruled over by the grand-treasurer, the Bailiff de Clugny, and by the president of the original chapter, prince Camille de Rohan.

It has already been shown how, in 1834, the dormant language of England was once more revived and again established, although without connection with the foreign branches of the fraternity. It may be here mentioned that Sir Joshua Meredyth, Bart., was the last English Knight who was admitted into the Order of St. John by a Grand-Master in person, he having received the accolade at the hands of Hompesch in the commencement of 1798. The history of Malta, subsequent to its abandonment by the Knights, forms no part of a narrative in which that Order only is concerned; still, as the residence of the fraternity during so many eventful years, and as the scene of their most glorious and brilliant achievements, it cannot be passed over in entire silence, although it may be dismissed in a few words.

The French, upon obtaining possession of the island, established a provisional government under the presidency of the recreant Knight Ransijat; but his powers were completely circumscribed, if not actually nullified, by those of a commissary appointed by the directory to watch over the government of the island. Under

his superintendence the Maltese were not long in discovering that they had passed under a yoke widely different from that of the Order of St. John. If, under their former lords they had been suffered but a slight exercise of liberty, their interests and advantage had nevertheless been invariably consulted; now, however, not only were they deprived of every vestige of liberty, but at the same time the most wanton aggressions were made upon their property.

Numerous causes have been alleged for the insurrection which, ere long, broke out, and probably they all bore their share in producing that result. The immediate cause of the revolt, however, was one which the smallest foresight and the most ordinary prudence on the part of the French government would have prevented. They closed several of the wealthiest and most richly-decorated of the churches, and sold their adornments for the benefit of the public treasury. To a people as religious and superstitious as the native population of Malta, this act assumed the worst character of sacrilege; and when at length a public sale was announced of the tapestry and other articles of decoration belonging to a church in the Città Notabile, a riot broke out in that place, which prevented the sale from being carried out. Before General Vaubois, who commanded the French forces in Malta, could send reinforcements, this riot, insignificant in its commencement, had grown into the dimensions of a regular insurrection. The commandant of Città Notabile, together with a considerable number of his garrison, were murdered, and the French municipal officers in other villages shared the same fate.

The general discontent which had gradually grown

up in all directions caused a rapid spread of this seditio
and ere long the French garrison were closely blocka
within the fortifications by the infuriated Maltese, w
had determined upon starving out the interlopers un
whose thraldom they had suffered so many wrongs a
indignities. Shortly after this blockade had been co
menced by the natives, a fleet of Portuguese men-
war appeared off the port, which were soon after
lowed by the victorious British fleet under Nels
then just returned from their glorious triumph o
the French in Aboukir Bay.

The tale of the two years' blockade which ensued
a narrative full of interest, marking, as it does,
heroism and endurance almost incredible of the
fenders, and the dogged obstinacy and invincible det
mination of the besiegers. Human endurance has, ho
ever, its limits, and the gallant Vaubois was at leng
compelled to surrender with his whole garrison to t
British fleet, and Malta fell into the power of th
government*, who, however, only held it in trust un
its ultimate destination should be decreed in an Eu
pean congress.

The treaty of Amiens contemplated the restoration
the Order of St. John, under a new and more restric
footing †, but ere the provision of that short-liv
treaty could be carried into effect, which, indeed,
British governor, who was far-sighted enough to
ticipate the early rupture of the peace, was in no hu
to accomplish, war again broke out, and the Engl
retained the hold which they had gained upon this,
most powerful fortress in the Mediterranean.

* Vide Appendix No. 23.
† Vide Appendix No. 24.

The 7th article of the treaty of Paris, signed on the 30th of May 1814, determined the ultimate destiny of Malta in the following terms:—

"The island of Malta with its dependencies will appertain in full authority and sovereignty to His Britannic Majesty."

Under that rule the island still remains, and at this moment the "meteor flag" of England is waving over those ramparts, so long and so ably defended by the Knights of St. John. England, however, does not found her claim to this island stronghold entirely on the power of her might. True she possesses ample means of retaining that which was thus solemnly transferred to her dominions by a general European congress, against all and every one who may gainsay her right; and should occasion ever again offer itself, she will be found to possess sons able and willing to rival the fame even of the heroes who fought under La Valette; and to hold, till their last gasp, those ramparts which have already been watered with the heart's blood of the noblest amongst the Knights of St. John.

But she prefers to found her claims rather upon the love and attachment of the Maltese themselves. She has no fear of recalling to their memory the days when they were under the sway of the Hospital. She needs not to follow the example of the French, who, on principle, no sooner obtained possession of the island, than they commenced to destroy every monumental record of the rulers who had preceded them. Even to this day, much as has been done to repair the injury, the eye is shocked by the numerous mutilations, apparently wanton and barbarous, which the public monuments of the island underwent during the two years that the

French remained its masters. Those mutilations were, however, by no means the unpremeditated act of a licensed soldiery. They were part of a deep-laid design of the French government to estrange the Maltese from the memory of the Order of St. John.

England, however, has no need of any such measures. Secure in the love of her subjects, she can dare to call to their memory the deeds of the heroes of old. She can venture to restore to their pristine beauty the various records of the Grand-Masters who have successively held sway within the island; and the Maltese who now enters the city of Valetta, passes beneath a gate, only lately erected, on which stand, as the legitimate guardians of the city, the statues of L'Isle Adam, the first founder of the Order in Malta, and of La Valette, the builder of the city which yet bears his name, and the hero of that glorious struggle which is so inseparably connected with the island of Malta.

The hold which England maintains over this insular fortalice is well expressed in the inscription placed over the portico of the main guard-house in the centre of the city:—

MAGNÆ ET INVICTÆ BRITANNICÆ MELITENSIUM AMOR
ET EUROPÆ VOX HAS INSULAS CONFIRMAT. A.D. 1814.*

* The love of the Maltese and the voice of Europe have confirmed these islands to the possession of Great and Invincible Britain.

APPENDIX.

No. 16.

DEED OF AUTHORISATION TO THE PROCURATORS OF L'ISLE ADAM, INCLUDING THE ACT OF DONATION OF THE ISLAND OF MALTA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES TO THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN BY CHARLES V. (Translated from the original Latin.)

THE brother Philip de Villiers L'Isle d'Adam, humble Master of the Sacred House of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, guardian of the poor in Jesus Christ, and of our conventual home, to our venerable brethren in Christ most dear to us, brother Hugh de Copons, draper of our convent, and commander of our galleys, and to John Boniface, bailiff of our bailiwick of Manosca, and receiver-general of our Order: health in the Lord and diligence in action. Since his most catholic majesty has, of his munificence, granted the privilege to our Order, whose tenor is as follows, namely:—

We, Charles V., by the clemency of the divine favour always Augustus, emperor of the Romans; Joanna, his mother, and the same Charles being, by the grace of God, monarchs of Castile, Aragon, of both Sicilies, Jerusalem, Léon, Navarre, Granada, Toledo, Valentia, Gallicia, Majorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Algarve, Algeria, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands; also of the islands and continent of India, of the Oceans; Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Burgundy and Brabant; Counts of Barcelona, Flanders, and Tyrol; Lords of Biscay and Molina; Dukes of Athens and Neopatria; Counts

of Rousillon and Catalonia; Marquis of La Mancha and Ghent.

Whereas, for the restoration and establishment of the convent, Order, and religion of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem; and in order that the very reverend, and venerable, and well beloved, the Grand-Master, the priors, bailiffs, preceptors, and Knights of the said Order; who, being expelled from the island of Rhodes by the Turks (who, after a most protracted and violent siege, have occupied that island), have already wandered for several years, should obtain at length a fixed residence, and there should once more return to those duties for the benefit of the Christian community which appertain to their religion; and should diligently exert their strength and their arms against the perfidious enemies of the Christian religion; moved by devotion, and actuated by the same spirit which has allied us to the Order, we have determined upon granting a fixed home to the above-mentioned Grand-Master and Order, that they should no longer be compelled to wander about the world; by the tenor of this our present charter, firmly valid to all future times; through our fixed knowledge, and regal authority, and deliberation; and with special design for ourselves, our heirs and successors on the throne; we grant, and of our liberality we bountifully bestow upon the aforesaid very reverend the Grand-Master of the religion and Order of St. John of Jerusalem, in feudal perpetuity, noble, free, and uncontrolled, our cities, castles, places, and islands of Tripoli, Malta, and Gozo, with all their cities, castles, places, and insular territories; with pure and mixed jurisdiction, right, and property of useful government; with power of life and death over male and female residing within their limits, and with the laws, constitutions, and rights now existing amongst the inhabitants; together with all other laws and rights, exemptions, privileges, revenues, and other immunities whatsoever; so that they may hereafter hold them in feudal tenure from us, as kings of both Sicilies, and from our successors in the same kingdom, reigning at the time, under the sole acknowledgment of a hawk or falcon; which, every year, on the festival of All Saints, shall be presented by the person or persons duly authorised for that purpose, into the hands of the viceroy

or president, who may at that time be administering the government, in sign and recognition of feudal tenure; and, having made that acknowledgement, they shall remain exempt and free from all other service claimable by law, and customary to be performed by vassals. The investiture of which feudal tenure, however, shall be renewed in every case of a new succession, and completed according to the dispositions of the common law, and the Grand-Master for the time being, for himself and the above-mentioned Order generally in this recognition and investiture, shall be bound to give a pledge, that from the said cities, castles, or places, he will not permit loss, or prejudice, or injury, to be perpetrated against us, or our kingdoms and lordships above-mentioned, or those of our successors in the said kingdoms, either by sea or by land, nor will offer assistance or favour to those inflicting such injuries, or desirous of inflicting them; but rather shall strive to avert the same with all their power. And if any one arraigned of a capital crime, or accused of any similar offence, shall escape from the said kingdom of Sicily, and shall take refuge in these islands, and their feudatories, if they shall be required on the part of the viceroy, or of the governor, or the ministers of justice of the said kingdom for the time being, they shall be bound to expel such fugitive or fugitives, and to drive them far away from their island, with the exception of those who are accused of treason, or of heresy, whom they shall not eject, but, at the requisition of the viceroy or his lieutenant, they shall take them prisoners, and remit them in custody, to the viceroy or governor. Furthermore, in order that the nomination to the bishopric of Malta may remain as it is now, in our gift and presentation, and in that of our successors in the kingdom of Sicily; therefore, we decree, that after the death of our reverend and beloved councillor, Balthasar de Vualtkirk, our imperial vice-chancellor, lately nominated by us to that diocese, as also in the case of every subsequent vacancy occurring hereafter, the Grand-Master and the convent of the Order shall nominate to the viceroy of Sicily three persons of the Order, of whom one at least shall be and must be a subject of ours or of our successors in the kingdom, and who shall all be fit and proper persons for

the exercise of that pastoral dignity. Of which three persons thus nominated, we, and our successors in the kingdom, will present, and shall be bound to present the one whom we or they may judge to be the most worthy for the post. The Master shall be bound to grant the dignity of the grand-cross to whosoever may be nominated to the said bishopric, and shall give him admission into the council of the Order, together with the priors and bailiffs. Also, since the admiral of the Order is bound to be of the language and nation of Italy, and it is deemed advisable that, for him who is to exercise his authority, when absence or other impediments occur, if a suitable person can be found in the same language and nation, it shall be given to him; it is therefore reasonable, that under a similar parity of suitableness, that person should the rather be elected to exercise that office, who may be judged the most eligible from amongst that nation and language, who shall exercise his office and be deemed suspected of none. Furthermore, let statutes and firm decrees be made of everything contained in the three preceding articles, according to the style and manner used in the said Order, with the approbation and authority of our sacred lord and of the apostolic see; and let the Grand-Master of the Order who now is, or hereafter may be, be bound to swear solemnly to the faithful observation of the said statutes, and to preserve them in perpetuity inviolate. Furthermore, if the Order should succeed in reconquering the island of Rhodes, and for that reason, or from any other cause, shall depart from these islands and their local feudatories, and shall establish their home and convent elsewhere, it shall not be lawful for them to transfer the possession of these islands to any other person without the expressed sanction of their feudal lord; but if they shall presume so to alienate them without our sanction and license, they shall, in that case, revert to us and to our successors in full sovereignty. Further, whatever artillery or engines of war now exist within the castle and city of Tripoli, as shall be specified in a proper inventory, they may retain the same for three years for the protection of the town and citadel; the obligation, however, remaining valid to restore the said artillery and machines after the lapse of three years, unless at that time our grace may, owing to the necessities of the case,

see fit to prolong the time, in order that the town and citadel may have its defence more safely provided for. And further, whatever rewards or gratuities, temporary or permanent, may have been granted to certain persons in these territories, which have been given them, either on account of their merits, or from some other obligation, in whatever state they may now stand, they shall not be taken away from them without proper recompense, but shall remain in full force until the Grand-Master and convent shall see fit to provide them elsewhere with equal and similar property. And in the valuation of this recompense all difference of opinion which might arise, and all annoyance and expense of legal proceedings shall be obviated thus: when it shall seem fit to the Grand-Master and convent to grant to any one such recompense, two judges shall be nominated; one, in our name, by the viceroy of Sicily for the time being; the other by the Grand-Master and convent; who, summarily and precisely, shall define the concession of privileges to be transferred, with the arguments on both sides, without any other form or process of law; and if any recompense is to be given, they shall decree how much it should be by right. But if the two judges should, by chance, be of different and opposing opinions, by the consent of both parties let a third judge be named, and whilst the question is being adjudicated or inquired into, and the recompense fixed, the possessors shall remain in the enjoyment of their rights, and shall receive the produce of their privileges, until compensation shall have been made to them. Under which conditions, as contained and described above, and in no other manner, conceding to the aforesaid Grand-Master and convent, one and all of the said articles in feudal tenure, as have been described, as can best and most fully and most usefully be stated and written for their convenience and benefit, and good, sound, and favourable understanding; we offer and transfer the same to the rule of the Grand-Master, convent, and Order, in useful and firm dominion irrevocably; in full right, to have and to hold, to govern, to exercise in full jurisdiction, and to retain in peace and perpetuity. And on account of this concession, and otherwise, according as it can best be made available and held by law, we give, concede, and bestow to the

said Grand-Master, convent, and Order, all rights and all property, real and personal, of every description whatever, which appertain to us, and which can and ought to belong to us in those islands, which we grant to them by feudal tenure, under the said conditions as have been recited, and in other matters according to the circumstances of the case; which rights and privileges, in order that they may be perpetual and capable of being exercised and maintained, and that all and every right may be enjoyed and freely exercised by law, and whatever else we ourselves may perform in any manner, either now or hereafter, placing the said Grand-Master, convent, and Order in every respect in our place; we constitute them true lords, due and authorised agents and administrators in their own matters, no rights and no privileges, which we have conceded to them as above, beyond what we have already received, shall be retained or received by us or by our council. Committing, from this time forth, to the charge of the said Grand-Master, convent, and Order of St. John of Jerusalem, with the same authority as we have heretofore exercised, all and every one, male and female, who may now be dwelling, or hereafter about to dwell, in the said islands, cities, lands, places, and castles, or in their territories, under whatsoever laws or conditions they may have resided there, that they should receive and consider the said Grand-Master as their true and feudal lord, and the rightful possessor of the aforesaid territories, and shall perform and obey his behests, as good and faithful vassals should always obey their lord. They shall also make and offer fidelity and homage to the said Grand-Master and convent, with all the oaths usual in similar cases; we also ourselves, from the moment that they take those oaths and tender that homage, absolve and free them from all oaths and homage which they may have already made and taken to us, or to any of our predecessors, or to any other persons in our name, and by which they have been heretofore bound. Moreover, to the illustrious Philip, Prince of the Asturias, &c., our well beloved first-born son, and descendant, who, after our prosperous and lengthened reign, we nominate and appoint, under the support of our paternal benediction, to be, by the grace of God, our immediate heir and legitimate

successor, in all our kingdoms and dominions; to all the most illustrious lords our beloved councillors, and to our faithful viceroy and captain-general in our kingdom of the Two Sicilies, to the chief-justice, or whosoever may be acting in his place, to the judges and magistrates of our courts, to the magistrates of the "portulano" and the "secreto," to the treasurer and conservator of our royal patrimonies, to the patrons of our exchequer, to the captains of our fortresses, to our prefects and guards, portulans, and portulanotes, secreta, and to all and every one else of the officials, and of subjects in our said kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and especially of the said islands, and of the city and castle of Tripoli, as well now as hereafter, by the same authority we order and direct, under pain of our indignation and anger, and under a penalty of ten thousand crowns, to be otherwise levied upon their property, and paid into our treasury, that they hold, and support, and observe, and shall cause to be inviolably held and observed by others, these our concessions and grants, one and all, as contained above; also, our aforesaid viceroy himself, or by means of a commissioner or commissioners whom he may choose to nominate in our name for that purpose, shall cause to be handed over and transferred, in actual and tangible possession, as vacant and free, all, as is aforesaid, which we have conceded to the said Grand-Master and convent, to himself, or to a procurator named in his place, to whom in every way, in order that, on their side they complete and carry out the stipulation and agreement with the said Grand-Master and convent, we confer power, and commit our plenary authority; and after possession shall have been duly handed over, they shall support the said Grand-Master and convent in that power, and shall protect them powerfully against every one, nor shall they cease to be paid rents, import or export duties, or any other taxes or rights, by either of the aforesaid, to whom we have granted this feudal tenure. We also, in order to give effect to this deed, in case it should be necessary, supply all defects, nullities, faults, or omissions, if any shall chance to be included, or shall arise, or be in any manner alleged, from which, in the plenitude of our royal authority, we grant a dispensation. For which purpose we have ordered the present deed to be

drawn out and furnished with our official seal for the affairs of Sicily attached to it. Given at Castellum Francum, on the 23rd day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord 1530; in that of our reign as Emperor the tenth year; as King of Castile, Granada, &c., the twenty-seventh; of Navarre the sixteenth; of Aragon, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, and elsewhere, the fifteenth; and of all our realms the fifteenth.* In order that the aforesaid grant and all contained therein may remain intact, and may be preserved for ever, we have drawn out three deeds, which include the provisions of the said grant, in which deeds they appear, and stand more widely specified; given under our common leaden seal on the 25th day of April last past; which deeds for their more perpetual and firmer efficacy, have been approved and confirmed by the apostolic see, as also may be seen more at large in certain apostolical letters lawfully promulgated for that purpose in the usual manner, under dates of Rome, the 7th day of the kalends of May, in the year of our Lord 1530, and in the sixth year of the pontificate of our most holy lord, Clement. Hence it is that we, the Master, bailiffs, priors, preceptors, and brothers, holding in complete council the powers of a lawful chapter-general, desirous, according to the design of his before-mentioned imperial majesty, and the tenor of his grant, to have and to obtain possession of the said places, as specified in that grant, and to take the steps necessary and proper for that purpose, being confident in the probity of your good faith, with the most precise sedulity, care, and authority which we possess; after the most mature and deliberate council, of our certain knowledge, in the most sure way, mode, law, and form in which we could and should, best and most validly perform the same, do make, create, constitute, and solemnly ordain you, our venerable brothers, Hugo de Copons and John Boniface, here present, and undertaking this office, as procurators, agents, factors, and promoters of our business, and as general and special nuncios, in such a manner, that the generality thereof shall not derogate from the speciality, or the con-

* The original act of donation ends here, and is signed in the handwriting of Charles V. in the following manner — Yo el Rey.

trary, for us and our Order, and the whole convent; to promise and engage most efficaciously, with the requisite solemn oaths, in our name, and in that of our Order and convent, for us and for our successors, specially and expressly, according to the tenor of the said grant, to observe, keep, and for ever to preserve each and all of the conditions contained in the aforesaid grant, and especially to take the oaths at the hand of the most illustrious lord, Don Hector Pignatelli, Duke of Mount Léon, and most honourable viceroy of the kingdom of Sicily, and captain-general of the army, representing in these parts the person of his imperial and catholic majesty, the king of Sicily and its adjacent islands; also to make a stipulation and agreement to restore all the artillery which shall have been consigned to us, and of which an account has been taken, in the citadel or fortress of the aforesaid Tripoli, as specified in the said grant, and after the same form; and also to seek and obtain executive deeds, and commissioners deputed and authorised to hand over and yield, to acquire and obtain for us true and actual, civil and natural, peaceable and quiet possession of the said places, according to the form and tenor of the said imperial grant conceded to us and to our Order in perpetuity. We give and concede to you, our procurators, in and concerning the aforesaid matters, full and free powers, and our entire authority, by virtue of which you will be empowered to do and complete such things as we ourselves could do if we had been present, even though they should be such things as would require more special authority than is expressed in the above. We promise and agree to maintain in good faith, as ratified, acceptable, and fixed for all future time, whatever shall have been done, agreed to, decided, promised, sworn, and executed by you, our procurators, in one and all of the above-mentioned matters. Under the gage and security of our property, and that of our Order, now and in times to come, wherever it may exist, we desire one and all of the brothers of our house, whatever dignity, authority, or office they may be in the enjoyment of, now or in times to come, that they shall never presume to contravene or oppose these our letters of authority to our procurators and envoys, but shall study to preserve the same inviolate. In witness of which

our common leaden seal is attached to the above. Given at Syracuse, on the 24th day of the month of May 1530.

No. 17.

THE following entry was made in the records of the Council of the Order on the 22nd of March, 1566.

Die XXII. mensis Martii MDLXVI.

Fr. Joannes de Valletta, Sacræ Domus Hosp. Hier. M. Magister, periculorum anno superiore a suis militibus populoque Meliteo in obsidione Turcica perpessorum memor, de condenda urbe nova eaque mœniis arcibus et propugnaculis munienda inito cum proceribus consilio die Jovis, XXVIII. Martii, MDLXVI., Deum Omnipotentem Deiparamque Virginem numenque tutelare D. Jo. Baptistam Divosque cæteros multa precatus ut faustum fælixque religioni Christianæ fieret, ac Ordini suo quod inceptabat bene cederet, prima urbis fundamenta in monte ab incolis Xeberas vocato jecit, eamque de suo nomine Vallettam, dato pro insignibus in parma miniata aurato leone, appellari voluit.

Reverendus Dominus Magnus Magister Frater JOANNES DE VALLETTA.

Admodum Reverendus Dominus Episcopus Melitensis Frater DOMINICUS CUBELLES.

Reverendus Prior Ecclesiæ Dominus Frater ANTONIUS CRESSINUS.

Reverendus Maresciallus Dominus Frater GULIELMUS COPPIER.

Reverendus Hospitalarius Dominus Frater JACOBUS DERQUEMBOURC.

Reverendus Magnus Conservator Dominus Frater PETRUS DE JUNYENT.

Reverendus Admiralius Dominus Frater LUDOVICUS BROGLIA.

Reverendus Prior Sancti Ægidii Dominus Frater LUDOVICUS DU PONT.

Reverendus Prior Alverniæ Dominus Frater LUDOVICUS DE LASTIC.

Reverendus Prior Campaniæ Dominus Frater JOANNES AUDEBERT dit LAUBUGE.

Reverendus Baiulivus Caspis Dominus Frater LUDOVICUS DE LALZEDO.

Locumtenens Reverendi Magni Commendatorii Frater JOANNES DE MONTAGU.

Locumtenens Reverendi Turcopolerii Dominus Frater OLIVERIUS STARCHI.

Locumtenens Reverendi Magni Baiulivii Alemanie Dominus Frater CONRARD SCOUALBACH.

Locumtenens Reverendi Cancellarii Dominus Frater DON FERDINANDUS D'ALASCON.

Locumtenens Reverendi Thesaurarii Dominus Frater CAROLUS DE LA RAMA.

The next entry is not dated, but was probably made on the day of inauguration. It runs as follows:—

Inchoatio Civitatis ad Montem Sancti Elmi. Die XXVIII. Mensis Martii MDLXVI. fuit incepta et inchoata Civitas ad Montem Sancti Elmi, cuiquidem civitati Vallettæ nomen impositum fuit. Faxit Deus illud faustum et felix.

No. 18.

DEED OF KING PHILIP AND QUEEN MARY OF ENGLAND, RESTORING THE ORDER OF ST. JOHN IN ENGLAND: DATED 2ND APRIL, 1557. (Translated from the original Latin.)

THE king and queen to all whom &c. &c., greeting: Since with the most undoubted right we claim to be the defenders of our sacred faith, and since that post forms part of the names, style, title, and honours of our regal dignity, which we have

always hitherto used by divine favour, we consider that at this present time especially we shall be performing that which will be most pleasing to God, and to the whole world, if we could attempt any work by which the world should recognise us as really the defenders of that sacred faith, the name, style, and title of which we claim by the favour of God, by so directing our thoughts that we should perform somewhat for the divine glory, which should mark conspicuously, by that very act and deed, that we do truly defend and fight for the faith. For that purpose, recollecting and calling to mind the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, which was lately suppressed in England, and its revenues diverted into the hands and possession of king Henry VIII., the beloved father of our aforesaid queen, and which, after the death of the said Henry VIII., father of our queen, have in a similar manner come, by the hereditary rights of our said queen, into our hands. Furthermore, having most easily and clearly recognised and perceived the fact that before the above mentioned Hospital was dissolved, the great part of its possessions and revenues were wont to be employed, devoted to, and expended on, the defence of Christianity, and for warring against the Turks and Infidels, and others who openly annoyed the Catholic faith of Christ, and our mother the Holy Church, by the Prior and military brethren of the said Hospital; which Prior and military brethren not only have renounced this world with all its vanities, but have also been wont, when time and occasion called for it, with their utmost strength and aid, to expend wealth, blood, and life itself, in fighting against the Turks and Infidels all over the world. Therefore, we are most earnestly desirous, having carefully considered the measure, with the fervent piety which we owe towards the defence and extension of the Catholic faith, to renew, restore, create, institute, and establish the sacred Order and religion of the English brothers of St. John of Jerusalem, in this our kingdom of England, with their accustomed titles, style, and dignities; and also to adorn and decorate the said religion, or Order, with all the old manors, lands, tenements, possessions, hereditaments, privileges, and prerogatives which formerly belonged to the said Hospital, and

which have come to, and now remain in, our hands, for the support of the dignity of the said Order.

Having also communicated our desire to the reverend father in Christ, Reginald, by the grace of God, Cardinal Pole, a presbyter of the sacred Roman Church, under the title of St. Mary Cosmed, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Legate of our sacred lord the Pope, and of the apostolic see, to us the above-mentioned king and queen, and to our whole kingdom of England and Ireland, and the countries adjacent thereto, we have asked the aforesaid most reverend father, and have most earnestly desired of him, that by the apostolic authority which is vested in the said most reverend father, he should be pleased to decree the restoration and establishment of the said Hospital to its pristine condition.

The which most reverend father, as the duty of the legation which he exercises requires at his hands, acceding to these pious and just wishes of ours, by the authority conceded to him in the legation which he exercises, has restored, replaced, and reformed the said Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England to its former condition, and has also erected and instituted the Priory and Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, under the same title of St. John of Clerkenwell, which it possessed before the said dissolution; and has ordained and appointed our well-beloved Thomas Tresham, Knight, as Prior of the said Hospital; and our well-beloved Richard Shelley, Turcopolier of the Turcopoliership, as commander or preceptor of Sliebech and Helston; and also as commanders or preceptors, the fathers Felices de la Nucci, bailiff of the bailiwick of Aquila; Cuthbert Laithen, of Newland; Edward Browne, of Temple Bruer; Thomas Thornell, of Willoughton; Henry Gerard, of Ively and Barowe; George Aylmer, of South Baddesleye; Jacob Shelley, of Temp le Combe; and Oliver Starkey, of Quenyngton.

Know, therefore, that we, the aforesaid king and queen, not only approve of the above erection and institution of the said Order, made and decreed by the above-mentioned reverend father, but also earnestly desire that the same may be considered as efficacious and valid in our law, to all intents and

purposes, on account of the special and sincere affection which we bear to that Order and religion.

And further, by our special grace and certain knowledge and decree, we ordain and grant by these presents, for ourselves and the heirs and successors of our aforesaid queen, to the said Prior, bailiffs, and commanders of the above-mentioned Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England; that the said Prior, bailiffs, and commanders, and whatever other Prior, bailiffs, or commanders of the Order, may for the time being exist, shall form a body corporate, in word and deed, under the title of the Prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, to be so named and called of others in perpetuity; and that they shall have a perpetual succession; and we make, create, and erect the said Prior and brethren into a body corporate, in deed and name; and we make, ordain, and receive them as a body corporate; and that they shall have a perpetual succession by these presents. And that the said Prior and his successors shall be enabled to prosecute, to make complaints, and to satisfy, or to put in a defence, or to answer complaints against non-contents, in all courts of law within our realm, and in those of the heirs and successors of our said queen, or elsewhere; in and upon all and every cause, action, deed, brief, demand, or dispute, real, personal, or mixed, as well in spiritual matters as in temporal, and in all other things, causes, and matters whatsoever. And that the said Prior and brethren may, under the title of the Prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, take, receive, enjoy, acquire, give, alienate, bequeath, devise, and execute, after the same manner and form in which other incorporated bodies, and other corporations within our realm of England, are permitted to take, receive, acquire, give, alienate, bequeath, devise, and execute all lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rectories, pensions, portions, and all other hereditaments, possessions, and emoluments, as well spiritual as temporal, and all other things whatsoever, which we, by our letters patent, the heirs and successors of our queen, or any other person, or persons whatsoever, may give and concede, according to our laws, and those of the heirs and successors of our said queen;

and that the said Prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, and their successors, shall have a common seal, which they shall append to all charts, testimonies, and other writings and deeds of their execution, touching and concerning themselves, or the above-mentioned Hospital. And further, of our yet fuller grace we have given and conceded, and by these presents do, for ourselves and for the heirs and successors of our above-mentioned queen, give and concede to the said Prior and brethren, all that chapter-house and site formerly belonging to the said Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, situated and lying in Clerkenwell, in our county of Middlesex; and all that our house and gateway, called the gatehouse of the same Hospital, together with all that our church, and all the houses, buildings, structures, cellars, terraces, rooms, halls, kitchens, barns, stables, dovecotes, orchards, gardens, lakes, fish-ponds, and all our land and soil and hereditaments whatsoever within the enclosure, limits, precincts, and circuit of the same chapter-house and site, and all that our wood and plantation called Great St. John's Wood, lying near and adjacent to the park of Maribone, in our county of Middlesex; and all other lands, tenements, gardens, streams, and watercourses, commons, hereditaments, and enclosures whatsoever, appertaining to us, beyond and attached to the aforesaid site, which were formerly in the rightful tenure and occupation of the Prior and brethren of the said Hospital at the time of its dissolution; also all utensils, hangings, and furniture whatsoever, within the aforesaid chapter-house and site; and all the lead, iron, and glass in and upon the aforesaid church; and of, in, and upon, the said gatehouse; and on the other houses and buildings within the precincts of the said site and chapter-house.

We have also given, and for the aforesaid reasons do give by these presents, for ourselves, and the heirs and successors of our said queen, to the above-mentioned Prior and brethren, all those lordships and manors of Purfleet, Wytham, Temple Rhodon, and Chingeforde, with their rights, members, and belongings, in our county of Essex, &c. &c. &c. [Here follow a long enumeration of the possessions formerly in the possession of the Order and now retransferred to them.]

No. 19.

EXTRACTS FROM A MANUSCRIPT HISTORY OF THE FORTIFICATIONS OF MALTA, DATED IN 1717; TO WHICH ARE ANNEXED SUNDRY REPORTS ON THE SAME SUBJECT FROM THE LEADING ENGINEERS OF THE DAY. (This document, which is now in the possession of the Royal Engineer Department at that station, is written in French, and bears the following title: — Historical Memoir and general Dissertation on the Fortifications of Malta; showing what remains to be done in order to place them in a state of defence: together with several Letters and Certificates from the Ministers and General Officers of the Armies of France, which bear upon the subject.)

THE manuscript commences with a brief recapitulation of the loss of Rhodes, and the subsequent arrival of the Order in Malta. It then proceeds thus: —

One of the first cares of the Grand-Master L'Isle Adam was to look after the fortifications, and to place himself under cover from any irruption by pirates. For this purpose he deepened the ditches at the head of the bourg, added some flanks to its enceinte, and made several additions to the castle of St. Angelo.

The grand-prior of Toulouse, Lieutenant, in the absence of the Grand-Master, Peter Dupont, continued these works three years later, adding the bastion which flanks the castle of St. Angelo. In 1541, the Grand-Master John Od'medes, called to his assistance Caramolin, chief engineer to the emperor, in order to consult him as to the fortifications of the island. This officer did not consider the bourg or the castle of St. Angelo capable of a lengthened defence; but proposed to fortify Mount Sceberras; the great expense, however, and the fear that this new fort should not be completed in time, caused the Grand-Master to content himself with deepening the ditches of the bourg, and building the cavalier in the castle of St. Angelo, which he intended to raise sufficiently high to dominate over the Marsa Musceit. But some years afterwards, the grand-

prior of Capua, having represented very strongly in full council the weak state of the fortifications, and the impossibility of defending them if the Turk should arrive with a superior force, his arguments bore so great weight in that assembly, that it was promptly decreed to commence fresh works in the bourg, to occupy Mount St. Julian (since called fort St. Michael, and now the island of Senglea); and to construct a fort upon Mount Sceberras, for which purpose three commissioners were appointed, each (with the assistance of other Knights) to superintend the construction of one of these works, which were traced by the Spanish engineer Don Pedro Pardo. Every assistance was rendered by the convent. The bailiffs and grand-crosses contributed part of their plate and their gold chains; deputies were sent into the different countries of Europe to stimulate the absent; the galleys were detained in harbour that their crews might be made available; and, in short, so great diligence was used, that in the month of May in the following year (viz. 1553) the works were so advanced that guns were mounted on both the forts of St. Michael and St. Elmo; the new bastions at the head of the bourg, together with the ditches right across, were also completed.

In 1554, the Grand-Master La Sangle fortified Mount St. Michael on the side of the Corradin hill, enclosing it with a bastioned enceinte; and built those houses which constituted the new town, and were called Senglea, whilst the bourg was called from that time the old town.

The Grand-Master John de la Valette, who was elected on the 22nd of August 1557, desired much to fortify Mount Sceberras; and for that purpose called in Anthony Quinsan de Montalin, an engineer of high reputation, with whom he minutely inspected the locality; but this project fell to the ground, and the Order was compelled to postpone so extensive a work. However, upon hearing of a large armament which was then preparing at Constantinople, he hastened to complete the front of the island of Senglea, and to attach a chain which closed the entrance to that port. Terrepleins were added to the ramparts, and a platform was constructed at the foot of the castle of St. Angelo. These works were carried on with such

extreme diligence, that in four months they were in a defensible condition. The Grand-Master himself, with the grand-crosses, and other Knights who followed their example, laboured in person, and carried earth in baskets for the work. At the suggestion of the viceroy of Sicily, a ravelin was added to fort St. Elmo, on the side of the Marsa Musceit, to cover the counter-scarp.

[A brief description of the siege of Malta here ensues.]

On the 18th of March 1566, the Grand-Master left the bourg, which since the siege had received the name of the Città Vittoriosa, and accompanied by the prelates, grand-crosses, and Knights, crossed over to Mount Sceberras, which was covered with tents and flags; and there, under one of the most magnificent, a solemn mass was sung; and, after various prayers and benedictions, the first stone of the new town was laid, in the bastion of St. John; and at the same time the Grand-Master presented a gold chain and his portrait to the engineer Laparet, who had been sent by the Pope to design the new town, which was subsequently, by a decree of the council, called the Città Valetta.

It was not without much dispute, and a great diversity of opinion, that this new town was constructed. The viceroy of Sicily, Don Garcia, arrived at Malta on the 3rd of April, accompanied by several engineers and officers of high rank, who found great fault with the design, and were of opinion that the trace of the city should be restricted to three bastions, under the idea that the project, as then designed, was too large, and beyond the powers of the Order to execute. But the Grand-Master, having explained that it was his intention to establish his head-quarters there, with that of his convent, and also a portion of the general population, they gave in to his arguments, and the work was carried on with such a number of labourers that at first a thousand crowns a day were expended, which was afterwards, however, reduced to the same amount weekly.

The work was carried on for several years with undiminished energy, the death of La Valette having caused no relaxation. His successor, the Grand-Master del Monte, who well knew

the utility of the project, urged it forward with equal zeal; and eventually the fortifications became so advanced, that at the end of 1570 the engineer Laparet took leave of the Grand-Master, after having given full instructions to Jerome Cassan, the engineer of the Order, as to the work yet left to be completed. On the 17th of March in 1571, the Grand-Master transferred the convent from the Bourg, where it had always hitherto been established, to the new city, where each one found such accommodation as he could contrive to provide for himself.

The following years were employed in completing the fortifications of Valetta, building the church of St. John, the auberges, the Grand-Master's palace, and other houses. Nothing new was designed until about the year 1635, when, upon the report of a new armament on the part of the Turks, the Grand-Master Lascaris called in Colonel Floriani to inspect the fortifications, and to add what he might judge necessary to place them in a better state of defence: This engineer, on the 17th of October of that same year, presented to the Grand-Master and council a plan of a suburb, accompanied with his arguments in favour of the project, asserting that the city of Valetta was not capable of a lengthened resistance, and that, although he had constructed and defended many fortresses, he had not sufficient talent to turn a bad work, like that of Valetta, into a good one. As this opinion appeared novel, and at variance with that of all the convent, commissioners were appointed to examine into the question: who came to the decision that the proposed new line of works was too strongly defended in the centre, whilst the flanks, terminating in very acute angles, were too weak, and easy to be battered from the neighbouring heights.

Not content with this decision, the Grand-Master despatched the Chevalier de Verteua into all the courts of Italy, and more particularly to the head-quarters of the two armies of France and Spain, then at war in Piedmont, to consult their generals and engineers on the new project; who were all of the same opinion as the commissioners of the convent had been, as was reported to the Grand-Master by the Chevalier de Verteua in 1638.

Notwithstanding all these objections to the design of Colonel Floriani, it was carried into execution; and was already far advanced towards completion, when Father Fiorensola, a monk of the order of St. Augustine, a man of the highest talents, and who afterwards became a cardinal, having been requested by the Grand-Master and council to visit the fortifications, and more especially to inspect the enceinte of the Floriana, and to give his opinion on it, made a report to the council on the 28th of September 1638. He praised and warmly approved of the front of the city of Valetta, of which, if they added three demilunes in front of the curtains, they would make an impregnable place; whilst on the contrary, the fortifications of Floriana, occupying as they did an extent of rocky ground which could never be made use of in constructing approaches, would, if captured themselves, serve for that purpose to an advancing enemy. The flanks were too feeble, whilst the centre was encumbered with a mass of works perfectly useless; and his opinion was, that although upwards of 80,000 crowns had already been expended on the works, it would still be more prudent to destroy them entirely, than to expend double that amount in completing them; whilst the proper spot to fortify, and the one the most important for the safety of the Order, was the height of St. Margaret's; which, whilst protecting both the Bourg and the Senglea, would also cover the harbour, and give admission to succours in time of a siege, without which it would not be possible for a boat to live in the harbour; in which case, Valetta being left to itself, could not long maintain itself. These arguments carried so great weight, that the project was commenced at once, and three bastions with two curtains were constructed. This work was resumed last year (1716).

On the 1st of April 1640, the Marquis of St. Ange arrived at Malta; and, after a careful examination of the fortifications, made a report to the Grand-Master and council, in which he stated, that although the trace of the fortification of Valetta was good, still, had it been constructed in the present age, when greater experience had been gained, it would doubtless have been much improved in design, so as to have been impregnable; that the principal thing now to be effected was to give facility

for the admission of supports in case of a siege. Afterwards, entering into detail, he urged that the four counterguards should be promptly completed, which had been commenced on the Valetta front, with their ditches and covert way; that it would have been far wiser had the trace of Colonel Floriani been kept closer to the main line, and that he thought it would be more advantageous to destroy that portion of the work which had been commenced, and to bring it 1350 yards nearer, giving it a new form, more suitable to the ground; that it was impossible to take too many precautions to provide for the admission of succours, and that for this purpose it was absolutely necessary to fortify the Bourg and Senglea, and to complete what had been commenced at St. Margaret's, in accordance with the design of Cardinal Fiorensola for covering the harbour. He further proposed to form a retrenchment to the post of Castile, in the Bourg; to add two demilunes to its front; to give to the head of the island a more convenient and regular figure; to repair and raise all the ramparts throughout the enceinte; and lastly, in order to protect the entry and exit of the harbour, he proposed to occupy the point of Corso with a small fort, of which he gave a trace, now called Ricasoli.

(Here follow reports made about the same time by Count Arpajon, Count de Payan, the Chevalier Palaviciny, and the Chevalier Tranquillo Vincenti d'Urbino.)

So many reports having been made at the same time upon these fortifications, and so great pains having been taken to collect such a mass of advice from the most talented engineers of the day, it would be supposed that the greatest possible exertions would have been made to carry out these various works; but all danger of an immediate invasion of the Turk having ceased, nothing more was done in connection with them until the year 1710. After the capture of Candia in 1669, the defence of which was an honour to Christianity, the Grand-Master, Nicholas Cottoner, dreading the vicinity of so powerful an enemy, formed the design of constructing that stupendous fortification which bears his name, in order to secure the harbours, to strengthen the head of the Bourg, and that of Senglea; and to provide a place of shelter for the inhabitants of the country,

in case of a descent; and even still more, perhaps, with the view of leaving behind him a monument of his grandeur and magnificence. He called in Count Valperga, a most talented engineer, at that time in the service of the Duke of Savoy, to consult him on the project of the new town he proposed to commence, and, at the same time, to finish the other works, more especially those of the Floriana, which were still very imperfect. This engineer, after having carefully examined the ground, and having perceived the importance of occupying the heights of St. Margaret, for the security of the harbour, presented to his eminence a design very similar to that of Cardinal Fiorensola, making use of what had been commenced, and merely adding some new bastions, to connect the head of Senglea with the Bourg.

But as this project did not sufficiently flatter the grandeur and magnificence of his eminence, the Count of Valperga prepared a second design, which, entirely enclosing all the heights of St. Margaret, should rest at its extremities upon the ditch of Senglea on the one side, and that of Vittoriosa on the other; composed of nine large bastions and two demi-bastions, forming together an enceinte of 5000 yards.

This last project, although very much to the taste of the Grand-Master, was not generally approved of in the convent, and was opposed on all sides, on account of its enormous expense; but eventually its construction was resolved upon, and the Grand-Master laid the first stone in the bastion of St. Nicholas, on the 28th of August 1670, with the same pomp and ceremony as had been used at the commencement of the city Valetta.

The Grand-Master Cottoner, gratified with the stupendous project he had inaugurated, wrote to the various monarchs of Europe a detail of the steps he was taking to protect himself from the vicinity of the Turk; and he sent to the king of France a plan of his new enceinte, which, if the reports in the convent are true, appeared to his majesty too grand, and above the powers of the Order either to construct or to place in a proper state of defence, or to protect in case of attack.

General Beretta, engineer of the States of Milan, was con-

sulted also on the subject; and in his report, dated 4th December in the same year, he found several faults with the project. He considered, in the first place, that in such irregular ground as that of Malta it was impossible to find a site sufficiently even for so extended a work; from which it would result that in endeavouring to follow this extreme regularity, another fault would be committed, as it would be impossible to make all the fronts equally strong; and that the engineer would have achieved a better work by suiting his fortification to the ground than by striving to force nature into following his arbitrary lines. He also added, that the line of defence being too short, the number of the bastions had to be increased, as also the demilunes. He also disapproved of the ditches being parallel to the faces of the bastions, as they could not be seen throughout their extent by the opposite flanks; or if they were constructed so as to be seen, they would become too large.

The Count of Verneda, chief engineer of the republic of Venice, gave his opinions in a long report dated 30th July 1671; in which, entering into a detail of what he had received, he observed that the space enclosed by the proposed lines was very small in comparison to their length, and that with the same nine bastions and two demi-bastions not only could the Grand Harbour, Senglea, and the Bourg be enclosed, but even Ricasoli might be taken in, including Mount Salvator and Renella, as he showed in a plan which accompanied his report, and of which a bad copy exists in the registers of the chancery. He considered that the cavaliers proposed in the centre of each bastion, parallel to its faces, would do more harm than good; that, moreover, they would be destroyed by the same batteries that breached the bastions, and that they would prevent the construction of retrenchments. He also made some observations on the other projects of Count Valperga, disapproving highly of the horn-work proposed at Floriana, covered by a crown-work; both being too small, and, consequently, incapable of defence.

He disapproved of the little fort proposed for the island in the Marsa Musceit; which he objected to even more than that of Ricasoli. He suggested the addition of mines in all directions, proposing that where the depth of the ditches admitted of

it they should be on three levels. There were several other reports, more against than in favour of this stupendous undertaking; still it was prosecuted with every diligence, and a proportionate expenditure. During this interval, Count Valperga busied himself constantly in tracing out his fortification; and when he left he transferred the general superintendence of the work to the Chevalier Blondel, with a lengthy memoir, in which were included several repairs and additions which he proposed making to the existing fortifications, particularly in the post of Provence in Floriana; and a sketch of the horn and crown works which were afterwards executed. The work at the Cottonera was carried on for ten years consecutively, until it was raised throughout to the height of the cordon; by which time so considerable a sum had been expended that the treasury was exhausted, and the work was stopped, the death of the Grand-Master contributing much to that result.

The great energy with which the work was commenced was followed by an equally marked lull, and for thirty-five years not a stone was added to the ramparts, until last year (1716), when, in the execution of a new project, parapets were added to the bastions St. Peter and St. Paul, St. John and St. Clement, with their intermediate curtains. The Grand-Master Caraffa, desirous of signalising the first years of his rule, by finishing the fortifications of Floriana, which, although commenced so long since, were still very imperfect, and by also continuing the Cottonera lines, wrote to Colonel Don Carlos de Grunenburg, engineer to the king of Spain, then in Sicily, to beg him to visit Malta, which he did, and presented a full and detailed report on the works, dated the 14th March 1681. He paid a second visit to Malta in February 1686, and then urged the Grand-Master to finish as rapidly as possible the city of Valetta and Floriana. The principal work which it appears he carried out at that time was the construction of four batteries beneath the castle of St. Angelo, which see and protect the entrance of the harbour; and he was so eager for the execution of this work, that he proposed to complete it at his own expense. The next year he gave a design for, and commenced the execution of, the fortifications around St. Elmo, as they are to be now seen; proposing, however, casemates in all the curtains, which were

not carried out, but which would have been very useful to the Order. The island in the Marsa Musceit appearing to him in dangerous proximity to Valetta, on account of the facility with which an enemy could obtain possession of it and erect batteries, he proposed to occupy it by a fort, with four bastions, the design for which is now in the chancery, but whose execution, like that of many other things, has been hitherto deferred. Matters were in this state when the undermentioned engineers arrived, who, praising and approving of what had already been done, have carried on the works to the state in which they now are, and have at the same time prepared plans and sections, accompanied by reports and other details for their completion and to place them in a state in which they will be as great an honour to the Order of Malta as a source of terror and dread to the enemies of Christianity.

Then follow the undermentioned documents:—

Letter from the Grand-Master Perellos to the ambassador at the French Court, dated 28th October, 1714.

Letter of Louis XIV., king of France, in answer to the above:—

My Cousin,—Although I make no doubt that the Seigneurs de Tigné and Gion de Mondion, engineers, who are proceeding to Malta for the service of your Order, will receive all due marks of your approbation, more particularly when you discover that they display as much capacity as zeal, I am nevertheless desirous, on this occasion, to recommend them again to your notice, and to inform you that, having always been well satisfied with their services, I considered, that in selecting them, in accordance with the requests made to me in your name, they were the persons best adapted for carrying out your views. You may also rest assured that, being equally desirous of giving to your Order every possible proof of my protection, as of marking the particular esteem which I entertain for yourself, I shall do the like, with pleasure, on all future occasions. Whereupon, my cousin, I pray God that he may have you in His sacred and holy keeping.

Given at Versailles, this 26th January, 1715.

(Signed) LOUIS.
COLBERT.

Letter of Mons. le Peletier de Souzy, Minister of French Fortifications, to the Grand-Master, on the same subject.

Instructions from the Venerable Congregation of War to Mons. de Tigné, upon the subject of the Fortifications of Malta.

Report of the Chevalier de Tigné on the above subject, dated 25th September 1715.

Report of the Congregation of War to the Grand-Master, on the same subject.

Letter of the Grand-Master to Mons. le Peletier de Souzy, concerning the return of Mons. de Tigné to France; and begging that the king will permit his early return to Malta: dated in September 1715.

Report of Philip de Vendôme, Grand-Prior of France, on the state of the Fortifications.

Letter of the Chevalier de Tigné, stating that the Duke of Orleans will not spare him to return to Malta; dated 1st April 1716.

Certificate of the COUNT VAUBAN upon the project of Mons. de Tigné:—

I, Count of Vauban, Lieutenant-General of the Armies of the King, Grand-Cross of the Military Order of St. Louis, Governor of the city and castle of Bethune, Engineer and Director-General of Fortifications, Lord, Baron, and Count of Busseul, Moulin sur l'Arcouse, Poisson, St. Geonin, La Lattie, and elsewhere: I have seen, with satisfaction, the plans, profiles, and reports which Mons. de Tigné, brigadier of the engineers of the king, has drawn up, concerning the fortifications of Malta; but at the same time that I admire the grandeur and the magnificence of the works, and the prodigious expenditure which has necessarily been made to bring them to the point in which they now are, I was not a little surprised to perceive the imperfect state in which they have been left, not being really in a state of actual defence at all.

The alterations and repairs which are proposed for the covert way of the Valetta front appear indispensable, as well as the communications from the town by the bottom of the ditches.

It was equally necessary to strengthen and place in a proper

state of defence the two flanks of Floriana, the power of which is by no means proportioned to that of the front. The proposed lunette and its covert way will give a great protection on the right side. The retrenchment proposed behind the Capuchin convent also appears very judicious, as well as the little lunette in the re-entering place of arms of the covert way on the left; to which we presume that all the perfection will be given which it ought to have, as to its size, the height of its parapets, the banquettes, places of arms, traverses, and other renewals, as marked on the plan, and that the glacis will be finished according to the lines which have been laid down.

The steps which this engineer has proposed for the fortifications of the Cottonera appear equally judicious; and nothing better can be done than to finish Fort St. Margaret, with the two communications to the right and left, to Senglea and the Bourg, as they are laid down on the plan and report which have been sent to me: and making use of the enceinte of the Cottonera, in the state in which it now is, with the proposed additions, as an excellent retrenchment, which will act as a first enceinte to Fort St. Margaret, and will render it a far superior work than the Cottonera by itself, even if it were completed, with all the development which a work of such importance would require; since the bastions of Valperga and St. Paul will always, owing to the height of their revetments, be exposed to the cannon of the enemy. The retrenchment in the bastion of Salvator is equally necessary, to cover the head of the Bourg, whose fate will always depend on that of this bastion, on account of the great command and advantage which its right flank has over the place.

What is proposed for the strengthening of Fort Tigné is excellent; and it appears to me that too much precaution cannot be taken to maintain this point, since on its preservation depends that of the harbour, and consequently of the place itself.

It will be also indispensable to occupy the heights of the Coradino and the Island of the Lazaretto (in the Marsa Musceit) —which take in reverse and enfilade most of the works of Valetta, Floriana, and the Cottonera—by placing on them forts suitable to the ground, the communication to which can be made through

the gorge, by means of the small boats of the harbour; for which purpose a little redoubt should be made, covered from the view of the enemy.

When these works shall have been completed, which do not appear to me to involve too considerable an expenditure, the Order of Malta will be able to boast of being possessed of one of the most magnificent fortresses in Europe, which, when defended by the valour of its Knights, ought to be impregnable to the utmost efforts of the Ottoman empire. In testimony of which I have signed this certificate, and affixed the seal of my arms.

Given at Paris, on the 15th of February 1716.

Certificate of Mons. de Valory, Lieutenant-General of the Armies of the King, Engineer and Director of the Fortifications of Flanders, on the same subject.

Certificate of Mons. Favart, Brigadier of the Armies of the King, Engineer and Director of the Fortifications of D'Aunix, Poitou, Blaye, Medoc, &c., on the same subject.

Letters from the Duke of Orleans, the Marquis D'Asfeld, and the bailiff of Mesmes, notifying the return of Chevalier de Tigné to Malta in June 1716.

Report on the then state of the fortifications of Malta, by the Chevalier de Tigné, dated 15th September 1716.

Estimate of works necessary to complete the fortifications. (In Maltese crowns, value about 2*s.* each.)

Valetta.

To render bomb-proof the magazines under the cavaliers at the Porta Reale . . .	2,000
To repair the parapets and make the necessary banquettes round the fortifications, particularly the Porta Reale front	2,000
To renew the lower flanks of the bastions in this front	500
Carried forward .	4,500

Brought forward .	4,500
To render practicable the communications of the place to the ditches, counterguards, &c. . .	600
To make caponieres in the bottom of the ditches .	600
To make communications in the counterscarps to the counterguards	600
To repair the interior of the counterguards . .	400
To make caponieres and traverses in their ditches .	600
To re-form the covert ways and construct places d'armes	3,000
To repair the glacis in the worst places . .	3,000
Total for Valetta . . .	13,300

Floriana.

Making the necessary communications covered from the Coradino	1,000
Proposed retrenchment in the bastion of Provence .	10,000
To finish the parapet on the curtain of the Porte des Poires	500
To complete the centre bastion . . .	2,000
To form banquettes along the entire front . .	300
To construct the proposed retrenchment behind the Capuchin convent	5,000
To construct bomb-proof magazines . .	11,000
To make caponieres and traverses in the ditches .	1,000
To make the proposed gate, with lunette in front .	5,000
To finish the horn-work . . .	500
To finish the crown-work . . .	1,000
Total for Floriana . . .	37,300
Proposed fort on the Island of the Lazaretto .	25,000
Do. do. on the Point Dragut . .	3,000

Island of Senglea.

Alterations to the right bastion exposed to the Coradino	1,000
To open the ditch in front of the entrance . .	200
To construct a covert way along the front . .	700
To make the proposed retrenchment . .	5,000
Total for Senglea . . .	6,900

The Bourg.

To form a covert way in front of the curtain	5,000
Repairs to several parapets	200
Continuation of the above covert way to the Cottonera	500
New bastion to the post of Castile	1,500
Repairs to the two advanced bastions at the same post	500
Repairs to the tenaille at foot of do.	200
Constructing a ditch and making a counterscarp	1,200
Repairing the bastions at the head of the Bourg	10,000
Constructing additional counterscarps	600
Constructing parapets as far as Salvator bastion	600
Forming a lower flank to St. Laurence's bastion	500
Constructing a retrenchment on the Salvator bastion	4,000
Total for the Bourg	24,800

Fort St. Margaret.

Completing the glacis and covert way	10,000
Forming ramparts in the interior of the fort	6,000
Forming a communication to the Bourg	5,000
Forming a communication with Senglea	60,000
Total for St. Margaret	81,000

The Cottonera.

Constructing parapets	6,000
Forming passages for troops at the foot of the ramparts	1,000
Forming three powder magazines, as retrenchments, in the gorges of the bastions	9,000
Constructing three other powder magazines in the bastions, as depôts in time of peace	6,000
Constructing a tenaille	500
Forming counterscarps where the rock is low	10,000
To lower and level the ditches	15,000
Total for Cottonera	47,500

Fort Ricasoli.

Re-forming the covert way with traverses and places d'armes	1,000
Constructing a demi-counterguard on the left side	2,000
Altering the sallyports	200
Constructing two caponieres and six traverses	400
Constructing a large traverse under the right bastion	150
Repairing the parapets and banquettes	200
Constructing a retrenchment in the gorge of the fort	6,000
Constructing a circular battery to defend the entrance of the harbour	1,000
Total for Ricasoli	10,950

Grand total of the project, 249,750 crowns, or 24,975*l.*

No. 20.

Proclamation appointing the Emperor Paul as Grand-Master of the Order of St. John.

We, the Bailiffs, Grand-Crosses, Commanders, Knights of the Grand-Priory of Russia, and all other members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, present in this imperial city of St. Petersburg, reflecting on the disastrous situation of our Order; its total want of resources, the loss of its sovereignty and chief place of residence, the dispersion of its members, wandering through the world without a chief or any fixed spot of rendezvous, the increasing dangers by which it is threatened, and the plans formed by usurpers to invade its property and win it entirely; being desirous and in duty bound to employ all possible methods to prevent the destruction of an Order equally ancient and illustrious, which has ever been composed of the most select nobility, and which has rendered such important service to the Christian world; whose institutions were founded

on such excellent principles as must not only be the firmest support to all legitimate authority, but tend to its own preservation and future existence; animated by gratitude towards His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias for the favours bestowed on our Order, penetrated with veneration for his virtues, and confidently relying on his sacred word "that he will not only support us in our institutions, privileges, and honours, but that he will employ every possible means to re-establish our Order in its original independent situation, where it contributed to the advantage of Christendom in general, and of every different state in particular."

Knowing the impossibility in our present circumstances, the members of our Order being generally dispersed, of preserving all the forms and customs prescribed in our constitution and statutes; but being nevertheless desirous to secure the dignity and the power inherent to the sovereignty of our Order, by making a proper choice of a successor to D'Aubusson, L'Isle Adam, and La Valette:

We, the Bailiffs and Grand-Crosses, the Commanders and Knights of the Grand-Priory of Russia, and all other members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, assembled at St. Petersburg, the chief place of residence of our Order, not only in our own names, but in those of the other languages, grand-priories in general, and all their members in particular, who shall unite themselves to us by a firm adhesion to our principles, proclaim His Imperial Majesty the Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, Paul I., as Grand-Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

In virtue of this present proclamation, we promise, according to our laws and statutes, and that by a sacred and solemn engagement, obedience, submission, and fidelity to His Imperial Majesty, the Most Eminent Grand-Master.

Given at St. Petersburg, the residence of our Order, this present Wednesday, the 27th October 1798.

Acceptation of the Emperor Paul of the post of Grand-Master, in answer to the above proclamation.

We, by the grace of God, Paul I., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, &c. &c.

In consideration of the wish expressed to us by the Bailiffs, Grand-Crosses, Commanders, Knights of the illustrious Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of the Grand-Priory of Russia, and other members assembled together in our capital, in the name of all the well-disposed part of their fraternity, we accept the title of Grand-Master of this Order, and renew, on this occasion, the solemn promises we have already made in quality of protector, not only to preserve all the institutions and privileges of this illustrious Order for ever unchanged, in regard to the free exercise of its religion, with everything relating to the Knights of the Roman Catholic faith, and the jurisdiction of the Order, the seat of which we have fixed in this our Imperial residence; but also we declare that we will unceasingly employ for the future all our care and attention for the augmentation of the Order, for its re-establishment in the independent position which is requisite for the salutary end of its institution, for assuring its solidity, and confirming its utility. We likewise declare, that in taking thus upon us the supreme government of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, and considering it our duty to make use of every possible means to obtain the restoration of the property of which it has been so unjustly deprived, we do not pretend in any degree, as Emperor of all the Russias, to the smallest right or advantage which may strike at or prejudice any of the powers, our allies; on the contrary, we shall always have a peculiar satisfaction in contributing, at all times, everything in our power towards strengthening our alliance with the said powers.

Our grace and imperial favour towards the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in general, and each of its members in particular, shall ever remain invariably the same.

Given at St. Petersburg, the 13th of November, in the year 1798, in the third year of our reign.

(Signed) PAUL.

(Countersigned) PRINCE BESBORODKO.

No. 21.

Proclamation of the Emperor Alexander, appointing Count Soltikoff Lieutenant of the Grand-Master.

We, Alexander I., by the grace of God, &c. &c., being desirous of giving a proof of our particular esteem and affection towards the sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, declare that we take the said Order under our imperial protection, and that we will employ every possible care and attention to maintain it in all its rights, honours, privileges, and possessions.

For this purpose we command and ordain, that our General, Field-Marshal, Bailiff, Count de Soltikoff should continue to exercise the functions and authority of Lieutenant of the Grand-Master of the said Order, and convene a sitting of the sacred council to make known our intentions that the imperial residence should be still regarded as the chief seat of the sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, until such time as circumstances shall permit the election of a Grand-Master, according to the ancient forms and statutes.

In the interim, we ordain, in our quality of protector, that the sacred council shall have the government of the Order, and shall make known to all the languages and priories this our determination; inviting them, at the same time, for their own proper interest, to submit to the decrees issued by the said council.

We confirm, by this present declaration, our two grand Russian and Catholic priories, established in our empire, in the enjoyment of the property, privileges, and administration already bestowed on them; and it is our will and pleasure that they should be governed, in our name of protector, by the Lieutenant of the Mastership, our General, Field-Marshal, Bailiff Count Nicholas de Soltikoff.

The very first moment that, in concert with other courts, means can be found, and a proper place fixed upon, to convene a general chapter of the sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the first effects of our protection will be, to procure a

Grand-Master to be elected, who shall be worthy to preside over the Order, and to re-establish it as formerly.

Given at our imperial residence of St. Petersburg, on the 16th of March 1801, in the first year of our reign.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.

(Countersigned)

The Grand Chancellor COUNT DE PABLUS.

No. 22.

DECREE OF THE SACRED COUNCIL OF THE SOVEREIGN ORDER OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRECEDING PROCLAMATION.

IN order to contribute as soon as possible to the restoration of a Grand-Master, and the primitive constitution to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the sovereign council of the said Order, in the meeting of the 22nd of June 1801, has inquired into the form of convocation for a general chapter, and finds that the statutes are as follows on that subject:—

" A General Chapter must consist of the Grand-Master, the Bishop of Malta, the Prior of the Church, the Conventual Bailiffs or Pillars of the Languages, the Grand-Priors or Capitular Bailiffs who have a decisive vote, a Solicitor for the Knights of each Language, and a Solicitor for the Commanders of each Priory."

The sovereign council, in consideration that all the elements of a general chapter are dispersed, and knowing that, in the present situation of things, it would be impossible to assemble them, according to the form expressed in the statutes, has resolved to adopt a mode of election which shall differ as little as possible from the ancient one, prevent delay, spare the priories all unnecessary expense and inconvenience, and immediately fix upon a chief for the sovereign Order to govern it, and take possession of the island of Malta, whenever circumstances shall make it possible to do so.

For this purpose, the sovereign council enjoins all the Grand-Priors immediately to convene their chapters, and to carry before them the following propositions:—

1st. The provincial chapter shall mark out, among the *professed* Knights of every language, those whom they think most capable of filling the dignity of Grand-Master with due courage and firmness. The Grand-Priors shall acquaint the sovereign council as soon as possible with this opinion, that a list may be formed from all the different priories of those who are candidates for the Grand-Mastership.

2nd. The council proposes to send this list to the court of Rome, and his holiness, as supreme chief of the Romish Church, and as superior of all religious Orders, shall be entreated to select a Grand-Master from among the candidates; specifying at the same time, that this is only to be the case on this one occasion, and without derogating in any degree from the rights and privileges of the sovereign Order.

His holiness shall also be requested to notify this election to all Catholic countries by a pontifical brief, commanding the Knights to obey the Grand-Master thus chosen, according to the statutes of holy obedience.

All the sovereign chapters shall be summoned by their Grand-Priors to declare their opinions formally and with precision, on the question of referring to the Pope to elect a Grand-Master from the number of professed Knights pointed out by the different priories.

By these means the Order will be assured of having a Grand-Master of its own choice, and from among its own members; and the sovereign council may proceed with confidence, according to the wishes and opinions of all the capitular chapters. Moreover, the sovereign council represents to all the Grand-Priors, that it is more important than ever to employ all their authority and prudence to prevent every kind of division and intrigue, to choose a candidate truly worthy of the sovereign command, endowed with the necessary qualities to make the Order of general utility, and to restore a severe discipline.

Lastly, the sovereign council has in its wisdom judged that this was the only method to conciliate the members in general,

to avoid all pretences for schisms, and to unite all the scattered members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Given at St. Petersburg, the 20th day of July 1801.

No. 23.

Terms of the Capitulation under which the French were expelled from Malta.

Article I.—The garrison of Malta, and the forts dependent thereon, shall march out to be embarked for Marseilles, on the day and hour appointed, with all the honours of war, such as drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, having at their head two four-pounders with their carriages, artillerymen to serve them, and a waggon for the infantry. The civil and military officers of the navy, together with everything belonging to that department, shall equally be conducted to the port of Toulon.

Answer.—The garrison shall receive the above requested honours of war, but subject to the following arrangement, in case it be found impossible to embark the whole of the troops immediately. As soon as the capitulation shall be signed, the two forts of Ricasoli and Tigné shall be delivered up to the troops of His Britannic Majesty, and the vessels allowed to enter the port. The national gate shall have a guard composed of an equal number of French and English till the transports shall be ready to take on board the first embarkation of troops; when the whole of the garrison shall file off with all the honours of war as far as the sea-shore, where they shall ground their arms. Those who cannot embark in the first transports shall remain in the isle and fort Manuel, with an armed guard, to prevent any one going into the interior of the island. The garrison shall be regarded as prisoners of war, and cannot serve against His Britannic Majesty till the exchange shall have taken place, and the respective officers shall give their parole to

this purpose. All the artillery, ammunition, and public stores of every description shall be delivered up to officers appointed for that purpose, together with inventories and public papers.

ARTICLE II.—The general of brigade, Chanez, commandant of the city and forts; the general of brigade, d'Hannedel, commandant of the artillery and engineers; the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers; the officers, troops, crews, and all others employed in the navy; citizen Pierre Alphonse Guys, general commissary of trade for the French republic in Syria and Palestine; those employed in civil and military capacities; the commissioners of the army and navy, the civil administrators, and number of whatsoever description of the constituent authority, shall take with them their arms, their personals, and all their property.

Answer. — Granted; excepting the soldiers grounding their arms, as mentioned in the first article. The non-commissioned officers shall keep their sabres.

ARTICLE III.—All those who bore arms in the service of the republic during the siege, of whatsoever nation they may happen to be, shall be regarded as making part of the garrison.

Answer.—Granted.

ARTICLE IV. — The division shall be embarked at the expense of His Britannic Majesty, each person receiving during his passage the pay of his rank, according to the French regulation. The officers and members of the civil administration, with their families, shall also receive a salary in proportion to the pay of the military, and according to the dignity of their office.

Answer. — Granted; conformably to the custom of the British navy, which grants the same pay to every individual of whatsoever degree and condition.

ARTICLE V.—A proper number of waggons and shallops shall be provided for transporting and shipping the personals belonging to the generals, their aides-de-camp, commissaries, chiefs of different corps, officers, citizen Guys, civil and military administrators of the army and navy; together with the papers belonging to the councils of the civil and military administrators of the army and navy; also those of the councils of

the administrators of the different corps, the commissaries of both army and navy, the paymaster of the division, and all others employed in the civil and military administration. These effects and papers to be subject to no kind of inspection, being guaranteed by the generals as containing neither public nor private property.

Answer.— Granted.

ARTICLE VI.—All vessels belonging to the republic in sailing condition shall depart at the same time as the division for a French port, after being properly victualled for the voyage.

Answer.—Refused.

ARTICLE VII.—The sick, capable of being removed, shall be embarked with the division, and be provided with medicines, surgical instruments, provisions, and necessary attendants to take care of them during the passage; those whose state of health obliges them to remain in Malta, shall be properly treated, and the commander-in-chief shall leave a French physician and surgeon to attend them. When they shall be able to leave the hospital, they shall be provided with a lodging gratis, until they are sufficiently recovered to return to France, whither they shall be sent, with all their property, equally with the garrison. The commander-in-chief, on evacuating Malta, will entrust them to the honour and humanity of the English general.

Answer.—Granted.

ARTICLE VIII.—All individuals, of whatsoever nation, inhabitants or not of Malta, shall not be molested for their political opinions, nor for any acts committed whilst Malta was in the power of the French government. This arrangement to be principally applied in its fullest extent to those who have taken up arms, or to those who have held any civil, administrative, or military employments. These are not to be accountable for anything which has passed, particularly not to be proceeded against for what happened during their administration.

Answer.—This article does not appear to come under the terms of a military capitulation; but all the inhabitants who wish to remain, or who are permitted to remain, may depend

upon being treated with justice and humanity, and on enjoying the entire protection of the law.

ARTICLE IX.—All the French inhabiting Malta, and those of the Maltese who are desirous of following the French army, and retiring to France with their property, shall have the liberty to do so. Those who possess moveables, and estates impossible to be disposed of immediately, and who intend settling in France, shall be allowed six months from the signature of the present capitulation for the sale of their estates and other effects. This property shall be respected; those who remain for the time being, shall be allowed to act for themselves, or, if they follow the French division, by their attorney; and on the termination of their affairs, they shall be furnished with passports for France, and the remainder of their effects sent on board, together with their capital, either in money or in letters of exchange, as shall best suit their convenience.

Answer.—Granted, with reference to the answer given to the preceding article.

ARTICLE X.—As soon as the capitulation shall be signed the English general shall permit the commander-in-chief of the French forces to despatch a felucca, properly manned, with an officer, to carry the capitulation to the French government, who shall be provided with the necessary safeguard.

Answer.— Granted.

ARTICLE XI.—The articles of capitulation being signed, the gate, called "Des Bombes," shall be given up to the English general; and occupied by a guard consisting of an equal number of French and English, with orders to permit neither the soldiers of the besieging army, nor any inhabitant of the island whatsoever, to enter the city until the French troops shall be embarked and out of sight of the port. As soon as the embarkation shall have taken place, the English troops shall occupy the gates, and free entrance be allowed into the city. The English general must perceive that this precaution is absolutely necessary to prevent all disputes, and in order that the articles of the capitulation may be religiously observed.

Answer.— Granted, conformably to what has been already provided against by the answer to the first article; and all pre-

caution shall be taken to prevent the armed Maltese from approaching the gates occupied by the French troops.

ARTICLE XII.—All alienation of property, and sale of estates and effects by the French government, whilst it was in possession of Malta, together with all exchange of property between individuals, shall be maintained inviolable.

Answer.—Granted, as far as justice and law will permit.

ARTICLE XIII.—The agents of the allies' powers residing in the city of Valetta at the time of its surrender, shall not be molested, and their persons and property shall be guaranteed by the present capitulation.

Answer.—Granted.

ARTICLE XIV.—All ships of war and merchant vessels coming from France with the colours of the republic, and appearing before the port, shall not be esteemed prizes, nor the crews made prisoners, during the first twenty days after the date of the present capitulation, but shall be sent back to France with a proper safeguard.

Answer.—Refused.

ARTICLE XV.—The commander-in-chief, the other generals, their aides-de-camp, the subaltern officers, shall be embarked altogether, with the commissioners and their suites.

Answer.—Granted.

ARTICLE XVI.—The prisoners made during the siege, including the crew of the "Guillaume Tell" and "La Diane," shall be restored and treated like the garrison. The crew of "La Justice" to be used in the same manner, should she be taken in returning to one of the ports of the republic.

Answer.—The crew of the "Guillaume Tell" is already exchanged, and that of "La Diane" is to be sent to Majorca, to be exchanged immediately.

ARTICLE XVII.—No one in the service of the republic shall be subject to a reprisal of any kind whatsoever.

Answer.—Granted.

ARTICLE XVIII.—If any difficulties shall arise respecting the terms and conditions of the capitulation, they shall be interpreted in the most favourable sense for the garrison.

Answer.—Granted according to justice.

of the preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the contracting parties, the system of hostilities which subsists between the states of Barbary and the Order of St. John, or the powers possessing the languages or concurring in the composition of the Order, shall have ceased.

10th. The Order shall be governed, both with respect to spirituals and temporals, by the same statutes which were in force when the Knights left the island, except so far as the present treaty shall derogate from them.

11th. The regulations contained in the paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the Order, in the customary manner, and the Grand-Master, or if he shall not be in the island at the time of its restoration to the Order, his representative, as well as his successors, shall be bound to take an oath for their punctual observance.

12th. His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish 2000 men, natives of his states, to serve as a garrison to the different fortresses of the said islands. That force shall remain one year, to bear date from their restitution to the Knights, and if, at the expiration of this term, the Order should not have raised a force sufficient, in the judgment of the guaranteeing powers, to garrison the island and its dependencies, such as is specified in the paragraph, the Neapolitan troops shall continue there until they shall be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the said powers.

13th. The different powers designated in paragraph 6, viz., France, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present stipulations.

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